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A STUDY OF THE SUMERIAN MOON-GOD, NANNA/SUEN

MARK GLENN HALL

A DISSERTATION

in

ORIENTAL STUDIES

Presented to the faculties of the University of Pennsylvania in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

1985

Åke W. Sjöberg

Supervisor of Dissertation

Graduate Group Chairperson

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MARK GLENN HALL

1985

To my father, mother, and wife, Claire

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements.....iv

Table of Contents.....vii

List of Tables and Illustrations.....xiv

List of Abbreviations.....xv

CHAPTER 1. Introduction.....1

1. Preliminary Considerations..... 1

1.1 Aim and Intent of the Study..... 1

1.2 Source Material..... 2

1.3 Time Frame..... 3

1.4 Provenience..... 5

2. Problems..... 6

2.1 Problems Inherent in the Study of Religion in General..... 6

2.2 Problems Inherent in the Study of Ancient Religions..... 7

2.3 Special Problems of Written Sources..... 8

2.4 Problems of Treating One God in Isolation..... 10

3. Methodology..... 12

3.1 Approaches to the Study of Religion..... 12

3.2 Approaches to the Study of Mesopotamian Religion..... 19

3.3 Methodology and Organization of this Study..... 23

CHAPTER 2. The Principal Names of the Moon-god: Nanna, Suen, and AŠimbabbar..... 32

dnanna..... 33

1. The Writing of the god-name (d)nanna..... 33

2. The Meaning of the god-name dnanna..... 36

dsuen..... 36

1. The Writing of the god-name (d)suen..... 36

2. The Meaning of the god-name dsuen..... 40

dAŠ-im2/im4-babbar(2)..... 42

1. The Reading of the god-name..... 42

2. The Meaning of the god-name..... 43

CHAPTER 3. The Theophoric Personal Names Referring to the Moon-god: Presargonic through Old-Babylonian Periods..... 49

1. Presargonic Period..... 55

2. Sargonic Period..... 59

3. Ur-III Period..... 62

4. Old-Babylonian Period..... 71

CHAPTER 4. The Moon-god in Dedicatory Inscriptions..... 91

1. Presargonic Period..... 93
Commentary: Presargonic Period.... 98
Synopsis..... 102

2. Sargonic Period..... 103
Commentary: Sargonic Period..... 107
Synopsis..... 111

3. Ur-III Period..... 112
Commentary: Ur-III Period..... 127
Synopsis..... 139

4. Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian Period.....144
Commentary: Isin-Larsa/ Old-Babylonian Period.....169
Synopsis.....199

5. The Moon-god in Year-dates.....212

6. Summary.....224

CHAPTER 5. The Cult of the Moon-god at Ur.....250

I. Presargonic/Sargonic Periods.....253

II. Ur-III Period.....256

Section 1: Royal Offerings of King Ibbisuen.....257

1.1 Preliminary Considerations...257

1.1.1 Provenience and Context....258

1.1.2 Genre and Types.....260

1.2 Tabulation of the Evidence...263

Table I: Royal eš3-eš3 Offerings of King Ibbisuen...263

Table II: Royal siskur Offerings of King Ibbisuen.....268

Table III: Time Distribution of the Royal Offerings in the Reign of King Ibbisuen...283

1.3 Commentary.....287

1.3.1 Royal eš3-eš3 Offerings: commentary.....287

1.3.2 Royal siskur Offerings: commentary.....295

1.4 Interpretations.....302

Section 2: Archaeological Evidence.....312

Section 3: Other Important Features of the Cult at Ur..... 326

3.1 Regular Offerings to Deities of the Local Pantheon 326

3.2 The a2-ki-ti Festival..... 331

3.3 Purification Rituals..... 342

3.4 Libation Sites..... 346

3.5 Lamentation Rituals..... 350

3.6 dnanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak..... 351

3.7 Personnel 353

Section 4: Nanna in the Drehem Archives and the Cult at Nippur..... 357

III: Isin-Larsa/Old Babylonian Period..... 364

Summary..... 371

CHAPTER 6: Evidence for the Moon-god in Literary Texts..... 389

I. Presargonic Period..... 393

II. Sargonic Period..... 395

III. Ur-III Period..... 402

A. Literary Compositions Ascribed to One of the Ur-III Kings..... 404

1. Urnammu..... 404

2. Šulgi..... 410

3. Amarsuen..... 439

4. Šusuen..... 440

5. Ibbisuen..... 444

B. Literary Compositions which Reflect Ur-III Traditions, but cannot be Ascribed to a Specific King..... 464

1. Hymns to the Moon-god..... 464

2. Nanna/Suen in Hymns to Other Deities..... 514

3. Myths Involving Nanna/Suen..... 518

4. Epics Involving Nanna/Suen..... 529

5. Miscellaneous Literary Compositions..... 535

IV. Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian Period... 542

1. The Moon-god in er2-šem-ma hymns. 542

2. Lamentations for the Destruction of Sumerian Cities..... 548

3. References to the Moon-god in Royal Hymns from the Isin-Larsa/ Old-Babylonian Period..... 564

3.1 Iddindagan..... 564

3.2 Išmedagan..... 566

3.3 Lipit-eštar..... 571

3.4 Urninurta..... 572

3.5 Gungunum..... 572

3.6 Nūradad..... 575

3.7 Enlilbani..... 575

3.8 Sîniddinam..... 576

3.9 Sîniqišam..... 577

3.10 Rīmsîn I of Larsa..... 578

3.11 Hammurabi..... 583

3.12 Samsuilūna..... 584

Synopsis..... 585

Summary..... 592

CHAPTER 7. Epithets of the Moon-god..... 615

CHAPTER 8. The Relationship of Nanna/Suen to Other Deities of the Pantheon: Genealogy and Cultic Ties..... 721

I. Nanna/Suen's relation to the Major Deities of the Pantheon..... 726

1. Son of Enlil and Ninlil..... 726

2. Relationship to An..... 728

3. Ningal, the Spouse of the Moon-god..... 730

4. Ninḫursag..... 731

5. Enki and Ninki..... 732

6. Enki..... 732

II. The Brothers of Nanna/Suen..... 734

III. The Offspring of Nanna/Suen..... 736

1. Inanna..... 736

2. Ningublaga..... 737

3. Utu..... 740

4. Numušda..... 742

5. Ninegalla..... 743

6. Ninazu..... 744

7. Iškur (?)..... 744

8. dama-ra-ḫe2-ag2-e and dama-ra-a-zu..... 744

IV. The circle of Minor Deities Connected with the Moon-god at Ur..... 745

1. dalamuš..... 745

2. dnin-e2-i3-ga..... 746

3. dga-a-a-u2 and dšu-ni-du10/-du7..... 746

4. dḫa-ya3 and dnisaba..... 747

5. dMUŠ-IR-ḪA-GEŠTIN-BALAG-DU..... 748

6. dnin-uri2ki-ma..... 749

7. dnin-unu..... 750

8. dnin-ku3-nun-na..... 751

9. dnin-DAR-a and
dnun-bar-an-na..... 752

CHAPTER 9. Nine Hymns to the Moon-god... 755

TuM NF IV, 7, col. ii, 67 - col. iii, 106
2nd bal-bal-e Hymn to Nanna..... 756

TuM NF IV, 7, col. iii, 107 - iv, 168
3rd bal-bal-e Hymn to Nanna..... 764

TuM NF IV, 7, col. iv, 169 - 199 =
ISET 1, p. 62, Ni 9788
4th bal-bal-e Hymn to Nanna..... 776

TuM NF IV, 12
Hymn to Nanna/Suen with Prayers for
King Šu-suen..... 788

ISET 1, pp. 96 - 97 (Ni 2781)
Adab Hymn to Nanna with Prayers for
Išmedagan of Isin..... 800

UET 6/1, 67..... 814

UET 6/1, 68 + duplicates..... 829

N1542 and N3082 + duplicates..... 847

CHAPTER 10. Final Summation and Conclusions..... 866

The Character of the Moon-god..... 878

The Cult of the Moon-god at Ur..... 888

BIBLIOGRAPHY..... 905

INDEX..... 921

LIST OF TABLES AND ILLUSTRATIONS

List of theophoric personal names referring to the moon-god:

Presargonic Period..... 55

Sargonic Period..... 59

Ur-III Period..... 62

Old-Babylonian Period..... 71

List of dedicatory inscriptions which mention the moon-god:

Presargonic Period..... 93

Sargonic Period..... 103

Ur-III Period..... 112

Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian Period..... 144

Table I: royal $e\check{s}_3$-$e\check{s}_3$ offerings of King Ibbisuen..... 263

Table II: royal siskur offerings of King Ibbisuen..... 268

Table III: time distribution of the royal offerings in the reign of Ibbisuen..... 283

List of key epithets and Phrases referring to the moon-god in literary texts..... 622-624

CBS 11363 + CBS 12701 + N 3525 + CBS 12672 + N 3317: duplicate (text C) of UET 6/1, 68..... 846

N 1542..... 864

N 3082 + N 2746 (text A); N 3723 (text B)..... 865

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Aa	lex. series a2 : A = nâgu; MSL 14, 201ff.
AASOR	Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research
Abisare 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 41ff.
AbS-T	field numbers of texts excavated at Tell Abū Ṣalābīkh
AfO	Archiv fur Orientforschung
AHw	W. von Soden, Akkadisches Handwörterbuch
AJA	American Journal of Archaeology
AJSL	American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature
Alan	lex. series alan = lanu
Ali Letters	F.A. Ali, Sumerian Letters: Two Collections from the Old Babylonian Schools (diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania)
Amarsuen 1ff.	royal inscr.; Steible NBW
An	lex. series an = anum
An Bibl	Analecta Biblica
Angim	lit. comp.; J.S. Cooper, AnOr 52
ANET	J. Pritchard, Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AnSt	Anatolian Studies
Antagal	lex. series an-ta-gal2 = šagû
AO	tablets in the collections of the Musée du Louvre
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament
AOS	American Oriental Series

ARN	M. Çığ, H. Kizilyay, and F.R. Kraus, Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus Nippur
ArOr	Archiv Orientalni
AS	Assyriological Studies (Oriental Institute, Univ. of Chicago)
ASKT	P. Haupt, Akkadische und sumerische Keilschrifttexte
BA	Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft
BaM	Baghdader Mitteilungen
Barton Haverford	G.A. Barton, Haverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets; collations by T. Maeda, Acta Sum 2, 197ff.
Barton MBI	G.A. Barton, Miscellaneous Babylonian Inscriptions
BASOR	Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research
Bauer AWL	J. Bauer, Altsumerische Wirtschafts-texte aus Lagasch (= Studia Pohl 9)
BE	Babylonian Expedition of the Univ. of Pennsylvania, Series A: Cuneiform Texts
Behrens, Steible ABW Glossar	H. Behrens, H. Steible, Glossar zu den altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften (FAOS 6)
Belleten	Turk Tarih Kurumu, Belleten (Ankara)
BiMesop.	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica (Malibu)
BIN	Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies
BiOr	Bibliotheca Orientalis
Bird and Fish	lit. comp.; ms. M. Roth
Bit rimki	ritual series; see R. Borger, JCS 21, 1ff.
BL	S. Langdon, Babylonian Liturgies

BM	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
R. Borger, ABZ	R. Borger, Assyrisch-Babylonische Zeichenliste (= AOAT 33/33A)
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the Univ. of Chicago
CBS	tablets in the collections of the Univ. Museum, Univ. of Pennsylvania
CH	Codex Hammurabi
Chiera STA	E. Chiera, Selected Temple Accounts from Telloh, Yokha and Drehem
M.E. Cohen Ersemma	M.E. Cohen, Sumerian Hymnology: The Eršemma
S. Cohen ELA	S. Cohen, Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania)
Contenau Contribution	G. Contenau, Contribution à l'histoire économique d'Umma
Contenau Umma	G. Contenau, Umma sous la dynastie d'Ur
Creation of the Hoe	lit. comp.; ms. H. Behrens
Cros Tello	G. Cros, Nouvelles fouilles de Tello
CT	Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum
Curse of Agade	lit. comp.; J.S. Cooper, The Curse of Agade
Damiqilišu 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 37ff.
Death of Urnammu	lit. comp.; S.N. Kramer, JCS 21, 104ff.; C. Wilcke, Rencontre 17, 81ff.; Susa version ms. M. Civil
Deimel SF	A. Deimel, Schultexte aus Fara (= WVDOG 43)
Deimel WF	A. Deimel, Wirtschaftstexte aus Fara (= WVDOG 45)
van Dijk SGL II	J. van Dijk, Sumerische Götterlieder, part 2

van Dijk Sagesse	J. van Dijk, La Sagesse suméro-accadienne
Diri	lex. series diri = watru
Donbaz-Foster Telloh	V. Donbaz and B. Foster, Sargonic Texts from Telloh
DP	M. Allotte de la Fuÿe, Documents pré-sargoniques
van Driel The Cult of Aššur	R. van Driel, The Cult of Aššur
Durand Documents cunéiformes	J.-M. Durand, Documents cunéiformes, Vol. I (Hautes études orientales 18)
Ea	lex. series e=a : A = nâgu; MSL 14, 171ff.
Eannatum iff.	royal inscr.; Steible ABW 1, 120ff.
ED Lu	lex. series; Early Dynastic recensions of Lu; MSL 12, 3ff.
Edzard Tell ed-Der	Altbaby'onische Rechts- und Wirtschafts-urkunden aus Tell ed-Der (= ABAW NF 72)
Edzard ZZB	D.O. Edzard, Die "zweite Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens
Elevation of Ištar	lit. comp.; B. Hruška, ArOr 37, 473ff.
Enannatum I 1ff.	royal inscr.; Steible ABW 1, 182ff.
Enannatum II 1ff.	royal inscr.; Steible ABW 1, 273ff.
Enki's Journey to Nippur	lit. comp.; A. al-Fouadi, Enki's Journey to Nippur (diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania)
Enki and Ninḫursaga	lit. comp.; S.N. Kramer, BASOR SS 1; revised ms. S. Lieberman
Enki and Ninmaḫ	lit. comp.; C. Benito, "Enki and Ninmaḫ" and "Enki and the World Order" (diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania); revised ms. S. Lieberman

Enki and the World Order	lit. comp.; C. Benito, "Enki and Ninmaḫ" and "Enki and the World Order" (diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania); revised ms. S. Lieberman
Enlil and Ninlil	lit. comp.; H. Behrens, Studia Pohl SM 8
Enlil and Sud	lit. compl; M. Civil, JAOS 103, 43ff.
Enlil in the Ekur	lit. comp.; Falkenstein Götterlieder 5ff.; D. Reisman, Two Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymns (diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania), 41ff.
Enlil's Chariot	lit. comp.; M. Civil, JAOS 88, 3ff.
Enlilbani 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 28ff.
Enlilbani A	lit. comp.; A. Kapp, ZA 51, 76ff., and dupls.; revised ms. M. Roth
Enlildiriše	lit. comp.; Römer SKIZ 39ff. and dupls.
Enmerkar and Ensuḫkešdanna	lit. comp.; A. Berlin, OPBF 2
Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta	lit. comp.; S. Cohen (diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania)
Entemena 1ff.	royal inscr.; Steible ABW 1, 211ff.
Eridu Lament	lit. comp.; M.W. Green, JCS 30, 127ff.
Erimḫuš	lex. series erim$_2$-ḫuš = anantu
Ewe and Grain	lit. comp.; ms. M. Civil
Falkenstein ATU	A. Falkenstein, Archaische Texte aus Uruk
Falkenstein Gerichtsurkunden	A. Falkenstein, Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden, part 2 (= ABAW NF 40)
Falkenstein SGL I	A. Falkenstein, Sumerische Götterlieder, part 1
FAOS	Freiburger altorientalische Studien
Finkelstein Memorial Vol.	Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of J.J. Finkelstein (= MCAAS 19)

Frankena Tākultu	R. Frankena, Tākultu, De sacraele Maaltijd in het assyrische Ritueel
GAG	W. von Soden, Grundriss der akkadischen Grammatik
de Genouillac FT	H. de Genouillac, Fouilles de Telloh
de Genouillac Tablettes	H. de Genouillac, Tablettes de Dréhem (= TCL 2)
de Genouillac Trouvaille	H. de Genouillac, La Trouvaille de Dréhem
de Genouillac TSA	H. de Genouillac, Tablettes sumériennes archaïques
Gilgameš and Agga	lit. comp.; S.N. Kramer, AJA 53, 1ff.; W. Römer, AOAT 209/1
Grégoire AAS	J.-P. Grégoire, Archives administratives sumériennes
Gudea Cyl. A and B	lit. comp.; F. Thureau-Dangin, TCL 8
Gudea Statue Aff.	royal inscr.; Steible NBW
Gungunum	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 39ff.
Heimpel Tierbilder	W. Heimpel, Tierbilder in der sumerischen Literatur (= Studia Pohl 2)
Ḫḫ	lex. series ḪAR-ra = ḫubullu; MSL 5ff.
Home of the Fish	lit. comp.; M. Civil, Iraq 23, 154ff.
HS	tablets in the Hilprecht collection, Friedrich-Schiller-Univ., Jena
HSAO	Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient
HSS	Harvard Semitic Series
HUCA	Hebrew Union College Annual
Huffmon APNMT	H. Huffmon, Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts
Hymn to the Ekur	lit. comp.; S.N. Kramer, RSO 32, 95ff.

Ibbisîn 1ff.	royal inscr.; Steible NBW
Ibbisîn to Išbierra	letter; S.N. Kramer, OECT 5, pp.15f.
Ibbisîn to Puzuršulgi	letter; A. Falkenstein, ZA 49, 59ff.
Iddindagan 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 5ff.
Igituh	lex. series igi-du8 = tāmartu
IM	tablets in the collections of the Iraq Museum, Baghdad
Inanna and Bilulu	lit. comp.; Th. Jacobsen and S.N. Kramer, JNES 12, 160ff.
Inanna's Descent	lit. comp.; W.R. Sladek, Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld (diss., Johns Hopkins Univ.)
Inanna and Ebiḫ	lit. comp.; ms. B. Eichler
Inanna and Enki	lit. comp.; G. Farber-Flügge, Studia Pohl 10
Inanna and Iddindagan	lit. comp.; Römer SKIZ 128ff.; D. Reisman, JCS 25, 185ff.
Inanna and Šukaletuda	lit. comp.; ms. S. Cohen
Inninšagurra	lit. comp.; Å. Sjöberg, ZA 65, 161ff.
Iraq	Iraq (British School of Archaeology in Iraq)
IRSA	J. Kupper, E. Sollberger, Inscriptions royales sumériennes et akkadiennes
ISET	Istanbul Arkeoloji Müzelerinde Bulunan Sumer Edebî Tablet ve Parçalari
Išbierra to Ibbisîn 1	letter; Michalowski Correspondence, 243ff.
Išbierra to Ibbisîn 2	letter; S.N. Kramer, OECT 5, pp. 17ff.
Išmedagan 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 7ff.
ITT	Inventaire des tablettes de Tello

Izi	lex. series izi = iš̆ātu; MSL 13, 154ff.
JAOS	Journal of the American Oriental Society
JCS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies
Jestin NTSŠ	R. Jestin, Nouvelles tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak
Jestin TSŠ	R. Jestin, Tablettes sumériennes de Šuruppak
JNES	Journal of Near Eastern Studies
Jones-Snyder SET	T.B. Jones, J.W. Snyder, Sumerian Economic Texts from the Third Ur Dynasty
K.	tablets in the Kuyunjik collection of the British Museum
Kagal	lex. series ka2-gal = abullu; MSL 13, 227ff.
Kang Drehem	S.T. Kang, Sumerian Economic Texts from the Drehem Archive
Kang Umma	S.T. Kang, Sumerian Economic Texts from the Umma Archive
KAR	Keilschrifttexte aus Aššur religiosen Inhalts
Keš̆i Hymn	lit. comp.; G. Gragg, TCS 3, 155ff.
Kienast Kisurra	B. Kienast, FAOS 2
Klein Šulgi	J. Klein, Three Šulgi Hymns
Krecher Kultlyrik	J. Krecher, Sumerische Kultlyrik
Kudurmabuk 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 82ff.
Kusu Hymn	lit. comp.; ms. P. Michalowski
Labat Manuel	R. Labat, Manuel d'epigraphie akkadienne
Laessøe Bit Rimki	J. Laessøe, Studies on the Assyrian Ritual and Series bît rimki

LAK	A. Deimel, Liste der archaischen Keilschriftzeichen (= WVDOG 40)
W.G. Lambert BWL	W.G. Lambert, Babylonian Wisdom Literature
Lamentation over Sumer and Ur	lit. comp.; ms. P. Michalowski
Lamentation over Ur	lit. comp.; S.N. Kramer, AS 12; revised ms. H. Vanstiphout
Landsberger Date Palm	B. Landsberger, AfO Beiheft 17
Landsberger Fauna	B. Landsberger, Die Fauna des alten Mesopotamien ... (= ASAW 42/6)
Langdon Archives of Drehem	S. Langdon, Tablets from the Archives of Drehem
Lau OB Temple Records	R.J. Lau, Old Babylonian Temple Records
Laws of Urnammu	lit. comp.; J.J. Finkelstein, JCS 22, 66ff.; F. Yildiz, OrNS 50, 87ff.
Legrain TRU	L. Legrain, Le temps des rois d'Ur
Letter to Nanna	letter-prayer; A. Falkenstein, AnBibl 12, 69ff.; Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott 104ff.
Lieberman Loanwords	S. Lieberman, The Sumerian Loanwords in Old-Babylonian Akkadian
Limet L'anthroponymie	H. Limet, L'Anthroponymie sumérienne
Limet Sceaux cassites	H. Limet, Les légendes des sceaux cassites
Limet Ur III Brussels	H. Limet, Textes sumériens de la III^{e} dynastie d'Ur
Lipiteštar 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 15ff.
Lipiteštar A	lit. comp.; Römer SKIZ 29ff.; revised ms. Univ. Museum
Lipiteštar B	lit. comp.; Römer SKIZ 23ff.; H. Vanstiphout, JCS 30, 33ff.

Lipiteštar and the Plow	lit. comp.; ms. M. Civil
LSS	Leipziger semitistische Studien
Lu	lex. series lu$_2$ = ša; MSL 12, 87ff.
Lugalbanda Epic I	lit. comp.; ms. S. Cohen, revised by M. Hall
Lugalbanda Epic II	lit. comp.; C. Wilcke, Das Lugalbanda-epos
Lugale	lit. comp.; J. van Dijk, Lugal ud me-lam$_2$-bi (Leiden, 1983)
Lušaga	royal inscr.; Steible NBW
MAD	I.J. Gelb, Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary
MAH	tablets in the collections of the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Geneva
MAOG	Mitteilungen der Altorientalischen Gesellschaft
Marriage of Mardu	lit. comp.; SEM 58; ms. S.N. Kramer
MCS	Manchester Cuneiform Studies
MDOG	Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
MDP	Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse
MEE	Materiali Epigrafici di Ebla
Mesopotamia	Mesopotamia: Copenhagen Studies in Assyriology
Michalowski Correspondence	P. Michalowski, The Royal Correspondence of Ur (diss., Yale Univ.)
'Monkey' to his Mother	letter; M. Powell, ZA 68, 168ff.
MSL	Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon; Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon
MVN	Materiali per il vocabolario neo-sumerico

N	tablets in the collections of the Univ. Museum, Univ. of Pennsylvania
Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur	lit. comp.; A.J. Ferrara, Studia Pohl SM 2
Nannamansum to Rimsin	letter; OECT 5, 31
Nanše Hymn	lit. comp.; W. Heimpel, JCS 33, 65ff.
NBC	tablets in the James B. Nies Babylonian Collection, Yale Univ.
NF	Neue Folge
Ni.	Nippur tablets in the collections of the Archaeological Museums, Istanbul
Nies UDT	J.B. Nies, Ur Dynasty Tablets
Nik	M.V. Nikol'skij, Dokumenty ... iz sobraniia N.P. Likhachëva; collations by M. Powell, Acta Sum 3, 125ff.
Nik 2	M.V. Nikol'skij, Dokumenty ... iz sobraniia N.P. Likhachëva, part 2
Ninegalla Hymn	lit. comp.; ms. H. Behrens
Ninkasi Hymn	lit. comp.; M. Civil, Studies Oppenheim 67ff.
Nirmešarra	lit. comp.; W. Hallo and J. van Dijk, YNER 3; revised ms. H. Behrens
Nippur Lament	lit. comp.; ms. H. Vanstiphout
NS	new series; Nova Series
N-T	field numbers of tablets excavated at Nippur
Nungal Hymn	lit. comp.; Å. Sjöberg, AfO 24, 19ff.
Nuradad 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 50ff.
OA	Oriens Antiquus
OB Lu	lex. series; Old Babylonian recensions of Lu; MSL 12, 151ff.
OECT	Oxford Editions of Cuneiform Texts

OIP	Oriental Institute Publications
OPBF	Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund
Oppenheim Beer	L.F. Hartman, A.L. Oppenheim, On Beer and Brewing Techniques in Ancient Mesopotamia (= JAOS Suppl. 10)
Oppenheim Eames Coll.	A.L. Oppenheim, AOS 32
Or	Orientalia
OrSuec	Orientalia Suecana
Owen Nippur	D.I. Owen, Neo-Sumerian Archival Texts Primarily from Nippur
PAPS	Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society
PBS	Publications of the Babylonian Section (Univ. Museum, Univ. of Pennsylvania)
PDT	M. Çığ, H. Kizilyay, A. Salonen, Die Puriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbuler Archaeologischen Museen (= AASF 92)
Pinches Amherst	Th.G. Pinches, The Amherst Tablets
Proto-Aa	lex. series; MSL 14, 85ff.; see Aa
Proto-Aa Geneva	lex. text; MAH 15850+; MSL 9, 126ff.; MSL 14, 121f.
Proto-Diri	lex. series; see Diri
Proto-Ea	lex. series; MSL 14, 17ff.; see Ea
Proto-Izi	lex. series; MSL 13, 7ff.; see Izi
Proto-Kagal	lex. series; MSL 13, 63ff.; see Kagal
Proto-Lu	lex. series; MSL 12, 25ff.; see Lu
PSD	The Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary
Puzuršulgi to Ibbisîn	letter; Ali Letters 42ff. A:3; Michalowski Correspondence 253ff.
Puzuršulgi to Šulgi	letter; C. Wilcke, WO 5, 3ff.; Michalowski Correspondence 200ff.

R	H.C. Rawlinson, The Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia
RA	Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale
Reisner Telloh	G. Reisner, Tempelurkunden aus Telloh
Rencontre 1	Comptes rendus ... (Paris 1950); cf. RA 59, 189
Rencontre 2	Compte rendu de la seconde Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris 1951)
Rencontre 3	Compte rendu de la troisième Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Leiden 1952)
Rencontre 14	La Divination en Mésopotamie ancienne (Strasbourg 1965)
Rencontre 17	Actes de la XVII^{e} Assyriologique Internationale (Brussels 1969)
Rencontre 19	Le Palais et la royauté (Paris 1971)
Rencontre 20	Le Temple et le culte (Leiden 1972)
Rép. géogr.	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes
Rīmsîn 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 141ff.
RlA	Reallexikon der Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archaeologie
Rm.	tablets in the collections of the British Museum
Römer SKIZ	W. Römer, Sumerische 'Konigshymnen' der Isin-Zeit
Rosengarten RSP	Y. Rosengarten, Répertoire commenté des signes présarsoniques sumériens de Lagaš
RSO	Rivista degli studi orientali
RTC	F. Thureau-Dangin, Receuil de tablettes chaldéennes
SAK	F. Thureau-Dangin, Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften (= VAB 1)

Salonen Landfahrzeuge	A. Salonen, Die Landfahrzeuge des alten Mesopotamiens
Salonen Fischerei	A. Salonen, Die Fischerei im alten Mesopotamien
Samsuiluna A	bil. royal inscr.; CT 21, 47-50 (Sum.); VAS 1, 33 (Akk.); and dupl.; ms. Univ. Museum
Samsuiluna B	bil. royal inscr.; F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 39, 5ff.; E. Sollberger, RA 61, 39ff.
Samsuiluna C	bil. royal inscr.; E. Sollberger, RA 63, 29ff.
Samsuiluna D	bil. royal inscr.; A. Poebel, AfO 9, 241ff.; E. Sollberger, RA 63, 40ff.
Sauren WMAH	H. Sauren, Wirtschaftsurkunden aus der Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur im Besitz des Musée d'Art et d'Histoire in Genf
SBH	G. Reisner, Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen
SEM	E. Chiera, Sumerian Epics and Myths (= OIP 15)
SIG7.ALAN	lex. series SIG7.ALAN = nabnītu; MSL 16
Sîniddinam 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 55ff.
Sîniddinam A	lit. comp.; UET 6/1, 98 and dupl.; revised ms. M. Roth
Sîniddinam and Iškur	lit. comp.; ms. P. Michalowski
Sîniqišam 1	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 80f.
Sînkašid 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 176ff.
Sînmagir 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49. 35ff.
Å. Sjöberg Mondgott	Å. Sjöberg, Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen
SLT	E. Chiera, Sumerian Lexical Texts (= OIP 11)
SLTNi	S.N. Kramer, Sumerian Literary Texts from Nippur (= AASOR 23)

SM	Series Maior
Sollberger Corpus	E. Sollberger, Corpus des inscriptions "royales" présargoniques de Lagaš
SP Coll. 3	proverbs; R. Falkowitz, The Sumerian Rhetoric Collections (diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania)
SRT	E. Chiera, Sumerian Religious Texts
SS	Supplementary Series
Steible ABW	H. Steible, Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften (= FAOS 5)
Steible Ḫaja	H. Steible, Ein Lied an den Gott Ḫaja (diss., Albert-Ludwigs-Univ., Freiburg)
Steible NBW	H. Steible, Die neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften (= FAOS forthcoming)
Steible Rīmsîn	H. Steible, FAOS 1
StOr	Studia Orientalia
STT	O.R. Gurney, J.J. Finkelstein, The Sultantepe Tablets
Studia Pohl	Studia Pohl: Dissertationes scientificae de rebus orientis antiqui
Studia Widengren	Ex Orbe religionum: Studia Geo Widengren oblata
Studies Oppenheim	Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim
STVC	E. Chiera, Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents (= OIP 16)
Sumer	Sumer: A Journal of Archaeology and History in Iraq
Sumuel 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 47ff.
Ṣilliadad 1	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 81
ŠL	A. Deimel, Šumerisches Lexikon
Šuilišu 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 2ff.
Šulgi 1ff.	royal inscr.; Steible NBW
Šulgi A	lit. comp.; Klein Šulgi 182ff.

Šulgi B	lit. comp.; G. Haayer (OPBF forthcoming)
Šulgi D	lit. comp.; Klein Šulgi 70ff.
Šulgi E	lit. comp.; ms. J. Klein
Šulgi F	lit. comp.; ms. J. Klein
Šulgi G	lit. comp.; CT 36, 26-27
Šulgi H	lit. comp.; BE 31, 4
Šulgi O	lit. comp.; J. Klein, AOAT 25, 271ff.
Šulgi P	lit. comp.; J. Klein, TAPS 71/7
Šulgi R	lit. comp.; ms. H. Behrens
Šulgi S	lit. comp.; UET 6/1, 93 and dupls.
Šulgi U	lit. comp.; van Dijk Götterlieder 13f.
Šulgi V	lit. comp.; SRT 13:1-33
Šulgi X	lit. comp.; Klein Šulgi 135ff.
Šulgi Y	lit. comp.; A. Falkenstein, Iraq 22, 139ff.
Šulpae Hymn	lit. comp.; A. Falkenstein, ZA 55, 11ff.
Šurpu	incant. series; E. Reiner, AfO Beiheft 11
Šusîn 1ff.	royal inscr.; Steible NBW
Šusîn Hist. Inscr. A	hist. inscr.; D.O. Edzard, AfO 19, 1ff.; dupl. N 6264; see JCS 21, 38
Šusîn Hist. Inscr. B	hist. inscr.; M. Civil, JCS 21, 24ff.; revised ms. Å. Sjöberg
TAPS	Transactions of the American Philosophical Society
TCL	Textes cuneiformes, Musee du Louvre
TCS	Texts from Cuneiform Sources
Temple Hymns	lit. comp.; Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3
TIM	Texts in the Iraq Museum

TLB	Tabulae cuneiformes a F.M. Th. de Liagre Böhl collectae
Tree and Reed	lit. comp.; M. Civil
TuM	Texte und Materialien der Frau Professor Hilprecht-Sammlung ... Jena
Tummal Inscr.	lit. comp.; E. Sollberger, JCS 16, 40ff.; Ali Letters 99ff. B:9
Two Elegies	lit. comp.; S.N. Kramer, Two Elegies on a Pushkin Museum Tablet; Å. Sjöberg, JAOS 103, 315ff. (first elegy)
UCP	University of California Publications in Semitic Philology
UE	Ur Excavations
UET	Ur Excavation, Texts
Ugumu	lex. series ugu-mu; MSL 9, 51ff.
UM	tablets in the collections of the Univ. Museum, Univ. of Pennsylvania
Unity and Diversity	Essays in the History, Literature and Religion of the Ancient Near East
Urbaba 1ff.	royal inscr.; Steible NBW
Urdukuga	royal inscr.; I. Kärki StOr 49, 34
Urnammu 1ff.	royal inscr.; Steible NBW
Urninurta 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 23ff.
Uruinimgina 1ff.	royal inscr.; Steible ABW 1, 278ff.
Uruk Lament	lit. comp.; M.W. Green, JAOS 104 (1984), pp. 253-279
Utukku lemnutu	incant. series; mss. M. Geller, M.W. Green
Utuḫegal Inscr.	royal inscr.; RA 9, 113ff. and dupl.
UVB	Vorläufiger Bericht über die ... Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka
VAB	Vorderasiatische Bibliothek
VAS	Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler ... Berlin

VAT	tablets in the collections of the Staatliche Museen, Berlin
VT	Vetus Testamentum
W.	field numbers of tablets excavated at Warka
Waetzoldt Textil-industrie	H. Waetzoldt, Untersuchungen zur neu-sumerischen Textilindustrie
Waradsîn 1ff.	royal inscr.; I. Kärki, StOr 49, 84ff.
Westenholz Jena	A. Westenholz, Early Cuneiform Texts in Jena
Wilcke Lugalbandaepos	C. Wilcke, Das Lugalbandaepos
Wilcke Kollationen	C. Wilcke, Kollationen zu den sumerischen literarischen Texten aus Nippur in der Hilprecht-Sammlung Jena
Winter and Summer	lit. comp.; ms. M. Civil
WO	Die Welt des Orients
WVDOG	Wissenschaftliche Veroffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft
WZKM	Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes
YBC	tablets in the Babylonian Collection, Yale Univ.
YNER	Yale Near Eastern Researches
YOS	Yale Oriental Series, Babylonian Texts
ZA	Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und vorderasiatische Archäologie
ZDMG	Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgen-landischen Gesellschaft

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1. Preliminary Considerations

1.1 Aim and Intent of the Study:

The aim of this dissertation is to arrive at an understanding of how the first literate people of history, the Sumerians of ancient Mesopotamia, conceptualized and worshipped one of the major deities of their religion, the moon-god called Nanna/Suen. Evidence for the character and the cult of the moon-god will be gathered and evaluated through an intensive analysis of Sumerian cuneiform texts. It is hoped that this study will make a contribution not only to Sumerology, but to the history of religion by providing documentary evidence for some of mankind's earliest religious beliefs, ideas, and practices.

Monographs on individual deities have been comparatively rare in Sumerological research. This is due to the great mass of evidence which must be considered in order to present a comprehensive and in-depth treatment of any one deity and to methodological problems which arise in the evaluation of the evidence. Nonetheless, there is a great need for a complete examination and evaluation of all the evidence pertaining to individual Mesopotamian deities. This study is intended to address that need in part.

The choice of the moon-god as the subject of this monograph was made because much of the painstaking task of

collecting and treating the textual material which pertains to the moon-god had already been completed by Å. Sjöberg. Having access to Dr. Sjöberg's files enabled me to concentrate mainly on evaluation of the evidence and methodological considerations. His study of important literary texts dedicated to the moon-god in Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen in der sumerischen Überlieferung provided the essential groundwork in philology and lexicology without which this study could not have been undertaken.

1.2 Source Material:

The evidence presented in this study is derived almost solely from ancient cuneiform clay tablets, the oldest of which date to about 3,000 B.C.E. These tablets represent the very beginning of the written historical record. The decision to concentrate on written evidence as opposed to the evidence of archaeology or art history is based on practical and methodological grounds. There is so much data in cuneiform tablets pertaining to the moon-god that it would be practically impossible to treat the written, archaeological, and art historical material within the confines of a dissertation. For methodological reasons it is sound practice for specialists to examine evidence only within their particular specialties. Since I have been trained as a Sumerologist, it is appropriate that I concentrate here on written Sumerian source materials. I will make occasional reference to the evidence of archaeology and art history when this evidence can shed some

light on textual data. But this study is mainly an intensive analysis of the written evidence bearing on the moon-god. and hence it should not be considered as an all-inclusive, comprehensive examination of every type of evidence.

There are three basic types of written source materials which furnish data on the moon-god: dedicatory inscriptions, administrative texts, and literary texts. Analysis and presentation of the evidence in these texts will form the bulk of this dissertation (Chapter 4, 5, and 6). Since the nature of the evidence in each of these types of texts is different, correlation of the evidence is one of the major problems to be dealt with in this study. Differences of time period and provenience from one text-type to the next also create problems of interpretations and evaluation. One of the principal tasks of this dissertation will be to attempt to find consistent motifs which bridge these differences of type, time, and place and make up the essential conceptualization of the moon-god without obliterating regional and chronological distinctions.

1.3 Time Frame:

A monograph on the Sumerian moon-god necessarily implies a time-frame limited to the Sumerian period; i.e. a period which extends from the development of complex society in Mesopotamia and the concommitant emergence of writing - achievements conventionally attributed to the Sumerians - to the end of the Ur-III period when the centuries-long process of ethnic amalgamation in Mesopotamia finally absorbed the

last traces of the Sumerians as a distinct ethnic group. Sumerian as a written language was used extensively in official documents not only during this time period, but also in the succeeding Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period. The kings of Isin, Larsa, and Babylon emulated the preceding Sumerian kingdoms and preserved their cultural traditions. Much of the documentation from this post-Sumerian period is pertinent to this study, particularly the many Sumerian literary texts concerning the moon-god. Earlier traditions are undoubtedly reflected in these texts. Many of these texts may even be editions of earlier Sumerian prototypes. Thus, the Sumerian cultural tradition extends well beyond the Ur-III period. Since the chief interest of this study is the place of the moon-god within the Sumerian cultural tradition, the time frame of the investigation will extend from the Presargonic period to the end of the Old-Babylonian period.

It might be argued that the Sumerian cultural heritage continued to influence Mesopotamian civilization throughout its long history to the end of the Neo-Babylonian empire (539 B.C.E.). It is true that Sumerian continued to be used as a liturgical language until this time. On the other hand, the changes that occurred in Mesopotamian civilization with the fall of the Old-Babylonian kingdom (circa 1595 B.C.E.) were so great, that the differences in the tradition, both generally and as specifically regards the moon-god, are of greater significance than the superficial continuities. For this reason and for the practical reason that a treatment of

the moon-god in his development over 2,000 years of Mesopotamian history is impossible within the confines of a dissertation, I have limited the time frame of this study to the period specified above.

1.4 Provenience:

It will be shown in Chapters 3 and 4 that the moon-god was worshipped at many cult sites throughout Mesopotamia from Tutub (Khafāǧi) in the north to Ur in the south and Ebla in western Syria. Most of the written evidence, however, comes from the two major southern Mesopotamian sites of Ur and Nippur; Ur was the center of the moon-god's cult in southern Mesopotamia; Nippur was the religious center of the whole land of Sumer. The picture of the moon-god which emerges in the course of this study reflects mainly the cultic traditions of these cities. The meager evidence for the moon-god's cult in other cities is insufficient to illuminate the differences that may have existed in conceptualization and cult from site to site. Since Nippur was the major religious center of Mesopotamia and Ur was the chief cultic residence of the moon-god, it may be assumed that traditions which existed in these cities had a formative influence on the way the moon-god's character and cult were defined.

2. Problems

2.1 Problems Inherent in the Study of Religion:

Religion appears to be a universal phenomenon.[1] Over the past century anthropological research in many areas of the world has demonstrated that in every culture which has been studied some form of belief in supernatural beings or forces exists. There may be individuals within a society who evince no such beliefs; yet it cannot be said that there is any culture or society yet known which is absolutely devoid of all religious beliefs. Religion is thus unquestionably a bonafide aspect of culture and needs to be studied scientifically like any other aspect of culture. Past attempts to dismiss religion as merely an epiphenomenon of some more elemental human drive or need have proved inadequate to define fully the dynamics of religion. Most anthropologists today no longer take seriously approaches which utilize "reductionism" as a technique to explain away religion (as for example Freud's attempt to reduce religion to a sublimated sexual drive or Durkheim's theory that religion is a manifestation of man's need for society).[2]

Religion has always posed great problems of understanding for the outside investigator because it is one of the most intimate and subjective of human activities. The most serious challenge to the scientific study of religion is the difficulty of achieving objective observations. In observing religious phenomena which are alien to the researcher one must constantly guard against the

encroachments of subjective biases and interpretations. When dealing with the unknown the tendency is always to fall back on preconceived notions and familiar explanations to eliminate some of the uncertainty or to impose order and sense where none seem to exist. Biases are often subtle and may take the form of unconscious personal motives or in-vogue ideas which direct scholars towards certain kinds of evidence or interpretations, while leaving others unconsidered. The researcher always runs the risk of furnishing the evidence to fit the theory, of distorting the factuality of the evidence through his or her subjective involvement. Thus, the problem of objectivity and the role of the subject in determining evidence, a serious philosophical problem plaguing all of the sciences in the twentieth century, is particularly acute in the study of religion.[3]

2.2 Problems Inherent in the Study of Ancient Religions:

The problem of obtaining objective knowledge about the religion of another culture becomes doubly acute in regards to the study of a religion from a culture which has become extinct. If the anthropological study of religion is problematic, where field work and direct interpersonal communication with believers is possible, one can imagine what obstacles stand in the way of understanding an ancient religion. With respect to Mesopotamian religion A.L. Oppenheim has addressed the issue in Chapter 4 of his book, Ancient Mesopotamia; the first part of the chapter is

appropriately entitled, "Why a 'Mesopotamian religion' should not be written." Anyone who endeavors to write about any facet of ancient Mesopotamian religion must be mindful of Oppenheim's cogent analysis of the serious obstacles which impede modern man's attempts to understand the religion of a dead civilization. Foremost among the problems of such a study is the fact that the evidence consists only of remnants of the extinct civilization. Therefore, there are always gaps in the evidence which can only be filled by guesses as to what might have once existed. To reconstruct the religious beliefs of a people whose culture died out more than two millennia ago through the fragmentary writings, artifacts, and physical structures which happen to have survived until today is an especially precarious operation. Another serious problem is the conceptual gulf which separates the twentieth-century researcher from a people whose culture, historical situation, and physical surrounding have almost nothing in common with present-day conditions. How can modern man understand ancient man when the conceptual basis necessary for understanding is so severely wanting? The dilemma is aptly compared by Oppenheim to the hypothetical situation of some future culture unrelated to our own attempting to reconstruct the tenets of Christianity from the excavated remnants of Medieval cathedrals.

2.3 Special Problems of Written Sources:

The written source materials have their own peculiar

problems. Besides the incompleteness of the evidence one is also hampered by the lexical conundrums of an ancient language which is not yet completely understood. Since the formulation of concepts is intimately bound up with the expression of those concepts in language, our inability to appreciate fully the nuances of the Sumerian language necessarily impedes our understanding of Sumerian concepts. Deducing a people's conception of a particular god from writings in an incompletely-understood ancient language is a difficult task.

One must also be aware of the fact that the written record of a people's religion provides only one perspective on that religion. Only one part of the complex network of ideas, beliefs, and practices which make up a people's religion finds its way into sacred writings. Compounding the difficulties of understanding ancient Mesopotamian religion is our lack of knowledge concerning the cultic use of the extant religious texts. Terms such as hymns, myths, epics, etc. are modern appellations used mainly for organizational purposes; they tend to obscure the fact that little is known about the role of these compositions in the practice of Mesopotamian religion.

The problem of correlating the information in one type of text with that of another must also be dealt with. Since different types of texts had different functions, the nature of the information each type of text contains is also different. It is often a matter of conjecture how the information in one text is to be related to that in another

text. For example, there is no obvious connection between the description of the moon-god in hymns and information about daily cultic offerings to him in administrative texts. If one assumes that religion is an organized, symbolic system whereby beliefs and practices are coordinated, some connection surely must have existed; yet exactly what that connection might have been remains conjectural because it is nowhere specifically indicated in the texts.

Finally, differences of time and place among various types of texts often present obstacles to understanding. For example, most literary texts which make reference to the moon-god date to the Old-Babylonian period and come from Nippur; administrative texts which provide insights into the workings of the moon-god's cult date to the end of the Ur-III period and the Old-Babylonian period, but come from Ur. One must take into account such differences of time and place when evaluating the evidence. Though Mesopotamian religion was conservative and fairly consistent from one time and place to the next, over-generalizing can often obscure important developments in time and distinctions from place to place.

2.4 Problems of Treating One God in Isolation:

The practical necessity of concentrating on one manageable area of inquiry brings with it the inevitable distortion of overemphasizing one feature to the detriment of the total picture. I have chosen to concentrate on one god of the Sumerian pantheon in this

monograph because of the need for setting manageable limits to the field of inquiry. This decision is justified by the fact that each of the Sumerian deities had individual cults, particular characteristics, and was closely linked to one major city. Thus, each god or goddess was a clearly defined entity in itself. However, a long history of intercommunication between cities and their respective cults had forged strong cultural, economic, political, and religious ties. By the height of the Sumerian historical period each deity was considered to be related to all the others and old traditions of cultic interaction had been firmly established.

In a study of this kind there is the risk of paying too little attention to the cultural and cultic context of the god and his cult. Nanna/Suen like all the other deities of the Sumerian pantheon was involved in a complex network of cultic and genealogical ties, both of which influenced the shaping and development of his character and the workings of his cult; not to mention other significant influential factors such as political, economic, and environmental forces, all of which have a vital effect on religion and a people's conception of their deities. To consider adequately the influence of all of these factors on the evolution of the moon-god and his place in Sumerian culture is obviously well beyond the limitations of a dissertation.

Thus, the advantage of intensively studying one god is

that one is able to examine all of the pertinent evidence which bears on the god and come to thoroughly-researched and informed conclusions. The disadvantage is that there is simply too much material to get much beyond the study of one deity and explore the larger ramifications of the evidence. In section 3.3 below I will show what methodological steps have been taken to widen the focus of the study.

3. Methodology

3.1 Approaches to the Study of Religion:

The problem of objectively investigating an alien culture and gaining unbiased insights into the symbolic and conceptual world of that culture (discussed above in section 2) is one about which anthropologists have written much. It is therefore appropriate to consider here what anthropological approaches can be usefully applied to the study of ancient religions and more specifically to this study of the Sumerian moon-god. Although this is not the place to review the history of anthropological theory, a few generalizations about the kinds of approaches which have yielded the most objective and reliable data on religion are in order.

The approaches which have proved to be heuristically fruitful[4] all share certain basic principles of scientific research: 1) the data which is sought is obtained in as unbiased and as objective a fashion as possible; 2) the data is presented in a form which can be checked by anyone wishing to use it; 3) the data is clearly and explicitly

separated from interpretations and evaluations; 4) categorical terms used in the search for data are unambiguously defined so that users understand the basis for selecting data; 5) the aim of the research is clearly stated so that users understand the researcher's purpose and intent in conducting the study; and 6) the methodology is logical and promises definite results. By following these principles of methodology one has a good chance of conducting an objective scientific study as free from bias as possible. These principles form the guidelines of the methodology used in this study.

Beyond general principles of research certain specific anthropological approaches which incorporate the above principles will be useful for this study. One promising development in methodology has been the formulation of the concepts "emic" and "etic."[5] The "emic" perspective of culture may be defined as the insider's point of view, the view of reality held by the participants of a culture which the researcher wishes to study. Conversely, the "etic" perspective is the outsider's view of the culture under study. It consists of the researcher's interpretations, analyses, and evaluations of the culture. These concepts grew out of the realization that use of the researcher's own culturally-conditioned concepts and terminology to describe the phenomena of another culture inevitably results in an inherently biased understanding of the phenomena under study. Only by preserving the original native categories of thought and the untranslatable terminology that expresses

that thought in the native language can one hope to arrive at an objective understanding of another culture. Thus, the native, insider's view of reality including native concepts and terminology constitutes the final criterion of objectivity.

In the present study I will attempt to employ the "emic" approach as much as possible, presenting the evidence on the Sumerian moon-god in the form in which it appears in original Sumerian texts and tampering with native concepts and terminology as little as possible. "Etic" interpretations and evaluations of the evidence will be clearly separated in commentary sections from the presentation of raw data. Through this approach users can judge the evidence for themselves, consider my analyses of it, and come to their own conclusions.

Besides this basic approach of separating "emic" and "etic" viewpoints certain major concepts which have been the subject of much study by anthropologists and which lie behind my approach to the evidence must be carefully defined. The study of a deity necessarily implies a concept of religion, deity, symbol, and cult. One starts with a working definition of what constitutes religion, the larger field of inquiry within which the evidence pertinent to the deity is selected. Inseparably connected with the definition of religion is the concept of deity since religion postulates and defines the nature of the deities and the beliefs and practices surrounding them. As a cultural

institution, religion is inconceivable without the notion of symbol, the chief vehicle of conceiving and expressing religious sentiments. Religion also implies cult, the whole gamut of activities performed within the context of religion. The definition of these key concepts is thus essential to any study of religion. As they are used in this study these concepts are defined as follows. My definitions rely heavily upon analyses of these concepts by anthropologists:

1) religion: a cultural institution which postulates the existence of superhuman beings or forces and defines man's relationship to and interaction with them.[6] The institution of religion creates a "culturally-conditioned symbolic world."[7]

2) deity: Directly connected with the above definition of religion is the definition of deity: a deity may be simply defined as a superhuman being postulated by the institution of religion. In the written evidence of Mesopotamia a deity is very easily identified on a superficial level since gods and goddesses all have names. These names are preceded by the cuneiform sign for deity (dingir) which acts as a determinative indicating divine status. The nature of the deity, however, cannot be fully ascertained simply by examining the many occurrences of the divine name in cuneiform texts. A variety of characteristics were attributed to each of the major deities of the Mesopotamian pantheon and these characteristics turn up in many guises in both literature and art. Most of the deities, for instance,

were identified with a particular natural phenomenon (Nanna/Suen = moon; Utu = sun; An = sky; Enlil = wind; etc.). They were also depicted in anthropomorphic terms, animal form, and sometimes in abstract symbols. One must therefore be careful to trace the total range of a deity's personas and be aware of his various manifestations. In a textual study like this one it is necessary to examine the various levels on which the text communicates. Texts which deal with a deity express the complex network of concepts and associations connected with the deity through phraseology which has a wide range of connotations from the superficial to the symbolic. An examination of this phraseology can reveal the many levels of meaning underlying the character of the deity.

3) symbol: The definition of symbol is one of the most discussed, disputed and complex areas of cultural anthropology and Semiology. There is no need to delve into the complexities of this issue here.[8] For the purposes of this study I define symbol as a "polysemous," indefinitely interpretable sign; my definition relies heavily on concepts of symbol proposed separately by V. Turner and U. Eco.[9] Although Sumerology has not yet reached the stage where it is possible to offer a definition of the symbol in Mesopotamian culture which would satisfy all scholars, one must use some working definition of symbol in a study of a deity; for religion is by nature a symbolic world and a deity is

an integral part of that symbolic world. My examination of the textual evidence pertaining to the moon-god will include an analysis of the symbolic mode and how this level of meaning affects Sumerian conceptions of the moon-god.

To elaborate briefly on this definition of symbol I should say that "polysemous" refers to the fact that a symbol has multiple connotations, usually an indefinite number of connotations so that no one interpretation of it is possible. As U. Eco states, "the genuine instances of the symbolic mode seem to be those where neither the sender nor the addressee really wants or is able to outline a definite interpretation."[10] I will show that there are certain concepts connected with the moon-god which touch upon the symbolic mode.

4) cult:[11] the sphere of activities within which man is believed to interact with the supernatural beings or forces postulated by religion. Cult is the medium which links the world of man with the supernatural world. It comprises all manner of activity and material expression which exist as a response to the supernatural world. This includes rituals - prescribed, regularly-performed, socially-sanctioned, religious actions designed to affect the supernatural world; festivals - special public celebrations comprising a variety of cultic activities, held at special times of the year, and often linked to periodic seasonal events (e.g. harvest, planting, celestial phenomena, etc.); prayers, offerings, cultic paraphernalia, places, and personnel. Evidence for

each of these aspects of the cult is found in Sumerian texts relating to the moon-god. Much of this dissertation will be taken up by an analysis of this evidence.

The above concepts are intentionally defined in a broad way so as to characterize and color the evidence as little as possible. Narrow definitions can create conceptual straight jackets which distort the evidence by establishing artificial fine distinctions. In order to avoid conceptual bias I will present the evidence on the Sumerian moon-god using only the most basic conceptual distinctions and working definitions which fit the evidence. I will also avoid using any overriding theory of culture or religion in my approach to the evidence. This is in accordance with the principle of adhering to the "emic" view of Sumerian religion and attempting to achieve a maximum level of objectivity in research. There have been many theories of religion in the history of anthropology (Tylor's animism, Malinowski's functionalism, Durkheim's reduction of religion to the need for society, Levi-Strauss's structuralism, to name only a few).[12] Though these theories were productive in their time and represented advances in the understanding of religion, they must all be judged as theoretical biases which prejudice the selection and presentation of the evidence. If one is most interested in understanding a religion in its own terms, the best way to proceed is to suspend all pre-suppositions about how religion should operate (except for the most basic working definitions) and

let the religion speak for itself. As I mentioned above, one of the major obstacles to objectivity in the study of religion is the formation of biases including conscious theoretical ones. By steering clear of all such prejudicial theory, the "emic" view of religion should emerge.

3.2 Approaches to the Study of Mesopotamian Religion:

Having considered various anthropological approaches to the study of religion as a whole, I will now review the approaches of Assyriologists to the study of Mesopotamian religion and the study of individual Mesopotamian deities. It is appropriate to begin with the views of A.L. Oppenheim since his critique seriously challenges the feasibility of learning anything about Mesopotamian religion. Despite the fact that Oppenheim spent several pages in Chapter 4 of Ancient Mesopotamia describing the many obstacles to understanding this ancient religion from our much-removed twentieth-century viewpoint, he himself then proceeded to write about certain key aspects of Mesopotamian religion.[13] The point that Oppenheim was trying to make, it seems to me, was that there are limited areas of the Mesopotamian religious world that can be usefully explored, those areas which the extant evidence happens to illuminate. The evidence does reveal brief glimpses into the complexities of this ancient religion, but these should not be used to make generalizations about the whole history of Mesopotamian religion. The evidence is simply insufficient to write a survey history of Mesopotamian religion. This critique is

valuable. It points out the necessity for realizing the limitations of the evidence and of keeping one's conceptions and analyses of Mesopotamian religion closely tied to the evidence. In the present study the limitations of the textual evidence will be carefully noted in the introductory sections of each chapter and the evaluations adjusted accordingly.

An approach quite different from Oppenheim's is that taken by Th. Jacobsen. Jacobsen's approach is influenced by the phenomenologists of religion, R. Otto and G. van der Leeuw, as Jacobsen himself acknowledges in several works which make reference to the works of these scholars.[14] Generally speaking, the phenomenolists treat religion in the abstract apart from the historical context of each particular religion. They are interested in establishing the essential phenomena that constitute the religious experience in every culture, time, and place. Perhaps, the most notable proponent of this approach today is M. Eliade.[15]

Jacobsen has adapted this approach to the study of Mesopotamian religion by attempting to define the essential thematic elements which run through the whole history of Mesopotamian religion, the core phenomena of the religious experience in Mesopotamia which determine the experience for the believer in every time and place. Following R. Otto he defines religion as "confrontation with a 'Wholly Other'" and "the experience of a mysterium tremendum et fascinosum." What constitutes religion is "the positive human response to this experience in thought (myth and theology) and action

(cult and worship)." The means of communicating the "Numinous" to the believer is through key "religious metaphors" through which a culture reveals "what it considers essential in the numinous experience and wants to recapture and transmit, the primary meaning on which it builds, which underlies and determines the total character of its response, the total character of its religion."[16] Jacobsen's analysis focuses on the major religious metaphors in each of the three millennia of Mesopotamian history. The deities are defined as embodiments of the "ruler metaphor," the dominant metaphor of the third millennium according to Jacobsen.[17] Beyond this each of them is viewed as the personification of some specific numinous power, the moon-god personifying "princeliness."[18]

Whereas Jacobsen has attempted to characterize the whole of Mesopotamian religion and to analyze the essence of the Mesopotamian religious experience into abstract phenomena, other scholars have advocated a much more strictly empirical approach confined to narrow time frames and limited proveniences. W.G. Lambert, for example, has stressed the necessity for observing distinctions of time and place in the presentation and evaluation of evidence bearing on a deity. According to Lambert, "precise information on the evidence for dating and placing of sources, or the lack of it" is needed before a proper evaluation of how the evidence bears on a deity can begin.[19] "Each individual source has to be used with full knowledge

of what is certain or uncertain about its time and place of origin, and of what may have been taken over in its composition from earlier works. Then each individual attribute of the god being studied should be presented in the light of this knowledge, and with particular attention to the precisely dated and placed evidence."[20] He goes on to suggest that whole chapters should be devoted solely to presentation of the evidence.

This emphasis on assembling all the available evidence and carefully evaluating it according to chronology, provenience, genre, and lexicology within well-defined limits of time and space is also evident in the works of other scholars on various aspects of Mesopotamian religion. I refer to A. Falkenstein's study of the pantheon and cult of Lagash during the reign of Gudea;[21] F.R. Kraus's treatment of the pantheon of Isin during the first Isin dynasty;[22] J. Renger's study of the Old-Babylonian priesthood among others.[23]

Monographs on individual deities have been written by E. von Weiher on Nergal[24] and H. Galter on Ea,[25] both of which concentrate on textual evidence. Von Weiher arranges the evidence chronologically covering the Sumerian period to the late Babylonian period. Within each period he considers literary and non-literary texts and the essential characteristics of the god. Galter analyzes the textual evidence on Ea in thematic sections (the essence of the god; the relationship of the god to other deities; the relationship of the god to man). Rather than attempting a

complete evaluation of the evidence he elects the more practical course of presenting an "inventory" (Bestandsaufnahme) of the available evidence, a kind of organized data base which can be used for further study.

Most influential for the present study is Å. Sjöberg's Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen in der sumerischen Überlieferung. By concentrating on literary works dedicated to the moon-god and elucidating the lexicological difficulties of these texts, Sjöberg laid down the essential groundwork upon which all future studies of the moon-god would be based. As Sjöberg points out in the introduction to Mondgott,[26] literary texts contain the most significant statements about the concepts connected with the moon-god. Sjöberg's work was the starting point of the present study and will be frequently referred to throughout this dissertation.

3.3 Methodology and Organization of this Study:

Having briefly surveyed the approaches to the study of religion as a whole and of Mesopotamian religion specifically which are relevant to this study, I will now outline the approach which will be used here. The principle of distinguishing between the "emic" and "etic" view of Sumerian religion and of presenting the evidence in as objective a fashion as possible will be carefully observed (see Section 3.1 above). Textual evidence will be clearly separated from analyses, evaluations, and comments on it. Key Sumerian concepts will be presented in the original Sumerian and textual excerpts quoted in their original

contexts with complete references so that they may be independently evaluated by users. In my approach to evaluating the evidence bearing on the Sumerian moon-god I follow the Assyriologists who have emphasized the limitations of the evidence and the many factors which condition it such as time period, provenience, and text type (see section 3.2 above). Thus, the evidence is arranged in chronological periods ranging from the Presargonic period to the end of the Old-Babylonian period and provenience is noted whenever it is known. In addition, every attempt has been made to take into account the lexicological problems of Sumerian texts. All of these considerations are discussed in the introduction, commentary sections, and conclusion of each chapter. These procedural steps will insure that the evidence is evaluated with full regard to the problems inherent in a study of this kind (see section 2 above).

The dissertation is divided into ten chapters (including this one). The aim of each chapter and the material covered in them can be synopsized as follows.

The examination of the textual evidence begins in Chapter 2 with an analysis of the names of the moon-god. The Sumerian moon-god was known by three unrelated names throughout most of the historical period. Chapter 2 will explore how the individual names reflect upon the nature of the god and the historical development of his character. It will become clear that the Sumerian moon-god of the historical period was actually a composite of at least two

originally separate moon-gods who were joined in one identity through syncretism. Since the Sumerian moon-god was most often called Nanna or Suen, I will refer to him throughout this study as Nanna/Suen.[27]

Chapter 3 examines the theophoric personal names containing one of the moon-god's names, Nanna or Suen. By listing the names according to time period and noting proveniences, one can trace the geographic spread of the moon-god's cultic influence. One can also note which of his names is more prevalent at particular times and places and thus form some idea of when and where the separate moon-gods, Nanna and Suen, were worshipped and how they eventually came together.

This motif is pursued in Chapter 4 which surveys the dedicatory inscriptions and year-date formulae which mention Nanna/Suen. The range of the moon-god's cult is indicated by dedicatory inscriptions and year-date formulae in which cultic activities involving the moon-god are recorded. This textual information is valuable because it provides hard evidence which can be dated and localized. One can also learn a good deal about features of the moon-god's cult and aspects of his character from these source materials.

Chapter 5 is devoted to the cult of the moon-god at Ur, the center of his cult in southern Mesopotamia. Administrative texts provide most of the evidence for this chapter. By intensively analyzing the evidenced on the cult from this important site I hope to gain insights into key features of the moon-god's cult including offerings,

festivals, rituals, cultic paraphernalia, structures, and personnel.

Chapter 6 concentrates on literary texts. These texts are the main source of evidence on Sumerian concepts of the moon-god and reveal much about the various features of his character.

Chapter 7 is in a sense an excursus on aspects of the literary evidence presented in Chapter 6. It analyzes the literary imagery connected with the moon-god and the epithets applied to him in literary texts. The analysis will reveal key concepts that go into the overall conceptualization of the moon-god and the deeper significance of that conceptualization to Mesopotamian society.

Chapter 8 explores the genealogical and cultic ties of Nanna/Suen with the other members of the Sumerian pantheon and their respective cult sites. It has been included to widen the focus of this study and show the larger cultural and cultic context of the moon-god within Mesopotamian religion. It is intended to address the problem of concentrating exclusively on one god in isolation from the culture of which he was an integral part (see section 2.4 above).

In Chapter 9 nine hitherto-untreated hymns to the moon-god are transliterated, translated, and commented upon. It is intended as an appendix to this dissertation and as a philological contribution to Sumerology.

Chapter 10 contains the final summation of the evidence and a statement of conclusions. A synopsis of what the evidence has revealed about the character and the cult of the moon-god, the two major areas of inquiry in this study, concludes the dissertation.

The organization of the evidence into the chapters just synopsized is based upon an underlying analysis of the character and cult of the moon-god which consists of three aspects. The first aspect of the analysis is the recognition that the moon-god as a deity was a complex phenomenon which evolved over a long historical period; his character was composed of at least two originally separate moon-gods who were gradually conflated through syncretism; and his cultic influence covered a wide geographic area. Chapters 2, 3 and 4 present evidence which demonstrates the composite nature of the moon-god's character and the widespread distribution of his cult. Once this first aspect of the analysis is established, the second aspect is then to concentrate on the way the moon-god was conceptualized and worshipped in later religious tradition after the process of syncretism and historical development had established his character and the workings of his cult. Chapters 5, 6, and 7 analyze the cult and character of the moon-god intensively to determine the key elements which went into the practice of his cult and the conceptualization of the moon-god. Finally, the third aspect of the analysis is to consider the larger religious context and the moon-god's role in it. Chapter 8 concentrates on the genealogical connections of the moon-god

to the Sumerian pantheon and the cultic interconnections of the moon-god's cult with the cults of other deities. Through this analysis due consideration is given to the historical development of the moon-god's character and cult, the many elements that went into their formation, and their interconnection with the larger system of Sumerian religion.

NOTES

1. This statement is confirmed by anthropologists who are familiar with the wide range of anthropological research and the study of religion; see, for example, J. Haekel in Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde, H. Trimborn, editor, 1971, Chapter III, "Religion," p. 73 and M. Spiro, "Religion: Problems of Definition and Explanation," p. 94 in Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion, M. Banton, editor, 1966.

2. See J. G. Platvoet, Comparing Religions: A Limitative Approach, 1982 (Religion and Reason 24, General Editor: J. Waardenburg), pp. 8-12 on "reductionist theories" with references; cf. W. Dupré, Religion in Primitive Cultures, A Study of Ethnophilosophy, 1975 (Religon and Reason 9), p. 306.

3. See J. G. Platvoet, Comparing Religions: A Limitative Approach, 1982, pp. 4-6 (section 1.2 "Objectivity") and pp. 8-12 (section 1.4 "Subjective Involvement in the Study of Religion").

4. I borrow this phrase from J.G. Platvoet, Comparing Religions: A Limitative Approach, 1982, p. 17. My discussion is section 3.1 relies heavily on Chapter 1 of his book, "Objective Intention and Subjective Involvement."

5. See J. Haekel in Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde, H. Trimborn, editor, 1971, p. 79, 8 for references to scholars who make use of these concepts; see also J.G. Platvoet, Comparing

Religions: A Limitative Approach, 1982, p. 5.

6. This definition of religion is based on M. Spiro's definition in Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion, M. Banton, editor, 1966, p. 96; cf. C. Geertz's definition in the same work, p. 4.

7. This is J.G. Platvoet's expression in Comparing Religions: A Limitative Approach, 1982, p. 4.

8. See R. Firth's study of the symbol: Symbols: public and private, 1973.

9. V. Turner in The Literature of Fact, A. Fletcher, editor, 1976, p. 77; U. Eco, Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language, 1984, p. 142.

10. U. Eco, Semiotics and the Philosophy of Language, 1984, p. 137.

11. See J. Haekel's definition of cult in Lehrbuch der Völkerkunde, H. Trimborn, editor, 1971, pp. 120-132.

12. For references see J.G. Platvoet, Comparing Religions: A Limitative Approach, 1982, pp. 9-10.

13. See A.L. Oppenheim, Ancient Mesopotamia, Portrait of a Dead Civilization, revised edition completed by E. Reiner, 1977, pp. 183-227.

14. Th. Jacobsen, Toward the Image of Tammuz and Other Essays on Mesopotamian History and Culture, edited by William L. Moran, 1970, "Formative Tendencies in Sumerian Religion," pp. 1-15; "Ancient Mesopotamian Religion: The Central Concerns," pp. 39-46; see also Th. Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness, 1976, p. 3.

15. Cf. J.G. Platvoet's assessment of the phenomenalist approach in Comparing Religions: A Limitative Approach, 1982, p. 13.

16. All quotes from Th. Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness, pp. 3-4.

17. See Th. Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness, pp. 78-81.

18. Th. Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness, pp. 121-127.

19. See W.G. Lambert, BiOr 30, p. 355.

20. W.G. Lambert, BiOr 30, p. 355.

21. AnOr 30/1.

22. JCS 3.

23. ZA 58, pp. 110-188; ZA 59, pp. 104-230.

24. AOAT 11.

25. H. Galter, Der Gott Ea/Enki in der akkadischen Überlieferung (Dissertation der Karl-Franzens-Universität Graz, 1981).

26. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 9.

27. I have not referred to the moon-god as Nanna-Suen as Å. Sjöberg does because a dash between the two names implies that Nanna/Suen was a compound name. In the vast majority of attestations the moon-god is called either Nanna or Suen. Though the two names are often used in one text, they are rarely found adjoining one another in the form of a compound.

CHAPTER 2

THE PRINCIPAL NAMES OF THE MOON-GOD: NANNA, SUEN, AND AŠIMBABBAR

This chapter will concentrate on the three principal names of the moon-god: Nanna, Suen, and Asimbabbar. Each name will be considered from a philological point of view; an analysis of the way the names were written in cuneiform and the possibilities of arriving at a meaning for each will be offered. Like most of the deities of the Mesopotamian pantheon, the moon-god acquired different names through a long process of syncretism. Two factors had a major influence on this process. First, the presence of two distinct language groups in Mesopotamia led to the phenomenon of there being a Sumerian name and an Akkadian name for most of the deities of the pantheon. Thus, the Sumerian Nanna, the moon-god of Ur in southern Mesopotamia, became identified with Suen, a moon-god whose name is most often found in Akkadian texts and whose wide-spread cultic influence reached from Mesopotamia to Western Syria. Second, major deities with wide-ranging influence tended to absorb the identities and characteristics of minor local deities. The names of minor gods and goddesses were adopted as by-names of the major deities and the personas of major deities thus became more complex as they incorporated the characteristics of

minor deities. Some such process may explain the use of the name Aš̌imbabbar for the moon-god; however, it is not certain that this name ever designated a separate moon-god with his own unique identity and cult. For more on the distribution and range of the moon-god's influence under his various names see the conclusions to Chapter 4 and the introduction to Chapter 3.

Since little is known about the meaning of the moon-god's names, not much can be said about the original conception of the moon-god as expressed in the names. Insights into the nature of the god's personas come from a study of the way he is portrayed in inscriptions, literary texts, and the epithets applied to him; see my chapters 4, 6, and 7 on these sources of evidence and the final conclusions to this dissertation for more on the nature of the moon-god.

dnanna

1) The writing of the god-name dnanna:

The oldest attested writing of the god-name Nanna is ŠEŠ.NA which occurs in the personal name en-nanna found on Jemdet-Nasr-period Uruk tablets.[1] This writing is also attested at Ur in the archaic texts (UET 2, 253, i 2, 5 for example; see UET 2, p. 35 personal names 545-557 for other examples). It may also be attested in the Fara school texts; however, because there is a fine distinction between the na and ki signs in the earlier periods, it is unclear whether dnanna is written

(d)ŠEŠ.NA or (d)ŠEŠ.KI in the Fara texts; cf A. Deimel, ŠF no. 1 I 5; no. 7, rev. ii 8, 9; no. 56 vii 3; no. 57 xiii 15; no. 60 viii 7 and 12; no. 18 rev. i 14; cf. A. Deimel, ŠL II/2, 331, 44. The difficulty in distinguishing between the na and ki signs probably led to an inadvertent change in the writing of the name from (d)ŠEŠ.NA to (d)ŠEŠ.KI in the Presargonic period. dŠEŠ.KI became the standard writing of Nanna thereafter.

The god-name Nanna is always written with a ŠEŠ sign (LAK 32). This is to be distinguished from the similar-looking URI3 sign (LAK 31).[2] However, archaic geographical lists from Uruk soon to be published by Dr. M. Green[3] cast some doubt on the earliest pronunciation of LAK 32 (traditionally read ŠEŠ) and tend to support a suggestion by R. Biggs in OIP 99, p. 53 that LAK 32 was originally pronounced *uri. In these geographical lists the writing e2-ŠEŠ (LAK 32) for a place name appears to be interchangeable with another writing, e2-ir. Similarly, the place name e2-DUki seems to be interchangeable with the place name written e2-ŠEŠ(LAK 32).IBki. Thus, it appears that e2-ŠEŠ (LAK 32) was read e2-uri$_{x}$ and that e2-DUki was read e2-ir$_{10}$ki. Both of these readings indicate that ŠEŠ (LAK 32) was pronounced *iri or *uri in this early period. If this was the case, then the NA sign in the complex LAK 32 + NA might have been used as a phonetic complement to indicate that LAK 32 should be pronounced as nanna when the scribe wished

to express the god-name. Note that in the earliest writings of the god-name no dingir sign was written before LAK 32 to distinguish it as a divine name. Therefore, a phonetic complement was probably necessary to indicate that the sign was to be pronounced nanna and not *uri. Since the name of Nanna's city was also pronounced *uri(m) and it was consistently written LAK 32 + ES3 or UNU, the writing of the god-name may have been derived from the writing of the city name and thus the god was directly identified with the city. For another interpretation of the god name (d)nanna and the toponymn uri2ki see G.J. P. McEwan, "Some Problems in Sumerian Toponymy," Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients (Arbeitsheft 11/2: 1981), pp. 90-91. However, it appears that McEwan was not aware of the archaic Uruk geographical lists at the time of his writing.[4]

The pronunciation of the god-name is assured through glosses in the later deity-lists CT 25, 28 K. 2115 ii 2 and CT 29, 46, 26, both of which gloss dšeš.ki with na-an-na. That this pronunciation was used at a much earlier period is indicated by syllabic writings of commonly-attested theophoric personal names which contain the god-name dnanna. The personal name dnanna-hi-li (see Limet L'anthroponymie, p. 499) is written dšeš.kina-hi-li (BIN 5, 66, 7-8); and the city-name šulgi-dna-naki is written šul-gi-dSES.KIki (UET 3, 75) and [šul]-gi-na-an-naki (SLT 213 vii 20).

2) The Meaning of the god-name ^{d}nanna:

The meaning of the name ^{d}nanna is unknown. Attempts to interpret the name as a genitival construct are contradicted by the fact that no genitive is ever expressed in any of the case forms of the name. Thus, the ergative of the name is always written ^{d}nanna-e and never *^{d}nanna-ke$_4$ as it would have to be according to Sumerian grammar if the name were indeed a genitival construct meaning "x of heaven" or the like.[5]

By the post-Old-Babylonian period, if not before, it is evident that the original meaning of the name was lost; for in later texts scribes frequently make use of folk etymology to associate the name ^{d}nanna with Akk. nannaru "luminary, light" (see CAD vol. 11/1, pp. 260-261; AHw p. 731). This led to the assumption on the part of some Assyriologists at the beginning of this century that ^{d}nanna ended with an -r, an assumption that was proven wrong by Ungnad, ZA 22, p. 11, n. 1; S.N. Kramer, AJA 47, p. 34; A. Falkenstein, OLZ 46, p. 354. Early attempts by scribes to explain the name by using a folk etymology suggest that the original meaning of the name has been lost for so long as to make any attempts at interpretation on the part of modern scholars, short of new evidence, very risky.

^{d}suen

1) The writing of the god-name (^{d})suen:

The most frequently attested writing of this god-name is ^{d}EN-ZU. This writing is attested as early as the

Fara period in the personal name amar-^{d}EN-ZU. (see Chapter 3 on personal names sub Presargonic period). The following syllabic variants of the name also occur:

Presargonic period:

^{d}su2-en SF 6, i, 5

^{d}su-en MEE 1, no. 879

^{d}EN-ZI = su2-i-nu MEE 4, p. 289, 799a

^{d}EN-ZI = su2-[i]-[nu] MEE 4, p. 289, 799a

^{d}su2-en UET 1, no. 11, 2

SU2:EN lugal YOS 9, 1, 1

cf. Chapter 3 for other possible attestations

Sargonic period:

su2-e-ni-in Belleten 14 (1950), p. 248

Old Assyrian period:

su2-en , su2-in, su2 F. Delitsch, Beiträge zur Entzifferung der kappadokischen Keilschrifttafeln, p. 58; cf. B. Landsberger, OLZ 1925, p. 231; J. Lewy, Studien zu altassyrischen Texten aus Kappadokien, pp. 25ff.; J. Lewy, ZA 38, p. 244 and n. 1.

Old Babylonian period:

-su2-e-na in nu-mu-uš-ta-mu dumu-su2-e-na-mu Cros Tello 207 Ao 4331 + iii 1

su2-en Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 89, 3, 4, 6, 10, 14

x-su-na(?) Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 102, 2; E. Bergman, ZA 57, p. 32, 1-2.

[d]su2-e Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 91 to 3

ki-^{d}EN-ZU-na = gizinakku(m) AHw pp. 294-295; CAD vol. 5, p. 115

Cf. S. Lieberman, The Sumerian Loanword in Old-Babylonian Akkadian I, p. 540, 731 for other attestations from later periods.

Because of these many syllabic writings already

attested in some of the oldest texts, most scholars have interpreted ^{d}EN-ZU as a frozen writing used as a logogram for the god-name Suen. Th. Jacobsen in ZA 52, p. 93, n. 3 suggests that ^{d}EN-ZU "served as an elliptic writing for fuller Enzun (pronounced Ensun)." While not denying that ^{d}EN-ZU was used as a logogram in Akkadian contexts for ^{d}suen, he feels that in Sumerian texts ^{d}EN-ZU was basically read as written. As evidence he cites CT 29, 46, 26-28 where a pronunciation gloss clearly indicates that ^{d}EN-ZU was to be pronounced as en-zu in contrast to ^{d}EŠ which was to be pronounced si-in:

na-an-na = ^{d}ŠEŠ-KI
en-zu = ^{d}EN-[ZU]
si-in = ^{d}E[Š]

He also notes Diri III 48 where GIŠ-^{d}EN-ZU is equated with MIN (= giš)-e-zi-na-ku; this seems to indicate that ^{d}EN-ZU was read ezin (i.e. en + sîn). The EN in ^{d}En-ZU Jacobsen traces back to a "time when the initial en was still felt as a title rather than as an integral part of the name," thus interpreting the reading Enzun or Ensun as "Lord Suen." In support of Jacobsen's interpretation one should note that Sumerian en "lord" is never, as far as I know, attested immediately before the god-name ^{d}suen; this implies that the scribes were conscious of the force of the term en before the name. Another indication that the name was sometimes pronounced as written is UET 6/1, 67, 61 where the parallelism of each half of the line strongly suggests

that the scribe intended ^{d}EN-ZU to be read as en-zu: ^{d}EN-[ZU e$_{2}$n-zu-mah an-ki aga-zu aga-mah-am$_{3}$ "O Suen (or Enzu), lofty, knowing lord, (in) heaven (and) earth your crown is a lofty crown." (^{d}EN-ZU/en-zu-mah directly parallels aga-zu/aga-mah.) Finally, note also VAS 2, 1, 4, a hymn to the moon-god in syllabic Sumerian, where e su$_{2}$-en might be interpreted as "lord Suen," thus further supporting the idea that in Sumerian contexts ^{d}EN-ZU was read Enzu(n) or Ensu(n).[6] Regardless of how ^{d}EN-ZU was read in various contexts, there is no question that this combination of signs (even if read enzun/ensun) refers to the moon-god known throughout the ancient Near East as Suen or Sîn.[7] Evidence that the god-name was pronounced Suen/Sîn exists not only in the syllabic writings cited above, but also in Ugaritic[8] where the name is found in personal names written both as SYN and as SN; SYN is also the form of the name in South Arabic.[9] In both cases the middle vowel seems to be the semi-vowel -y-; hence, the name may have been pronounced *suyen or the like. Thus, the cuneiform ^{d}EN-ZU should be viewed as a learned scribal convention designed to associate Suen with the great Sumerian gods of the pantheon whose names begin with en (Enlil, Enki, etc.). The same may be said of ^{d}EN-ZI attested at Ebla; en-zi is also used as an epithet of the moon-god in literary texts; see Chapter 7 sub en.

As to the question of the initial sibilant it is generally assumed that the name was pronounced with the

unvoiced sibilant, s even though it is written ^{d}EN-ZU and the zu sign is often used even in syllabic writings. On the other hand, the attestations of the name in Ugaritic and south Arabic indicate that the initial sibilant was s; furthermore, occasional syllabic writings in cuneiform Akkadian use the su- or si- sign (e.g. the Ebla writing ^{d}su-en; see above; the later writing si-en-nu in KAV 51, 3). However, note that the z sibilant is used in the term gizinakku(m) (see above); confusing matters more is the god-name written ^{d}ši-i-in (to be read ^{d}siz-i-in) in KUB 30, 7, 14ff. It is possible that the sibilant sound used in the name Suen was difficult to approximate in cuneiform script; hence, the various writings. On the very complex problem of the sibilants in Akkadian see I.J. Gelb, MAD II/2, pp. 30ff.

From the various syllabic writings of Suen it is clear that the name was pronounced in its uncontracted form from the Presargonic period to the Old-Babylonian period. During the Old-Babylonian period the contracted form ^{d}sîn was also used. This writing is first attested in personal names of the Old-Babylonian period (see Chapter 3) and becomes increasingly common in the post-Old-Babylonian periods. According to CT 29, 46, 28 si-in is the reading of ^{d}EŠ.

2) The meaning of the god-name ^{d}suen:

Despite the fact that the god-name is attested in

Ugaritic and South Arabian sources as well as in cuneiform Akkadian texts, no clear Semitic etymology is apparent.[10] A survey of the theophoric personal names in Akkadian and Sumerian indicates that the name Suen is overwhelmingly favored in Akkadian personal names, and by the same token Nanna is preferred in Sumerian personal names. This seems to suggest that Suen was closely associated with the Akkadian-speaking Semitic peoples from the time of our earliest written sources and points to a place of origin outside of Mesopotamia. Since, as mentioned above, the writing ^{d}EN-ZU was probably a scribal artifice invented to assimilate the god Suen into the indigenous Mesopotamian pantheon, attempts to deduce a Sumerian etymology for the god's name are likely to be fruitless. To interpret his name as "knowing lord," "Lord Wisdom" or the like seems very far-fetched especially since the moon-god was not especially associated with knowledge or wisdom; Enki/Ea traditionally represented these qualities. Based on the present state of comparative Semitics and our knowledge of the moon-god Suen inside and outside Mesopotamia, no interpretation of the god's name can be suggested. The meaning of the name was already a mystery by the reign of Gudea of Lagash who in Gudea Statue B viii 48 described the god's name as follows:

^{d}suen mu-ni lu$_2$ nu-du$_8$-de$_3$

"Suen, whose name no one can interpret"

^{d}AŠ-im2/im4-babbar(2)

It is uncertain whether Ašimbabbar is to be interpreted as a god-name designating a moon-god originally distinct from Nanna and Suen or whether the term is simply a literary epithet applied solely to the moon-god. There is very little concrete evidence to support the former interpretation; only a few unclear references allow even the possibility of connecting Ašimbabbar as a distinct deity with his own cult site.[11] The name occurs already in deity-lists from Abū-Ṣalābīkh (see my Chapter 4 sub Presargonic period), but since the organization of these early lists is poorly understood, it is uncertain whether the name in this context represents a separate deity or a by-name of the moon-god. The god also appears to have had a za3-mi3 hymn dedicated to him according to the Abū-Ṣalābīkh za3-mi3 list (OIP 99, p. 47, 55-56). These few references may indicate that Ašimbabbar was considered to be a separate god at Abū-Ṣalābīkh. Nonetheless, the evidence remains inconclusive.

1) The reading of the god-name:

The reading of the name cannot yet be established with complete certainty. Contrary to D.J. Wiseman's collation (cited in Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 149[2]) the name is not written with an aš2 in CT 36, 26, 15, but with an aš as in all other attestations of the name (text has been collated again by W.G. Lambert).[12] The

reading im2/im4 is assured through the gloss im in CT 24, 18 i 17. The reading babbar is virtually assured because of the variant babbar2 which is occasionally attested. Since the first element of the name is consistently written with an AŠ sign in all attestations, the possibility exists that it is to be read dili. Strictly speaking, the name should be transliterated with the AŠ written in capital letters. However, I have followed Assyriological convention throughout this work and simply rendered the name in Roman letters as Ašimbabbr to avoid confusion. Nevertheless, it should be remembered that the aš- reading is not yet certain.

The oldest writing of the name is found in the Abū-Ṣalābīkh texts cited above. Here it is written dAŠ-im4(DU)-babbar. This being the case, it seems likely that a clue to the meaning of the name may be in the compound AŠ-DU.

2) The meaning of the god-name:

In lexical texts the compound AŠ-DU has the Akkadian equivalent gitmālu "noble, perfect" (see CAD vol. 5, p. 110, lexical section; AHw p. 294). Since the reading of the Sumerian is uncertain, the question as to whether AŠ-im4 in dAŠ-im4-babbar can be equated with Akk. gitmālu must remain unanswered. The reading of AŠ-DU as diš2-ša4 suggested in CAD vol. 5, p. 110, lexical section based on Izi I 179 (cf. now MSL 13, p.

158) seems highly unlikely.

AŠ-DU also occurs in Sumerian literary texts where it occasionally has a verbal sense. Note, for example, Šulgi F, 51: (dutu) an-ki-e AŠ im-ši-ni-DU; in this connection cf. the compound dur3-AŠ-DU, equivalent to Akk. akkannu "wild donkey" and CAD vol. 1/1 (A), p. 274 where a tentative interpretation of AŠ-DU as "who walks alone" is given. A similar compound, gu4-AŠ-DU-de3, is attested in OrSuec 19-20, p. 147, No. 3, rev. 15' as an epithet of the moon-god, Suen; AŠ-DU in this epithet may have the same verbal sense as in dur3-AŠ-DU (and also in Šulgi F, 51).[13] As an epithet of the moon-god the expression gu4-AŠ-DU-de3 interpreted as "bull who walks alone" would be very appropriate in light of the fact that the bull and calf are common epithets of the new moon and the solitary aspect of the moon is often underscored in literary contexts (see Chapter 7 sub ušum, ušumgal). Whether this sense of AŠ-DU lies behind the name dAŠ-im4-babbar cannot be proved since the reading of AŠ-DU is unknown. However, this interpretation of the name should be considered as one possibility.

One should also note the equivalency ^{d}aš̌-im$_2$-babbar = namra ṣīt attested in bilingual texts.[14] The Akkadian can be translated as "rising brilliantly." Though it has often been assumed from this equivalency that ^{d}aš̌-im$_2$-babbar specifically designates the new moon, it should be emphasized that Akk. namra(m) ṣīt does not necessarily imply the first appearance of the moon at the start of each month. It is more accurate to say that the term refers to the daily rising of the moon in any of its phases and describes the brilliance of the moon just after it rises above the horizon. Since the Akkadian terms namru and ṣītu are both equivalent to Sumerian babbar in lexical lists and there is as yet no definite Akkadian equivalency for AŠ̌-im$_4$/im$_2$, the Akkadian rendering of the name Aš̌imbabbar must be seen as a weak rendering of a Sumerian name which was not well understood by the scribes.[15]

Since possible interpretations for the name Aš̌imbabbar can only be suggested and no one meaning can be accepted as certain, it is impossible to know if the term should be interpreted as an epithet rather than as a name. One indication that it was an epithet is the fact that it occurs most often in literary texts. Asimbabbar is conspicuously absent in Ur-III administrative texts and does not occur in inscriptions until the Old-Babylonian period; i.e. at a period when many literary epithets are incorporated into dedicatory inscriptions. Furthermore, the name is not once attested

in personal names from any period. On the other hand, since Aš̌imbabbar appears in Presargonic deity-lists at Abū-Ṣalābīkh, one could assume that Aš̌imbabbar was a bonafide name of a moon-god. The issue cannot be decided based on present evidence.

NOTES

1. See my Chapter 4, first entry sub Presargonic period for references.

2. See T. Bauer, AWL, p. 175.

3. I would like to thank Dr. Green for this information.

4. McEwan postulates a reading *nen$_x$ for $\overset{v}{\underset{v}{\text{SES}}}$ in the compound $\overset{v}{\underset{v}{\text{SES}}}$-NA.

5. Cf. G.J.P. McEwan, Tübinger Atlas des vorderen Orients (Arbeitsheft 11/2: 1981), pp. 90-91 who attempts to explain the name as NI(N).AN.NA "lord of heaven."

6. This interpretation was kindly suggested to me by Professor Jacobsen in private communication; cf. Å. Sjöberg's interprettion in Mondgott, p. 92, 4.

7. Note well that Th. Jacobsen in ZA 52, p. 93, n. 3 does not suggest the existence of a separate Sumerian moon-god known as Enzun/Ensun distinct from the god known as Suen. His discussion concerns the correct reading of ^{d}EN-ZU in Sumerian contexts. Even if ^{d}EN-ZU is read Enzun/Ensun in these contexts, such a reading does not imply an originally separate entity.

8. See P.E. Dhorme, Les religions de Babylonie et d'Assyrie. Paris, 1949, p. 83.

9. See G. Ryckmans, Les noms propres sud-semitiques. Louvain, 1934, p. 13, 25.

10. See J.J.M. Robertson, The Earliest Semitic Pantheon. Baltimore, 1972, p. 50.

11. See D.O. Edzard, ZZB, p. 123, n. 644 who refers to F.R. Kraus in AfO 16, p. 320 and his suggestion that u2-ru-um^{ki} was the cultic residence of Aš̌imbabbar. Cf. TCS 3, pp. 44-45, hymn to the temple of Nanna in Urum; the moon-god is called Aš̌imbabbar in this hymn. The possibility that EN-DIM2-GIG^{ki} was connected with Aš̌imbabbar is suggested by Šulgi X, 90-92: lugal-zu ^{d}aš̌-im2-babbar2-ra silim-ma gin-na EN-DIM2-GIG^{ki} uru me-lam2-ma du3-a ma2 nam-ga-am3-mi-in-us2 "To your king, Aš̌imbabbar, go now in peace! At EN-DIM2-GIG, the city built in splendour, he moored the boat."; cf. J. Klein, Three Šulgi Hymns, p. 156; see further my Chapter 6, section III A: Šulgi X. Finally, note P. Steinkeller, Acta Sum 3 (1981), p. 87 who suggests that EN.DIM2-GIG^{ki} was located in present-day Diqdiqah.

12. Through private communication.

13. Cf. Å. Sjöberg, OrSuec 19-20, p. 166 to 15' who interprets gu4-AŠ̌-DU as the equivalent of Akk. alpu gitmālu. But he also notes the verbal character of the Sumerian phrase.

14. Angim 107; CT 16, pl. 15, v, 19ff.; cf. BA 10/1, 103, No. 23, 5ff.; cf. W. von Soden, JNES 19, p. 166.

15. See also A. Poebel's interpretation of AŠ̌-im2 in AS 14, pp. 83ff.; especially p. 86 where he suggests with a query that AŠ̌ in AŠ̌-im2-babbar is to be read dili.

CHAPTER 3

THE THEOPHORIC PERSONAL NAMES REFERRING TO THE MOON-GOD: PRESARGONIC THROUGH OLD-BABYLONIAN PERIODS

This chapter lists the theophoric personal names containing the god-name Nanna or Suen. The personal names are grouped into four main chronological periods: Presargonic, Sargonic, Ur-III, and Old-Babylonian. The provenience of the documents in which these personal names are attested is noted whenever this information is known. By noting the time period when and the provenience where these various personal names occur one can form a rough idea of the prevalence of the moon-god's influence at various times and places and the overall chronological and geographical range of that influence. This methodology is also useful for determining when and where the two different names of the moon-god, Nanna and Suen, were used.

Several points can be made about the occurrence of the names Nanna and Suen in each time period:

Presargonic - The name Nanna is by far the more prevalent of the two names of the moon-god in this period. The oldest reference to the moon-god is in the personal name en-nanna attested on a document from Uruk datable to the Jemdet Nasr period. At Ur, the main cult

center of the moon-god, only the name Nanna is attested in the personal names found on documents which come from a period after the Jemdet Nasr, but before the Fara phase. The name Suen first occurs in the Fara period at the sites of Šuruppak (i.e. Fara) and Girsu. The fact that Nanna appears to be the older of the two names for the moon-god - if this is not simply due to a paucity of evidence - may indicate that Suen, the name of the moon-god usually associated with Semitic peoples, had little or no influence on the southernmost cities of Uruk and Ur in the earliest periods. His name is first attested in the later Fara period at cities north of Uruk and Ur. This may suggest a gradual incursion of the Semitic peoples who worshipped Suen southwards into Mesopotamia at about this period. By the Fara period the cult of the moon-god was already widespread as evidenced by inscriptions; all three of his names, Nanna, Suen, and Ašimbabbar, are attested in this period (see Chapter 4). The personal names which come from a somewhat earlier period shed some light on the earliest history of the cult of the moon-god and may indicate that the name Nanna existed as a name for the moon-god in southernmost Mesopotamia, particularly at Ur, at a time before the introduction of the name Suen or Ašimbabbar.

Sargonic - In direct contrast to the Presargonic period, the name Suen is overwhelmingly the preferred name for the moon-god in the Sargonic period. This, no doubt, has much to do with the fact that the vast majority of our

sources for the Sargonic period are in Akkadian. The name Suen is almost always found in Akkadian personal names; the opposite is also generally true, the name Nanna occurring most often in Sumerian names (there are, of course, exceptions to this general rule). The proveniences from which the documentation of the Sargonic period come may also be a determining factor in the prevalence of the name Suen. The northern cities of Kish and Khafāǧi (Tutub) would more likely have been under the influence of Suen by this period since, as noted above, the name Suen occurs already in the Presargonic period both in inscriptions and personal names coming from cities well north of Ur and Uruk (see above and Chapter 4 on dedicatory inscriptions). Since there is little documentation from Ur in the Sargonic period, where one would expect to find the name Nanna, it is difficult to say how much the use of the name Nanna was affected in the south by the rise of the Akkad dynasty. However, since the name Suen becomes much more common from the Sargonic period onwards, it seems probable that the power and prestige of the Akkad dynasty gave the final impetus to the long slow process of syncretization between the cult of Suen and of Nanna which was already evident in the Presargonic period. Hence, in the succeeding Ur-III period one finds the name Suen frequently attested in the personal names coming from Ur.

Ur-III - The name Nanna is the most commonly attested god-name in the theophoric personal names of the Ur-III period. This of course is due to the rise of Ur as the center of a great empire and the resulting influence and prestige of the god of Ur. The Ur-III empire produced a great mass of administrative documentation coming from Ur, Puzriš-Dagan, Nippur, and other sites mainly in southern Mesopotamia where the Nanna cult had the greatest influence. Consequently, the great majority of the personal names attested in these documents, most of which are in Sumerian, refer to the moon-god as Nanna. But as mentioned above the name Suen also occurs with increasing frequency probably due to the long-lasting influence of the preceding Akkad dynasty and the increasing Semitic presence in southern Mesopotamia.

Old-Babylonian - The personal names of the Old-Babylonian period reflect the predominance of Semitic peoples in Mesopotamia, the wide-spread use of Akkadian in official documentation and the concurrent decrease in the use of Sumerian. Consequently, the name Suen/Sîn and Akkadian personal names in general are far more in evidence in this period than the name Nanna and Sumerian personal names. Only at Ur does one continue to find the frequent use of the name Nanna both in Sumerian and in Akkadian personal names. The wide-spread influence of the cult of the moon-god during the Old-Babylonian period is attested in the personal names which come from a variety of sites. Although my list could not cover all

of the Old-Babylonian sites (because of time and space limitations), the prevalence of the moon-god's name in the personal names from Mari, Tutub and Sippar as well as the more southern cities of Ur, Nippur, Kisurra, and Larsa is ample proof of the moon-god's continued popularity in the Old-Babylonian period. This accords with the evidence of dedicatory inscriptions to Nanna/Suen which are also widely attested in this period (see Chapter 4). It should be noted that in the personal names from Mari and Tutub the moon-god is almost always referred to as Suen/Sîn.

It is interesting that of all the personal names listed in the following pages not one uses the name Aš̌imbabbar to refer to the moon-god in any period. As mentioned above this name occurs in early deity lists from Abū-Ṣalābīkh. It is also very common in literary texts, most of which come from the Old-Babylonian period. If this name was ever really a separate name for a particular moon-god associated with his own cult site, the tradition must have died out very early. Otherwise, one would expect to find the name Aš̌imbabbar in some of the many thousands of extant personal names. It is also difficult to prove that the name was an epithet even though it is most often attested in literary texts because the meaning of the name is not yet known (see my discussion of the god-names Nanna, Suen, and Aš̌imbabbar in Chapter 2). The problem cannot be solved based on

available evidence.

Despite the great number of words and phrases connected with the moon-god in the personal names, one cannot gain any significant insights into the nature of Nanna/Suen through an analysis of the various types of personal names. The reason for this is that these same words and phrases recur again and again in connection with other deities in personal names. Though certain types of personal names are characteristic of particular ages, it cannot be said that certain types of personal names are characteristic of particular deities. The attributes applied to Nanna/Suen in personal names are likewise applied to a host of deities, male and female, major and minor. One can therefore analyze the stock phraseology employed in the personal names to gain some idea of the type of things said about the gods as a whole, but one cannot learn anything specific to individual deities. Since thorough grammatical and typological analyses of personal names in the Ur-III and Old-Babylonian periods have already been published (H. Limet's L'anthroponymie; J.J. Stamm's Die Akkadische Namengebung), it is unnecessary to elaborate on these aspects of personal names in the present context. The reader should consult Limet, Stamm, as well as I. Gelb's studies of Old Akkadian (MAD 1-5) for a discussion and analysis of the phraseology typical of personal names. I have relied heavily on these works in compiling the following list.

The following list of personal names is by no means exhaustive. I have included as many of the personal names referring to Nanna/Suen as time and space would permit. Yet it is practically inevitable that some of these personal names have been overlooked. The list is only intended to provide a rough idea of the kinds of personal names which are often attested in connection with the moon-god and the temporal and geographical range of the moon-god's influence.

1. Presargonic Period

The following list of personal names from the Presargonic period has been subdivided into chronological groups since it was possible to assign the personal names to specific time periods within the overall Presargonic time frame. The first group consists of only one personal name, en-nanna, which bears the oldest reference to the moon-god and is attested on Uruk tablets dating from the Jemdet Nasr period. The next group comprises personal names from Ur tablets of the archaic period which falls somewhere between the Jemdet Nasr and Fara periods (see E. Burrows, UET 2, pp. 3ff.). This group is followed by personal names from the Fara period (ED IIIa; cf. R. Biggs, OIP 99, p. 26) attested on tablets from Abū-Ṣalābīkh and Fara (Šuruppak). One personal name from an inscription of A'annepada of Ur makes up the next group, followed by three personal names on documents from the first dynasty of Lagash (for

the approximate dates of A'annepada and the first dynasty of Lagash see J. Kupper, E. Sollberger, IRSA).

en-nanna(LAK 32-NA)	W20274.37 W20274.80 W20274.86 W20327.1 (refs. courtesy M. Green)	Jemdet Nasr	Uruk
amar-nanna	UET 2, 278, ii, 1	Archaic-Post-Jemdet Nasr; pre-Fara	Ur: below Royal Tombs
ki-gal-gal-⌜nanna(?)⌝	UET 2, 341, i, 1	"	"
nanna-ak	UET 2, 177, i, 3; 354, iii, 2'	"	"
nan⌜na⌝-diri(?)	UET 2, 34, ii, 2'	"	"
nanna-du$_{10}$	UET 2, 87, vi, 5	"	"
nanna-du$_{10}$-dim$_2$	UET 2, 26, ii, 1'; 247, iii, 2; 284, i, 2	"	"
nanna-gal	UET 2, 112, ii, 11'	"	"
nanna-gan	UET 2, 87, ii, 5'	"	"
nanna-gun$_3$	UET 2, 241, ii, 1; 140, i, 4(?)	"	"
nanna-me-eš$_6$-tal$_2$-la(?)	UET 2, 177, iv, 1'	"	"

nanna-na	UET 2, 2, v, 2	archaic-post-Jemdet Nasr, pre-Fara	Ur: below Royal Tombs
nanna-U_3 (libir(?))	UET 2, 252, iii, 6	"	"
nanna-ur-sag	UET 2, 39, i, 4'(?); 42, i, 2'; 53, i, 2' 55, i, 1' 66, iii, 6'; 87, iii, 6'; 181, iv, 1; 186, i, 2; 231, i, 2; 253, i, 2; 349, i, 3'(?); 143 ii 7(?)	"	"
sag-nanna-da	UET 2, 341, ii, 1'	"	"
ur-nanna	UET 2, 3, ii, 1; 61, i, 2	"	"
munus-zi-zi-nanna (personal name or professional title? See Chapter 4, commentary to Sargonic period)	UET 2, 9, i, 3	"	"
amar-u_4-sakar	UET 2, 5, i, 5; 24, ii, 5; 226, vii, 1; 371, i, 5(?), rev. ii', 1	"	"
eg-[x]-^{d}ŠE[Š.KI]	OIP 99, No. 124, rev. ii', 3: list of SANGA's	ED IIIa	Abū-Ṣalābīkh
ama-nanna	Deimel WF 66, 12784, 1	"	Fara (Šurup-pak)
ama-nanna (wr. [?]K 32-NA)	Jestin, TSS, 150 F v, 9	"	"
amar-^{d}EN-ZU	Deimel WF 70, 12654, 10	"	"

amar-si-in	Jestin, TSŠ, 229 F i, 6	"	"
amar-u4-sakar	Deimel WF, 12531, 7	"	"
e2-^{d}nanna(?)	Jestin, TSŠ, 58 R iv 5; 127 R i, 3; 303 F ii 6; 404 F iii 6; Deimel WF 106, 9074, 10; 18, 9070, 10; 13; 22, 9078, 7;	"	"
gu-^{d}nanna	Deimel WF 91, 9129, 2/5	"	"
gu-^{d}nanna-na (?ki?)	Deimel WF 77 9109, 11	"	"
^{d}nanna	Deimel WF 65, 12422, 9; Jestin, TSS, 4 R i, 1	"	"
^{d}nanna-aš(?na?)	Deimel WF 6, 9072, 10; 16, 12621, 5; 78, 12729, 14(?)	"	"
nanna-ma-na	Jestin, TSŠ, 130, R ii, 5; vi, 3; 237, R i, 2	"	"
nanna-na	Jestin, TSŠ, 58, R v, 5; i, 6; 65, R vi, 2; 230, F i, 7; Deimel WF 133, 12572, 3; Jestin, NSŠ, 165, R v, 5; 211, R i, 1; 272, F ii, 4; 496, F i, 4; v, 2	"	"
nanna-ti	Deimel, SF 18, rev. i, 14	"	"

^{d}nanna-AN tu(d)-ak	Deimel, WF 78, 12729, 9	ED IIIa	Fara (Šurup-pak)
nanna-ur-sag	Deimel, SF, 29, i, 4	"	"
ur-^{d}suen	BIN 8, 14, ii, 3; cf. Hackman's comments in BIN 8, pp. 4-6	Fara period or later	?
nanna-ur-sag	FAOS 5/2, p. 274, Aan. 3: A'annepada dedicatory inscription on fragment of black diorite bowl; line 5'; p. 275, Aan. 4, 6': inscription on fragment of alabaster vase	A'annepada	Ubaid temple
amar-^{d}suen	HSS 3, 40 v i5; de Genou-illac TSA 21 ii 1; DP 582 iv 7-8;	1st dynasty of Lagash	Girsu
puzur$_4$-^{d}suen	DP 114, i, 11; DP 115, i, 11; Nik 2, i, 12; de Genouillac TSA 15, i 12; 16, i, 5	"	"
ur-^{d}suen	BIN 8, 60: lower edge	"	"

2. Sargonic Period

The list of personal names from the Sargonic period relies heavily on I. Gelb's Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary, volumes 1-5. In addition, V. Donbas, B. Foster, Sargonic Texts from Telloh has been consulted as

well as G. Hackman's BIN 8. A few other works were also used and they are noted in the following list. I have followed Gelb's transliterations of the Akkadian personal names and have not normalized them as is done for the personal names of the Old-Babylonian period because the writing of Sargonic personal names often differs from the more common Old-Babylonian writing and so is noteworthy. The abbreviations used for the provenience are as follows: K = Kish; T = Tutub (Hafāǧi); Umm = Umm-al-Jir; MO = Maništušu Obelisk; Umma and Girsu are written out in full.

ama-^{d}suen	MAD 3, p. 42	MO
a-mur-^{d}su[en](EN.[ZU])	MAD 1, p.80	T
be-li$_2$-^{d}suen	MAD 5, p. 96	K
tu$_3$-kil-^{d}suen	MAD 1, p.193	T
E$_2$-mi-^{d}suen	MAD 5, p.98; cf. MAD 3, p.44;	K, MO
e-na-^{d}suen	MAD 3, p.52; MAD 1, p. 194; Stamm p.182	T
i-da-^{d}suen	I.J. Gelb, Fieldiana: Anthropology vol. 44/2, 12:1; MAD 5, p.101; cf. MAD 3, pp.17-18;,	K
i-bi$_2$-^{d}suen	MAD 1, p.200	T
i-tur$_2$-^{d}suen	MAD 1, p.201;	T
i-mi-^{d}suen	MAD 5, p.102; cf. above E$_2$-mi-^{d}suen	K
il$_2$-e-^{d}suen	MAD 1, p.202; cf. MAD 3, p. 158	T

i$_3$-li$_2$-^{d}suen	MAD 3, p.29	K
im-gu[r-^{d}]suen	MAD 5, p.107	Umm
iš-ma$_2$-^{d}suen	MAD 5, p.109	K
IŠIB-^{d}suen(PN?)	MAD 1, p.208; cf. MAD 3, p. 167	T
i-šar-^{d}suen	BIN 8, 152: 43; 245: 30	
iš-ṭup-^{d}su[en]	MAD 3, p.291	MO
ka$_3$-li$_2$-^{d}suen	MAD 1, p.197	T
qi$_2$-bi$_2$-^{d}suen	MAD 5, p.110	K
ku-ru-ub$^{(?)}$-^{d}suen	MAD 1, p.211	T
na-bi$_2$-^{d}suen	MAD 5, p.113	K
na-na-tum	MAD 3, p.202	?
na-ra-am-^{d}suen	MAD 1, p.216; MAD 4, p. 112; BIN 8, 162: 5; 164, 2	T, Umma?
^{d}nanna-e-zu-a	MAD 4, p.114	Umma?
^{d}nan[na ...]	MAD 5, p.118	K
pu$_3$-zur$_8$-^{d}suen	MAD 5, p.114	K
pu$_3$-^{d}E[N.ZU/LIL$_2$]	MAD 1, p.185	T
si-ra-at-^{d}suen	MAD 1, p.219; cf. MAD 3, p.262; AHw, p. 1218: šē/īritu(m) I sub 2) a); Stamm, Namengebung, pp. 80f.	T
sipa-^{d}EN-[...]	V. Donbaz, B. Foster, Sargonic Texts from Telloh (OPBF 5) 86, L. 2954 rev. 1, i 19	Girsu
^{d}suen-[...]	MAD 1, p.195	T
^{d}suen-al-su	MAD 5, 99; cf. MAD 3, pp. 36-37	K, MO
^{d}suen-BAD$_3$	MAD 1, p.195; cf. Limet, L'anthroponymie sumérienne, p. 331; MAD 3, pp. 106-107	T

^{d}suen-ba-ni	MAD 1, p.195; MAD 3, p. 98	T
^{d}suen-dan	MAD 1, p.195	T
^{d}suen-E$_2$	MAD 1, p. 195; cf. MAD 3, pp. 92-93	T
^{d}su[en-GIIŠ-RI[N]$_2$(?)	MAD 1, p. 195 cf. MAD 3, p. 121	T
^{d}suen-iš-ta$_2$-⟨kal$_2$⟩	MAD 5, p.99; cf. MAD 3, p.295; AHw, p. 371 sub iliš 1)	K
^{d}suen-KAR$_3$	MAD 1, p.195; cf. MAD pp.148-149	T
^{d}suen-lum	MAD 1, p. 192; cf. MAD 3, p. 314	T
^{d}suen-mu-da	MAD 1, p. 195	T
^{d}suen-ni-⌜sa$_2$⌝	MAD 5, p.99	K
^{d}suen-sar	MAD 1, p. 195	T
^{d}suen-SIG$_5$	MAD 1, p. 195	T
^{d}suen-SIPA	MAD 1, p. 195	T
su-mu-^{d}suen	MAD 3, p.274	MO
ur-^{d}E[N-...]	Donbaz, Foster, Telloh, 89, L. 2999: 5; 183 L. 9446 rev. i 7'	Girsu
ur-^{d}suen	Donbaz, Foster, Telloh, 167, L. 5879:i 6'; MAD 4, pp. 115-116	Girsu, Umma(?)

3. Ur-III Period

The following list of Ur-III personal names which contain the god-name, Nanna or Suen, or an epithet of the moon-god relies heavily on H. Limet's L'anthroponymie sumérienne dans les documents de la 3^{e} dynastie d'Ur, Paris, 1968. In addition to Sumerian

names, the Akkadian personal names of the Ur-III period which mention the moon-god have been included. Most of them have been taken from I.J. Gelb's Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary vol. 3 (MAD 3). Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1957. Other materials more recent than the above two works which have also been consulted are: the series Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico (MVN), G. Pettinato et al. Rome: Multigrafica Editrice, 1974 and ongoing; D. Loding, Ur Excavation Texts 9, Philadelphia: OPBS, 1976; S. Kang, Sumerian Economic Texts from the Drehem Archive. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972 and Sumerian Economic Texts from the Umma Archive, 1973; J.M. Durand, Documents cunéiformes, Tome I. Geneve: Libraire Droz, 1982; M. Sigrist, Textes économique néo-sumériens de l'université de Syracuse. Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1983; H. Limet, Textes sumériennes de la IIIe dynastie d'Ur, Liege, 1973. References from the following sources which H. Limet for one reason or another omitted from his L'anthroponymie have also been used: M. Çığ, H. Kizilyay, A. Salonen, Die Puzriš-Dagan-Texte der Istanbuler Archäologischen Museen (= AASF 92); L. Legrain, Ur Excavation Texts 3; N. Schneider's list of Ur-III personal names in Or. 23; AnOr 19; C.L. Bedale, Sumerian Tablets from Umma; UMBS 11/1. No new text citations have been added to Limet's list. Sources other than Limet's L'anthroponymie have only been used when a personal name is mentioned in one of them that is

not included in Limet's work. In the following list Limet's L'anthroponymie is referred to simply as Limet followed by a page number; this is to be distinguished from his more recent work quoted above which is referred to as Limet, Textes. The other abbreviations used are self-evident and refer to one of the works listed above. The abbreviations used for provenience follow Limet: PD = Puzriš Dagan; La = Lagash; N = Nippur; U = Umma; others are written out in full.

a-a-^{d}nanna	Limet, p. 362	PD
a-a-^{d}nanna-ar-kal-la	A. Salonen, PDT 370, obv. 5	PD
a-a-^{d}nanna-ki-ag$_2$	Limet, p.362	Ur
a-ba-^{d}nanna, a-ba-^{d}nanna-gin$_7$	Limet, p.364	Ur Ur
a-li$_2$-it-^{d}suen	UET 3, 1431; 1048(?); cf. MAD 3, p.38	Ur
^{d}amar-^{d}suen	name of the king; passim and Limet, pp. 69-70	
ãmur-^{d}suen	UET 3, 1039; 1048; 1098; 1160; 1453; UET 9, 51; Limet, Textes, p.109	Ur, PD, Ku'ara
ana-^{d}suen-taklāku	UET 3, 1220, obv. iii	Ur
a$_2$-^{d}nanna	Limet, p.378; cf. p.218	Ur
a$_2$-ni-^{d}suen	A. Salonen, PDT 509	PD
arad-^{d}nanna	Limet, 440; cf. OA 20, 127	N, PD, U, La, Ur
arad-^{d}nanna-mu	Limet, 440	PD
arad-^{d}suen	Limet, p. 441	Ur
a$_2$-^{d}suen	Limet, p. 380	PD

en-um-^{d}suen	MAD 3, p.53;	Ur
e_2-^{d}nanna-ki-ag_2	Limet, p.405	Ur
en-^{d}nanna-ki-ag_2	Limet, p.408	Ur, PD
en-^{d}nanna-ar-i_3-DU$^{(?)}$	UET 9, p.54	Ur
$geme_2$-^{d}nanna	Limet, p.418	Ur, La, PD
$geme_2$-^{d}suen	Limet, p.420	N, Ur, U, La
$giri_3$-^{d}nanna	UET 3, 272; 1079	Ur
$giri_3$-^{d}nanna-i_3-dib_2	Limet, p.422	Ur
$\underset{\cup}{h}$a-la-^{d}suen	Limet, p.428	U
i-bi_2-^{d}suen	passim	
ib-ni-^{d}suen	MAD 3, p.98	
i-bur-^{d}suen	UET 3, 1160; 1625; cf. MAD 3, p.91	Ur
id-ni(-in)-^{d}suen	MAD 3, p.112	PD
igi-^{d}nanna-$\check{s}e_3$	Limet, p.433	Ur
igi-nin-an-^{d}suen	Salonen, PDT, 555 iv 12	PD
im-ma-^{d}nanna	UET 3, 1040, obv. I	Ur
i-mi-^{d}suen	Salonen, PDT 113, obv. 4;	PD
inim-^{d}nanna	Limet, p.436	Ur, PD
inim-^{d}nanna-zu	Limet, p.437	Ur, PD
i-$\underset{\cdot}{s}$ur-^{d}suen	MAD 3, p.207	
i-$\check{s}$ar-^{d}suen	MAD 3, p.77	
i-$\check{s}$ar-i$\check{s}$-^{d}suen	MAD 3, p.78	N
i-ti-^{d}suen	UET 9, p.55	Ur
kug_3-ub-^{d}suen	MAD 3, p.137	
ku_3-^{d}nanna	Limet, p.445	Ur, U, PD, La
li-bur-an-ni-^{d}suen	MAD 3, p.91	Ur

li-bur-^{d}suen	MAD 3, p. 91	Ur
lugal-iti-da	Limet, p. 466; cf. p. 172	N, U, La, PD
lugal-^{d}nanna	Limet, p. 470	
lugal-^{d}suen	Limet, p. 473	PD
lu$_2$-^{d}nanna	Limet, p. 483	Ur, U, N PD, La
lu$_2$-^{d}nanna-bugin-maḫ	UET 3, 1546	Ur
lu$_2$-^{d}suen	Limet, p. 487	Ur, La, U, PD, N
lu$_2$-^{d}šul-gi-^{d}nanna	UET 3, 366; 1434	Ur
lu$_2$-^{d}nanna-gin$_7$	Limet, p. 484	U
lu$_2$-^{d}nanna-ku$_3$	"	Ur
lu$_2$-^{d}nanna-u$_3$-NUMUN	"	PD
lu$_2$-^{d}nanna-zi-mu	"	PD
lu$_2$-^{d}nanna-zu	"	Ur
ma$_2$-^{d}nanna	Limet, p. 492	Ur
na-an-na	N. Schneider, Or. 23, p. 164	PD, U
na-bi$_2$-^{d}suen	MAD 3, p. 195	
^{d}nanna	Limet, p. 498	Ur
^{d}nanna-ab-ba	"	PD
^{d}nanna-a$_2$-daḫ	"	Ur, U
^{d}nanna-ag$_2$	"	PD?
^{d}nanna-a-ki-ag$_2$	"	La
^{d}nanna-an-dul$_3$	"	Ur, PD
^{d}nanna-ar-mu-gi$_4$	Limet, p. 498	Ur
^{d}nanna-ba-(an)-zi-ge	"	Ur
^{d}nanna-bad$_3$	"	PD, Ur

^{d}nanna-ba-DU	Or. 23, p. 60, #959; Salonen PDT 269, rev. 3	U, PD
^{d}nanna-bi$_2$-du$_{11}$	Limet, p. 498; see p. 234	PD
^{d}nanna-dalla	Limet, p. 498	U, Ur, La, PD
^{d}nanna-dumu-ki-ag$_2$	UET 3, 1776	Ur
^{d}nanna-e$_2$-tur$_3$	AnOr 19, p. 45; PDT 164, 3	PD
^{d}nanna-en-zu	C.L. Bedale, Umma, 16	U
^{d}nanna-gal-zu	Limet, p. 499	La, N?
^{d}nanna-gir$_2$-gal	"	PD
^{d}nanna-gu$_2$-gal	"	U, La
^{d}nanna-ḫe$_2$-gal	"	Ur
^{d}nanna-ḫi-li	"	U, La, Ur
^{d}nanna-ib$_2$-gu-ul	"	Ur
^{d}nanna-i$_3$-du$_8$	Limet, p. 501	La
^{d}nanna-i$_3$-du$_{10}$	Limet, p. 499	Ur
^{d}nanna-i$_3$-gal$_2$	"	PD
^{d}nanna-i$_3$-gi(-in)	"	Ur, PD
^{d}nanna-i$_3$-sa$_6$	"	PD, La, Ur
^{d}nanna-i$_3$-zu	"	U, La, Ur
^{d}nanna-kal-la	"	Ur
^{d}nanna-kam	"	Ur, U, PD, La
^{d}nanna-ki-ag$_2$	Limet, p. 500	Ur, U, PD, La
^{d}nanna-ku$_3$-zu	"	Ur, La, PD, U
^{d}nanna-lu$_2$-du$_{10}$	"	Ur, PD
^{d}nanna-lugal	"	PD, Ur

^{d}nanna-lugal-dalla	Limet, p. 500	PD
^{d}nanna-lu$_5$-la	"	La
^{d}nanna-ma(?)	UET 9, p. 63	Ur
^{d}nanna-ma-(an)-ba	Limet, p.500	PD, Ur
^{d}nanna-ma-(an)-sum	"	U, La
^{d}nanna-maḫ-zu	"	La
^{d}nanna-maš̌	"	U
^{d}nanna-maš̌-tum	"	PD
^{d}nanna-mu	"	La, U, PD
^{d}nanna-mu-daḫ	"	Ur, PD
^{d}nanna-ma$_2$-sa$_2$	MVN 7, 431	La
^{d}nanna-me-DU	UMBS 11/1, p.55 No. 73	N
^{d}nanna-mu-zu	Limet, p.501	Ur
^{d}nanna-nam-me-am$_3$	"	Ur
^{d}nanna-nu-kiri$_6$	"	La
^{d}nanna-palil	"	PD
^{d}nanna-PA-RU-NA(PN?)	UET 9, p. 63	Ur
^{d}nanna-ra-igi-du$_8$	Limet, p.501	PD
^{d}nanna-sa$_4$	"	PD
^{d}nanna-si-sa$_2$	"	PD, La
^{d}nanna-sa$_6$(-ga)	"	Ur, La, PD
^{d}nanna-šeš̌	"	Ur
^{d}nanna-ur-sag	"	PD
^{d}nanna-uri$_2$[^{ki}-ma]	UET 3, 51, rev. 14	Ur
^{d}nanna-uru-mu	Limet, p.501	La
^{d}nanna-za-me-[en]	"	

^{d}nanna-za$_{3}$-mi$_{2}$	Limet, p.501	Ur
^{d}nanna-zi	"	U, La, PD, Ur
^{d}nanna-zi-g[e]	UET 9, p.64	Ur
^{d}nanna-zi-ša$_{3}$-ga$_{2}$	Limet, p.501	PD
ni$_{3}$-ga-^{d}suen	Limet, p.504	La
ni$_{3}$-^{d}nanna	UET 9, p.64	Ur
nu-ur$_{2}$-^{d}suen	Limet, Textes, p. 113; MVN 7, p. 213; M. Sigrist, p. 18; UET 9, 64; Kang, Drehem, p.292; Durand, p. 58	PD, La, Ur
pu$_{3}$-zur$_{8}$-^{d}suen	MVN 7, p.214; UET 9, p. 65	La, Ur
ri-im-^{d}suen	MAD 3, p.231;	PD
sag-^{d}nanna	Limet, p.523	La
sag-^{d}nanna-tuku	"	La
sag-^{d}nanna-zu	"	Ur, La, PD
sag-^{d}suen	Limet, p.524	PD?
sipa-^{d}nanna	"	Ur
^{d}suen-a-bu	UET 9, p.65	Ur
^{d}suen	M. Sigrist, p. 11	PD
^{d}suen-al-šu	MAD 3, p.37	
^{d}suen-ba-ni	UET 9, p.65; M. Sigrist, p. 11; Kang, Drehem, p. 289	Ur, PD, U
^{d}suen-e-ṣi-id	MAD 3, p.70	Ur
^{d}suen-il$_{3}$-su	UET 9, p.65	Ur
^{d}suen-iš-ti-ka$_{2}$	MAD 3, p.295	Ur
^{d}suen-i-ti	Limet, p.524	Ur
^{d}suen-KASKAL.KUR (illat)	MAD 3, p.40	

^{d}suen-kuš$_{x}^{(?)}$-[...]	UET 9, p.65	Ur
^{d}suen-lugal	UET 9, p.65	Ur
^{d}suen-ku$_{3}$-[ge]	Limet, p.525	Ur
^{d}suen-na-ab-ni	MAD 3, p.98	Ur
^{d}suen-nam-ri	MAD 3, p.192	
^{d}suen-na-qi$_{4}$-id	MAD 3, p.205	Ur
^{d}suen-ni-⌜sa$_{2}$⌝	MAD 5, p.99	La
šà-at-^{d}suen	UET 9, p.66; Limet, Textes, 113	Ur, PD
šul-gi-^{d}nanna	Limet, p.400	La
^{d}suen-tu-ri$_{2}$-šu	UET 3, 12, obv. 4-5	Ur
^{d}šu-suen	name of king; passim	
^{d}šu-suen-ki-ag$_{2}$-^{d}nanna	Limet, p.532	PD
ur-^{d}nanna	Limet, p.553	Ur, PD
ur-^{d}suen	Limet, p.559	Ur, N, La, U, PD

4. Old-Babylonian Period

For the personal names of the Old-Babylonian period I have used a variety of sources in an attempt to show the range of sites at which the name of the moon-god is attested in theophoric personal names. Personal names attested in documents from the cities of Ur, Larsa, Nippur, Sippar, Tutub (Khafāǧi), Mari, and Kisurra have been included in the list. The Ur documents I have used are published in H. Figulla's Ur Excavation Texts 5 (UET 5) and in Yale Oriental Series 5 (YOS 5); the Larsa texts in YOS 5 and 8; the Nippur texts, as well as some Sippar texts, in M. Çiğ, H. Kiziyay, F.R. Kraus, Altbabylonische Rechtsurkunden aus Nippur (ARN); the Tutub texts in R. Harris, JCS 9, pp. 31-88; 91-120; the Mari texts in ARM 15 and in Studia Mariana, as well as in RA and other publications which are noted in the list; and the Kisurra texts in B. Kienast, Die Altbabylonischen Briefe und Urkunden aus Kisurra II (FAOS II). In addition, I have consulted M. Thureau-Dangin's Lettres et Contrats (TCL 1) as well as J.J. Stamm's Der Akkadische Namengebung (Stamm). The texts in TCL 1 come from a variety of sources including Lagash, Sippar, Babylon, Dilbat, and Kish. However, the source of each tablet is not carefully noted so it is impossible to tell from the publication what provenience each personal name comes from. As a result, I have put a question mark for the provenience of the personal names in the list which come from TCL 1. There is also a

problem in determining the proveniences of many of the personal names listed by Stamm, particularly in regard to those personal names which Stamm takes from H. Ranke's Early Babylonian Personal Names (BE 3; Series D: Researches and Treatises). On p. 68 of Stamm's Namengebung he indicates that a good many of the personal names containing the god-name Sîn in Ranke's book are attested on Sippar tablets. Yet in Ranke's work, pp. 41-44, the provenience of the texts he uses is by no means clear, at least to me. Therefore, for the provenience of the personal names quoted by Stamm from Ranke's work I have indicated Sippar with a query (S?). The other symbols used for proveniences are U = Ur; L = Larsa; N = Nippur; T = Tutub; M = Mari; K = Kisurra; D = Dilbat; Cap. = Cappadocia; T.Sifr = Tell Sifr. The abbreviations used for text publications are indicated above in parenthesis after the title of the publication. Although the provenience of some of the personal names in the following list is uncertain, the variety of sites at which many of these names are attested indicates the wide extent of the moon-god's influence in the Old-Babylonian period.

a-ba-^{d}nanna-gin7	R. Harris, JCS 9, pp. 30ff.; 102, 18	T
adallal-^{d}sîn	UET 5; Stamm, p. 202	U, ?
aḫi-^{d}sîn	ARM 15, p. 141	M
aḫulap-^{d}sîn	UET 5; Stamm, p. 162	U, N
ama-^{d}suen	Stamm, p. 308[3]	N
amat-$^{(d)}$-sîn (cf. geme2-^{d}nanna below)	UET 5; ARN; YOS 5; RA 50, p. 61	U, N, M
amur-$^{(d)}$sîn	YOS 5; Stamm, p. 183; Kisurra p. 206	U, S?, K
ana-pāni-^{d}sîn-nadi	Stamm, p. 231	?
ana-pāni-^{d}sîn-šākin	"	?
ana-^{d}sîn-[...]	UET 5	U
ana-^{d}sîn-ēmid	"	U
ana-^{d}sîn-lušt̄emiq	"	U
ana-^{d}sîn-taklāk(u)	UET 5; Stamm, p. 196; YOS 5 & 8; Harris 87, 13; ARN; TCL 1; Kisurra, p. 206	U, S, L, T, N, K, ?
ana-^{d}sîn-uš-pi$^{(?)}$-il$^{(?)}$	UET 5	U
ana-^{d}sîn-wuššur	UET 5; Kisurra p. 206	U, K
a(n)um-pî-$^{(d)}$sîn	YOS 8; TCL 1	L, ?
apil-^{d}sîn	UET 5; YOS 8; ARN	U, L, N,
arad-^{d}nanna	ARN; YOS 8; Kisurra, p. 206	N, L, K
arad-^{d}sîn	ARN	S
a-at-ta-sîn	UET 5; cf. Stamm, p. 130	U
a-ta-mar-^{d}sîn	Stamm, p. 183; cf. p. 94	S
awat-^{d}sîn	YOS 5	L
awīl-^{d}nanna (or lu2-^{d}nanna)	UET 5; ARM 15, p. 151; Stud. Mari. p. 92(2);	U, M, L, T, ?

	YOS 5; Harris 30, 12; TCL 1	
awīl-na-na	UET 5	U
awīl-^{d}sîn	UET 5; ARM 15, p.142; Harris, 88; TCL 1	U, M, T, ?
banûm-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
bēlum-^{d}sîn	"	U
būr-^{d}sîn	UET 5; Stamm, p.261; Harris, 24, 4; 108 II; YOS 5; TCL 1; Kisurra, p. 206	U, S?, T, L, K, ?
dādu-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
e$_2$-a-lu$_2$-ti-^{d}suen	UET 5; cf. H. Limet, L'anthroponymie, pp.72, 272, 307	U
emam-^{d}sîn	Harris, 17, 3 (with comments)	T
ennam-^{d}sîn	YOS 8; TCS 1; cf. Stamm, p.133; Kisurra p. 206	L, K, ?
ennum-^{d}sîn	UET 5; Harris 31, 5; 74, 10;	U, T
erība(m)-^{d}sîn	UET 5 (written eri$_4$-ba (-am), and e-ri-ba(-am)); Stamm, p.289; YOS 8 (i-ri-ba-am); TCL 1	U, S?, L
erīb-^{d}sîn	UET 5 (i-ri-ib); Stamm, p. 289; TCL 1	U, S?, ?
erēb-sîn-lūmur	Stamm, p. 185[2]	N
ēriš-^{d}sîn	Kisurra, p.206	K
etel-pî-^{d}sîn	YOS 5; ARN; TCL 1; Kisurra, p.206	U, S, K, ?
gāmil-^{d}sîn	ARN	N
GAZ/KUM-^{d}sîn	Stamm, p.319; Kisurra, p. 206; YOS 8	N, D, K, L

gimil-^{d}sîn	YOS 8	L
gimilla-^{d}sîn	"	L
ḫabbūr-^{d}sîn	"	L
ḫabit-^{d}sîn	Stamm, p.318	D
ḫa-an-ra-^{d}sîn	ARM vii, 1826'	M
ibbi-^{d}sîn	UET 5; Harris, 81, 12; ARN; YOS 5; YOS 8; Stamm p.142; TCL 1; Kisurra p.206	U, T, N, L, S, K, ?
ibni-^{d}sîn	UET 5; Harris, 56, 3; YOS 8; TCL 1; Kisurra, p.206	U, T, L, K, ?
iddin-^{d}sîn	UET 5; ARM 15, p.148; YOS 5, YOS 8; TCL 1; Kisurra, p.206	U, M, L, K, ?
īdiš-$^{(d)}$sîn	Stamm, p.62	S?
idna-^{d}sîn	TCL 1	?
igi-bar-^{d}nanna	YOS 8	L
igi-dagal-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
igi-^{d}nan[na-...]	"	U
igmil-$^{(d)}$sîn	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; Stamm, p.190; Kisurra, p. 206	U, L, S?,K
ikūm-pî-^{d}sîn	UET 5; Harris, 102, 4; 110; ARM 15, p.148; Stud. Mari. p.54; 82; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1	U, T, M, L, ?
ilī-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
i$_3$-li$_2$-u$_3$-^{d}sîn	Stamm, p.135	?
ilqu-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
ilumma-^{d}sîn	"	U
ilum-pî-$^{(d)}$sîn	"	U
imgur-^{d}sîn	UET 5; ARN; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1; Kisurra, p.206	U, N, S, L, K, ?

imlik-^{d}sîn	YOS 5; Stamm, p.145; Kisurra, p. 206	U, S?,K
ina-bît-^{d}sîn-luš̌lim	UET 5	U
inim-^{d}nanna	ARN	N
inim-^{d}nanna-i$_3$-dim$_2$	TCL 1	?
ippališ̌-^{d}sîn(?)	UET 5	U
ipiq-^{d}sîn	ARM 15, 149; cf. Stamm, pp. 261ff	M
ipqu-^{d}sîn	Harris 4, 10; YOS 5; YOS 8; Kisurra, p.206	T, L, K
iptur-^{d}sîn	Harris 53, 11; Stamm, p. 191	T, S?
iqīša-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
iṣṣur-^{d}sîn	Harris 4,4; 54, 20; 66, 3; 69, 3; 76, 3; 77, 4; 78, 3; 85, 5; 86; 92, 17	T
išīm-^{d}sîn	Stamm, p.145	Cap.
išme-^{d}sîn	UET 5, Harris 56, 16; ARM 15, p.150; ARN; Kisurra, p. 206	U, T, M, N, K
išum-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
itanah-^{d}sîn	UET 5; cf. Stamm, pp. 163 and 368	U
itti-^{d}sîn-balassu	Stamm, p.230	?
itti-^{d}sîn-dīn(ī)	Stamm, p.230	N
itti-^{d}sîn-milkī	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; Stamm, p. 230	U, L, T.Sifr
itûr-^{d}sîn	TCL 1	?
yamur-^{d}sîn	UET 5; cf. H. Huffmon, APNMT, p.233 sub MR	U
ya-aḫ-mi-iṣ-^{d}E[Š](?)	ARM VII.180.v', 17'; cf. Huffmon, p.198 sub HMS	M
ya-ap-ḫu-ur-E[Š](sîn?)	ARM VII.199.24'; cf. Huffmon, p.254 sub PHR	M

kasap-^{d}sîn	Stamm, p.302	
kiribti-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
kišād-^{d}sîn	"	U
ku$_3$-^{d}nanna	UET 5; YOS 5; ARN	U,N
KUM-^{d}sîn: see above sub GAZ/KUM-^{d}sîn		
ku$_3$-^{d}s[în$^{(?)}$]	ARN	N
lipit-^{d}sîn	UET 5; YOS 5	U
liqut-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
lītûr-^{d}sîn	Stamm, pp .101; 148	
lugal-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
lu$_2$-^{d}nanna	UET 5; Harris, 30, 12; ARM 15, p.151; ARN; YOS 8; Kisurra, p.206	U, T, M, N, L, K
ludlul-$^{(d)}$sîn	UET 5; YOS 5; TCL 1	U, L, ?
lušstammar-$^{(d)}$sîn	UET 5; Stamm, p. 202[5]; TCL 1	U, S?,?
makkūr-^{d}sîn	YOS 5	U
man-ki-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
mannum-^{d}sîn	TCL 1	?
man(n)um-ki(ma)-^{d}sîn	UET 5; Harris 63, 15; 69, 13; 76, 20; 90, 21; Stamm, p.238, n. 1; Kisurra, p. 206	U, T,S?, K, ?
mannu(m)-šānin-^{d}sîn	YOS 8; TCL 1	L, ?
mār-^{d}sîn-šeme	UET 5	U
me-[x]-ni-^{d}sîn	Harris, 18, 7	T
migrāt-^{d}sîn	Stamm, p. 274	S?
MU-SA$_4$-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
mušat-^{d}sîn	YOS 5	U
mušt ā l-^{d}sîn	YOS 8	L

nabi-^{d}sîn	YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1; Kisurra, p. 206	L, ?, K
na'id(?)-^{d}sîn(?)	YOS 8	L
na-an-na	RA 50, p.65	M
^{d}nanna-[...]	UET 5; ARN	U,N
^{d}nanna-a	"	U
^{d}nanna-a-a	YOS 5; UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-a-a-[...]	YOS 8	L
^{d}nanna-aš-dah	UET 5; YOS 8; ARN	U, L, N
^{d}nanna-a-raš-mu-un-ge-en	ARN	N
^{d}nanna-aš-zi-da	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-abu	"	U
^{d}nanna-an-dul$_3$	Harris, 12, 9; 12, 17; 15, 13; 20, 7; 25, 12; 105, 14	T
^{d}nanna-bāni	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-dalla	YOS 8; UET 5, 373,8	L
^{d}nanna-sig$_5$ (or -dāmiq)	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-e-mah	"	U
^{d}nanna-e-ma-an-zi	"	U
^{d}nanna-engar	"	U
^{d}nanna-ENGUR.A.DU	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-e-ra-mu-šuš	YOS 5	L
^{d}nanna-gallābu	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-gal-zu	ARN	N
^{d}nanna-ga-til	UET 5; cf. H. Limet, L'anthroponymie, p.413	U
^{d}nanna-guš-gal	UET 5; ARN; YOS 8; Kisurra, p. 206	U, N, L, K
^{d}nanna-heš-gališ	ARN	N

^{d}nanna-i-[...]	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-ibila-ma-an-sum	UET 5; ARN	U, N
^{d}nanna-ibnišu	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-idinnam	"	U
^{d}nanna-ilka	"	U
^{d}nanna-iš-mah	YOS 5; YOS 8	L
^{d}nanna-in-dah	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-kam	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-kašid	"	U
^{d}nanna-ki-aĝ$_2$	UET 5; TCL 1	U, ?
^{d}nanna-kittum	Harris, 37, 12	T
^{d}nanna-kuš-ba	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-kuš-zu	ARN; YOS 8	N, L
^{d}nanna-^{d}lama	ARN	N
^{d}nanna-lu$_2$-ti	UET 5; ARN	U, N
^{d}nanna-lu$_2$-din	Kisurra, p. 206	K
^{d}nanna-ma-a-DU	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-ma-an-ba	"	U
^{d}nanna-ma-an-gar	YOS 8	L
^{d}nanna-ma(-an)-sum	UET 5; ARM 15, p.153; ARN; YOS 8; YOS 5; TCL 1; Kisurra, p. 206	U, M, N, S, L, K
^{d}nanna-ma-ti-il	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-me-a-[...]	YOS 5	U
^{d}nanna-me(-a)-DU	UET 5; ARN; YOS 8; YOS 5; TCL 1	U, N L, ?
na-an-na-mu-um	M. Birot, RA 49, p.28; cf. G. Dossin, Stud. Mari. p.44; H. Huffmon,	M

APNMT, p.273

^{d}nanna-mu-un-ba	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-mu$^{(?)}$-un$^{(?)}$-bar	"	U
^{d}nanna-mu-un-til	"	U
^{d}nanna-na-id$^{(?)}$	"	U
^{d}nanna-nun-mah	YOS 8	L
^{d}nanna-palil	UET 5; ARM 15, p.153; Stud.Mari. p.86; YOS 8;	U, M, L
^{d}nanna-qar$^{(?)}$-rad	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-sag-[x ...]	ARN	N
^{d}nanna-sag-gal	YOS 5	L
^{d}nanna-sag-kal	ARN;	N
^{d}nanna-šà$_3$-la$_2$-su$_3$	UET 5; TCL 1	U, ?
^{d}nanna-tab-ba	YOS 5	L
^{d}nanna-tum	ARN; TCL 1	N, ?
na(?)-an-na-tum	YOS 5	L
^{d}nanna-ṭabi (also written ^{d}nanna-ṭabi-DU$_{10}$)	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-ṭabi-[...]	YOS 5	U
^{d}nanna-uri$_2^{ki}$-šu	UET 5; cf. TCL 1 (^{d}nanna-uri^{ki}-[...])	U
^{d}nanna-uru	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-za$_3$-en	Harris, 4, 12; 85, 17	T
^{d}nanna-za-ma	Harris, 65, 19	T
^{d}nanna-za-me-en	UET 5	U
^{d}nanna-za-mu	Harris, 10, 5 (cf. commentary); 60, 13; 81, 10	T
^{d}nanna-za$_3^{(!)}$-mu	Harris, 1, 11	T
^{d}nanna-zi-kalam-ma	UET 5	U

^{d}nanna-zi-ma-an-sum	"	U
^{d}nanna-zi-mu	UET 5; TCL 1; Kisurra p. 206; ARN	U, ?, K, N
^{d}nanna-zi-šaz-gal2	UET 5; Kisurra, p. 206; ARN	U, K, N
naram-^{d}sîn	UET 5; Harris, 76, 21; 82, 25; 26; ARM 15, p. 153; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1; Kisurra, p. 206	U, T, M, L, ?, K
nemel-^{d}sîn	Stamm, p. 262; TCL 1; Kisurra, p. 206	S?, ?, K
nidnat-$^{(d)}$sîn	UET 5; Stamm, p. 257; YOS 8	U, S, ?, L
niz-ga-^{d}nanna	UET 5	U
nimar-^{d}sîn (var. ni-me-er)	Stud. Mari. 54; cf. CAD v. 11/2, 235	M
niweli-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
nunat-^{d}sîn	"	U
nur-^{d}nanna	"	U
nur-^{d}sîn	UET 5; ARN; YOS 8; YOS 5; Kisurra, p. 206	U, N, S, L, K
pilaŋ-^{d}sîn	Stamm, p. 204	S
puzur-^{d}nanna/^{d}sîn	UET 5; Harris, 20, 6; YOS 5	U, T, L
qiša(s)-^{d}sîn	YOS 8; Stamm, p. 259	L, ?
rabiat-awas-^{d}sîn	Stamm, p. 232	?
rabut-$^{(d)}$sîn	UET 5; Stamm, p. 116; ARN; TCL 1; YOS 8	U, S, N, ?, L
ribam-$^{(d)}$sin	UET 5	U

rīm-^{d}sin	UET 5; Harris, 24, 13; ARM 15, p.154; Stud. Mari, p.91; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1; cf. MAD 3, p. 231; Stamm, p. 259; Kisurra, p. 206	U, T, M, L, ?, K
saniq-pî-^{d}sîn	TCL 1	?
simat-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-a-a-ba-aš	YOS 8; Stamm, pp. 174-175	L
^{d}sîn-a-a-ma-rum/-aš	TCL 1	?
^{d}sîn-a-ba	YOS 5	U, L
^{d}sîn-abī	Kisurra, p. 206	K
^{d}sîn-abum	"	K
^{d}sîn-abūšu	Harris, 16, 4; 108, II 7; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1; Kisurra, p. 206	T, U, L, ?, K
^{d}sîn-adallal	YOS 5; TCL 1; Stamm p.202, n. 3	U, ?, S?
^{d}sîn-aḫa(m)-iddinnam	TCL 1	
^{d}sîn-aḫḫī-iddinnam	Stamm, p. 139	
^{d}sîn-aḫi-wēdi	Stamm, p. 241	
^{d}sîn-amtaḫḫar	YOS 5	U
^{d}sîn-apil	YOS 8	L
^{d}sîn-apil-^{d}enlil	YOS 5	L
^{d}sîn-asû	YOS 5; TCL 1	U, ?
^{d}sîn-ašarēd(u)	UET 5; ARN; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1	U, N, S, L, ?
^{d}sîn-a-tum (-at-tu(m))	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-balāṭī	YOS 5	U
^{d}sîn-baliṭ	YOS 5; UET 5	U, L
^{d}sîn-bānî	YOS 5; UET 5; Harris, 108 II 1; Kisurra, p.206	U, T, K

^{d}sîn-bēl-aplim	UET 5; ARM 15, p.155; Stud.Mari. p. 89; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1; Stamm, p.217	U, M, L, ?, S?
^{d}sîn-bēl-ilī	YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1; UET 5; Kisurra, p. 206	U, L, ?, K
^{d}sîn-bēl-uriₓ^{ki}	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-bi-i-da	"	U
^{d}sîn-damiq	UET 5; YOS 8; Kisurra, p.206	U, L, K
^{d}sîn-dān	TCL 1; Kisurra, p. 206	?, K
^{d}sîn-dayyān	Harris, 12, 10	T
^{d}sîn-eli-ina-māti	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-emūqī	UET 5; Harris, 73, 2; YOS 8; Kisurra, p. 206	U, T, L, K
^{d}sîn-ellatī	Stamm, p. 299; Kisurra, p. 206	S, K
^{d}sîn-ellassu(nu)	Stamm, p. 299; UET 5	S, U
^{d}sîn-ennam	UET 5; Kisurra, p. 206	U, K
^{d}sin-ENGAR	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-erīb(am)	UET 5; Harris, 15, 15; 17, 15; 80, 3; 86, 3; 108 II 9; ARN; TCL 1; Kisurra, p. 206;YOS 5; YOS 8	U, T, S, ?, L, K
^{d}sîn-ērišˇ	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1; Stamm, p. 144; Kisurra, p. 206	U, L, ?, S?, K
^{d}sîn-gāmil	UET 5; TCL 1; Harris, 19, 11; 34, 6; 46, 5; 89, 4; YOS 5; YOS 8; Kisurra, p. 206	U, ?, T, L, K
^{d}sîn-gimlanni	UET 5; YOS 8; Stamm, p. 168; Kisurra, p. 206	U, L, S, K
^{d}sîn-ḫāzir	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1	U, L, ?

^{d}sîn-ḫegal	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-ibni	UET 5; TCL 1	U, ?
^{d}sîn-iddina(m)	UET 5; ARM 15, p.155; Stud.Mari., p. 89; ARN; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1; Stamm, p. 138; Kisurra, p. 206	U, M, S, L, ?, K
^{d}sîn-iddinanni	YOS 8	L
^{d}sîn-iddinaš(šu)	UET 5; YOS 5; Kisurra p.206	U, L, K
^{d}sîn-iddinšu	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-ilī(-ya)	UET 5; ARM 15, p.155;	U, M
^{d}sîn-iluka/DINGIR-ka	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-ilum/DINGIR	UET 5; YOS 5; Harris, 49, 13; 53, 7	U, L, T
^{d}sîn-ilūni	ARM 15, p.155; Stud. Mari., p. 89	M
^{d}sîn-imdī	UET 5; Kisurra 206	U, K
^{d}sîn-imgur	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-imguranni	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; Stamm, pp. 192; 308	U, L, S?
^{d}sîn-i-mi-el	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-imittī	UET 5; YOS 5; Stamm, p.211; Kisurra, p. 206	U, L, S?, K
^{d}sîn-immātim	Stamm, p. 227[E]	S?
^{d}sîn-imnanni	UET 5; Stamm, p. 192	U, ?
^{d}sîn-inā-mātim	Stamm, p. 227	S?
^{d}sîn-ippalsa(m)	UET 5; YOS 5	U, L
^{d}sîn-ipturam	Stamm, p. 191	N
^{d}sîn-iqbe	YOS 5	U
^{d}sîn-iqīša(m)	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1; Stamm, p. 138; Kisurra, p. 206	U, L, ?, S?, K

^{d}sîn-iqūla	Stamm, p. 192	N
^{d}sîn-issu	Stamm, pp. 138; 212	
^{d}sîn-išmeani/išmêni	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; ARN; TCL 1, Kisurra, p. 206	U, L, S, ?, K
^{d}sîn-išmešu	YOS 8	L
^{d}sîn-itûra(m)	UET 5; TCL 1; Stamm, p. 190	U, ?, ?
^{d}sîn-itti	YOS 5	U
^{d}sîn-ya	UET 5; Harris, 28, 4	U, T
^{d}sîn-i-a-ni	Kisurra, p. 206	K
^{d}sîn-i-a-um	Kisurra, p. 206	K
^{d}sîn-kašid	YOS 8; Kisurra, p. 206	L, K
^{d}sîn-ki(ma)-ilīya	YOS 5; Harris, 88; Kisurra, p. 206	L, T, K
^{d}sîn-kīna	TCL 1	?
^{d}sîn-lamassī	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-lā-šanan	Stamm, p. 239	S?
^{d}sîn-le'i	Stamm, p. 224	S?
^{d}sîn-leqe	Kisurra, p. 206	K
^{d}sîn-līdiš	Stamm, p. 62[1]; YOS 8	N, L
^{d}sîn-lišâl	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-litalal	YOS 5; YOS 8	U, L
^{d}sîn-lītam	YOS 5	U
^{d}sîn-liwwir	UET 5; Stamm, p. 153[4]	U, S?
^{d}sîn-ludlul	UET 5; YOS 8; Stamm p.202; TCL 1	U, L, S?, ?
^{d}sîn-māgir	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; ARN; Stamm, p. 222; TCL 1; Kisurra, p. 206	U, L, N, S, ?, K
^{d}sîn-maḫaṣ	YOS 5	L

^{d}sîn-maḫrum	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-ma-ilum(AN)	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8	U, L
^{d}sîn-malik	UET 5; TCL 1; Kisurra p.206	U, ?, K
^{d}sîn-ma-an-sum	UET 5; YOS 5	U, L
^{d}sîn-mānî	Stamm, p. 193[3]	
^{d}sîn-muballiṭ	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1; Kisurra, p. 206	U, L, ?, K
^{d}sîn-mudammiq	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-mud-i	"	U
^{d}sîn-munawwir	"	U
^{d}sîn-mupaḫḫir	UET 5; YOS 5	U, L
^{d}sîn-mupaššir	Stamm, p. 221	
^{d}sîn-mušablit	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-mušallim	UET 5; YOS 8; Stud. Mari., p. 89; TCL 1	U, L, M, ?
^{d}sîn-muštāl	YOS 5; YOS 8	L
^{d}sîn-muštēsir	UET 5; YOS 8	U, L
^{d}sîn-muttabbilu	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-nabi	YOS 5	U
^{d}sîn-nādā	TCL 1; Harris, 67, 13; 98, 6; 105, 15; Kisurra, p.206	?, T, K
^{d}sîn-nādin	UET 5; YOS 8	U, L
^{d}sîn-nādin-aplim	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-nadinam	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-nādin-šumī	ARN; Stamm, pp.40; 217; TCL 1	S, ?
^{d}sîn-nadni	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-na'id	"	U

sîn-napšira(m)	TCL 1	?
^{d}sîn-nāqid	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8	U, L
^{d}sîn-naṣir	UET 5; TCL 1; Kisurra p.206	U, ?, K
^{d}sîn-našî	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8	U, L
^{d}sîn-na-tum	UET 5; YOS 5	U
^{d}sîn-nawir	YOS 5; YOS 8; Stamm, p. 184; TCL 1; Kisurra, p. 206	L, S?, Cap., ?, K
^{d}sîn-nīrī	RA 46, p.196, Nr. 44	M
^{d}sîn-ni-ya	YOS 8; Kisurra, p.206	L, K
^{d}sîn-nūḫam	UET 5	U
sîn-nunu	TCL 1	?
^{d}sîn-nūrī	UET 5; YOS 5	U
^{d}sîn-nūr-māti(m)	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; Stamm, p.227[1]	U, L, S?
^{d}sîn-palâšu	UET 5; YOS 5	U,L
^{d}sîn-pāṭer	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; Stamm, p. 221	U, L, S?
^{d}sîn-pilah	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; Stamm, p. 204; Kisurra, p. 206	U, L, S?, K
^{d}sîn-puṭram	UET 3; YOS 8; Stamm, p.169; TCL 1	U, L, S?, ?
^{d}sîn-qarrād	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-qātī-ṣabat	YOS 5	L
^{d}sîn-qātum	YOS 8	L
^{d}sîn-qurād	Harris, 60, 16; 74, 8	T
^{d}sîn-rabi	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; ARN; TCL 1; Stamm, pp. 224; 308; Kisurra, p.206;	U, L, N, ?, S?, K
^{d}sîn-rā'im-uri$_2^{ki}$	Stamm, p. 227	?
^{d}sîn-rē'ûm	UET 5; TCL 1	U, ?

^{d}Sîn-rēmēnī	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1; ARN; Kisurra, p. 206	U, L, ? N, K
^{d}Sîn-rigimšu(?)	Stamm, p. 235[6]	
^{d}Sîn-rīm-ilī	UET 5	U
^{d}Sîn-rīm-uri$_2^{ki}$(-ma)	UET 5; YOS 5; Stamm p.227	U
^{d}Sîn-reṣam	UET 5	U
^{d}Sîn-silim-silim-me-a	"	U
^{d}Sîn-simat	YOS 8	U,L
^{d}Sîn-sulūl(AN-DUL)	YOS 5	U
^{d}Sîn-ša(?)-aplim	YOS 8	L
^{d}Sîn-ša-balāṭi	UET 5	U
^{d}Sîn-šadî-ilī	TCL 1	?
^{d}Sîn-šadûni	UET 5	U
^{d}Sîn-šamuḫ	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1	U, L, ?
^{d}Sîn-šar-aksak^{ki}	TCL 1	?
^{d}Sîn-šar-ilī	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; Stamm 227	U, L
^{d}Sîn-šar-mātim	UET 5;YOS 8;TCL 1	U, L, ?
^{d}Sîn-šarrī	YOS 5	L
^{c}Sîn-šarrum	UET 5; YOS 8; Kisurra p.206	U, L, K
^{d}Sîn-šar-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	YOS 5; Stamm, p. 227	L
^{d}Sîn-šaruḫ	YOS 8	L
^{d}Sîn-šeme/i	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1; Kisurra, p.206	U, L, ?, K
^{d}Sîn-ta-di-i	UET 5	U
^{d}Sîn-takiāku	Kisurra, p. 206	K
^{c}Sîn-tamkārī	UET 5; YOS 8	U, L

^{d}sîn-tappae	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-tappa-wēdi(m)	Stamm, p. 241	S?
^{d}sîn-tayyār	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; TCL 1; Kisurra, p. 206	U, L, ?, K
^{d}sîn-tukultī	UET 5; YOS 8; TCL 1	U, L, ?
^{d}sîn-tûram	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-tûri	"	U
^{d}sîn-ṭāb^{ab}/-ṭāba^{ba}	"	U
^{d}sîn-ṭābi/-ṭābu(m)	"	U
^{d}sîn-uballiṭ(su)	UET 5; TCL 1	U, ?
^{d}sîn-ubarti	UET 5; cf. Stamm, p.264	U
^{d}sîn-ubla(m)	UET 5; Stamm, p.140; YOS 8; ARN; TCL 1; Kisurra, p.206	U, S?, L, ?, K
^{d}sîn-uṣī(E$_3$)	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-uṣelli	UET 5; YOS 8	U, L
^{d}sîn-u-^{d}šamaš	Stamm, p. 135	
^{d}sîn-u$_2$-šu-u$_2$	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-u$_2$-zi-ru$^{(?)}$-um	"	U
^{d}sîn-waqar	"	U
^{d}sîn-wēdîma/-wēdû	UET 5; Harris, 12, 11; TCL 1; Kisurra, p.206; Stamm, pp. 51 and 163	U, T, ?, K, S?
^{d}sîn-wušušur	UET 5	U
^{d}sîn-zānini	"	U
^{d}sîn-zinušu	TCL 1	?
sumu-^{d}sîn	MDP II, p. 30 XV 29	Elam?
ṣilli-^{d}nanna	UET 5	U
ṣilli-^{d}sîn	UET 5; YOS 5; Stud. Mari., p. 89; ARM 15, p.157	U, L, M

šamuḫ-(d)sîn	TCL 1	?
šarrum-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
šarrut-^{d}sîn	UET 5; YOS 8	U, L
šarrute-^{d}sîn	YOS 8	L
šāt-^{d}nanna(?)	UET 5	U
šāt-^{d}sîn	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8 (^{d}30); Harris, 17, 2; Kisurra, p. 206	U, L, T, K
šēp-^{d}sîn	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; Stamm, p. 277; TCL 1	U, L, S?, ?
šēret-^{d}sîn	UET 5; Harris, 25, 13;	U, T
šīmat-^{d}sîn	UET 5; YOS 8;	U, L
šu-^{d}sîn	Kisurra, p. 206	K
šumu-^{d}sîn	UET 5; Stamm, p. 261; cf. above sumu-^{d}sin	U, N
ṭāb-bît-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
ubār-^{d}sîn	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; Harris 11, 14; 21, 12; 22, 13; 34, 14; 35, 12; 38, 11; 45, 18; 46, 15; 80, 17; cf. Stamm, p. 264	U, L, T
ula-aran-^{d}sîn	YOS 5	L
uz-lu-^{d}sîn	UET 5	U
ur-^{d}nanna	UET 5; YOS 5	U, L
ur-^{d}sîn	UET 5; Kisurra, p. 206	U, K
warad-^{d}nanna	UET 5; YOS 5; TCL 1	U, L, ?
warad-^{d}sîn	UET 5; YOS 5; YOS 8; ARM 15, p. 158; Harris, 7, 13; 108 II; TCL 1; Kisurra, p. 206	U, L, M, T, ?, K
watar-^{d}sîn	YOS 5	L

CHAPTER 4

THE MOON-GOD IN DEDICATORY INSCRIPTIONS

An important source of evidence for the study of a deity is the dedicatory inscription: an account of the pious deeds which kings and high officials performed in the service of a deity and had inscribed on city walls, building bricks, stone stelae, clay tablets, or any other votive object dedicated to a deity.[1] Hundreds of these inscriptions have been uncovered over the past century in the course of excavating major Mesopotamian cities. They are valuable not only for the insights they provide into cult practices and Sumerian conceptions of their gods and goddesses, but also because they can in most cases be dated and localized according to the stratigraphy and find-spot of the inscribed object and the mention of a known king or administrative official in the inscription. Such information enables the researcher to trace the historical evolution and the geographical spread of a cult and the key features that went into the conceptualization of a particular deity.

A great number of votive objects are dedicated to the moon-god. They date from the Presargonic period through the Old Babylonian period and come from a variety of Mesopotamian cities. This prevalence of inscriptions mentioning the moon-god is no doubt due to the fact that from a very early age Nanna/Suen was

considered to be a major deity of the Mesopotamian pantheon; and this is at least in part attributable to the great antiquity of the city of Ur, the cult residence of Nanna/Suen, and its later political power and prestige as the center of an influential empire. Predictably, the majority of inscriptions in all time periods come from Ur; but the presence of inscriptions dedicated to the moon-god in a number of other cities attests to his widespread cultic influence.

This chapter will present a transliteration and translation of the dedicatory inscriptions which mention the moon-god, a description of the objects on which they are found, references to the publications which treat the inscriptions, approximate time period of each by king (when known), and provenience by city or exact find-spot, if possible. Entries are listed in roughly chronological order, though this is sometimes difficult due to overlapping regnal periods of kings in different cities and anonymous inscriptions.[2] At the end of each major time period - Presargonic, Sargonic, Ur III, and Isin-Larsa/Old Babylonian - a commentary and synopsis of the evidence listed in the foregoing section will be presented concentrating on significant features of the cult of the moon-god and aspects of his character which are revealed in the inscriptions. The evidence from the inscriptions will also be compared to year-date formulae which make reference to the moon-god or his cult. Since the year dates often run in parallel fashion to the

dedicatory inscriptions, mentioning significant cultic events as do the inscriptions, it is useful to consider the two in conjunction and necessary for a fuller understanding of the deity and the events surrounding him; they also help to establish the chronology of cultic events and to follow more precisely the development of concepts regarding the moon-god. This separation of evidence according to place and time-period is considered all important to avoid the pitfall of generalizing about a deity as a sort of fixed, static entity at all times and places the same. The Sumerian cult of the moon-god and their concepts of this god underwent a complex development over a long period of time. In order to approach this complexity one must take pains to sort out each development of a long evolutionary process.

1. PRESARGONIC PERIOD (2630-2316)[3]

Text: (Transliteration & Translation)		Description & References:	Text Type:	Date: (King)	Provenience:
1. ^{d}sue[n]	"(for) Suen	fragment of a	dedicatory	anonymous	Tutub
2. S[AG]-R[IBg] (K[AB.DU])	(he) dedicated[4] (this object)"	stone basin; Steible ABW II, p. 211 An Haf. 9	inscription	(late ED II-early ED III)	Sîn Temple

1. PN 2. SANGA 3. ^{d}suen 4. akšak^{ki} 5. DUMU 6. PN 7. PA$_4$-GEŠ$_2$ 8. ^{d}suen 9. DN(?) 10. SAG-RIG$_9$ (=KAB-DU)	"PN SANGA-official of Suen of Akšak, son of PN, the 'anointing' priest of Suen (for) DN? dedicated (this object)"	statuette of a man; Steible ABW II, pp. 210-211 An Haf. 8	dedicatory inscription	anonymous (same as preceding)	Tutub (Hafagi) Sîn Temple
4. ME-nanna 5. ME-nanna		Deimel SF 31, iii, 4-5	exercise tablet	anonymous (c.2600)	Fara (Šuruppak)
1. gu$_4$-EN.ZU^{6} 2. gu$_4$-EN.ZU 5. gu$_4$-EN.ZU	"Bull of Suen(?)"	Deimel SF 51, i, 1, 2, 5	exercise tablet	anonymous (c.2600)	Fara (Šuruppak)
3. munus-zi-nanna	3	Deimel SF 57, i,	word list	anonymous (c.2600)	Fara (Šuruppak)
4. munus-zi-utu MUNUS:ZI:ZI:NANNA		UET 2, 9 i 3	word list	anonymous (c.2600)	Fara (Šuruppak)
MUNUS.ME:ZI:NANNA (lukur?-zi-nanna)		UET 2, 348, rev. ii 2	word list	anonymous (c.2600)	Fara (Šuruppak)
8. ZU-EN^{6} 15. u$_2$-dun-nanna	"Suen(?)" 8	Deimel SF 57, v, Deimel SF 57, xiii, 15; cf. 16	word list word list	anonymous (c.2600) anonymous (c.2600)	Fara (Šuruppak) Fara (Šuruppak)
1. ME-ZU-EN^{6}		Deimel SF 57, xv, 1; cf. duplicates of SF 57: Abu Salabikh texts AbST 221-225; see R. Biggs, JCS 20, p. 82 & OIP 99, p. 38	word list	anonymous (c.2600)	Fara; dupl.: Abū Ṣalābīkh
10. nanna: ap: mu (PN?)		Deimel SF 63, i, 10; cf. R. Biggs, OIP 99, p. 38	word list	anonymous (c.2600)	Fara
6. ^{d}nanna		Deimel SF 1, i, 5	deity list	anonymous (c.2600)	Fara
5. ^{d}EN-ZU		Deimel SF 5, i, 5	deity list	anonymous (c.2600)	Fara

5. [^{d}E]N-ZU		Deimel SF 6, i, 5	deity list	anonymous (c.2500)	Fara	
?. [^{d}E]N.ZU		OIP 99, No. 82, i, 7th box from bottom	deity list	anonymous (c.2500)	Abū-Ṣalābīkh	
?. ^{d}aš-im$_4$(DU)-babbar		OIP 99, No. 82, ii, 2nd box from bottom	deity list	anonymous (c.2500)	Abū-Ṣalābīkh	
3. ^{d}aš-im$_4$ (DU)-babbar		OIP 99, No. 86, ii, 3	deity list	anonymous (c.2500)	Abū-Ṣalābīkh	
^{d}na[n]na	"(for) Nanna"	copper vessel with engraved bull's leg on one side; Steible ABW II, p. 281 An Ur 3; cf. Iraq 22, p. 81, n. 14	dedicatory inscription	anonymous (c.2500)	Ur	
1. ^{d}nanna 2. nam-ti- 3. [. . .]-[še$_3$] (breaks off)	"(for) Nanna" for the life . . ."	fragment of a mace made of white limestone; Steible ABW II, p. 291 An Ur 21	dedicatory inscription	anonymous	Ur	
1. da-da-i$_3$-lum 2. AB X AŠ$_2$.IGI^{7}-^{d}suen	"Dada'ilum, elder(?) . . . of Suen"	sitting male figure (statuette), Steible ABW II, p. 287 An Ur 14	dedicatory inscription	anonymous (c.2400)	Ur (Enunmaḫ & Dublalmaḫ)	
1. mu-pa$_3$-da 2. ^{d}suen 3. dumu- (breaks off)	"chosen by Suen, . . ."	fragment of an alabaster vessel; Steible ABW II, pp. 291-292 An Ur 23	dedicatory inscription	anonymous	Ur	
1. ^{d}nanna 2. PN 3. [dam]-gar$_3$-ra 4. [nam-ti-] 5. [lugal-k]i-n[e$_2$]-eš$_2$-du$_7$-du$_7$ 6. lugal-ŠAR X DIŠ^{ki}-a 7. nam-ti- 8. PN-še$_3$ 9. nam-ti- 10. PN[-še$_3$] 11. a m[u-(na-)ru]	"To Nanna, PN, the merchant, dedicated(it) (this object) for the life of Lugalkineš-dudu, the king of Umma(?),[8] for the life of PN, (and) for the life of PN."	Two fragments of a white limestone vessel; Steible ABW II, pp. 301f. Lugalkiginnedudu 3	dedicatory inscription	Lugalkiginne-dudu of Uruk and Ur (c.2400)	Ur (Enunmaḫ)	

35. [eg-an-na-tum2-me]	"Eannatum	"Stele of the Vultures" Steible	dedicatory inscription	Eannatum (2454-2425)	Girsu
36. [sa-šuš-gal-]	put the great net	ABW I, pp. 120f.			
1. dsuen	of Suen,	xix, 35-36-xx, 1-5			
2. amar-ban3-da	the frisky calf				
3. den-lil2-ka	of Enlil,				
4. lu2-umma^ki-ra	upon the man from Umma."				
5. e-na-si5					
10. [zi-dsuen]	"By the life of Suen,	Steible ABW I, pp. 120f., xx, 10-14			
11. [amar-ban3-da-]	the frisky calf				
12. [den-lil2-ka]	of Enlil,				
13. [a-ša3-dnin-gir2-su2-ka]	I will have the field of Ningirsu				
14. [GUR8 i3-ku2^10	on loan with interest for (my) usufruct."				
4. u4-da mu-bal-e	"When I cross over (the border)	Steible ABW I, pp. 120f., xxi 4-11			
5. sa-šuš-gal-	may the great net				
6. dsuen	of Suen,				
7. amar-ban3-da	the frisky calf				
8. [den-lil]l2-[ka]	of Enlil,				
9. [nam e-ta-ku5-du]	upon which I have taken (this) oath,				
10. [umma^ki-a]					
11. [an-ta] he2-šuš	fall on Umma from above."				
4. ki-[. . .]	"In the . . . dwelling place(?)	Steible ABW I, pp. 120f., xxii, 4-15; xxiii, 1-8			
5. ds[uen]	of Suen				
6. [šu e-ma-ni-ba]	he released (2 doves bearing the message:)				
7. [lugal-mu]	'Any man in Umma				
8. [dsuen]	who either by his				
9. amar-ban3-da	words or by his				
10. den-lil2-ra	intent against my				
11. a-ba du11-ga-na	lord Suen, the frisky calf of				
12. a-ba šar2-ra-n[a]	Enlil, contests (this) agreement;				
13. lu2 umma^ki(-a)					
14. inim-da gur-da-am6					

15. U_4 a-du$_3$	will suffer . . .
1. [inim a(n)-gal$_2$][11]	. . . . .
2. [u$_4$-da inim-ba]	If he changes this
3. [šu i$_3$-bal-e]	agreement,
4. [sa-šuš-gal-]	may the great net
5. [^{d}suen]	of Suen,
6. [nam e-ta-ku$_5$-du]	upon which I have sworn an oath
7. [umma^{ki}-a]	fall upon Umma
8. [an-ta ḫe$_2$-šuš]	from above!"

21. sukkal-maḫ 22. ^{d}suen	"grand vizier of Suen (i.e. Lugalzegesi)"	fragments of stone vases; Steible ABW II, pp. 310f. Luzug. 1, i, 21-22	dedicatory inscription	Lugalzagesi (2348-2316)	Uruk
ZU:EN[6] lugal	"Suen, king"	inscription on a statue of an animal; YOS 9, 1, 1	?	?	?
879: nid-ba$_x$[12] na-ru$_2$ ^{d}su-en ^{d}aš-tar$_2$	"offering for the steles of Suen (and) Astar"	MEE 1, #879	administrative tablet	Ebrium[13]	Ebla
799a: *[^{d}en-zi]		MEE 4, p. 289, 799a, 799b	bilingual lexical text	?	Ebla
A$_{4-6}$ ^{d}en-zi=su$_2$-i-nu					
B. ^{d}en-zi=su$_2$-i-nu					
Ak. [^{d}en]-[zi]=su$_2$-i-n[u]					
AV. ^{d}e[n-zi]					
799b AT ^{d}EN-ZU=su$_2$-i-[nu]					

1. COMMENTARY - PRESARGONIC PERIOD

Because the inscriptional remains of the Presargonic period are scant in comparison with what has survived from later times, knowledge of the moon-god in this early period is very limited. All attestations of Nanna/Suen from the Presargonic period are therefore important for even the most basic understanding of Sumerian conceptions of the moon-god and aspects of his cult. Consequently, references to Nanna, Suen, and Aš̌imbabbar from sources other than dedicatory inscriptions have been included in this section so that all of the available evidence can be taken into consideration.

The oldest references to the moon-god by one or more of his names come from Ur, Tutub (Ḫafāǧi), Abū-Ṣalābīkh, and Šuruppak (Fara) and date approximately to the ED IIIA period (c.2600 B.C.E.).[3] The oldest datable inscription from Ur refers to the moon-god as <u>d</u>nanna (An Ur 3); two anonymous inscriptions from the same site which cannot be dated precisely refer to him both as <u>d</u>nanna and <u>d</u>suen (<u>d</u>EN.ZU; An Ur 21; 23). It is possible that <u>d</u>nanna was the earlier name of the moon-god at Ur. In favor of this suggestion is the fact that the name <u>d</u>suen does not occur in any of the archaic Ur tablets (post-Jemdet Nasr, pre-ED IIIA), which were published by E. Burrows in UET 2; the same is true of the personal names in these texts. The opposite is the case in the attestations from Tutub and at a somewhat later time from Girsu, Uruk, and Ebla where only the name <u>d</u>suen occurs. The name Aš̌imbabbar first appears in texts from Abū-Ṣalābīkh, the only place in the Presargonic period where this

name is found. The moon-god is also called Nanna and Suen here. He is referrred to by both names at Šuruppak too. It is conceivable that the various names of the moon-god originated in local cults, each of which had a different name for the deified moon. With the increasing contact of individual cities as civilization in Mesopotamia grew, these names might have spread from city to city; eventually they all were applied through syncretism to one and the same god. With more evidence from the older phases of the Early Dynastic period one might be able to relate the different names of the moon-god to particular geographic areas, possibly even particular cities; but for the present these suggestions cannot be proved.

In these early inscriptions one finds the first attestations of certain professional titles connected with the moon-god. An Haf. 8 mentions a SANGA official of Suen in Akšak and a type of cult priest called a PA$_4$-ŠEŠ of Suen. It is known from Ur-III times that the SANGA was the chief administrator of a temple and was one of the most important, if not the most important, religious official of a city.[14] The cultic function of the PA$_4$-ŠEŠ was in some way connected with oils and anointing; he may have played a role in the ritual bathing ceremonies which were part of the cult of the moon-god in later times.[15] The ME-nanna/ZU.EN of the Fara and Abū-Ṣalābīkh tablets may also refer to a cult functionary, in which case it is probably to be read išib-nanna/suen(?) "purification priest," an official also connected with ritual bathing.[16] munus-zi-nanna (Fara: SF 57, i, 3) is probably a forerunner-

form of the later title of the En-priestess: EN.(MUNUS).NUNUZ.ZI-^{d}NANNA.[17] Ue-dun-nanna (Fara: SF 57, xiii, 15) may also represent some sort of functionary of the moon-god; the interpretation of this phrase is uncertain. If AB x AŠe.IGI (An Ur 14) is to be read ab(ū) ālim as Sollberger has suggested,[7] then this inscription furnishes an anomolous reference to a "city elder of Suen," a professional title not attached to the moon-god in later times. Finally, Lugalzagesi refers to himself as the sukkal-maḫ-^{d}suen "grand vizier of Suen" (Luzag. 1), perhaps expressing that he is the representative or executor of Suen on earth. In this context the phrase is probably more a figurative title than a literal administrative office.

Also of interest in these Presargonic inscriptions is the epithet applied to the moon-god on three occasions in the Stele of the Vultures: amar-banš-da-^{d}en-lile-ka "frisky calf of Enlil," and his association in this inscription with the sa-šuš-gal "great net." Nanna/Suen is often referred to as a calf in inscriptions and hymns dating to later periods,[18] though only in the Presargonic period is he called amar-banš-da-^{d}en-lile-ka. This is an important early attestation of Nanna's relation to Enlil. It shows that already by the time of Eannatum (c. 2454-2425) Nanna/Suen was thought of as the offspring of Enlil, a relationship that is later confirmed in an inscription of Urnammu (c. 2112-2095) where the moon-god is first called dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil-laš (Urnammu 25, 3), "chief son of Enlil." In this same inscription Nanna has the epithet amar-banš-da-an-na "frisky calf of An/heaven." There is not

necessarily any logical contradiction in referring to the moon-god as both the son of Enlil and the calf of An. The association of the moon-god as a celestial phenomenon with the sky is obvious; the phrase may therefore be intended as a figurative expression. However, by genealogy Nanna is related to An as a grandson; so the expression might refer to his relationship to An as a second-generation offspring. The association of Nanna/Suen with a calf is related on the one hand to the pastoral aspects of his character as a god of the herds and on the other hand to the image of the crescent moon, which reminded the Sumerians of the horns of their cattle. This will be discussed further in Chapter 7 which will consider all the epithets of the moon-god.

The sa-šuš-gal "great net" is a weapon not specifically associated with the moon-god and in later periods it is not attested in connection with the god. In the inscriptions of Eannatum it is applied to Enlil, Ninḫursag, Enki, and Suen.[19] It is therefore to be interpreted as a symbol for the wrath and power of the gods generally and does not reveal any individual characteristic of the moon-god.

The only reference to the cult in this period beside the mention of various cult personnel in the texts is the attestation of nidba offerings to the stelae of dašțar (Eblaite Ištar) and dsuen (written phonetically as dsu-en). The fact that the moon-god under the name Suen had a place in the cult of a city as far away from Mesopotamia as western Syria may indicate a western, possibly Semitic origin of Suen.

However, the existence of a clearly Mesopotamian scribal tradition at Ebla and mention of the town in Old Akkadian sources as part of the Akkad empire suggests that Mesopotamian culture influenced Ebla at a very early age. The issue is still far from clear.

In conclusion, the following key facts about the moon-god and his cult in the Presargonic Period can be listed:

Ephithets: amar-ban$_3$-da-^{d}en-lil$_2$-ka

lugal

Cult: na-ru$_2$-^{d}suen-^{d}aš-tar$_2$(nid-ba$_x$)

Personnel: sanga-^{d}suen, PA$_4$-ŠEŠ-^{d}suen, ME-nanna/ZU.EN(?), munus-zi-nanna, AB x AŠ$_2$.IGI-^{d}suen, sukkal-maḫ-^{d}suen, u$_2$-dun-nanna(?)

Sites of cult activity: Ur, Tutub, Akšak, Girsu, Uruk, Šuruppak, Abū-Ṣalābīkh, Ebla

Names of the Moon-God: $^{(d)}$nanna, $^{(d)}$suen, $^{(d)}$aš-im$_4$-babbar

2. SARGONIC PERIOD

Texts: (Tranliteration and Translation)		Description and References:	Text Type:	Date (king):	Provenience:
1. en-ḫeg-du7-an-na	"Enḫeduanna,	calcite disk; RA 63, p. 180, 16; cf. E. Sollberger & J. Kupper, IRSA IIA 1 d	dedicatory inscription	Sargon of Akkad (2334-2279)	Ur
2. NUNUS-NUNUZ-ZI-^{d}NANNA	true lady of Nanna,				
3. dam-^{d}nanna	wife of Nanna,				
4. dumu-šar-ru-GI	daughter of Šarrumkin,				
5. lugal-kiši	king of all				
6. [eg-^{d}inannĭa-ZA-ZA(?)	in the temple of Inanna-ZA-ZA of				
7. urig^{ki}-ma-ka	Ur				
8. [barag]-si-ga	you built a dais				
9. big-e-dug	(and) called it				
10. barag banšur-an-na	by the name: 'dais, table of An'."				
11. mu-še$_3$ bi-sa$_4$					
1. a-na	"To	calcite macehead (and vase fragment); UET 1, No. 10; cf. H. Hirsch, AfO 20, p. 10 II a)2.	dedicatory inscription	Rimuš of Akkad (2278-2270)	Ur; dupl. Tutub (Ḫarādi)
2. ^{d}suen	Suen				
3. rig-mu-uš	Rimuš				
4. LUGAL-	king				
5. kiši	of all,				
6. ig-nu	when				
7. elam^{ki}	he had smashed				
8. ug	Elam and Barahsi,				
9. ba-ra-aḫ-si$_3^{ki}$	he dedicated				
10. SAG GIŠ-RA-NI	(this object)				
11. in NAM-RA-AK	from the booty				
12. elam^{ki}	of Elam."				
13. A MU-RU					
obv. iii:					
11. in E-SI	"Out of dolorite	UET 1, No. 275+ dupl.; cf. AfO 20, p. 20, 4, 5 and p. 75: OB copy of an inscription on a statue	dedicatory inscription	Narāmsuen of Akkad (2254-2218)	Ur
12. DUL$_3$-su	he fashioned his				
13. ib-ni-ma	statue and dedi-				
14. a-na	cated it to				
15. ^{d}suen	Suen."				
16. A MU-RU					
obv. iii:					
32. ig-nu-šu	"At that time				
33. tam$_2$-si-[li]	I fashioned my				
34. ab-ni	image (and)				
rev. i					
1. a-[na]	dedicated it				
2. ^{d}su[en] (^{d}EN-Z[U])	to Suen				
3. iš(sic!)-ru-u[k]	(text reads: he dedicated.")				

0'.[na-ra-am-^{d}suen]	"[Narām-suen,	UET 8, No. 12; cf. IRSAII A4g	inscription on clay tablet	Narāmsuen of Akkad	Ur
1'.[LUGAL ki-ib-ra-tim ar-ba-im(?)]	king of the four regions,]				
2'.en-men-a[n-na(?)]	Enmenanna,				
3'.MUNUS-NUNUZ-ZI-^{d}N[ANNA]	true lady(?) of Nanna,				
4'.dam-^{d}n[anna]	wife of Nanna,				
5'.en-	en-priestess				
6'.^{d}suen	of Suen				
7'.in uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	in Ur				
8'.DUMU-MUNUS-su	(is) his daughter."				
I. ^{d}na-ra-am-^{d}suen dingir-a-ga-de$_3^{ki}$ en-men-an-na	"Narām-suen, god of Akkad - Enmenanna,	seal inscription: AfO 17, p. 27 c)	seal inscription	Narāmsuen of Akkad	Girsu
II.e[n-^{d}nanna] dumu-[ni] LU-x-[ ] dub-[sar] arad-da-[ni]	e[n-priestess of] Nanna], his daughter - Lu-x-[ ] the scr[ibe] (is) [her] servant."				
1. DUMU-^{d}na-ra-am-^{d}suen	"Son of Narām-Suen, the strong,	Thureau-Dangin SAK, p. 166-167, e); cf. IRSA II A 4 k: square plate	dedicatory inscription	Narāmsuen of Akkad	Girsu
2. da-nim					
3. na-bi$_2$-ul$_3$-maš	Nabiulmaš,				
4. ENSI$_2$	governor of				
5. tu-tu^{ki}	Tutu -				
6. li-pu-uš-ia$_3$-a-um	Lipušyaum,				
7. BALAG-DI-	lamentation-singer of Suen				
8. ^{d}suen DUMU-MUNUS-ZU	(is) your daughter."				
1. ^{d}nanna	"For Nanna	clay nails: UET 8, p. 35, 40; cf. Steible's forthcoming Die neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften (FAOS 9) sub Lusaga 2	dedicatory inscription	Lusaga (reigned shortly before Utuḫegal)[28]	Ur
2. lugal-a-ni	his lord				
3. lu$_2$-s[ag-ga]	Lusaga,				
4. [ensi]$_2$	governor				
5. [u]ri$_2^{ki}$-m[a-ke$_4$]	of Ur				
6. [k]i-sur-ra-ne$_2$	has declared his boundary				
7. KA-ta [mu-na]-ta-[e]$_3$	(and) erected a dais (as a				
8. bara$_2$ mu-na-s[i]	marker)."				
IV.					
9. šu din-su	"He who	stone stele: Thureau-Dangin, SAK, pp. 178-180 XIX, 1, d);	dedicatory inscription	Puzur-inšušinak (2229-2195)	Susa
10.uš-ba-la-ka$_3$-tu$_3$	transgresses his command				
11.u$_3$ qi$_2$-iš-	and removes his				

ta$_2$-su	gift -	cf. IRSA 2BIIf				
12. i-ti$_3$-ru						
13. ^{d}Šušinak	may Šušinak					
14. u$_3$ ^{d}UTU	and Šamaš,					
15. ^{d}en-lil$_2$	Enlil,					
16. u^3 ^{d}en-ki	and Enki,					
17. ^{d}inanna	Inanna,					
18. ^{d}suen	Suen,					
19. ^{d}nin-ḫur-sag	Ninḫursag,					
20. ^{d}narun[di?] (^{d}NA-T[I])	Narundi(?)					
V.						
1. naphar DINGI[R.MES]	(and) all the gods					
2. SUHUŠ-su	tear out					
3. li-su-[ḫu]	his roots."					
18. DINGIR-MEŠ gu-ti-im	"May the gods of the Guti,	Thureau-Dangin, SAK, p. 170-172, XI; mace cf. IRSA IIJ2a	dedicatory inscription	La-'arab (2147-2141)	Sippar	
19. ^{d}inanna	Inanna					
20. u$_3$	and					
21. ^{d}suen	Suen					
22. DU-su	tear out his					
23. li-suḫ-ḫa	roots."					
1. puzur-^{d}suen	"Puzur-suen,	seal: L. Legrain University of Penn. Museum Journal 13 (1922), p. 60	inscription on seal	Puzur-suen of Gutium (2148-2134)	Ur	
2. engar da-ra-ta SEŠ-	provider of Ur for all time"					
3. AB.ki						
1. en-an-ne$_2$-pa$_3$-da	"Enannepada,	fragments of stone vessels; UET 1, 25	dedicatory inscription	Urbaba of Lagash (2155-2142)	Ur	
2. en-^{d}nanna	en-priestess of Nanna,					
3. dumu-ur-^{d}ba-bag	daughter of Urbaba,					
4. ensi$_2$-	governor					
5. lagaš^{ki}	of Lagash."					
1. en-an-ne$_2$-pa$_3$-da	"Enannepada,	Dupl. of UET 1, 25 with variants; cf. UET 1, p. 6, note to No. 25	dedicatory inscription	Urbaba of Lagash (2155-2142)	Ur	
2. en-^{d}nanna	En-priestess of Nanna,					
3. MUNUS.NUNUZ.ZI-^{d}NANNA	true lady(?) of Nanna,					
4. [dam]-^{d}nanna	wife of Nanna,					
5. dumu-ur-^{d}ba-bag	daughter of Urbaba,					
6. ensi$_2$-	governor of					
7. lagaš^{ki}	Lagash."					
XIX.						
18. ab$_2$-^{d}nanna tur$_3$-ba ⌈rin$_2$-rina$_2$⌉-dam	"like Nanna's cow which ⌈is shining⌉[21] in its	Gudea Cyl. A, xix, 18-19	dedicatory inscription	Gudea of Lagash (2141-2122)	Girsu	

19. sig$_4$ mu-gar e$_2$-a mu-gub-gub	he placed the brick; in the temple he laid it."				
XXI.					
18. bugin-^{d}nanna SAG-KEŠ$_2$-^{d}en-ki-ka-kam	"like the bucket of Nanna, (and) the . . .[22] of Enki."	Gudea Cyl. A, xxi, 18	dedicatory inscription	Gudea of Lagash (2141-2122)	Girsu
iii					
10. i$_3$-ti-sa-sa im-e$_3$	"The moon's dazzling(?) light arose.	Gudea Cyl. B, iii, 10-12	dedicatory inscription	Gudea of Lagash (2141-2122)	Girsu
11. kalam-ma u$_4$ mu-gal$_2$ e$_2$-ninnu ^{d}suen u$_3$-tu-da	It was the light of the (whole) land. Eninnu with the new-born Suen				
12. sag im-ma-da-ab-sa$_2$	strove for the land."				
viii					
48. ^{d}suen mu-ni lu$_2$ nu-dug-de$_3$	"Suen, whose name no one can interpret."	Gudea Statue B, viii, 48	dedicatory inscription	Gudea of Lagash (2141-2122)	Girsu
xiii					
4. en-zi-šag$_3$-zalag-zalag (dadag)-ga-ke$_4$ ^{d}suen-e me-bi an-ki-a im-mi-diri-ga-am$_3$	"True lord of the shining (pure) heart, Suen, is he who has made its (the temple's) me's surpassing throughout (all) of heaven and earth."[23]	Gudea Cyl. B, xiii, 4-5	dedicatory inscription	Gudea of Lagash (2141-2122)	Girsu
i					
1. [^{d}nin-g]al	"To Ningal,	fragment of a diorite stele; UET 1, 30	dedicatory inscription	Utuḫegal of Uruk (2123-2113)	Ur
2. [dam-ki-a]g$_2$	the beloved wife				
3. [^{d}su]en-na	of Suen,				
4. [nin]-a-ni	his lady				
5. [nam]-ti-	for the life				
6. ^{d}utu-ḫe$_2$-gal$_2$	of Utuḫegal,				
7. nita-kal-ga	the strong man,				
8. lugal-unu^{ki}-g[a]	king of Uruk,				
9. lugal-a[n-ub]-da-[limmu]-[ba-ka-še$_3$]	king of the four (world) regions				
10. ur-[^{d}nammu]	Urnammu,				
ii.					
1. šagi[na]	general of				
2. uri$_2$ ^{ki}[-ma]	Ur,				
3. ARA-[(a)-tu]	servant				

4. e_2-ki[$\check{s}$-nu]-g[al$_2$-la]	of Eki$\check{s}$nugal,	
5. $\check{s}$[e$\check{s}$-a-ne$_2$] (breaks off)	his brother."[24]	

1. ^{d}nin-gal	"To Ningal,	Steible, forth-	dedicatory	Kudda of	?
2. ^{d}nin-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ra	the (divine) mistress of Ur has	coming FAOS 9 (see above sub Lusaga),	inscription	Uruk	
3. ku$_5$-da	Kudda, the	Kudda 1; cf. E.			
4. sanga-^{d}inanna	sanga-administrator of Inanna,	Sollberger, UET 8, p. 3, 15; fragment			
5. [x]-^{d}utu-k[e$_4$]	(and) the [x] of	of a dark green			
6. [...]KI[...]	Utu [. . .]	steatite vessel			

2. COMMENTARY - SARGONIC PERIOD

The most significant activity undertaken by the kings of Akkad and their successors for the cult of the moon-god was the installation of the En-priestess at Ur. The first and foremost representative of this priesthood was Enḫeduanna, the daughter of Sargon, founder of the Akkad dynasty. She is depicted in a relief carved on a round calcite disk which was found at Ur in the e$_2$-gi$_6$-par$_3$, the residence of the En-priestesses. The relief shows her between two female escorts in the act of pouring a libation, presumably to the moon-god.[25] On the back of the disk is the inscription which is transliterated above. She calls herself MUNUS-NUNUZ-ZI-^{d}NANNA, dam-^{d}nanna, a title that is also adopted by Enmenanna, daughter of Narām-suen, and Enannepada, daughter of Urbaba, ensi of Lagash (2155-2142). Though the interpretation and the reading of MUNUS.NUNUZ.ZI-^{d}NANNA is uncertain, the title dam-^{d}nanna "wife of Nanna" is clear. It is here at this time that the long tradition of appointing the daughter of the king to serve as En-priestess at Ur and the spouse of the moon-

god begins. As I mentioned in the commentary on the Presargonic period the appellation MUNUS.NUNUZ.ZI-^{d}NANNA may go back to the earlier munus-zi-(zi-)^{d}nanna attested at Fara and in the Ur archaic texts.[26] If such is the case, then the tradition of the En-priestess may be even older than the Sargonic period. There is as yet no evidence which would indicate that she was the daughter of the king or considered the wife of the moon-god at this earlier time.

Another member of the moon-god's cult personnel attested in Sargonic texts is the BALAG-DI, a logogram equated either with Akkadian ṣārihu "lamentation singer" or munambû "wailer" (CAD vol. 10/2, 199); cf. ša ṣirḫi "dirge singer" (CAD vol. 16, 206). There is some evidence in the Ur-III period of lamentations being sung as a part of the cult of Nanna/Suen at Ur, but the occasions on which this occurred and the cultic reasons for it are unclear.[27] The existence of the BALAG-DI-^{d}suen as early as the reign of narām-suen shows that this cultic office had a long tradition and was a well-established feature of the moon-god's cult.[28]

Other aspects of the cult of Nanna/Suen are revealed by the descriptive inscriptions of Gudea of Lagash, The bugin-^{d}nanna, a type of water container, later comes to be used figuratively as a description of the moon in one of its phases. [29] Water vessels of one sort or another are not infrequently mentioned in

connection with the moon-god, especially in literary contexts. It seems that such containers were a regular feature of the cult paraphernalia of the moon-god.[30] No doubt they were utilized in regular purification rituals for which there is ample evidence in the Ur-III period.[31]

The tur3 "cattle stall, cattle pen" is first attested in connection with Nanna in the Gudea inscriptions also. It is very frequently found in literary references to Nanna[32] and is related to Nanna/Suen's role as god of the herds and provider of the prosperity of Ur.

Certain descriptive epithets frequently applied to the moon-god in literary texts from a later period first occur in the Gudea inscriptions; i3-ti[33] meaning "moon" or "moonlight" is one of the many epithets of light applied to Nanna/Suen. The word occurs frequently in Gudea in descriptions of light with no direct reference to the moon-god. sa-sa may be related to iti6-sah6-sah6(HA.A), a phrase used in a temple hymn to describe the Ekišnugal, the moon-god's temple at Ur (see TCS 3, no. 8, 110 and p. 76 for commentary).

The description of Nanna as "the light of the land" (kalam-ma u4 mu-gal2) is a literary image which is very frequently found in similar phrases applied to the moon-god in various literary contexts.[34] The same can be said about the conception of the moon-god being reborn. These two key concepts of the moon will be discussed at

greater length in Chapters 6 and 7 where the literary imagery and epithets applied to the moon-god will be treated.

The epithet en-zi-šà-zalag-zalag(or dadag)-ga-ke4 in Gudea Cyl. B, xiii, 4 is a description of Nanna/Suen which is only found in this reference. Though the signs UD.UD can be read either as zalag-zalag (possibly to be contracted as zalzalag) or as dadag, the first reading, "shining heart" seems more probable as a description of the moon. The epithet is similar to the titles of the En-priestesses, which are often descriptive of the moon's appearance or contain a common epithet of the moon-god. ĝen-he2-duz-an-na and ĝen-men-an-na are typical examples of this principle. he2-duz-an-na "ornament of heaven" and men-an-na "crown of heaven" are frequently attested in literary texts as epithets of the moon-god. As far as I know, an-ne2 pa3-da "whom An has chosen" is not a phrase applied to the moon-god, though logically it would certainly fit him.[35]

It is clear that the kings of Akkad and succeeding kings of other cities maintained the cult at Ur and paid homage to the mood-god. This attests to the prestige of Ur and the high respect accorded the moon-god in this period. The prestige of the moon-god and his city of Ur are born out by the efforts of the kings of the Akkad dynasty and succeeding kings of other cities to maintain and pay homage to the cult of the moon-god at Ur. As the

inscriptions show, not only did they install members of their family as priestesses of the god in his cult center, but they donated various objects and had likenesses of themselves set up in the moon-god's temple. Even the kings of Elam and Guti included Nanna/Suen in the pantheon of deities that they revered and invoked in inscriptions. The seal of Puzur-Suen of Gutium shows that he considered himself the caretaker of Ur. The inscriptions to Ningal show that like homage was paid to the consort of the moon-god and the chief female goddess of Ur.

The evidence on Nanna/Suen in the Sargonic Period can be synopsized as follows:

Epithets: i3-ti-sa-sa
kalam-ma u4
^{d}suen u3-tu-da
en-zi-šà3-zalag-zalag(dadag)-ga-ke4
^{d}suen mu-ni lu2 nu-dug-de3

Cult:

Paraphernalia: bugin-^{d}nanna, tur3, DUL3 (tamšilu)

Personnel: En-priestesses en-ḫe2-du7-an-na, en-men-an-na, en-an-ne2-pa3-da; all called MUNUS.NUNUZ.ZI-^{d}NANNA, BALAG.DI-^{d}suen

Sites of Cult Activity: Ur, Tutub, Girsu, Susa, Sippar

Names of the Moon-God: ^{d}nanna, ^{d}suen

3. UR III PERIOD

Text: (Transliteration and Translation)		Description and References:	Text Type:	Date (King):	Provenience:
1. ur-^{d}nammu 2. lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma 3. lu$_2$ e$_2$-^{d}nanna 4. in-du$_3$a(var. in-ni-du$_3$)	"Urnammu, king of Ur, the man who built the temple of Nanna."	See forthcoming Steible, Die neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften (FAOS) , sub Urnammu 1 for complete list of texts and variants on door sockets and bricks	Dedicatory inscription	Urnammu	Ur
1. ^{d}inanna(!) (written ^{d}NANNA) 2. nin-an-na 3. nin-a-ni 4. ur-^{d}nammu 5. lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ke$_4$ 6. e$_2$-a-ni 7. mu-na-du$_3$	"For Inanna(?), the lady of heaven, his lady has Urnammu, king of Ur, built her temple."	Steible NBW sub Urnammu 8; baked bricks	Dedicatory inscription	Urnammu	Ur; gaz-nunnaḫ, Rm. 23
col. I 1. ^{d}nanna 2. lugal-a-ni 3. ur-^{d}nammu 4. lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ke$_4$ col. II 1. e$_2$-a-ni 2. mu-na-du$_3$ 3. bad$_3$-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma 4. mu-na-du$_3$ (var. mu-na-dah(!) (MU.MU))	"For Nanna, his lord, Urnammu, king of Ur built his temple; he built (var. he added) the wall of Ur."	Steible NBW sub Urnammu 9; baked bricks	Dedicatory inscription	Urnammu	Ur; wall of the "palace"
1. ^{d}nanna 2. dumu-sag- 3. ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ 4. lugal-a-ni 5. ur-^{d}nammu 6. nita-kal-ga 7. en-unu^{ki}-ga 8. lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma 9. lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke$_4$	"For Nanna, chief son of Enlil, his lord has Urnammu, the strong man, lord (en-priest?) of Uruk, king of Ur, king of Sumer (and) Akkad	Steible NBW sub Urnammu 10; baked bricks	Dedicatory inscription	Urnammu	Ur; in situ in the ziggurat wall

10. e2-temen-ni2-guru3	built the Etemen-niguru,	
11. e2-ki-ag2-ga2-ni	his beloved	
12. mu-na-du3	temple (and)	
13. ki-bi mu-na-gi4	restored it."	

1. ^{d}nanna	"For Nanna,	Steible NBW sub	Dedicatory	Urnammu	Ur
2. lugal-a-ni	his lord,	Urnammu 24; clay	inscription		
3. ur-^{d}nammu	Urnammu,	nails			
4. nita-kal-ga	the strong man,				
5. lugal-uri2^{ki}-ma	king of Ur,				
6. lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke4	king of Sumer (and) Akkad				
7. i7-nun	dug the Inun canal,				
8. i7-ki-ag2-ni	his beloved canal."				
9. mu-na-ba-al					

1. ^{d}nanna	"For Nanna,	Steible NBW sub	Dedicatory	Urnammu	Ur
2. amar-ban3-da-an-na	the frisky calf of	Urnammu 25; clay nails	inscription		
3. dumu-sag	An, chief son				
4. ^{d}en-lil2-la2	of Enlil,				
5. lugal-a-ni	his lord				
6. ur-^{d}nammu	has Urnammu,				
7. nita-kal-ga	the strong man,				
8. lugal-uri2^{ki}-ma-ke4	king of Ur				
9. e2-temen-ni2-guru3-ni	built his Etemen-niguru."				
10. mu-na-du3					

1. ^{d}nanna	"For Nanna,	Steible NBW sub	Dedicatory	Urnammu	Ur
2. dumu-sag	chief son	Urnammu 26; clay	inscription		
3. ^{d}en-lil2-la2	of Enlil,	nails, cf. Th.			
4. lugal-a-ni	his lord	Jacobsen, Iraq 22,			
5. ur-^{d}nammu	has Urnammu,	184-185			
6. nita-kal-ga	the strong man,				
7. lugal-uri2^{ki}-ma	king of Ur,				
8. lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke4	king of Sumer (and) Akkad,				
9. lu2 e2-^{d}nanna	the man who built				
10. in-du3-a	the temple of Nanna,				
11. ni3-ul-li2-a-ke4 pa mu-na-e3	exalted the lasting values (of the past),				
12. gaba-a-ab-ka-ka	on the waterfront				
13. ki-SAR-a nam-ga-eš8 bi2-silim	he brought the maritime trade back to health in the ...				

14. maḫ-maḫ-gan šu-na mu-ni-gi$_4$	place, (and) returned the ships of Magan to his (Nanna's) hand."					
1. ^{d}nanna dumu-sag-[d?][en-lil$_2$-la$_2$]	"For Nanna, chief son of Enlil,	Steible NBW sub Urnammu 27; fragments of clay tablets and OB copy on tablet	Dedicatory inscription	Urnammu	Ur	
2. lugal-a-ni-[ir]	his lord					
3. ur-^{d}nammu(!) nita-ka[l-ga]	has Urnammu, the strong man,					
4. lugal-[uri$_2$]^{ki}-[ma]	king of Ur,					
5. lugal-ki-en-[gi-ki]-[uri-ke$_4$]	king of Sumer (and) Akkad					
6. sug-peš-du$_3$-a	drained(?) the					
7. sug ḫe$_2$-me-am$_3$	marshland planted					
8. a-ša$_3$-bi	with (date-palm)					
9. šar$_2$-gal-am$_3$	shoots; it had truly					
10. a-ta	become a marshland					
11. [ḫa]-mu-na-ta-DU	(and) its area amounted to 36,000 (iku).					
12. e-bi 4 da-na 260 NINDA.DU	He made its canal (with a length) of 4 miles, 260 NINDA.DU					
13. ḫe$_2$-na-AK						
14. uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	He made it in Ur					
15. [gi$_{16}$-sa]	as a lasting					
16. ḫe$_2$-mi-AK (-na$_3$?)	possession.					
17. e-ba a-ba-^{d}nanna-gin$_7$	The name of the canal (is) 'Who is					
18. mu-bi	like Nanna?'"					
col. I						
1. ^{d}nanna	"For his lord Nanna,	Steible NBW Urnammu 28; clay nails	Dedicatory inscription	Urnammu	Ur	
2. dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$	chief son of Enlil,					
3. lugal-a-ni						
4. ur-^{d}nammu	Urnammu,					
5. nita-kal-ga	the strong man,					
6. lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	king of Ur,					
7. lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke$_4$	king of Sumer (and) Akkad					
8. u$_4$ (e$_2$)-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$	dug the canal, the name of which (is)					
9. in-du$_3$-a	'Nanna, the canal-					

10. i7-dè	inspector' after
11. ^{d}[nanna]-gu$_2$-gal mu-bi	he had built the temple of Enlil;
12. i7-ki-sur-ra-kam	it is the canal on the border.
13. mu-ba-al	
14. kun-bi a-ab-ba-ka i$_3$-la$_2$	He made its mouth extend into the
15. di-ni$_3$-gi-na-	Sealands area.
16. ^{d}utu-ta	Based on the firm
17. bar bi$_2$-tam	judgment of Utu,
18. inim bi$_2$-gi-in	he examined (and) confirmed the agreement (concerning the border).
col. II	
1. lu$_2$	Any man
2. ^{d}nanna-[a]	who acts in a
3. in-da$_3$-kur$_2$-[a]	hostile manner against nanna,
4. lugal ḫe$_2$-[a]	be he king,
5. ensi$_2$ ḫe$_2$-[a]	or be he city-governor,
6. lu$_2$ aš$_2$-du$_{11}$-g[a]	may he be as one cursed
7. ^{d}nanna (var. ^{d}ŠEŠ)-gi[n$_7$]	by Nanna.
8. ḫe$_2$-[a]	
9. ki-tuš-^{d}nanna-k[a]	In the dwelling place of Nanna
10. ḫe$_2$-na-GIBI[L]	may he be ...
11. uru-ne$_2$ gi-KA-t[a]	May his city ostracize(?) him from
12. ḫe$_2$-ta-[dag-dag]-ge	the ...
13. nam-ti-il ni$_3$-gig-ga-ni	May life become misery for him."
14. ḫe$_2$-na (var. ḫe$_2$-a)	

col. I						
5". [i7 x x(?)]-mah	"He (Urnammu) dug the mighty ...	Steible NBW sub Urnammu 29; lime-stone stele of Urnammu	Dedicatory inscription	Urnammu	Ur	
6". ^{d}nanna	canal of Nanna;					
7". mu-ba-al						
8". i7-^{d}nanna-gu$_2$-gal	the canal of 'Nanna, canal-					
9". i7-ki-sur-ra	inspector,' the					
10". [x x x(?)]-ba	boundary canal of					
11". [m]u-ba-al	... he dug;					
12". i7-gu$_2$-bi-eridu^{ki}-ga	the Gubieridu canal,					
13". i7-gu$_2$-[x]-ur$_2$-	... canal					

14". ^{d}nin-⌜girᵢ-su⌝	of Ningirsu					
15". mu-ba-al	he dug."					
1. ⌜d⌝nan⌈na⌉	"For Nanna,	Steible NBW sub Urnammu 30; fragment of a stone vase	Dedicatory inscription	Urnammu	Ur, gaᵢ-nun-mah	
2. ⌈l⌉ugal-a-ni	his lord					
3. ⌈u⌉r-^{d}n⌈ammu⌉ (breaks off)	Urnammu ..."					
1. ⌜d⌝⌈nan⌉na	"For Nanna,	Steible NBW sub Urnammu 33; marble mace	Dedicatory inscription	Urnammu	Ur, gaᵢ-nun-mah, Rm. 17	
2. lugal-a-ni	his lord,					
3. ur-^{d}nammu	Urnammu,					
4. ⌈nita⌉-kal-ga	the strong man					
5. lugal-uriᵢ^{ki}-ma	king of Ur,					
6. lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-uri-keᵢ	king of Sumer (and) Akkad					
7. ⌈nam-ti⌉-la-ni-šeᵢ	dedicated (this mace)					
8. ⌈a⌉⌈mu⌉-na-ru	for his life."					
1. ⌜d⌝nin-gal	"To Ningal,	Steible NBW sub Urnammu 35; stone nail and a fragment	Dedicatory inscription	Urnammu	Ur, gaᵢ-nun-mah	
2. ⌈ ⌉n-a-ni	her lady					
3. ⌈nam⌉-ti-	for the life					
4. ⌈ur⌉-^{d}nammu	of Urnammu,					
5. ⌈nita-k⌉al-ga	the strong man,					
6. ⌈lugal⌉-uriᵢ^{ki}-ma	King of Ur,					
7. ⌈lugal⌉-ki-en-gi-ki-uri	king of Sumer (and) Akkad,					
8. ad-da-na-šeᵢ	her father					
9. en-nir-galᵢ-an-na	has Ennirgalanna,					
10. en-^{d}nanna	en-priestess of Nanna, his					
11. ⌈dumu⌉-ki-agᵢ-ni	beloved daughter					
12. ⌈...⌉ a mu-na-ru	dedicated (this object)."					
8. u₄ eᵢ-^{d}nanna	"When he had built	Steible NBW sub Urnammu 40; foot of a vessel in grey and white marble; dedicatory inscription to ^{d}bilᵢ-gameᵢ of EN.DIMᵢ.GIG^{ki} with mention of the construction of the Nanna temple	Dedicatory inscription	Urnammu	Ur; grave of the 'mausoleum of Šulgi and Amarsuen'	
9. mu-duᵢ-a	the temple of Nanna,"					

col. I					
1. ^{d}nanna	"To Nanna,	Steible NBW sub	Dedicatory	Šulgi	Ur, "nimin-tab-ba" temple
2. [lu]gal-a-ni	his lord,	Šulgi 25; diorite	inscription	(2094-2097)	
3. [š]ul-gi	Šulgi	statue; out of 68			
4. [nit]a-kal-ga	the strong man	known dedicatory			
5. [lug]al-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	king of Ur,	inscriptions by Šulgi listed by			
6. [lugal-ki]-[en]-[gi-ki-uri-ke$_4$] (breaks off)	king of Sumer (and) Akkad	Steible, o.c., this is the only one dedicated to the moon-god.			
col. II					
1. nam-ti-la-ni-še$_3$	for his life				
2. a mu-na-ru	dedicated (this statue)				
3. alan-ba	The name of this				
4. ^{d}nanna EZEN [...-g]al$_2$(?)	statue (is) 'Nanna ...'"				
5. [mu-bi-im(?)]					
col. I					
1. ^{d}amar-^{d}suen	"Amar-Suen	Steible NBW sub	Dedicatory	Amar-Suen	Ur
2. nibru^{ki}-a	whom Enlil called	Amar Suen 38 baked	inscription	(2046-2038)	
3. ^{d}en-lil$_2$-le	in Nippur,	brick belonging to			
4. mu-pa$_3$-da		the pedestal of a			
5. sag-us$_2$	the provider	a statue(?)			
6. e$_2$-^{d}en-lil$_2$-ka	of the temple of Enlil,				
7. lugal-kal-ga	the strong man,				
8. lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	king of Ur,				
9. lugal-an-ub-da-limmu-ba-me	king of the four world regions am I.				
10. [alan]-ba	The name of this				
11. ^{d}amar-^{d}suen ki-ag$_2$-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	statue (is): 'Amar-Suen, loved by Ur'.				
12. mu-bi-im					
13. alan-ba	The one who alters				
col. II					
1. lu$_2$ ki-gub-ba-bi	the standing-place				
2. ib$_2$-da-ab-kur$_2$-re-a	of this statue,				
3. bara$_2$-si-ga-bi	who tears up its				
4. i$_3$-bu$_3$![KA x ŠU]-re-a	base				
5. ^{d}nanna	may Nanna,				
6. lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ke$_4$	lord of Ur,				
7. ^{d}nin-gal	(and) Ningal,				
8. ama-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ke$_4$	mother of Ur				
9. na[m!][ha!]-	curse.				

	ba-an-da-kurus-ne					
10.	numun-na-ni	May they destroy				
11.	hez-eb-til-le-ne	his seed (descendents)."				
1.	^{d}amar-^{d}suen	"Amar-suen,	Steible NBW sub Amarsuen 4; baked brick	Dedicatory inscription	Amar-suen	Ur; Diqdiqqah
2.	lugal-kal-ga	the strong king,				
3.	lugal-uri2^{ki}-ma	king of Ur,				
4.	lugal-an-ub-da-limmu2-ba-ke4!	king of the four world regions				
5.	ki-en-nu-ga2-uri2^{ki}-ma	built the sentry station.				
6.	mu-na-du3					
7.	[ki]-en-nu-ga2-ba	The name of this sentry station (is)				
8.	[^{d}a]mar-^{d}suen	'Amarsuen,				
9.	[ki-a]g2'-^{d}nanna	beloved of Nanna'."				
10.	[m]u-bi-im					
1.	^{d}nanna-	"To Nanna	Steible NBW sub Amarsuen 6: baked brick; variants Amar-S. 8: black stone tablets and 11: stone door sockets are noted in parentheses; cf. Steible NBW sub Amarsuen 8 and 11 for further information	Dedicatory inscriptions	Amar-suen	6 = ? 8 = ? 11 = Uruk
2.	kar-zi-da	of Karzida				
3.	lugal-ki-ag2-ga2-ni-ir (8:lugal-a-ni-ir)	his (beloved) lord,				
4.	^{d}amar-^{d}suen	Amarsuen, whom				
5.	nibru^{ki}-a	Enlil named in				
6.	^{d}en-lil2-le (11 reverses 5&6)	Nippur,				
7.	mu-pa3-da					
8.	sag-ug2-	the provider of				
9.	e2-^{d}en-lil2-le (8&11: -ka)	the temple of Enlil,				
10.	dingir-zi(8: dingir-zi-kalam-ma-na)	the just god (of his land),				
11.	^{d}utu-kalam-ma-na	(the sun-god of his land,				
12.	lugal-kal-ga (8 skips 11&12)	the strong king,)				
13.	lugal-uri2^{ki}-ma	king of Ur,				
14.	lugal-an-ub-da-limmu2-ba-ke4	king of the four world regions -				
15.	kar-zi-da (8&11: kar-zi-da-a)	in Karzida,				
16.	u4-ul-li2-a-[ta] (8 reverses 15&16)	since time immemorial,				

17. gig-par4-bi [nu]-du3-a[m3] (8 omits -bi) — no gipar had ever been built (there);

18. en nu-un-ti-la-a[m3] (8:en nu-un-til3-a[m3]) — no En-priestess had ever dwelled there -

19. ^{d}amar-^{d}suen! (=EN) (8&11: -^{d}suen) — Amarsuen,

20. ki-ag2-^{d}nanna-ke4 (8: dumu-ki-ag3-^{d}nanna-ke4; dumu-ki!-ag2-^{d}suen) — loved by Nanna, (beloved son of Nanna/Suen)

21. gig-par4-ku3-ga-ni — built his (Nanna's) holy gipar for him

22. mu-na-du3 — (Nanna);

23. en-ki-ag2-ga2-ni — he introduced his beloved En-

24. mu-na-ni-ku4 — priestess into it.

25. ^{d}amar-^{d}suen (var. -ke4) — Amarsuen,

26. u4 im-da-ab-su3-D[U] (=d[eg]) — so that he might make (his) days long, for his

27. nam-ti-la-ni-šè3 — life's sake, built (the Gipar) for

28. mu-na-du3 (11: a mu-na-ru) — him (Nanna)."

(8 replaces lines 21-28 with lines rev. 4-12)

4. ^{d}nanna — "For Nanna,

5. ki-ag2-ga2-ni-ir — his beloved

6. kar-zi-da-a — he built the Gipar

7. gig-par3 mu-na-du3 — in Karzida.

8. en-aga3-zi-an-na — Enagazianna,

9. en-ki-ag2-ga2 ni — his beloved En-

10. mu-un-na-ni-in-ku4 — priestess, he introduced into it for him (Nanna).

11. ^{d}amar-^{d}suen-ke4 — Amarsuen will (thereby) make

12. nam-ti ib2-su3-DU — his life long."

1. ^{d}nanna	"To Nanna,	Steible NBW sub	Dedicatory	Amarsuen	Ur	
2. lugal-ki-ag2-ga2-ni-ir	his beloved lord:	Amarsuen 12; 2 stone door hinges	inscription			
3. dub-la2-mah	A temple of the					
4. u4-ul-li2-a-ta	Dublamah,					

5. ki-šu-tag[38]	which over and
6. šuku-UD šub-ba	above (its regular
7. iz-me-a-na-an-na	function) is a distribution(?)
8. e2-bi nu-duz-am	place where daily rations are deposited, had never been built since time immemorial.
9. damar-dsuen	(But) Amarsuen,
10. ki-ag2-dnanna	the beloved of
11. nibruki-a	Nanna, whom Enlil
12. den-lil2-le	called by name
13. mu-paz-da	in Nippur,
14. sag-us2-	the provider,
15. e2-den-lil2-ka	of Enlil's temple,
16. nita-kal-ga	the strong man,
17. lugal-uri2ki-ma	king of Ur,
18. lugal-an-ub-da-limmu2-ba ke4	king of the four world regions,
19. dub-la2-mah	built for him
20. e2-u6-di-kalam-ma	(Nanna) the Dublamah, the
21. ki-di-ku5-da-ni	temple (which is) the wonder of the
22. sa-bar-a-ni	land, the place
23. lu2-erim2	where he renders
24. damar-dsuen-ka	judgments, (it is)
25. nu-e3	his net from which
26. e2-bi mu-na-du3	the enemies of Amarsuen cannot escape.
27. pa mu-na-an-e3	He made it shine
28. kuz-GI kuz-babbar na4-za-gin3-na	for him (Nanna). With gold, silver, and lapis lazuli
29. mi2 mu-na-ni-du11	he embellished it for him (Nanna).
30. damar-dsuen-ke4	Amarsuen will (thereby) make the
31. u4 im-da-ab-su3-DU(=de6)	days (of his life) long.
32. lu2 e2 a-ba-sumun	He who, when the temple has become
33. u3-un-du3	old (re)builds (it),
34. mu-sar-ra-bi	and does not alter
35. u3 giš-šu-kar2-bi[39] and	this inscription its ... in its
36. ki-gub-ba-bi	standing place
37. nu-ub-da-ab-kur2-re-a	will find favor in the eyes of Nanna.
38. igi-dnanna-ka	

39. ḫeš-en-saḫ	
40. luš mu-sar-ra-ba	(But) he who effaces this
41. šu biš-ibš-urš-re-a	inscription and does not restore
42. uš giš-šu-karš-bi	its ... to its standing place
43. ki-gub-bi-še₃	
44. nu-ub-ši-ib-gi-₄-giₓ-a	
45. muš-^{d}nanna	may the snake(?) of
46. ḫeš-en-gar	Nanna be set (on
47. numun-na-ni	him) (and) may
48. ^{d}nanna	Nanna destroy his
49. ḫeš-eb-til-le	seed (his descendents)."

1. ^{d}nanna	"For Nanna,	Steible NBW sub	Dedicatory	šusuen	Ur & ?	
2. dumu-sag	the chief son	šusuen 7; stone	inscription			
3. ^{d}en-liš-laš	of Enlil	door hinges				
4. lugal-ki-agš-gaš-ni-ir	his beloved lord					
5. ^{d}šu-^{d}suen	Susuen,					
6. ki-agš-^{d}nanna	the beloved of Nanna,					
7. lugal-^{d}en-liš-le	the king whom Enlil					
8. ša₃-ga-na	chose in his heart					
9. in-pa₃						
10. sipa-kalam-ma	as the shepherd of					
11. uš an-ub-da-limmu-ba-še₃	the land (Sumer) and of the four world regions,					
12. lugal-kal-ga	strong king,					
13. lugal-uriš^{ki}-ma	king of Ur,					
14. lugal-an-ub-da-limmuš-ba-keₓ	king of the four world regions					
15. eš-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak(a)	built the Emurianabak(a)					
16. eš-ki-agš-gaš-ni	temple, his beloved					
17. mu-na-duₓ	temple."					

1. ^{d}i-biš-^{d}suen	'Ibbisuen,	Steible NBW sub	Dedicatory	Ibbisuen	Ur
2. dingir-kalam-ma-na	god of his land,	Ibbisuen 1-2; clay nails and frag-	inscription	(2028-2004)	
3. lugal-kal-ga	strong king,	ments + fragment of			
4. lugal-uriš^{ki}-ma	king of Ur,	a dark green steatite tablet			
5. lugal-an-ub-da-limmuš-ba-keₓ	king of the four world regions,				

6.	nam-gal-ki-ag$_2$	out of great love
7.	^{d}suen-na-da	for Suen
8.	uri$_2^{ki}$	in order to
9.	dagal-e-de$_3$	enlarge Ur
10.	sa im-ma-$\check{s}$i-gar	laid down the measuring line(?).
11.	ur$_5$-ta	In this way in
12.	kalam gi-ne$_2$	order to make the
13.	sig-nim gurum-e-de$_3$	land secure (and) to make highland
14.	bad$_3$-gal	and lowland bow
15.	za-pa-ag$_2^{40}$-ba $\check{s}$u nu-tu-tu	down (to him)
16.	ηur-sag-sig$_7$-ga-gin$_7$	he laid a great wall like a green
17.	uru^{ki}-ne$_2$ im-mi-da$_5$	mountain whose pinnacles(?) cannot
18.	uru$_{18}$-temen-bi^{41}	be reached around his city.
19.	ki in$^{sic!}$-ma-ni-pa$_3$	He chose a place in the foundation for
20.	bad$_3$-ba	its foundation
21.	^{d}i-bi$_2$-^{d}suen gu$_2$-gal-nam-nun-na	deposit. The name of this wall (is) Ibbisuen, foremost
22.	mu-bi-im	among princes."

1.	^{d}nanna	"To Nanna,	Steible NBW sub	Dedicatory	Ibbisuen	?
2.	lugal-a-ni-ir	his lord	Ibbisuen 6	inscription		
3.	^{d}i-bi$_2$-^{d}suen	Ibbisuen,				
4.	dingir-kalam-ma-na	god of his land,				
5.	lugal-kal-ga	strong king,				
6.	lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	king of Ur,				
7.	lugal-an-ub-da-limmu$_2$-ba-ke$_4$	king of the four world regions				
8.	nam-ti-la-ni-$\check{s}$e$_3$	dedicated (this object)				
9.	a mu-na-ru	for his life."				

1.	^{d}nanna	"For Nanna,	Steible NBW sub	Dedicatory	Ibbisuen	Ur
2.	su$_3$-DU-ag$_2$	who spreads a	Ibbisuen A9-10;	inscription		
3.	un-na ba-ra-g$_2$	sheen over the	clay tablet in OB			
4.	en-dili-ni dingir-pa-e$_3$-a	people, the lord who alone is the	script(?); for lines 23-26, cf. Th.			
5.	lugal-a-ni-ir	rising god, his	Jacobsen, Treasures			
6.	^{d}i-bi$_2$-^{d}suen	lord, has Ibbisuen	of Darkness, p. 124			
7.	dingir-kalam-ma-na	god of his land,				
8.	lugal-kal-ga	strong king,				
9.	lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	king of Ur,				
10.	lugal-an-ub-	king of the four				

da-limmu$_2$-ba ke$_4$	world regions,
11. u$_4$ šušin^{ki}	when he had
12. a-dam-dun^{ki}	roared like a
13. ma-da-a-wa-an^{ki}-ka	storm wind against Susa, Adamdun,
14. u$_4$-gin$_7$ šid bi$_2$-in-gi$_4$	and the land of Awan
15. u$_4$-aš-a mu-un-GAM	(and) in one day had made (them
16. u$_3$ en-bi LÚ x KAR$_2$-a mi-ni-in-dab$_5$-ba-a	all) bow down and taken their lord as prisoner,
17. bur-šakan-ku$_3$-GI	he fashioned a golden vase
18. kin-ga-lam-pap	so artfully fabri-
19. alim-muš-ba	cated (that) the
20. A.ÙN.MI nig-gur$_3$	aurochs and serpent on it ... arouses
21. še-er-ga-an-du$_{11}$-ga-bi	terror, (and) wonder at its embellish-
22. u$_5$-di nu-til-le-dam	ment is unending, (and) at the high
23. ezen-mah-za$_3$-mu-a-tu$_5$-a-	new year's festival when Nanna is
24. ^{d}nanna-ka	bathed, at the
25. ki urudu-šen-e ka-dug-ga-ba	place of the copper pitcher which opens
26. [(x)mu]š nu-tum$_2$-mu-de$_3$	the mouth ... does not cease.
27. mu-na-di[n$_2$]	For his life he
28. nam-ti-[l]a-ni-še$_3$	dedicated it.
29. a mu-na-ru	
(empty line)	
30. ^{d}nanna	For Nanna,
31. en pirig-gal-an-ki	lord, great lion of heaven and earth,
32. lugal-a-ni-ir	his lord:
33. ^{d}i-bi$_2$-^{d}suen	Ibbisuen,
34. dingir-kalam-ma-na	god of his land,
35. nir-gal$_2$ me-ni$_3$-nam-ma	who is held in respect, who knows
36. si-sa$_2$-sa$_2$-e-da gal-zu-gi	how all things are kept in order,
37. lugal-kal-ga	strong king,
38. lugal-uri$_2$^{ki}-ma	king of Ur,
39. lugal-an-ub-da-limmu$_2$-ba-ke$_4$	king of the four world regions,
40. u$_4$ šušin^{ki}	when he had roared
41. a-dam-dun^{ki}	like a storm wind
42. ma-da-a-wa-	in Susa, Adamdun,

	an^{ki}-ka	and the land of
43.	u$_4$-gin$_7$ šid	Awan
	bi$_2$-in-gi$_4$	
44.	u$_4$-aš-a mu-un-	(and) in one day
	GAM	had made (them all)
45.	u$_3$ en-bi LU$_2$ x	bow down and taken
	KAR$_2$-a mi-	their lords as
	ni-in-dab$_5$-	prisoners,
	ba-a	
46.	^{d}nanna	they were made to
47.	a$_2$-gal-la-na	enter under
	ba-an-ku$_4$-ra-	Nanna's great arm.
	ke$_4$-eš	
48.	KU$_3$-ZI-ku$_3$-	(Then) out of gold
	gi$_6$-a dugud-	and (?), which he
	bi DU-a-ni	had brought in
49.	^{d}i-bi$_2$-^{d}suen	great quantity did
		Ibbisuen,
50.	nun a$_2$-mah	the prince whose
	ni$_2$-gur$_3$	upraised arm
51.	geštu$_2$-dagal-	arouses terror, he
	la-ke$_4$	of wide under-
52.	dug-ubur-imin-	standing dedicate
	KU$_3$-ZI	for his life
53.	ka-bi 'x' la$_3$	(lines 63 and 64)
	bar-ra	a golden 7-spouted
		vessel, the mouth
		of which drips
		honey,
54.	GI KU$_3$-GI-bi	.....
55.	PAP mah-bi-	.....
	KIŠ$_4$	
56.	'x'-sag e(?)	.....
	HE$_2$.'HUR'	
57.	urudu-kin	.....
	gur(?)-ra(?)-bi	
58.	[x(?)] GI DIRI	.....
	ni$_3$-kal-ga	
59.	hur-sag li-	mountain where pure
	sikil mu$_2$	juniper grows (and)
60.	duh ni$_3$-šar$_2$-	bran in abundance
	šar$_2$-re-	belonging to the
61.	šul-^{d}suen-ka	youth, Suen,
62.	sus nu-tum$_2$-	is unceasing.
	mu-de$_3$	
63.	nam-ti-la-ni-	
	še$_3$	
64.	a mu-na-ru	
65.	lu$_2$ a$_2$-ni$_3$-	Him who gives evil
	hul-dim$_2$-ma	advice against
66.	ib$_2$-si-ag$_2$-e-a	(this vessel)
67.	dug-mah unu$_2$-	(and) on the raised
	gal	platform, in the
68.	u$_3$ ki-ezem-ma-	great banquet hall,

69. ^{d}nanna-ke$_4$	and at Nanna's
70. bi$_2$-ib$_2$-KID$_2$-KID$_2$-a	festival site does ... may the great
71. dingir-gal-gal-an-ki-ke$_4$-ne	gods of heaven and earth curse."
72. nam ḫa-ba-an-da-kurus-ne	

1. ^{d}nanna amar-bang-da-an-na	"For Nanna, the frisky calf of An,	Steible NBW sub Ibbisuen A11;	Dedicatory inscription	Ibbisuen	Ur
2. en dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la	lord, chief son of Enlil,	clay tablet in OB script			
3. lugal-a-ni-ir	his lord				
4. ^{d}i-bi$_2$-^{d}suen	has Ibbisuen,				
5. dingir-kalam-ma-na	god of his land,				
6. lugal-kal-ga	strong king,				
7. lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	king of Ur,				
8. lugal-an-ub-d[a]-limmu$_2$-ba-ke$_4$	king of the four world regions,				
9. ⌜ur-sag⌝-a-me-luh-ha^{ki}	had a likeness made of a red dog of Meluhha which				
10. ⌜x⌝ ti-ši-DI-[x(?)]	he ... had				
11. ⌜gu$_2$⌝-un-še$_3$ mu-na-ab-tum$_2$-ma-ni	brought him as tribute				
12. ⌜tam$_2$⌝-ši-lum-bi					
13. ⌜mu⌝-dim$_2$					
14. nam-ti-l[a-n]i-še$_3$	and dedicated to him for his life.				
15. a mu-⌜na-ru⌝					
16. ur-sa$_5$-⌜a⌝-ba	The name of this				
17. ḫe$_2$-⌜dab$_5$⌝	dog is:				
18. mu-⌜bi⌝-[i]m	"He bites!"				

1. ^{d}nanna	"For Nanna,	Steible NBW sub Ur 5; limestone mace	Dedicatory inscription	anonymous	Ur
2. dumu-sag	chief son				
3. ⌜d⌝en-lil$_2$-la$_2$	of Enlil				
4. [. . .] ⌜x⌝	.....				
(breaks off)	[PN,]				
1'. [lugal]-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ke$_4$	king of Ur,				
2'. e$_2$-kiš-nu-gal$_2$-še$_3$	dedicated (this object) for the				
3'. a mu-na-ru	Ekisnugal-temple."				

1. en-maḫ-gal-an-na 2. en-^{d}nanna	"Enmaḫgalanna, En-priestess of Nanna."	Steible NBW sub Ur 6; black stone vessel - underneath the vessel and outside the border of the inscription is the figure of a crescent moon and the EN sign.	Dedicatory inscription	anonymous (Šulgi or Amarsuen)[42]	Ur
1. [... il]ḫg-[...(?)]-sar-a 2. [...]-ba 3. [d]nanna(?) 4. [...]-mu 5. [...]-mu 6. [d]nin-gal-e	Too broken for connected translation	Steible NBW sub Ur 19; fragment of a black and white marble vessel	Dedicatory inscription	anonymous ziggurat terrace	Ur,

3. COMMENTARY - UR-III PERIOD

With the ascendancy of Ur as the major political power of Mesopotamia cultural activity within the city which was the cultic residence of the moon-god reached a high point. The kings of the Third Dynasty were energetic builders of temples and undertook a wide variety of projects for the enhancement of the cult of the moon-god. Numerous inscriptions from this period attest to the construction or refurbishing of major buildings, the digging of canals, draining of swamps, erection and fortification of city walls, appointment of priestesses, and dedication of votive objects - all for the glory and honor of the moon-god. As a result, the Third Dynasty period was the age of Nanna/Suen's greatest influence.

The founder of the dynasty, Urnammu, determined the character of the cultic installations within the city. He founded the famous ziggurat of Ur, the center of the temple-complex and the site of the temple of Nanna. Most likely he was also responsible for the general design of the entire sacred area which was enclosed by a wall and included the large open forecourt and raised terrace called the e2-temen-ni2-guru3.[43] Inscriptions found in situ attest to the building of the latter structure (Urnammu 10 and 25). Use in Urnammu 10 of the stock phrase, ki-bi2 mu-na-gi4 "He restored it in its (original) place," probably refers to the fact that he

built the ziggurat on the site of the previous Sargonic and Early Dynastic temples, enclosing the ruins of these earlier temples within the solid structure of the raised terrace. He not only calls himself king of Ur in this inscription, but also lord of Uruk, a reference to his overthrow of the preceding king, Utuḫegal, who was based in Uruk and under whom he had served as šagina, a type of general or military governor. This latter fact is known from an inscription to Ningal on a diorite stele found at Ur (UET I, 30), which I have transliterated and translated in the preceding section. Already at this time the temple of Nanna was called the Ekišnugal (see ii, 4). This is the earliest reference to this temple name which is frequently attested in later time. In inscriptions from his own reign Urnammu does not refer to the temple of Nanna as the Ekišnugal, but simply as the e2-dnanna (Urnammu 1 and 8). In fact, in none of the preserved inscriptions dated to the reigns of any of the Ur-III kings is the name Ekišnugal attested.[44] Whether this is simply a happenstance of preservation or an intentional act on the part of the Ur-III kings is not known.[45]

Urnammu also undertook a series of projects dealing with the construction and re-routing of waterways ., which he says were all done for Nanna. He dug the iz-nun canal, "the princely canal" (Urnammu 24), no doubt named for the common epithet of Nanna, nun "prince"; the iz-

^{d}nanna-gu2-gal "Nanna (is) the canal-inspector" (Urnammu 28 and 29), a name which indicates that the god of Ur was seen as regulating the flow of water in the canals around Ur and supervising their construction and maintenance; the a-ba-^{d}nanna-ginZ canal ("Who is like Nanna?"), which apparently ran from a former marshland which Urnammu had drained to Ur (Urnammu 27); an [iZ x x(?)]-mah canal; a canal for Ningirsu called iZ-gu2-[x]-ur2-^{d}nin-[gir2-su?]; and a canal which apparently ran to Eridu called iZ-gu2-bi-eridu^{ki}-ga, "the canal, the banks of which (are) in Eridu" (Urnammu 29). Urnammu 26 indicates that he also improved the waterfront area so that the sea-trade from foreign lands such as Magan, which had apparently flourished in former times, was re-established.[46]

Urnammu, like the kings of the preceding dynasties, appointed his daughter to be the En-priestess of the moon-god in Ur. No year date exists attesting to this appointment (in fact, there is no mention of anything having to do with the moon-god in the few year dates preserved from the reign of Urnammu), but inscription Urnammu 35, dedicated to Ningal, reveals that her name was en-nir-gal2-an-na.

Urnammu refers to the moon-god by some of his most common epithets: lugal "lord," already attested in earlier times, and dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil2-la2 "chief son of Enlil," equivalent to Akkadian māru/aplu rēštu meaning eldest or first-born son. It has already been noted that

this is the earliest direct reference to the genealogical relationship between Enlil and Nanna/Suen. Whether this familial connection existed before the Ur-III period or was developed as a theological response to the emergence of Ur as the major political power of this age, i.e. as an attempt to relate the chief deity of Ur to the traditional head of the Sumerian pantheon, is not known. amar-ban3-da-an-na, an epithet that has been discussed in the preceding section, replaces amar-ban3-da-^{d}en-lil2(-la2) of the Sargonic period.

In the name of the En-priestess is the epithet of Nanna/Suen, nir-gal2-an-na, a phrase which is difficult to translate, but can be loosely rendered as "respected one of heaven." nir-gal2 occurs by itself as an epithet of Nanna and in the compounds nir-gal2-an-ki-a, nir-gal2-e2-kur-ra, nir-gal2-dim3-me-er-e-ne, and nir-gal2-me-nig2-nam-ma; the eme-sal form ^{d}še-er-ma-al is also attested. All of these phrases will be discussed in Chapter 7 on the epithets of the moon-god. The epithet nir-gal2-an-na occurs in Šulgi A, 101: ^{d}Šul-gi dumu-nir-gal2-an-na-ke4 mi2-du11-ga "Šulgi, cherished by the respected son of An (i.e. Nanna/Suen)."

Allusions to the moon-god are also found in the canal names mentioned by Urnammu: a-ba-^{d}nanna-ginz "Who is like Nanna," a common personal name in the Ur-III period;[47] ^{d}nanna-gu2-gal "Nanna (is) the canal-inspector," and iz-nun, "princely canal," which alludes

to nun "prince," a common epithet of the moon-god (see Chapter 7).

To judge by the dedicatory inscriptions of Urnammu's son, Šulgi, most construction projects on cultic installations dedicated to the moon-god must have been completed at Urnammu's death; out of 68 known dedicatory inscriptions by Šulgi, only one mentions the moon-god and this concerns the dedication of a diorite statue. Most of the information on the cult of the moon-god during the reign of Šulgi can be found in his year-date formulae (see section 5); and all of these refer to the selection and appointment of En-priestesses and the installation of Nanna in temples outside of the city of Ur. In year 8 of Šulgi's reign he had the moon-god installed in a temple at Karzida, "the true quay." At a later time this temple is attested as the site of the Akiti festival. It is possible that the ninth year of Šulgi marks the beginning of the festival or of the tradition of holding it at Karzida. His fourteenth year is named for what appears to be a cultic visit of the moon-god to the temple at Nippur. Nanna was also considered to be a member of the local pantheom of Ur. One often finds economic texts from Nippur and Drehem which record offerings to Nanna of Nippur along with the many other deities worshipped there.

In year 15 the En-priestess en-nir-zi-an-na is chosen and in year 17 she is appointed. If Šulgi followed the tradition of preceding kings, then this

priestess was his daughter. It is not clear to me why there was a one-year interval between her selection and her appointment to the temple of Nanna.[48] In year 43 of his reign presumably another en-priestess is chosen. This is probably en-mah-gal-an-na who is appointed to the Nanna-temple in the fourth year of Amar-suen.[49]

Both nir-zi-an-na and en-mah-gal-an-na are epithets of the moon-god, which again express celestial aspects of the moon-god and relate him to the sky god, An, as do all of the names of the en-priestesses. nir, like nir-gal2, is frequently attested as an epithet of Nanna, though the phrase nir-zi-an-na only occurs in this name. en-mah-gal-an-na is also unattested elsewhere. In a hymn to Išme-Dagan and the moon-god (ISET 1, 38: Ni 2781), Nanna/Suen is called en-gal-mah-an-[n]a/[k]i (obv. 4); see my treatment of this hymn in Chapter 9.

Amar-suen, the successor of Šulgi, undertook several important building projects for the honor of the moon-god. He built another gi6-par4 temple outside of Ur at the quay called kar-zi-da in a territory which according to year-date 9 of Amar-suen is named Gaeš. He installed another En-priestess in this temple named en-aga-zi-an-na (Amar-suen inscription 8, rev. 8)[50] and stated that until that time no En-priestess had resided in Karzida.[51] The ninth year of Amar-suen, therefore, marks the beginning of there being two En-priestesses of the moon-god, one to serve the central cult at Ur and

one for Nanna-Karzida located outside the city in the territory of Gaeš.

Amar-suen also built the temple of Dublamaḫ (Amar-suen inscription 12), originally a gateway leading up to the raised terrace of the ziggurat which he apparently walled off and converted into a building. If lines 5-6 of the inscription are correctly understood, it was a place where daily rations were collected and distributed. At the same time it was also used as a type of law court where judgements were decided (ki-di-kuš-da-ni: line 21). According to line 45 a cult emblem of a snake (muš-^{d}nanna) must have been on the premises to ward off anyone who would alter or destroy the temple. L. Legrain (UET 3, Indexes, p. 204 to 189) associates the muš-^{d}nanna with the god ^{d}MUŠ.IR.ḪA.GEŠTIN.BALAG.DU who receives siskur-offerings in UET 3, 189 and 191.[52] This cult site is also mentioned in UET 3, 276 in connection with the Dublamaḫ; a gudu$_4$-priest is associated with it in UET 3, 1110; twigs are delivered to a place called ki-muš in UET 3, 213. Whether these various attestations are indeed related to the muš-^{d}nanna mentioned in the Amar-suen inscription is uncertain, but the mention of ^{d}MUŠ.IR.ḪA.GEŠTIN.BALAG.DU along with the Dublamaḫ in UET 3, 276 makes this a realistic possibility.

The association of Nanna with a snake is unusual because there is no other attestation, as far as I know, that links him with this animal; he is, however, often

called <u>uš̌umgal</u>, a kind of mythical dragon or snake-like creature. The snake symbol may have been a short-lived cultic feature of the reigns of Amar-suen and successor Ur-III kings which died out with the sack of Ur at the end of Ibbi-suen's reign.

In Amar-suen inscription 3 the king refers to Nanna and his consort Ningal as the "lord of Ur" and "mother of Ur" respectively (ii, 5-8). This reference to Ningal as the mother of Ur may point to an indigenous mother-goddess cult at Ur.

The only other use of epithets for the moon-god in the inscriptions of Amar-suen is in the name of the En-priestess, <u>en-aga-zi-an-na</u>, literally "lord, true crown of An/heaven." <u>aga-zi</u> is a very common epithet of the moon-god. The comparison of the crescent moon with a crown is understandable particularly when one considers the depictions of double-horned crowns worn by deities in cylinder seals; they clearly resemble the shape of the crescent moon. This epithet will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

The next king, <u>Š̌u-suen</u>, reigned only nine years and consequently, few dedicatory inscriptions from his reign have survived. Only one inscription mentions the moon-god. It was found on two door hinges which attest to the building of a temple called <u>e2-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak(a)</u>, where Nanna was worshipped under the name <u>^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak(a)</u>. The place of this temple and god of the

same name in the cult of Ur is discussed in Chapter 5 which analyzes the evidence for the moon-god's cult at Ur. Administrative documents from the reigns of Šu-suen and Ibbi-suen record regular offerings to this deity. The earliest of these documents is dated to Šu-suen 9; this may be the year in which this temple was constructed. Nanna is called by the two common epithets dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ and lugal in this inscription.

A good many dedicatory inscriptions dated to the reign of the next king, Ibbi-suen, have survived and they reveal a number of important aspects of the moon-god's character and his cult. The king records his piety to the moon-god in an inscription (A9-10) which describes the dedication of a gold vase at the new year's festival. Lines 23-24 disclose that the New Year was celebrated with an ezen-maḫ, "high holiday" or "great festival" at which the a-tu$_5$-a-^{d}nanna-ka, "ritual purification of Nanna," took place. There are many attestations in administrative documents of offerings made for ritual purification ceremonies at various times of the year including the one held on the New Year. It is known from administrative documents uncovered at Ur that such ceremonies were a regular part of the cult of the moon-god at Ur.[53] The purification ritual which took place on the New Ye ar was participated in by many cities during the Ur-III period.[54] The New Year was the major cultic event of the year and so it is not surprising that it should be mentioned in the king's

inscription.

If Jacobsen's interpretation of line 25 is correct, then the inscription reveals that a mouth-opening ceremony was part of the New Year's festival at Ur.[55] This ceremony included both the mouth-washing (ka-luḫ-ha) and the mouth-opening (ka-duš-ha) of a cultic statue, in this case presumably a statue of Nanna.[56] To perform these operations a copper pitcher or jug of water (urudu-šen) was used, an object that is often mentioned as a part of the cult of Nanna/Suen.[57] The ceremony thus transferred the cult image from the human sphere where it had been touched by the hands of its maker to the divine sphere where it took on the living presence of the deity.

In another inscription, copied on the same Old-Babylonian tablet as the preceding inscription, Ibbi-suen dedicates a gold jug with seven spouts to the moon-god. Since several phrases are unclear and partially broken (55-60), it is difficult to know the cultic context of this dedication.[58] The mention in this text and in the preceding of Ibbi-suen's campaigns against Elam makes it likely that both inscriptions date to year 14 of his reign, the date formula of which describes the same campaigns in almost identical terms. These references give some indication of the political turbulence of this time. Threats from hostile forces outside of Ur may also be the reason for Ibbi-suen's

decision to enlarge the city and build a new wall around it, which is described in inscription 1-2.

The date formulae of Ibbi-suen's reign reveal cultic acts performed by the king for the moon-god which are not mentioned in the inscriptions (see Section 5). In year 10 the En-priestess, Enmirsianna, presumably Ibbi-suen's daughter, is chosen.[59] In year 12 he fashions a throne for An and Nanna. If the interpretation of this date formula is correct, this is one more instance of the association of the sky-god and the moon-god which is so often revealed in the names of the En-priestesses of the moon-god.[60] It is not clear to me exactly what the date formula of year 15 refers to. Does the splendid rising of Nanna's loving heart refer to some auspicious celestial omen connected with the rising of the moon? In year 16 Ibbi-suen fashions some sort of cult image called ^{d}nun-me-te-an-na and dedicates it to the moon-god.

Both the inscriptions and the date formulae contain a wealth of interesting epithets of the moon-god which frequently occur in literary compositions. The common one, lugal, dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$, and amar-ban$_3$-da-an-na, all of which are attested in earlier periods, have already been discussed. Other more poetic epithets occur for the first time. The description of moonlight as su$_3$-DU-ag$_2$, a word which seems to describe a metal (possibly, electrum) and the characteristic color of that metal, is often attested in literary texts and must

have been used to distinguish a particular shade of moonlight which was similar to the color of the metal.[61] The image of this light being spread over the people is also quite common (Ibbi-suen inscription A9-10).[62]

The phrase en-dili-ni dingir-pa-e3-a also contains elements which are very commonly found in literary texts as epithets of the moon-god. The whole phrase is repeated verbatim in Iddindagin inscription 2, 6. en, "lord," occurs in countless references to Nanna/Suen and other gods. It may be the oldest title of gods in Mesopotamia, as it occurs in the most ancient god-names (en-lil2, EN.ZU, en-ki, etc.). It is not completely clear how this title differed from the later-attested lugal.[63] The word dili emphasizes the singularity of the moon-god. This image may be reflected in the god-name AŠ-im2/4-babbar (see Chapter 2) and in the words uŠum and uŠumgal, which when applied to the moon-god seem to carry the connotation of "unique, lone" and "sole lord."[64] dingir-pa-e3-a is an extremely common epithet of Nanna/Suen which emphasizes the appearance of the moon: its rising, coming out, and its beaming light.

Describing the moon-god as a "great lion" (Ibbi-suen inscription A9-10, 31) is also fairly common. A good many of the gods of Mesopotamia were described as lions, the favorite symbol of power and strength. This is the only reference where Nanna is called "the great lion of heaven and earth." In TCL 15, 30, 5 he is

referred to as pirig-gal-an-ku3-ga "great lion of the pure heaven/of holy An" (cf. Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott [illegible], pp. 70f.).

In the year-date formulae of Ibbi-suen Nanna is referred to in the name of the cult image mentioned in year 15: dnun-me-te-an-na. nun, "prince," has been attested in earlier periods and is one of Nanna's most common epithets. me-te meaning "jewel, ornament" or "fit for, suitable for" occurs both in inscriptions of a later time and in literary texts. Jewel or ornament of heaven is an obvious description of the moon.

Finally, in the name of the En-priestess, en-nir-si3-an-na, there may be an epithet of the moon-god. The meaning of nir-si3, however, is unclear;[65] it may simply be a variant of nir-zi, in which case the name of the En-priestess who was appointed during Ibbi-suen's reign hearkens back to her predecessor, en-nir-zi-an-na, who lived during the time of Šulgi.[66]

To conclude this discussion a synopsis of the major facts about the moon-god and his cult in the Ur-III period is presented:

Urnammu

Epithets: dumu-sag-den-lil2-la2
lugal
amar-ban3-da-an-na
nun (in i7-nun)
dnanna gu2-gal
en-nir-gal2-an-na

Cult Acts: builds temple of Nanna (e2-^{d}nanna)

builds wall of Ur

builds e2-temen-ni2-guru3

digs i7-nun canal

restores maritime trade and allows the ships of Magan to return

drains marshland and digs a canal called a-ba-^{d}nanna-gin7

digs the border canal called ^{d}nanna-gu2-gal

digs [i7 x x(?)]-mah, i7-gu2-bi-eridu^{ki}-ga, and i7-gu2-[x]-ur2-^{d}nin-$\overline{g}$ir2-su$\overline{l}$ canals

dedicates a marble mace

En-priestess of Nanna, en-nir-gal2-an-na,

dedicates fragmentary object

Personnel: En-priestess, en-nir-gal2-an-na

Site: Ur

Name of Moon-God: Nanna

Šulgi

Epithet: lugal, en-nir-zi-an-na, en-ubur-zi-an-na

Cult Acts: dedicates diorite statue

introduces Nanna into a temple in Karzida (yr. 9)

introduces Nanna into a temple in Nippur (yr. 14)

appoints en-nir-zi-an-na to be En-priestess of Nanna in Ur (yr. 17)

introduces Nanna into a temple in Karzida for the second time (yr. 37)

En-priestess of Nanna chosen through extispicy (yr. 43) named en-ubur-zi-an-na (= en-mah-gal-

an-na)

Personnel: En-priestess of Nanna at Ur, en-nir-zi-an-na

En-priestess of Nanna at Ur, en-ubur-zi-an-na (= (= en-maḫ-gal-an-na)

Sites: Ur, Karzida, Nippur

Names of Moon-God: Nanna, Suen

Amar-suen

Epithets: lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma (Ningal called ama-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma)

en-aga-zi-an-na

en-maḫ-gal-an-na

Cult Acts: dedicates statue named ^{d}amar-^{d}suen ki-ag$_2$-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma

builds ki-en-nu-ga$_2$-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma

builds gi$_6$-par$_4$-ku$_3$ for Nanna-Karzida

introduces the En-priestess, en-aga-zi-an-na, into the Giparku in Karzida/Gaeš

En-priestess of Nanna in Ur, en-maḫ-gal-an-na, is appointed

Cult Paraphernalia: muš-^{d}nanna

Personnel: En-priestess of Nanna in Ur, en-maḫ-gal-an-na

En-priestess of Nanna in Karzida/Gaeš, en-aga-zi-an-na

Sites: Ur, Gaeš, Uruk

Names of Moon-God: Nanna, Suen

Šu-suen

Epithets: dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$

lugal

Cult Acts: builds the e$_2$-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak

Site: Ur

Name of Moon-God: Nanna

Ibbi-suen

Epithets: lugal

en dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$

su$_3$-DU-ag$_2$ un-na ba-ra-ge

en dili-ni dingir-pa-e$_3$-a

en pirig-gal-an-ki

amar-ban$_3$-da-an-na

nun-me-te-an-na

en-nir-si$_3$-an-na

šul-^{d}suen

Cult Acts: enlarges Ur

builds a city wall called ^{d}i-bi$_2$-^{d}suen gu$_2$-gal-nam-nun-na

fashions vase - bur-šakan-ku$_3$-GI and dedicates it

dedicates seven-spouted vessel - dug-ubur-imin-KU$_3$.ZI

dedicates statue of a red dog of Meluḫḫa

fashions a throne for An and Nanna (yr. 12)

fashions an image or standard called ^{d}nun-me-te-an-na (yr. 16)

En-priestess of Nanna in Ur, en-nir-si$_3$-an-na, is chosen through extispicy (yr. 10)

Cult Paraphernalia

and installations: bur-šakan-ku$_3$-GI

dug-ubur-imin-KU3.ZI

gu-za-an-^{d}nanna

^{d}nun-me-te-an-na

ur-sa5-a-me-luḫ-ḫa^{ki}

ki urudu-šen-e ka-dug-ḫu-ba

dug-maḫ

unu2-gal

ki-ezem-ma

Festival: ezen-maḫ-za3-mu-a-tu5-a-^{d}nanna-ka

Personnel: En-priestess of Nanna in Ur, en-nir-si3-an-na

Site: Ur

Names of Moon-God: Nanna, Suen

4. ISIN-LARSA/OLD BABYLONIAN PERIOD

Text: (Transliteration and Translation):		Description and References:	Text Type:	Date (king):	Provenience:
1. ^{d}nanna	"For Nanna,	Ilmari Kärki, Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften der altbabylonischen Zeit (Studia Orientalia 49), Helsinki (1980), sub Šuilīšu 1; stone door hinge.	Dedicatory inscription	Šuilīšu of Isin (1984-1975)	Ur
2. sag-il$_2$-mah-	whose head is				
3. ^{d}a-nun-na-ke$_4$-ne	raised high among the Anunna gods,				
4. lugal-a-ni-ir	his lord				
5. ^{d}Šu-i$_3$-li$_2$-šu	Šuilīšu				
. . . . .					
8. u$_4$ ^{d}nanna	when he had				
9. an-ša-an^{ki}-ta	brought Nanna back				
10. uri$_2^{ki}$-še$_3$	from Anšan to Ur,				
11. mu-un-tum$_2$-ma-a	he				
12. dub-la$_2$-mah	built for him				
13. ki-di-ku$_5$-da-ni	the Dublamah, the place where				
14. mu-na-du$_3$	he renders judge-				
15. giš-ig zag-SAL ma-DAR-a	ment, he installed a door (there)				
16. mu-na-an-gub	... (and dedicated it for his life)."				
col. i					
1. ^{d}nanna	"For Nanna,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Šuilīšu 2; clay tablet		Šuilīšu	Ur
2. nir-gal$_2$-an-ki-a	revered in heaven and earth,				
3. dumu-nun-zi-	the true princely				
4. ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$	son of Enlil,				
5. en dili-ni an-ki-še$_3$	the lord who alone in heaven and earth				
6. dingir-re-ne-er zag-dib-ba	surpasses (all) the gods, his lord has				
7. lugal-a-ni-ir					
8. ^{d}Šu-i$_3$-ii$_3$-šu	Šuilīšu				
. . . . .	. . . . .				
15. ^{d}Šu-nir-gal	raised				
16. giš-mah-a nim-ma	a great divine standard on a				
17. u$_6$-di-de$_3$ he$_2$-du$_7$	tall staff, worthy to be admired,				
18. ku$_3$-GI	embellished with				
19. ku$_3$ za-gin$_3$-na gun$_3$-a	gold, silver, and lapis lazuli				
20. munus-ul-la$_2$-sig$_7$-[ga]	(and) a silver statue of a ...				
21. alam ku$_3$-[babbar]	beautiful woman (he dedicated for his life) ...				
col. iv					
3'. ^{d}Šu-nir-ba	The name of this				

4'. ^{d}nun-bi bar-	divine standard			
5'. su-bi	(is) 'Its divine prince is the ... of heaven and earth'."			
1. ^{d}nanna	"Nanna,	Kärki StOr 49 sub Iddindagan 2; clay tablet	Iddindagan (1974-1954)	Ur
2. sag-gal-dingir-dingir-a-nun-ke$_4$-ne	the great chief of the Anunna-gods,			
3. nir-gal$_2$-e$_2$-kur-ra	revered in the Ekur,			
4. me-ni an-ki-da gu$_2$-la$_2$-a	whose me's embrace heaven and earth,			
5. u$_{18}$-ru sag$_2$ nu-di	(whose) power(s) cannot be dispersed,			
6. en dili-ni dingir-pa-e$_3$-a	lord who alone is the rising god,			
7. dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ me-ul-li$_2$-a ki-bi gi$_4$-gi$_4$	chief son of Enlil, who restores the ways of old,			
8. giš-hur-uri$_2^{ki}$-[ma]	who puts in order the (city) plan			
9. si-sa$_2$-[sa]$_2$	of Ur,			
10. [dumu-nun-e e$_2$-kur-ta	the princely son has brought forth			
11. me-ma$_2$ ib$_2$!-ta-an-e$_3$	(his) lofty me's from the Ekur			
12. [^{d}i-di]n-^{d}da-gan ...	(and) given them into the hand of			
17. šu-ni im-ma-an-sum	Iddindagan ..."			
1. en-an-na-tum$_2$-ma	"Enannatumma,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub 4; clay nail	Išmedagan (1953-1935)	Ur
2. en-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}nanna/EN.MUNUS.ME.NUNUZ.ZI-^{d}NANNA	the beloved En-priestess of Nanna/ ... of Nanna			
3. ša$_3$-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	in Ur,			
4. dumu-^{d}iš-me-(d)da-gan	daughter of Išmedagan,			
5. lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-uri	king of Sumer (and) Akkad."			
1. ^{d}nin-gal	"For Ningal,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Išmedagan 8;	Išmedagan	Ur
2. nin-sag-il$_2$	the lady with up-			
3. me-ni me-nu-sa$_2$	lifted head, whose diorite statue me's have no			
4. ad-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ gal-zu	equal, wise in (her) counsels,			
5. nam-nin-a tum$_2$-ma	fit for queenly destiny,			

6. nin-a-ni-ir	her lady			
7. en-an-na-tum$_2$-ma	has Enannatumma			
8. en-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}nanna	En-priestess, beloved by Nanna,			
9. en-^{d}nanna	En-priestess of			
10. ŠA$_3$-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	Nanna in Ur,			
11. dumu-^{d}iš-me-^{d}dagan	daughter of Išme-Dagan, king of			
12. lugal-ki-en-gi-ki-uri-ke$_4$	Sumer (and) Akkad brought this			
13. [a]lam-ba	statue into the			
14. e$_2$-nun-na-še$_3$	Enunna			
15. mu-na-tum$_2$	(and) dedicated it			
16. nam-ti-la-ni-še$_3$	for her life."			
17. a mu-na-ru				

1. ^{d}nanna	"For Nanna,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub	Išmedagan	Ur
2. dumu-sag-	chief son of	Išmedagan 9;		
3. ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$	enlil	calcite vase		
. . . . .	. . . . .			
5. ^{d}iš-me-^{d}da-gan	has Išmedagan			
. . . . .	. . . . .			
17. [a mu-na]-ru	dedicated (this vase)."			

17. inim-du$_{11}$-ga-	"In accordance	Kärki, StOr 49 sub	Lipitešt̆ar	Ur
18. ^{d}en-lil$_2$-	with the command	Lipitešt̆ar 3;	(1934-1924)	
19. ^{d}nanna-ta	of Enlil (and)	clay nails		
20. uri$_2^{ki}$	Nanna,			
21. ki-bi ḫe$_2$-bi$_2$-gi$_4$	I restored Ur (and) dug its			
22. ḫi-ir-tum-bi	canal."			
23. ḫu-mu-ba-al				

14. e$_2$-gi$_6$-par$_4$	"(Lipitešt̆ar	Kärki, StOr 49 sub	Lipitešt̆ar	Ur
15. en-nin-sun$_2$-zi	built) the Gipar-	Lipitešt̆ar 4;		
16. en-^{d}nin-gublaga	temple for Enninsunzi,	clay nails		
17. uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	the En-priestess			
18. agrig-zi-	of Ningublaga in			
19. ^{d}nin-e$_2$-i$_3$-gara$_2$-ka	Ur, true stewardess of			
20. KA-nam-šita$_x$ (REC316)-zi du$_7$	Nineigara, who ... the true			
21. ga$_2$-bur-ra-ka	word(?) of prayer,			
22. a-ra-zu-ni-še$_3$ gub-ba (^{d}li-pi$_2$-it-eš$_4$-tar$_2$ mu-na-du$_3$)	who stands in prayer in the Gaburra."			

4. PN 5. gudu$_4$-abzu-^{d}nanna	"PN, the anointing priest of the Abzu of Nanna."	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Lipiteštar 8;	Lipiteštar	Ur
4'. [(x)] x-x-da-^{d}nanna	"... of Nanna"	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Sînmāgir 1	Sînmāgir (1827-1817)	Babylon
8. en-an-na-tum$_2$-ma 9. en-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}nanna 10. [š]a$_3$-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma . . . . . . 13. e$_2$-eš$_3$-me-dagal-l[a] 14. e$_2$-ge-na-ab-tum-ku$_3$-ga-ni (to be read e$_2$-šutum-ku$_3$-ga-ni?)[68] 15. mu-na-du$_3$	"Enannatumma, beloved En-priestess of Nanna in Ur built (for Dagan) the temple with the sanctuary of 'wide me's, his holy provisions(?) house."	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Gungunum 2; clay nails	Gungunum (1932-1906)	Ur
1. ^{d}utu 2. u$_3$-tu-da- 3. ^{d}nanna 4. ibila$_x$ (DUMU.NE) 5. e$_2$-kiš-ki-nu-gal 6. ^{d}nin-gal-e tu-da 7. lugal-a-ni-ir 8. nam-ti- 9. gu-un-gu-nu-um . . . . . . 12. en-an-na-tum$_2$-ma 13. EN-MUNUS. NUNUZ-ZI-^{d}nanna 14. en-^{d}nanna 15. ša$_3$-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma . . . . . . 18. e$_2$-ḫi-li-a-ni in-du$_3$ 19. e$_2$-ge-na-ab-tum-ku$_3$-ga-ni[68] 20. mu-na-du$_3$	"For Utu, sired by Nanna, heir of the Ekišnugal, born to Ningal, her lord, has Enannatumma, En-priestesss, the . . . of Nanna, the En-priestess of Nanna in Ur for the life of Gungunum ... built his (Utu's) house of abundance (and) has built his holy provisions(?) house."	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Gungunum 3; clay nails	Gungunum (1905-1895)	Ur
col. I 1'. [e$_2$-kul-r-[r]a ḫe$_2$-du$_7$ 2'. [dumu]-nun an-	"(For Nanna), ornament of the Ekur, the princely	Kärki, o.c. sub Abīsarē 1; clay tablet (copy)	Abīsarē	Ur

gal-e	son endowed with
3'.nir sum-ma	respect by great
4'.me-ni$_3$-nam-ma	An, in whose hand
5'.šu-ni-še$_3$	is power over all
gal$_2$-la	things,
6'.dingir-ku$_3$ an-	holy god who
sikil-la	resides in the
7'.du$_{10}$-gar-ra	pure heavens,
8'.nir-zi-mah-kalam-ma	the true (and) lofty reverenced
9'.e$_2$ ki-tuš-ma	one of the land,
10'.ki-ku$_3$-ga	who has set up a
11'.bara$_2$-ri-a	residence of
12'.kiri$_4$-zal-la	splendor (in) the
dur$_2$-gar	temple, (in) the
13'.gal-di gal-	lofty dwelling
zu-mah	place, on sacred
14'.eš-bar-e	ground where a dais
sa-sa$_2$	
15'.kiri$_4$-zal-a-	is erected, he of
a-ugu-na	great renown, the
16'.ki-ag$_2$-	wise one on high,
giskim-ti	who reaches the
	decisions, the
	pride of the father
	who sired him,
	loved, trusted
17'.e$_2$-kur-ra	in the Ekur,
18'.^{d}nin-lil$_2$-le	born to Ninlil,
19'.tu-da	
20'.^{d}nanna	Nanna,
21'.lugal-ki-ag$_2$-	his beloved lord
mu-ra	did I (= II, 18'),
22'.a-bi$_2$-sa-re-e	Abīsarē,
23'.[sipa] giš-	the obedient shep-
tuku	herd, loved by
24'.[ki-al]g$_2$-	Suen,
^{d}suen-na	
. . . . .	
col. II	
1'.[geš]u$_2$-m[ah]	I, to whom (Nanna)
2'.ni$_3$-nam-ma	has given great
diri-ga	understanding
3'.ga$_2$-ra ha-ma-	superior to
an-sum	anything, set up
4'.alam ku$_3$--	(= II, 27') a
babbar	statue made from
5'.na$_4$-gug$_X$(=NI.	silver (and)
GUL.DA)-ta	carnelian,
ak-a	
6'.kin-gal-eš	made with great
7'.nam-ku$_3$-zu	skill through the
ak	art of the silver
8'.me-dim$_2$-bi	smith, the form of
9'.me-dim$_2$-ma	which surpassed

diri-ga	(any) form, an
10'.ni3 ar2-eš	object which will
dib-b[a]	attract praise,
11'.gi16-sa	made as an object
a[ka]	of lasting value
12'.alam k[uš-	a silver statue,
babbar]	an object eternal,
13'.ni3-da-[rig]	never to be
14'.e2-^{d}nanna-	removed from the
[ta]	house of Nanna,
15'.nu-kur2-[ru-	which in the house
da]	of Nanna ...
16'.e2-^{d}nan[na-ka]	
17'.sa-ra im-[x-(x)]	
18'.ga2-[e]	I,
19'.a-bi2-sa-[re-	Abīsarē
e]	
. . . . .	(set up)
22'.alam-[mu]	my statue
23'. u4-šu2-[ud]	so that everyday
24'.sa6-ga-[mu]	my good (deeds)
25'.geštu2(!)	should reach the
^{d}[nanna-še3]	ears of Nanna."
26'.ru-gu2-[de3]	
27'.mu-na-[gub]	

1. ^{d}nin-gal	"For Ningal,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub		Sumuel	Ur
2. nin-a-ni-ir	his/her lady	Sumuel 3; calcite		(1894-1866)	
3. nam-ti-	[has PN dedicated	vase			
4. ^{d}su-mu-el3	(this vase)]				
5. [nita-kala]-ga	for the life of				
6. [lugal-	Sumuel, the strong				
uri2^{ki}]-ma	man, king of Ur,				
. . . . .	. . . . . ."				
[a mu-na-ru]					

1. PN	"PN,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub		Sumuel	Ur
2. šita$_{x}$-aba-	Šita-aba-priest	Sumuel 6; seal			
^{d}nin-gal	(lustration	inscription of			
3. dumu-PN	priest?) of	Kulugalbanda			
4. arad2-su-mu-	Ningal, son of PN,				
el3	servant of Sumuel."				

1. ^{d}nanna	"For Nanna,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub		Nūradad	Ur
2. lugal-a-ni-ir	his lord,	Nūradad 2; clay		(1865-1850)	
3. ^{d}nu-ur-^{d}adad	Nuradad,	nails			
4. nita-kala-ga	the strong man,				
5. engar-uri2^{ki}-	the cultivator of				
ma	Ur, king of Larsa,				
6. lugal-larsa^{ki}-	built the Gamumah,				
ma	the temple fitted				
7. ga2-nun-mah	out for butter and				
8. e2-me-te-i3-	cheese —				
nun-ga-ra3					
9. ^{d}nanna	for Nanna				

10. ^{d}nin-gal-ra$^{(!)}$	(and) Ningal			
11. šag$_3$-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	in Ur he			
12. mu-na-du$_3$	built it."			
1. ^{d}nanna	"For Nanna,	Karki, StOr 49 sub	Nūradad	Ur
2. men-an-ki	crown of heaven	Nūradad 3; clay		
3. muš$_3$-ḫi-li-su$_3$	and earth, with visage arrayed in	nails and copper cylinder		
4. dumu-sag-	grace, chief son			
5. ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$	of Enlil,			
6. lugal-a-ni-ir	his lord did			
7. nu-ur$_2$-^{d}adad	Nūradad,			
. . . . .	. . . . .			
18. gidri-sum-ma-	who had been given			
19. ^{d}nanna-ke$_4$	the sceptre of Nanna,			
. . . . .	. . . . .			
33. ^{d}nanna	when he had			
34. lugal-a-ni-ir	given to Nanna,			
35. ki-sur-ra-ka-ni	his lord, his bordered territory,			
36. mu(-un)-na-(an-)sum(-ma)-a				
37. u$_4$-bi-a	on that day			
38. gir$_4$-maḫ-	built for him for			
39. u$_2$-su$_3$-su$_3$-^{d}suen-na-ka	the sake of his (own) life a great			
40. ninda il$_2$-e	oven to supply Suen			
41. kilib$_3$-dingir-re-e-ne-er	with food and to furnish all the			
42. dug-maḫ-	gods with bread;			
43. unu$_2$-gal-ba	(an oven) which			
44. mi$_2$ zi-de$_3$-eš du$_{11}$-ga	was properly tended on the high			
45. kin-sig kin-nim-ma	platform of the great dining hall			
46. gu$_3$-nun-bi di-dam	(and) which roared loudly at morning			
47. nam-ti-la-ni-še$_3$	and evening meal times.			
48. mu-na-du$_3$	He restored his			
49. šu-luḫ-u$_4$-ul (-li$_2$)-a-ka-ni	ancient lustration rites."			
50. ki-bi mu-na-gi$_4$				
1. ^{d}nin-gal	"For Ningal,	Karki, StOr 49 sub	Nūradad	Ur
2. nitadam-ku$_3$-	the holy wife	Nūradad 4; clay		
3. ^{d}aš-im$_5$-babbar$_2$-ra	of Ašimbabbar,	nails		
4. nin-ki-ag$_2$-a-ni-ir	his beloved lady			
5. nu-ur$_2$-^{d}adad	has Nuradad,			
. . . . .	. . . . .			
15. gidri-sum-ma-	who was given the			

16. ^{d}nanna-ke$_4$	sceptre by Nanna,				
. . . . .	. . . . .				
33. e$_2$-gar$_6$-ku$_3$	built for the sake				
34. e$_2$-nam-mu$_4$-ka-ni	of his (own) life the holy Egar, her				
35. a$_2$-na$_2$-da-	dressing chamber,				
36. šul-^{d}suen-na-ka	in the bedroom(?) of Suen.				
37. nam-ti-la-ni-še$_3$					
38. mu-na-du$_3$					
39. e$_2$-gar$_6$ ni$_3$-ul-e	He restored the Egar (to be) a				
40. ki-bi mu-na-gi$_4$	thing eternal."				
26. u$_4$-bi-a du$_{11}$-ga-du$_{11}$-ga-	"On that day (Sîniddinam) in	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Sîniddinam 1;	(1849-1843)	Sîniddinam	Ur
27. ^{d}nanna-^{d}nin-gala-ta	accordance with the commands of	baked bricks			
28. bad$_3$-gal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	Nanna and Ningal built the great				
29. ḫur-sag-gin$_7$	wall of Ur like a				
30. ki-sikil-la mu-un-du$_3$	a mountain in a sacred place."				
8. ga$_2$-nun-maḫ	"The Ganunmah,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Sîniddinam 2;		Sîniddinam	Ur
9. u$_4$-ul-li$_2$-a-ta	which in the days of old, former	baked bricks			
10. lugal igi.gin-na-ne	kings had not restored,				
11. ki!-bi li-bi$_2$-gi$_4$					
12. du$_{11}$-ga-^{d}nanna	according to the command of Nanna,				
13. lugal-maḫ-ta/ lugal-ga$_2$-ta	the lofty king/ my king,				
14. eš$_3$-gal-maḫ-ni$_3$-ga-ra-kam!	was to be a great, exalted treasure				
15. un-šar$_2$-r[a] nu-sa$_2$	house which was unequalled among				
16. nam-ti-ad-da-ga$_2$/-ad-da-mu	many peoples; for the sake of my father's life				
17. u$_3$ nam-ti-mu-še$_3$/nam-ti-mu-uš	and for my life (I, Sîniddinam) built (it) for him				
18. mu-na-du$_3$	(= Nanna)."				
20. š[uld$_3$ (KA x [SU])-de$_3$ nam-šita$_x$ (= REC316) a-ra-zu-ni	"Because Nanna, chief son of Enlil had come (in response) to his prayers,	Kärki, St Or 49 sub Sîniddinam 3; baked bricks		Sîniddinam	Ur
21. ^{d}nanna	requests, (and)				

22. dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$-ke$_4$	petitions
23. in-nig-gin-na-aš	
24. geštu$_2$-dagal	and because he had
25. KA-sa$_6$-sa$_6$-ge-ni-ta	established an exalted name for
26. ki-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ka	him in the territory of Ur
27. mu-mah-a-ni bi$_2$-in-gub	due to his wide understanding and
28. e$_2$-nam-nun-na-ka-ni	eloquent words, he (Sîniddinam)
29. ^{d}nanna-ra$^{(!)}$	built for Nanna
30. mu-na-an-du$_3$	his Enamnunna (house of princeliness)."

1. ^{d}nanna 2. dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2^{(!)}$ 3. lugal-a-ni-ir	"For Nanna, chief son of Enlil, his lord."	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Sîniddinam 4; fragments of baked brick	Sîniddinam	Ur

18. du$_{11}$-ga-du$_{11}$-ga- 19. ^{d}nanna-^{d}utu-bi/-ta 20. e$_2$-babbar 20/21. e$_2$-kiš-nu-gal$_2$-bi/-ta 21/22. ^{d}sîn-i-di$_2$-na-am 22/23. ni$_2$-tuku-^{d}a-/-^{d}(a)-nun-ke$_4$-ne 23/24. nindaba šu-du$_7$-du$_7$ he$_2$-a 24/25. u$_4$-da-ri$_2$-še$_3$	"In accordance with the commands of Nanna and Utu, may Sîniddinam be for everlasting days the one who in the Ebabbar and in the Ekišnugal reverences the the Anunna gods (and) completes the offerings."	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Sîniddinam 8; clay nails; cf. variants Kärki, o.c. p. 65	Sîniddinam	Larsa; Ur

1. [^{d}utu] 2. [u$_3$-tu-da-^{d}nanna]	"For Utu, sired by Nanna	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Sîniddinam 13; clay tablet (copy)	Sîniddinam	Larsa
206. [šu-n[i]r-gal-ku$_3$-GI-nisag$_x$(LAK159)-ga$_2$	A great gold standard of Nisan (the month)			
207. ^{d}nanna lugal-a-ni-ir	he fashioned for Nanna,			
208. hu-mu-na-dim$_2$	his lord.			
. . . . .	. . . . .			
212. ^{d}nanna lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	for Nanna, the lord of Ur,			
213. nibru^{ki} uru-	he brought to			

a-a-ugu-na-šeᵣ	Nippur, city of the father who			
214. nisagₓ (LAK159)-gaᵣ	sired him, the offerings of			
šaᵣ-ba asilaᵣ	Nisan, in which			
215. ḫu-mu-ni-in-tumᵣ	there is joy."			
1. ᵈnanna	"For Nanna,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub	Ṣilliadad	Ur
2. lugal-a-ni-ir	his lord	Ṣilliadad 1; baked	(1835)	
3. ṣi-liᵣ-ᵈadad	has Ṣilliadad	bricks, clay nails;		
. . . . .	. . . . .	see Kärki, o.c.		
11. urᵣ-eᵣ-temen-niᵣ-guruᵣ	ordered (the building of)/	p. 81 for variants		
12. biᵣ-in-duₙ/-gur	replaced the foundation of the			
13. ki-bi(!) biᵣ-in-giₙ	Etemenniguru (and) restored it."			
1. warad-ᵈsîn	"Waradsin,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub	Waradsîn	Ur
. . . . .	. . . . .	Waradsîn 1;	(1834-1823)	
5. uᵣ-a-uriᵣ^ki-ma	the provider of Ur	baked brick		
. . . . .	. . . . .			
10. uriᵣ^ki dagal-e-deᵣ	humbly prayed that Ur be widened			
11. mu-maḫ tuk-tuku-deᵣ	(and) that it have an exalted name.			
12. sunᵣ-na-bi				
13. uᵣ-gul im-ma-an-gaᵣ-gaᵣ				
14. ᵈnanna lugal-mu	Nanna, my lord,			
15. mu-ši-in-še	was agreeable to it.			
16. badᵣ-gal ḫur-sag-ilᵣ-la-gin₇ šu nu-kuₙ-kuₙ	A great wall like a towering mountain which is impenetrable (and)			
17. niᵣ-bi-šeᵣ eᵣ-a	which rises up awesomely, I built			
18. mu-na-duᵣ	for him (Nanna).			
19. uru-ni ḫeᵣ-em-mi-daᵣ	Thus I ringed in his city.			
20. badᵣ-ba	The name of its			
21. ᵈnanna suhuš-ma-da ge-en-ge-en	wall (is): 'Nanna who fortifies the foundation of the			
22. mu-bi-im	land'."			
1. ᵈnanna	"For Nanna,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub	Waradsîn	Ur
2. lugal-a-ni-ir	his lord,	Waradsîn 2; baked		
3. warad-ᵈsîn	has Waradsîn,	bricks		
4. uᵣ-a-uriᵣ^ki-ma	the provider of Ur,			
. . . . .	. . . . .			
7. uₙ ᵈnanna	when he had			
8. ᵈnin-gal-bi	petitioned Nanna			

9. šag-ne mu-un-ne-ša$_4$-aš	and Ningal			
10. ki-šu-il$_2$-la-ga$_2$	(and) he (Nanna) had supported			
11. mu-un-us$_2$-en	me (sic!) in the			
12. i$_7$-^{d}nanna-ḫul$_2$	place where I (sic!) lift up (my)			
13. mu-ba-al-la-a	hands (in prayer)			
14. ki-bi bi$_2$-in-gi$_4$-a	he (I?) dug the canal (named) 'Nanna rejoices' and restored it."			

1. ^{d}nanna	"For Nanna,	Kärki StOr 49 sub	Waradsîn	Ur
2. lugal-a-ni-ir	his lord,	Waradsîn 3;		
3. ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk	has Kudurmabuk	baked bricks		
. . . . .	. . . . .			
6. u$_4$ ^{d}nanna	when Nanna had			
7. a-ra-zu-ni	come (in response			
8. mu-ši-gin-na-a	to) his prayer,			
9. ga$_2$-nun-maḫ-	built the Ganunmah			
10. ^{d}nanna-kam	of Nanna			
11. nam-ti-la-ni-še$_3$	for the sake of his life and for			
12. u$_3$ nam-ti-	the sake of the			
13. warad-^{d}sîn- dumu-ni	life of Waradsin, his son,			
14. lugal-larsa^{ki}-ma-še$_3$	king of Larsa."			
15. mu-na-ni-in-du$_3$				

23. nam-tar-nam-ti-la	"May he (Nanna) grant me the power	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Waradsîn 4; stone	Waradsîn	Ur
24. bala-su$_{13}$ (=GID$_2$)-ra$_2$	to decide the fate of lives,	and copper tablets; cf. Waradsîn 1		
25. giš-gu-za-sunuš-gi-na	a long reign, (and) a throne	which is very similar.		
26. sag-e-eš	with a foundation			
27. ḫa-ma-ab-rig$_7$-ge	firmly established."			

1. ^{d}nanna	"For Nanna,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub	Waradsîn	Ur
2. en-zur-zur an-ki zalag	the lord who is treated with	Waradsîn 9; clay nails; cf. Waradsîn		
3. dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$	honor, who makes the universe	26.		
4. lugal-a-ni-ir	bright, chief son			
5. ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk$_2$	of Enlil, his lord, has Kudurmabuk			
. . . . .	. . . . .			
19. e$_2$-x-KI-TE	raised the E-x-KI.TE			
20. ki-tuš-šag-ḫul$_2$-la-ka-ni	temple like a mountain, the			
21. ḫur-sag-gin$_7$	dwelling place			

bi2-in-sukud	that makes his
22. sag an-e šu-bi2-in-us2	heart rejoice. He has made its head
23. (x-)ug5-di-kalam-ma(-ka)	touch the sky (and) established it as
24. ([u4-da-ri2-še3]) bi2-in-gub	the wonder of the land for all time.
25. [ni3-aka]-bi-še3	
26. [d]nanna nin-gal-bi	May Nanna and Ningal rejoice in
27. he2-en-si-hul2(!) nam(!)-tar(!)- nam-ti-la	what he has done (and) may he (Nanna) grant him the power to decide
28. bala-du10-suhuš-gi-na	the fate of lives (and) a good reign,
29. sag-e-(eš) he2-en-rig7	firmly founded."

1. dnanna	"For Nanna,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub	Waradsîn	Ur
2. en dumu-nun	lord, princely	Waradsîn 10; clay		
3. an-ku3-ge dalla-e3	son, who appears in the pure	nails		
4. nam-šita$_X$(REC 316) a-ra-zu-e giš-tuku	heavens, who listens to requests (and)			
5. lugal-mu-ra	petitions, my lord			
6. warad-dsîn	did (I), Waradsîn			
. . . . .	. . . . .			
25. u4 daš-im4/im2-babbar	when Ašimbabbar			
26. giskim-sag9-ga-ni	had shown me his auspicious sign			
27. igi ma-ni-in-dug4-a	(and) looked upon me with his			
28. igi-nam-ti-la-ka-ni	life-giving glance,			
29. mu-ši-in-bar (-ra)-a/bar				
30. e2-a-ni du3-u3-de3	(and) commanded me to build his			
31. ki-bi gi4-gi4-de3	house (and) restore it,			
32. ga2-a-ar ma-an-du11-ga	build the house of his heart's			
33. nam-ti-mu-še3	joy, the			
34. u3 nam-ti-	Etemenniguru, for			
35. ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk2	the sake of my life and for that of			
36. a-a-ugu-ga2-ke4	the father who sired me,			
37. e2-šag4-hul2-la-ka-ni	Kudurmabuk. I established it			

38. e$_2$-temen-ni$_2$-guru$_3$/gur$_3$-ru 39. mu-na-du$_3$ 40. me-te-u$_5$-di-kalam-ma-ka 41. u$_4$-da-ri$_2$-šè$_3$ bi$_2$-in-gub	as the jewel, the wonder of the land for all time."			
28. ga$_2$-nun-mah 29. e$_2$-ku$_3$-babbar-ku$_3$-GI 30. uri$_3$-erim$_2$-dugud- 31. ^{d}suen-na-ka 32. u$_4$-ul-li$_2$-a-ta 33. ba-du$_3$-a-ba ba-sumun 34. nam-ti-mu-šè$_3$ 35. u$_3$ nam-ti- 36. warad-^{d}sîn dumu-mu 37. lugal-larsa^{ki}-ma-šè$_3$ 38. mu-na-du$_3$ 39. ki-bi-šè$_3$ he$_2$-em-mi-gi$_4$	"I build the Ganunmah, the house of silver (and) gold, the massive keep (and) storehouse of Sum which had been built in former days (and) had gotten old, for the sake of my life and for sake of Waradsin, my son, king of Larsa. I restored it in its (original) place."	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Waradsîn 11; clay nails	Waradsîn	Ur
1. ^{d}nin-gal 2. nin mah-di 3. me-kilib$_3$-ba sag-il$_2$ 4. nin-a-ni-ir 5. warad-^{d}sîn . . . . . . 11. u$_4$ ^{d}nin-gal 12. šud$_3$-da-a-ni 13. in-ni$_5$-DU-a 14. e$_2$-i$_7$-lu$_2$-ru-gu$_2$-kalam-ma 15. e$_2$-ki-ag$_2$-ga$_2$-ni 16. u$_4$-ul ba-du$_3$-a-ta 17. uru$_4$ egar-bi ba-sumun 18. temen-bi nu-mu-un-kur$_2$ 19. ur$_2$-libir-a-bi 20. tak$_2$-ši$_2$-ru-um bi$_2$-in-ak	"For Ningal, lady of high renown, who is exalted in all me's, his lady, did Waradsîn..." "When Ningal had come (in response) to his prayer, he restored in its (original) place the Temple of the River Ordeal of the Land (of Sumer), her beloved temple which had been built in a former day (and) the foundation and wall of which had gotten old; he did not change	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Waradsîn 14; clay nails	Waradsîn	Ur

21. ki-bi mu-na-gi$_4$	its foundation-inscription, but made repair(s) on its old foundation and restored it."[69]			
col. I				
10'. ^{d}nanna lugal-mu KA-sa$_6$-sa$_6$-ge-da-mu	"(To) Nanna, my lord, with my gracious words	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Waradsîn 18; clay nail	Waradsîn	Ur
11'. uri$_2^{ki}$ dagal-e-de$_3$	I humbly prayed (18') to enlarge			
12'. ki-sa$_2$-a-bi šu peš$_{11}$-e-de$_3$	Ur, to extend its supporting wall, to enlarge its			
13'. diri-ni$_3$-u$_4$-bi-da-ka	foundation beyond that of a former			
14'. ki-gar-bi gu-ul-lu-de$_3$	day, so that it would have an			
15'. mu-ma$_2$ tuk-tuku-de$_3$	exalted name. After I had			
16'. en$_3$ u$_3$-bi$_2$-tar	asked him (Nanna) (and) his			
17'. [(x)x-bla-a-ni bi$_2$-dug-a	[...] was loosened up,			
18'. [sung-na-bi] u$_3$-gul im-ma[a-an-ga$_2$-ga$_2$]	Nanna, my lord, found favor in (my requests)."			
19'. [^{d}nanna lugal-m]u mu-[ši-in-še]				
		Kärki, StOr 49 sub Waradsîn 19; very fragmentary calcite stele: mention made of Nanna, Ningal, Ekišnugal, Enanna-tumma, daughter of ^{d}Išme-^{d}Dagan.	Waradsîn	Ur
1. ^{d}nanna	"To Nanna,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Waradsîn 20; agate beads	Waradsîn	?
2. lugal-a-ni-ir	his lord,			
3. warad-^{d}sîn	has Waradsîn,			
4. ensi$_2$-	Utu's ruler			
5. ^{d}utu				
6. dumu-ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk$_2$	son of Kudurmabuk			
7. ad-da-kur-mar-tu	sheik of the Martu Land dedicated			
8. a mu-na-ru	(this object)."			

1. [en]-an-[e-du7] 2. [en]-^{d}[nanna] 3. uri2^{ki}-[ma] 4. dumu-ku-du-ur-ma-bu-[uk] 5. šeš-warad-^{d}sîn 6. lugal-larsa^{ki}-ma	"Enanedu, En-priestess of Nanna of Ur, daughter of Kudur-mabuk, sister of Waradsîn, king of Larsa."	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Waradsîn 22, 24; seal	Waradsîn	Ur
1. ur-^{d}nanna 2. gudu4-abzu-^{d}nanna 3. dumu-kuš-^{d}nin-gal 4. pisan-dub-ba-^{d}nanna$^{?0}$ 5. arad2-warad-^{d}sîn	"Urnanna, the anointing priest(?) of Nanna's abzu, son of Kuningal, Nanna's Keeper of the Accounts, servant of Waradsîn."	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Waradsîn 25; seal	Waradsîn	?
1. [d]nan[na] 2. ding[ir(?) a]n(?)-si[kil(?)-/-k[uš(?)-t]a pe3-a 3. x [x (x x x x) t]um2-ma 4. x-[(x)]-ḫi-li 5. x [(x) GI]A2 x TU 6. mu-ni a-re-eš KAL 7. x-x-x šaš-zi-ta e3-a 8. ki-[a]g2-e2-kur-ra 9. lug[al]-a-ni-ir 10. w[arad]-^{d}sîn . . . . . . 18. u4 ^{d}nanna lugal-a-ne2 19. šuš a-ra-zu-ni 20. in-ši-in-še-ga 21. imin urudu^{a}lam-i7-da 22. urudu$_{niš}$-KU.U-ḫe2-gal2-la 23. šu-bi-a 24. mu-un-ne-gal2	"For Nanna, god(?) who rises in the clear heavens(?), fitting for ..., ... abundance, ... whose name is worthy of praise(?) who has come forth from a legitimate (mother's) womb, the beloved of the Ekur, his lord has Waradsîn . . . . . when Nanna, his lord was agreeable to his prayer and petition, seven copper statues of the river, in the hands of which was a copper ... of	Kärki, St Or 49 sub Waradsîn 27; clay tablet (copy)	Waradsîn	Ur

	abundance (and) on the day of the			
25. u_4-ezen-siskur-ra-ka	feast of the siskur (libation			
26. kaš geštin ulušin	offering), beer, wine, emmer beer			
[.....]	[.....]			
1. ^{d}nanna en-gal	"For Nanna, the great lord,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Waradsîn 28; clay	Waradsîn	Ur
2. u_4 an-ku$_3$-ge(4) si	light who fills the pure heavens,	tablets (copies)		
3. men$_4$-nun-na/-e sag (=KA/SAG)-il$_2$	the prince's/ princely crown whose head is raised,			
4. dingir-zi u_4 gig-bi ḫe(2)-ḫe(2)[71]	true god who ... day and night,			
5. iti ge-en-ge-en	who determines the month, who			
6. mu silim-ma	completes the year,			
7. ša$_3$-e$_2$-kur-ra (-ke$_4$) sun$_5$-na/-ne$_2$	who in the Ekur humbly receives just decisions from			
8. eš-bar-zi šu ti	the father who sired him,			
9. ki-a-a-ugu-na-ke$_4$/(-na)-ke$_4$				
10. dumu-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}nin-lil$_2$-la$_2$	the beloved son of Ninlil,			
11. ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar(2)(-re)	Ašimbabbar,			
12. šu-šud$_3$/šu-di a-ra-zu(-e) giš-tuku	who hears prayers and petitions,			
13. lugal-a-ni-ir	his lord			
14. (I) ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk$_2$	has Kudurmabuk			
. . . . .	. . . . .			
63. alam-^{d}nanna me-di[m$_2$-bi]	having made a statue of Nanna			
64. zi-da aka-da x [x (x x)]	true to form ..."			
1. u_4 an ^{d}en-lil$_2$-bi	"When An and Enlil	Kärki, StOr 49 sub Waradsîn 29; clay	Waradsîn	Babylon
2. nun-da-ri$_2$ a-a-dingir-re-e-ne	eternal princes, fathers of the gods, who have	cylinder		
3. nam tar-tar-re-me-eš	decided the fates, spoke joyfully (11)			
4. ^{d}nanna dumu-zi-le	to Nanna, princely(?) son,			
5. ki-ag$_2$-e$_2$-kur-	beloved of the			

	ra-ra	Ekur, who every
6.	u$_4$-šu$_2$-ud nam-	day stands before
	sug-na	them in humility
7.	šu-kin-dabs-	to execute their
	be$_2$-da-ni-še$_3$	orders, who
8.	igi-bi-a al-	hearkens to their
	gub-ba	instructions, who
9.	ka-ba-bi-še$_3$	bows before their
	gizzal im-si-	commands, when they
	-(aka)	had put in his
10.	du$_{11}$-ga-bi-še$_3$	hand the counsel
	mu-un-GAM-e	of heaven and earth,
11.	gu$_3$-hul$_2$ mu-	
	ni-in-de$_2$-es	
12.	ad-gi$_4$-an-ki-	the understanding
	ka	(and) judgement of
13.	umus(!) ka-as-	the Anunna-gods,
	bar-re-^{d}a-nun-	when their holy
	na[72]	words which are
14.	šu-na bi$_2$-in-	never to be
	gar-re-es	changed were
15.	uri$_2^{ki}$ ki-sur-	uttered with
	ra dingir-re	finality that a
	(-ne) gar-ra-	favored reign
	na	should be made
16.	bala-sag-ga	long lasting for
	su$_3$-ra$_2$-še$_3$	him in Ur, the
	aka-de$_3$	boundary of which
17.	bara$_2$-bi sukud	the god(s) had
	ili$_2$-de$_3$	set, that he
18.	kilib$_3$-da-ga-	should raise high
	an-sag-zi-	its lofty dais,
	gal$_2$-la	that all living
19.	gu$_2$-un il$_2$-i-	things should bring
	de$_3$	tribute (to him
20.	giri$_3$-ni šu-ni	and) grasp(?) his
	ri-e-de$_3$	hands (and) feet,
21.	ini[m]-ku$_3$ ni$_3$	then on that day
	nu-kur$_2$-ru-da-	did Ašimbabbar,
	ne-ne	who knows how to
22.	ge-ne$_2$-še$_3$	render judgement,
	bi$_2$-in-ne-es-	son of Ninlil who
	am$_3$	comes forth in
23.	u$_4$-bi-a ^{d}aš-	grandeur with
	im$_2$-babbar-re	(proudly) lifted
24.	eš-bar-re gal-	head, whose words
	zu dumu-^{d}nin-	pacify the land,
	lil$_2$-la$_2$-ke$_4$	who comes forth
25.	igi-an-^{d}en-	in justice for
	lil$_2$-bi-ta	the black-headed
26.	sag-il$_2$-la ul-	(race), who has
	le-es e$_3$-da-ni	mercy on its
27.	ma-da inim-a-	multitudes,
	ne$_2$ te-en-te-	
	ne	

28. sag-giš zi-de$_3$-eš bi$_2$-in-e$_3$-a
29. un-šar$_2$-ra-bi-še$_3$ arhuš bi$_2$-in-tuku-am$_3$
30. uru-ni uri$_2^{ki}$-ma ama-sig-gal$_2$-kur-ra
31. sag-ki-zalag šag$_3$-ḫul$_2$-la-ni-ta
32. mu-un-na-ši-bar-re-en
33. sag-bi bi$_2$-in-il$_2$-la
34. mu-maḫ bi$_2$-in-tuku-am$_3$
35. ḫur-sag a-abba nam-ḫe$_2$-bi gu$_7$-de$_3$
36. me$_3$-šen-kalam-ma TUKU-sa-ra ak-aka-de$_3$
37. sag-e-eš im-mi-in-rig$_7$
38. sipa-gin$_7$ zi-gal$_2$ tum$_2$-tum$_2$-e-de$_3$
39. ma-da-bi-im šu-a gi$_4$-gi$_4$-de$_3$
40. šag$_3$-bi a ga$_2$-ga$_2$-de$_3$ u$_4$-bi su$_3$-su$_3$-us$_2$-de$_3$
41. inim sikil-bi bi$_2$-in-tum$_3$

. . . .

55. ^{d}nanna en me-an-ki šu-du$_7$

look upon his city, Ur, mother of the lowlands and highlands(?) whose forehead is radiant because of the joy in her heart. He granted that the riches of mountain and sea should be enjoyed (and) that the battles (and) conflicts of the land should cease(?). He gave his word in the purity (of his heart) that like a shepherd he would guide the living, return the land to their hands, put water in their midst, (and) make their days long.

Nanna, lord who perfects the me's of heaven and earth."

col. I

2'. [x (x x) gi]s-sub-bi
3'. [en a]l bi$_2$-in-du$_{11}$-ga
4'. [en-an]-e-du$_7$
5'. [ki]-ag$_2$-^{d}nanna
6'. [AN.x]-x-e šag$_3$-ku$_3$-ge pa$_3$-da
7'. [dumu]-ku-du$_8$-

"... the lots. the En-priestess whom he (Nanna) had requested Enanedu, beloved of Nanna, whom ... had chosen in (his) pure heart, daughter of

Kärki, StOr 49 sub Waradsîn 37; clay nail

Waradsîn

Ur; Diqdiqqa

ur-ma-(bu)-uk$_2$	Kudurmabuk,
8'. [geš]tu$_2$ ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$	whom Enki had given wisdom,
9'. [mu-na-an]-sum-ma	who has assembled the me's in the
10'. [me e$_2$-kiš-nu]u-gal$_2$-ta	Ekišnugal, the ... of Nanna,
mu-un-ur$_4$-ur$_4$	the canal which
11'. [x-(x-x)]-x- ^{d}nanna i$_7$-ḫe$_2$-gal$_2$-tum$_2$	brings abundance . . ."

dumu-gal-^{d}suen-na	"chief daughter of Kārki, Suen"	StOr 49 sub Rīmsîn 4 and 6; 4: bronze kanephor; 6: limestone and copper tablets; dedicatory inscriptions to ^{d}inanna and ^{d}nin-e-gal; both called dumu-gal-^{d}suen-na; cf. Rīmsîn i3 and my Chapter 8, section III.5: Ninegala.	Rīmsîn	Rīmsîn 4 — Tutub; Rīmsîn 6 — Ur

1. en-an-e-du7	"I, Enanedu,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub		Rīmsîn	Ur
2. en-^{d}nanna	En-priestess of	Rīmsîn 8; clay		(1822 - 1763)	
3. nam-gal-nam-en-na šag-kug-ta nam-gi7-an-na	Nanna, (whose) great office (is) that of the En-priestess, (I who	nail			
4. šag-ki-ag2 ^{d}nin-gal-e niğ-GÚ-nam-en-na bar šu-ta gar	was born) from a holy womb (for) the noble(st) office of heaven, (I) the womb's beloved, whom Ningal set ... as the light(?) of the En-priesthood,				
5. me-te-eg2-kiš-nu-gal2 zag-DU-uta-ğe-un3-na	the adornment of the Ekišnugal, the support(?) of (heaven's) lofty				
6. ğeg-du7-eg2-nun-na u4-sa-sa-ğa kalam-še3 e3	baldachin,[73] the architrave of the Enunna temple, dazzling light				
7. muš2(!)-nam-en (-na)-še3 kug-ge-eš-e tum2-ma	which rises for the land (of Sumer), well suited in her holiness for				
8. giš-ğur-šu-luğ-nam-dingir-še3 zi-deg-eš-e ba3-da	the characteristic head-binding[74] of the En-priesthood, legitimately chosen for the cult rites				
9. nun niğ tuku dug-mağ-eg2-lugal-la-na-še3 šu-luğ-luğ-ğa-ta al-gub-gub-bu-a	and the purification ceremony of the divinity, the princess who stands in respect on the raised platform of the temple of her lord during the purification ceremony,				
10. en-an-e-du7	(I), Enanedu,				
11. en igi-dug-a-^{d}nanna-^{d}nin-gal-bi	the En-priestess whom Nanna and Ningal have looked				
12. uri2^{ki} uru^{ki}-za3-eg2-ke-en-ge-ra	upon in Ur, the foremost city of Sumer,				
13. ki-šu-tag-za-na-ru en ^{d}aš-im2-babbar-e	the place where the Zanaru[75] instrument is played, I am the				

14. lu$_2$-gi$_6$-par$_4$	En-priestess whom
nam-en-bi-še$_3$	Ašimbabbar has
ki-sikil-la	created in
du$_3$-a gal-bi	greatness to be the
tum$_2$-ma-me-en	maiden who builds
	the Gipar for the
	En-priesthood.
15. u$_4$ ^{d}nanna	When Nanna and
^{d}nin-gal-bi	Ningal
16. sag-ki-zalag-	had bestowed upon
ga-ne-ne-a	me the glance of
igi-bar-ra-bi	their radiant
nam-ti-la	countenances, the
17. igi-ḫul$_2$-la-	joyful, life-
bi mu-un-ši-	giving glance,
in-sum-eš-am$_3$	
18. eš$_3$ e$_2$-kiš-nu-	and in the sanc-
gal$_2$ ki-tuš-	tuary of the
nam-dingir-ne-	Ekišnugal, the
ne-a	dwelling place of
	the divinities,
19. mu-mu mi-ni-	had exalted my
in-maḫ-eš-a	name,
20. ka-mu sikil-la	and had placed in
nam-šita$_x$(=REC	my holy mouth the
316)-nam-ti-la	prayer for life,
mu-un-gar-re-	
eš-am$_3$	
21. šu-si-sa$_2$-mu	(and) had
u$_4$-nam-ti-^{d}ri-	grasped(?) my
im-^{d}sîn	righteous hand to
. . . . .	make the days of
23. su$_3$-su$_3$$^{(!)}$-u$_5$-	Rīmsîn's life
de$_3$ mu-un-	long,
(ne)-ri-eš-a	
. . . . .	
26. u$_4$-ba gi$_6$-	then on that day,
par$_4$-ku$_3$-ga	because the brick-
ki-tuš-nam-en-	work of the holy
na-mu	Gipar, the dwelling
27. sig$_4$-bi ur$_2$-	place of my En-
bi-ta nu-us$_2$-	priesthood, did not
sa	abut its founda-
28. en-an-e-du$_7$	tion, I, Enanedu,
29. en mu-maḫ zi-	the En-priestess
de$_3$-eš [sa$_4$-]a	justly called by
	an exalted name,
30. dumu-ku-du-ur-	daughter of
ma-bu-uk-me-en	Kudurmabuk,
31. gi$_6$-par$_4$-ku$_3$-	made straight, ...
ga ur$_2$-bi	bricks abut the
sumun-a sig$_4$-	old foundation of
zi-DU ḫe$_2$-ni-	the holy Gipar;
us$_2$	
32. e$_2$-garg-bi šu-	(and) I ...[76]

si-tag-ga IM. DUL$_3$ ḫu-mu-ak
its wall; I reshaped this

33. e$_2$-bi gibil-be$_2$-eš ḫu-mu-tu
temple. On this day the sanctuary of ...,

34. u$_4$-ba unu$_2$-ŠEŠ-ba-an-DU kislah^{77}-nam-tar-ra-
the desolate area where the fates of the preceding En-priestesses were

35. en-en-e-ne-libir-ra-meš
decided, was not surrounded by a

36. ki-bi bad$_3$ nu-da$_5$ gu$_2$-gir$_3$-bi ŠIM.BUR$_2$-bi he$_2$-ḫul-b[i]
wall; its ... and its ... were delapidated; no watch had been

37. en-nu-un ba-ra-gar ki-bi ba-ra-sikil
set up; the area was not clean. I, in my wisdom

38. ga$_2$-e geštu$_2$-gal-zu-mu-ta
(and) understanding, sought out the

39. nam-tar u$_4$-da egir-ra ki-bi bi$_2$-kin-kin
place where the fates of future days will be

40. diri-ki-na$_2$-en-en-e-ne-libir-ra-meš
decided. Over the place where preceding En-

41. u$_2$-zu-ug-dagal-la ḫu-mu-gar
priestesses were lying I set up a wide sanctuary; I

42. ki-bi šub-ba bad$_3$-gal-e ḫu-mu-da$_5$
surrounded its dilapidated area with a great wall;

43. en-nu-un-kalag-ga bi$_2$-gar ki-bi ḫu-mu-sikil
a strong watch I set up and cleaned the area. So that my name, which was

44. mu-pa$_3$-da-nam-en-na-mu pa$_3$-pa$_3$-de$_3$-de$_3$
chosen for the En-priesthood should ever be called, I

45. kin-bi ki-bi-še$_3$ ḫe$_2$-en-mi-gar
completed this work in its place. I wrote a foundation

46. temen-ar$_2$-nam-en-na-mu mu-sar
inscription in praise of my En-priesthood (and)

47. u$_4$ a-na gal$_2$-la-ka-ta ḫe$_2$-en-mi-us$_2$
laid it in (to last) for as many days as shall ever

48. bad$_3$-bi ni$_2$-te-ga$_2$-mu ḫ[e$_2$-e]n-i mu-bi he$_2$-e[n]-mi-sa$_4$
exist. I named this wall: 'Respect for me shall be (forever).'

1. ^{d}nanna	"For Nanna,	Kärki, StOr 49 sub		Rīmsîn	Ur
2. en-gal me-lam$_2$-ma sag il$_2$	great lord whose head in (its) radiance is	Rīmsîn 11; clay tablet (school copy); clay nails			
3. an-ki-a pa-e$_3$	lifted, who arises				
4. u$_4$(!)(zalag$_2$)-su-lim-dagal šà-er-zi-bi mu$_2$-mu$_2$	over heaven and earth, light, wide radiance, the rays of which				
5. un-šarg$_2$-ra-aš u$_4$ ga$_2$-ga$_2$	are ever renewing, who places (his)				
6. nun-u$_{18}$-ru me-ni a-re-eš kal	light on the multitudes, mighty				
7. niĝ-nam-ma-ni ku$_3$-ku$_3$-ug (ug-REC184)	prince whose power is worthy of praise(?), ever				
8. dumu-zi-le-kur-gal-^{d}en-lil$_2$-le	pure in all of his attributes(?), the princely(?) son				
9. nun ki-ag$_2$-e$_2$-kur-ra	of the great mountain, Enlil, prince				
10. lugal-a-ni-ir	beloved in the				
11. ri-im-^{d}sîn	Ekur, his lord has Rīmsîn				
. . . . .	. . . . .				
26. e$_2$-ge-na-ab-tum-/du$_7$(!)-ku$_3$-^{d}nanna[68]	built the pure provisions-house of Nanna,				
27. ki-tuš-ni$_2$-dub$_2$-bu/-dub$_2$-da-ni	the dwelling place where he rests, for the sake of				
28. nam-ti-la-ni-še$_3$	his (Rīmsîn's) life.				
29. mu-na-du$_3$					
30. diri-u$_4$-bi-ta-še$_3$					
31. e$_2$-šu-si$_3$-ga-bi mu-dagal	He widened its Ešusiga beyond what				
32. sag-bi im-mi-in-i[l$_2$]	it had been in former days; he				
33. gal-le-eš im(-mi)-in-gun$_3$	raised its roof (? lit.: head); he adorned it greatly."				
29. giskim-sag$_5$-ga-^{d}nanna	"Nanna's auspicious sign"	Kärki, StOR 49 sub Rimsin 10; clay nail		Rīmsîn	Ur

col. i				
6'. [^{d}EN.ZU] = ^{d}EN.ZU 7'. [nam-sag]-kal = a-ša-re-du-tam 8'. [ma-r]a-an-sum = id-di-ik-kum	"Suen has given you the foremost place."	CT 21, 40:6'-8'; part of a black basalt statue	Ḫammurabi (1792 -1750)	?
75. nam-ti-la ^{d}nanna-giŋ 76. [ba]-la-ṭam ša ki-ma ^{d}sîn (= ^{d}ZUEN) 76. iti-iti-da mu$_2$-mu$_2$-da/-dam 71/72. ma-a[r-ḫi]-ša-am!/u$_2$-t[e-e]d-de-šu	"a life which like Nanna is renewed every month"	Kärki, Studia Orientalia 55:1 (Die sumerischen und akkadischen Königsinschriften der altbabylonischen Zeit, II. Babylon, Helsinki, 1983); limestone tablets, clay tablets (copies); pp. 21-23	Samsuilūna (1749 -1712)	Sippar?
41. ^{d}nanna = a-na ^{d}EN.[ZU] 42. dingir-sag-du-mu-še$_3$ = DINGIR ba-ni-y[a]	"For Nanna (Suen), the god who created me."	Kärki, StOr 55:1, pp. 20-22.	Samsuilūna	Sippar
84. nam-ti ^{d}nanna- 85. ^{d}utu-bi-giŋ-nam 86. gi$_{16}$-sa-aš ak-a	"a life which like Nanna and Utu is made (to be) a lasting possesion."	Kärki, StOr 55:1, pp. 39f.; clay cylinder	Samsuilūna	Babylon and Tutub
1. ^{d}nin-gal 2. nin-a-ni-ir 3. a-bi-e-šu-uḫ 4. lugal bābili$_m^{ki}$ (=KA$_2$.DINGIR.ki)-ke$_4$ 5. [a mu-na-ru]	"To Ningal, his lady has Abīešuḫ, king of Babylon, dedicated (these beads)."	Kärki, StOr 55:1, p. 44; agate 'eyes'	Abīešuḫ (1711 -1684)	?
ELAM:				
1. e-pa$_2$-ra-at 2. lugal-an-ša-an u$_3$ šušin^{ki} 3. šil-il-ḫa-ḫa 4. sukkal-[ma]ḫ 5. ad-da-lu[gal] 6. an-ša-an u$_3$ [šu]sin-am$_3$ 7. at-ta$_2$-ḫu-šu	"Eparat was king of Anšan and Susa; Silhaha was supreme regent (and) royal father of Anšan and Susa (when) Atta-Ḫušu,	V. Scheil, RA 26, p. 2; E. Sollberger, J.R. Kupper, Inscriptions royales sumeriennes et akkadiennes, Paris, 1971, IV 06 a; clay cylinder	Atta-Ḫušu (see IRSA IV 06 for approximate date)	Susa

8. sukkal uʒ IB-BI-IR šaʒ šusin^{ki}	regent and scribe(?) of Susa,
9. dumu-nin-šiʒ-il-ḫa-ḫa	son of the sister of Šilḫaḫa,
10. eʒ-^{d}nanna	built the temple
11. ba-duʒ	of Nanna."

MARI:

col. V

15. i-na ka-al šar-ri	"Among all the kings may	G. Dossin, Syria 32, pp. 4f., col. V,	Yaḫdun-lim (1825 - 1810)	Mari
16. ^{d}suen a-ḫu-um ra-bu-um	Suen, eldest brother among the	15-19; baked brick		
17. i-na i-li aḫ-ḫi-šu	gods, his brothers curse him with			
18. er-re-ta-am ra-bi-ta-am	a great curse."			
19. li-ru-ur-šu				

4. COMMENTARY - ISIN/LARSA AND OLD-BABYLONIAN PERIODS

Following the collapse of the Ur-III kingdom political power shifted from Ur to successive dynasties in Isin, Larsa, and Babylon, each of which in turn exercised hegemony over the cities of Mesopotamia. Though Ur lost its political and military significance, all evidence from the kingdoms of Isin, Larsa, and Babylon suggests that the kings of these cities were at pains to maintain and cultivate the cultural heritage of Ur; to a large extent they even emulated the kings of the Ur dynasty. Many inscriptions uncovered at Ur attest to a great deal of cultic activity which was undertaken by the kings of this period for the honor of the moon-god. The damage wrought by the Elamite sack of Ur was repaired, the statue of Nanna, which had been taken away to Anšan was recovered and returned to Ur, and the cultic traditions of the moon-god were re-established in his tutelary city.

This was also the age in which the written cultural heritage of Sumer was painstakingly catalogued and preserved through the diligent efforts of scribes who made numerous copies of the major literary works of the past. Evidence of this scholarly effort can be seen in the dedicatory inscriptions of the Isin/Larsa and Old-Babylonian kings, which are peppered with literary phraseology, much of which can be found verbatim in literary pieces. The inscriptions from this period

dedicated to Nanna/Suen are therefore valuable sources of epithets and descriptive phrases which provide important insights into conceptions of the moon-god.

Šu-ilīšu, the second king of the Isin dynasty, took the initiative to restore the cult of the moon-god in Ur. Two dedicatory inscriptions and two year-date formulae (which, however, cannot definitely be assigned to his reign) mention his acts on behalf of the moon-god. The most important of these acts was to restore Nanna to his own temple in Ur; the Elamites had removed the statue of the god to Anšan after sacking Ur,[78] a deed which robbed the city of the cultic power and protection of the deity and transferred it to Anšan. With the return of the statue the cult status of the city was restored.[79] Šu-ilīšu also rebuilt the temple of Dublamaḫ, which must have been damaged since an inscription of Amarsuen tells of its original construction (Amarsuen inscription 12). In addition, he had a great standard and a statue of a woman fashioned and dedicated to the god. There is no archaeological evidence to indicate what the nature of this standard was or the identity of the woman depicted in the statue. If the year-date listed under Šu-ilīšu belongs to his reign and is correctly restored, then the king had a throne fashioned for Nanna's consort, Ningal.

The two inscriptions to Nanna dated to Šu-ilīšu contain a number of interesting epithets of the moon-

god. Nanna is called the one "whose head is raised high among the Anunna gods" (Šu-ilīšu 1, 2-3), a poetic way of emphasizing Nanna's preeminence among the deities of the local pantheon at Ur. This same expression occurs in a hymn to Nanna found at Ur which dates roughly to the same time period.[80] sag-il2 is a very common epithet of the moon-god and of other deities. In the case of the moon-god it not only expresses preeminence in a figurative sence, but is also an allusion to the visible rising of the moon.

Nir-gal2, as has already been pointed out, occurs in the name of the En-priestess, en-nir-gal2-an-na, daughter of Urnammu. It is a common epithet of the moon-god and will be discussed further below and in Chapter 7.

Nanna's relation to the chief god of the pantheon, Enlil, is expressed in the phrase dumu-nun-zi-^{d}en-lil2-la2. The moon-god is very often referred to as "the princely son" in hymns and in inscriptions.[81] The meanings of nun and zi-le will be discussed in the next chapter.

The solitary aspect and the uniqueness of the moon-god is brought out once again in the phrase: en dili-ni an-ki-še3 dingir-re-ne-er za3-dib-ba (Šu-ilīšu 2, i, 5-6). The image of the moon shining more brightly than any of the other heavenly bodies in the night sky may have inspired these literary phrases that express the moon-god's preeminence above the minor deities of the

pantheon and emphasize the unique quality of this celestial phenomenon. This same sort of imagery is present in the phrase en dili-ni dingir-pa-e3-a from an Ibbi-suen inscription (A9, 4), which has already been discussed and in Iddindagan 2,6. In the phrase from the Šu-ilīšu inscription both the solitary quality of the moon (en dili-ni) and the preeminence of the moon-god (dingir-re-ne-er za3-dib-ba) are brought together in one expression.

Finally, the name of the standard which Šu-ilīšu fashions for Nanna contains an epithet of the moon-god, the meaning of which is partially obscure; bar in dnun-bi bar-an-ki is unclear. bar occurs in one other expression used in connection with the moon: an-bar/barz, meaning "noon" or "heat of midday."[82] If there is any relation between an-bar/barz and bar-an-ki, then the name of Šu-ilīšu's standard, dnun-bi bar-an-ki, might be interpreted as "Its divine prince (is) the shining one of heaven and earth."

The next king, Iddindagan, has left behind one inscription which refers to the moon-god and is full of epithets. Nanna is called sag-gal-dingir-dingir-a-nun-ke4-ne, "great chief of the Anunna-gods," one more reference to his supreme status among the local deities of Ur (cf. n. 80); nir-gal2-e2-kur-ra, which can be roughly translated as "reverenced," "respected," or "noble one of the Ekur" makes an allusion to Nanna's

position in the pantheon of Nippur. The juxtaposition of the two expressions sag-gal and nir-gal2 is significant. In the first Nanna is recognized as the supreme head of the local pantheon of Ur, i.e. the deities who were traditionally a part of the cult of Ur and among whom Nanna had always been considered the chief god. In the second expression Nanna is described in relation to the major pantheon of deities based in Nippur, the religious center of all of Sumer and the place where all the chief deities of Mesopotamian cities were united and worshipped together. nir-gal2 expresses a position of high standing and respect, but not of supreme status;[83] it implies at one and the same time that at Nippur and in the pantheon of all the deities of Sumer Nanna was considered to be a major deity, yet subordinate to the supreme deities, An and Enlil. This hierarchy appears to date back to the earliest inscriptional evidence and was preserved even when Ur was at the height of its power in the Ur-III period. It is reflected in the earliest god-lists where An and Enlil are always placed at the top and in such early epithets of the moon-god as amar-ban3-da-an-na and dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil2-la2. The phrase dumu-nun-e (line 10) may also express Nanna's particular status in relation to the other deities: he is the son of Enlil and therefore subordinate as son is to father; he is at the same time a "prince" (nun), not a king, espcially in his connection with the Ekur and Enlil.[84] The term nun may reflect an early social status or particular class.

It had passed out of common usage by the Ur-III period except in its application to the theological sphere. dumu-sag, the common epithet of Nanna/Suen, also concisely expresses this hierarchical position: Nanna is son (of Enlil), yet head (in his own city) and eldest of Enlil's off-spring, also a position of high standing.

Other attributes of the moon-god are denoted by the expressions: me-ni an-ki-da gu2-la2-a (line 4) and u_{18}-ru sag2 nu-di (line 5), both of which emphasize Nanna's power. The phrase in line 4, outside of being a general expression of the god's omnipotence, may more specifically refer to the moon's course across the night sky. In this sense Nanna may be said to "embrace" or "encompass" (gu2-la2-a) heaven and earth. U_{18}-ru (and variant uru_{16}) is still a difficult and elusive term. The translation "power" is a loose rendering; specific connotations cannot be determined from the available attestations.[85]

The phrases me-ul-li2-a ki-bi2 gi4-gi4 and giš-hur-uri_2^{ki}-ma si-sa2-sa2 may refer to restoration work undertaken by Iddindagan in Ur. me-ul-li2-a probably denotes ancient cultic rites, which Iddindagan either reinstated or maintained, while giš-hur refers to building plans and the original design of the temple complex which the king says were put in order. Both of these acts he attributes to Nanna.

In the next lines the moon-god is mentioned in his

connection with Nippur again (10-12, 17). The sense of these lines imples that the king receives his power and jurisdiction over Ur by going to Nippur where the moon-god brings forth this power from the Ekur and hands it over to the king, thus legitimizing the king's reign through this cultic act. It seems probable that behind these few phrases lies a whole tradition of cultic ceremony that symbolized the king's relation to the deities of the pantheon and the transference of power from the assembly of the gods in Nippur into the hands of the legitimate ruler.[86]

In the reign of the next king, Išmedagan, a new En-priestess is introduced named Enannatumma, daughter of the king. She was chosen through extispicy in the second year of her father's reign and appointed to her position as En-priestess in Ur in his third year. She calls herself EN.MUNUS.ME.NUNUZ.ZI-^{d}NANNA, a title that was commented on in the previous section (see n. 26). An inscription on a broken diorite statue (probably depicting herself) was found at Ur in the E-gipar, residence of the En-priestess. Though the head is broken, the body of the statue shows a seated woman with hands folded in prayer dressed in a long pleated dress that covers her shoulders. This dress looks identical to that worn by Enḫeduanna, daughter of Sargon, as she is depicted on the limestone disk which was also found in the E-gipar; goddesses too are commonly depicted in such an outfit.[87] The inscription states that

Enannatumma brought the statue into the Enunna,[88] presumably another name for the E-gipar or for a room within it, and dedicated it to Ningal, her lady. The name of the En-priestess, en-an-na-tum$_2$-ma, literally, "lord, fit for heaven/for An," may be a descriptive allusion to the moon-god as is the case with the names of other En-priestesses. In the same room of the Gipar[89] was found a calcite vase which was dedicated to Nanna by Išmedagan. Nanna is once again called dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$.

An important event for the local cult of Ur took place during the reign of the next king of Isin, Lipitešt̆ar. According to an inscription on a clay nail he built a gipar for an En-priestess of Ningublaga at Ur. This god had a long, well-established place in the local cult of Ur and is attested as early as the Ur archaic texts.[90] In the hymn to the temple of Ningublaga at Kiabrig he is called the son of Nanna.[91] His En-priestess, whose name contains one of his epithets (sun$_2$-zi "wild bull"), is called the true stewardess of ^{d}nin-e$_2$-i$_3$-gara$_2$, literally, "the goddess of the house of butter and milk," a goddess also attested during the reign of Ibbi-suen, and having some connection with the goddess ^{d}alamuš and ^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak.[92] gaburra is the name of Ningublaga's temple both at Ur and at Kiabrig.[93] Unfortunately, there is no archaeological evidence to indicate where this temple

or the Egipar for Ningublaga might have been located at Ur.

Also of interest from the reign of Lipitestar is the mention of a gudu$_4$-abzu-^{d}nanna on a seal inscription found at Ur. The abzu-^{d}nanna is also attested in administrative documents of the Ur-III period.[94] The gudu$_4$-priest may have had some connection with purification rituals.

Cultic activity at Ur after the reign of Lipitestar is attested in dedicatory inscriptions of a new dynasty based in Larsa, whose king, Gungunum, managed to gain control of Ur in his eighth year.[95] Enannatumma, the daughter of Išmedagan, of Isin, continued to hold the office of En-priestess of the moon-god, despite this power shift.[96] Inscriptions by her dating from this period tell of her building a temple to Dagan and one to Utu, an indication that these two gods were a part of the local cult of Ur at this time period. There is evidence that Dagan was worshipped at Ur as early as the reign of Šulgi[97] and Utu in the reign of Amar-suen.[98] The relation of Dagan to the moon-god is not clear; Utu, on the other hand, was considered the son of Nanna, as is clear from Gungunum inscription 3, 1-6. Both the sun-god, Utu or Šamaš, and Dagan were important gods to the Amorite rulers of Isin, Larsa, and Babylon. This is clear from the number of inscriptions dedicated to these gods by these rulers and from the frequent occurrence of these god-names in the names of Amorite rulers. Consequently, it is no surprise that these

deities gradually became assimilated into the local pantheon at Ur.

Many of the year-date formulae also mention a number of activities undertaken by Gungunum for the cult at Ur (see Section 5). Year 10 is named after the creation of two standards for the Nanna temple. An interesting variant states that one great standard and an alal (ŠID x A) vessel were made for Nanna; this last item is yet another indication of the importance of the water vessel as a part of the cult paraphernalia of the moon-god; it has already been attested in the Sargonic and Ur-III periods. Year 13 is named after the appointment of Enninsunzi, the En-priestess for whom Lipiteštar built the E-gipar in Ur. In the next year an unspecified copper statue is dedicated to the Nanna temple. In year 19 Gungunum states that he undertook a campaign against Malgum; he also built the Edanna temple[99] in accordance with the command of Enlil and Nanna. The mention of Enlil and Nanna together seems to imply that ultimate authority for the king's actions came from the chief god of the traditional Sumerian pantheon and the god of the former capital of the Ur-III empire, an indication that the Larsa-dynasty ruler saw himself as the inheritor of the religious tradition of Nippur and the political tradition of Ur. In year 25 Gungunum built the e2-šutum (or e2-gi-na-ab-duz),[68] a provisions or storehouse for Nanna. There is evidence

that a storehouse of the same name was built in the time of Šulgi and again during Ibbi-suen's reign.[100] The reference in Gungunum 25 and in the inscription of Enannatumma (Gungunum inscription 2), which probably refers to the same event, is most likely to be interpreted as a restoration project for the same building.[101] In year 26 a silver statue is made for Nanna. The whole scope of cultic activities undertaken by the king of Larsa suggests that Gungunum was at pains to preserve the traditions of Ur and to carry on the prestige of its chief god.

The one inscription dedicated to the moon-god that has survived from the reign of the next king, Abīsarē tells of the construction and dedication of an ornate statue for the temple of Nanna. It is unclear whether this statue is the one referred to in year-date 3 or 8. The actual description of the statue is prefaced by a long list of epithets of Nanna. Since all these epithets will be discussed extensively in the next chapter, there is no need at this point to elaborate upon them. Certain phrases which describe aspects of the moon-god and are unattested in earlier inscriptions, though they occur frequently in literary compositions, are kiri4/giri17-zal, a difficult term of uncertain meaning which seems to refer to some quality of moonlight; gal-di and gal-zu-mah, both of which emphasize Nanna's greatness; eš-bar-e sa-sa_2 which underscores his role in Ur as supreme judge; giskim-ti, equivalent to Akkadian

tukultu, "support, trust" -- the trust that a legitimate king has in the deities whose religious cults he maintains; me-ni3-nam-ma šu-ni-še3 gal2-la, which highlights the god's power; and dingir-ku3 an-sikil-la du10-gar-ra, which dwells upon the purity and brightness of the moon as a celestial phenomenon. The inscription also calls Nanna the e2-kur-ra he2-duz "ornament of the Ekur" (line 1), once more establishing his connection with the temple of Enlil in Nippur and his place in that temple. Nanna's cult niche is a ki-tuš-mah ki-ku3-ga, "an elevated dwelling place" or "seat," "in a pure place," where a dais has been set up (bara2-ri-a). Though the inscription was found on a clay tablet at Ur, it is not certain whether this description of the temple refers to Nanna's shrine in Nippur or his main temple in Ur; it could conceivably be an apt description of both shrines since the inner sanctuaries of Mesopotamian temples, where the deity's statue was located, were all fairly standardized. The last lines of this inscription reveal the cultic rationale behind the dedication of statues to temples (ii, 23'-27'): the statue, probably in the likeness of the king, was thought of as a substitute for the king, which would ever vigilantly stand before the cult image of the god and report the good deeds of the king to the god, when the king could not be there to do this himself.

Inscriptions and year-date formulae of the next king, Sumuel, do not attest to much significant cultic activity at Ur, outside of the apointment of another En-priestess, named en-ᵏᵃ-ki-ag₂-ᵈnanna.[102] The name literally means, "The En-priestess, the beloved heart of Nanna," one of the few names of En-priestesses which make no reference to An and do not contain an epithet of Nanna.[60] Another member of the cult functionaries at Ur is attested in Sumuel inscription 6, a seal of a ᵏᵃšita$_x$-aba$_4$-ᵈnin-gal, some sort of lustration priest.[103] In year 5 Sumuel dug a canal which he named after Suen (or Sîn).

Under the reign of Sumuel's successor, Nūradad, several building projects were undertaken. The gaz-nun-maḫ, a storehouse for dairy products, was constructed for both Nanna and Ningal. This, in all probability, was the building east of the ziggurat which Sir L. Woolley called the Enunmaḫ, where a shrine to both Nanna and Ningal was located.[104] For Ningal Nuradad built a temple called the Egar, which he describes as a dressing chamber in the bedroom of Suen.[105] There is unfortunately no archaeological evidence that might suggest where these various rooms were located at Ur. In addition, the king built an oven which was used to supply Suen and all of the deities of Ur with their morning and evening meals. This was located on a raised platform (dug-maḫ) in the great dining hall (unuz-gal).[106] Note that dug-maḫ is said to be in the unuz-gal

in Ibbi-suen's inscription A10, 67 also. The location of the dining hall was fixed by Woolley in the north-west side of the ziggurat where the excavator found the copper cylinder containing Nūradad inscription 3, which describes the building of the oven.[107] In the same inscription the king says he also restored the ancient lustration rites called šu-luḫ (lines 49-50). In the only year-date which refers to the moon-god Nūradad also states that he built a throne, a dais, the sides of which were plated with gold, and two copper lion figurines. Excavations at Ur did not uncover these items.

Nūradad refers to the moon- god as "lord" (lugal), "chief son of Enlil" (dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$), "crown of heaven and earth" (men-an-ki), epithets which are attested in earlier inscriptions. He also calls him muš$_3$-ḫi-li-su$_3$, which I have provisionally translated as "visage arrayed in grace," since the meaning of the term muš$_3$ (sometimes equated with Akkadian zīmu, "countenance" in lexical texts) is still a matter of debate.[108] Note that Nūradad refers to the moon-god by all three of his principal names: Nanna, Suen, and Ašimbabbar.

Sîniddinam, the successor of Nūradad, finished the work on the Ganunmaḫ which had been initiated by his predecessor. He specifically states that he built it for the sake of his father's life and for his own life

(Sîniddinam inscription 2, 16-18) and describes it as "a great, exalted treasure house" (ibid 14), a description which implies that he intended the building to be more than just a house for butter and cheese as his father described it.[109] He also erected a building for Nanna called "the house of princeliness" (Sîniddinam inscription 3, 28), which the Ur excavation was not able to locate. He records his piety to the two most important cult shrines of his reign, the Ekišnugal of Nanna in Ur and the Ebabbar of Utu in Larsa, in an inscription on a clay nail(Sîniddinam inscr. 8): he states that he will ever perform the nindaba-offerings for the deities of the local pantheon in both cities. In another inscription (13) he fashions a great, golden standard which represents the month of Nisan, first month of the year and the harvest month. He says that on behalf of Nanna he brings the first fruits of the harvest of this month to Nippur. This latter passage seems to suggest a cultic journey to Nippur in celebration of the New Year.

Besides one brief reference to the dedication of a standard to Nanna in a year-date of Sînēribam, there is no mention of the cult of the moon-god until the time of Ṣillīadad. This king had a very short reign, perhaps lasting not even a year.[110] Only one inscription from Ur attests to his influence on the city of the moon-god. Baked bricks and clay nails found at Ur reveal that he restored the foundation of the Etemenniguru.

The reign of Ṣillīadad was cut short by the sudden incursion of a bedouin group lead by Kudurmabuk, sheik of a tribe called Yamūtbāl who was apparently allied with or in the service of the Elamite kingdom east of the Tigris.[111] This tribal leader drove Ṣillīadad from power and took control of Larsa and the surrounding area including Ur. He seems to have ruled jointly with one of his sons, Waradsîn; for a number of dedicatory inscriptions mention both Kudurmabuk and Waradsîn as the authors of the inscriptions.[112] This new dynasty at Larsa took an active interest in Ur and the cult of the moon-god and it is from the joint reign of Kudurmabuk-Waradsîn that the greatest number of inscriptions dedicated to the moon-god comes.

Extensive construction work was undertaken at Ur during this period. Ur was enlarged and a new wall was raised, which Waradsîn called dnanna suhuš-ma-da ge-en-ge-en, "Nanna who fortifies the foundation of the land" (Waradsîn inscription 1, 21). This took place in the tenth year of Waradsîn's reign. A canal called "Nanna rejoices" was dug. The Ganunmaḫ, now called a storehouse for silver and gold (Waradsîn inscription 11, 28-31), was renovated after having fallen into some disrepair (Waradsîn inscription 11 and 3). Kudurmabuk took responsibility for this act, but mentions his son, Waradsîn, in the dedication of inscriptions Waradsîn 3 and 11; this restoration work is also mentioned in the year-date formula of Waradsîn's fourth year. Kudurmabuk

built a temple, the name of which is broken (Waradsîn inscription 9, 19). Waradsîn renovated the ziggurat terrace called Etemenniguru. This latter project which is described in Waradsîn inscription 10,[113] most likely corresponds to what Woolley has named the bastion of Waradsîn, a huge gate-tower giving access to the ziggurat terrace at its northern corner and providing a new entrance to the ziggurat.[114] For Ningal Waradsîn restored the Temple of the River Ordeal,[115] which he says had been built in former days and needed repairing (Waradsîn inscription 14). There is no mention of this temple in earlier inscriptions and excavators at Ur turned up no clue to its whereabouts. Year eight of Waradsîn's reign is named after construction work done on the kisal-mah-e2-dnanna, "raised court of Nanna," and the making of two thrones. The kisal-mah may have been the open part of the ziggurat terrace on the northeast side.[116] The two thrones were intended for the raised dais of the Nanna temple.[117]

The purely cultic acts performed by Waradsîn were the making of a statue of Nanna (Waradsîn inscription 28) and seven copper statues, the nature of which is not quite certain (Waradsîn inscription 27); they are associated with the river (urudu-alam-iz-da) and have something to do with abundance or prosperity (he2-gal2); though the inscription is broken off, it appears that they were dedicated on the day of the feast of the

siskur-offering, when beer, wine and emmer beer are poured out as a libation. Evidence of the cult at Ur in the Ur-III and Old-Babylonian periods shows that the siskur-libation was an almost daily occurrence. So it is not clear what festival is referred to in this inscription.

In the sixth year of Waradsîn's reign a new En-priestess of the moon-god is appointed who is the daughter of Kudurmabuk and sister of Waradsîn. This is mentioned in the date formula of year six and in Waradsîn inscriptions 22, 24 (seal) and 37 (clay nail). The last inscription mentions that she was endowed with wisdom by Enki and had collected the me's of the Ekišnugal, two phrases which, if properly restored reveal certain aspects of her role as priestess. If she was thought to have wisdom given to her by the god of wisdom, then she must have had considerable influence on the affairs of the city and been considered one of the highest authorities of the city, as least in the religious sphere. The me's, which can be loosely translated as "powers," were most likely symbolic representations of her functions and prerogatives in the Ekišnugal temple. The best indication of the nature of the me's comes in the Sumerian myth, "Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld,"[118] where Inanna puts on seven me's before descending to the underworld.[119] These me's are described as types of garments and body adornments. Three of them, the palaŋ-garment,[120] the men-headdress,

and šimba-mascara, are attested elsewhere as attire worn by the En-priestesses.[121] Inanna loses all of her power when she is stripped of these special accoutrements in the underworld. It is only through the wisdom of Enki that Inanna regains her powers and escapes from the underworld alive. Taking all of this into consideration, it seems probable that the me's of Nanna's En-priestess were very similar, if not identical, to those of Inanna described in the myth and represented the priestess's connection with the powers of the deities.

Other cult functionaries attested at the time of Waradsîn are a pisan-dub-ba-^{d}nanna, the keeper of the accounts,[122] and the gudu$_4$-abzu-^{d}nanna, a type of anointing priest who was also attested in the reign of Lipiteštar of Isin.

Some of the most important epithets of the moon-god are found in these inscriptions of Kudurmabuk and Waradsîn. All of the expected epithets -- lugal, en-gal, men$_4$-nun-na sag-il$_2$, dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$, and dumu-nun -- occur, as well as some of the characteristically literary phrases: an-ku$_3$-ge dalla-e$_3$, "who appears in the pure heavens" (Waradsîn inscription 10, 3), din[gir ? aln?-si[kil?/k[u?-tla pa-e$_3$-a, "god who rises in the clear heavens" (Waradsîn inscription 27, 2), and u$_4$ an-ku$_3$-ge si, "light who fills the pure heavens" (Waradsîn inscription 28, 2) all underscore the celestial aspects of the moon-god and his luminous appearance. The

importance of the moon-god as a celestial phenomenon is brought out in the phrases giskim-sa6-ga-ni, "his auspicious sign" (Waradsîn inscription 10, 26) and iti ge-en-ge-en mu silim-ma, "who determines the month and completes the year" (Waradsîn inscription 28, 5-6). giskim is the Sumerian word for omen and thus, inscription 10 suggests an early reference to astrological omen-taking through daily observation of the moon, a practice that in later periods led to the compilation of the huge omen series, Inbu bêl arḫi and which played a large role in the cult.[123] Apparently, Waradsîn waited for an auspicious omen from the moon before proceeding to the work he did on the Etemenniguru. The reference to Aš̌imbabbar's "life-giving glance" (Waradsîn inscription 10, 28) may also allude to this good omen. In the same vein, the phrases in inscription 28 about the moon-god's determining the month and completing the year refer to the lunar calender and the importance of observing the moon for the reckoning of time in months and years.

In Waradsîn inscription 9,2 and in 26, 2-3 the king refers to Nanna by an epithet that does not occur elsewhere: en-zur-zur an-ki zalag, "the lord who is treated with honor, who makes the universe bright." The phrase zur-zur is equivalent to kunnû and kutennû in lexical texts and means "to honor a deity."[124] It is frequently used in Akkadian and in bilingual texts and is applied to a variety of deities.

Nanna's relationship to Enlil is brrought out in Waradsîn inscriptions 28 and 29. In 28, 7-10 it is stated that he receives just decisions from Enlil in the Ekur; Enlil is called the father who sired him and Nanna the beloved son of Ninlil, thus asserting the genealogical tie between Nanna and the head of the pantheon and his consort, as well as the cultic connection between Ur and Nippur. This relationship is further elaborated upon in 29, where Nanna is described as the beloved of the Ekur who stands before An and Enlil to execute their daily commands. It is possible that the text alludes to a specific cultic ritual through which authority over Ur was symbolically transferred from An and Enlil (Waradsîn inscription 29, 2) to Nanna. Mention of specific actions suggest a ritual: Nanna bows before the commands of An and Enlil (line 10); they put in his hand the counsel of heaven and earth (lines 12-14); the gods set the boundaries of Ur (line 15). The specific functions of Nanna are then listed: he should raise high its lofty dais (line 17); all living things should bring tribute to him and grasp(?) his hands and feet (lines 18-20); he knows how to render judgement (line 24); he grants that Ur should enjoy the riches of mountain and sea and that the battles and conflicts of the land should cease (lines 35-37); like a shepherd he will guide the living, return the land to their hands, put water in their midst, and

make their days long (lines 38-41). This inscription thus presents a very explicit list of the powers and duties of the moon-god at Ur and provides a very interesting glimpse into the way a city deity was conceived and what his relation was to the other deities of the pantheon and to man. Ultimate authority came from the heads of the pantheon in Nippur. But the city-god was chief in his own city and exercised authority over his local pantheon. The god was attentive to man if man honored him and brought him tribute. The god was a supreme judge in his city; yet he accepted verdicts from the higher gods. At the same time, he could be merciful to man (cf. line 29) and returned rightful possessions to their owners. He was a shepherd who guided the living and the ensurer of prosperity and peace, who pacified the land, provided the riches of mountain and sea (i.e. overland and sea trade), and oversaw the irrigation system and the supply of water. The inscription seems to summarize all of the most important aspects of a city deity and his or her relation to that city.

Rīmsîn took over the leadership of Larsa when his brother Waradsîn met what must have been an untimely death after only a twelve-year reign.[125] Larsa experienced its greatest period of prosperity and power under Rīmsîn who reigned for sixty years, when he was finally unseated by Ḫammurabi of Babylon. Like his brother Rīmsîn was an energetic builder of temples and took an active interest in the cult life of his kingdom.

Ur particularly prospered from the king's interest in honoring the gods. Rīmsîn built a temple to Ninšubur[126] called the e2-a2-ag2-ga2-si3-mu, "the temple which gives counsels," to Ninsianna[127] called the e2-eš-bar-zi-da, "the temple of the just decision," to Nergal[128] called e2-ne-ru-TAR-TAR, "the temple which ... the enemy," to Dumuzi[129] called the e2-i3-gara2-su3, "the temple filled with milk-fat and milk," to Ninlil[130] called the e2-nin-bi-še tum2, "the temple fitting for its lady," to Enki[131] called e2-geštu2-šu-duz, "Temple of perfect wisdom," to Nin-e2-gal[132] called e2-a2-ag2-ga2-kilib3-ur4-ur4, "Temple where all the counsels are collected" built by Rīmsîn's wife Simatinanna; to Ningizzida[133] called the e2-ni3-ge-na, "Temple of Righteousness," an unnamed temple to Iškur,[134] and a temple to an unknown deity[135] called e2-i3-ra2-ra2, "Temple where ointment is mixed." This extensive construction acitvity is some indication of the size of the local pantheon at Ur during this period and the prestige that Ur had regained under Rīmsîn. Unfortunately, none of these temples except the one to Enki were located in the course of the Ur excavations. It lay far from the central temple complex along Urnammu's original town wall in the southeastern section of the city.[136]

For Nanna himself Rīmsîn built the provisions or storehouse called e2-šutum (or e2-ge-na-ab-tum/duz). This is probably the same storehouse referred to in

earlier inscriptions by previous kings, since Rīmsîn states that he widened a section called the Eš̌usiga beyond what it had been in former days (Rīmsîn inscription 11, 30-31). Rīmsîn also built a Nanna temple in Larsa, which is mentioned in the fourth year-date formula of his reign. In year three he had four statues of his father Kudurmabuk installed in the temple of Nanna at Ur. In year 23 he dug a canal which he says was designed to transport the alal (Š̌ID xA) vessel to the sanctuary of life in the Ekur temple at Nippur. This is yet another reference to the water vessel of Nanna; it seems to have been a very significant item in the cult paraphernalia of the moon-god and has been mentioned previously in earlier inscriptions.[137] It may have been the cult symbol for the fresh water and irrigation systems which brought life to the surrounding farmlands, as is suggested by the reference in the same date formula to Rīmsîn putting fresh water in the heart of Ur.

The En-priestess of Nanna, Enanmedu, who was appointed during the reign of Waradsîn, continued in her post under Rīmsîn. She has left an inscription which describes her restoration of the Egipar, residence of the En-priestess. Certain aspects of her office as priestess are mentioned in the inscription. They offer insights into the nature of her functions in that office:[138] she says she is fitting for the characteristic head-binding or hair style of the

priesthood called muš2 (Rīmsîn inscription 8, 7; cf. n. 74); she has been legitimately called to perform the giš-ḫur, "prescribed cult rites,"[139] and the šu-luḫ, "lustration rites" of her divine office (ibid, 8); she stands on the raised platform of the temple of her lord after performing the lustration rites (literally, a "hand washing") (line 9); in the sanctuary of the Ekišnugal, the dwelling place of the deities, her name was exalted (lines 18-19); Nanna and Ningal put a prayer for life in her pure mouth (line 20); they grasped her hand in order to confer upon Rīmsîn, her brother, days of long life (lines 21-23) and to deliver all of Rīmsîn's enemies into his hands (lines 24-25). Surely, some cultic ritual is being described here; it may be the ceremony she performed after finishing restoration work on the Egipar, when the new edifice was dedicated to Nanna and Ningal and the foundation inscription was laid in the Egipar.

The epithets of Nanna/Suen which are used in the inscriptions of Rīmsîn are of a literary nature and are mostly derived from hymns to the moon-god where they are often attested.[140] Lines one through nine of inscription 11, for example, are completely composed of these epithets. The first five lines stress the luminous appearance of the moon and aspects of its light. Me-lam2 means a kind of awesome, halo-like radiance that the deities of Mesopotamia were thought to emit. It

is very commonly attested in literary texts and is applied to many different deities.[141] an-ki-a pa-e3 has been frequently attested in earlier inscriptions to Nanna and denotes the bright rising of the moon and its shining over heaven and earth.[142] su-lim is not completely understood, but seems to refer to a quality of the moon's radiance.[143] še-er-zi is the word for ray or moon-beam and in connection with mu-2-mu2 means the ever renewing light of the moon which waxes, wanes, then disappears, only to return again at the start of each month.[144] un-šar2-ra-aš u4 ga2-ga2 depicts the moon-god as a bestower of light on all of humanity. Lines six and seven describe him not as a celestial phenomenon, but as a divine being: u18-ru, a term not well understood has something to do with personal power;[145] Nanna's me, his being or quality, is worthy of praise; everything about him (ni3-nam-ma-ni) is pure. Lines eight and nine stress his relationship to Enlil. The meaning of dumu-zi-le is not completely clear; it seems to be roughly equivalent to nun, meaning 'prince." In the next line Nanna is called prince, the beloved of the Ekur, which has been attested many times before.

Epithets of Nanna also occur in Enanedu inscription (Rīmsîn inscription 8). Though most of these are used as descriptions of the En-priestess herself, they are clearly derived from common literary epithets which describe the moon-god in [illegible] hymns. In line five, for example, she calls herself me-te-e2-kiš-nu-gal2,

"ornament of the Ekišnugal" and za3-DU-utaḫ-ḫe-un3-na, "support (?) of (heaven's) lofty baldachin," two phrases which have obvious connections with the moon-god. In the next line the reference is made even more explicit: ḫe2-duz-e2-nun-na,[146] "architrave of the Enunna temple" and u4-sa-sa-ḫa kalam-še3 e3, "dazzling light which rises for the land (of Sumer)." The name of the En-priestess, en-an-e-duz, as in the case of most of the other En-priestesses, could well be understood as an epithet of Nanna meaning, "Lord, becoming for the sky/An."

With the rise of Babylon as the major power of the area under the reign of Ḫammurabi, Larsa fell into eclipse. There are no more inscriptions of the kings of Larsa dedicated to the moon-god after Rīmsîn; and indeed, interest in the cult of Nanna/Suen seems to go steadily down under the kings of the First Dynasty of Babylon. Only passing references to the moon-god can be found in the inscriptions of the kings of Babylon. Archaeological evidence, too, indicates that after the overthrow of Rīmsîn, Ur experienced a precipitous decline.[147] Ḫammurabi set up a victory stele which was found in fragments in the Egipar. After a rebellion by Rīmsîn II of Larsa, Ḫammurabi's son, Samsuilūna, pulled down the walls of Ur and largely destroyed the city. The city of the moon-god did not find a friend in their new Babylonian overlords. As a result, most of the evidence pertaining to the god and his cult disappears at this

time.

References to the moon-god in year-date formulae 5 and 8 of Sumuabum and 3 of Ḫammurabi almost certainly refer to a local cult of Nanna in Babylon and not Ur, since during this period Ur was under the firm control of Larsa. Sumuabum apparently initiated the worship of Nanna in Babylon by building the Emaḫ temple, "the lofty temple" to the god in his fifth year. An indication of its importance is the fact that the king named his eighth year after the building of a great cedar door for the temple of Nanna. The prestige of Ur was apparently still so great at this time that even the new ruler of Babylon felt it incumbent upon himself to honor the moon-god in his own city. Thereafter, no mention is made of Nanna/Suen in inscriptions or year-dates from Babylon for almost a hundred years. Whatever reasons Sumuabum may have had for paying homage to the moon-god in Babylon, his sentiment was not shared by his descendants.

Only in the third year of Ḫammurabi's reign is mention again made of Nanna, this time specifically called ^{d}nanna KA.DINGIR.RA^{ki}, "Nanna of Babylon." A throne for the raised dais of Nanna is made in this year. A variant of the date formula inserts the temple name e$_2$-kiš-nu$_{11}$-gal after ^{d}nanna KA.DINGIR.RA^{ki}, indicating that Ḫammurabi decided to call the temple in Babylon by the same name as the original Nanna temple in Ur. Since Ur was completely within the sphere of Larsa

under Rīmsîn at this time, it is very unlikely that the Ekišnugal referred to in the Ḫammurabi year-date could be the temple in Ur.

Ḫammurabi's renewed interest in the moon-god seems to have sparked a resurgence of the Nanna cult at Babylon, for he or his consort is mentioned in the year-dates of three of Ḫammurabi's successors and in other inscriptions of two of them. Since Samsuilūna destroyed Ur in his eleventh year, it seems unlikely that the Nanna and the Ekišnugal referred to in his year-dates and those of his descendants refer to the god and temple of Ur. This latter possiblity, however, should not be completely discounted, since there is some archaeological evidence of reconstruction of the central temple complex at Ur after the mass destruction of Samsuilūna's eleventh year.[148] The references in the year-dates must therefore remain ambiguous. Though Ur was out of favor with the Babylonian kings, the moon-god was still highly esteemed. Samsuilūna even goes so far as to call Nanna the god who sired him (year 5). the consort of Nanna, Ningal, also receives the attention of the king; he builds her an impressive throne in his twenty-first year. Abīešuḫ calls the moon-god the god in whom he puts his trust and sets up a statue of himself in Nanna's temple to demonstrate his devotion. One indication that the moon-god referred to by the Babylonian kings is the one installed in the local cult

of Babylon is the pairing of Nanna and Marduk, chief god of Babylon, in Abīešuḫ year-date y (RlA II, 186). In addition, Samsuditana refers to Nanna as the "great lord of Babylon."

In the famous bilingual inscription of Samsuilūna Nanna/Suen is described as iti-iti-da mu2-mu2-da/-dam (Akkadian: warḫišam ūteddešu) "... ever renewed each month," a common epithet of the moon-god[149] referring to the constant recurrence of the monthly lunar cycle. The eternal aspect of the moon's cycle is again brought out in another Samsuilūna inscription which expresses the hope that life will be made to be a "lasting possession" (gi16-sa) as Utu (the sun) and Nanna (the moon) are. Note that in the Samsuilūna bilingual the moon-god is referred to as Nanna in the Sumerian version and as Suen or Sîn (contracted form) in the Akkadian version. This may indicate that the name Suen/Sîn was associated in the minds of the scribes with the Semitic language and may hint at a Semitic origin of this name.[150]

The last mention in inscriptions of the Old Babylonian period of anything even connected to the moon-god is the inscription of Abīešuḫ which dedicates agate beads to Ningal (StOr 55:1, p. 44).

Evidence for the range of the cult of the moon-god is found in the few inscriptions and year-dates of kings not from Babylon, Isin or Larsa during the period covered by these three kingdoms. Atta-Ḫuša built a temple for Nanna in Susa. There is also a Nanna temple

at Kiš(?) attested under the reign of Manana and a temple of Suen/Sin at Ishjâli. At Mari king Yaḫdun-lim recognized the god Suen as the eldest brother of the gods. This is surely a reference to Nanna/Suen's relation to the traditional heads of the Mesopotamian pantheon, An and Enlil; as dumu-sag, "chief" or "eldest son" of An or Enlil, he was also the eldest brother of all the other deities who ultimately traced their ancestry to An or Enlil.

Since a great deal of material has been covered in this section, it will be useful to conclude this discussion of the evidence for the cult of the moon-god in the Isin/Larsa and Old-Babylonian periods with a synopsis of the major facts about the moon-god and his cult which the evidence reveals:

ISIN:

Šuilīšu

Epithets: sag-il$_2$-maḫ-^{d}a-nun-na-ke$_4$-ne
nir-gal$_2$-an-ki-a
dumu-nun-zi-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$
en dili-ni an-ki-še$_3$ dingir-re-ne-er za$_3$-dib-ba
bar-an-ki
lugal

Cult Acts: brings the statue of Nanna back from Anšan to Ur
(re)builds dub-la$_2$-maḫ, called ki-di-ku$_5$-da-ni
installs giš-ig za$_3$-mi$_2$ on dub-la$_5$-maḫ;
fashions giš-gu-za(-gal) for Ningal

dedicates šu-nir-gal named ^{d}nun-bi bar-an-ki and alam-ku$_3$-babbar

Site: Ur

Name of Moon-God: Nanna

Paraphernalia: šu-nir-gal : Nanna

giš-gu-za : Ningal

Iddindagan

Epithets: sag-gal-dingir-dingir-a-nun-ke$_4$-ne

nir-gal$_2$-e$_2$-kur-ra

me-ni an-ki-da gu$_2$-la-a

u$_{18}$-ru sag$_2$ nu-di

en dili-ni dingir-pa-e$_3$-a

dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$

me-ul-li$_2$-a ki-bi gi$_4$-gi$_4$

giš-ḫur-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma si-sa$_2$-sa$_2$

dumu-nun-e e$_2$-kur-ta me-maḫ ib$_2$!-ta-an-e$_3$

Cult Acts: me-ul-li$_2$-a ki-bi gi$_4$-gi$_4$

giš-ḫur-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma si-sa$_2$-sa$_2$

Site: Ur

Name of Moon-God: Nanna

Išmedagan

Epithets: en-an-na-tum$_2$-ma (name of En-priestess may contain epithet of moon-god)

dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$

Ningal called: nin sag-il$_2$, me-ni me-nu-sa$_2$, ad-gi$_4$-gi$_4$ gal-zu, nam-nin-a tum$_2$-ma

Cult Acts: appoints his daughter en-an-na-tum$_2$-ma, En-priestess of Nanna in Ur; she also bears the title EN.MUNUS.ME.NUNUZ.ZI-^{d}NANNA

She dedicates a statue (of herself?) to Enunna

Iš̌medagan dedicates calcite vase

Personnel: En-priestess, en-an-na-tum$_2$-ma

Site: Ur

Name of Moon-God: Nanna

Lipiteštar

Epithets: none

Cult Acts: digs canal for Ur and restores Ur (uri$_2^{ki}$ ki-bi bi$_2$-in-gi$_4$)

builds Egipar for Enninsunzi, En-priestess of Ningublaga of Ur; she is chosen En-priestess through extispicy

Personnel: En-priestess of Ningublaga, Enninsunzi, who is also called:

agrig-zi-^{d}nin-e$_2$-i$_3$-gara$_2$-ka

gudu$_4$-abzu-^{d}nanna

Sites: Ur (Egipar, Gaburra)

Name of Moon-God: Nanna

Urdukuga

fashions šu-nir-gal for Nanna in year-date

Sîn-māgir

mention of Nanna in broken context on clay nail found at Babylon

Damiqilīšu

fashions giš-šu-nir for Nanna in year-date

LARSA:

Gungunum

Cult Acts: Gungunum appoints Enninsunzi, En-priestess of Ningublaga

builds e$_2$-šutum (or e$_2$-gi-na-ab-du$_7$)-ku$_3$-^{d}nanna

fashions alam-ku$_3$-babbar for Nanna

En-priestess, Enannatumma (daughter of Išmedagan of Isin) builds the e$_2$-šutum (or e$_2$-gi-na-ab-tum)-ku$_3$ for Dagan and for Utu

for Utu, she also builds e$_2$-ḫi-li

Gungunum brings 2 giš-šu-nir into e$_2$-^{d}nanna

fashions alal (šID x A) and šu-nir-gal for Nanna

brings alam-urudu-gir$_3$-tab-ba into e$_2$-^{d}nanna

Personnel: En-priestess, Enannatumma (daughter of Išmedagan), continues under Gungunum, called

EN.MUNUS.NUNUZ.ZI-^{d}NANNA

En-priestess of Ningublaga, Enninsunzi

Site: Ur

Name of Moon-God: Nanna

Paraphernalia: alam-ku$_3$-babbar

(giš) šu-nir(gal)

alal (šID x A)

alam-urudu-gir$_3$-tab-ba

Abīsarē

Epithets: e$_2$-kur-ra ḫe$_2$-du$_7$

dumu-nun an-gal-e nir-sum-ma

me-ni$_3$-nam-ma šu-ni-še$_3$ gal$_2$-la

dingir-ku$_3$ an-sikil-la du$_{10}$-gar-ra

nir-zi-mah-kalam-ma

kiri$_4$-zal-la (a-a-ugu-na)

gal-di

gal-zu-mah

eš-bar-e sa-sa$_2$

ki-ag$_2$-giskim-ti-e$_2$-kur-ra

^{d}nin-lil$_2$-le tu-da

lugal

Cult Acts: makes silver statue (of himself) -- alam-ku$_3$-babbar -- and dedicates it to e$_2$-^{d}nanna

brings alam-na$_4$-gug-na$_4$-za-gin$_3$ into e$_2$-^{d}nanna

Paraphernalia: alam-ku$_3$-babbar

alam-na$_4$-gug-na$_4$-za$_3$-gin$_3$

Sumuel

Epithets: lugal

Cult Acts: appoints En-priestess of Nanna, en-ša$_3$-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}nanna

dedicates calcite vase to Ningal

digs canal called i$_7$-lugal-^{d}suen/sîn-na

Personnel: En-priestess, en-ša$_3$-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}nanna

šita$_X$-aba$_4$-^{d}nin-gal

Site: Ur

Names of Moon-God: ^{d}suen/sîn, Nanna

Nūradad

Epithets: men-an-ki

muš$_3$-hi-li-su$_3$

dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$

šul-^{d}suen

lugal

Cult Acts: builds ga$_2$-nun-mah called e$_2$-me-te-i$_3$-nun-ga-ara$_3$

builds gir$_4$-mah on the platform (dug-mah) of the great dining hall (unu$_2$-gal)

restores šu-luh

fashions a throne (^{giš}gu-za) and two copper lions (urudu-ur-mah) for Nanna

builds the Egar for Ningal in the a$_2$-na$_2$-da-šul-^{d}suen-na

Paraphernalia: gir$_4$-mah u$_2$-su$_3$-su$_3$-^{d}suen-na-ka ninda il$_2$-e

kilib$_3$-dingir-re-e-ne-er

giš-gu-za-bara$_2$-za$_3$-be$_2$-us$_2$-ku$_3$-GI u$_3$ urudu-ur-mah-min-a-bi

Site: Ur

Names of Moon-God: Nanna, Suen, Aš-im$_5$-babbar$_2$

Sîneribam

Cult Act: brings giš-šu-nir-kala-ga ("mighty standard") into the temple of Nanna in year-date

Sîniddinam

Epithets: lugal(-mah)

dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$

Cult Acts: builds wall of Ur

restores ga$_2$-nun-mah called eš$_3$-gal-mah-ni$_3$-ga-ra-ka

builds e$_2$-nam-nun-na

fashions šu-nir-gal-ku$_3$-ge-nisag$_x$(LAK159)-ga$_2$

brings the first fruits of the month of Nisan to Nippur

completes offerings (nindaba šu-du$_7$-du$_7$)

Paraphernalia: šu-nir-gal-ku$_3$-ge-nisag$_x$-ga$_2$

Sites: Ur, Larsa

Name of Moon-God: Nanna

Ṣilliadad

Epithet: lugal

Cult Act: replaces foundation (ur$_2$) of Etemenniguru

Site: Ur

Name of Moon-God: Nanna

Waradsîn

Epithets: en-zur-zur an-ki zalag

dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$

en dumu-nun

an-ku$_3$-ge dalla-e$_3$

nam-šita$_x$ a-ra-zu-e giš-tuku

dingir(?) an(?) sikil(?) pa-e$_3$-a (partially broken)

giskim-sa$_6$-ga-ne$_2$

suhuš-ma-da-ge-en-ge-en

en-an-e-du$_7$

en-gal

u$_4$ an-ku$_3$-ge si

men$_4$-nun-na/-e sag-il$_2$

dingir-zi u$_4$ gi$_6$-bi he$_2$(2)-he$_2$(2)

iti ge-en-ge-en mu silim-ma

šaz-e2-kur-ra(-ke4) sun5-na/-ne2 eš-bar-zi šu-ti

ki-a-a-ugu-na-ke4

dumu-ki-ag2-dnin-lil2-la2

šu-šud3/šu-di a-ra-zu(-e) giš-tuku

mu-ni a-re-eš KAL

x-x-x šaz-zi-ta e3-a

ki-ag2-e2-kur-ra

dumu-zi-le

eš-bar-e gal-zu

dumu-dnin-lil2-la2

igi-an-den-lil2-bi-ta sag-il2-la ul-le-eš e3-da-

ni

ma-da inim-a-ne2 te-en-te-ne

sag-gi6 zi-de3-eš bi2-in-e3-a

un-šar2-ra-bi-še3 arhuš bi2-in-tuku-am3

sipa

en me-an-ki šu-du7

lugal

Cult Acts: widens Ur

builds city wall named dnanna suhuš-ma-da ge-en-

ge-en

digs canal named "i7-dnanna-ḫul2," restoring it

in its original place

builds Ganunmaḫ

builds E2-x-KI-TE temple

builds e2-i7-lu2-ru-gu2-kalam-ma

dedicates agate beads

appoints his sister, en-an-e-du7, to be En-priestess of Nanna (year-date 6)

brings 3 thrones (giš-gu-za) embellished with gold (KU3-GI šu-du7-a) for the (raised) dais(?) into the temples of Nanna (and Ningal) and Utu (year-date 3)

brings throne for raised dais(? bara2(?)-maḫ) into the temple of [Nanna?] (year-date 5)

builds the raised courtyard (kisal-maḫ) of the Nanna temple and brings 2 thrones for the raised dais to the temple dais (year-date 8)

makes statue of Nanna

makes seven copper river-statues(?): imin urudu-alam-i7-da urudu-ni3-KU.U-ḫe2-gal2-la šu-bi-a mu-un-ne-gal2

Paraphernalia: agate beads

giš-gu-za bara2-maḫ ku3-GI šu-du7-a

alam-dnanna

imin urudu-alam-i7-da

Personnel: en-an-e-du7, En-priestess of Nanna

gudu4-abzu-dnanna

pisan-dub-ba-dnanna

Sites: Ur, Babylon

Names of Moon-God: Nanna, Suen, Aš-im2-babbar

Rīmsîn

Epithets: en-gal me-lam2-ma sag-il2

an-ki-a pa-e3

u4!(=zalag2) su-lim-dagal še-er-zi-bi mu2-mu2

un-šar2-ra-aš u4 ga2-ga2

nun-u18-ru me-ni a-re-eš kal

ni3-nam-ma-ni ku3-ku3-ug

dumu-zi-le-kur-gal-den-lil2-le

nun ki-ag2-e2-kur-ra

lugal

ḫe2-du7-e2-nun-ma

u4-sa-sa-ḫa kalam-še3 e3 giskim-sa6-ga

me-te-e2-kiš-nu-gal2

za3-DU-utaḫ-ḫe-un3-na

Cult Acts: (re)builds e2-šutum (e2-gi-na-ab-tum/du7)-ku3-dnanna, called ki-tuš-mi2-dub2-bu

widens its e2-šu-si3-ga and enlarges the whole edifice

brings four copper statues of Kudurmabuk into Nanna temple (year-date 3)

builds temple of Nanna in Larsa (year-date 4)

builds temple of Enki in Ur (year-date 8)

digs i7-buranun, called ti-gi8-da-ku3-ga-dnanna-ke4; provides widespread arable land (a-gar3-dagal-la) on its banks; puts fresh water in the heart of Ur (a-du10 ša3 uri2ki-še3 im-ni-in-gar) (year-date 23)

En-priestess, Enanedu, restores Egipar

Paraphernalia: 4 urudu-alam-ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk

ti-gi8-da-ku3-ga-dnanna-ke4

alal (ŠID x A)

Personnel: en-an-e-du7, En-priestess of Nanna

Sites: Ur, Tutub, Larsa

Names of Moon-God: Nanna, Suen

BABYLON:

Sumuabum

Cult Acts: builds e2-maḫ-^{d}nanna (in Babylon) and fashions a great cedar door for it (year-dates 5 and 8)

Site: Babylon

Name of Moon-God: Nanna

Ḫammurabi

Cult Act: builds giš-gu-za-bara2-maḫ ^{d}nanna KA.DINGIR.RA^{ki} (e2-kiš-nu -gal2) (year-date 3)

Paraphernalia: throne for Nanna of Babylon

Site: Babylon

Name of Moon-God: Nanna

Samsuilūna

Epithets: ^{d}nanna-gin7 iti-iti-da mu2-mu2-da/-dam = ša kīma sîn warḫišam ūteddešu

gi16-sa

^{d}nanna dingir-sag-du-ga-ni (year-date 5)

Cult Acts: builds throne for the dais(?) of Nanna and sets it up in Ekišnugal (in Babylon or Ur?) (year-date 5)

builds throne for the great dais for Ningal (year-date 21)

Paraphernalia: thrones for Nanna and Ningal

Sites: Babylon, Tutub, Sippar?, Ur?

Names of Moon-God: Nanna, Suen/Sîn

Abīešuḫ

Epithet: en giskim-ti-la-ni

Cult Acts: sets up his statue(?) in the Ekišnugal, called the eₓ ki-maḫ-^{d}nanna (year-date h)

dedicates to Nanna a great silver and gold standard (šu-nir-gal-KUₓ-GI kuₓ-babbar-a) (year-date n)

dedicates agate beads to Ningal

Paraphernalia: statue(?)

šu-nir-gal

agate beads

Site: Babylon(?)

Name of Moon-God: Nanna

Samsuditana

Epithet: en-gal-la KA.DINGIR.RA^{ki} (year-date i)

Paraphernalia: statue (alam)

Site: Babylon(?)

Name of Moon-God: Nanna

ELSEWHERE:

Atta-Ḫušu of Elam

Cult Act: builds temple of Nanna in Susa

Site: Susa

Name of Moon-God: Nanna

Yaḫdun-lim of Mari

Epithet: aḫum rabûm ina ilī aḫḫišu

Site: Mari

Name of Moon-God: Suen

Manan$\hat{a}$ of Ki$\check{s}$(?)

Cult Act: dedicates a drum to the temple of Nanna

Paraphernalia: kuš-a-la$_2$

Site: Ki$\check{s}$(?)

Name of Moon-God: Nanna

Ishj$\hat{a}$li

Cult Acts: temple of Suen is built

[x] of gold is fashioned for temple of Suen

(unidentified year-dates from Ishj$\hat{a}$li)

Site: Ishj$\hat{a}$li

Name of Moon-God: Suen/S$\hat{i}$n

5. THE MOON-GOD IN YEAR-DATES

Presargonic Period:

The dating of tablets in the Presargonic period did not make use of the mu-... formula which was so widely used in later times and which furnishes most of the information pertaining to the moon-god to be found in date formulae. Administrative tablets from Presargonic Lagash were dated by means of the name of the ruler and number indicating the year of his reign.[151] Other texts from the same site employ the u4-ba ... formula: "At that time ..."; texts from Šuruppak use the term bal, "regnal period" followed by the name of the ruler.[152] No references to the moon-god occur in any of these Presargonic date formulae.

The mu-... formula first appears on tablets from the dynasty of Akkad. It is also employed at Ebla, but it is still a matter of debate whether this corpus should be assigned to the Presargonic or Sargonic period.[153] There is no information regarding the moon-god Nanna/Suen in the year-dates of tne Ebla tablets.

Sargonic Period to the End of the Reign of Utuhegal:

No mention of the moon-god is made in any of the known date formulae of this period.

Ur-III Period:

Šulgi 9: ^{d}nanna kar-zi-da e2-a(-na) ba-(an-)ku4 "(The year in which) Nanna of Karzida entered his

temple" RlA II, p. 140; K. Sykes, The Year Names of the Ur III Period (University of Chicago Masters Thesis, 1973)

Šulgi 14: ^{d}nanna nibru^{ki}-a e$_2$-a ba-ku$_4$ "(The year in which) Nanna entered the temple in Nippur" RlA II, p. 141; K. Sykes, Year Names

Šulgi 15: en-nir-zi-an-na en-^{d}nanna maš$_2$-e i$_3$-pa$_3$ "(The year in which) Ennirzianna, the En-priestess of Nanna was chosen through extispicy" RlA II, p. 141; K. Sykes, Year Names

Šulgi 17: en-nir-zi-an-na en-^{d}nanna ba-ḫun-ga$_2$ "(The year in which) Ennirzianna was appointed En-priestess of Nanna" RlA II, p. 141[154]; K. Sykes, Year Names

Šulgi 37: ^{d}nanna kar-zi-da^{ki} a-ra$_2$-2-kam-aš e$_2$-a(-na) ba-(an-)ku$_4$ "(The year in which) Nanna of Karzida entered (his) temple for the second time" RlA II, p. 142

Šulgi 43: en-^{d}nanna maš$_2$-e i$_3$-pa$_3$ "(The year in which) the En-priestess of Nanna was chosen through extispicy" RlA II, p. 142[155]

Amarsuen 4: en-maḫ-gal-an-na en-^{d}nanna ba-ḫun "(The year in which) Enmaḫgalanna was appointed as En-priestess of Nanna" RlA II, p. 143

Amarsuen 9: en-^{d}nanna [ga-eš^{ki}] ba-hun "(The year in which) the En-priestess of Nanna was appointed in Gaeš" RlA II, p. 144

Ibbisuen 10: en-nir-si$_3$-an-na [en]-^{d}nanna! (INANNA) maš$_2$-e in-pa$_3$ "(The year in which) Ennirsianna, the En-priestess of Nanna, was chosen through extispicy" RlA V, p. 6

Ibbisuen 12: ^{d}i-bi$_2$-^{d}suen lugal uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ke$_4$ gu-za an-^{d}nanna-ra mu-na-dim$_2$ "(The year in which) Ibbisuen, king of Ur, built a throne for An (and) Nanna"; cf. variants in RlA V, p. 6; Ibbisuen 13 is named mu-us$_2$-sa ..., "the year after" the above year.

Ibbisuen 15: ^{d}i-bi$_2$-^{d}suen lugal uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ra ^{d}nanna-a ša$_3$ ki-ag$_2$-ga$_2$-ni dalla mu-un-na-an-e$_3$-a "(The year in which) the loving heart of Nanna rose in splendor for ibbisuen, king of Ur"; translation of E. Sollberger, RlA V, p. 6

Ibbisuen 16: ^{d}i-bi$_2$-^{d}suen lugal uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ke$_4$ ^{d}nanna-ar ^{d}nun-me-te-an-na mu-na-dim$_2$ "(The year in which) Ibbisuen, king of Ur, fashioned for Nanna (the image) 'Prince, the fitting one of heaven'" RlA V, p. 6

Unidentified Ur-III year-date: ^{d}nanna ga-eš-a e$_2$-a-na ba-an-ku$_4$ "(The year in which) Nanna entered his temple in Gaeš" RlA II, p. 146, Anhang [108]: probably Šulgi 9

Isin-Larsa Period:

Isin:

Šuilišu(?): giš gu-za(-gal) ^{d}nin[-gal] mu-na-dim$_2$ "(The year in which) he fashioned a (great) throne for Ningal" RlA II, p. 148; the next year has the same

formula preceded by us_2-sa-

Išmedagan 2: en-^{d}nanna uri_2^{ki}-ma $maš_2$-e in-pa_3 "(The year in which) the En-priestess of Nanna in Ur was chosen through extispicy" ZA 58, p. 119, n. 42

Išmedagan 3: en-^{d}nanna uri_2^{ki}-ma ba-$ḫun$-ga_2(!) "(The year in which) the En-priestess of Nanna in Ur was appointed" ZA 58, p. 119, n. 42

Lipiteštar ?: ^{d}li-[pi_2]-it-eštar lugal-e du_{11}-^{d}en-lil_2-^{d}nanna uri_2^{ki} ki-bi_2 b[i_2-i]n-gi_4-a "(The year in which) Lipiteštar, the king, in accordance with the command of Enlil (and) Nanna restored Ur in its (original) place" RlA II, p. 256

Lipiteštar ?: en-nin-sun_2-zi en ^{d}nin-gublaga(?) uri_2^{ki}-ma $maš_2$-e i_3-pa_3 "(The year in which) Enninsunzi, En-priestess of Nin-gublaga(?) of Ur was chosen through extispicy" RlA II, p. 148

Urdukuga ?: ^{d}ur-du_6-ku_3-ga lugal šu-nir-gal-gal ku_3-GI(?)-a-ta min-a-bi ^{d}nanna u ^{d}utu-ra mu-ne-dim_2 "(The year in which) Urdukuga, the king, fashioned two great standards out of gold(?) for Nanna and Utu" RlA II, p. 256

Damiqilīšu ?: [m]u-us_2-s[a] ^{d}da-[mi-iq-i_3-li_2]-šu lugal-e 2 giš-šu-[ni]r(?) k[u_3-GI(?) ku_3(?)-bab]bar(?) 2(?)-a_2(?) x ^{d}iškur ^{d}inanna [^{d}nan]na-ra mu-ne-dim_2-ma "The year after the one in which Damiqilīšu, the king, fashioned two standards(?) of gold(?) (and) silver(?) ... for Iškur, Inanna, (and) Nanna" JCS 3, p. 8

Larsa

Gungunum 10: giš-šu-nir 2-a-bi e2-^{d}nanna-še3 i-ni-in-ku4-re "(The year in which) he brought two standards into the temple of Nanna"; var.: gu-un-gu-nu-um lugal-e šu-nir-gal alal (ŠID x A) ^{d}nanna-ra mu-na-dim2 "(The year in which) Gungunum, the king, fashioned the great standard (and) the water vessel(?) for Nanna" RIA II, p. 156

Gungunum 13: en-^{d}nin-sun2-zi en-^{d}nin-gublaga ba-hun-ga2 "(The year in which) Enninsunzi, the En-priestess of Ningublaga, was appointed" RIA II, p. 156

Gungunum 14: alam-urudu gir3-tab-ba e2-^{d}nanna-še3 i-ni-in-[ku4-re] "(The year in which) he brought the copper statue with pedestal(?) into the temple of Nanna"; cf. vars. urudu-alam-gu-la and e2-^{d}nanna-ka, RIA II, p. 156

Gungunum 19: du11-^{d}en-lil2-la2-^{d}nanna-ta ugnim [ma-al-gi4-a giš-tukul ba-an-sig3 u3] e2-danna in-gi-na u3 i7-ku[r-ra ka-bi ba-an-bad] "(The year in which) by the command of Enlil and Nanna he smote the army of Malgum with (his) weapon and established the 'house of the double-mile' and opened the mouth of the mountain canal" RIA II, p. 156

Gungunum 25: e2-gi-na-ab-du7-ku3-^{d}nanna [ša3 uri2^{ki}-ma ba-du3] "(The year in which) the sacred provisions-house of Nanna in Ur was built" RIA II, p. 156; cf. this chapter, n. 68.

Gungunum 26: alam-ku3-babbar ^{d}nanna-ra [...] "(The

year in which) the silver statue for Nanna was ..." RlA II, p. 156

Abīsarē 3: alam-ku3-babbar e2-^{d}nanna-šeš3 [i-ni-i]n-ku4-r[e] "(The year in which) he brought the silver statue into the temple of Nanna" RlA II, p. 156

Abīsarē 8: alam^{na}4-gug^{na}4-za-gin3 šu-du7-a e2-^{d}nanna-šeš3 i-[ni-in-ku4-re] "(The year in which) he brought a statue embellished with carnelian (and) lapis lazuli into the temple of Nanna" RlA II, p. 157

Sumuel 5: i7-lugal-^{d}sîn-na ba-ba-al "(The year in which) the canal (called) 'Lord Sin' was dug" RlA II, p. 157

Sumuel 14: e2-durus ^{d}nanna-is-sag^{ki} ba-an-dabs "(The year in which) the village (called) 'Nanna is gracious' was taken" RlA II, p. 157; note Sumuel 15-18; cf. RlA II, pp. 151, 146-49

Sumuel 23: [mu ...] en-^{d}nan[na ba-hun-ga] "[The year in which] the En-priestess of Nan[na was appointed]" RlA II, p. 158;cf. pp. 151, 155-56

Nūradad ?: ^{gi}šgu-za bara2-za3-bi-us2-ku3-GI u3 urudu$_{ur}$-mah-min-a-bi ^{d}nanna-ra mu-na-dim2 "(The year in which) he fashioned a throne (and) a dais, the sides of which were plaited in gold and two copper lions for Nanna" UET 5, No. 105; see Edzard ZZB, p. 142

Sînerībam ?: [giš-šu-nir-kala-ga e2]-^{d}nanna-šeš3 i-ni-in-ku4-re "(The year in which) he brought the mighty standard into the temple of Nanna" RlA II, p. 159

Waradsîn 3: 3 $^{gi\check{s}}$gu-za bara$_2$$^{(?)}$(-maḫ) ku$_3$-GI šu-du$_7$-a e$_2$-^{d}nanna(^{d}nin-gal) e$_2$-^{d}utu-ra (var. -še$_3$) mu-ne-in-ku$_4$-re(-en) 'The year in which) he brought three thrones embellished with gold (for) the (raised) dais into the temple of Nanna (and Ningal) and the temple of Utu" RlA II, p. 160

Waradsîn 4: ga$_2$-nun-maḫ (e$_2$)-^{d}nanna(-še$_3$) u$_3$ e$_2$-kalam-ta-ni$_2$-gur$_3$(-ra) e$_2$-^{d}inanna-zabalam^{ki} ba-du$_3$ "(The year in which) the Ganunmaḫ of (for the) Nanna (temple) and the Ekalamtanigur, the temple of Inanna of Zabalam were built" RlA II, p. 160

Waradsîn 5: kisal-maḫ e$_2$-^{d}utu ša$_3$ larsa^{ki}-ma ba-du$_3$ u$_3$ giš-gu-za bara$_2$$^{(?)}$-maḫ e$_2$-^{d}[nanna$^{(?)}$] i-ni-in-ku$_4$-re "The year in which) the raised courtyard of the Utu temple in Larsa was built and he brought the throne (for) the raised dais into the temple of Nanna(?)" RlA II, p. 160; restoration of Nanna in break is not certain

Waradsîn 6: en-an-e-du$_7$ en-^{d}nanna ša$_3$-uri$_2$^{ki}-ma ba-ḫun-ga$_2$ "(The year in which) Enanedu, En-priestess of Nanna, was appointed in Ur" RlA II, p. 160

Waradsîn 8: kisal-maḫ-e$_2$-^{d}nanna ba-du$_3$ u$_3$ 2 giš-gu-za-bara$_2$-maḫ ku$_3$-GI (šu-du$_7$-a) e$_2$ bara$_2$-še$_3$ i-ni-in-ku$_4$-re "(The year in which) the raised courtyard of the Nanna temple was built and he brought to the temple dais two thrones for the raised dais (embellished) with gold" RlA II, p. 160

Rīmsîn 3: 4 urudu-alam ku-du-ur-ma-bu-uk e_2-^{d}nanna-šè$_3$ i-ni-in-ku$_4$-re u$_3$ e_2-^{d}nin-mar^{ki} šà$_3$ aš-dub(?)-ba(?) mu-un-du$_3$-a "(The year in which) he brought four copper statues of Kudurmabuk into the Nanna temple and built the temple Nin-mar^{ki} in Ašdubba(?)" RlA II, p. 161

Rīmsîn 4: e_2-^{d}inanna (e_2-)^{d}nanna u$_3$ ^{d}en-ki šà$_3$ larsa^{ki}-ma mu-(un-)du$_3$-a "(The year in which) he built the temple of Inanna, (the temple) of Nanna, and of Enki in Larsa" RlA II, p. 161

Rīmsîn 23: [mu du$_{11}$-ga an ^{d}en-lil$_2$] ^{d}en-ki-ga-ta / [i$_7$-buranun-n]a ti-gi$_8$-da-ku$_3$-ga-^{d}nanna-ke$_4$ / [alal (ŠID x A) tum$_3$ e_2-kur]-eš$_3$-nam-ti-la-ke$_4$ / [sipa-zi] ^{d}ri-im-^{d}sîn / [ki-unu^{ki}-ga] za$_3$-a-ab-ba-šè$_3$ mu-un-ba-al-la$_2$ / [šà$_3$-gu$_2$-be$_2$ a-gar$_3$-]dagal-la im-ta-e$_3$-a / [a-du$_{10}$ šà$_3$ u]ri$_2$^{ki}-šè$_3$ im-mi-in-gar-ra "[The year in which by the command of An, Enlil,] (and) Enki [the true shepherd], Rīmsîn, dug the Eu[phrates canal], the ... ... of Nanna [which brings the water vessel to the Ekur temple,] the sanctuary of life, [past Uruk] up to the edge of the sea; (and) he brought forth [on its banks] wide-spread [arable land] (and) put [fresh water in the heart] of Ur" RlA II, p. 162; cf. Edzard ZZB, pp. 114-15

Unidentified year-date probably from Isin dynasty: us$_2$-sa ma$_2$-gur$_8$-mah-^{d}nanna ba-d[im]$_2$ "(The year) following the one in which the exalted barge of Nanna was made" RlA II, p. 257

1st Dynasty of Babylon:

Sumuabum 5: mu e$_2$-maḫ-^{d}nanna ba-[du$_3$] "The year in which the lofty temple of Nanna was built" RlA II, p. 175; years 6 and 7 called mu-us$_2$-sa and mu-us$_2$-sa-us$_2$-sa-bi of year-date 5. Note: for year-dates of Sumuabum to Sumsuilūna consult M.J.A. Horsnell, The Year-Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon (University of Toronto Doctoral Thesis, 1974)

Sumuabum 8: giš-ig-eren-gu-la e$_2$-^{d}nanna-ra mu-un-na-dim$_2$-ma "(The year in which) he fashioned the great cedar door for the Nanna temple" RlA II, p. 175

Ḫammurabi 3: giš-gu-za-bara$_2$-maḫ ^{d}nanna KA.DINGIR.RA^{ki} (e$_2$-kiš-nu-gal^{ki}) mu-un-na-an-dim$_2$ "(The year in which) he fashioned the throne for the raised dais of Nanna of Babylon(, the Ekišnugal temple)" RlA II, p. 178

Samsuilūna 5: sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e ^{giš}gu-za alal$^{(?)}$(šID x A$^{(?)}$)/bara$_2$$^{(?)}$-ga$_2$ ^{d}nanna dingir sag-du-ga-ni-ra mu-un-na-an-dim$_2$-ma e$_2$-kiš-nu-gal$_2$-la-sikil-la-ka-na mi-ni-in-ri-a "(The year in which) Samsuilūna, the king, fashioned for Nanna, the god who sired him, the throne of the ...(?)/dais(?) (and) set it up in his pure Ekišnugal temple" RlA II, p. 182; Horsnell, o.c. pp. 308f. and n. 147

Samsuilūna 21: sa-am-su-i-lu-na lugal-e ^{giš}gu-za bara$_2$-gu-la ku$_3$-GI-ta mul-an-gin$_7$ mul-mul-la ^{d}nin-gal-ra mu-un-na-an-dim$_2$-ma "(The year in which) Samsuilūna, the

king, fashioned the throne of the great dais out of gold for Ningal, so that it shined like the star of heaven" RIA II, pp. 183-84

Abīešuḫ ?: alam(?)-a-ni mas$_2$(?)-su-ke$_4$ e$_2$-kiš-nu-gal$_2$ e$_2$ ki-maḫ-^{d}nanna(?)-kam "(The year in which he set up(?)) his statue(?) as the leader(?) in the Ekišnugal, the temple which is the lofty place of Nanna(?)" RIA II:, pp. 185-86, h

Abīešuḫ ?: ^{d}nanna en giskim-ti-la-ni-še$_3$ šu-nir-gal(-gal-la) ku$_3$-GI ku$_3$-babbar-a a mu-(un-)na-ru-a "(The year in which) he dedicated to Nanna, lord in whom he puts his trust, a great standard of gold and silver" RIA II, p. 186, n

Abīešuḫ ?: [^{d}nan]na ^{d}marduk-bi-da inim in-ne-en-du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$-ga ša mu-u[n-...] šita(?) x x [...] "(The year in which) Nanna and Marduk spoke to him ..." RIA II, p. 186, y

Samsuditana ?: ^{d}nanna en-gal-la KA$_2$.DINGIR.RA^{ki} alam-a-ni [...] "(The year in which) ... Nanna, great lord of Babylon ... his statue ..." RIA II, p. 191, i

Old Babylonian Year-Dates of Kings not from Babylon:

Manana of Kiš(?)/Kutha(?): us$_2$-sa kuš-a-la$_2$ e$_2$-^{d}nanna-ra ma-na-na-a a mu-na-ru "(The year) after the one in which Manana dedicated to the Nanna temple a drum" RIA II, p. 193, 26; cf. JCS 14, p. 76, (kk); see pp. 79-87

Unidentified year-date from Ishḫâli: mu eš-^{d}EN-ZU ba-dimš "The year in which the temple of Sîn was built" RlA II, p. 195, 4

Ibal-pi-el of Ishḫâli 9: eš saš-gar-ra-a-ni eš-^{d}EN-ZU ba-an-[x] "(The year in which) his House of Counsel, the temple of Suen, was ..." JCS 13, p. 75, (f)

Saduppum (Tell Ḫarmal) -- reign of Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna (year-date ?): giš-gu-za kuǯ-GI ^{d}nanna ^{d}i-piš-iq-^{d}adad ba-dimš "(The year in which) Ipiq-Adad fashioned the golden throne of Nanna" JCS 13, p. 76, (k)

Saduppum (Tell Ḫarmal) -- reign of Ipiq-Adad II of Ešnunna (year-date ?): giš-gu-za kuǯ-GI barašmaḫ ša ^{d}EN-ZU ša warḫum^{um} ki [d]i-piš-iq-^{d}adad uš-še-lu-[uš] (var. in-neš-ep-šu) "(The year in which) Ipiq-Adad had a golden throne raised up to the lofty dais of Sîn of Warḫum" (var. "Year in which a golden throne was made for the lofty dais of Sîn of Warḫum") JCS 13, p. 79, (z)

Unknown provenience -- reign of Sumu-emut-bal of Kutha?: [mu giš-]gu-za-^{d}nin-gal [su]-[mu]-e-mu-ut-ba-lum mu-na-an-dimš "The year in which Sumu-emut-balum fashioned the throne of Ningal" JCS 14, p. 78, (tt); cf. pp. 79-87 esp. n. 112b

Ḫalium of Kutha(?) year (vii): kaš-maḫ ^{d}nanna a-li-i-uš-um mu-un-duǯ "(The year in which) Alium built the great gate of Nanna" JCS 14, p. 80

Ḫalium of Kutha(?) year (viii): kaš-^{d}EN.ZU ḫa-li-i-a-um mu-duǯ-a ("The year in which) Haliaum built the gate of Sîn" JCS 14, p. 80

Halium of Kutha(?) year (xi): na-mir-ru šá e_2-^{d}nan[na] a-li$_2$-iu$_2$-um mu-na-an-d[im$_2$] "(The year in which) Alium built the tower(?)[156] of the Nanna temple" JCS 14, p. 80

Unknown provenience -- Sumu-atar of ?: ur-maḫ min-a$^{(!)}$-bi e_2-^{d}nanna ba-du$_3$ "(The year in which) the twin lions of the Nanna temple were made" JCS 14, p. 86, (JJJ)

6. SUMMARY

The foregoing survey of references to the moon-god in dedicatory inscriptions dating from the Presargonic to the Old Babylonian periods reveals certain patterns of evidence which should be noted. The most general deduction which can be made about the evidence as a whole is that the cult of the moon-god flourished in all periods surveyed and was preserved and maintained by various kings, dynasties, and peoples despite political upheavals and the shifting fortunes of Mesopotamian history. Even such peoples as the Gutians, Elamites, and Amorites -- outsiders who caused widespread disruption of the established order of Mesopotamian society -- have left behind evidence in their own inscriptions of their reverence for the moon-god and their pious deeds performed on behalf of his cult.[157] Only at the end of the Old-Babylonian period does one find clear indications both in inscriptions and in the archaeological record of a lack of interest in the cult of the moon-god. Hence, the prestige and influence of this deity must have been widespread and profoundly impressive to have inspired such reverence in many diverse peoples for over a millennium.

The widespread character of the moon-god's cult is evident already in the Presargonic period. The outline of evidence from the dedicatory inscriptions of this period reveals eight different cities in which the moon-

god is known to have been worshipped: from his cult center in Ur in southernmost Iraq, through Uruk, Šuruppak, and Abū-Ṣalābīkh as one heads north along the Euphrates and Girsu along the Tigris, up to Akšak and Tutub on the Diyala River, and finally, as far away as Ebla in northern Syria. The variety of cult personnel connected with Nanna/Suen indicates an extensive and well-established cultic organization, probably of great antiquity even by the time of the earliest written evidence. Furthermore, the fact that the moon-god is known by three wholly unrelated names -- Nanna, Suen, Ašimbabbar -- indicates a complex tradition involving what were probably three separate local moon-gods and a long period of syncretism and historical development stretching far back into the pre-literate phase. Finally, what little is known about the image and conceptualization of the god in this early period is contained in the one epithet from early inscriptions: amar-ban$_3$-da-^{d}en-lil$_2$-(la$_2$), "frisky calf of Enlil," which even at this early period identifies him as an offspring of Enlil and associates him with a common domestic animal of the herder.[158] Numerous epithets from later inscriptions and from literature frequently emphasize these two aspects of Nanna/Suen's persona: his status as eldest son of the chief ṇod of the Sumerian pantheon and his role as god of the herders in which he is connected with the fertility of livestock and all

derivative products.

In the Sargonic period[159] the number of cities which mention the moon-god in dedicatory inscriptions is not quite as great as in the Presargonic period, yet the range of the moon-god's cultic influence seems to be roughly the same. Ur, Girsu, and Tutub still attest to the influence of the god in this period as in the preceding. In addition, Sippar, directly west of Akšak on the Euphrates, and Susa, in the heart of Elam, produce inscriptions mentioning the moon-god in the Sargonic period. When one considers that the Ebla texts are perhaps to be dated in the Sargonic period (see n. 13), not the Presargonic period, the extent of the moon-god's influence may be even greater after Sargon's rise to power.

The names of the moon-god used in the inscriptions of the Sargonic period are Nanna and Suen. It is perhaps of signficance that the name Ašimbabbar drops out of usage after the Presargonic period and does not recur in inscriptions until the reign of Waradsîn of Larsa. Whether this omission points to some theological or even political change, the nature of which cannot be determined at present, or whether it is simply the result of lack of evidence is not clear.

The cult personnel attested in this period are all, except in one instance, En-priestesses of the moon-god at Ur. Sargon may have originated this office by appointing his daughter, Enheduanna, to the post; it is

also possible that the office is simply a development of an earlier position attested in Presargonic texts as munus-zi.[160] In any case, from the Sargonic period to the Old Babylonian period the En-priestess becomes the dominant figure in the cult of Nanna/Suen. The great prestige and later fame of Sargon's daughter, Enḫeduanna, and the great political power of Ur after the fall of the Akkad dynasty may have led to a gradual centralization of the cult of the moon-god in Ur. Other cult centers of moon-god, as for example, Tutub, became less and less important as time went on and the moon-god became almost solely identified with the city of Ur.

The epithets of the moon-god listed in the synopsis of the Sargonic period (Section 2) all come from the inscriptions and statues of Gudea of Lagash/Girsu. They depict the moon-god in his typical celestial or lunar aspects: he is the dazzling light of the land which is reborn each month. The cult paraphernalia of this period, also attested only in Gudea (except for DUL3 -- the statues of the Sargonic kings), connect the god with the cattle stalls (tur3) and perhaps with providing water for the city; the exact cultic function of the various water vessels so often connected with the cult of the moon-god is not known.[161]

The Ur-III period, of course, was the time of the moon-god's greatest influence. The synopsis of the inscriptional evidence from this period (end of section

3) reveals the wide range of cultic activity undertaken by the kings of the Ur-III dynasty: extensive construction on the temple complex in Ur gave the temple of Nanna and its many ancillary structures the distinctive character that they have preserved until this day; elaborate irrigation projects including the digging of new canals assured the prosperity of the city's agricultural areas; and the dedication of various votive objects, statues, and standards by the Ur-III kings attests to their devotion to the cult of Nanna/Suen.

The number of cities in which dedicatory inscriptions to the moon-god were found are far fewer than in previous periods. The range of cultic activity now seems to be confined to southern Mesopotamia centering around Ur. Besides Ur, Nippur, Uruk, and a site not yet located -- Gaeš/Karzida (which is known to have been in the immediate vicinity of Ur) -- are mentioned. If the relatively small number of cult sites mentioned in inscriptions and other textual sources truly represents a reduction in the number or spread of local cults which included Nanna, then this may be due to the centralization of the cult of the moon-god in Ur as mentioned above. The site of Gaeš/Karzida and the Nanna temple there are first mentioned in the reign of Šulgi and it is likely that Šulgi founded the site as the location of a new temple to Nanna. Amarsuen built a gig-par3 there and installed another En-priestess of the

moon-god at this location. The En-priestesses are the only cult personnel attested in the Ur-III inscriptions and year-dates pertaining to the moon-god. In every case they appear to have been the daughters of the king, thus continuing the tradition which began with Enḫeduanna.

As noted above the moon-god is called Nanna and Suen in the inscriptions and year-dates of this period, but not Aš̌imbabbar. In literary texts, particularly royal hymns attributed to the Ur-III kings, the name Aš̌imbabbar often occurs. However, these texts only survive in Old-Babylonian recensions, so it is uncertain whether use of the name Aš̌imbabbar is an addition by Old-Babylonian copyists or truly reflects original Ur-III usage. One possible interpretation of the absence of the name Aš̌imbabbar in Ur-III inscriptions is that it was more of an epithet than a name. An epithet would more likely be used in a literary context than in an inscription which describes the dedication of an object or building to a deity in straightforward, prosaic terminology. Note that the few epithets which do consistently occur in Ur-III inscriptions do not evoke the poetic images that one finds in literary epithets: lugal as a term for supreme ruler could be applied to any major city god; dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ succinctly defines the moon-god's relation to the Sumerian Pantheon. The same is true of amar-bar$_3^{g}$-da-an-na. The former defines Nanna's relation to Enlil, the latter to

An (the other ePithets listed in the sYnoPsis at the end of Section 3 are indirect references to the moon-9od derived from the names of En-Priestesses or from structures or canals). JnlY in the inscriPtions of Ibbisuen do the tYPical literarY ePithets start to occur; in the followin9 Isin-Larsa Period such literarY ePithets freQuentlY occur in inscriPtions and it is at this time that the name Aš̌imbabbar is attested in inscriPtions. Thus, the Pattern of evidence su99ests a 9radual blendin9 of two 9enres -- inscriPtional and literarY -- at the end of the Ur-III Period and a wholesale adoPtion of literarY toPoi into inscriPtions in the followin9 Isin-Larsa Period.

The ePithets of the Ur-III inscriPtions su99est the sPheres of the moon-9od's influence and the waY in which he was concePtualized in this Period. As dumu=sa9=9en=lil2=la2 and amar=ban3=da=an=na he was second in importance only to the two highest gods of the Sumerian pantheon: Enlil and An. Thus, he could well be called nun "prince" and lugal "king" to define his supremacy within his own city. The epithet amar=ban3=da=an=na "frisky calf of An" also suggests his role as god of the herders and provider of prosperity for the herds; at the same time, it evokes the image of the crescent moon envisioned as the horns of a calf in the heavens. Thus, in one epithet two major aspects of the moon-god's persona, the pastoral and celestial, are suggested. Celestial images are also expressed in the epithets of

the Ibbisuen inscriptions and year-dates: su3-DU-ag2 un-na ba-ra-ge "who spreads a sheen over the people"; en dili-ni dingir-pa-e3-a "lord, who alone is the rising god"; and nun-me-te-an-na "prince, fit for/ornament of heaven." The names of the En-priestesses, if they do indeed refer indirectly to the moon-god, also evoke celestial images. Finally, in the epithet gu2-gal is expressed one other important aspect of Nanna/Suen's persona: the god as chief overseer of canals and irrigation works and hence, the city god whom the people trusted to provide water to the city through irrigation and periodic flooding of the rivers and canals to assure the fertility and prosperity of the crops.

After the destruction of the Ur-III kingdom, the kings of the succeeding Isin and Larsa dynasties were quick to restore Ur to at least part of its former glory. Since they emulated the rulers of the Ur-III dynasty and thought of themselves as carrying on the traditions of their predecessors, the kings of Isin and Larsa paid great homage to Nanna/Suen and rebuilt and maintained his cultic residence in Ur. Besides Ur, a great number of other cities venerated the moon-god in their local cults. A survey of all the cities which included Nanna/Suen in their local cults during the Isin-Larsa and Old-Babylonian periods shows the same wide range of cultic influence as was noted for the Presargonic and Sargonic periods. The inscriptions alone

attest to the proveniences of Ur, Babylon, Larsa, Tutub, Kish(?), Mari, and Susa in the Isin-Larsa period and Babylon, Tutub, and possibly Sippar and Ur in the Old Babylonian period.[162] If one includes the evidence of administrative and legal documents collected by J. Renger in HSAO 137-171, the cities of Akšak, Babylon, Dilbat (O.B. only), Dur-lagaba (O.B.), Ešnunna, Isin, Kisurra, Kutalla, Larsa, Nippur, Sippar (O.B.), Uruk, and Urum may be added to the list. As in the earlier periods the extent of the Nanna/Suen cult is from southern Mesopotamia north to the Diyala River area, west as far as Mari, and east as far as Susa. Why a comparable range of cultic influence is not attested in the Ur-III period, the time of Nanna/Suen's greatest prestige, is difficult to explain. Besides the possible interpretation offered above, one can only suspect that a great deal of documentary evidence is missing from the Ur-III period.

The synopsis at the end of Section 4 shows clearly that the kings of Isin and Larsa were energetic builders in Ur and that they were engaged in considerable cultic activity in the service of the moon-god of Ur. Excavations at Ur uncovered the remains of the extensive rebuilding projects undertaken by these kings in Ur. The salient cultic events of this period include Šuilīšu's return to Ur of the statue of Nanna which had been taken away to Susa by marauding Elamites when Ur fell under Ibbisuen; the building or rebuilding of such structures

as the dub-la2-mah, e2-gi6-par4, e2-šutum, ga2-nun-mah, and the e2-temen-ni2-guru3; fashioning of various cult statues, standards, and thrones; and the appointment of a long series of En-priestesses, the last of whom was Enanedu, daughter of Kudurmabuk.

The Isin-Larsa and Old-Babylonian inscriptions describe Nanna/Suen by almost all of the epithets so commonly attested in literary texts. The celestial and pastoral aspects of his character as well as his relationship as chief son of Enlil are consistently brought out. Nanna's wisdom (gal-zu-mah: Abīsarē inscription 4, 13'), his justice (eš-bar sa-sa2: Abīsarē inscription 4, 14'; eš-bar-zi šu-ti: Waradsîn inscription 28, 8; eš-bar-e gal-zu: Waradsîn inscription 29, 24), compassion (un-šar2-ra-bi-še3 arhuš bi2-in-tuku-am3: Waradsîn inscription 29, 29; nam-šitax a-ra-zu-e giš-tuku: Waradsîn inscription 10, 4), his power (u18-ru sag2 nu-di: Iddindagan inscription 2, 5; nun-u18-ru: Rīmsîn inscription 11, 6), and his purity (dingir-ku3: Abīsarē inscription 4, i, 6'; ni3-nam-ma-ni ku3-ku3-ug: Rīmsîn inscription 11, 7) are also highlighted.

Of all the kings of both the Isin-Larsa and Old-Babylonian dynasties the most dedicated to the cult of Nanna/Suen in Ur were Waradsîn, Rīmsîn, and Gungunum. Šulišu must also be mentioned as the restorer of the cult of Nanna/Suen to Ur.

A comparison of inscriptions to the moon-god in the Isin-Larsa period and Old-Babylonian period (i.e. post-Hammurabi) reveals that the cult of the moon-god at Ur suffered a radical decline under the hegemony of Babylon, particularly after the reign of Samsuilūna who destroyed Ur in his eleventh year.[163] Though there is some archaeological evidence of rebuilding after this destruction, Ur and its cult lost most of their importance after the reign of Samsuilūna. This is clear from the fact that only one questionable Ur inscription mentioning Nanna/Suen is attested in the Old Babylonian period. There are also very few administrative documents from Ur after the reign of Samsuilūna;[164] and archaeological evidence from the later Old-Babylonian period confirms this picture of general decline. Most cultic activity associated with the moon-god which was undertaken by Babylonian kings took place at Babylon, not Ur. Thus, the focus and with it the prestige and influence of the cult of the moon-god shifted from Ur to Babylon. The Ur cult was not resurrected again until after the sack of Babylon by the Hittites and the rise to power of the Kassites in Ur.

NOTES TO CHAPTER 4

1. See Steible ABW I, p. 2 for references to works in which the differences among the genres of building inscriptions, dedicatory inscriptions, and literary texts are discussed.

2. See Steible ABW I, p. 5 for a discussion of the chronological problems pertaining to the Presargonic inscriptions.

3. All dates, unless otherwise indicated, are taken from J. Kupper, E. Sollberger, IRSA, pp. 347f. Anonymous inscriptions from Ur are dated according to the sequence established by Sollberger in Iraq 22, pp. 69f. The approximate date of the Fara (Šuruppak) inscriptions is based on the criteria discussed by R. Biggs, OIP 99, p. 26. The dating of the two inscriptions from Khafāǧi (Tutub) is discussed by Th. Jacobsen in OIP 58, p. 295 sub. n. 4 and n. 5.

4. Sag/sa12=rig7/rig9/rig$_x$(PA.DU) is commonly equated with Akk. šarāku(m), "present, give as a gift, dedicate," in lexical texts; cf. AHw, pp. 1183f. It seems to be used here and in An Haf. 8 as a logogram for some finite form of Akk. šarāku(m).

5. PA$_4$-ŠEŠ is a logogram for Akk. paššīšu, a type of cultic official who was connected with anointing. An Haf. 8 and 9, both from Tutub, were probably read in Akkadian; see also R. Borger, BiOr 30, pp. 174-75.

6. ŠEŠ.KI does not appear with the divine determinative in every reference here. Since the dingir sign before

god-names is often omitted in early texts, it is uncertain whether ŠEŠ.KI is always to be read as the god-name, Nanna. The same applies to the sign combinations EN.ZU and ZU.EN and their relationship to the god-name Suen. The interpretation of the UD.GAL.NUN compositions and many of the school exercise tablets from this period is very problematic; see R. Biggs, OIP 99, p. 32 and pp. 36f. and W. Lambert, OA 20, pp. 81f.

7. See Behrens, Steible ABW Glossar, p. 18 sub AB x AŠ2.IGI "alter Mann," "..." and E. Sollberger, Iraq 22, p. 85 to 81. Sollberger suggests the reading aba$_x$ (AB x AŠ2)-lim for ab(ū)-ālim "elder, city-father," a professional title attested in the Presargonic and Sargonic periods.

8. See Steible ABW II, pp. 265-66, note 1 on the reading of ŠAR x DIŠki.

9. Cf. Behrens, Steible ABW Glossar, p. 280 sub sa-šuš-gal.

10. For the phrase GURa-ku2 see Behrens, Steible ABW Glossar, p. 157 sub GURa.

11. The meaning of U4 a(n)-du3, inim a(n)-gal2 is uncertain; the variant AN is probably read am6 in this period. One expects a penalty clause of some sort or an expression of retribution; for further references see Behrens, Steible ABW Glossar, p. 77 G.

12. Since no photo or copy of the cuneiform text to which MEE 1, #879 refers is available, it is unclear

what cuneiform sign bax represents.

13. On the controversy surrounding the time-period of the Ebla texts, see G. Pettinato, MEE 1, pp. xxxviif.

14. See Gregoire AAS, p. xv and p. 276 for a discussion of the role of the sanga administrator.

15. See Chapter 5 sub Part II, sect. 3.3: Purification Rituals.

16. See Gregoire AAS, Index sub išib.

17. Cf. e.g. Gungunum inscriptions 3, 13 in this chapter and note 26 below.

18. Cf. Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 24.

19. See Behrens, Steible ABW Glossar, p. 280.

20. See J. Kupper, E. Sollberger, IRSA, p. 114, IIB1.

21. Cf. UET 6/1, 105, 19 where rin2-rin2 is also used to describe a cow: ab2-rin2-rin2.

22. On the meaning of SAG-KEŠ see ŠL II/1, 115, 127 where it is described as a measure for dates and fish; perhaps, it was a type of container, the volume of which corresponded to the measure denoted by the word SAG.KEŠ.

23. The terms i3-ti "moon, moon-light' and u4-sakar "new moon" are also frequently attested in Gudea's inscription in contexts which do not mention the moon-god by name; see Gudea Cyl. A, x, 16-18; xi, 26; xxi, 12; xxiv, 10, 23; xxvii, 10; xxx 8-9; Cyl. B, iv, 22-24.

24. Restorations of these lines are by Cl. Wilcke, Rencontre 19, p. 193.

25. See Sir Leonard Woolley's Ur 'of the Chaldees' revised and updated by P.R.S. Moorey (Cornell University

Press, Ithaca, New York 1982), p. 127.

26. If this connection and the interpretation of the signs in the earlier texts is correct, then NUNUZ is probably to be understood as the Eme-sal form of munus, "woman," and MUNUS as a female determinative, i.e. a type of gloss indicating the meaning of NUNUZ. The title could then be translated as "Nanna's true, legitimate woman." However, the problem of interpretation is made more complex by lexical texts (see J. Renger, ZA 59, pp. 114-15) where the reading of the signs EN.NUNUZ.ZI.^{d}NANNA is given as zirru, a Sumerian word of unknown meaning. The Akkadian equivalent here is ēnum ša ^{d}sîn, "En-priestess of Sin." It is unclear whether this title is the same or related to MUNUS.NUNUZ.ZI^{d}NANNA or whether the latter should be read as zirru.

27. See Chapter 5 sub Part II, sect. 3.5: Lamentations.

28. Note that the BALAG-DI is the daughter of the ensi2 of Tutub (Khafāǧi), a traditional cult site of the moon-god Suen already attested in the Presargonic period (see inscriptions cited in this Chapter sub Presargonic period).

29. MDP 2, pl. 17 iv 10; cf. CAD vol. 2(B), p. 306.

30. Cf. Th. Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness, p. 124; also UET 3, no. 378; in addition see my discussion of Ibbisuen inscription A9-10, 25 and Rīmsîn year-date 23 in this chapter.

31. See the discussion of ritual purification as a part of the cult of Nanna at Ur during the Ur-III period: Chapter 5, sub Part II, sect. 3.3: Purification Rituals.

32. See Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, Index sub tur3.

33. See Chapter 7 sub iti, itu, iti6.

34. Cf. A. Berlin, Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna (Philadelphia 1979), pp. 62 to 8.

35. The reference to the name of Suen in Gudea Statue B, viii 48 demonstrates that Suen was a foreign name, the etymology of which was not understood by the scribes of Girsu at the time of Gudea. On the etymology of the name Suen see Chapter 2.

36. This inscription is very problematic because instead of the expected dinanna in line one all exemplars of the text read dŠEŠ.KI. Since it is very unlikely that nanna would be referred to as nin-an-na, "the lady of heaven," one of the most common epithets of Inanna, and there is very little evidence of any confusion between Nanna and Inanna in any period, one can only surmise that some mistake has been made by the scribe; perhaps a hearing error caused by the similarity of the names Nanna and Inanna was made during a dictation of the inscription. However, this does not fully explain why this supposed error should be found in every copy of this inscription. I can offer no satisfactory solution to this puzzle.

37. The reading ga-eš8 is assured by the syllabic writings ga-eš = ga-eš-šu in lexical texts (cf. MSL 13, p. 165, 165; AHw 273 sub g/ka'išŠu(m)). Could the place

name ga-eš/eš$_5^{ki}$, which lay on a canal where a quay was built, be connected with this word for maritime trade? Cf. Hallo, Exaltation of Inanna, p. 8, n. 56.

38. On ki-šu-tag see L. Legrain, UET 3, Indexes, pp. 209-210 to 280.

39. giš-šu-kar$_2$ is equated in a few attestations with Akkadian unūtu(m); see AHw 1422-23. The Akkadian word denotes "equipment, utensils, furnishings." In this context it seems to be connected with the inscription and is said to have a "standing place" (ki-gub-ba line 31) which is not to be altered. Since this inscription is inscribed on two door sockets, it seems reasonable to suppose that giš-šu-kar$_2$ refers to door socket; the door socket bears the inscription, has a definite "standing place," and needs to be restored to this standing place when it is dislodged, just as the inscription states. A door socket could also easily be construed as equipment or furnishings of the temple. This meaning of giš-šu-kar$_2$ was first suggested by Legrain in UET 3, Indexes, pp. 219-220 to 494; cf. also UET 3, 281, 1145, 1175. For a different interpretation see M. Lambert, RA 44, p. 87.

40. On za-pa-ag$_2$/zi-pa-ag$_2$ see J. Krecher, ZA 60, 197 to 36.11.

41. uru$_{18}$ in this context is probably a graphic variant of uru$_4$, "foundation"; see A. Falkenstein, Or NS 35, p. 235[3]. temen in this context corresponds to Akkadian

tem(m)ennu with the meaning "foundation inscription"; see AHW 1346. For more Sumerian references to this use of temen see Or NS 35, p. 239.

42. On the tenure of the En-priestess, Enmaḫgalanna, see my discussion of Šulgi's reign in this chapter and note 49 below.

43. Cf. map of city lay-out in the Ur-III period in L. Woolley, P.R.S. Moorey, Ur 'of the Chaldees' (Ithaca, 1982), p. 141.

44. But note Šulgi A, 50 where Šulgi refers to the Nanna temple as e2-kiš/kiš^{ki}-nu-gal2. However, since all copies of this literary text come from the Old-Babylonian period, it is not a reliable indicator of usages in the Ur-III period.

45. More on the names of the Nanna temple in Ur can be found in Chapter 5 sub Part II, sect. 2: Archaeological Evidence.

46. Cf. Jacobsen's study of the waterways of Ur in Iraq 22, pp. 174f.

47. Cf. Limet, L'anthroponymie sumérienne (Paris, 1968), pp. 89-90, 117 and Chapter 3 sub Ur III Period.

48. See AfO 17, p. 24 and n. 67.

49. See AfO 17, pp. 23f.

50. See AfO 17, pp. 28f.

51. See AfO 17, p. 19, Šulgi 17.

52. See Chapter 5, Part II, sect. 3.6.

53. See Chapter 5 sub Part II, sect. 3.3 Purification Rituals on the role of ritual purification in the cult

of Ur.

54. See B. Landsberger, Der kultische Kalender, pp. 79-80.

55. Cf. Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness, p. 124.

56. See M. Civil, JNES 26, p. 211 and n. 32.

57. Cf. my discussion of this cult object in this chapter sub Sargonic Period and n. 30.

58. Cf. Nūradad inscription 3 where the unu2-gal and dug-mah are also mentioned together.

59. See AfO 17, p. 24: 3 for the amendation INANNA to Nanna.

60. Cf. D.O. Edzard, ZA 53, pp. 15-19 for a list of the En-priestesses; for another interpretation of this date formula cf. E. Sollberger, RlA V, p. 6; cf. my discussion of the En-priestesses, en-nir-zi-an-na and en-mah-gal-an-na above.

61. See M. Civil, JNES 23, pp. 7f. and A. Falkenstein, ZA 52, pp. 304f.; also CAD 4(E), pp. 107f. sub elmēšu; and Chapter 7 sub sud-DU-ag2.

62. Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, pp. 105-106 to 3.

63. See Th. Jacobsen, ZA 52, pp. 107-108, n. 32 and JNES 12, pp. 181-82; also Chapter 7 sub en and lugal.

64. See, for example, ZA 63, p. 32, No. 5, 18 and p. 26, No. 4 B obv. II 4'; also OrSuec 19-20, p. 163 to 2 and AHW 1443 ušumgallu ("Alleinherrscher").

65. Cf. ZA 53, p. 16[31]; note, however, Abīsarē inscription 4, i 2'-3': an-gal-e nir sum-ma "endowed

with respect by great An." This may be a clue to the meaning of the name en-nir-si$_3$-an-na.

66. See my discussion above of Šulgi year-date 15 with n. 48.

67. On za$_3$-SAL see TCS 3, p. 175, 131 and Or NS 35, p. 299.

68. On the e$_2$-gi-na-ab-tum-ku$_3$-ga and the reading of its name as e$_2$-šutum-ku$_3$-ga see TCS 3, p. 60 and p. 151.

69. On the terms uru$_{4a}$ temen, and ur$_2$ and the distinctions among them see A. Falkenstein, Or NS 35, pp. 229f.; see I. Kärki, StOr 49, p. 102, translation of Waradsîn 14, 19-20; AHw, p. 1308; also TCS 3, p. 58 to 33.

70. The reading ša$_{13}$(PISAN)-dub-ba is derived from Akk. šandabakku(m). However, note the syllabic writing pi-ša$_3$-ad-ba in MDP 57, p. 15, iii 14.

71. Cf. I. Kärki's translation, StOr 49, Waradsîn 28, 4: "dem rechten Gott, der Tag und Nacht verbindet." The translation suggests that Kärki is interpreting the Sumerian he$_{(2)}$-he$_{(2)}$ as equivalent to Akk. balālu, "to mix." However, balālu is never used to describe celestial phenomena (cf. CAD vol. 2, pp. 39f.); furthermore, the translation, "verbindet," is a very poor rendering of the sense of the verb, balālu (cf. AHw, p. 97: "besprengen; vermischen, legieren"). The meaning of the phrase remains uncertain.

72. Cf. Kärki's reading, StOr 49, Waradsîn 29, 13: eš$_2$-kiri$_4$-aš-bar-re-^{d}a-nun-na.

73. The meaning of za3-DU in this context is uncertain. On utaḫ see my commentary to N1542 obv. 6 in Chapter 9.

74. This interpretation of muš2 is based on a suggestion by J. Klein in AOAT 25, p. 266 to 15.

75. za-na-ru = Akk. zannaru, a type of lyre; CAD vol. 21 (Z), p. 46; AHw, p. 1510; TCS 3, pp. 88f.; AS 16, pp. 64f.

76. The meaning of line 32 is uncertain because the interpretation of šu-si-taḫ and IM.DUL3 is uncertain; see C.J. Gadd's comments in Iraq 13, p. 36.

77. See Römer SKIZ, pp. 179-80 to 142 on kislaḫ. According to Rīmsîn 8 it refers to the grave site of deceased En-priestesses.

78. See D.O. Edzard, ZZB, pp. 57; 70-71; on Išbierra's defeat of Elamites, p. 64.

79. D.O. Edzard, ZZB, p. 70[330].

80. UET 6/1, 67, 20; see my treatment in Appendix (Chapter 9). For the concept that da-nun-na refers to the local pantheon see IRSA, p. 289.

81. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 142 and p. 146[3].

82. See TCS 3, pp. 85-86.

83. See CAD vol. 4 (E), pp. 381-383 sub etellu.

84. Nanna is also frequently referred to as a-a, "father" and lugal, "lord, king"; but these epithets express his relationship to mankind or to his cult city, Ur.

85. See Chapter 7 sub u18-ru$_1$ uru16 and TCS 3, pp. 62f. and p. 64, n. 20.

86. These lines may represent a forerunner practice to the later Assyrian custom of the king's journey to Babylon to grasp the hands of Marduk. See also H. Steible, Rīmsîn, Sachindex sub Legitimation; also Th. Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness, pp. 188f.

87. See A. Moortgat, The Art of Ancient Mesopotamia (New York, London, 1969), p. 65.

88. See UE 7, p. 59 and n. 14.

89. Namely C22: see UE 7, p. 57.

90. UET 2, Supplement, p. 24: ezen-mah-^{d}nin-gublaga; for more on Ningublaga see Chapter 8, Section III.2.

91. TCS 3, p. 26, 155.

92. See Chapter 5 sub Part II, sect. 3.6 ^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak.

93. TCS 3, p. 26, 150.

94. UET 3, No. 106; see UET 3, Indexes, commentary to 66.

95. See D.O. Edzard, ZZB, pp. 100-101.

96. Edzard, ZZB, p. 101.

97. UET 3, No. 321.

98. UET 3, No. 337.

99. See D.O. Edzard, ZZB, p. 102.

100. Cf. L. Legrain in UET 3, Indexes, p. 204 sub 193.

101. See UE 7, p. 2.

102. Cf. ZA 58, p. 119, n. 48.

103. Cf. Nanše Hymn 117 (W. Heimpel, JCS 33, p. 113 to 117).

104. See UE 7, p. 3, n. 10.

105. See TCS 3, p. 94 to 211 on a2-na2-da and Edzard ZZB, p. 145, n. 761 on e2-gar6 (egar).

106. On unu2-gal meaning either "dining hall" or "Holy of holies" see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 93-94 and TCS 3, p. 50.

107. L. Woolley, P.R.S. Moorey, Ur 'of the Chaldees', pp. 147-48.

108. See Å. Sjöberg's extensive commentary on this problematic word in TCS 3, pp. 55-6.

109. Cf. Edzard ZZB, p. 148 and n. 779.

110. Cf. Edzard ZZB, p. 150.

111. See Edzard ZZB, p. 168.

112. Edzard ZZB 172.

113. Cf. Edzard ZZB, p. 173; he cites Waradsîn inscription 9, 10-11: ka2-gal-larsa^{ki} bad3-da gal2 bi2-in-tag4-a. This ka2-gal-larsa^{ki} may also refer to the bastion uncovered by Woolley; see n. 114.

114. See L. Woolley, P.R.S. Moorey, Ur 'of the Chaldees', p. 155 and p. 181.

115. Cf. Edzard ZZB, p. 174, n. 952.

116. See UE 7, p. 4, n. 27.

117. Note Waradsîn year-date 3.

118. See W.R. Sladek, Inanna's Descent to the Netherworld, Johns Hopkins University Ph.D. Dissertaion, Baltimore, 1974.

119. See Sladek, Inanna's Descent, p. 85.

120. See notes 25 and 87 for references to reliefs of Enḫeduanna and Enannatumma depicting the two En-priestesses dressed in this garment.

121. Cf. Sladek, Inanna's Descent, p. 84 and n. 3.

122. More on pisan-dub-ba can be found in Gregoire AAS, Index, p. 276 sub šaₓ-dub-ba.

123. Cf. ZA 43, pp. 308f.

124. Cf. CAD vol. 8 (K), pp. 540f.

125. Cf. Edzard ZZB, p. 176.

126. Rīmsîn inscriptions 7 and 15.

127. Rīmsîn inscription 14.

128. Rīmsîn inscription 12.

129. Rīmsîn inscription 9; cf. Edzard ZZB, p. 179, n. 983.

130. Rīmsîn inscription 10.

131. Rīmsîn year-date 8 and Rimsin inscription 3.

132. Rīmsîn inscription 6 and 13.

133. Rīmsîn inscription 26.

134. Rīmsîn inscription 2.

135. Rīmsîn inscription 17.

136. See UE 7, pp. 64f.

137. Cf. my commentary to Gudea Cyl. A, xxi, 18: bugin-^{d}nanna in this chapter sub Sargonic Period and note 30.

138. Cf. my discussion of Waradsîn inscription 37 above.

139. giš-hur in this context may also refer to the building design since in her restoration work she probably remodeled or redesigned parts of the Egipar.

140. Cf. Edzard ZZB, p. 180.

141. See A.L. Oppenheim, JAOS 63, pp. 31f.

142. Cf. Iddindagan inscription 2, 6; Ibbisuen inscription A9-10, 4.

143. TCS 3, p. 116.

144. Cf. Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 67; p. 144.

145. Cf. Iddindagan inscription 2, 5: TCS 3, pp. 62f.; Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 134.

146. Both this phrase and za3-DU-utah-he-ung-na could be interpreted figuratively as "suitable for the temple of the prince" and "strength of the lofty heavens" respectively; cf. n. 73.

147. See L. Woolley, P.R.S. Moorey, Ur 'of the Chaldees', pp. 190-191.

148. L. Woolley, P.R.S. Moorey, Ur 'of the Chaldees', p. 191.

149. See Chapter 7 sub mu2-mu2.

150. See comments on the name of Suen in this Chapter sub Presargonic Period and in Chapter 2.

151. See Bauer, AWL, p. 30.

152. See Ungnad RlA II, p. 132 and Thureau-Dangin, SAK, p. 224.

153. Cf. G. Pettinato MEE 1, xxxviif.

154. Cf. AfO 17, p. 23.

155. Her name was en-ubur-zi-an-na (also called en-mah-gal-an-na); see AfO 17, pp. 23-24, n. 64; cf. K. Sykes, The Year Names of the Ur III Period .

156. na-mir-ru is possibly a variant writing of namaru "tower"; see CAD vol. 11 (N), pp. 218-19 sub namaru A.

157. See the inscriptions of La-'arab and Puzur-suen of gutium and Puzur-inšušinak of Susa in this chapter sub Sargonic Period. For Amorite inscriptions to Nanna/Suen see the various inscriptions of the Amorite kings of Isin, Larsa, Babylon, and Mari sub Isin-Larsa/Old Babylonian Period.

158. See "Stele of the Vultures" xx, 2-3; 11-12; xxi, 7-8; xxii, 9-10 sub Presargonic Period.

159. See synopsis of evidence for Sargonic Period.

160. See further my commentaries to the Presargonic Period and Sargonic Period and notes 17 and 26.

161. See notes 29, 30, and Rīm-Sîn year-date 23.

162. See my synopsis of the Isin-Larsa/Old Babylonian Period at the end of my commentary on the dedicatory inscriptions of this period.

163. See my commentary to the Old-Babylonian Period and note 148.

164. See J. Renger, HSAO, pp. 156-60.

CHAPTER 5

THE CULT OF THE MOON-GOD AT UR

A complete study of a Mesopotamian deity must include an examination of the cult; for the cult is the material manifestation of the many ideas and beliefs surrounding a deity. Through an analysis of the cult, the sphere in which the divine and humna interact, one can gain important insights into the way the deity was conceptualized and how the relationship between man and deity was symbolically expressed. The term "cult" as it is defined here has a range of meaning covering four major areas of inquiry: 1) cultic activities: prayers, offerings, sacrifices, rituals, festivals, etc.; 2) the setting of these activities, e.g. temples, shrines, or any locale thought to have cultic significance; 3) objects and material paraphernalia attached to the deities and their shrines; e.g. statues, clothing, altars, standards, etc.; 4) the personnel who perform the activities and maintain the settings and material paraphernalia connected with the deities; e.g. priests, temple functionaries, administrators, etc. (see Chapter 1, sect. 3.1 where the term "cult" is further defined).

The principal source of evidence which will be used here for information on cultic activities, physical setting, material realia, and personnel is administrative tablets. These records of day-to-day

operations within the temple complex at the heart of the Sumerian city contain a rich store of terminology which makes reference to the most significant features of the cult. It is from this terminology that most of the information about the cult is gleaned.

Therefore, an examination of administrative documents for evidence of the cult involves in large measure the analysis of cultic terminology. The significance of the cult as a whole can only be understood by attempting to define, precisely, the terms that were employed to express that significance. All evidence gained through this attempt provides the indispensible framework and the grounding in fact which is necessary for further discussion to proceed.

Documentary evidence alone, however, can provide only a partial perspective of what was undoubtedly a many-faceted phenomenon. Equally important to our understanding of the cult is the evidence of archaeological excavations. A comparison of what is said in texts with what has been found in the excavations is a method more likely to result in sound conceptions about cultic practices than a one-sided textual approach. Indeed, even a basic understanding of key cultic terms must often rely on both sources of information. Consequently, the archaeological record wil be consulted and an attempt to correlate the data of textual analysis with that of archaeology will be made. Though the emphasis in this chapter as in all of this

study is on textual sources, important evidence from excavations must be included when it can shed light on the cult.

It has been demonstrated in Chapters 3 and 4 that the range of the moon-god's influence was quite extensive from as early as the Presargonic period to the end of the Old-Babylonian period. Since it is not feasible to undertake an intensive analysis of the moon-god's cult at all of the major sites where he was worshipped, this chapter will concentrate on the moon-god's cult at Ur, the chief cultic residence of the moon-god in southern Mesopotamia. Emphasis will be placed on the Ur-III period, more specifically, on the reign of Ibbisuen since most of the textual evidence pertaining to the cult of the moon-god at Ur dates to this narrow time frame. What little evidence exists for the cult at Ur in the Presargonic period and Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period will be briefly summarized and included in this chapter for the sake of completeness.

The major corpus of texts which will be used in this chapter as the basis of my analysis of the cult at Ur during the Ur-III period is published in UET 3. Texts in UET 2 and UET 5 will also be utilized for my discussion of the Presargonic and Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian periods. The published site reports of L. Woolley[1] will be consulted for archaeological evidence

pertaining to the cult of the moon-god at Ur.

This Chapter is divided into three parts, each part corresponding to a major chronological period. Part I is a brief summary of the evidence for the cult of the moon-god at Ur in the Presargonic and the Sargonic periods. Part II examines the evidence for the Ur-III period. It forms the bulk of this chapter because most of the extant source material bearing on the cult of Nanna at Ur comes from the Ur-III period. Part III touches upon some of the major features of the cult in the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period. It is mainly intended to show the continuity of cultic tradition at Ur.

Since this study is mainly concerned with the moon-god, this chapter highlights aspects of the cult at Ur which pertain to the moon-god and leaves other areas of the cultic life at Ur largely untouched. Therefore, it must be realized at the start that this chapter is not an attempt to treat every aspect of the cult at Ur.

Part I: Presargonic/Sargonic Periods

The texts published by E. Burrows in UET 2 furnish what little textual evidence exists for the cult at Ur in the Presargonic period and Sargonic period. According to Burrows most of the texts can be dated to a period before the Akkad dynasty; some of them, however, appear to be contemporaneous with that dynasty (see UET 2, p. 1: Introduction). The texts contain references to

festivals, record offerings for these festivals, and mention various deities and cultic functionaries associated with Nanna in the cult at Ur. As I pointed out in Chapter 3 and 4, the moon-god is called only Nanna in Ur texts of this period; the name Suen is absent in these texts.

The festivals are known through month names noted in the texts. Those connected directly with Nanna are ezen-mah-^{d}nanna "great festival of Nanna," šu-eš$_5$-^{d}nanna "šu-eš$_5$ festival of Nanna," and the a$_2$-ki-ti festival. No doubt these festivals, after which particular months were named, are the forerunners of the Ur-III month names iti-ezen-mah, iti-šu-eš$_5$-ša, and iti-a$_2$-ki-ti and the festivals of the same names.

A good many of the texts are offering lists which record animal offerings. Cows are offered to Nanna and Inanna for the ezen-mah-^{d}nanna (UET 2, Supplement, no. 45). These animal offerings are eaten as part of the festival, for the text specifically states: ezen-mah-^{d}nanna-ke$_4$ i$_3$-guz "The great festival of Nanna consumed them." Kids are listed in UET 2, Supplement, no. 13 as offerings for iti-šu-eš$_5$-^{d}nanna. Evidently, this festival took place in the palace for the text notes: e$_2$-gal-le i$_3$-guz "The palace consumed them" (rev. ii 2-3). Animal offerings for the a$_2$-ki-ti festival are mentioned in UET 2, Supplement, no. 44.

The new-moon holiday is mentioned twice in these texts. The terminology is very similar to that which is attested in texts from the Ur-III period. According to UET 2, Supplement, no. 13, obv. i 2 the first day of the month of iti-šu-eš5-^{d}nanna is called sag-iti-da-ka; the same text lists offerings of two kids for u4-sakar-iti-TAR-ka (obv. ii 7-rev. i 1). Both of these phrases are reminiscent of the later Ur-III expression: u4-sakar-sag-iti-gu-la "new moon (holiday) at the beginning of the complete month" (see Part II, Section 1).

The deities who were part of the Ur cult in this early period included Inanna, who was mentioned above, Ninegala, Ninḫursaga, and Ningublaga. A month is named after a festival for Ninegala: iti-ezen-maḫ-^{d}nin-e2-gal-ka (UET 2, Supplement, no. 47 ii). The goddess Ninḫursaga receives offerings in UET 2, Supplement, no. 13. The god Ningublaga, the son of Nanna, is also celebrated in a festival dedicated to him: ezen-maḫ-^{d}nin-gublaga (UET 2, Supplement, no. 38). For more on Nanna/Suen's genealogical and cultic connections with other deities see Chapter 8.

The cultic personnel mentioned in these texts are the En-priestess (presumably of Nanna) and the priestess called lukur-zi-nanna (UET 2, no. 348 iv). The En-priestess is mentioned in the phrase gana2-en, which appears to mean "field of the En-priestess" (see list of attestations in UET 2, p. 12 iii). The phrase may refer to a field alloted to the En-priestess as a type of

prebend for her own upkeep. The phrase MUNUS-ZI-ZI-NANNA (UET 2, no. 9 i 3) may also refer to the En-priestess (see Chapter 4, Section 1, commentary).

Part II: Ur-III Period

My analysis of the evidence for the cult of the moon-god at Ur during the Ur-III period consists of four major sections. The first deals with a group of offering texts which list offerings from king Ibbisuen to major shrines in Ur including the temple of Nanna. The second section reviews the archaeological evidence bearing on the shrines and cultic objects mentioned in the texts. The third section examines major aspects of the cult outside of the offerings of the king. This includes regular offerings to the deities of the local pantheon, major festivals, rituals, and personnel. The fourth section is a brief comparison of the cult of the moon-god in Nippur with that of Ur. The Ur-III period was the age when the city of the moon-god attained its greatest power, wealth, and prestige. The cult of the moon-god flourished and expanded. It is fortunate that so many administrative tablets which document the daily workings of the cult in this period have survived. These tablets provide many insights into the cult of the moon-god at the time when he had his greatest influence.

Ur administrative tablets from the reigns of all of the Ur-III kings except Urnammu are extant. For the purposes of this study only those from the reign of

Ibbisuen will be considered because they offer the most complete and the most coherent picture of the cult of the moon-god at Ur. Most of the tablets from the reigns of the other kings pertain to daily administrative and economic affairs; they provide little information on the cult. It seems likely that most of the cultic practices attested in the reign of Ibbisuen are based on tradition and thus reflect a general picture of the cult throughout the Ur-III period.

Section 1: Royal Offerings of Ibbisuen
Preliminary Considerations

Since the great bulk of the evidence from Ur that bears on the cult of the moon-god in the Ur-III period is contained in these special accounts of royal offerings, much of this chapter will of necessity be devoted to an analysis of these tablets. As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, these offering-texts by no means present a total picture of the cult at Ur; they only show one part of it. An inkling of the cult in its full range of operation can be gotten through a consideration of different types of evidence in various periods, a task which I will attempt to accomplish by the end of this study.

Before beginning the analysis of the tablets certain key questions should be considered. It is necessary to establish first, what is known about their provenience; second, based on the conclusions arrived at

through a consideration of the first question, what then is the proper context of the data obtained from these tablets and how does it relate to the cult of the moon-god as a whole; third, how does the type or genre of the documents reflect upon the evaluation of the information they contain. Considerations of these issues in advance of any in-depth analysis should place the evidence in proper perspective and insure an accurate evaluation.

1.1.1 Provenience and Context

The answers to all of the above questions are in large measure supplied by Th. Jacobsen in his insightful review of L. Legrain's UET 3.[2] With regards to the provenience of the tablets Jacobsen convincingly argues against L. Woolley's assumption that the tablets were found <u>in situ</u>, i.e. in room 8 of the Edublalmah complex.[3] Since the building that housed the tablets at the time they were excavated was not constructed before the Isin-Larsa period, it seems highly unlikely that an Ur-III archive, especially one of "transitory usefulness,"[4] would have been stored there. The more probable explanation is that the tablets, which were found closely packed together under a Cassite-level pavement, were used simply as fill in the construction of the floor of the building.

The nature and purpose of the archive, therefore, can best be determined not through the provenience where excavators uncovered it, but through an analysis of its

contents. Jacobsen's observations in this regard are also very useful and help us to answer our second question. Noting that the texts in UET 3 almost without exception deal with royal property and expenditues, he points out the unlikelihood of such a tablet collection being a part of the main archive of the Nanna temple. The care and feeding of the gods required daily, routine deliveries which, to judge from the evidence of other cities and time periods,[5] were scrupulously recorded in accounts. However, such offerings receive no mention in this group of texts which deal solely with royal expenditures. "There is no trace whatever of the regular daily cult of the temple and its requirements, although they must have bulked large in the economic life of the temple."[6] Jacobsen sees in these tablets a collection of special accounts "designed to keep track of particular royal interests in the temple economy rather than of that economy generally." This interpretation seems to be born out by the fact that most of the persons mentioned in the texts are connected with the palace and not with the temple. He even goes so far as to suggest that the archive may have originally been stored in the <u>e₂-kišib₃-ba lugal(-ak)</u> in the "Storehouse of the king."[7] Though this last suggestion rests on scant evidence, the idea is intriguing and the main point, that the archive represents a collection of special accounts dealing with royal property, is doubtless correct.

All of these comments are extremely valuable because they underscore the fact that our evidence has certain distinct limitations that must be kept in mind in order to evaluate its significance accurately.

1.1.2 Genre and Types

The accounts of royal expenditures for the temple of Nanna and the offering-sites in and around this temple as a genre may be defined simply as offering-lists. These texts employ typical, formulaic phraseology based on a long tradition of scribal practice which makes them consistent and predictable in form. They have been described in an article by B. Levine and W. Hallo as "descriptive rituals," i.e., "a kind of text written after the event and intended not as a manual or code of ritual procedure, but as a record of cultic expenditures."[8] The converse of this text-type, i.e. the "manual or code of ritual procedure," is defined by the authors as "prescriptive rituals."[9] Such texts, attested mainly after the Ur-III period, prescribe in explicit detail what is to be done and said by the performer(s) of the ritual in step-by-step fashion from beginning to end. Since only one so-called "prescriptive" ritual text is known to exist for the whole Sumerian period,[10] and that is fragmentary and lacks a date-formula, we must necessarily turn to the only other available source of evidence on the cult within the corpus of administrative tablets, i.e., the offering-texts.

Two principal types of offering-texts are immediately discernible: those texts in which the listed offerings are described as eš$_3$-eš$_3$ and those in which they are described as siskur. These two terms appear to represent a native typology, inasmuch as eš$_3$-eš$_3$ and siskur are consistently used as labels by the scribes to distinguish the offerings. In the following tabulation and discussion of the offerings the original distinction of type will form the basis of my own analysis.

The essential difference between the two types is one of kind. Generally speaking, eš$_3$-eš$_3$ offerings consist of animals (bulls, sheep, goats) and fruits (pomegranates and dates), while siskur offerings are mainly beer libations or beer in combination with various flours. Occasionally, the two types overlap; animals and fruits are sometimes described as siskur. But these offerings are exceptions in comparison with the vast majority. Other factors besides kind also distinguish eš$_3$-eš$_3$ from siskur offerings: the quantity of the offering and the sites where eš$_3$-eš$_3$ and siskur offerings are presented differ. These distinctions will be noted in the tabulation of the evidence which follows. Presumably, the cultic function of each offering type also differed. This functional difference is vaguely suggested by the lexical definition of eš$_3$-eš$_3$ and siskur. eš$_3$-eš$_3$ is known to mean a kind of festival and corresponds to Akk. eššešu (cf. CAD vol. 4, pp. 371-

373). According to Th. Jacobsen (Treasures of Darkness, p. 122) the term means literally "all-temple" or "general" festival. siskur can be translated as "offering with prayers" since it is equated in lexical texts with Akkadian terms for prayer (ikribu, teslītu) and offering (niqû); cf. CAD vol. 7, pp. 62-66; vol. 11/2, pp. 252-259; AHw, p. 1351. However, in the Ur texts one finds no sure reference to any type of prayer to be recited in conjunction with the presentation of offerings. It is questionable whether the notion of prayer is invariably to be connected with the siskur offering. Thus, by definition the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ offering is associated with particular festivals, whereas the siskur seems to represent a more general type of offering. Further distinctions between the two types based on cultic function are not explicitly stated in the offering texts. A discussion of the cultic role of both types of offerings will follow the presentation of the evidence.

The offerings to the temple of Nanna and associated cult shrines are presented in tabular form. Table I lists the royal eš$_3$-eš$_3$ offerings, Table II, the royal siskur offerings; Table III shows the time distribution of both types of royal offerings over a period of days, months, and years. Both the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ and siskur offerings have been broken down into various sub-types determined mainly by kind of offering (e.g. animals, fruits, beer, reeds, etc.); these sub-types are identified

alphabetically by letter and by descriptive title. The discussion that follows the tables will note the quantitites offered, the offering-sites, and the days on which various types of offerings are made. This analysis of the evidence will show that presentation of royal offerings to the temple of the moon-god and other cult shrines in Ur followed a set regimen which prescribed the kind and quantity of offering to be made at particular cult shrines on particular days. It will become clear that there was an overall system of cult offerings, even though the ultimate cultic rationale and significance of every cultic offering cannot be explained.

1.2 Tabulation of the Evidence

Table I
Royal eš$_3$-eš$_3$ offerings of King Ibbisuen

Type A: animal offerings for the eš$_3$-eš$_3$-u$_4$-sakar

UET 3	Offering	Offering site	Date (day/ month/year)
747	1 unspecified animal	du$_6$-[ur$_2$]	15/vii/5
	"	^{d}ŋa-ya$_3$	
	"	ki-giš-gu-za	
	"	alam-^{d}amar-^{d}suen	
235	1 udu 1 maš$_2$ siskur-gi$_6$	du$_6$-ur$_2$	5/i/7
125	[ ]-u$_2$ 1 udu-niga	e$_2$-^{d}nanna	15/v/5
130	1 gu$_4$-u$_2$ 2 sila$_4$-u$_2$	"	15/vi/5
747	[ ]mas$_2$ 3 sila$_4$-ga	"	15/vii/5

146	1 gu$_4$-eš$_3$-eš$_3$ 2 udu-u$_2$	"	15/xi/5
145	(partially broken)	"	1/xii/5
240	"	"	15/i/7
173	"	"	15/ii/7
175	"	"	2/iii/7
182	2 [gu$_4$$^{(?)}$-eš$_3$]-eš$_3$	"	5/iv/7
	2 udu-u$_2$		
	1 [ama]r$^{(?)}$-ga		
235	1 gu$_4$-eš$_3$-eš$_3$ 2 udu	^{d}nanna-še$_3$	5/i/7
	2 udu 2 maš$_2$	eš$_3$-gi$_4$-am$_3$	
	1 sila$_4$-ga		
	a-ra$_2$-1-kam		
	2 sila$_4$-gin		
	a-ra$_2$-2-kam		
	1 gu$_4$-eš$_3$-eš$_3$	^{d}nanna-še$_3$	
	2 udu 1 maš$_2$	ša$_3$-a$_2$-ki-ti	
	2 sila$_4$-ga		

Type B: animals from the officiating ensi$_2$ and the palace

UET 3	Offering	Offering site	Date (day/ month/year)
110	1 udu ki-ensi$_2$-bala-ta	^{d}ḫa-ya$_3$	7/iv/5[12]
113	2 sila$_4$-ga ki-ensi$_2$-bal-a(-ka)-ta	du$_6$-ur$_2$	20/i/5
	2 udu-niga e$_2$-gal-ta		
107	" (partially broken)	"	14/iii/5
110	"	"	7/iv/5
128	" (no ga after sila$_4$)	"	10(?)/v(?) or vi(?)/5

122	"	"	18/vi/5
	(no ga after sila4)		
136	"	"	13/vii/5
	(no ga after sila4)		
	"	e2-dnanna	
	(no ga after sila4)		
137	2 sila4 ki-ensi2-bala-ta	du6-ur2	18/vii/5
	3 udu-niga ki-e2-gal-ta		
107	"	"	14/iii/5
	(partially broken)		
138	3 sila4 ki-ensi2-bala-ta	e2-dnanna	25/vii/5
	2 udu-niga ki-e2-gal-ta		
113	3 sila4-ga ki-ensi2-bala-ta	"	20/i/5
	4 udu-niga ki-e2-gal-ta		
128	"	"	8,9/v(?) or vi(?)/5
	(no ga after sila4)		
	a2-gi6-ba-a u4-8-kam		
	"	"	
	(no ga after sila4)		
	a2-u4-te-na u4-9-kam		
188	3 sila4 ki-ensi2-bala-ta	e2-dnanna	25/v/5
	4 udu-niga ki-e2-gal-ta		
122	"	"	18/vi/5
137	"	"	18/vii/5
158	"	"	27/iii/6
	(partially broken)		
128	3 sila4 ki-ensi2-bal-a-ta	"	10(?)/v(?) or vi(?)/5
	4 udu-niga 1 amar-maš2-da3		
	e2-gal-ta a2-[x x x u4-1]0(?)-kam		

110	2 udu 5 sila$_4$-ga ki-ensi$_2$-bala-ta	"	7/iv/5
	1 gu$_4$-niga 8 udu-niga		
	e$_2$-gal-ta		
	broken offering	ka$_2$	

Type C: fruit baskets

UET 3	Offering	Offering site	Date (day/month/year)
105	1 gir$_3$-lam (su$_{11}$-lum 3 sila$_3$-ta)	ka$_2$	1/iv/5
	"	^{d}ŋa-ya$_3$	
	"	ki-giš-gu-za	
	"	alam-^{d}amar-^{d}suen	
111	"	ka$_2$	7/iv/5
	"	^{d}ŋa-ya$_3$	
	"	ki-giš-gu-za	
	"	alam-^{d}amar-^{d}suen	
133	"	ka$_2$	3/vii/5
	"	^{d}ŋa-ya$_3$	
	"	ki-giš-gu-za	
	"	alam-^{d}amar-^{d}suen	
139	"	ka$_2$	7/viii/5
	"	^{d}ŋa-ya$_3$	
	"	ki-giš-gu-za	
	"	alam-^{d}amar-^{d}suen	
232	"	ka$_2$	4/i/7
	"	^{d}ŋa-ya$_3$	
	"	ki-giš-gu-za	

257	"	ka$_2$	1/i/8
	"	^{d}ŋa-ya$_3$	
	"	ki-giš-gu-za	
	"	ma$_2$-šu-nir-an-na-ka	
168	1 gir$_3$-lam (giš-ŋašŋur-a 3 sila$_3$-ta)	^{d}ŋa-ya$_3$	7/ii/7
185	"	"	1/v/7
105	3 gir$_3$-lam su$_{11}$-lum 3 sila$_3$-ta	du$_6$-ur$_2$	1/iv/5
	"	e$_2$-^{d}nanna	
111	"	"	7/iv/5
133	"	"	3/vii/5
139	"	"	7/viii/5
232	"	"	4/i/7
257	"	"	1/i/8
168	3 gir$_3$-lam giš-ŋašŋur-a 3 sila$_3$-ta	"	7/ii/7
185	"	"	1/v/7
	"	du$_6$-ur$_2$	
229	9 gir$_3$-lam 2 sila$_3$-ta	eš$_3$-eš$_3$-lugal	-/i/7
	(unspecified fruit)	šа$_3$-ga-eš$_5^{ki}$	

Type D: reeds

UET 3	Offering	Offering site	Date (day/month/year)
856	2 gu$_2$ gi	du$_6$-ur$_2$	1/vii/4
	[ ] u$_2$-giš 2 gu$_2$ gi	e$_2$-^{d}nanna	

Table II

Royal siskur-offerings of King Ibbisuen

Type A: beer offerings

A_1: standard dark beer

UET 3	Offering	Offering site	Date (day/ month/year)
225	2 sila$_3$ kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-gin	du$_6$-ur$_2$	1/xii/7
202	"	"	2/ix/7
208	"	"	2/x/7
212	"	"	5/x/7
222	"	"	5/xi/7
167	"	"	7/ii/7
198	"	"	7/viii/7
203	"	"	7/ix/7
199	"	"	11/viii/7
204	"	"	11/ix/7
197	"	"	15/vii/7
217	"	"	15/x/7
223	"	"	15/xi/7
200	"	"	20/viii/7
228	"	"	27/xii/7
195	3 sila$_3$ kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-gin	"	18/vii/7
226	5 sila$_3$ kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-gin	"	5/xii/7
237	"	"	9/i/7
238	"	"	12/i/7
239	"	"	15/i/7
241	5 sila$_3$ kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-gin	du$_6$-ur$_2$	22/i/7

172	"	"	17/ii/7
	(partially broken)		
212	8 sila$_3$ kaš$_4$-gi$_6$-gin bal-bal-e-de$_3$	e$_2$-^{d}manna	5/x/7
222	"	"	5/xi/7
199	"	"	11/viii/7
204	"	"	11/ix/7
195	"	"	18/vii/7
200	"	"	20/viii/7
196	"	"	21/vii/7
228	"	"	27/xii/7
226	10 sila$_3$ (1 ban$_2$) kaš$_4$-gi$_6$-gin bal-bal-e-de$_3$	"	5/xii/7
234	"	"	7/i/7
	(partially broken)		
167	"	"	7/ii/7
	(partially broken)		
198	"	"	7/viii/7
203	"	"	7/ix/7
237	"	"	9/i/7
238	"	"	12/i/7
241	"	"	22/i/7
172	"	"	17/ii/7
243	"	"	27/i/7
225	10 sila$_3$ (1 ban$_2$) kaš$_4$-gi$_6$-gin	lugal-ra us$_2$-sa	1/xii/7
202	"	"	2/ix/7
208	"	"	2/x/7
197	"	"	15/vii/7
217	"	"	15/x/7

223	10 sila$_3$ (1 ban$_2$) kaš$_{gi_6}$-gin	lugal-ra us$_2$-sa	15/xi/7
174	20 sila$_2$ (2 ban$_2$) kaš$_{gi_6}$-gin	"	2/iii/7
239	"	"	15/i/7

A$_2$: standard beer and standard dark beer

UET 3	Offering	Offering site	Date (day/month/year)
225	5 (sila$_3$) kaš-gin 5 (sila$_3$) kaš$_{gi_6}$-gin	bur	1/xii/7
202	"	"	2/ix/7
208	"	"	2/x/7
191	"	"	5/vii/7
203	"	"	7/ix/7
197	"	"	15/vii/7
217	(partially broken)	"	15/x/7
223	"	"	15/xi/7
277	"	"	(broken)
159	20 sila$_3$ (2 ban$_2$) kaš-gin 20 sila$_3$ (2 ban$_2$) kaš$_{gi}$-gin	"	11/x/6
174	"	"	2/iii/7
234	"	"	7/i/7
176	"	"	7/iii/7
184	"	"	7/iv/7
239	"	"	15/i/7

A$_3$: fine beer and fine dark beer

UET 3	Offering	Offering site	Date (day/ month/year)
283	[x] kaš$_2$-sig$_5$	bur	day 9; rest broken
	30 sila$_3$ (3 ban$_2$) kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-sig$_5$		

A$_4$: dark beer, pea-flour(?), emmer wheat

UET 3	Offering	Offering site	Date (day/ month/year)
191	2 sila$_3$ kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-gin	du$_6$-ur$_2$ and	5/vii/7
	1 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-gu	^{d}MUŠ$_2$-IR-ḪA-GEŠTIN-BALAG-DU	
	1/2 sila$_3$ eša		
174	5 sila$_3$ kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-gin	du$_6$-ur$_2$	2/iii/7
	1 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-gu		
	1 sila$_3$ eša		
183	5 sila$_3$ kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-gin	"	5/iv/7
	2 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-gu		
	1 sila$_3$ eša		
176	"	"	7/iii/7
184	"	"	7/iv/7
178	"	"	27/iii/7
	(partially broken)		
148	5 sila$_3$ kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-sig$_5$	"	3/xii/5
	3 sila$_3$-zi$_3$-gu		
	2-1/2 sila$_3$ eša		
129	"	"	13/vi/5
135	"	"	13/vii/5
131	"	"	18/vi/5

140	"	"	21/viii/5
127	5 sila$_3$ kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-sig$_5$ 5 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-gu 2-1/2 sila$_3$ eš$_2$a	du$_6$-ur$_2$	23/v/5
120	" (partially broken)	"	25/iv/5
132	"	"	25/vi/5
191	8 sila$_3$ kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-gin bal-bal-e-de$_3$ 20 sila$_3$ (2 ban$_2$) zi$_3$-gu 10 sila$_3$ eš$_2$a ni$_3$-dab$_5$-e$_2$-^{d}nanna-še$_3$	e$_2$-^{d}nanna	5/vii/7
277	8 sila$_3$ kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-gin bal-bal-e-de$_3$ 20 sila$_3$ (2 ban$_2$) zi$_3$-gu 10 sila$_3$ (1 ban$_2$) eš$_2$a ni$_3$-dab$_5$-e$_2$-^{d}nanna še$_3$ uri$_2^{ki}$-[ma] 8 sila$_3$ kaš$_2$-gi$_6$ [x] 2 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-gu [x x x] ^{d}nanna-[še$_2$-a$_2$-ki-ti$^{(?)}$] 2 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-[gu$^{(?)}$] 2 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-gu 1 sila$_3$ [x x x] ni$_3$-dab$_5$-siskur-gi- diri [x] a$_2$-gi$_6$-ba-a 8 sila$_3$ kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-gin bal-bal-e-de$_3$ 2 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-gu 1 sila$_3$ [x x]	e$_2$-^{d}nanna ^{d}nanna [še$_3$- a$_2$-ki-ti(?)]	(broken)

277 (con't)	^{d}nanna-šeš$_{3}$ a$_{2}$-u$_{4}$-te-na [x] sila$_{3}$ kaš-gi$_{6}$-gin bal-[bal-e-de$_{3}$]	^{d}nanna	
183	10 sila$_{3}$ (1 ban$_{2}$) kaš-gi$_{6}$-gin bal-bal-e-de$_{3}$ 10 sila$_{3}$ (1 ban$_{2}$) zi$_{3}$-gu 5 sila$_{3}$ eša	e$_{2}$-^{d}nanna	5/iv/7
178	" (partially broken)	"	27/iii/7
176	20 sila$_{3}$ (2 ban$_{2}$) kaš-gi$_{6}$-gin bal-bal-e-de$_{3}$ 10 sila$_{3}$ (1 ban$_{2}$) zi$_{3}$-gu 5 sila$_{3}$ eša	e-^{d}nanna	7/iii/7
184	"	"	7/iv/7
159	20 sila$_{3}$ (2 ban$_{2}$ kaš-gi$_{6}$-gin bal-bal-e-de$_{3}$ siskur-gi$_{6}$-ba-[a] ^{d}nanna-ka a$_{2}$-gi$_{6}$-ba-a 10 sila$_{3}$ (1 ban$_{2}$) zi$_{3}$-gu 5 sila$_{3}$ eša e$_{2}$-gi$_{4}$-a a$_{2}$-u$_{4}$-te-na	^{d}nanna e$_{2}$-gi$_{4}$-a	11/x/6

A5: dark beer, pea-flour(?), emmer wheat, and dates

UET 3	Offering	Offering site	Date (day/month/year)
191	5 sila$_{3}$ kaš-gi$_{6}$-gin 2 sila$_{3}$ zi$_{3}$-gu 1 sila$_{3}$ eša 1-1/2 sila$_{3}$ su$_{11}$-lum eša-da ba-an-bal	e$_{2}$-gešpu$_{2}$-lirum$_{3}$-ma	5/vii/7

148	20 sila$_3$ (2 ban$_2$) kaš$_{gi_6\text{-}sig_5}$ bal-bal-e-de$_3$ 1 (sila$_3$) zi$_3$-gu 30 sila$_3$ (3 ban$_2$) eša 3 sila$_3$ su$_{11}$-lum eša-da ba-an-bal	e$_2$-^{d}nanna	3/xii/5
112	"	"	9/iv/5
129	"	"	13/vi/5
135	"	"	13/vii/5
114	"	"	17/i/5
131	" (partially broken)	"	18/vi/5
123	" (20 sila$_3$ eša)	"	20/v/5
140	"	"	21/viii/5
127	"	"	23/v/5
120	"	"	25/iv/5
132	"	"	25/vi/5
109	"	"	29/ii/5
119	" (30 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-gu)	"	29/ii/5
233	20 sila$_3$ (2 ban$_2$) kaš$_{gi_6\text{-}gin}$ [x sila$_3$] zi$_3$-gu 5 sila$_3$ [eša(?)] ^{d}nanna-[še$_3$] [x sila$_3$] zi$_3$-gu 3 sila$_3$ su$_{11}$-lum eša-da ba-an-bal	^{d}nanna [šu]-nir-an-n[a]	5/i/7

283 [x] kaš-gi$_6$-sig$_5$ ^{d}nanna day 9; no other dates

bal-bal-e-de$_3$

[x] zi$_3$-gu 3 ban$_2$ eša

e$_2$-^{d}nanna-še$_3$

[x] zi$_3$-gu 2-1/2 sila$_3$ eša

[x x x x x] gu$_2$-da-tum

[x x x x x] ^{d}nanna x x

[x x] i$_3$-nun [x x] ga-ra$_3$

[(x x x)] bal-bal-e-de$_3$

[x x x] 3 sila$_3$ eša

[x x]-še$_3$ a$_2$-gi$_6$-ba-a

[x x kaš]-gi$_6$-sig$_5$ bal-bal-e-de$_3$

5 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-gu 3 sila$_3$ eša

^{d}nanna-še$_3$ a$_2$-u$_4$-te-na

20 sila$_3$ (2 ban$_2$) kaš-gi$_6$-sig$_5$ bal-bal-e-de$_3$ siskur-gu-la

^{d}nanna-še$_3$ ša$_3$ a$_2$-ki-ti

5 sila$_3$ su$_{11}$-lum eša-da

ba-an-bal

A_6: dark beer, flour, ghee, and dates for confections

UET 3	Offering	Offering site	Date (day/ month/year)
233	2 $sila_3$ $kaš_2$-gi_6-gin	du_6-ur_2	5/i and vii/7
	10 $sila_3$ (1 ban_2) zi_3-KAL		
	1 $sila_3$ i_3-nun 2 $sila_3$ su_{11}-lum		
	ninda-izi-ur_5-ra u_3 i_3-de_2-a-$aš_2$		
	2 $sila_3$ zi_3-gu 1 $sila_3$ $eša_2$		
	siskur-gi_6 $ša_2$-du_6-ur_2-$še_3$		
	$ša_3$ uri_2^{ki} [-ma]		
207	5 $sila_3$ zi_3-gu 1/2 $sila_3$ i_3-nun	"	-/x/7
	1 $sila_3$ su_{11}-lum ninda-i_3		
	u_3 ninda-i_3-de_2-a-$aš_2$		
	2 $sila_3$ $kaš_2$-gi_6-gin		
	2 $sila_3$ zi_3-gu 1 $sila_3$ $eša_2$		
225	10 $sila_3$ (1 ban_2) $kaš_2$-gi_6-gin bal-bal-e-de_3	e_2-^{d}nanna	1/xii/7
	30 $sila_3$ (3 ban_2) zi_3-KAL		
	2-1/2 $sila_3$ i_3-nun 10 $sila_3$ (1 ban_2)		
	su_{11}-lum ninda-i_3-de_2-a u_3		
	ninda-izi-ur_5-ra-$še_3$		
202	"	"	2/ix/7
208	"	"	2/x/7
197	"	"	15/vii/7
217	"	"	15/x/7
223	"	"	15/xi/7

174	20 sila$_3$ (2 ban$_2$) kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-gin bal-bal-e-de$_3$ 1 zi$_3$-KAL 5 sila$_3$ i$_3$-nun 15 sila$_3$ su$_{11}$lum [ninda]a-i$_3$-[de$_2$-a] u$_3$ [ninda-izi-ur$_5$]-ra [x] zi$_3$-gu 5 sila$_3$ eša	e$_2$-^{d}nanna	2/iii/7
239	20 sila$_3$ (2 ban$_2$) kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-gin bal-bal-e-de$_3$ 1 zi$_3$-KAL 5 sila$_3$ i$_3$-nun 15 sila$_3$ su$_{11}$-lum ninda-i$_3$-de$_2$-a u$_3$ ninda-izi-ur$_5$-ra	"	15/i/7
207	[x n]i$_3$(?)-ar$_3$-ra [x i$_3$-] nun	giš-gu-za-bara$_2$-^{d}nanna	-/x/7
	1 sila$_3$ [x] ninda-i$_3$ [u$_3$ ninda]-i$_3$-de$_2$-a giš-gu-za-bara$_2$-^{d}nanna[-še$_3$] 20 sila$_3$ kaš$_2$-gi$_6$-gin	e$_2$-^{d}nanna	
	200 sila$_3$ dida-gin 1(?) (sila$_3$(?)) zi$_3$-gu 10 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-KAL 2 sila$_3$-i$_3$-nun 4 sila$_3$ su$_{11}$-lum ninda-i$_3$ u$_3$ ninda-izi-ur$_5$-ra-še$_3$ 20 (sila$_3$) zi$_3$-gu 10 sila$_3$ eša ninda-du$_{10}$-še$_3$ [x] sila$_3$ ni$_3$-ar$_3$-ra-sig$_5$ 3 sila$_3$ mun ni$_3$-dug-utul$_2$-utul$_2$ siskur-gu-la ša$_3$-e$_2$-^{d}nanna		

Type B: Pea-Flour(?) and Emmer Wheat

UET 3	Offering	Offering site	Date (day/ month/year)
191	1 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-gu 1/2 sila$_3$ eš$_a$	A-KIN-ma$_2$-gu-la	5/vii/7
277	[1] (sila$^{(?)}$) zi$_3$-gu 1/2 sila$_3$ [eš$_a^{(?)}$]	du$_6$-ur$_2$	broken
207	2 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-gu 1 sila$_3$ [eš$_a^{(?)}$]	dub-la$_2$-[mah]	-/x/7
	1 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-gu [x] sila$_3$ [eš$_a^{(?)}$]	^{d}[x]	
	2 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-gu 1 sila$_3$ eš[a]	e$_2$-ku$_3$-za-gin$_3$ u$_3$ ig-za$_3$-še$_3$	
234	2 sila$_3$ zi$_3$-gu 1 sila$_3$ eš$_a$	dub-la$_2$-mah	7/i/7

Type C: Fruit Baskets

UET 3	Offering	Offering site	Date (day/ month/year)
211	1 (gir$_3$-lam giš-ḫašḫur)	^{d}ḫa-ya$_3$	1/x/7
177	"	"	15/iii/7
214	1 (gir$_3$-lam giš-UR$_2$xA-NA$^{(?)}$)	"	7/x/7
215	" (partially broken)	"	9/x/7
216	"	^{d}ḫa-ya$_3$ ki-^{d}inanna	10/x/7
219	"	^{d}ḫa-ya$_3$	11/x/7
142	1 (gir$_3$-lam su$_{11}$-lum)	^{d}ḫa-ya$_3$	14/x/5
	"	ka$_2$	
	"	ki-giš-gu-za	
	"	alam-^{d}amar-[^{d}suen] kar-za-g[in$_3$]	

147	1 (gir$_3$-lam su$_{11}$-lum)	^{d}ḫa-ya$_3$	15/xi/5
	"	ka$_2$	
	"	ki-giš-gu-za	
	"	ki-a-nag-^{d}amar-^{d}suen [kar]-za-gin$_3$	
194	"	^{d}ḫa-ya$_3$	15/vii/7
227	"	"	15/xii/7
211	3 gir$_3$-lam giš-našḫur	du$_6$-ur$_2$ and	1/x/7
	3 sila$_3$-ta	e$_2$-^{d}nanna	
177	"	e$_2$-^{d}nanna	15/iii/7
214	3 gir$_3$-lam giš-UR$_2$xA-NA(?)	du$_6$-ur$_2$	7/x/7
	3 sila$_3$-ta		
142	3 gir$_3$-lam su$_{11}$-lum	e$_2$-^{d}nanna	14/x/5
	3 sila$_3$-ta		
147	"	"	15/xi/5
194	"	"	15/vii/7
227	"	"	15/xii/7
214	6 (gir$_3$-lam giš-UR$_2$xA-NA(?))	"	7/x/7
216	9 gir$_3$-lam giš-UR$_2$xA-NA(?)	"	10/x/7
	3 sila$_3$-ta siskur-gi$_6$ a-ra$_2$-kam 3 (gir$_3$-lam giš-UR$_2$xA-NA(?))	"	
219	9 gir$_3$-lam$_2$ giš-UR$_2$xA-NA(?)	"	11/x/7
	3 sila$_3$-ta		

Type D: Reeds and Woods

UET 3	Offering	Offering site	Date (day/ month/year)
143	1/2 gu$_2$ gi$\check{s}$-ma-nu	e$_2$-^{d}nanna	29/ix/5
213	"	ki-mu$\check{s}$	7/x/7
	"	ki-lugal-inim-gi-na	
230	1 gu$_2$ gi$\check{s}$-ma-nu	[x x]-lugal	1/i/7
	1 gu$_2$ gi siskur-lugal-du$_6$-ur$_2$-ra $\check{s}$a$_3$-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	du$_6$-ur$_2$	
231	1 gu$_2$ gi siskur-gu-la	"	4/i/7
	$\check{s}$a$_3$-du$_6$-ur$_2$-ra		
213	1/2 gu$_2$ u$_2$-gi$\check{s}$	"	7/x/7
171	1/2 gu$_2$ u$_2^{(!)}$-gi$\check{s}^{(!)}$	e$_2$-^{d}nanna	1/iii/7
	1 gu$_2$ gi		
201	"	"	2/ix/7
218	"	"	1/xi/7
115	2 gu$_2$ u$_2$-gi$\check{s}$ 2 gu$_2$ gi-ne	"	15/i/5
121	"	"	15/v/5
230	2 gu$_2$ u$_2$-GA$_2$xGI (gagi$_2^{(?)}$)	^{d}nanna	1/i/7
	2 gu$_2$ gi		
201	1 gu$_2$ gi$\check{s}$-al-dar-ra	ka$_2$-e$\check{s}_5$-a-bi (e$_2$-^{d}nanna)	2/ix/7
218	"	"	1/xi/7

Type E: Animals

UET 3	Offering	Offering site	Date (day/ month/year)
192	1 maš$_2$	a$_2$-ma$_2$ u$_3$ kar-re ma$_2$-da-bi	10/vii/7
	1 maš$_2$	ma$_2$-kar-nam-geme$_2$-ka	
193	2 sila$_4$-gin	du$_6$-ur$_2$	11/vii/7
	"	^{d}nanna	
	1 udu 1 sila$_4$-gin	"	
206	1 gu$_4$ 2 udu-u$_2$	e$_2$-^{d}nanna	1/x/7
224	"	"	1/xii/7
193	1 gu$_4$ 2 sila$_4$-gin 1 maš$_2$	"	11/vii/7
	1 ab$_2$-mu-2 1 udu 1 sila$_4$-gin	^{d}nanna šaŋ$_3$ a$_2$-ki-ti	
	e$_2$-eš-ta 1 saŋ-giš-gi		
	na-da-tum-ta siskur-gu-la-gi$_6$		
	^{d}nanna-še šaŋ$_3$-a$_2$-ki-ti		

Type F: Incense

UET 3	Offering	Offering site	Date (day/ month/year)
225	2 silaŋ$_3$ šim-ḫi-a	ni$_3$-na	1/xii/7
174	"	"	2/iii/7
202	"	"	2/ix/7
208	"	"	2/x/7
239	"	"	15/i/7
197	"	"	15/vii/7
217	"	"	15/x/7

223	2 sila$_3$ šim-ḫi-a	niĝ-na	15/xi/7
279	"	"	offered twice on days 1 and 15; month and year broken
207	10 sila$_3$ (1 ban$_2$) šim-ḫi-a	"	-/x/7

Table III

Time Distribution of the Royal Offerings in the Reign of Ibbisuen

Key: The horizontal column at the top lists the months of the years in which royal offerings are attested. The vertical column to the far left lists each year in which they are attested. In each month the offerings are listed by the day on which they were recorded. The order of the months folows L. Legrain, UET 3, Indexes, pp. 278-279 for the sake of easy reference to this volume. However, there is some debate about which month was the first of the year; see n. 80. The numbering of the year-dates follows E. Sollberger, RlA, vol. 5, pp. 4-7. The number of the day is followed by a Roman numeral; I = $\underline{\text{e}\check{\text{s}}_3\text{-e}\check{\text{s}}_3}$, II = $\underline{\text{siskur}}$ (see Tables I and II). The letter in parenthesis indicates the type of offering found in Tables I or II. The last number indicates the number of the text in UET 3.

Year:	Month: $\check{\text{s}}\text{e-gur}_{10}\text{-ku}_5$	$\text{maš-du}_3\text{-ku}_2$	$\check{\text{s}}\text{e}\check{\text{s}}\text{-da-ku}_2$	$\text{u}_5\text{-bi}^{\text{mu}\check{\text{s}}\text{en}}\text{-ku}_2$	$\text{ki-sig}_2\text{-}^{\text{d}}\text{nin-a-zu}$	$\text{ezen-}^{\text{d}}\text{nin-a-zu}$
4						
5				1-I(C)105		
				7-I(B)110	8-I(B)128	8-I(B)128
				7-I(C)111	9-I(B)128	9-I(B)128
				9-II(A_5)112	10?-I(B)128	10?-I(B)128
	15-II(D)115		14-I(B)107		15-I(A)125	13-II(A_5)129
					15-II(D)121	15-I(A)130

5	17-II(A_5)114				20-II(A_5)123	18-I(B)122
	20-I(B)113				23-II(A_5)127	18-II(A_5)131
				25-II(A_5)120	25-I(B)188	25-II(A_5)132
		29-II(A_5)109				
		29-II(A_5)119				
6			27-I(B)158			
7	1-II(D)230		1-II(D)171		1-I(C)185	
	4-II(D)231		2-II($A_{1,2,4,6}$)174			
	4-I(C)232		2-I(A)175	5-I(A)182		
	5-II(A_5)233			5-II(A_4)183		
	5-I(A)235	7-II(A_1)167	7-II($A_{2,4}$)176	7-II($A_{2,4}$)184		
	7-II(A_1,B)234	7-I(C)168				
	9-II(A_1)237					
	12-II(A_1)238					
	15-II($A_{1,2,5}$,F)239	15-I(A)173				
	15-I(A)240					
	22-II(A_1)241					
	27-II(A_1)243	27-II(A_1)172	27-II(A_4)178			
	-I(C)229					
8	1-I(C)257					

Year:	Month: a₂-ki-ti	ezen-^{d}šul-gi	šu-eš₅-ša	ezen-maḫ	ezen-an-na	(ezen)-^{d}me-ki-gal₂
4	1-I(D)856					
5						1-I(A)145
	3-I(C)133					3·II(A_4)148
		7-I(C)139				
	13-II(A_4)135					
	13-I(B)136					
	15-I(A)747			14-II(C)142	15-I(A)146	
					15-II(C)147	
	18-I(B)137					
		21-II(A_4)140				
	25-I(B)138					
			29-II(D)143			
6				11-II(A_4)159		
7				1-II(E)206	1-II(D)218	1-II(E)224
				1-II(C)211		1-II($A_{1,2,6,F}$)225
			2-II(D)201	2-II($A_{1,2,6,F}$)208		
			2-II($A_{1,2,6,F}$)202			
	5-II(B)191			5-II(A_1)212	5-II(A_1)222	5-II(A_1)226
		7-II(A_1)198	7-II($A_{1,2}$)203	7-II(D)213		
				7-II(C)214		
				9-II(C)215		
	10-II(E)192			10-II(C)216		
	11-II(E)193	11-II(A_1)199	11-II(A_1)204	11-II(C)219		
	15-II(C)194			15-II($A_{1,2,6,F}$)217	15-II($A_{1,2,6,F}$)223	15-II(C)227

15-II($A_{1,2,6}$,F)197 -II(A_6)207

18-II(A_1)195

20-II(A_1)200

21-II(A_1)196

27-II(A_1)228

8

1.3 Commentary

1.3.1 Royal eš$_3$-eš$_3$ Offerings: Commentary

Type A

The distinctive feature of the animal offerings in Type A is that they are all specifically intended for the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festival of the new moon or of the full moon. The scribes who wrote the account texts which record these offerings used two designations to describe the cultic function of the offerings: eš$_3$-eš$_3$-u$_4$-sakar-sag-iti-gu-la "new-moon festival for the beginning of the complete month" and eš$_3$-eš$_3$-u$_4$-sakar-(e$_2$-)u$_4$-15-kam "new-moon festival of (the house of) the fifteenth day" (i.e. approximately the time of the full moon, the mid-way point of each month). The consistency with which eš$_3$-eš$_3$ is connected with the first and fifteenth days of the month in these account texts lends support to the idea that the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festivals coincided with the major phases of the moon. It will be demonstrated (see my discussion of Table I, type C below) that day seven (approximately the time of the moon's first quarter) is also a frequently attested eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festival day. Thus, the three major eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festival days during Ibbisuen's reign appear to have fallen on the day of the new moon, first-quarter moon, and full moon.

Occasionally, offerings for the festival of the new moon were made on the second or the fifth day as in UET

3, 175, 182, and 235. It is unclear why these variation occur. As H. Limet has suggested, this may indicate a misalignment between a pre-set cultic calender with a fixed number of days and the actual monthly appearance of the new moon which is variable and difficult to predict exactly (see my discussion of Limet's ideas and other interpretations of the cultic significance of these texts in Section 1.4).

The most common kind of offering in Type A consists of bulls and sheep, usually one bull specifically designated as an eš3-eš3 bull and two grass-fatted or barley-fatted sheep; lambs and kids are also sometimes offered. The temple of Nanna or the cult image of Nanna is the prime recipient of these offerings. The temple of Nanna is attested most often and receives the largest allotment of animals. Lesser offerings are made to dug6-ur2, the cult image of the god Ḫaya, the throne, and the statue of King Amarsuen. All the offering sites are discussed in Section 2.

A particularly interesting set of offerings of Type A is found in UET 3, 235. It appears to list offerings for the a2-ki-ti festival of harvest time (iti-še-gur10-ku6). The usual offerings of eš3-eš3 bulls and sheep (in somewhat larger quantities than usual) are made "for Nanna returning to the sanctuary" (obv. 5-6) and "for Nanna in Akiti" (rev. 1-2). Since the a2-ki-ti festival involved a procession in which the cult image of the moon-god was transported from its main sanctuary in Ur

to an outlying district and then returned, the offerings in UET 3, 235 were probably made in this district (šeš$_3$-a$_2$-ki-ti, rev. 2) preceding the return of Nanna to Ur (eše$_3$-gi$_4$-am$_3$, obv. 6) as a part of the festival. For a complete discussion of the a$_2$-ki-ti festival see below, Section 3.2.

Type B

What defines the eše$_3$-eše$_3$ offerings of Type B as a group is the fact that they are all specifically designated as coming from the ensi$_2$-bala "the officiating ensi$_2$" (ensi$_2$ is a kind of provincial governor) or the e$_2$-gal "the palace." Lambs and sheep are the typical offerings; lambs being supplied by the ensi$_2$-bala, sheep by the palace. The temple of Nanna receives both kinds of live-stock, usually in quantities of three lambs, four sheep. du$_6$-ur$_2$ typically receives two barley-fatted sheep. The cult image of the god Ḫaya and the gate are also occasionally included in these offerings.

Unlike the offerings of Type A, the offerings of Type B are not presented on any special days of the month. In fact, the consistent use of the phrase u$_4$-x nu-ub-tuk "On day x no offerings were received" suggests that the delivery of Type B offerings was a daily or almost daily affair. It appears that a day-by-day account of these offerings was kept; even the odd days when no offerings were received were noted.

The full significance of the term ensi2-bala in this context is uncertain. Its use has led to a number of suggestions from various scholars regarding the larger cultic context of the offerings recorded in these texts. B. Landsberger, commenting on a text published by H. Radau in Early Babylonian History (p. 299: EAH 134) which lists the months of the Ur and Drehem calenders on the obverse and a corresponding number of ensi2's on the reverse, suggested that bala might define a religious duty to be performed by each ensi2 for the corresponding month (see B. Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, p. 65).

Th. Jacobsen in his review of L. Legrain's UET 3 (AJA 57, p. 126), building on Landsberger's suggestion, presented a considerably expanded interpretation of the ensi2-bala: "The term (ensi(k) bala(.ak) shows that we are here dealing with the well-known turnus of provincial governors. The ensi's of the major Sumerian cities took turns throughout the year in supplying parts of the cost of maintaining the cult of Nanna in Ur just as they are known to have done in the case of the cult of Enlil in Nippur." Finally, W. Hallo published another text (JCS 14, p. 93) similar to that published by Radau which lists the month-names of the Ur and Drehem calenders. In this case each of the month-names is followed by the phrase bala-ensi2-GN^{ki}. Hallo interprets the text as an official proclamation of the bala-duties

of the provincial governors for one year. He contends further that all of the evidence bearing on the use of the term bala in the Ur-III period suggests an organized inter-city supply-system, the function of which was to supply the major shrines of the national religious center, Nippur. As the Ur-III empire collapsed during the reign of Ibbisuen this system was transplanted to Ur where, as Jacobsen suggested, it functioned in a similar manner to supply the shrines of Ur.[13]

Space does not permit a thorough evaluation of these various interpretations of bala and its possible ramifications within the cult of Nanna/Suen at Ur. It should be noted, however, that the only incontestable meaning that emerges from the use of both the Sumerian bala and its later Akkadian cognate palû in many contexts is "turn or term of office."[14] Supplying the offerings of the monthly eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festivals would have been part of the responsibilities of the ensi$_2$'s assigned to each month, if indeed such an organized inter-city supply system existed.

Type C

The eš$_3$-eš$_3$ offerings of Type C are all fruit offerings presented to various offering sites in baskets called gir$_3$-lam. Offerings of dates (su$_{11}$-lum) predominate in this type, though pomegranates (giš-haš$_2$hur) are occasionally substituted. One basket holding 3 sila$_3$ of dates (or pomegranates) is consistently

offered to a series of offering sites, the most common of which are the gate (ka$_2$), the cult image of ^{d}ḫa-ya$_3$, the throne (ki-giš-gu-za), and the statue of the deceased king, Amarsuen (alam-^{d}amar-^{d}suen); in one instance (UET 3, 257) the boat of An's standard (ma$_2$-šu-nir-an-na-ka) receives this offering. With equal consistency, the temple of Nanna and dug$_6$-ur$_2$ receive three baskets of dates (or pomegranates), each having a 3-sila$_3$ capacity. By comparison, the siskur-fruit offerings (Table II, Type C), which are very similar to the eš$_3$-eš$_3$-fruit offerings in kind and quantity and are presented to the same series of offering sites, are most often made on the first, seventh, and fifteenth days of the month. This suggests that fruit offerings were usually reserved for the three monthly eš$_3$-eš$_3$ holidays, whether they were specifically designated eš$_3$-eš$_3$ or called siskur. Why these offerings were sometimes attested on other days, as in the case of the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ animal offerings of Type A, is unclear.

A characteristic of the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ fruit offerings is the great number of offering sites which receive these offerings. This tends to support Th. Jacobsen's interpretation of eš$_3$-eš$_3$ as "all-temple festivals" (see Th. Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, p. 122).

There is only one extant text which lists reed offerings for the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festival. It is probably a matter of accident that more of this type of eš$_3$-eš$_3$ offering were not preserved. This offering is very

similar to the siskur-reed offerings (Table II, Type D). Like many of the siskur-reed offerings this eš$_3$-eš$_3$ offering is made at the beginning of the month called u$_4$-sakar-sag-iti-gu-la, an expression which also consistently occurs in texts listing the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ animal offerings of Type A (see above). Like those animal offerings the siskur-reed offerings are also frequently made on the fifteenth day called u$_4$-sakar-(e$_2$-)u$_4$-15; siskur-reed offerings are also attested once on the seventh (UET 3, 213). It therefore seems likely that reed offerings, whether eš$_3$-eš$_3$ or siskur, were usually made on the three monthly eš$_3$-eš$_3$ holidays.

Along with reeds (gi) measured in talents (gu$_2$), a kind of plant or wood product called u$_2$-giš, the exact meaning of which is unknown, is also offered. As is customary in all the offerings, the temple of Nanna receives the largest share.

Summary

The prevalence of eš$_3$-eš$_3$-offerings on days one, seven, and fifteen suggests that the eš$_3$-eš$_3$-offerings were regular monthly holidays connected with the appearance of the new moon, first-quarter moon, and full moon. Since the Mesopotamian calender was based on the lunar month, these days would have been considered pivotal points for the determiniation of time. In the context of the cult of the moon-god the cyclical changes of the moon's appearance would naturally have had

special significance and would have provided the occasions for festivals.

The presentation of offerings on these festival days appears to have been highly organized and to have followed a set regimen which prescribed the kind and quantity of offering and the offering site. The recurrence of the same kinds and quantities of offerings at specific sites over a period of months and sometimes years strongly suggests an underlying cultic system. The regularity of offerings as to kind and quantity is evident in all types of $e\check{s}_3$-$e\check{s}_3$ offerings. Generally speaking, the temple of Nanna usually receives bulls and sheep on days one and fifteen, three baskets of dates (sometimes pomegranates) on days one and seven (and fifteen if one includes the siskur fruit offerings), and deliveries of lambs from the officiating ensi$_2$ and sheep from the palace throughout the month. One offering of reeds is attested for day one, though similar siskur-reed offerings are attested on all three $e\check{s}_3$-$e\check{s}_3$ holidays. The same regularity can be noted in offerings to other sites. Predictably, the temple of Nanna receives the most offerings; the site of dug$_4$-urg$_2$ somewhat less. Only in the case of the fruit offerings do the other sites -- the gate (kag$_2$), the shrine of the god ^{d}nanše$_3$, the throne (ki-gi$\check{s}$-gu-za), and the statue of the king Amarsuen (alam-^{d}amar-^{d}suen) -- consistently receive offerings along with the temple of Nanna.

The king was thus at least partially responsible for supplying the offerings for the three monthly eš3-eš3-festivals. The offerings of type B indicate that in the case of animal offerings he delegated some of this reponsibility to provincial governors. Apparently, they were charged with providing certain animals for a set term.

1.3.2 Royal siskur Offerings: Commentary

Type A

The royal siskur offerings consist mainly of beer offered either by itself or in combination with flour, wheat, dates, ghee or various confections. Less common are siskur offerings of flour and wheat, fruit baskets, reeds and woods, animals, and incense for the censer. Table II lists the various types of siskur offerings in order of increasing amount within each type. Type A comprises various kinds of beer offerings: A_1 -- standard dark beer; A_2 -- standard beer offered with standard dark beer; A_3 -- fine beer plus fine dark beer; A_4 -- dark beer offered with pea(?)-flour (zi3-gu) and emmer wheat; A_5 -- the same offering as A_4 plus dates; and A_6, the most elaborate offering of all -- dark beer, a kind of flour (zi3-KAL), ghee (i3-nun), and dates -- all for the making of various confections (ninda-izi-ur5-ra; ninda-i3; ninda-i3-de2-a).[15] Several general points can be made about the beer offerings as a whole. First, the temple of Nanna or the cult image of Nanna

usually receives the largest and the most elaborate offerings. Second, beer offerings are usually libated (bal-bal-e-de$_3$)[16] for Nanna or his temple. Texts which record offerings of type A_1, A_4, and A_5 specifically indicate that the beer is to be libated; one of the few references in these offering texts to actual cultic procedure. Third, libations are not indicated for dug$_6$-ur$_2$ (or any of the other offering sites), even though this offering site is mentioned almost as frequently as e$_2$-^{d}nanna in siskur-offering texts and often receives the same kinds of beer offerings, though in lesser amounts. Unfortunately, the rationale behind this cultic procedure is not evident.

A few specific points about each sub-type of beer offering should be noted. Type-A_1 offerings of standard dark beer, besides being made to the usual offering sites of dug$_6$-ur$_2$ and e$_2$-^{d}nanna, are also given to an official called lugal-ra us$_2$-sa "the king's retainer," a member of the royal entourage about whom little is known.[17] Type A_2 offerings are made to the bur "bowl". In the vast majority of cases the bur receives both standard beer and standard dark beer, in quantities of 5 sila$_3$ or 20 sila$_3$ of each kind; in one case (type A_3) it receives fine or high-quality beer and dark beer. A clue to the cultic function of this bur bowl may be found in a literary reference to a bur-nun. Šulgi is described in Šulgi V, 24-25 as presenting Nanna with his morning meal

in the bur-nun "the princely bowl" (see Chapter 6, Section III A 2.10). It is possible that the bur mentioned in offering texts is used to hold the beer given to the cult image of Nanna as part of his daily cultic meal.

The mixed offerings of type A4, A5, and A6 are usually offered to Nanna, his temple. or to du6-ur2. A few other offering sites are occasionally mentioned about which little is known: dMUŠ-IR-HA-GEŠTIN-BALAG-DU[18] (UET 3, 191: type A4); e2-geš-pu2-lirum3-ma (UET 3, 191: type A5), a kind of gymnasium, literally, the "house of boxing(?) and wrestling(?)"; and šu-nir-an-na[19] (UET 3, 233: type A5), "the standard of An." Offerings of type A4 are in two instances made to Nanna in a2-ki-ti. In UET 3, 277 they are made to dnanna ša3 a2-ki-ti (if restoration is correct) at night followed by nearly identical offerings made to dnanna on the next evening. A similar sequence is found in UET 3, 159 where beer libations are made for dnanna at night followed by offerings of pea(?)-flour (zi3-gu) and emmer wheat for e2-gi4-a "the return to the temple" made on the following evening. As in the case of eš3-eš3-offering text UET 3, 235 discussed above (sub type A), the mention of the "return to the temple" suggests that a cultic procession of some sort took place. Since UET 3, 159 is dated to the month of ezen-maḫ "the great festival," one may assume that a cultic procession was a part of this festival as in the case of the a2-ki-ti

festival. As for UET 3, 277, the consecutive offerings at night and on the following evening recorded in this text might be interpreted as offerings for Nanna made before and after his ritual transport from a2-ki-ti to Ur, i.e. the conclusion of the a2-ki-ti festival. For more on this festival see my discussion below in Section 3.2.

Type-A6 offerings consist of the greatest variety of ingredients, all of which appear to go into the making of special confections called ninda-i3 "butter bread," ninda-i3-de2-a "bread spread with oil," and ninda-izi-ur5-ra "toasted bread" (cf. n. 15). These confections are usually presented to the Nanna temple, but in two cases they are offered to dug-ur2 and once to giš-gu-za-bara2-^{d}nanna "the throne of Nanna's dais." It appears that these offerings were mainly reserved for the eš3-eš3 holidays of new moon and full moon since in most of the offering texts the offerings are described as siskur-u4-sakar-sag-iti-gu-la or siskur-u4-sakar-e2-u4-15. The fact that these offerings were presented on holidays may explain why they are comparatively elaborate.

Little can be said about the offerings of type B. They are comparatively rare and are made to a variety of offering sites. The sampling is too small to determine if these offerings were made with any regularity.

Type C (fruit baskets), D (reeds and woods), and E (animals) offerings are all comparable to the similar eš$_3$-eš$_3$ offerings (cf. Table I, Types A-D). Not only are they alike in kind and in some cases quantity, but the majority of them, like the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ offerings, are offered on one of the three eš$_3$-eš$_3$ holidays; they are so indicated in the offering texts by the characteristic u$_4$-sakar phrases just noted above in my discussion of A_6 offerings; day seven is simply indicated by the phrase u$_4$-7-kam. A glance at the fruit offerings (Table II, Type C) will show that dates (su$_{11}$-lum) and pomegranates (giš-haš$_x$hur) are common siskur fruit offerings as they were in the case of the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ fruit offerings. But another type of fruit which does not occur in eš$_3$-eš$_3$ offerings is also commonly presented: the giš-UR$_2$ x A-NA(??), the reading and meaning of which are uncertain. This fruit is offered on days 7, 9, 10, and 11. The offering site ki-^{d}inanna, which is not attested in eš$_3$-eš$_3$-offering texts, is once attested (UET 3, 216) in the siskur fruit offering texts. The site alam-^{d}amar-^{d}suen, which is mentioned in eš$_3$-eš$_3$ texts, is sometimes described in these siskur texts as ki-a-nag-^{d}amar-^{d}suen kar-za-gin$_3$ "the libation site of Amarsuen (by) the lapis-lazuli quay" (UET 3, 147; cf. 142; see my discussion of alam-^{d}amar-^{d}suen in Section 2). Offerings of "split wood" (giš-al-dar-ra) to the three gates of the Nanna temple (UET 3, 201; 216) are listed in Table II, Type D. Opinions as to the location of these gates

are discussed in Section 2 sub ka2, which often receives eš3-eš3 and siskur fruit offerings. Little or nothing in known about the other rarely attested offering sites listed sub Type D and E: ki-muš "snake place(?)", ki-lugal-inim-gi-na, and a2-ma2 kar-re ma2-da-bi ma2-kar-nam-geme2-ka.

Finally, the incense offerings for the censer (Type F) seem to be reserved for the eš3-eš3 holidays of new moon and full moon since the majority of the texts recording these offerings indicate that they are intended either for u4-sakar-sag-iti-gu-la or u4-sakar-e2-u4-15.

Summary

The foregoing review of the various types of siskur offerings has shown that they consisted of beer, beer in combination with various food-stuffs, flour, wheat, fruit, reeds, wood, animals, and incense. Like the eš3-eš3 offerings siskur offerings are made most often to the temple of Nanna and to du6-ur2. In addition, the bur "bowl," ni3-na "censer," and lugal-ra us2-sa "the king's retainer," none of which are mentioned in eš3-eš3 offering texts, receive siskur offerings. As noted above, one of the salient characteristics of the eš3-eš3 offerings is the fact that they are most frequently offered on days, one, seven, and fifteen, monthly holidays which seem to have corresponded to major phases of the moon. By contrast, the siskur offerings,

particularly the beer offerings, are made throughout the month, not only on the eš3-eš3 holidays, but on many other days as well. Certain types of siskur offerings seem to have been connected with the eš3-eš3 holidays; these have been mentioned above (see commentary on types A_6, C, D, E). But as a rule, the siskur offering was a regular offering which the king made sometimes on a daily basis, sometimes every few days. There is no detectable pattern of days for the siskur offerings; it is also not clear why the offering was omitted on certain days. The use of the formulaic phrase u4-x nu-ub-tuk "On day x no offering was received" in many texts which record siskur offerings indicates that a running account of each day was kept, including those days on which no offering was made. This same phrase was noted above in texts which list eš3-eš3 offerings of type B. There an account of deliveries from the ensi2-bala and the palace for the eš3-eš3 festivals was kept up to date. The evidence at hand suggests that the king was responsible for supplying the major shrines of Ur with offerings not only on the three monthly eš3-eš3 holidays, but also on most of the days throughout the month. The king appears to have been involved in the daily working of the cult and to have played a major role in the care and feeding of the gods.

As in the case of the eš3-eš3 offerings one can detect a system for organizing the siskur offerings. The

same kind and quantity of offering is consistently presented to the same offering site over a period of days, months, and sometimes years. For example, bur regularly receives either 5 or 20 sila$_3$ of standard beer and dark beer (Table II, Type A$_2$) in almost every month of Ibbisuen year 7; similar consistencies can be found in type-A$_4$ offerings to du$_6$-ur$_2$ and A$_5$ offerings to the temple of Nanna.

1.4 Interpretations

The analysis and tabulation of the textual evidence shows above all a consistency of type which holds true over a period of days, months, and even years. As we have seen the same kinds and often even the same quantities of offerings are repeatedly presented by the king to the same sequence of cult-shrines throughout the calender year. This typology demonstrates that the presentation of royal offerings was subject to a high degree of organization which must have evolved out of a long cultic tradition. Though the organization of the offerings according to type becomes evident through analysis, the rationale behind this organization remains elusive.

One can say, for example, that Ibbisuen often presented one ox and two sheep to the temple of Nanna on days one and fifteen (Table I, Type A); but why is unclear. Surely there must have been some cultic motivation behind the choice of specific kinds and

quantities of offerings and their delivery to specific places on certain days. Unfortunately, the available evidence does not make this clear.

Only in respect to the choice of particular days of the month is there a clue to the cultic reasoning behind the organization. As I have noted before, both sets of offerings, particularly the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ offerings, occur most often on the first, seventh, and fifteenth of the month; the first and fifteenth are referred to in the texts as the u$_4$-sakar-sag-iti-gu-la, "day of the new moon at the beginning of the month," and u$_4$-sakar-(eg) -u$_4$-15 "day of the new moon on the fifteenth day" (full moon). Both the association of these days with the lunar cycles and the fact that offerings are made in the context of the cult of the moon-god clearly indicate that the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festivals celebrated principal phases of the moon. Therefore, at least one of the organizing principles of the cult is clear: offerings to the moon-god and associated cult-sites were scheduled on the days when the moon was observed to be in particular phases which were deemed to have cultic significance. Since the entire calender year was based on a lunar month, observance of the moon's phases had not only cultic importance, but economic and social importance as well. The cultic significance is easy to understand in the case of the new moon and full moon; the moon-god's reappearance in the night sky after an absence of several nights surely would have been an occasion for

thanksgiving and celebration; likewise the brightness of the full moon would have attracted great notice and could easily have become a symbol of prosperity, abundance, and beneficence. With respect to the other days on which the eš3-eš3 festivals are attested the cultic rationale is less clear. Since there has been a good deal of scholarly opinion on the system of dividing up the month and the significance of particular phases of the moon, it will be useful at this juncture to review and evaluate the various ideas.

B. Landsberger reviewing the evidence at his disposl (Der Kultische Kalender, pp. 96ff.) proposed two possible schemas according to which the Mesopotamian lunar month might have been organized: in one the month was divided into six five-day weeks, in the other into four seven-day weeks. The first schema he adduces through comparison with the Old Assyrian ḫamuštum whereby the month was divided into five-day periods (cf. the Akk. terms asgaru, kalîtu, and agû taširītu). Under this system eš3-eš3 festivals should be attested every fifth day on the lunar cycle beginning with the first sighting of the new moon. In fact there are attestations of offerings on the fifth, tenth, fifteenth, twentieth, and twenty-fifth, but except for those made on the fifteenth these are rare and do not represent a large percentage of the texts; nor do they indicate any often repeated sequence. By the other organizing schema, which

Landsberger considers more probable, festival days would more closely approximate the major phases of the moon: i.e. new moon, first quarter (day seven), full moon (day fourteen or fifteen), third quarter (day twenty-one), and moon's disappearance (day twenty-eight or twenty-nine). Since both eš$_3$-eš$_3$ and siskur offerings are attested most often on the first, seventh, and fifteeth, there is some evidence to support this latter schema. However, there are only a few attestations for offerings on the twenty-first (only siskur; not eš$_3$-eš$_3$) and at the end of the month on the twenty-seventh, twenty-eighth, or twenty-ninth. Also problematic is that offerings for the full moon are overwhelmingly dated to the fifteenth and not the fourteenth as a strictly seven-day division of the month would prescribe.

H. Limet takes up this problem in Rencontre 17, pp. 62f. He notes that the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festival of the new moon (u$_4$-sakar-sag-iti-gu-la) takes place sometimes on the first of the month and sometimes on the second or even later (cf. UET 3, 175, for example). He attributes this discrepancy to the lack of coordination which must have existed between a traditional cultic calender which prescribed that festivals should take place on a particular number of days (such as every seventh day) and the days on which the moon was actually observed to be in the phases that the festivals were supposed to celebrate. By a fixed cultic calender the first of the month may have fallen on the day before the new moon was

observed. As a result the eš3-eš3 festival celebrating the new moon would then take place on the second day of the cultic month and in turn the day of the full moon would fall on the fifteenth. In light of the fact that the later Babylonians developed observation of the moon into a highly accurate science Limet conjectures that scribes even in the Ur-III period may have been aware of the variations in the lunar cycle and learned to adjust their cultic calender accordingly. Evidence that suggests that offerings at festivals were made over a two-day period at consecutive times (a2-gi6-ba-a and a2-u4-te-na), according to Limet, may have given the officiating priests tne necessary leeway to coordinate the fixed cultic calender with the days on which the principal phases of the moon were visible each month.

With regards to the division of the month into units smaller than halves Limet discusses the attestations for eš3-eš3 festivals on the seventh and the possibility that the month was divided into seven-day periods. As a possible explanation for the significance given to the seventh day he draws a parallel with the Roman calender and the day of the nones. This was the day on which the official month was said to begin according to official proclamation. It was either the fifth or seventh day after the sighting of the new moon and was thought to mark the midway point between the new moon and the full moon. Note that there

is one attestation on Table I for an eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festival on the fifth (235) as well as those on the seventh. As for the phases of the moon after the full moon he comes to the conclusion that they probably had little or no significance since there are few attestations for offerings on the twenty-first. Furthermore, he discounts the probability of there being any great cultic significance to the day of the moon's disappearance (u$_4$-na$_2$-a). The significance given to the bubbulum-day in later periods does not necessarily apply to the Ur-III period. Once again, there are comparatively few offerings made on days at the end of the month when the moon disappeared; where they do occur, for instance at Drehem, it is clearly indicated that they are made in preparation for the moon's reappearance at the beginning of the month (see his examples, Rencontre 17, p. 62, n. 5). Therefore, according to Limet the month was not divided into units of seven days since there were only three well-attested cultic days each month: day of the new moon and full moon and some intermediate day in between, usually the seventh and sometimes the fifth.

Another analysis is presented by H. Sauren in Rencontre 17, p. 22-23. He maintains that the cultic calender used in the royal offering texts of Ibbisuen is drastically out of sync with the cycles of the moon and so strictly speaking is not a lunar calender. In UET 3, 175 and 182, texts dated to consecutive months, the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festivals for the new moon are celebrated on the

second day (UET 3, 175) and on the fifth day respectively (UET 3, 182). Sauren suggests that one full cycle of the moon took place between these days of these months. Through a complex set of arithmetical calculations (Rencontre 17, p. 17, n. 30) he comes to the startling conclusion that the cultic calender eventually strayed so far from the true lunar cycles that in months šu-eš-šá and ezen-mah of Ibbisuen year-date 7 the first quarter of the moon fell on the day on which the festival of the new moon was celebrated. It must be pointed out, however, that Sauren's analysis was heavily criticized by H. Hunger (cf. WZKM 65/66, pp. 69-74). In particular, Hunger feels that Sauren's calculations alluded to above are inaccurate and as a result completely undermine the crux of Sauren's hypothesis.

Of the three analyses that I have just synopsized Limet's seems to be most in tune with the evidence presently available. As is clear from the tabulation of the evidence in the Ur texts, most of the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ and siskur offerings were presented on days one, seven, and fifteen. These days were undoubtedly the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ holidays. It cannot be decided based on present evidence whether the offerings which were presented on other days of the month indicate some discrepancy between a pre-set cultic calender and the actual lunar cycles as Limet theorizes. It should be noted, however, that the

majority of the texts which record these irregular offerings employ the formula u4-x nu-ub-tuk "On day x no offering was received" (eš3-eš3 type B; siskur types A and F). By this formula the cultic expenditures of the king could be accounted for each day of the month including those days on which no expenditures were made. A review of the royal siskur offerings made in the month of ezen-maḫ of Ibbisuen year 7 (see Table III) indicates how efficiently royal expenditures were accounted for.

UET 3, 206 and 211 record offerings of animals and fruits respectively for the u4-sakar-sag-iti-gu-la (206 = type E; 211 = type C). 208 records offerings of beer, flour, and confections for the same occasion but on day two (208 = types $A_{1,2,6,F}$). 212 (type A_1) records beer offerings for day five and notes at the beginning of the text that no offerings were received (or expended) on days three and four (u4-3/4 nu-ub-tuk). Hence, days one through five are accounted for.

The same procedure is followed in 217 (type $A_{1,2,6,F}$) which records that no offerings were received on days twelve through fourteen and then lists the offerings made on the fifteenth. This tallies well with the available texts which record offerings for days nine, ten, and eleven (215, 216, and 219).[20] Likewise in the month of Akiti of the same year 195 records offerings on the eighteenth and notes that no offerings were received on the sixteenth and seventeenth (194 and 197 list offerings for the fifteenth); 196 then notes

that no offerings were made on the nineteenth and twentieth and records offerings for the twenty-first. Finally, in the month of ki-siga-^{d}nin-a-zu 188, an eš$_3$-eš$_3$-offering text of type B, records animal offerings on the twenty-fifth and notes that nothing was received on the twenty-fourth (127 records a siskur offering for the twenty-third).

The point is that all of the offering texts which use the formula u$_4$-x nu-ub-tuk list regular offerings made throughout the month. These should be separated from the other royal offerings which are mainly reserved for the three eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festivals.

The foregoing section has demonstrated that the king played an important role in the cult. He was responsible for supplying the temple of Nanna and a series of other shrines with offerings on three festival days per month. In addition, he provided offerings on most of the other days of the month and kept a day-by-day account of all of these offerings. The presentation of the royal offerings followed well-established patterns which prescribed the kinds of offerings which were expended, their quantity, where they were to be expended, and the days of the month on which each type of offering was made. Whether the king personally presented royal offerings to the shrines or charged subordinates with this responsibility is not clear from the texts. Since these royal offering-texts record only

the king's contribution to the festival-celebrations, they probably represent a small percentage of the offerings made throughout the temple-complex on any given day of the month. In any case, the existence of royal eš$_3$-eš$_3$ and siskur offerings reveals the intimate connection between palace and temple and underscores the king's role of chief provider and conservator of the cult which is so often described in royal inscriptions.

Section 2: Archaeological Evidence

The discussion of the textual evidence for the cult of Nanna/Suen at Ur has included frequent reference to cult-sites which are designated to receive offerings in the offering-texts. Tables I and II clearly show that the most common offertory-sites at Ur were the e2-^{d}nanna, du6-ur2, ^{d}ḫa-ya3, ka2, ki-^{giš}gu-za, alam-^{d}amar-^{d}suen, and ki-a-nag of Amarsuen (as well as other kings and deities), bur, lugal-ra us2-sa, and ni3-na. The archaeological evidence regarding these cult places will now be considered, in particular the results of the joint British/American excavation at Ur directed by Sir Leonard Woolley (see n. 1). An attempt will be made to determine, when possible, the location of the sites mentioned above in the excavated sections of Ur and to elucidate the Sumerian terms which describe these sites from an archaeological standpoint as well as a philological one.

Unfortunately, the following pages will in the main only succeed in demonstrating how difficult it is to correlate references in texts to the findings of an archaeological excavation. This is partially due to the happenstances of field work and the imprecision of site-reports as well as to unsolved philological problems concerning the basic meanings of some of the Sumerian terms. As has already been pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, it is not completely clear

where the many offering-texts which we have examined originated in Ur. Ideally, the first prerequisite for any realistic appraisal of the significance and function of archival documents is to know the archaeological context in which these documents were found. Lacking this basic information any observations on the cultic references in the texts are severely handicapped. It is necessary, however, to present what little archaeological evidence there is on the above sites in the hopes of broadening the abstract image of the cult that is conveyed by textual evidence alone.

Naturally, one begins an examination of the archaeological facts pertaining to the cult of Nanna/Suen with the temple of that god at Ur, the primary focus of his cult. Even at this most crucial point of the analysis a serious problem exists concerning the location of the temple. As is well known, Woolley uncovered a huge temple precinct at Ur dominated by a ziggurat on a raised platform, flanked by two large courtyards, and surrounded by numerous chambers and several large ancillary structures. After years of digging and analysis of the evidence by many scholars it is still uncertain exactly where in this temple complex the e2-dnanna, so often referred to in texts, was located. No conclusive piece of evidence was ever found which might pinpoint the temple in any particular section of the whole excavated area. As a result, scholars have generally tended to avoid the question

concerning the exact location of the Nanna temple by referring to the whole temenos-area, i.e. ziggurat, the large northeast court, and the whole area within the raised platform, as the e2-^{d}nanna or the e2-kiš-nu-gal2. This tactic, however, begs the question as to where the focal point of the cult was located, i.e. where the offerings made to the temple of Nanna and to Nanna himself (most likely a statue) were delivered. Therefore, a review of the archaeological evidence is necessary at this point, if we hope to define more closely the most important cultic area within the temple-complex, the residence of Nanna.

Sir Leonard Woolley was the first to suggest that a shrine housing the statue of Nanna was located in the northwest corner of the temenos-area next to the ziggurat (Ur Excavations, vol. 5, p. 31 and map, pl. 68). However, a careful reading of Woolley's site report reveals that there is a great deal of uncertainty even regarding the very existence of a shrine or chapel in this area of the excavation due to the extremely poor state of preservation of the Ur-III period remains. The only proof that the small room set against the northwest wall had a religious function is a small niche found in its southwest wall near the door; archaeologists have traditionally interpreted such cult niches as evidence that a room was used as a shrine since cult emblems or statues were often placed in such niches. Even if the

room was used as a shrine, this fact alone is not enough to prove that it was the ĝeš-^{d}nanna where the image of Nanna was housed.[21]

It seems that Woolley decided on this location as the site for the Nanna temple in part through lack of any other evidence for the existence of the temple elsewhere, but also because he was able to establish the existence of a kitchen area to the northeast side of the small courtyard which lay in front of the room with the niche. According to inscriptions found *in situ* the kitchen was used to prepare food for Nanna and other deities in his retinue. Woolley is extremely vague, however, when it comes to assigning a precise location to the shrine of Nanna where the food cooked in this kitchen was offered. In UE 5, p. 39 he states that the existence of this kitchen and another in the southeast corner of the raised platform area "makes probable the restoration of two temples built against the northeast facade of the ziggurat, on either side of the central staircase; in them would be offered the food prepared in their respective kitchens." These two temples would have lain roughly in the same area as the later Neo-Babylonian "Sanctuary of Nanna" and "Boat Shrine" (Woolley, UE 5, pl. 75). The uncertainty of this conjecture can be seen in the map of the Ur-III ziggurat area (UE 5, pl. 68) where he does not even sketch in these temples on the northeast facade of the ziggurat or the kitchen facilities in the southeast corner. In the

next sentence he speaks of a "northwest temple of which slight remains do exist," apparently referring once again to the room with the niche. Furthermore, the existence of kitchen facilities in the southeast corner can only be attested in the archaic and first dynasty periods, but not in the Ur-III period. Compounding the confusion is that in the Kassite and Neo-Babylonian periods a temple of Ningal was erected in the southwest corner (see UE 5, pls. 72 and 75). No doubt, the poor state of preservation of large areas of the temenos made separation of the remains into successive time periods difficult; but Woolley only added to the confusion by extrapolating the existence of structures in time periods in which no real evidence was found based on evidence for such structures in other time periods.

Despite this lack of clarity, the pattern of evidence from all archaeological levels at Ur does suggest a certain structural arrangement which was followed throughout the history of construction at Ur: the temenos area known as the e2-temen-ni3-gurus, i.e. the raised terrace surrounded by a containing wall in the middle of which the ziggurat stood, was divided into two separate religious precincts; the one covering the whole northwest side of the terrace was the domain of Nanna; the other on the southeast side belonged to his consort, Ningal. The dividing line between the two and possibly their common meeting ground was the ziggurat

in the center. It could reasonably be argued that the temple which once stood at the top of the ziggurat was their common domain where the two were worshipped together.[22] Because of the difficulties in separating archaeological levels, the destruction wrought by natural and man-made forces, and the very meagre remains in certain sections of the terrace, it is impossible to state with precision where the location of the Nanna temple was in the Ur-III period. Woolley's own vagueness on the matter as indicated above shows that it may have existed either in front of the northeast wall of the ziggurat or somèwhere in the northwest corner of the terrace near to the open court found there. In any case, the pattern of nearly two millennia of construction at Ur clearly shows that the whole northwest side of the terrace was the domain of Nanna, regardless of whether his actual shrine lay to the side or front of the ziggurat. In roughly symmetrical fashion Ningal's temple lay southeast of the ziggurat's central staircase or in one of the corners of the southeast side of the terrace depending on time period.

Regarding the name of the Nanna temple we have seen that in the administrative accounts which record offerings to the temple it is consistently referred to as the e$_2$-^{d}nanna. In literary references, which come almost exclusively from the later Old-Babylonian period, the temple is almost always called the e$_2$-g/kiš-nu-gal$_2$. It is not yet clear why one name was preferred over

another in certain periods and whether the use of the different names represents an architectural distinction (two different buildings or different architectural lay-outs at different periods), a difference in genres (administrative documents vs. literary), or is merely a matter of preferred usage by two different kingdoms.

dug-ur2: The identification of this cult-site with some particular area or structure uncovered by the Ur excavation depends first and foremost upon an understanding of the word's meaning, since no inscription referring to dug-ur2 was found in situ which would allow us to pinpoint the site. However, no convincing explanation of the term's etymology has yet been offered. A telling reference is found in a Drehem text referring to cultic activities in Ur published by L. Oppenheim (Oppenheim Eames Coll., p. 165, Bab. 17). In this text dug-ur2 is written dug-ur3, as it often is in Drehem texts,[23] and is connected with the gig-par3-dnanna. Woolley was able to locate the gig-par3 south of the ez-temen-ni3-guru3. The huge structure, built by Urnammu and elaborated upon by Amarsuen, was enclosed in massive walls and contained several large courts, many chambers used for various cultic purposes, a kitchen, and a shrine to Amarsuen. It served as the residence for the En-priestesses of Nanna. Here the famous "disk of Enheduanna" was found. Unfortunately, no feature of the gig-par3 is definitely identifiable with the cryptic

dug-ur2.

In regards to the etymological analysis of dug-ur2 the basic question is whether the word is a writing for an original monosyllabic word (*DUR),[24] the meaning of which is unknown, as the graphic variant dug-ur3 suggests or whether it is some sort of compound composed of the two parts dug and ur2 (in which case dug-ur3 would be considered a variant of dug-ur2). In reference to the latter possibility one might note a term which appears to be a parallel construction: dug-ku3, a cult-site located in Nippur where offerings were often made and where the fates were decided (ki-nam-tar-tar-ri-ta).[25]

Finally, there is the tenuous connection between dug and Akkadian dû attested in lexical texts.[26] The Akkadian term can be translated as "platform" and according to a Neo-Babylonian brick inscription excavated in situ it identifies a solid brick platform taking up a large section of a cella. Whether this has anything to do with the cult in Ur fifteen hundred years earlier is obviously debatable.

^{d}ḫa-ya3: The shrine of the god Ḫaya was located in a separate cella, perhaps even in a separate building, as is indicated by UET 3, 688 where the expenditure of copper for the door of the e2-^{d}ḫa-ya is recorded. Since the word e2 can refer to a structure as small as a room or as large as a full-scale temple housing many smaller units, it is difficult to say where the shrine of this

god may have been located. Excavations at Ur did not turn up any evidence of a temple to the god Ḫaya. One might consider the temple of Enki situated at the southeast end of the city wall as a possible location since Ḫaya seems to have been connected with Enki; the name ^{d}ḫa-ya$_3$ may even be an early form of ^{d}e$_2$-a, the common Akkadian counterpart of the Sumerian Enki.[27] In addition, it should be noted that a hymn to Ḫaya found at Ur, the precise provenience of which is unfortunately unknown, is dedicated to Enki.[28] This hymn dates from the reign of Rīmsîn of Larsa under whose reign major reconstruction of the original Ur-III temple was undertaken.[29]

A problematical reference to Ḫaya lists offerings to the god at ki-^{d}inanna (UET 3, 216). Excavations at Ur did not uncover a shrine to Inanna, though offerings to her together with the e$_2$-^{d}nanna are attested several times. It is not clear what connection the god Ḫaya might have had with Inanna.[30] Other references refer to a well of Ḫaya (UET 3, 1444) and woolen cloth offerings for the feast of Ḫaya (UET 3, 1504, vii).

ka$_2$: The ka$_2$ which is mentioned in the offering texts probably refers to the door of the Nanna temple. Other major doors and gates are usually distinguished from the ka$_2$ by use of different terminology. The outer gate, ka$_2$-bar-ra (also known as ka$_2$-bar-ra a-a-ba) probably refers to the main gate in the northeast wall of the

large outer court. dub-laz-mah was the inner gate at the southeast corner of the ez-temen-ni3-guru3 which led up to the raised platform that supported the ziggurat. There was also a kaz-gal-az-ki-ti and numerous other doors and gates of various temples inside and outside of the temple complex (see UET 3, Indexes, pp. 55 and 56 sub kaz). There are two references to offerings at the "three gates" kaz-eš5-a-bi (UET 3, 201 and 218; see Table II, type D).

The three gates of the Nanna temple probably referred to the kaz-bar-ra, alluded to above, the dub-laz-mah or possibly the gate which led from the large northeast court up to the terrace on which the ziggurat stood, and finally, the door of the Nanna temple itself; cf. L. Legrain, UET 3, Indexes, pp. 208-209; B. Levine, W. Hallo, HUCA 38, p. 58 map; M. Lambert, RA 44, p. 86.

ki-giš-gu-za: There is some question as to whether the ki-giš-gu-za, "the throne area," mentioned in the offering texts refers to the throne of the king or a symbolic throne for the moon-god in this temple. Legrain supported the latter idea because of UET 3, 207 which mentions the giš-gu-za-bara2-dnanna, "the throne (of) Nanna's dais"; but since this text records offerings made in ga-eš5-ki, the cult-sites alluded to in the text refer to the temple of Nanna in ga-eš5-ki, outside of the central temple district in Ur. However, since many aspects of the temple in ga-eš5-ki seem to be modeled after the central temple of Nanna in Ur, one might

reasonably expect a throne of the moon-god to be located at his central residence. Furthermore, it would be unusual if a throne for Nanna were located in ĝa-eš$_3$-ki, where the god resided only temporarily, but not in his main temple at Ur where he was usually found.

Since the offering texts in which ki-giš-gu-za figures record royal offerings, one might also question if the king would present offerings to his own throne. One does find instances of offerings made to the thrones of past kings in Ur;[31] but in these cases the thrones are clearly designated by the name of the king (e.g. giš-gu-za-ur-^{d}nammu, -^{d}šul-gi) and so can be distinguished from the phrase ki-giš-gu-za. Though none of the evidence is conclusive, it seems more probable that the ki-giš-gu-za referred to the throne of Nanna in Ur.

Such a throne would most likely be located in the central temple of Nanna; but since we are able only to approximate the location of this temple and the architectural lay-out of the temple is not known, it is impossible to suggest where in the temple the throne may have been placed. One might look for the thrones of the kings in the e$_2$-hur-sag, the so-called Palace of Urnammu and Šulgi, located southeast of the giš-par$_3$ (see L. Woolley, UE 6, pp. 36-39 and map, Pl. 53 and Pl. 56). However, there is some doubt concerning the use and purpose of this structure. Based on architecture alone

it appears to be a typical temple; yet inscriptions found in situ tend to suggest its use as a royal residence. Although Woolley was first of the opinion that the building was a royal palace, he later changed his mind and even suggested it might have been a temple which was built for one or a whole series of gods and goddesses who were worshipped at Ur, but whose temples have yet to be found (see his argument, UE 6, pp. 38-39).

alan-^{d}amar-^{d}suen: The statue of Amarsuen is said to be located at the kar-za-gin$_3$, "the lapis-lazuli quay" (UET 3, 142; cf. 147) -- a site presumably outside of the city. There is no archaeological evidence for the site of the quay, though Woolley did uncover two harbors which he called the north and the west harbors. However, at present there is nothing to connect the kar-za-gin$_3$ with either of these harbors.

Legrain mentions that brick inscriptions which formed the pedestal of the statue of Amarsuen were found near the dub-lag$_2$-mah (UET 3, Indexes, sub 105). Since it is difficult to imagine the lapis lazuli quay being near the dub-lag$_2$-mah, i.e. right in the center of the temple complex, one must either assume that the bricks were detached from the original statue for re-use somewhere in this area or that there was another statue of Amarsuen situated there.

Also problematic is Woolley's contention that there was a shrine to Amarsuen in the gig-par$_3$.[32] One would

expect a statue of the king to be found in his shrine, though no remains of one were uncovered in the excavations.

In any case, the offerings recorded in the royal offering texts which have been looked at were intended for the statue of Amarsuen at the kar-za-ging where there was also a libation-site (ki-a-nag) to the dead king. If there were other shrines dedicated to the king in other places, they were probably venerated in a similar manner, but are not the offering sites specifically referred to in the royal offering texts.

bur: The bur was a type of bowl, often made of stone, which one finds frequently attested in literary contexts; see PSD B, pp. 182ff. In literary texts the bur is often associated with beer products as it is in the offering texts. In direct reference to Nanna bur is attested in SRT 13, 25: dnanna unug-kin-nim bur-nun-sug-ga-ni sag-ul nam-mi-in-du$_{11}$ -- see Römer, SKIZ, p. 195, 195 where he translates: "Nanna lässt er in der Frühstückshalle die zu ihm gebrachten hohen Schalen in Freuden erreichen"; cf. Romer's reference (o.c.) to Gud. Cyl. B xvii, 7 where bur is also attested in connection with the banquet hall (here unug instead of unug). These two references are the only indications we have of the location of the bur. Unfortunately, it is difficult, if not impossible, to figure where in the Ur temple complex the unug/unug might have been. Also there is no single

large vat or bowl excavated at Ur which can be positively identified as the bur referred to in the offering texts.

ni3-na: "The censer" is cognate to Akkadian nignakku. Little is known about its uses in the cult of Ur nor is there any archaeological evidence on its location in the temple complex. See CAD, vol. 11/2, pp. 216-217 on the various uses of the nignakku in Akkadian contexts; also AHw, p. 787. The burning of incense may have been part of the purification rituals.

Section 3: Other Important Features of the Cult at Ur

3.1 Regular Offerings to Deities of the Local Pantheon

I introduced my analysis of the royal offering texts by emphasizing that this group of special offerings by the king revealed only one aspect of the cult of Nanna/Suen; much of the daily temple cult which served the many shrines and the network of deities and cultic personnel within the temple-complex is missing from the record at Ur. Because so much space in this chapter has been devoted to the many texts that record the cultic activities of the king, it is important at this point to review what little evidence there is regarding other important aspects of the cult at Ur outside the immediate sphere of the king.

Several of the Ur texts record offerings to a list of deities and shrines. They provide a small glimpse into the array of deities subordinate to Nanna which the cult at Ur maintained and the numerous shrines that the temple-complex housed.[33] All of these various deities and shrines received regular daily maintenance rations called sa2-du11.[34] Included in these lists of offerings for deities and cult shrines are temple personnel who either supervise the delivery of offerings or receive rations themselves along with the gods, goddesses, and shrines. In UET 3, 267, for example, offerings of various flours and barley are presented to the following sequence of deities, and cult-sites: dnanna, dnin-gal,[35]

dnin-gublaga(!) (copy reads EZEN), den-ki u3 ddam-gal-nun-na, d[nin-uri2ki-ma(?)], alam-di-bi2-dsuen-gu-la, dšul-gi, dnin-gi-mi-sar-r[a(?)], [...], dgu-la, e2-dnin-a-zu, dnin-[hur(?) - sag(?)]-mah(?), dnin-hur-sag-ga2 min-a-bi u3 dšul-pa-e3, dnin-šubur EN-DIM2-GIGki, dnin-šubur-gu-la, dmes-lam-ta-e3-a, an-nu-ni-tum, dnin-marki, dnin-pu2-mun-na, diškur, nin-ša3-ge-pa3-da, dnin-a-zi-mu2-a, dnin-dsi4-an-na, dezinu, dutu, dbil-gi, dšul-pa-e3-(a), dhendur-sag, dnisaba, dingir-eš3-didli, ki-a-nag-didli. In similar fashion UET 3, 1080 lists offerings of flours, dates, ghee, and cheese to various deities including dnin-sun2 and dnin-giz-zi-da, although the term sa2-du11 is not mentioned in this case (cf. also UET 3, 278 and 264).

The lesser deities of Ur are often referred to collectively simply as dingir-tur-tur-(e)-ne, "the minor deities." In UET 3, 280, for instance, the total offerings are summed up as sa2-du11-dingir-tur-tur-ne. This is true also of UET 3, 1089 where dates and a type of fig (giš-peš3-še-er-gu-[um]) are offered as a sa2-du11-dnanna u3 dingir-tur-tur-ne-še3. The same fig-variety is found in UET 3, 209 along with honey and ghee as a sa2-du11-ni3-dab5-a-tu5-dnanna-dingir-tur-tur u3 ni3-gu3-de2-ezen-mah "regular maintenance ration taken (as a cultic expenditure) for the purification ritual of Nanna (and) the minor deites and for the requirements of the great festival."

Sheep were commonly offered to Nanna as the sa2-du11 offering. This is attested in several texts in which other products are sold to buy sheep to be used for the offering. In UET 3, 1044 sesame oil (i3-giš) is sold and in UET 3, 384 ghee (i3-nun) is sold to buy sheep as sa2-du11-offerings for Nanna; and in UET 3, 746 one mana of gold is used to purchase sheep for the same purpose. Apparently the term udu was sometimes used generically to refer to a variety of domestic animals used for the sa2-du11-dnanna. This usage is attested in UET 3, 180 and 221 where totals of sheep, kids, and lambs are all described as udu-ni3-šam2-ma-ka "sheep bought (for the regular offering to Nanna)."

sa2-du11 rations also supported the numerous shrines and temples throughout the whole temple-complex. In UET 3, 253, 254, and 255 sa2-du11 offerings are recorded for the dub-la2-mah. In UET 3, 260 barley rations are given as sa2-du11-e2-dnin-marki and in UET 3, 262 as sa2-du11-še-ba-eš3-didli-l[ugal(?)] "regular fixed offering of barley ration for various royal(?) shrines"; and, as already mentioned, among the offerings to deities and shrines in UET 3, 267 are offerings to the gods of various shrines (dingir-eš3-didli) and various libation places (ki-a-nag-didli -- see above).

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Other cultic activities at Ur are indicated by the cultic calender. As Landsberger has pointed out the month called maš-da3-ku2, še-ša-ku2, and u5-bi2-muš-en-ku2 refer to festivals in which seasonal dishes were

served up;[36] the months were accordingly named after these seasonal dishes. Landsberger also notes another festival named ezen-DUR2-DUR2 during which offerings to dul-ma-šì-tum and an-nu-ni-tum are made in Ur during the month of iti-u5-bi2-muš̌en-ku2.[37] The months of ki-sig2-dnin-a-zu and ezen-dnin-a-zu, i.e. "the mourning for Nin-a-zu" and "the festival for Nin-a-zu" may have celebrated the cyclical descent of the god to the underworld followed by his return; a common mythological motif related to the dying of vegetation in the heat of the summer months.[38] In the month of a2-ki-ti, the a2-ki-ti festival was celebrated; this will be treated extensively below. About ezen-dšul-gi, "the feast of Šulgi," not much is known other than the fact that in a few instances offerings were made for this festival.[39] The same is true of the following month, šu-eš5-ša.[40] In the months of ezen-mah a large intercity festival was celebrated, which involved Ur, the nin-sun2 temple in KI.KAL ki,[41] and Šubaru. This festival seems also to have taken place in the month of a2-ki-ti and may have been related to the a2-ki-ti festival.[42] In the month of ezen-an-na, "the feast of An," Landsberger notes that kaš-de2-a offerings were made to Nanna at the dub-laz-mah and an offering of a barley-fatted sheep is made to his son, Ningublaga in Ur.[43] Such offerings, however, are not necessarily related to the feast of An nor do they seem to have been confined to the month of ezen-an-

na. What little is known about cultic activities in the months of iti-^{d}me-ki-gal$_{2}$ and iti-diri-^{d}me-ki-gal$_{2}$ is noted by Landsberger.[44] Finally, in the month of the barley harvest, iti-še-gur$_{10}$-ku$_{5}$, an a$_{2}$-ki-ti festival was celebrated as well as a great purification festival involving Uruk, KI-KAL^{ki}, Šubaru, Eridu, and Ur. The purification ceremony was directly connected to a river called iz-ku$_{3}$ which was probably the inter-connecting waterway between the cities just mentioned.[45] The fact that these cities are often mentioned in close association in offering texts attests to strong cultural ties.

Though the evidence for the daily cult activities that involved the many gods, goddesses, and shrines throughout the temple-complex at Ur is not great, the few offering texts that I have discussed here are sufficient to indicate the extent of the cult beyond the cultic involvement of the king. Though there is abundant evidence for the sisku$_{r}$ and eš$_{3}$-eš$_{3}$ offerings of the king at Ur, it is clear that many other types of offerings and activities, which are only very incompletely attested in the preserved evidence, must have formed the bulk of the cultic life at Ur.

3.2 The a$_{2}$-ki-ti Festival

I have noted frequent attestation of the term a$_{2}$-ki-ti in the Ur texts that concern the cult. It refers primarily to a festival and secondarily to one of the

months in which the festival was held and the place where festival activities were centered. The festival was of major importance in the cult of Nanna/Suen at Ur during the Ur-III period and later assumed a pre-eminent position in the cult life of many kingdoms that shared in Mesopotamian culture throughout its long history.[46] It is necessary therefore to consider the facts that can be established about this festival as it was celebrated in Ur during the Ur-III period and its relation to the cult of Nanna/Suen. The following discussion relies heavily on the in-depth study of the a2-ki-ti festival and festival house by A. Falkenstein who has collected most of the pertinant references and whose analysis is still unsurpassed.

1) Location of a2-ki-ti festival: The a2-ki-ti festival is known to have taken place in a territory called ga-eš$_2$^{ki}.[48] L. Legrain and M. Lambert[49] originally advanced the opinion that ga-eš$_2$^{ki} was the area in which the central temple-complex at Ur was located. Falkenstein convincingly proved that this could not be possible[50] since several attestations locate a Nanna-temple at ga-eš$_2$^{ki} on or near the quay called kar-zi-da, an area clearly outside of the main temple complex in the center of Ur. Furthermore, there are attestations of an En-priestess of ga-eš$_2$^{ki} and of kar-zi-da in which she is clearly distinguished from the En-priestess in Ur.[51] Finally, the collection of Sumerian temple hymns which contains separate hymns to the e$_2$-

^{d}nanna-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma and the e$_2$-^{d}nanna-ga-eš$_5^{ki}$-a shows that there were two Nanna-temples in two different places.[52]

2) a$_2$-ki-ti temple in ga-eš$_5^{ki}$: Though there is no mention in any text of an *e$_2$-a$_2$-ki-ti Falkenstein argued that a$_2$-ki-ti in its many references in Ur texts often referred to a temple and that this temple was probably the e$_2$-^{d}nanna-ga-eš$_5^{ki}$ attested in the temple hymns.[53] A festival in which Nanna played a central role would logically have taken place in his temple. An offering-text (UET 3, 207) which records a siskur-gu-la made in ga-eš$_5^{ki}$ makes reference to features of the temple structure: a throne placed on a dais was set up inside (obv. 5': giš gu-za-bara$_2$-^{d}nanna); a storehouse of silver and lapis lazuli (rev. 4: e$_2$-ku$_3$-za-gin$_3$) was also a part of the structure as well as another construction of uncertain meaning (rev. 4: IG.ZA$_3$).[54] The hymn to the Nanna-temple of ga-eš$_5^{ki}$ indicates that a cattle pen was also a part of the temple and that another building called gi$_6$-par$_3$ was located there. The building of the gi$_6$-par$_3$ is reported in an inscription of Amarsuen which expressly states that until that time no gi$_6$par$_3$ had ever stood in kar-zi-da.[55] In this reference as well as in the temple hymn the name kar-zi-da is used interchangeably with ga-eš$_5^{ki}$. In this connection one should also note year-date 9 of Amarsuen for which there are two variants:[56] "year in which the En-priestess of Nanna of kar-zi-da was enthroned" and

"year in which the En-priestess of Nanna was enthroned in ga-eš$_5^{ki}$." Year-date 9 of Šulgi also interchanges the names ga-eš$_5^{ki}$ and kar-zi-da in reference to the temple of Nanna at this location.[57]

Fields are often mentioned as being in the area of ga-eš$_5^{ki}$ and a2-ki-ti. UET 3, 1766 lists rations for workers harvesting barley in a2-ki-ti. There was a field called "the great gate of a2-ki-ti" (UET 3, 1384). Another text mentions a field, also apparently located in a2-ki-ti, which receives a siskur offering of one sheep (UET 3, 235).[58] This same text also records an offering to Utu, which suggests that a shrine of th sun-god may also have been situated in this area.[59]

Šulgi built a structure known as the e2-gi-na-tum[60] in a2-ki-ti. Later a similar structure was built by Ibbisuen called the e2-gi-na-ab-tum.[61] Judging from the material employed in the maintenance of these structures, as attested in administrative accounts, they were probably both made of reed bundles and were similar to the large reed dwellings made to this day by the marsh arabs in southern Iraq.[62]

Other texts attest to a garden in the land of ga-eš$_5^{ki}$;[63] an emblem or standard called šu-nir-a2-ki-ti šu-n[ir] ša$_3$ ga-eš$_5^{ki}$;[64] and a canal which ran in the immediate vicinity of a2-ki-ti called iz-a2ki-ti.[65]

3) a2-ki-ti festival: It is clear that one main feature of the a2-ki-ti festival was a journey by boat.[66] Evidence which associates the a2-ki-ti festival

with a canal and the quay called kar-zi-da, the frequent mention of boats[67] in the month of a2-ki-ti, and the occasional reference to a journey to and from a2-ki-ti[68] and kar-zi-da, lead one to this conclusion. Mention of offerings to Nanna at one time in Ur and at another in a2-ki-ti or ga-eš5ki suggests that the image of the deity was transported from his central temple in Ur along a canal to the outlying district of ga-eš5ki where another temple stood near to the kar-zi-da quay. What actually transpired on the festival grounds in ga-eš5ki is only partially known through a few offering texts which make direct references to the a2-ki-ti festival. As Falkenstein has already pointed out a sacrifice was sometimes made before an emblem in the Nanna temple at ga-eš5ki.[69] Night offerings (siskur-gi6) seem to have been a particular feature of the ceremonies;[70] a2-ki-ti was called Nanna's nightly abode (eš3-gi6) (UET 3, 134). The siskur-gu-la is also attested more than once at a2-ki-ti.[71] Such offerings consisted typically of beers of various qualities, ghee, cheese, brands of flour, dates, various confections, spices, and animal offerings.

Not enough evidence exists to determine the days of the month on which the a2-ki-ti festival took place.[72] In UET 3, 193 animal offerings are delivered to du6-ur2, to the temple of Nanna, and to Nanna himself at night (a2-gi6-ba-a) in Ur. Animal offerings are then presented to Nanna again at twilight (a2-u4-te-na), which marked

the start of a new day. These offerings are followed by a "great, night siskur offering" (siskur-gu-la-gi6) to Nanna, this time in a2-ki-ti. The tablet which records these offerings is dated to the eleventh of the month of a2ki-ti. The evidence of this one text suggests that Nanna was transported from Ur to a2-ki-ti sometime between the night of day ten, when he is said to be in Ur, and the night of day eleven, when a great siskur offering is made to him in a2-ki-ti. How long he remained in a2-ki-ti and when he returned to Ur is not indicated by any of the texts.

Evidence for his return-trip from a2-ki-ti to Ur can be found in another text dated to the month of the barley harvest,[73] in which another a2-ki-ti festival took place. In UET 3, 235 animal offerings are made to Nanna for "the return to the sanctuary" (eš3-gi4-am2). These offerings are made in conjunction with other offerings to dutu and to a field at night. Nanna again receives animal offerings in a2-ki-ti. These are followed by offerings to du6-ur2 in Ur in the evening (a2-u4-te-na). The text is dated to day five. It appears from this text that in the month of the barley harvest Nanna returned from a2-ki-ti to Ur sometime between the night of day four and the evening, i.e. the start of day five. It could therefore be concluded that Nanna was transported from Ur to a2-ki-ti at any time between the first and the fourth of the month.

Because neither of the above texts is very explicit

and there is no further supporting evidence, the time sequence and the days of each of the a2-ki-ti festivals must be considered extremely tentative. It is known that in the Old-Babylonian period a ritual day extended from the evening (a2-u4-te-na) of one day to the evening of the next.[74] However, attestations for the time designations a2-gi6-ba-a and a2-u4-te-na at Ur are not complete enough to determine whether the same time sequence existed at Ur during the Ur-III period.

4) a2-ki-ti festival in the local Ur calender: According to the local Ur calender the a2-ki-ti festival took place six months after the month of the barley harvest (iti-še-gur10-ku5). The month was called in its simplest form iti-a2-ki-ti-šu-numun(-na).[75] The festival itself is also attested with the fuller name: ezen-a2-ki-ti-šu-numun-na.[76] The meaning of the name is in all probability "the a2-ki-ti festival of seed-time."[77] This seed-time festival is not to be confused with another, less commonly attested festival which took place at harvest time. This was called a2-ki-ti-še-gur10-ku5, i.e. "the a2-ki-ti festival of the barley harvest." The month of the barley harvest was, according to most attestations, the last month of the calender year[78] under the Ur-III kings. However, there are also years attested in which iti-še-gur10-ku5 is the first month. There are intercalary months attested following both iti-me-ki-gal2 and iti-še-gur10-ku5 (intercalary months

were traditionally placed at the end of the year).[79] It is still unclear why the year sometimes began with the harvest and sometimes ended with it or under which reigns one or the other arrangement was used.[80] In any case an a2-ki-ti festival was celebrated in this month to mark the occasion of the year's harvest.

There is some evidence that the a2-ki-ti festival celebrated in iti-a2-ki-ti was connected with a larger inter-city festival involving Ur, Šubaru, the dnin-sun2 temple (probably located in a city near Uruk called KI.KAL^{ki}), and possibly Eridu. This festival, which either entailed a procession among the various cities or simultaneous offerings in all of these cities on festival days, involved a long series of deities, chief of whom seems to be Gula-Inanna. Landsberger[81] was under the impression that this Gula-Inanna festival was the a2-ki-ti festival celebrated in iti-a2-ki-ti and that the a2-ki-ti festival in the month of the barley harvest, a smaller, strictly local affair, was the only festival which centered on Nanna. However, it is now clear that this hypothesis does not square with the many offering texts in UET 3 (which of course Landsberger was not aware of in 1915) which almost without exception mention Nanna as the central figure of the festival held in the month of a2-ki-ti. Furthermore, one finds hardly a reference to Inanna or to any other city in these texts. There were without doubt numerous inter-city religious festivals and processions which involved the

chief deities of many cities including Nanna. This fact is attested in administrative tablets as well as in literary texts such as Nanna/Suen's Journey to Nippur.[82] The evidence for the a2-ki-ti festival in both months in which it was celebrated points to a local festival. In fact the festival of this name seems to have originated in Ur since attestations outside of Ur in the Ur-III period are scarce.[83] How the local festival and the larger inter-city festival were related in the month iti-a2-ki-ti is not yet clear. The Gula-Inanna festival, as Landsberger has shown, was repeated in essentially the same form in the month of ezen-maḫ.[84]

Summation:

1) The term a2-ki-ti[85] designates a particular festival which seems to have originated at Ur. It also indirectly refers to the structure in which the festival was centered and the place where this structure was located. Evidence suggests that this structure was the e2-^{d}nanna which along with adjacent structures (giš-par3, e2-gi-na-tum) was situated in the territory called ga-eš$_5^{ki}$.

2) ga-eš$_5^{ki}$ was most likely an outlying rural district where several fields are attested and where barley was grown and harvested. A canal called iz-a2-ki-ti ran from [illegible] to ga-eš$_5^{ki}$ where a quay called kar-zi-da was constructed. Nanna when in residence in a2-ki-ti was called ^{d}nanna-kar-zi-da.

3) The a2-ki-ti festival was celebrated principally in the sixth month after the harvest when the seed was planted for the coming year. Another festival of the same name was sometimes also celebrated in the harvest month.

4) The festival itself consisted of a procession which transported the image of the moon-god from his central sanctuary in Ur to the outlying area known as a2-ki-ti/ga-eš$_5$^{ki}. Part of the journey was made on board a boat that travelled up the canal joining Ur with ga-eš$_5$^{ki}. Various sacrifices of both animals and the produce of the land were made to Nanna at Ur and in a2-ki-ti during the course of the ceremonies. a2-ki-ti was known as Nanna's nightly abode and so a good many of the offerings to the god and we may assume other cult activities were performed at night. The festival came to an end when the moon-god was returned to his main temple at Ur, once again, via the canal.

5) The evidence is at present insufficient to determine the duration of the a2-ki-ti festivals, i.e. the beginning, the end, and the exact time sequence of events; nor is it yet clear whether the a2-ki-ti celebrations took place on specific days of the month.

6) In light of all the evidence which indicates that the place of the a2-ki-ti festival was a rural area where fields were located, where crops were planted and harvested, where a quay was constructed, where various depots and storehouses were built, and to which an

irrigation canal led, it seems probable that the purpose of the festival was to insure the fertility of the land, to bless the crops, and give thanks for the harvest by bringing the effigy of the city-god out to the agricultural area twice a year at the times when his benefaction was most appropriate -- at seed time and harvest time.

3.3 Purification Rituals

There is occasional reference in the Ur texts to purification rituals designated in Sumerian by the term a-tu5-a. Though it is well known from the bît rimki series that such rituals played a significant role in the cult of later Neo-Assyrian times,[86] evidence from earlier periods as to the exact nature of the rituals is sketchy. The information that does exist indicates that the purification ritual was a part of the cult as early as the Ur-III period and probably even earlier.[87] References from Ur often associate the king with this ritual. UET 3, 1065, ii, 2' and 3' attest to the building of a e2-a-tu5-a lugal ba-du3-a "a house of purification which the king had built." UET 3, 57, the only Sumerian ritual text to date, prescribes a five-day ritual performed by the king which includes a ceremony of ritual bathing (see n. 10). Offerings are attested for a purification ritual in the palace in UET 3, 166.

That deities were also included in such rituals is confirmed by UET 3, 209 in which the purification of Nanna and minor deities is recorded (rev. 3 and 4: a-tu5-^{d}nanna-dingir-tur-tur). UET 3, 1685 appears to list garments for the purification ceremony of Ningizzida (a-tu5-a-^{d}nin-giz-zi-da).

Finally, there were personnel connected with the purification rituals: a lu2-tu5-a in UET 3, 899 and a a-tu5-a-^{d}nanna in UET 3, 1521.[88]

Whether there was a specific day or days (a Sumerian equivalent to the ūm rimki) on which these rituals were traditionally performed and how often in the course of a month or year they took place cannot be readily inferred from the Ur references. However, there are texts from Drehem which suggest a periodicity for the purification rituals which may roughly correspond to the monthly eš3-eš3 festival days which we have already considered. A. Goetze in JCS 9, pp. 19f. treated a Drehem text that records the offering of a pair(?) of boots (1 kuš suḫub2 tug2-du8-a e2-ba-an) for the purification ritual on the day of the new moon (a-tu5-a sag-u4-sakar); this entry is immediately followed by another recording the offering of a pair(?) of sandals (kuš-esir2 tug2-du8-a e2-ba-an) for the e2-u4-7. No purification ritual is mentioned for this second date; however, in JCS 14, p. 104 16 (YBC 12463) W. Hallo published a Drehem text in which one barley-fatted ox is offered for the a-tu5-a dnin-tin-ug5-ga -- this offering along with others is recorded for the e2-u4-7. Note also W. Hallo, HUCA 29, p. 82, no. 9, where a Drehem text similar to the one treated by Goetze (o.c.) lists: 1 kuš-e-sir2 u2-ḫab2 e2-ba-an for a-tu5-a u4-15 and a-tu5-a sag-u5-sakar (translated by Hallo as, "one pair of gallnut-dyed leather sandals (for) the lustration of the full moon, ... of the new moon"); cf. M. Çığ, H. Kizilyay, A. Salonen, Die Puriš-Dagan Texte, #351 which records 1 kuš e-sir2 tug2-du8-a e2-ba-an a-tu5-a sag-u4-

sakar-ka ... $\check{s}a_3$-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma iti a$_2$-ki-ti, i.e. the same type of offering for the purification ritual held on the day of the new moon in Ur in the month of a$_2$-ki-ti. For further attestations of offerings for a-tu$_5$-a rituals on these e$\check{s}_3$-e$\check{s}_3$ days see N. Schneider, Or. 18, p. 8 (note that Langdon TAD 49 cited by Schneider is recorded in Ur); cf. B. Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, pp. 79-80.

The purification of Nanna (a-tu$_5$-a-^{d}nanna) is mentioned in MVN 3, no. 198, a Drehem text which records a large number of animal offerings ostensibly made in Ur.[89] The size of this offering alone shows that the purification ritual in the Ur-III period had a considerable signficance and that it was probably a regular part of the cult life at Ur as well as Nippur and elsewhere.

The above attestations suggest that the purification ritual was often performed on the same days as the e$\check{s}_3$-e$\check{s}_3$ festivals. Though the vast majority of references come from Drehem, the occasional reference to Ur in these texts as well as the close connection between Nippur and Ur, particularly in regard to the system of organizing the e$\check{s}_3$-e$\check{s}_3$ festivals, make it probable that the purification ritual was performed on the days of the e$\check{s}_3$-e$\check{s}_3$ festivals at both Ur and Nippur.

In summation the following key points can be made:

1) Purification rituals played a role in the cult

during the Ur-III period in various cities. Evidence from both Drehem and Ur indicates that these rituals were part of the cult of Nanna/Suen at Ur.

2) Both the king and various deities were involved in purification rituals. What the exact cultic significance of these rituals was and whether the king or a deity was the focus of attention cannot be determined from available evidence; nor is it clear how the purification of the king was related to that of the deities.

3) In Ur a "bath house" built by the king called e2-a-tu5-a (which appears to be the Sumerian counterpart of the bît rimki) is attested.

4) Both Nanna and minor deities associated with Nanna take part in purification rituals.

5) Footwear is commonly attested as an offering on the occasions of these ritual baths. Other garments too are sometimes recorded in connection with the a-tu5-a. Such texts suggest that a special outfit was donned for the ritual or put on afterwards.

6) Texts mainly from Drehem, but also occasionally from Ur, suggest that a purification ritual took place on the days of the eš3-eš3 festivals, i.e. on the day of the new moon, full moon, and seventh of the month. It is not clear whether such rituals involved the king, particular deities, or both. There is some evidence that a great inter-city purification ceremony involving Ur may also have taken place at the beginning of the

year.[90]

7) Sumerian literary references to purification rituals (a-tu5-a) have been collected by Römer, SKIZ, p. 191. Certain scholars have suggested that the a-tu5-a was a form of preparation for the sacred marriage ceremony. Since the very existence of the sacred marriage in Mesopotamia is still a matter of debate, no conclusions regarding the relation of purification rituals to this ceremony can be made at this time. It is worth noting, however, that in the administrative accounts that make reference to purification rituals no allusions to a sacred marriage ceremony can be found.

3.4 Libation Sites (ki-a-nag)

Another ritual which is commonly attested in connection with the cult of Nanna/Suen at Ur is a regular presentation of offerings at libation-sites (ki-a-nag) bearing the names of the deified, deceased kings of the Ur-III dynasty. References to the libation-sites of kings Urnammu, Šulgi, Amarsuen, and Šu-suen can be found in texts from Ur and Drehem. In the case of Amarsuen there is evidence that the ki-a-nag where offerings were presented to him was located in the same place where his statue was erected. In UET 3, 142, a royal siskur offering (see Table II, type C), baskets of dates are presented to a series of offering-sites including the alan-^{d}amar-[^{d}suen] kar-za-g[in3], "the statue of Amarsuen (at) the lapis-lazuli quay"; this

offering is dated to the fourteenth of the month of ezen-mah in Ibbisuen year 5. An identical offering (UET 3, 147) dated exactly one month later is made to all of the same sites, but in this case the basket of dates is presented to the ki-a-nag-^{d}amar-^{d}suen kar-za-gin$_3$ "the libation-site of Amarsuen (at) the lapis-lazuli quay." The similarity of all other aspects of both texts makes the identification of these two sites almost certain. It has not yet been determined where the kar-za-gin$_3$ was located, though it is frequently mentioned in connection with the Nanna temple and other sites located in Ur.

However, a Drehem text attests to the existence of a ki-a-nag-^{d}amar-^{d}suen in Nippur.[91] Other texts from Drehem list offerings for a series of sites known to be in Nippur including a ki-a-nag-ur-^{d}nammu.[92] a ki-a-nag-ur-^{d}nammu is also attested in Ur as well as the ki-a-nag-^{d}šul-gi.[93] The evidence seems to suggest that libation-sites for Urnammu and Amarsuen were found in both Ur and Nippur and this may have been true also for Šulgi and Šu-suen.

Another Drehem text attests to the construction of a step or ladder for the libation-site of Urnammu in EB$_2$-TUR$_3^{ki}$,[94] yet another indication that these libation-sites were a common feature of the cult in many cities throughout Mesopotamia.

The only reference[95] to a libation-site of Šu-suen known to me is of particular interest because it seems

to make direct reference to the king's death in the year and month in which scholars generally agree that he died (Šu-suen year 9, iti-ezen-maḫ).[96] The text, which comes from Drehem, records offerings of animals for the giš-a-nag-^{d}gidim$_4$-^{d}šu-^{d}suen, i.e. "the libation-table(?) for the dead spirit of Šu-suen." giš-a-nag appears to be a variant of ki-a-nag or it may specifically refer to a wooden structure such as a table or small altar which was set up at the libation-sites of the dead kings. It is not certain which city the libation-site referred to in this Drehem text is located in.

It seems highly probable based on these references, particularly the last one, that the ki-a-nag must have been connected with a cult of the dead rulers. When the Ur kings died they were apparently deified and thereby became part of the local pantheon. Statues were made of them and these were installed in the temples along with the images of the deities and the other cult shrines. They received offerings like all the other offering sites. We have already seen that the alan/ki-a-nag-^{d}amar-^{d}suen was a regular part of the local cult of Nanna/Suen at Ur and attestations for a ki-a-nag of Urnammu and Šulgi in Ur texts indicate that they too must have been included in the cult. Why Šu-suen is omitted in the preserved texts and why Ibbisuen made regular offerings to the libation-site of Amarsuen, but not of Šu-suen, his predecessor, is not clear.

What does not seem possible is that these libation-

sites could have been located in the mausolea or above the graves of the deceased kings since attestations for the ki-a-nag of the same king are found in several cities; of course, it is possible that one of the libation-sites may have been connected with the grave of the king, while the others served as memorial shrines to the king in other cities. In any case, it is still unclear exactly where the Ur-III kings were buried since the mausolea at Ur from the Ur-III period were so looted as to make it extremely difficult to say who might have been buried there.[97]

3.5 Lamentation-Rituals

There is little known about the role of the lamentation (ir2) in the cult at Ur, since it is alluded to only six times in UET 3.98 The most that can be said is that a lamentation-ritual was performed on various occasions for different purposes. These may be deduced from the descriptive qualifications appended to the Sumerian term ir2 in the texts. One finds reference to an ir2-su3-a "a long lament" in addition to a ir2-su3-lugal,[99] "long royal lament"; an ir2-u2-zug2-ga2,[100] "lamentation for the sexual uncleanliness of woman"; ir2-su3-a-tu5, "long purification lament"; ir2-e2-[x] i3--d[e2-a], the meaning of which is unclear; and ir2-ra ka2-bar-ra, "lamentation at the outer gate." Though the last named ritual is attested in a text from the Old-Babylonian period, the ka2-bar-ra is also attested in the Ur-III period and it is possible that this Old-Babylonian ritual was derived from an earlier tradition. Legrain[101] equates the ka2-bar-ra with the ka2-a-a-ba attested elsewhere in Ur documents. W. Hallo has hinted that this gate was the one in the northeast wall which led into the great open courtyard at Ur.[102] He suggests that a lament was sung at this outer gate because the city-god passed out of it when he left the city in the course of his regular cultic journeys to other cities.[103] In reference to the moon-god this lament may have been sung on the monthly occasion when the moon

disappeared from the night sky since it is attested on the twenty-ninth.

About the other attested lamentations little can be said because the references are too few to permit any firm conclusions; cf. L. Legrain, UET 3, Indexes, p. 206 sub 242. This text is of interest in that it mentions three of the ritual terms we have been analyzing. Offerings of date-baskets are delivered for the ir2-su3-a-tu5, the ir2-u2-zug2-ga2, and the ki-a-nag-lugal-a-ba. Based on this evidence alone one cannot be sure that the mention of these cult terms together is significant; the text suggests an interrelation of these three rituals within the cult.

3.6 ^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak

In addition to the many texts which list offerings to the main temple of Nanna (e2-^{d}nanna) or to Nanna himself, there are a few which record offerings to Nanna under the name of ^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak. The name mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak has unfortunately defied all attempts at philological analysis and no proof of its ultimate derivation or significance can yet be offered.[104] However, it is clear from the texts that attest to this unusual surname that the god Nanna, when referred to in this way, is often closely associated with the minor deities who personify the produce of the land: specifically, ^{d}alammuš (^{d}LAL$_3$), the honey god; ^{d}nisaba, the barley goddess; and ^{d}nin-e2-i3-ga, goddess

of the oil and milk house.

UET 3, 149, 161, and 164 are nearly identical offering texts, all of which record varying quantities of wine mixed with eš$_a$ (emmer wheat flour?) as sa$_2$-du$_{11}$ offerings to ^{d}nanna, ^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-ba-ak, ^{d}alammuš, ^{d}nin-e$_2$-i$_3$-ga, and ^{d}nisaba. In each case ga-ti-e[105] is the official receiving the offerings, which are issued from the e$_2$-kišib$_3$-ba "general accounting office." The texts demonstrate not only the close association of ^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak with the minor deities of agricultural produce, but also the connection of all four of these deities with Nanna himself. In addition, the fact that these texts are recorded in three different months shows that offerings to this set of deities were a regular feature of the cult.

UET 3, 378, recorded in the year before the date of the three texts just mentioned (i.e. Ibbisuen year-date 5), also associates ^{d}nanna, ^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-ba-ak, and ^{d}alammuš. Each of them is presented with some sort of ornamental water vessel called in one case dara$_3$-a-nag-nag-[x] "a drinking (vessel) in the shape of an ibex," and in two cases an urudu-šen "a copper water vessel." In UET 3, 355 mention is made of a sa-am-sa-tum-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak, possibly some sort of emblem connected with ^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak.[106]

This last text is dated to the month of maš-ku$_3$-ku$_2$ in the ninth year of Šu-suen's reign -- the earliest known textual reference to the term mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak.

This fact in addition to the fact that Sir Leonard Woolley excavated two door sockets at Ur which bear the name of Šu-suen and mention Nanna and a temple called e2-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak[107] led Legrain to date the cult of dnanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak to the reign of Šu-suen.[108] In this connection one should also note J. Nies, Ur Dynasty Tablets, no. 100, also dated to Šu-suen year-date 9, in which barley-fatted oxen of various grades are listed as offerings to various deities including dnanna-e-mu-ri-na-ba-ak (obv. 3). Finally, a text in StOr 9/1, pp. 31-32, no. 27, dated to Ibbisuen year-date 2, also records offerings of barley-fatted oxen to a series of deities, most of whom are based in Ur, including dšu-dsuen ki-ag2-dnanna (obv. 1) and dnanna-mu-ri-na-ba (obv. 11). Both texts, though they come from Drehem specifically refer to cult-sites in Ur.

3.7 Personnel

Since the vast majority of the evidence on the cult of Nanna/Suen at Ur comes from royal offering texts in which the king authorizes all expenditures for the cult, our knowledge of the regular temple personnel who serviced the daily cult outside of the king's immediate interests is fragmentary. Section 1 demonstrated that the only personnel other than the king mentioned in these royal offering texts are the ensi2-bala, the lugal-ra ur2-sa, and in one case the sagi (SILA3.ŠU.DU8). I have already discussed the possible

function of the ensi2-bala. As for the lugal-ra us2-sa the few references to this functionary say little about his role in the cult (cf. n. 14). In the siskur offering texts he always receives either one or two ban2 of standard dark beer (type F). It is possible that he acted as the king's representative and delivered the royal offerings in the king's stead.

Somewhat more is known about the sagi (= Akkadian šāgium), "cup-bearer," "steward." L. Legrain has assembled the references to the sagi at Ur in UET 3, Indexes, pp. 201-202 sub 155. However, he seems to have left out a particularly interesting reference, i.e. UET 3, 1134 which records bread-rations given to the sagi named dsu-en-a-bu-šu, for his sustenance on day two, the day in which he went (to ga-eš5ki) for the siskur offering of (the feast of) the barley harvest (ni3-ku2-a-dsuen-a-bu-šu sagi u4-2-kam u4 siskur-še-gur10-ku5-še3 i3-im-gin-na zi-ga šа3-ga-eš5ki). The sagi's are often connected with ga-eš5ki as Legrain has shown (o.c.). By the seal on the tablet of UET 3, 155 it appears that the sagi's were sometimes under the command of the En-priestess of Nanna and Nanna-karzida. From UET 3, 1134 and from other references (cf. Gregoire, Archives Administatives Sumériennes, p. 153) it is clear that one of the main functions of the sagi was to make offerings. The sagi could also serve in the capacity of maškim, an office which entailed so many varied responsibilities

that its exact function is unclear (cf. Gregoire, AAS, p. 153 sub 114). In various texts the sagi is attached to the gi6-par4 (which supports the connection of the sagi to the En-priestess), to the kiri6-mah, and to the e3-kilib3-ba e2-kaš-de2-a (see Legrain, o.c. for text references).

By far the most often attested official in the Ur texts is the šabra. A review of his activities and functions at Ur is presented by Legrain, UET 3, Indexes, p. 196 sub 64 and a list of references to šabra in UET 3 can be found on pages 159-160. He seems to have had great poweres, his chief function being the supervision of the economic affairs of the temples. Most of the attestations of the šabra in texts refer to routine economic activities which are not directly related to the cult of Nanna/Suen. Consequently, I will not dwell on his various duties and powers here. A thorough study of the šabra with numerous references to texts and works of others scholars can be found in Gregoire, AAS, pp. 130-133.

Other minor officials who seem to have been in the service of Nanna at Ur were the u2-a sa2-du11-^{d}nanna, "caretaker of Nanna's regular offering" (UET 3, 961), išib-^{d}nan[na] "purification-priest of Nanna" (UET 3, 1206, 2'), simug-^{d}nanna "smith of Nanna" (UET 3, 1769), sipa-^{d}nanna "shepherd of Nanna" (UET 3, 179), utul-^{d}nanna "herdsman of Nanna" (UET 3, 1202), and erin2-^{d}nanna "workers of Nanna" (UET 3, 976).

Finally, the En-priestesses of Nanna probably assumed a major role in the cult, but all that is known about them comes from year-dates which attest to their appointment and from references in literary texts and dedicatory inscriptions which describe some of their activities. It is known that the en of Nanna from earliest times was probably female and usually the daughter of the king; the most notable example, of course, was Enḫeduanna, daughter of Sargon of Akkad, who is immortalized in the famous disk found in the gi6-par4 at Ur which depicts her making an offering with attendant handmaidens. In literary references the En-priestess is described as taking part in purification rites (šu-luḫ). She was sometimes referred to as the dam-dnanna, "wife of Nanna"; whether she was involved in a ritual sacred marriage ceremony is still a matter of debate. The En-priestess lived in the gi6-par3; she was chosen for her post by means of a liver-omen; she wore distinctive garb which included paraphernalia considered symbolic of her office; she was invested with this garb on her election and given a special title. These are the basic facts that are known about the En-priestesses of Nanna in the Ur-III period. Since two excellent studies of the En-priests and priestesses have already been made by E. Sollberger and J. Renger, it is not necessary to elaborate on this office here.[109]

Though one finds references to many different

officials and functionaries in the cult of Nanna/Suen at Ur, how they all interrelated is far from clear. Gregoire's discussion of the temple hierarchy at Umma during the Ur-III period probably roughly applies to Ur as well (Gregoire AAS, pp. XV-XVI).

Section 4: Nanna in the Drehem Archives and the Cult at Nippur

To conclude this chapter it will be useful to compare certain aspects of the cult at Ur which have been touched upon in the preceding pages with similar aspects of the cult at Nippur. The evidence is available in the many published studies of the tablets from the archives of both Nippur and Drehem. The cities of Ur and Nippur had strong cultural ties and shared many cultic practices. Nanna, the city-god of Ur, was a member of the pantheon worshipped at Nippur and is known to have made frequent journeys to Nippur with an entourage of cultic personnel. Therefore, so as not to present the evidence of the moon-god's cult at Ur in isolation from its broader cultural context, it is necessary to at least briefly discuss comparative cultic practices at Nippur.

Though the theology of Nippur recognized Nanna as a major deity of the pantheon, he is ranked in the hierarchy of deities worshiped at Nippur according to his relation to Enlil, tutelary deity of the city and chief god of the pantheon. As chief son of Enlil, Nanna

is usually listed third in line after his mother, Ninlil, in the offering texts, which generally follow the hierarchical order that is found in the god-lists. In accordance with this ranking his shrine was located within the temple of Ninlil;[110] it does not seem that he had his own temple at Nippur. All this makes it clear that Nanna did not have the pre-eminent position at Nippur that he did at Ur.

Since Nanna receives offerings at Nippur only in conjunction with a series of other deities and he or his shrine is never the sole focus of attention in the cult of Nippur as is the case at Ur, one is not able to say that a particular kind or type of offering is consistently expended for him. The most that can be said about the offerings to all the deities and cult places listed in the Drehem texts is that they are generally animal-offerings, whether they are referred to as siskur or eš3-eš3. As a result, the clear-cut distinctions between siskur and eš3-eš3 offerings that are so evident at Ur do not seem to exist at Nippur. For the same reasons a typology of the offerings made to Nanna at Nippur along the lines of the analysis that was made for the Ur offerings is not possible. However, because the Nippur/Drehem corpus of texts is so large and unorganized, it is difficult to say much at present about the structure of the cult at Nippur. Perhaps in the future after major organization of these archives has been accomplished, clear patterns will emerge

regarding offerings to the deities of Nippur which will be comparable to the typology of the Ur offerings.

Another major reason for the dissimilarity between the Ur and Nippur offerings to Nanna is that the former are royal offerings while the latter are temple offerings. The role of the king in the cult at Nippur is only occasionally hinted at by the cryptic phrase lugal ku4-ra "when the king has entered (the temple)." In these instances offerings are made to deities or for eš3-eš3 festivals often at the end of the month "when the king has entered" (lugal ku4-ra), as it is stated in the texts. Context, however, does not illuminate the full implications of these references to the king and it remains uncertain whether such texts describe a specific ritual periodically performed by the king in connection with the cult at Nippur.[111] In any case the king's relation to the cult at Nippur does not specifically pertain to Nanna but to the whole pantheon revered there. The offerings listed in the Drehem/Nippur texts refer to the daily offerings to the deities and cult shrines of the major temples of Nippur and so should be distinguished from the "special" royal offerings at Ur which were outside the mainstream of daily cult offerings within the temples.

For the purposes of this study the most useful comparison that can be made between the Ur and Drehem/Nippur offering texts is in respect to the eš3-

eš$_3$ festivals. A look at the references to these festivals in the Drehem/Nippur texts adds much to our understanding of the purpose and periodicity of these monthly holidays. The phrases eš$_3$-eš$_3$, u$_4$-sakar, and u$_4$-sakar-(e$_2$-)u$_4$-15 that have been noted in the Ur offering texts also occur in the Nippur and Drehem texts. Clearly, the observance of the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festival days was a tradition not confined to Ur but was shared by other important cities of the Ur-III kingdom; reference is made to these festivals not only in Nippur, but also in Umma, Lagash, and no doubt other cities of the realm. These festivals were a part of a traditional lunar calender which was common to the whole Sumerian kingdom of the Ur-III period. Furthermore, offerings made to various deities on these festival days in the accounts of the Nippur cult indicate that these monthly festivals were not necessarily associated with the moon-god alone, though it is likely that festival days which make direct reference to the phases of the moon must have been at least indirectly associated with the moon-god even when no mention is explicitly made to Nanna or Suen. Offerings at Nippur for these festivals are often made at the ki-^{d}suen, "the place of Suen," a cult-site that is not mentioned in Ur texts. [112] This makes the connection of these festival days with the moon-god fairly certain even outside of Ur.

The system of dating the expenditure of offerings for eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festivals according to days of the month

seems much more coherent and consistent at Nippur as compared to the similar system used in Ur. Offerings for eš3-eš3 festivals at Nippur are almost always made in connection with the u4-sakar, (e2-)u4-7, or u4-sakar-u4-15.[113] One does not note the occasional irregularities that occur at Ur such as an eš3-eš3 offering for the u4-sakar-sag-iti-gu-la expended on day two or five. Use of the phrase u4-x ba-zal,[114] "when day x had passed," in the Drehem/Nippur texts to indicate that offerings for the eš3-eš3 festivals are often delivered prior to the day on which a particular festival is celebrated clearly distinguishes the eš3-eš3 festival days from the other days of the month; this phrase is not used in the Ur texts and it is often nor clear, as we have seen, on exactly which days certain offerings are expended or if the eš3-eš3 festivals at Ur always occurred on days, one, seven, and fifteen. However, the fact that these festivals so regularly occur on these days at Nippur confirms what was found to be true for the majority of eš3-eš3 offerings at Ur. It is unlikely that two cities with such close cultural, political, and economic ties as Ur and Nippur would have used two different systems of dating traditional monthly festivals that were shared by both cities. Hence, irregularities in the Ur texts may be due to a much less explicit accounting system and the fact that the Ur texts do not come from a central temple archive as is the case with the Nippur/Drehem

texts. In regard to the siskur offerings at Nippur they are attested on almost every day of the month including the days of the es_3-es_3 festivals as they are at Ur. The vast majority of siskur offerings in the Drehem/Nippur archives consist of animals, quite the reverse of what we saw to be the case in the Ur texts. This is probably due to the fact that Drehem functioned as the major processing depot for animals coming into Nippur and that huge cattle pens which serviced many of the major Sumerian cities were located there. As a result little else besides animals was recorded in the Drehem archives; it is probable that non-animal siskur offerings, as well as other types, were delivered to the deities of Nippur and recorded at some other accounting place.

Nanna is frequently mentioned in offerings made at Nippur called siskur-gu-la "great siskur offering." This type is also attested at Ur.[115] Texts which record the siskur-gu-la at Nippur list offerings to a large number of deities and cult shrines often on a series of days in the month.[116] Nanna is also frequently associated with the siskur-gi6 "night-siskur offering," which often takes place in Ur and a2-ki-ti. This is not only attested in the Ur texts that have been looked at,[117] but also in the Drehem accounts.[118] The siskur-gi6 is also offered at Nippur to other deities.[119]

This brief review of certain types of offerings at Nippur which include Nanna of course only scratches the

surface of the very elaborate, complex cult at Nippur. A more in-depth view of the many cultic activities that took place at this center of Sumerian religion is beyond the confines of this study and not directly pertinant to the cult of the moon-god. The points which have been touched upon are sufficient to show that the cult of Nanna/Suen at Ur was part of a larger cult life based in Nippur and shared by all the cities of the Ur-III kingdom.

Part III: Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian Period

With the gradual breakdown of the Ur-III kingdom under its last king, Ibbisuen, information about the cult in Ur comes to an end. Though tablets attest to as many as 24 years in the reign of Ibbisuen, all evidence indicates that as early as his sixth year the kingdom of Ur faced serious challenges to its security and that by the end of his reign Ibbisuen was no longer the ruler of an empire, but a petty chieftan in a city which had suffered many losses and was in imminent danger of complete collapse.[120] The majority of offering texts which were discussed in Part II come from the seventh year of Ibbi-suen's reign. After this date there is practically no information on the cult in administrative texts for more than one hundred years. This hiatus may only reflect the hit-and-miss nature of archaeological excavations or the happenstances of survival; yet it is at least partially due to the disruption of the established order during Ibbisuen's reign and finally the whole-sale destruction of the city of Ur.

Ur administrative texts which furnish information on the cult of the moon-god after the fall of Ur, i.e. in the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period, are published in UET 5. For the purposes of this study the most important of these are the offering texts, which have been treated by H. Figulla in Iraq 15, pp. 88-122 and pp. 171-192. Since the task of analyzing the evidence in

these texts has been adequately accomplished by Figulla, it will not be necessary to tabulate and evaluate the data contained in these texts as was done in the preceding section. I will summarize Figulla's analysis of these texts and compare it to my own analysis of the Ur-III offering texts. Significant features of the cult of the moon-god at Ur during this period will then be discussed. It will be seen that the evidence for the cult in the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period indicates a continuing tradition reflecting much of the cultic organization and practices of the Ur-III period.

The offering texts treated by Figulla in Iraq 15 come from an archive in the gaz-nun-mah, the storehouse of Ningal. Most of the offerings consist of products stored in the gaz-nun-mah -- mainly dairy products and occasionally various kinds of vegetables. Grain and other products from the storehouse of the Nanna temple are also sometimes recorded. All told there are sixty-five offering texts which cover a time period of about 100 years from the nineteenth year of Gungunum to the nineteenth year of Rīmsîn. As Figulla stresses at the beginning of his article (Iraq 15, pp. 88-89), the extant texts represent a very small percentage of the total offerings that must have been given over this time span. Furthermore, since the whole archive comes from the gaz-nun-mah, it provides a glimpse into the cultic offerings in only one section of the temple complex. Thus, as in the case of the Ur-III offering texts which

constitute only a small royal archive, these texts from a later period by no means present a complete picture of cultic operations. One must understand the context and the limitations of the data in these texts to appreciate its significance.

Figulla divides the offerings into groups representing the simple to the complex. Simple offerings include regular grain offerings (sa2-du11) to Nanna and various other deities (Iraq 15, pp.89-90) and withdrawals of ghee (i3-nun), cheese (ga-ara3), and dates (su11-lum) from the ga2-nun-mah for regular and monthly offerings (sa2-du11 u3 ni3-dab5-iti-da). More elaborate offerings are recorded for festivals, sometimes referred to generically as ni3-dab5-ezem-ma, sometimes more specifically designated. For example, offerings listed in UET 5, 783 are described as ni3-a2-ki-ti-še-gur10-ku5-^{d}nanna "offerings for the harvest a2-ki-ti festival of Nanna" (bottom edge; see Iraq 15, p. 99). Offerings of ghee, cheese, and dates are also regularly presented to minor deities in the household of Ningal among which are included the names of two deceased En-priestesses.

A comparison of these offerings with those from the Ur-III period treated in Part II reveals obvious differences. The Ur-III offerings were all made by the king and were described either as siskur or eš3-eš3; a good many of them were offered for the monthly eš3-eš3

holidays. The later offerings come from the storehouse of Ningal and are for the most part described as sa2-du11 or ni3-dab5-iti-da, regular or monthly offerings. Though some of the products offered in each time period are the same (e.g., i3-nun, su11-lum, ga), most are different. Many of the offering sites or the occasions on which offerings are made are different in each period. However, the festivals of a2-ki-ti, ezen-mah, šu-eš-ša, and iri2-gu-la represent an on-going tradition reaching back at least to the Ur-III period (the first three are already attested in the Presargonic period; see Part I).

More important than the differences or even the occasional superficial similarities between these two groups of offering texts, is the underlying systematic organization clearly evident in the offerings of both periods. The same consistency of kind and in many cases quantity can be seen in offerings of both the Ur-III period and the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period. In offerings to minor gods, for example (Figulla's Group IV; Iraq 15, pp. 103-112), ghee, cheese, and dates are regularly offered to various deities in the same or very similar quantities over a period of months and years. In Part II, Section 1 I showed a similar consistency in kind, quantity, and offering sites for both eš3-eš3 and siskur offerings. Thus, it should be clear that the same basic organizing principles governed the workings of the cult at Ur in both periods whether this organization was

applied to eš3-eš3 and siskur offerings or to sa2-du11 and ni3-dab5-iti-da offerings. An on-going tradition which prescribed how the daily cult was to operate survived the destruction which brought the Ur-III kingdom to an end.

The continuity of tradition as manifested in the cult can also be seen in other offering texts from the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period not included in the corpus treated by Figulla in Iraq 15. UET 3, 270, an Old-Babylonian offering text erroneously included in L. Legrain's volume of Ur-III administrative texts, and UET 5, 507 are two texts which illustrate aspects of the cult life in this later period which are clearly related to features of the cult in the Ur-III period. The two texts have been compared and systematically treated by B. Levine and W. Hallo in HUCA 38, pp. 17-58. It is appropriate to consider them here again since they pertain directly to the cult of Nanna/Suen at Ur.

In both texts one notes that the eš3-eš3 festivals of the new moon (u4-sakar), of the seventh day, and of the fifteenth day are listed as recipients of offerings. Thus, the tradition of observing the monthly eš3-eš3 holidays was preserved in the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period at Ur. However, it appears that another eš3-eš3 holiday celebrated on the 25th of the month was added to the traditional three in this period; for in both texts an eš3-eš3 u4-25-kam is mentioned and in UET 5, 507 the

total offerings for all the eš3-eš3 offerings of one month are specified as eš3-eš3-4-bi "(for) its (i.e. the month's) four eš3-eš3 festivals."[121]

Many of the offerings listed in these texts are the same or similar to those listed in the Ur-III texts, particularly the royal siskur offering texts. UET 5, 507 lists beer and liquor libations much like the earlier siskur offerings. The repeated use of the Akkadian expression ana itaggîm in this text, literally, "for pouring out (as a libation)," appears to be the Akkadian rendering of the parallel Sumerian expression bal-bal-e-de3 so often attested in siskur offering texts of the Ur-III period. In UET 3, 270 offerings of i3-nun "ghee," ninda-i3-de2-a "bread spread with oil," and ninda-izi-ur5-ra "toasted bread" are identical to the more elaborate Ur-III siskur offerings (see Part II, Section 1, Table II, type A6). Thus, the offerings of the later period followed the pattern of the earlier period not only in substance, but also in form.

Another salient feature of both of these texts is the mention of ritual meals called in UET 3, 270 naptān šu-gi-na "fixed (regular) meal allotment" and in UET 5, 507 naptān kin-sig "meal allotment for late evening." The meaning of the Akkadian term naptānu ranges from a simple accounting term denoting "food allotment" to a more specialized expression with cultic connotations suggesting "ritual meal" or "banquet" (cf. B. Levine, W. Hallo, HUCA 38, p. 46; CAD vol. 11/1, pp. 319ff.). Since

both of these texts refer directly to the cult, the term naptānu probably refers to an actual cultic meal, particularly in the expression naptān kin-sig which designates a time for the meal. Literary texts make frequent mention of the daily cultic meals served to the gods; the terms kin-nim "early meal" and kin-sig "late meal" are both attested. To judge from the evidence of later periods and other locales the ritual meal was a focal point of the daily cult (see for example Frankena Tākultu; G. van Driel, The Cult of Aššur, pp. 159-162). A cultic meal was also a major part of a seven-day ritual in the cult of Larsa during the Old-Babylonian period (see E. Kingsbury, HUCA 34, pp. 1-28). It therefore seems probable that a cultic meal in which the local deities were served their daily meals (perhaps twice a day) was a regular feature of the cult at Ur.

Only a few key aspects of the cult have been mentioned in this very brief survey of the evidence pertaining to the cult of the moon-god at Ur during the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period. Space does not permit a more extensive treatment. The points that have been discussed are sufficient to show that the cult in the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period was basically a continuation of the cultic tradition of earlier periods. Just as in the Ur-III period regular offerings were presented to the temple of Nanna and associated cult shrines; these offerings were organized according to a

prescribed regimen which kept them fairly uniform and consistent over long periods of time; major festivals such as the a2-ki-ti and ezen-mah as well as the monthly eš3-eš3 holidays continued to be celebrated; important rites such as the ritual lamentation were still performed. In light of this cultic continuity, the cultic meal attested in Ur texts from the later period is probably also based on Ur-III tradition.

Summary

This chapter has analyzed the cult of the moon-god at Ur based largely on evidence of Ur administrative tablets from the Presargonic period to the Old-Babylonian period. Since most of the evidence comes from the Ur-III period, the bulk of this chapter concentrated on the cult in that period. Part I briefly summarized what little evidence exists from the earlier periods. Certain major festivals (a2-ki-ti, ezen-mah, and others) and the month holiday of new-moon day (u4-sakar) are already attested in this early age. The existence of the En-priestess at this time is suggested by the phrase MUNUS-ZI-ZI-NANNA, which is very similar to later titles of the En-priestesses of Nanna (see Chapter 4, n. 26).

Part II was devoted to the Ur-III period. The majority of the evidence for the cult at Ur during the third dynasty comes from the reign of Ibbisuen and is found in royal offering texts which record the offerings made by this king to the temple of Nanna and a series of

other cult sites inside and outside of the central temple complex. These offerings were seen to be highly organized. They were easily analyzed into types which revealed a great degree of uniformity and consistency. Though not all the cultic principles behind the organization of the royal offerings were evident, it became clear that the presentation of most of these offerings coincided with three monthly holidays which marked the major phases of the moon. On these special festival days the king provided the major cult shrines of Ur with a variety of animal and non-animal offerings; in some cases, specific kinds of offerings were made only on particular days. The king was also active in maintaining the cult-shrines of Ur on other days of the month beside these festival days. Evidence suggested that he kept a running account of his offerings to make sure all the shrines he was responsible for were provided for. These offerings showed that the king was deeply involved in daily cult activities and played an active role in the cult at Ur.

In Section 2, I summarized the archaeological evidence for the cult at Ur in an attempt to correlate the offering sites mentioned in textual sources with material evidence. In many cases this attempt was frustrated due to the happenstances of excavation, the imprecision of site-reports, and numerous philological puzzles. I was able to roughly estimate the probable

location of the temples of Nanna and Ningal, the cult center of the temple complex. This was found to be the ziggurat and the raised terrace which supported it, the northwest side of the terrace being the domain of Nanna, the southeast belonging to his consort Ningal; the ziggurat in the center with its shrine at the top was most likely the place where both were revered together. The location of most of the other sites at Ur was largely a matter of conjecture; and in some cases even conjecture was difficult.

In Section 3 I examined major features of the moon-god's cult at Ur besides the royal eš3-eš3 and siskur offerings. I demonstrated through a few references that the workings of the cult outside of the king's immediate sphere was a complex, many-faceted phenomenon involving daily offerings to the great number of deities in the local pantheon of Ur.

By looking at the major festivals and cultic activities which are attested in Ur texts I was able to get some idea of the fuller ramifications of the cult beyond daily offerings to deities and offering sites. By far the most important of these activities was the gi2-ki-ti festival which took place at harvest time and at seed time six months later. It involved the transport of Nanna (i.e. his statue) from his central temple in Ur through procession on land and by boat to an outlying, rural district called ga-eš5-ki where presumably the major agricultural activities which fed the people and

deities of Ur took place. No doubt the purpose of the festival was to insure the success of planting and harvesting through the divine presence. Another important festival which may have been connected with the a₂-ki-ti festival at seed time was a large intercity festival in which cultural ties between various Sumerian cities were reaffirmed either through procession or by joint celebration. This festival evidently occurred in the month of ezen-maḫ and may have given this month its name. Not enough evidence exists for this festival to get a sense of its full importance.

Other important cult events at Ur were purification rituals which involved both the king and various deities and may have been the forerunners of the later bît rimki ritual; a large intercity purification ceremony may have taken place at the beginning of the year involving once again many of the same cities that are included in the other great festivals in iti-a₂-ki-ti and ezen-maḫ. Other major ceremonies and rituals which were examined were: offerings at the libation sites of deceased rulers, who appear to have been deified at their deaths and revered in the cult along with the deities; various lamentation rituals serving different cultic purposes; and the worship of Nanna under the name of ^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak in conjunction with three other deities connected with agriculture.

A brief review of the personnel who serviced the

cult at Ur showed that we have only fragmentary evidence for the make-up and design of the elaborate temple hierarchy with its many officers and their wide variety of functions. Though there are quite a few references to various functionaries, context is usually too uninformative to allow us to judge their positions in relation to the temple structure or to know their precise role in the cult. Probably, the most important temple official was the En-priestess of Nanna. As the daughter of the king and as chief priestess with her own special residence, title, cultic garb, and paraphernalia, she probably played the leading role in the performance of cultic duties to Nanna/Suen and the other deities of Ur. So little is known about these priestesses that a detailed account of her services is still impossible. The cultic relation of the king to all of these temple officials is also largely obscure.

My brief treatment in Section 4 of the cult of Nippur where Nanna was also revered, albeit in a lesser role, showed that many of the cultic practices at Ur were also common in Nippur. In particular, observance of monthly lunar holidays was a common feature of the Sumerian cultic tradition and is attested not only at Nippur, but at Umma and in other cities. I showed that the cult of Nanna/Suen at Ur was part of the widespread, shared cultic tradition which was centered in Nippur.

Finally, in Part III I discussed some of the major aspects of Nanna/Suen's cult at Ur in the Isin-

Larsa/Old-Babylonian period. A corpus of offering texts from the gaz-nun-mah which listed offerings for deities and festivals revealed the same basic organizing principles as was evident in the Ur-III royal offerings. The existence of such major festivals as eš3-eš3, az-ki-ti, and ezen-mah indicated that significant features of the cult in earlier ages were preserved in the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period despite the destruction of Ur at the end of the Ur-III period.

The evidence in this chapter on the cult of Nanna/Suen at Ur, albeit limited in certain respects, provides a basic working knowledge of the most significant aspects of the cult at Ur. Working from this basis, evidence from other sources can be considered and tied in with the results that have been found here.

NOTES

1. In particular, I refer to Woolley's Ur Excavations, Volume 5, The Ziggurat and its Surroundings 1939, and Ur Excavations, Volume 6, The Buildings of the Third Dynasty 1974.

2. AJA 57, pp. 125-128.

3. Jacobsen, AJA 57, pp. 125-126.

4. Jacobsen, AJA 57, p. 126.

5. Ur tablets from the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period published in Ur Excavation Texts, Volume 5, by H.H. Figulla attest to daily temple activity at Ur in this time period; cf. H.H. Figulla, Iraq 15, pp. 88-122; 171-192 and Part III of the present chapter.

6. Jacobsen, AJA 57, p. 127.

7. Jacobsen, AJA 57, p. 128; on the reading e2-kiš$_{ib3}$-ba see W.F. Leemans, RA 48 (1954), pp. 57-66.

8. Hebrew Union College Annual 38, pp. 17-58, "Offerings to the Temple Gates at Ur"; cf. 17-18.

9. B. Levine, W. Hallo, HUCA 38, p. 17.

10. UET 3, 57; see treatment of this text by J. van Dijk, Heidelberger Studien zum Alten Orient (Wiesbaden, 1967), pp. 235-237.

11. This year-date, mu-us$_2$-sa en-am-gal-an-na-^{d}inanna ba-ḫun, which Sollberger in RlA, vol. 5, p. 5 takes to be the fifth year of Ibbisuen, Jacobsen interprets as the fourth year; see JCS 7, p. 38, n. 17. This year-date is found in UET 3, 107, 110, 113, 115 which are found on Tables I and II.

12. It is unclear whether e2-u4-15 is to be taken literally as "temple of the fifteenth day," i.e. referring to an actual physical structure or figuratively as, "house" or "station of the fifteenth day," referring to the position of the moon in the course of the month. The first interpretation seems to be supported by Or 47-49, 30, 15: mu-tum2 e2-u4-15-ta, "delivered from the house of the fifteenth (day)." L. Legrain seems to support the latter interpretation in UET 3, Indexes, p. 203 sub 173. Note Gudea Cyl. B iii, 6-7, which suggests a figurative interpretation of e2 : mu-gibil an-na im-ma-gub / iti e2-ba ba-a-ku4 "The new year stood in heaven. The moon entered into its house." A. Goetze has an entirely different idea concerning the use of e2 in this context (see JCS 9, p. 21, n. 8). He has proposed to translate e2 here as "vigil" suggesting that the e2 could be construed as Akkadian bâtum, "to pass the night," from which verb the noun bîtu, "house" is derived. In this sense the term would be used as nubattu is used in Akkadian which denotes the eve of a feast or evening ceremonies (see CAD, 11/2, pp. 307-308 sub nubattu A); cf. Limet, Rencontre 17, p. 64.

13. Jacobsen, JCS 7, p. 38 and n. 17.

14. See PSD vol. B, pp. 65ff. sub bala B.

15. See B. Levine and W. Hallo, HUCA 38, pp. 51-57 on the meanings of these terms for food offerings. On zi3-KAL see E. Kingsbury, HUCA 34, pp. 4-5 and n. 15; A.L.

Oppenheim, Eames Coll. Index sub šik; E. Sollberger, TCS 1, Index sub sik; MSL 11, p. 118, 5, 17; Limet, Ur III Brussels, p. 3.

16. bal-bal-e-de3 means literally "for pouring" contra Legrain's interpretation UET 3, Indexes, p. 200 sub 109, who equates this term with Akkadian palû or pilaqqu, meaning "stake" and "spindle" respectively. giš-bal(a) is the Sumerian equivalent of palû and pilaqqu. For Akkadian equivalents to bal(-bal) with the meaning "to pour" see W.H.Ph. Römer, SKIZ, p. 167 to 78. In addition, note UET 5, 507, an offering text from the Old-Babylonian period which like most of the siskur offering texts records beer offerings to various offering sites in the temple complex at Ur. The phrase ina itaqqîm is repeatedly used to express the action of performing a beer-libation. Considering the many similarities between this Ur Old-Babylonian offering text and the many Ur-III siskur offering texts, it is probable that ina itaqqîm is an Akkadian translation of bal-bal-e-de3.

17. Translation of lugal-ra us2-sa as "king's retainer" contra L. Oppenheim's interpretation in Eames Coll., p. 5, n. 11 where šar3-ra us2-sa is read and taken to mean a quality of beer. But see MSL 12, p. 35, 80 and p. 133, 156f.: lugal-a-ra2-us2-sa = mu-ur-te-du-u2 LUGAL; cf. CAD, vol. 10/2, p. 228 sub murteddû -- 1) persecuting, persecutor 2) follower, retainer; cf. Sh. Kang, Sumerian Economic Texts from Umma, 93:3 and p. 372; Kang,

Sumerian Economic Texts from Drehem, 118, obv. 1-3: 20 giš su$_{11}$-gal-lum / ki-PN-ta / lugal-ra-us$_2$-sa-še$_3$ "20 (pieces of) Sugullum wood from PN for the king's retainer"; C.E. Keiser, BIN 3, 381, 2: lugal-ra-us$_2$-sa-aš "for the king's retainer." The last two examples which use -še$_3$ (aš = še$_3$) show that this expression cannot be construed as an adjective modifying types of offerings. Also the MSL reference shows that we are dealing with a noun phrase, in particular since the Akkadian equivalent is a participle and an exact cognate. Note that AHw, p. 561 lugal (e) dusû "ein Priester" is based on a misreading of the lexical text now published in MSL (see above); i.e. lugal-a-ra$_2$-us$_2$-sa misread as lugal-*UD.DU-us$_2$-sa).

18. Reading of this god-name according to A. Falkenstein, JAOS 72, p. 45; cf. A. Deimel, SF 3 = VAT 12760 Rs. I 19: ^{d}MUŠ.IR.HA.GEŠTIN.BALAG.X; Barton MBI 1, I 5 = V 14 = vii 5: ^{d}MUŠ.IR.HA.GEŠTIN.BALAG; TCL 15, 10, 352: ^{d}MUŠ.IR.HA.TIN.BALAG. Falkenstein refers to the god-name as "der in späterer Zeit anscheinend verschollene Gottesname"; see further my Chapter 8, IV, 5 for this god's place in the cult of Ur.

19. Cf. UET 3, 276 where a šu-nir-a$_2$-ki-ti is mentioned.

20. Days six and eight are not mentioned in the texts.

21. M. Lambert, RA 44, pp. 73-87, especially fig. 1, p. 87 fully accepted Woolley's statements abaout the temple of Nanna and in fig. 1 he identifies the small room with

the cult niche which he calls "la chapelle" as well as the court in front of it as the place where all offerings to Nanna took place. Because he erroneously assumed that all the cult sites mentioned in the offering texts had to be in the immediate vicinity of the temple of Nanna, he attempted to locate all of them in this northwest corner. Cf. Sumer 6/2, 163.

22. See CAD vol. 5, pp. 67-70 sub gigunû.

23. Oppenheim, Eames Coll. sub Bab. 17; Jones-Snyder, SET no. 63, i, 3 and no. 59, obv. 6 and no. 116, obv. 4.

24. Cf. Lambert, RA 44, p. 85.

25. See Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, p. 27, n. 5 and pp. 33-34. In the latter reference note that Landsberger suggests the du6-ku3 in Nippur may originally have been associated with Nanna. Note also AOAT 25, p. 274, 6 (Šulgi O): du6-ur2 ki mu-tuku-^{d}en-lil2-la2-ke4 ša3bi me-ḫal-ḫa "Du'ur, the celebrated place of Enlil, its interior (is where) the me's are alloted."

26. See CAD, vol. 3, pp. 166-167 sub dû.

27. See M.W. Green, Eridu in Sumerian Literature (University of Chicago Dissertation, 1975), pp. 75 and 97.

28. UET 6/2, 101, 57; cf. H. Steible, Ein Leid an den Gott Ḫaja (Freiburg in Breisgau, 1967).

29. L. Woolley, Ur Excavations 6, pp. 42 and 43.

30. H. Steible, Ḫaja, p. 59.

31. See Nies, UDT, 92 and 110 (92 is recorded in Ur).

32. See Woolley and Moorey, Ur of the Chaldees, map on p. 185, rooms B6, B7 and B8.

33. UET 3, Indexes, pp. 50-57 give us some idea of the numerous shrines and temples in Ur.

34. For a good overall definition of sa2-du11 see M. Sigrist, Ninurta à Nippur (Yale University Dissertation, 1976), pp. 356-374.

35. Rations for Ningal under supervision of dnanna-kam and lugal-me-lam2.

36. See B. Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, p. 68; JNES 8, p. 273, n. 68; Jones-Snyder, SET, pp. 43-44.

37. Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender (Leipzig, 1915), p. 69.

38. Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, pp. 70-71.

39. UET 3, 80 and 1504 obv. vii.

40. Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, p. 76.

41. See Répertoire géographique des Textes Cunéiformes II (Wiesbaden, 1974), D.O. Edzard, G. Farber, p. 99.

42. See my section on the a2-ki-ti festival below.

43. Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, p. 78.

44. Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, p. 78.

45. Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, pp. 79-80.

46. See S.V. Pallis, The Babylonian Akitu Festival (Copenhagen, 1926).

47. Cf. A. Falkenstein, Festschrift Johannes Friedrich, "Akiti-Fest und akiti-Festhaus," pp. 147-182.

48. This is attested in UET 3, 134.

49. Legrain in UET 3, Indexes, p. 199 sub 105; M. Lambert in Sumer 6, pp. 153ff.; cf. also W. Hallo, J. van Dijk, Exaltation of Inanna (YNER 3), p. 8, n. 56 where it is suggested that ga-eš$_5^{ki}$ refers to Uruk.

50. Falkenstein, Festschrift Johannes Friedrich, p. 169, n. 11.

51. See E. Sollberger, AfO 17, pp. 28ff.

52. See Å. Sjöberg and E. Bergmann, TCS 3, hymns 8 and 12.

53. The fact that in later times there was a bît akiti also leads one to suspect that in Ur-III times there may also have been such a structure; cf. Falkenstein, Festschrift Johannes Friedrich, p. 168, n. 1 and Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalendar, p. 12, n. 4.

54. Falkenstein, Festschrift Johannes Friedrich, p. 171, n. 16.

55. SAK 198e; 200i; UVB 10, tablet 28; cf. Chapter 4, sect. 3, Amar-suen 6.

56. See K. Sykes, The Year Names of the Ur III Period (University of Chicago Masters Thesis, 1973).

57. See K. Sykes, ibid.

58. See also UET 3, 1354: a-ša$_3$-ga-eš$_5^{ki}$.

59. However, cf. UET 3, 337: e$_2$-^{d}utu-uri$_2^{ki}$-ke$_4$.

60. See Chapter 4, n. 68 for the possibility that e$_2$-gi-na-tum is to be read e$_2$-šutum.

61. See UET 3, Indexes, p. 53 and commentary to 193 on p. 204.

62. Cf. UET 3, 1059 and 1191.

63. UET 3, 1379.

64. UET 3, 276; cf. UET 3, 233.

65. UET 3, 1432 rev. ii, 7.

66. Oppenheim, Eames Coll. sub E3: seems to indicate that ^{d}be-la-at-e ga-nir and ^{d}be-la-at-dir2-ra-ba-an accompanied Nanna on his boat journey to ga-es$_5^{ki}$.

67. UET 3, 377, 1183, 189, 190, 191.

68. UET 3, 235 and 1134.

69. See Legrain, TRU 370; cf. UET 3, 276 and 233(?).

70. UET 3, 193, 233, 235.

71. UET 3, 283, 193.

72. Cf. Oppenheim, Eames Coll., p. 42, E3: u4-a2-ki-ti and Falkenstein, Festschrift Johannes Friedrich, p. 172, n. 26.

73. Cf. Legrain, TRU, 370 and Falkenstein, Festschrift Johannes Friedrich, p. 173, n. 27.

74. See B. Levine and W. Hallo, HUCA 38, p. 47.

75. Specifically in UET 3, 1328, 299, 340.

76. UET 3, 186, 380.

77. Falkenstein, Festschrift Johannes Friedrich, pp. 173-174, notes 32 and 33; Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, p. 30 and JNES 8, pp. 262ff.

78. JNES 8, p. 262 and n. 65.

79. JNES 8, p. 264.

80. On the problem of the arrangement of the months in the Ur calender and the beginning of the year, see the following references: L. Legrain, UET 3, Indexes, p.

211, commentary to 296; pp. 278 and 279 for names of the months and intercalary months; Thureau-Dangin, RA 8, pp. 84-85; Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, p. 67 and n. 3 and JNES 8, pp. 262ff.; A. Falkenstein, Festschrift Johannes Friedrich, p. 152 and n. 35; R. Whiting, ZA 69, pp. 6ff.; T. Gomi, BiOr 34 (1977) 275-281.

81. Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, pp. 71-73; also p. 66.

82. See A.J. Ferrara, Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur (Studia Pohl 2, 1973).

83. Falkenstein, Festschrift Johannes Friedrich, pp. 153-154.

84. Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, pp. 76-77; cf. J. Krecher, SKL, p. 40, n. 112.

85. On the various writings of a2-ki-ti see Falkenstein, Festschrift Johannes Friedrich, p. 147 and Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, pp. 12f.

86. See J. Laessøe, Studies on the Assyrian Ritual and Series bît rimki (Copenhagen, 1955).

87. See Laessøe, Bît Rimki, p. 16, n. 20.

88. It is unclear whether a-tu5-a in this text and in UET 3, 1685 refers to a profession or to the ritual itself.

89. Mention of such structures as na-da-tum-lugala and e2-eš3-^{d}nanna seems to point to Ur.

90. See Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, pp. 79 and 80.

91. D. Owen, Neo-Sumerian Archival Texts, no. 914.

92. MNV 8, no. 139; MVN 7, 267; MVN 10, no. 144.

93. UET 3, 21, 244, 81.

94. MVN 10, 230, obv. iii, 6-8 and Gregoire's discussion on p. 18; on EB2-TUR3^{ki} see D.O. Edzard and G. Farber, Rep.Geogr., p. 83.

95. MVN 10, 172.

96. See Sollberger, JCS 7, pp. 48ff. and JCS 10, pp. 18-20.

97. L. Woolley, Ur Excavations 6, chapters I-IV.

98. See UET 3, Index, p. 106.

99. Cf. A. Goetze, JCS 17, pp. 8-9 on ir2-su3-a.

100. Since the u2-SAG-ga2 lamentation is in one instance connected with a goddess (UET 3, 273), I read u2-zug2-ga2 and take the phrase to mean the sexual uncleanness of women. Reading u2-sag-ga2 "early pasture" seems unlikely in this context; cf. R. Borger, ABZ, p. 130 and CAD, vol. 10/2, pp. 239-240 sub musukku. For a different interpretation see J. Krecher, SKL, p. 41 and n. 117a.

101. UET 3, Indexes, p. 208.

102. HUCA 38, p. 47 and 49, n. 26.

103. Cf. J. Krecher, SKL, p. 41, n. 117 on ki-zah2.

104. See C.J. Gadd and L. Legrain UET 1, p. 18, no. 80 for an attempt to render the name: e2-mu ri-a na-ba-ak. This interpretation is contradicted by alternate writing of the name at StOr 9/I, p. 32, 11; a more plausible interpretation is offered by Römer SKIZ, p. 273, commentary to 25ff.

105. UET 3, 149 reads ki-ti-e (to be read ga(!)-ti-e(?)).

106. See Legrain's commentary to 355 in UET 3, Indexes, p. 214.

107. L. Woolley, Ur Excavations 6 (1974), pp. 47-49 locates e2-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak between e2-nun-mah and dub-lal-mah. Inscription in UET 1, p. 18, no. 80.

108. UET 3, Indexes, p. 202 sub 161; cf. 355.

109. E. Sollberger, AfO 17, pp. 23-29; J. Renger, ZA 58, 114-134.

110. See StOr 9/1, no. 38 rev. 1; N. Schneider, AnOr 19, p. 45.

111. The expression has been translated by Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, p. 76, 9, I as "vom König dargebracht"; it is also understood in the same sense by A. Falkenstein, Festschrift Johannes Friedrich, p. 153 ("von König eingebracht"); but see L. Oppenheim, Eames Coll., H37, 012, Bab16.

112. Suen as a name for the moon-god rarely occurs in Ur texts outside of personal names.

113. 1st: sag-u4-sakar JCS 9, 19ff. PDT no. 351 (Ur);

eš3-eš3-e2-u4-sakar JCS 14, p. 104, Kang Drehem, no. 174; JCS 24, p. 155, 29, MVN 11, 178, Keiser, BIN 3, nos. 496, 218, 221, 260, MVN 10, 224; N. Schneider, Or 18, pp. 41-42.

u4-sakar-gu-la Holma, StOr 9/1, no. 20; Oppenheim, Eames Coll. E9, D5; JCS 24, pp. 83f. (Umma).

e2-u4-sakar Kang Drehem, no.s. 152, 144; PDT no. 82; Nik 2, 480 and 496; PDT 343 (Ur), 690; MVN 3, 235.

7th: e2-u4-7 JCS 9, 19f.; PDT 68, 343 (Ur)

eš3-eš3-e2-u4-7 JCS 14, p. 104; Nik 2, 471, Keiser, BIN 3, 571.

e2-u4-15 eš3-eš3 JCS 14, p. 104; JCS 24, p. 155, 29; PDT nos. 370, 485; Keiser, BIN 3, 213.

15th: u4-sakar-u4-15 StOr 9/1, 20; Oppenheim, Eames Coll., E9; JCS 24, p. 83 (Umma); Nik 2, 372, 373, 374 (all Umma); Sauren, WMAH, 141.

e2-u4-15 Kang, Drehem, 152; PDT, 527; Keiser, BIN 3, 558; MVN 8, 215.

eš3-eš3-u4-sakar-u4-15 Sauren, WMAH, 170, MVN 7, 562 and 519.

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114. See N. Schneider, AnOr 13.

115. See UET 3, 283 and 207, for example.

116. See Schneider, Or 18, p. 48 sub 2; Holma, StOr 9/1, 27; Kang, Drehem, 188.

117. Examples are UET 3, 215, 216, 233, 235 and 159.

118. Langdon, Archives of Drehem, 47, rev. iv 5; Or 18, pp. 49-50, SA 241.

119. Kang, Drehem, 182 and 186; PDT, 603; Keiser, BIN 3, 299.

120. See Th. Jacobsen, JCS 7, p. 38 and notes 12-18; cf. D.O. Edzard, ZZB, Chapter 5.

121. Cf. CAD vol. 4 (E), p. 373.

CHAPTER 6

EVIDENCE FOR THE MOON-GOD IN LITERARY TEXTS

The large, diverse corpus of Sumerian texts conventionally characterized as "literary texts" will be examined in this chapter for evidence bearing on the character and cult of the moon-god. Of all the types of texts which are considered in this study literary texts provide the most in-depth and revealing look into the way the moon-god was conceptualized and his role in the cult. As valuable as these texts are for an understanding of the god and the many concepts and cultic practices connected with him, at the same time they pose special problems of evaluation. Not least among these is our lack of knowledge about the use of literary compositions in Mesopotamian society. Besides their didactic use in the scribal schools where texts of all sorts were copied to train young scribes in writing cuneiform, little is known about their role in the cult or the place of "literature" in the daily workings of society. The term "literary" is in itself a problem since it is not clear that ancient scribes ever recognized the distinction between literary and non-literary texts. Furthermore, terms which reflect a purely modern, western aesthetic such as hymns, myths, epics, etc. -- though they are useful for sorting out a great mass of evidence -- often obfuscate more than they explain; they disguise the fact that so little is known

about how ancient scribes organized their archives and the structural principles behind their organization.

In the case of the moon-god, a great many "hymns" composed for this god have been found and they form the basis of our knowledge about how he was conceptualized; yet the cultic motives or occasions for composing these texts and what function these hymns had in the cult of the moon-god, either at Ur or Nippur, is largely obscure. Thus, the information about the moon-god which these texts reveal, though often very valuable, is disconnected and lacks a coherent, overall context; and the picture of the moon-god which an analysis of so-called literary texts reveals is seriously handicapped by our lack of knowledge regarding the raison d'etre of the texts themselves.

A second problem in evaluating the evidence contained in literary compositions must also be considered. The vast majority of literary texts date to the Old-Babylonian period (roughly from the reign of Rīmsîn I of Larsa to Amiṣaduqa of Babylon).[1] These are all written in Old-Babylonian orthography and use a literary Sumerian characteristic of the Old-Babylonian scribal school at Nippur. Thus, even those compositions which are ascribed to the reign of an earlier king (e.g. Šulgi) are preserved only in Old-Babylonian renditions. Though scholars have assumed that these Old-Babylonian renditions are copies of earlier prototypes, it is by no

means certain how faithfully Old-Babylonian scribes tradited earlier compositions since there are so few literary texts older than the Old-Babylonian period to use for comparison. Thus, it is an open question as to how reliably earlier cultic practices and religious concepts are reflected in the Old-Babylonian versions of compositions which supposedly originated in preceding eras. It is possible that these texts reflect the usages of the Old-Babylonian period at least as much as those of earlier periods.

With these caveats in mind literary compositons which pertain to the moon-god will be considered. I have retained the conventional classification of literary texts (hymns, myths, epics, etc.) for organizational purposes and to avoid confusion. The emphasis in my analysis of the texts will be on the concepts connected with the character of the moon-god as expressed through the epithets and literary phraseology associated with him; secondarily, I will also note information on the cult. A synopsis of the key epithets, phrases, and cultic data is presented at the end of my discussion of each hymn to the moon-god and a final synopsis is given at the end of the chapter.

The evidence is organized chronologically in periods ranging from the Presargonic to the Old-Babylonian period. Because of the problems of dating the evidence discussed above, this chronological arrangement should be viewed only as a convenient method of

organizing a great mass of material. As such it is meant to complement the preceding chapters which have surveyed the evidence in administrative texts and in dedicatory inscriptions likewise in chronological order.

The chapter is organized according to the following outline:

I. Presargonic Period: fragments of literary compositions

II. Sargonic Period: hymns ascribed to Sargon's daughter, Enḫeduanna

III. Ur-III Period:

A. Literary Compositions ascribed to one of the Ur-III kings

1. Urnammu: miscellaneous compositions mentioning the moon-god and a bal-bal-e hymn to Nanna

2. Šulgi: "royal" hymns in which the moon-god is mentioned

3. Amarsuen: temple hymn to the Nanna temple at Gaeš

4. Ibbisuen: 4 hymns to the moon-god; "literary" letters with references to the moon-god

B. Literary Compositions which reflect Ur-III traditions, but cannot be ascribed to a specific reign

1. 17 hymns to the moon-god

2. Mention of the moon-god in hymns to other deities
3. Myths involving the moon-god
4. Epics which mention the moon-god
5. Miscellaneous literary compositions

IV. Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian Period:

A. The moon-god in er$_2$-šem$_3$-ma's
B. Mention of the moon-god in Lamentations for the destruction of cities
C. References to the moon-god in "royal" hymns

I. Presargonic Period

References to the moon-god in early literary texts of the Presargonic period are either fragmentary or cryptic. No evaluation of these references is yet possible because the decipherment of Presargonic literary works is still in the first stages. Most of the texts in the following list come from either Abū-Ṣalābīkh or Fara (Šuruppak).

1) list of za$_3$-mi$_3$ hymns (OIP 99, pp. 45ff.):

35. uri$_2$ (ŠEŠ.UNUS) šim-kur
36. lugal ^{d}nanna za$_3$-mi$_3$

"Ur . . .
lord Nanna be praised."

39. ki-šar-nun-tu-tu
40. ama ^{d}nin-gal za$_3$-mi$_3$

". . .
mother Ningal be praised."

55. A.ḪA ur$_2$ NINDA$_2$xGUD ud

56. aš-im$_4$-babbar za$_3$-mi$_3$

". . .

Ašimbabbar be praised."[2]

2) Miscellaneous literary texts:

a) OIP 99, 131 i 4':

a-nun ^{d}nanna

"The princely seed, Nanna"

b) OIP 99, 164 iv' 6':

a ^{d}nanna

"father(?) Nanna"

c) OIP 99, 180 ii' 1:

UD.ŠEŠ.KI = iti$_6$

"moonlight"

d) OIP 99, 252 ii' 2':

^{d}EN.ZU

e) OIP 99, 283 viii:

^{d}nanna in broken context[3]

3) UD.GAL.NUN literary texts:

a) (d)ŠEŠ.KI is attested in the following texts:

Deimel SF 39 ii 5; vi 2, 5; SF 56 i 12; vii 1(?); SF 60 viii 7, 12, 13.

b) Deimel SF 39 vii 8-9 (see B. Alster, AOAT 25, p. 21):

8. ^{d}nanna uri$_3$+na ab$_2$ MUN

9. nam$_2$ mu-rig$_7$ (DU+KAB)

"Nanna was bestowed a standard,

a . . . cow, as his distinctive mark'"

(cf. AOAT 25, p. 21, n. 36)

4) Barton MBI no. 1:

xvii 4'. ^{d}EN.ZU in obscure context[4]

5) Barton MBI no. 2:[5]

obv. ii 10': [. . .] ^{d}suen-na

rev. iii 8: ^{d}suen an-da ki ^{d}suen i$_3$-tu[6]

II. Sargonic Period

The most prominent individual of this period and perhaps of any period in the history of the cult of the moon-god at Ur was Enḫeduanna, daughter of Sargon and first of a line of En-priestesses of Nanna which continued in unbroken succession for almost 500 years. Besides the inscriptions dedicated to the moon-god, which have been discussed in the preceding chapter, she left to posterity a legacy of hymnic literature that became part of the fixed canon of later scribal tradition and attests to her profound impact on the Mesopotamian religious heritage. She is credited with the compilation of the lengthy series of hymns to all the major temples of Sumer and Akkad, and may have composed the three hymns to Inanna known as nin-me-šar$_2$-ra,[7] in-nin-ša$_3$-gur$_4$-ra,[8], and in-nin-me-ḫuš-a (Inanna and Ebiḫ).[9] Her name is also found on one hymn to Nanna and a fragment of another hymn.[10] All of these

compositions survive only in Old-Babylonian versions. Their value as historical documentation is therefore limited (see the introduction to this chapter).

The political implications of her role in Ur as the daughter of Sargon and the reasons for her "exaltation of Inanna" while serving as the En-priestess of Nanna have been thoroughly discussed by many scholars[11] and do not directly pertain to a study of the moon-god. Suffice it to say here that certain passages in her hymns to Inanna suggest that she attempted to elevate the goddess to a level on a par with, if not above, that of An,[12] Enlil, and Nanna. This may have been done because of a power struggle between Akkad, which saw Inanna as its tutelary goddess, and Uruk, Nippur, and Ur, older Sumerian cities which were respectively identified with the above three male gods. Her attempt to exalt the importance of Inanna above that of Nanna is expressed most directly in nin-me-šar2-ra 122: he2-zu -he2-zu-a-^{d}nanna li-bi2-in-du11-ga za-a-kam bi2-in-du11-ga "Because the 'Be it known! Be it known!' has not been said of Nanna, but has been said of you (therefore, be it known that you are as lofty as heaven, as wide as the earth, etc.)." This phrase introduces a concluding litany in which all the attributes of Inanna are listed and emphasized by the constantly repeated phrase: he2-zu-am3 "Be it known that ..."[13] These are strange words indeed in the mouth of the En-priestess of Nanna and the only conclusion that can be drawn is that these

sentiments were prompted by her ouster from Ur at the hands of Lugalanne of Uruk who revolted against the central power in Akkad. These events are alluded to in this hymn[14] and possibly also in in-nin-šeš3-gur4-ra.[15] Whatever immediate influence this struggle for political and theological supremacy may have had on Ur and the cult of Nanna during the Sargonic period, no diminution of Nanna's status is apparent after the fall of the Akkad dynasty. In fact, with the rise of the Ur-III dynasty a few centuries later one notes what might be called an "exaltation of Nanna"; and for about one hundred years while Ur is in control of Mesopotamia the prestige of the moon-god is at its peak. Perhaps, in some ways this elevation of the importance of Ur and its god was a reaction to the political conflicts mirrored in the hymns of Enḫeduanna.

Despite the problems she encountered in her tenure as En-priestess of Nanna at Ur, Enḫeduanna depicts herself in her hymns as a pious and diligent servant of the moon-god. In Ninmešarra 66-68 she says:

gi6-par3-ku3-ga ḫu-mu-e-ši-in-ku4-re-en
en-me-en en-ḫe2-du7-an-na-me-en
gi-ma-sa2-ab i3-gur3-ru asil-la2 i3-du11

"I go to you in the holy Gipar,
I, En-priestess, Enḫeduanna,
I carry the basket singing joyously."[16]

The last line (68) is repeated in a somewhat variant form in her hymn to Nanna (TuM NF IV, 7, col. iv 160-

164) in which she describes her pious act of restoring the temple of Ningal:

gi-ma-sa2-ab ku4-ku4-dam asil3-la di-dam
e2 du10-ge-da e2 ga2-ga2-dam
ki-šu-luḫ-ku3-ga si-sa2-e-dam
dnin-gal en-ḫe2-du7-an-na-mu
[e2(?)]-zu ki-bi ḫu-mu-na-gi4-gi4

"I, Enḫeduanna (line 163), by bringing in the gimasab-basket (and) singing joyously,
by making the temple good (again), by setting the temple up,
(and) in the place of the pure washing rites by putting (everything) in order,
I, O Ningal, am restoring your [temple]."

These lines, besides attesting to her devotion to the cult of the moon-god at Ur, also provide insights into the functions of the En-priestess. She was charged with the task of restoring the Gipar, of performing the hand-washing ceremonies, of singing the praises of the goddess, Ningal, and of carrying in the gi-ma-sa2-ab basket, used either as an offering basket or for carrying in the first bricks to commence restoration work on the temple.[17] A passage from Nimmešarra implies that she served as interpreter of the messages received from the goddess, Ningal: (line 19) inim-du11-ga-dnin-gal-la lu2-ra nu-mu-na-bur2 "I no longer revealed to anyone the word spoken by Ningal."[18] In her hymn to Nanna she is depicted as being involved in the process of brewing beer for offerings to Ningal.[19]

Of all her compositions the temple hymns reveal best the extent of her schooling in the religious traditions of Mesopotamia and her familiarity with the major deities of the Sumerian pantheon and their cult

centers. Though the version of the temple hymns that is extant dates from the Old-Babylonian period (as do most Sumerian literary compositions) and obviously contains some later accretions and changes added by scribal redactors, there is no reason to doubt Enḫeduanna's role in compiling the collection and perhaps composing some of the temple hymns. Of the hymns in the collection to temples of the moon-god, the one to the e₂-ĝanna in Gaeš is most likely not by her since an inscription of Amarsuen specifically states that he built the temple of Nanna in Gaeš and no such temple had existed on that site before him (see below sub Amarsuen). The hymn to the e₂-ḫur-saĝ of Sulĝi in Ur obviously belongs to this categorY also. However, there is no evidence that the hymns to the e₂-kiš-nu-ĝal₂ of Nanna in Ur and the e₂-u₂-ru-um of Nanna in Urum do not date back to Enḫeduanna. In addition, her hymn to Nanna which was alluded to above (TuM HS IV, 7 iii 107-iv 168), resembles a temple hymn in that the first section appears to be a paean to the Ekišnuĝal and other cult installations of Ur. These hymns provide an interestinĝ ĝlimpse into certain features of the cult of the moon-ĝod as well as the waY the ĝod was conceived.

In the hymn to Ekišnuĝal (no. 8) and the hymn to e₂-u₂-ru-um (no. 37) two chief aspects of the moon-ĝod's character are revealed in the epithets which describe him and his temple. One of these aspects is his role as

the God of the herders and their livestock. He insures that the herds are kept large and that his city is well stocked with the Products of the herder: milk, cream, butter, cheese, etc. So in the hymn to the e2-u2ru-um the god by the name of Aš̌imbabbar plays the role of shepherd: (line 470) dAš̌-im2-babbar-e nam-sipa-zu š̌a-mu-un-aka "Asimbabbar who acts as your shepherd." In line 469 of the same hymn he provides for: e2-ab2-lu-a tur3-dagal-la "a house with numerous cows, a wide cattleyard." In the hymn to the Ekiš̌nugal his temple is described as the amar-ab2-gal-la (line 102) "calf of the great cow," the cow in this case being a poetic description of Ur. In line 104 of the same hymn Ur is called: Š̌ID x A ku2-kur-kur-ra "water vessel(?) which feeds all the lands." The association of the moon-god with this cult water vessel was noted frequently in the preceding chapter where it was connected both with purification rituals and as a symbol with the irrigation works which provide water to the farmlands.[20] As provider of water and as canal inspector (nanna-gu2-gal) Nanna takes on fertility aspects pertaining not just to the herd and the shepherd, but also to the arable land and the harvest.

The other aspect which is brought out in the same hymns is his celestial aspect. He is depicted as the true moon-god whose light appears nightly to illuminate the darkness. In the hymn to the e2-u2-ru-um Suen is: (line 475) an(!)-za-gin3-ta e3 kiri4-zal "the proud one

come forth from the azure sky" and: (line 476) kalam-e zalag-zalag-ge "the one who brightens the land." In the hymn to the Ekišnugal that temple is: (line 110) e2-kiš-nu-gal2 i[ti6-sla]h6-sah6 kalam-ma e3-a "the Ekišnugal arising over the land like beaming moonlight"; and in the Nanna hymn (TuM NF IV, 7 iii 107) Nanna's temple is: e2 u4 dutu-gi[nz(?)] e3-a "the temple which arises like(?) the day/the sun." These two aspects of the moon-god, the fertility and the celestial, will be seen again and again in the epithets and the hymns that center on the god.

Between the death of Enḫeduanna and the start of the Ur-III dynasty there are no attested literary works which deal either directly or indirectly with the moon-god except the inscriptions of Gudea, which have been discussed in the preceding chapter. Literary compositions in recensions which antedate the Ur-III or even the Old-Babylonian period are rare and often difficult to interpret, as has been pointed out above. The few references to the moon-god in these early exemplars are either in an enigmatic context or add nothing to an understanding of the god.

III. Ur-III Period

The establishment of a new dynasty in Ur under Urnammu ushered in a century of political power and prosperity in the city of the moon-god, which now held sway over all the cities of Mesopotamia. With this rise in power and prestige came a concommitant increase in the importance of Nanna/Suen, the tutelary deity of Ur. The evidence of contemporary inscriptions, administrative tablets, archaeological remains, and personal names indicates unmistakably the great influence that the god of Ur attained at this time and points to a period of extensive cultural and cultic resurgence.

Unfortunately, there are almost no literary texts from the Ur-III period to attest to the literary florescence which scholars have always assumed must have accompanied the general cultural renaissance reflected in other sources of evidence. This break in the literary record is probably due to natural and man-made destruction as well as the happenstances of archaeological excavations. As a result, evidence for literary activity in the Ur-III period must be inferred from the extant literary compositions of the succeeding Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period; a period in which, it is assumed, the whole corpus of literary tradition was copied, edited, and collected in archives. The hazards of extrapolating the beliefs and practices of an earlier

age from the records of a later time have been discussed in the introduction to this chapter. It is re-emphasized here that all of the literary evidence discussed in the following section is derived from Old-Babylonian tablets, even though the origin of each composition is attributed to the reign of one of the Ur-III kings. The distortions which result from this method of research are inevitable, yet unavoidable since contemporary literary evidence is scanty and fragmentary.

On the other hand, it can be argued that the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period was profoundly influenced by the preceding Ur-III dynasty and that in all probability literary and religious traditions of the earlier age were adopted by the later age. This influence is evident from the fact that royal hymns and royal correspondence attributed to Ur-III kings were produced in Old-Babylonian scribal schools; and in regards to the moon-god, it seems likely that the many hymns dedicated to him must date back in some form to the Ur-III period when his cultic influence was at its height. The same is true of the myths connected with him, "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur" and "Enlil and Ninlil," both of which evince certain cultural and religious conditions which can only be associated with the Ur-III period. Thus, though it cannot be denied that a tradition dating back at least to the Ur-III period is reflected in Old-Babylonian literary compositions, the all-important distinctions (often far more significant than the

similarities) in the way this tradition was expressed in each period are not apparent. This lack of evidence from the Ur-III period makes the picture of the moon-god's character which emerges from the literary corpus incomplete.

This section is divided into two major parts (marked A and B). In the first part (A) literary compositions which pertain to the moon-god and can be attributed to the reign of one of the Ur-III kings are considered; most of these are royal hymns or hymns to the moon-god which mention an Ur-III king. In the second part (B) literary compositions which do not mention a king by name, but appear to reflect the traditions of the Ur-III period are reviewed; this includes hymns to the moon-god, references to the moon-god in hymns to other deities, myths, epics, and miscellaneous compositions.

A. Literary Compositions Ascribed to One of the Ur-III Kings

1. Urnammu

Of the literary texts attributable to the reign of Urnammu[21] only one is directly concerned with the moon-god. This is the bal-bal-e hymn TuM NF IV, 7, iv, 169-199 + duplicates, which, as noted below, has only a tenuous connection with the reign of the first ruler of the Ur-III dynasty. This hymn will be reviewed briefly in this chapter and treated extensively in the appendix

because it provides important insights into the nature of the moon-god and his cult.

Another hymn to the moon-god, a šir3-nam-šub hymn for Nanna, has very little to say about the moon-god himself (called dsuen and daš-im2-babbar). Its chief subjects are the city of Ur, its various shrines and cult installations, and the great deeds of Urnammu; cf. M.E. Cohen's treatment of this hymn in JAOS 95, pp. 596-600. Comparable with this hymn is TCL 15, 12 (treated by Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 119-122 and Castellino, ZA 53, pp. 118ff.), another hymn ostensibly from the reign of Urnammu which concentrates chiefly on the cult installations at Ur and on the king. The two hymns are of passing interest to this study because they mention several interesting features about the temple complex at Ur. For instance, the dub-la2-mah is referred to as ki-nam-tar-re-za "in your place where the fates are decided" (JAOS 95, pp. 597-598, 1a: 16 = 1b: 21); the Ekišnugal is set up on a raised platform (ki-gal-la: TCL 15, 12, 109); and in the Gipar the king puts on linen garments and lays down on a bed (giš-na2-gi-rin-na ki-na2-du10-ba), an allusion to some sort of cultic ritual (TCL 15, 12, 73-74). These references give us some idea of the layout of the temple complex at Ur and of the function of the various buildings.

The two compositions entitled "The Coronation of Urnammu" (see W. Hallo, JCS 20, pp. 133ff.) and "The Death of Urnammu" (see S.N. Kramer, JCS 21, pp. 104ff.)

mention the moon-god briefly, but little of significance is revealed about his character. In the former text (lines 7-8) the moon-god is called by the epithets en ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar "lord Ašimbabbar" and šul ^{d}suen "youth Suen"; cf. Chapters 2 and 7 on the use and significance of these names and epithets.

In the latter composition, line 13, Nanna is described as being at the height of heaven (si-un$_3$-na), an epithet that is frequently connected with the moon-god; see my Chapter 7 on the epithets of the moon-god sub si-mah, si-mu$_2$, si-mul(-mul), si-un$_3$-na for a discussion of this and related epithets.

Finally, in the prologue to the so-called "Codex Urnammu" (see J.J. Finkelstein, JCS 22, pp. 66ff.), a composition which may in fact date to the reign of Urnammu's son, Šulgi (see Or NS 50, pp. 87ff.), the moon-god is said to have been given the kingship over Ur by An and Enlil:

31.	u$_4$ an-ne$_2$	"When An
32.	^{d}en-lil$_2$-le	and Enlil
33.	^{d}nanna-ar	had given the kingship of Ur
34.	nam-lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	to Nanna ...
35.	[mu-na]-sum-mu-uš-a-ba	

These lines are interesting because they clearly establish the hierarchy of divine authority and Nanna's status in relation to the senior deities, An and Enlil.

Having briefly surveyed these passing references to

the moon-god[22] and his cult at Ur, I would now like to consider the bal-bal-e hymn to Nanna mentioned above in more detail.

1.1) bal-bal-e hymn to Nanna (TuM NF IV 7, iv, 169-199 + ISET I, 62, Ni 9788):

Cl. Wilcke has suggested in AS 20, p. 280 (u)[23] that this hymn to Nanna might be assigned to the reign of Urnammu based on the close similarity between lines 25-30 of the "Coronation of Urnammu" and lines 190f. of this bal-bal-e hymn to Nanna. Though the date of the composition cannot be proved to be during the reign of Urnammu, the similarity of the parallel lines and the possibility that the text may date back to Urnammu justifies its inclusion here. Since the hymn will be treated in depth in the next chapter, only a brief discussion of its contents will be presented here.

Nanna's role as provider of the herds is emphasized in this composition. It opens with a passage describing how numerous Nanna's livestock is: they are as numerous as the grass; the black ones like glittering lapis lazuli, the white ones like the newly risen moon. The god provides in great abundance all of the products associated with herding. Seven butter churns filled with sweet milk fat are described as humming with activity. In his cattle stalls are found only pure milk fat and pure milk. As in the "Coronation of Urnammu" Nanna stocks the city's water courses with fish and water

fowl; in addition he cultivates plants for the cows and their calves to feed on.

As mentioned above one prevalent aspect of Nanna's character in hymns and in epithets is what might be called the pastoral aspect in contradistinction to the celestial aspect which is equally common. As god of the herds and all its by-products Nanna/Suen may represent one of the most ancient gods of Mesopotamia whose existence stretches back to a preliterate, nomadic stage of development when the chief means of obtaining sustenance was through tending the herds and following their seasonal migratory patterns.

The following is a synopsis of the key epithets and phrases pertaining to Nanna/Suen's character and cult in this hymn:

Epithets:

Celestial

172. [babbar-bi ^{d}n]anna e$_3$-a-am$_3$	"Its white ones (are) like Nanna when he comes out."

Pastoral and fertility

177. [x x]u$_2$ ab$_2$-e ki-ag$_2$-ga$_2$-am$_2$ ab$_2$-e[-m]u-un-nigin; cf. 176	"The one who loves the cows rounds up the cows."
178. [x x x] u$_2$ ab$_2$-gal-a-ni mu-na-an-tum$_2$ i$_3$-b[i] i$_3$-ŠU-BU-i	"He has brought for him [...] plants, (and) his great cows; their milk-fat is plentiful."
179. [x x] i$_3$-du$_{10}$-ga dug-šakir$_3$-imin-e KA$^{(!)}$ (sag) mu-na-ab-bal-e	"Seven churns of sweet milk-fat are humming (with activity) for him."
180. [(x) x]x i$_3$-bi i$_3$-ku$_3$-ga-am$_3$ ga-bi ga-ku$_3$-ga-am$_3$	"Their (the churns') milk-fat is pure milk-fat; their milk is pure milk."

183. [x x x x]ˀturˀ-[ra t]uš-a-na tur-re a-ar$_2$ im-si — "... when he sits in the cattle pen, he is as one perfectly suited for the cattle pen."

184. [x x x]-e tur-ra tuš-a-na tur me-te-aš bi$_2$-ib-gal$_2$ — "when he [...] sits in the cattle pen, he is as one perfectly suited for the cattle pen."

185. [x x x] e$_2$-tur kiri$_4$-zal-am$_3$ ^{d}nanna lugal-la-am$_3$ — "[...] the temple cattle is splendor, (for) Nanna is lord."

190. [a-du-a-b]i ku$_6$-am$_3$ diri-bi mušen-am$_3$; cf. 188, 189, 191 — "[Its (water) courses] are (filled with) fish; its upper areas(?) with birds."

192. [u$_2$-la$_3$-e m]u-un-du$_3$ subur-ku$_6$-e ḫa$^{(?)}$-ab-NIGIN$_2$; cf. 193-196 — "He has planted the honey-plants, that the great carp may ..."

Names and Titles

^{d}nanna -- A170, 172, 185; B obv. 18, rev. 12

^{d}suen -- A186

lugal -- A186

Cult

paraphernalia -- dug-šakir$_3$-imin-e 179

personnel(?) -- munus 181

2. Šulgi

The largest corpus of royal hymns is attributable to the reign of Šulgi. Most of these are long, self-laudatory paeans which center almost exclusively on the person of the king. Consequently, references in them to deities are incidental and are only mentioned as they pertain to the activities of the king. Nonetheless, the Šulgi hymns with their wealth of detail on all aspects of life including the cultic can provide many insights into the nature of the cult at Ur and the relationship of the king to the tutelary deity of Ur, Nanna/Suen. It is in this light that the following survey of the Šulgi hymns is made. Twenty-three royal hymns have been attributed either with certainty or probability to the reign of Šulgi. Only passages which add something of significance to an understanding of the moon-god or his cult will be considered. These excerpts from hymns A to Z are listed alphabetically below.

2.1 Šulgi A:[24]

13. lugal-kala-ga-^{d}nanna-a-me-en	"I am the mighty king of Nanna."
50. e$_2$-kiš-nu-gal$_2$-še ḫa-ba-ku$_4$-re-en	"I enter the Ekišnugal.
51. e$_2$-^{d}suen-na tur$_3$ i$_3$-gal-gal-la ḫe$_2$-gal$_2$-la ḫe$_2$-bi$_2$-du$_8$	I opened the house of Suen, the cattle stall of abundant milk-fat (and) plenty.
52. gu$_4$ ḫa-ba-ni-gaz udu ḫa-ba-ni-šar$_2$	There I slaughtered oxen and made the sheep prolific.

53. šem$_5$(AB$_2$ x KARA$_2$) a$_2$-la$_2$-e sig$_{14}$/šeg$_{11}$ (KA x BALAG) ḫa-ba-gi$_4$	I made the šem and ala-drums resound.
54. tigi ni$_3$-du$_{10}$-ge si ḫa-ba-ni-sa$_2$	The tigi-drum I tuned (to play) sweetly.
55. ^{d}šul-gi lu$_2$ NI$_3$-LU-LU-me-en ninda giš ḫa-ba-ni-tag	I am Šulgi who ...[25] I offered bread there.
56. pirig-gin$_7$ ki-lugal-gub-ta ni$_2$ il$_2$-la-mu-de$_3$	I who like a lion in my royal standing place can arouse terror,
57. e$_2$-gal-maḫ-^{d}nin-e$_2$-gal-la-ka-kam	made (my) knees buckle(?) in Ningal's lofty palace;
58. du$_{10}$ ḫe$_2$-ni-dub$_2$ a-zal-le ḫe$_2$-ni-tu$_5$	
59. du$_{10}$ ḫe$_2$-ni-GAM ninda ḫu-mu-ni-gu$_7$	I knelt down there and ate bread."

These lines are interesting for the description they give of the Ekišnugal, the temple of the moon-god -- here called Suen. It is described as a "cattle stall" (tur$_3$ - line 51) rich in the products of the herder: milk-fat, sheep, and oxen. Here again is the familiar motif of the fertility and prosperity of the herds often associated with Nanna/Suen and his cult installations at Ur. The king, as the earthly servant of the god, describes himself as assuring this prosperity not only for the citizens of Ur but also for the deities of the Ekišnugal to whom he offers bread.

The temple of Ninegalla is presumably in Ur, though there are no inscriptions or archaeological evidence which attest to its precise whereabout;[26] cf. Chapter 8, III, 5: Ninegalla for a discussion of Nanna/Suen's relationship to Ninegalla.

78. u4-aš-a nibru^{ki}-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma eš$_3$-eš$_3$-bi ḫu-mu-ak

"In one day I performed the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ ceremonies of both Nippur and Ur."

The eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festivals were a regular feature of the cult in many Mesopotamian cities. They are amply attested in administrative documents from Ur which list a standardized series of offerings made to the temple of Nanna and to various other cult shrines in Ur by the king.[27] They appear to have been consistently celebrated on the first (day of the new moon), the fifteenth (full moon), and less often on the seventh of each month. Though these feast days are not solely connected with the moon-god, since many deities in various cities receive offerings on these occasions, some religious significance must have been attached to the monthly appearance and disappearance of the moon; these festivals were almost always in some way related to the u4-sakar "day of the new moon." The above line suggests that it was the king's responsibility, at least in Šulgi's time, to perform these ceremonies at Nippur and Ur.

2.2 Šulgi B:

There are just two references to the moon-god in this hymn. In one instance Nanna is called upon to pronounce judgement against a rebel in Šulgi's kingdom:

302. lu$_2$-a$_2$-zi-ga-bi-ir ^{d}nanna di ḫe$_2$-en-e

"May Nanna pronounce judgement against that rebellious man."

The chief god of Ur was considered the supreme judge in all matters of right and wrong within his own city. The king was his executor. Those who rebelled against the rule of the king were also violating the law of his god. This is clear in the many curse-formulae directed against those who would violate the sanctuaries of the deities which the king had erected or maintained. Nanna/Suen in his role as judge is said to love justice: ni-si-sa2-e ki-ag2.[28] In one legal context there is a reference to "the judgement of Nanna": di-ku5-^{d}nanna.[29] His name is also invoked in the prologue to the "Laws of Urnammu."

2.3 Šulgi D:

While a good many of the hymns that have been considered thus far have emphasized what I have called the "pastoral" aspects of Nanna/Suen's character, in Šulgi D the "celestial" aspects of the moon-god are brought to the fore. The god is described by epithets that evoke the image of the moon in all its familiar shapes and radiant qualities. Assuming J. Klein's restorations of lines 48 and 49 are correct, these lines are a good example of such celestial images:

lugal ma2-gur8-[ku3 an-na diri-ga]	"Lord, holy magur ship sailing across the heavens,
^{d}nanna en [dumu-nun an-ku3-ge dalla e3-a]	Nanna, lord, princely son appearing in the pure heavens."

The Sumerians whose civilzation evolved in a river valley were familiar with long-prowed boats which they called ma2-gur8. Such boats have been the chief means of transport on the rivers and through the marshes of southern Iraq from the days of the first settlements to the present. The shape of the ma2-gur8 is very similar to the crescent moon as it appears in Iraq where the points of the crescent are on a horizontal plane. Hence, the moon was naturally conceived of as a "heavenly bark," called ma2-gur8 in Sumerian, which moved through the heavens in its regular nightly and monthly course as a boat along the river.[30]

Since the nightly appearance of the moon was ever an occasion of interest and there is evidence that the moon was consistently observed from day to day for purposes of calculating time and for cultic reasons,[31] the image of the moon's first appearance in the night sky is commonly attested in literary texts. The appearance of the moon is often said to be against the background of the "pure sky" an-ku3. ku3 "pure" -- a word that has a very wide range of connotations such as "clean," "sacred," "ritually pure," "unblemished" -- in this context may connote the "clear" sky; a bright night sky completely free of haze or cloud cover which the moon lights up and in contrast with which its appearance is very bright and plainly visible. This same

connotation is seen in the expression lugal-an-ku3-ga lord of the pure heavens," an epithet of the moon found in line 295:

295. lugal-an-ku3-ga men-dagal su3-su3	"Lord of the pure heavens, adorned with a wide crown,
296. en u4-šè-er-zi-dingir-re-e-ne	lord, radiant light of the gods."

Other images of the moon are also expressed in these lines. The crescent moon was not only conceived of as a boat because of its shape, but also as a crown for the same reason. The typical hallmark of a deity as he or she was depicted in representations was the horned crown with its distinctive crescent shape. Consequently, the moon in one of its crescent-shaped cycles was seen as being the crown which the god Nanna/Suen wore when he manifested himself in heaven. Further details concerning the characteristics of the moon are depicted in the next line: the moon's light is described as šè-er-zi, the word for "ray" or "beam"; so here "moonbeam." Hence, the radiant quality of moonlight is emphasized and Nanna is the lord who can project his light in visible rays.

One other aspect of the moon-god as celestial phenomenon is presented in line 247 where Nanna is described as dnanna si-un-na "Nanna at heaven's height," in contrast to the sun-god called in line 248: dutu an-ur2-re "Utu at heaven's base (horizon)." The Sumerian si-un/un3-na, rendered in Akkadian as elât šamê "heavens' height," means literally "high horned." Hence,

the expression ^{d}nanna si-un/un3-na means "the high-horned Nanna" and refers to the crescent moon when the points or "horns" of the crescent are at their highest possible elevation or at the zenith of the sky. See Chapter 7 sub si-un3-na.

Besides celestial epithets the moon-god also bears a number of titles in Šulgi D which express different aspects of his power and authority in relation to his mortal subjects and other major deities. He is called lugal (295), en (296), a-a (297), and dumu-nun (47 and 49?). See Chapter 7 for a discussion of all these titles. The epithet dumu-nun "princely son" refers to the moon-god's relation to his father, Enlil, and his position in the Sumerian pantheon. Nanna is described as "father" (a-a) and as "lord" and "ruler" (en and lugal) in his relation to the city of Ur, and its inhabitants.

Finally, animal imagery is used to describe Suen in the following lines where he is called am-gal "great wild bull," an epithet connoting strength as well as the moon-god's pastoral connections with the herds.

299. am-gal-še3 tu-da pirig ne-ba gub-ba	"Born to the great wild bull, like a lion rearing up in its
300. ibila-kala-ga-šul-^{d}suen-na	strength, mighty heir of the youth, Suen,
301. dumu-ur-sag-^{d}aš-im2-babbar-[ra]	valiant son of Ašimbabbar."

As a celestial phenomenon the moon-god can also be described as a "wild bull." It has been noted that the

crescent moon can variously be described metaphorically as a ma2-gur8 boat and as a crown (men). The distinctive crescent shape was also reminiscent of the long horns of a wild bull and was a particularly apt way of describing the moon-god in his role as god of the herds. Calling the moon-god "the youth, Suen" may also refer as a celestial term to the "young" cycle of the moon just after its monthly rebirth when it is in its crescent shape. The significance of the name aš-im2-babbar is unclear; see Chapter 2.

2.4 Šulgi E:

The moon-god is indirectly referred to in Šulgi E through mention of u4-sakar "day of the new moon." Line 32 makes it clear that the day of the moon's appearance was calculated and that the reckoning of time based on the lunar month was practiced through observation of lunar cycles:

u4-sakar mu2-mu2 šed ni-ŠED-de3 gal2 ba-ab-tag2-a-ga2	"About my solving the count of the ever-renewing new-moonday through calculation" (they composed songs)

As mentioned above the occasion of the moon's reappearance each month was cause for celebration; a festival known as eš3-eš3 took place to mark the sighting of the new moon and the start of the month in most of the major Mesopotamian cities. Lines 60-62 and 254-257 of Šulgi E describe some of the details of these festivals:

60. ^{d}en-lil$_2$-ra eš$_3$-u$_4$-sakar-ra-ka-na ḫe$_2$-na-du$_{12}$	"May it (a song about Šulgi) be sung for Enlil in his sanctuary of New moon day;
61. eš$_3$-eš$_3$ kaš-gi-rin a-gin$_7$ su$_{13}$(BU)-su$_{13}$(BU)-da-be$_2$	at its eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festival where sparkling beer is sprinkled about like water
62. ^{d}en-lil$_2$-^{d}nin-lil$_2$-tuš-a-ra ḫe$_2$-en-ne-ga$_2$-ga$_2$-ga$_2$	may (songs about Šulgi) be established for Enlil and Ninlil who dwell there."
254. eš$_3$-u$_4$-sakar-ra-na na-me na-an-tag$_4$-tag$_4$	"In his (Enlil's) sanctuary of New moon day there are none (songs about Šulgi) which have been neglected;
255. ga$_2$-tigi-^{d}en-lil$_2$-^{d}nin-lil$_2$-la$_2$-ke$_4$	in the tigi-drum room of Enlil and Ninlil,
256. kin-sig-kin-nim-^{d}nanna-ka	at the morning and evening meals of Nanna
257. šul-gi-me-en za$_3$-mi$_2$-mu [du$_{10}$]-ga muš$_3$ nam-ba-an-tum$_2$-mu	the sweet praises of me, Šulgi, shall never cease."

From the close association of eš$_3$-u$_4$-sakar-ra and eš$_3$-eš$_3$ in the above lines, it appears that the literal significance of eš$_3$-eš$_3$ must have been "festival of sanctuaries."[32] This is confirmed by Ur offering texts in which regular offerings are periodically presented to a series of cult sanctuaries of eš$_3$-eš$_3$ holidays. In this connection note that eš$_3$-eš$_3$ in line 61 above could also be translated as "sanctuaries" and the entire line interpreted thus: "in its sanctuaries where sparkling beer is sprinkled about like water." The dual connotations of eš$_3$-eš$_3$ indicate the one-to-one correspondence between the sanctuaries of the temple complex and the festival which celebrated them. The Ur offering texts also attest to the prevalence of beer

libations on eš3-eš3 holidays, a fact alluded to in line 61. According to both of the above quoted passages the singing of hymns was also a common feature of the celebrations. In this context, of course, a self-glorifying royal hymn to Šulgi is meant, but it can be assumed that in the sanctuaries of Enlil, Ninlil, and Nanna divine hymns to these respective deities were also sung on these occasions. The general picture of the eš3-eš3 festival which emerges from these lines and from the evidence of other texts is the following: a festival held on the day of the new moon and on other days of the lunar month (perhaps associated with particular lunar cycles) in which various offerings, especially beer libations, were made at a number of cult sanctuaries in major Mesopotamian cities. In Šulgi E the mention of the shrines of Enlil and Ninlil suggests Nippur as the city referred to. The place where Nanna is served his morning and evening meals (line 256) might either be in Nippur, where Nanna had a cult shrine, or Ur, his cultic residence. Evidence of Ur-III offering texts indicates that eš3-eš3 festivals were celebrated at Nippur, Ur, Umma, and probably many other cities of the realm.

Though the festival was in celebration of the appearance of the new moon, there is some question as to how much the moon-god of Ur was associated with this event. Obviously, at Ur he and his sanctuaries were the central focus. But at Nippur and elsewhere there is no

special emphasis on the moon-god's role in these celebrations; the major deities of each local cult receive the most attention on these holidays[33] and the moon-god under various names (Nanna, Suen, Aš̌imbabbar) is included only in as far as he has some connection with the local cult. The organization of city life based on the time unit of the lunar month and the lunar observations which were necessary to determine the length of each month are at least as old as the oldest written sources. Different month names in each city indicate independent traditions. It is by no means certain that a deified moon always played an important part in the cult of each of these independent cities, especially before the political prominence of Ur. It is possible that the observation of the moon's cycles and the reckoning of the lunar month in some cities originally had little to do with the moon-god known as Nanna/Suen. Perhaps only later as local traditions converged through increasing commercial and political ties and the emergence of political entities larger than cities did there occur a syncretism of local traditions regarding the moon.

2.5 Šulgi F:

The composition called Šulgi F by Klein[34] ends with a fragmentary doxology to the moon-god and the subscript [en-]^{d}aš̌-im$_2$-[bab]bar$_2$ za$_3$-mi$_2$. The moon-god is called by all three of his chief names -- Nanna, Suen and Aš̌imbabbar -- and is described by epithets which bring

out all the major aspects of his character -- pastoral, celestial, and filial in his role as chief son of Enlil. The following passage emphasizes this first aspect of the moon-god, the pastoral, and describes in great detail his cultic associations with the herd and its products:

10. ab$_2$-ku$_3$-ge šul-^{d}suen-na-ke$_4$(!) ubur amar-e si um-sa$_2$	"The unblemished cow, the one had made its teats erect for the calf (to suck)
11. ab$_2$-u$_2$-munzur(KI.^{d}NANNA)-re ^{d}nanna-ke$_4$ ga a-gin$_7$ um-tum$_2$	the cow (fed on) munzur plant, the one of Nanna, when it had produced milk like water (in its abundance)
12. nunuz DUH-a ab$_2$-babbar$_2$-ra	different sorts of milk-fat (and) different sorts of milk of the ... of the white cow --
13. i$_3$-ḫi-a-bi ga-ḫi-a-bi	
14. ^{d}nanna-a ni$_3$-mu-a a-a-ni ^{d}en-lil$_2$-ra tur$_3$-ku$_3$-ta mu-na-ni-i[n]-gar-ra	Nanna's yearly produce which he had taken out of the holy cattle pen for his father, Enlil --
15. ma$_2$-nisag(MURU$_2$)-g[a$_2$-kla$^{(?)}$/kle$_4^{(?)}$ si um-sa$_2$	when he had arranged these things on the boat of first fruits
16. ^{d}en-lil$_2$-ra nibru^{ki} tumu$_3$-de$_3$	to bring to Enlil in Nippur
17. kisal-e$_2$-kur-ra-ka nisag(MURU$_2$) si sa$_2$-sa$_2$-e-de$_3$	that the first fruits might be arrayed in the courtyard of the Ekur,
18. ur-sag ama-ne$_2$-e ur$_5$-re ba-an-tu ^{d}nin-sun$_2$-na-ke$_4$	for this did Ninsun, his mother, give birth to the hero (Šulgi)."

In these lines is an allusion to a cultic journey undertaken by the king of Ur at the beginning of the year to present the first fruit's of Nanna/Suen's cattle

stalls to Enlil in Nippur. This cult procession appears to have been a regular cultic duty of the king. It is referred to in literary texts ascribed to Nūradad and Sîniddinam (see below sub Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period). Some such ritual may also be alluded to in the myth "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur" (cf. my discussion of the myth below). By offering Enlil the first fruits of the yearly harvest and of the herds the king hoped to secure the blessing of the chief god of the pantheon for himself and for his city and thus insure the prosperity of his kingdom for the coming year.

Another cultic journey between Ur and Nippur, this time by Nanna, is described in lines 69-77. Nanna goes to his father Enlil to request that he approve Nanna's choice of Šulgi to be king of Ur:

69. ^{d}nanna-ar mu-na-ku$_4$ me ki-be$_2$-e gi$_4$-gi$_4$-de$_3$	"He (Šulgi) went to Nanna (and) joyfully told him that he would
70. ḫul$_2$-la-da na-du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ en dumu-sag-an-ku$_3$-ga	restore the me's. The lord, chief son of holy An,
71. eš$_3$-e nibru^{ki}-še$_3$ giri$_3$ im-ma-ab-dab$_5$-be$_2$	sets out on foot for the sanctuary in Nippur.
72. sig$_4$-e$_2$-kur-ra-ka im-ma-da-an-ku$_4$-ku$_4$	He enters the brickwork of the Ekur.
73. ^{d}a-nun-na-ke$_4$-ne mi$_2$ mu-ni-e-ne	The Anunna-gods fondly greet him.
74. en ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar an-ku$_3$-ga u$_4$ su$_3$-su$_3$	Lord Ašimbabbar, whose light fills the pristine sky,
75. dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ me-gal-gal-la-kam	chief son of Enlil, whose me's are great,
76. ḫi-li-e$_2$-kur-ra-kam u$_6$-di-da-ni ni$_3$-du$_{10}$-ga-am$_3$	who graces the Ekur, whose wonder is a sweet thing (to

behold),

77. ki(?)-sikil-la ^{d}en-lil$_2$-ra silim-šeg$_3$ mu-na-ni-ib$_2$-be$_2$ — greets Enlil in the sacred place."

These lines describe the role the moon-god plays in the legitimation of the king. Nanna himself is depicted as choosing Šulgi to be king of Ur; and he makes a special journey to Nippur to get Enlil's approval of his choice. Whether these lines have any cultic counterpart or are simply a product of poetic fancy cannot be established.

That the king was legitimized by the priesthood and the cult in Nippur through some sort of cultic journey is clear. In lines 89 and 90 Enlil is said to approve of Nanna's choice: šag$_3$-ge-du$_{11}$-ga-^{d}nanna-k[e$_4$(?)] / kur-gal ^{d}en-lil$_2$-le sa$_6$-ga ba-an-gi$_4$ "The great mountain, Enlil, responded favorably to what Nanna had wished for in his heart." Šulgi sums up the role that the moon-god has played in establishing him as king in line 173: (^{d}aš-im-babbar-[re] -- line 172) nam-lugal-la šu ma-ni-[in-du$_7$] "(Ašimbabbar) made the fate of becoming king perfect for me."

Note that Nanna is called both the chief son of Enlil and of An. This might have political motivations, since Nanna and his city of Ur could thereby claim a direct connection to Nippur and Uruk, two of the most ancient and prestigious cities of the realm. By claiming that the moon-god is the chief or eldest son of both Enlil and An his status is thus at a level second only

to the two highest gods of the pantheon. Cf. Chapter 7 sub dumu-an-na and Chapter 8, I, 2.

Whereas in the previously discussed passage Nanna/Suen was associated with symbols of fertility, here he is depicted by means of a series of celestial images: under the name of Aš̌imbabbar his light (u4) is said to fill the pristine sky (an-ku3-ga su3-su3 - line 74); he is called hi-li-e2-kur-ra (line 76), which might also be rendered "ornament of the Ekur." This epithet probably has celestial connotations and refers indirectly to the moon; the rest of the same line (76), which describes the wonder of the moon's appearance, seems to confirm this interpretation.

2.6 Šulgi G:

This adab-hymn to Enlil describes the circumstances surrounding the begetting and birth of Šulgi. In a cryptic passage Aš̌imbabbar/Nanna, Enlil, and an unnamed mother somehow interact to sire, conceive, and give birth to the king:

15. nam-bi-eš̌2 e2-kur-ra SIG7 mi-ni-gar dašš̌2-im2-babbar-re	"To that end (i.e. the birth of Šulgi) Aš̌imbabbar set ... in the Ekur.
16. a-a-ni den-lil2 imin-ma bi2-si3 ama sa2-da mi-ni-in-gub	He conveyed the plan to his father Enlil; for his mother he likewise set it forth.
17. e2-du10-ga dnanna dumu-nun-ne2 ni3 al ba-ni-du11	In the 'sweet chamber' (bed--room) Nanna, the princely son made his desire known.

18. en-ne$_2$ šag$_3$-tur-še$_3$ gal$_2$-la-na lu$_2$-zi mi-ni-u$_3$-tu	The En-priestess, from what he had laid in (her) womb, bore a trustworthy man."[35]

One of the most interesting features of the description of the king's birth in the above passage is in line 18 where the En-priestess is said to be the mother of the king; and if the interpretation of lines 17 and 18 is correct, then Nanna is the father who impregnates the priestess.[36] One might compare a passage from Šulgi F which seems also to suggest that the En-priestess was intimately involved in rearing the infant king:

175. munus-zi ubur-ku$_3$-ga-n[a$^{(?)}$ mi$_2^{(?)}$ ma-ni-in-du$_{11}^{(?)}$]	"The 'right woman' [has . . . cared for me at h]er pure breast.
176. e$_2$-NUN-ku$_3$-ta nam-[zi$^{(?)}$ ma-ni-in-tar$^{(?)}$]	In the holy Enun the [right] fate [was decreed for me]."

Though the identification of munus-zi with the En-priestess is not certain, evidence presented in Chapter 4 has suggested a possible connection between the common title of the En-priestess, EN.MUNUS. NUNUZ.ZI and the munus-zi attested as early as the Presargonic period.[37] The e$_2$.NUN[38] is also associated with the goddess, Ningal, with whom the En-priestess is at times identified.[39] However, in Šulgi F it is explicitly stated in line 168 that the king was born to ^{d}nin-suna$_2$, the traditional spouse of Lugalbanda: ^{d}nin-suna$_2$-ke$_4$ mu-tud-e-en$_3$ "I am the one born to Ninsuna." The exact role of the En-priestess, therefore, in the birth of the king

is not clear, despite the explicit statement of Šulgi G, 18. The notion of the En-priestess of Ur being the mother of the king is problematic in any case, since it is a well-attested fact that the En-priestesses of Ur were the daughters of the kings; and there is no evidence that incest between father and daughter to produce the heir to the throne was ever practiced in Sumer.

2.7 Šulgi H

The following references to the moon-god in this hymn to Ninlil are only partially intelligible because of breaks and because the copy of the original tablet needs collation.[40] A chariot of Nanna (line iii 6), a lofty standard (line iii 7), the Ekišnugal temple (line iii 10), and the ma2-gur8 boat (lines iii 13 and 16) are mentioned, but the context is not clear:

iii	
6. giš-gigir-ku3-^{d}nanna ni3 x-am3 ak [x x x]	"The holy chariot of Nanna ...
7. šu-nir-mah ni2-gur3-u3 a-sikil IM-A ⌜kiri6(?)⌝ [x]	The lofty standard which inspires fear ...
8. e2 uru-e si ⌜im⌝-sa2-sa2-e(!) u4 nam-tar-ra-am3	He (Šulgi? Nanna?) puts in order the temple in the city. It is the day(?) when destinies are decided.
9. lugal bala-su3-DU sipa šul-gi bara2(?) tuš(?) mu-⌜x⌝ [x x]	The lord of the long reign, the shepherd, Šulgi, ...
10. e2-⌜kiš⌝-nu-gal2-^{d}nanna-ka kisal-mah ⌜x⌝* mi-ni-ib2-[x]	He (Šulgi?) ... the main courtyard of the Ekišnugal temple of Nanna."
*erasure	

Line 6: outside of this reference I know of no other attestation of giš-gigir-ku3-^{d}nanna.[41] However, in cultic contexts one does find attestations of a u4-sakar-giš-gigir-ra, which seems to be the name of the sixth and seventh days of each month in the cultic calender of Umma. It occurs only in administrative tablets from Umma and is often found in conjuction with u4-sakar-gu-la and u4-sakar-u4-15, the first and fifteenth days of the month respectively. Regular offerings are presented on each of these days.[42]

Line 7: The construction of standards for the moon-god and their installation in his temple is often mentioned in royal inscriptions and year-dates.[43]

Line 8: The day on which the fates were decided was the time at the end of the month after the moon had disappeared and before the new moon appeared; this period was called u4-na2-a "day of the lying down (of the moon)"; see e.g. Two Elegies 90: ^{d}nanna-a u4-na2-a nam-zu he2-tar-re "On the day when Nanna lies down may he decide your fate"; see also my treatment of Ni 2781 (ISET I, pp. 96-97), lines 19-21 in Chapter 3.

iii

13. ma2-gur8-za-gin3-si-ku3-su3-su3 ^{d}nanna-ar mu-ni-tum2	"He (Šulgi) brought to Nanna the lapis-lazuli boat with long gleaming prows.
14. kar-re nam-us2 ni3-me-gar-am3 u6-di-bi nu-til-e	He moored it at the quay. There was a hush of amaze-ment,[44] for its wonder was unceasing.
15. a-nun-ke4-ne mi2 im-e-ne ^{d}nin-gal im-da-⌜hul2⌝	The Anunna-gods fondly greet him; Ningal rejoiced.

16. ma2-gur8 gi-diri kug-ga mu-e3-e[3 x x]	He brings forth the ma2-gur8 boat, the holy raft(?).[45]

Nanna's association with the ma2-gur8 boat is clear from this cultic offering of a boat to the god.

2.8 Šulgi O

The first 28 lines of this Šulgi hymn concentrate on the city of Ur and its various cultic installations. Several interesting features of the central temple complex are mentioned. Ur itself is called (line 5): ni3-sag-ku2 an-ne2 ni2-te-en-te la13 geštin bi-bi-ze2-da ki-us2-sa "(Provider of) first-fruit offerings(whereby) An refreshes himself, dripping honey (and) wine, firmly founded" (translation by J. Klein[46]). This line is a reference to the New Year's festival which was also alluded to above in Šulgi F, 10-18.[47] In the theological hierarchy Ur was subordinate to Nippur, the main cult center of all Sumer. The yearly cultic journey to Ur by the king to present the first fruits of the New Year's harvest was symbolic of the relationship between the two cities and that of Nanna/Suen to this father, Enlil. It is interesting that here the first-fruit offerings are for An, who in some contexts is also said to be Nanna's father or grandfather. Note that in line 4 Ur is called: bara2-mah-an-na "An's lofty dais."[48]

Having connected Ur with the ancestral father of the Sumerian pantheon (An), the next lines refer to

Enlil's relation to the city:

6. du$_6$-ur$_2$ ki mu-tuku-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ šag$_3$-bi me-ḫal-ḫa	"Du'ur, the place made famous by Enlil, the heart of which (holds) the allotted me's.
7. ki-nam-tar-ra-a-a-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ bara$_2$-gal ki-us$_2$-sa	the place where the fates are decided by father Enlil, where the great dais is founded."

The du$_6$-ur$_2$, the exact location of which within the temple complex is uncertain, is frequently attested in Ur administrative texts as one of the cult sites that receives regular offerings from the king, particularly on the monthly eš$_3$-eš$_3$ holidays. It is perhaps to be connected with the du$_6$-ur$_2$ in Nippur which is also known as the place where the fates are decided[49] and which Landsberger suggests may have had some connection with Nanna.[50] Here Enlil distributed the me's, i.e. delegated the powers of the universe to the various deities of the pantheon, and determined the fates -- structured the universe, assigning to each and everyone his or her role and function in life. Note that in parallel fashion to line 4, which mentions the dais of An, line 7 refers to the dais of Enlil.

The temple of Nanna, the Ekišnugal, is described as the "cattle stall of Suen" (tur$_3$-^{d}suen - line 9) wherein are found all manner of domestic animals: the "fecund cow" (ab$_2$-zi),[51] the "breed-bull" (gu$_4$-ninda$_2$), and the "unblemished calf" (amar-ku$_3$-ge - line 10). The city as a whole is a place of great fertility where the canals team with fish and fowl (line 16) and where there are

abundant cows, ewes, and lambs (line 21). Thus, the moon-god is once again associated with the herds and their fertility.

The dwelling place of the young Suen is called the abzu: (line 11) abzu ku-tuš-ku3-šul-dsuen-na "Abzu, pure dwelling place of the youth, Suen." Occasional mention of Nanna's abzu in Ur is found in Ur administrative texts. What the term abzu actually refers to in the Ur temple complex is not known. It is also not clear why it is referred to as the dwelling place of Nanna/Suen.[52]

The gi6-par4, the residence of the En-priestess at Ur is described in lines 13-15:

13. gi6-par4 eš3 nam-ḫi-li du3-a me-zi-nam-en-na ki us2-sa	"The Gipar, the lavishly built sanctuary (where) the me of the En-priesthood is founded.
14. en-nun-na mu-gal-zu sikil-la-am3	En-priestess of the prince(?) your great name(?) is pure.
15. muš2-bur2-bur2-dnanna ki-tuš-du10-ge inim-du10 ni3-si-sa2-e ki-us2-sa	the ...[53] of Nanna, in the sweet dwelling place (are) sweet words; justly founded (is it)."

The only other significant reference in Šulgi O to Nanna or to Ur is in the unplaced tablet CBS 10306 (text C), rev. 4-5:

4. dur3-dEN.ZU-[na(?)]	"Suen's donkey ...
5. su6-za-gin3-la2 ga[ba(?)]	wearing lapis-lazuli beard ....."

The epithet su6-za-gin3-la2/-su3-su3 is often used to describe certain animals, particularly bulls, which in literary texts symbolize various male gods including

Nanna/Suen. Though such imagery occurs more in post-Old-Babylonian contexts, there are occasional references to the phrase in Sumerian literary texts of the Old-Babylonian period.[54] As A. Falkenstein has pointed out,[55] these references reflect an ancient tradition going back to the Early Dynastic period as evidenced by L. Woolley's discovery of the figurines of rams and bulls with lapis-lazuli beards in the royal tombs of Ur.

2.9 Šulgi R

There are only a few obscure references to Nanna in this hymn. One associates Nanna with a type of carp called the suḫur-maš$_2$-ku$_6$ (line 77):[56] suḫur-maš$_2$-ku$_6$-e KA-bi mu-u$_3$-sud-e ^{d}nanna i$_3$-ḫul$_2$-le "Nanna rejoices in the suḫur-maš$_2$ carp which has a long mouth(?)" (reading "tooth" or "nose" also possible). Nanna in his role as provider of fertility is often said to fill the marshes with carp; cf. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, Hymn 7 (šir$_3$-nam-šub to Suen), p. 80, rev. 5-11, where the moon-god provides water to the canals, grain to the fields, fish to the marshes, reeds, trees, plants, wine, honey, animals, and long life to the king.[57] A similar motif is found in the myth "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur." In such references Nanna/Suen's role as provider extends far beyond his usual role as god of the herders where he is depicted as providing prolific herds and abundant dairy products. In "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur" and in the šir$_3$-nam-šub hymn just cited he is seen as the source of

all living things and the necessities of life which sustain them. These two aspects of his character should be kept separate though the one may be an outgrowth of the other.

In Šulgi R Nanna is also described by the frequent epithet amar-ban3-da, which has already been noted in many contexts:[58] (line 88) dnanna amar-ban3-da-a x x x zli-de3-eš2 ga-mu-u3-tu(?) "I have truly born(?) the ... of Nanna, the frisky calf."[59]

2.10 Šulgi V[60]

One partially broken references to the moon-god describes Šulgi presenting Nanna with the prescribed offering for his morning meal:

24. eš3-uri2ki e2-temen-ni2-guru3-še3	"To the sanctuary of Ur in the Etemenniguru(he ran)
25. dnanna unu2(GUR8.UNUG)-kin-nim bur-nun su8-ga-ni sa2 ul nam-mi-in-du11	The princely bowls of Nanna, stationed in the morning dining hall, he (Šulgi) provided with copious rations."[61]

Once again the king is shown as taking part in the cult. It may have been part of his duties to provide the chief god of the city with his daily morning and evening meals. The king himself may have eaten at the same time. The bur-nun "princely bowl" is a cultic object frequently attested in Ur administrative texts from the Ur-III dynasty which record daily royal offerings. The above reference makes it clear that the function of this bowl was to present these offerings from the king to the

god for his meals.

2.11 Šulgi X

Šulgi X ends with a doxology to Ašimbabbar and Nisaba: (line 159) en-^{d}aš-im$_{2}$-babbar$_{2}$ za$_{3}$-mi$_{2}$ / (line 160) ^{d}nisaba za$_{3}$-mi$_{2}$ "Lord Ašimbabbar be praised! Nisaba be praised!" The hymn contains several important passages relating to the moon-god. He is first mentioned in connection with the city of EN.DIM$_{2}$.GIG^{ki}. Utu, the sun-god, tells Šulgi to go and see his lord, Ašimbabbar:

90. lugal-zu ^{d}aš-im$_{2}$-babbar$_{2}$-ra silim-ma gin-na	"'Go in peace to your lord, Ašimbabbar.'
91. EN.DIM$_{2}$.GIG^{ki} uru me-lam$_{2}$-ma du$_{3}$-a	He (Šulgi) moored the boat at EN.DIM.GIG, the city built in splendor.
92. ma$_{2}$ nam-ga-am$_{3}$-mi-in-us$_{2}$	The seed which The Prince had poured into a pure womb;
93. a nun-ne$_{2}$ ša$_{3}$-ku$_{3}$-ga ru-a$^{(!)}$ kur-muš-ša tu-da-a	he who was born on Kurmuššša,
94. ^{d}nin-a-zu gu$_{4}$-sun$_{2}$ nag-a ad-ba gu$_{3}$-di-gin$_{7}$	Ninazu, like a wild bull which lows in its drinking ...."[62]

The god, Ninazu, was part of the local pantheon of Ur. Two of the month names of the local Ur calender refer to religious festivals centering on this god: ki-sig$_{2}$-^{d}nin-a-zu and ezen-^{d}nin-a-zu "the mourning for Ninazu" and "the festival of Ninazu."[63] In addition, offerings for this god are recorded in Ur administrative texts of the Ur-III period[64] and a temple of Ninazu in Ur is attested.[65] According to various references to Ninazu in deity-lists, lexical texts, and literary

compositions, there appears to have been two separate traditions concerning the genealogy of this god.[66] In the Nippur tradition he was the son of Enlil and Ninlil, and therefore, a brother of Nanna/Suen. In the Ur tradition he was born by the underworld goddess, Ereš^{ki}gal, and engendered by an unspecified god. However, in a hymn to Ninazu (UMBS XIII, 41) it is implied that Nanna is the father of the god: (line 16) ^{d}nin-a-zu uri$_2^{ki}$-ma tu-da ^{d}nanna he$_2$-e-[da]-hu[l$_2$] "O Ninazu born in Ur, may Nanna rejoice over you"; and if one accepts J. van Dijk's very plausible restoration of line 8,[67] then it is a certainty that the moon-god of Ur is Ninazu's father: uru$_{16}$-umuš-gal-l[a$^{(?)}$] ^{d}nanna t[u-da-m]e-en "O mighty one of great wisdom, you are engendered by Nanna."[68] The identity of the Prince in line 93 above is therefore, the moon-god, if one accepts the interpretation of line 8 of the Ninazu hymn. nun is one of Nanna's common epithets, though it is also applied to many other male gods including Enlil.[69] Yet the fact that Utu instructs Šulgi in line 90 above to go to his lord Ašimbabbar suggests that the prince referred to in line 93 is Ašimbabbar. The cult site that Ninazu is usually associated with is Enegi (IM^{ki}); cf. the temple hymn to Ninazu of Enegi.[70] Kramer has suggested that EN.DIM.GIG^{ki} is to be identified with Enegi.[71] This would explain why Šulgi goes to visit Ninazu in EN.DIM.GIG^{ki}[72] Other deities which were a part of the local pantheon of EN.DIM.GIG^{ki} were Ninšubur[73] and

Gilgameš.[74] A further connection between Ur and EN.DIM.GIG^{ki} is attested in Šulgi D, 371ff. where Šulgi employs boatmen from the two cities to row his boat to Nippur.

The next lines of the hymn which pertain to the moon-god describe Šulgi as he enters Ur to greet Nanna with a herd of various kinds of livestock. These lines once again attest to the close connection between the moon-god and the animals of the herd:

127. ug-zi-da sila$_4$ mu-ni-in-šar$_2$-šar$_2^{ar}$	"He made the lambs of choice ewes numerous.
128. uz$_3$-zi-da maš$_2$ mu-ni-in-šar$_2$-šar$_2^{ar}$	He made the kids of choice goats numerous.
129. ab$_2$-babbar$_2$-ra amar bi$_2$-i[n]-du$_3$-du$_3$	He brought forth(?) the calves of the white cows.
130. ^{d}nanna e$_2$-temen-ni$_2$-gu[r]u$_3$-na mu-na-da-an-ku$_4$-ku$_4$-u$_3$	To Nanna in his Etemenniguru he comes in with these.
131. e$_2$-nam-lugal-a e$_2^{(!)}$-ḫe$_2$-du$_7$-ba ki-lugal-gub ki-ku$_3$-ba sag bi$_2$-in-ili$_2$	In the house of kingship, in that seemly house, in the place where the king stands, in that holy place he raises his head.
132. lugal-a-ni ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar$_2$-re igi-ḫul$_2$-ḫul$_2$-la-ni mu-ši-bar-ba-re	His lord, Ašimbabbar, casts his joyful eyes on him.
133. šul-gi sipa-zi-ki-en-gi-ra-ra nam mu-ni-ib$_2$-tar-re	For Šulgi, true shepherd of Sumer he decides the fate."

Among the things that Nanna says to Šulgi is a reference to the cultic duties associated with the festival of the New Moon which as seen above is among the major cultic duties of the king: (line 137) iti u$_4$-sakar me-šu-duz-duz-ga$_2$ na-ba-an-kuš$_2$-u$_3$-de$_3$-e "May you be tireless towards my me's which the New Moon with each

month brings to completion." Though the nuances of the term me are not precisely understood, it generally refers to the whole gamut of cultic rites which were carried out each month to achieve harmony between man and his deities. The king was the chief actor in these cultic performances.

The hymn ends with a eulogy to the moon-god, called Aŝimbabbar, in which he is described as the vanguisher of rebellious lands and his celestial aspects are emphasized:

151. lugal-e (ku-)kur silim-e-eš$_2$ du$_{11}$-ga-a nam-kala-ga-ne-e dalla bi$_2$-in-e$_3$-a	"The lord who exulted in his triumph(?),[75] who has made his might manifest,
152. ⌜nam⌝-ur-sag-ga$_2$-ne$_2$ šu-zi bi$_2$-in-ga$_2$-ra	who rightly accepted his fate as hero,
153. ki-bala-e gu$_2$ ki-še$_3$ bi$_2$-in-la$_2$-a	who subjugated the trans-gressors,
154. uru-me urim$_2^{ki}$-e ḫe$_2$-gal$_2$-la gu$_2$-bi mi-ni-ib$_2$-zi-ga-a	who made our city, Ur, rise in prosperity (lit. "made its neck rise"),
155. lugal muš-za-gin$_3$-na g[u]n$_3$-a dumu-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$	the lord, whose lapis-lazuli visage sparkles, son of Enlil,
156. men$^{(!)}$-dagal-la sag an-še$_3$ ili$_2$-ili$_2$	who lifts his head (crowned) with a broad crown to heaven,
157. an-da ki-maḫ-ḫa-na ša$_3$-kus$_2$-u$_3$ ur$_5$-ra-aš-da bara$_2$-gal-e si-a	who confers with An in his elevated place, (and) with Uraš occupied the great dais,
158. i$_3$-ti-zal-la kalam-e kur-kur-re a-ne-ḫul$_2$-la du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$	whose passing moon-light makes Sumer and all the lands speak out rejoicing:
159. en-^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar$_x$ za$_3^{(!)}$-mi$_2$	'Lord Aŝimbabbar be praised!'"

Three key aspects of the moon-god are presented in this final doxology to Aš̌imbabbar. In lines 151-153 warrior qualities are attributed to Aš̌imbabbar in his role as defender of his city and subjugator of enemies. As such he is described in much the same way as the king often describes himself in his many self-laudatory hymns. Almost all the male deities are described as ur-sag, i.e. as chief defender of their titulary cities. In the case of the moon-god, ur-sag is one of his oldest epithets, already attested in the personal name nanna-ur-sag "Nanna is a hero" which is found in an inscription of A'anne-ada of Ur.[76]

The second aspect of the moon-god is mentioned in line 154 where his role as provider of prosperity (he2-gal2) is stressed. It has been noted frequently above that the moon-god is often portrayed as the bringer of prosperity to the herds. In a wider sense he provides for the city, all its inhabitants, and all living things connected with it, thus acting as a general fertility god. This aspect was also noted in Šulgi R. he2-gal2 is often associated with water and the periodic flooding of the rivers and canals which brought fertility to the land through irrigation and thus was the key to the livelihood and fertility of every living thing that depended on the land.

Finally, in lines 155-159 the moon-god is described in terms of his qualities as a celestial body. The brilliance of the moon's appearance is described by the phrase muš-za-gin3; za-gin3 meaning "lapis lazuli" when used as an adjective in literary texts often has the sense of "shining." Whether a particular hue of moonlight is implied by the term is unclear. muš (= muš3) is a problematic term that is not well understood. In lexical texts it is equated with Akkadian zīmu "appearance, visage"; yet the word in Sumerian contexts has a very wide application and at times seems to denote some sort of headdress.[77] If this latter connotation turns out to be correct, it would apply well to the moon-god who is often described, as in line 156, as wearing a distinctive crown. Crown and headdress are literary images representing the sickle moon and the many variations of the moon's phases. It is possible that such terms as men-dagal-la, men-zi-da, aga, and muš3 denote specific shapes or phases of the moon's appearance. But these nuances are not yet clear.

In line 157 the moon is depicted as conferring with An, the highest deity of the pantheon, and sitting with his consort, Uraš. This may be an allusion to the moon's nightly course across the sky: from his rising out of the earth where he sits with Uraš (earth) to his elevation at the zenith of the sky, where he confers with An (sky).[78] The passing (zal) of the moon through

the night and through the month, according to line 158, makes the people of Sumer and all the lands exclaim with joy, "Aš̌imbabbar be praised!"

2.12 ISET 1, p. 84, Ni 9692 obv. 3' (fragment of a Šulgi hymn; not yet identified):

3'. ku-li-ki-gal$_2$-ag$_2$-^{d}nanna "friend loved(?) by Nanna"

3. Amarsuen

3.1 Temple hymn to the e$_2$-^{d}nanna ga-eš$_8^{ki}$-a (Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, pp. 26 and 85-87):

This hymn can be assigned to the reign of Amarsuen because of the mention of the gi$_6$-par$_3$ (line 161) of Gaeš, which according to Amarsuen inscription 6, was first built by that king. For the first time he introduced an En-priestess of the moon-god into this Egipar in Gaeš/Karzida,[79] so that there were two En-priestesses of Nanna/Suen, one in Ur and one at this new site. It is known from Šulgi year-date formula 9 that Šulgi first introduced the cult image of the moon-god into the temple of Gaeš;[80] so it can be presumed that Šulgi founded the Nanna temple at Gaeš/Karzida.

Both the pastoral and celestial aspects of Nanna's character are brought out in the description of the temple. It is said to be "founded by a cattle pen" (line 158 tur$_3$-e ri-a) and the cattle pen itself is described as: "temple cattle pen (where there is) the loud lowing (of cattle), which like a breed bull ... (its) horn"

(line 163 e2-tur3 gu3-nun ninda2-ginz si ib2-[x]). At the same time the temple is called sud-DU-ag2-^{d}suen-na "light of Suen "(line 159).[81] Its "prince" (Nanna) is referred to in celestial terms: line 164 nun-zu en (var. nun)-an-na utaḫ-ḫe-a gub-ba[82] "Your prince, the lord (prince) of heaven standing on the canopy (of heaven)." Line 165 an-bar-su3-a gaba-[ri]$^{(?)}$-eš HI bur2-[x][83] "(like the sun) at noon ... radiating." In these lines the god is identified with the moon when it is standing at the zenith of the sky. This is implied by the phrase utaḫ-ḫe-a gub-ba "standing on the canopy (of heaven)" and the reference in the next line to noon. If one accepts J. van Dijk's reading of line 165 in OLZ 1965, p. 33: gaba-ri-eš du10 bur2-[bur2], then the sense of the line is that the moon appears at noon with the sun rivaling it with its brilliance:[84] "moving at noon in rivalry (to the sun)." On the concept of the moon appearing at noon, see also the treatment of UET 6, 68 and duplicates, lines 6 and 8 in Chapter 9.

4. Šu-suen

4.1 adab-hymn to Nanna (TuM NF IV, 12):

Since this text will be treated in full in Chapter 9, only a brief synopsis of its contents will be offered here. The moon-god is described mainly with celestial epithets, though quite a variety of other qualities are attributed to him. In line 8 he is called nun-uraš-a-

"prince of Uraš (the earth)," an epithet which as far as I know is not applied to the moon-god elsewhere. Taken in conjunction with the preceding phrase hi-li-an-na "the charming one of An (heaven)," line 8 seems to imply that An and Uraš were the parents of Nanna/Suen.[85] In astrological terms the line may be interpreted as an allusion to the rising of the moon from the earth into the sky, which could obviously suggest the notion that the moon was the offspring of heaven and earth. Note rev. 12 where Nanna is called u4-giš-he2-a u4-uraš-a "light of the firmament, light of the earth."

In lines 11 and 12 it is claimed that Nanna gave birth to Šu-suen just as he is born again and again with each month; and Nanna is called father in line 15. Å. Sjöberg (OrSuec 21, pp. 87f.) has shown that the Ur-III kings all claimed to be the offspring of divine parents. In this connection note that the name Šu-suen is written with the divine determinative.

Nanna seems to be elevated to a very high status in this hymn because in lines 15-16 it is said that he renders justice and decides the fates along with Enlil. This exaltation may be no more than the hyperbole which is typical in hymns to city-deities. Within the context of such hymns the god is frequently praised using a variety of superlatives. Fertility aspects of the moon-god are evident in obv. 10 where he is said to provide a year of abundance: mu-he2-gal2-a.

The greatest number of epithets in this hymn describe various qualities of the moon's celestial appearance. The god is said to have "shining horns" (si-mul-mul - rev. 9) -- a reference to the moon's crescent shape and the multi-tiered crown with protruding horns which the gods are depicted as wearing. The brightness of the lunar body is variously described as su-lim "sheen" (rev. 13), uš̌um pa-e$_3$ "the sole ruler arising" (rev. 14), muš̌$_3$-ku$_3$ "bright visage" (rev. 15), an-ki-a x-a e$_3$ "who comes forth in heaven and earth(?)" (rev. 16), ni$_2$-gur$_3$-ru "clad in glory" (rev. 19), and uš̌umgal (rev. 18); uš̌umgal in this context could either be translated as the mythical dragon, an epithet applied to many gods, or in the sense of "great, sole overlord," a more appropriate image for the moon-god. All of these epithets will be considered in greater depth in the next chapter on the epithets of Nanna/Suen and in the treatment of this hymn in Chapter 9.

adab-hymn to Nanna/Š̌u-suen

Epithets

Celestial:

obv.	1.	[šš̌$_3$]-er-zi-bad	"remote radiance"
	8.	ḫi-li-an-na	"charming one of heaven/An"
	21.	aga$_3$-an-ku$_3$-ga-ke$_4$	"crown of the bright sky"
	9.	u$_{18}$-ru	?
	9.	u$_4$-an-ki	"light of heaven and earth"
	11.	en itu-da u$_3$-tu	"lord who is born with (each) month"

	27.	pa-e$_3$	"arising"
	28.	bara$_3$	"spreading (light?)"
rev.	9.	si-mul-mul	"shining horns"
	12.	u$_4$-giš-ḫe$_2$-a	"light of the firmament"
		u$_4$-uraš-a	"light of the earth"
	13.	su-lim	"sheen"
	14.	[uš]m pa-e$_3$	"sole ruler arising"
	15.	muš$_3$-ku$_3$	"pure visage"
	16.	an-ki-a x-a e$_3$	"who comes forth . . . in heaven and earth(?)"
	18.	ušumgal	"dragon," "sole overlord"
	19.	ni$_2$(!)-gur$_3$-ru	"clad in glory"
	32.	en-an-na; 33	"lord of heaven"

Relationship to other deities:

obv.	14.	peš$_{10}$-gal$_2$ ne$_3$-gal dingir-gal-e-ne	"the mighty one, whose power (is) great among the great gods"
	16.	^{d}nu-nam-nir-da nam-gal tar-re	"who decides a great fate with Nunamnir"
rev.	8.	dumu-an-na	"son of An"

Names and Titles:

obv. 4. ^{d}E[N.ZU]; 9 šul ^{d}suen; rev. 5, 33

8. nun-uraš-a

11. ^{d}nanna; 15. a-a ^{d}nanna; 21?, 26?; rev. 10

17. ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar

šul

26. [en(?)]-gal-an-ki-a-ka

rev. 8. en, 14

26. dumu-nun-zi-le

5. Ibbisuen

There are four hymns to the moon-god attributable to the reign of Ibbisuen. They have all been treated by Å. Sjöberg in OrSuec 19-20, pp. 140-178. In each both the god and king are praised. As in the hymns of preceding kings, Ibbisuen is said to be chosen by the moon-god for his many outstanding qualities and to receive a great many prerogatives and powers from the tutelary deity of his city, Ur. Like his inscriptions, these hymns of Ibbisuen are filled with highly descriptive epithets which depict the moon-god in all his various aspects. They are therefore an important literary source for a study of the moon-god and provide a wealth of insights into the nature of this god. Because of the great number of epithets in each of the hymns, it will be best for organizational purposes to list the epithets by groups according to the aspects of the moon-god they express: celestial, pastoral, etc.

5.1 tigi hymn to ^{d}suen (UM 29-16-43)

This hymn can be roughly divided into three parts (note that the end of the composition is broken): praise of the moon-god and description of his various qualities (obv. 1-7); Nanna's choice of Ibbisuen to be king and the conferring of powers upon the king (obv. 8-22); description of Ur and its relation to various deities of the pantheon (rev.). The epithets of the moon-god, which

are mainly contained in the first part, emphasize for the most part the celestial aspects of the moon-god; i.e. qualities of the moon's light, the moon's position in the sky, and the forms of its appearance. In addition, there are also epithets which stress his power as a great god or define his relationship to the pantheon, particularly, to Enlil and Ninlil. The epithets can be grouped as follows:

Celestial (light):

obv.	1.	i-lim (u_5)	"awe-inspiring light ..."
		men-gal-la	"great crown"
	2.	u_4 giš-ḫe$_2$ e$_3$-a	"light come forth in the firmament"
	3.	su-lim-dagal BAD-e diri	"wide-reaching radiance filling the deep(?)"
	4.	muš$_3$	"visage"
	5.	iti$_6$ (U_4.^{d}NANNA)	"moonlight"
	7.	kiri$_4$-/giri$_{17}$-zal	"'splendor'"
	10.	men-zi-da	"true crown"
		dalla-e$_3$	"manifest, visible"

Power:

	1.	me [s]ag$_2$ nu-di; cf. 14	"whose 'powers' cannot be scattered"
	6.	me-nam-nun-na-ni an-da gu$_2$-la$_2$-[am$_3$]	"the 'power' of his 'role' as Prince encompasses the heavens"
	7.	u_{18}-ru	"'force'"
	20.	du$_{11}$-ga-ni u_{18}-ru-gal sag$_2$ nu-di-dam	"his command is a great 'force' which cannot be scattered"

Relationship to other deities:

2. ^{d}en-lil$_2$-le il$_2$-la "elevated by Enlil"

3. ^{d}nin-lil$_2$-le tu-da "born to Ninlil"

16. an-e nir gi-ba "An(?) ..."
^{d}aš-[im$_2$-babbar ...]

Titles and Names:

1. en

2. šul ^{d}suen; also rev. 1,4

8. ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar; also 11, 16

10. ^{d}nanna; also 14

rev. 1. nun, cf. obv. 6; also rev. 4

The nuances of these various epithets will be discussed at greater length in the next Chapter where all the epithets of Nanna/Suen will be analyzed. A few brief points about their use in the context of this hymn, however, are in order. In line 2 Suen is said to be elevated by Enlil to the heights of heaven where he is described as u$_4$ giš-he$_2$ e$_3$ "light rising in the vault of heaven (or in the firmament)." Based on Å. Sjöberg's interpretation of line 3 (whereby BAD is to read idim = Akkadian nagbu "subterranean waters"),[86] it appears that the sense of this line is a direct complement to that of the preceding line: Suen's wide radiance extends from the zenith of the heavens (line 2) to the farthest depths of underground waters (line 3). Such imagery is in accord with line 6 where the moon-god's power is said to encompass the heavens (an-da gu$_2$-la$_2$[-am$_3$]). The phrase i-lim u$_5$ in line 1 is probably connected in some

way to this imagery; yet the sense of both i-lim and su-lim and the distinctions between the two are obscure, mainly because of the element -lim, the meaning of which is unknown. u5 in its use here is also uncertain.

An interesting feature of this passage is the description of the moon-god as a youth: šul dsuen, the youth born to Ninlil and Enlil. Besides the genealogical connection, the characterization of the moon-god as a youth in this context can also be interpreted in astrological terms as a reference to the newly risen moon just after it appears on the horizon. This is the sense then of Enlil's elevation of the "youth, Suen" to the heights of heaven. A parallel expression may be found in the Šu-suen hymn to Nanna discussed above: rev. 15 šul dsuen muš3-ku3 ki-us2-sa "the youth Suen whose pure visage touches the earth," may be explained as a reference to the moon's position on the horizon. Note the similarity of the phrasing in the Šu-suen hymn with that of the Ibbisuen hymn: u4-giš-he2-a (rev. 12), su-lim (rev. 13).

More problematic are the phrases giri17/kiri4-zal and u18-ru in line 7. Despite numerous attestations of both phrases, the connotations of the two are osbcure. u18-ru can be translated very generally and vaguely as "powerful," while giri17/kiri4-zal in the same manner might be rendered as "splendor"; the latter term at times seems to refer to a quality of light. But a more tangible referent for either term remains elusive. The

latter halves of lines 6 and 7 seem to be complementary: the former refers to the moon as "encompassing the heavens" (an-da gu2-la2[-am3]), the latter as "touching the earth" (ki-us2-sa-[am3]; note the parallel to the Šu-suen hymn, rev. 15 above).

The term me can also be loosely rendered as "power." But this term has such a wide range of connotations and applications as to defy any precise definition of its meaning. nam is also problematic for the same reasons. The sense of line 6, as I interpret it, is that the moon-god's "being" and his various "qualities" (me) in his "role," "function," or "allotted fate" (nam) as "the Prince" (nun), i.e. second only to the gods An and Enlil, encompass all of heaven and (in line 7) reach the earth. This, no doubt, refers once again to the moon's light which fills the heavens and touches the earth.

As in so many other royal hymns the moon-god is depicted as bestowing powers upon the king. Nanna's role as provider of water through irrigation to his city is expressed in line 9 where he bestows the function of ku6-gal2 (= gu2-gal2) "canal inspector" on Ibbisuen, certainly one of the most important functions in a city based on irrigation for its survival. The king also receives the sceptre (gidri - line 11), symbol of authority and justice, and a good name (mu-du10 - line 22), probably an allusion to the bestowal of a throne-

name on the king as part of a legitimation ritual.

Finally, Ur is mentioned (rev. side) in close association with the great deities of the pantheon, An, Enlil, Enki (dnu-dim2-mud), and ama dnin-tu-kalam-ma "Mother Birth-goddess of Sumer." This association with Ur obviously underscores the central importance of the moon-god's city to the whole land of Sumer. Ur is called (rev. 23 and 26): uri2ki uru-me-nun-šul-dsuen-na-kam "Ur, the city of the princely me's of the youth, Suen"; i.e. the city which embodies all that is a part of the nature of its tutelary deity, Suen.

5.2 u3-lu-lu-ma-ma hymn to Suen (CBS 11168):

Much of this hymn is similar to the preceding. The first 14 lines consist[87] of a paean to Nanna/Suen, in which his celestial aspects are expressed in a great number of vivid epithets. In the next section (obv. 15-20) Suen prays to Enlil for prosperity in his city, Ur; he praises Ibbisuen as the man best suited to make Ur prosperous. This is followed by a section (obv. 21-28) in which the moon-god bestows all aspects of kingship on Ibbisuen. An and Enlil are mentioned in a broken section at the end of the coverse (29ff.). On the reverse side of the tablet Nanna/Suen is again praised as the brilliant celestial phenomenon, while Ibbisuen is depicted as bestower of fertility and prosperity. This hymn may be compared with Šulgi F in which the moon-god is similarly depicted as choosing the king and asking

Enlil's approval of his choice.

Celestial:

obv.	1. u_4 giš-ḫe$_2$-ta sag-ili$_2$ (also rev. 4')	"light lifting its head in the vault of the sky"
	še-er-zi	"ray"/"beam"
	2. kur-un$_3$-ta un u_4 ga$_2$-ga$_2$	"from the lofty mountains setting (his) light on the people"
	3. su$_3$-DU-ag$_2$-an-bad-da men	"sheen of the remote sky, crown"
	5. an-bar$_7$-a dalla-e$_3$ (also rev. 4')	"visible at noon"
	u_4-KA.KEŠDA-an-na	"... light of heaven"
	6. su-lim-ma-ni an-bar$_7$-gana$_2$ u_4-giš-nu$_{11}$-un-sag-gi$_6$-ga	"his radiance at noontime (is like) the sun, the light of the black-headed race"
	7. utaḫ-ḫe-bad-ta gi$_6$ du$_{10}$-du$_{10}$ gal-zu	"from the (sky's) distant canopy he knows how to sweeten the night"
	8. pa-e$_3$-ak-a	"made manifest"
	še-er-zi-an-na-kam	"he is the ray of heaven"
	10. gi$_6$-u$_3$-na pa-e$_3$	"who comes forth at night"
	13. an-ta su-lim-ma-ni kalam-ma mu-un-bara$_3$-ge; cf. 14	"from the heavens he spreads his radiance upon the land"
rev.	6'. en-pa-e$_3$	"the lord who comes forth"
	7'. giskim-ti	"sign (astrological omen)"

Pastoral and Fertility:

rev.	15'. gu$_4$-AŠ.DU	"perfect bull" or "the bull that goes alone" (celestial?)

Relationship to Other Deities:

obv.	3. giri$_{17}$/kiri$_4$-zal-a-a-ugu-na; cf. rev. 6', 13'	"Pride(?) of the father who sired him"

	4. dumu-gal-di ^{d}nin-lil$_2$-le tu-da nir-gal$_2$-e$_2$-kur-ra	"renowned son born to Ninlil" "respected one of the Ekur"
rev.	14'. ^{d}en-lil$_2$-da eš-bar x-[x]-gal$_2$	"making decisions together with Enlil"
	7'. giskim-ti dumu-^{d}nin-lil$_2$-la$_2$	"trusted one, son of Ninlil" (cf. celestial)

Titles and Names:

obv.	1. en-gal	"great lord"
	2. ^{d}suen; also 16, 30, rev. 5', 15', 16'	
	4. nir-gal$_2$; also 8	"respected one, noble"
	5. šul ^{d}suen	"the youth, Suen"
	7. a-a ^{d}nanna; also 10, rev. 12'	"Father Nanna"
	8. nun	"Prince"
	26. ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar; also rev. 2'	
	29. ^{d}nanna; also rev. 5', 8'	
rev.	6'. en-pa-e$_3$; cf. rev. 15'	"The lord who comes forth"
	8'. en	
	13'. en-giri$_{17}$/kiri$_4$-zal	"Lord 'Splendor'"

Other:

obv.	2. ušum-sag-kal	
rev.	6'. giri$_{17}$/kiri$_4$-zal	"'splendor'"
	9'. ḫi-li-su$_3$	"endowed with grace"

Many of these epithets occur in other contexts in literary compositions and in inscriptions. Note, for example, the use of su$_3$-DU-ag$_2$, pa-e$_3$, and ba-ra-ge (= bara$_3$-ge) in Ibbisuen's inscriptions (see Chapter 4,

sect. 3); and, as pointed out above, the inscriptions of the Isin-Larsa kings demonstrate a wide use of such epithets.[88]

In the first section of the hymn (obv. 1-13) the moon-god is depicted almost exclusively in celestial terms. Several new images occur. Lines obv. 5-6 use the terms an-barz and an-barz-gana2. Both of these Sumerian terms are equivalent to Akkadian muṣlālu, kararū, and urru meaning "midday, noon, and afternoon."[89] Thus, the lines seem to refer to the simultaneous appearance of the moon and sun at midday, a phenomenon which can be observed in this hemisphere as well as in the Middle East.[90] In my opinion another interpretation of an-barz(-gana2) is possible when the term is applied to the moon: it may refer to a position of the moon in the night sky corresponding to the sun's position at noon; see Chapter 9, UET 6/1, 68, 6-8 and commentary). The meaning of u4-KA.KEŠDA-an-na, which might provide a clue to the sense of the an-barz(-gana2) in this context, is unfortunately not yet known; cf. Chapter 7 sub u4-KA.KEŠDA.

The meaning of uš̌um, when applied to the moon-god, can either be "(mythical) dragon" or "lone ruler."[91] In combination with sag-kal the word is even more ambiguous since sag-kal is equivalent to both Akkadian aš̌arēdu "foremost" and kattillu,[92] a mythical wild beast. It seems to me that a more probable image of the moon would

be that of "lone ruler" and "foremost," especially in this context where the epithets stress the image of the moon-god as celestial phenomenon.

The problems of interpreting giri17/kiri4-zal have been noted above. Obv. 3 and 15 suggest that its connotations may have some connection with the moon-god's role as offspring of Enlil. This same expression occurs in Abīsarē inscription 4 i 15' (cf. Chapter 4, sect. 4).

The pastoral aspects of the moon-god are indirectly expressed in Nanna's prayer to Enlil (obv. 17-20). ku6-gal2 "canal inspector" is once again mentioned as well as all the familiar expressions of prosperity (obv. 18-22; cf. rev. 11'). Note the expression gu4-AŠ.DU in the last line of the hymn. In light of the following epithet en-pa-e3 "lord who comes forth (arises)," it seems likely that gu4-AŠ.DU is meant to evoke a celestial image. The crescent moon is often metaphorically referred to as a bull because of the similarity of the shape of a bull's horns to the crescent moon. AŠ.DU meaning "who goes alone" might well express the solitary aspect of the moon's appearance in the night sky.[93]

The expression giskim-ti, translated by Å. Sjöberg (OrSuec 19-20, p. 155) as "'living sign'," may either refer to the moon as an astrological omen (Akkadian giskimmu) or be interpreted as equivalent to Akkadian tukultu "trust, support." The concept of the moon as an omen is not infrequent especially in the Isin-Larsa

period.[94]

5.3 a-da-ab hymn to Suen (CBS 8526):

In this hymn the moon-god is described mainly in celestial terms. The obverse follows a clear pattern of repeated phrases divided into "stanzas" of five lines. Thus, lines 11-15 are paralleled by 16-20, 21-25 by 26-30, and 31-35 by 36-40. The structure of the first 10 lines seems to consist of couplets from 2-5 followed by the repeated phrase sud-DU-ag2 bi2-mu2-mu2 in 6-9 which in each line is preceded by a different name or epithet of the moon-god: en-^{d}aš-im2-babbar (line 6), ^{d}suen (line 7), ^{d}?(?) (line 8), dingir-u4-da (line 9). Line 1 is paralleled by line 6, line 5 by line 10. This series of patterns comprises the sa-gid2-da section which ends at line 41 (rev.). The second half of the composition (the giš-gi4-gal2 "antiphon") is structured upon a list of major deities each of whom is said to endow Ibbisuen with some aspect of his kingship. The deities in the order they are presented are: An, Enlil, Enki, Nintu, Nanna, Utu, and Nin-irigal. An bestows the "true crown" (aga-zi), "me of long days" (me-u4-sud-ra2), and the "sceptre of kingship" (gidri-nam-lugal-la); Enlil decided the fate of "lordship" (nam-en) and "valor" (nam-ur-sag) for the king; Enki ever renews prosperity (nam-he2) and "days of 'splendor'(?)" (u4-giri17/kiri4-zal) -- note that both these concepts seem to be connected with the flooding of the Tigris and Euphrates

(rev. 46); Nintu propagates seed (numun i-i) and gives birth to living creatures (zi-gal$_2$ u$_3$-tu); Nanna gives the king "authority" (sag-kal-nam-nun-na) over all lands; Utu bestows "what is just and proper" (ni$_3$-si-sa$_2$ ni$_3$-duz-e); and Nin-irigal, the mother of Kulaba (ama-kul-ab^{ki}-a-ke$_4$), apparently grants Ibbisuen's prayers and petitions (lines 58-62 are partially broken and difficult to restore). Thus, the second half of this adab hymn presents an interesting insight into the relationship of the various deities to the king and his powers and the spheres of influence which each deity embodied.

Besides the power of authority which Nanna is said to bestow upon the king he also offers "great counsel based on the decisions of An" (eš-bar-an-na-kam sa$_2$-gal mu-un-ga$_2$-ga$_2$ obv. 12, 17); and "the long, prosperous reign which he has called for he has made come forth in greatness from the highlands to the farthest reaches of the (under)world"[95] (obv. 20-21; cf. 15-16). Other aspects of the moon-god are revealed in the following epithets:

Celestial:

obv.	1 & 6-9. sud-DU-ag$_2$ bi$_2$-mu$_2$-mu$_2$	"He ever renews (his) sheen"
	11. an-sikil-la mu-un-? ki-še$_3$ pa am$_3$-DU; cf. 16	"He has ... in the pure heavens; towards the earth he shone(?)"
	23. ni$_3$-nam še-er-ka-an-ba igi-su$_3$-ud mi-ni-in-il$_2$; cf. 28	"He has cast his far-seeing glance upon the rich variety(?) of all things."

	9. dingir-u4-da	"god of light"
	24. aga-du7	"fitting crown"
	31. giš-nu11	"light"
	32. un3-e(!)-giš-ḫe2-a me-te; cf. 37, rev. 63-64	"ornament of the height of heaven's vault"
	36. men	"crown"
rev.	49. u4-KA.KEŠDA giš-ḫur gi-ne2	"... light which establishes the cult rites"
	50. iti-zal-le	"who makes the month pass by"
	u4 ki-še3 DU-DU	"light ever moving towards the earth"

Relationship to Other Deities:

obv.	3. dEN.ZU kur-gal-e en-nun-še3 tu-da	"Suen whom the great mountain has sired to be a princely lord"
	12. eš-bar-an-na-kam sa2-gal mu-un-ga2-ga2; cf. 17	"Based on the decisions of An he has ever given great advice"

Powers:

obv.	5, 10. gaba-gal2	"broad chested (expansive, mighty)"
	24, 29. me-u4-sud-ra2	"'power' of long days"
	du11-ga nu-kam3-me-de3	"whose commands cannot be changed"
rev.	51. sag-kal-nam-nun-na	"(power to be) foremost in (his) 'role' as Prince"

Titles and Names:

obv.	1. [lugal/en]-an-ki	"lord/king of heaven and earth"
	3. [dsue]n; also 7; rev. 61- 67	
	en-nun	"princely lord"
	5. an-ki(-a) lugal-bi; cf. 10	"(he is) king of heaven and earth"

	6. en ^{d}aš-im-babbar; 16, 26, rev. 36	"lord Ašimbabbar"
	9. dingir-u$_4$-da	"god of light"
	31. en	"lord"
rev.	62. lugal-an-na	"lord (king) of heaven"

Comments:

obv. 23: The meaning of še-er-ka-an is uncertain in this context. še-er-ka-an-du$_{11}$/di is known to correspond to Akkadian zu''unu "to adorn, embellish." See Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 92 to 205 and 78 to 131; cf. OrSuec 19-20, p. 144, 1a, rev. 3'. But the meaning of še-er-ka-an by itself is still obscure. The translation given above is a guess.

rev. 50: I interpret zal-le in the expression iti-zal-le as corresponding to Akkadian šutabrû "to remain present, to remain visible, to continue in existence, to happen continually" and "to make last, to make permanent" (see CAD vol. 2, pp. 279f., meaning 2 and 3 and lexical section). Thus, the meaning of iti-zal-le is "who lasts (the duration of) a month" or "who ever makes the month pass by" with the nuance of continuous duration over months for the length of a year. This last nuance is implied by the following expression, mu-da-ri$_2$, which in conjunction with the preceding expression may have verbal connotations: "who makes the year last." The notion of duration is inherent in the term da-ri$_2$ as it is in zal-le, though da-ri$_2$ suggests longer duration.

The allusion in both phrases, I feel, is to the reckoning of the lunar month and year based on the daily observance of the moon, the cycles of which formed the basis of Mesopotamian notions of time. For a different interpretation see Å. Sjöberg, OrSuec 19-20, p. 157 and comment on line 50 on p. 170.

obv. 3: kur-gal-e "great mountain" is the familiar epithet of Enlil, father of Nanna/Suen. The notion of the moon being "born by the great mountain" also probably has astrological connotations in the sense of the moon rising from the mountains.

obv. 5, 10: See Å. Sjöberg's commentary on line 5 in OrSuec 19-20, p. 167 for the nuances of gaba-gal$_2$.

rev. 52: sag-kal-nam-nun-na is a power that the moon-god confers upon the king in this context. But both sag-kal "foremost" and nun "prince" are common epithets of the moon-god; see the preceding hymn to Nanna/Suen, obv. 2 where Suen is called uš̌um-sag-kal. The notion in this context is that Ibbisuen is elevated by the moon-god to be the foremost one among all princes of the world, just as Enlil has elevated Nanna/Suen to be the foremost prince among the gods.

5.4 Hymn to Nanna/Suen (CBS 15158):

Because only a fragment of this hymn to Nanna/Suen is preserved, a complete interpretation of its contents is impossible. Ibbisuen is mentioned in line 11' and the preceding section seems to deal with the bestowal of

various aspects of his kingship: e.g. line 8' aga-nam-lugal-la "crown of kingship," men-ku3 "holy headdress," and mušen-kešda "head wrap(?)." Lines 12' and following appear to dwell on various aspects of the moon-god. They can be categorized as follows:

Celestial:

12'. si-mul-mul	"(the one with) shining horns"
sud-DU-ag2-an-na	"sheen of heaven"
16'. iti6	"moonlight"
17'. [glu4(?)-pa-e3	"rising bull(?)"

Relationship to Other Deities:

17'. den-lil2-da maḫ-dib	"with Enlil treading on high"

Power:

14'. u4-te-eš-e gal	?

Purity:

12'. en me ku3-ku3-ug me-sikil šu-luḫ-zalag n[am ...]	"lord who purifies the me's; whose pure me's and lustrous washing rites are . . ."

Names and Titles:

2'. a-a dnanna	"father Nanna"
4'. šul dsuen; cf. 13'	"youth, Suen"
12'. en me ku3-ku3-ug	"lord who purifies the me's"
16'. nun-zi-le	"... prince"

Comments:

17': If the reading [glu4 in [glu4(?)-pa-e3 is correct, this phrase can be compared to rev. 15' of the preceding hymn: GU4-AŠ.DU-de3 which expresses a similar image.

14': The meaning of u4-te-eš in this context, where it seems to be applied to the moon-god, is obscure. te-eš is equated with Akkadian rigmu "noise" and the phrases u4-te-eš-du11/di and te-eš-du11 refer to the boom and roar of storms.[96] How this is applied to the moon-god is unclear.

16': The meaning of zi-le in the expression nun-zi-le is unknown; dumu-zi-le, zi-le-den-lil2-la2, and en-zi-le also occur; see Å. Sjöberg, OrSuec 19-20, p. 171 to 16'.

5.5 Letter of Ibbisuen to Išbierra (OECT 5, No. 27):[97]

A couple of references to Suen in this letter are noteworthy because they reveal the intimate connection between the king, his city, and the city-god. In this letter (which is fraught with lexical problems) it appears that Ibbisuen accuses Išbierra of treachery and holds him chiefly responsible for the invasion of the MAR.TU people into his land. Lines 5-7 read:

5.	u4-da den-lil2-le ga2-a-ra ḫul ba-an-gig	"When Enlil hated me
6.	dumu-ni dsuen-na-ra ḫul ba-an-gig	hated his son, Suen,
7.	uri2ki lu2-kur2-ra bi2-in-sum-mu	handing Ur over to (its) enemies"

These lines clearly indicate that when things went bad for the city of Ur and its king Ibbisuen, the theological interpretation of these political misfortunes was that Enlil had turned against his son, Suen, tutelary deity of Ur. Likewise when Ur finds favor

in the sight of Enlil again, it is expressed in terms of his attitude towards his son (line 9): u4 ^{d}en-lil$_2$-le dumu-ni-^{d}suen-na-ra im-me-gur "when Enlil turned (again) towards his son, Suen." These references demonstrate how tightly interwoven were the political and religious spheres of experience in Mesopotamian thought. Events in one sphere necessarily implied repercussions in the other sphere. These lines also imply a total dependence of Nanna/Suen's authority and influence upon the goodwill of Enlil and his city, Nippur, the religious center of Sumer. Such a conception may have been dictated by adverse political events that led to the collapse of Ur. Note that in the "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur" Nanna is depicted as having abandoned Ur along with all the other great gods.[98] Thus, at least in this composition (which may have originated in Nippur), the tragic fate of Ur and its king does not indicate the same fate for its tutelary deity. The idea of one god hating another is alien to traditional Sumerian religious conceptions. It was more usual for political trouble to be attributed to the displeasure of the gods with a king and his city, as is the conception in "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur." Perhaps the sentiment expressed in the above quoted lines is a reflection of Ibbisuen's own feelings about the dangers that were threatening his kingdom.

5.6 Letter of Puzuršulgi to Ibbisuen (Michalowsky Correspondence, pp. 253f.; cf. Cl. Wilcke, ZA 60, pp. 57f.):

The role that religion played in politics is further demonstrated in several lines from this letter of the governor of Kazallu to the king in which he quotes the demands and claims that Išbierra made upon the kingdom. The performance of cult rites and the installation of cultic personnel are symbolic acts that Išbierra claims legitimize his right to the kingship and attest to his divinely sanctioned authority. He maintains that Enlil of Nippur and Nanna of Ur have handed Ibbisuen's land over to him. As proof of the favor he has found in the sight of these gods he says:

20. eš$_3$-eš$_3$-a-ne-ne ga-am$_3$-ak	"I will set up their (i.e. the deities') eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festivals;
21. alam-mu šu-nir-mu en-mu-ne lu$_2$-maḫ nin-dingir-mu-ne	my statue, my standard, my En-priestess, Lumaḫ and Nindinger priestesses
22. gi$_6$-par$_4$-ra-ne-ne-a ga-bi$_2$-ib-dur$_2$-durun	I will install in their Gipars.
23. igi-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$-še$_3$ ša$_3$-e$_2$-kur-ra-še$_3$	Before Enlil in the heart of the Ekur,
24. igi-^{d}nanna ša$_3$-e$_2$-kiš-nu-gal$_2$-še$_3$	before Nanna in the heart of the Ekišnugal,
25. tur-tur-ma-ke$_4$ siskur-bi ḫe$_2$-eb-be$_2$	the siskur-offerings of my lesser deites will be made"

That the king played a major role in the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festivals is attested in the hymns of Šulgi[99] and in adminstrative documents which record royal offerings in the reign of Ibbisuen.[100] The dedication of statues,

standards, and the installation of En-priestesses is also amply attested in year-date formulae and in royal inscriptions.[101] The presentation of sisḫur offerings was one of the chief cultic pre-occupations of the king as the offering texts of Ibbisuen indicate. In my opinion tur-tur in line 25 refers to the minor deities of the local pantheon. This is clear in offering accounts which list amounts of various food products to be offered to the major and minor deities of the particular city; the major gods and goddesses are usually named, while the lesser deities are simply referred to as dingir-tur-tur-e-ne. See the examples I have listed from Ur texts in Chapter 5, sect. II, 3. Išbierra's reference to his minor deities may indicate that he installed cult images of deities from the local cult of Isin in Nippur and Ur.[102] By performing all of these acts Išbierra was putting himself into the role of king. Such religious acts symbolized political power and the religious legitimization of this power by the deities.[103]

B. Literary Compositions which Reflect Ur-III Traditions, but Cannot be Ascribed to a Specific King

1. Hymns to the Moon-God

1.1 bal-bal hymn to Suen (Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 13-14):

The pastoral side of the moon-god's persona is stressed in this hymn, though occasional allusions to the god as celestial phenomenon are made. The great number of Suen's sheep and cows are described in the first 7 lines. The white cows are said to be like the moon-light (line 4): ab2-ba babbar-bi iti6 e3-a-am3 "Its (the cattle pen's) white cows are like the moonlight when it comes forth." The god is then described as the giri17/kiri4-zal-an-na "the pride (or glory) of heaven" (line 8): 7. ab2-lu-a tur3-lu-a-na / 8. giri17/kiri4-zal-an-na-ke4 samam-ma ba-ni-in-dua "The pride (or glory) of heaven (An) has released the numerous cows in his numerous cattlepens from the tether." This mixing of the two sides of the moon-god's character, pastoral and celestial, is typical of the hymns to Nanna/Suen which depict him chiefly as the god of the herders. The terms in which the god is described in such contexts suggests a very ancient conception of the deified moon, perhaps hearkening back to the pre-settled stage of Mesopotamia when nomadic groups made their living by grazing their herds on the steppe.[104] At such a stage of development the moon-god would naturally have been conceptualized in

pastoral terms familiar to nomadic herders, but also as a celestial phenomenon since the nightly appearance of the moon in all its phases surely must have been observed by a people who lived out in the open. It is possible that the use of the moon's cyclical patterns as a basis for reckoning time reaches back to this period.

Note that the name Suen is more often used in this hymn than Nanna. Since the name Nanna is closely associated with the city of Ur, while Suen shows a wider distribution through the whole area of Mesopotamia and beyond, it is possible that Suen was the name of the moon-god venerated by the nomadic peoples who covered a vast area of the ancient Middle East. Nanna, on the other hand, was the city-god of Ur who only achieved widespread influence at a later period when the political power of Ur expanded into a far-flung kingdom.[105]

The next section of the hymn concentrates on Suen's relationship with his mother, Ninlil, and father, Enlil. He is depicted as a young child "grown fat at (Ninlil's) holy knee" (line 28: du$_{10}$-ku$_3$-ga peš$_{11}$-a; cf. also line 32: du$_{10}$-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ "at Enlil's knee"); as a "lapis-lazuli calf" (line 28: amar-za-gin$_3$); and as the "ornament of the Ekur" (line 31: ḫe$_2$-du$_7$-e$_2$-kur-ra). He is the "beloved of (Ninlil's) heart" (line 27: [ki-al]ga$_2$-ša$_3$-ga) and "Enlil's delight" (line 23: ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ lu$_2$-la-la-ni). In general, the impression given by

the many epithets of Suen in this section is of a young child under the loving care of his parents.

He exercises certain functions in the Ekur temple, cultic residence of Enlil and Ninli (Suen, of course, is also included in the local pantheon of Nippur): he pours the cows' milk into the churn[106] and arranges the hand-washing rites (lines 37 and 38); and he acts as shepherd to the cows and in a wider sense to the whole land of Sumer (lines 14 and 49).

But his celestial characteristics are also mentioned: line 41: lugal maš-gurš-kuš an-na diri-ga "lord, pure barge floating across heaven"; line 57: dingir an-na hi-li-gurš-ru "god in heaven, clad with grace (are you)"; line 58: itiš-zu kuš-ga-amš zalag-zalag-ga-amš "Your moonlight is pure; it is shining."

Finally, his selection by the great gods of the pantheon, Enlil and An, to be the divine ruler of Ur is described in the last section. An gives him the shepherdship (nam-sipa) and the kingship (nam-lugal) over the land (lines 49 and 52). Enlil bestows upon him a good name (line 50). Both of these are reminiscent of the legitimation ceremony that the king underwent, which also included the bestowal of shepherdship, kingship, and a naming ceremony. [107] The implication that Nanna will exercise the power of kingship over the land of Sumer from his city, Ur (lines 49-53), suggests that the hymn was composed in the Ur-III period, when Ur was in control of all of Sumer.

Epithets and Key Phrases

Pastoral:

12.	^{d}suen samam-za-gin$_3$ lapis lazuli tether" ab$_2$ BAD-ak-a	"Suen who has ... the cow the lapis lazuli tether"
14.	e-ne ab$_2$-ba nam-sipa mu-un-aka	"he who acts as shepherd for the cows" (lit. "exercises shepherdship")
17.	udul	"cowherd"
18.	eden-du$_{10}$-ga-am$_3$ ab$_2$ ḫu-mu-ra-ši-lu	"May the cows proliferate because of you on the good steppe."
28.	amar-za-gin$_3$ du$_{10}$-ku$_3$-ga peš$_{11}$-a	"lapis-lazuli calf grown fat at (Ninlil's) holy knee"
37.	ab$_2$-GAR.NE ga-bi šakir$_3$-ra i-ni-in-de$_2$; cf. 9.	"The milk of the ... cow he has poured into the churn."[106]
7-8.	ab$_2$-lu-a tur$_3$-lu-a-na giri$_{17}$/kiri$_4$-zal-an-na-ke$_4$ samam-ma ba-ni-in-du$_8$	"The pride (glory) of heaven (or of An) has released the numerous cows in the many cattlepens from the tether."
43.	am an-ne$_2$ zi-de$_3$-eš pa$_3$-da-mu	"My wild steer whom An has justly chosen"
45.	en(-)tur$_3$-ku$_3$-ga; cf. purification	"Lord of(?) the pure cattle stall"
46.	a-ra-es$_3$-ku$_3$-ga samam-za-gin$_3$-na	"Sired in the holy sanctuary, lapis-lazuli tether"
49.	nam-sipa-kalam-ma an-ne$_2$ ma-ra-an-sum	"To you has An given the shepherdship of the land."
59.	^{d}utu-gin$_7$ su$_8$-ba-kalam-ma-me-en	"Like Utu are you the shepherd of the land."

Celestial:

8.	giri$_{17}$/kiri$_4$-zal-an-na-ke$_4$; cf. 33	"The pride (glory) of heaven(of An)"
41.	ma$_2$-gur$_8$-ku$_3$ an-na diri-ga	"Pure barge floating across the sky"

56.	nam-lugal-an-na za-ra mu-ra-an-sum	"He has given you the kingship of heaven."
57.	dingir an-na hi-li-gur3-ru-me-en	"god in heaven, clad with grace are you"
58.	iti6-zu ku3-ga-am3 zalag-zalag-ga-am3; cf. 4	"Your moonlight is pure; it is shining."
60.	dnanna lugal-ra u4-de3-eš-eš-e mu-un-e3	"For the lord, Nanna, it (= moonlight) has come forth like the bright day."

Relationship to Other Deities:

8.	giri17/kiri4-zal-an-na-ke4	"The pride of An"; cf. celestial
15.	ama-ugu-ni nin-nibruki-ke4; cf. 24, 25	"The mother who bore him, lady of Nippur"
23.	den-lil2-la2 lu2-la-la-ni na-nam	"He indeed is Enlil's delight."
27.	[ki-al]ga2-šà3-ga ni3-šà3-te-en-na-me-en	"You are (my) heart's love which brings (my) heart peace."
40.	a-a-mu den-lil2-le	"my father, Enlil"
42.	ama-ne2	"his mother (Ninlil)"
47.	dumu ur-sag dnin-lil2-le tu-da	"heroic son born to Ninlil"
50.	den-lil2-le mu-du10-ga mi-ri-in-[sa4]	"Enlil has called you by a good name."
49.	nam-sipa-kalam-ma an-ne2 ma-ra-an-sum	"To you has An given the shepherdship of the land."
55.	dumu-sag-den-lil2-la2	"chief son of Enlil"
59.	dutu-gin7 sug-ba-kalam-ma-me-en	"Like Utu are you the shepherd of the land."

Purity:

10.	šu-dadag-ge ga na-tum4-tum4	"(His) pure hands brought the milk."
38.	dsuen-e šu-luh-e si bi2-in-sa2	"Suen has put in order the washing rites."

39.	ni$_3$-šu-du$_{11}$-ga-mu dadag-ga-am$_3$	"Everything I have put my hand to is pure." (transl. "shining" also possible)
45.	en(-)tur$_3$-ku$_3$-ga šu-luḫ-dadag-ga-am$_3$	"The lord of(?) the pure cattle pen is the one who has made the washing rites pure" (or: "The lord in the pure cattle pen ...")

Titles and Names:

2. ^{d}suen; also 12, 24, 26, 28, 36, 38, 61

11. lugal; also 41

16. en; also 22, 45

17. udul "cowherd"

47. dumu ur-sag "heroic son (born to Ninlil)"

48. ^{d}nanna; also 60

Other:

31.	ḫe$_2$-du$_7$-e$_2$-kur-ra	"ornament of the Ekur"
36.	^{d}suen an-ki-a ḫe$_2$-em-diri-ge-en	"Suen, may you be supreme in heaven and earth."

1.2 Second <u>bal-bal</u> hymn to Nanna (TuM NF IV, 7, col. ii, 67-iii, 106):

Since this hymn is largely fragmentary and will be treated in Chapter 9, a few brief words will suffice here. The hymn appears to be an amorous dialogue between Nanna and Ningal. The first six lines of the broken column ii seem to comprise the end of Ningal's address to Nanna. The following speech of Nanna contains many images of fertility. The setting of the action described in the hymn is a great canebrake (<u>sug-mah</u>: ii, 86) where

there are various kinds of reeds, eggs laid by the u5-gi2 -bird, and carp, Ningal is called EN.NU.NUZ.ZI-dNANNA, a title which the En-priestess of Nanna often takes, as seen in Chapter 4.[108] Mention is also made of the cows of the cattle pen and of the churn (šakir3: ii, 91) with its products of milk-fat and milk (line ii, 94). Nanna repeatedly expresses his desire to go with Ningal to her house (ii, 89 and 95). Ningal has the last word (her words are in Eme-sal): she too expresses her desire to go with Nanna to his dwelling in the princely cattle pen and declares that without him she is nothing (ii, 96 and 98; cf. 97 and 99 and iii, 102-104). Note that this bal-bal hymn follows a copy of the preceding hymn on the same tablet. Also on this tablet is a hymn apparently by Enḫeduanna and one which may date to the reign of Urnammu, both of which have been discussed above. It is unfortunate that the second bal-bal is so fragmentary, since it concentrates on the relationship between Nanna and Ningal in terms that are typical of the love songs of Inanna and Dumuzi, but are rarely used to describe the moon-god and his spouse. The following key phrases and words, all related to fertility, should be noted:

74.	i3-ab3-ku3-ga	"milk-fat of the pure cow"
80.	gi-en3-bar-du10-ga	"the good canebrake"
81.	u5-bi2^{mušen}	"ubi-bird"
82.	nunuz; also 85	"egg"

82.	gud$_3$	"nest"
90.	tur$_3$	"cattle stall"
91.	dug-šakir$_3$	"churn"
92.	^{d}šu-ni-du$_7$[109]	
96.	me-a-[am];also 104	"shepherd"(?)
102.	sug-ba	"shepherd"

1.3 Adab hymn to Nanna (Å. Sjöberg Mondgott pp. 35f. + ISET I,1 157, Ni 4467 + ISET 1, 138, Ni 4274(?); cf. C. Wilcke, RlA 4, p. 542b and AS 20, p. 253):

Nanna/Suen's relationship to the supreme deities, An, Enlil, and Ninlil is emphasized in the first section (obv. 1-8) of this hymn. The moon-god is said to be born to Ninlil (obv. 1: ^{d}nin-lil$_2$-le tu-da) and to be her beloved son (obv. 2: dumu-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}nin-lil$_2$-la$_2$). Though Enlil is mentioned in connection with his temple at Nippur, An is called the father of Suen (obv. 7: a-a-zu an-ku$_3$-ge). While Enlil is most often portrayed as the father of the moon-god, An too is sometimes described in this role. This genealogical connection between An and Nanna/Suen has been noted before in literary compositions and in inscriptions. Since An is traditionally the father of Enlil, his relationship to Nanna/Suen, strictly speaking, is as grandfather. The word a-a could conceivably have this connotation in this context; and in astrological terms the sky-god, An, would very logically be thought of as the father of the moon-god, Nanna/Suen.[110]

An interesting feature of this text like the one discussed in Section III.B.1.1 is the prevalence of the name Suen for the moon-god (the name, Nanna, is only used in the subscript which defines the type of hymn). As early as the Ebla lexical texts the epithet ^{d}en-zi is said to be equivalent to the god-name ^{d}suen. In the adab hymn under discussion here, which begins en-zi nam-tar-ra, the use of the name Suen (^{d}EN.ZU) may be a sort of literary pun on this epithet, which might explain the consistent usage of Suen as opposed to Nanna. It is also perhaps significant that in both this hymn and the bal-bal hymn the moon-god is cast in the role of young offspring of the supreme gods. As a youth the moon-god is commonly known by the epithet šul ^{d}suen. One may therefore wonder if the name Suen was understood as the designation of the god in his youth and in his subordinate role of child to the supreme deities, Enlil, Ninlil, and also occasionally, An.[111]

Certain uncommon aspects of the god are brought out in this text. The first line apparently states that he decides the fates, a power usually attributed only to Enlil. Furthermore, this statement stands in direct contradiction to obv. 8 where it is said that Enlil decides the fate for Suen. Perhaps line 1 could be rendered, "True lord (whose) fate was decided; (i.e.) that he should be born to Ninlil." Such a translation, which is not grammatically impossible, would be more in line with the rest of the text and traditional Sumerian

conceptions (but see nam-tar in Chapter 7).

In lines 9 and 10 Suen is associated with purification rites: he is called en-šu-luh-ku3-ga "lord of pure washing rites" (line 9) and sikil-dingir-re-e-en "pure one among the gods" (line 10). In the next line he is also called "light of heaven" (or "of An"): u4-a[n-n]a.

If C. Wilcke's suggestion is correct that the two ISET 1 fragments listed above belong to this composition, then a portion of the missing middle section of the text can be restored, namely the end of the sa-gid2-da section as rev. 4' of Ni 4467 indicates. This middle section appears to describe the bestowing of cultic paraphernalia on Suen or possibly on a ruler whose name is missing; who does the bestowing is also lost. Obv. 5'-7' might be restored as follows:[112]

5'. [men]-dalla-e3-a sag-ga2-na mi-ni-[gal2]	"He bestowed on his head [the crown] which appears in radiance.
6'. [gidri-u4-sud-ra2 šu-na mu-ni-gar	He placed in his hand [the sceptre of l]ong [days].
7'. [(x x) ka]lam-ma dingir-kur-kur-[ra]	[He is(?) the ... of Su]mer - the god of all lands."

Use of the phrase dalla-e3-a suggests that the moon-god is referred to, since this is one of his common epithets: the phrase describes the first appearance of the moon's nightly rising. Because An figures prominently in this hymn one might conjecture that he bestows this cultic garb on the moon-god.

The last section of the hymn lists well-known cult centers and their patron deities; in each case the respective cities are said to be founded by An.[113] The list of cities comes to a close with the mention of Ur which is not only said to be founded by An, but is also connected with the deities Enki and Ninki, who in this context are probably the ancient ancestral forefathers of An and Enlil, not the god of Eridu and his spouse.[114] The purpose of this association of Ur with the ancestral divine pair of the Sumerian pantheon is to play up its importance as a cultic center which has roots reaching back to the establishment of the world order.

The active role given to An in this hymn is interesting, since in most contexts, though his supreme authority is recognized, it is usually of a passive nature. An gives Suen exalted me (obv. 5: me-mah); he is called his father (obv. 7); he founds the major cult centers of Sumer (rev. of SLTNi 58 and Ni 4467; also Ni 4274); and appoints him to be "lord of the pure washing-rite" (obv. 9).

The following survey of the epithets applied to Suen in this hymn reveals that the more common celestial and pastoral aspects are missing:

Epithets and Key Phrases

Relationship to Other Deities:

obv. 1. ^{d}nin-lil$_2$-le tu-da "born to Ninlil"

2. dumu-ki-aga$_2$-^{d}nin-lil$_2$-la$_2$ "beloved son of Ninlil"

	7. a-a-zu an-ku$_3$-ge	"Your father, pure An"
	8. ^{d}en-lil$_2$-le nam-e-eš$_2$ mu-ri-in-tar	"Enlil has decided upon it as your fate."
Power:		
obv.	1. nam-tar-ra$^{(?)}$	"who decides the fates" (?) (see above)
	4. gaba-šu-gar nu-mu-ni-tuk-am$_3$	"He has no rival (in the Ekur)"
	5. me-zu me-maḫ-am$_3$	"Your me is an exalted me."
	10. pirig	"lion"
Purity:		
obv.	9. en-šu-luḫ-ku$_3$-ga	"lord of the pure washing rite"
	10. sikil-dingir-re-e-ne	"pure one among the gods"
Celestial:		
obv.	11. u$_4$-a[n-n]a$^{(!)}$	"light of heaven"
Names and Titles:		
obv.	1. en-zi	"true lord"
	2, 4. ^{d}suen	
	9. en-šu-luḫ-ku$_3$-ga	"lord of the pure washing rite"

1.4 tigi-hymn to Suen (Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 55f. and ZA 63, pp. 36f.):

This tigi-hymn to the moon-god, consisting of a sa-gid$_2$-da (obv. 1-15) and sa-gar-ra (obv. 17-rev. 41) section, centers on the establishment of Ur by Suen (sa-gid$_2$-da) and its significance as the home of Nanna, the cowherd, and his herds of livestock (sa-gar-ra). Hence, Nanna's pastoral role is stressed. Note that the moon-

god is called Suen in the sa-gid2-da section and Nanna in the sa-gar-ra section. In the opening lines Suen's temple is said to extend up to the "reed marsh" (obv. 1,2,3: sug), a reference no doubt to Ur's geographical position at the southernmost end of Iraq on the edge of the marsh that runs to the gulf. After founding his city on the reed marsh, Suen names it and establishes it as his residence. The temple "gives praise to him like (the bellowing of) a bull" (obv. 9). He calls the chosen site of his city and temple "his pure place, a lofty place, a most precious place" (obv. 10-11: ki-girin-na-ni, ki-maḫ, ki-kal-kal).

The sa-gar-ra section of the hymn displays a readily discernible pattern of repeated lines: lines 17-19 are parallel to 21-23; line 20 is parallel to 24; 25-27 are repeated verbatim in 29-31; 32 parallels 28 as well as 20 and 24; 33-36 are paralleled by 37-40. In the first set of repeated lines Nanna is asked where he tends his cows. He replies that he tends them in the sanctuary of Ur (eš3-e-uri2^{ki}), in his chosen city (uru-igi-ili2), the shrine of his heart which he has founded in joy (eš3-ša3-gal2 ul-ti-a i3-ra). A comparison is made with Aratta which is not quite clear (lines 19 and 23).[115] In the next set of lines the same question is answered by a different response: the cows are tended in the e2-mud-kur-ra, which was founded on an auspicious day (u4-du10-ga ki-gar-ra) and called by a good name (mu-du10-ga sa4-a). e2-mud-kur-ra is an epithet of the

temple of Nanna in Ur, more commmonly known as the e2-kiš-nu-gal2. The exact meaning of the epithet is still a matter of some conjecture (see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 61-62). The last set of responses to the same repeated question is that the moon-god, here called lord of the pure cattle pen (lugal-tur3-ku3-ga) and "youth, princely shepherd" (šul mu6-sub3-nun-na), tends his cattle in a pure reed thicket (giš-gi-ku3-bi-a) which is part of a field (ša3-tum2-ma) where a dais is built for the shrine of Ur and where date palms from the land of Dilmun are planted. Hence, in almost every aspect of this hymn the moon-god and Ur are connected with the pasturing of cattle and the livelihood of the shepherd.

Epithets and Key Phrases

Pastoral:

33.	lugal-tur3-ku3-ga	"lord (king) of the pure cattle pen"
	šul mu6-sub3-nun-na	"youth, princely shepherd"; cf. 37
35.	giš-gišimmar nam-mu2; cf. 39	"I planted (made grow) the date palm"
36.	giš-gi-ku3-bi-a ab2-mu ba-ši-in-lu; cf. 17, 20, 24, 28, 32, 40	"I have pastured my cows in its (the field's) pure reed thicket."
21.	un me-a mu-u8-lu; cf. 25, 29	"Where have you tended the people?"
9.	e2 gu4-gin7 ar2 im-me	"The house gives praise to him like a (bellowing) bull."

Celestial(?):

6. en-u4-sud-ra2-ke4 "Lord of 'long day'(?)"

Titles and Names:

1. lugal-mu; cf. 10,14 "my lord"

6. en-u4-sud-ra2 "Lord of 'long day'(?)"

7. ^{d}suen; cf. 12

15. en ^{d}aš̌-im2-babbar; 17,21,25,29; cf. 27,31

17. ^{d}nanna

21. dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil2-la2; 25,29,37 "chief son of Enlil"

1.5 šir3-nam-gala hymn to Nanna (Å. Sjöberg, ZA 63, pp. 31f.):

This lengthy hymn to the moon-god is roughly divided into two thematic sections: the first, which is subdivided by two "antiphons" (giš̌-gi4-gal2), dwells on the moon-god as celestial phenomenon and contains a great number of epithets which reveal the many aspects of the moon's light, forms, and various patterns; the second stresses the moon-god's role as provider of fertility, the bestower of kingship, and the founder of Ur as his cult residence and the seat of the kingdom. Nanna's relation to An and Enlil and several important cult sites in Ur are also mentioned in this second section. Two liturgical markings (line 47: ku-ru-gu2 and line 52: uru16-EN-bi-im) subdivide it. Besides the purely visual qualities of the moon and moonlight, which are elaborated upon extensively in the first part of the

hymn, the importance of the moon as the basis for reckoning time in days, months, and years is brought out. Nanna is described as the god who "fixes the New-moon Day (and) the month" (line 4: u4-sakar iti gi-ne2; cf. line 19) and "sets the year in its (proper) place" (line 19: mu ki-bi-še3 an-[gar]). In a broken section of the second part of the hymn it appears that the moon-god determines destinies in the shrine of Ur (line 40: eš3-e-uri2ki-ma nam-du10 mi-ni-ib-tar-re), a function not often associated with the moon-god. In this connection note line 35: [x x] x ki-ni2-dub2-bu-za dur2 ki u3-ba-e-ni-gar "when you have set up your dwelling in the place where you take your rest." As applied to the moon-god "the place where you take your rest" may not only refer to a room in the temple complex (eš3-e-uri2ki-ma? or e2-NUN-ku3-ga?), i.e. the physical location of the cult statue, but also to a position of the moon in the night sky; particularly, the point of conjunction of the moon and sun when the moon disappears from the sky at the end of the month. The day of this occurrence was called u4-na2-a (= Akk. bubbulu), "day of the lying down (of the moon)." Although it is not certain that this day at the end of the month had as much cultic significance before the Old-Babylonian period as it did after,[116] Sumerian literary texts from the Old-Babylonian period describe this day as the time when the "me's are brought to completion" (u4-na2-a me šu duz-duz-da Inanna and Iddindagan 173; cf. OECT 5, 25, 176; [u4-]na2-a iti-šu-

du7-a-zu "On the day of the moon's disappearance, when you complete the month" ISET 1, 38 Ni 2781, 19) and as the day when the fates are decided (dnanna-a u4-na2-a nam-zu he2-tar-re "on the day of Nanna's lying down may Nanna decide your fate" Two Elegies 90) and judgements are rendered ([u4-]na2-a ... [el]-kur-ra di-gal mu-ku5-du-en ka-aš-ma[h] mu-bar-re-en "On the day of (your) lying down ... you (Nanna), lord of the underworld, will decide a great judgement, you will deliver a mighty decision." ISET 1, 38 Ni 2781, 19, 20). In the last reference and in other later texts there are hints that the moon-god was thought to sojourn in the netherworld with Nergal,[117] where he rendered judgements, decided fates, completed the me's, and perhaps during the time of his brief stay there took over Nergal's role as "lord of the underworld."[118]

Lines 4 and 5 of the šir3-nam-gala hymn to Nanna may also contain indirect allusions to this period at the end of one month and the beginning of the next. It is known that in later times scribes attempted to precisely calculate the days on which the moon disappeared and then reappeared. The often-attested cultic observation of New-moon Day (u4-sakar) and other days of the month related to the moon's phases in Ur-III texts suggests that such calculations were of importance also at an earlier period.[119] The references to Nanna "fixing the New-moon Day and the month" (line 4) and

looking "with auspicious eye upon your reckoning" (line 5, if read correctly) in the šir$_3$-nam-gala hymn may allude to this process of calculation.[120]

Epithets and Key Phrases

Celestial:

1.	nir-an-na kur-un$_3$-na dagal-bur[u$_2$]	"respected (god) of heaven who(se light) is widely spread across the high mountains,
2.	i-lim u$_4$-gal$_2$ ri-a-na ni$_2$-il$_2$-l[a]	clad in his awesome raiment that gives off light, lifting himself up
3.	BAD-ta maḫ sag an-ne$_2$ us$_2$-[sa]	from the depths(?), aloft (his) head abutting the heavens,
4.	u$_4$-sakar iti gi-ne$_2$ ni$_2$ pa-e$_3$-ak-[a]	fixing the New-moon Day (and) the month, revealing himself on high,
5.	^{d}nanna šita$_5$(?)-zu igi-du$_{10}$ ḫu-mu-ri-in-du$_8$	Nanna - may he look with favor upon your reckoning(?).
6.	[^{d}a]š-im$_2$-babbar u$_4$-gal-an-ku$_3$-ga	Ašimbabbar, great light of the pure sky,"
	u$_{18}$-ru dagal-tag-ga un-šar$_2$-ra ba-dul(?)	.....
8.	sud-DU-ag$_2$ nun men-na sag-il$_2$	"shining one, prince with crowned head (proudly) lifted"
12.	[si]-mul-mul an-na ḪI gal$_2$ [...]	"with glittering horns, moving(?) in the sky"
14.	su-lim	"sheen"
15.	muš$_3$-ku$_3$	"pure visage"
16.	sud-DU-ag$_2$-zi an-e dagal si-a	"true shining one, filling the expanse of the sky"
18.	^{d}nanna ušum-an-ki idim-ma gal gub-bu	"Nanna, who stands alone in heaven and earth, great in mass"

19.	iti u4-sakar gi-ne2	"who fixes the New-moon Day (and) the month,
	mu ki-bi-še3 an-[gar]	who sets the year in its (proper) place"
20.	dsuen en an-na dili-zu-de3 maḫ-me-en	"Suen, lord of heaven, you alone are lofty"
21.	en u4-an-na ul-li-še3 nam-gub; cf. 9	"lord, light of heaven has stood for an eternity"

Pastoral:

22.	mu-nam-ḫe2-a-ka šu-peš-peš-e-de3; cf. 43	"to ...a year of abundance"
23.	a-eštub-ku6 ḫe2-gal2 nu-silig-ge	"that early flooding (and) an abundant yield be unceasing"
24.	ubur-an-na-ke4 si-sa2-e-de3	"who causes heaven's teats to become erect,
	giri17/kiri4-zal ki-us2-u3-de3	.....
25.	še-gu-nu tumu3-de3; cf. 42	"who brings the late grain"

Relationship to Other Deities:

33.	[x x] x-an-den-lil2-la2-ka	"... of An (and) Enlil"
37.	[en daš-ilm2-babbar x kur-gal den-lil2-le ša3-ga-ni nam-tum2	"The great mountain, Enlil, has set his mind on lord Ašimbabbar."
48.	dnin-lil2-le tu-da	"born to Ninlil"
49.	[en daš]-im2-babbar dumu-ku3-an-na	"lord Ašimbabbar, holy son of An"

Titles and Names:

1.	dumu-nun	"princely son"
5.	dnanna; 18,27,51,52	
6.	[da]š-im2-babbar; 16; cf. 37,49	
20.	dsuen 20.,21. en	"lord"

1.6 u3-lu-lu-ma-ma hymn to Nanna (Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 70f.):

This hymn is tentatively linked by Hallo with the incipit en-me-lam2-su3-su3 in the Yale Ur-III literary catalogue.[121] Though the first word of line 1 is en and the final phrase of line 2 is me-lam2-su3-su3, one wonders why the incipit of the hymn would quote these two widely separated phrases and not en giri17/kiri4-zal-an-na, which are the first words of the text.[122] If, however, this identification of the hymn proves correct, one would have a good piece of evidence that hymns preserved only in Old-Babylonian script were copied from earlier Ur-III prototypes.

The hymn contains a good many of the usual celestial images that are often associated with the moon-god: Nanna is a "light" (u4), a "ray" (še-er-zi), the "crown of Ur" (men-uri2^{ki}-ma), whose "visage (is) arrayed with a dazzling sheen in the zenith" (si-un3-na muš3 me-lam2-su3-su3). He is "the great renewing (light?) who pours himself out upon the land" (gibil-gal kalam-ma ni2-ri-a), the "true crown" (aga-zi), "the proud one of heaven" (giri17/kiri4-zal-an-na), and the one whose "evening light fills(?) the dark places" (ki-kukku2 usan2 su3-su3-da).

In his relationship to other deities he is known as "the chief son of Enlil" (dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil2-la2), yet is somehow also associated with An and Uraš[123] (rev. 5:

break in the line makes a precise interpretation impossible). This association with the highest deities of the pantheon has been noted previously. His relationship to his spouse, Ningal, is described in blatantly erotic terms, such as one finds in the Dumuzi-Inanna love songs. This infrequently-attested aspect of the moon-god was also noted in the bal-bal hymn to Nanna discussed above.[124]

The only allusion to Nanna/Suen's pastoral aspects is in lines rev. 12 and 13 where it is said that the ewe with its calf and the goat with its kid praise the moon-god. Nanna is called a lion (pirig) twice (obv. 5; rev. 9), an epithet which also occurs elsewhere.[125]

Epithets and Key Phrases

Celestial:

obv.	1.	giri$_{17}$-/kiri$_4$-zal-an-na	"proud one of heaven (of An)"
	2.	si-un$_3$-na muš$_3$ me-lam$_2$-su$_3$-su$_3$	"at the zenith (whose) visage is arrayed with a dazzling sheen"
	1.	he$_2$-du$_7$	"ornament"
	3.	u$_4$	"light"
		še-er-zi	"ray"
		men-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma; 4	"crown of Ur"
	5.	pirig-gal-an-ku$_3$-ga (?)	"great lion of the pure heavens (of holy An?)"
	7.	gibil-gal kalam-ma ni$_2$-ri-a	"great renewing (light)(?) who pours himself out upon the land"
	8.	[aga-z]i pa-mul-mul kur-un$_3$-na dar-a	"true crown whose shining top is pushing up(?) from the high mountain"

rev. 10.	ki-kukku$_2$ usan$_2$ su$_3$-su$_3$-da	"(whose) evening light fills(?) the dark places"
11.	iti$_6$ ni$_3$-giri$_{17}$/ kiri$_4$-zal un-e u$_6$ mu-e	"(your) splendid moonlight which the people behold in awe"

Pastoral:

rev. 12.	u$_8$-e sila$_4$-bi mi$_2$ ar$_2$ im-me	"The ewe with its calf fondly praise him.
13.	uz$_3$-de$_3$ maš$_2$-bi mi$_2$ i-ri-im-me	The goat with its kid fondly greet him."
7.	AN.DUR gu$_4$-gin$_7$ e$_2$-suḫuš-gub-bu-gin$_7$	? (cf. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 75-76 to rev. 7)

Fertility:

rev. 14.	šul-e nitadama-ni e-NE-su$_3$-ud mu-un-da-e	"The youth has intercourse with his spouse."
15.	^{d}suen-e ^{d}nin-gal-sa$_6$-ga-da ša$_3$ mu-da-ab-kuš$_2$-u$_3$	"Suen sates his passion with the lovely Ningal."

Animal Imagery:

obv. 5.	pirig-gal-an-ku$_3$-ga; cf. rev. 9	"great lion of the holy An/ pure heaven"
6.	a-alima (?)	"bison's seed"
rev. 3.	u$_3$-na DU$_7$-a	"(like a bull) wild, on the rampage"

Relationship to Other Deities:

obv. 5.	dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$; cf. 9	
6.	ki-aga$_2$-dingir-re-e-ne	"beloved of the deities"
rev. 5.	[x (x?)] an-na uraš-a mu-un-tu	"... has born ... in heaven and earth."

14 and 15. quoted above sub Fertility.

Names and Titles:

obv.	1.	en	
	2.	^{d}nanna; 4	
	3.	lugal	"lord (king)"
rev.	16.	a-a-^{d}nanna	"father Nanna"
	11.	$^{\check{v}}$šul ^{d}suen; cf. 14, 15, 16	"youth, Suen"

1.7 za3-mi2 hymn to Nanna (UET 6/1, 68 + duplicates):

This hymn bears the subscript, a-a ^{d}nanna za3-mi2 "father Nanna, be praised." It is immediately followed on the same tablet (text C) by an u2-lu-lu-ma-ma hymn to Ningublaga, the son of Nanna, which ends with the lines a-a ^{d}[na]nna min za3-mi2 / u2-lu-lu-ma-ma-^{d}nin-gublaga-kam. M. Civil assumed that both hymns belong to the u2-lu-lu-ma-ma type (see M. Civil, "The Song of the Plowing Oxen" in AOAT 25, p. 84) because of the close association of these two hymns on one tablet, the repetition of the phrase a-a ^{d}nanna za3-mi2, and the subscript of the latter hymn. If the subscript at the end of the hymn to Ningublaga does indeed apply to both the preceding Nanna and Ningublaga hymns, one might conclude that the composition as a whole is composed of two za3-mi2 hymns. This structural relationship between the za3-mi2 and the u2-lu-lu-ma-ma is born out by the other two u2-lu-lu-ma-ma hymns listed by Civil (l.c.), both of which also bear a za3-mi2 phrase in the line before the subscript (S. Sjöberg Mondgott , p. 71, rev. 16: za3-mi2-du11-ga šul ^{d}suen-n[a(?)] a-a ^{d}nanna-

[kam(?)]; OrSuec 19-20, p. 147, rev. 15': ^{d}EN.ZU [z]a$_3$-mi$_2$; "song of the Plow" partially broken in second to last line; cf. Civil, o.c., p. 89, 148). Hence, the meaning of the phrase a-a ^{d}nanna min za$_3$-mi$_2$ is literally "father Nanna be praised a second time" and in structural terms this refers to the second za$_3$-mi$_2$ hymn of the u$_2$-lu-lu-ma-ma hymn to Ningublaga. It appears that the other two u$_2$-lu-lu-ma-ma hymns quoted above contain only one za$_3$-mi$_2$.

For the purposes of this study the former za$_3$-mi$_2$ to Nanna is the more important of the two hymns. Since this piece will be fully treated in Chapter 9, only a brief synopsis of its contents will be given here. The text opens with vivid celestial imagery depicting Nanna/Aŝimbabbar as the god who "embellished the night" (obv. 2: gi$_6$-u$_3$-na šu-tag mu-ni-in-du$_{11}$) and who "when he rose from the darkened mountains, stood like Utu (stands) at noon" (lines 5-6: kur-suḫ$_3$-suḫ$_3$-ḫa-ta e$_3$-a-ni / an-barz-ra ^{d}utu-ginz bi$_2$-in-gub; cf. lines 7-8). After conferring with his father, Enlil, he "determines the fates" (line 13: nam-tar), which in the context of this hymn appears to refer to Nanna's decree that various sorts and numbers of cult installations (gi$_6$-par$_4$, du$_8$, e$_2$-tur$_3$) and domestic animals should be present, presumably in Ur, Nanna's cult residence. The bulk of the hymn is taken up by a long enumeration of Nanna's livestock which taken altogether are said to

give praise to their lord; they are led into the gi6-par4 where Nisaba counts them and records their number on a tablet. Having completed this round-up of livestock, Nanna mixes liquor and honey for an unnamed king and is praised as "Enlil's trusted one" or "sign," "celestial omen" (rev. 42: giskim-ti-^{d}en-lil2-la2), "the youth, god of living creatures" (rev. 43: [šu]ll dingir-zi-gal2-la), and "leader of the land" (rev. 44: mas-su2-kalam-ma). His spouse, Ningal, is mentioned with him at the end as "the lady of the Gipar" (rev. 44: nin-gi6-par4-ra).

Epithets and Key Phrases

Celestial:

obv.	1. en-e an-na KA mu-ni-in-su-ub; 3	"The lord has ... the heavens."
	2. gi6-u3-na šu-tag mu-ni-in-du11; 4	"He has embellished the night." (var. "earth")
	5-6. kur-suḫ3-suḫ3-ḫa-ta e3-a-ni/an-bar7-ra ^{d}utu-gin7 bi2-in-gub; 7,8	"When he came out of the darkened mountains, he stood like Utu (stands) at noon."
rev.	42. giskim-ti-^{d}en-lil2-la2 (?)	"sign (celestial omen?, trusted one?) of Enlil"

Pastoral:

obv.	16. e2-tur3-gal-a-ni; cf. 15C	"his great cattle pens"
	17C. dug-šakir3-[x] šu mu-na-tag-[tag]	"He is letting the butter churns sound for him."
	18C. ab2-e gu2 m[u]-na-di-ni-ib-gur-re	"He drives the cows in herds together with him."

19-31. enumeration of Nanna's livestock including his herdsmen (line 29: utul) all of whom praise their lord (line 31: en-ra mu-un-i-i mu-un-ar2(?)-e-ne)

36. ab2-ku3-dnanna-ke4 mi2 du11-g[a šul dsuen za3-mi2	"The pure cows of Nanna cherished by the youth, Suen, be praised."
37-38. i3-nam-be2-gal2 tur3-ku3-[x]-maš2-a-ke4/šu mu-un-da-mu2-mu2	"The milk-fat of abundance in the sacred cattle pens of [...] (and) goats he is ever able to increase."
39-41. kurun2-gal-hur-sag lal3-kurun2-bi-da/ lugal-ra dug-mah-sikil-la-na/mu-na-da-ab-šar2-re	"great mountain brew with honey and 'liquor' he is able to make abundant for the lord on his lofty, purified platform."

Cult Paraphernalia and Installations:

obv.	14. gi6-par4-mah; cf. 32	"lofty Gipar"
	15. dug; cf. dug-mah in 40	"(lofty) platform"
	16. e2-tur3-gal; cf. tur3 in 15C; 37	"great cattle pen"
	17A. giš-al-gar-surx (BALAGxUZ3)	"musical instrument (plectrum?)"
	C. dug-šakir3	"churn"
	35. im	"clay tablet"

Relationship to Other Deities:

obv.	6/8. an-bar7-ra dutu-gin7 bi2-in-gub	"He stood like Utu (stands) at noon."
	11-13. den-lil2-le i[nim-ma-ni zi]-da/ u4-de3 gi6-a inim mu-un-di-ni-ib2-be2/ eš-bar-ra nam mu-un-di-n[i-i]b2-tar-re; cf. 9-10	"Enlil, whose word is true, speaks with him day and night. (Based on (his)) decision he decides the fates."
	34. dnisaba-ke4 šid-bi mu-un-dab5	"Nisaba has taken the count."

42. giskim-ti-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$	"sign (trusted one) of Enlil"
44. ^{d}nin-gal nin-gi$_6$-par$_4$-ra	"Ningal, lady of the Gipar"

Names and Titles:

obv. 1. en; 31

3. ^{d}nanna; 25,36,45 (25,45: a-a ^{d}nanna)

7. ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar

36. šul ^{d}suen; cf. 43

42. giskim-ti-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$

43. šul dingir-zi-gal$_2$-la

44. mas-su$_2$-kalam-ma

1.8 šir$_3$-nam-sub[126] to Suen (Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 80f.):

This hymn presents Nanna/Suen as a fertility god who brings life and fruition to all living things. The range and expanse of his power encompasses all of life: "remote as the heavens, wide as the earth" (line 1: an-ginz sud-ra$_2$-e ki-ginz dagal-la-x x]; cf. lines 2 and 3). He is the shepherd (lines 4,5: mu-nu$_{10}$-de$_3$) who herds his numerous cows and provides the products of his cattle: fat (line 14: i$_3$), cream (line 15: i$_3$-te-er-da), cheese (line 16: ga-ara$_3$), and milk (line 16: ga). But his powers are not confined to the realm of the herder; they extend to every aspect of natural life: he fills the rivers with the spring flood-waters (rev. 3: iz-da a-eštub si-a-na); he brings late barley to the fields (rev. 4: a-ša$_3$-ga še-gu(-nu) gal$_2$-la); stocks the marsh

with fish (rev. 5); provides the canebrake with reeds (rev. 6); the forests with wild boar (rev. 7); the upper steppe with trees (rev. 8); the orchard with honey and wine (rev. 9); the garden patch with lettuce and plants (rev. 10); and the palace with long life (rev. 11). This detailed list of the various aspects of general prosperity is a familiar literary topos, which A.J. Ferrara has called the "topos of plentitude."[127] It is found repeated in nearly verbatim form in "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur" (lines 332-339; 341-348)[128] and in other literary texts.[129]

The fertility aspects of the moon-god are also expressed in this hymn through its erotic portrayal of Nanna's relationship with his spouse, Ningal. In this respect it is similar to the second bal-bal hymn to Nanna (TuM NF IV, 7, ii, 67-iii, 106), the u3-lu-lu-ma-ma hymn to Nanna (Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 70ff.) -- both of which are discussed above -- and the Dumuzi and Inanna love songs.[130] One finds hints of the so-called "sacred marriage" motif in this hymn as in the Dumuzi-Inanna compositions. Ningal repeatedly expresses her desire to live with Nanna and names significant cult installations at Ur where she wishes to dwell: line 16. dub-la2-mah ki-di-ku5-re-za "in your Dublamah, the place where justice is rendered"; 17. uš-gid2-da geštin(!?) lal3-za "in your provisions-house (where there is) wine (and) honey"; 18. kar-zi-da kar-ma2-gur8-ra-[za] "at your 'true quay', the quay of the ma2-gur8 barge";

19. e2-an-na-za e2-ki-aga2-za mu-un-t[i-le] "in your house of heaven, in your beloved house I would dwell." This last reference to the e2-an-na refers to the gigunû, the temple at the top of the ziggurat, hence "temple of the heavens, of the sky." This is confirmed in the next line where the temple is called igi-nima-ta kur-šim-giš-eren-na "up above on the mount of fragrant cedar wood." In other attestations the gigunû is said to be made of cedar wood[131] and to be a remote temple at the top of the ziggurat. Ningal says that she will "sweeten" Nanna's bed there (line 24: mu-na2 ba-ši-in-ga-an-[du10-ge]).[132] Whether such love lyrics reflect some actual cultic rite, a "sacred marriage rite," as some scholars believe or should be viewed strictly as literary topoi that do not necessarily have any one-to-one relationship with societal practices cannot be decided here. The arguments surrounding the "sacred marriage rite" are very involved and well beyond the confines of this study.[133]

Epithets and Key Phrases

Celestial:

obv. 1. an-gin7 sud-ra2-e; 2,3 "distant as the heavens"

Pastoral:

obv. 4. mu-nu10-de3 ki-ab2-lu-a-n[a]; cf. 5-7 "herder in his place where the cows are abundant"

Fertility:

rev. 3-11: quoted above

Relationship to Other Deities:

obv. 13. ^{d}nin-gal; 17 (see Names and Titles below)

rev. 26. dumu-an-na "son of An"

Names and Titles:

obv. 2. ^{d}nanna; 9; rev. 15, 20, 21, 23

3. ^{d}aš$_{2}$-im$_{2}$-babbar

4. mu-nu$_{10}$-de$_{3}$; 7 "herder"

5. ^{d}suen; 7, 8, 11, 19; rev. 28

12. lu$_{2}$-GIŠ$_{3}$.MI$_{2}$. UŠ$_{2}^{(?)}$.SA$_{2}$?

18. lu$_{2}$-silim; 19 "(my) complete one"

mu-ud-na-mu "my spouse"

20. lu$_{2}$-[a]-tu$_{5}$-a-mu "my ritually-purified one"

rev. 1. u$_{3}$-mu-un-e-du$_{11}$-g[a-zi-da]; u$_{3}$-mu-un passim "lord of the [true] word"

2. u$_{3}$-mu-un-e(-e$_{2}$-) kiš^{ki}-[nu-gala$_{7}$][134] "lord of the Ekišnugal"

26. lugal "lord (king)"

mes "hero"

1.9 VAS 2, 1, 1-26: hymn to the moon-god in syllabic Sumerian (Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 89-96):

This hymn displays a very regular, easily detectable pattern of repeated lines. It is composed of four sections, three consisting of six lines and one of eight lines. Each six-line section in turn can be broken up into a basic three-line pattern which is repeated

once with slight variations; likewise, the eight-line section can be analyzed as a repeated four-line pattern. The structure of the hymn can be schematized as follows:

	I	II	III	IV
line	1 = 4	7 = 11	15 = 18	21 = 24
	2 = 5	8 = 12	16 = 19	22 = 25
	3 = 6	9 = 13	17 = 20	23 = 26
		10 = 14		

The first section portrays the moon-god in relation to his city, Ur. Suen is described as the ensi2 (written syllabically as e-si: line 3), "governor" of Ur, a title that is applied to the moon-god only in this reference.[135] Ur is the "city which like the sea is founded of itself" (line 2(=5): e-re ab-ba-ge-en ni-ba ri-a), an expression perhaps meant to convey the great antiquity and permanence of the ancient city. The epithets nun (in nam-nu-NE) "prince," and en-gal-an-na (in en-gal-a-na) "great lord of heaven/An" are applied to the moon-god in the first (and fourth) line, and igi-dagal (in igi-da-gal2) "wide-eyed" in the third (and sixth).

In the second section celestial images and epithets of might and power occur. Nanna is said to be "born of the mountains" (line 7(=11): kur-ra du-da-ni5),[136] "arising in splendor" (line 7(=11): gi-ri-za-la e-da-ni). Both concepts have been met with frequently before: the moon when it rises from the mountains is described in poetic terms as "being born of the mountains." The

syllabic writing, gi-ir-za-la, is one clear indication of the correct rendering of the sign combination KA.NI (giri7/kiri4-zal). But as mentioned before, the precise nuances of this expression remain elusive.

In lines 8 and 12 Nanna is called ušumgal (= u3-šu-gal), a word which, as already seen, may denote a mythical dragon-like creature, but as applied to the moon-god more likely means "lone, sole ruler." Both lines as a whole might be interpreted thus: "(when he rises) his shining is a power that cannot be opposed, the sole ruler" ((e-da-ni5) a-nu-gi-a bi2-re-ni5 u3-šu-gal). However, if Å. Sjöberg's rendering of lines 10=14 is correct (ka-šu-gal2 = ka-ušumgal(a)), i.e. "mouth of a dragon," then ušumgal in the preceding lines is perhaps better interpreted as mythical dragon.[137]

The meaning of section III is largely obscured by the syllabic writing of the text. Various cultic installations are mentioned: gi6-par4(?) (= ne-pa3-ra(?)), bara2-ga (= pa-re-ga) "dais," unu2-gal (= u3-nu-gal) "great dining hall," and banšur-an-na (= pa-an-šu-ur2-a-na) "table of An." However, the context of these isolated words is uncertain.

The last section is also partially obscure. The moon-god's corona is mentioned (line 21(=24): ne-la2-am-mu = me-lam2-mu) and once again his "splendor" (this time written giri17/kiri4(KA)-za-la-e). He is also called "the fitting one of the black-headed people"

(line 22(=25): me-te-gal$_2$-sag-gi-gi) and "the one on whom father Enlil has set his eye" (line 23(=26): a-a-zu ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ i-gi-ni$_5$ ma-ra-šu-ga$_2$-al).

Epithets and Key Phrases

Celestial:

1=4. en-gal-a-na	"great lord of heaven/An"
7=11. (^{d}nanna kur-ra du-da-ni$_5$	"(Nanna) born of the mountains (or underworld)"
gi-ir-za-la e-da-ni; cf. 12	"splendid is his rising"
8=12. an-nu-gi-a bi$_2$-re-ni$_5$ u$_3$-šu-gal	"his shining(?) (is a power) which cannot be opposed; the sole ruler"
21=24. ne-la$_2$-am-mu	"corona," "sheen"
gir$_{17}$/kir$_4$-za-la-e	"splendor"
22=25. me-te-gal$_2$-sag-gi-gi	"fitting one of the black-headed people"

Power:

8=12. quoted above	
9=13. en ga-ba-gal$_2$-le-a	"lord, expansive (in his power)"
10=14. su$_2$-en ka-šu-gal	"Suen, mouth of a dragon"

Relationship to Other Deities:

1=4. quoted above	
23=26. [a-a-zu] ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la i-gi-ni$_5$ ma-ra-ši-gal$_2$ (ga$_2$-al)	"Your father, Enlil, has had his eye on you (i.e. chosen you)."

Names and Titles:

1=4. nam$_2$ and nun in nam-nu-ne	"princely lord"
en-gal-a-na	"great lord of heaven/An"

3=6. su_2-en igi-da-gal_2 e-si-u_3-ri-ma	"wide-eyed Suen, ensi of Ur"
9=13. en	"lord"
10=14. su_2-en	
11=18. ^{d}nanna	
16=19(?). lu_2-gal(-mu)	"my lord (king; = Nanna?)
Cultic Paraphernalia:	
15=18. ne-pa_3-ra (= Gipar?)	"Gipar(?)"
16=19. pa-ra-ga	"dais"
17=20. u_3-nu-gal	"dining hall
pa-an-šu-ur_2-a-na	"table of An"

1.10 VAS 2, 4 rev. i, 6-38: hymn to the moon-god in syllabic Sumerian (Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 97-101):

This hymn can be analyzed into three thematic sections: the first (lines 6-26) concentrates on the attributes of the moon-god, especially emphasizing his celestial aspects; the second (lines 27-32) deals with features of the cult at Ur; the third (lines 33-38) deals with Nanna's relationship to his city, Ur. A pattern of repeated lines structures part of the hymn, but is not apparent throughout. Lines 15-18 are paralleled by lines 19-22; 27-29 by 30-32; and 33-35 by 36-38; I can detect no such pattern in lines 6-14 or 23-26. Frequent breaks in the first part of the text may obscure the underlying structure of these last sections. As in the preceding hymn the syllabic writing of the text makes an exact interpretation of every line very difficult.

Epithets and Key Phrases

Celestial:

6. ur$_2$-NE-ru[138] an-ku$_3$-ge si-a	"shining ray(?) which fills the pristine sky"
7. mi-li-gur-u$_3$-a	"arrayed in a corona"
8. me-en-zu ku-ku-gu (?)	"your crown (or me's?) is (are)[139] pure" (interpretation uncertain)
9. en-bir$_2$-bir$_2$; cf. 35(=38)	"shining lord"
10. ba-ba-ra u$_4$	"bright (one), light"
15=19. e-a-zu	"when you come forth(?)"
16=20. mi-li-im-mu na-il$_5$	"You have risen in a corona"
18=22. u$_3$-zi šu-mu-nu	"The good light has come forth"
24. ur$_2$-ku-zu pa$_3$-e šu-mi-nu	"Your pure ray has come out shining"
34=37. u$_3$-ri-ma gu an-še$_3$ he-en-zi-[ge]	"In Ur may you lift your head (lit. neck) to heaven."

Names and Titles:

8. nanna; 30, 36: ^{d}nanna	
9. en-di-il$_5$; 35=38	"sole lord(?)"[140]
11. an-ki-a na-ri	"Counselor of heaven and earth"
18=22. lu$_2$-gal-mu	"my lord (king)"
23. en; 25	"lord"

Other:

10. u$_3$-na	"lusting for battle" (power, might)
17=21. ku$_3$-ga am-da-da-ga	"... which you have made pure" (purity)

33=36. ^{d}nanna URUxUD-ri-zu ḫe-ga$_2$-la ḫe-da-an-du	"Nanna, may your city progress in prosperity with you." (fertility)

Cultic Paraphernalia:

27=30. ki-sa$_2$-al-ma-ḫe nin̆da-ba-ga$_2$-ra-zu	"In the great court, where your bread (offerings) are placed,
28=31. ti-gi niŋ-in-du-ge si ḫa-pa-ne-sa$_2$	may the tigi-drum sound tunefully (your) sweet songs;
29-32. um-mi-na-na ti-gi mu-ra-an-du	in the assembly may the tigi-drum sing for you."

1.11 VAS 2, 75, 1-13: fragmentary hymn to Suen(?) in syllabic Sumerian (Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 102-103):

The assignment of this fragment to the corpus of hymns to the moon-god is based on the interpretation of su-na (line 2) = ^{d}suen + a. Though this interpretation cannot be taken as certain, mention of Ur, the temple of the moon-god, and other familiar cult installations in Ur indicate that the fragment does concentrate on the city of the moon-god. It is possible that a cultic river journey is described in the text since lines 3 and 13 contain the phrase ma in(im)-di-ri, which is probably the syllabic equivalent of ma$_2$ in(im)-dirig "The boat is sailed." (cf. eršemma hymn to Suen: sect. IV 1.1). Both quays of Ur are mentioned (karzida: line 7; karzagin: lines 8 and 11) as well as the Gipar (if ne-pa-ar = gi$_6$-par$_4$). The temple of Nanna/Suen is known both as the Ekišnugal (= e-ki-iš-nu-gal$_2$: line 6) and as the Emudkurra (= e-mu-ud-ku-ra: line 5; cf. Tigi hymn to Suen, rev. 1, 6, 10 sect. III B 1.4).

1.12 UM 29-15-570 (treated by Å. Sjöberg, JCS 29, pp. 8-13):

The first 31 lines of this tablet contain a hymn to the moon-god. Two other sections on the reverse of the tablet, which are separated by lines, contain hymns which make passing reference to Nanna, Suen, and Ašimbabbar, but do not seem to be connected with the hymn to the moon-god on the obverse. This hymn describes the moon-god solely in terms of his celestial aspects. Its structure is based on the repetition of "stanzas" of four lines each. The line pattern is as follows: break-8 = 9-12; 13-16 = 17-20; 21=24 = 25=28; 29-break (rev. 2'?). The first section, which is partially broken, describes An, Enlil, Enki, and Ninhursaga as tenderly caring for the moon-god in his ki-ulutim. The meaning of this term is still a matter of some debate, yet it has been defined by Sjöberg as "place where something has been made (created) and given its distinctive or identifying features."[141] Hence, the birth or creation of the moon-god is closely associated with the highest deities of the pantheon. The moon-god is said to be "at the heights" (un3-na) or "zenith" and is called "counselor of heaven and earth." The next section links Nanna/Suen with the a-nun-na gods who are said to accompany him in all his comings and goings (13-14/17-18). In the next lines Nanna is linked with man, who from all corners of the world is described as looking at

the moon-god; Nanna/Suen is here called dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ "chief son of Enlil" (16=20). The next section dwells on the appearance of the moon in the night sky and the brightness and purity of the moonlight. The last section mentions Nanna's choice of an unnamed En-priestess. Perhaps this hymn was composed for a cultic occasion celebrating the selection of some En-priestess.

The third hymn (rev. 21'-32') mentions Nanna/Aš̌imbabbar in uncertain context and seems to connect the moon-god with the abzu. The sukkal of Nanna, ^{d}alamuš̌(^{d}LAL$_3$),[142] and Inanna are also mentioned. But the interconnection between the three in this context is unclear.

Epithets and Key Phrases

Celestial:

obv.	9. ^{d}nanna un$_3$-na	"Nanna at the heights (zenith)"
	21. an-ku$_3$-ga pa-e$_3$-a-zu-de$_3$; and 25-28	"When you arise in the bright heavens,
	22. kur-kur-ra dagal im-SAR-e-en	you ... wide the mountains/ lands.
	23. iti$_6$-zu ku$_3$-ga-am$_3$ zalag-zalag-ga-am$_3$	Your moonlight is pure; it is shining.
	24. e i lugal-ra u$_4$-de$_3$-eš̌ mu-un-e$_3$	O, it has for the king come forth like the day."

Relationship to Other Deities:

obv.	7=11. a[n ^{d}e]n-lil$_2$ ^{d}en-ki ^{d}nin-ḫur-sag-ga-ke$_4$ ki-ulutim-zu-a mi$_2$-zi š̌a-ra-ne-n[e]	"An, Enlil, Enki, Ninḫursaga tenderly care for you in your ..."

	13=17. šul ^{d}suen du-du-da-zu-de$_3$	"Youth, Suen, ever when you move,
	14=18. dingir-dingir-a-nun-na ši-im-ma-su$_8$-su$_8$-ge-eš	the Anunna-deities have come (along)."
	16=20. dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$	"chief son of Enlil"
rev.	24'. ^{d}alamuš	in uncertain context

Names and Titles:

obv.	9. ^{d}nanna; 17,25,29	
	10. an-ki-a na-de$_6$	"counselor of heaven and earth"
	13. šul ^{d}suen; 17	"youth, Suen"
rev.	23'. u$_3$-mu-un ^{d}nanna u$_3$-mu-un ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar	
	24'. u$_3$-mu-un-kisal-la$_2$	"lord of the court" (may not refer to moon-god)

Other:

rev.	20'. ki-GAR-KA-^{d}suen-na-ka ^{d}utu ḫe$_2$-me-en	meaning uncertain
	24'. gir$_{17}$/kir$_4$-zal	may not refer to moon-god here

1.13 CBS 8546 (treated by Å. Sjöberg, JCS 29, pp. 13-16):

This hymn dwells on the pastoral and fertility aspects of the moon-god and his spouse, Ningal. The relationship of the god and goddess seems to be the focal point of the hymn which consists of two addresses: one to Nanna in Emesal (obv.), presumably, by Ningal,[143] and one to Ningal in Emegi (rev.) by Nanna. Hence, a type of hymnal dialogue is presented starting with

Ningal's song to her spouse and ending with Nanna's response to it. Sexual overtones are present in Nanna's words to Ningal on the reverse (e.g. line 17': ib2-ib2-sa6-ga-zu igi ga-am3-ši-bar "I want to gaze upon your beautiful hips"). In this respect and in the close association of Nanna and Ningal with the livelihood of the herder, this hymn resembles the bal-bal hymn to Nanna and the šir3-nam-šub to Suen discussed above.[144] Ningal calls Nanna "shepherd, man of (my?) heart" (obv. 1: mu6-sub3 mu-lu-ša3-ba) and makes repeated references to her own role in causing the herds of Nanna to proliferate (e.g. obv. 19: amar-ab2-tur-ra-zu me-e du5-mu-ra-da-lu "The young calves of your cows I will make prolific for you."; cf. 3, 7, 10, 14, 17, 22). Nanna, in turn, calls Ningal lu2-sa6-ga "beauteous one," EN-NU-NUNUZ-ZI-^{d}NANNA (rev. 14') a frequent title of the En-priestesses of the moon-god, and nitadam-mu "my spouse"(rev. 18'). Frequent mention is made of the e2-tur3 "cattle stalls" and of the "pure wild cows" which Ningal has scattered (ab2-šilam-ku3-za sag2-du11-ga-zu; rev. 5', 7', 10'). Unfortunately, breaks and obscure passages in the text make the context of these isolated phrases uncertain.

The text shows a fairly regular structure based on a pattern of repeated three-line sections: obv. 6-8 is paralleled by 9-11; 12-14 by 15-17; 18-20 by 21-23; rev. 4'-6' by 7'-9'; 10'-12' by 13'-15'; 16'-18' by 19'-21';

and 22'-24' by 25'-27'. The other lines of the text cannot be arranged in this pattern because of breaks.

Epithets and Key Phrases

Pastoral:

obv.	1. mu$_6$-sub$_3$	"shepherd"
	13. ab$_2$-zu mu-gi-a u$_2$-gibil$_4$ ga-ra-an-gu$_7$-e; cf. 16	"I will feed your cows for you with fresh grass in the canebrake."
	18-19. e$_2$-tur$_3$-zu sila-me-a u$_3$-bi$_2$-du$_3$ amar-ab$_2$-tur-ra-zu me-e du$_5$-mu-ra-da-lu; cf. 3, 7, 10, 14, 19, 22	"When your cattle stall has been built in our(?) square, I will make prolific for you the young calves of your cows."
	20. mu-LU šilam-zu ma-me-a bi$_2$-SA$_4$; cf. 23	"Shepherd, your wild cow has lain[145] in our(?) house."
	25. [EŠ$_2$.SU$_3$.NUJN.TUG$_2$-TU-za-gin$_3$-zu	"your lapis-lazuli tether rope"
rev.	4'. ab$_2$-šilam-ku$_3$-zu sa[g$_2$-du$_{11}$-ga-zu]; cf. 7', 10', 13', 23', 26', Edge 2	"Your pure wild cows which you have scattered"
	5'. tur$_3$; passim on reverse	"cattle pen"
	28'. [x] ninda$_2$-zu gu$_3$-nun-bi ka-ba-am$_3$	"Your (=Ningal) breed-bull is opening its mouth, bellowing loudly."
	30'. me-a-am; Edge 2, 3	"shepherd(?)"[146]

Names and Titles:

obv.	1. mu-lu-šag$_3$-ba; cf. 2, 4	"man of (my?) heart"
	3. ^{d}nanna; 7, 9, 15, 21; rev. 7', 14'; Edge 1	
	7. šul ^{d}suen; cf. rev. 1'	"youth, Suen"
	10. dumu-nun-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$	"princely son of Enlil"

23. ^{d}aš̌-im$_{2}$-babbar;
Edge 3

rev. 2'. ^{d}nin-gal; rev. 11', 13', 19', 25'

3'. ama-^{d}nin-gal

11'. lu$_{2}$-sa$_{6}$-ga; "beauteous one" (=Ningal)
rev. 14'

14'. EN-NU-NUNUZ-ZI-^{d}NANNA: title of Ningal

18'. nitadam-mu; 21', 24' "my spouse" (=Ningal)

see mu$_{6}$-sub$_{3}$, mu-LU, and me-a-am above.

Relationship to Other Deities:

see dumu-nun-^{d}en-lil$_{2}$-la$_{2}$, ^{d}nin-gal, and nitadam-mu above.

1.14 N 1542 (see my treatment in Chapter 9):

The moon-god's relationship to his parents, Enlil and Ninlil, is emphasized in this hymn. Many of his epithets make reference to this relationship and a short dialogue between Enlil and Ninlil concerning their son on the reverse makes it clear that this parental relationship is the central focus of the hymn. Obv. 3 suggests that the hymn was composed on the occasion of the dedication of a carnelian statue of a calf representing Suen to the temple of Enlil in Nippur: amar-gug ḫi-li šu-tag-ga "carnelian calf charmingly embellished." This may explain why Enlil and Ninlil play such a large role in this hymn.

Epithets and Key Phrases

Relationship to Other Deities:

obv.	1. nam$_2$-nun-e sag-kal e$_2$-kur-ra	"princely lord,[147] foremost in the Ekur"
	2. zi-le ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$	"...[148] of Enlil"
	7. dingir-re-e-ne pa-e$_3$	"among the deities arising"
rev.	9. ama-a-ni ^{d}nin-lil$_2$-le	"his mother, Ninlil"
	6. ama-nu a-a-mu-ur$_2$ du$_{11}$-ga-na-ab	"My mother, speak to my father" (Nanna/Suen speaking)
	11. mu-ud-na-mu dumu-zu ^{d}suen-e	"My spouse (=Enlil), your son, Suen, ..."
	12. du$_5$-mu-zi-le i-lu-ša$_3$-ba	"... son, the heart's joyous song"
	13. u$_3$-tu ama-ab-a	"born to mother and father"
	14. nun-KA-silim-e$_2$-kur-ra lum-lum-ki-ur$_3$-r[a ...]	"Illustrious prince of the Ekur, resplendent one of Kiur [...]"
edge	3. du$_5$-mu-nun	"princely son"

Other:

obv.	3. amar-gug ḫi-li šu-tag-ga	"carnelian calf charmingly embellished"
	su$_3$-[DU-a]g$_2$	"light"
	4. nun-x-aš sag-ki-bi lum-lum muš$_3$-bi [...]	"... prince, whose forehead is resplendent, whose visage [...]
	5. ur-sag ne$_3$-gal tuku nam-gur$_4$-bi [...]	"warrior having great strength, whose 'weightiness' [...]
	6. [x x x][ut]aḫ(?)-ḫe-sikil i-lim ki-dagal-la ni$_2$-te-a [...]	"[(in heaven's)] pure [can]opy(?) a radiance, on the wide earth awe-inspiring [...]"

Names and Titles:

obv. 2. ^{d}suen; 5; rev.11;
edge 2

edge 1. mu-nu$_{x}$(LU) "herder"

see above: nam$_{2}$-nun-e, du$_{5}$-mu-zi-le, du$_{5}$-mu-nun, nun-KA-silim, nun-x-aš, ur-sag.

1.15 N 3082 + N 2746 + Ni 4600 + N 3723 (see my treatment in Chapter 9):

The text can be divided into two parts. The first is very fragmentary and is composed of alternating sections which concern Nanna and Ninḫursaga respectively. It is unfortunate that this section of the hymn is so broken because there is no other instance of a hymn which focuses exclusively on Nanna's relationship to Ninḫursaga. The second part contains an address to Nanna in the first person (who addresses Nanna is uncertain) in which sexual aspects of Nanna's character as well as his association with general prosperity and fertility are mentioned. It is said that everything Nanna puts his hand to is pleasing to An and Enlil (lines 7 and 9). The end of the hymn is concerned with a description of the Ekišnugal. Nanna's relation to An, Enlil, and Ninlil is summarized on the left edge: [...] ^{d}nanna en dumu-gal-an-na[...] / [... k]i-ag$_{2}$-^{d}en-lil$_{2}$-^{d}nin-lil$_{2}$-la$_{2}$ [...] "Nanna, lord, great son of [An] [...], [... b]eloved of Enlil and Ninlil [...]." Because the text is broken in many sections it is uncertain how these many diverse motifs fit together into one hymn.

Epithets and Key Phrases

Celestial:

Text A

obv.	5. en u_6-di du_{10}-ga; 7	"lord (whose) sight (is) sweet"

Fertility:

Text B

obv.	3. [ḫi-li-zu tug_2-x]-gin_7 bar-ga_2 ḫe-em-[mi]-dul; 5	"May you [in your allure] cover my back like a x-garment." (lit. "may [your allure] cover my back like [a x-garment]."
	4. ^{d}nanna šà-za_3-mu [x] banšur$^{(?!)}$-[x] la-la ma-ak-ak; 2	"O Nanna, my heart(?), at(?) the offering table(?) (your) desire is revealed to me."
	6. en šu-sikil-e dug-šakir$_3$-e ḫe$_2$-du_7; 8	"lord, (whose) clean hand (is) well-suited for the butter churn"

Relationship to Other Deities:

Text A

obv.	2. en dumu-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$; 4	"lord, son of Enlil"
	uncertain relationship with Ninḫursaga in this part	

Text B

obv.	7. ni_3 šu-du_{11}-ga-[zu] an-ra ^{d}en-lil$_2$-ra šà-mu-un-ne-sa_6; 9	"Everything you put your hand to is pleasing to An and Enlil."
left edge	1. ^{d}nanna en dumu-gal-[an-na]	"Nanna, lord, great son of An,
	2. ki-ag_2-^{d}en-lil$_2$-^{d}nin-lil$_2$-la_2	beloved of Enlil and Ninlil."

Names and Titles:

Text A
obv. 2. en; 3,4,5,7; text B "lord"
obv. 6,8; left edge 1

1. ^{d}nanna; 3,7,11,15;
text B obv. 4,8,11,14;
left edge 1

Text B
obv. 15. ^{r}d$^{}$suen$^{\neg}$

Cultic:

Text B
obv. 6. dug-šakir$_3$; 8 "butter churn"

13. e$_2$-kiš-nu-gal$_2$ called
e$_2$-^{d}nanna in 11,14

e$_2$-u$_4$-du$_6$-ul-la-ka;
10

1.16 Fragment of a hymn to Nanna (Barton, MBI 12: CBS

2225 - original available to me):

col. i
1'. (broken)

2'. [.....][x x x] [.....]

3'. [.....]da$^{(?)}$-da$^{(?)}$-bi tur$_3$-gal [x][x] "... its ... great cattle pen

4'. [.....] si mu-un-na-sa$_2$-sa$_2$-e ... he is putting in order for him.

5'. [.... x] ab$_2$-gun$_3$$^{(?}$ -a gu$_4$-ab$_2$-bi The dappled(?) cows and the breed-bulls

6'. [.....] gu$_3$-nun mi-ni-ib$_2$-be$_2$-ne are bellowing loudly.

7'. [.....] i$_3$ ga nunuz mu-un-ak-e He prepares milk-fat, milk, and eggs.

8'. [.....] giri$_{17}$-zal-la-na šar$_2$-šar$_2$-ra-zu The ... of his splendor which has been increased for you

9'. [.....] DU$_8$$^{(?)}$-mu-un nun-a-bi ... prince.

10'. [....] suen-ra ḫe2-gal-an-ki-a	... for Suen, the plenty of the heavens and the earth
11'. [.... s]i(?) mu-un-sa2-sa2-e-ne	... they are putting in order.
12'. [.... l]ugal an-ku3-ga-še3 tum2-ma	... ruler fit for the bright/clear sky
13'. [.... x tum3 ⌜an-ša3⌝-[g]a	... in heavens' midst.

col. ii

1'. [x .....]	.....
2'. giš-[....]	.....
3'. nam(?)-š[a3 ....]	.....
4'. sag-kal [.....]	foremost .....
5'. an-ki-a [x ....]	in heaven and on earth ....
6'. iti6 [x ....]	moonlight .....
7'. še-er-zi [....]	moon beam .....
8'. en me-te A[N ...]	Lord, the fitting one .....
9'. dnin-[gal .....]	Ningal .....
10'. en me-la[m2(?) ....]	Lord, ...

Though the above text is fragmentary, the remaining lines clearly describe the moon-god in terms of his two chief aspects: pastoral (tur3-gal, ab2, gu4, i3, ga, etc. and celestial (iti6, še-er-zi, etc.).

1.17 UET 6/1, 67 (see my treatment in Chapter 9)

This composition makes frequent mention of the moon-god, but because of great textual problems it is uncertain whether the composition is a hymn to Nanna/Suen. The text is in some ways similar to the Kusu hymn and incantation (Ms. P. Michalowski, University

Museum: YBC 8649, N 4237; BM 29383): Kusu plays a significant role in the cultic rites described in the text and several lines are parallel to the Kusu hymn and incantation. A great deal of emphasis is placed on purification rites and the conferring of nam's.

Epithets and Key Phrases

5.	nam-du$_{10}$-zu	"your goodness"
7.	nam-lugal-an-ki-zu	"your lordship over heaven and earth"
8.	nam-dumu-nun-gal-zu	"your great, princely sonship"
	nam-men; 17	"lordliness(?)"
9.	nam-dingir-maḫ	"exalted divinity"
12.	nam-maḫ	"exaltedness"
	nam-en-na	"lordliness"
13.	u$_4$-sakar-zu	"your new-moon light"
15.	dumu-nun; cf. 1	"princely son"
	nam-gal-zu; 19	"your greatness"
18.	nam-en-gal-zu	"your great lordship"
58.	lugal	"lord (king)"
61.	en-zu-maḫ; 66	"lofty, knowing lord"
	aga-zu	"your crown"
62.	me-lam$_2$	"shining aura (corona?)"

Cult Paraphernalia and Installations

1.	alal (ABxA); 11,40,43,45	"water vessel"
3.	ki-ur$_3$-maḫ	
18.	abzu-maḫ; cf. 2,38,52	"lofty Abzu"

21. ⌜ki⌝-tuš-ku$_3$; 26; cf. 27,57	"sacred sitting place"
23. za$_3$-gu-la$_2$	"place of honor"
25. ki-maḫ	"lofty place"
ki-ku$_3$-ga; 26,30	"sacred place"
29. e$_2$-tir-giš-eren-na	"house of the cedar forest"
30. bara$_2$-maḫ-zu; 44; cf. 47,56	"your lofty dais"
33. kin-sig kin-nim	"evening meal, morning meal"
40. gir$_4$	"oven"
48. gada-maḫ	"exalted cloak"
si-mul; 67	"shining horn"
muš$_3$-keš$_2$-nam-men-na	?
50. kar-za-gin$_3$	"lapis-lazuli quay"
53. banšur	"table"
unu$_6$	"banquet hall"
58. ki-nam-nin-za	"place of your (Ningal's) ladyship"
61. aga; 65,66,67	"crown"
67. sag-men	"headpiece(?)"
aga-zi-da	"legitimate crown"

Names and Titles

13. ^{d}nanna; 20,26,37,47,58,60

61. ^{d}EN-ZU; 66

67. [^{d}a]š$^{(!)}$-im$_4$-babbar

Other Deities

8. ^{d}en-lil$_{2}$; 12,14; cf. 16

11. ^{d}en-ki; 17,27,38,52,55

7. an

20. ^{d}a-nun-na-ke$_{4}$-ne; cf. 22,24

39. ^{d}ku$_{3}$-su$_{3}$; 54

51. ^{d}nin-gublaga

57. ^{d}nin-gal; 60

2. Mention of Nanna/Suen in Hymns to Other Deities

2.1 Hymn to Ninurta (Å. Sjöberg, OrSuec 22, pp. 116-121):

9. u_4-sakar-gibil-am_3 un-e pa am_3-[mi-in-e_3]	"Like the new moon he has arisen for the people.
10. ^{d}nanna an-[u]raš-a$^{(!)}$ DU-[...]	Nanna in heaven (and) earth [...]"
14. ^{d}nanna kur-un$_3$- [n]a$^{(!)}$ gub-[ba-$am_3^{(?)}$]	"like Nanna standing on the high mountain"

2.2 bal-bal hymn to Ninazu (van Dijk, SGL II, pp. 57-80; CBS 14214 + CBS 15205 iv, 3' ff. collated by Å. Sjöberg):

7. [en ^{d}]nin-a-zu ki-in- gub ḫa-ba-ab-x ^{d}nanna ḫe$_2$-e-da-hul$_2$	"Lord Ninazu, may Nanna rejoice in you because of the standing place which was ...
8. ULU$_3$-TUG$_2$-gal-l[a$^{(?)}$] ^{d}nanna t[u-da-m]e-en	Great ..., you are born of Nanna.
9. pa-mul-zu ^{d}aš-im$_2$- babbar-re a$_2$ ḫe$_2$-em- mi-ni-in-tal$_2$-tal$_2$[(-a)]	Your shining crown[149] may Ašimbabbar broaden."
13. [d]^{r}EN$^{(?)}$-^{1}[ZU$^{(?)}$- ḫ$^{(?)}$ na^{r}m-en-na^1-zu šu im-mi-du$_7$	"Suen(?) has perfected your dominion.
14. giš-gidri-m[a]ḫ kur- kur-ra pa-e_3 un-e im- mi-tum$_2$	The high sceptre, which arises over all lands, he has brought to the people.
15. ^{d}lama-^{r}zu^1 e$_2$-kiš- nu-gal$_2$-la a$_2$-gal ḫa- ra-an-x	Your lama-guardian in the Ekišnugal has indeed ... great might for you.
16. ^{d}nin-a-zu uri$_2^{ki}$-ma tu-da ^{d}nanna ḫe$_2$-e- ^{r}da^1-ḫ[ul$_2$]	Because Ninazu has been born in Ur has Nanna indeed rejoiced.
17. en ^{d}n[in-a-]zu uri$_2^{ki}$-ma tu-da ^{d}nanna ḫe$_2$-e-da-ḫ[ul$_2$]	Because lord Ninazu has been born in Ur has Nanna indeed rejoiced."

On Ninazu's role in the local pantheon of Ur see van

Dijk, SGL II, pp. 71-78.

2.3 Anonymous royal hymn (Sjöberg, JCS 34, pp. 75-76; photo p. 80):

6. bala-zu ^{d}suen x ḫi-li la-la x x x x-še$_3$ ḫe$_2$-a [(x) (x)]	"May your reign ... Suen ... grace, charm ...
7. mu-zu giš-ma$_2$-gur$_8$-^{d}nanna-gin$_7$ AN e$^{(?)}$ sag$^{(?)}$ [x x] x x	Your name like the barge of Nanna ... the sky(?) ..."

2.4 Inanna-Dumuzi hymns (S.N. Kramer, PAPS 107, pp. 493-527):

Text 1 (UM 29-16-37), 5:

a-a ^{d}suen-da-nu-me-a sila-a MI-edin-na i-em$_3$-mi-[in-šar]-re	"Without father Suen you would be driven into the street and ... steppe."

1, 19:

^{d}en-ki ^{d}suen-gin$_7$ in-ga-dim$_2$	"Enki has been created like Suen." (translation uncertain)

Text 5 (CT 42, 4), 3:

e$_2$-^{d}suen-na$^{(!)}$-ka u$_4$-zalag-bi	"the shining light of the house of Suen"

Text 4 (TuM NF 3, 25), rev. 15=17:

^{d}ama-ušumgal-an-na mi$_2$-us$_2$-sa-^{d}suen-na	"Amaušumgalanna, the son-in-law of Suen"

2.5 Kusu hymn and incantation (Ms. P. Michalowski, University Museum: A=YBC 8649; B=N 4237; C=BM 29383):

A 37.^{d}utu an-ur$_2$-ra mi-ni-[in]-sikil	"He has purified Utu on the horizon.
A 38.^{d}nanna an-pa mi-ni-in-sikil	He has purified Nanna at the zenith."

The contrast of an-ur$_2$ "horizon" with an-pa "zenith" is a familiar topos in Sumerian literature. Reference to the moon being at the zenith while the sun

is on the horizon has also been noted before; see Šulgi D, 247 and 248 and my discussion in sect. III A 2.3. Perhaps some particular astronomical configuration is being alluded to by these phrases. -ur2/an-pa will be discussed further in chapter 7 on the epithets of the moon-god.

2.6 Inanna-Amaušumgalanna (CT 36, pls. 33-34: BM 96739) - tigi-^{d}inanna:

rev. 25(=30). iti-da u4-sakar-ra ^{d}suen-gin7 an-ne2 za$^{(!)}$-ra ša-mu-ra-an-u3-tu	"An gives birth to him for you each month on New-moon day like Suen."

2.7 Nanše hymn (see H. Heimpel, JCS 33, pp. 65-139):

90. ^{d}nin-[gub]laga$^{(?)}$ ([EZ]EN$^{(?)}$ [xLA]) dumu-ur-sag-šul-^{d}suen-na-ke4	"Ningublaga(?), heroic son of the youth, Suen"

Note that Heimpel, o.c., reads ^{d}nin[(x)] KA. The only text that preserves the sign in question is TuM NF 3, 20 and here only the end of the sign can be seen. This can be interpreted either as the end of a KA or as the end of an EZEN. Ningublaga is frequently attested as the son of Nanna/Suen; however, he is not yet connected, as far as I know, with the local pantheon of Lagash.

2.8 Ekur hymn (see S.N. Kramer, RSO 32, pp. 95-102):

21. ka2-^{d}suen kur-ra-am3 gal	"The gate of Suen is a mountain great."

Note that ka2-^{d}suen-na also occurs in broken context in VAS 2, 8 i 34.

65. en ^{d}aš-im2-babbar e2-nam-[dumu]-zi-da	"Lord Ašimbabbar in the house of the faithful sonship
66. lugal ^{d}en-lil2-ra	is worthy of lord (king)

tum2-ma-am3	Enlil.
67. dumu-nun-e2-kur-ra e2-nam-dumu-zi-da	The princely son of the Ekur in the house of faithful sonship
68. lugal ^{d}en-lil2-ra tum2-ma-am3	is worth of lord (king) Enlil."

2.9 Hymn to Lamasaga (see Å. Sjöberg, JCS 26, p. 158-177):

CBS 10986	
obv. 11'. ma2-gur8- ^{d}suen ⌜su3-su3⌝-[x] a-na-zu nu-zil2-zil2-i	"The barge of Suen which moves (across the sky) - what about you is not (as) fair?"
(=[e]-li-pu [x-x-t]um ša i-ša-ad-de3-ḫu m[i-in- ki la dummuq]	

2.10 Fragmentary Utu hymn (BE 31, 27):

12. ⌜šul⌝ ^{d}suen a-a-zu dumu-zi-le	"The youth, Suen, your father, the ... son"

2.11 Ninegalla hymn (Ms. H. Behrens, University Museum):

52. ^{d}inanna a-a-zu ^{d}suen-gin7 an-ša3-ge am3-gub	"Inanna, you have stood in the midst of the sky like your father, Suen."

2.12 Dumuzi hymn (TCL 15, 8):

229. [d]nanna en-gal- es3-uri2^{ki}-ma a-ra- (-zu) de3-ra-ab-be2	"May Nanna, great lord of the shrine of Ur, say a prayer for you."

2.13 Nin̆ubur hymn (JCS 34, pp. 69-72):

15. uri2^{ki}-ma ^{d}aš̆-im2- babbar-ra	"For Aš̆imbabbar of Ur"

3. Myths Involving Nanna/Suen

3.1 "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur" (see A.J. Farrara, Studia Pohl: SM 2; Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, pp. 148-165:

The principal myth concerning the moon-god of Ur in the Sumerian period is "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur." It revolves around a cultic journey by boat undertaken by the moon-god of Ur to visit his father, Enlil, in Nippur. The purpose of the visit is to obtain Enlil's blessing for the prosperity of Ur, the abundance of its crops and livestock, and the fertility of its lands. As the head of the Sumerian pantheon Enlil had the power to bestow fertility on the lands, waterways, and living creatures (plants, animals, and man) which lived off these natural resources.[150] This supreme power, which was really the power to grant life itself, was delegated by Enlil to the major tutelary deities of Sumerian cities within his domain; and they in turn bestowed it upon their mortal subjects and the products of nature that sustained them in their respective cities. There is considerable evidence that a number of deities from various cities of the realm, besides Nanna/Suen of Ur, visited Enlil in Nippur on a regular basis as a way through cultic means of insuring the general well-being and prosperity of their individual cities.[151] Cultic journeys not only to the shrine of Nippur but to the shrines of other important deities in other cities were an ongoing part of the cult life of Mesopotamia from the

Presargonic period onwards.[152] Many of the cultic processions probably corresponded to or were cultic enactments of well-known myths.[153] However, it is still uncertain what part the extant Sumerian myths played in the cult. It is also not yet clear how often or in which months these cultic processions took place or how they were interrelated.[154] No doubt these periodic visits served political as well as cultic purposes. Not only were the priesthood and cult personnel involved in these inter-city processions, but the king also accompanied the deity's image often, if not always, on its visits and probably led the procession.[155] Hence, these journeys had the effect of re-establishing cultic ties, reconfirming the established order of society and the religious hierarchy, and legitimizing the king in his political and cultic roles.

In "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur" action begins with Nanna-Suen's preparations for his trip. This involves refurbishing or perhaps constructing the boat which will take him to Nippur. A wide variety of materials from many different lands are used in this process (cf. lines 37-91). Next, the boat is stocked with offerings which are to be presented to Enlil in Nippur: all manner of livestock, fish, fowl, milk-fat, eggs, reeds, and a number of breed animals to make the livestock of Nippur prolific. He sets out on his trip and in his course upstream along the Euphrates the moon-god visits five consecutive cities on its banks before

reaching Nippur: Ennegi (IM^{ki}), Larsa, Uruk, Shuruppak, and Tummal. At each site the tutelary goddess of the city comes out to greet Nanna and engages in some sort of cultic act aboard the boat, the nature and meaning of which are not clear. The act described involves the preparation of a variety of food-stuffs and hence, may be a type of meal service through which each respective goddess hopes to induce Nanna to stay in her city and leave his large cargo with each of them.[156] The goddesses in order of their appearance are Ningirida (consort of Ninazu), Sherida (of Utu), Inanna (daughter of Nanna), Ninuna/Sudʒ (daughter of Nisaba), and Ninlil (consort of Enlil). But at each stop Nanna is insistent that the offerings on board shall not be given out to anyone except Enlil and he moves on to Nippur. After finally arriving at Nippur the moon-god recites the inventory of his offerings and then offers them before Enlil. Enlil is well pleased by Nanna's gifts and in response arranges a banquet for his son consisting of sweet cakes, bread, full-strength beer, honey, and water. At the end of the meal Nanna/Suen makes his request for prosperity and abundance in Ur and Enlil grants his request. The items which Nanna requests and Enlil grants are exactly the same and are presented in the same order as in the širʒ-nam-šub hymn to Suen which was discussed above.[157] Since these lines represent a familiar topos of fertility often associated with the

moon-god in his relation to Ur, they are worth quoting in full here:

332. i7-da a-eštub sum-ma-da-ab uri2^{ki}-še3 ga-gin	"In the river give me the spring flood - to Ur I would go!
333. a-ša3-ga še-gu-nu sum-ma-da-ab uri2^{ki}-še3 ga-gin	In the field give me late barley - to Ur I would go!
334. ambar-ra ku6-da suḫur-ku6 sum-ma-da-ab uri2^{ki}-še3 ga-gin	In the marsh give me kuda (and) suḫur carp - to Ur I would go!
335. giš-gi-a gi-sun gi-henbur sum-ma-da-ab uri2^{ki}-še3 ga-gin	In the canebrake give me fresh reed (and) reed shoots - to Ur I would go!
336. giš$_{tir}$-giš$_{tir}$-ra šeg9 šeg9-bar sum-ma-da-ab uri2^{ki}-še3 ga-gin	In the forests give me wild sheep (and) wild boar - to Ur I would go!
337. an-eden-na giš-maš-gurum sum-ma-da-ab uri2^{ki}-še3 ga-gin	In the upper steppe give me masgurum tree - to Ur I would go!
338. pu2-kiri6 la13 geštin sum-ma-da-ab uri2^{ki}-še3 ga-gin	In the orchard give me honey (and) wine - to Ur I would go!
339. e2-gal-la zi-su3-ud-gal2 sum-ma-da-ab uri2^{ki}-še3 ga-gin	In the palace give me long life - to Ur I would go!

These lines enumerate the many aspects of fertility and prosperity which the Sumerians depended upon for their well-being and which they attributed to the power of their deities. They also reveal the purpose of Nanna/Suen's cultic journey which the myth describes: to secure this power of fruition from its very source - father of the gods and head of the pantheon, Enlil. The underlying theological message is clearly that the moon-god is dependent upon his father for the well-being of his city and that Ur must pay homage to the theological

system of Nippur to succeed and prosper. This relationship between the two deities and their respective cities of course has political ramifications as well, which are brought out in the last line of the above-quoted passage: even the all-powerful king of Ur is to a large extent beholden to the influential and prestigious Nippur for his well-being and future success.[158] Appropriately, the last lines of the composition underscore the dependent relationship of Nanna/Suen (and indirectly, the king) on his father and mother, Enlil and Ninlil. He sits on his throne through their good favor.[159]

As suggested above there is evidence, particularly in administrative accounts, that myths about the journeys of the deities, had real cultic counterparts. This being the case it is probable that at least some of the details about Nanna/Suen's journey to Nippur described in the myth represent actual cultic rites. The great deal of attention given to the outfitting of Nanna's boat, for instance, may mirror a cultically prescribed method of constructing or preparing a boat to be used by the deity on a ritual journey of this kind;[160] the various offerings which Nanna transports to Nippur are frequently mentioned in administrative accounts and made up the daily staples that were presented to the deities in their morning and evening meals; likewise the cultic meal which is described must

certainly have been an actual cultic event since references to the gods' meals regularly occur in account texts which list the food-stuffs used in these meals;[161] finally, it seems probable that the route between Ur and Nippur with its way-stations as described in the text at one time or another must have actually been used for a cultic procession.

What is not certain, however, is whether the text describes a regular cultic journey by the moon-god to Nippur (undertaken with a regularity comparable to the Akiti festival, for example)[162] or whether the text took its inspiration from a one-time event.[163] The time period over which such a regular cultic event might have taken place or the occasion of a particular journey is also not clear. Though "divine journeys" of one sort or another are attested as early as the Presargonic period, it seems likely that a journey of Nanna/Suen to Nippur, with all its references to typical aspects of the Ur-III dynasty, took place in the Ur-III period. But it is an open question whether the cultic events as described in the text were a real part of Sumerian cultic life throughout the Ur-III and Old-Babylonian periods or whether such "events" had only a literary existence within the scribal schools at a time when the cultic practices mirrored in the text had long disappeared. Hence, though certain details of "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur" may have had real cultic counterparts in the Ur-III and Old-Babylonian periods, the reality of the

total cultic ritual as described in the text over any given time period is still a subject of debate.

3.2 "Enlil and Ninlil" (see H. Behrens, Enlil und Ninlil, Studia Pohl: SM 8):

The myth of "Enlil and Ninlil" is a tale of Enlil's seduction of Ninlil and the begetting of the moon-god, Nanna/Suen, along with his brothers, Nergal, Ninazu, and Enbilulu. As H. Behrens has pointed out in his treatment of the text the begetting of the first born, Nanna/Suen, is given special prominence and he is referred to in terms that give him a higher status than his brothers.[164] The moon-god is called u3-mu-un "lord," a-dadag-ga "pure seed,"[165] a-lugal "royal seed," and lugal "ruler," titles which his lesser brothers are not favored with.[166] The intention behind such distinctions is obviously to single out the tutelary god of Ur from among the deities of the other Sumerian cities as the god chosen by Enlil, the head of the pantheon and father of the gods to be the highest deity of the pantheon after himself. As seen in many instances already cited this is a common motif in the Sumerian literature dealing with the moon-god and suggests that all such compositions containing this motif, including "Enlil and Ninlil," originated in the Ur-III period when Nanna/Suen reached his greatest prestige through the political rise of Ur.[167]

The site of Nanna's begetting appears to be the

Tummal,[168] a site closely associated with Ninlil from as early as the Presargonic period and to which the goddess made regular cultic journeys. Hence, the myth may in some ways be connected with the cultic ceremonies surrounding this regular journey of Ninlil. The mention of a boat in the myth also suggests a possible connection with this journey to Tummal since it was mainly a river journey.[169]

The underlying theme of the whole myth is once again that Enlil is the source of all fertility and fruition for the entire land of Sumer. It is through his primal engendering acts that the gods who represent the vital forces of heaven and earth are brought into being: the moon-god about whom Enlil says, "May my royal seed go to the heavens" (a-lugal-mu an-še$_3$ he$_2$-DU: line 85 and parallels);[170] Nergal, called mes-lam$_2$-ta-e$_3$-a, god of the underworld and of war, whose connection with the fertility of the earth in this context is uncertain;[171] Ninazu, "lord who stretches the measuring line across the fields" (eš$_2$-gana$_2$-gid$_2$-da: line 116); and Enbilulu, "inspector of the canals" (ku$_3$-gal$_2$-iz-da: line 142). Through his powers of fertility Enlil not only implants the seeds of the gods in the womb of Ninlil, but at the same time brings life to all the earth.

It is perhaps of significance that the name of ^{d}nanna is never used for the moon-god in any of the variant texts of this hymn. The moon-god is known solely

as ^{d}suen or as ^{d}aš-im₂-babbar. Instances of the exclusive or predominant use of either the name Nanna or Suen have been noted above in various hymns to the moon-god and in dedicatory inscriptions. Such usages may point to an original distinction between two separate moon-gods: Nanna being the original city-god of Ur whose cult was localized in and around Ur until the Ur-III period when the expansion of a kingdom based in Ur caused a wider dispersion of the Nanna cult; and Suen, whose cult centers, as noted in chapters 3 and 4, covered a much wider range of territory in the Presargonic and Sargonic ages. It may be that Nippur at an early stage adopted the moon-god, Suen, into its local pantheon and only later with the rise of Ur as a political power were Nanna and Suen combined through syncretism as one moon-god to be worshipped in Ur, Nippur, and elsewhere. It has been shown that in many of the hymns which prevalently use the name Suen, as opposed to Nanna, the relationship of the moon-god to his parents, Enlil and Ninlil, is emphasized; this, of course, is the same emphasis as in the myth "Enlil and Ninlil," a myth which originated in Nippur.[172]

3.3 The moon-god in other myths:

Nanna/Suen is mentioned in a number of myths which focus on other deities. In "Inanna's Descent" Nanna is one of the great gods whom Nin$\check{s}$ubur, Inanna's vizier, beseeches to come to the aid of her mistress:

48. u4-da dmu-ul-lil2 e-ne-em3-ba nu-re-gub uri2ki-šeg3 gin-na	"If Enlil does not stand by you in this matter, go to Ur.
49. uri2ki e2-mud-kur-ra-ka	When you enter Ur, the Emudkurra,
50. [e2]-kiš-[nu11]-gal2-dnanna-šeg3 ku4-ku4-da-[zu]-deg3	the Ekišnugal of Nanna,
51. [i]-bi2-dnanna-šeg3 ir2 šeg8-a	lament before Nanna (saying):
52. [a]-a-dnanna du5-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra [nam-ba-da]-an-gurum-e	'Father Nanna, do not let anyone subjugate your daughter in the underworld.'"

(cf. parallel lines 195-199).

Another passing reference to the moon-god can be found in the composition "Home of the Fish"[173] where Suen/Ašimbabbar is juxtaposed in parallel lines with Dumuzi:

44. a2-še gu4-gin7 tur3-zu-seg ⌜x⌝ [ ]	"If you indeed, like an ox, to your stall [...],
45. ku4-ra-ma-ni dsu[en ḫe2-en-da-ḫul2-ḫul2]	enter, Su[en will rejoice with you];
46. a2-še udu-gin7 amaš-z[u-šeg3]	if you indeed, like a sheep, to your sheepfold [...],
47. ku4-ra-ma-ni ddumu-zi-d[eg3 ḫe2-en-da-ḫul2-ḫul2]	enter, Dumuzi [will rejoice with you].
48. gu4-gin7 tur3-zu-šeg3 sag il2-[la-zu-deg3]	[When you] raise (your) head like an ox to your stall,
49. en-daš-im2-babbar dsuen [ḫe2-en-da-hul2-hul2]	the lord Ašimbabbar/Suen [will rejoice with you];
50. udu-gin7 amaš-a sag [il2-la-zu-deg3]	[when you raise] (your) head like a sheep to the sheepfold,

51. ^{d}dumu-zi lu$_2$-sipa-[da ḫe$_2$-en-da-ḫul$_2$-ḫul$_2$] — Dumuzi, the shepherd, [will rejoice with you]."[174]

The moon-god in this context is obviously conceived of as a pastoral deity, as his juxtaposition with Dumuzi makes even clearer. What is interesting is the inherent distinction of the parallel lines which contrast Suen/Aš̌imbabbar as the god who presides over the cattle in their stalls with Dumuzi, the shepherd-god who tends the sheep in their folds. One wonders if these distinct yet complementary spheres of influence reflect a very early conception among nomadic and semi-nomadic peoples of Suen as the "cattle-god" and Dumuzi as the "shepherd-god."[175]

The celestial aspects of the moon-god are portrayed in a fragment of a myth or mythological preamble to some other type of composition in UET 6/1, 28, 5:[176] ^{d}nanna an-pa-e$_3$ mu$_2$-mu$_2$-de$_3$ si-maḫ-bi ... "Nanna, (god) who comes forth at the zenith, the ever-renewing one, whose high horns ..." All of these celestial epithets are typical of the moon-god and have been seen frequently before. In the same composition note lines 9 and 10: ... en ^{d}aš̌-im$_4$(?)-babbar-re e$_2$-kur-še$_3$ tum$_2$ ⟨u⟩-de$_3$ "lord Aš̌imbabbar bearing ... to the Ekur."

Finally, a cryptic reference to Nanna in broken context from the myth of the "Marriage of Martu" can be cited: SEM 58 iv, 19: an-zil-ku$_2$-^{d}nan[na] "who commits an abomination(?) against(?) Nanna." Since the context is broken and the reading of the signs is not even

assured, no interpretation of this phrase can be offered.

4. Epics Involving Nanna/Suen

4.1 Lugalbanda I (Lugalbanda-ḫurrum):

This epic which recounts the exploits of the semi-mythical hero of Uruk including his illness and near death in a mountain cave contains a number of interesting passages which deal with the moon-god. Lugalbanda falls ill in the mountains while on a journey from Uruk/Kullaba to Aratta and is left for dead by his travelling companions. The abandonment of the hero by his companions is compared to the scattering of Nanna's cows:

132. ^{177}ab$_2$-ku$_3$-^{d}nanna sag$_2$-du$_{11}$-ga-gin$_7$	"Like the pure cows of Nanna who have wandered astray,
133. gu$_4$-ab$_2$-ba nam-sumun-ba šurim-ma tag$_4$-a-gin$_7$	like the breed-bulls who in their old age are left in (their) own dung
134. šeš-a-ne-ne ku-li-ne-ne	(his) brothers (and) companions
135. ku$_3$-^{d}lugal-ban$_3$-da ḫur-rum-kur-ra-ke$_4$ mu-ni-ib-tag$_4$-a-aš	abandoned holy Lugalbanda in the mountain cave."

Here Nanna is once again portrayed as the god of the cow-herders.

The god is depicted in both pastoral as well as celestial terms later in the myth when Lugalbanda is recuperating from his illness and the moon-god appears in the night sky to bestow his healing power upon the

ailing hero:

199. gu4-de3 UTUL2(?) (KAM(?))-gi6-ga ku2-da[178]	"The bull who feeds on black ...,
200. mul amar-ku3 en-nu-un-šè3 am3-ši-ri	the star, the pure calf went to (his) watch.
201. mul-u4-zal-le-da-ke4 an-e im-mu2-e	Like the morning star he shines in the heavens.
202. u4-babbar-re gi6-a bi2-ib-bur2-re	He spreads a white light across the night.
203. dsuen u4-sakar-e silim-du11-ga	Suen, the new moon who is hailed,
204. a-a dnanna dutu-e3-ra si-sa2 mu-na-an-sum	father Nanna gave direction to the rising sun.
205. en-giri17/kiri4-zal men-na tum2-ma	The resplendent lord, fit for the crown,
206. dsuen dumu-ki-ag2-ga2-den-lil2-la2	Suen, beloved son of Enlil,
207. dingir si-un3-na me-te-aš bi2-ib-gal2	the god is as an ornament in the zenith.
208. me-lam2-ma-ne2 ku3-AN-x-gin7	His corona like the pure ...,
209. muš3-a-ne2 ḫur-ru-um-kur-ra-kam u4 mu-na-ga2-ga2	his visage gives off a light for him (Lugalbanda) in the mountain cave.
213/214. lugal/dsuen an-sud-ra2 nu-mu-ra-te-GA2-da	'Lord/Suen, you whom no one can approach in the remote heavens,
215/216. lugal-e/dsuen-e ni3-si-sa2(-e) ki-ag2 ni3-ne-ru-e ḫul-gig	lord/Suen, who loves righteousness, who hates evil,
217. ni3-si-sa2-e šag3-ḫul2-la si-sa2(-bi) ša-ra-an (var. -da-a)-DU	righteousness has brought to you a heart that rightly rejoices.
218. giš-asal2 DI-ḪI-gal-la-am3 u3-luḫ-ḫe(var. -bi) ša-ra-mu2-mu2	The Euphrates poplar tree like a great staff shall ever grow for you (to be your) sceptre

219. ni-si-sa$_2$-e KA.KEŠ$_2$-bi-e du$_8$-u$_3$	to release righteousness from its shackles,
220. ni$_3$-ne-ru-e KA.KEŠ$_2$-bi nu-du$_8$(-e)	(and) not to release evil from its shackles.
221. ni$_3$-ne-ru-e sag-bi um-DU-DU egir-bi-im bi$_2$-ib-tum$_3$	When its head approaches an evil thing, behind ...(?)
222. u$_4$ šag$_3$-zu i-im-il$_2$-i-am$_3$	When your heart is moved (to anger),
223. ni$_3$-ne-ru-e muš-ze$_2$-gur$_5$-a-gin$_7$ uš$_{11}$-zu si-im-ri-e	your bile is poured out on evil just like a snake when it spits venom.'
224. ^{d}suen-e a(-igi)-na šu ba-an-si-in-ti nam-ti mu-na-sum	Suen received his petition (and) gave him life.
225. ne$_3$-ni ne$_3$-ki-us$_2$-sa ba-an-daḫ	He added to his strength a strength founded in the earth."[179]

Lines 199-209 present many different aspects of Nanna/Suen's appearance in the night sky. He is called a bull (gu$_4$) and a calf (amar) not only because of his frequently-attested association with herders, but as a metaphoric way of describing the crescent shape of the moon when it is not full (the crescent moon being like the shape of a bull's horns). Reference to a particular time of night seems to be made in line 200 which describes the god as the pure calf proceeding to the watch. The Mesopotamian day and night were divided into successive watches at which times the sky and its celestial phenomena, particularly moon (Nanna/Suen), sun (Utu), and Venus star (Inanna), were observed. In post-Sumerian times it is known that the patterns of the celestial bodies were recorded and a system for

predicting their cyclical behavior was eventually worked out. References in Sumerian literature such as this one and similar references both in literary and non-literary texts from earlier periods suggest that continuous celestial observations were being made as early as the Ur-III period. The comparison of Nanna/Suen to the morning star (mul-u4-zal-le-da-ke4; line 201) and mention of u4-sakar "New-moon day" (line 203) in the above lines also imply the practice of celestial observation. Note that the moon is thought to have given the sun the right direction to take in its course across the sky (line 204). Since in Sumerian theology Nanna was the father of Utu, he precedes his son across the sky beginning the day with his appearance. His son follows in his father's path bringing the day to a close.

The moon's light is variously described as a "white light" (u4-babbar: line 202), a "sheen" or perhaps, "corona" me-lam2: line 208), and as the "visage" which "gives off a light" (muš3 ... u4-ga2-ga2: line 209). The exact connotations of giri17/kiri4-zal men-na tum3-ma in line 205 are uncertain. References to Nanna/Suen's crown in some contexts refer to the full moon.[180] Finally, the moon's position at the zenith is referred to in line 207: Nanna/Suen is the god who is the fitting ornament for the zenith.

Lines 213-223 stress the moon-god's role as an all-seeing judge who loves justice and hates evil. The role

of supreme judge is usually assumed by Enlil in Sumerian contexts, but instances have already been noted in which Nanna/Suen also carries out this function. The role of judge was probably attributed to the moon-god for the same reasons it was conferred upon Utu/Šamaš: both gods, as the two major luminaries of night and day respectively, were thought of as all-seeing, casting their light into every dark corner, and hence able to see and rightly judge every good and evil.

Nanna/Suen hears Lugalbanda's prayer and bestows life upon him so that he begins to recover (lines 224-225).

The following other references to the moon-god in Lugalbanda-ḫurrum also occur, but because of obscure or broken context their full significance is not clear:

273.	ḫur-sag-šaz-sig-dsuen-na-ke4/ka kaš4 mi-ni-ib-kar-kar-re[181]	"He hastens through the mountain, the ...[182] of Suen."
379.	a2-sikil-la ki-dadag-ga-bi	(translation uncertain)
380.	dEN.ZU-na u4-gin7 mi-ni-in-ri	
381.	[x]x bara2-dsuen-na-ka igi-nim-še3 ba-du3	
392.	maš2-da3 kaš4-kar-re dsuen-na-me-eš	"The kids, as swift as racers, are Suen's."
397.	ki-bal-ḫul-gig-dsuen-na-še3	"to the transgressors, hated by Suen"

4.2 Lugalbanda Epic II (see Cl. Wilcke, Das Lugalbandaepos, Wiesbaden, 1969):

Only one minor reference is made to the moon-god in

the second part of the Lugalbanda Epic and its implications are obscure:

86. gud$_3$-mu-ta tur$_3$-gal-^{d}nanna-gin$_7$ ni$_2$-hus he$_2$-em-da-ri	"A terrible fear weighs down upon my nest like Nanna's great cattle stall."

See Cl. Wilcke, o.c. pp. 160-161 on the possible connotations of the comparison.

4.3 Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (see S. Cohen, Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. Dissertation, 1973):

Images of light and Nanna's celestial appearance are expressed in two lines from this epic:

271. ^{d}nanna si-un$_3$-na mah-a-gin$_7$	"(Aratta is) like Nanna aloft at the zenith,
272. sag-ki-bi me-lam$_2$-gal$_2$-la-gin$_7$	like him whose forehead is a bright sheen (or corona)."

4.4 Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna (see A. Berlin, Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna, OPBF 2, Philadelphia, 1979: cf. H. Behrens, AfO 29/30, p. 103):

One broken reference to Nanna is found in this epic:

268. ^{d}nanna lugal x amaš x mu x ga ba-e-sum-ma

(note text R read by Behrens, o.c.: ^{d}nanna lugal ⌜x (=tur$_3$(?)⌝-amaš-⌜a(?)⌝ x x⌝ ga(?) ba-⌜x-sum-mu⌝ / text X: ⌜d⌝⌜ ⌝⌜x x⌝-mu-še$_3$(?) ga ba-e-sum-mu.)

5. Miscellaneous Literary Compositions

5.1 Sumerian-Proverbs Collection 3, No. 119 (from a University Museum Ms. by R. Falkowitz; cf. Sumerian Rhetoric Collections, R. Falkowitz, University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. Dissertation, 1980):

ni$_3$ zu-a-ni ga-ra-an-da-ab-be$_2$	"I will tell you what he knows:
ni$_3$ nu-zu-am$_3$ lu$_2$-ki-inim-ma ab-ta-e$_3$	he knows nothing, yet (his) witness has come forth (to attest to that fact).
ni$_3$-gig-^{d}suen-na-kam	It is a thing loathed by Suen."

See R. Falkowitz's comments on this proverb in his dissertation cited above, p. 217-218. Why the actions of the ignoramus referred to in the proverb should be hateful particularly to Suen is not clear to me.

SP 3, 171:

lu$_2$-giš-ma$_2$-diri-ga ni$_3$ KAxX (KAxA)-a di-da	"A man on a boat going downstream ...;
ugu tug$_2$-ga gal$_4$-la šu du$_{11}$-ga ni$_3$-gig-^{d}suen-na-ka (kam)	or(?) touching upon a garment and(?) the vulva are things loathed by Suen."

Cf. R. Falkowitz's dissertation, p. 244 for comments and additional variants. The meaning of this proverb is far from clear.

5.2 "The Curse of Agade":

Nanna is briefly mentioned in his pastoral connections:

262. tur3-e si gu4-^{d}nanna-ke4	"The cattle of Nanna, that fill the pens -
263. eden ki-si-ga-ke4 nigin-na-gin7 še26 (BALAG) ḫu-mu-un-gi4-gi4-gi4	May they shriek like the 'wandering one' of the silent plains!"

(translation: J. Cooper, The Curse of Agade, Baltimore, 1983)

5.3 "an ginz dim2-ma" (see J. Cooper, The Return of Ninurta to Nippur, Rome, 1978):

107. ^{d}aš-im2-babbar-re u3-gul mu-[un-n]i [a-ga2]-[ga2]
aš-im2-babbar-ra [u3]-[gul]-ga2-[ga2(-de3)]
nam-ra ṣi-it [ ] x-nu-[ ]

"Asimbabbar prayed to [him]" (i.e. to Ninurta)

Of interest in this brief reference to the moon-god is the equivalency ^{d}aš-im2-babbar = nam-ra ṣi-it. The Akkadian is normalized as namra(m) ṣīt[183] and can be translated "rising brilliantly." Though it has often been assumed from this equivalency that the epithet aš-im2-babbar refers to the new moon, the Akkadian namra(m) ṣīt does not necessarily imply the first appearance of the moon at the start of each month. It refers to the daily rising of the moon in any of its phases and describes the brilliance of the moon just after it rises above the horizon. Therefore, if Akkadian namra(m) ṣīt provides any insight into the meaning of the cryptic Sumerian, aš-im2-babbar, it is only to indicate that daš-im2-babbar refers to the moon in its position just above the horizon, which of course is a nightly phenomenon.

5.4 "lugal u4 me-lam2-bi nir-gal2" (see J. van Dijk, Lugal Ud Me-lam2-bi Nir-gal2, Leiden, 1983):

The recurrent image of the moon-god as the deity who can recreate himself every month is expressed in the following line:

143. ur-sag ^{d}suen(-na)-gin7 si mu2-mu2
qa[r-r]a-du šag2 ki-ma ^{d}sin qar-ni ba-nu-u

"The hero who like Suen creates the horns (of his radiance."

Reference to the horns of the god of course refers to the cusps of the crescent moon, which is the shape of the moon at the time of his monthly "re-creation."

5.5 Incantation (OECT 5, 19; cf. S.N. Kramer's treatment OECT 5, pp. 27-30):

25. zi-^{d}nanna maš2-sag-ma-d[a(-na)-ke4 ḫe2-pa3]	"By the life of Nanna, leader (lit. 'lead kid') of the (his) land be adjured."

OECT 5, 23 (cf. S.N. Kramer, o.c., pp. 32-33):

14. ⌜x x⌝ am-si-ḫar-ra-an ⌜šu⌝ um-me-ti	"After you have taken the [...] of a camel
15. [lu2]-ulu3 dumu-dingir-ra-na šu-na u3-me-gar	and placed it on the body of the man, the son of his god,
16. [en(?)] ^{d}nanna ḫe2-eb-dadag	may [lord(?)] Nanna purify it."

5.6 Elegy (see S.N. Kramer, Two Elegies on a Pushkin Museum Tablet, Oriental Literature Publishing House, Moscow, 1960):

No. 1, 90. ^{d}nanna-a^{184} u4-na2-a nam-zu ḫe2-tar-re	"May Nanna decree your fate (favorably) on the day of lying down (i.e. of

the moon's disappearance
at the end of each month)."

In this elegy for a deceased Sumerian named ^{d}nanna-a the moon-god is connected with the underworld and its lord Nergal.[185] This context is important because it suggests that the day of the moon's disappearance at the end of each monthly lunar cycle (u4-na2-a) was interpreted by Sumerian theologians to be the time when the moon-god disappeared into the netherworld and decreed the fates for the dead. Note that in lines 88-89 the sun-god, ^{d}utu, also plays a role in the underworld: ^{d}utu en(?)-gal-a-ra-li-ke4 / ki-kukku2 (ku10-ku10) u4-še3 u3-mu-ni-in-tu di-ku5-zu i3-ku5-de3 "Utu, great lord(?) of the underworld, after turning the dark places to light, will judge your case (favorably)." The text provides an interesting glimpse into Sumerian conceptions of the underworld, life after death, and the roles of the major deities in the underworld.

5.7 A letter to the moon-god (see Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, pp. 104-107):

It is undertain whether the genre of letters addressed to deities, the earliest examples of which date to the Old-Babylonian period, originated in the Old-Babylonian period or whether it was based on Ur-III or possibly even earlier prototypes. The letter to the moon-god under consideration here was found at Warka in a pit full of discarded sherds and fragments of other literary compositions and school tablets all of which

could be dated to the Old-Babylonian period and probably came from the Edubba at Warka.[186] As A. Falkenstein has pointed out, the text shows some similarities with the introductory sections of royal inscriptions which dwell at length on praises to a deity.[187]

Nanna is described in terms of his celestial aspects and in superlatives which emphasize his grandeur as one of the great gods of the pantheon; he is "chief son of Enlil" (dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$). References to his compassion and mercy (šà$_3$-la$_2$-su$_3$: line 5; arḫuš: line 6) and openness to petitions (šud$_3$-de$_3$ ki-ag$_2$: line 1; a-ra-zu-e giš-tuku: line 6), qualities which are not often associated with the moon-god, are naturally prevalent in a letter of petition addressed to a deity.[188]

Epithets and Key Phrases

Celestial:

3.	en itiḫ dagal-buru$_2$ men-an-uraš-a a-na be-lim ša ṣi-it wa-ar-ḫi-šu ra-bi-iš šu-pa-ru-ru a-ge-e ša-me-e u$_3$ er-ṣe-tim	"To the lord whose moon-light is widespread, crown of heaven and earth"
9.	muš$_3$-me-ḫuš uktin-ta nir-ra alam-ku$_3$ ḫi-li du$_7$-du$_7$ zi-mu ru-šu-tum bu-na-bat-tum ru-ba-tum la-mum el-lum š[a xxxxxx-d]u-u$_2$	"with awesome countenance, in form noble, whose pure body is arrayed with grace" (these lines may describe the cult statue of Nanna, rather than his appearance as the moon)
10.	nam-maḫ-zu kur-kur-ra dul-la	"your loftiness covering all the lands"

11. me-lam$_2$-zu an-ku$_3$-ga šu$_2$-a šá-me-e el-tu-tim sa$_3$-ah-pu	"your dazzling sheen bedecking the clear (pure) sky"
12. [n]i$_2$-gal-zu su-zi im-du$_8$-du$_8$ [x x x x] x šá-lu-ma-tam ma-lu	"Your great aura is full of awe-inspiring splendor."
14. [^{d}utu-e$_3$-ta ^{d}uj]u-šu$_2$-e za-e mah-me-en [i-na ṣi$_2$-it šá-am-š]i u$_3$ e-re-eb [šá-am]-ši at-ta-ma ṣi-ra-a-ti	"From sunrise to sunset you are exalted."

Power and Authority:

8. nam-en-na šu-du$_7$ aga-zi gur$_3$-ru-me-en be-lu-tam šu-uk-lu-lu a-ga-am ki-nam na-šu-u$_2$	"Perfect as lord, you wear the legitimate crown."
13. kalam-e za$_3$-dib i-na ma-tim šu-tu-uq	"Supreme in the land"
16. [an-ki]-bi-ta lugal-bi za-e-me-en nam-bi i$_3$-tar-[r]e šá-me-e u$_3$ er-ṣe-tam be-el-šu-nu at-ta-ma ši-ma-ti-šu-nu ta-ši-a-am	"In heaven and earth you are lord; you decide their fates."

Relationship to Other Deities:

1. dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$	"chief son of Enlil"
14. ^{d}utu; see above	
15. an [m]a-ra-an-sum an šu-zu-uš mu-un-gar	"... has given you the heavens, has put the heavens in your hand."

Names and Titles:

1. ^{d}nanna

3. en

4. en-gal lu$_2$ ti-ti ki-ag$_2$-me-en a-a-sag-gi$_6$-ga
   be-lum ra-bu-u$_2$ šá a-wi-lam bu-lu-ṭu$_2$ i-ra-mu a-bi ṣa-a[l-ma-a]t qa-qa-⟨di-⟩im
   "great lord, you love to bestow life on mankind, father of the black-headed people"

5. lugal-šá$_3$-la$_2$-su$_3$
   a-na šar-ri-im re-me-ni-im
   "to the merciful lord (king)"

6. dingir-arḫuš-su$_3$
   "compassionate god"

16. an-ki-ta lugal-bi
    šá-me-e u$_3$ er-ṣe-tam be-el-šu-nu
    "lord (king) in heaven and earth"

Mercy and Compassion:

(see above)

Uncertain:

5. si-ge$_4$-zu gaba mu-un-gar

IV. Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian Period

1. The Moon-God in er2-šem3-ma hymns

1.1 er2-šem3-ma for Suen (Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, pp. 44-54):

There is one er2-šem3-ma dedicated to the moon-god known to date;[189] references to him are also found in er2-šem3-ma's composed for other deities. On the question of the antiquity of the er2-šem3-ma compositions and Sumerian "Kultlieder" in general see J. krecher, Sumerische Kultlyrik (Wiesbaden, 1966), pp. 37f. and M. Cohen, Sumerian Hymnology: The Eršemma (HUCAS 2, Cincinnati, 1981), pp. 1-6. It should be noted that there are no eme-sal Sumerian texts whatsoever before the Old-Babylonian period, although there are quite a few references to the gala singer in Gudea and the Ur-III period;[190] it is known that the gala sang the er2-šem3-ma hymns as part of his cultic functions. As in the case of much of the Sumerian literature preserved only in Old-Babylonian or later recensions it is entirely possible that the er2-šem3-ma compositions date back to Ur-III or older periods. What role if any the er2-šem3-ma hymn played in the cult of the moon-god at Ur is not known. A few references to lamentations (er2) of one sort or another can be found in Ur administrative texts dating to the Ur-III period.[191] Since there is evidence that the er2-šem3-ma was sung when a temple was torn down for the purpose of reconstructing it, it seems

probable that this hymnal genre would have been employed at Ur where much reconstruction was undertaken over many centuries.[192] The er2-šem3-ma to the moon-god is preserved in both Old-Babylonian and Late-Babylonian copies, which indicates that it was well established in the scribal canon.[193]

What specific role this er2-šem3-ma hymn to Suen had in the cult is unknown. The fact that it was a part of the scribal canon for many centuries does not necessarily signify that it also had a fixed place in the cult for the same length of time. Internal indications of the cultic occasion for which this hymn was composed point to a cultic river journey by Nanna on board his "holy barge"[194] (ma2-gur8-ku3) from Ur to Nippur and Eridu where he receives "the sceptre of long days" (mu-du-ru-u4-su3-du) from Enlil (line 18) and "the radiant crown" (men-dalla) from Enki (line 42). A similar cultic journey by the moon-god is alluded to in "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur" and in occasional references in the hymns of Šulgi, Nūradad, and Sîniddinam (see sections III A 2.5, B 3.i, IV 3.6 and 3.8 of this chapter). Repeated emphasis in this hymn on Nanna's ma2-gur8 boat suggests that the construction of a new ma2-gur8 boat for the moon-god, perhaps occasioned by a specific festival including a cultic river journey, was the reason for composing this hymn. However, this is nowhere specifically stated in the text. Why an er2-šem3-ma hymn in particular, i.e. "lament (to the

accompanyment) of the šem-drum," should be composed for such an event is not clear; perhaps, the fact that the tutelary deity of Ur was leaving his city, if only to embark on a short journey, was enough to occasion a lament since the city would be temporarily without the protective presence of its chief deity.[195]

Though the subscript of the text labels it as an er2-šem3-ma hymn to Suen, the moon-god is called Nanna and Ašimbabbar, but not Suen in the text proper. This usage may be due to the fact that the hymn is directed to the god of Ur who in the earliest Ur textual sources is only known as Nanna.[196] See my comments on the use of the names Nanna and Suen in Chapters 2 and 3 and sections III B 1.1 and 1.3 of this chapter.

Almost every aspect of the moon-god's persona is covered in this hymn: celestial, pastoral, fertility, his supremacy and might, and his roles as father to his city and chief son of Enlil.

Epithets

Celestial:

obv.	1. ma2-gur8-ku3-an-na	"holy barge of heaven"
	9. ma2-gur8 an-ša3-ga diri-ga	"O barge, floating in the midst of heaven"

Relationship to Other Deities:

obv.	5. du5-mu-sag-^{d}en-lil2-la2	"chief son of Enlil"
	7. i-bi2-a-a-zu i-bi2-^{d}mu-ul-lil2-ra	"before your father, before Enlil"

16. a-a-zu igi-ḫul$_2$-la mu-e-šè-in-bar mi$_2$-zi ma-ra-ni-in-du$_{11}$	"Your father has looked upon you with joyful eye; he has truly cared for you."
18. ^{d}mu-ul-lil$_2$-le mu-du-ru-u$_4$-su$_3$-du šu-za ma-ra-ni-in-du$_7$; cf. 43	"Enlil has laid in your hand the sceptre of long days."
20. en ^{d}nu-dim$_2$-mud-e mi$_2$-du$_{11}$-ga-zu-de$_3$	"When lord Nudimmud cared for you"
42. men-dalla uru-ze$_2$-eb$_2^{ki}$-ba-ta [sum-ma]	"The radiant crown which was given (to you) in Eridu"

Titles and Names:

obv.	2. a-a ^{d}nanna; passim	"father Nanna"
	u$_3$-mu-un-e-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	"lord of Ur"
	3. u$_3$-mu-un-e-e$_2$-kiš-nu-gala$_7$	"lord of the Ekišnugal"
	4. u$_3$-mu-un ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar	"lord Ašimbabbar"
	5. u$_3$-mu-un ^{d}nanna du$_5$-mu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$	"lord Nanna, chief son of Enlil"
	17. lugal	"lord (king)"
	22. ur-sag; cf. 26: ur-sag-gal	"warrior"
	25. umun; passim	"lord"
	39. en ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar	"lord Ašimbabbar"
	42. men-dalla	"radiant crown"

Pastoral and Fertility:

obv.	15. a-a ^{d}nanna ab$_2$-si:a$_4$ ab$_2$ NE.RA[197] mi$_2$-du$_{11}$-ga-zu-de$_3$	"Father Nanna, you who care for the cows, kids, the ... cows"
	36. a sug ma$_2^{(!)}$-[gu]r$_8$-ku$_3$-ga-zu im-si 37. a-ab-ba ki ni$_3$-dagal$^{(!)}$-la$^{(!)}$-ba ku$_6$ mušen-na su$_3$-g[a]	"Your holy barge has filled the marsh with water; sea and dryland in their wide expanse are filled with fish and fowl."

CT XV 16, 13930, 1-7:

a im-si ^{d}nanna-kam — "(... Tigris, Euphrates, canal, ditch, big marsh, and small marsh) he has filled with water; Nanna's are they."

Boat:

obv. 1. ma$_2$-gur$_8$-ku$_3$-an-na; cf. 9 — "holy barge of heaven"

11. a-a ^{d}nanna ma$_2$-gin$_7$ a-gi$_6$-a diri-ga-zu-de$_3$ — "Father Nanna, when you float upon the flood waters like a boat"

19. uri$_2^{ki}$-ma ma$_2$-gur$_8$-ku$_3$-ga u$_5$-a-zu-de$_3$; also 21 — "When you board the holy barge in Ur"

38. a sug ma$_2$(!)-[gu]r$_8$-ku$_3$-ga-zu im-si — "Your holy barge has filled the marsh with water."

Power:

obv. 8. gaba-zi-ga-zu-de$_3$ — "when you expand your chest (? i.e. rear up?); cf. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 49, 8)

25. umun a-ba e-diri a-ba e-da-sa$_2$; cf. 26,27 — "Lord, who is greater than you; who is equal to you?

28. i-bi$_2$-il$_2$-la-zu a-ba ba-ra-e$_3$ — "When you raise your eyes, who can escape you?

29. du$_{10}$-bad-du-zu a-ba ba-ra-šub-bu — "When you stride forth, who can get away from you?

30. za-e e-ne-em$_3$-zu ab-ba um-mi-la$_2$ ab si-hu-luh-ha — "When your word reached the sea, the sea convulsed,

31. za-e e-ne-em$_3$-zu sug-ge um-mi-la$_2$ še a-an-sa$_4$ — When your word reached the marsh, it moaned,

32. i$_7$-buranuna i$_7$-idigna$^{(?)}$ um-mi-la$_2$ a-a-gi$_6$-a u$_4$-gi$_6$-bi um-te-en-te-en — When it reached the Euphrates and Tigris, the flood waters were calmed day and night."

Cultic:

obv. 14. kaš-de$_2$-a ul-ti-a-zu-de$_3$ — "When beer is poured out to please you"

23. bara2-KU3.GI ke-en6-ge-ra du3-a	"golden dais built for Sumer,
24. bara2-ku3-babbar ke-en6-ge-ra il2-la	silver dais raised up for Sumer"

1.2 The moon-god in er2-šem3-ma's to other deities:

a) 11th kirugu of e-lum gu4-sun2 (M. Cohen, Eršemma, p. 135: Old-Babylonian parallel to Eršemma 13):

19. ^{d}nanna-gin7 šu(!)-sulug(!) (LUL(!))-zu na-an-bur2-re-en	"Like Nanna you spread your radiant hands!"

b) Eršemma 13 (STT vol. ii, 155):

14. ^{d}nanna-gin7 pa-e3-zu-am3 na-an-na-ab-bu-re-en	"Your brilliant rising is like Nanna's. You cause it to be wide-ranging."[198]
ki-[ma] ^{d}sin šaz-ru-ur ṣe-e-ti-ka la ta-[šap]-pi	(Akk.: "Like Sîn you do not becloud the radiance of your rising.")
15. [e]-[lum-e] ^{d}nanna-gin7 pa-e3-zu na-(an-na-ab-bu-re-en)	"O mighty one, like Nanna you cause your brilliant rising to be wide-ranging."
[kab-tu] [ki-ma] ^{d}sîn šaz-ru-ur ṣe-[e]-ti-ka (la ta-šap-pi)	(Akk.: "O mighty one, like Sîn you do not becloud the radiance of your rising.")

The Akkadian equivalent šarūr ṣētika for pa-e3-zu in STT II, 155, 14-15 is perhaps significant, although the text is late. The Akkadian seems to explain pa in pa-e3-zu by the word šarūru(m) "ray, beam" (the usual Sumerian equivalent for šarūru(m) in lexical texts is še-er-zi).[199] Thus, the Akkadian seems to indicate that the Sumerian phrase was understood as a genitival construction meaning literally "ray," "beam," or "radiance" "of your rising." However, in Sumerian contexts referring to celestial phenomena pa usually is

found in contrast to ur2 "root, foundation" (as in an-pa, an-ur2) to refer respectively to the "crown" and "base" (of the sky, for instance). Both pa and ur2 seem originally to have denoted parts of the tree - "crown" and "roots" and then were applied metaphorically to other objects;[200] hence, an-pa means "zenith" in contrast to an-ur2 "horizon." It is uncertain whether pa in pa-e3-zu refers to the sense of "zenith" as is usual in contexts describing the sky, or means "ray," "beam," the image of the moon in its radiance being compared metaphorically to the spreading crown or upper branches of the tree (note that Akkadian šarūru(m) is related to Syriac šrūrā "sprout" and has the Late-Babylonian meaning "creeping vine"; cf. AHw 1193). The meaning of the phrase pa-e3 will be discussed more fully in Chapter 7 on the epithets of Nanna/Suen.

2. Lamentations for the Destruction of Sumerian Cities[201]

It is probable that the literary compositions that lament the destruction of major Sumerian cities (Ur, Sumer and Ur, Uruk, Nippur, and Eridu) were composed during the Isin dynasty, the period in which major reconstruction was undertaken on the cities of southern Mesopotamia after their sack by Elamite invaders at the end of the Ur-III period.[202] Both the Uruk and Nippur Laments name king Išme-Dagan of Isin, while the other compositions bear internal indications which suggest a

date of composition in or around the time of this king. While it is possible that all of the city-laments refer to the mass destruction of southern Mesopotamian cities by marauding Elamite forces and their allies at the end of the Ur-III period, it is also possible that some of these laments were occasioned by later calamities caused by enemies of the Isin or even Larsa dynasties.[203] The historical details need not be gone into here, for they are complex and the issues beyond the scope of this study. Suffice it to say that the Uruk, Nippur, and Eridu laments may all refer indirectly to events occuring after the Elamite sack of Ur, whereas the Ur and Sumer-and-Ur laments in all probability describe the fall of the Ur-III empire, especially the latter composition which mentions Ibbisuen by name. For the purposes of this study the laments over the destruction of Ur and of Sumer and Ur are of the greatest interest because they concern the destruction of the city of the moon-god and its theological ramifications. The Uruk and Eridu laments also make brief allusions to the moon-god which will be noted here.

2.1 Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur (Ms. P. Michalowski, University Museum, Philadelphia; cf. S.N. Kramer, ANET^{3}, pp. 611-619):

This text is very important for a study of Nanna/Suen because of its many details about the cult at Ur, its description of the relationship of the moon-god

and other major deities to the devastated city, and the implied theological ramifications of the destruction of Sumer and its once-great political capital, Ur. Starting with the last point, the rationalization of the text for the destruction of Sumer and Ur is presented simply as the sudden, inexplicable disfavor of the two greatest gods of the pantheon, An and Enlil, and a verdict of the assembly of deities against the city and the land:

363. di-til-la inim pu-uḫ$_2$-ru-um-ma-ka šu gi$_4$-gi$_4$ nu-gal$_2$	"The verdict (and) the word of the assembly no one can reverse.
364. inim-du$_{11}$-ga-an-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$-ka šu-bal-e nu-zu	The command of An (and) Enlil no one can overturn.
365. uri$_2^{ki}$-ma nam-lugal ḫa-ba-sum bala da-ri$_2$ la-ba-an-sum	Ur was indeed granted kingship, but not an everlasting reign."

In response to this inimical decision of the gods against Ur Nanna/Suen is depicted as being personally affected and laments the fate of his city before his father, Enlil, beseeching him to find favor once again with the city which always brought him its first-fruit offerings:

342. ma$_2$-nisag-ga$_2$ a-a ugu-na-še$_3$ nisag nu-mu-un-na-an-tum$_3$	"The boat of the first-fruit offerings did not bear the first-fruit offerings to the father who bore him.
343. nindaba-zu ^{d}en-lil$_2$ nibru^{ki}-še$_3$ nu-mu-un-na-da-an-ku$_4$-ku$_4$	Your bread offerings, O Enlil, could no longer enter Nippur."

Nanna's reaction to the destruction of his city in this text is in marked contrast to his attitude in the composition "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur," in

which the moon-god is portrayed as holding himself aloof from the disaster which has befallen Ur and as almost indifferent to the persistent entreaties of his spouse, Ningal, to save their city.[204] The theological rationale in this latter lamentation is that Ur's destruction is caused by a general disfavor of all the gods including Nanna; only Ningal is left in the city to plead its case. In the Sumer-and-Ur Lament, however, the moon-god is closely identified with his city and the suffering felt by the human inhabitants of Ur is shared by the god.[205] He personally laments before his father, Enlil, on behalf of his city and it is only through his intercession that Enlil finally concedes to restore Ur to its former well-being. Hence, the two compositions seem to present two different theological approaches to dealing with the problems of reality. Though Ur is restored in the end, the explanation for the city's destruction given by Enlil to Nanna is only the cryptic few lines quoted above (lines 363-365). They seem to express an underlying philosophy about the unpredictability of life, the fickleness of fortune, and the inherent mortality of all things, especially the glories of the world. The complete dependence of Nanna on his father and in turn the dependency of mankind on the whims of the gods are also underscored by the thematic content of these lamentations. This is particularly apparent in the Sumer-and-Ur Lament, where

Nanna and his retinue of minor deities are forced out of their city by the disfavor of the great gods, An and Enlil. Only after Nanna is reduced to the level of a beggar[206] does Enlil respond favorably to his petition.

All the symbols of fertility that Nanna/Suen is usually associated with in his relation to the city of Ur are here depicted as destroyed. In a long passage (lines 300-338) the many features of Ur's former prosperity are enumerated and contrasted with the devastation that now exists. In the brewery (e2-bappir) there is no beer; in the palace no bread; in the storehouse (ga2-nun-mah) and granaries (gurz-du6 gurz-maš) no grain; there are no evening meals in the banquet hall (kin-sig-unu2-gal-la); oxen and sheep are no longer fed; at the bur-sag[207] (a building?) the hum of the pure ...[208] of Nanna (a2-sikil-la dnanna-ka) was stilled; the grinding mortar and pestle are no longer used; there is no water by the lapis-lazuli quay of Nanna (kar-za-gin3-dnanna); water no longer plashes against the prows of the boats; dust was heaped up on the unu2-RI-ban3-da-dnanna; the oven (gir4) is empty; there are no boats at the quay, no barges in the river; the cult rites of the festivals have been changed (ezen ki-garza-ka giš-hur-bi ba-da-kur2); dga-a-a-u2, who loves cows, hurls his weapon on the ewe; dšu-ni-du10 no longer heaps up fat and cheese; the hum of the butter churn (dug-šakir3) is no longer heard and the brazier (ne-mur) is extinguished.

Further specifics concerning the cult installations of Ur and its surroundings are described in the following lines:

188. ga-eš^{ki} ga-gin$_7$ ur-e ba-an-de$_2$ i$_3$-gul-gul-lu-de$_3$	"Gaes was poured out like milk by the dog (the enemy) destroying it utterly.
189. alam dim$_2$-ma SIG$_7$.ALAM sa$_6$-ga-bi im-ze$_2$-er-ze$_2$-er-re-e-de$_3$	Its (well)-fashioned statues, beautiful in form they shatter."
191. gi$_6$-par$_3$-ku$_3$-nam-en-na-ba šu ba-e-la$_2$-la$_2$	"Its (Ur's) holy Gipar of the En-priesthood has been desecrated.
192. en-bi gi$_6$-par$_3$-ta ba-da-kar ki-erim$_2$-e ba-ab-tum$_2$	Its En-priestess was abducted from the Gipar (and) taken to a hostile place.
193. bara$_2$-an-na-da gid$_2$-da-bi a-nir ba-da-an-di	The upper dais, the whole length of its sounded the lament.
194. giš-gu-za an-na-bi nu-ub-gub sag me-te-a-aš li-bi$_2$-ib-gal$_2$	The upper throne stood no longer. It was no more foremost as the crowning ornament."
406b. e$_2$-kiš-nu-gal$_2$-^{d}nanna-ka lu$_2$ erim$_2$-e ba-a-dab$_5$	"Hostile men seized upon the Ekisnugal of Nanna.
407. alan-dingir zag-ge si-a-bi gu$_2$-gur$_5$ ba-an-ne-eš	Its divine statues which had filled the sanctuary they smashed.
408. ^{d}nin-i$_3$-ga agrig-maḫ-e erim$_3$-ma šu bi$_2$-in-dag	Niniga, the exalted stewardess, fled(?) the storehouse."
422. ušumgal ka-duḫ-a ug-ga$_2$ ni$_2$ il$_2$-il$_2$-la-bi	"Its (the temple's) Usumgal dragon with mouth open wide, its fearsome lion
423. am dab$_5$-ba-gin$_7$ saman-e bi$_2$-in-šub-bu-re ki erim$_2$-e ba-ab-tum$_2$	like captured wild oxen the tether rope pulls down (and) takes away to a hostile place.
424. ki-tuš-ku$_3$-^{d}nanna tir	The fragrance of Nanna's

šim-giš-erin-na-gin7 ir-ši-im-bi ba-gul	holy dwelling place like a forest of aromatic cedar was destroyed."
437. dub-la2-maḫ ki nam-tar-tar-re-de3 ka-inim-ma nu-gal2	"(In) the Dublamah, the place where the fates are decided, there was no utterance of words.
438. giš-gu-za di ku5-ru-bi nu-um-gub di si nu-um-sa2-e	Its throne where verdicts are decided was no longer; no verdicts were(?) directed.
439. dalamuš(LAL3)-e giš-gidri ba-da-an-šub šu-ni gu4(?)-ud-[gu4(?)-ud ...]	Alamus threw down the sceptre; his hand ...
440. a2-na2-da-ku3-dnanna-ke4 giri3 ki mu-un-tag-ge-ne	Feet tread upon the holy bed chamber of Nanna.
441. urudu-šen-ku3 lu2 igi nu-bar-re-dam erim2-e igi i-ni-in-bar	The pure copper vessel which no man was ever to see the enemy saw.
442. giš-na2-gi4-rin-na nu-um-DU u2 za-gin3 nu-mu-un-bur2	The fruitful bed was no longer standing(?); lapis lazuli plants were not spread about."

Many more lines of this lamentation could be cited which elaborate upon the various cultic features of the city of Ur. A complete treatment of the entire text is necessary in order to elucidate the inter-relationship of all the various aspects of the cult at Ur as presented in this text. A few points may be made here. Note that line 188 mentions Gaeš, a cult site associated with Ur where the Akiti festival was celebrated. Line 189 describes it as a place where cultic statues were found; this may be an indirect reference to the temple of Nanna which, in other contexts, is said to have been built there. Chief features of the temple complex at Ur

are mentioned in lines 191-194, 406-408, 422-424, and 437-442: the Gipar, residence of the En-priestess, which was located by the Ur excavation southeast of the ziggurat; a dais and throne of uncertain location and function, both described as an-na, perhaps in this context meaning "upper"; the temple of Nanna itself called Ekišnugal, the sanctuary of which is said to be filled with statues of the deities. Lines 422-423 mention interesting features of this temple: ušumgal and ug-ga2 most likely refer to statues or reliefs, perhaps adorning the walls or the gateways into the temple since in line 423 it is said that they are pulled down and taken away by the enemy. One thinks of the huge stone griffins and lions which were set by the Assyrians at the gateways to their temples and palaces to guard against the intrusions of enemies. The dwelling place of Nanna in this temple complex is described as being fragrant like a cedar forest. This is undoubtedly a reference to the gigunû, the sanctuary at the very top of the ziggurat with is often likened to a cedar forest. Reference is also made to the bed chamber of Nanna (line 440) where a sacred copper vessel is kept which is not to be seen by the uninitiated. According to line 442, there was a bed there and the floor was strewn with some kind of plant. Whether this bedchamber is identical with or was a part of the gigunû or was located elsewhere is not certain. Details of the structure of the Dublamah

are also given (lines 437-438). It is frequently attested as being the seat of justice at Ur as in this context. According to line 438 it contained a throne from which judgements were pronounced. As mentioned elsewhere the Dublamaḫ was located by Woolley at the southeast corner of the raised platform of the ziggurat.

Whether ^{d}alamuš mentioned in 439 is to be associated with the Dublamaḫ is unclear from the context. This deity is known to be the sukkal of Nanna[209] in post-Old-Babylonian texts and is often found paired with ^{d}nin-gublaga, the son of Nanna.[210] In Ur administrative texts from the Ur-III dynasty Alamuš is several times attested in connection with ^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak, ^{d}nin-e2-i3-ga (cf. Lamentation over Sumer and Ur quoted above), and ^{d}nisaba, all of whom in some way seem to be connected with the fertility of farming produce.[211] Both ^{d}ga-a-a-u2 and ^{d}šu-ni-du10 are attested in post-Old-Babylonian texts as shepherds of Suen.[212] Earlier attestations of these deities, outside of the references in the lamentation here being considered, are unknown to me.

2.2 Lamentation over the destruction of Ur (see S.N. Kramer, AS 12):

Further information about the cult at Ur is revealed in this text based on the same theme as the text just discussed, but with certain significant variations noted above. The following lines list the key officials involved in the cult at Ur:

348. gudu$_4$-bi ḫi-li-a ba-ra-mu-un-DU šaš$_3$-žu a-gin$_7$ du$_3$-mu-un	"Its (Ur's) 'anointing' official did no longer go about in joy; make your heart like water!
349. en-bi gi$_6$-par$_3$-ra ba-ra-mu-un-ti ...	Its En-priestess no longer lived in the Gipar ...
350. [x]-bi/ga lu$_2$-šu-luḫ-e ki-ag$_2$-e šu-luḫ nu-mu-ra(!)-an-ga$_2$-ga$_2$	In the ... the one who loves the hand-washing ceremony no longer set up the hand-washing ceremony for you.
351. a-a-^{d}nanna išib-zu šita$_x$(QA)-ku$_3$-ga šu nu-mu-ra-ni-du$_7$	O father Nanna, your išib-official no longer perfected your sacred prayer.
352. lu$_2$-maḫ-zu gi-gun$_4$-na-ku$_3$-zu ša$_3$-gada la-ba-an-la$_2$	Your exalted one in your holy Gigunna no longer put on linen.
353. en-zi-ša$_3$-ḫi-li-a-pad$_3$-da-zu e$_2$-kiš-nu-gal$_2$-la-am$_3$	Your righteous En-priestess chosen in the joy of (your) heart, in the Ekišnugal
354. eš$_3$(?)-ta gi$_6$(!)-par$_4$-še$_3$ ḫul$_2$-la-na nu-mu-ni-in-d[i]b-d[i]b-be$_2$	no longer proceeds rejoicing from the sanctuary(?) to the Gipar.
355. a-u$_3$-a e$_2$-ezem-ma-za ezem nu-mu-ni-in-du$_{10}$-eš	Alas, in your festival house they no longer enjoyed festivals.
356. kuš-ub$_3$-a$_2$-la$_2$-e ni$_3$-ša$_3$-ḫul$_2$-le-da tigi-a nu-mu-ra-an-du$_{12}$-us	The ub and ala drums no longer played the things that make the heart rejoice along with the tigi.
357. un-sag-gi$_6$-ga ezem-ma-zu a la-ba-an-tu$_5$-tu$_5$-ne	The black-headed people no longer perform lustration rites at your festival."

Though numerous attestations of the gudu$_4$, lu$_2$-šu-luḫ, išib, and lu$_2$-maḫ can be found, very little can be said about the nature of their cultic functions or how their various duties were inter-related. From the Akkadian equivalent of gudu$_4$, pašīšu, one gets the impression that this official had something to do with

anointing since the Akkadian verb paš$_2$-šu means "anoint." iš$_2$-ib is also equated with this same Akkadian term in lexical texts; the distinction between the two offices is therefore unclear. The lu$_2$-šu-luh also obviously had something to do with purification or lustration. Very little can be said about the lu$_2$-mah, other than that he was an official of high standing.[213] All of these officials in various contexts are connected with purification ceremonies, which seems to indicate that there was a great cultic significance attached to this kind of ritual at Ur and elsewhere in Mesopotamia. This is confirmed by the many references to a-tu$_5$-a and šu-luh in administrative texts. What the full cultic significance of these purification rites was is not completely clear.

2.3 Eridu Lament (cf. M. Green, JCS 30, pp. 127-167):

This lament, like the "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur," attributes the destruction of Ur to the hostility of its tutelary deity, Nanna/Suen. In the "Eridu Lament" Nanna does not just turn away from his city leaving it to destruction; he himself brings about its destruction as the following lines illustrate:

Kirugu 6

15'. u$_3$-mu-un ^{d}nanna u$_3$-mu-um ^{d}aš-im-babbar	"The lord Nanna, the lord Ašimbabbar
16'. [ur]u-ni uri$_2$-ki-ma zag he$_2$-bi$_2$-in-tag	destroyed his city Ur.
17'. [saĝ]-mar-ra-ka ka-na-	He decimated the country

ag2-bi ḫe2-en-til	by famine.
18'. [e2]-kiš-nu-gal2 em3-gig-ga ḫe2-bi2-ak šag3-[bi(?) ḫe2]-bi2-ra	He committed a sacrilege against the Ekišnugal. He struck at its heart(?).
19'. [zag] ḫe2-bi2-in-tag šu li-bi2-in-dag	He destroyed it (but) he did not abandon it.
20'. [kin]-sig unu2-gal-ni mu-ni ḫe2-pa3-de3	At the time of the evening meal his great dining hall calls his name."

(see M. Green's translation, o.c., p. 139 and comments on p. 155).

Exactly the same hostile actions are ascribed to Enlil towards Nippur, Aruru towards uru-sag-rigZ, and Gašananna towards Uruk. This may be seen as the extreme version of the theological rationalization for the destruction of Sumer presented in the preceding laments: the gods do not just permit the destruction of their cities by outside hostile forces; they turn malicious and personally cause the ruin of the whole land.

2.4 Uruk Lament (cf. M. Green, JAOS 104, pp. 253-279):

The moon-god is mentioned only once in this lamentation. He takes part in the creation of a mythical monster with terrorizes Uruk:

1.10. dnin-lil2-le muš3-me mi-ni-in-[sum]-ma [x x] e-ne ba-ab-tum2	"When Ninlil had given it features, That One was fit for ...
1.11. da-ru-ru dsuen den-ki-bi me-dim2-bi ba-an-ak-eš-a	when together Aruru, Suen, and Enki had fashioned its limbs,
1.12. e-ne ba-ḫe2-ši gi6 en-nu-un sag-a-gin7 [...] [x]-aš ba-ab-gar	That One turned pitch black; as at night, half-way through the night watch, ... was set up."

(translation M. Green o.c., p. 265).

2.5 Hymn to Nanna (see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 65ff.):

This hymn can be considered in connection with the lamentations just discussed because of the reference in line 8 to the restoration of Ur:[214]

7. en-e nam-uru$_2$-na tar-re-de$_3$ ^{d}en-lil$_2$ mu-un-kuš$_2$-u$_3$	"The lord (Nanna) wearies Enlil (with his entreaties) to decide a (favorable) fate for his city:
8. a-a-mu uru$_2$-mu ki-bi ḫa-ma-gi$_4$-gi$_4$	'My father, may you restore my city!"

Nanna is described mainly by typical celestial epithets. He is also said to be cared for by An and Uraš (line 4), a relationship that is mentioned in the Šu-suen hymn discussed above.[215] His relationship to Enlil is also brought out, not only in his petition to Enlil to restore his city, but in the reference in line 4 to his being born in dur-an-ki, an epithet of Nippur. The epithet of Nanna, nam$_2$-nun-e (line 10 revising Å. Sjöberg's giz-nun-e) is also applied to the moon-god in N 1542, obv. 1, which is treated in the Appendix.

Epithets and Key Phrases

Celestial:

2. un$_3$-na e$_3$ me-an-na šu-du$_7$	"Coming forth at the zenith; who perfects the me's of heaven"
3. men-ri-ba še-er-zi	"pre-eminent crown, ray"
5. u$_4$ še-er-zi men-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	"light, ray, crown of Ur"
11. e$_2$-an-gin$_7$ ni$_2$-su-zi ri-a me-lam$_2$-ma gur$_3$-ru-	"You are clad in a shining aura (corona?) in the

me-en	temple which like heaven is arrayed in shuddering awe."

Relationship to Other Deities:

1. dingir dingir-re-e-ne DI bi2-in-x	"God who the gods ..."
4. mi2-zi-du11-ga-an-^{d}uraš-a u3-tu-da-dur-an-ki	"cared for by An and Uras"
7 and 8. quoted above	
10. nam2-nun-e nam2-nun-e nam-nun-gal-dingir-re-e-ne-ke4	"Princely lord, princely lord, whose function (is to be) great prince among the gods"

Names and Titles:

1. dingir	"god"
3. nun; cf. 10	"prince"
7. en	"lord"
9. du11-ga-zi-zi-da a-a ^{d}nanna	"he of righteous words, father Nanna"
10. nam2-nun-e	"princely lord"

2.6 CT 42, No. 9, plates 20-21 (BM 85197):

This literary composition of uncertain genre is written in eme-sal and is addressed to the moon-god. As in the case of the preceding hymn I have connected it with the lamentation literature because it concerns the destruction of Ur and laments the fact that Nanna/Suen and Ningal have abandoned their city. In some respects it is like an er2-šem3-ma in that it is written in eme-sal, the subject matter is a catastrophic event, and the piece opens with a string of epithets (describing Nanna/Suen). These characteristics are typical of the

er$_2$-šem$_3$-ma genre.[216] Unfortunately, the text is so full of lexical difficulties, that a complete treatment (transliteration, translation, philological commentary) was not possible even with the aid of excellent photographs of the original tablet from the British Museum.[217] However, the text is of interest to this study because of the many epithets of the moon-god which it contains. These are listed below. Unlike the typical celestial and pastoral epithets so often applied to the moon-god in hymns, the epithets in this composition dwell on his might, authority, and status as lord of Ur. He is frequently addressed by the title "lord" (u$_3$-mu-un) in a series of repetitive lines in which he is called lord of the various major buildings of the temple complex of Ur.

Epithets and Key Phrases

Celestial:

obv. i,
3. dingir-babbar$_2$-ra — "shining god"

Animal Imagery:

obv. i,
1. ušumgal — "dragon"

pirig kal-kal — "lion highly prized"

Relationship to Other Deities:

obv. i,
18. dumu-sag-^{d}mu-ul-lil$_2$-la$_2$ — "chief son of Mullil (Enlil)"

19. dumu-nun-e$_2$-kur-ra — "princely son of the Ekur"

23. ^{d}en-lil$_2$-ra tum$_2$-ma — "worthy of Enlil"

Justice:

obv. ii, 10. di-ku$_5$-ru mu-un-zu; 11, 14; cf. 15	"he knows how to render justice"
Titles of Authority:	
obv. i, 2. lugal ^{d}nanna	"lord Nanna"
lugal-an-edin-na	"lord of the upper steppe"
u$_3$-mu-un; passim	"lord"
13. [u$_3$-mu-u]n‹(-e-)›uri$_2^{ki}$-ma	"lord of Ur"
17. u$_3$-mu-un-dub-la$_2$-maḫ-a	"lord of Dublamaḫ"
14. u$_3$-mu-u[n-e]$_2$-kiš-nu-gal$_2$-‹la›	"lord of Ekišnugal"
15. u$_3$-mu-un-e$_2$-idim-an-na	"lord of Eidimanna"
16. u$_3$-mu-un-ga$_2$-nun-maḫ-a	"lord of Ganunmaḫ"
23, 24. ‹u$_3$›-mu-un-an-ki-a	"lord of heaven and earth"
obv. ii, 10. u$_3$-mu-un-bara$_2$-ku$_3$-ga	"lord of the pure dais"
12. en-diri	"supreme lord"
17. gal-di	"exalted one"
a-a-mu	"my father"
23. ur-sag	"heroic warrior"

3. References to the Moon-God in Royal Hymns from the Isin/Larsa and Old-Babylonian Periods

Literary texts which make specific reference to one of the kings of Isin, Larsa, or Babylon and contain noteworthy statements about the moon-god are considered here. Most of these texts are hymns addressed either directly to Nanna/Suen or to other deities with occasional mention being made of the moon-god in his connection with these other deities. Myths, letters, and other literary compositions from this period also refer at times to the moon-god. Since these texts mention one of the known kings of the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period, their composition can be assigned with great probability to the reign of the king mentioned, though copies of the original literary work may well have been produced by students in the Edubba for pedagogical purposes after the reign of the king. The problems of dating literary texts in Old-Babylonian Sumerian which make no reference to any royal personage have been discussed above. The following section is organized chronolgically by king.

3.1 Iddindagan:

3.1.1 SLTNi 85 (Hymn to Ningublaga, son of Nanna):

obv.	24. [... en(?) u4-sur$_2$]-huš erim$_2$-ma lu$_2$-ḫul-gal$_2$ ⌜u$_4$⌝-ni$_2$(?)-huš⌝-e	"... lord(?), furious, raging storm against(?) the enemy; fearsome storm against(?) the evil-doer.
	25. [... e]$_2$-^{d}suen-na-	... He organizes the oxen

ka gu4 si im-⌜x⌝-ni-sa2-sa2 — in the temple of Suen.

26-27. (repeat of 24-25)

28. [...]⌜x x⌝ dašš-im2-babbar a-ra2-ni ki-ag2 — ... Ašš imbabbar loving the way he goes.

29. [... sun2(?)]-zi dі-din-dda-gan dnanna ⌜x x x⌝-ka — ... the faithful wild cow, Idindagan, ... Nanna"

30-31. (repeat of 28-29)

rev. 5(=7). [x x x] inim-(šul) dsuen-na nam-lugal-še3 sum-ma — "... (who) by(?) the word of Suen was given over into kingship;

6(=8). [x x d]ašš-im2-babbar-re tug2(!) tug2(!)-ma6 mu4-mu4 — ... (whom) Ašš imbabbar clothes in ma6 garments."

If rev. 5-6 (=7-8) is read correctly (text needs collation), this section appears to describe the moon-god's role in bestowing kingship upon Idindagan. Compare the similar passage discussed above in sect. III A 2.5.

rev. 16. [... d]ašš-im2-babbar-gin7 di-si-sa2 ku5-ku5 — "... like Asimbabbar deciding just verdicts,

17(=19). ⌜sun2-zi⌝ [u4]-su2-us2 dі-din-dda-gan-na šaš3 dnanna [x]-e — the wild cow of Idindagan whose heart Nanna daily ...(?),

18(=20). inim zi-⌜da⌝-ni dsuen-ra saš6 sa2(!?) zal-le-eš2 ak — whose word is true, favorable to Suen, whose heart is made as if to shine,

21(=23). sun2(!?) [-zi(?) d]ašš-im2-babbar-re a2-gal-la šaš3 su[m-m]a — the wild cow whom Ašš imbabbar has given a heart of great strength,

22(=24). gi[skim-ti d]i-din-dda-gan-na kur nu-še-ga he2-⌜gul⌝-lu-e⌝ — the trusted one of Iddindagan, may he destroy the disobedient land."

On Nanna/Suen's role as judge see the discussion

above in sect. III B 1.5. Ningublaga, who is frequently known by the epithet sun2-zi "wild cow," seems originally to have been a god of oxen and the cowherd. Note the many allusions to this role in the temple hymn to Ningublaga's temple in Kiabrig (Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, pp. 25-26). For this reason he was probably made a part of the local pantheon surrounding Nanna/Suen, whose pastoral role is frequently attested.

3.1.2 Hymn to Inanna (see W.Ph. Römer, SKIZ, pp. 128ff. and D. Reisman, JCS 25, pp. 185ff.):

13. ^{d}nanna ^{d}utu-gin7 an-na gub-ba-na	"Of her stance in heaven like Nanna and Utu (I will sing)."
173. u4-na2-a me šu du7-du7-da(-de3)	"On the day of the moon's disappearance when the me's are completed"
27. iti-da u4-sakar-ra me šu-du7-du7-da(-de3)	"On New-moon day each month when the me's are completed."

3.2 Išmedagan:

3.2.1 Hymn to Enlil (^{d}en-lil2-diri-še3: see W.Ph. Römer, SKIZ, pp. 39-55; Ms. by B. Eichler, revised by M. Hall, University Museum):

73. ^{d}suen dumu-sag-^{d}en-li[l2-la2-ke4]	"Suen, chief son of Enlil, has indeed
74. giš-gu-za nam-lugal-la me-u[r4-ur4 (x x x)]	... the throne of kingship where all me's are gathered
75. bara2-nam-en-na sag-be2-eš2 [e3(?)-]a ḫ[e2-x x]	(and) dais of lordship which is foremost(?).
76. u4-su3-DU-še3 aga-m[u d]alla ḫ[e2-bi2]-in-e3(!)	He has indeed made my crown appear until a distant day."

The moon-god's role in the coronation of the king

is once again brought out in the above lines. The cultic role that the king played on certain days of the month when the moon was in specific phases is alluded to in line 167: iti e2-u4-7-e2-u4-15-bi ezen-a he2-ni-ku4 "May he enter (the Ekur) on the festival of the House of the 7th and the House of the 15th day of the month." See my Chapter 5 for numerous attestations of royal offerings on the 1st, 7th, and 15th days of the month, days which had cultic significance related to the moon's first appearance, its quarter-moon phase, and its full-moon phase.

355. ^{d}nanna gal-le-eš ki ma-ma-an-(na-)ag2-ga2	"Nanna who has greatly loved me (=Išmedagan)."

3.2.2 Hymns to Enlil and Ninlil[218] (TCL 15, 18; collated by S.N. Kramer = UM 55-21-285):[219]

I 20'. ^{d}suen dumu-ki-ag2-šag3-za-ra me*-bi mu-ni-ba (* = collated)	"You have granted its me's to Suen, the son beloved of your heart.[220]
21'. nam-^{d}en-lil2-an-ki mu-ne-sum dumu giskim-ti-zu-um	You (Enlil) have given to him (Suen) the 'Enlilship' of heaven and earth, your son, your support is he."
IV 11.... [^{d}EN(?).]ZU-na dumu-nun-nun-gal-la	"... of Suen, the princely son of the great prince"
IV 22. šul ^{d}suen na-am2-^{d}en-lil2-ra(?) ⌜x⌝[(x)] ⌜x x⌝	"The youth, Suen, for(?) the 'Enlil-ship' ...
23. na-gada-mah	lofty herdsman" (epithet of Suen)
IV 31. šul ^{d}suen ki-na-am2-sipa-da*-zu* im*-ma-hul2-hul2-e	"The youth, Suen, ever rejoices in the place of your 'shepherd-ship'."

Note that the moon-god is consistently called Suen

in the above references and that his role as the youthful son of Enlil is emphasized. This aspect of his character is also underscored at times in hymns to the moon-god. See above sections III B 1.1 and 1.3.

3.2.3 Išmedagan V (3N-T386 + 3N-T727: Ms. University Museum):

46'. ^{d}nanna [e]n-zi-[l]e x x "Nanna, ... lord ..."
$^{\check{s}}$a$_3$ gar$_3$-ra

See Chapter 7 on zi-le.

3.2.4 Adab Hymn to Nanna (ISET 1, pp. 96-97, Ni 2781; see my treatment in Chapter 9):

Nanna/Suen's chief characteristics as moon-god, i.e. as the god embodied by the moon in its various phases and appearances, are brought out in this hymn. Particular emphasis is given to the day of the moon's disappearance at the end of each month (obv. 19) and the day of the moon's reappearance shortly thereafter. Allusions are made to the mythological and cultic significance of these phenomena (obv. 19-30). Not only the aspects of Nanna/Suen's celestial appearance as the moon are mentioned, but also his roles as judge and decider of fates, powers bestowed on him by his father, Enlil. He is also depicted as the provider of fertility, the father of his people, and a life-giver. The following outline will display the range of characteristics applied to him in this hymn:

Epithets and Key Phrases

Celestial:

obv.	7. u_4-sakar; 22(?); 27	"New-moon day"
	17. u_4; 24; rev. 23	"light"
	19. [u_4-]na_2-a	"day of the moon's disappearance"
	24. me-lam_2	"sheen"
	25. $giš$-$ŋe_2$-dagal-la bulug(?) u_4 mu-ni-bur_2 kuk[ku_2] mu-a-zalag-zalag	"You have caused ... light to glow in the wide vault of the sky, you have ever-made darkness bright."[221]
	26. e_3-zu-$še_3$ 27. u_4-sakar dalla-e_3-a $ŋi$-li-gur_3-ru u_6-di-du_{10}-ga-zu-$še_3$	"New-moon light come into view, arrayed in grace, because of your sweet sight ..."
rev.	9. $muš_3$-ku_3 an-ku_3(?)-g[a]	"pure visage, in the clear sky ..."

Fertility:

obv.	8. un-lu(!)-a nam-ti-[la]	"life of the multitudes"
	10. [i_7-idigna] i-burunun-bi a-zal-le tum_3	"[Causing(?) the Tigris] and Euphrates to bear ever-flowing waters."
	11. $še$-gu-nu	"... the late grain"
	12. [k]i(?)-dagal-e(?) u_2-$šim$	"... grasses for(?) the wide earth(?)"
rev.	10'. $buru_{14}$ ezen-gal $ŋi$-li SI.A-ba un $ši$-i[m]-$ši$-$ŋ$[ul_2(?)-l]a(?)	"At its great harvest festival filled with abundance the people [rejoiced(?)].
	16'. $ninda_2$ gu_4-du_{10} $ŋa$-ra-ni-ib-u_5(?)-e numun-zi $ŋa$-r[a]-ab-i-i	"He makes the breed bull (and) the good bull mount(?) (the cow) for you; he makes the good seed flow for you."
	17'. [i_3]-sag ga-sag ga-unu_2-ku_3-za i_3-[x m]u(?)-$peš$-$peš$-e	"Top-grade milk-fat, top-grade milk, milk of your sacred dining hall, [...] milk-fat he is increasing."

Judge:

obv.	20. di-gal mu-kuš-du-en ka-aš-ma[ḫ] mu-bar-re-en	"You will decide a great judgement; you will deliver a mighty decision."
	23. nun niš-si-sa$_2$ ka-ka iš-ni-gar niš-ul pa b[i$_2$(?)]-eš	"you, prince, have put justice in every mouth; you have brought forth what is lasting."
	24. nam ki-bi-še$_3$ u$_4$ mu-a-tar	"You, light(?), have decided the fates for (every) place."

Relationship to Other Deities:

obv.	4. ᵀdingirᵀ-gal-gal-e-ne en-gal-mᵀaḫ-anᵀ-na	"among the great gods the great, lofty lord of heaven"
	16. an-e ^{d}en-lil$_2$-le a-a ^{d}nanᵀnaᵀ	"An, Enlil, Father Nanna"
	21. ^{d}en-ki ^{d}nin-ki en-gal nun-gal en nam-ᵀtarᵀ-re-bi 22. eš-a-ka-za-ke$_4$ ša-ba-an-su$_8$-ge-eš	"Enki, Ninki, the great lords, the great princes, its (the underworld's) fate-deciding lords have stood (waiting) for the utterance of your mouth."
	26. eš-zu-še$_3$ siskur-a-ra-zu-am$_3$ a-nun-na-[x] im-ma-su$_8$-su$_8$-ge-eš	"At your rising the Anunna-gods came (with) siskur-offerings (and) prayers."
	27. uš-di-du$_{10}$-ga-zu-še$_3$ nin-gal-ki-ur$_3$-ra 28. ama-^{d}nin-lil$_2$ x]-ra ᵀhul$_2$ᵀ(?)-la mu-ni-x-DU	"Because of your sweet sight the great lady of the Kiur, mother Ninlil ... came rejoicing(?)."
	30. nin-zi-maḫ ab$_2$-zi mas-su$_2$-a-giᵀn$_7$ xᵀ a-ra-zu ša-ba-an-tum$_2$	"The true, lofty lady like a fine cow at the lead brought petitions."
rev.	3'. a-a-zu me-ta me ma-r[a-an-sum] en ^{d}nu-nam-nir-e	"Your father, as is fitting has given to you the me's, lord Nunamnir."
	4'. nam-tar-re a-ra$_2$-nam-^{d}en-lᵀil$_2$-la$_2$ sagᵀ-e-eš ḫu-mu-rig$_7$	"The fate-decider has bestowed (on you) the prerogative of Enlil."
	22'. ^{d}nin-gal	"Ningal"

obv. 3. ḫi-li-su3-e2-kur-ra "The one endowed with grace in the Ekur"

Names and Titles:

obv. 6. en "lord"

a-a dnan[na]; 16 "father Nanna"

20. [e]n kur-ra "lord in (of?) the underworld"

22. a-a; cf. rev. 11' "father"

23. nun "prince"

34. en-an-na "lord of heaven"

rev. 12'. en-gal "great lord"

29'. en-zalag-zalag; cf. obv. 32 "shining lord"

3.3 Lipiteštar:

3.3.1 Self-laudatory za3-mi2 hymn (Lipiteštar A: Ms. University Museum, see Klein, Šulgi, pp. 230-231):

31. igi-zi-bar-ra-dnanna-me-en "You are the one upon whom Nanna has cast (his) righteous glance.

32. uri2ki-ma gu3 zi-de3-eš ma-an-de2 In Ur he has truly spoken to me."

3.3.2 Self-laudatory za3-mi2 hymn (Lipiteštar B: H. Vanstiphout, JCS 30, pp. 33-61):

47. uri2ki-še3 gal2-la šul giš-tuku dsuen-na-me-en "Installed in Ur you are the youth who has the attention of Suen."

3.3.3 Adab of An (Römer, SKIZ, pp. 10ff.; cf. Cl. Wilcke, AS 20, pp. 266-267):

VAS 10, 199, I,

45. dsuen(-e) aga sag-za mi-ni-in-ga-na muš3 nam-ba-an-tum2-mu "May you never lay down the crown which Suen has placed on your head."

3.3.4 Myth: Lipiteštar and the Plow (Ms. M. Civil, University Museum; see also J. Klein, Šulgi, p. 231):

63. ^{d}suen dumu-nun me-a mu-un-DU	"Suen, the princely son, ..."[222]

3.4 Urninurta:

Balag Hymn to Inanna (see Å. Sjöberg, Finkelstein Memorial Vol., pp. 189-195):

86. ^{d}nanna an-ku$_3$-ga pa-e$_3$-a ka-na-ag$_2$-e u$_6$-di-gin$_7$	"May all the lands rejoice over my Urninurta just as (they do)
87. [^{d}u]r-^{d}nin-urta-mu kur-kur-re ḫi-li hu-mu-u$_8$-ši-ak-e	when Nanna arises in the clear sky to be admired by Sumer."

3.5 Gungunum:

Adab Hymn to Nanna (Å. Sjöberg, ZA 63, pp. 24-31):

The hymn begins with a section that concentrates on characteristics of the moon-god and his relationship to An, Enlil, Ninlil, Enki, Ninki, and the Anunna deities (A obv.). In the next section (A rev. and B obv.) the king, Gungunum, is mentioned in his connection with the moon-god and with Ur. The moon-god, who is called Ašimbabbar and Suen in this hymn, is described mainly in terms of his typical celestial epithets. Gungunum is declared to be the king chosen by Suen/Ašimbabbar and the moon-god is beseeched to "prolong his lifetime" (rev. 7': nam-ti ni$_3$-du$_{10}$ ḫu-mu-n[a]l-da-su$_3$ zi-ni ḫe$_2$-a-u$_3$-tu) and "create his life" (rev. 7': zi-ni ḫe$_2$-a-u$_3$-tu). Reference is made in line rev. 8' to a "golden

[emb]lem(?)": [šu](?)-nir-ku3-GI-ni(?) gal-le-eš rib-ba me-dim2-bi a-re-eš dib[223] "His(?) golden emblem(?) is greatly surpassing, its form is worth praising." If the reading of šu-nir "emblem" is correct, this line may provide a clue to dating the text: year 10 of Gungunum's reign is described as "the year in which he brought two standards into the temple of Nanna."[224] Perhaps the hymn was composed on the occasion of dedicating these statues to the Ekišnugal (note reference in A rev. 11' to the Ekišnugal).

Epithets and Key Phrases

Celestial:

A. obv.	3. še-er-[zi]; cf. A obv. 12	"ray"
	9. [u]n3-na e3 an-[b]ar7-gana2 gi6-u3-na u4-zalag-gin7 mu-un-e3	"He who rises to heaven's height has arisen at midday (and) at midnight like the shining sun."
	7. en ^{d}aš-im2-babbar an-e ^{d}en-lil2-le an-e ši-ma-ab-du7-un	"Lord Ašimbabbar, An (and) Enlil have made you suitable for the sky."
B. obv. ii	4'. nir-gal2 ušum-dili dingir-pa-e3 [...]	"respected (prince), 'lone dragon,' god arising ..."
	5'. gu2-me-er-me-re en iti6 x [...]	growing(?) (light), lord, moonlight ..."
	10'-11'. lugal-mu (šul ^{d}suen) an-na gub-ba-ni hi-li[i ...]	"My lord (youth Suen), when he stands in the sky, abundance ..."
B. rev. i	6'. u4-sakar iti gi-ne2	"New-moon light, fixing the month"
	7'. sud-DU-ag2	"sheen"
	8'. an-sikil-la hi-li	"In the clear sky, abundance ..."

Relationship to Other Deities:

A. obv.	6.lugal igi-DU$^{(?)}$ ^{d}Ja-nun-na-ke$_4$-ne	"Lord, leader(?) of the Anunna deities"
	7. see above	
	10.[šul] ^{d}suen en-TUR-x-kur-gal-la ^{d}nin-lil$_2$-e tu-da	"[Youth], Suen ... of the Great Mountain (Enlil), born to Ninlil"
	11.^{d}en-ki ^{d}nin-ki pa-Lil$_2$-ga-ni nam du$_{10}$-ge-eš tar-re	"Enki (and) Ninki, his 'ancestors'(?)[225] determine a good destiny (for him)."
A. rev.	9'.[n]e-sag-a-a-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$-še$_3$ muš$_2$ nu-tum$_2$-mu ma(?)-ra-an-x	"He has ordered(?) you not to neglect the nesag-offering for father Enlil."
B. obv.	II 7'.dumu-sag-^{d}e[n-lil$_2$-la$_2$]	"chief son of Enlil"
	12'.dumu-KA-silim-ma-^{d}nu-nam-nir-ra	"splendid son of Nunamnir"

Names and Titles:

A. obv.	7.en ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar; B II, 3'	
	10.^{d}suen; B II 8': sul ^{d}suen; rev.i 7'	
rev.	14'.^{d}nanna in a-da-ab-^{d}nanna-kam	
A. obv.	6.lugal igi-DU$^{(?)}$]; B. obv. II 10: lugal	"lord, leader(?)"
	7.en; B. obv. II 7'; A. obv. 10	"lord"
	12.en-zi-an-na	"true lord of heaven"
	6.nun ka-aš-bar-zi-da	"prince who makes the right decision"

Pastoral:

B. obv. II 7'.u$_3$-sun$_2$-zi

Cultic:

A. rev. 9'.see above

8'.[šu(?)-nir-ku3-GI	"golden emblem, standard"

3.6 Nūradad:

JCS 19, pp. 1-25:

212.dnanna lugal-uri2ki-ma	"Nanna, lord of Ur,
213.nibruki uru-a-a-ugu-na-še3	with a heart (filled) with joy
214.[n]esag(LAK159)-ga2 ša3-ba asila	brought the first-fruit offerings
215.ḫu-mu-ni-in-tum2	to Nippur, the city of the father who sired him."
206.š[u-ni]r-gal-ku3-GI-nesagx(LAK 159)-ga2	"A great gold standard of Nisan (month of first-fruit offerings)
207.dnanna lugal-a-ni-ir	for his lord, Nanna,
208.ḫu-mu-na-dim2	he built."

On the cultic new-year's journey to deliver the first-fruits of the harvest to Enlil in Nippur confer above Šulgi F and van Dijk, JCS 19, pp. 21-22.

3.7 Enlilbani:

Enlilbani A (see A. Kapp, ZA 51, pp. 76ff. revised Ms. M. Roth, University Museum):

143.dnanna en-zil-le	"Nanna, the ... lord,
144.dumu-den-lil2-la2	son of Enlil,
145.aga-nam-ti-la	fixed the crown of life
146.sag-za ma-ra-ni-ge4-en	on your head."

3.8 Šiniddinam

3.8.1 Šiniddinam A (Ms. M. Roth, University Museum; see van Dijk, JCS 19, pp. 21-22):

This text is of great cultic significance because it describes in some detail the cultic journey undertaken by the king at the start of the year to Ur for the purpose of delivering the first fruits of the harvest to the god Nanna/Suen. As such it is comparable to Šulgi F (see above sect. III A 2.5; Nūradad, sect IV 3.6). It attests to what seems to have been an ongoing cultic tradition probably dating back to the Ur-III period and possibly even earlier. A few of the details of this cultic journey are worth pointing out. Note that the king brings the offerings to Ur and from Ur they are delivered to Nippur by Nanna/Suen himself.[226] In the course of presenting the offerings the moon-god extolls the virtues of the king and beseeches his father to grant Šiniddinam a long life and years of prosperity. The motif of the moon-god interceding on behalf of the king before Enlil is also found in Šulgi F, 69-77. Once more it may be that a cultic tradition concerning the legitimization of the king by the great deities of the pantheon is mirrored in these lines. The following lines describe the king's presentation of the offerings to Nanna/Suen and Ningal in Ur:

6. $e_2^{(?)}$(kisal$^{(?)}$)-maḫ-a e_2-^{d}suen-na-šeš$_3$ ḫul$_2$-la ba-ni$^{(!)}$-in$^{(!)}$-ku$_4$	"He entered in joy the lofty temple(?) (court-yard?), the temple of Suen.
7. lugal-ra ^{d}nanna mu-da-ḫul$_2$ ^{d}nin-ga[l mu-un-šeš-in-[x]	Nanna rejoiced because of the king, Ningal ...

8. ^{d}Sîn-i-din-nam ^{d}nanna mu-da-ḫul$_{2}$ ^{d}n[in]-gal mu-un-ši-in-[x]	Nanna rejoiced because of Sîniddinam, Ningal, ...
9. ^{d}a-nun-na dingir-gal-gal-e-ne šud$_{3}$ mu-na-ra$_{2}$-as	The Anunnas, the great deities, spoke a prayer for him.
10. ḫe$_{2}$-gal nesag$_{x}$(LAK159)-sikil nesag$_{x}$(LAK159)-za$_{3}$-mu-ka šu-gal mu-un-du$_{7}$-du$_{7}$	The prosperity, the pure first-fruits, the first-fruits of the new year he richly bestowed (on them).
11. ^{227}kar$^{(!)}$=nam-ti-la kar$^{(!)}$-uri$_{2}^{ki}$-ma-še$_{3}$ gu$_{2}$-bi im-mi-ni-u$_{5}$	To the quay of Life, the quay of Ur, he sailed (with) that cargo.
12. ^{d}suen-e nindaba-da si bi$_{2}$-in-sa$_{2}$ nibru^{ki}-še$_{3}$ u[n-t]um$_{3}$	Suen arranged the offerings (then) transported them to Nippur."

3.8.2 Sîniddinam[228] and Iškur (YBC 4624: Ms. P. Michalowski, University Museum):

ii, 19. šul mu-du$_{10}$ sa$_{4}$-a-^{d}nanna-ke$_{4}$	"Youth whom Nanna has called by a good name."

3.9 Sîniqīšam:

Hymn to Numušda with a prayer for Sîniqīšam of Larsa (see Å. Sjöberg, OrSuec 22, pp. 107-116):

In this hymn Numušda, the god of Kazallu, appears as the son of Nanna/Suen and is associated with the Ekišnugal:

9. ^{d}nu-muš-da dumu-nun-na	"Numušda, son of the prince"
31. a-a-zu ^{d}suen-gin$_{7}$ zi ti-le ki ba-e-a-ag$_{2}$	"Like your father, Suen, you have loved to bestow life."
33. e$_{2}$-kiš-nu-gal$_{2}$ ki-tuš-ku$_{3}$-nam-nun-na	"(In) the Ekišnugal, the sacred dwelling place of 'princehood'
34. me-zu me-a x* kal šu-luḫ-zu dadag-ga-am$_{3}$(?)	your me's ... precious, your washing rite is

(* = erasure) pure."

See. Å. Sjöberg, OrSuec 22, p. 107 on Numušda's role in the Ur pantheon.

3.10 Rīmsîn I of Larsa:

UET 6/1, 101-106 are a group of texts that concern the cultic activities of King Rimsin I of Larsa in the city of Ur. They make many significant references to various features of the cult in the city of the moon-god - cult paraphernalia, sacred buildings, and the various deities of the local pantheon. Two of the hymns involve the moon-god directly (104 and 106) and reveal important insights into the nature of his character. All of the texts are of interest to a study of the moon-god and his cult, particularly since they represent direct textual evidence attesting to the practice of this cult within a narrow and specific time frame and at a particular locale.

As mentioned in the preceding chapter Rīmsîn's long tenure as king of Larsa brought an age of renewed prosperity to Ur. The king took an active interest in the city and in its local pantheon.[229] Numerous building inscriptions and considerable archaeological evidence attest to his large-scale building projects within the temple complex of Ur and his dedication to Nanna/Suen. The hymns of Rīmsîn mentioned above, all excavated at Ur, complement and give depth to the picture of prosperity and cultic piety which inscriptional and

archaeological evidence suggest. For the purposes of the present study only UET 6/1, 104 and 106 need to be considered since they make direct reference to the moon-god. It should be noted, however, that UET 6/1, 101 is a hymn to the god Ḫaya,[230] a god who, as seen in Chapter 5, received regular offerings from King Ibbisuen along with a series of cult shrines in Ur. The existence of the hymn suggests that the god was still a member of the local pantheon at Ur some 200 years later or that Rīmsîn revived the worship of Ḫaya in accordance with an older tradition. UET 6/1, 103[231] seems to have been composed for some special occasion which featured the king making a grand entrance to the temple complex of Ur through the ka2-gal-uri2^{ki}-ma "the great gate of Ur."[232] The hymn mentions various features of the temple complex, some of them identifiable with archaeological remains, but many still unknown. In similar fashion text 105 makes reference to cultically important places and minor deities of Ur.[233] A thorough study of each of these texts and all of the the evidence pertaining to Rīmsîn's activities in Ur would be necessary to determine the full cultic significance of the references in these texts.[234]

3.10.1 UET 6/1, 104 (Hymn to Aš̌imbabbar with prayer for Rīmsîn: see H. Steible, Rīmsîn, Mein König)

The text contains a great number of allusions to cultic rites involving the presentation of offerings,

the making of libations, the bestowal of cultic paraphernalia on the king, and the recitation of specific prayers. Steible (o.c.) has studied all of these references in depth for their possible cultic significance; so they need not be reconsidered here. Most of the text focuses on the king and his various praiseworthy qualities and expresses the wish for his prosperity and well-being. The moon-god is mentioned only once, in line 58, where it is said that he has named the king: ^{d}ri-im-^{d}sin en ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar mu-ni bi$_2$-in-sa$_4$-a "Rīmsîn, whom Lord Ašimbabbar has named." The motif of the king being named or chosen by the city-deity to rule is very common in royal hymns and has been frequently noted above. As Steible has shown,[235] though the moon-god is only specifically named once (in line 58), it is very probable that he is the god referred to in the second person throughout the hymn. This can be clearly seen in the allusion in line 40: šà$_3$(!)-hu$_2$-la ri$_3$-bi$_2$-ib u$_4$-gin$_7$ ḫa-ba-mu$_2$-mu$_2$ "A joyous heart grant him. May you renew it (in him) as (you renew your) light." The moon-god is the only god in the pantheon associated with the idea of renewing light. The moon-god's typical pastoral associations are also referred to in line 17: gara$_2$-sa$_7$-a me-te e$_2$-tur$_3$-re unug$_4$-ku$_3$-nam-dingir-zu "yellow milk-fat, the fitting (product) from your cattle stalls, for the sacred Holy of Holies of your godhead." The hymn concludes with the typical

fertility motifs: the moon-god is beseeched to bestow on Rīmsîn fertility and prosperity of land, its products, livestock, and a long life.

3.10.2 UET 6/1, 106 (Hymn to Rīmsîn with prayer to Nanna and Ningal: see H. Steible, Rīmsîn, pp. 87-118):

The theme of this hymn is the bestowing of prosperity by Nanna and Ningal on the king and his land. The divine pair are said to have "removed the famine"; they "will fill the houses of the deities with abundance":

6. ^{d}nanna lugal-an-ki en ^{d}lama-sa$_{6}$-ga-zu ḫe$_{2}$-me-še-še	"May Nanna, ruler of heaven and earth, lord (who is) your favorable protective spirit, accept (your petitions).
7. ^{d}nin-gal nin-maḫ nin giskim-sa$_{6}$-ga-zu ḫe$_{2}$-me-še-še	May Ningal, lofty lady, lady (who is) your favorable omen, accept (your) petitions.
8. lugal šaz(!)-gar dug-dug ^{d}nanna-^{d}nin-gal-bi dingir-gal-gal-e-ne-ke$_{4}$	O King, they who have removed the famine, Nanna and Ningal, (who are) among the great deities,
9. ^{d}ri-im-^{d}sin lugal e$_{2}$(!)-dingir-re-e-ne-ke$_{4}$	O Rīmsîn, King, for you they fill the houses
10. ḫe$_{2}$-gal$_{2}$ ma-ra-si-si	of the deities with abundance."

A similar motif is found in lines 24-26:

24. ^{d}nin-gal nin-maḫ-šaz(!)-gar-dug-dug-zu	"May Ningal, your lofty lady who has removed the famine,
25. šaz(!)-še-ga-ni-ta u4-bi-še3 nam-ti-du10	out of her gracious heart produce(?) on this day sweet life,
26. zi-zu ḫe2-eb-UD.DU10	the breath (of life) for you."

Nanna also plays a role in this hymn in legitimizing Rīmsîn's status as king:

22. ^{d}nanna lugal-an-ki-ke4 aga-zi-maḫ-nam-lugal-la šu-du7	"May Nanna, ruler of heaven and earth, set on your head
23. sag-za ḫe2-ne2-eb-ge-ne2	the legitimate, lofty crown of kingship, perfectly created."

Note that in lines 6-7 above Nanna and Ningal are described as a "favorable protective spirit" (^{d}lama-sa6-ga) and as a "favorable omen" (giskim-sa6-ga) respectively. In lines 46-47 this motif is repeated:

46. šaz(!)-^{d}nanna-^{d}nin-gal-bi giskim-sa6-sa6-ga-	"May the hearts of Nanna and Ningal, favorable omens
47. nam-ti-la da-riz-še3 ḫe2-me-karz-karz	for (long) life, be ever-lastingly bright."[236]

In these lines there appears to be an allusion to astrological omen taking, the reference to the "favorable omen" perhaps referring directly to the appearance of the moon. However, as far as I know, Ningal was not identified with any astral or celestial phenomena.[237]

Finally, Nanna is depicted as supreme ruler, "ruler of heaven and earth" (cf. also line 22 above), who confers the power to rule on the king:

50. ^{d}nanna lugal-an-ki-ke$_4$ ka-du$_{10}$-kalam-ma teš$_2$ ḫu-mu-ra-ab-se$_3$-ge	"May Nanna, ruler of heaven and earth, 'make the land as of one voice' for you."[238]

3.10.3 Letter of Nanna-mansum to Rīmsîn:

7. ^{d}nanna en-gal u$_4$-sakar-an-ku$_3$-ga	"Nanna, great lord, new-moon light of the clear sky"

3.11 Ḫammurabi:

Ḫammurabi Hymn C (ISET 1, 53 Ni 4225: see M. Green, Eridu, pp. 70ff.):

Nanna/Suen appears in broken and therefore uncertain context in this excerpt of what was probably a larger hymn to Hammurabi:

8. lugal-e eš$_3$$^{(!)}$-e$_2$-kiš-[nu-gal$_2$] ni$_3$-nam mi-ni-in-[ ] (x)]	"The king in(?) the sanctuary of the Ekišnugal has ... everything.
9. ḫa-am-mu-ra-bi x-a-ni [ ] (x)]	Hammurabi ... his ...
10. ^{d}r nanna^{1} ^{d}nin-gal-bi u$_4$-šu$_2$-[uš(?) (x)]	Nanna and Ningal daily ...
11. lugal ni$_3$-ḫul$_2$-la-ni [ ] šu-luḫ giš-ḫur me-[...]	The king joyfully ... washing rite, cultic rites, ...
12. ki-bi-še$_3$ bi$_2$-in-[gi$_4$-gi$_4$ ...]	He restored them.
13. ša-ra-da-gub-b^{r}u(?)^{1} [...] KA NI šu-bur$_2$$^{(?)}$-r[a ...]	He will stand for you ...
14. šul ^{d}suen ni$_3$-al-[di ...]-e še-še-ga [...]	The youth, Suen, ... what is desired ... always obeying."

3.12 Samsuilūna:

Prayer for Samsuilūna (TCL 16, 43: see A. Falkenstein, AfOr 17[1], pp. 212-226):

23. bābilim$_2^{ki}$ (KA$_2$.DINGIR.RA^{ki}) uru-me-^{d}suen-na-ka	"Babylon, the city of the <u>me</u>'s of Suen"

See my Chapter 4, sect. 4 on the importance of the moon-god in the local pantheon and cult of Babylon.

55. ^{d}nanna-gin$_7$ kalam-še$_3$ e$_3$-a-zu-de$_3$	"When you rise up over Sumer like Nanna"
62. ma$_2$-gur$_8$-an-na-gin$_7$ zalag-ga-zu-še$_3$ kiri$_4$ šu ḫa-[ra-ab-gal$_2$-e]	"May (mankind) make obeisance to you, when like the <u>magur</u>-barge of heaven you shine forth."

Synopsis of Significant References to the Moon-god and his Cult in Literary Texts

I. Presargonic

Epithet: lugal ^{d}nanna a-nun(?)

Names of Moon-god: ^{d}nanna
^{d}suen
^{d}aš-im$_4$-babbar

Cult: uri$_3$

II. Sargonic

Epithets: sipa
an$^{(!)}$-za-gin$_3$-ta e$_3$
kiri$_4$-zal
kalam-e zalag-zalag-ge (zalzalag?)
nun

Cult: gi$_6$-par$_4$-ku$_3$-ga
gi-ma-sa$_2$-ab
ki-šu-luḫ-ku$_3$-ga
alal(ŠIDxA)-ku$_2$-kur-kur-ra
e$_2$-ab$_2$-lu-a tur$_3$-dagal-la
TuM NF IV, 7, 107-168 ascribed to Enḫeduanna (cf. Chapter 9): šu-luḫ-nam-en-na
šu-luḫ-gi$_6$-par$_4$-ra
me-nam-en-na
me-gal-gal-la
gakkul

Personnel: Enḫeduanna
En-priestess
EN-NU-NUZ-ZI-^{d}NANNA
gudu$_4$

Names of Moon-god: Nanna
Suen
AŠimbabbar

Aspects: celestial
pastoral

III. Ur-III Period

A: Literary Compostions Ascribed to one of the Ur-III kings

A.1. Urnammu:

Epithets: en ^{d}aš-im$_{2}$-babbar
^{d}nanna si-un$_{3}$-na
^{d}nanna lugal-la-am$_{3}$
šul ^{d}suen

Cult: ki-nam-tar-ra(-re)
e$_{2}$-gi-gun$_{4}$-na
dub-la$_{2}$-maḫ
ki-gal-la
gi$_{6}$-par$_{4}$
giš-na$_{2}$-gi-rin-na ki-na$_{2}$-du$_{10}$-ba
tur$_{3}$
dug-šakir$_{3}$

Personnel: cf. munus-zi (= En-priestess?); JAOS 95, pp. 596-600, 1b:19; cf. Chapter 4 sub Presargonic Period.

Names of Moon-god: Nanna
Suen
Ašimbabbar

Aspects: celestial
pastoral

A 2. Šulgi:

Epithets: lugal (A 2.3)
ma$_{2}$-gur$_{8}$ (A 2.3)
en (passim)
lugal-an-ku$_{3}$-ga (A 2.3)
men-dagal su$_{3}$-su$_{3}$ (A 2.3)
en u$_{4}$-še-er-zi-dingir-re-e-ne (A 2.3)
^{d}nanna si-un$_{3}$-na (A 2.3)
a-a (A 2.3)
dumu-nun (A 2.3)
am-gal (A 2.3)
šul ^{d}suen (A 2.3)
an-ku$_{3}$-ga u$_{4}$ su$_{3}$-su$_{3}$ (A 2.5)
ḫi-li-e$_{2}$-kur-ra (A 2.5)
amar-ban$_{3}$-da (A 2.9)
muš$_{3}$-za-gin$_{3}$-na gun$_{3}$-a (A 2.11)
ur-sag (A 2.11)

Cultic: šem$_5$ (A 2.1)
a$_2$-la$_2$ (A 2.1)
tigi (A 2.1, 2.4)
eš$_3$-eš$_3$ (A 2.1, 2.4)
eš$_5$-u$_4$-sakar-ra (A 2.4)
kaš-gi-rin su$_{13}$-su$_{13}$ (A 2.4)
kin-sig kin-nim (A2.4, cf. A 2.10)
ma$_2$-nisag-ga$_2$ (A 2.5)
e$_2$-du$_{10}$-ga (A 2.6)
giš-gigir-ku$_3$-^{d}nanna (A 2.7)
šu-nir-maḫ (A 2.7)
ma$_2$-gur$_8$-za-gin$_3$-si-ku$_3$-su$_3$-su$_3$ (A 2.7)
du$_6$-ur$_2$ (A 2.8)
ki-nam-tar-ra-a-a-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ (A 2.8)
bara$_2$-gal (A 2.8)
ni$_3$-sag-ku$_2$ (A 2.8)
abzu ki-tuš-ku$_3$-šul-^{d}suen-na (A 2.8)
gi$_6$-par$_4$ eš$_3$-nam-ḫi-li du$_3$-a (A 2.8)
me-zi-nam-en-na ki us$_2$-sa (A 2.8)
muš$_2$-bur$_2$-bur$_2$-^{d}nanna (A 2.8)
dur$_3$-^{d}suen-[na$^{(?)}$] su$_6$-za-gin$_3$ la$_2$ (A 2.8)
suḫur-maš$_2^{ku_6}$ (A 2.9)
ma$_2$-sag / ma$_2$-egir (A 2.9, note 59)
unu$_2$ (A 2.10)
kin-nim (A 2.10, cf. A 2.4)
bur-nun (A 2.10)
sa$_2$-du$_{11}$ (A 2.10)
iti u$_4$-sakar me-šu-du$_7$-du$_7$ (A 2.11)
ki-maḫ (A 2.11)
bara$_2$-gal (A 2.11)

Personnel: En-priestess (A 2.6?, 2.8)
munus-zi (A 2.6)
king (passim)

Names of Moon-god: Nanna
Suen
Ašimbabbar

Aspects: celestial
pastoral
provider of fertility

A 3. Amarsuen:

Epithets: sud-DU-ag$_2$-^{d}suen-na (A 3.1)
en/nun-an-na utaḫ-ḫe-a gub-ba (A 3.1)
an-bar-su$_3$-a gaba-[r]i(?)-eš ḪI bur$_2$-[x] (A 3.1)
Cult: e$_2$-^{d}nanna ga-eš$_8^{ki}$-a (A 3.1)
kar-zi-da (A 3.1)
e$_2$-tur$_3$ (A 3.1)

Personnel: En-priestess of Gaeš

Names of Moon-god: Nanna
Suen
Aš̌imbabbar

A 4. Šu-suen: see synopsis sub A 4.1

A 5. Ibbisuen: see synopses sub A 5.1-5.4

Cult: eš̌$_3$-eš̌$_3$ (A 5.6)
alam (A 5.6)
šu-nir (A 5.6)
en (A 5.6)
lu-maḫ (A 5.6)
nin-dingir (A 5.6)
gi$_6$-par$_4$ (A 5.6)
tur-tur (A 5.6)
siskur (A 5.6)

B. Literary Compositions which Reflect Ur-III Traditions but Cannot be Ascribed to a Specific King

B 1. Hymns to the moon-god: see individual synopses of each hymn sub B 1.1-1.17

B 2. The moon-god in hymns to other deities: see sub B 2.1-2.13

B 3. Myths:
B 3.1) Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur

Aspect (moon-god as provider of fertility):

i$_7$-da a-eš̌tub
a-šš̌$_3$-ga šš̌e-gu-nu
ambar-ra ku$_6$-da suḫur^{ku_6}
giš̌-gi-a gi-sun gi-ḫenbur
giš̌-tir-giš̌-tir-ra šegg šegg-bar
an-eden-na giš̌-maš̌-gurum
pu$_2$-kiri$_6$ lal$_3$ geš̌tin
e$_2$-gal-la zi-su$_3$-ud-gal$_2$

B 3.2) Enlil and Ninlil

Epithets: u$_3$-mu-un
a-dadag-ga
a-lugal
lugal
Cult: Tummal

Names of Moon-god: Suen
Aš̌imbabbar

B 3.3) Moon-god in other myths:

Epithets: a-a ^{d}nanna
an-pa-e$_3$ mu$_2$-mu$_2$-de$_3$
si-maḫ
en-^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar

Aspects (oxherd vs. shepherd):
gu$_4$-gin$_7$ tur$_3$-zu-še$_3$ ... ^{d}suen
udu-gin$_7$ amas-z[u-še$_3$] ... ^{d}dumu-zi

B 4. Epics
B 4.1) Lugalbanda I (Lugalbanda ḫurrum):

Epithets: gu$_4$-de$_3$
mul amar-ku$_3$
mul-u$_4$-zal-le-da-ge$_2$
u$_4$-babbar-re gig-a bur$_2$
^{d}suen u$_4$-sakar
a-a ^{d}nanna ^{d}utu-e$_3$-ra si-sa$_2$ sum
en-kiri$_4$-zal men-na tum$_2$-ma
si-un$_3$-na me-te-aš gal$_2$
me-lam$_2$-ma-ne$_2$ ku$_3$-AN-x-gin$_7$
muš$_3$-a-ne$_2$ u$_4$ ga$_2$-ga$_2$
lugal/^{d}suen an-sud-ra$_2$
ni$_3$-si-sa$_2$ ki-ag$_2$ ni$_3$-ne-ru ḫul-gig
ni$_3$-ne-ru-e muš-ze$_2$-gur$_5$-a-gin$_7$ uš$_{11}$-zu ri

B 4.2) Lugalbanda II

Cult: pastoral
tur$_3$-gal-^{d}nanna

B 4.3) Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta:

Aspect: celestial
^{d}nanna si-un$_3$-na maḫ
sag-ki-bi me-lam$_2$-gal$_2$

B 4.4) Enmerkar and Ensuḫkešdanna:

Epithet: ^{d}nanna lugal

B 5. Other Literary Compositions:

B 5.2) Curse of Agade:

Aspect: pastoral
gu$_4$-^{d}nanna-ke$_4$

B 5.3) an gin$_7$ dim$_2$-ma:

Epithet: ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar = nam-ra ṣi-it

B 5.4) lugal u4 me-lam-bi nir-gal2:

Epithets: ur-sag ^{d}suen
si mu2-mu2

B 5.5) Incantation:

Epithet: maš2-sag-ma-da

B 5.6) Elegy:

Aspect: fate-decider
u4-na2-a nam-tar

B 5.7) Letter to the moon-god:
(see synopsis sub B 5.7)

IV. Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian Period

1. The moon-god in Eršemmas: see synopsis sub 1.1

1.2) Epithets: šu(!)-zulug(!) (LUL(!) bur2
^{d}nanna-gin7 pa-e3-zu-am3 =ki-ma ^{d}sîn
šag2-ru-ur ṣe-e-ti-ka
[e]-[lum-e] = [kab-tu]

2. The moon-god in Lamentations:

2.1) Cultic: ma2-nisag-ga2
nindaba
e2-bappir
ga2-nun-maḫ
gur7-du6 gur7-maš
kin-sig-unu2-gal-la
bur-sag
kar-za-gin3-^{d}nanna
unu2-RI-ban3-da-^{d}nanna
gir4
ezen ki-garza-ka
giš-ḫur
^{d}ga-a-a-u2
^{d}su-ni-du10
dug-šakir3
ga-eš^{ki}
gi6-par4-ku3-nam-en-na
bara2-an-na
giš-gu-za
alan-dingir zag-ge si-a
^{d}nin-i3-ga agrig-maḫ
ušumgal ka-duḫ-a ug-ga2
ki-tuš-ku3-^{d}nanna tir šim-giš-erin-na
dub-la2-maḫ
^{d}alamuš
a2-na2-da-ku3-^{d}nanna
urudu-šen-ku3

giš-na2-gi4-rin
gi-gun4-na
e2-ezem-ma
kuš-ub3
a2-la2
tigi
a tu5-tu5

2.2) Personnel: gudu4
En-priestess
lu2 šu-luḫ-e ki-ag2
išib
lu2-maḫ

2.3) Epithets: u3-mu-un dnanna / daš-im2-babbar

Cult: kin-sig
unu2-gal

2.5-2.6) see synopses sub 2.5, 2.6

3. Royal Hymns:

3.1) Iddindagan:

Aspects (Nanna as judge):
daš-im2-babbar-gin7 di-si-sa2 ku5-ku5

(celestial):
dnanna dutu-gin7 an-na gub-ba-na
u4-na2-a me šu-du7-du7

3.2) Išmedagan:

Epithets: dumu-sag-den-lil2-la2
dumu-nun-nun-gal-a
šul dsuen
en-zi-le
Cultic: iti e2-u4-7-e2-u4-15

See also synopsis sub 3.2.4.

3.3) Lipitešstar:

Epithet: dumu-nun

3.4) Urninurta:

Aspect (celestial): dnanna [illegible] u3-ga pa-e3-a ka-na-ag2-e
u6-di-gin7

3.5) Gungunum:

See synopsis sub 3.5.

3.6) Nūradad:

Epithet: ^{d}nanna lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma

Cult: nesag$_x$(LAK159)
šu-nir-gal-ku$_3$-GI-nesag$_x$(LAK159)-ga$_2$

3.7) Enlilbani:

Epithets: en-zi-le
dumu-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$

3.8) Sîniddinam:
Cult: e$_2^{(?)}$/kisal$^{(?)}$-maḫ e$_2$-^{d}suen-na
nesag$_x$(LAK159)-sikil nesag$_x$(LAK159)-za$_3$-mu-ka
kar-nam-ti-da

3.9) Sîniqīšam:

Epithet: nun

3.10) Rīmsîn:

Epithets: u$_4$ ... mu$_2$-mu$_2$
lugal-an-ki
en ^{d}lama-sa$_6$-ga
giskim-sa$_6$
en-gal u$_4$-sakar-an-ku$_3$-ga

Cult: gara$_2$-sa$_7$-a me-te e$_2$-tur$_3$-re unug$_4$-ku$_3$-nam-dingir-zu
^{d}ḫa-ya
e$_2^{(!)}$-dingir-re-e-ne-ke$_4$ ḫe$_2$-gal$_2$ si-si

3.11) Ḫammurabi:

Epithet: šul ^{d}suen

3.12) Samsuilūna:

Aspect (celestial): ^{d}nanna-gin$_7$ kalam-še$_3$ e$_3$-a-zu-de$_3$

Summary

This review of the Sumerian literature pertaining to the moon-god has shown that literary texts characterize the moon-god according to two principal aspects, which I have designated celestial and pastoral. In the celestial aspect the god is identified with the

moon and is described in terms of its attributes as the main light source of the night sky. Features of the moon's appearance (radiance, brightness, shape, etc.), its role as the key time referent for the lunar calender, its cyclical daily and monthly movements across the sky, and its positions relative to the horizon, zenith, and other celestial bodies are all included in the description of Nanna/Suen as the moon-god. In the second aspect the god is closely associated with cattle herds and is embodied as a calf or bull. He is the god who brings fertility to the herds and causes them to proliferate. As cattle-god Nanna/Suen supplies all of the products of the herd (milk, cheese, etc.) and thus is viewed as a provider of food. By extension, the god is also sometimes depicted as a general fertility god; one who represents the generative power in the crop-lands, vegetation, in the wild-life of the rivers, the air, and the countryside, and in the generations of mankind. This fertility aspect of Nanna/Suen is inextricably linked with his aspect as moon-god; for the moon's ever-renewing cycle from new moon to new moon with its intervening phases of waxing, waning, and disappearance was seen as the evidence for the powers of fertility and ceaseless generation which the moon-god was thought to embody. He could bestow this power as manifested in the moon's cycles on all living creatures. Thus, the pastoral and celestial aspects of the moon-

god's character were really two manifestations of this essential power of fertility and generation.

These two aspects of the god's character are those which are most often expressed in the literary references to the moon-god. This can be clearly seen in the great number of epithets and phrases which fall under the classifications "celestial," "pastoral," and "fertility" in my synopses of the hymns to the moon-god in this chapter.

Another important aspect of the god's character which literary texts often allude to is his role as son of Enlil and Ninlil (and also occasionally, of An). All of the epithets using dumu "son" refer to this relationship. As I pointed out in my discussion of the hymns to Nanna/Suen (section III B 1.1-1.17), the god is sometimes described as a young man and the emphasis is placed on his role as the child of Enlil and Ninlil. By this characterization he is depicted as a cowherd who tends to the cattle and provides its products for his parents; the name Suen is most commonly attested in contexts which depict the moon-god in this fashion. This usage may point to original character traits associated with the moon-god, Suen, before he became melded through syncretism with Nanna.

Literary texts also occasionally cast the moon-god in the role of decider of fates or of judge. The power to decide fates is a prerogative conferred upon him by his father Enlil. There is some evidence that he played

the role of judge in the underworld where he was thought to reside at the end of the month when the moon disappeared from the night sky (see Section III B 1.5 for references).

Other minor aspects of the moon-god's character are revealed in his relationship to his city, Ur. He is variously depicted as father (a-a), lord (lugal, en), heroic defender of his city (ur-sag), and prince (nun), as well as other titles of divine authority. These epithets are applied to many gods and denote the authority and high status that the gods have in relation to man; cf. Chapter 7 for a more detailed analysis of all of the epithets of the moon-god and Chapter 10 for a complete summation of Nanna/Suen's character.

Literary texts also contain a good deal of information about the cult, as a glance at my final synopsis of this chapter will show. Features of the Ur temple complex are frequently mentioned (e.g. e2-kiš-nu-gal2, gi6-par4, dub-la2-mah, dug-ur2, ga2-nun-mah, e2-gi-gun4-na). Other salient aspects of the cult are mentioned in literary texts which are also occasionally attested in dedicatory inscriptions and administrative texts. Examples are the alal(ŠIDxA), a water vessel or conduit which was a part of the cult paraphernalia connected with the moon-god; the ma2-gur8 boat used in the New-Year festival to deliver first-fruit offerings to Enlil in Nippur and also in the Akiti festival to

transport the statue of the moon-god to a shrine outside of Ur; the eš3-eš3 festivals, monthly holidays which seem to have corresponded to the major phases of the moon - during these holidays the temple of the moon-god as well as many other cult shrines received special offerings; the morning and evening meals (kin-nim and kin-sig) which were apparently presented to the moon-god daily; various purification rites; a number of cultic personnel, particularly, the En-priestesses who along with the king played a major role in the cult of the moon-god. See the final summation of the cult of the moon-god at Ur in Chapter 10 for further details.

Though I have divided up the literary evidence chronologically in this chapter, as I did in Chapters 4 and 5, this chronological arrangement should be viewed as an essentially artificial (although useful) device for organizing a great deal of evidence. As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, no real historical study which analyzes the literary evidence period by period and by provenience can be undertaken since the great bulk of literary evidence dates to the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period and comes from the Nippur scribal school. If future researches prove that Old-Babylonian Nippur editions of literary texts were in fact verbatim copies of earlier texts, then it will be possible to draw conclusions about the character and cult of the moon-god in earlier periods based on literary texts. At present, however, it is not certain

that the evidence of literary texts can be taken at face value. The most that can be maintained is that Old-Babylonian literary texts seem to reflect earlier traditions and that a good many of the concepts and cultic practices described in these texts probably date back to the Ur-III period when the cult of the moon-god was at the height of its prestige. The essential character of the moon-god with its celestial and pastoral aspects also seems to be much older than the Old-Babylonian period since these aspects are already attested in dedicatory inscriptions from the Presargonic and Sargonic periods (see Chapter 4).

NOTES

1. See A. Falkenstein, Rencontre 2, p. 12 and Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 10; W.W. Hallo, JAOS 83, pp. 167ff.

2. Cf. also OIP 99, p. 49, 121: ^{d}nin-gublaga za3-mi2.

3. Cf. PSD B, p. 35.

4. Contrary to Barton's copy the composition actually begins at column x, 1: [u4]-ri2-a u4-ri2-še3; hence, Barton's column xvii = viii.

5. Both MBI no.'s 1 and 2 may date to the Sargonic period.

6. Other Presargonic and Sargonic Sumerian literary texts are noted by Å. Sjöberg in TCS 3, p. 7.

7. See W.W. Hallo and J. van Dijk, The Exaltation of Inanna.

8. Treated by Å. Sjöberg, ZA 65, pp. 161ff.

9. Ms. by B. Eichler, University Museum.

10. TuM NF IV, 7, iii 107-iv 168; cf. ISET I, 216, Ni 13220; see my treatment in Chapter 9.

11. On this issue see Hallo and van Dijk, YNER 3, Chapter 1; C. Wilcke, WZKM 68, pp. 79-92; J. van Dijk, Scripta Instituti Donneriani Aboensis III, Syncretism (1966), pp. 181-206.

12. e.g. Nirmešarra 59: nin an-ra diri-ga "Lady supreme over An"; but see C. Wilcke, WZKM 68, p. 88.

13. Cf. also Nirmešarra 133-134.

14. Nirmešarra 74-75; but see C. Wilcke, WZKM 68, p. 88.

15. See in-nin šaz-gur4-ra 250 and Å. Sjöberg's comments, ZA 65, p. 163.

16. See the comments on gi-ma-saz-ab and asila in YNER 3, pp. 54-55.

17. Cf. the interpretation of gi-ma-saz-ab by Hallo and van Dijk cited in n. 16.

18. See W. Hallo, J. van Dijk, The Exaltation of Inanna pp. 59-60.

19. TuM NF IV, 7 iv 150-157; see my treatment in Chapter 9.

20. See Ibbisuen inscription A 9-10, 25 where a ritual water vessel called urudu-šen is associated with the cult of the moon-god. The alal(ŠIDxA) is also attested in Gungunum year-date 23 and in UET 6/1, 67, passim; cf. Chapter 4 for the first two references; Chapter 9 (Appendix) for the last; see also Chapter 7 sug kug-gal2.

21. See J. Klein, Three Sulgi Hymns, p. 226 for hymns attributed to Urnammu's reign.

22. Cf. also the cryptic lines from TCL 15, 12, 43-45:

a-mu šaz-kuz-ge ba-ri-a-ta(!)
dsuen-e ug-e ki-agz-ni
dnanna-ar ḫi-li-na ḫa(!)-ni-in-TU-re

23. See also Rencontre 19, p. 187 n. 12, 2.

24. See J. Klein, Three Šulgi Hymns. Ramat-Gan, Israel: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1981, pp. 38ff. where textual references to all the Šulgi hymns are listed.

25. For NIz.LU.LU see Enki's Journey to Nippur, 103 and in Ebla lexical texts: MEE 4, p. 399.

26. Cf. however UET 6/1, 165, 40: e2-dnin-e2-gal-ka-kam and 51: dnin-e2-gal-la.

27. See my Chapter 5.

28. e.g. OrSuec 19-20, p. 143, line 37': dsuen-ginz ni-si-sa2-e ki-ag2

29. Falkenstein Gerichtsurkunden 2, p. 67 to line 9'.

30. See Salonen's comments on ma2-gur8 in Wasserfahrzeuge, pp. 12ff.

31. See my Chapter 5.

32. Cf. Th. Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, p. 122: "'all-temple' or 'general' festivals."

33. e.g. see J. Klein, Three Šulgi Hymns, p. 37 note 64 to line 4.

34. See J. Klein's synopsis of Šulgi F in Transactions of the American Philosophical Society 71/7, pp. 11-12.

35. For another interpretation see S.N. Kramer, Rencontre 19, 166, 16; see also Th. Jacobsen's translation in ZA 52, p. 127 n. 80.

36. Cf. Å. Sjöberg, OrSuec 21, p. 107; J. Klein, TAPS 71/7 (1981), p. 9 and n. 18.

37. See also J. Renger, ZA 58, pp. 114-115 and n. 12.

38. On the reading of e2-NUN-ku3 see Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 85.

39. See Lamentation over Ur 16 and 113.

40. S.N. Kramer's collations in JAOS 60, p. 238 do not address all the difficulties of the copy.

41. See however, Salonen's Landfahrzeuge, p. 74 where the Akkadian reference narkabtu ša Sîn is cited.

42. See M. Civil, JAOS 88, p. 3 n. 13; M. Ellis, JAOS 90, pp. 266ff.; G. Wilheim, JCS 24, p. 83.

43. See my Chapter 4.

44. Cf. Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, pp. 143f. on ni3-me-gar.

45. Sumerian gi-diri = Akk. amu; cf. CAD vol. 1/2, p. 85.

46. AOAT 25, p. 275.

47. See also Ibbisuen Inscription A 9-10, 23 in Chapter 4, sect. 3 and commentary.

48. Cf. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 39 on founding of Ur by An.

49. See my Chapter 5, sect. II, 2 and n. 25.

50. B. Landsberger, Der Kultische Kalender, pp. 33-34.

51. J. Klein's translation, AOAT 25, p. 275.

52. Other references are listed by Å. Sjöberg in Mondgott, pp. 112-113.

53. For muš2-bur2-bur2-^{d}nanna see J. Klein, AOAT 25, p. 286 and PSD B, p. 194.

54. See Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 173-174.

55. ZA 44, pp. 7-8.

56. See Salonen Fischerei, p. 225.

57. See this chapter, sub III: Ur-III period, B 1.8.

58. See my Chapter 4.

59. Cf. also lines 37-38:

ma$_2$-sag-zu-u$_3$ ^{d}nanna ur$_5$-ra-aš x [...]	"(At) the bow of your boat Nanna ...
ma$_2$-egir-zu-u$_3$ ^{d}utu an-ur$_2$ x [...]	(At) the stern of your boat Utu (on?) the horizon ..."

60. Šulgi S contains many references to the moon-god, but the text is too fragmentary to make sense of them.

61. Cf. Römer's translation in SKIZ, p. 195; see also PSD B, 184. My translation follows J. Klein, Beersheva vol. 2, pp. 20 - 21.

62. Translation based on J. Klein's in TAPS 71/7, p. 141.

63. See Chapter 5.

64. UET 3, 69, 3; 72, rev. 2; de Genouillac, Tablettes de Dréhem, 5482, obv. i, 8 - note rev. iii 3: uri$_2$ki-ma.

65. UET 3, 267 rev i 8; UET 3, 1393 rev. 2.

66. See van Dijk, SGL II, pp. 71-78 and J. Klein, Šulgi, pp. 156-157.

67. J. van Dijk, SGL II, p. 57.

68. Cf. late reference VAT 9997 = KAR 88, fragment 4, rev. 10: ^{d}nin-a-zu mārū rēštu ša ^{d}sîn.

69. See Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 133, commentary to line 1. However, note that Enlil is known by the epithet nun-gal, not nun alone.

70. Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, pp. 27-28, 179-186.

71. See J. Klein, Šulgi, p. 114.

72. Šulgi D, 307-311 and Šulgi X, 91-94.

73. UET 3, 267 rev. i 12.

74. UET 8/2, 21, 1-2.

75. Cf. J. Klein, Šulgi, p. 165.

76. See my Chapter 3 for this PN.

77. See Klein, Šulgi, p. 166; Sjöberg, TCS 3, pp. 55-56; Wilcke, ZA 62, p. 36[3].

78. Cf. J. Klein's interpretation, Inree Šulgi Hymns, p. 166 to line 158.

79. See Amarsuen Inscription 6 and 8 and year-date 9 in Chapter 4, sect. 3.

80. See pp. Chapter 4, sect. 5.

81. See Chapter 7 sub sud-DU-ag2.

82. Cf. A. Sjöberg's reading in TCS 3, p. 26.

83. For possible restorations of this line see Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 86.

84. On du10-bur2 see TCS 3, p. 86 commentary to 165b and ZA 63, 35 to 10.

85. Cf. rev. 8: dumu-an-na.

86. OrSuec 19-20, p. 162.

87. See Å. Sjöberg's synopsis, OrSuec 19-20, p. 141.

88. See sect. 4 of my Chapter 4, inscriptions of Rīmsîn where su-lim, še-er-zi, u4-ga2-ga2, utaḫ-ḫe, and giskim are attested.

89. CAD vol. 8 (K), p. 207 and vol. 10/2 (M), pp. 243ff.; AHw, p. 1433.

90. See TCS 3, p. 86.

91. See AHw p. 1443: uš̆umgallu(m): "Grossdrache, -schlange; Alleinherrscher."

92. See Å. Sjöberg, OrSuec 19-20, p. 163.

93. Cf. the Akkadian terms akkannu and gitmālu; CAD vol. 1 (A), pp. 274-275 and vol. 5 (G), pp. 110-111 and discussion of god-name Aš̌imbabbar, Chapter 2.

94. See Chapter 4, sect. 4, commentary on Waradsîn inscr. 10, 26.

95. Cf. Å. Sjöberg's translation in OrSuec 19-20, p. 156.

96. See further Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 74.

97. Cf. S.N. Kramer, OECT 5, pp. 15-16 and C. Wilcke, ZA 60, p. 55.

98. But see my comments on the "Lamentation over Sumer and Ur" in this Chapter, section IV, 2.2.

99. See Šulgi A and E in this Chapter.

100. See my Chapter 5.

101. See my Chapter 4.

102. The presence of the god names ^{d}gu-la, ^{d}da-mu, and ^{d}gu-nu-ru in Ur-III offering texts from Ur and of ^{d}da-gan in Old-Babylonian texts attests to the cultic influence of Isin on the local pantheon of Ur; see F.R Kraus, JCS 3, pp. 83ff.; J. Renger, HSAO, pp. 156ff.; and lists of divine names in UET 3 and 5.

103. See also "The Monkey Letter" (M. Powell, ZA 68, pp. 168ff.):

4. uri$_2^{ki}$ uru-giri$_{17}$-zal-^{d}nanna-kam	"Ur, city (which is) the 'splendor' of Nanna"

104. Cf. my remarks in sect. III A 1.1 of this Chapter.

105. Cf. my Chapter 4, commentary to Presargonic period.

106. The sign read banšur by Å. Sjöberg in Mondgott, pp. 13-14, lines 9 and 37 is now read šakir3 by him; personal communication.

107. See H. Steible, Rīmsîn, Mein Konig, Index sub Legitimation; Å. Sjöberg, OrSuec 21, p. 112.

108. See Chapter 4, sections 1, 2, and 4.

109. Is this an alternate writing for the god-name dsu-ni-du10 attested in the Sumer and Ur Lament 334: Cf. this Chapter, sect. IV 2.1.

110. Cf. Chapter 7 sub a-a; Chapter 8, sect. I, 1.2.

111. Cf. Th. Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, p. 121 who conjectures that the name Suen refers to the early phases of the moon's cycle or the crescent moon.

112. Restorations based on the er2-šem3-ma hymn to Suen in Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 45, lines 42-43 which appear to be parallel to obv. 5'-6'; see this Chapter, section IV, 1.1.

113. Cf. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 39.

114. Cf. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 40.

115. See ZA 63, p. 40 to 19.

116. Cf. Chapter 5, sect. II, 1.4.

117. Cf. B. Landsberger, Der kultische Kalender, pp. 141ff. and Th. Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, pp. 122-123.

118. Th. Jacobsen, l.c.

119. Cf. Šulgi E, 32, this chapter.

120. The hymn may have been composed for a cultic occasion held on u4-na2-a or u4-sakar day.

121. JAOS 83, p. 173 no. 32.

122. Hallo's contention, o.c., that the hymn is divided into couplets and that the catalogue quotes the first and last words of the couplet is highly conjectural and difficult to prove.

123. For a different interpretation see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 75 to rev. 5.

124. See section III, B 1.2.

125. See Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 38.

126. Cf. the šir3-nam-šub hymn to Nanna/Urnammu, section III A 1 of this Chapter.

127. A.J. Ferrara, Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur, Studia Pohl SM 2, p. 29.

128. Ferrara, o.c., pp. 77-80.

129. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 85 to 3. Cf. Cl. Wilcke's contention that "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur" can be dated to the reign of Urnammu - Rencontre, p. 180 and n. 68. Should this idea prove to be correct, one could also make a case for dating this šir3-nam-šub hymn to Suen to Urnammu's reign.

130. See S.N. Kramer, PAPS 107, pp. 486-527.

131. See Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 86 to 20 (UMBS I^1, 8, 13) and CAD vol. 5 (G), pp. 68ff.

132. See Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 87 to 24 for other possible restorations of the end of this line.

133. A skeptical view of the concept of a "sacred marriage rite" is presented in extenso by J. Renger and

J.S. Cooper in RlA IV, pp. 251-269. The most recent defense of the idea is given by J. Klein, Šulgi, pp. 32-33, n. 48.

134. This late writing of Ekišnugal may indicate a date of composition in the Old-Babylonian period. See Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 85 to rev. 2 who notes that this writing of Ekišnugal is also attested in an inscription of Gungunum of Larsa.

135. Cf. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 92.

136. kur-ra in the expression kur-ra tu-da might also be interpreted as "underworld." The whole phrase by this interpretation would mean "born of the underworld" and would refer to the moon's disappearance and "rebirth" at the end and beginning of each lunar month; cf. this Chapter, section III, B 1.5.

137. See Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 92 to 8 for possible interpretations of biz-re-ni5.

138. NE = barz? See also Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 99.

139. Cf. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 99 to 8.

140. Cf. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 99 to 9.

141. See Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, pp. 68-69.

142. Cf. sect. IV 2.1 of this Chapter and Chapter 8, sect. IV, 1 on dalamuš.

143. Cf. Å. Sjöberg, JCS 29, p. 13 on the problem of who is addressed by Ningal.

144. See this Chapter, section III, B 1.2, 1.8.

145. See Å. Sjöberg, JCS 29, p. 16 to 20 on interpreting SA4 as "to lie down."

146. See Cl. Wilcke, AS 20, p. 303 for this interpretation of me-a-am.

147. The translation "lord" for nam2 is based on the UD.GAL.NUN equation nam2 = en. See Chapter 9, commentary to N 1542, obv. 1; cf. my Chapter 7 sub nam2-nun.

148. For a discussion of zi-le and related epithets see my Chapter 7.

149. On the meaning of pa in this context see van Dijk, SGL II, pp. 67-68 and my discussion of pa-e3 in Chapter 7 sub dalla-e3/pa-e3. The translation "crown" used here is to be taken in the sense of the crown of a tree, i.e. the top branches, and in a transferred sense the top or tip of anything. The exact nuances in the reference to Ninazu in this context are uncertain.

150. See A.J. Ferrara, Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur, Studia Pohl SM 2, p. 9 and n. 18.

151. See A. al-Fouadi, Enki's Journey to Nippur (University of Pennsylvania Dissertation, 1969), pp. 4ff.

152. See H. Sauren, Or NS 38, pp. 214ff.

153. Sauren, Or NS 38, pp. 230ff.

154. Ferrara, Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur, p. 6.

155. Ferrara, Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur, pp. 9-11.

156. Ferrara, Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur, p. 23 for this suggestion.

157. See this Chapter, section III, B 1.8.

158. See Cl. Wilcke, Rencontre 19, p. 180 and n. 68.

159. The syntactic structure of the last lines is cryptic. See Å. Sjöberg's reading in Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 152 and pp. 163-164 to 76, 77, and 79 and Cl. Wilcke, Rencontre 19, p. 187 n. 12.

160. Ur administrative texts from the Third Dynasty frequently list the materials used for the making of boats: e.g. UET 3, 272, rev. iii, 44 (gi-kid-ma2); 1498, rev. i, 32 (giš-u3-suh5); cf. A. Goetze, JCS 2, 165ff. on use of reeds for boat making; Salonen, Wasserfahrzeuge, pp. 85 (me2-re2-za), 86 (eme-sig-ma2), 89 (a-da-ma2), and 146, 148 (esir2). All of these materials are mentioned in "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur."

161. Cf. UET 5, 507, especially line i 22 which lists offerings for the na-ap-ta-an kin-sig; see B. Levine, W. Hallo, HUCA 38, pp. 17ff.

162. See Chapter 5, sect. II 3.2.

163. Cf. C. Wilcke, Rencontre 19, p. 180 and n. 68.

164. H. Behrens, Enlil und Ninlil, Studia Pohl SM 8, 1978, p. 242.

165. a-zalag-zalag is also a possible reading; cf. Behrens' "leuchtende Same," Enlil und Ninlil, p. 223 to 83.

166. H. Behrens, Enlil und Ninlil, p. 250.

167. See H. Behrens, Enlil und Ninlil, p. 242 and 254.

168. See H. Behrens, Enlil und Ninlil, p. 125 of TUGki and p. 130.

169. See H. Behrens' comments, Enlil und Ninlil, pp. 120ff. on Šu-suen historical inscription .

170. Cf. H. Behrens' interpretation, Enlil und Ninlil, p. 252.

171. Behrens, Enlil und Ninlil, pp. 190-191.

172. Cf. Chapter 10, The Separate Characters of Nanna and Suen; also sections III B1.1 and 1.3 of this Chapter. In addition, note N. Schneider's comments in AnOr 19, p. 72: in none of the texts from the Ur-III period is ^{d}suen brought into connection with ^{d}ningal except in the Urnammu inscription written when he was still the šagina of Ur. Offerings to the god ^{d}suen are found in Ur-III texts from Nippur and Lagash. All of this suggests that ^{d}nanna was closely identified with Ur as the consort of Ningal, while ^{d}suen was prevalent in other cult centers.

173. M. Civil, Iraq 23, pp. 154-175.

174. Translation based on M. Civil's, o.c.

175. Cf. Th. Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, p. 25.

176. See S.N. Kramer's synopsis, UET 6/1, p. 5.

177. Line-count according to my Ms. University Museum; in Cl. Wilcke's Das Lugalbandaepos, p. 56, my line 132 = his 129.

178. Cl. Wilcke, Das Lugalbandaepos, p. 75, lines 196ff.

179. Cf. Cl. Wilcke's translation, Das Lugalbandaepos, p. 77, line 222.

180. Cf. CAD vol. 1/1 (A), p. 156 sub agû A; AGA tašrihti refers to full moon.

181. See W. Hallo's treatment of these lines in JAOS 103/1, pp. 165-180; my line 273 = his 270.

182. See W. Hallo's commentary to this line, JAOS 103, p. 177 to 270.

183. Cf. CAD vol. 11/1 (N), p. 242, 6' b) 2'.

184. I interpret the -a on the end of the DN ^{d}nanna as a scribal error caused by the influence of the PN I ^{d}nanna-a.

185. Cf. section III, B 1.5 and note 117 of this Chapter.

186. See A. Falkenstein, Analecta Biblica 12, p. 70 n. 3.

187. A. Falkenstien, o.c., p. 70.

188. Point made by A. Falkenstein, o.c., p. 70.

189. See M.E. Cohen, Eršemma, p. 51: a summation of er2-šem3-ma's to various deities is found at the end of a large broken tablet originally containing 12 er2-šem3-ma's; only 3 of these er2-šem3-ma's (dedicated to Iškur) are preserved. The summation indicates that there were originally 2 er2-šem3-ma's for Suen on this tablet.

190. See J. Krecher, Kultlyrik, p. 37.

191. See my Chapter 5, sect. II 3.5.

192. See M.E. Cohen, Eršemma, pp. 5-6; cf. pp. 48- 50.

193. Cf. S.N. Kramer, StOr 48:3, p. 4, who raises the possibility that this hymn may be listed in the Eršemma catalogue, 81: ma-GUR$_4$ gu$_4$$^{(?)}$-na.

194. Cf. perhaps the unidentified year-date probably from the Isin Dynasty cited in my Chapter 4, sect. 5.

195. See my Chapter 5, sect. II 3.5.

196. Only the name Nanna is used for the moon-god in the Ur texts published in UET 2.

197. Read perhaps ab2-barz-ra?; cf. Appendix, commentary to TuM NF IV, 7, 173; Å. Sjöberg has revised his reading from ab2-lu-a to ab2-sila4.

198. Cf. M.E. Cohen, Eršemma, p. 192 on bu-re = bur2.

199. See AHw, pp. 1193-1194.

200. Cf. CAD vol. 4 (E), p. 79 sub elâtu A.

201. See M. Green, Eridu in Sumerian Literature (University of Chicago Dissertation, 1975), pp. 277ff. and pp. 314ff. for a survey of the lamentations; Eridu Lament is published by the same author in JCS 30, pp. 127-167; Uruk Lament also by M. Green in JAOS 104, pp. 253-279; Ur Lament by S.N. Kramer in AS 12; Sumer and Ur Lament, Ms. P. Michalowski, University Museum; see also S.N. Kramer's translation in ANET^3, pp. 611-619. Nippur Lament in preparation by H. Vanstiphout.

202. See D.O. Edzard, ZZB, pp. 50ff. especially 57-58.

203. See M. Green, Eridu, pp. 314ff.; Edzard, ZZB, pp. 86-93.

204. See AS 12, pp. 1-6.

205. But note lines 29-31 and 103 where Nanna appears also to be against Ur.

206. Cf. line 458.

207. On the meaning of bur-sag see PSD B pp. 187-188, meaning 2).

208. Cf. TuM NF IV, 7, col. iv, 154 for a2-sikil-la in similar context.

209. See JCS 29, p. 12 to rev. 24'.

210. Deimel Pantheon, 1818 and Tallqvist, St.Or. 7, p. 347.

211. See my Chapter 5, sect. II, 3.6.

212. See Tallqvist, StOr 7, p. 308 and p. 466. On dšu-ni-du10 see section III, B 1.2 and n. 109 of this Chapter.

213. See CAD vol. 9 (L), p. 244 sub lumaḫḫu A.

214. See Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 11.

215. Section III, A 4.1 of this Chapter.

216. See M.E. Cohen, Eršemma, pp. 18ff.

217. See Acknowledgements.

218. Cf. J. Klein, Šulgi, p. 229, 6-8.

219. UM rev. i = TCL ii 20'-23'; UM rev. ii = TCL 15'-22'; obv. of UM not yet identified.

220. Translation PSDB, p. 4.

221. Read according to PSDB, p. 198.

222. Does me-a here = me-a-am? Cf. Cl. Wilcke, AS 20, p. 303.

223. Å. Sjöberg has revised the reading of this line since publication of the text; personal communication.

224. See my Chapter 4, sect. 5

225. See Å. Sjöberg's comments to obv. 11, ZA 63.

226. See van Dijk, JCS 19, p. 22.

227. Line 11 is only in text B (CT 42, 45) following line 10.

228. Note also UET 6/1, 99 unidentified fragment mentioning Sîniddinam: rev. v, 10'-11': a-ra2-gal-[gal]-dnanna-dutu [(x)].

229. See Chapter 4, sect. 4.

230. See H. Steible, Ein Lied an den Gott Haja (Dissertation, Albert-Ludwigs-Universität, 1967).

231. See Gadd, Iraq 22, pp. 157-165.

232. Probably an incantation; see Steible, Rīmsîn, Mein König, Vorwort.

233. Nanna and Ningal are mentioned in line 44: dnanna dnin-gal-bi šu he2-eb-<<ŠU>>-te-ga2-ne.

234. UET 6/1, 102 is a hymn to An. There is no mention of Nanna or of Ur. H. Steible, Rīmsîn, p. 3 suggests that the cult sites referred to in this hymn are in Uruk.

235. H. Steible, Rīmsîn, Mein Konig, p. 29.

236. Cf. H. Steible's translation, Rīmsîn.

237. Cf. H. Steible, Haja, p. 31.

238. On da teš2-a se3-ge see H. Steible, Rīmsîn, pp. 79ff.

CHAPTER 7

EPITHETS OF THE MOON-GOD

Chapters 4 and 6 presented evidence pertaining to the moon-god in dedicatory inscriptions and in literary texts. Emphasis was placed upon the epithets of the moon-god, the term epithet being broadly defined to include descriptive phrases and key concepts often associated with Nanna/Suen. Since the epithets can provide important insights into the way the moon-god was conceptualized, this chapter will concentrate on a philological analysis of them. It will consider context, usage, and etymology and how these factors reflect the overall concept of the moon-god that lies behind them. It is hoped that this analysis will clarify and delineate the various aspects of the moon-god's personas and his spheres of influence.

Six basic categories of epithets are immediatedly discernible: 1) celestial - those which describe the moon-god as a celestial phenomenon; the epithets which identify or at least closely associate Nanna/Suen with the moon and depict him in terms of the moon's various aspects and characteristics; 2) pastoral and fertility - those which emphasize Nanna/Suen's connection with the herds and his role as provider, protector, and propagator of the herds; in a larger sense he is portrayed as a general fertility god who not only causes the herds to increase, but brings abundance and

fertility to all of life including crops, animals, and man; 3) filial - the epithets which define Nanna/Suen's genealogical connection as the offspring of the major deities of the pantheon, particularly Enlil, Ninlil, and An; the moon-god was most often described as the "chief" or "eldest son" (dumu-sag) of Enlil; 4) power, prowess, strength, preeminence - epithets typically applied to all the great gods which emphasize their superior qualities and the fact that they hold supreme power over men; animal imagery is often used to describe such qualities; 5) justice - the epithets which describe Nanna/Suen's role as judge, lover of righteousness, preserver of order, and decider of fates; 6) titulary - the common honorific titles which are applied to all of the major Sumerian gods (en, lugal, nun, etc.).

Not every one of the epithets fits neatly into just one of the above categories. Some of them have a range of meaning that encompasses two or even three of the categories; a few are unique and fall outside all of the above groupings. An epithet such as amar-ban3-da-an-na "frisky calf of An/heaven" has celestial connotations because of its reference to the sky-god, pastoral connotations because of its use of "frisky calf" as an epithet, and allusions to Nanna's genealogical connection with An. Conversely, an epithet such as arhuš-su3 "merciful" is applied to the moon-god only because it is used in petitions and prayers to the moon-god. It could be applied to any petitioned deity and so

says nothing about the persona of the moon-god. The vast majority of Nanna/Suen's epithets, however, do fit one or more of the above categories. They represent the major features of Nanna/Suen's multi-faceted character as a deity and describe his major spheres of influence. Of the six categories listed the first three are undoubtedly the most significant and seem to be interconnected. All of the textual sources from the very earliest periods on speak of Nanna/Suen as a threefold character identified at one and the same time with the moon as god of light, with the bull and calf as the protector and procreative power of the herds, and as the offspring of the sky-god, An, or the air-god, Enlil. The crescent moon is the symbol both in literature and in art which unifies these three facets of the moon-god's character: it identifies the god with the moon, connects him with the bull and the calf through the frequently-attested association of the shape of the crescent moon with the shape of the bull's horns, and places him in direct relation to the sky and air. All of Nanna/Suen's epithets revolve around this basic conception of his character.

In studying the epithets associated with a deity, one must bear in mind that the vast majority of them were part of the stock phraseology of the scribal schools and were applied interchangeably to many deities. This fact, however, does not make them useless

as evidence which reflects on the character of a deity. The fact that many epithets are applied to a variety of deities is less important than the way in which they are interrelated in describing the deity. In the case of the moon-god, celestial epithets, pastoral epithets, and epithets expressing Nanna/Suen's filial relation to Enlil or An - all of which are individually applied to other deities - are interrelated in a unique way to express the character of the moon-god. It is the underlying character of the god which determines the configuration of the epithets which describe him in a text. Textual epithets may therefore be used as a key to the character of the god by analyzing the way in which they are associated around the figure of the god in a text and by defining the essential underlying concepts which determine this association.

As mentioned above, the essential concept of the moon-god is embodied in the symbol of the new moon. The monthly ever-recurring cycle of the moon from its first appearance as the new moon, through its waxing and waning phases, to its temporary eclipse and reappearance as the new moon again suggested a process of continuous rejuvenation. The new moon, representing the beginning of each renewed cycle, was the symbol par excellence of this concept. The essential concept of renewal generated the imagery surrounding the moon-god and largely influenced the choice of epithets, how they were interrelated, and the major connotations they expressed.

This central concept at the heart of the moon-god's character had various manifestations in the literature connected with the moon-god. It gave rise to a whole chain of interrelated associations. As a heavenly body the moon-god is described by many celestial epithets which express qualities of light and the moon's bright appearance in the night sky. Many of these epithets are also applied to other celestial deities. However, these celestial epithets are given special nuances when used in reference to the moon-god because of mythological motifs that were suggested by the moon's unique monthly cycle. As I mentioned in Chapter 6, it was believed that the moon-god dwelt in the netherworld and acted as a judge there at the end of the month when the moon disappeared. When the new moon appeared at the beginning of the month, it was interpreted as a sign that the moon-god had arisen from the realm of the dead. Thus, all the epithets of light connected with the moon-god are affected by this interpretation of the new moon as a symbol of new life and the return of the moon-god from the netherworld. The light of the moon-god is a special light because it symbolizes ever-renewing life.

Likewise connected with this mythological motif and ultimately derived from the same concept of rejuvenation and renewal are all the epithets which describe the moon-god as a judge or a decider of fates. These epithets are also applied to other deities; yet only in

reference to Nanna/Suen do they suggest the moon-god's monthly role as judge and decider of fates in the netherworld.

The concept is also behind all of the pastoral and fertility epithets associated with the moon-god. Nanna/Suen was believed to confer his inate power of regeneration upon the cattle herds, the crop lands, the life-bringing fresh waters of the periodic river floods, and all the living creatures of nature including mankind. The epithets which express these various pastoral and fertility motifs are applied to many deities; yet once again, when they refer to Nanna/Suen they take on the unique nuance which connects them with the moon-god's underlying character and the essential concept of cyclical renewal as manifested in the moon's phases and the symbol of the new moon.

Certain of the moon-god's epithets join together celestial and pastoral motifs or celestial and fertility motifs in one expression and in this way directly indicate the interconnection between the moon's ever-renewing cycle and the fertility of the herds or the lands. Epithets such as amar-ban3-da-an-na "frisky calf of heaven" or si-mu2-ku3-an-na "the pure long-horn of heaven" portray the moon-god as a heavenly calf or bull and thus relate the moon directly to the cattle herds. Similarly, the epithet ma2-gur8-ku3-an-na "holy barge of heaven" depicts the new moon as a long-prowed boat floating across the heavens. It thus relates the moon to

the river flood waters which carried the boats laden with goods along the river and provided vital irrigation to the farm lands.

Thus, in the following analysis of the epithets applied to the moon-god this key concept of continuous renewal and regeneration will be seen to lie behind many of the epithets and to determine how they are related to one another. Not all of the epithets, of course, are related to this concept. The stock titulary epithets such as en or lugal or the epithets of power and strength such as ur-sag "heroic warrior" are interchangeably applied to all the major gods. These epithets are the literary trappings that are used to describe all the gods in literary texts. As I have shown, one must separate these epithets from the ones that are essentially related to the moon-god's character and then show how they are related.

I have divided the epithets into two tables below. The first separates them into the major thematic categories which I summarized in the beginning of this introduction. The second reflects the deeper analysis of the epithets discussed above and shows how many of the epithets are related to the essential concept of renewal. These tables are followed by a philological analysis of each of the epithets. This has been arranged alphabetically for easy reference and to keep the basic evidence on the epithets separate from the

interpretation I have given above.

TABLE 1

1) celestial:

aga/men

amar (in amar-ban$_3$-da-an-na)

dalla-e$_3$/pa-e$_3$

dumu (in dumu-an-na)

en (in en-an-na and others)

gi$_6$ du$_{10}$-du$_{10}$ gal-zu

giskim, giskim-ti

giš-nu$_{11}$(-gal)

ḫe$_2$-du$_7$

ḫi-li

igi-dagal

i-lim, su-lim

iti, itu, iti$_6$

kiri$_4$/giri$_{17}$-zal

kur-ra tu-da-ni (?)

lugal (in lugal-an-na)

ma$_2$-gur$_8$

me-te (in me-te-an-na)

mu$_2$-mu$_2$

muš$_3$

nir, nir-gal$_2$ (in nir-an-na; nir-gal$_2$-an-na, etc.)

pirig (in pirig-gal-an-ku$_3$-ga?)

sag-il$_2$

si-maḫ, si-mu$_2$, si-mul (-mul), si-un$_3$-na

sud-DU-ag$_2$

sud-ra$_2$

še-er-zi

u$_4$

u$_6$-di

usum, usumgal

zalag

2) pastoral/fertility:

^{d}ab$_{2}$-kara$_{2}$

am

amar

gu$_{2}$-me-er-me-re

gu$_{4}$

mu$_{2}$-mu$_{2}$

mu$_{6}$-sub$_{3}$, mu-LU, mu-nu$_{10}$, me-a-am

na-gada-maḫ

u$_{3}$-na

ḫi-li

kiri$_{4}$/giri$_{17}$-zal

gu$_{2}$-gal/ku$_{6}$-gal$_{2}$

lugal (in lugal-tur$_{3}$-ku$_{3}$-ga)

maš$_{2}$-sag

u$_{3}$-sun$_{2}$-zi

ubur-an-na-ke$_{4}$ si-sa$_{2}$-e-de$_{3}$

udul

zi-sa$_{3}$-gal$_{2}$-kalam-ma

3) filial:

a-lugal

amar-ban$_{3}$-da-^{d}en-lil$_{2}$-la$_{2}$/-an-na

dumu-...

ḫi-li(-su$_{3}$)-e$_{2}$-kur-ra

kiri$_{4}$/giri$_{17}$-zal-a-a-ugu-na

nir-gal$_{2}$

šul(?)

ur-sag (in ur-sag-^{d}en-lil$_{2}$-la$_{2}$ and dumu-ur-sag)

4) power, prowess, strength, preeminence:

a$_{2}$ nu-gi$_{4}$-a

a$_{2}$-tal$_{2}$-tal$_{2}$ (?)

dumu-nun, dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_{2}$-la$_{2}$

en

ensi$_{2}$

gaba-gal$_{2}$

IGI-D[U(?)-^{d}]a-nun-na-ke$_{4}$-ne (?)

lugal

maš$_{2}$-sag

nam-tar
nam$_{2}$-nun
ne$_{3}$-gal tuku

nir-gal$_{2}$

nun

peš$_{10}$-gal$_{2}$

pirig

sag-gal, sag-kal, sag-il$_{2}$

su$_{6}$-za-gin$_{3}$-la$_{2}$/-su$_{3}$-su$_{3}$(?)

u$_{3}$-na

u$_{3}$-sun$_{2}$-zi

4) power, prowess, etc. (continued):

u4-te-eš (?)

ur-sag

u18-ru, uru16

za3-dib

5) justice:

arhuš-su3 (?)

igi-dagal

nam-tar

ni3-si-sa2(-e) ki-ag2

na-de6(?)

6) titulary:

a-a

en

ensi2

lugal

na-dé6

nam2-nun

nir-gal2

nun

šul

ur-sag

TABLE II

Celestial		Pastoral/Fertility
u4-sakar		
amar-ban3-da-an-na		amar-ban3-da-an-na
ma2-gur8-ku3-an-na		ma2-gur8-ku3-an-na
giskim-ti	essential	[g]u4(?) pa-e3
si-mu2-ku3-an-na	concept:	gu2-gal/ku6-gal2
	mu2=mu2	gu2-me-er-me-re
Justice	"ever-renewing"	zi-ša3-gal2-kalam-ma
ni3-si-sa2(-e)		
ki-ag2		
nam-tar		

EPITHETS

a-a

Nanna/Suen is quite commonly called "father" in reference to his role as father of the land of Sumer and as the divine father of Inanna, Utu, and Numušda. The notion that Nanna/Suen is the father of Sumer and the black-headed people in all probability dates back to the Ur-III dynasty when Ur attained its greatest power and the prestige of the moon-god, patron deity of the city, was at its highest. Nanna is called a-a-sag-gi6-ga (= Akk. ṣa-a[l-ma-a]lt qa-qa(-di)-im) in the Letter to Nanna 4 (Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 104; cf. Chapter 6, sect. III B 5.7). Enlil is also called "father of the black-headed people" (Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 106). One would assume that Enlil, as the head of the pantheon, would have been thought of the father of mankind before Nanna. For this reason Nanna's assumption of this role suggests an elevation of his status, such as occurred during the Ur-III period; a similar situation is found in regards to Nanna's role as decider of fates (see below sub nam-tar). Nanna is addressed as "father" (a-a) in Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 44-45, 2, 3, 4, 8, 10, 11, 15, 22 (cf. Chapter 6, sect. IV 1.1); p. 65, 9 (cf. Chapter 6, sect. IV 2.5); and p. 71, rev. 16 where an interesting contrast of epithets occurs: za3-mi2-du11-ga šul ^{d}suen-n[a(?)] a-a ^{d}nanna-[kam(?)] "Praise be to the youth, Suen, to father Nanna." However, Suen is often called a-a too, so it is difficult to tell whether any firm

distinction between the characters of Nanna and Suen is implied by the use of the epithets sul and a-a in this line (cf. šul below). Suen is called a-a by Inanna in Eršemma 34.2, 13?); in PAPS 107, 494 No. 1, 5 (cf. Chapter 6, sect. III B 2.4) Ninegalla Hymn 52 (Chapter 6, sect. III A); and Inanna and Bilulu 45=46 (Th. Jacobsen, JNES 12, pp. 160ff). He is the father of Utu in BE 31, 27, 12 and of Numušda in OrSuec 22, p. 109, 31 (cf. Chapter 6, sect. III A).

a-lugal:

The epithet is only found in the myth "Enlil and Ninlil" (see my discussion in Chapter 6, sect. III B 3.2):

84. a-^{d}suen-na a-dadag-ga šag$_3$-ga$_2$ i$_3$-[gal$_2$]	"The seed of Suen, the pure seed is in my womb.
85. a-lugal-mu an-še$_3$ ḫe$_2$-DU a-mu ki-še$_3$ ḫ[e$_2$-DU]	May my royal seed go to the heavens, may my seed go to the earth."

Suen is Ninlil's "royal seed" while he is still in her womb; cf. my comments in Chapter 6, sect. III B 3.2 and n. 170 on the use of lugal "royal," "kingly" to elevate the status of the moon-god above that of the other gods engendered by Enlil in "Enlil and Ninlil."[1]

^{d}ab$_2$-kara$_2$/dingir ab$_2$ kara$_2$:

This epithet occurs in an Old-Babylonian god-list (TCL 15, 10) which became part of the series An: Anum; cf. R. Litke, A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists, An: ^{d}a-nu-um and An: Anu šá-amēli (Yale

University Dissertation, 1958), p. 37, III 6: ^{d}ab$_2$-kar$_2$ = (^{d}sîn(EŠ)). The reading of kara$_2$ is reasonably certain being based on a gloss of th same epithet in a Kuyunjik text (CT 25 27, K.8308, 7: "Explanatory List of Gods"): ^{d}(ab-ka-rum)ab$_2$-[kar$_2$]. The meaning of kara$_2$, however, in this phrase is uncertain. In lexical and bilingual texts the term is equivalent to Akkadian napāḫu and nabāṭu or, when read guru$_6$, to našû.[2] Since it is difficult to make coherent sense of the epithet using the meaning of any of these Akkadian equivalents, the phrase can at best be rendered: "the god who ... the cows," taking ab$_2$ as accusative and kara$_2$ as a verb of unknown meaning.[3] A similar epithet is applied to Utu in the same Old-Babylonian god-list (TCL 15, 10, 174; cf. Litke, o.c., p. 148, 103): ^{d}sag-kara$_2$ = ^{d}utu/šamaš. See K. Tallqvist, STOr 7, 440, who translates this epithet "der erglänzende Fürst."

aga, men:

The two words generally translated as "crown" are often attested as epithets of the moon-god. The distinction between the two terms is still unclear. A thorough study which takes into consideration all attestations of both aga and men including an analysis of the sign forms used to express each term and a survey of the many representations of crowns in Mesopotamian art is necessary in order to determine the

distinguishing features of these two types of headgear and their cultic uses.[4] Such a lengthy analysis is beyond the limits of the present study; yet a few observations concerning the use of these terms as epithets of the moon-god can be offered.

As an epithet of Nanna/Suen aga and men are often used metaphorically to depict the moon as the "crown of heaven" or some similar image. The use of these Sumerian terms for "crown" as an image of the moon is explained by the following reference in Gudea Cylinder A xxiv, 10: u4-sakar-gibil-ginz men bi2-il2 "He put on (the temple) a crown (which was) like a new crescent moon" The reference suggests that the crown called men was crescent-shaped like the new moon as it appears in southern Mesopotamia; i.e. with the cusps almost parallel to the horizon. One is reminded of the many representations of deities on cylinder seals where a god or goddess is shown wearing the mulit-tiered horned crown. The protruding horns are very similar in shape to the crescent moon. But whether both aga and men refer to this type of crown cannot yet be decided.

aga as an image of the moon-god occurs most often with the modifier zi(-da); see, for example, ZA 63, p. 25, No. 4A, 8 (adab to Nanna/Gungunum): ki-ag2-lugal-l[a] aga-zi-da gun3-gun3-nu "the beloved (= Aš̌imbabbar) of the land, who makes the 'right' crown brilliant"; UET 6/1, 67, 67 (cf. Chapter 9): [d]aš̌-im2-babbar-e sag-men aga-zi-da si-mul-mah x (x)] "Aš̌imbabbar (raises his

head), the head (with) the men crown, the legitimate aga crown, with lofty shining horns."; ISET 1, 39 Ni. 2781 rev. 6 (adab to Nanna/Išmedagan: cf. Chapter 9): men aga-zi bara2-mah-ku3-g[a(?)] dalla mu-ra-ni-in-e3 "He has made appear for you the men-crown and the 'legitimate' aga-crown on the lofty, sacred dais." Note also the name of the En-priestess of Nanna's temple in Gaeš/Karzida appointed by Amarsuen: en-aga2-zi-an-na "Lord (who is) the 'right' crown of heaven/An."[5] In my opinion, most of the names of the En-priestesses of the moon-god are composed of epithets of this god. men is also once found with zi-da in OrSuec 19-20, p. 145, No. 2, obv. 10 (cf. Chapter 6, sect. III A 5.1): dnanna men-zi-da dalla mu [...-e3] "Nanna has made the 'right' crown appear."

The meaning of aga-zi(-da)/men-zi-da in these contexts seems to have at least two levels. The primary meaning is indicated by a bilingual text in which the Sumerian phrase is translated by the Akkadian agûm kînum (see Letter to Nanna, 8; Chapter 6, sect. III B 5.7); i.e. "legitimate crown" worn by god, king, or En-priestess to signify and legitimize his or her authority. It is known from later texts, mainly in Akkadian, that aga/agû also has astrological connotations referring variously to "earthshine," "full-moon" and "corona."[6] Hence, one must leave open the possiblity, even in these earlier contexts, that aga and

men refer to some particular aspect of the moon's appearance or shape, in which case zi(-da) may also have some specific astrological nuance.

aga is also attested in the phrases aga-mah "lofty crown" (UET 6/1, 67, 61), aga-ku3 "pure crown" (UET 6/1, 67, 65), and aga3-duz "proper crown" (OrSuec 19-20, p. 148, 24-29); men occurs in men-dagal su3-su3 "adorned with a wide crown" (Šulgi D, 295), men-an-ki "crown of heaven and earth" (Nūradad inscription 3, 2), men-dalla "crown made visible" (Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 45, 42), men-uri2^{ki}-ma "crown of Ur" (Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 65, 5 and p. 70, 3-4), men-an-dagal-la "crown of the wide heaven" (TCS 3, p. 23, 115), men-ri-ba "surpassing crown" (Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 65, 3), men-an-uraš = a-ge-e ša-me-e u3 er-še-tim "crown of heaven and earth" (Letter to Nanna 3; Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 104), men4-nun-na sag il2 "whose head is lifted up in the prince's crown" (Waradsîn inscription 28, 3; cf. nun men-na sag il2: ZA 63, p. 31, No. 5, 8), men-gal-la "whose crown is great" (OrSuec 19-20, p. 144, No. 2, obv. 1), and ^{d}men-e-duz/dingir men-e duz "god fit for the crown" (Old-Babylonain god-list: TCL 15, 10, 153). All of these epithets describe the moon-god in one of his celestial aspects.[7]

Nanna/Suen is also depicted in literary texts as bestowing the crown upon kings: UET 6/2, 106 (Rîmsîn), 22-23: ^{d}nanna lugal-an-ki-ke4 aga-zi-mah-nam-lugal-la šu-duz sag-za he2-ni-ib-gi-ne2 "May Nanna, ruler of

heaven and earth, set upon your head the legitimate, lofty crown of kingship, perfectly created"; OrSuec 19-20, p. 149, No. 5, 8' (Ibbisuen): aga-nam-lugal-la men-ku3 "crown of kingship, holy crown"; VAS 10, 199 I 45: ^{d}suen(-e) aga sag-za mi-ni-in-ga-na muš3 nam-ba-an-tum2-mu "May you never disregard Suen who has placed the crown upon your head."

Finally, an Ur-III offering text from Ur (UET 3, 377) attests to offerings being made to aga3-^{d}nanna aga3-^{d}nin-[gal] "the crown of Nanna (and) the crown of Ningal" along with ma2-^{d}nanna and ma2-a2-ki-ti "boat of Nanna" and "boat of the Akiti-festival" respectively. This reference seems to indicate that the crown of Nanna was actually a part of the cult paraphernalia at Ur.

am:

The epithet am "wild bull" is applied to the moon-god in only one hymn: see Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 15, 43: am an-ne2 zi-de3-eš pa3-da-mu "My wild bull whom An has justly chosen" (cf. Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.1). Though this particular epithet is not frequently attested in Sumerian texts, Nanna/Suen's association with the herds is a common motif and has been amply attested in the preceding chapter. The Akkadian equivalent of am - rīmu - is used as an epithet of Sîn in Old-Babylonian personal names which occur with some regularity: cf. sîn-rīm-ilī "Sîn is the wild bull of the gods" (UET 5, 239, 12; 475, 4) and ^{d}sîn-rīm-uri$_2^{ki}$(-ma) "Sîn is the

wild bull of Ur" (YOS 5, 28, 6; UET 5, 97, 2, 10 and seal; cf. J. Stamm, Namengebung p. 227). Note that Ur is also sometimes described by this epithet am (Sjöberg Mondgott p. 75).[8]

amar:

As seen in Chapter 4 amar is one of the earliest-attested epithets of the moon-god: Eannatum calls Suen amar-ban3-da-^{d}en-lil2-ka "the frisky calf of Enlil" About 300 years later a similar epithet is attested for Nanna in an inscription of Urnammu: amar-ban3-da-an-na dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil2-la2 "frisky calf of An, chief son of Enlil" (Urnammu 25). Å. Sjöberg has collected the references for the epithet amar as applied to the moon-god in Sumerian literary texts of the Old-Babylonian period in [9] Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 24. Note that in a Šulgi text Nanna is again called amar-ban3-da (Šulgi R, 88). The epithet amar-za-gin3 "lapis-lazuli calf" or simply "shining calf" also occurs and is at least as old as the Old-Babylonina period. This last epithet may be compared with amar-gug "carnelian calf," which is attested in a hymn to the moon-god (N 1542 obv. 3; see Chapter 9). Here it appears that the epithet describes a carnelian figurine of a calf representing the moon-god in one of the Nippur temples.

The influence of the epithet can be seen in personal names which connect the moon-god with the calf. Though this sacrificial animal is also attested in

connection with other deities in personal names, amar certainly suggests the epithet of the moon-god when it is used with Nanna/Suen. In the Ur Archaic texts the personal name amar-nanna "calf of Nanna" is found (UET 2, 278, ii, 1). At Šuruppak amar-u4-sakar "calf of the new-moon," is attested (see Chapter 3, Presargonic Period for references). amar-suen, written as amar-^{d}EN.ZU and amar-si-in "calf of Suen," also occurs at Suruppak and at a later date at Girsu (written amar-^{d}EN.ZU). Of course, it is extensively attested in Ur-III texts in the name of the king, Amarsuen and in names related to his name.[9] The name būr-^{d}sîn(^{d}EN.ZU) "calf of Sîn" is found with some frequency in Old-Babylonian texts from Ur (see UET 5, p. 34). The personal name ^{d}nanna-amar-ban3-da also occurs in Old-Babylonian texts (H. Ranke, Personal Names of the Hammurabi Dynasty, p. 128).

From this well-established association of Nanna/Suen with the calf, dating from the Presargonic to the Old-Babylonian period, one can infer that the image of the moon-god as a calf represents an ancient and fixed concept of the god. Already as early as the Ur archaic tablets Nanna's connection with the herdsman's flocks and his identification with the moon, particularly the new moon, are expressed through the image of Nanna/Suen as a calf: he is the new-born calf, the surety and the hope of the herdsman's prosperity;

and in a transferred sense he is the calf of heaven, the new-born moon which in its crescent shape reminded the Mesopotamian herdsmen of bull's horns and so served as an apt and potent symbol for the animal upon which their livelihood depended. The monthly "rebirth" of the moon embodied in a symbolic sense the hope for the fertility of the cows and the proliferation of the flocks. The god who had the power to be born again and again each month as the calf of the sky was beseeched to bestow this engendering power upon the herds. This is the essential concept of the moon-god, the one that dominates the textual evidence pertaining to the god, and is already well-expressed in the epithets amar-ban3-da-^{d}en-lil2-ka "the frisky young calf of Enlil (the air-god)," amar-ban3-da-an-na "frisky young calf of An (the sky-god)," and in the personal name amar-u4-sakar "calf of the new-moon."

a2 nu-gi4-a:

This epithet, which means "(whose) power cannot be opposed," is attested in a hymn to the moon-god in normal eme-giz Sumerian and in a duplicate written in syllabic Sumerian; see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 89-96; JCS 34, pp. 74-75; and Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.9.

arḫuš-su3:

Nanna is called the "merciful one" (arḫuš-su3) in three instances. The epithet expresses not so much some particular aspect of the moon-god's character, as an

attitude on the part of the writer.[10] The quality of being merciful is ascribed to Nanna in the letter to Nanna (line 6: dingir-arhuš-su3) and in the "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur" (line 427: dnanna arhuš-su3-kalam-ma-me-en "Nanna, you are the merciful one of the land.")[11] In both of these instances the writer is petitioning the god for favors, so the emphasis on his compassion is to be expected. The god is also described as showing compassion in Waradsîn inscription 29, 29: un-šar2-ra-bi-še3 arhuš bi2-in-tuku-am3 "who has mercy on its multitudes." In this context too the emphasis is on the god's favor towards his people and his granting them prosperity and peace. Hence, he is described as a god who shows his people mercy. The epithet could well be applied to any other petitioned deity.[12]

dašš-im4/im2-babbar:

See Chapter 2.

a2-tal2-tal2:

The phrase meaning "broad-armed" occurs in uncertain context where it may be interpreted either as an epithet of Nanna or of Nippur: OrSuec 19-20, p. 149, No. 5, 15': nibruki a2-tal2-tal2 dnanna šaš-ku3 [...]; cf. Å. Sjöberg's commentary, OrSuec 19-20, p. 171. The phrase is also found in connection with the moon-god in SGL 2, p. 57, 9 (collated by Å. Sjöberg; see Chapter 6, sect. III B 2.2).

dalla-e3/pa-e3:

Both of these expressions are equated with Akkadian šūpû in lexical lists and have the sense "to bring forth, make manifest, to make appear."[13] In reference to the moon-god they describe the first appearance or sighting of the moon each night or more specifically at the beginning of each month. A distinction between the two expressions is not immediately apparent. They occur in similar contexts, yet are never attested together in the same context. A clue to the difference between the two compounds might lie in the meanings of the first components of each, dalla and pa. But the relation of either to e3, which is frequently attested in lexical texts and bilinguals as equivalent to Akkadian (w)aṣû "to come out," "to rise,"[14] is obscure.

In regards to dalla, there is nothing known about the primary meaning of the earliest sign forms and so how it came to be equated with šūpû in later lexical texts remains a mystery.[15] In contexts describing the moon-god it almost always is attested in combination with e3. A common expression is an-ku3-ga dalla-e3 "visible in the clear sky," which seems to describe ideal atmospheric conditions when the moon's rising is easily observable without interference of haze or cloud cover; cf. Waradsîn inscription 11, 1-2: dnanna en an-ku3-ge dalla-e3 "Nanna, lord who is visible in the clear sky"; cf. also Waradsîn inscription 10, 1-3 (treated in

Chapter 4, sect. 4) and Inninšagurra 209: nam-dingir-zu dnanna dutu-ginz an-ku3-ga dalla-e3 "Your (= Inanna) divinity is manifested in the clear sky like Nanna (and) Utu."[16] The expressions u4-sakar dalla-e3-a (ISET 1, 38 Ni 2781, 27) "new-moon come into view and an-barz-a dalla-e3 (OrSuec 19-20, p. 146, 3, obv. 5) "visible at noon-time (or in the afternoon)" also occur. These references clearly indicate that dalla-e3 as applied to the moon-god primarily refers to the first visibility of the moon whether that occurs in the clear night sky, as the new-moon at the beginning of the month, or in the middle of the afternoon. The expression implies an awareness of regular celestial phenomena which only consistent observation of the moon could bring.

dalla-e3 also frequently occurs in connection with men and aga "crown." Nanna is said to have been given the men-dalla in Eridu (Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 45, 42).[17] He makes the men-zi-da appear for Ibbisuen: dnanna men-zi-da dalla mu-[...-e3] "Nanna made the legitimate crown appear" (OrSuec 19-20, p. 145, No. 2, obv. 10).[18] He makes the men and aga-zi appear for Išmedagan: men aga-zi baraz-mah-ku3-ga dal[la] mu-ra-ni-in-e3(!) "The legitimate men- and aga-crowns he made appear for you on the sacred, lofty dais." (ISET 1, 39 Ni 2781 rev. 23).[19] Becausee these references all relate to kingship and its legitimacy dalla-e3 in these contexts may mean "proclaim the fame or greatness of."[20] However since aga and men are also epithets of the moon-god, two levels of meaning

may be implied here both in the use of aga/men and of dalla-e3.[21]

In regards to pa-e3 there are several clues to the meaning of this compound besides the lexical equivalency pa-e3 = šupû. The word pa occurs by itself and in compounds. The original meaning of pa seems to have been "frond" or "date-palm leaf." This is known through the Akkadian equivalent aru,[22] attested in lexical texts, and through the design of the earliest sign forms.[23] In Sumerian literature pa often occurs in contrast to ur2 "root," "base." Context suggests that the two were thought of as antonymns; cf. for example, Curse of Agade 115-117: ur2-bi-a urudu-gi2-dim ba-an-gar / suhuš kalam-ma-ka ki ba-e-la2 / pa-bi-a urudu-ḫa-zi-in ba-an-gar "He set spades against its (the Ekur's) roots, and it sank low as the foundation of the land. He set axes against its (the Ekur's) branches" (translation J. Cooper); Creation of the Hoe 105: ur2-ba mu(-un)-bu-re pa-ba mu(-un)-ze2-e "(The alfalfa grass) he will pull up by the roots; he will rip it up by its branches."; VAS 10, 192, 1-2 = VAS 17, 18, 1-2: giš-ma-nu dim-an-na giš-ma-nu dim-e2-an-na / ur2-bi gi6 na-nam pa-bi giš-banšur-an-na "The wand is the mooring pole of the sky; the wand is the mooring pole of the Eanna (temple of An/sky-god); its roots are (in) darkness; its crown is the table of An/sky-god."; Šurpu IX, 1-2: en2 giš-šinig giš-ge15 an-edin-na mu2-a / pa-zu an-še3 ur2-zu ki-še3 "Incantation:

tamarisk, lone tree growing in the high plain, your crown above, your root below." The continual contrast in these references between "roots" and "branches," between "low" and "high" suggests that pa denotes the upper branches or the crown of the tree, i.e. the polar opposite of the "roots."

This opposition is carried over into the contrasting pair, an-ur2 "heaven's base" or "horizon" and an-pa "heaven's height" or "zenith." The following references make the contrast between the two terms clear: Šu-suen Historical Inscription, Collection B (M. Civil, JCS 21, p. 33, x 13-16): u4 d en-lil2-le an-ur2-ta an-pa-aš [sila-ta igi-nim-še3 "When Enlil from heaven's base to heaven's height, from the low regions to the high regions ..."; Elevation of Ištar iii 55/56: an-ur2-ta an-pa-še3 (šu2 - gloss) a2-du3-a-bi im-ta-an-zu-zu-ne = iš-tu i-šid AN-e ana e-lat AN-e a-da-šu2-nu u2-ta-ad-du-nu "From heaven's base to heaven's height they assigned to them (the sun and moon) their tasks."; IV R 28, No. 2, 23ff.: d utu an-ur2-ta ba-da-šu2-šu2-ru / d nanna an-pa-še3 ba-da-gir5 = (ilšamaš) ina išid šamê îterup / (ilsîn) ina elât šamê irtabi "The sun darkens on the horizon; the moon is extinguished in the heights of heaven.";[24] Antagal III 152ff. (CAD vol. 4, p. 79, 5.C): pa = e-la-a-tum, an-pa = MIN AN-e; see also discussion in CAD vol. 4, p. 79 sub elâtu A; see further my discussion of si-un3-na, in this chapter.

In light of the many references such as those quoted above, it is clear that pa originally denoted the upper branches or crown of a tree in contra-distinction to ur2 which designated the roots of the tree. In a more general sense pa was used to mean "upper part" or "top"; and in the expression an-pa it referred specifically to the "heights of heaven" or more precisely, the highest point or zenith of the sun and moon in their course across the sky. This last expression was used in contrast to an-ur2 "the horizon" or point where the sun and moon disappeared behind the earth. In my opinion these well-attested connotations of pa in many contexts make it probable that pa in the expression pa-e3 also has the same connotation of "heights" or "zenith." Construing the compound as a substantive or adjective in the accusative case plus a transitive verb (following Falkenstein, AnOr 28, p. 122; cf. AnOr 29, p. 123 and n. 4), pa-e3 would mean literally, "bringing forth the upper part, the top" or "causing the upper part, the top to appear."[25] The essential question is: does pa in this expression describe some aspect of heavenly bodies (specifically, the sun, moon, and Venus star to which pa-e3 most often refers) or does it designate some spatial position of the sun, moon, or Venus star in the sky as it does in the expression an-pa? In favor of the former interpretation is one late bilingual text in which pa is rendered by the Akkadian šarūru(m) "beam, ray, radiance": dnanna-gin7 pa-e3-zu-am3 na-an-na-ab-bu-

re-en = ki-ma ^{d}sîn(EŠ) šaš-ru-ur ṣi-it-ti-ka la ta-šap-pi "Like Namma/Sin, you do not becloud the radiance of your rising." (STT 2, 155, 27/28).[26] However, the usual Sumerian equivalent of šarūru(m) is še-er-zi, a commonly attested epithet of the moon-god which denotes the moon's rays or beams. If pa was truly a synonym of še-er-zi and described the rays of the moon (a transferred, metaphorical usage of the primary meaning, "upper branches, crown"?), then one would expect more attestations which clearly expressed this meaning; it is also difficult to see how the well-attested meaning of pa meaning "upper part, top, crown" could come to be used even metaphorically to describe the rays or radiance of celestial bodies. It seems, therefore, more probable that pa in pa-e3, when used in contexts describing heavenly bodies, connotes a spatial position in the sky in reference to the horizon (an-ur2) and probably refers to the appearance of the sun, moon, or other astral body at its highest observable point in its course across the sky. "To bring forth the upper part, the top" or "to cause the upper part, the top to appear" in a more direct sense means "to raise up (to the top)," "to arise"[27]. pa-e3 therefore describes the upward course or rising of heavenly bodies from the horizon to the zenith.

The moon-god is called en dili-ni dingir-pa-e3-a in the inscriptions of Ibbisuen and of Iddindagan (Ibbisuen 9, 4 and Iddindagan 2, 6). He is called dingir-pa-e3 in ZA 63, p.26, No. 4B obv. II 4' and in UET 6, 28, 5. The epithet en-pa-e3 also occurs (OrSuec 19-20, p.147, 3, rev. 6'; cf. 15') as well as nir-gal2 nun pa-e3-ak-a (OrSuec 19-20, p.146, 3, obv. 8); cf. also [g]u4(?)-pa-e3 (OrSuec 19-20, 149, 5.17'). pa-e3 is also attested in connection with an-ku3-ga "clear sky" in reference to the moon-god (like dalla-e3): an-ku3-ga pa-e3-a-zu-de3 in JCS 29, pp. 8-13, No. 3, 21=25; dnanna an-ku3-ga pa-e3-a in Finkelstein Memorial Vol., pp. 189-195, 86. It is also found with gi6-u3-na: temen-an-ki-bi-da a-a dnanna gi6-u3-na pa-e3 (OrSuec 19-20, p.146, No. 3, obv. 10). In my opinion, pa-e3 in all of these references describes the course of the moon's rising with special emphasis on its position at the zenith of that course. pa-e3 can also be used with an object usually in the locative-terminative case, but sometimes in the accusative. In this sense pa-e3 is often found with ni3-ul(-e); cf. ISET 1, 38 Ni 2781, 23: ni3-ul pa bi2-e3; and ni3-[ul]-e pa b[i2]-i3-e3-a in ZA 63, p. 25, No. 4A, rev. 6'. The sense here is "raising up what is everlasting (to the top)," i.e. "exalting what is everlasting."[28]

Finally, it must also be pointed out that the moon's coming out is described simply by the verb e3 by itself. This of course complicates our understanding of

all three expressions, dalla-e3, pa-e3, and e3 since one is hard pressed to find any clear-cut distinctions in the usage of the three expressions as they are applied to the moon-god. It can be said, however, that e3 is used most often with iti6 "moonlight," whereas the other two expressions do not occur in connection with iti6. Moonlight is said simply to come out (e3) and whatever other qualifications the prefixes pa and dalla give to the verb e3, they do not seem to apply to moonlight; see my discussion of iti6 for references. The expression un3-na e3 "coming out at the height of heaven" also occurs twice; see si-un3-na and un3-na in this chapter. Note also u4 giš-ḫe2 e3-a "light coming forth (in) the vault of the sky"; see my discussiion of giš-ḫe2, sub ḫe2-du7 in this chapter.

dumu-:

1) dumu-an-na Nanna/Suen is called dumu-an-na "son of An/heaven" in VAS 2, 68, rev. 26; see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 81. Note also Å. Sjöberg Mondgott p. 35, 7 where An is called Suen's father; cf. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 38 to 7. In addition, cf. the epithet amar-ban3-da-an-na "frisky calf of An/heaven" applied to the moon-god in Urnammu inscription 25, 2 . For a discussion concerning the conflicting traditions by which the moon-god and other gods are called both the sons of An and of Enlil, see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p.

42[4]; see also my discussion in Chapter 4, sect. 1 and Chapter 6, sections 1.3 and 1.8.

2) dumu-gal-di This epithet meaning "elevated son" is applied to the moon-god twice in hymnal literature: OrSuec 19-20, p. 146, No. 3, obv. 4 (u3-lu-lu-ma-ma hymn to Suen; cf. Chapter 6, sect. III A 5.2); VAS 2, 28, 18 (Old-Babylonian Sumerian hymn to Inanna) = ASKT 21, 73/74 (late bilingual) = K. 41 iv 10/11 (late bilingual; cf. R. Borger, HKL p. 185 to ASKT 21). In the bilingual texts quoted and in lexical texts[29] one finds gal-di rendered by Akkadian tiz/šqāru(m) meaning "prominent, eminent, elevated." According to A. Falkenstein, AnOr 29, p. 126 (#37), gal-di mean literally "Grosses sprechen." In ZA 49, p. 145, he analyzes di in the compound as a variant of du11. This analysis suggests that the epithet dumu-gal-di should be literally translated "son (about whom) great things are said." The nuances of this reading are somewhat different from the Akkadian tiz/šqāru(m) "prominent, eminent, elevated" and imply a primary meaning which is closer to "renowned, famous." Cf. the epithet dumu-KA-silim-ma below.

3) dumu-giz(r) References for this epithet which is applied to Nanna and many other deities have been collected by Å. Sjöberg, Studia Widengren, pp. 69-70. The Akkadian equivalent for dumu-giz(r), according to a bilingual text (CT 16, 20, 136), is mār rubê "son of the prince" and lexical texts equate giz with rubû (E. I.

Gordon, JCS 12, p. 73). Gordon states that it is probable that the word giz could have been used both as a noun and as an adjective (o.c., p. 74); note that Sjöberg, Studia Widengren, p. 65) translates "princely son." It must be emphasized that the reading giz(r) applies only to the ESš sign (NIGIN2 sign with three inscribed horizontal wedges), not to the TUG2 sign(NIGIN2 with two inscribed horizontal wedges) or KU sign (with one horizontal wedge). TUG2-nun, an epithet of Enlil and Nanna, is to be read nam2-nun; see my discussion of nam2-nun below and my commentary to N 1542, 1, in Chapter 9; cf. also E.I. Gordon, JCS 12, p. 74, n. 21 and Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, Studia Widengren, p. 69[8]; F.R. Kraus, Sumerer und Akkader, pp. 52ff.

4) dumu-KA This expression is apparently a kinship term[30] designating in some cases an offspring of the second generation; in other instances it appears to be used loosely meaning simply "offspring"; see Å. Sjöberg's treatment of the term in HSAO, pp. 209ff. The term is attested once[31] in reference to the moon-god: TCL 16, 86, 5: dumu-KA-an-ku3-ga, perhaps to be interpreted as "grandson of holy An," a translation which makes sense according to the well-attested genealogy An>Enlil>Nanna/Suen.[32] See above sub dumu-an-na for references to the moon-god as the son of An.

5) dumu-ka-silim-ma In the adab-hymn to Nanna with prayer for Gungunum of Larsa[33] there is one reference to Suen where he is called dumu-ka-silim-ma-^{d}nu-nam-nir-ra

"splendid son of Nunamnir (Enlil)." ka-silim(-ma) is equivalent to Akkadian taš̌riḫtu(m) "glorification, splendor, vainglory" (see AHw, pp. 1339-1340: "Verherrlichung, Pracht; Ruhmredigkeit"). The phrase may originally have had the sense of "well spoken of" (ka "mouth", silim "well") and by extension came to mean "glorified, praised" or the like (cf. my interpretation of dumu-gal-di above). The reading ka-silim-ma is confirmed by MSL 13, p. 176, 26': ki-ka-ka-si-li silim-ma = a-šar taš-ri-iḫ-te. See further Å. Sjöberg, ZA 63, pp. 30-31 to II 12'.

6) dumu-ki-ag2 The epithet "beloved son" occurs only once in reference to the moon-god: TCL 15, 18 I 20': d suen dumu-ki-ag2-šaš-za-ra "To Suen, the beloved son of your (Enlil's) heart" (Hymn to Enlil and Ninlil/Išmedagan; cf. Chapter 6, sect. IV 3.2.2).

7) dumu-nun This well-known epithet of the moon-god meaning "princely son" is attested in various writings: dumu-nun, dumu-nun-ne2, dumu-nun-na,[34] and dumu-nun-e; see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 42 for references to the first three variants; dumu-nun-e occurs in Iddindagan inscription 2, 10 ([dumu]-nun-e; see Chapter 4, sect. 4). The earliest attestation of this epithet being used for the moon-god in inscriptions is in Šuilišu 2, 3-4: dumu-nun-zi-den-lil2-la2 "the true (legitimate) princely son of Enlil". It is also found in the inscriptions of Iddindagan (mentioned above), Abīsarē (4, 2': [dumu]-

nun) and Waradsîn (10, 2: en dumu-nun; cf. Chapter 4, sect. 4 for all these attestations). In literary texts (all of which come from the Old-Babylonian period) dumu-nun is attested in Šulgi D 47 (dumu-nun-e2-kur-ra "princely son of the Ekur"); and in Šulgi G 17; in the myth "Lipiteštar and the Plow" 63; in the Ekur hymn 67; and in many other miscellaneous Sumerian literary texts (see final synopsis of Chapter 6). Note the epithet dumu-nun-nun-gal-la "princely son of the great prince" (Enlil) in TCL 15, 18 IV 11 (see Chapter 6, sect. IV 3.2) and the eme-sal writing du5-mu-nun in N 1542 Edge 3 (cf. Chapter 9). Though the use of dumu-nun as an epithet of the moon-god cannot be dated before the Šuilīšu inscription quoted above (the evidence of literary texts attributed to earlier kings cannot be taken as certain since all copies come from the Old-Babylonian period), dumu-nun does occur already in the Fara texts (Deimel SF 23: VAT 12573, I 15), though in uncertain context. dumu-nun is also an epithet of other deities; see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 146[3].

8) dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil2-la2 This epithet is one of the oldest and most consistently used epithets of the moon-god. It literally means "chief son of Enlil," sag being equivalent to Akkadian rēštû(m) meaning "first, foremost" (AHw, p. 973); rēštû(m) can also mean "first-born, eldest" (AHw, p. 973, 2). Most scholars have therefore interpreted dumu-sag to mean "eldest son." This interpretation is the most likely in light of the

great consistency with which the epithet is applied to Nanna/Suen from the beginning of the Ur-III period through the Old-Babylonian period and thereafter. One would expect this epithet to have originated in the Ur-III period when the prestige of Nanna/Suen was at its height. The notion that the moon-god was the first and foremost son of the most influential god of the pantheon would be predictable when Ur was the foremost political power of the land. Accordingly, one finds the epithet first attested in the inscriptions of Urnammu (10, 2-3; 25, 3-4; 26, 2-3). It is also found in Šulgi F 75 (Old-Babylonian copies only), Šu-suen inscription 7, 2-3 and Ibbisuen A11, 2. In the Old-Babylonian period one finds it in the inscriptions of Iddindagan (2, 7-8); Išmedagan (9, 2); Nūradad (3, 4-5); Sîniddinam (3, 22; 4, 2); and Waradsîn (9, 3; 11, 3; 26 i 4-5.[35] For the attestations of this epithet in literary texts see the final synpsis of Chapter 6. Note, however, that already in an inscription of Waradsîn (UET 1, 125) Nergal is called dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$. At a later period other deities also take this epithet.[36] This indicates either that dumu-sag by this period had lost its strict genealogical connotations and was applied loosely as a sort of literary hyperbole or that rival genealogies were being introduced which challenged the notion of the moon-god being the first-born son of Enlil. The concept of the moon-god as the son of Enlil may be as old as the

Presargonic period where the epithet amar-ban3-da-^{d}en-lil2-la2 is attested; see above sub amar.

9) dumu-zi-le The meaning of zi-le is as yet unknown and no Akkadian equivalent has been uncovered in lexical and bilingual texts. It is a fairly common epithet of the moon-god in literary texts and is also found in inscriptions of Waradsîn (29, 4) and Rîmsîn (11, 8). The eme-sal for du5-mu-zi-le occurs in the hymn to Nanna/Suen, N 1542 rev. 12' (see Chapter 9). In the same hymn one also finds zi-le by itself: obv. 2 ^{d}suen-e zi-le-^{d}en-lil2-la2 zi-gal2 [...]. nun-zi-le (OrSuec 19-20, p. 149, 5, 15'), and dumu-nun-zi-le (TuM NF IV 12, rev. 26) also occur. Note that the epithet dumu-zi-le-an-gal-la is applied to the goddess Nanaya in Rîmsîn inscription 5, 4. The epithets en-zi-le and nun-zi-le also are attested in reference to the moon-god in the Cassite period; see H. Limet, Les légendes des sceaux cassites, p. 75, 4.27 and p. 87, 6.14. Traditional translations of the epithet such as "princely," "erhaben," "fürstlich," etc. are more or less guesses based on the fact that zi-le is often found as a modifier in connection with nun in descriptions of the moon-god and nun can be read zil. For another possible interpretation see A. Kapp, ZA 51, pp. 76f.

en:

en is one of the most frequently-attested titles of Nanna/Suen as a glance at the synopses of Chapters 4 and 6 will show.[37] In fact, it is the oldest title applied to the moon-god, being attested in the personal name en-nanna on Uruk tablets of the Jemdet Nasr period (see Chapter 3, Presargonic Period). The antiquity of the term is further indicated by its use as a component in the god-names Enlil, Enki, and Suen (dEN.ZU). It is this very antiquity which makes it difficult to arrive at a clear understanding of the meaning of the term, since by the historical period it appears to be already an archaic title; its original connotations are obscure. Its most clear-cut usage in textual sources is as the designation for the chief priest or priestess of the city cult, the en-priests and priestesses. As such it denotes the person vested with final authority in all matters pertaining to the local religion and cult of a particular city. How the spheres of authority of the lugal and the en coexisted and were differentiated in sacred and secular affairs is unclear even in the historical period. Speculations about the original meaning and role of both in earlier time periods are therefore especially tenuous. An interesting attempt to come closer to the meaning of en and lugal has been made by Th. Jacobsen in JNES 12, pp. 181-182 and in ZA 52, pp. 103ff. As Jacobsen points out, the common lexical equation en = bêlu(m) is, strictly speaking, inaccurate

since en "implies authority, but not the authority of ownership, a point on which it differs sharply from bêlum" (JNES 12, p. 181). References to other discussions of en and lugal have been collected by W.H.Ph. Römer, SKIZ, p.204[62].

A wide variety of epithets employing en are applied to the moon-god. They are listed below in alphabetical order with references to their attestations. The conventional English translation "lord" is used her even though its connotations do not fully apply to Sumerian en (see Jacobsen, JNES 12, p. 180); no better English equivalent has been suggested to date.

1) en-an-ki "Lord of heaven and earth" Waradsîn Inscription 10, 46; cf. en-gal-an-ki-a

2) en-an-na "Lord of heaven" ZA 63, p.32, No. 5, 20; ISET I, 38 Ni 2781, 34; TCS 3, p. 26, 164

3) en ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar "Lord Asimbabbar" Enlil and Ninlil 53 (text K); UET 6/2, 104, 58; Home of the Fish 49; Nanna's Journey to Nippur 352; Rîmsîn Inscription 8, 13; ZA 63, p.25, No. 4A, 7; p.32, No. 5, 37; p.33, No. 5, 49(?); p.37, No. 6, 15, 21, 26, 29; p.38, No. 6B, rev. 11; OrSuec 19-20, p. 147, No. 4, 6, 16; p. 148, No. 4, 26, 36; Lamentation over Ur 428; JCS 20, pp. 138ff., 7, 8, 18; UET 6, 9, 10; Šulgi F 70, 74, 309; Šulgi X, 159; RSO 32, pp. 95-102, 61, 65; Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p.45, 39.

4) en-babbar2 "shining lord" Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p.97, 9.

5) en dili-ni dingir pa-e3-a "Lord (who) by himself (is) the god (who) arises" Iddindagan Inscription 2, 6; Ibbisuen Inscription 9, 4; Šuilīšu 2, 5 (en dili-ni); cf. en-pa-e3 below.

6) en dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil2-la2 "Lord, chief son of Enlil" Ibbisuen Inscription A11, 2; cf. en [dumu-^{d}en-lil2-la2] N 3082 + N 2742 obv. 2', 4'; edge i 1, ii 1; en-gaba-gal2-le-a see gaba-gal2 below.

7) en-gal "great lord" ISET I, 39 Ni 2781, obv. 32, 39, rev. 29; Waradsîn Inscription 28, 1 (var. en-gal for lugal); Rīmsîn Inscription 11, 2; OrSuec 19-20, p. 145, No. 3, obv. 1; Nannamansum to Rīmsîn 7; Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p.104, 4 (en-gal = be-lum ra-bu-u2); ISET 1, 39 Ni 2781 rev. 5, 12, 28 ([e]n-gal), obv. 4 (en-gal-mah-an-[na]); TCL 15, 8, 229 (en-gal-eš3-uri2^{ki}-ma).

8) en-giri17/kiri4-zal "'splendid' lord" OrSuec 19-20, p.147, No. 3, rev. 13'; Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p.70, 1 (en-giri17/kiri4-zal-an-na).

9) en giskim-ti-la "trusted lord, lord of the 'living sign'" Abīešuḫ year-date - see Chapter 4, sect. 5; see giskim-ti below and chapter 6, sect. IV 3.10.2

10) en giš-nu11(-)an-ki "lord, light (of?) heaven (and) earth" OrSuec 19-20, p.148, No. 4, 31.

11) en-mah-gal-an-na name of En-priestess ("great, lofty lord of heaven") AfO 17, pp. 26f.

12) en me ku3-ku3-ug "lord (whose) me's are pure; lord who purifies the me's" OrSuec 19-20, p.149, No. 5, 12'.

13) en me-an-ki šu-duz "lord who perfects the me's of heaven (and) earth" Waradsîn Inscription 29, 55.

14) en-men-an-na name of the En-priestess, daughter of Naramsîn ("lord, men-crown of heaven") AfO 17, pp. 26ff.

15) en-nir-gal2-an-na name of an En-priestess ("lord, respected one of An/heaven")[38] AfO 17, pp. 26f.; Urnammu 35, 9-10.

16) en-nir-zi-an-na name of an En-priestess ("lord, ... of An/heaven") Šulgi year-dates 15 and 17; cf. Chapter 4, sect. 5.

17) en-nir-si3-an-na name of an En-priestess ("lord, ... of An/heaven")[39] Ibbisuen year-date 10; cf. Chapter 4, sect. 5.

18) en-pa-e3 "lord ... arising" OrSuec 19-20, p.147, No. 3, rev. 6', 15'.

19) en pirig(?)(GIR3(?))-gal-an-ki "lord, great lion(?) of heaven (and) earth" Ibbisuen Inscription 10, 2.

20) en-šu-luh-ku3-ga "lord of the pure washing rite" Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p.35, 9.

21) en-TUR-x-kur-gal-la "lord ... of the great mountain" ZA 63, p.25, No. 4A, 10.

22) en-u4-an-na "lord, light of heaven" ZA 63, p.32, No. 5, 21.

23) en-u4-sud-ra2 "lord of long days" ZA 63, p.36, No. 6, 6.

24) en u6-di du10-ga "lord whose marvellous sight is sweet" N 3082 + N 2746 + Ni 4600 + N 3723, obv. 5, 7; cf. chapter 9.

25) en-zalag-zalag (to be read en-zalzalag?) "shining lord" ISET 1, 38 Ni 2781, obv. 32, 39; rev. 29.

26) (d)en-zi "'true' lord" MEE 4, p.289: 799a-799b (=su2-i-nu; cf. Chapter 4, sect. 1; Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 35 (en-zi); en-zi-an-na-ke4 "'true' lord of An/heaven" ZA 63, p.25, No. 4A, 10 (note: epithet glossed by še-er-zi "ray, beam"); en-zi-šà-zalag-zalag(dadag)-ga-ke4 "'true' lord of the shining (pure) heart" Gudea Cyl. B xiii, 4-5.

27) en-zil-le/en-zi-le "... lord" See references and discussion above sub dumu-zi-le.

28) en-zu "wise lord" UET 6, 67, 61, 66; cf. Chapter 9.

29) en-zur-zur "lord treated with honor" Waradsîn Inscription 9, 2; 26, 2.

The epithet en dnanna, of course, also occurs (see outlines of Chapters 4 and 6 for references). An interesting point is that en never occurs directly before dsuen. This may be because dsuen was usually written dEN.ZU and the scribes avoided writing two en signs one after the other.

ensi2:

This title meaning "territorial ruler," "city ruler"[40] is applied much less often to gods than to men. It is attested in reference to the moon-god only once:

Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 89, 3=6: su2-en igi-da-gal2 e-si-u3-ri-ma "Suen, wide-seeing, city ruler of Ur."[41] See Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 92 for references to the use of ensi2 in connection with other deities. ensi2 in the Old-Sumerian period was a title which could denote sovereignty of a ruler over his city. Conversely, in the Ur-III period it implied subordination to the lugal (see W. Hallo, Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles, pp. 39ff.). It is difficult to say what the title implies in the reference cited above. Nanna/Suen is usually called either en or lugal. In the Ur-III period his status as lugal was thought to have been conferred on him by An and Enlil (see Prologue to Codex Urnammu; Chapter 6, sect. III A 1). Perhaps the use of ensi2 in the above reference implies the moon-god's sovereignty within his own city, yet subordination to An and Enlil as the ultimate divine authorities.

gaba-gal2:

"Broad-chested" is applied to the moon-god as an epithet twice: Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 89, 9: en ga-ba-gal2-le-a "broad-chested lord"; OrSuec 19-20, p.147, No. 4, obv. 10: gaba-gal2 an-ki-a lugal-bi n[a-nam] "the broad-chested one, the lord (king) of heaven and earth is he". The epithet as an expression of strength and power of men and gods is apparently very old as evidenced by the personal name lugal-gaba-gal2 attested in archaic Ur texts (see UET 2 Supplement 16, rev. I 3).

Other references have been collected by A. Falkenstein, AnOr 28, p. 120 and n. 3).

gal-di:

See above dumu-gal-di.

gi6 du10-du10 gal-zu:

"The one who knows how to make the night(s) sweet" - This expression is said about Nanna/Suen in OrSuec 19-20, p.146, No. 3, obv. 7 (u3-lu-lu-ma-ma hymn to Suen with prayers for Ibbisuen; cf. Chapter 6, sect. III A 5.2). The phrase refers to Nanna/Suen's power to light up the night through the brightness of the moon.

giskim, giskim-ti:

giskim is taken into Akkadian as the loan-word giskimmu meaning "sign, omen." It is also equivalent in lexical texts to Akkadian ittu(m) with the same meaning. That the appearance of the moon was taken to be an auspicious astrological omen is attested in the inscriptions of Waradsîn and Rîmsîn (Waradsîn 10, 25-27; Rîmsîn 10, 29). Both kings refer to the moon-god's auspicious sign (giskim-sa6-ga; moon-god called ^{d}aš-im-babbar in Waradsîn inscription; ^{d}nanna in Rîmsîn inscription). Nanna and Ningal are said to be auspicious omens for the life of Rîmsîn in the Hymn to Rîmsîn with prayer to Nanna and Ningal (UET 6, 106, 7' and 46'). Related to giskim is the phrase giskim-ti which B. Landsberger has translated "Vertrauenszeichen" (WO 3, p.

72; pp. 69-72). In later texts it is equated with Akkadian tukultu "trust, support, aid," i.e. the sign of support that the deity displays through favorable omens. giskim-ti is found in connection with the moon-god in Abiešuḫ year-date (see above en-giskim-ti-la sub en), in OrSuec 19-20, p.147, No. 3, rev. 7' and in TCL 15, 18 i 21' (Išmedagan Hymn to Enlil and Ninlil).

giš-nu11(-gal):

According to A. Deimel (SL II, no. 71) the original pictograph of the sign read nu11(ŠIR) depicts a lamp. Thus, it logically became an epithet of the moon and sun, the two most prominent lamps of the night and daytime sky. An interesting point is that while the moon bears the epithet giš-nu11-gal "great light," the sun is only attested with the epithet giš-nu11, simply, "light."[42] Apparently, the moon was considered the greater of the two lights. This conception is probably related to the genealogy of the pantheon, according to which Nanna/Suen was the father of Utu and also the Mesopotamian time system whereby the day began with the setting of the sun. In an Old-Babylonian god-list (TCL 15, 10, 151) dgiš-nu11-gal is entered as one of the by-names of Nanna/Suen; and in Proto-Diri 131 and Fragment L, rev. 1 one finds the equation giš-nu-gal, giš-nu11-gal = dsuen. The lexical entry establishes the reading nu11 for ŠIR in the epithet. giš-nu11-gal is also attested as an epithet of Nanna/Suen in later god-lists

from Aššur and Kuyunjik (KAV 51, 4; 68 III 7; CT 25, 28, K. 2115b, 6). In Old-Babylonian Sumerian literary texts the epithet giš-nu$_{11}$ is attested twice in Ibbisuen's hymns to Nanna/Suen: OrSuec 19-20, p.146, No. 3, obv. 6 and p.148, No. 4, obv. 31 (cf. en giš-nu$_{11}$ an-ki above sub en). It is probable that the word giš-nu$_{11}$ "light" is contained in the name of Nanna's temple at Ur, the Ekišnugal, even though the name in its earliest-attested form is written e$_2$-kiš-nu-gal$_2$.[43] Finally, the word giš-nu$_{11}$-gal was also used to describe the alabaster stone and is taken over into Akkadian as the loan-word gišnugallu.[44] One finds a similar occurrence in the case of the epithet sud-DU-ag$_2$, also used to describe a particular type of stone or metal (see below).

gu$_2$-me-er-me-re:

This expression is attested only once in reference to the moon-god: ZA 63, p.26, No. 4B, obv. II 5' (Gungunum hymn to Nanna/Suen; see Chapter 6, sect. IV 3.5). The expression is equivalent to Akkadian hanābu "to grow abundantly," "to be radiant" (and hunnubu, hitannubu). The word is used to describe the luxuriant growth of plants, of hair, and in a transferred sense to the bright radiance of celestial deities. It is in this last sense that the expression is applied to the moon-god in the above reference as is evident from its use with itig "moonlight." Note that the expression kiri$_4$/giri$_{17}$-zal is likewise applied both to the growth

of plants and the radiance of moonlight (see below). The rising of the moon, the waxing of its cycles, and its monthly rebirth may have served as symbols for the sprouting, growth, and continuous fertility of the farmer's crops. Other references for gu2-me-er-me-re/er have been collected by Å. Sjöberg in TCS 3, p.67.

gu4:

gu4 "bull" is used as an epithet of the moon-god in Ibbisuen's u3-lu-lu-ma-ma hymn to Suen (see Chapter 6, sect. III A 5.2): OrSuec 19-20, p.147, No. 3, rev. 15': gu4-AŠ-DU-de3 en-pa-e3-dam(?) dEN.ZU [z]a3-mi2 "Perfect bull, lord manifested, Suen praise!" (Å. Sjöberg's translation, OrSuec 19-20, p.155). The epithet may also occur in the following reference where the reading of gu4 is questionable: OrSuec 19-20, p.149, No. 5, 17': [g]u4(?)-pa-e3 den-lil2-da mah-dib ŠAR2 x [...] "The rising bull(?) with Enlil treading on high ..." (cf. Chapter 6, sect. III A 5.4). As pointed out above, horned animals such as the bull and calf were apt symbols of the new moon since the shape of the new moon as it appears in Mesopotamia is similar to the horns of the bull or calf. On AŠ-DU see my discussion of Ašimbabbar in Chapter 2; cf. also dalla-e3/pa-e3 above.

hea-duz:

In lexical and bilingual texts hea-duz is equivalent to Akkadian (w)asmu(m), šūsumu,

(w)usussu(m)[45] (ŠL 143, 53 a-b) meaning "fitting, appropriate, perfectly suited" and Akkadian ḫittu, an architectural term meaning "lintel, architrave" (cf. CAD vol. 6, pp. 27-28 and AHw pp. 349-350). It is commonly translated as "ornament, adornment" and in reference to the moon-god describes the qualities for which he is well suited. As the moon-god he is most appropriately called the "ornament of heaven," dḫeš-duz-an-na. Though the epithet only occurs in a late deity list (CT 25, 42 K. 4559, 7), the concept behind it is apparent in earlier references: Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 70, 1: en kiri4/giri17-zal-an-na [x (x)(?)]-da-e ḫeš-duz "lord, 'pride' of An/heaven, ornament of ..."; cf. ZA 63, p.25, No. 4, obv. 7: en dašš-im2-babbar an-e den-lil2-le an-e ši-ma-ab-duz-un "Lord Asimbabbar, An and Enlil have made you suitable for the sky".[46] As the chief son of Enlil and Ninlil he is said to be suitable for the Ekur: Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 14, 31: ḫeš-duz-e2-kur-ra "ornament of the Ekur". A similar idea may be expressed in the broken reference, OrSuec 19-20, p.147, No. 3, rev. 7': giskim-ti dumu-dnin-lil2-la2 ḫeš-duz-x-x-x "Living 'sign,' son of Ninlil, ornament of ..." It is also possible that in this reference Nanna/Suen is described as the "celestial ornament," since much of the hymn underscores this aspect of his character (see Chapter 6, sect. III A 5.2). Finally, the moon-god is also considered suited for the butter churn: Ni 4600 + N 3723, text B, obv. 6'=8': en šu-sikil-e(šu-sikil-la)

dug-šakir3-e he2-duz "O lord, (whose) clean hand (is) well suited for the butter churn" (cf. Chapter 9).

In the above references the meaning of he2-duz expressed by the Akkadian equivalent hittu "lintel, architrave" is not immediately apparent. Yet if hittu is to be thought of as the "fitting" piece that completes the door-frame or as the ornamental cross-piece that runs along the tops of the support columns of the temple, then it might well be one connotation of he2-duz, particularly in the epithet he2-duz-e2-kur-ra. By this interpretation the expression "ornament of the Ekur" might refer literally to some ornamental representation of the moon-god in the Ekur temple. By the same token, this architectural sense of he2-duz is also applicable to the heavens and its prominent celestial bodies (sun, moon, Venus star), which could easily be conceived of as part of the structure of heaven comparable to the architrave of a temple. In this connection, the word giš-he2/ul4(ul)-he2 meaning "firmament, vault (of heaven)" should be considered. Note that the element he2 is common to both expressions and that the Sumerian counterpart to Akkadian hittu is sometimes written giš-he2-duz. The obvious conclusion is that (giš-)he2-duz was some sort of suitable structural part of giš-he2/ul4(ul)-he2; as an architectural term the architrave on which the vault rested. Both terms then could be applicable to the structure of a temple

and in a transferred sense to the structure of the cosmos; i.e. the vault of heaven supported by sun, moon, and stars, the celestial bodies which keep the whole cosmic structure in order. This interpretation seem to be supported by the following bilingual (CT 16, 19, 59-61): dnanna dutu dinanna-ke4 ul-ḫe2-a si-sa2-e-de3 im-ma-ni-in-gar = dsîn dšamaš dištar šupuk šamê ana šutešuri uktinnu "They installed Sîn, Šamaš, and Ištar to keep the vault of heaven in order." Thus, the nuances of ḫe2-duz as an epithet of the moon-god may go beyond the simple concept of the moon as the "ornament of heaven."

ḫi-li:

Various epithets which contain the term ḫi-li "charm, appeal, grace" are applied to the moon-god. He is called ḫi-li-e2-kur-ra "the charming one of the Ekur" in Šulgi F 76. In ISET 1, 38, Ni 2781, obv. 3 the variant ḫi-li-su3-e2-kur-ra "the one full of grace in the Ekur" is found. The expression ḫi-li gur3-ru also occurs: Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 15, 57: dingir an-na ḫi-li gur3-ru-me-en "You are the god who in heaven is clad with grace"; ISET 1, 38, Ni 2781, obv. 27: u4-sakar dalla-e3-a ḫi-li-gur3-ru "New-moon light, come into view, clad with grace". Reference is also made to Nanna's "visage arrayed in grace" (muš3 ḫi-li su3) in Nūradad Inscription 3, 3. Note the use of ḫi-li in N 3082 + N 2746 + Ni 4600 + N 3723, Text B, obv. 3=5: ḫi-

li-zu tug2-x-ginZ bar-ga2 he2-em-ʿmiʾ-dul "May your allure cover my back like a x-garment." These references demonstrate the wide range of meaning expressed by hi-li. In reference to the moon's appearance in the sky the term describes the beauty and appeal of the moon's radiant light. This is clear in the above-cited attestations of the expressions hi-li gur3-ru and muš3 hi-li su3. But the term can also express a physical sensuous beauty, even a sexual appeal (like its Akkadian counterpart kuzbu) as is clear in its use in N 3082 + variants, obv. 3=5 cited above. Here an anthropomorphical conception of the god seems to be expressed as opposed to the identification of the god with the moon. The connotations of the expression hi-li(-su3)-e2-kur-ra are not completely clear. Perhaps Nanna/Suen's status as "favorite son" of Enlil and Ninlil is meant, a notion also expressed by the epithets dumu-sag, dumu-ki-ag2, and amar-ban3-da-^{d}en-lil2-la2 (see above). Further references to hi-li used in connection with the moon-god can be found in N 1542, obv. 3; ZA 63, p.26, No. 4B, obv. II 10'-11' and rev. I 8'; No. 5, 49; OrSuec 19-20, p.146, No. 3, obv. 11; JCS 34, p. 75, obv. 6.

igi-dagal:

The epithet igi-dagal "wide-eyed, far-seeing" occurs only once in a literary text with reference to the moon-god as far as I know: Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p.

89, 6 where it is written syllabically: su2-en igi-da-gal2 e-si-u3-ri-ma "wide-eyed Suen, ensi of Ur". It is also attested in the Old-Babylonian personal name igi-dagal-^{d}suen "wide-eyed, far-seeing (is) Suen" (UET 5, 95, 26). Note also the Old-Babylonian Akkadian personal name ^{d}sîn-inā-mātim "Sîn (is) the eyes of the land" (J. Stamm, Die Akkadische Namengebung, p. 227).[47] The deified moon, because of its bright light and high elevation over the earth, was thought of as far-seeing and able to see all of the good and evil that was done under his light. The epithet igi-dagal is probably related to Nanna's role as judge, as lover of righteousness and destroyer of evil; in this connection see my discussion of Lugalbanda Epic I 213-214, Chapter 6, sect. III B 4.1 where this aspect of the moon-god's character is discussed.

IGI-DU(?)-^{d}la-nun-na-ke4-ne:

This questionable epithet of Nanna/Suen is attested only once in the adab-hymn to Nanna with prayer for Gungunum of Larsa (cf. Chapter 6, sect. IV 3.5): ZA 63, p.25, No. 4A, 6: lugal IGI-DU(?)-^{d}la-nun-na-ke4-ne "lord (king), leader(?) of the Anunna gods." If the broken sign is correctly read as DU, then the expression corresponds to the common Akkadian phrase ālik pani "leader" (cf. CAD vol. 1/1, pp. 344ff.); on the reading of IGI-DU (igi-du, igištu, geštu4, palil?) see Borger, ABZ, p. 173.

i-lim, su-lim:

Both words, i-lim and su-lim, are attested in similar contexts they describe the moon's luminosity and radiance and the human reaction of awe inspired by the sight of the moon's bright appearance. The reading i-lim for i-ŠI is assumed from the reading su-lim for su-ŠI which is certain (see Å. Sjoberg, TCS 3, p. 116 to 328). i-lim is attested as an epithet of the moon-god in OrSuec 19-20, p. 144, No. 2, obv. 1: i-lim uš men-gal-la. i-lim is equivalent to Akkadian šalummatu (see AHw, pp. 1152-1153 "etwa gleissender Glanz") and šaqummatu (AHw, p. 1182 "(Toten-)Stille"; cf. MSL 13, p. 162). Since su-lim is also equivalent to Akkadian šalummatu[48] (AHw, p. 1152a), it appears that there was no clear distinction in the minds of the scribes who compiled the lexical lists between i-lim and su-lim. The lexical equivalent i-lim = šaqummatu (Izi V 64, MSL 13, p. 162), i.e. "dead silence, deathly stillness," may indicate that i-lim was more an expression of the human reaction to the moon's appearance than a description of the moon itself; perhaps a dumb, awe-struck wonder at the moon's radiance. su-lim, on the other hand, is more a description of the moon's bright light than an expression of awe, though this latter nuance is present (see AHw, p. 962, su-lim = Akkadian rašubbatu "etwa Schauder und Ehrfurcht erregendes Aussehen"). As an epithet of the moon-god su-lim is clearly used as a

description of the moon's brightness. This is evident from the expression su-lim-dagal meaning something like "wide-ranging sheen"; see Rīmsîn Inscription 11, 4 and OrSuec 19-20, p. 144, No. 2, obv. 3. Note also OrSuec 19-20, p. 146, No. 3, obv. 6 and 13. In the first reference su-lim is said to be visible at noon or afternoon (an-barz-gana2) and in the second Nanna spreads his su-lim upon the land. Such references indicate that su-lim, when used in connection with the moon-god, described some aspect of the moon's bright appearance: radiance, sheen, luminosity, or the like. Other attestations of su-lim are found in OrSuec 19-20, p. 146, No. 3, obv. 14 and ZA 63, p. 31, No. 5, 14. For further references and a discussion of the words i-lim, su-lim and su-zi see Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 116.

iti, itu, iti6:

The Sumerian word for moon and month is iti, itu. Both forms of the word are attested in lexical texts and it is not clear which was the earlier or original form. The fact that the earliest attestations of the word for moon or moonlight are written syllabically as i3-ti may indicate that iti was the original form of the word. Though scholars have usually assumed that i3-ti is an earlier variant for iti6(U4-^{d}NANNA) "moonlight," which writing first occurs in the Old-Babylonian period, it seems to me equally plausible that i3-ti is a syllabic writing for iti "moon."[49] There is no evidence that

scribes made a conceptual distinction between "moonlight" and "moon" before the Old-Babylonian period. According to A. Deimel (ŠL II/1, p. 94, 50, 1) the earliest pictographs of the iti sign depict the crescent moon just visible above the setting sun. Thus, the earliest concept of iti, itu encompassed not only the notion of the moon itself as a celestial body, but also the time of its first visibility at sunset, which marked the beginning of the Sumerian day and , as a secondary nuance, the beginning of the month when the moon was at the start of its cycle. When the specific nuance, "new moon" was intended, it was expressed by the scribes with the word u4-sakar (see below): see for example, Gudea Cyl. A 10, 17-18: šag-bi-a iti-da u4-sakar-ra me-gal-gal-ezen-an-na-mu šu-gal ma-duz-duz "Therein (inside Tiraš) on the new-moon day of (each) month the great me's of my ezennana-festival are perfected by my great hand."; cf. CT 36, pls. 33-34, BM 96739 (tigi-^{d}inanna), rev. 25(=30): iti-da u4-sakar-ra ^{d}suen-ginz; Hymn to Inanna and Iddindagan 27 (cf. Chapter 6, sect. IV 3.1.2). iti, itu very often expresses the time notion "lunar month" as its primary meaning. This is evident from the frequent attestations of the word in connections with the verb gi(-n); the expression iti-gi(-n) means "to fix the month," "to determine the month"; see ZA 63, p. 26, No. 4B, rev. 6'; p. 31, No. 5, 5; p. 32, No. 5, 19 (see Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.5 and sect. IV 3.5); Waradsîn Inscription 28, 5 (Chapter 4,

sect. 4); cf. also ISET 1, 38 Ni 2781, 19 (see Chapter 9): [u4]-na2-a iti-šu-duz-a-zu "On the day of 'lying down' (when the moon disappears at the end of the month) when you complete the month." In all of the above references Nanna/Suen is the agent who "fixes the month" or "completes the month." This, of course, was one of his chief powers and functions as the god who was identified with the lunar orb: to set the standard for time reckoning through the constant and recurrent cycles of the moon. Hence, in many ways Nanna/Suen was not only the god of the moon as a source of light at night, but also the god of time, since the Mesopotamian time system was based on observance of the moon.

Conversely, the use of iti6 indicates that its primary meaning was the moon as luminous celestial body, as light source. This is evident from the writing U4-dNANNA and from attestations which underscore the moon's bright appearance: see, for example, Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 104, 3: en iti6 dagal-buru2 "lord (whose) moonlight is widespread"; p. 70, rev. 11: iti6 ni3-giri17/kiri4-zal un-e u6 mu-e "(your) splendid moonlight which the people behold in awe". Other attestations are Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 13, 4; p. 15, 58; JCS 29, p. 9, 23=27; ZA 63, p. 26, No. 4B, obv. II 5'; OrSuec 19-20, p. 144, No. 2, obv. 5; 149, no. 5, 16'; JAOS 93, p. 352, 13; TCS 3, p. 23, 110. Assuming that the original Sumerian word for moon was iti and that it expressed

both the time concept "lunar month" as well as the notion of the moon as luminous celestial body, the writing U4-dNANNA may have been a later scribal invention used to distinguish the notion of moon as lunar orb and light source from the notion of month as a time unit based on the lunar cycles. The identical pronunciation of the two different signs (iti and U4-dNANNA) probably points to the fact that both of these concepts were originally joined by one word (iti).

kiri4/giri17-zal:

This expression is very commonly attested not only as an epithet of the moon-god, but in reference to many other deities and in a wide variety of contexts. Å. Sjöberg has collected and organized all of the important references in ZA 55, pp.1-10. As Sjöberg points out in reference to the moon-god kiri4/giri17-zal most often occurs in connection with moonlight (iti6); see the references in ZA 55, pp. 6-7, d. The expression (en) kiri4/giri17-zal-an-na occurs several times as an epithet of the moon-god: Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 70, 1; p. 13, 8 and 33. Note also OrSuec 19-20, p.146, No. 3, obv. 3 and rev. 13' where the epithets kiri4/giri17-zal-a-a-ugu-na[50] and en kiri4/giri17-zal occur. In one instance, the city of Ur is called uru-kiri4/giri17-zal-dnanna-kam In two instances kiri4/giri17-zal is connected with the phrase ki-us2 "founded," literally, "touching the earth": Or Suec 19-20, p. 144, no. 2, obv. 7 and ZA 63, p. 32, No. 5, 24.

Despite the many attestations of the phrase and its numerous contexts, no satisfactory explanation of its primary meaning can yet be offered. This is due to the fact that zal has such a wide range of meanings that it is not certain how it was used in connection with kiri4/giri17, the meaning of which is also in doubt. Since syllabic writings and glosses attest gi-ir and ki-ri (see ZA 55, p. 2), it is not certain whether the word kiri4 "nose" is meant or some other word with a wholly different meaning which is to be read gir(i)17. Lacking this essential information about the roots of the phrase, it is not possible to do more than conjecture plausible connotations based on context and Akkadian equivalents.

As Å. Sjöberg has shown (ZA 55, pp. 2-4, a) kiri4/giri17-zal often occurs in connection with expressions for abundance, fertility, growth, etc., particularly, the word ḫe2-gal2 with which it is often paired. A particularly enlightening reference is found in the composition "Enlilsudraše" 147 and 149 (quoted by Å. Sjöberg, ZA 55, p. 4): an-ta ḫe2-gal2 im-da-šeg3-šeg3 ... ki-ta kiri4/giri17-zal im-da-mu2-mu2 "From above it causes abundance to ever rain down, ... from below it causes kiri4/giri17-zal to ever sprout up." Here ḫe2-gal2 seems to be the fertility brought about by the rains which flood the rivers and thus bring irrigation to the lands; it comes from above. Conversely,

kiri4/giri17-zal comes from below and appears to be the fertility of the earth which causes the crops to grow. This meaning seems to be in accord with the equivalency kiri4/giri17-zal = taslītu "splendor" = urgītu "green, plant growth" (ZA 55, p. 1). Perhaps, by extension this sense of kiri4/giri17-zal is applied to the moon and moonlight, the monthly growth of the moon through its phases being a kind of symbolic analogy to the growth of plant life (see above sub gu2-me-er-me-re/er).

kiri4/giri17-zal is also equivalent to Akkadian muttallu(m) "noble, proud" and ḫidūtu(m) "joy" (references in ZA 55, p. 1). These connotations may be emphasized in the expression kiri4/giri17-zal-a-a-ugu-na "pride/joy of the father who sired him" (cited above).

gu2-gal/ku6-gal2:

This epithet translated as "canal inspector" originally meant (according to Th. Jacobsen, JNES 5, p. 130b), "one who stocks (ponds and rivers) with fish." Jacobsen's interpretation is confirmed by the writing ku6-gal2, which occurs in OrSuec 19-20, p.144, No. 2, obv. 9 and 146, No. 3, 17 where the epithet is applied to Ibbisuen. The only attestation of the epithet in reference to the moon-god occurs in Urnammu Inscription 29, I, 8 where it occurs in the name of a canal that Urnammu dug: iz-^{d}nanna-gu2-gal. The word was borrowed into Akkadian as gugallu (see CAD vol. 5, pp. 121-122; AHw, pp. 295-296). As god of Ur one of the chief

functions of Nanna/Suen was to provide fertility and prosperity to the farmlands on which the populace of the city depended. The key to fertility was irrigation through the flooding of rivers and canals. The epithet gu2-gal/ku6-gal2 underscores this aspect of Nanna/Suen's divine power.

kur-ra tu-da-ni:

The concept of a deity being "born in the mountains" is frequently attested in reference to many deities; see the references collected by A. Falkenstein, SGL I, pp. 116ff. The expression is applied once to the moon-god: Å. Sjöberg, JCS 34, p. 74, 5'; cf. Mondgott, p. 89, 7 (see also Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.9 and n. 136). In connection with this phrase is perhaps the frequent association of Nanna/Suen with the "lofty mountains" (kur-un3-na); see OrSuec 19-20, p.145, No. 3, obv. 2; ZA 63, p. 31, No. 5, 1; Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 70, 8.

lugal:

The epithet lugal "lord (king)" is the most common epithet of the moon-god; see the synopses at the ends of Chapters 4 and 6. It is also one of the oldest epithets, being attested already in Presargonic inscriptions as an epithet of the moon-god (Chapter 4, sect. 1). This, of course, is to be expected inasmuch as the title lugal is attested as early as the Uruk I period[51]. The concept of the patron god of a city being its divine overlord is

probably a very ancient concept.[52] According to the prologue of Urnammu's law code the authority to rule over Ur was given to Nanna by An and Enlil (see Chapter 6, sect. III A 1). How the authority expressed by the terms lugal and en differed is not quite clear (see above sub en), though it seems likely that lugal was originally a political title applied to a war-leader and only secondarily came to be used as a title for gods.[53] en may therefore be the older title. By the Ur-III period, however, Nanna is consistently referred to as lugal or lugal-uri$_2^{ki}$-ma "lord," "lord of Ur," by the kings of Ur in their dedicatory inscriptions. This usage is maintained by the kings of Isin, Larsa, and Babylon. Thus, by the Ur-III period the concepts that Nanna was the lugal of his city and that the authority expressed by this term was given to him by An and Enlil were firmly established.

Besides his role as sovereign of Ur, Nanna/Suen is also frequently called lugal-an-ki(-a) "lord of heaven and earth," a title that probably hearkens back to the Ur-III period when the moon-god was the patron deity of the most powerful city of Mesopotamia. Such hyperbole, which is often found in hymns to many deities, does not imply that the status of the moon-god was elevated above that of An and Enlil. This is clear from the reference in the prologue to Urnammu's law code cited above. Attestations of the epithet lugal-an-ki(-a) applied to

the moon-god are UET 6, 106, 6, 22, 50; OrSuec 19-20, p.147, No. 4, 5 (gaba-gal$_2$ an-ki-a lugal-bi na-nam; note also obv. 1: [lugal/en]-an-ki); and possibly UET 6, 67, 19.[54] As an epithet emphasizing the moon-god's celestial aspects, he is called lugal-an-na "lord of heaven" (OrSuec 19-20, p.149, No. 4, 62; see also TCS 3, p. 23, 116: lugal-ana$_2$-kam) and lugal-an-ku$_3$-ga "lord of the bright/clear sky" (Šulgi D 295); cf. MBI 12 I 12': [l]ugal an-ku$_3$-ga-še$_3$ tum$_2$-ma "ruler fit for the bright/clear sky." He is once called lugal-maḫ "lofty lord" (Šiniddinam Inscription 2, 13).

Emphasizing his role as god of the cattle herds is the epithet lugal-tur$_3$-ku$_3$-ga "lord of the holy cattle pen" (ZA 63, p. 37, No. 6, 33). In the "Letter to Nanna" the moon-god is called lugal-ša$_3$-la$_2$-su$_3$ "merciful lord" (Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 104-107).

ma2(-gur8):

Nanna/Suen is described by the epithet "boat" and "barge" in several hymns: bal-bal hymn to Suen, 41 (Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 13-34): lugal ma2-gur8-ku3 an-na diri-ga "lord, pure barge floating across the sky"; er2-šem3-ma hymn to Suen, obv. 1 (Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, pp. 44f.): ma2-gur8-ku3-an-na "holy barge of heaven;" similarly, obv. 9: ma2-gur8 an-šaz-ga diri-ga "O barge, floating in the midst of heaven;" obv. 11: a-a dnanna ma2-ginz a-gi6-a diri-ga-zu-de3 "Father Nanna, when you float upon the flood waters like a boat"; note also line 36 where the ma2-gur8-ku3-ga is said to fill the marsh with water (see Chapter 6, sect. IV 1.1); prayer for Samsuilūna (TCL 16, 43): ma2-gur8-an-na "barge of heaven"; and Hymn to Lamasaga, obv. 11 (JCS 26, pp. 158-177): ma2-gur8-dsuen [su3-su3]-[x] "the barge of Suen which moves (across the sky)"; cf. also JCS 34, p. 75, obv. 7 (see Chapter 6, sect. III B 2.3).

The moon was metaphorically described as a boat because its crescent shape resembled the long-prowed boats used in Mesopotamia; in its course across the night sky it appeared to be floating like a boat across the sky. This was an obvious image for a people who used such boats for commerce and travel on the rivers and canals which served as the main network of transportation between cities. When Nanna/Suen was identified with the moon, he was often portrayed as "the heavenly barge" as the references above indicate.

When he was conceptualized in anthropomorphic terms, he was described as riding a boat like humans. Boats were used in cultic festivals to transport the image of the deity from city to city.[55] At such times Nanna/Suen was depicted in very human terms as a river traveller undertaking a boat trip to visit the other deities at their various cult sites. The moon-god like the other major deities had his own boat designed for this cultic use. This boat is described in great detail in "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur" (see Chapter 6, sect. III B 3.1) and also in Šulgi H, iii 13-16 (see Chapter 6, sect. III A 2.7) where Šulgi brings Nanna's ma2-gur8 boat to the quay; cf. also Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 44f., 19=21: uri2^{ki}-ma ma2-gur8-ku3-ga u5-a-zu-de3 "When you board the holy barge in Ur"; p. 81, rev. 18: kar-zi-da kar-ma2-gur8-ra-[za] "at your 'true' quay, the quay of the ma2-gur8 barge."[56]

References to the cultic use of boats are also found in Ur-III administrative texts from Ur. A festival for the boat of Suen is noted in UET 3, 190, obv. 5-6: ezen-ma2-gur8-^{d}suen-še3 / iti-a2-ki-ti. UET 3, 377 records offerings to the ma2-^{d}nanna (cf. above sub aga/men). Offerings of ma2-gur8 barges as votive gifts to Nanna (probably small models of boats)[57] are frequently attested in Ur administrative texts: UET 3, 272; 730; 754; UET 5, 561; 563; 566; 567; in addition, offerings to the ma2-gu-la "the great boat" are recorded

in UET 3, 189, 190, and 410; see further L. Legrain, UET 3, Indexes, p. 24 sub ma2-dnanna.

Finally, one also finds the epithet dma2-gu-la-an-na "great boat of heaven" in late god-lists where it is listed along with other epithets of the moon-god: KAV 51, obv. 13; CT 24, 18 I 5; 30 IV 4. dma2-gur8 is also attested as a by-name for the moon-god in these same god-lists; for references see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 27 to 41. Note that in KAV 51, 24 dma2-gur8 is equated with Akkadian nanna'arul, an equation which demonstrates that the crescent moon was envisioned as the heavenly barge; cf. ArOr 37, p. 492, iii 87/88 where ma2-gur8-ra = dnanna-ri.

maš2-sag:

Nanna is called "leader" (lit. 'lead kid') of the land" in an incantation: OECT 5, 19, 25 (see Chapter 6, sect. III B 5.5).

me-lam2:

me-lam2, loaned into Akkadian as melammu is according to CAD's definition (vol. 10/2, p. 9) a "supernatural awe-inspiring sheen (inherent in things divine and royal)." Cf. also A.L. Oppenheim's definition (JAOS 63, p. 31): "a dazzling aureole or nimbus which surrounds the divinity." In reference to the moon-god me-lam2 describes the moon's characteristic radiance. The natural radiance of both moon and sun must have provided the perfect demonstation of the concept of me-

lam2, and perhaps even inspired it. The moon-god's visage (muš3) is said to be "arrayed with a dazzling sheen" in Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 70, 2: muš3 me-lam2-su3-su3. His "dazzling sheen bedecks the clear (pure) sky": Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 104, 11: me-lam2-zu an-ku3-ga šu2-a. Nanna is "the great lord whose head in (its) radiance is lifted": Rīmsîn Inscription 11, 2: en-gal me-lam2-ma sag il2. Other references to the moon-god's me-lam2 are UET 6, 67, 4 and 62; ISET 1, 38, Ni 2781, 24; and UET 6, 104, 36 (cf. H. Steible, Rīmsîn); see further Å. Sjöberg's comments on the term in Mondgott, p. 72 and TCS 3, p. 59.

me-te:

me-te is equivalent to Akkadian simtu(m) according to lexical lists (see AHw, pp. 1045-1046). Note that simtu(m) is also equated with te alone, so that it appears that te can mean not only "approach," but "to belong to." Thus, me-te literally means "belonging to me, pertaining to me, in line with me," or the like. Th. Jacobsen translates it "approaching the norm" (JNES 5, p. 139[20]). W. von Soden seems to interpret simtu(m) in a similar way with his translation "(Wesens-) Zugehorigkeit" (AHw, p. 1045).[58] Nanna/Suen is called by the epithet dnun me-te-an-na (Ibbisuen year-date 16; see Chapter 4, sect. 5) "prince, the fitting one of heaven" or more literally, "prince, the one belonging to the me's ('set norms') of An (heaven)." The moon-god is also

called me-te-gal2-sag-gi6-ga (var. -sag-gi-gi) "he who is the fitting one of the black-headed race" (JCS 34, p. 74, A 16'; B 22; cf. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 89): see also MBI 12, ii, 8 (Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.16). Calling the moon-god by the epithet me-te may emphasize the position of the moon as a fixed part of the cosmic order, especially in the epithet me-te-an-na. The epithet me-te-gal2-sag-gi6-ga suggests that the moon was seen as one of the fixed norms of the cosmos by which the "black-headed people" regulated their lives.

mu2-mu2:

One of the most important concepts associated with the moon-god is expressed in the phrase mu2-mu2 "ever renewing." The expression refers to the constantly repeated cycle of the moon's changing phases: its appearance, waxing, waning, disappearance, and reappearance each month. As I have noted before, the observed perpetual motion of the moon in its cycles not only served as the basis of reckoning time in lunar months, but also was the potent symbol for the perpetual cycle of generation and regeneration of life as a whole. The moon-god was revered as the god who had the power to regenerate himself each month and was therefore beseeched to lend this power to grain, cattle and man himself so that all could prosper and flourish.

Perhaps the best expression of the symbolic relationship between the cycles of the moon and the

generation or regeneration of life is in the inscription of Samsuilūna where the king prays for a "life which like Nanna is renewed every month": nam-ti-la ^{d}nanna-ginz iti-iti-da mu2-mu2-da (var. -dam) = ba-la-ṭam šá ki-ma ^{d}EN.ZU wa-ar-ḫi-šá-am u2-te-ed-de-šu (Samsuilūna A 75-76; see Chapter 4, sect. 4). The fertility of the crops and the generative power in the land, which are symbolized by the ever-renewing cycle of the moon, is referred to in a Rīmsîn Hymn (UET 6, 104, 79; see Steible Rīmsîn, p. 35: a-šá$_3$$^{(!)}$-ga še ḫu-mu-na-ab-mu2-mu2 "May the barley of the field ever be renewed for him"; cf. line 40. The sign of the moon-god's ability to renew himself was of course the appearance of the new moon after the short period of darkness at the end of each month. The first appearance of the new moon during this period was carefully observed not only as a marker for determining the beginning of the lunar month, but also because of its deeper significance as a symbol of rebirth and new life. The practice of lunar observation is referred to in Šulgi E, 32 (text A): u4-sakar mu2-mu2 šed ni-SED-de$_3$ gal$_2$ ba-ab-tag$_4$-a-ga$_2$ "About my solving the count of the ever-renewing new-moon day through calculation (they composed songs)." The return of the moon's light to the sky is also alluded to in several attestations: Rīmsîn Inscription 11, 4-5: u4$^{(!)}$ (= zalag) su-lim-dagal še-er-zi-bi mu2-mu2 "light, wide radiance, the rays of which are ever

renewing;" OrSuec 19-20, p.147, No. 4, 1=6: sud-DU-ag2 bi2-mu2-mu2 "He ever renews (his) sheen;" UET 6, 28, 5: dnanna dingir-ra-e3 mu2-mu2-de3 "Nanna, the god who arises, who ever renews (himself)."

mu6-sub3, mu-LU, mu-nu10(KU), me-a-am:

These words, all meaning "shepherd, herder," are attested several times as epithets of the moon-god in his role as provider and protector of the herds. In Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 80, 4 Suen is called mu-nu10-de3 ki-ab2-lu-a-n[a] "herder in his place where the cows are abundant" (cf. sect. III B 1.8 of my Chapter 6). He is referred to as mu-LU in JCS 29, p. 13, No. 4, obv. 20; cf. also N 1542 Edge 1 (see Chapter 9); on the reading of mu-LU and mu-nu10(KU) and their meaning see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 84. For mu6-sub3 = rē'û(m) see Å. Sjöberg, JCS 29, p. 15 where references of the word's use as an epithet of the moon-god have been collected. The word me-a-am also may mean "shepherd, herder," though this interpretation cannot yet be proved (Cf. Wilcke's interpretation; AS 20, p. 303). The word occurs twice in connection with the moon-god: JCS 29, p. 14, rev. 30' and TuM NF IV, 7, col. II, 96 (cf. Chapter 6, sections III B 1.2 and 1.12); cf. utul below.

muš3:

The word muš3 is frequently attested describing some aspect of the moon-god's radiance or glow. Since the word is equated with Akkadian zīmu "appearance,

looks, countenance, luster; glow (of stars)" (CAD vol. 21, p. 119), it seems to refer to the bright facade of the moon, its "face," as opposed to its rays. The word, however, has broad connotations outside of its use as an epithet of the moon-god. These are not often clear; see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 128ff. and TCS 3, pp. 55-56. The muš3 of Nanna/Suen is variously described as muš3 me-lam2 su3-su3 "arrayed with a dazzling sheen" in Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 70, 2 (see above sub me-lam2); muš3-ku3 "pure visage," "pure glow" in ZA 63, p. 31, No. 5, 15; muš3 ḫi-li su3 "visage arrayed in grace" in Nāradad Inscription 3, 3; and muš3-me-ḫuš = zi-mu ru-šu-tum "awesome countenance" in the Letter to Nanna, obv. 9; cf. N 1542, obv. 4 (broken context; see Chapter 9).[60]

na-gada-maḫ:

Suen is called na-gada-maḫ "lofty herdsman" (= Akkadian nāgidu) in broken context in TCL 16, 18, iv, 23; cf. Chapter 6, sect. IV 3.2.2.

na-de6:

This word is applied to the moon-god only once in the epithet an-ki-a na-de6 "counselor of heaven and earth": JCS 29, p. 8, obv. 10 (cf. Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.12).

nam-tar:

Though the role of "deciding the fates" (nam-tar) is usually attributed to Enlil, the moon-god is often

attested as carrying out this function as well. This conception may have arisen from the fact that the moon-god was thought to be in the underworld at the end of the month when he disappeared from the night sky; see Two Elegies No. 1, 90: ^{d}nanna-a u$_4$-na$_2$-a nam-zu he$_2$-tar-re "May Nanna decide your fate (favorably) on the day of lying down (i.e. when the moon disappears at the end of the month)." During this time Nanna/Suen not only decreed the fates, but acted as a judge; see my commentary and references attesting to this role of the moon-god in Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.5. References to Nanna/Suen's role as fate-decider can be found in the hymns of Šulgi (Šulgi H, 8; X, 133, 140), Ibbisuen (OrSuec 19-20, 146, No. 3, obv. 14), Šu-suen (TuM NF IV, 12, obv. 16), Iddindagan (ISET 1, 39, Ni 2781, rev. 28'-29'); also obv. 24 and rev. 4; and Rīmsîn (UET 6, 104, 52). The Šu-suen and Iddindagan (rev. 4) references are important because they eludicate the relationship of Nanna and Enlil with respect to the role of deciding the fates. In the Šu-suen hymn it is said that Nanna is the one who "decides a great fate with Nunamnir" and in the Iddindagan reference Enlil bestows on Nanna the power to decide the fates, "the prerogative of Enlil" (a-ra$_2$-nam-^{d}en-l[il$_2$-la$_2$]). Such statements suggest that the power to decide the fates, originally the prerogative only of Enlil, was also attributed to Nanna probably during the Ur-III period when Ur was at the height of its political

power. In order to rationalize this exaltation of Nanna's status to a level on a par with Enlil, the idea of the two gods sharing the power to decide the fates was developed. A further attempt at rationalizing what could be a conflict of authority between two prestigious gods is seen in the Iddindagan reference where the power to decide the fates is said to be delegated from father to son, from Enlil to Nanna/Suen.

nam2-nun:

The reading nam2-nun-e is based on ZA 61, p. 200 I and A i (R.D. Biggs, "An Archaic Version of the Kesh Temple Hymn"), where the same epithet nam2-nun-e is parallel in the Old-Babylonian recension to an Abū Ṣalābīkh variant: nam-nun-e. Biggs states in his commentary (o.c., p. 204), "The writing nam in the archaic version proves that one must read KU-nun as nam2-nun (and not eš2-nun, ege-nun or giz-nun)." Close examination of the Old-Babylonian recensions of the Kesh temple hymn reveals that in each case the sign read as nam2 by Biggs is a TUG2 sign. This clearly indicates that the Old-Babylonian scribe used the TUG2 sign to express the value nam2 in the complex nam2-nun-e (as the Abū Ṣalābīkh variant proves), whereas the KU sign and EŠ2 signs were meant to express other values (see also Biggs, JCS 20, p. 81, n. 59 where he demonstrates that in archaic texts TUG2 to be read tug2 is written differently from a close graphic variant to be read

nam$_2$). The sign-forms for KU, TUG$_2$, NAM$_2$, and ĚŠ$_2$ were all clearly distinguished in the early periods. It is likely that in the Old-Babylonian period scribes were still aware of these distinctions. Only in later periods were the forms confused and the different values conflated into one KU sign. In this connection see E.I. Gordon, JCS 12, p. 72ff. (Excursus), who attempts to prove that the reading giz, ger$_x$ (or eger$_x$) is correct only for the ĚŠ$_2$ sign as distinct from KU and TUG$_2$. (Note that in MSL 2 and in the Yale Syllabary, now part of MSL 14, the values of KU, TUG$_2$, and ĚŠ$_2$ are still carefully separated; see Gordon, o.c., pp. 72-73, footnotes 8 and 9). The value giz is, of course, correct in expressions such as eme-giz (where lexical texts equate giz with gi). As Gordon pointed out (o.c.) this reading refers back to an earlier ĚŠ$_2$ sign, even in later periods when no graphic distinction between TUG$_2$ and ĚŠ$_2$ was preserved; see also F.R. Kraus, Sumerer und Akkader, pp. 52ff.

The meaning of nam$_2$ in the compound has recently been established to mean "lord." It is equivalent to en in the UD.GAL.NUN texts (see W.G. Lambert, OA 20, pp. 82-97; especially pp. 94ff.). nam$_2$-nun-e is also attested as an epithet of the moon-god in TCL 15, 17, 10: nam$_2$-nun-e nam$_2$-nun-e nam-nun-gal-dingir-re-e-ne-ke$_4$ (revising Å. Sjöberg's reading in Mondgott, p. 65) where the nam of the abstract noun nam-nun is used as a kind of literary pun on the preceding nam$_2$-nun-e (cf. Chapter

6, sect. IV 2.5). It is also attested syllabically in VAS 2, 1, 1 (revising Å. Sjöberg's interpretation in Mondgott, p. 90; see Chapter 6, sect. 1.9). Note that it is also attested twice as an epithet of Enlil (TCL 15, 28: 33ff., and references in Mondgott, p. 68 to 10; BASOR 88, p. 16:47). Cf. also the god-name ^{d}nam$_{2}$-nun which occurs in deity lists from Fara (SF II, 12626, iii, 11; 12760, vii, 16: ^{d}nam$_{2}$-nun-nun(?); Jestin, TSŠ, 629, obv. III 3).

ne$_{3}$-gal tuku:

This epithet meaning "having great strength" occurs only once in reference to the moon-god: N 1542, obv. 5: ^{d}suen-e ur-sag ne$_{3}$-gal tuku nam-gur$_{4}$-bi x [...] "Suen, warrior, having great strength, whose 'weightiness' [...]." Note, however, that though the reading ne$_{3}$-gal is probable, the sign read ne$_{3}$ is actually a PIRIG SIGN, not a GIRI$_{3}$ sign (see commentary to N1542, obv. 5 in Chapter 9); ne$_{3}$-gal in reference to the moon-god also occurs in TuM NF IV, 12, obv. 14 (see commentary to this line in Chapter 9).

ni$_{3}$-si-sa$_{2}$(-e) ki-ag$_{2}$:

Suen is said to "love righteousness" in the epic "Lugalbanda ḫurrum" 215/216: lugal-e/^{d}suen-e ni$_{3}$-si-sa$_{2}$(-e) ki-ag$_{2}$ ni$_{3}$-ne-ru-e ḫul-gig "lord/Suen, who loves righteousness, who hates evil". An indirect reference to this same epithet occurs in OrSuec 19-20, p. 143, III 37': ^{d}suen-gim$_{7}$ ni$_{3}$-si-sa$_{2}$-e ki-ag$_{2}$ "like Suen loving

righteousness" (referring to the god Lugalgirra). The phrase most likely reflects the moon-god's role as all-seeing judge who can discern right from wrong and hence, loves righteousness and hates evil; see igi-dagal and nam-tar above and Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.5 on Nanna/Suen's role as judge.

nir, nir-gal2:

Both of these epithets, which can be translated as "respected one," describe not only the quality of high esteem and reverence which were applied to any deity, but denote a certain hierarchical status in the Sumerian pantheon. Like its Akkadian counterpart, etellu(m), nir-gal2 seems to be "applied to the younger generation of gods, such as Šamaš, Marduk, Ninurta, etc., and only rarely to Anu and Enlil" (CAD vol. 4, p. 383). As epithets of the moon-god the nir and nir-gal2 define Nanna/Suen's status in the pantheon as one of the high gods worthy of great respect, yet nonetheless subordinate to the highest deities of the pantheon, An and Enlil. Thus, in Abīsarē Inscription 4, 2'-3' the moon-god is described as being "endowed with respect by great An" (an-gal-e nir sum-ma). By this act An not only confers a certain amount of prestige on the moon-god, but defines the hierarchical relationship between the two as "overlord" to "prince." This may also be the sense of the cryptic line in OrSuec 19-20, p.145, No. 2, obv. 16: an-e nir gi-ba dUD-šeš-kam-babbar ...]; and a

nuance in the epithet nir-an-na: ZA 63, p. 31, No. 5, 1. In this connection note also the name of the En-priestess en-nir-zi-an-na which may contain an epithet of the moon-god (Šulgi year-date 15 and 17; cf. Chapter 4, sect. 5). The epithet nir-zi-mah-an-na "the true (and) lofty reverenced one of An/heaven" in Abīsarē Inscription 4, 8'.

nir-gal2 is frequently attested as an epithet of the moon-god, both by itself and in compounds. The dual nuance of high esteem, yet subordination to higher authorities is also expressed in the way this epithet is used. See, for example, Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 44, 7: i-bi2-a-a-zu i-bi2-^{d}mu-ul-lil2-la šeš-er-ma-al-la-zu-de3 "In the eyes of your father, in the eyes of Mullil (= Enlil), you are the respected one." Nanna/Suen is raised to a level of high respect by his father, who is the higher authority. This same idea is implied in the epithet nir-gal2-e2-kur-ra (Iddindagan Inscription 2, 3; cf. OrSuec 19-20, p.146, No. 3, obv. 4). Nanna/Suen receives high respect in the temple of Enlil at Nippur where he is part of the local pantheon and hence subordinate to the chief city god. Nanna/Suen is also called nir-gal2-an-ki-a "respected one (prince) of heaven and earth" (Šulgi B, 2, i, 2), nir-gal2-an-na "respected one (prince) of heaven" (Šulgi A, 101), nir-gal2-dim2-me-en-e-ne "the respected one among the gods" (Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 166: post-Old-Babylonian šu-

ila$_2$ prayer); see also Ibbisuen Inscription A 9-10, 35; OrSuec 19-20, 146, No. 3, obv. 8; ZA 63, p. 26, No. 48, obv. II 4'; and Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 44, 1 where nir-gal$_2$ is used by itself as an epithet of the moon-god. In lexical texts nir-gal$_2$ is occasionally equivalent to Akkadian takālu and tukultu (cf. AHw, pp. 1304, 1368).

nun:

nun like en and lugal is one of the oldest words for ruler in Sumerian and is a frequently attested epithet not only of the moon-god, but also of many other major gods. A glance at the synopses at the ends of Chapters 4 and 6 will reveal how often nun is used as an epithet of Nanna/Suen. The word is used both as a noun and as a adjective and has been traditionally translated by scholars as "prince" or "princely" based on its Akkadian lexical equivalent rubû(m) (see AHw, pp. 992-993). Th. Jacobsen has interpreted the title as "one of authority based on respect only, settling disputes without recourse to force" (ZA 52, p. 136, n. 102). H. Zimmern has suggested that the term is the title for a city god or goddess (ZA 39, p. 246, n. 2). But it is well to remember as Falkenstein has pointed out (SGL I, p. 29 and n. 19) that because the term occurs mainly in literary texts which give little indication of its connotations, it is difficult to offer any more precise rendering of the word than "ruler." The English "prince" is even somewhat misleading since "prince" carries the

secondary connotation of "son of a sovereign"; nun, on the other hand, can refer to Enlil, one of the highest authorities among the gods and progenitor of many of the deities. nun, unlike the terms lugal and en was not used as a title for human authorities.

Besides nun by itself, the moon-god is also called nun-zi-le (see above sub dumu-zi-le), dumu-nun, and nam2-nun (see above). The epithet nun-u18-ru "'mighty' prince" also occurs (Rīmsîn Inscription 11, 6 (see below sub u18-ru/uru16).

pa-e3:

See above sub dalla-e3.

peš10-gal2:

Attestations for peš10-gal2 have been collected by Å. Sjöberg in Or NS 38, pp. 354-355 (commentary to TuM NF IV, 12, 12) and in OrSuec 19-20, pp. 170=171 (commentary to line 10). Note also SRT 6 IV 15=7 and 63. In addition, cf. Kagal C I, 25 (MSL 13, p. 239): peš10(KI.A) = ma-am-lum; and VAS 17, 11, 2: peš10(!)(KI(!).A)-gal2-dingir-re-e-ne-ke4. Although the precise nuances of peš10-gal2 are still uncertain, the basic sense of the word is indicated by the Akkadian equivalent mamlu "hero, noble, mighty" (see CAD, vol. 10/1 (M), p. 195 sub mamlu). The only time the phrase is applied to the moon-god is in TuM NF IV, 12, obv. 14 (cf. Chapter 9): peš10-gal2 ne3-gal dingir-gal-e-ne "the mighty one whose power (is) great among the great gods."

pirig:

The moon-god is called a "lion" (pirig) in TCL 15, 30, obv. 5 and rev. 9 (Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 70f.). In obv. 5 of this text he is pirig-gal-an-ku3-ga "great lion of holy An." He is also called a lion in CT 42, pl. 20, No. 9, 1: uš̌umgal pirig kal-kal en3-še3̌ na-kur2-kur2 "O dragon, lion highly prized, how long (will it be till) you are no longer hostile?" (cf. Chapter 6, sect. IV 2.6). The earliest reference of the epithet when it is applied to the moon-god is Ibbisuen Inscription A 9-10, 31: en pirig-gal-an-ki "lord, great lion of heaven and earth." For other references see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 38, 42^{5}, 74, 95^{1}, 116. The lion was the favorite image of strength and ferocity in Mesopotamia from the earliest attested times to the Neo-Babylonian period. It is not only referred to as an epithet of many deities in textual sources, but is also frequently depicted on cylinder seals, reliefs, and sculpture.

sag-gal:

This epithet meaning literally "great head" is applied to the moon-god only once in an inscription of Iddindagan: Iddindagan 2, 2: sag-gal-dingir-dingir-a-nun-ke4-ne "great chief of the Anunna-gods" (see my comments on these lines in Chapter 4, sect. 4, commentary). Note that Utu also bears the epithet sag-gal in BE 31, 27, 17.

sag-kal:

sag-kal is equivalent to Akkadian aššarēdu "first, foremost." There are indications that the phrase is sometimes writtensag-rib, sometimes sag-kal (see TCS 3, p. 66). As an epithet of the moon-god it is used by itself in N 1542, obv. 1 (see Chapter 9): sag-kal e2-kur-ra [...] "foremost in the Ekur"; see also Barton MBI 12, II, 4' (see Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.16). It is also found as a modifier of uššum in OrSuec 19-20, p.145, No. 3, obv. 2: dsuen uššum-sag-kal, the meaning of which is ambiguous (see my comments in Chapter 6, sect. III A 5.2). Both sag-kal and sag-gal are equated in later lexical lists with kattillu, a mythical beast of prey or demon in the form of a wild animal (see CAD, vol. 8, p. 307 and AHw, p. 466). However, in light of the fact that the moon-god is often described in terms of his status as first, foremost, chief, exalted, etc., it seems to me more probable that both sag-kal and sag-gal also express this same aspect. In addition, the expression sag-kal e2-kur-ra could hardly be interpreted sensibly if sag-kal were equated with kattillu.

sag-il2:

sag-il2 "raising the head" is a very common phrase applied to many deities and is roughly equivalent in meaning to the above expressions, sag-gal and sag-kal. Parallel to the expression sag-gal-dingir-dingir-a-nun-ke4-ne (quoted above sub sag-gal) is the phrase sag-il2-

mah-^{d}a-nun-na-ke$_4$-ne "whose head is raised high among the Anunna-gods" (Šulišu Inscription 1, 2-3). In this context the phrase expresses simply Nanna's preeminence among the Anunna gods. In other contexts the phrase seems to refer more literally to the moon as the manifestation of the moon-god. The moon is seen as Nanna/Suen's head raised high in the heavens. See, for example, OrSuec 19-20, p.145, No. 3, obv. 1: en-gal u$_4$ giš-he$_2$-ta sag-il$_2$ še-er-zi x-a. Rimsîn Inscription 11, 2: ^{d}nanna en-gal me-lam$_2$-ma sag-il$_2$ "Nanna, great lord, whose head in its radiance is lifted". The men-crown of Nanna/Suen is also often referred to as "raising its head": see Waradsîn Inscription 28, 3 and Waradsîn Inscription 29, 25-26; ZA 63, p. 31, No. 5, 8; UET 6, 67, 65, 66, 67; cf. also 5, 20 and 48 of the same text (see Chapter 9).

si-mah, si-mu$_2$, si-mul(-mul), si-un$_3$-na:

A series of related epithets describe the moon-god in terms of his "horns" (si). The epithets refer to the moon-god in his celestial manifestations and hence the word "horn" is used metaphorically to describe the cusps of the crescent moon. The description of the lunar crescent as a bull and the relation of Nanna/Suen's persona as god of the herders to that of moon-god has been noted frequently above. The epithet si-mah occurs only once: UET 6, 28, 5: ^{d}nanna dingir/an-pa-e$_3$ mu$_2$-mu$_2$-de$_3$ si-mah-bi ... "Nanna, the god who rises/who comes

forth (at) the zenith, the ever-renewing one, whose high horns ..." si-mu2 occurs in the epithet si-mu2-ku3-an-na "the holy horned one of heaven" cited by Å. Sjöberg in Mondgott, p. 143. si-mul(-mul) "shining horns" occurs in OrSuec 19-20, p. 149, No. 5, 13': si-mul-mul sud-DU-ag2-an-na šu[l dsuen ...] "(the one with) shining horns, sheen of heaven, youth, Suen, ...;" and ZA 63, p. 31, No. 5, 12 (si-mul-mul); TuM NF IV, 12, rev. 9 (broken context); note also UET 6, 67, 48: si-mul muš3-keš2-nam-men(!)-na and 67: sag-men aga-zi-da si-mul; in these latter two references si-mul seems to describe some part of the headgear worn by the god. It is possible that si-mul refers to some aspect of the garb worn by the cult statue as well as being a metaphorical description of the moon. si-un3-na is somewhat problematic. It appears to have some connection with the other epithets of the moon-god which contain the component si "horn." However, it is equated with Akkadian elât šamê "heights of heaven, zenith" in lexical and bilingual texts (see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 66 and CAD, vol. 4, p. 79 sub elâtu A). One would expect the epithet to define some aspect of the moon's cusps as the other epithets with si do. But according to the Akkadian equivalent it refers to a location in the heavens, i.e. "the heights" or "zenith." At least one reference indicates that si-un3 was not always used in the sense of elât šamê: Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 66 cites a Šulgi text in which Šulgi is

described as: gu4-si-un3 gu2-erim2-gala2-ka kiri4-be2 du7 "bull with long (lit. 'high') horns who gores all enemies with its horn (lit. 'nose')." Since un3-na by itself is known to correspond to Akkadian elû "high," the literal meaning of si-un3-na appears to be "high-horned" or "long-horned" as in the Šulgi reference just cited. As applied to the moon "high-horned" perhaps referred to the moon when the cusps of its crescent had reached the highest point of the moon's circuit in the heavens. Note that si-mu2 and si-un3-na also occur in connection with other gods besides Nanna/Suen; see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 66 and 143.

sud-DU-ag2:

References for sud-DU-ag2 and its variant forms (sud-da-ag2, sud-ag2, su3-ud-ag2) have been collected by Å. Sjöberg, OrSuec 19-20, pp.163ff. in his commentary to CBS 11168, 3. Add to these ZA 63, p. 31, No. 5, 8 and 16; ZA 63, p. 26, No. 4B, rev. I 7'; N 1542, obv. 3 (see Chapter 9). A reading sud-ra2-ag2 is possible based on such expressions as zi-u4-sud-ra2 but cannot yet be proved. The postulated -dr- phoneme in Sumerian would have been difficult to discern for Semitic scribes unused to the sound and could easily have been omitted in such writings as sud-da-ag2, sud-ag2, and su3-ud-ag2.

su3-DU-ag2 is equated principally with Akkadian elmešu, a type of precious stone (see CAD, vol. 4, pp. 107-108) and figuratively with nūru and the light of the

moon. Since the usage of su3-DU-ag2/elmeš seems to express a characterisitc color of a brilliant precious stone, its use as a description of the moon and moonlight was probably meant to express some particular shade or quality of the moon's color or brilliance. Therefore, the translation "light" is only a vague rendering of a word that probably had very specific nuances and is used tentatively until a more precise definition of the word can be arrived at; cf. M. Civil, JNES 23, pp. 7ff. and his suggestion that the stone referred to by the word is electrum. See also van Dijk SGL II, p. 150, n. 6 where van Dijk suggests that the second element -ag2 may be equivalent to Akkadian anāku(m) "lead"; cf. in this connection van Dijk SGL II, p. 64 to line 4 of VAS 10, 210, 10.

sud-ra2:

The epithet "remote" is applied to the moon-god in Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 80, 1: an-ginz sud-ra2-e ki-ginz dagal-la-...] "remote as the heavens, wide as the earth." A similar concept is expressed in Lugalbanda Epic I, 213/214: lugal/^{d}suen an-sud-ra2 nu-mu-ra-te-GA2-da "lord/Suen, you whom no one can approach in the remote heavens." The concept of the moon-god's remoteness continues in the post-Old-Babylonian period as evidenced by the šu-il2-il2 prayer to Nanna/Suen, 14 and 18; cf. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 167. The moon-god is called remote because of the moon's remoteness from the

earth when it is at the height of its circuit across the night sky. For similar concepts applied not only to the moon-god, but other deities as well, see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 83-84.

su6-za-gin3-la2/-su3-su3:

The expression "wearing/adorned with a lapis-lazuli beard" is attested as a description of Nanna/Suen in Šulgi O, unplaced tablet CBS 10306 (text C), rev. 4 (see Chapter 6, sect. III A 2.8); and in the post-Old-Babylonian šu-il2-la2 to Nanna/Suen, 10 (see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 166, 10 and commentary on pp. 173-174). See my comments in Chapter 6, III A 2.8 on the tradition of depicting gods with lapis-lazuli beards in literature and in art.

še-er-zi:

še-er-zi, which is often attested in connection with the moon-god, is discussed by Å. Sjöberg in Mondgott, p. 67, OrSuec 19-20, pp. 163-164 (to lines 1 and 8), and ZA 63, p. 29. The word is equivalent to Akkadian barīru(m); its basic meaning is "ray" (see CAD, vol. B, pp. 111-112, barīru A "rays"; AHw, p. 107, barīru "etwa Flimmerglanz"; ŠL 367, 132 d = šarūru; AHw, p. 1193, šarūru(m) "Strahlen(glanz)"). Besides the references collected by Å. Sjöberg in the works cited above, note also TuM NF IV, 12, obv. 1 where še-er-zi is used in the Šu-suen hymn to Nanna/Suen (cf. Chapter 6, sect. III A 4.1).

The earliest attestation of šer-zi is in the phrase šer-zi-an-na-ka: Gudea Cyl. A 27, 10: šer-zi-an-na-ka iš-ti-ginZ eš-a "the ray(s) of heaven like the moonlight coming forth"; cf. also Gudea Cyl. A 28, 1. This same epithet is applied to the moon-god in Ibbisuen's ú-lu-lu-ma-ma-hymn to Suen: OrSuec 19-20, p. 146, No. 3, obv. 8; cf. obv. 1. Note also Gungunum's adab-hymn to Nanna: ZA 63, p. 25, No. 4A, 12 where the epithet en-zi-an-na-ke4 "true lord of heaven" appears to be glossed by šer-zi, perhaps indicating that the epithet šer-zi-an-na could be substituted for en-zi-an-na in this line of the hymn. šer-zi occurs in two contexts in connection with men "crown": Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 65, 3, 5 and p. 70, obv. 4, 5 (see Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.6 and sect. IV 2.5). It also frequently occurs with the word for "light," ú; cf. the preceding references and Šulgi D 296 (see Chapter 6, sect. III A 2.3) as well as Rīmsîn Inscription 11, 4 (see Chapter 4, sect. 4). šer-zi is also used in descriptions of the sun-god (see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 144). Despite the many attestations of the word, there is no clear indication of its etymology in any of the contexts in which it is used. Note that šer-šer occurs in JCS 1, p. 14, 78. Perhaps, the phrase has some connection with the expressions šer-ka-an-dul and šer-tab.

ᵛšul:

ᵛšul "youth, young man" is a frequently attested epithet of Suen. See the synopses of Chapter 4 and 6 for references. As an epithet of the moon-god ᵛšul is always used in connection with the name Suen, especially in the phrase ᵛšulᵈsuen; the phrase *ᵛšul ᵈnanna never occurs, as far as I know. Occasionally one does find the name Nanna used along with the epithet ᵛšul ᵈsuen; see, for example, JCS 29, p. 9, No. 3, obv. 17; p. 13, No. 4, obv. 7. In both of these instances the name ᵈnanna is used in a literary repetition of an earlier line that employs the phrase ᵛšul ᵈsuen by itself. These references say more about literary usage than about the nuances of the epithet ᵛšul.[61] The frequent association of the word for "young man" with the name Suen, but not with Nanna, may indicate an early distinction between the characters of two originally separate moon-gods; the one named Suen being worshipped at a variety of cult sites already in the Presargonic period, the other named Nanna being revered principally at Ur in the early periods and only later with the rise of the Ur-III empire gaining a widespread following. In addition, it has already been noted that many of the hymns to the moon-god which address him exclusively or predominantly as Suen emphasize his role as a youth and as the child of his divine parents, Enlil and Ninlil (see Chapter 6, sections III B 1.1 and 1.3). Suen, therefore, may originally have been envisioned as a young man, the

child of Enlil and Ninlil; conversely, Nanna was never portrayed as youthful.

šul is equivalent to Akkadian eṭlu(m) "young man" (CAD vol. 4, pp. 407-411; AHw, pp. 265-266). The Akkadian term designates a young adult male in his prime and of marriageable age (as opposed to baṭūlu(m); see CAD, vol. 4, p. 411 and vol. 2, p. 174 "adolescent"). The more common Sumerian equivalent of eṭlu(m) is guruš, a word found predominantly in administrative texts; šul is mainly confined to literary texts which indicates it may have been an archaic term that had passed out of common usage. A good indication of the nuances of šul is found in OrSuec 19-20, pp. 140f., No. 4, obv. 14=19: šul nun-še3 il2-la dI-bi-dsuen-mu "young man elevated (to be) prince, my Ibbisuen." šul thus designates the age at which Ibbisuen was qualified and able to take on the responsibilities of prince or sovereign (nun).

u3-na:

u3-na, equivalent to Akkadian kadru(m) "wild, impetuous, spirited" (CAD, vol. 8, p. 32; AHw, p. 419), is an epithet applied to animals, kings, and many deities (see the references collected by Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 74-75). It is used to describe the moon-god in two hymns: Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 70, rev. 3 and p. 97, 10 (cf. pp. 91 and 101). In the former hymn animal imagery is employed with some frequency, Nanna/Suen being compared to a lion (obv. 5, rev. 9),

bison's seed (? see obv. 6), and indirectly to a bull through the expression u3-na DUZ-a[62] "(like a bull) wild, on the rampage" (rev. 3). Like kadru(m), u3-na often describes the behavior of a bull (CAD , vol. 8, p. 32) or aurochs (Heimpel, Tierbilder, p. 105ff.). In this respect, it is in line with the imagery of a bull so frequently used in epithets of the moon-god.

u3-sun2-zi:

The epithet, which is usually applied to Inanna or Ningublaga, is attested once in reference to the moon-god in ZA 63, p. 26, No. 4B II obv. 7: en u3-sun2-zi dumu-sag-^{d}e[n-lil2-la2 ...] "lord, wild bull rearing up, chief son of Enlil ..."[63] As Heimpel has pointed out (Tierbilder, pp. 122ff.), though sun2 is equated with Akkadian rīmtu(m) "wild cow, female aurochs," the term is also used as an epithet of male gods, such as Ningublaga and Nanna. He suggests the translation "lead animal" ("Leittier," Tierbilder, p. 123) for sun2-zi, interpreting the final -zi as the equivalent of Akkadian tebû(m) "stand up, rise up"; this sense of zi(-g) has been used in the translation of the reference to Nanna cited above. He suggests that the term may possibly describe the typical behavior of the lead animal of the herd.

u4:

The moon-god is naturally known by many epithets which contain the word for "light" (u4). The following list of these epithets will show the range of nuances and usages of the word u4 when it denotes the light of the moon.

1) u4-an-na: Nanna/Suen is called "the light of heaven" in Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 35, obv. 11 (reading, however, somewhat questionable: u4-a[n-n]a(!)-me-en);[64] and in ZA 63, p. 32, No. 5, 21 (variant: [en] u4-zallag-ga-an-na).[65] Related to these epithets are expressions in which the moon-god is said "to fill the heavens with light": Šulgi F, 74: an-ku3-ga u4 su3-su3; Waradsîn Inscription 28, 2: u4 an-ku3-ge si.

2) u4 ga2-ga2: The moon-god is said to place or set up a light for the land and for the people in several instances: OrSuec 19-20, p.145, No. 3, obv. 2: kur-un3-na-ta un u4 ga2-ga2 "from the lofty mountains setting (his) light on the people;" Rîmsîn 11, 5; un-šar2-ra-aš u4 ga2-ga2 "who places (his) light on the multitudes." In this connection cf. also Gudea Cyl. B, iii, 11: kalam-ma u4 mu-gal2 "It (i.e. the moonlight) was the light of the (whole) land;" and ZA 63, p. 31, No. 5, obv. 2: i-lim u4-gal2 ri-a-na "clad in his awesome raiment that gives off light."

3) u4-gal-an-ku3-ga "great light of the clear sky": ZA 63, p. 31, No. 5, 6

4) u4 giš-ḫe2 "light ... vault of the sky": The light of the moon-god is connected with giš-ḫe2 "firmament" in OrSuec 19-20, p. 144, No. 2, obv. 2: šul dsuen u4 giš-ḫe2 e3-a-še3(?) den-lil2-le il2-la "youth, Suen, the light which Enlil has elevated to(?) come forth (in) the vault of the sky"; p. 145, No. 3, obv. 1: en-gal u4 giš-ḫe2-ta sag-il2 še-er-zi x-a "great lord, light lifting its head in the vault of the sky, ray ..;" TuM NF IV, 12, rev. 12: u4-giš-ḫe2-a "light of the firmament."

5) u4-KA.KEŠDA: The meaning of this epithet is still unclear. It occurs in OrSuec 19-20, p. 146, No. 3, obv. 5: an-barz-a dalla-e3 šul dsuen u4-KA.KEŠDA-an-na "visible at noontime (or afternoon), the youth, Suen, ... light of heaven;" p. 148, No. 4, rev. 49: dnanna u4-KA.KEŠDA giš-ḫur x(erasure?) gi-ne2 "Nanna, ... light which establishes the cult rites;" N 4224 (unpublished) II 2': u4-KA.KEŠDA si-sa2-a; cf. also TuM NF IV, 12, obv. 20: u4 [x-(x)] mu KA.KEŠDA-de3. The association of KA.KEŠDA in the above references with the concepts of establishing the cult rites and of putting things in order (si-sa2-a) suggests that its meaning is also connected with ideas of fixing, determining, establishing, or the like. kešda is equated with Akkadian kaṣāru "to tie, to bind together" (CAD, vol. 8, pp. 257ff.) and rakāsu "to bind" (AHw, pp. 945ff.); ka-kešda is equivalent to Akkadian kippatu "loop, hoop" (CAD, vol. 8, pp. 397ff.) and kiṣru "knot" (CAD, vol. 8, pp. 436ff.).[66] All of these meanings are compatible with

the related concepts of fixing, determining, etc. u4-KA.KEŠDA may therefore refer to the light of the moon which is used to determine the lunar month and to reckon time; in this sense the light of the moon "ties down" the month by its first appearance which signals each month's beginning and "wraps up" the month when its disappearance signals each month's end. By extension of this same idea, the use of KA.KEŠDA with mu "year" in TuM NF IV, 12, obv. 20 (cited above) is perhaps comparable with Waradsîn Inscription 28, 5-6 where the light of the moon is said to determine the month and complete the year (iti ge-en-ge-en mu silim-ma; cf. Chapter 4, sect. 4). Similarly, the light of the moon might be said to "tie up" or "wind up" the year.

6) u4 ki-še3 DU-DU "light ever moving towards the earth": This epithet occurs once in OrSuec 19-20, p. 148, No. 4, rev. 50 (see Chapter 6, sect. III A 5.3). Note the context in which this phrase occurs; iti-zal-le mu-da-ri2 u4 ki-še3 DU-DU "who makes the month pass by, the year last, light ever moving towards the earth." The whole line is meant to express the continuous cyclical movement of the moon according to which time in months and years is determined. In the phrase "light ever moving towards the earth" is perhaps an allusion to the moon's daily setting and monthly disappearance; in disappearing into the earth the moon was thought to sojourn in the underworld until it reappeared at the beginning of the month; see below sub u4-na2-a.

7) u4-na2-a: See my discussion of u4-na2-a, the day of the moon's disappearance at the end of the month, in Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.5. All textual references which throw light on the significance of this day to the cult of the moon-god are listed in this section.

8) u4-sakar "new-moon day": This epithet is attested as early as the Fara texts: cf. Deimel, SF 55, VAT 9112, vii, 18: u4-sakar muš3-ginz e3; 63, VAT 12574, ii, 10-11: u4-sakar / u4-sakar amar.[67] The reading of the phrase was first established by M. Civil in RA 60, p. 92 sub a/uškaru; the Akkadian term usk/gāru, ask/gāru is a Sumerian loan-word (see AHw, p. 1438). Since the meaning of sakar is not known, the literal significance of u4-sakar cannot yet be established, though from its many attestations it is clear that the term refer s to the new moon and the day of the new moon. Besides the earliest references just cited the word occurs in Gudea's cylinders (see Chapter 4, sect. 2), in Šulgi's hymns (see synopsis of Chapter 6 sub Šulgi), in Iddindagan's hymn to Inanna (see Chapter 6, sect. IV 3.12), Išmedagan's hymn to Nanna (Chapter 6, sect. IV 3.2.4), Gungunum's hymn to Nanna (Chapter 6, sect. IV 3.5), and Nannamansum's letter to Rīmsîn (Chapter 6, sect. IV 3.10.3). For other attestations of this word in literary texts see the synopsis of Chapter 4. The word is also frequently attested in administrative documents as the day on which the majority of offerings are made

and many of the cult rites were initiated; the eš3-eš3 festival, when offerings were made to a great number of shrines, was also celebrated on this day. The day of the new moon had great cultic significance in many different cities including Ur, the city of the moon-god, since it marked the start of the lunar month and the renewal of all cultic rites. This is clear not only from the many offerings listed for this day in administrative tablets, but also from references in literary texts. Mention is often made to completing or perfecting the me's on this day (Gudea Cyl. A 10, 17-18; Šulgi X 137; Inanna-Iddindagan 27). Gudea says that he perfects the great me's of the feast of ezenanna on this day (reference just cited above); Šulgi indicates that hymns are sung in the sanctuary of the new moon (Šulgi E 60, 254); he also refers to making offerings for the day of the new moon (Šulgi P, Section b, 6-9). Whether the ancient cultic significance of u4-sakar was always connected closely with the moon-god in every city where the day of the new moon was used as a time referent is unclear; see further my comments in Chapter 6, sect. III A 2.4.

9) u4-te-eš: This phrase occurs in an uncertain context in a hymn to Nanna/Suen: OrSuec 19-20, p.149, No. 5, 14'. It is not clear how this phrase, which is equated with Akkadian naspantu "destruction, devastation" (te-eš and te-eš-du11-ga = Akkadian rigmu "noise") is applied to the moon-god.

In addition to these epithets and phrases referring to the light of the moon note the epithet dingir-u4-da "god of light" in OrSuec 19-20, p. 147, No. 4, 9. The frequent attestation of u4 and ᵏše-er-zi has been noted above (sub ᵏše-er-zi). For other attestations of u4 in reference to the moon-god see the synopses of Chapters 4 and 6.

This overview of the use of the word for light in contexts referring to the moon-god demonstrates that the light of the moon had two levels of significance. It was not only seen as an impressive celestial luminary and chief source of light at night, but was also the main celestial standard for time reckoning. In the former category are phrases 1)-4) all of which stress the idea of the moon as chief light-source in the night sky; in the latter category are phrases 5)-8) which emphasize the moon's cyclical phases and its role in determining the lunar month and significant cultic days within that month.

u6-di:

This expression of awe or wonder is often attested in connection with the moon-god and is meant to express the awe-inspiring grandeur of the moon's bright appearance and the human reaction to this impressive celestial luminary. A clue to the literal meaning of the phrase may perhaps lie in a Presargonic literary text from Abū Ṣalābīkh; in OIP 99, No. 327, vi, 3 one finds

u6 ga-du11 which seems to literally mean, "I said u6," an expression of amazement, the u6 being onomatopoetic. The phrase is probably of the same grammatical type as gal-di, mah-di, du10-di, and other such phrases containing the verb du11 in one or more of its variant forms: -du11, -di, or -e (see A. Falkenstein, ZA 49, p. 145 to gal-di and AnOr 28, pp. 124-126 for examples of verbal compounds with -du11, -di, and -e). Whether the phrase u6-di was originally an onomatopoetic outburst of awe or not, it comes to mean "to admire, to wonder at" and in one lexical text is equated with Akkadian naplusu (AHw, p. 814 b). In connection with the moon-god reference is made to the people admiring Nanna/Suen's splendid moonlight (Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 70, rev. 11). A similar motif is found in a balag hymn for Urninurta and Inanna where the land of Sumer is said to admire Nanna when he rises in the clear sky (see chapter 6, sect. IV 3.4). In the former reference u6-e is attested, in the latter u6-di. Šulgi says that to wonder at Nanna is a sweet thing (Šulgi F, 76); a nearly identical expression is found in the Nanna hymn treated in Chapter 9 (N 3082 + N 2742 obv. 5'=7'). Cf. also ISET 1, 38, Ni 2781, 27 (see Chapter 9). In these last three references the phrase u6-di du10-ga is employed. See also the cryptic reference in the Urnammu hymn TCL 15, 12, 44 (ZA 53, p. 119): dsuen-e u6-e ki-ag2-ni "Suen, marvelling at his beloved (i.e. Urnammu)" (see Chapter 6, n. 22); note also Nimešarra 148 where the phrase u6-

zi-de3-eš has the variant u4 zi-de3-es. Further references can be found in Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 113; TCS 3, p. 78; Römer SKIZ, p. 82.

ubur-an-na-ke4 si-sa2-e-de3:

The expression, which means "making the teats of heaven erect," is used once in reference to the moon-god: ZA 63, p. 32, No. 5, 24. It is a fairly common expression of fertility and refers to the vital rainfall which heaven provides to make the crops grow and keep the lands fertile. Note that in the Nanna hymn cited above it occurs in connection with other expressions of fertility, which underscore Nanna/Suen's role as provider of abundance and prosperity (see Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.5). For more on this expression see Å. Sjöberg, ZA 63, p. 16 to 22'.

ur-sag:

Å. Sjöberg has treated the word ur-sag "hero, warrior" (= Akkadian qarrādu; see CAD, vol. 13, pp. 140ff.) when it is used as an epithet of the moon-god in Mondgott, p. 29 to 47. The epithet is applied to many gods and is very old; note that it is already found as an epithet of Nanna in the Ur archaic texts where the personal names ur-sag-nanna is attested (UET 2, p. 38, PN 745; see Chapter 3, Presargonic Period). The epithets ur-sag-^{d}en-lil2-la2 (Šulgi O, 25) "hero of Enlil"; dumu-ur-sag ^{d}nin-lil2-le tu-da "heroic son, born to Ninlil"

(cf. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 13f., 47); and ur-sag ne3-gal tuku "hero having great strength" (N 1542, obv. 5) also occur.

u18-ru, uru16:

The problematic u18-ru, uru16 still defies precise translation, though the rather vague translations "gewaltig" and "bezwingend" have been used by some scholars based on context and for lack of a more precise rendering (see B. Landsberger, OLZ 1931, p. 136; A. Falkenstein, ZA 52, p. 70 and 71; I. Kärki, Die Sumerischen Königsinschriften der Frühaltbabylonischen Zeit, Helsinki, 1968, p. 3 to Iddindagan 2, 5; Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 132, 3 and p. 134). See Å. Sjöberg's commentary in TCS 3, pp. 62ff. where he has collected numerous references to u18-ru and uru16. In addition, see Å. Sjöberg OrSuec 19-20, p. 144, No. 2, obv. 7: u18-ru-ni giri17-zal ki-us2-sa-[am3] "His ... is splendor, reaching the earth"; OrSuec 19-20, p. 145, No. 2, obv. 20: du11-ga-ni u18-ru-gal sag2 nu-di-dam "His (= of Nanna) command is a great ..., it cannot be 'scattered'"; ZA 63, p. 31, No. 5, obv. 6: dašš-im2-babbar u4-gal-an-ku3-ga u18-ru dagal-tag-ga un-šar2-ra ba-dul(?) "Ašimbabbar, the great light in the pure sky, ..., spreading wide, covering(?) numerous people." The last-cited reference is interesting in that it pairs the two ideas of light in heaven (u4-gal-an-ku3-ga) and u18-ru as in TuM NF IV, 12, obv. 9 (u18-ru and u4-an-ki

"light of heaven and earth"). Despite all the attestations, the meaning of the word is still unclear. See the references cited by Å. Sjöberg in TCS 3, p. 63 b(bottom)-64 a(top), where urᵤ₁₆ appears to be equated with Akkadian elû "high." However, this meaning which, does not fit every reference of ᵤ₁₈-ru, urᵤ₁₆.

uš̌um, uš̌umgal:

Applied to the moon-god these epithets may have the double meaning of semi-mythical dragon or snake-like creature[69] and "sole ruler" (see AHw, p. 1443 "Grossdrache, -schlange; Alleinherrscher"; note especially meaning 2. "Alleinherrscher (Wortspiel mit uš̌um(!)"). On the nature of the semi-mythical beast denoted by uš̌um and uš̌umgal see B. Landsberger, Fauna, pp. 57 and 128; cf. CAD, vol. 10/2, p. 207 sub mūnu "caterpillar." The two words are used as epithets of many deities and of kings; see the references collected by Å. Sjöberg, OrSuec 19-20, p. 163 and Mondgott, pp. 92ff. As has already been pointed out in previous chapters, the uses of uš̌um, uš̌umgal as epithets of the moon-god suggest a meaning "sole ruler" more than "dragon" or the like. References to uš̌um, uš̌umgal as epithets of the moon-god can be found in the synopses of Chapters 4 and 6; see also CT 42, pl. 20, no. 9, obv. 1. The epithet uš̌um-dili in ZA 63, p. 26, No. 4B, obv. II 4' supports the connotation "sole ruler." Nanna/Suen is also called uš̌um-an-ki (ZA 63, p. 32, No. 5, 18) and

uš̌um-sag-kal (OrSuec 19-20, p. 145, No. 3, obv. 2). Note the lexical equivalency uš̌um = iš̌tēn (Aa viii/2, 203; see MSL 14, p. 502) and uš̌um = ēdiš̌š̌u (see CAD, vol. 4, p. 33b).

udul:

This word meaning "cowherd" should be considered in conjunction with mu6-sub3, mu-L[1], mu-nu10(KU), and me-a-am discussed above. It is attested only once as an epithet of the moon-god; Nanna/Suen is called udul by his mother Ninlil in Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 14, 17; see also commentary on pp. 22-23 of Mondgott concerning the writings ABz.KU vs. ABz.LU; compare with mu-KU and mu-LU above.

za3-dib:

za3-dib "surpassing" is an epithet applied to other deities besides Nanna/Suen; see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 107. The epithet refers to the moon-god in the "Letter to Nanna" 13 (Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 104) where it is equated with Akkadian š̌utugu. za3-dib also describes Nanna in Š̌ulīš̌u Inscription 2, 1, 6 ;see my comments on the nuances of this term in Chapter 4, sect. 4, commentary to Š̌ulīš̌u inscr. 2.

zalag:

"Shining" is obviously a quality applied often to the moon-god in his role as chief light source of the night. Epithets of Nanna/Suen employing the term zalag

are found as early as the Gudea cylinders: Gudea Cyl. B, xiii, 4: en-zi-šaš-zalag-zalag-ga-ke4 "true lord of the shining heart" (cf. my comments in Chapter 4, sect. 2). The epithets an-na zalag "the shining one of heaven" and an-ki zalag "the shining one (of?) heaven and earth" (or possibly "who illumines heaven and earth") occur in Waradsîn Inscriptions 9 and 26 respectively (Waradsîn Inscription 9, 2; Waradsîn Inscription 26, 3; cf. sect. 4 of my Chapter 4). Nanna/Suen is called en-zalag-zalag "shining lord" in the Išmedagan hymn to the moon-god, ISET 1, 38, Ni 2781, obv. 32, rev. 29 (see above sub en). Moonlight is twice referred to as "shining" (zalag-zalag) in identical phrases: iti6-zu ku3-ga-am3 zalag-zalag-ga-am3 "Your moonlight is pure; it is shining" (JCS 29, p. 9, No. 3, obv. 23=27; Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 15, 58). In this last reference the reading dadag is also possible, since the phrases ku3, sikil, and dadag are often attested together as expressions of purity; cf. CAD, vol. 4, p. 4: ebbu (dadag) "describes a surface quality, 'shining,' 'lustrous,' etc."; in this connection cf. also OrSuec 19-20, p. 149, No. 5, 12': en me ku3-ku3-ug me-sikil šu-luh-zalag n[am-...] "lord who purifies the me's; whose pure me's and shining washing rites are ..." cf. also UET 6, 67, rev. 54, 64 (Chapter 9). As a verb zalag is attested in ISET 1, 38, Ni 2781, 25: kukk[u2] mu-a-zalag-zalag "(Nanna) has made darkness bright" (cf. Chapter 9 and PSD B, p. 198); and in TCL 16, 43, 62:

ma2-gur8-an-na-ginz zalag-ga-zu-šeš kiri4 šu ha-ra-ab-gal2-el "May (mankind) make obeisance to you, when like the magur-barge of heaven you shine forth."

zi-le:

See above sub dumu-zi-le.

zi-šag-gal2-kalam-ma:

Nanna is called the "'breath of life' in the land" in OrSuec 19-20, p. 147, No. 3, rev. 8'. Note that this same epithet occurs in the Kassite period: Limet, Légendes, p. 75, 4.27.

NOTES

1. See also Th. Jacobsen's comments on these lines in JNES 5, pp. 133-134 and n. 11.

2. However, note that guru6 = naš$\hat{u}$ is actually written GANA2-ten$\hat{u}$; CT 19, 43 III 12. The more commonly-attested Sumerian equivalent of naš$\hat{u}$ is guru17 (GIŠ-ten$\hat{u}$); cf. CAD, vol. 11/2, pp. 80ff. lexical section.

3. A translation "shining cow" is possible, construing kara2 as an adjective modifying ab2. However, the word "cow" (ab2) is not otherwise attested as an epithet of the moon-god; Nanna/Suen, being a male deity, is called gu4 "bull" or amar "calf." A translation "who makes the cow(s) shine" also seems improbable since I know of no instance where kara2 (or nabāṭu, napāḫu) is used in connection with animals.

4. For discussion of the terms aga, men, muš2, and muš3 see A. Falkenstein, SGL I, pp. 96ff.; W. Römer, SKIZ, pp. 215 and 234, n. 2; J. Renger, ZA 58, pp. 126 with n. 100 and 128 with n. 47; for aga see forthcoming PSD, vol. 1 (A).

5. Cf. Chapter 4, sect. 3 and n. 50.

6. See CAD vol. 1/1, pp. 156-157; D. Pingree, E. Reiner, BiMesop 2/2, pp. 19-20.

7. Nanna/Suen is also depicted in literary texts as bestowing the crown upon kings: UET 6/2, 106 (Rīmsîn), 22-23: ^{d}nanna lugal-an-ki-ke4 aga-zi-maḫ-nam-lugal-la šu-duz sag-za he2-ni-ib-gi-ne2 "May Nanna, ruler of heaven and earth, set upon your head the legitimate,

lofty crown of kingship, perfectly created"; OrSuec 19-20, p. 149, No. 5, 8' (Ibbisuen): aga-nam-lugal-la men-kuš "crown of kingship, holy crown"; VAS 10, 199 I 45: ^{d}suen(-e) aga sag-za mi-ni-in-ga-na muš$_3$ nam-ba-an-tum$_2$-mu "May you never disregard Suen who has placed the crown upon your head."

8. Enki bears the epithet am in TCL 15, 8, 153 and SBH 42, 25. Ningublaga is called am-gal in TCS 3, 26, 151.

9. See Limet, L'anthroponymie, pp. 375-376.

10. See Chapter 6, sect. III B 5.7.

11. Cf. S.N. Kramer, AS 12 and revised Ms. H. Vanstiphout, University Museum.

12. Cf. K. Tallqvist, StOr 7, p. 168 sub rîmênû.

13. See CAD, vol. 1/2, pp. 201ff., meaning 5 and lexical section.

14. See CAD, vol. 1/2, pp. 356-357, meaning 2 and lexical sections.

15. Cf. A. Deimel, ŠL 74, 239 i; Rosengarten, RSP 347. The sign does not occur in Deimel's LAK or in Falkenstein ATU.

16. Cf. Å. Sjöberg's translation, ZA 65, p. 199.

17. Cf. Chapter 6, sect. IV 1.1.

18. Cf. Chapter 6, sect. III A 5.1.

19. Cf. Chapter 9.

20. See CAD, vol. 1/2, p. 201, meaning 4.

21. Note also the cryptic use of dalla-eš in Ibbisuen's year-date 15: see Chapter 5, sect. 5.

22. Cf. CAD, vol. 1/2, pp. 311ff. sub aru A.

23. See A. Deimel, ŠL II/2, 295, 1.

24. Translation based on CAD, vol. 4, p. 79.

25. Cf. Th. Jacobsen's rendering in JAOS 86, p. 194c.

26. Cf. M.E. Cohen, Eršemma, p. 137, 14.

27. Cf. Th. Jacobsen's translation, "loom" in JAOS 86, p. 194c.

28. Cf. also the cryptic phrase ki-šeš pa-DU in OrSuec 19-20, p. 147, No. 4, 11=16.

29. MSL 13, p. 208, col. iv, 257-262.

30. Cf. Å. Sjöberg, HSAO, p. 211: the term is not found in lexical texts which list kinship terms; therefore it may not be a true kinship term.

31. See Å. Sjoberg, ZA 63, p. 31[8] where he deletes the reading dumu-KA-den-lil2-la2 in HSAO, p. 211 (RSO 32, 98, 63).

32. The reading dumu-sag instead of dumu-KA is also possible; cf. Šulgi F, 70: dumu-sag-an-ku3-ga.

33. Cf. Chapter 6, sect. IV 3.5.

34. The writings dumu-nun-e and dumu-nun-ne2 prove that -nun-na in dumu-nun-na is not a genitive; if it were, the ergative would be written dumu-nun-na-ke4. The late equivalent mār rubê in the late text, BA 10[1], 75, K. 5160, obv. 15/16 is therefore a misinterpretation.

35. For Waradsîn Inscription 11 and 26 see I. Kärki, Königsinschriften.

36. See Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 31 to 55.

37. Cf. also the lists of epithets and key phrases in Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.1-1.17.

38. Cf. ZA 53, p. 16, n. 28.

39. Cf. ZA 53, p. 16, n. 31.

40. See CAD, vol. 7 (I), p. 262; AHw, p. 398 sub iššakku(m).

41. Cf. Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.9.

42. See A. Deimel, Pantheon, 554 and 664; K. Tallqvist, StOr 7, p. 316.

43. See Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 125 for references and interpretation.

44. Cf. CAD, vol. 5 (G), pp. 104ff.; AHw, p. 293.

45. Cf. AHw, pp. 1288, 1474, 1498.

46. Cf. also Römer, SKIZ, p. 266, 3, an indirect reference to Nanna/Suen.

47. Cf. also the epithets in K. Tallqvist, StOr 7, 8.

48. That su-lim is a loan-word from Akkadian šalummatu cannot be excluded.

49. So also Å. Sjöberg, ZA 55, p. 6, n. 16 with references.

50. This same epithet occurs also in Abīsarē Inscription 4, I, 15'.

51. See Falkenstein, ATU, p. 165, 730.

52. See Th. Jacobsen, ZA 52, p. 103 and Treasures of Darkness, pp. 78ff.

53. Th. Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, l.c.

54. Note the same epithet in the Neo-Assyrian inscription, UET 1, 170, 1.

55. See Chapter 5, sect. II 3.2. on the Akiti-festival at Ur.

56. Other references to the ma2-gur8-^{d}nanna are N 11316, obv. 7 (broken context); Nanše and the Birds, CBS 11554, obv. 7: a2-bi ma2-gur8-^{d}nanna(?) "Its (the bird's) wing (is like) the magur-barge of Nanna(?)."

57. Cf. L. Woolley, UE 2, p. 145.

58. See Th. Jacobsen, JNES 5, p. 139^{20} for his sense of me.

59. Translation based on Th. Jacobsen; see above, n. 58.

60. See H. Steible, Rīmsîn, p. 23 on muš3/muš2-keš$_{2}$da; cf. OrSuec 19-20, p. 149, No. 5, A'; UET 6, 67, 48.

61. šul is also attested with Nanna in a cylinder seal legend of the Kassite period; see H. Limet, Légendes des sceaux cassites, p. 87, 6.14.

62. Perhaps to be read rus when the sense of the term is "rampaging, goring" (suggestion of Å. Sjöberg, personal communication); cf. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 74-75.

63. Cf. Å. Sjöberg's translation in ZA 63, p. 28 and comments on p. 30.

64. Cf. Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.3.

65. Cf. Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.5.

66. See also SBH 69, obv. 11/12: giri$_{11}$-da^{gi}-ri-tu-de$_3$ = ina tu-ta-ag-gu-ni-ka (from tagānu/tagānu; cf. AHw, p. 1323).

67. Cf. also the personal name amar-u$_4$-sakar: UET 2, 5, i, 5; 24, ii, 5; 226, vii, 1; 371, i, 5(?), rev. ii', 1; Deimel WF, 12531, 7.

68. Note that J. Klein, AOAT 25, p. 286 feels that this epithet refers to Šulgi, not the moon-god.

69. See A. Deimel, SL II/1, 11, 1.

CHAPTER 8

THE RELATIONSHIP OF NANNA/SUEN TO OTHER DEITIES OF THE PANTHEON: GENEALOGY AND CULTIC TIES

The following chapter will sketch in brief the relation of the moon-god to various other members of the Mesopotamian pantheon. Since a monographic study of one god tends to focus on that god alone in isolation from the complex network of cultic and theological ties which he was a part of, it is important that at least one chapter attempt to place the god in the context of the pantheon and show how he fit into the overall theological system. Genealogy is a large part of that system. Therefore, I will concentrate first and foremost on Nanna/Suen's genealogical connections with other deities of the pantheon (parents, spouse, siblings, offspring). Cultic ties are also one aspect of the theological context. Accordingly, I will also consider the cultic ties between the moon-god and the deities he was related to through genealogy as well as other major and minor deities with which he had only an indirect connection. The chapter will be divided into three sections: the first deals with Nanna/Suen's relation to the major deities of the pantheon -- his divine parents, his spouse, and the other chief deities with which he had some connection; the second section concentrates on the gods who were considered his brothers; the third section discusses the circle of minor deities with which

the moon-god was associated in deity-lists and in his local cult at Ur. The evidence to be considered will span the Presargonic to the end of the Old-Babylonian period.

Three sources of evidence are used as the basis of this chapter: deity-lists, dedicatory inscriptions and literary texts, administrative offering-lists. Deity-lists can provide important insights into the relationship of a deity to the other members of the pantheon because they frequently display a theological arrangement. However, this type of arrangement is only first evident in the deity-lists of the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period; the early lists being either too fragmentary or showing a purely lexical arrangement when any arrangement is apparent at all. A thorough study of all the deity-lists which attempts to determine the organizing principles behind them is necessary before one can assess their value as sources for reconstructing the Mesopotamian penatheon (in the meantime see W.G. Lambert's article, "Götterlisten" in RlA 3, pp. 473-479).

Literary texts and inscriptions are useful because they often state directly the nature of the relationships among deities which are only implied by deity-lists. Inscriptions are the more reliable of the two sources because they usually can be dated to a relatively specific time period and provenience. The bulk of the literary texts, on the other hand, date to the Isin-Larsa/Old Babylonian period and mainly reflect the traditions of the Old Babylonian scribal

school at Nippur. The use of literary texts, therefore, as evidence must take into account the many factors that influenced the production of literature in this school: didactic purposes, scribal conventions, the tendency of literary traditions to preserve obsolete ideas, etc.

Finally, offering-lists can provide information on local pantheons and the extent to which members of the "official pantheon" (i.e. the group of major deities generally recognized throughout Mesopotamia) were revered in particular places. Sometimes an offering-list will display a theological hierarchy that provides some insight into the makeup of the pantheon (see W.G. Lambert, RlA 4, p. 478). However, since the organizing principles behind offering-lists are not fully understood and very little is known about the daily cult, one should not read too much into the ordering of deities on these lists until more is known about the temple administration as a whole.

Though the available evidence to be considered covers the Presargonic through the Old-Babylonian period, the general picture presented here of Nanna/Suen's relation to the pantheon reflects the established traditions of the late Ur-III and Old-Babylonian periods. This is because most of the evidence clusters in these periods. Furthermore, conceptions about the pantheon were standardized by the influential Ur-III kingdom, the traditions of which were largely continued in the succeeding period. I have noted the evidence from

earlier periods when it is available, but it does not amount to an overall, coherent picture as does the evidence from later periods.

Before proceeding to a discussion of each deity with whom Nanna/Suen had some significant genealogical or cultic connection, a few brief words about deity-lists is necessary since they are a primary source of evidence on genealogy. Within the time period I am dealing with here, the most important deity-lists are TCL 15, 10; SLT 122-124; and VAT 7759 published by E. Weidner in AfO 2, pp. 4-5. TCL 15, 10 is the most complete list and is generally thought to have formed the basis of the much larger deity-list AN-anum, which is mainly preserved in later copies.[1] I have, therefore, made the most use of TCL 15, 10 particularly in my discussion of the offspring of Nanna/Suen and the circle of minor deities connected with him since this list presents a comparatively lengthy series of deities listed under the names of the moon-god. Since I will be referring to TCL 15, 10 in the following section, I present a transliteration of the section which deals with Nanna/Suen here for reference.

148. ^{d}suen (^{d}EN-ZU)

149. ^{d}nanna

150. ^{d}aš$_{2}$-im$_{2}$-babbar

151. ^{d}giš-nu$_{11}$-gal

152. ^{d}ab$_{2}$-ku$_{3}$

153. ^{d}men-e-du$_{7}$

154. ^{d}dumu-nun-na

155. ^{d}nin-gal

156. ^{d}nin-gublaga

157. ^{d}sum$_{2}$-zi

158. ^{d}lugal-bahar

159. ^{d}nin-e$_{2}$-i$_{3}$-ga

160. ^{d}nu-muš-da

161. ^{d}nam-ra-[at]

162. ^{d}nin$^{(?)}$-dar$^{(?)}$-a

163. ^{d}e$^{(?)}$-ta$^{(?)}$-mu

164. ^{d}alamuš

165. ^{d}nin-uri$_{2}^{ki}$-ma

166. ^{d}ama-ra-he$_{2}$-ag$_{2}$-e

167. ^{d}nin-ku$_{3}$-nun-na

168. ^{d}ga-a-u$_{2}$

169. ^{d}nin-unu

170. ^{d}nun-bar-an-na

Lines 148-150 list the three principal names of the moon-god;[2] 151-154 list common epithets of the moon-god;[3] lines 155-156 list the moon-god's spouse and his son, Ningublaga; the other children of Nanna/Suen, Utu, Inanna (and Iškur?)[4] occur farther down the list, each with its own local circle of attending deities; lines 157-158 list two names which I take to be epithets of Ningublaga; the remaining deities are mostly minor deities associated with the moon-god's cult. Numušda and ^{d}ama-ra-he$_{2}$-ag$_{2}$-e are considered to be offspring of the moon-god in other sources.

SLT 122-124 presents a much more simplified list of the family of the moon-god. Each text lists the same names in the same order: ^{d}nanna, ^{d}suen (^{d}EN-ZU), ^{d}aš$_{2}$-im$_{2}$-babbar, ^{d}nin-ga$_{2}$, ^{d}nin-gublaga (SLT 122, 1. 7-...)

123, rev. i, 17-21; 124, i, 17-21).

Finally, the Weidner list, which is partially broken, presents the following order:

VAT 7759

I, 1'. (broken)[5]

2'. [^{d}nin]-gublaga

3'. [d]ama-ra-$\underline{b}$e$_2$'-e$_3$-a

4'. ^{d}ama-ra-a-zu

As mentioned above, the deity-lists from the Presargonic period do not display any theological order; so little can be learned about Nanna/Suen's relationship to other deities from these lists. The occurrence of the names ^{d}nanna, ^{d}suen, and ^{d}aš-im$_4$-babbar on these lists have been noted in Chapter 4 sub Presargonic Period.

Obviously, it is beyond the limits of the present study to attempt to compare all of the deity-lists from the different periods and to draw conclusions regarding the position of the moon-god on each of these lists. Professor W.G. Lambert has devoted much study to this task. Therefore, the comments made here about the deity-lists should be considered provisional and subject to revision when the results of this study appear.

I. Nanna/Suen's relation to the major deities of the pantheon

1) son of Enlil and Ninlil:

The notion that Nanna/Suen is the eldest son of Enlil and Ninlil is amply attested in inscriptions and

in literary texts from the Ur-III and Isin-Larsa periods; references to this notion can be found in Chapter 7 on the epithets of the moon-god sub dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$. As mentioned in this chapter, it is possible that the idea of designating the moon-god as the "chief" or "eldest" son of Enlil and Ninlil, the tutelary god and goddess of the influential religious center of Nippur, was politically motivated by Ur's rise to power in the Ur-III period. However, the epithet of Suen, amar-bang-da-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ "frisky calf of Enlil," attested in the Presargonic period (Eannatum, "Stele of the Vultures" col. 20, 2-3; 21, 7-8; 22, 9-10) suggests that the moon-god had some connection with Enlil well before the Ur-III period.

The moon-god's relation to Enlil and Ninlil is made particularly explicit in hymns to the moon-god which come from Nippur. In these literary compositions the god is usually depicted as a youth and his relation to Enlil and Ninlil is that of a child to his parents. In this role he is most often called by the name Suen.[6] According to the myth "Enlil and Ninlil" the birthplace of the moon-god is Tummal, a cult site near to Nippur and closely associated with Ninlil from the Presargonic period. In this myth, which originated in Nippur like the hymns just mentioned, the moon-god is once again referred to only as Suen. These Nippur references together with the Eannatum reference cited above suggest that the moon-god called Suen was very early seen as

with Enlil and Ninlil and their city of Nippur. It may be that the moon-god Nanna of Ur first became connected with Enlil and Ninlil of Nippur in the Ur-III period through the syncretization of Suen and Nanna. For more on the circumstances surrounding Suen's birth in Tummal see my discussion of the myth "Enlil and Ninlil" in Chapter 6 sect. III B 3.2.

2) relationship to An:

There are several indications in literary texts that An was thought to be the father of Nanna/Suen. In Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 81, rev. 26 the moon-god is expressly called dumu-an-na "son of An"; and on p. 35, 7 An's relation to Nanna/Suen is defined as "father": a-a-zu an-ku3-ge "your father, holy An." In Šulgi F, 70 the familiar epithet of the moon-god, "eldest son," usually applied in reference to Enlil, is used in connection with An: the moon-god is called dumu-sag-an-na "eldest son of An." Another epithet originally used in reference to Enlil, "frisky calf" (amar-bang-da; see above) is also found in connection with An: in Urnammu inscription 25, 2 the moon-god is called amar-bang-da-an-na "frisky calf of An." Some sort of parental relationship between An and his consort Uraš and the moon-god is also implied in several contexts: see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 65, 4: mi2-zi-dui-ga-an-^{d}uraš-a u3-tu-da dur-an-ki "truly cared for by An and Uraš, born in Duranki (= Nippur)." An and Uraš are also mentioned in connection with the moon-god in Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 72,

rev. 5 (contra Sjöberg, p. 75) and in TuM NF IV, 12, obv. 8 (cf. also rev. 8: en dumu-an-na in broken context). Finally, note also the moon-god's connection with both An and Enlil in Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 70, 5 where the moon-god is called: pirig-gal-an-ku3-ga dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil2-la2 "great lion of holy An, eldest son of Enlil."

Whether these references reflect a conflicting tradition whereby the moon-god was the son of An instead of the son of Enlil is uncertain from availble evidence. Since An was also considered to be the progenitor of Enlil, it is possible that the above references simply describe the moon-god as a second-generation offspring of An. This may be suggested by the epithet of the moon-god, dumu-KA-an-ku3-ga (TCL 16, 86, 5), perhaps to be translated as "grandson of holy An"; see Chapter 7 on the epithets of the moon-god sub dumu-KA and dumu-an-na; also cf. Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 42.[4]

There may also have been political reasons for connecting the moon-god of Ur with An since the Ur-III kings traced their ancestry back to Uruk, tutelary city of An. There are also indications in literary texts that both An and Enlil were revered in Nippur (see A. Falkenstein, ZA 49, pp. 149-150), which might explain the attempt to connect Nanna/Suen genealogically with both Enlil and An.

Finally, from a figurative viewpoint the notion of connecting the moon-god with the sky-god is an obvious logical connection and [illegible]

such epithets of the moon-god as dumu-an-na, amar-ban3-da-an-na, a i piriğ-gal-an-ku3-ga.

3) Ningal, the spouse of the moon-god:

As the spouse of the moon-god and the chief goddess of Ur, Ningal played a very large role in the cult of Ur. Urnammu built a Gipar for her (UET 1, 35); Šulgi refers to her as his mother (Šulgi inscription 43); Amarsuen calls her ama-uri2^{ki}-ma "mother of Ur" (Amarsuen inscription 3, ii, 7-8). Numerous offerings are recorded in Ur texts (see UET 3, Indexes, p. 39) both for her and for her temple (e2-^{d}nin-gal: UET 3, 74, 702). A šabra was attached to her cult (UET 3, 1061, 1389, 1633, 1726; cf. N. Schneider, AnOr 19, p. 50, Nr. 390, 4). Her name frequently occurs in personal names attested in Ur texts (UET 3, Indexes, p. 39; AnOr 19, p. 51, Nr. 390, 5). In the Ur archaic texts Ningal is only attested twice in personal names (UET 2, p. 19). However, the goddess nin-uri2, whose name may have been a by-name of Ningal in this period, is also attested in these early texts (UET 2, 105 i); cf. this chapter, IV, 6.

Ningal was chiefly paried with the moon-god called Nanna, i.e. the tutelary deity of Ur, the city with which Ningal was solely associated. Only rarely is she mentioned in connection with Suen. Little can be said about her character; for when she is mentioned in literary texts or in inscriptions, she is usually

described only as the spouse of the moon-god. In UET 1, 171, 1ff. she is called ^{d}nin-men-na "lady of the men-crown," an epithet which does not occur elsewhere. A hymn to her apparently existed as early as the Fara period, for a za3-me hymn to her is mentioned in the Abū-Ṣalābīkh list of such hymns (see OIP 99, 47, 40).

About her ancestry almost nothing is known. According to TuMHS NF IV, 7, ii, 88 a goddess names ^{d}nin-gi-k[u3-ga(?)] is called ama-ugu-zu "the mother who bore me."

4) Ninḫursag:

The moon-god's connection with this primal mother goddess is very vague; yet her name occurs in several contexts which suggest that somehow the two deities were associated. Particularly tantalizing is the fragmentary hymn to the moon-god N3082 + duplicates (see Chapter 9) in which the names Nanna and Ninḫursag repeatedly occur together in a context so broken that nothing definitive about their relationship can be said. In another hymn to the moon-god -- UM 29-15-570, published by Å. Sjöberg in JCS 29, p. 8, obv. 7-8 (= 11-12) -- Ninḫursag, along with An, Enlil, and Enki, tenderly cares for Nanna/Suen in his ki-ulutim, perhaps, "birth place" or some similar concept (see Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.2). As a member of the elder generation of deities, Ninḫursag's relation to Nanna/Suen should have been of the same status as An, Enlil and Ninlil's relation to the moon-god. If ki-ulutim does have something to do with the moon-god's

birth, then it is interesting to note that Ninḫursag played some role in Nanna/Suen's creation. However, there is no indication of any direct genealogical connection between the two. Apparently, Ninḫursag has a place in the cult at Ur, for offerings to her are recorded in the Presargonic (UET 2, Supplement, no. 13) and Ur-III periods (UET 3, 267, rev. i; 736; cf. JCS 10, p. 18, 4, obv. 1-2). According to UET 5, 576 there was a temple for Ninḫursag in the Old-Babylonian period.

5) Enki and Ninki:

Nanna/Suen's relationship to these ancestral deities is alluded to in two hymns to the moon-god. In ZA 63, p. 25, No. 4, obv. 11 they are called the moon-god's pa-bil2-ga, a term which can be loosely translated as "ancestors." In some contexts it means paternal grandfather or paternal uncle; see Å. Sjöberg's commentary in ZA 63, p. 29 to A 11. They are also mentioned in ISET 1, pp. 96-97 (Ni. 2761), obv. 21 as being among the gods who assemble in the underworld with Nanna/Suen at the time when the moon is absent from the night sky (see Chapter 9). Since this divine pair was considered to be the primal ancestors of the whole Mesopotamian pantheon,[7] the moon-god's relation to them is as a distant offspring.

6) Enki:

There does not appear to have been any genealogical connection between the moon-god and Enki, the chief god

of Eridu. However, as a major god of the pantheon Enki certainly had some contact with Nanna/Suen in the cult life and it is known from many attestations in literary texts, inscriptions, and offering-lists that there were considerable cultic connections between Ur and Eridu. A particularly good illustration of the close cultic ties between the two deities is seen in UET 6/1, 67 (see my treatment in Chapter 9), an Ur text describing a series of elaborate purification rites in which Enki plays a major role. The god is depicted as purifying the Ekišnugal and a good many of the cultic installations in and around it. According to Rīmsîn inscription 3 and year-date 8 Rīmsîn built a temple for Enki at Ur called the e2-geštu2-šu-du7 "temple of perfect wisdom." This is possibly to be connected with the temple of Enki found by Woolley at Ur in the southeast end of the city wall.[8] Journeys of the Ur-III kings between Ur and Eridu are also attested: cf. T. Pinches, Amherst I 53 (Šulgi); G.A. Barton Haverford 132, 33; UET 3, 1444 obv. ii; some of these royal journeys may have been taken as part of the king's coronation ceremony; cf. Å. Sjöberg, OrSuec 21, p. 110. Further aspects of Enki's role in the cult at Ur are offerings made to the god in UET 3, 270, obv. iv and the mention of a nin-dingir priestess of Enki in UET 3, 1120. The antiquity of the cultic connection between Enki and Nanna is atested in the Presargonic Ur month name: iti-AB-ze$_2$-ku$_3$-^{d}en-ki-ka (UET 8, Supplement 15 rev.). Finally, one should also note the reference

cited above under my discussion of Ninḫursag (JCS 19, p. 8, obv. 7-8 (= 11-12) where Enki, together with An, Enlil and Ninḫursag is said to care for Nanna in his ki-ulutim (see above).

II. The Brothers of Nanna/Suen

According to the myth "Enlil and Ninlil" the brothers of the moon-god are Nergal, Ninazu, and Enbilulu, all of whom are sired by Enlil and born by Ninlil; the moon-god is the eldest. See H. Behrens, Enlil und Ninlil, Studia Pohl: SM 8 and my discussion of the myth in Chapter 6, sect. III B 3.2 for further details concerning the details of the begetting and birth of these gods. Nergal is according to tradition the god of the underworld. In the myth he is called ^{d}mes-lam$_2$-ta-e$_3$-a and it is by this name that he is known in the cult of Ur. Offerings to ^{d}mes-lam$_2$-ta-e$_3$-a at Ur can be found in N. Schneider, AnOr 19, pp. 41-42, Nr. 312; StOr 9/1, Nr. 27; and in UET 3, 267, rev. i. A great gate of Meslamtaea was part of the temple complex at Ur during the Ur-III period; this is attested in UET 3, 1442: ka$_2$-gal-^{d}mes$_3$-lam-ta-e$_3$-ka. UET 3, 1109 rev. ii mentions a "garden of Meslamatea's gate" (kiri$_6$-ka$_2$-^{d}mes$_3$-lam-ta-e$_3$-a). Nergal's relation to Nanna/Suen in mythology has been discussed in connection with u$_4$-na$_2$-a "day of the moon's disappearance" (see Chapter 6, sect. III B 1.5 and Chapter 9 sub ISET 1, pp. 96-97; Ni. 4751). There are indications that the moon-god was

thought to sojourn in the underworld during the time of the moon's disappearance from the sky. Here he either assumed or shared Nergal's role as lord of the underworld and judge.

Ninazu, according to the myth "Enlil and Ninlil," is called the lord "who stretches the measuring line across the fields" (eš2-gana2-bid2-da: line 116).[9] Thus, in the Nippur tradition he was a god associated with the fertility and prosperity of the farm lands. In the conflicting Ur tradition he is not the son of Enlil and Ninlil, but the son of Ereškigal, goddess of the underworld and consort of Nergal. However, in a hymn to Ninazu (UMBS XIII, 41) there is evidence that Ninazu was sired by Nanna and born in Ur. Thus, it appears that there were two separate genealogies of Ninazu, one in which he was the brother of the moon-god, and another in which he was the moon-god's son. The problem of Ninazu's genealogy is discussed by J.J.A. van Dijk, SGL II, pp. 71-78. For Ninazu's role in the cult of Ur and further comments on Ninazu's relation to Nanna/Suen see Chapter 6, sect. III A 2.11; also H. Behrens, Enlil und Ninlil, pp. 195ff.

Enbiluulu in "Enlil and Ninlil" is called "inspector of canals" (ku3-gal2-iz-da: line 142). Thus, he too is connected with fertility of the land. The myth "Enlil and Ninlil" is the only composition which designates him as a son of Enlil and Ninlil. In the later tradition he

was thought to be the son of Enki, probably because of his connection with water and irrigation. See. H. Behrens, Enlil und Ninlil, pp. 199-200 for further comments and references concerning this god. There is no evidence that the god was part of the cult at Ur.

III. The Offspring of Nanna/Suen

1) Inanna:

That Inanna was considered to be the daughter of the moon-god is consistently attested in literary texts. This genealogical connection does not, however, appear in inscriptions until the Old-Babylonian period. In some Presargonic deity-lists the name of Inanna appears before the name of the moon-god (e.g. A. Deimel, SF Nr. 1: VAT 12760, i, 3 = ^{d}inanna; 5 = ^{d}nanna; Nr. 7: VAT 12761, obv. i, 4 = ^{d}inanna; rev. ii 8-9 = ^{d}nanna), a very unusual position if she was indeed the daughter of Nanna in this early period. It seems equally possible that Inanna was not thought to be the daughter of the moon-god before the Ur-III period. The goddess was one of the most widely revered deities of Mesopotamia and her character displays a host of conflicting traits. The Inanna of the Ur-III and later periods may be an amalgamation of several originally different mother goddesses. Considering the extreme complexity of the evolution of Inanna's character, she may well not have been always and everywhere the daughter of the moon-god.

The cult of Inanna is already attested at Ur in the Presargonic period. Her popularity is evident in the many theophoric personal names containing her name from this period (UET 2, p. 20); and there is a festival for Inanna at Ur at this time called šu-eš5-dinanna (UET 2, Supplement, 46, obv. iii). Offerings to Inanna and Nanna are attested for the feast ezen-maḫ-dnanna (UET 2, Supplement, 45). In the Ur-III period Urnammu built a temple for Inanna at Ur (UET 1, 36 = 37; 39; cf. UET 3, 683, 1502). According to Waradsîn 8, 32 the king expanded a temple for Inanna at Ur called e2-telmun-na. A cult site called ki-dinanna where offerings are made to the god Ḫaya is also attested at Ur in this period (UET 3, 216). The continuing presence of Inanna in the cult at Ur is evident in the records of offerings made to her in the Ur-III and Old Babylonian periods (UET 3, 286; 1248; UET 5, 789).

2) Ningublaga:

Ningublaga is expressly called the son of Nanna/Suen in the hymn to the temple of Ningublaga in Kiabrig (TCS 3, pp. 25-26, No. 11, 155: dnin-gublaga dumu-dnanna-a-ke4/-dsuen-na-ke4). Another reference (although uncertain) to this genealogical connection is in the Nanše Hymn 90 where a god-name beginning dnin-[x] is followed by the epithet dumu-ur-sag-šul-dsuen-na-ke4: a reading dnin-[gubllaga here is possible, but not assured (see Chapter 6, sect. III b 2.7). In every one of the contexts in which he is mentioned Ningublaga is

closely associated with Nanna/Suen. In the following Old Babylonian deity-list, for example, Ningublaga's name consistently follows that of Nanna and Ningal: TCL 15, 10, 156; SLT 122 obv. i 21 = SLT 123 rev. i 21; SLT 1224 obv. i 21. In literary texts also, there is always some clear connection with the moon-god (UET 6/1, 67, 51; SLTNi 85; unpublished hymn to Ningublaga: CBS 11363 + CBS 12701 + N3525 + CBS 12672 + N3317; STVC 1332 + ISET 2, pls. 50-51; temple hymn cited above; Nanše hymn 90?). Though Ningublaga's relation to Nanna/Suen is fairly certain, one conflicting reference is found in the unpublished hymn to Ningublaga just cited; in lines 30 and 41 Enlil is called Ningublaga's father (a-a). Of course, the term a-a in this context may be used loosely since Enlil as the head of the pantheon is father of all the second and third generation deities. In light of the frequent association of Ningublaga with Nanna/Suen it seems unlikely that this one reference to Enlil as the father of Ningublaga represents an alternative genealogy.

Ningublaga's connection with the cult of Nanna at Ur goes back as far as the Presargonic period. The oldest attestation of the god-name is found in UET 2, Supplement, 38 where the "grand festival of Ningublaga" (ezen-mah-^{d}nin-gublaga) is mentioned. In the Sargonic period two dedicatory inscriptions to Ningublaga from Narāmsuen and from him and his daughter, the En-

priestess of Nanna at Ur are attested (UET 1, 274, III; E. Sollberger, AfO 17, pp. 27ff.).

In the Ur-III period there is a good deal of evidence for a thriving cult of Ningublaga at Ur. The eighteenth year of Urnammu is named for the laying of the foundation of a temple for Ningublaga: mu uš-e2-^{d}nin-gublaga ki ba-a-gar "the year the foundation of the temple of Ningublaga was laid."[10] Reference is also made to this temple in UET 3, 261 (Ibbisuen). The cult of Ningublaga at this time consisted of various cult functionaries: a šabra of Ningublaga (UET 3, 1318; CT 3, 21335 ii 55) and an išib of Ningublaga (UET 3, 1228). Offerings to Ningublaga are recorded in Legrain TRU 320; UET 3, 267; and UET 3, 278.

In the Old Babylonian period the cult of Ningublaga continued to be maintained. Lipitešstar of Isin appointed his daughter to be the En-priestess of Ningublaga with the title en-nin-sun2-zi (see E. Sollberger, AfO 17, p. 29 and n. 105). Under Waradsîn of Larsa the e2-ga2-bur-ra temple of Ningublaga at Ur was restored (Waradsîn inscription 17). Thus, the cult of Ningublaga at Ur and Ningublaga's close connection with the moon-god had a long and continuous tradition. As is evident from the hymn to Ningublaga's temple in Kiabrig, the god was also at home at this site.

In the literary texts that deal with Ningublaga the god is often associated with herding and Nanna's cattle stalls. In SLTNi 65, obv. 25 he organizes the oxen in

the temple of Suen ([...] e2-dsuen-na-ka gu4 si im-x-ni-sa2-sa2); in the unpublished hymn to Ningublaga cited above, 47-48, the god is said to "perfect the numerous bulls in their multitudes" and "perfect the numerous sheep in their multitudes" (47: gu4-lu-[lu] šar2-šar2-ra-ba gu4 šu ba-ni-in-duz/ 48: udu-lu-lu-a šar2-šar2-ra-ba udu šu ba-ni-in-duz); in Waradsîn inscription 17, 6 he is called the "protective deity of the Ekišnugal" ([d]lama-e2-kiš-nu-gal2), perhaps an allusion to his role as guardian of the herds. With his sister Inanna he shares the epithet sum2-zi "wild bull/cow." This epithet is found in literary texts and in the Old Babylonian deity-list TCL 15, 10, 157. The epithet dlugal-bahar "lord of bulls" is also applied to Ningublaga in this same deity-list, line 158; cf. PSD B, p. 46 for bahar (GUD) as a word for bull.

3) Utu:

The sun-god, Utu, was considered to be the son of the moon-god at least by the Old-Babylonian period. This is known from literary texts of this period which refer to Suen as the father of Utu and to Utu as the son of Ningal (cf. BE 31, 27, 12 -- fragmentary Utu hymn -- šul dsuen a-a-zu dumu-zi-le; VAS 2, 73 obv. 5; 10, 152 obv. 5; STVC 106, 4; UMBS 10/2, 9 rev. i 3 -- dutu dumu-dnin-gal). The genealogical relation probably dates back to the Ur-III period and perhaps earlier, but as of yet it is not attested in inscriptions or in other written

sources. Nanna and Utu are often paired in literary contexts as related celestial phenomena; for example, Šulgi D, 247-248 where Nanna is called ^{d}nanna si-un-na "Nanna at heaven's height (zenith)" and Utu is called ^{d}utu an-ur$_{2}$-re "Utu at heaven's base (horizon)"; Šulgi R, 37-38 where Nanna is said to be at the prow of the boat and Utu on the horizon at the stern (ma$_{2}$-sag-zu-u$_{3}$ ^{d}nanna ... / ma$_{2}$-egir-zu-u$_{3}$ ^{d}utu an-ur$_{2}$-ra ...); and Lugalbanda I (ḫurrum), 204 where Nanna in his course across the sky gives direction to the rising sun (a-a ^{d}nanna ^{d}utu-e$_{3}$-ra si-sa$_{2}$ mu-na-an-sum "Father Nanna gave direction to the rising sun.") In this reference the genealogical relationship of father/son is also implied.

There is very little evidence for the cult of Utu before the Old-Babylonian period. A temple of Utu in Ur is mentioned only once (UET 3, 337: e$_{2}$-^{d}utu uri$_{2}^{ki}$-ma(!?)). Offerings to Utu are attested in Ur in de Genouillac Tablettes 5482 obv. ii; UET 3, 267 rev. ii; and UET 3, 235. The taking of oaths before Utu is mentioned twice (UET 3, 35 and 369). In the Old-Babylonian period a golden throne and dais for Utu existed at Ur (UET 5, 773). Cultic ties between Ur and Larsa, city of the sun-god, are alluded to in Šulgi D. 319-320 where the king mentions a journey to the e$_{2}$-babbar, the temple of Utu in Larsa. In Šulgi X, 79-90 a similar journey to the e$_{2}$-babbar is described; in this case Utu decrees the fate for the king.

The chief role of Utu was as divine judge, a role

he shared with the moon-god who is also frequently depicted as a judge. As the two most prominent celestial light sources both gods were thought to be all-seeing and hence able to judge the whole world.

4) Numušda:

Numušda is attested as the son of the moon-god in a text which dates from the Old-Babylonian period: Cros Tello 207 Ao 4331 + 4335 III 1 (cf. A. Poebel, ZA 37, pp. 161ff.): nu-mu-uš-ta-mu dumu-zu-e-na-mu "O my Numusda, O my son of Suen." A hymn attributed to the reign of Šiniqīšam of Larsa once again describes Numušda as the son of Nanna and Ningal and associates him with Nanna's temple in Ur, the Ekišnugal: OrSuec 22, pp. 107-116. In line 9 Numušda is called dumu-nun-na "son of the prince," the prince in this context referring to Nanna/Suen. In line 31 Suen is called Numušda's father (a-a-); and in lines 33-34 Numušda is described as having cultic connections with the Ekišnugal (reference in made to the god's me's and šu-luh "washing rites"). Despite these indications in literary texts of Numušda's role in the cult of Ur, no references to Numušda are yet attested in offering lists (cf. N. Schneider, AnOr 19, p. 69, Nr. 516).

The city where the god's cult was centered was Kazallu (see Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 127; D.O. Edzard, ZZB, p. 126, n. 665 on location of Kazallu). This is known through Šulgi year-date 12: mu dnu-umušmuš-da-ka-

zal-lu^{ki} e2-a ba-ku4 "The year Numušda of Kazallu was brought into the temple";[10] and the hymn to the temple of Numušda in Kazallu (TCS 3, p. 40; cf. commentary pp. 124-127). Among the provinces in the Ur-III kingdom were an-za-gar3-^{d}nu-muš-da and bara2-^{d}nu-muš-da (see F.R. Kraus, ZA 51, pp. 68-69), which may have been cult sites of the god. Personal names referring to Numušda are cited in AnOr 19, p. 69 (Nr. 516); UET 3, 1168.

The character of Numušda has been discussed by Å. Sjöberg in OrSuec 22, pp. 107-108. Note also that Numušda and his family play major roles in the Martu myth (SEM 58),[11] according to which the daughter of Numušda is married to Martu. Numušda's wife, ^{d}nam-ra-at (mentioned in SEM 58, 59) is listed under Numušda in the Old-Babylonian deity-list TCL 15, 10 (line 161).

5) Ninegalla:

The name ^{d}nin-e2-gal(-la), literally "Lady of the palace" was used simply as a by-name for Inanna in literary texts, all of which date from the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period. There is evidence that the name originally referred to another goddess distinct from Inanna, but that perhaps as early as the Ur-III period this goddess became identified with Inanna through syncretism. There is no evidence that the originally distinct goddess had any genealogical connection with the moon-god. Reference to her as the dumu-gal-^{d}suen-na "the great daughter of Suen" in Rīm-Sîn inscription 6, 10 indicates in all probability that she

is identified with Inanna and for this reason is called the daughter of Suen. Ninegalla did, however, have a place in the cult of Ur. Urnammu built a temple for her and offerings to her are attested in offering-lists. It is unclear whether she was identified with Inanna at Ur during the Ur-III period. For a review of the evidence relating to Ninegala with references see Å. Sjöberg, AfO 24, p. 40, 36; see H.Behrens forthcoming edition of the Ninegalla hymn.

6) Ninazu:

On the tradition which makes Ninazu a son of the moon-god see above under II.

7) Iškur(?):

See n. 4.

8) dama-ra-he2-ag2-e and dama-ra-a-zu:

These two goddesses are among the deities listed in the Old-Babylonian deity-lists TCS 15, 10 and VAT 7759 (E. Weidner, AfO 2, pp. 4-5) under Nanna/Suen (TCL 15, 10, 166; VAT 7759, i, 3'-4'). According to the later deity-list An-Anum III 41-43 they are daughters of the moon-god. The name dama-ra-he2-ag2-e is also attested in a Fara deity-list SF Nr. 1, VAT 12760 obv. x 12; yet no connection with the moon-god is evident here. Though these goddesses are listed under the name of the moon-god in two Old-Babylonian god-lists, there is no evidence in offering-lists or in literary texts of their having any place in the cult of the moon-god at Ur. The

reason for their association with Nanna/Suen is therefore unclear.

IV. The Circle of Minor Deities Connected with the Moon-God at Ur

1) ^{d}alamuš:

^{d}alamuš (^{d}LAL$_3$) is the sukkal of the moon-god according to post-Old-Babylonian traditions (see JCS 29, p. 24', rev. 12; An-anum III 37[10] and is frequently associated with Ningublaga, son of Nanna/Suen (see Chapter 6, sect. IV 2.1). The god's place in the cult of Ur is apparently quite ancient since one finds the personal name ur-^{d}alamuš in the Ur archaic texts (UET 2, Supplement, 14, obv. i, 1). In the Ur-III period offerings are recorded to Alamuš (UET 3, 72; 149; 161; 164; 378). During this period the god is often associated with the cult of Nanna at Ur called ^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak, a name which seems to have originated in the reign of Šu-suen (see Chapter 5, sect. II 3.6). UET 3, 1110 and 1141 mention the i$_3$-dub-^{d}alamuš, "the door-keeper of Alamuš," which may indicate that the god had his own temple or shrine within the temple complex at Ur. In the Old-Babylonian period Alamuš is mentioned once in an Ur offering-list.

Alamuš is mentioned twice in Sumerian literature. In the Lamentation over Sumer and Ur he appears to be connected with the dub-laz-mah where justice was decided and verdicts rendered. He is described as having a

sceptre (giš-gidri; cf. my treatment of lines 437-439 in Chapter 6, sect. IV 2.1). In a hymn to the moon-god his name appears in broken context (JCS 29, p. 10, rev. 24').

The nature of his character is uncertain. In Ur-III offerings lists he is associated with deities who embody the fruits of the land and of the herds (see Chapter 5, sect. II 3.6); in Lamentation over Sumer and Ur he is connected with the rendering of justice; and according to later traditions he is the sukkal of Nanna/Suen, a type of messenger or personal servant.

2) ^{d}nin-e2-i3-ga

This goddess along with Alamuš is connected with the cult of ^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak (see Chapter 5, sect. 3.6) at Ur. Her name literally means "lady of the house of milk-fat and milk." In Lamentation over Sumer and Ur she is described as the agrig-mah "exalted stewardess" of the storehouse (erim3; line 406; see Chapter 6, sect. IV 2.1). From her name and this description of her function it is clear that she was the protective goddess of the storehouse where dairy products were kept. In the Old-Babylonian period the daughter of Lipitešstar, who as En-priestess of Ningublaga is called en-nin-sun2-zi , describes herself as the agrig-zi-^{d}nin-e2-i3-ga "true stewardess of ^{d}nin-e2-i3-ga" (Lipitešstar inscription 4, 18-19). According to the year-date UET 1, 292 iii 52-54 the goddess had a nin-dingir priestess.

3) ^{d}ga-la-e-ne and ^{d}šu-ni-gu10/-du7

Both these gods are attested in post-Old-Babylonian texts as shepherds of Suen (see K. Tallqvist, StOr 7, p. 308 and p. 466). They are mentioned together in Lamentation over Sumer and Ur (Ms. P. Michalowski, University Museum), 338-339 where they are respectively connected with herding and the products of the herds, milk and cheese: dga-a-a-u2 lu2 ab2 ki-ag2-ga2 giš-tukul gana4-ma ba-šub / dšu-ni-du10 i3 ga-ar3-ra du6-ul-du6-ul-e i3 ga-ar3-ra nu-du6-ul-du6-ul "GA-a-a-u2 who loves the cows hurled his weapon down upon the ewe. šu-ni-du10 who heaps up milk and cheese no longer heaped up milk and cheese." šu-ni-du7 (in this case written with -du7 instead of -du10) also appears in the bal-bal-e hymn to Nanna (TuM NF IV 7, col. ii, 92) where he is once again associated with the churn, milk products, and the act of churning (see Chapter 9 with commentary to ii, 92).

4) dḫa-ya3 and dnisaba:

As is evident from the frequency with which the god Ḫaya is attested in Ur offering-lists, the god played an important role in the cult of Ur and was closely associated with the temple of Nanna (see Chapter 5, Tables I-II and sect. II 2). According to UET 3, 683 and 688 the god had his own shrine or temple (e2-dḫa-ya3). In UET 3, 300 gold for a sceptre of Ḫaya is mentioned, possibly indicating that a statue of the god existed. In UET 3, 1504, vii a festival of ḫaya (ezen-dḫa-ya3) is attested. A hymn to the god was also found at Ur (UET

6/1, 104; see H. Steible, Ein Lied an den Gott Haja, Inaugural-Dissertation, Freiburg i. Br., 1967) dating from the reign of Rīmsîn of Larsa. Haya's spouse was Nisaba, also known as Nunbaršegunu. She too had a place in the cult of Ur; she receives offerings along with ^{d}nanna, ^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak, ^{d}alamuš, and ^{d}nin-e2-i3-ga in UET 3, 149, 161, and 164 (see Chapter 5, Part II, sect. 3.6:^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak). Offerings are also recorded for the goddess in UET 3, 267, rev. ii and UET 3, 280; in the latter text these offerings are presented to her along with Nanna. There was also a nin-dingir priestess connected with her cult (UET 3, 1109, rev. i).

The genealogical relation of Haya and Nisaba to Nanna/Suen seems to have been that of maternal grandparents. According to the myth "Enlil and Ninlil" Nisaba, known in this text as Nunbaršegunu, was the mother of Ninlil. In UET 6/1, 101, the hymn to Haya, Nisaba is clearly identified as the spouse of Haya. A review of the genealogical connection between Haya, Nisaba, and Nanna/Suen is presented by H. Steible, Haya, pp. 56-59.

5) ^{d}MUŠ-IR-HA-GEŠTIN-BALAG-DU:

This god is attested several times in Ur offering-lists in connection with the cult of the moon-god. The reading and meaning of the name are uncertain and the nature of the god's connection with Nanna is unclear. In UET 3, 169 and 181 offerings are made to the god along

with offerings to ma2-gu-la "the great ship" and the e2-geš$_{x}$pu2-lirum3-ma a kind of contest hall (see Chapter 5, sect. II 1.32). Both offerings are made in the month of Akiti. The god may have had some connection with the Akiti festival and Nanna's cult in the outlying sites of Gaeš inasmuch as he is associated with the great ship; and offerings to him are made in the month of the Akiti festival. Note that in UET 3, 276 offerings are recorded for the god along with offerings for šu-nir-a2-ki-ti šu-n[ir(?)] ša3 ga-eš$_{5}^{ki}$ "the standard of the Akiti-festival, the stan[dard(?)] (which is) in Gaeš." According to UET 3, 1110 a gudu2-priest was connected with the cult of the god. Another attestation of his name comes in the personal name or professional title geme2-^{d}M. attested in UET 3, 1040, obv. ii.

6) ^{d}nin-uri2^{ki}(-ma):

The goddess ^{d}nin-uri2^{ki}(-ma) occurs in the Old-Babylonian deity-list TCL 15, 10, 165 among the deities listed under Nanna/Suen. Offerings are recorded for her at Ur in the Ur-III period in UET 3, 899 and 72. In the late deity-list An-anum Nin-uri is called the wife of Alamuš (An-anum III 38). It is probable that as early as the Ur-III period this relationship between Nin-uri and Alamuš already existed since in the Ur offering texts cited above as well as in an Umma offering text (TCL 5, 5053, obv. i, 27-28) and in the Old-Babylonian deity-list just mentioned Nin-uri always follows Alamuš. The

name of the goddess is attested as early as the Ur archaic texts (UET 2, 105, obv. i, 4). According to Šulgi inscription 17, obv. 1 a temple called the e2-kar-zi-da was built for her by the king. It is possible that in the earlier periods nin-uri2 was simply a by-name for Ningal. Since the name literally means "lady of Ur," it would have been a very appropriate title for Ningal, chief goddess of Ur. However, it is clear from the other references cited that Nin-uri was not always identified with Ningal.

7) dnin-unu:

The connection of this goddess with Nanna/Suen and the cult of Ur is very uncertain. She too appears in the Old-Babylonian deity-list TCL 15, 10 along with the other minor deities listed under the name of the moon-god (line 169). According to "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur" 233 she is the goddess of Šuruppak (note variant dsud3 dumu-nun-na)[13] whom the moon-god visits on his cultic journey to Nippur. Cultic connections between Ur and Šuruppak which are attested in the Ur-III period are discussed by B. Landsberger, Der kultische Kalender, p. 74. It is known that the goddess of Šuruppak, dsud3, was considered to be the daughter of Nisaba and Haya (see M. Civil, JAOS 103, p. 43). Her "maiden name" dsud3 was changed to Ninlil when she became the spouse of Enlil. If Nin-unu is to be identified with dsud3, as "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur" implies, then her connection with Nanna/Suen is a very strong one, i.e. mother-son.

and her cultic connections with Ur are obvious. However, in Šulgi H (BE 31, 4), rev. ii, 5-6 the goddess Nin-unu is clearly associated with Uruk; Šulgi describes how he brought seeds to Uruk and planted a tree in a temple of Nin-unu. Therefore it is unclear what goddess is being referred to in the Old-Babylonian deity-list and what her connection with the moon-god actually is. No offerings to the goddess at Ur are attested. Her name is attested very early in deity-lists from Fara (SF Nr. 1, VAT 12760, ii; Nr. 23, VAT12573, vi, 19.) with no evident connection to the moon-god.

8) ^{d}nin-ku$_3$-nun-na:

The name ^{d}nin-ku$_3$-nun-na is used as a by-name for Inanna by the reign of Urnammu. This is indicated by Urnammu inscription 6, 1-2 where Urnammu refers to Inanna as ^{d}inanna ^{d}nin-ku$_3$-nun-na nin-a-ni "Inanna, Ninkunumma, his lady." The cult of the goddess is frequently attested in Ur texts. Mention is made of her temple, e$_2$-^{d}nin-ku$_3$-nun-na in two texts (UET 3, 702; 1502). Offerings to ^{d}nin-ku$_3$-nun-na are recorded in UET 3, 278; Ningal and Ningublaga are listed immediately before her which probably indicates the goddess' close ties with the family of the moon-god. Other offerings to the goddess at Ur are cited by N. Schneider, AnOr 19, pp. 57-58, Nr. 436. The extent of the goddess' role in the cult of Ur is indicated by the fact that she even had her own festival (UET 3, 1126, obv. i). A garden of

the goddess (kiri6-^{d}nin-ku3-nun-na) is attested in the oldest extant ritual text, UET 3, 57 (see J. van Dijk, HSAO, pp. 235-237 and n. 16). According to lines 9-11 of this ritual the king is to bathe in the garden on the night of the fourth day of the ritual; exactly what place this ritual had in the cult cannot be ascertained from the text. Whether this goddess had an identity distinct from Inanna before the Ur-III period is not known.

9) ^{d}nin-DAR-a and ^{d}nun-bar-an-na:

The relation of these two deities to the moon-god is very obscure. They are listed among the deities in Old-Babylonian diety-list TCL 15, 10 under Nanna/Suen; yet very little evidence besides this list connects them with the moon-god. ^{d}nin-DAR-a is equated with ^{d}sîn (^{d}EŠ) in An-anum III 65. Elsewhere, however, the god is called the spouse of Nanše and in TCL 15, 10, 295 the god-name is again attested, this time immediately following Nanše; cf. also Enki and Ninḫursaga 274 where ^{d}u3-mu-un-DAR-a (= ^{d}nin-DAR-a) is called the spouse of Nanše; cf. A. Deimel, Pantheon, Nr. 2490.

^{d}nun-bar-an-na is equated with ^{d}gibil6 (BIL-GI), the fire-god, in An-anum II 337. In the Old -Babylonian Torch Incantation (YBC 8649), 6 (Ms. P. Michalowski, University Museum) nun-bar-an-na is an epithet of Gibil. His association with the moon-god in the Old-Babylonian deity-list is therefore inexplicable.[14]

NOTES

1. See RlA 4, pp. 475-477. All references to An-anum refer to R. Litke, A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-lists, AN: ^{d}a-nu-um and AN: anu-šaz amēli (Yale University dissertation, 1958).

2. See Chapter 2 on the names of the moon-god.

3. See Chapter 7 on the epithets of the moon-god.

4. Though Išškur and the circle of deities connected with him are listed between the Utu-group and Inanna-group, thus suggesting that Išškur was an offspring of the moon-god, I know of no texts where Išškur is identified as a son of the moon-god. Note that Th. Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, pp. 134-135 mentions that Išškur, according to one tradition, is the son of Nanna/Suen. However, he does not identify his source of evidence.

5. See E. Weidner's reconstruction of the missing lines, AfO 2, p. 10.

6. See Chapter 6, Part II, sect. B 1.1 and 1.3.

7. See RlA 3, p. 469.

8. See L. Woolley, Ur Excavations 6, pp. 42-43.

9. See H. Behrens, Enlil und Ninlil, p. 196 for variants to this line.

10. Year-date is taken from K. Sykes, The Year Names of the Ur III period (University of Chicago Masters Thesis, Chicago, 1973).

11. S.N. Kramer has prepared an edition of this myth which will be published shortly.

12. In this connection note that his name is expressed by the LAL3 sign meaning "honey."

13. See A.J. Ferrara, Studia Pohl, SM 2 (Rome 1973), p. 62.

14. Another deity, de(?)-ta(?)-mu is also listed in TCL 15, 10 under Nanna/Suen (line 163). Because the reading of the name is uncertain (the text is partially broken here), I can offer no suggestion as to the identity of this deity.

CHAPTER 9

NINE HYMNS TO THE MOON-GOD

As part of this monograph on the moon-god, Nanna/Suen, nine hitherto untreated hymns to the moon-god are presented here in transliteration and translation. A complete philological commentary as well as a short introduction highlighting the salient points of each text is also offered. The treatment of these hymns is intended to complete the published corpus of extant Sumerian hymns to Nanna/Suen. One known hymn to the moon-god has been omitted (CT 42, No. 9) because the lexical problems posed by this text are so great that a complete treatment of the text would not have been worthwhile. However, an attempt to evaluate the hymn has been made and selected passages translated in my survey of Sumerian literary texts dealing with the moon-god in Chapter 6 (Section 4.2-6). The hymns, like the vast majority of Sumerian literary texts, date to the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period. Most of the texts come from Nippur, the exceptions being UET 6/1, 67 and 68 which come from Ur. The hymns thus represent traditional conceptions about the moon-god as these were understood and reformulated in the Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period; and they reflect the cultic traditions of Nippur and Ur. In general it can be said that the new hymns treated here reconfirm the overall impression of the moon-god and his cult which the already-published hymns

and other literary texts dealing with the moon-god convey. Yet with their wealth of interesting literary epithets, references to the cult, and protrayal of Nanna/Suen's relation to other deities of the pantheon they add to our understanding of Sumerian religious conceptions centering on the moon-god.

TuM NF IV, 7, col. ii, 67-col. iii, 106

2nd bal-bal-e Hymn to Nanna

This largely fragmentary hymn to Nanna is the second of four bal-bal-e hymns to the moon-god found on one large, four-columned tablet. The first bal-bal hymn on the tablet is a copy of the hymn treated by Å. Sjöberg in Mondgott, pp. 13-34. Since variations in this copy from the texts edited by Sjöberg have been carefully noted by C. Wilcke in Kollationen, pp. 45-46 and pp. 48-49, it is not necessary to make a text edition of this first bal-bal-e hymn to Nanna (TuM NF IV, 7, col. i, 1'-48'); cf. my discussion of this hymn, Chapter 6, Section B, 1.1. Since about 20 lines of the second bal-bal-e hymn are missing from the beginning and the preserved portion of the text is fragmentary, the following treatment is limited to a transliteration and textual commentary; no coherent translation of the text can be made because of the many breaks. Attempts to synopsize the contents of the hymn can be found in Chapter 6, Section B, 1.2 and in Th. Jacobsen, Treasures

of Darkness, pp. 125-126. As C. Wilcke has pointed out (Kollationen, pp. 46-47 with n. 1), the first line of this hymn is in all probability: me-a-am-ra me-e mu-u[n- ...]. This is the catch line of TCL 15, 21 (one of the text exemplars of bal-bal-e hymn 1; see Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 13) and it is attested in the literary catalogue (TuM NF III, 54) immediately following the title me-a LU (= TCL 15, 21). See also C. Wilcke's literary analysis of this hymn in AS 20, pp. 276-279 and his suggestion in Kollationen, p. 47 that this text may have been composed by Enḫeduanna during her exile from Ur, the event described in Ninmešarra.

Transliteration

67. un$_2$-mu ⌜u$_4$⌝ [x x x x x x x x x x x x]

68. šul [x [x x x x x x x x x x x x]

69. ab$_2$ a-na [x x x x x x x x x x x x]

70. ki-bi em$_3$-mu lu$_2$ mu-lu [x x x x x x x x x x]

71. me-e da-gin lu-ul-lik [x x x x x x x x x x x]

72. u$_3$-mu-un-da ki-b[i x x x x x x x x x]
it-ti a-ša$^{(?)}$/-ta$^{(?)}$ [x x]

73. nitadam-mu [x x x x x x x x x x x x]

74. ^{d}nin-gal lu$_2$ [x x x x x x x x x x x x]

75. i$_3$-ab$_2$-ku$_3$-g[a$^{(?)}$ x x x x x x x x x x x x]

76. šu-sikil giri$_3$ [x x x x x x x x x x]

77. [x x x]-⌜sa$_6$⌝$^{(?)}$⌜bi⌝$^{(?)}$ ⌜mu⌝ [x x x x x x x x x]

78. [x x x] gi ki e [x x x x x x x x x]

79. [x x g]i-⌜pa⌝g-e giri$_2$-kin-bi [x x x x x x x]

80. gi-en$_3$-bar-du$_{10}$-ga-še$_3$ x bi [x x x x x x x]
lu-ri-[x]

81. in-nin u$_5$-bi$_2$ muš^{en}-ra ni$_3$-u$_2$-[rum$^{(?)}$ x x x x x x]
ma-kur$^{(?)}$-r[u$^{(?)}$]

82. nunuz-bi mu-ra-ab-ri gud$_3$ ga$^{(?)}$ [x x x x]

83. EN-NU-NUNUZ-ZI-^{d}NANNA u$_5$-ršu$_2$ muš^{en}] [x x x x x]
^{d}nin-gal

84. ri$_3$]-bi a ni[r x x x x] ru$_3$-mu-e-ši]-[x x x]
[i]-na IGI qi$_2$-in-nim

85. nunuz$^{(?)}$ [x] rx]-ba gug$_2$-še$_3$ u$_3$-mu-e-ni-[x x x x x]
u$_2$-KU-ra-am a-na ku-uk-ki šu-[x x x x x]

86. Sug-maḫ-a suḫur^{ku} 6-ra ŠEN um-ma-ni-[x] x x x x]
ba-[x] x x x x]

87. lu$_2$-ki-sikil ku$_5$-da tur-re šu um-m[i$^{(?)}$ x x x x x]

88. ama-ugu-zu ^{d}nin-gi-k[u$_3$-ga$^{(?)}$ x x x x x]

89. ^{d}nin-gal e$_2$-zu-še$_3$ ga$_2$-e ga-mu-ra-d[a-gin]

90. ab$_2$ tur$_3$-ra um-mi-x-n[a-x x]-rba]$^{(?)}$
UŠ$^{(?)}$[(x)] UL ZA
i-tu

91. dug-šakir$_3$-kru$_3$$^{(?)}$-ga$^{(?)}$] ga$^{(?)}$-ku$_3$$^{(?)}$ u$_3$-mu-rra]-
[xxxxx]

92. ^{d}šu-ni-du$_7$ lugal-ga$_2$ u$_3$-mu-re]-n[i-d]ug$^{(?)}$-a
[a]-na ma-a-ṣi-im

93. lu$_2$-ki-sikil geme$_2$ rx]-tur-ra-mu-še$_3$ ga u$_3$-mu-u[n$^{(?)}$
x [x] nam-ma rx]
ši-iz-ba-am

94. ri$_3$]-ḫi-a ga-luḫ-ḫa mu-[x] x x]
ba-[x] x x]

95. rd]nin-gal e$_2$-zu-še$_3$ ga$_2$-e ga-mu-ra-da-rgin]
lu-ul-li-ka-ak-ki

96. me-a-[am [x]-me-da nu-me-a

97. ki-bi [x x x x x]-ba nu-uš-mu-e-ši-di-di-in

98. DINGIR DI [x x x x zal]ag$^{(?)}$-ga-da nu-me-a

99. [x x x x x x x] rsiki]$^{(?)}$ nu-uš-mu]$^{(?)}$-[x x x x x]

(Possibly one or two lines destroyed)

101. u3-mu-un ^{d}n[anna](?) (^{d}Šᵛ[EŠᵛ(?)].[KI](?)) [dub2](?)-
b[a x x x x x]

ia-šᵛi x[x x x]

(Col. iii)

102. e2-sug-ba e2(?) šᵛe RI
i-na SUM x]-im bi da tum

103. u3-mu-un-mu x[-tu]r3(?)-nun-na me-e du5-mu-r[a-x x]

104. me-a-am ug-[d]i-de3 [x] du5-mu-ra-da-[x x x x]

105. ^{d}nanna-m[u(?) x x]-zu ze2-ba-am3 i-lu-šᵛa3-z[e2-ba-am3]

106. bal-bal-e - ^{d}nanna - kam

Commentary

70. The -bi sign is not always clearly distinguished from the -ga sign in this text. Note line 89 where the reading ga- is assured in ga-mu-ra-d[a-gin]. Here the ga sign is written with several horizontal wedges preceding the verticals, a characteristic that distinguishes it from bi which omits these horizontals; the bi sign following ki in line 70, for example, does not have these horizontals. However, this fine distinction is not always self-evident nor is the ga sign consistently written. The ga sign in the gud3 logogram (U2-KI-SI3-GA) in line 82, for instance, is written quite differently. Therefore, in broken contexts it is not always certain whether a bi or a ga was intended.

72. See C. Wilcke, Kollationen, p. 48 to II 72 for a suggested reading of the gloss.

73. Nanna's address to his spouse, Ningal, begins here.

74. A possible reading for the broken half of this line is suggested by JCS 29, p. 14, No. 4, rev. 11'-14' where Ningal is referred to as lu2-sa6-ga.

76. I read šu-sikil instead of ki-sikil based on lines 92 and 93. The šu of dšu-ni-duz (92), which is clearly distinct from the ki in lu2-ki-sikil (93), closely resembles the first sign of this line.

79. For the reading gi-gag-e (over gi-du3-e) see S. Cohen, ELA, p. 250. giri2-kin "sharp knife" is also found in Curse of Agade 206: guruš-be2 giri2-kin nu-ga2-ga2 "Its young men did not restrain their sharp knives." See AHw 1514 and CAD vol. 21, pp. 63f. for lexical and bilingual references equating kin with Akk. zaqtu(m) "pointed"; cf. J. Cooper, Curse of Agade, p. 252.

80. Cf. C. Wilcke, Kollationen, pp. 48-49 to II 80. The sign read BUR2 by Wilcke (here read x) is at best a very poorly written BUR2. I have no suggestion for interpreting the gloss. Cf. Th. Jacobsen's interpretation of this line in Treasures of Darkness, p. 125.

81. ni3-u2-rum = ma-ak-ka-r[u-um] in MSL 13, 116, 49. Because of breaks in the text the reading of both the Sumerian and its gloss are uncertain. Cf. Wilcke, Kollationen, p. 48.

82. The verb -ri is interpreted here as equivalent to Akkadian lagātu, "to gatner, the glean, to pick up" (cf. CAD, vol. 9, p. 100); cf. Hoe and Plow 79: mušen-du3-e numuz ibz-ri-ri-ge.

83. Note that EN-NU-NUNUZ-ZI-^{d}NANNA is glossed by ^{d}nin-gal written in smaller script below the line. This indicates that EN-NU-NUNUZ-ZI-^{d}NANNA, often a title for the En-priestess, refers here to the goddess, Ningal. She is called in-nin in line 81; cf. Å. Sjöberg's comments in JCS 29, p. 16 to rev. 14' and Chapter 4, Section 2 sub Commentary - Sargonic Period.

84. The gloss ina IGI(pan) ginnim "before, in front of the nest" presumably refers to the Sumerian words lost in the break. Because so much of this line is broken it is difficult to reconstruct what is being referred to here.

85. According to C. Wilcke, Kollationen, pp. 48-49, the gloss is to be read uz-ur-ra-am. The reading ur for the second sign is not apparent from the photographs at my disposal; the sign in question looks more like a ku. However, I can make no sense of uz-?-ra-am. Cf. the interpretation of this line in CAD vol. 8 (K), p. 498 sub kukku A, lex.: KIA x GAR1(?).ba gug.šeš uš.mu.e.ni [...] = uz-ku-[la]-am a-na ku-uk-ki šu-[...], "[...] the food into k." Though this reading makes good sense, I cannot see how the third sign of the gloss can be read la. Furthermore, the first broken sign of the Sumerian looks more like nunuz to me than the beginning of a KA sign.

87. On kus-da-tur-re see A.J. Ferrara, Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur, lines 170 and 278; cf. his

commentary, pp. 133ff.

90. The reading of the ba sign at the end of the line is based on C. Wilcke's Kollationen, pp. 48-49; the sign has not been drawn on the copy. I have no suggestion for interpreting the gloss. The photos confirm C. Wilcke's reading.

92. On the god ^{d}šu-ni-duz/du$_{10}$, apparently a member of the local pantheon at Ur, see Chapter 6, n. 212; Chapter 8, section IV, 3. In Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur, 334, ^{d}šu-ni-du$_{10}$ is associated with milk-fat (i$_3$) and cheese (ga-ra$_3$), so his connection here with the churn (dug-šakir$_3$) and the act of churning (ana mâṣim) is to be expected; Wilcke's reading of dug (Kollationen, pp. 48-49) therefore makes good sense in this context and I follow his collation. The signs dug$^{(?)}$-a are not visible on the photographs at my disposal and have been omitted from the copy in TuM NF IV, 7.

93. The reading of the end of this line after u$_3$-mu-un- is based on C. Wilcke, Kollationen, pp. 48-49.

96. On the interpretation of me-a-am as "shepherd" (= Akk. rē'û) see C. Wilcke, AS 20, p. 303; cf. also Chapter 7 sub mu$_3$-sub$_{3_1}$, mu-lu$_1$, mu-nu$_{10}$(KU)$_1$, me-a-am. Note the occurrence of this word again in line 104.

97. On the use of the "frustrative" nu-uš- see W.H. Ph. Römer, AOAT 25, pp. 371f.

98. Neither the copy or the photos at my disposal confirm C. Wilcke's reading ^{g}nan[na] in AS 20, p. 303

for the beginning of this line.

101. The reading [dulb2(?)-ba is based on C. Wilcke, Kollationen, pp. 48-49.

102. Cf. C. Wilcke, Kollationen, pp. 48-49.

104. Cf. C. Wilcke, Kolltionen, p. 46, n. 1 and AS 20, p. 303.

105. Th. Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness., p. 125 would restore i-lu in the break before -zu. The phrase i-lu-šaš-ba is attested in N 1542, rev. 12 (see below).

IuM NF IV, 7, col. iii, 107- iv, 168

3rd bal-bal-e hymn to Nanna

This hymn is essentially a temple hymn to the temple of Nanna in Ur. Since Enḫeduanna is mentioned four times (121, 142, 147, 163), this hymn may belong with the collection of temple hymns which are ascribed to her authorship (see TCS 3, p. 5). Although the text is not labeled as such, there are indications that it is of the same type as the temple hymns. For instance, much of the hymn (i.e. the preserved portions) focuses on the Ekišnugal and Enḫeduanna seems to be the author (see C. Wilcke, Kollationen, p. 47). The text is of interest not only because of its connection with Enḫeduanna and the temple hymns, but because of the cultic rites which are described. As in many other texts, the En-priestess is associated with the washing rites (šu-luḫ: 106, 117, 122, 150, 162). Twice she mentions putting them in order (si sa2: 117, 162), which probably means carrying out the rite in the prescribed manner. She also claims responsibility for restoring one of the temples in the temple complex at Ur (163-164), possibly the Gipar temple (120, 124, 138), the dwelling place of the En-priestess at Ur. To judge from an inscription of the En-priestess, Enanedu, (Rīmsîn 8; cf. Chapter 4, Section 4) one of the chief functions of the En-priestess was to restore and maintain the Gipar at Ur. This involved not only actual physical maintenance of the building itself,

but performance of the traditional cult rites that took place inside it. It was suggested that the Enanedu inscription was written on the occasion of dedicating the completed and restored Gipar temple (see Chapter 4, Section 4: Commentary - Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian Period); this may also be true of this hymn. Here as in Nin-me-šar-ra she is described as carrying in the gi-ma-sa2-ab basket, perhaps a type of offering basket, and of singing or chanting (line 160; Nin-me-šar-ra 68; cf. Chapter 6, Section II). These activities may be part of a dedication rite. In addition, the preparation of a kind of food-stuff, possibly beer, is also described (152-157); several terms associated with beer-brewing are mentioned (see below commentary to line 152). Whether the En-priestess takes part in this activity is not clear from the context; yet the whole seems to be connected in some cultic way to the restoration and dedication of the temple.

The hymn does not say much about the moon-god himself. This may be due to the large break in the middle of the text. In what little is preserved of this section (127-146) one does note some common literary phrases often connected with the moon-god; e.g. he is called aš-im2-babbar2-re (136) and mention is made of moonlight (itiG: 137) and a poetic term for light (sud-DU-ag2: 145) which frequently describes him in his celestial aspects (see above, Chapter 7 sub sud-DU-ag2).

Transliteration

107. ^{d}utu e$_2$ u$_4$-t⌜a⌝⌜e$_3$⌝(⌜UD-DU⌝)-⌜a⌝ ki-en-gi-ra

108. e$_2$-ki-[š]-nu]-gal$_2$ šu-luḫ-dadag-ga-am$_3$

109. e$_2$-⌜^{d}na⌝nna (⌜^{d}ŠE⌝Š-KI) nam-maḫ-za ga-an-du$_{11}$

110. u[ru] uri$_2^{ki}$ mu-zu pa ga-an-e$_3$

111. ⌜ḫur⌝-sag-sikil šag$_3$-ku$_3$-ta e$_3$-a

112. uri$_2^{ki}$ igi-gal$_2$ - an-uraš-a
ta-ši-im-tum

113. e$_2$-temen - ni$_2$-gur$_3$-a tum$_2$-ma

114. an-da nam-lugal mu-un-da-e-ba
si- [x]

115. nam-maḫ-zu kur-kur-re ba-(x)-⌜x⌝

116. sud-ra$_2$-še$_3$ mu-zu pa ga - an[-e]$_3$ ([UD-DU)

117. šu-luḫ-nam-en-na-ke$_4$ si b[i$_2$-s]a$_2$ ⌜x⌝

118. uri$_2^{ki}$-ma dur$_2$ ki ba-ni[-in$^{(?)}$-gar]

119. mu-zu du$_{10}$-ga-am$_3$ nun-e mu-u[n-(x)-x]

120. inim-ku$_3$-zu an-ra ša-mu-u[n-(x)-x]

121. en-ḫe$_2$-du$_7$-an-na-mu an-na ḫe$_2$-di⌜ri⌝ (SI-⌜A⌝)

122. šu-luḫ gi$_6$-par$_4$-ra [x x x]

123. me-nam-en-na ba-ab-[x x x]

124. gi$_6$-par$_4$-ra di$_2$b-dib$_2$-be$_2$ [x x]

125. ⌜x x x x x⌝ [x x x x x x]

(At least one, possibly two lines missing)

127. [x] [x x x x x x x x x x x]

128 šir$_3$ [x x x x x x x x x x x]

129. šir$_3$-k[u$_3$ x x x x x x x x x x x]

130. nun-e [x x x x x x x x x x]

131. geštu$_2$ [x x x x x x x x x x]

132. me-gal-gal-la [x x x x x x x x]

133. an ^{d}en-lil$_{2}$ ḫ[e$_{2}$$^{(?)}$- x x x x x x x]

134. ^{d}nin-gal-la [x x x x x x x x]

135. ḫe$_{2}$-diri u$_{3}$-tu [x x x x x x x x]

136. ^{d}aš-im$_{2}$-babbar$_{2}$-re [x x x] [x x x]

137. iti$_{6}$ ni$_{3}$-du$_{10}$-gin$_{7}$ uru$^{(?)}$ [x x x]

138. gi$_{6}$-par$_{4}$ [x x]-la [x x x x x]

139. an ^{d}en-lil$_{2}$ ḫ[e$_{2}$$^{(?)}$-x [x] [x x x x x x]

140. ama ^{d}nin-gal ḫi-li[i x x x x x x x]

141. EN-NU-NUNUZ-ZI-[^{d}NANNA] [x x x x x x]

142. en-ḫe$_{2}$-du$_{7}$-[an-na x x x x x x x x]

143. lugal-mu [(x)] [x x x x x x x x]

144. me-gal-gal-la NI[$^{(?)}$ x x x x x]

145. šir$_{3}$-ku$_{3}$ sud-DU-ag$_{2}$ N[I$^{(?)}$ x x x x x]

146. mu[x GAR]$^{(?)}$ [x x x x x x x x]

147. en-ḫe$_{2}$-du$_{7}$-an-na AN [x] x x x x x x]

148. la-la [x] lu$_{2}$-e [x x x x x x x x]

(At least two lines missing)

150. [x x x x x] lu$_{2}$ šu-luḫ-zu mu-un-zu-a

151. [x x x x x] [x] ḫu-mu-un-ak-e
[x x x x x]

152. [x x -z]u a$_{2}$-sikil-la ša-ra-an-du$_{3}$

153. [x x n]a$_{2}$-a nu-un-ši-ku$_{4}$-ku$_{4}$
šu-un-nu-um

154. r[še-zu] a$_{2}$-sikil-la ma-ra-ar$_{3}$-ar$_{3}$-e
iṭ-ṭe-e-en-kum

u$_{2}$-ul uš-ta-a-an

155. ar$_{3}$-ar$_{3}$-ra-zu erin$_{5}$-na la-ba-e-na$_{2}$
$_{5}$a$_{2}$$^{(?)}$ iṭ$^{(?)}$ (-ṭe)-nu

156. ninda-ar$_3$-ra-zu a nu-tag-ge
mu-un-da-ka

157. gakkul-zu ninda šu-bal nu-aka-dam

158. e$_2$-gal-^{d}suen-na lu$_2$ a-na-zu mu-un-zu

159. al-la$_2$-e - gudu$_4$-e-ne-ka
i-na e-ri-iš-tim

160. gi-ma-sa$_2$-ab ku$_4$-ku$_4$-dam asil$_3$-la$_2$ di-dam

161. e$_2$ du$_{10}$-ge-da e$_2$ ga$_2$-ga$_2$-dam
šu-x(-x)-a-am

162. ki-šu-luḫ-ku$_3$-ga si sa$_2$-e-dam

163. [d]nin-gal en-ḫe$_2$-du$_7$-an-an-mu

164. [e$_2$(?)]-zu ki-bi ḫu-mu-na-gi$_4$-gi$_4$

165. [x] ^{d}nanna mi$_2$ ga-e-du$_{11}$

166. [x] ^{d}suen mu-zu pa ša-an-e$_3$

167. [giš-gl]$_{14}$ - gal$_2$-bi-im

168. [bal-bal]-e - ^{d}nanna -kam

Translation

167. [T]emple arising in the (sun) light in Sumer,

168. [E]kišnugal (where) the washing rites are pure,

169. [T]emple of Nanna, of your loftiness I will speak!

170. [C]ity (of) Ur, your name I will proclaim!

171. [...] from the sacred center (of) the mountain

172. [...] the focal point of heaven and earth,

173. [...] who are worthy of the Etemennigur

174. [...] crowned kingship with An,

175. [...] the lands [know(?)].

176. [...] temple I will proclaim your

117. The washing rites of the En-priestess I [(have)] put in order.

118. In Ur I [(have)] set up a dwelling,

119. (for) your name is sweet. The prince has [...]

120. Your holy word he has [...] for An(?).

121. I am Enḫeduanna. I have made you (the temple) surpass the heavens.

122. The washing rites of the Gipar [...]

123. The me's of the En-priesthood [...]

124. In the Gipar going about [...]

(Lines 125–148: too broken for a connected translation)

150. [...] the one who has known your washing rites

151. [...] is doing.

152. Your [...] for the purification (of beer?) he/she has built for you.

153. He/she does not enter the [...] to rest.

154. Your barley in (its) pure state he (the miller) is ever milling for you.

155. Your miller has not rested in his storehouse (gloss: "the house where he mills"(?)).

156. Your groats he will not treat with water.

157. Your fermentation vat shall not ... the bread.

158. O temple of Suen, what does man know of you?

159. In accordance with the desires of the gudu-priests(?)

160. I, Enḫeduanna (line 163), by bringing in the gimasab-basket (and) singing joyously,

161. by making the temple good (again), by setting the temple up,

162. (and) in the place of the pure washing rites by putting (everything) in order,

163. I, O Ningal,

164. am restoring your [temple].

165. [...] O Nanna, I fondly greet you.

166. [...] O Suen, your name has been proclaimed.

167. This is its (the hymn's) antiphon.

168. This is a bal-bal-e hymn of Nanna.

Commentary

107. The reading of the third sign is definitely ta, not ginz as C. Wilcke suggests in Kollationen, p. 47. Though the sign is slightly broken, a comparison with the ta sign in line 111 indicates that the two are identical. One might expect a ginz here because of such lines as Gudea Cyl. A xxx, 6: e2 dutu-ginz kalam-ma e3-a; Gudea Cyl. B xviii, 12-13: uru-e dutu-ginz ki-šar-ra im-ma-ta-a-e3; Gudea Cyl. A xxiv, 14: dutu-ginz dugud-ta ba-ta-e3. However, both photographs at my disposal clearly show a ta sign.

109. Variation between -zu and -za for the second person possessive pronoun is often attested in Sumerian literary texts; see W.W. Hallo, J.J.A. van Dijk, The Exaltation of Inanna (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), p. 40 where the frequent alteration between -zu and -za in Nimmešarra is noted. An almost exact parallel to line 109 of the text considered here is Ninegalla hymn, 10 = 21 = 57 = 78 = 108 = 117 = 127 = 145, in which lines the following phrase with variants is attested: nam-mah-zu/za ga-a/an/am3-dui. It is possible that the verb dui governs the locative in some

contexts. This is suggested by Gudea Cyl. A 1, 19: e2-a-ni du3-ba mu-na-du11 "He ordered him to build his house"; cf. also Gudea Cyl. A iv, 20; v, 18 where similar lines occur. Whether the -za of nam-mah-za in line 109 indicates the locative case is uncertain.

111. hur-sag-sikil in this context probably refers to the ziggurat at Ur where the temple of Nanna/Suen was located. See Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 50 on the use of hur-sag-galam-ma/hur-sag-sukkal-du as a poetical expression for ziggurat. The Ekišnugal, the temple of Nanna/Suen at Ur, is described in this fashion in CT 44, 16, 9 = ISET 1, 166 L1499, 3; in TCL 15, 12, 109 and in Lamentation over Ur, 242.

112. The Akkadian gloss, tašīmtum "wisdom, insight," seems to be a weak rendering of the sense of the Sumerian igi-gal2 in this context. Note that this is the only attestation of the equation tašīmtum = igi-gal2 (see AHw, p. 1338).

114. The interpretation of this line is not quite certain. There appears to be a sign which looks like a poorly-written a between e and ba of the verbal chain. I have taken this as an erasure or error. Also problematic is the fact that nam-lugal is not attested with the verb ba as far as I know (cf. PSD B, pp. 8-10 sub ba D). The broken gloss is also puzzling.

115. A possible restoration of the broken verb is ba-zu-zu. The line could then be translated, "(All) the lands

know (of) your loftiness." this restoration is suggested by Gudea Statue B, ix, 29-30: nam-maḫ-a-ni kalam/un-e ḫeš-zu-zu "May his loftiness be (ever) known in the land (among the people)"; Enmerkar and ensuḫkeš̌danna 261: nam-maḫ-zu kur-kur-ra ga-bi₂-ib-zu(var.: ga-ba-ab-du₁₁) "I will make your loftiness known in (all) the lands"; cf. also Ur Suec 19-20, p. 144, No. 1 a rev. 5': nam-ur-sag-bi kur-re zu-a (collated by Å. Sjöberg).

120-121. The translation follows C. Wilcke's reading in Kollationen, p. 47. Though the reading en-ḫeš-duz-an-na mu-an-na ḫeš-di[ri] "May (you) Enḫeduanna make the name of An supreme" is also possible, it seems unlikely in this context since many of the preceding lines are in the first person and seem to indicate that Enḫeduanna is the speaker. A possible restoration of line 120 is: inim-kuš-zu an-ra š̌a-mu-u[n-sa₆/sig₅] "Your holy word has been pleasing to An." Similar phrases are attested in Šîniddinam 6 i 23-24: an-ra ᵈen-lil₂-ra inim in-sa₆-sa₆; UET 6/1, 103, 44: inim-sa₆-ga-zu ᵈnanna ᵈnin-gal-ra.

152. As H. Steible has pointed out (Rîmsîn, Mein König, p. 43) az-sikil refers not to the strength of beer (i.e. alcoholic content), but to the purity of the brew, i.e. a brew to which no sweetening agents such as date syrup or honey have been added. A possible restoration of the broken beginning of line 152 is [eš-bappir-zu] "Your brewing house, brewery." This is suggested by Gudea Cyl. B, vii, 1: e₂-bappir e₂-az-sikil-la "in the brewery, in

its house (for) purifying (beer)"; note that in the preceding lines (Gudea Cyl. B, vi, 24) the hand-washing rite (written šu4-luḫ) is mentioned as in the Nanna hymn being considered here. a2-sikil is also found in connection with e2-bappir in Šulgi Y (see A. Falkenstein's treatment, Iraq 22, p. 142), 27-29: e2-bappir-zabar-re-heš-ĝuz-na / kaš-kaš-bi-ta NE ki ba-ni-us2-us2 / kaš-gig kurun kaš-si4 a2-sikil-ba sur-ra "In her (Ninlil's) brewery suited for bronze (beer vessels) / I have founded ... with its beers: / black beer, kurun-beer, red-brown beer which are mixed in their purest form." a2-sikil also refers to beer in Nanna/Suen's Journey to Nippur, 323. In line 152 of this bal-bal hymn to Nanna, however, a2-sikil appears to refer to barley, as is indicated by its use in line 154. This is an unusual usage since in all of the other references of a2-sikil beer is being described. On the other hand, since beer is made from barley and this text contains several terms connected with beer brewing (ninda-ar3-ra = mundu : 156; gakkul: 157; ninda šu-bal ak: 157; a nu-tag: 156), the action being described in these lines of the hymn may be beer brewing; cf. Oppenheim Beer, p. 52, notes 92 and 100; p. 28, col. v, 16 for these brewing terms.

153. On the verb šunnu(m) = naš see C. Wilcke, Kollationen, p. 48 and AHW, p. 1277.

154. See AHW, p. 1388 sub ṭēnu(m) GtN (cf. N).

155. The readi ng erim5/erin5 (AB x EŠ) is equivalent in lexical texts to Akkadian išittu (see CAD vol. 7, pp. 243ff. and AHw, p. 395), in this context meaning "storehouse"; išittu is also rendered by erim3/erin3 (URU x NIG2). Both m- and n-Auslaut are attested; cf. for instance, Enlil and Sud, 36: ga2-giš-šu2-a nam-erin3-na-še3 sag-e-eš ga-na-rig7. The reading of the gloss is uncertain. With the restoration it is construed as construct plus subjunctive in Gtn preterite following the pattern of the gloss in 154:bît ittēnnū; cf. Wilcke's reading, Kollationen, p. 47.

156. On the use of ninda-ar3-ra = mundu "groats" in beer brewing see Oppenheim Beer, pp. 19-20, 43 n. 38a, and 52 n. 92. The expression a nu-tag also occurs in the same work on p. 28, col. V, 16: [zid2 al-nu-tag-ga = gi2-me me-e la lap-tum; lapātu in this context means to "apply water" or "to treat with water" (see CAD vol. 9, p. 86 1g and p. 83 lexical sub Hh XXIII v 15f.

157. On the use of šu-bal ak as a beer-brewing term see Oppenheim Beer, p. 52 n. 100. See A.J. Ferrara, Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur, p. 125 on gakkul and šu-bal ak; and M. Civil, Studies Oppenheim, pp. 83ff.

159. One expects (ni3-)al-di or (ni3-)al-du11 for erištu "wish, request" (see CAD vol. 4, p. 298 sub erištu A). I know of no other attestation of al-la2-e.

160. This line has a close parallel in Ninmešarra 68: gi-ma-sa2-ab i3-gur3-ru asil-la$^{?}$ i3-du11 "I carry the basket singing joyously"; yet one more indication that

this hymn was composed by Enḫeduanna; see C. Wilcke, Kollationen, p. 47 and my Chapter 6, section II. On the cultic uses of gi-ma-sa2-ab see W.W. Hallo, J.J.A. van Dijk, The Exaltation of Inanna (YNER 3), pp. 54-55.

161. The gloss is puzzling. Between the šu- and -a signs there may be either one or two signs. C. Wilcke, Kollationen, p. 49 reads šu-tu-a-am. But I can make no sense of this reading. The reading must remain uncertain.

164. It is unclear what the third-person dative infix -na refers to; one expects the infix -ra- referring to zu. Also problematic is the preformative ḫu- instead of ga-. The phrase en-ḫe2-duz-an-na-mu "I, Enḫeduanna" in line 163 leads one to believe that the verb in line 164 should be in the first person.

TuM NF IV, 7, col. iv, 169-199 = ISET 1, p. 62, Ni. 9788

4th bal-bal-e Hymn to Nanna

The last of the four bal-bal-e hymns on this large four-columned tablet (HS 1513 = TuM NF IV, 7) emphasizes Nanna's connection with the herds and its products; cf. my synopsis of this hymn in Chapter 6, Section III A 1.1. The first five lines describe the great numbers and the variety of cows in th herd. A general impression of teeming abundance and prosperity is conveyed. An unidentified person (called lu2; identification may be in break), perhaps the moon-god himself or one of his cowherds, is introduced in line 177 (or 176?). He (or she?) is described as "the one who loves the cows" (176, 177) and is depicted as herding the cows into the cattle pen and rounding them up. Lines 178-180 contain more images of prosperity and plenty: the products of the cows -- milk and milk-fat -- are said to be plentiful and the churns are humming with activity; the milk and milk-fat they yield are pure. A woman is mentioned in lines 181 and 182, perhaps the En-priestess, in uncertain context. The lines seem to say that though the woman goes into the cattle pen, she cannot provide the cattle with drink and feed. But when Nanna is present in the cattle pen, then it is filled with rejoicing (line 183); for he provides the cattle and all living things with all that is necessary to sustain life and make it flourish. He tenderly cares for

his creatures (187); stocks the waterways with fish and fills the air above with birds (189-192); he plants sweet herbs (192) and provides food and drink for the cows, calves, and presumably for man too. Thus, Nanna is depicted not only as the god of the herds, but as a general fertility god who brings increase and prosperity to all living things. This motif has been noted before in other hymns to the moon-god (cf. Chapter 6, Section III B). On the possibility that this hymn dates back to the reign of Urnammu and its relationship to the "Coronation of Urnammu" see Chapter 6, Section III A 1.1 and below, commentary to lines 190-195.

Transliteration

Texts:
A = TuM NF IV, 7, iv, 169-199
B = ISET 1, p. 62, Ni. 9788

A. 169. [lu-lu-a-bi]lu-lu-a-bi u_2-šim ⌜ki⌝ dar-re-dam
ki-ma
⌜x x x x⌝
B. 1. lu-lu-a-bi lu-lu-a-bi u_2-šim ⌜ki dar-r⌝e-dam

A. 170. [x-a ^{d}nan]na ([^{d}ŠEŠ]-KI) lu-lu-a-bi u_2-šim ki dar-re-dam

B. 2. ⌜x⌝-a ^{d}nanna lu-lu-a-bi u_2-šim ki dar-re-dam

A. 171. [gi$_6$-bi na$_4$-z]a-gin$_3$ – dur$_5$-ru-am$_3$

B. 3. [gi$_6$]-bi na$_4$-za-gin$_3$ – dur$_5$-ru-am$_3$

A. 172. [babbar-bi ^{d}na]nna ([^{d}Š]EŠ-KI) e$_3$-a-am$_3$

B. 4. [babbar-b]i ^{d}nanna e$_3$-a-⌜am$_3$⌝

A. 173. [x x x x]-⌜bi$^{(?)}$-da$^{(?)}$⌝ an-da-[lu n]a$_4$-za-gin$_3$-suḫ-a-am$_3$

B. 5. ab$_2$-bar-x amar-bi-da an-da-lu na$_4$-šuba-x-a-am$_3$

A. 174. (broken)

B. 6. ⌜x x x x⌝[i]m$^{(?)}$-mi-du$_3$ teš$_2$-bi um-me-x bli$_2$-ib$_2$-gal$_2$

A. 175. [x x x x]-bi-a HI [x x x x x]
e-

B. 7. [x x]⌜x x-bi⌝-a x mu-un-suḫ-suḫ-e

A. 176. [lu$_2$ ab$_2$-]e ki-ag$_2$-ga$_2$-am$_3$ tur$_3$-⌜ra⌝ mu-un-⌜laḫ$_5$⌝ (⌜DU-DU⌝)

B. 8. [lu$_2$ ab$_2$-e ki-ag$_2$-ga$_2$]-am$_3$ tur$_3$-ra mu-un-la[ḫ$_5$] (DU-[D]U)

A. 177. [x x l]u$_2$ ab$_2$-e ki-ag$_2$-ga$_2$-am$_3$ ab$_2$-e m]u-un-nigin

B. 9. [x) l]u$_2$ a⌜b$_2$-⌝e ki-ag$_2$-ga$_2$-am$_3$ ab$_2$-e mu-un-nigin

A. 178. [x x x] u$_2$ ab$_2$-gal-a-ni mu-na-an-tum$_2$ i$_3$-b[i] i$_3$-ŠU-BU-i
i-il-li-ip

B. 10. [x x x u]$_2$ a⌜b$_2$-gal$^{(?)}$-a⌝$^{(?)}$-ni mu-na-an-tum$_2$ i$_3$-⌜bi i⌝$_3$-ŠU-B[U-e]$^{(?)}$

A. 179. [x x] i$_3$-du$_{10}$-ga dug-šakir$_3$-imin-e KA!(sag) i-x-ra-a-
mu-⌜na-ab⌝-bal-e
tim

B. 11. [x x x ⌜dug⌝-šakir$_3$(! ?)-tur-imin-e KA!(sag) mu-na-x x x

A. 180. [(x) x x i$_3$-bi i$_3$-ku$_3$-ga-am$_3$ ga-bi ga-ku$_3$-ga-am$_3$

B. 12. [(x) x]⌜x⌝ i$_3$-bi i$_3$-ku$_3$$^{(?)}$-ga$^{(?)}$-am$_3$ ⌜x x x⌝[x x x x]

A. 181. [x x t]ur$_3$-ku$_3$-ta DU-a munus-e nu-nag-nag
si$_2$-ni-iš-tum u$_2$-ul IB x DA$^{(?)}$ x

B. 13. [x x] tur$_3$-ku$_3$-ga$_2$ DU$^{(?)}$-a [x x x x x]
[s]i$_2$$^{(?)}$-ni-i[š$^{(?)}$-tum ...]

A. 182. [x x ki]-˹sikil˺-la ŠU-BU-e munus-e nu-gu7-e

B. 14. [x x x] ˹x x x˺ x] x[x x x]

A. 183. [x x x x] ˹tur3˺-[ra t]uš-a-na tur3-re a-ar2 im-si

B. 15. (broken)

A. 184. [x x x]-e tur3-ra tuš-a-na tur3 me-te-aš bi2-ib-gal2

B. 16. (broken)

A. 185. [x x x] e2-tur3 kiri4/giri17-zal-am3 dnanna lugal-la-am3

B. 17. (few illegible traces)

A. 186. [x dE]N-ZU-na-k[a-a]m3 dnanna lugal-la-am3

B. 18. [x x x x x]-am3 dnan[na (dŠEŠ[-KI]) lugal]-˹la-am3˺

A. 187. [x x x] ˹ga(?)˺-m[u(?) x x] ma mi2-zi iri4-in-ga-am3

B. 19. [x x x x x x x x m]a ˹mi2˺-zi iri4-in-ga-am3-me

A. 188. [x x x x x -b]i(?)-t[a(?)] ku6 mušen su3-ga-am3

B. 20. (few illegible traces; obverse breaks off)

A. 189. [x x x x x]-bi-t[a] ku6 mušen su3-ga-am3

A. 190. [a-du-a-b]i ku6-am3 diri-bi mušen-am3

A. 191. [a-du-a-b]i ku6-˹am3˺ diri-bi mušen-am3

A. 192. [u2-lal3-e m]u-un-du3 suḫur-ku6-e ḫa(?)-ab-NIGIN2

gloss: [l]i-ṣi-i-ma [li]-ir-te-e

A. 193. [x x x x mu-u]n-du3 amar-e ḫa-[ma]-gu7(?)-e

A. 194. [x x x x mu-u]n[-du3] ab2-e ḫa-ma-gu7-e

A. 195. [x x x x x x x x x x] mu-un-gu7-e

A. 196. [x x x x x x x x x x] mu-un-nag-nag

A. 197. [x x x x x x x x x x x x] ⌐⌐(?)-re

A. 198. [x x x x x x x x x x x x x] gal2(?)

B. Rev. 1. [x x x x x x x x x x x] gal2(?)

A. 199. [x x x x x x x x x x x x x] nam(?)
(A breaks off here)

B. 2. [x x x x x x x x] [x na]-[nam]

B. 3. [x x x x x] [x x-tur-e

B. 4. [x x x x x x x x] [lu]2(?) mu(?)-DU(?)

B. 5. (few illegible traces at end of line)

B. 6. [x x x x x] ki(?)-še3(?) ga2(?)-e [x x x]

B. 7. [x x x x] [tur3(?)] x-e lu2(?) ḫu-[x x x x]

B. 8. [x x x x]-ra(?) nibruki-a nam-[x x x x]

B. 9. [x x x x] uri2(?) ki-še3 [x x x x]

B. 10. (completely broken)

B. 11. [x x x] a ki [x] e [x x]

B. 12. [bal-ba]l-e-d[nanna]-[kam]

Translation

169. Its (the cattle pen's) numerous (cows), its numerous (cows) (are) like the grasses which sprout up from the earth.

170. In the ..., O Nanna, its numerous ones (are) like the grasses which sprout up from the earth.

171. Its black ones (are) like gleaming lapis lazuli.

172. Its white ones (are) like Nanna when he comes out.

173. The ... cows with their calves are increasing; they (are) like choice lapis lazuli.

174. [.....] built ... together ....

175. [.....] in its [...] he is ever choosing ....

176. [The one(?)] who loves [the cows(?)] herds them into the cattle pen.

177. The one who loves the cows rounds up the cows.

178. He has brought for him [...], plants, (and) his great cows; their milk-fat is plentiful.

179. Seven churns of sweet milk-fat are humming (with activity) for him.

180. Their (the churns') milk-fat is pure milk-fat; their milk is pure milk.

181. Though [she(?) ...] goes from the holy cattle pen, the woman does not give drink (to the cattle?)

182. Though [she (?) ...] causes to flourish(?) in the purified place, the woman does not feed (the cattle?).

183. (But) when he [...] sits in the cattle pen, he fills the cattle pen with rejoicing.

184. When he [...] sits in the cattle pen, he is as one perfectly suited for the cattle pen.

185. [...] the temple cattle pen is splendor, (for) Nanna is lord.

186. ....., (for) Nanna is lord.

187. [.....] he will truly care for.

188. [...] in its [...] fish (and) birds fill.

189. [...] in its [...] fish (and) birds fill.

190. [Its (water) courses] are (filled with) fish; its upper areas with birds.

191. It[s (water) courses] are (filled with) fish; its upper areas with birds.

192. He has planted the honey-plants, that the great carp may ...

193. He has planted [...] that the calf may feed(?)

194. He has planted [...] that the cow may feed.

195. [.....] feeds.

196. [.....] drinks.

The rest is too broken for a connected translation.

Commentary

169-172. The transliteration and translation follow Å. Sjöberg's reading in Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 19. Text B indicates that the phrase lu-lu-a-bi is repeated twice. There appears to be enough room in the break of Text A to allow restoration of the phrase in this text. Note that there are a few illegible signs written on top of the line in Text B. It is uncertain from the copy

whether this is a gloss. The gloss ki-ma in Text A apparently indicates that the phrase u2-šim [kli-dar-re-dam is to be understood as a comparison.

173. The meaning of ab2-bar is unknown to me. It is possibly a variant writing for ab2-NE which occurs in Enmerkar and Ensuḫkešdanna 10: ab2 sila4 ab2-NE-ginz ḫi-nun-ta e3-a "Like the cow, kid, and ...-cow coming forth in plenty"; and Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 44, 15: a-a dnanna ab2 sila4 ab2-NE-ra mi2-du11-ga-zu-de3 "Father Nanna, you who care for the cow(s), kid(s) (and) ...-cow(s)." The last reference indicates that NE is probably to be read barz. If this reading is correct, ab2-barz may mean "shining cow" or the like; cf. PSD B, pp. 133-134. The reading of the sign following bar is uncertain. It looks something like u8 "ewe"; however, one would expect u8 sila4-bi-da "ewe with its kids," not amar-bi-da "with its calves." On the prefix a in the verbal form an-da-lu see most recently M.L. Thomsen, The Sumerian Language (Mesopotamia 10), pp. 166-169. On na4 šuba see AHw, p. 1258 sub šubû(m) and Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 96. I have interpreted suḫ in this context as the equivalent of Akk. nasgu "choice, costly" (see CAD vol. 11/2, pp. 21, 30-31). The sign following šuba in Text B is uncertain; it may be a very poorly written suḫ.

174. Because this line is completely broken in Text A it is difficult to restore the broken sections of Text B. The reading of the line is therefore only tentative.

178. The writing i3-ŠU-BU-i appears to indicate that ŠU-BU is not a compound verb in this context. The prefix i3 would not precede ŠU if ŠU-BU was meant to be construed as a compound verb; cf. CAD vol. 4 (E), pp. 86-87, lexical section where ŠU-BU has the readings ulz (cf. R. Borger, ABZ, p. 299), dubul (Borger, ABZ, p. 289), and dulu. See below, line 182, where ŠU-BU also occurs. My translation follows the sense of the gloss illip.

179. One does not expect sag-bal in this context; KA-bal seems more likely, yet both texts indicate a sag sign, not a KA sign. This may be a scribal error since there is no other instance, as far as I know, of the use of sag-bal in a context similar to this one. sag-bal describes some sort of head motion of oxen in their yokes in Inanna and Iddindagan 91; see D. Reisman, Two Neo-Sumerian Royal Hymns (University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. Dissertation, 1969), pp. 197-198; cf. JCS 25, p. 196. Note that line 138 of the same text, which is parallel to 91, substitutes the compound sag-il2 for sag-bal. Also of interest in this text is the fact that one textual variant has KA-[bal] instead of sag-bal, which indicates the same scribal uncertainty about the writing of this compound as is apparent in line 179 of our text. Other attestations of sag-bal are cited in PSD B, p. 57, 5.2. These usages of sag-bal are in no way similar to the context of line 179 of our text.

In favor of the reading KA-bal is the fact that

dug-šakir3 is several times described as making a musical noise or sound: Lamentation over Sumer and Ur (UET 6/2, 124, rev. 46), 46: i-lu-lam-ma dug-dug dug-šakir3-ra amaš-a nu-di-de3 "That the hum of the turning of the churn resound not in the sheepfold" (translation S.N. Kramer, ANET^{3}, p. 613); cf. Enki and the World Order 29-30; duplicate Text C to UET 6/1, 68, 17 (see below; this chapter) where dug-šakir3 is used instead of giš-al-gar-sur$_{x}$-ra "plectrum" and is found with the verb šu-tag, often attested in connection with musical instruments. KA-bal is usually applied to persons (see PSD B, pp. 54-55, section 2.1), yet it is occasionally found in a transferred sense to describe sounds other than human conversation. These latter references indicate that KA-bal could be used to describe a variety of sounds. It therefore seems to fit the context of line 179 better than sag-bal. The gloss might provide a further clue to the meaning of the verb, but unfortunately it is too poorly written to read with certainty. Note that D. Reisman in JCS 25, p. 196 reads the gloss i-da-ra-a-[x].

181. One expects the Akkadian gloss to the verb nu-nag-nag to be some form of šatû II or šagû "to drink," but the signs visible on the photos and in Wilcke's collations (Kollationen, p. 30) do not seem to support any such form. Note that the sign read si2 by Wilcke in Kollationen, p. 49 may be a sin2 sign.

182. It is unclear whether SU-BU is to be read as the

compound šu-gid2 or as ul7, dubul, or dulu. See commentary to 178 above.

190-195. These lines are roughly parallel to lines 25-30 of "The Coronation of Ur-nammu"; see W.W. Hallo, JCS 20, pp. 139-140. This has been pointed out by C. Wilcke in Kollationen, pp. 48-49 and AS 20, p. 280 u. The reading a-du-a-bi is preferable to a-ra2-a-bi; a-ra2-a-bi can only be translated as "way" in a figurative sense, whereas a-du-a-bi quite literally means "water course." The reading is confirmed by UM 29-16-93, obv. 8 (unpublished duplicate of "The Coronation of Urnammu," whaich has the variant a-du10-bi.

192. The reading of this line is somewhat problematic. If the gloss [li]-ir-te-e is from retû(m) II "fortify, make fast" (AHw, p. 976), it should refer to mu-un-du3 since du3 is a commonly-attested equivalent of retû(m). However, [li]-ši-i-ma, presumably from (w)aṣû(m), is written under mu-un-du3 and li-ir-te-e appears to refer to the cryptic ḫa(?)-ab-NIGIN2. NIGIN2 is commonly equated with Akkadian lawû, lamû and saḫāru, so it is not clear what the gloss is meant to convey. [li]-ir-te-e could also be derived from re'û(m) "to graze, pasture," but this interpretation does nothing to elucidate Sumerian NIGIN2.

198-199. Because the end of Text A and the reverse side of Text B are badly broken, it is difficult to tell if the two texts are parallel at this point. It is possible that some lines are missing between the end of

Text A and the beginning of the reverse side of Text B.

TuM NF IV, 12

Hymn to Nanna/Suen with Prayers for King Šu-suen

This text is neatly subdivided by a series of compositional rubrics which mark the end of each section. A horizontal line has been drawn under each of these sections to visibly divide one from the other (breaks in the tablet obscure some of these dividing lines). Though there is no subscript on the tablet, it has all the characteristics of a typical adab hymn (see A. Falkenstein, ZA 49, pp. 87ff.). The hymn is filled with epithets of Nanna/Suen, most of them describing the god in terms of his celestial aspects. He is also depicted as a divine judge who pronounces important judgements and decides fates together with his father, Enlil (obv. 14-18). His judgements are made in favor of the king: at the end of the hymn the "sceptre of long days" (rev. 23: i.e., long life and long reign) is bestowed on the king and all the lands are put in his hands (rev. 22 and 24-27). See Chapter 6, Section III A 4.1 for further comments on this hymn and a list of the epithets contained in it. On Nanna/Suen's role as judge see my treatment of ISET I, pp. 96-97 (Ni. 2781) in this chapter and Chapter 6, Section III B 1.5.

Transliteration

Obv.

1. [Šu]-e-er-zi-bad-ta [x x x x x x]

2. an-na ni2-b[i] [x x x x x x]

3. [x] GA$_2$(?) kal [x x x x x]

4. ^{d}EN-[ZU x x x x x x x x]

5. ^{d}šu-^{d}E[N-ZU x x x] BAD mu [x x x]

6. ^{d}nanna ša-[mu-u$_8$(?)-]da-an-u$_5$ an [x x x]

---

7. bar-su$_3$- [am$_3$]

8. ḫi-li-an-na nun-uraš-a-[ ]x

9. šul ^{d}suen u$_{18}$-ru u$_4$-an-ki

10. mu-ḫe$_2$-gal$_2$-la [(x)]x-du$_{10}$ ki-bi-še$_3$(!) zal-e

11. ^{r}d nanna$^{\neg}$ en itu-da u$_3$-tu [(x)]

12. ^{r}d šu$^{\neg}$-^{d}suen-mu mu-un-u$_3$-t[u]

---

13. ša$_3$-ba-tuk-am$_3$

14. peš$_{10}$-gal$_2$ ne$_3$-gal dingir-gal-e-ne

15. a-a ^{d}nanna di-zu eš-bar-galam

16. ^{d}nu-nam-nir-da nam-gal tar-re

17. ^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar šul-ki-ag$_2$-ga$_2$-na

18. ^{d}šu-^{d}suen-mu-ur$_2$ nam mu-ni-ib-tar-re

---

19. bar-su$_3$-mina-kam-ma-am$_3$

20. u$_4$ g^{r}6 d$^{\neg}$u$_{10}$-du$_{10}$ mu-KA-KEŠDA-de$_3$

21. ^{r}d(?)nanna(?)$^{\neg}$ aga$_3$-an-ku$_3$-ga-ke$_4$

22. [x x] ^{r}x x$^{\neg}$ ni ^{d}šu-^{d}suen-mu

23. [(x)] x x] ^{r}x x$^{\neg}$ zu ki-zu k[a(?)]

24. [x x x] ^{r}x$^{\neg}$ a sag mu [x x x]

25. ša$_3$-ba-tuk-mina-kam-^{r}ma-am$_3^{\neg}$

26. [x] ^{d}[nann]a(?) ^{r}en(?))$^{\neg}$-gal-an-ki-a-ka

27. [x x] ^{r}x x x$^{\neg}$ pa bi$_2$-in-e$_3$

28. [x x x x x]x al-bara$_3$-ge

29. [x x x x x] ^{r}x x x x$^{\neg}$

30. [x x x x x x x x] [x x]

31. [x x x x] ⌜x⌝ nam [x x x x x] Edge*

32. [x x x x] [x x x] [x x x]

* Edge according to Wilcke's collation (Kollationen, p. 53); not visible on available photo or on copy.

Rev.

1. [x x x x k]isal(?) aga-zi an-na ⌜x⌝ [(x)]

2. [x x x] sag-ga2 na mi-ni-in-us2(?)/-ri(?)

3. [dšu-dsuen]-mu nun-kalam-ma-ka

4. [sa]-[b]ar- su3-da-am3

5. [x x x] u4(?)-da(?)-a-ni dšu-dsuen-mu su3-ud-mu-un-si

6. [dšu-dsu]en-mu an-da mu2-a

7. [ ] ⌜giš⌝-g[i4-g]a[l2-b]i-im

8. en dumu-an-na [x x x x]-a

9. si-mul-mul-d[a(?) x x x]-ka

10. dnanna gal-di [x x x]-NE

11. KA-KA-ga ni3 ⌜x⌝[pa]⌜x x x⌝

12. u4-giš-ḫe2-a u4-uraš-a

13. su-lim-ma-ni un-e du10 bar-bar-re

14. en daš-im2-babbar [ušu]m pa e3

15. šul dsuen muš3-ku3 ki us2-sa

16. dnanna an-ki-a x-a e3
e (gloss)

17. [dšu]-dsuen kalam-ma am3-mi-in-u5

18. [(x) x] ⌜ni2(?)⌝ gur3(?)-ru an-e ušumgal

19. [x x] ni2(!) gur3-ru an-na [x]

20. [x x] nun dšu-dsuen-mu nir ša-mu-⌜ug⌝-da-gal2-la

21. [x x x x] gu2-da mu-ni-in-la2-⌜la2⌝

22. [x] ⌜x⌝ [x x] kur-kur ni3-dagal-⌜ba(?)⌝

23. ⌜gidri-u4⌝-sud-ra2 ⌜x x⌝ [x x]

24. un-ki-bal-a ⸢x x⸣ bi ⌜x⌝

25. kilib3-ba-bi HI [x DIU-DU-e

26. dumu-nun-zi-le-d⌜en-lil2-l⌝⌜la2⌝-še3

27. dšu-dsuen šu-ni-⌜a (x)⌝[m]i-in-si

28. lugal-mu EZEN ⌜x⌝-la

29. dšu-dsuen KA-NI-⸢x x⸣ ⌜x⌝ ka

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30. sa-[gar-ra-a]m3

31. dšu-dsuen-mu u4-ti-l[a x x x x]

32. en-an-na HI-gal2 ki [x x x x] Edge

33. šul dsuen en-an-na-kam ⸢x x x⸣

34. ⌜d⌝šu-d⌜suen⌝ [x x x] [x x x x x]

35. [x x ur]u2-EN-bi-i[m x x x x]

Translation

Obv.

1. From the remote radiance [...]

2. In heaven .. [...]

3. ... [...]

4. Su[en ...]

5. Šu-su[en ...]

6. Nanna has elevated(?) [...]

7. [(This) is] the bar-su3.

8. The charming one of heaven, the prince of the earth,

9. youth, Suen, the 'powerful' one, light of heaven (and) earth,

10. who makes years of prosperity (and) good [...] last permanently,

11. Nanna, the lord who is born with (each) month,

12. has sired my Šu-suen.

13. (This) is the šaz-ba-tuk.

14. The mighty one (whose) power (is) great among the great gods,

15. father Nanna -- your judgements are masterful decisions.

16. He who with Nunamnir decides great fates,

17. Ašimbabbar, the youth whom he (Nunamnir) loves,

18. decides the fates for my Šu-suen.

19. (This) is the second bar-suz.

20. Light which sweetens the night, which 'winds up(?)' the year,

21. ⌜Nanna(?)⌝, crown of the bright sky,

22. [...] ... my Šu-suen.

23-24: too broken for connected translation.

25. (This) is the second šaz-ba-tuk

26. [... Nann]a(?) of the great [lord(?)] of heaven (and) earth,

27. [...] has arisen.

28. [...] he is spreading (light?).

29-32: broken.

Rev.

1. [...].. legitimate crown, in heaven [...]

2. [.....] on his head he has ...

3. My [Šu-suen] (is) the prince of the land (Sumer).

4. (This) is the [sa-blar-suz-da.

5. [...] lengthen his days, my Šu-suen('s days),

6. my Šu-suen, who has grown up with heaven.

7. ⌜(This) is its antiphon.⌝

8. Lord, son of An [...]

9. (with) shining horns [...]

10. Nanna, exalted one, [...]

11. (whose) commands(?) ... [...]

12. light of the firmament, light of the earth,

13. his sheen, 'moving' towards the people,

14. lord Ašimbabbar, sole ruler arising,

15. youth, Suen, (whose) bright visage touches the earth,

16. Nanna, who comes forth ... in heaven (and) earth

17. has elevated(?) Šu-suen over the land (Sumer).

18. [...] clad in ⌜glory(?)⌝, sole ruler in(?) the heavens,

19. [...] clad in glory, in/of heaven [...]

20. [...] the prince, O my Šu-suen, whom you respect,

21. [...] has embraced.

22. ... (all) the lands in their vastness

23. the sceptre of long days [...]

24. The enemy peoples [...]

25. all of them, the multitudes(?) who are driven(?)

26. towards the princely, ... son of [Enlil]

27. have filled up the hands of Šu-suen.

28. My lord, ...

29. Šu-suen ...

30. (This is the sa-[gar-ra].

31. O my Šu-suen, for (all) the days of (your) life [...]

32. lord of heaven, [...] well-disposed(?).

33. The youth, Suen, lord of heaven [...]

34. Šu-suen [...]

35. (This) is its uru2-EN.

Commentary

Obv. 1. For a discussion of šeš-er-zi as an epithet of the moon-god see Chapter 7 sub šeš-er-zi. Although the expression šeš-er-zi-bad is not attested elsewhere, note however Or Suec 19-20, p. 146, No. 3, obv. 3 and commentary, p. 163 where a similar description of the moon's light is found: sud-DU-ag2-an-bad-da "light of the remote heavens" (Å. Sjöberg's translation, Or Suec 19-20, p. 154); cf. Or Suec 19-20, p. 146, No. 3, obv. 7: a-a dnanna utaḫ-ḫe-bad-ta gi6 du10-du10 gal-zu "Father Nanna (shining forth) from the remote heavens, who knows how to make the night sweet" (cf. PSD B, p. 32, 2.1.1). However, it is possible that bad should be taken as a substantive, reading the line then as: [šeš]-er-zi BAD-ta. This reading is suggested by ZA 63, p. 31, No. 5, 3: BAD-ta maḫ sag an-ne2 us2-[sa] and Or Suec 19-20, p. 144, No. 2, obv. 3: su-lim-dagal BAD-e diri dnin-lil2-le tu-da (see Å. Sjöberg's commentary on p. 162); for more on BAD and its possible readings see H. Steible, Rīmsîn, p. 82 to line 83.

Obv. 6. The restoration of the verbal chain is based on rev. 20.

Obv. 8. The epithet nun-uraš-a is as far as I know not attested elsewhere. It is interesting to note that the moon-god, usually described in terms of a celestial phenomenon, is here called "prince of the earth." Note also the use of contrasting imagery by which Nanna/Suen

is referred to as both "the charming one (hi-li) of heaven" and "the Prince of the earth," underscoring the moon-god's dual role as celestial luminary and overseer of the earth. A. Falkenstein in ZA 52, pp. 72ff. first discussed the problem of distinguishing between an and uraš as simply the Sumerian words for heaven and earth (equivalent to Akkadian šamû u erṣetu) from the divine pair an and duraš. uraš seems to have been the consort of An through the Old Babylonian period (equivalent to Akkadian Antum; see CT 24 1, 4 and Richard R. Litke, A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God Lists, An: dA-nu-um and An: anu ša amēli Yale University Ph.D. Dissertation, 1958, p. 41, 4) and was thereafter replaced by ki. See also Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 67 to line 4 and p. 126 to line 5 and p. 75 to rev. 5 where references to Nanna in connection with an and uraš are discussed. Cf. rev. 12 of this text.

Obv. 9. On u18-ru see Chapter 7 sub u18-ru, uru16.

Obv. 10. The reading of the end of this line is not certain. My interpretation is based on Šulgi E, 19: mu-hec-gal2-la ki-bi-še3 ma-zal-le-da "About (the fact) that years of abundance firmly endure(?) for me ..."; on this sense of zal-le see my Chapter 6, Section III A 5.3. A possible restoration of the sign before du10 is either u4 "day" or iti "month."

Obv. 12. This is the only reference to Šu-suen being engendered by the moon-god. Unfortunately, the beginning

of the king's name is broken. However, the traces on the photograph at my disposal clearly support this reading. Also the fact that the king is consistently referred to in this text as ^{d}šu-^{d}suen-mu leads one to expect the name of the king here.

Obv. 14. On peš$_{10}$-gal$_2$ as an epithet of the moon-god see Chapter 7. The reading pirig-gal dingir-gal-e-ne "great lion among the great gods" is also possible. Old Babylonian scribes did not always carefully distinguish between the sign-form conventionally read by modern scholars as GIRI$_3$ and the form read as PIRIG (see R. Labat, Manuel for the various forms). An example of this confusion can be seen in N 1542, obv. 5 where the phrase ne$_3$-gal tuku "having great strength" uses the PIRIG sign. In this instance, the reading ne$_3$ is the only sensible interpretation (see my treatment below). But in other contexts such as here in obv. 14 either ne$_3$ or pirig make logical sense.

Obv. 15. The reading galam is preferred over sukud because the Akkadian equivalent of galam, i.e. naklu "artful, clever" (cf. CAD vol. 11/1, p. 187 sub naklu), accords better with the concept expressed by eš-bar (Akk. purussûm) than sukud (Akk. elû), which conveys the sense of height in a concrete sense and is usually descriptive of temples, mountains, etc. Compare for example ASKT 21, rev. 67/68: [ur$_3$-l]sukud-sukud-du giš-kun$_4$-bi [...] = ša$_2$ uz-ru e-lu-ti [...] with OECT 6, pl. 17, Rm. 97, 4ff.: a$_2$.ag$_2$.ga$_2$ galam-ma-bi = te-ri-tu-

šu2 nak-la-a-tu4, where the readings are assured in each case by the Auslaut.

Obv. 17. The -na on the end of ki-ag2-ga2-na is apparently the genitive of the personal suffix -a-ni; šul ki-ag2-ga2-na is literally "youth of his love."

Obv. 20. The reading of this line is suggested by Or Suec 19-20, p. 146, No. 3, obv. 7: gi6 du10-du10 gal-zu "(Nanna) knows how to sweeten the night." Note that KA-KEŠDA occurs in obv. 5 of this same text in the expression u4-KA-KEŠDA-an-na; cf. Å. Sjöberg, Or Suec 19-20, p. 164 to 5. For a discussion of the meaning cf. KA-KEŠDA see my Chapter 7 sub u4.

Obv. 27. For this sense of pa-e3 see Chapter 7 sub dalla-e3, pa-e3.

Obv. 28. Cf. PSD B 146.

Rev. 2. Cf. C. Wilcke, Kollationen, p. 53. It is difficult to tell from Wilcke's copy whether an -us2 or -ri was written. The photo at my disposal is unclear.

Rev. 5. The tentative reading u4(?)-da(?)-a-ni is based on the following parallels: Or Suec 22, p. 109, VAS 17, 38, 52: x lugal ša3-dagal-la u4-da-ni he2-su3-ud!; BiOr 23, 245, 34: u4-da-ni (he2-)su3-ud.

Rev. 8-10. On the epithets dumu-an-na, gal-di, and si-mul-mul see Chapter 7.

Rev. 11. I expect inim-du11-ga or du11-du11-ga here. Though the -ga sign is not well written, it appears to be distinct from the -bi sign; see rev. 25: kilib3-ba-

bi.

Rev. 12. Compare the use of contrasting imagery in this line with obv. 8. In each line the moon-god is described by an attribute referring to the heavens combined with one referring to the earth. For the expression u4-giš-hea-a see Chapter 7 sub u4.

Rev. 13. See Chapter 7 on su-lim. On the expression du10-bar see Å. Sjöberg, ZA 63, p. 35, commentary to line 10. J. van Dijk in SGL II, p. 135ff. has interpreted du10-bar to be a variant of du10-bad, an idiom of swift motion meaning running, rushing or the like. If I have construed the syntax of line 13 correctly, then this somewhat unusual expression is an example of transferred meaning; i.e. the action of swift motion is applied not to the moon-god himself but to one of his characterisitc attributes -- su-lim "sheen, majestic light" or the like. See most recently PSD B, p. 112, bar E, 7.2.

Rev. 14-15. On muš3, ušum, and ušumgal as they are used in reference to the moon-god see Chapter 7.

Rev. 16. C. Wilcke in Kollationen, p. 53 has copied the sign read x here as an u5. The sign does not appear to be a well-written u5 on the photo at my disposal and it differs from the u5 in rev. 17. The meaning of u5 is also problematic in this context. I can make no suggestion as to the reading of the sign.

Rev. 17 I have interpreted u5 in a causative sense, "to elevate." Cf. Or Suec 19-20, p. 144, No. 2, obv. 1 where

u5 is used in an obscure context to describe the moon-god; see Å. Sjöberg's commentary, Or Suec 19-20, p. 162.

Rev. 20. The verb nir-gal2 is equivalent in this context to Akk. takālu; cf. R. Borger, ABZ, p. 136, 325; AHw 1304; see also my Chapter 7.

Rev. 25. DU-DU should probably be read lah5.

Rev. 26. See Chapter 7 sub dumu-zi-le for zi-le as an epithet of the moon-god. The restoration of the god-name is based on C. Wilcke's collations of -la2-še3 in Kollationen, p. 53.

Rev. 29. The reading of KA-NI may be kiri4-zal.

Rev. 31. Concerning the expression u4-ti-la see A. Falkenstein, SGL I, p. 94; W. Römer, SKIZ, p. 253; Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 64 and Or Suec 19-20, p. 163.

Rev. 32. The reading of HI-gal2 may be du10-gal2 meaning "agreeable, well disposed, pleasing" (see Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 142ff.; p. 28); he-gal2 as an alternate writing for he2-gal2, a variant which is sometimes attested, is also possible.

ISET 1, pp. 96-97 (Ni. 2781)

Adab Hymn to Nanna with prayers for Ismedagan of Isin

This is a typical adab hymn consisting of sa-gid2-da (obv. 1-30) followed by gišgi4-gal2 (antiphon-obv. 32), sa-gar-ra (obv. 34-rev.24') followed by another gišgi4-gal2 (rev. 26'), and finally a three-line uru2-EN-bi (rev. 28'-30') which concludes the hymn. As A. Falkenstein has pointed out (ZA 49, pp. 87ff.) these compositional subdivisions with their corresponding rubrics are a hallmark of the adab hymn. The first section (sa-gid2-da) appears to be a eulogy of the moon-god. He is praised for his beneficence in bestowing life on the multitudes (obv. 8), causing the Tigris and Euphrates to bring water (obv. 10), and providing grain (obv. 11) and grasses (obv. 12). Particular emphasis is laid on Nanna's manifestation as new-moon light and his role as judge and fate decider, a role which he plays at the end of the month from the time when he disappears from the night sky (u4-na2-a: obv. 19) and was thought to sojourn in the underworld until he reappears as the new moon (u4-sakar: obv. 7, 27). During this time he decides judgements in the underworld and delivers mighty decisions (obv. 20); the gods wait upon his words (obv. 22); he puts justice in every mouth, brings forth what is lasting (obv. 23), and decides the fates. When he arises from the underworld as the new moon, the gods bring him offerings and prayers (obv. 25-30). This

section is particularly interesting because it seems to refer to a set of beliefs concerning the moon-god's role in the underworld and cultic rites which corresponded to these beliefs (on Nanna's role in the underworld see Chapter 6, Section III B 1.5). The text is not specific enough to reconstruct an exact protocol of cultic rites, yet references to times (u4-na2-a, u4-sakar), places (ki-ur3, e2-ga2-giš-šu2-a), various deities (^{d}en-ki, ^{d}nin-ki, a-nun-na, ^{d}nin-lil2), the bringing of offerings and prayers (siskur, a-ra-zu) suggest a set of cultic rites at the end of the month involving the cult images of the above-names deities. Mention of Ninlil, the ki-ur3, and the fact that the text comes from Nippur indicate that the hymn revolves around the moon-god as he was worshipped at Nippur.

In the second section of the hymn (sa-gar-ra) this fact is confirmed by mention of Enlil (rev. 3', 4'); the king is even called the son of Enlil twice (rev. 26', 30'). Nanna's powers and lofty status are said to be conferred on him by Enlil and this includes the power to decide fates (rev. 3'-4'). Once again fertility motifs are brought out: Nanna is said to be responsible for making the harvest a success (rev. 10'); he mates(?) the bulls and cows and makes the good seed flow (rev. 16'); he increases milk-fat and milk. Ur is mentioned in rev. 13'. A possible reference to building activity there (rev. 14'-15') is found in obscure context. The hymn concludes with a three-line encomium, presumably

directed to Nanna, in which he is described as the god who from the bright heavens knows how to decide the fates (rev. 28'-29').

Transliteration

Obv.

1. [x x x x x x x x x x] im-mi-⌜x x⌝
2. [x x x x x x x] sa$_2$-[d]u$_{11}$-ga-⌜ni⌝ šu-zi gar
3. [x x x x x x x]-na ḫi-li-su$_3$-e$_2$-kur-ra
4. [x x] dingir⌝-gal-gal-e-ne en-gal-m⌜aḫ-an⌝-n[a (xx)]
5. [x x x]ki-⌜še$_3$⌝ (?) dingir-na-me HAR[(?)-x x x x x x]
6. [x x]maḫ en kur ki-*-gub-ba a-a ^{d}na[nna (^{d}ŠE[Š.KI) (x x x)]
   (* erasure? -- looks like gid$_2$)
7. [x x u]$_4$(?) u$_4$-sakar GU-A gi-ne$_2$ mu ki-gar[x x x x]
8. [x x] un-lu(!)-a nam-ti[-la x x x]
9. [x x] kur kur si sa$_2$-sa$_2$ [x x x x]
10. [i$_7$-idigna] i$_7$-burun-bi a-zal-le tum$_3$ [x x ku]r(?)-re
11. [x x] še-gu-nu [x x x x]
12. [x x x x k]i(?)-dagal-e(?) u$_2$-šim [x x x x x]
13. [x x x] ⌜mu(?) x⌝ n[u(?) x x x x x x x x x]
14. [x x] en-^{d}iš-me-^{d}da-⌜gan⌝ [x x x x x x x]
15. [x x] ki šu mu-a-da-gal$_2$ za-da ⌜x⌝ [x x x x]-⌜mu(?)/en(?)⌝
16. [x x]-maḫ an-e ^{d}en-lil$_2$-le a-a ^{d}nan[na sa]g-e-eš rig$_7$-[x]
17. [x zala]g(?)-ga ni$_2$ u$_3$-mu-ni-gid$_2$ u$_4$-de$_3$ sa$_2$ ⌜i⌝(?)-x⌝-du$_{11}$
18. [x x -]na šu-gal du$_8$-a-bi ki-a u$_3$-mu-[n]i-gi-en
19. [u$_4$-]na$_2$-a iti šu-du$_7$-a-zu un-e u$_3$-[x]-pi$_3$

20. [e]n kur-ra di-gal mu-ku5-du-en ka-aš-ma[ḫ] mu-bar-re-en

21. ^{d}en-ki ^{d}nin-ki en-gal nun-gal en nam-[tar]-re-bi

22. e3-a-ka-za-ke4 ša-ba-an-su8-ge-eš a-a ⌜u4⌝(?)-sakar(?) ḫul2(?)-la(?) mu-ši-x-e[š(?)]

23. * nun ni3-si-sa2 ka-ka i3-ni-gar ni3-ul pa b[i2](?)-e3
(* collated by Å. Sjöberg)

24. ša3 u4 mu-a-du10 nam ki-bi-še3 u4 mu-a-tar me-la[m2-x-⌜zu⌝ UD mi-⌜x⌝

25. giš-ḫe2-dagal-la bulug(?) u4 mu-ni-bur2 kukk[u2] mu-a-zalag-zalag

26. e3-zu-še3 siskur-a-ra-zu-am3 a-nun-na-⌜x⌝ im-ma-su8-su8-ge-eš

27. u4-sakar dalla-e3-a ḫi-li-gur3-ru ⌜u6⌝-di-du10-ga-zu-še3

28. nin-gal-ki-ur3-ra ama-^{d}nin-lil2 x-]ra ⌜ḫul2⌝(?)-la mu-ni-x-DU

29. e2-ga2-giš-šu2-a ki-ur3 ša3-ḫul2-l[a e]2(?)-gal ni2-guru3-na

30. nin-zi-maḫ ab2-zi mas-su2-a-g[in7-x] a-ra-zu ša-ba-an-tum2

31. sa - gid2 - [da]- am3

32. en-zalag-zalag-^{d}iš-me-^{d}da-ga[n x x][x a2(!)-nun(!)] ḫu-mu-te-ga[l2 (*)
(* collated by Å. Sjöberg)

33. giš-gi4-gal2 sa-[gid2-da-am3]

34. en-an-na ⌜men⌝-gal-maḫ-bi-i[m(?) (x x x x x x)]

35. [x x ⌜x x x⌝[x x x x x x x x x]

(Obv. breaks off here)

Rev.

1'. ša3-m[u(?) x x x x x x x x x x x x]

2'. mu-maḫ-a-ni [x x x x] ⌜x lugal(?) d x x(?)⌝

3'. a-a-zu me-ta me ma-r[a-an-sum] en-^{d}nu-nam-nir-e

4'. nam-tar-re a-ra$_2$-nam-^{d}en-l[il$_2$-la$_2$ sag]-e-eš ḫu-mu-rig$_7$

5'. sag mi-ri-ni-il$_2$ en-gal [x x] nun-ba mi-ni-in-ku$_4$-re-en

6'. men-aga-zi bara$_2$-maḫ-ku$_3$-g[a$^{(?)}$] dal[la] mu-ra-ni-in-e$_3$

7'. kur-kur-[ra]* ku$_6$-gin$_7$ za$_3$ du$_{11}$-ga-ba sa[g x x] ma-ra-an-si$_3$
(* probably erasure)

8'. an-ki-šu$_2$-a-ba za-e-na-an-na dingir-n[a-me x]

9'. muš$_3$-ku$_3$ an-ku$_3$$^{(!?)}$-g[a]-ra maš$_2$-zu u$_4$-gin$_7$ [x x]

10'. buru$_{14}$ ezen-gal ḫi-li SI-A-ba un ši-i[m]-ši-ḫ[ul$_2$$^{(?)}$-l]a

11'. un-sag-gi$_6$-ga a-a-bi-g[i]n$_7$ igi-bi [š]u-mu-a-ši-[gal$_2$]

12'. en-gal ga-ti-le giš-tuku-me-en ki-a[g$_2$]-kalam-ma-me-en

13'. uri$_2^{ki}$ uz$_3$-sag-gal-ke-en-ge-ra u[ru a]n-da mu$_2$-a

14'. ul-ul-la eš$_3$ maš$_2$-a du$_3$-a e$_2$-tur$_3$ [ ]-za

15'. ḫa-ra-ni-KAL$^{(?)}$ a-ra$_2$-e ^{d}iš-me-^{d}da-gan [x] ab$_2$-ku$_3$-ga sag-[x]

16'. ninda$_2$ gu$_4$-du$_{10}$ ḫa-ra-ni-ib-u$_5$$^{(?)}$-e numun-zi ḫa-[r]a-ab-i-i

17'. [i$_3$]-sag ga-sag ga-unu$_2$-ku$_3$-za i$_3$-[x m]u$^{(?)}$-peš-peš-e

18'. [x]-[m]aḫ GABA nu š[a x ma]š$_2$$^{(?)}$-za-ke$_4$$^{(?)}$ [x] re$^{(?)}$

19'. [x x k]i$^{(?)}$ nin-ki-maḫ[x x][x x] [x x] [x]

20'. [x x] ma giš-ḫu[r x x x x x x]-ab-di-[ ]

21'. [x x] [x] im$^{(?)}$ šim [x x x] ḫa-ra-ab-[ ]

22'. [x x x]ku$_3$-gi si-a-zu ni[n x x ^{d}]nin-gal

23'. [x x]-ba u$_4$-gin$_7$ dalla ḫe$_2$-ni-i[n-e$_3$] ḫu$^{(?)}$-mu-a-ti-[en]$^{(?)}$

24'. [x x]-gal-la ^{d}iš-me-^{d}da-ga[n x x ḫ]u$^{(?)}$-mu-ra-ab-be$_2$

25'. [sa]-gar [- ra -a]m3

26'. [x x] [^{d}iš]-me-^{d}da-gan dumu ^{d}en-lil2-[la2 x x]
nu-kur2-ru-[zu(?)] ḫe2-a

27'. [giš]-gi4-gal2 sa - gar [-ra-am3]

28'. [x]-gal an-ku3-ta nam-tar-re gal[-(x)-z]u

29'. [x x] en-zalag-zalag an-ku3-ta nam-tar-r[e gal-z]u

30'. [^{d}iš-]me-^{d}da-[gan] dumu-^{d}en-lil2-la2 mas-su2 a-ba-
ra [k]i-i-gal ḫe2-na-a-a[g2]

31'. [uru2 (-EN)]-bi-im a-da-[a]b-^{d}nanna

32'. [x]-IL2-m[a]ḫ-zu an-ki nam-nir-ra šu-du7
(catch-line to another composition)

Translation

Obv.

1. (broken)

2. [...] putting a true hand (to?) his daily offerings.

3. [...] the one of the Ekur, endowed with grace

4. [...] among the great gods the great (and) lofty lord
of heaven [...]

5. [...] there is no god [who ...] ... [... ...].

6. Lofty [...], lord (whose) standing place (is) the
mountain/underworld, father Na[nna ...]

7. [...] new moon which fixes ..., which establishes
the year [...]

8. [...] life of the multitudes [...]

9. [...] (who) puts the lands in order [...];

10. [who causes the Tigris] and the Euphrates to bear
(ever) flowing water;

11. [...] late barley [...]

12. [...] grasses for(?) the wide earth(?) [...]

13. (broken)

14. [...] lord Išme-dagan [...]

15. [...] the place for me(?) is here (at hand); with you I(?) [...]

16. Lofty [...], An, Enlil, (and) father Nanna have granted [...]

17. When you have [...] ..., you have reached the day.

18. When you establish on the earth the holding (in your) great hand of the [...]

19. On the day of the moon's disappearance, when you complete the month, when you call to the people,

20. You, lord, in (of?) the underworld will decide a great judgement; you will deliver a mighty decision.

21. Enki (and) Ninki, the great lords (and) the great princes, its (the underworld's) fate-deciding lords

22. have stood (waiting) for the utterance of your mouth. Father, they have ... joyously(?) the new moon.

23. You, prince, have put justice in every mouth; you have brought forth what is lasting.

24. You, light (day?), have made the heart good; you, light (day?), have decided the fates for (every) place. Your [...] sheen ... [...]

25. You have caused ... light to glow in the wide vault of the sky; you have ever made darkness bright.

26. At your rising the Anunna-gods came (with) siskur-offerings (and) prayers.

27. New-moon light come into view, arrayed in grace, because of your sweet sight

28. the great lady of the Ki'ur, mother Ninlil, came rejoicing(?).

29. In the Egagišu, the Ki'ur which makes the heart glad, in her awesome palace

30. the true, lofty lady like a fine cow at the lead brought petitions.

31. (This) is the sagidda.

32. The shining lord, Išme-dagan, [...] has exercised (his) princely power.

33. (This) is the antiphon of the sagidda

34. Lord of heaven, it is(?) its great, lofty crown [...]

35. (broken)

Rev.

1'. My(?) heart [...]

2'. His lofty name [...]

3'. Your father, as is fitting, has [given] to you the me's. Lord Nunamnir,

4'. the fate-decider, has bestowed (on you) the prerogative of Enlil.

5'. He raised his head to you, the great lord [...] made you enter into that princely [...]

6'. The legitimate men (and) aga crowns he made appear for you on the lofty, sacred dais.

7'. He has put you at the head of (all) the lands which like fish have been gathered(?)

8'. No god [...] except for you in the whole extent of heaven and earth

9'. The bright visage of the clear sky [...] your omen-kid like the day [...]

10'. At its great harvest festival filled with abundance the people [rejoiced(?)]

11'. As to the father of the black-headed people he cast his eye on me(?)

12'. Great lord, you hearken to votive prayers; you are the beloved of the land.

13'. Ur, great bond of Sumer, city grown old with heaven (i.e. as ancient as heaven)

14'. the sanctuary of joy built on (the basis of) the omen-kid, the cattle house of your [...]

15'. he has made strong(?) for you ... Išme-dagan [...] the pure cow ... [...]

16'. He makes the breed bull (and) the good bull mount(?) (the cow) for you; he makes the good seed flow for you.

17'. Top-grade milk-fat, top-grade milk, milk of your sacred dining hall, [...] milk-fat he is increasing.

18'-21'. (too broken for a connected translation)

22'. When you have filled [...] with gold, the lady [...] Ningal

23'. In its [...] like the day he (she?) has appeared ...

24'. In the great [...], O Išme-dagan, he speaks to you [...]

25'. (This) is the sagarra.

26'. [...] Išme-dagan, son of Enlil, may your [commands(?)] be unchangeable.

27'. [(This) is] the antiphon of the sagar[ra].

28'. Great [...] who from the bright heavens knows how to decide fates,

29'. [...] shining lord who from the bright heavens knows how to decide fates,

30'. May you greatly love Išme-dagan, the son of Enlil, (who is) leader (and) father(?).

31'. (This) is its [uru16] -- an adab hymn to Nanna.

Commentary

Obv. 7. This line is difficult to interpret because of the phrase GU-A gi-ne2 which I can make no sense of. The line is reminiscent of lines 4 and 19 of the šir3-nam-gala hymn to Nanna published by Å. Sjoberg in ZA 63, pp. 31ff. (cf. my Chapter 6, Section III B 1.5). Line 4 reads: u4-sakar iti gi-ne2 ni2 pa-e3-ak-a "fixing the new-moon day (and) the month, revealing himself on high"; and line 19: iti u4-sakar gi-ne2 mu ki-bi-še3 an-[gar] "who fixes the month (and) the new-moon day, who sets the year in its (proper) place." Particularly in

the last reference one notes many similarities with obv. 7 of this text. The closeness of the two lines leads one to expect iti before gi-ne2. However, the copy, the photograph at my disposal, and Å. Sjöberg's collations all indicate GU-A. I know of no interpretation of DU-A which makes sense in this context. A similar usage may be found in Išmedagan Z (N. 3571), i, rev. 14': [a-a] ^{d}en-lil2 an-še3 GU DILI BAD ^{d}nu-nam-nir [x] [...]. But the interpretation of this line is also problematic; cf. perhaps in this connection CAD vol. 13 (Q), p. 288, 4c where Akk. qû is attested as a meteorological phenomenon.

Obv. 10. It is possible that a-zal-le is to be read a-i3-le. See Šulgi A, 58 (J. Klein, Three Šulgi Hymns, p. 196) where the reading a-zal-le has the variants a-i-le and e-la.

Obv. 17. Cf. Jacobsen's translation of this line in Treasures of Darkness, p. 122. The interpretation of ni2-gid2 is difficult, especially since the beginning of the line is broken. ni2-gid2 can be used reflexively as in Lugalbanda Epic II, 44; see C. Wilcke's commentary, Das Lugalbandaepos, p. 149. It also has the sense of "to fear, dread" in OECT 5, p. 17, 2: lugal-mu ni2 nu-te ni2 nu-gid2 "My king, fear not, dread not" (translation of S.N. Kramer). See also D. Reisman, "A 'Royal' Hymn of Išbi-Erra to the Goddess Nisaba" AOAT 25, p. 361, 60 where ni2-gid2 is paired with a phrase meaning "to set

up a watch" (igi-du3-la2 ga2-di-da; cf. Reisman's commentary on p. 365). Note also AOAT 25, p. 129, 9 where ni2-gid2 is used in connection with vegetation (u2-šim-ma).

Obv. 19-28. Cf. Th. Jacobsen's translation of these lines in Treasures of Darkness, pp. 122-123. On Nanna/Suen's role as judge in the underworld see Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, pp. 122-123 and my Chapter 6, Section III B 1.5. These lines show certain similarities with Inanna and Iddindagan, 27-31.

Obv. 21. The deities ^{d}en-ki and ^{d}nin-ki refer here to primal ancestral deities of the Sumerian pantheon; see Th. Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, p. 122 and n. 173.

Obv. 22. e3-a-ka-za-ke4 appears to be an artificial Sumerian construction based on the common Akkadian phrase šīt pî-ka (cf. CAD vol. 16, p. 219). I know of no other attestation of the Sumerian phrase. The reading of the end of this line is uncertain.

Obv. 24. The meaning of U4 after šaš and before mu-a-tar is unclear to me. Note that Th. Jacobsen, Treasures of Darkness, p. 123 translates, "the honest hearts you please, the administrative decisions you make honestly ..." Jacobsen apparently reads U4 as tam which is equivalent to Akkadian kīnu "true, honest." However, this reading is not without its problems; there are no other attestations of šaš-tam in this sense as far as I know; also the syntax of tam in the phrase nam ki-bi-še3 tam mu-a-tar would be very unusual. The infix -a- in the

verbal chains mu-a-du$_{10}$ and mu-a-tar appears to be the locative infix which M. Yoshikawa discusses in Or NS 46, pp. 447-461.

Obv. 25. The reading of this line follows PSD B, p. 198.

Obv. 29. The e$_2$-gaz-giš-šu$_2$-a and the ki-ur$_3$ are also attested together in Römer SKIZ p. 54, 288-289: ^{d}en-lil$_2$ lugal-mu-ra ḫu-mu-na-gin e$_2$-gaz-giš-šu$_2$-a ki-ur$_2$-gal-la "May Enlil come to my lord in the Egagišu, the great Ki'ur." See D. Loding's commentary on gaz-giš-šu$_2$-a in AfO 24, p. 49. The e$_2$-gaz-giš-šu$_2$-a was possibly synonymous with or a part of the ki-ur$_3$.

Obv. 32. The reading az$^{(!)}$-nun$^{(!)}$ ḫu-mu-te-gal is suggested because of the -te- infix (collated by Å. Sjöberg) used with the verb gal$_2$; az-nun -te-gal$_2$ is a frequently attested phrase. See, for example, Iddindagan Hymn B 46: az-nun ḫez-mu$^{(!)}$-e-te-gal$_2$ with variant ḫu-mu-te-gal$_2$; repeated verbatim in Lipiteštar B 14; Å. Sjöberg, Finkelstein Memorial Vol., p. 192, 92: az-nun ḫez-em-te-gal$_2$; Man and his God 138: az-nun ḫez-me-te-gal$_2$.

Rev. 3'. I interpret me-ta in this context as me-te-aš "fittingly, in the proper way." Cf. Nimmešarra 23: me-ta me-huš-bi šu ba-e-re-ti.

Rev. 7'. This line is perhaps comparable to Šulgi F, 7-8 where the compound za$_3$-du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$ occurs in the following context: enku (ZA$_3$-KU$_6$) mušen ku$_6$-bi dab$_5$-de$_3$ nunuz-bi ri-ri-de$_3$ / ku$_6$ mušen za$_3$-du$_{11}$-du$_{11}$-ga-bi / gi-BAD gi-

henbur sa la2-la2-a-bi "to let the tax-collector have their birds and fish seized, to let him have their eggs collected - their fish (and) birds, which have been collected(?), their BAD (and) henbur reeds, which have been bundled ..." The fact that the compound za3-du11(=du11) is attested in connection with verbs meaning "to seize," "to collect," and "to bundle" suggests that it has a similar meaning. The meaning "collect" or the like fits very well in the context of rev. 7' of this text.

Rev. 9'. The interpretation of this line is made difficult by the breaks in the text. The occurrence of maš2 "kid" in this line suggests the practice of extispicy, especially since in rev. 14' maš2 again occurs in connection with the building of a sanctuary (eš3). On the use of extispicy in the building of temples see J. Cooper, The Curse of Agade, p. 54, 94-97 and his comments on p. 244. Cf. also A. Falkenstein, Rencontre 14, pp. 48-50 where references to extispicy in connection with the building of temples are cited.

Rev. 15'-16'. The verbs read KAL(?) and us(?) are very poorly written and difficult to read. The interpretation of these two lines is therefore uncertain. In support of the reading us in line 16 are the following lines from an incantation published by J. van Dijk in Or NS 44, p. 53, 2-3: [ab2/munus-e] e2-tur3 amaš-ku3-ga ninda2-zi ba-us / [numun]-zi-nam-lu2-ulu3 ša3-ga ba-ni-in-ri (cf. parallel lines 19-20 on p. 55 for restorations and p. 53, n. 6) "The good breed bull has mounted [the cow/the

woman] in the sheepfold, in the cattle house. / It poured the good seed of mankind into her womb."

Rev. 26'; 30'. On Išme-dagan as the son of Enlil see Å. Sjöberg, Or Suec 21, pp. 95-97 and W.H.Ph. Römer, SKIZ, p. 56.

UET 6/1, 67

This unusual text presents so many difficulties of interpretation that it is not even certain that it is a hymn to the moon-god. It has been included here because the moon-god is frequently mentioned and because the text provides an interesting glimpse into the cult at Ur, the major cult center of the moon-god. An elaborate cultic ritual involving purfication rites and a number of deities is the subject of this composition. The conferring of the nam's, "divine functions, prerogatives, fates" or the like, appears to be the purpose for the ritual. A characteristic of the text is the repetitious use of the word nam in a variety of phrases (see the schematic outline of this text in Chapter 6, Section III B 1.16). It can be assumed that the moon-god is the recipient of these nam's since he is mentioned throughout the text and is particularly prominent at the end. However, because of the textual difficulties just mentioned this assumption cannot be proved with certainty. Enlil, Enki, and Kusu also have significant roles in bestowing the nam's and in conducting the purification rites. The point of the whole ritual and this text which describes it may be to confer divine powers and functions on Nanna/Suen and to elevate him to a high status among the gods.

The textual difficulties of this "hymn" to Nanna are many and serious. The difficulties are for the most part grammatical and syntactical ones. Familiar Sumerian

words and phrases are linked together in unfamiliar ways. As a result the relationships among the individual parts of a line are often uncertain and the sense of the whole is obscured. The conventional grammatical principles of the Old Babylonian scribal school, most evident in Nippur texts, are not observed in this text with any regularity or consistency. Case markers are often missing where one would expect them; when they are used it is sometimes difficult to grasp what the scribe intended to convey. Verbal suffixes and infixes seem to vary in almost a random fashion so that it is often uncertain who the agent of the action is, who is being referred to by an infix, and in what person the narrative is being delivered. Furthermore, the great number of deities involved in the narrative sometimes leaves one guessing as to whom the pronouns and person-markers refer. In light of the seemingly chaotic nature of the text it cannot be said with certainty that the text is a hymn to the moon-god. Though he is repeatedly mentioned other deities are also frequently named: Kusu and Enki play large roles in the narrative.

The genre is also in doubt. There is no subscript to indicate that the composition is a hymn, nor are there any hymnal rubrics. In addition, the salient characteristic of most hymns -- a prevalence of participial constructions and the corresponding infrequency of finite verbal forms -- is here not evident. On the contrary, finite verbal forms

predominate in this text. In some respects this composition is similar to the Kusu hymn and incantation (ms. P. Michalowski, University Museum: YBC 8549; N 4237; BM 29383), not only because Kusu is mentioned in the text, but also because there are several lines of the text parallel both to the Kusu hymn and incantation; these parallels are noted in the textual commentary following the translation.

Among the peculiarities of this text may be noted the seemingly arbitrary phonetic variations of the conjugation prefix mu-: before the locative infix -ni- it is consistently written mi- (lines 6, 12, 25, 26, 37, 60); before the second person locative-terminative infix -ri- it occurs both as mu- and mi- (lines 7, 8, 14, 17); and before the second person dative infix -ra- it occurs as both mu- and ma- (lines 9, 16, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 38). The formations im-mi- and im-ma- are also used, though no obvious distinction between the two is evident (lines 5, 11, 15, 21, 51, 54, 65, 68). The relatively infrequent i3-im- is attested twice (lines 52, 55). The most recent discussion of all of these variations in the prefix/infix chain can be found in M.L. Thomsen's The Sumerian Language (Mesopotamia 10), pp. 174-185 where references to other scholars opinions are also given.

The use of the ergative element -e is one other confusing aspect of this text. In certain lines it

occurs as expected with a transitive verb (lines 7, 8, 17, 27, 51, 54, 66-68); but in other instances where one expects a transitive verb it does not occur (lines 9, 11, 12, 14, 38, 52, 55). Still in other instances its use is difficult to explain (lines 15, 19, 37).

In view of the many textual problems in this composition the translation offered here must be considered as one possible, tentative interpretation.

Transliteration

Obv.

1. dumu-nun-e alal-ku$_3$-ta [a$^{(?)}$] du-a-ba zal-zal si i$_3$- x[x sa$_2$$^{(?)}$]
2. kur-me-sikil eš$_3$-abzu ša$_3$ [x x] DAGAL [kur] x[x x x x]
3. ki-ur$_3$-maḫ [x x x]-la [x x x x]
4. sug-ta me-l[am$_2$ x -z]u muš$_3$ [im]$^{(?)}$ [x x]-ge-en
5. nam-du$_{10}$-zu-še$_3$ nam-gal nam-maḫ-zu-še$_3$ sag im-[ma]-il$_2$-la$_2$
6. nam-tar-re-de$_3$-eš a$_2$-maḫ mi-ni-in-su$_3$-un
7. nam-lugal-an-ki-zu an-gal-e šu-dagal mu-ri-in-du$_{11}$
8. nam-dumu-nun-gal-zu ^{d}en-lil$_2$-le nam-mer šu mi-ri-in-du$_7$
9. nam-dingir-maḫ ^{d}en-lil$_2$ pa-e$_3$ ma-ra-ni-in-e$_3$
10. a-du-a a-sig-maḫ-zu-še$_3$ nam-tar-re ki-šar-dagal-du$_{10}$
11. ^{d}en-ki alal ša$_3$-ku$_3$-ta giri$_3$-zu-še$_3$ im-mi-in-gar
12. ^{d}en-lil$_2$ nam-maḫ nam-en-na mi-ni-in-tu-de$_3$-en
13. ^{d}nanna u$_4$-sakar-zu u$_4$-sakar-imin-bi mu pa$_3$-da
14. ^{d}en-lil$_2$ an-ki-ka mu-zu mu-ku$_3$-ga mu mi-ri-in-pa$_3$
15. dumu-nun-e nam-gal-zu an-ki-a pa-e$_3$ im-mi-in-e$_3$
16. ukkin-maḫ nam-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$-na sag-e-eš mu-ra-an-rig$_7$
17. ^{d}en-ki-ke$_4$ ki-eš$_3$-eridu^{ki}-ta nam-mer nam-maḫ-zu mu-ri-

in-tar

18. abzu-maḫ ki-eš$_3$-ᵍeridu^{ki}-ta nam-en-gal-zu-še$_3$

19. lugal-an-ki-ke$_4$ an-ki gun$_3$-a nam-gal-zu-še$_3$ ba-an-du$_{11}$

20. ^{d}nanna sag-zu$^{(!)}$ il$_2$ ^{d}a-nun-na-ke$_4$-ne-er ḫa-la ba-an-pa$_3$

21. me-sikil ša$_3$-ḫul$_2$-la-ka-ne-ne ᵏⁱ-tuš-ku$_3$ im-mi-ni-in-dur$_2$(-ru)-un

22. dingir-gal-gal-e-ne ninda$_2$ba eš-[ga]$^{(?)}$ [ba-a]n-pa$_3$

23. za$_3$-gu-la ša$_3$-ḫi-li-maḫ SI-A [x x x]-in-durun-uš

24. dingir-re-e-ne siskur ša$_3$-ḫul$_2$-la [x x] -in-sum-sum

25. ki-maḫ ki-ku$_3$-ga mi-ni-in-[x (x) -u]n

26. ^{d}nanna ki-ku$_3$-ga ki-tuš-ku$_3$ mi-ni-i[n-x]

27. ^{d}en-[x]-ke$_4$ ki-tuš ma-ra-ab-ᵍsikil$^{(?)}$-e^{ki} [x x x ma$^{(?)}$-ra^{ki}(?)-ab-šen-e

28. an mu-ra-ab-ku$_3$-ge ki mu-ra-ab-ᵍku$_3$ᵏⁱ-[ge]

29. e$_2$-kiš-nu-gal$_2$ e$_2$-tir-giš-erin-na ᵍANᵏⁱ[x (x)] an-ki

30. bara$_2$-maḫ-zu ki-ku$_3$-ga ma-ra-ab-ak [AB$^{(?)}$ x] an-ki-a

31. [gi]š-ḫur šu-luḫ-maḫ-zu si ma-ra-ᵍxᵏⁱ-si-e

Rev.

32. [x x x] ki$^{(?)}$-ga[l$^{(?)}$-z]u bansur$^{(?)}$ ᵍša$_3$ᵏⁱ-ku$_3$-ga ma-ra-ab-šen

33. [x x x] kin-sig-bi kin-sig kin-nim-zu

34. [x x x] si ma-ra-an-si

35. [šu$^{(?)}$-luḫ$^{(?)}$-ḫ]a ma-ra-ab-ku$_3$-ug ma-ra-ab-šen

36. [x x x] DU SA ᵍu$_3$(?)ᵏᵃ ᵍDU$_8$ DU$_8$-uš$^{(?)}$ KA$^{(?)}$ ᵍla$^{(?)}$ ba-an-sig$_7$

37. ^{d}ᵍnanna-e^{ki} mi-ni-in-pa$_3$

38. ^{d}ᵍen-ki^{ki} abzu i$_3$-u$_3$-tu šu-luḫ mu-ra-an-ga$_3$-ga$_3$

39. ^{d}ku$_3$-su$_3$-e šu-luḫ-ḫa ba-ni-gub e$_2$ ni$_2$-bi$^{(?)}$ u$_3$-tu

40. alal ša$_3$ bar-ba gir$_4$ gu$_4$ udu NI$_3$ eš$_3$ bar-ba šu-luḫ-ku$_3$-bi

41. e$_2$-e i$_3$-im-sikil-e sag ba-ab-ḫa-za a$_2$-šu-giri$_3$ ba-an-KU-uš

42. šu-luḫ-ku$_3$ nu-šub-bu-eš$_2$ sug-maḫ

43. alal-dagal-ku$_3$-ga-ta nam-bi im-ta-e$_3$

44. e$_2$-kiš-nu-gal$_2$ bara$_2$-maḫ-ku$_3$-ga me-gal-maḫ-an-ki-a šu-du$_7$

45. alal-ku$_3$-ta KI-A-maḫ a-tu$_5$-a-zu

46. i$_3$-ḫur-sag su-ku$_3$ gal$_2$-la-zu

47. ^{d}nanna bara$_2$-maḫ-zu ^{r}x$^{?}$-gar-ra

48. gada-maḫ EZEN sag-il$_2$ si-mul muš$_3$-keš$_2$-nam-men-na

49. i$_3$-maḫ i$_3$-nam-men i$_3$-erim$_3$-gal-zu su-bar-ku$_3$-ga-ka

50. kar-za-gin$_3$ kar-maḫ kar-ku$_3$-ga-na

51. ^{d}nin-gublaga-ke$_4$ en šu im-ma-an-ku$_3$-ga

52. ^{d}en-ki abzu-eridu^{ki}-ta šu-bi i$_3$-im-sikil-e

53. u$_2$-a-zu banšur unu$_6$ ki-gal-zu-še$_3$ šu-ku$_3$ ga$_2$-ga$_2$-zu-še$_3$

54. ^{d}ku$_3$-su$_3$-e šu-sikil šu-dadag ak šu im-ma-an-ku$_3$-ge

55. ^{d}en-ki abzu-eridu^{ki}-ta šu-bi i$_3$-im-sikil-e

56. eš$_3$-abzu bara$_2$-maḫ uri$_2^{ki}$-ma nam-du$_{10}$-gal tar-re

57. [e$_2$-kiš-nu-gal$_2$ ki-tuš-ku$_3$-du$_{10}$-ga-am$_3$ ^{d}nin-gal nin-maḫ-bi

58. [x x -k]u$_3$ ki-nam-nin-za ^{d}nanna lugal-bi-ir

59. ^{r}e$_2$-kiš$^{?}$-nu-gal$_2$ e$_2$-nun-ku$_3$-ga e$_2$-nam-lugal-zu

60. ^{d}nanna ^{d}nin-gal ki-tuš mi-ni-ib$_2$-ḫul$_2$-ne

61. ^{d}EN-Z[U e]n-zu-maḫ an-ki aga-zu aga-maḫ-am$_3$

62. me-lam$_2$-^{r}ḫuš$^{?(?)}$ an-ki-a [x x (x) ^{d}a]š-im$_2$-babbar-^{r}e ḫe$_2^{?(?)}$-en-na-ku$_3$-ge

63. an-gin$_7$ ḫe$_2$-en-na-ku$_3$-[ge ki$^{(?)}$-gi]n$_7^{(?)}$ ḫe$_2$-en-na-šen-e

64. ša$_3$-a[n-n]a-gin$_7$ [(x x) ḫe$_2$-e]n-na-dadag-ge

65. [x x] an-ki-a aga-ku$_3$-g[a$^{(?)}$ sag i]m-ma-il$_2$-e

66. ⌜d⌝[E]N-ZU-e en-zu-maḫ a[n]-⌜ki aga⌝-sikil-la šu-du7

67. ⌜d⌝a]š-im2-babbar-e sag-men ag⌜a-z⌝i-da si-mul-maḫ [x (x)]

68. [s]ag im-ma-il2-⌜e⌝

Left edge. i3-ku3 i3-sikil i3-dadag-ge

Translation

Obv.

1. The princely son di[rects(?)] the flow of [the water(?)] pouring from the sacred conduit.

2. The mount of lustrous me's, the sanctuary of the Abzu[...]

3. Kiurmaḫ [...]

4. From the marshlands your [...] sheen makes the ... firm.

5. When he (Enlil) raised his head because of your goodness, because of your greatness (and) loftiness

6. he caused you (Nanna) to stride forth majestically for the deciding of fates.

7. (Because of) your kingship in heaven and earth great An put out (his) wide-ranging hand to you.

8. (Because of) your great princely sonship Enlil made the destiny of (being) a lord perfect for you.

9. Enlil made your exalted divinity appear.

10–11. Enki laid at your feet from the sacred depths of the conduit the flowing water for your low tide and high tide (so) deciding the destiny (for) the wide sweet universe(?).

12. Enlil sired you in loftiness (and) lordliness.

13. O Nanna, when your new-moon day and the seventh (of the) new moon (i.e. seventh of the month?) were to be named,

14. Enlil called upon you, for your name is a sacred name throughout the heavens and the earth(?).

15. O princely son, your greatness has appeared in heaven and earth.

16. In(?) the lofty assembly he (Enlil?) has bestowed on

you his destiny, (i.e. the destiny) of Enlil.

17. Enki in the place of the sanctuary of Eridu has determined the destiny (of being) lord as your lofty destiny).

18. In the lofty Abzu, the place of the sanctuary of Eridu, because of your great lordliness

19. the lord of heaven and earth, who makes heaven and earth sparkle, because of your greatness spoke.

20. O Nanna, when you raised your head, the lots for the Anunna-gods were named.

21. They sat down in the sacred sitting place, (where) the lustrous me's make hearts glad.

22. ... bread offerings were named for(?) the great gods.

23. They sat down in the place of honor (where) the heart is filled with an exalted joy.

24. The great gods presented siskur-offerings which make the heart glad.

25. In the lofty place, the sacred place they ... [...]

26. O Nanna, in the sacred place you(?) have [established(?)] a sacred sitting place.

27. Enki purifies the sacred sitting place for you; he cleanses the [...] for you.

28. He cleans the sky for you; he cleans the earth for you.

29. The Ekišnugal, the house of the cedar forest, [...] heaven and earth.

30. (and) your lofty dais he makes for you in a sacred place [...] of heaven and earth

31. The cult rites (and) your exalted washing rites he puts in order for you.

Rev.

32. He has cleansed for you [...], your great place(?) (and) the table(?) at the holy center.

33. [...] (and) its evening meal (are?) your evening meal (and) morning meal.

34. [...] he has put in order for you.

35. He has cleaned for you the [washing rites(?)]; he has

cleansed them for you.

36. [...] [.....] he has beautified.

37. He called to Nanna.

38. Enki created the Abzu. He established the washing rites for you.

39. Kusu attended at the washing rites. As for the temple which created itself(?);

40. the conduit (in?) the middle; on the outside the oven (for?) bulls, sheep, (and) bread(?); the sanctuary on the outside (for?) its pure washing rites

41. he purifies (them all) in the temple. He waits in attendance. The limbs have been ...

42. The pure washing rites were not neglected. As for the great marsh

43. its destiny came out of the broad, clean conduit.

44. On the sacred, lofty dais (of?) the Ekišnugal in order to perfect the great, lofty me's of heaven and earth,

45. when you have washed the lofty ... (with the waters) from the sacred conduit,

46. When you have put mountain oil on(?) the sacred body,

47. O Nanna, when your lofty dais has been set up,

48-50. (unintelligible)

51. Ningublaga, the lord whose hands are clean,

52. (and) Enki in the Abzu of Eridu purify (your?) hands there(?).

53. Your steward, in order that you might put clean hands on your table, (in?) the banquet hall, your great place,

54. Kusu cleans the hands to make them pure hands, shining hands

55. Enki in the Abzu of Eridu purifies (your?) hands there.

56. The sanctuary of the Abzu, the lofty dais of Ur where the great good fates are decided,

57. (and) the Ekišnugal, the good, sacred dwelling place - there Ningal (is) the exalted lady;

58. the holy [...], the place of your lady's destiny (is) for its lord, Nanna.

59. (In?) the Ekišnugal, the house of the sacred lord, your house (of) lordliness

60. Nanna (and) Ningal rejoice in their dwelling place.

61. O Suen, lofty, knowing lord, (in) heaven (and) earth your crown is a lofty crown.

62. (It is) a fearsome sheen over heaven and earth [...] may Ašimbabbar clean (it) for him.

63. Like the heaven may he make (it) clean for him; l[ike the earth(?)] may he cleanse (it) for him.

64. Like the heart of heaven [may] he make (it) shining for him.

65. [...] in heaven and earth he raises up his head (with its) sacred crown.

66. Suen, the lofty, knowing lord who perfects the pure crown (of) heaven (and) earth,

67-68. Ašimbabbar raises his head, the head (with) the men-crown, the legitimate aga-crown, the [...] with lofty shining horns.

Commentary

Obv. 1. The sign read alal is consistently written AB xA throughout this text. The reading alal is maintained because in various attestations the sign seems to have been written AB x A in some cases, ŠID xA in other cases. The sign is written AB x A in Proto-Ea 241 where the syllabic writing a-la assures the reading (cf. MSL 14, p. 41). Note also Curse of Agade, 120: texts P (TuM NF 3, 27), T (TuM NF 3, 31), and J_3 (3N T825 = UM 55-21-380) all write alal as AB x A (the Jena texts have been checked using photographs in the University Museum; text J_3 is a University Museum tablet). The two signs AB and

šID can be distinguished by the fact that the bottom horizontal stroke of the AB sign slants downward at the end, whereas the bottom horizontal of the SID sign is straight. See J. van Dijk, JCS 19, pp. 20ff. for a discussion of alal and related signs.

The reading ba-zal-zal is possible, yet not expected since the verb appears to be at the end of the line; si-sa2 is probably the verbal compound to be restored. A possible restoration for the break in the middle of the line is a-du-a. This restoration is suggested by the use of this phrase in obv. 10. However, because of the breaks in the line the proposed restorations and translation must remain tentative.

Obv. 2. kur-me-sikil-la refers to Aratta and is the birthplace of Enmerkar in Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 202, 210, 223, 275, 528, 560. In VAS 2, 5 ii 27 it refers to Dilmun: dilmun^{ki} kur-me-e-sikil-la. See also Enmerkar and Ensuḫkešdanna 260 and 262: aratta^{ki} kur-me-sikil-la-še3(-ka) and 103 where kur-me-sikil is paired with sig4-kul-aba4^{ki}, an epithet of Uruk: sig4-kul-aba4^{ki}-še3 he2-en-ti kur-me-sikil-še3 a-na-am3 ab-ak-e "Let her dwell in the brickwork of Kulaba; as for the Mount of the Lustrous Me, what is to be done?"

Obv. 4. The meaning of muš3 in this context is uncertain. See Å. Sjoberg's extensive commentary in TCS 3, pp. 55-56; cf. also AfO 24, p. 39, 29.

Obv. 6. The -un suffix on the end of the verb -su3 is

difficult to explain because the subject of the verbs in obv. 1-6 is unclear. In obv. 1 dumu-nun-e seems to indicate a 3rd person singular subject with a transitive verb; and in obv. 7ff. the 3rd person is consistently used throughout the remainder of the text. I expect the subject of obv. 6 to be Enlil since he is traditionally the decider of fates and because he plays a major role in the following lines in bestowing various functions (nam) on Nanna. The -un may be interpreted as a 2nd person accusative suffix (referring to Nanna?) but the sense of an accusative object with the compound a2-mah suz is still problematic. I tentatively suggest interpreting a2-mah suz in a causative sense: "he (Enlil) has caused you (Nanna) to stride forth majestically." For bilingual texts where a2-suz is equated with Akk. šadāhu see Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 178, n. 8.

Obv. 8. nam-men is probably to be interpreted as a scribal variant of nam-en(-na) in this line and elsewhere in the text. See H. Steible, Rīmsîn (FAOS 1), p. 11 for other attestations of this same variation.

Obv. 10-11. The interpretation of these two lines is very uncertain because the syntax is largely obscure. The translation represents a tentative attempt to supply syntactical relationships between terms which have no self-evident interconnections. The reading and interpretation of a-du-a is based on the following attestations where a-du-a is attested as a variant of a-

de2-a: ISET 2, pl. 2 (Ni. 4212), obv. 4: iz kul-aba(!) (UNU)ki-še3 de2-a ⌈...⌋; with variant N 3317, a-ab-ba-še3 de2-a-ginz with variant du-u-ginz; Inanna and Ebiḫ 1.179: a-maḫ-e3-a-ginz a-u3 bi2-de2 with variants ba-du and ba-a(!)-du; Curse of Agade 112-113: e2-e kur giš-erin kuš nu-me-a urud-ḫa-zi-in-gal-gal ba-ši-in-de2-de2; variant: ba-ši-in-DU-DU; Ewe and Grain 52: ḫe2-gal2-an-na-ta DU-DU-a-de3; variant: de2-de2-a-ni and DU-DU-am3. Obv. 13. For the phrase u4-sakar-imin-bi cf. perhaps the many Ur offering texts dates to u4-imin-kam. See Chapter 5, Table I, type C and Table II, type A, for references. u4-sakar, u4-7-kam, and u4-15-kam were the three major monthly holidays at Ur when numerous offerings and various cult rites took place. The cultic significance of mu-pa3 in this line and the next is obscure.
Obv. 15. I interpret dumu-nun-e as being in the vocative case. On the use of the suffix -e in the vocative case see E. Gordon, JCS 12, p. 8, n. 56 (f).
Obv. 16ff. An assembly of the gods including Enlil, Enki, Nanna, and the Anunna-gods is described in these lines. Offerings are made and various functions are bestowed on Nanna among which is the nam-den-lil2-la2; cf. ISET 1, Ni. 2781, pp. 96-97, obv. 19-30 where a similar assembly involving Nanna and the Anunna-gods is described; in rev. 4' of this text nam-den-lil2-la2 is also conferred on Nanna. Note too that the ki-ur3 is mentioned in this context (obv. 28-29) as in obv. 3 of

the present text. See further my discussion of nam-tar in Chapter 7.

Obv. 21. -un may be a phonetic complement indicating that the KU sign is to be read durun. However, note the lack of any pronominal suffix after the verbal root; cf. -durun-uš in obv. 23 below.

Obv. 23. -durun-uš is probably a scribal variant for dur2-ru-ne2-eš; see, for example, TCS 1, no. 203, 3.

Obv. 27. The second verbal chain at the end of the line is not on the copy, but it is clearly visible on the photograph.

Rev. 39-41. These difficult lines are similar to lines 21, 23-24 of the Kusu hymn (YBC 8649): 21. [gir4 mu-un]-ku3 gir4 mu-un-sikil / 23. [gu4 udu ab2-da dku-su13 / 24. [gir4 ga[l]-e he2-em-ma-da-an-ku4-ku4 "He cleaned the oven; he purified the oven .... Bulls, sheep, and cows Kusu brought into the great oven." For the expression sag ha-za = Akk. reša(m) kullu see CAD vol. 8 (K), pp. 516-517.

Rev. 45. It is difficult to know what is being referred to in this context by the phrase KI-A-mah. The readi ng peš10 for KI-A is possible, but the meaning "bank, border" (Akk. kibru) does not seem to fit here; ki-durus = Akk. rutibtu "moistness, moist place' is also a possibility, but the meaning in this context is still uncertain.

Rev. 48-50. It is extremely difficult to make coherent sense of these lines because there is no evident syntax

linking the words. EZEN might be read keš2 in this context. With the phrase muš3-keš2-nam-en-na compare TCL 16, 61, 4: muš3 nam-en-na-zu(!) ni2 [me]-lam2 ḫa-ra-[dul(?)]-e; Enki and the World Order 263: en-e nam-en-še3 muš2 (var. muš3) mu-un-keš2(!); STVC 34 II 22: nam-en-še3 muš2-za-gin3 mu-un-keš2. nam-men-na in rev. 48 is probably a scribal variant of nam-en-na, a variant that seems probable in light of the attestation of nam-en-na with muš3/muš2 and keš2 in the above references.

Rev. 63-64. These two lines are nearly identical to part of a torch incantation involving the god Kusu, BM 29383, 5-6 (written in syllabic Sumerian): an-ka ḫa-am-ku3-ga ki-ga ḫe-me-ab-sikil-la (= *an-ginz ḫe2-em-ku3-ga ki-ginz ḫe2-me(?)eb(?)-sikil-la)/ša-an-na-ke ḫe-me-da-ga-an-ne2 (= *ša3-an-na-ginz ḫe2-em-dadag-ge); manuscript of this text by P. Michalowski in University Museum.

Left Edge. Perhaps this line is to be inserted between rev. 46 and 47.

UET 6/1, 68 + duplicates

This zag-mig hymn to Nanna/Suen is preserved on tablets coming from both Ur and Nippur. On the Nippur tablet it is followed by an ug-lu-lu-ma-ma hymn to Ningublaga, the son of Nanna (see my comments on UET 6/1, 68 + duplicates in Chapter 6, Section III B 1.7). photos of the three pieces of the Nippur tablet housed in the University Museum (text C) which have not been published yet are presented here. The differences between the Ur and Nippur texts, though not great, are sometimes very interesting (see, for example lines 2, 4, 15 and 17). Particularly noteworthy is the use of two different numbering systems to express the same totals (see my commentary to obv. 19).

The hymn opens with several vivid celestial images of the moon-god (obv. 1-8). As in the Nanna/Šu-suen hymn (TuM NF IV, 12, obv. 16) Nanna decides the fates along with his father Enlil, a role which he also plays in the adab hymn to Nanna with prayers for Išmedagan of Isin (ISET 1, pp. 96-97: Ni 2781). Among the "fates" (nam) which Nanna decides is a series of cult installations and paraphernalia for the city of Ur (obv. 14-17). Enumeration of these items is followed by a long passage (obv. 18-rev. 30) in which all the various types of livestock are listed in specific numbers. A complete accounting of nanna's herds is made by Nisaba who records her reckoning on a clay tablet (rev. 33-35). In

his role as a fertility god Nanna is said to increase the milk-fat from his herds and to prepare a kind of liquor from the abundant victuals which he provides (rev. 37-41). The hymn ends with a short doxology to both Nanna and Ningal, called the lady of the Giparu (rev. 42-45). A schematic outline of the hymn including the epithets of the moon-god used in it can be found in Chapter 6, Section III B 1.7.

Texts

UET 6/1 No. 68 -- Text A

Ni. 4049 (Published in Or NS 22, Pl. xlvii and re-Published
in ISET 1, Pl. 4, P. 62) -- Text B

CBS 11363 + CBS 12701 (Published in BE 29, 12) + N 3525
+ CBS 12672 (Published in STVC 124) + N 3317 -- TextC

Transliteration

Obv.

1. A. en-e an-na KA mu-ni-in-su-ub

   B. ⌜en-e(!)⌝ [an-n]a [K]A mu-ni-i[n-x x]

2. A. gi$_6$-u$_3$-na šu-tag mu-ni-in-du$_{11}$

   B. ki-a ⌜šu⌝-tag$^{(!)}$ mu-ni-i[n-x]

3. A. ^{d}nanna-a an-na KA mu-ni-in-su-ub

   B. ^{d}nanna an-na KA mu-ni-i[n-x x]

4. A. gi$_6$-u$_3$-na šu-tag mu-ni-in-du$_{11}$

   B. ki-a šu$^{(!)}$-tag$^{(!)}$* mu-⌜ni⌝-[x x]
   (*copy appears to read ki-in-)

5. A. kur-suḫ$_3$-suḫ$_3$-ḫa-ta e$_3$-a-ni

   B. kur-suḫ$_3^{(!)}$-suḫ$_3^{(!)}$-a-t[a] e$_3$-[x x]

6. A. an-bar$_7$-ra ^{d}utu bi$_2$-in-gub

B. an-bar-ra-⌈a⌉ ^{d}utu-gin7 ⌈x x x⌋

7. A. ^{d}aš-im2-babbar kur-suḫ3-suḫ3-ḫa-ta e3-a-ni

B. ^{d}aš-im2-babbar kur-suḫ3-suḫ3-a-ta ⌈x x x⌋

8. A. an-bar7-ra ^{d}utu bi2-in-gub

B. an-⌈bar⌋-ra-a ^{d}utu-gin7 ⌈x x x⌋

9. A. a-a-ni i⌈n⌋im-ma-ni zi-⌈da⌉

B. ⌈a-a⌉-⌈x x x x x ⌋ (Obv. text B breaks off here)

C. ⌈a-a-ni⌉ ⌈inim⌉-m⌈a x x x⌋

10. A. u4-de3 gi6-a ⌈inim m⌋u-un-di-ni-ib2-be2

C. u4-de3 gi6-a ini⌈m x x x x x x⌋

11. A. ^{d}en-lil2-le i⌈nim x x z⌋i-da

C. ^{d}en-lil2-la2 inim-⌈x x x x⌋

12. A. u4-de3 gi6-a i⌈ni⌋m mu-u⌈n-x x-i⌋b2-DU

C. u4-de3 gi6-a inim mu-u⌈n-x x x x⌋

13. A. eš-bar-ra ⌈n⌋am mu-un-di-n⌈i-i⌋b2-tar-re

C. eš-bar-ra nam mu-un-d⌈i-x x x x⌋

14. A. gi6-par4-ma⌈ḫ⌋-a-ni 4 na-nam

C. gi6-par4-maḫ-a-ni 4 n⌈a-nam⌋

15. A. ^{du}du8 x * 4 mu-un-na-gar-ra
(* erasure)

C. tur3 4-⌈am3⌉ mu-na-⌈gar⌉ ⌈x⌋

16. A. e2$^{(!)}$-tur3-ga1-a-ni eše3 iku 4-am3

C. e2-tur3-ga⌈1-1⌋a-ni eše2 4-a⌈m3⌋

17. A. giš-al-gar-su⌈rx⌋ (UZ3-BA⌈LAG$^{(?)}$⌋)-ra mu-na-tag-tag-ge

C. dug-šakir3 (GIŠGAL x GA)-⌈x⌋ šu mu-na-tag-⌈tag⌉

18. A. ab$_2$ s[a$^{(?)}$ gl]u$_2$ mu-u[n-n]a-x*-di-ni-ib$^{(?)}$-us$_2$
(* erasure)

C. ab$_2$-e gu$_2$ m[u]-na-di-ni-ib-gur-[re]

19. A. ab$_2$-$\underset{\smile}{h}$i-a-ni 36,000 + 3,600-am$_3$

C. ab$_2$-$\underset{\smile}{h}$i-a-ni 3, 600 + 36,000-am$_3$

20. A. ab$_2$-x amar-a-ni 36,000 + 36,000 + 36,000-am$_3$

C. ab$_2$-pe$\check{s}$- [$\check{s}$]$^{(?)}$ (x)-]ni 3,600 x 30-am$_3$

21. A. gu$_4$-ab$_2$-ka-ni 36,000 + 36,000 + 36,000 + 3,600
x 5-am$_3$

C. gu$_4$-ab$_2$-ba[$^{(?)}$-$\check{s}$ -ni 30 + 5-am$_3$

22. A. ab$_2$-igi-gun$_3$-bi 36,000 + 3,600 x 4-am$_3$

C. igi-g[un$_3$-b]i [(x x)] 10 + 4-am$_3$

23. A. ab$_2$-babbar$_2$-bi 36,000 + 36,000 + 36,000 +3,600
x 5-am$_3$

C. [am]ar-ba-bi 30 + 5-am$_3$

Rev.

24. A. ab$_2$-[kin-sig$^{(?)}$]-bi 5-ta a-ra$_2$ 4-am$_3$

C. [x]-bi 5-ta a-ra$_2$ 4-am$_3$

25. A. ab$_2$-$\underset{\smile}{h}$i-a-a-a-^{d}nanna-ke$_4$

C. [a]b$_2$-$\underset{\smile}{h}$i-a-a-a-^{d}nanna-kam

26. A. ab$_2$-[$\check{s}$il]am-a-ni 36,000 x 5 na-nam

C. [ab$_2$-$\check{s}$ila]m-a-ni 50 na-nam

27. A. ab$_2$-[za$_3$]-e$_3$-za$_3$-e$\check{s}_5$-bi 4-me-e$\check{s}$

C. [z]a$_3$-e$\check{s}$-za$_3$-e$\check{s}$-bi 4-me-e$\check{s}$

28. A. ma$\check{s}_2$-an$\check{s}$e-ma$\check{s}_2$-an$\check{s}$e-bi (1)7-me-e$\check{s}$

C. [ma$\check{s}_2$-an$\check{s}$e-ma]$\check{s}_2$-an$\check{s}$e-bi 7-me-e$\check{s}$

29. A. utul-KU$\check{S}_2$-du$_3$-bi 7-me-e$\check{s}$

C. [x x x]- du-bi 7-me-e$\check{s}$
(gloss on lower edge of Text C: 29 (lines))

30. A. ab$_2$-ba-ti-la-ba 4-me-e$\check{s}$

31.A. en-ra mu-un-i-i mu-un-ar$_2$$^{(?)}$-e-ne

32.A. gi$_6$-par$_4$-ra mu-ni-ib-su$_3$-su$_3$-u$_3$-ne

33.A. šid-gal-bi ^{d}nisaba-ke$_4$

34.A. ^{d}nisaba-ke$_4$ šid-bi mu-un-dab$_5$

35.A. im-ma bi$_2$-ib-gub-be$_2$-en

36.A. ab$_2$-ku$_3$-^{d}nanna-ke$_4$ mi$_2$ du$_{11}$-g[a šu]ll ^{d}suen za$_3$-mi$_2$

37.A. i$_3$-nam-ḫe$_2$-gal$_2$ tur$_3$-ku$_3$-[x]-maš$_2$-a-ke$_4$

38.A. šu mu-un-da-mu$_2$-mu$_2$

39.A. kurun$_2$-gal-ḫur-sag lal$_3$ kurun$_2$-bi-da

40.A. lugal-ra du$_8$-maḫ-sikil-la-na

41.A. mu-na-da-ab-šar$_2$$^{(!)}$-re

42.A. kalag-ga giskim-ti-[ni$_3$]*-^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$
(* probably an erasure)

43.A. [šu]ll dingir-zi-gal$_2$-la

44.A. mas-su$_2$-kalam-ma ^{d}nin-gal nin-gi$_6$-par$_4$-ra

45.A. a-a ^{d}nanna za$_3$-mi$_2$

Translation

Obv.

1. The lord has ... the heavens;
2. he has embellished the night (var. the earth)
3. Nanna has ... the heavens;
4. he has embellished the night (var. the earth)
5. When he came out of the darkened mountains
6. he stood like Utu (stands) at noon.
7. When Ašimbabbar came out of the darkened mountains
8. he stood like Utu (stands) at noon.
9. His father, whose word is true,
10. speaks with him day and night.

11. Enlil, whose word is true,

12. speaks with him day and night.

13. (Based on) a decision he determines with him
the fates.

14. His lofty gipars are four.

15. Four are the platforms (var. cattle pens) which he
has established for him.

16. His great temple cattle pens, 6 iku (in size),
are four.

17. He plays for him on the algarsurra-instrument
(variant: on the churn).

18. He drives the cows together in herds for him.

19. His various types of cows are 39,600.

20. His young(?) cows (and) calves (var. his fatted
cows) are 108,000.

21. His young bulls are 126,000.

22. Its dappled cows are 50,400.

23. Its white cows are 126,000 (var. its ... calves(?)).

Rev.
24. Its ... cows are (in) four groups of five each(?)

25. The various and sundry cows are father Nanna's.

26. His wild cows are 180,000.

27. There are four ...

28. Its herds of cattle are seven.

29. Its ... herdsmen are seven.

30. There are four of those who dwell among the cows.(?)

31. To the lord they are giving praise,
singing paeans(?).

32. They are proceeding into the Gipar.

33. The great count Nisaba (has taken).

34. Nisaba has taken the count.

35. She is writing it on clay.

36. The pure cows of Nanna, cherished by the youth Suen be praised!

37. The milk-fat of abundance in the sacred animal pens of [...] (and) goats

38. he is ever able to increase.

39. Great mountain 'brew,' honey, and 'liquor'

40-41. he is able to make abundant for the lord on his lofty purified platform.

42. The mighty one, the trusted one of Enlil,

43. the youth, the god of living creatures,

44. the leader of the land (Sumer), (and) Ningal, the lady of the Gipar,

45. O father Nanna, be praised!

Commentary

Obv. 1-3. The meaning of the compound verb KA-su-ub is uncertain. There is only one other attestation of this compound in Inanna and Šukaletuda, 76: pa-[šu-gur]-gur(!)-ra KA bi2-in-su-ub-su-ub (var. mu-ni-in-su-ub). Unfortunately, the meaning of this passage is also obscure. The verb su-ub is attested by itself with the meaning of Akkadian mašāšu: "to wipe, polish"; see, for example, UET 3, 272 v 3: giš-ig-gi6-gid2 esir2 su-ub-ba "long, black, wooden door daubed with bitumen"; cf. CAD vol. 10/1, p. 360; AHw p. 624. Note that the compounds ni2-su-ub and šu-su-ub-ak are also equivalent to Akk. mašāšu in bilingual texts. [ ] is dimensionally connected to the verb su-ub in the compound KA-ta su-ub, which is equated to Akk. našāqu "to kiss" in II R 47e and f, 33.

KA and su-ub are also connected in the phrase KA ki su-ub "to prostrate oneself, bow down"; cf. AHw, p. 1263 sub šukênu(m). The reading of KA in this last phrase may be kiri4 "nose"; the expression, therefore, means literally "to press the nose to the earth." Whether KA-su-ub in obv. 1 and 3 of this hymn to Nanna/Suen means "polish," "kiss," or something completely different cannot be decided based on present evidence. The meaning "polish" would fit well with the verb šu-tag du11 "embellish, adorn" in obv. 2 and 4. Note that both KA-su-ub and šu-tag du11 govern a noun in the locative case an-na and gi6-u3-na (var. ki-a) respectively; text C uses ki-a "earth" as a contrast to an-na "sky" in the preceding line. Obv. 1-4 could, therefore, be translated literally as, "The lord (Nanna) has pressed(?) KA (mouth?, nose?) to the sky; he has put an embellishing hand on the night (earth)." For the discussion of the meanings and nuances of various compounds using the root su-ub see S.N. Kramer, AS 10, pp. 26-28.

Obv. 3. dnanna-a may be explained as dnanna-e (-e = agentive), the -e shifting to -a following dnanna because of vowel harmony.

Obv. 5-7. suḫ3-suḫ3 in the sense of "waning light," "twilight," "dimming or darkening of light" is attested at MSL 4, p. 58 (OBGT I/XII) 798 = zi-iḫ-zi-ḫi; cf. sehsehi in AHw, p. 1034 and TCS 1, p. 76a; also JCS 1, p. 14, 77: kur ba-suḫ3-suḫ3 gizzu ba-an-la2 "The 'land'

has become dark, the shadows have spread over it."; JCS 1, p. 43, n. 250 (20): gir3-kur-ra mu-e-de2-eb-suḫ3-suḫ3-e. The reading suḫ3-saḫ4 may be preferable to suḫ3-suḫ3; see M. Civil, JCS 20, pp. 119-121.

Obv. 6-8. The sense is that the moon, after rising up from the mountains at twilight, stands high in the night sky and shines as brightly as the sun at noon. For a different interpretation see Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 86.

Obv. 12. The variant inim-DU instead of the expected inim-e(-be2) is difficult to explain. Perhaps DU is a phonetic writing for du11.

Obv. 13. The translation of this line is based on the following parallel: Or Suec 19-20, p. 147, No. 4, 12=17: eš-bar-an-an-kam sa2-gal mu-un-ga2-ga2 "(Based on) the decision of An he gives great advice" (referring to Suen).

Obv. 15. du8 (with gloss du) in text A and tur3 in text C appear to be phonetic variants. One does not expect tur3 in obv. 15 since e2-tur3-gal is mentioned in the next line. Of course it is possible that tur3 and e2-tur3-gal refer to two separate kinds of structures. For du8 meaning "platform" see CAD vol. 3 (D), pp. 166-167 sub dû and AHw, p. 174 sub di'u(m); cf. TCS 3, p. 132 to 430.

Obv. 16. The sign in text A read e2(!) is actually written as a ga2 sign; however, e2-tur3 is so commonly attested that e2-tur3 is probably the intended reading. No attestation of ga2-tur3 exists, as far as I know.

Note the variant writings eše$_2$ and eše$_3$, which are equivalent in lexical texts to Akk. eblu, a surface measure equal to 6 iku; see CAD vol. 4 (D), p. 15.

Obv. 17. Texts A and C have two completely different variants of this line. Text A I translate, "He is playing for him on the algarsurru-instrument," taking the subject as Enlil and "him" as Nanna. This translation is against Fouadi's interpretation of the same line in Enki's Journey to Nippur (University of Pennsylvania, Ph.D. Dissertation) commentary to line 62: "the algarsurra instrument plays for him." This rendering is grammatically possible, but less likely, I think, in light of the variant in text C where dug-šakir$_3$ cannot be construed as the subject of šu-tag. Both verbs, tag and šu-tag, are attested governing the locative case. Therefore I construe both giš-al-gar-sur$_x$-ra and dug-sakir$_3$-[ra] as being in the locative.

The reading sur$_x$ is discussed in CAD, vol. A/1, p. 338b. This is the reading for BALAG x UZ$_3$ and UZ$_3$-BALAG. However, the reading BALAG is not completely certain since in many attestations of sur$_x$ the so-called BALAG sign is not well-written. This is the case in text A. It is possible that an altogether different sign is to be read instead of BALAG. An examination of all examples of sur$_x$ would be necessary to settle this issue.

Text C has several interesting variants: dug-šakir$_3$ for giš-al-gar-sur$_x$-ra and šu-tag-tag for tag-tag. šu-

tag(-tag) usually has the meaning "to embellish, to adorn", but is occasionally attested with the sense of "to play (a musical instrument)": see Inanna and Iddindagan 35: giš-al-gar-ku3-ga-ke4 šu mu-na-tag-e "(The black-headed people) play for her on the silver algar-instrument." Since dug-šakir3 is a variant of giš-al-gar-surx-ra, it is tempting to interpret it here as some kind of musical instrument. The connection between the two might be clearer if the nature of the giš-al-gar-surx-ra instrument were more precisely known (see CAD vol. A/1, p. 333 sub algarsurrû and p. 378 sub alû C; A. Al-Fouadi, Enki's Journey to Nippur (University of Pennsylvania, Ph.D. Dissertation), p. 131; M. Hartmann, Die Musik, pp. 68ff.). Note Lamentation over Sumer and Ur, 46 where the dug-šakir3 is described as making a sound: i-lu-lam-ma-dug-dug-dug-šakir3-ra amaš-a nu-di-de3 "That the hum of the churning resound not in the sheepfold" (translation: S.N. Kramer, ANET^{3}); cf. Enki and the World Order, 29-30 where the churn is once again attested in connection with the i-lu-lam-ma song: [sipa]-de3 i-lu-lam-ma-na du10-ge-eš im-mi-ib-be2 / [unu3]-de3 dug-dug-dug-šakir3-ra-ka-na u4 im-di-ni-ib-zal-e "[The shepherd] sings sweetly his i-lu-lam-ma song; / the cowherd spends the day working his churn." The connection of the dug-šakir3 with sound and song suggests that it was used as more than just a churn and makes its occurrence as a variant to giš-al-gar-surx-ra more understandable.

Obv. 18. The variant gu2-us2 for the more commonly attested gu2-gur is interesting. Attestation of gu2-gur in a context similar to obv. 18 can be found in Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 149, 6 (and commentary on p. 157; see also A.J. Ferrara, Studia Pohl SM 2, p. 67, 265). gu2-us2 seems to be a synonym of sag-il2 since it is equivalent to naš̌û š̌a rēš̌i "raising of the head"; see J. Klein, Three Šulgi Hymns, p. 122 to 388; note also Angim, 170 where gu2-us2 is equivalent to rēš̌a elû. Because of the break in text A it is not clear if a meaning different from the variant in text C is intended. Note that gu2-gur in text C governs the object ab2 in the locative-terminative case; this case ending appears to be missing in text A.

Obv. 19-23 and 26. The two variants of these lines use different numbering systems which I believe express the same totals in each case. Text C, line 19 simply lists the two sums 3,600 and 36,000 in reverse order to text A, which reads 36,000 + 3,600. In line 20 text A lists the sign for 36,000 three times, whereas text C has Š̌AR2 x eš̌, i.e. 3,600 x 30, which of course yields the same total as in text A. In line 21, text A, we find the sign for 36,000 listed three times followed by the š̌ar2 sign (3,600) listed five times, which taken altogether equals 126,000. Text C simply has 30 + 5, which sum divided into 126,000 = 3,600 (š̌ar2). Therefore, the scribe of text C is using a system in which low numbers stand for numbers of š̌ar2, i.e. the numbers recorded on the tablet

are understood to be multiplied by 3,600 even when this is not specifically written out as in lines 19 and 20. The same is true in line 22 where text A lists the sign for 36,000 followed by four šar2 signs. Text C has the low number 14, which once again divided into the sum in text A equals 3,600, i.e. šar2 (336,000 + (3,600 x 4) = 50,400 and 14 x 3,600 = 50,400). In line 23 the 35 of text C when multiplied by 3,600 equals the sum of the totals in text A, 126,000 (same as 21). In line 26 the 50 of text C multiplied by 3,600 equals the total of the sums in text A, 180,000.

Obv. 19. I take the expression ab×hi to mean "cows of various breeds and types mixed together."

Obv. 20. The sign following ab2 in text A is unclear to me. In the photograph at my disposal it appears to be a tur sign written over a gun3 sign (cf. gun3 in obv. 22); the underlying gun3 sign was probably not completely erased before the tur sign was written over it and as a result the sign is difficult to read. The reading IUR-DIŠ (ginna) = Akk. šerru "child" is also possible. ab2-peš in text C I translate as "fatted cow." The expression is attested in economic documents; see, for example, TCL 2, XXIII, 5513, obv. 1; Legrain TRU II, obv. 5.

Obv. 21. gu4-ab2 is equivalent to Akk. mīru; see CAD, vol. 10/2, pp. 109ff.

Obv. 22. It is uncertain what the -bi suffix refers to in this line and in 23 and 24; see my commentary to rev. 24.

Obv. 23. [am]ar-ba-bi may be phonetic for amar-babbar-bi.

Rev. 24. Though there are no attestations of ab2-kin-sig, one can reasonably conjecture that the phrase (if read correctly in text A) means a "cow used in the preparation of the evening meal." Note that there is not enough room in the break of text C for this phrase. In the photograph of text A the signs in question appear as if they may have been partically erased by the scribe; this might explain why there is not enough room in the break of text C for the phrase. The phrase 5-ta a-ra2 4-am3 is unclear to me.

Rev. 27. There is not enough space in text C to fit an ab2 sign before the phrase za3-eš-za3-eš-bi. This phrase occurs in Lugalbanda Epic I, 16 (TuM NF 3, 10, I, 15): in-di3-in-di3-ba z[a3]-eš-za3-eš-ba. Unfortunately, the phrase is obscure in both this reference and in rev. 27 of the Nanna hymn. An expression which is perhaps parallel to ab2-za3-e3-za3-eš5-bi in text A is pirig-za3-eš attested in MSL 8/2, p. 16; cf. B. Landsberger, Fauna, pp. 10-11 and p. 76, no. 3 where reference is made to this phrase in Stele of the Vultures III 6 (cf. E. Sollberger, Corpus, p. 9 III 23). Landsberger conjectures that pirig-za3-eš refers to a mythological creature; cf. Th. Jacobsen's suggestion in AOAT 25, pp.

247-248, n. 2 that the phrase refers to a "ceremonial mace or a sculptured base or stand formed of three lions;" cf. also za3-eš-gu4 in the Ebla lexical texts MEE 3, p. 49, no. 15 ii 9'; and MEE 3, p. 49, no. 16, i, 4'. The meaning of this phrase is also obscure. ab2-za3-e3-za3-eš-bi in the Nanna hymn certainly refers to something quite concrete, not mythological, since it occurs in a list of various kinds of cattle. I interpret za3-e3 in text A as a phonetic variant of za3-eš in text C; za3-e3 meaning "foremost" (= Akk. aššarēdu) does not seem likely in light of the variant za3-eš-za3-eš-bi in text C. One should also note that the scribe switches to the use of me-eš instead of -am3 in this line and in 28-30; in text C -me-eš has been written over a partially-erased -am3 in 27-28. Since -me-eš should refer only to the class of animates, one wonders if the cryptic phrases in 27-30 describe personnel connected with cattle herding, and not the cattle itself (as in 29; see also comments to 30). However, since the principles behind the scribe's use of the animate and inanimate suffixes -ni and -bi in this text are not apparent (-ni in lines 14, 16, 19-21, 26; -bi in 22-24, 27-38), one cannot be certain that the class distinction is strictly observed.

Rev. 28. The signs read anše in text A look more like PIRIG signs. However, since a clear anše sign is written in text C and the phrase maš2-anše is commonly attested,

anše is pro bably the preferable reading in text A. The vertical wedge indicating the "tens" place before the "7" in text A appears to be partially erased in the photograph of text A. There is also an erasure mark before the "7" in the next line (29) of text A, indicating that 7 was the intended number as in text C.

Rev. 29. I know of no plausible interpretation for KUŠ2-du3 (var. -du) in this line. The reading sur2-du3(mušen) "falcon" seems highly unlikely in this context.

Rev. 30. The phrase ab2-ba-ti-la-ba seems to describe a person or persons; it literally means "the one who dwells among the cows." The -ba suffix may either be interpreted as an error for -bi, since -bi is used in the preceding lines, or perhaps as a genitive.

Rev. 31. The reading -ar2- is conjectural. I know of no other attestation of ar2 used as a verb. On the other hand, the sign on the photograph and copy is very close to an ar2 sign and the meaning "praise" fits well with the preceding verb -i-i.

Rev. 32. The photograph shows two clear su3 signs, not ĝiD2 signs as in the copy. I interpret su3-su3 in this context as equivalent to Akk. šadâḫu (see AHw, p. 1122).

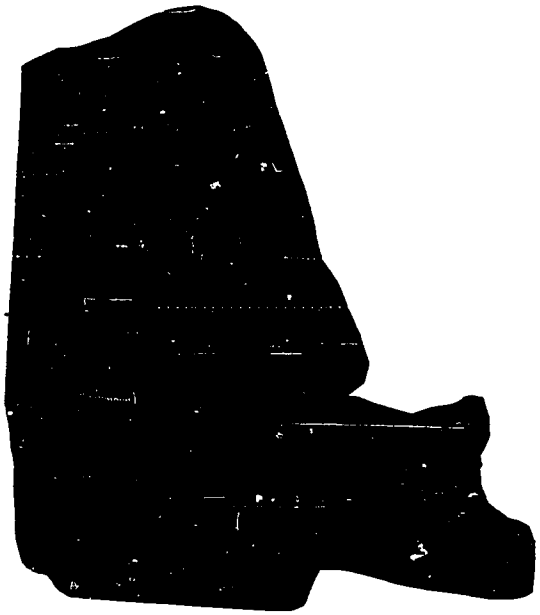
Rev. 34-35. See Å. Sjöberg, AfO 24, p. 44, commentary to 77 with n. 15 on the expression im-ma-gub meaning "to write on clay." This line may be compared with Gudea Cyl. A xix, 21: dnisaba ša3-šid zu-am3. I consider the -en suffix at the end of the verb to be a scribal error.

Rev. 37. nam-he2-gal2 is a rarely attested word; cf. UET 6/1, 103, 1 (treated by C.J. Gadd, Iraq 22, p. 159): lugal-nam-he2-gal2-la "lord of abundance" (Rīmsîn). See Å. Sjö berg, TCS 3, p. 79 on the meaning of šu-mu2-mu2.

Rev. 39. On the reading kurun2/gurun6 and the nature of the beverage designated by the term see M. Civil, Studies Oppenheim, p. 88, commentary to 68. The second kurun2 sign is written over an erasure.

Rev. 41. The šar2 sign is poorly written; it appears to be written over a partially-erased sign.

Rev. 42. See Chapter 7 sub giskim-ti.



Two Hymns to Nanna/Suen

(N1542 and N3082 + duplicates)

The following two fragmentary hymns to the moon-god come from Nippur. What remains of these compositions is preserved on pieces of tablets housed in the University Museum and the Istanbul Museum. I have made copies of the University Museum tablets which are here published for the first time. Though much of the two hymns is lost, there are several noteworthy points about the preserved portions of each. N1542 contains many epithets of the moon-god (see the schematic outline in Chapter 6, Section III B 1.13). Some of them are often associated with Nanna/Suen, while others are comparatively rare (e.g. nam2-nun-e, zi-gal2, lum-lum, amar-gug) and provide new insights into the character of the moon-god. The obverse of the hymn appears to be a eulogy of the moon-god in which a string of epithets underscore his many worthy qualities. On the reverse his relationship to his parents, Enlil and Ninlil, is emphasized. A short dialogue between Suen and his mother Ninlil and then between Ninlil and her spouse Enlil is preserved. Unfortunately, the text breaks off in the middle of Ninlil's speech (written in eme-sal). The fact that the text comes from Nippur and the emphasis is placed on the moon-god's role as offspring of Enlil and Ninlil makes it clear that this hymn is dedicated to the moon-god of Nippur. It may also be significant that the moon-god is

only called Suen in this context (see my comments on the use of the name Suen and the distinctions between the characters of the moon-god of Nippur and Ur in Chapter 6, Sections III B 1.1 and 1.3.

N3082 and duplicates mention Nanna in connection with the primal mother goddess, Ninḫursaga. The obverse of this text is too broken to deduce what the nature of their relationship is in this context. On the reverse sexual and fertility aspects of the god's character are brought out and Nanna's relationship with An and Enlil is repeatedly mentioned. He is called the "great son of An" and the "beloved of Enlil and Ninlil." The hymn ends with a eulogy of Nanna's temple (at Ur?). See further my synopsis and outline of this hymn in Chapter 6, Section III B 1.14.

Hymn to Suen (N1542)

Transliteration

Obv.

1. nam$_2$-nun-e sag-kal e$_2$-kur-ra I[M] ⌜x⌝ [x x ...]

2. ^{d}suen-e zi-le ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ zi-gal$_2$ [x x ...]

3. amar-gug ḫi-li šu-tag-ga su$_3$-⌜DU-a⌝g$_2$ [x x ...]

4. nun-x-aš sag-ki-bi lum-lum muš$_3$-bi ⌜x⌝ [x ...]
   i-na$^{(?)}$ (gloss)

5. [^{d}E]N-ZU-e ur-sag ne$_3$-gal-tuku nam-gur$_4$-bi [x ...]

6. [x x x]⌜utah$^{(?)}$⌝-ḫe-sikil i-lim ki-dagal-la ni$_2$-te-a [...]

7. [x x x x x] dingir-re-e-ne pa-e$_3$ [...]

8. [x x x x x x] gal-le-eš IGI x ... ...]
(gloss: 2 little vertical wedges between -eš and IGI; then illegible traces of a gloss after IGI.)

9. [x x x x x] [x] te(?)-bi an-ki-a kur2(?) [...]

10. [x x x x x x x] ti-la-bi sag ...]

11. [x x x x x x x x x]-da MI-N[I(?) ...]

12. [x x x x x x x x x x] [x] ...]

Rev.

1. [x x x x x x x x x] [x] [x x x x ...]

2. [x x x x x x x x n]am(?)-te(?) ... x x x ...]

3. [x x x x x] [x]-nam-mu mu-mu-un-[x x ...]

4. [x dEN-li[l2-la2-me-en mu mu-un(?)-gi i3-pa3-de3
[...]

5. ni2(?)-nam-en-nam nam-gal-la-ka mu-du10(?)
mu-pa3-de3 nam-gal [...]

6. ama-mu a-a-mu-ur2 du11-ga-na-ab nam-[x] [...]

7. kur-gal dEN-lil2-ra du11-ga-na-a[b x x x ...]

8. dingir-še3-mu-gin7 nam-x n[am(?) x x x ...]

9. ama-a-ni dnin-lil2-le nitalam ... x x x ...]

10. kur-gal dEN-lil2-ra inim-ma mi-n[i x x ...]

11. mu-ud-na-mu dumu-zu dsuen-e [x x x ...]

12. du5-mu-zi-le i-lu-ša3-ba na[m x x ...]

13. u3-tu ama-ab-a za-e mu-un-[x x] [x ...]

14. nun-KA-silim-e2-kur-ra lum-lum-ki-ur3-r[a x ...]

Edge: mu-LU ab2 ... x ...]

dsuen-e ... x ...]

du5-mu-nun [...]

Translation

Obv.

1. The princely lord, foremost in the Ekur [...]

2. Suen, the ... of Enlil, life-bestower [...]

3. Carnelian calf, charmingly embellished, light [...]

4. ... prince, its forehead (is) resplendent, its countenance [...]

5. Suen, warrior having great strength, its 'weightiness' [...]

6. [...] (in heaven's) pure [canopy] a radiance, on the wide earth awe-inspiring [...]

7. [...] among the deities arising [...]

8. [...] greatly ... [...]

9. [...] ... in heaven (and) earth ... [...]

10–12. (Too broken for translation)

Rev.

1–3. (Too broken for translation)

4. I(?) am the [... of Enli']l. (My?) name is firmly established [I(?)] call [...]

5. (translation uncertain)

6. O my mother, speak to my father ... [...]

7. Speak to the great mountain, Enlil, [...]

8. Like the god, my brother, ... [...]

9. His mother, Ninlil, [spoke to(?)] (her) spouse.

10. To the great mountain, Enlil, [she directed(?)] (her) words.

11. O my spouse, your son, Suen [...]

12. The ... son, (my) heart's joyous song, [...]

13. Him born of mother and father you have [...]

14. Illustrious prince of the Ekur, resplendent one of the Kiur [...]

Edge: Herder [...] cow

Suen [...]

Princely son [...]

Commentary

Obv. 1. For the epithet nam2-nun-e see Chapter 7. Note that in ZA 61, p. 204, where references to the expression nam2-nun-e have been collected, the first line of N1542 is read: nam2-nun-e sag-nir e2-kur-ta i[m-x-x]. After carefully checking the tablet in the University Museum I feel that the signs in question are read -kal and -ra respectively.

Obv. 2. For zi-le see Chapter 7 sub dumu-zi-le.

Obv. 3. Compare the expression amar-gug with a similar epithet of Nanna/Suen, amar-za-gin3: Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 14, 28 and p. 24 (commentary to line 28) where references to Nanna as amar are listed. Add to these now UET 8, 37, 1 where Nanna is called amar-ban3-da-an-na. The expression amar-gug may possibly describe the moon-god as he is represented by a calf-shaped statue made of carnelian stone. This would explain the use of the neuter pronominal suffix -bi in lines 4 and 5; i.e. it refers appropriately to a carnelian statue as an inanimate, not as a person. For the epithet sud-DU-ag2 see Chapter 7.

Obv. 4. The sign following nun, although it is fairly well preserved on the tablet, is not written like any sign known to me and I can offer no suggestions for

possible readings that are any better than poor guesses. The gloss underneath the phrase nun-x-aš (if read correctly) seems to refer to -aš and so unfortunately gives us no help with the problematic x.

For the expression lum-lum see most recently W. Römer, Das Sumerische Kurzepos 'Bilgames und Akka', pp. 58-59 (to line 36); cf. also lum$_{lu}$-hu-um-hum (= LUM; lumhum > luhhum) = sullunu in Erimhus V 158 (TCL 6, 35 rev. i 9). All of the Akkadian equivalents - ušubu, unnubu, sullunu, šihu - point to the concept of "growth." Whether this refers to Nanna/Suen's connection with fertility and prosperity or more directly to the monthly growth of the moon's form as it passes through its cycles is uncertain in our context.

On the still problematic muš$_3$ see Å. Sjöberg's extensive commentary in TCS 3, pp. 55ff. Because of the Akkadian equivaletns zīmu and mātu (SL 103, 3 and 5; MSL 3, p. 97, 18-19) I have translated the word tentatively as "features." The word occurs often in contexts involving the moon-god; TCL 15, 30, 2 (Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 70): ^{d}nanna si-un$_3$-na muš$_3$ me-lam$_2$ su$_3$-su$_3$ "Nanna, im hohen Himmel ist (dein) Antlitz mit leuchtendem Glanz versehen"; Å. Sjöberg, ZA 63, 31, No. 5, 15: muš$_3$-ku$_3$ "pure glow"; Å. Sjöberg, Or Suec 19-20, p. 144, 2 obv. 4: dingir muš$_3$-a-ni(!) UN.UN "God, whose appearance is ..."; Å. Sjöberg, Or Suec 19-20, p. 149 No. 5, 8': aga-nam-lugal-la men-ku$_3$ muš$_3$-kešda [...]; C.

Gadd, UET 6/1, 67, 48: gada-mah EZEN sag-il2 si-mul mušš3-kešš2-nam-men-na (see my translation and commentary above); Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 104, 9: mušš3-me-hušš = zi-mu ru-šu-tum "mit schrecklichem Gesicht"; Nūradad 3,3: mušš3 hi-li-gu3 "visage arrayed in grace" (see my Chapter 4 sub Nūradad 3).

Obv. 5. See my commentary to TuM NF IV, 12, obv. 14 on the reading ne3-gal tuku.

Obv. 6. For the equation U.GA = utah = šamû "heaven" see ŠL 443, 7 and AHw, p. 1160. The forms utah, utah-he, and utah-he2 are attested. Besides our text the word occurs in connection with the moon-god in TCS 3, p. 26, No. 12, 164 (revising Å. Sjöberg's reading): nun-zu nun (var. en)-an-na utah-he-a gub-ba "Your prince, the prince (the lord) of heaven standing in the sky"; Or Suec 19-20, p. 146, 3 obv. 7: a-a dnanna utah-he-bad-ta gi6 du10-du10 gal-zu "Father Nanna, from (his place in) the remote heavens knows how to make the night sweet" (translation mine); cf. UET 6/2, 182, 4 (referring to Utu): en utah-he-ta e3-a-ni kukkuš ku3-ge-ešš2 bar-ra KA ab-gar-ra "When the lord (Utu) has come out of the heavens, he turns ... the darkness into light" (translation mine); (Ninšubur) C.B.F. Walker, S.N. Kramer, Iraq 44, p. 80. (Letter to Ninšubur, obv. 10): na-RI x-utah-he-dagal(!?) ku3-dinanna-ra tum2-ma "the supervisor, the ... of the wide heavens, worthy of holy Inanna"; (Iškur) UET 8, 87, 6: ubur-utah-he tag4-laš-e "who opens the teats of the sky"; (referring to a star) H. Limet, Les légendes

des sceaux cassites, p. 76, 4.28:2: he2-duz-utah-šen-na "ornement du ciel pur"; C.J. Gadd, UET 6/1, 101, 19 (see H. Steible, Ein Lied an den Gott Haja, p. 6 and p. 90): dindagra (NINDA2+GUD) DUB(?) utah-he2 kur-ta ka-duh-u3-dingir-re-e-ne-ke4 "dindagra (Steible has dnindagud), der den Himmel(?) erzittern(?) lässt, (wenn) er vom Bergland her das Maul gegen die Götter aufsperrt."

The word is also used as an architectural term denoting "canopy" or "baldachin"; see C.J. Gadd, Iraq 13, p. 275 (Rīmsîn Inscription 8): me-te-e2-kiš-nu-gal2 za3-DU utah-he-un3-na "the ornament of the Ekišnugal, the strength of the high canopy" (cf. Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 66); A. Falkenstein, BaM 2, p. 14, 31 and n. 46: utah-sikil gaba-ri ka2-gi6-par4 mu-un-dim2-ma (year date) "(year after the year in which) he built the pure canopy across from the gate of the Gipar" (translation mine); cf. H. Steible, Haja, pp. 89-90. For i-lim see Chapter 7 sub i-lim, su-lim.

Obv. 8. The sign after nam- appears to be a GIŠGAL sign. However, I know of no other attestation of nam-GIŠGAL and can make no sense of such a compound in this context.

Rev. 12. For the use of the interjection i-lu as an expression of either joy or sorrow see J. Krecher, Kultlyrik, pp. 148ff. The expression i-lu-ša3-ga (eme-sal i-lu-ša3ba) occurs in Lipitešstar B 51 (see H. Vanstiphout, JCS 30, pp. 33-61): i-lu-ša3-ga mu-bala-

sa6-ga "With a hearty song of joy, in a prosperous regnal year"; and in Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta 612 (see S. Cohen, University of Pennsylvania Ph.D. Dissertation, p. 90) [...] SI i-lu-šaš-[ga ...] x "in the joyful ilu-song of the heart" (cf. Cohen's commentary, o.c., p. 301); see MSL 13, p. 161 (izi = išātu V 35-36) i-lu = ni-gu-tu / i-lu-šaš-ga = MIN SAš-bi. For i-lu in connection with the moon-god see Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, pp. 14, 24 and 34.

Rev. 14. On KA-silim = tašrihtu see Å. Sjöberg, ZA 63, pp. 30-31 (commentary to II 12').

Edge: For mu-LU (to be read mu-nux(?)) "shepherd" see my Chapter 7 sub mu6-sub3, mu-LU, mu-nu10(KU), me-a-am.

Hymn to Nanna

N3082 + N2746: Text A

Ni 4600 + N3723: Text B (= text A rev.)

Transliteration

Text A Obv.

1'. [d]n[anna ...]

2'. en dumu-[d]en-lil2-la2 [...]

3'. dnanna en x [...]

4'. en dumu-den-lil2-la2 [...]

5'. en u6-di du10-g[a ...]

6'. munus hi-li šu-du7 [...]

7'. dnanna en u6-[di du10-ga ...]

8'. munus hi-li šu-du7 [...]

9'. dnin-hur-sag-ga2 [...]

10'. ama-ᵍgalᵍ ᵈnin-ḫ̬[ur-sag-ga2 ...]

11'. ᵈnanna [illegible] ...]

12'. ama-gal ᵈni[n-ḫ̬ur-sag-ga2 ...]

13'. mu-ni-in- [illegible] ...]

14'. za-e lu2 nir [...]

15'. ᵈnanna(-)mu [...]

16'. [za- [illegible] lu2 nir [illegible] ...]

17'. [x [illegible] x ᵍkiᵍ(?) [illegible] ...]

(remainder of Text A obv. broken)

Text B Obv. = Text A Rev.

1'. [x x x x x x x] ᵍx xᵍ [x x (x)]

2'. [x x x x x] la-la-zu ma[-ak-ak]

3'. [ḫ̬i-li-zu tug2-x]-gin7 bar-ga2 ḫ̬e2-em-ᵍmiᵍ-dul

4'. ᵈnanna ša3-mu ᵍxᵍ banšur(! ?)-ᵍxᵍ la-la ma-ak-ak

5'. ḫ̬i-li-zu tug2-ᵍxᵍ-gin7(!) bar-ga2 ḫ̬e2-em-mi-dul

6'. en šu-sikil-e dug-šakir3-e ḫ̬e2-du7

7'. B. ni3 šu-du11-ga-ᵍzuᵍ an-ra ᵈen-lil2-ra ša-mu-un-ne-sa6

A. ni3 šu-d[u11]-g[a x x x x x x x x x x x x]

8'. B. ᵈnanna en šu-[s]ikil-la dug-šakir3-e ḫ̬e2-du7

A. ᵈnanna en š[u x x x x x x x]

9'. B. ni3-šu-du11-ga-ᵍzuᵍ an-ra ᵈen-lil2-ra ša-mu-un-ne-sa6

A. ni3-šu-dᵍu11-gaᵍ-ᵍzuᵍ a[n x x x x x x x x x x]

10'. B. e2(-)u4-du6-ul-la-ka su3-ud-še3 ḫ̬e2-du3

A. e2(-)u4-du6-ᵍulᵍ-laᵍ-[x x x x x x]

11'. B. e2-ᵈnanna u4-du6-[u]l-la A2.MI kisal-ᵈnanna su3-ud-še3 ḫ̬e2-d[u3]

A. e2-ᵈnanna u4-d[u6 x x x x x x x x x x x x x]

12'.B. e$_2$-giz[zu]-ʳbiˀ ab-$\overset{\vee}{s}$a$_3$-ga la$_2$-a

A. e$_2$-gizzu-bi a[b x x x x]

13'.B. [e$_2$-ki$\overset{\vee}{s}$-nu-ga]l$_2$ u$_6$-di x* du$_{10}$-ga
(* erasure)

A. e$_2$-ki$\overset{\vee}{s}$-nu-ga[l$_2$ x x x x]

14'.B. [e$_2$-^{d}nanna $\overset{\vee}{s}$]a$_3$-sig-ga du$_3$-a

A. e$_2$-^{d}nanna [x x x x x]

15'.B. [x x x] ʳ^{d}suenˀ ʳdingir-reˀ-n[e (x x)]
(Text B breaks off here.)

A. [x] [xˀ x x x x x x x (x x)]

16'. A. bottom edge: [x x] d$^{(?)}$en$^{(?)}$-l[il$_2^{(?)}$ ...]

left edge: [...] ^{d}nanna en dumu-gal-an-na [...]

[... k]i-ag$_2$-^{d}en-lil$_2$-^{d}nin-lil$_2$-la$_2$ [...]

Text B rev. (indefinite number of lines broken at top):

1'. [...]-me-en

2'. [...] ʳxˀ

(about 3-4 lines missing)

1'. [... d]e$_3$-en

2'. [...]-in-sa$_4$

3'. [...] -la-me-en

4'. [... rˀ]i$^{(?)}$-in-sa$_4$

5'. [... e]n

6'. [...]

(At least 4-5 lines missing at bottom and possibly more.

Translation

Text A Obv.

1'. N[anna ...]

2'. Lord, son of ˹Enlil˺[...]

3'. Nanna, lord [...]

4'. Lord, son of Enlil [...]

5'. Lord (whose) sight (is) sweet [...]

6'. Woman (whose) charm (is) complete [...]

7'. Nanna, lord (whose) sig[ht (is) sweet ...]

8'. Woman (whose) charm (is) complete [...]

9'. Ninḫursag [...]

10'. ˹Great˺ mother, Ninḫ[ursag ...]

11'. Nanna [...]

12'. Great mother, Ni[nḫursag ...]

13'. ... [...]

14'. You who ... [...]

15'. Nanna ... [...]

16'. You who ... [...]

17'. (broken)

Text B Obv. = Text A Rev.

1'. (broken)

2'. [...] your desire is [revealed] to me.

3'. May you [in your allure] cover my back like an [x-garment] (lit. may [your allure] cover my back like an [x-garment]).

4'. O Nanna, my heart(?), at(?)] the offering table(?) (your) desire is revealed to me.

5'. May you in your allure cover my back like an x-garment(cf. 3')

6'. O lord, (whose) clean hand (is) well suited for the butter churn,

7'. everything [you] put your hand to is pleasing to An (and) Enlil.

8'. O Nanna, lord of the [c]lean hand (who is) well suited for the butter churn,

9'. everything [you] put your hand to is pleasing to An (and) Enlil.

10'. It is the temple of everlasting days. May you build it (to last) for a long time to come.

11'. The temple of Nanna, of [ev]erlasting days, the shadow(?) of Nanna's courtyard -- may you build it (to last) for a long time to come;

12'. the temple, the shad[ow] of which reaches to the midst of the marsh area;

13'. the Ekišnugal, the sight (of which is) sweet;

14'. the temple of Nanna built on an empty plain(?).

15'. [...] Suen among the gods [...]

16'. [...] En[il(?) ...]

Left edge: [...] Nanna, lord, great son of An [...]

[...] beloved of Enlil (and) Ninlil [...]

Text B Rev.: too broken for a connected translation.

Commentary

Text A:
Obv. 5. The translation of this line is based on J. Klein's rendering of Šulgi D, line 33 (see J. Klein, Three Šulgi Hymns, pp. 72-73): mes-zi kurun3-na-gun3-a-ginz u6-di-du10-ga-me-en3 "You are a sweet sight, like a fertile mes-tree, laden with colorful fruit." English "sight," though appropriate for the purposes of coherent translation and conveying the basic sense of Sumerian u6-di, does not, however, express all the nuances of the word. u6-di, equivalent to Akk. tabrâtu (see ŠL 449,

150ff.) also has the sense of wonder, amazement, and marvel. u6, u6-di and u6-e are often found in contexts descriptive of the moon-god: TCL 15, 30, rev. 11 (Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 70) šul dsuen iti6 ni3-giri17-zal un-e u6 mu-e "Jüngling Suen, (dein) prachtvolles Mondlicht schauen die Menschen an!"; Ninmešarra 148 (W. Hallo, J. van Dijk, The Exaltation of Inanna, pp. 34-35) dnanna u6-zi-de3-eš mu-un-e3-a "When Nanna appeared in proper view"; Šulgi F 76 (J. Klein, Ms. University Museum: TuM NF IV, 11 and TCL 16, 86) hi-li-e2-kur-ra-kam u6-di-da-ni ni3-du10-ga-am3 "The charm(ing one) of the Ekur, whose sight is sweet"; Å. Sjöberg, Finkelstein Memorial Volume, p. 192, 86: dnanna an-ku3-ga pa-e3-a ka-na-ag2-e u6-di-ginz "Like Nanna, when he appears in the pure sky, admired by the land"; TCL 15, 12, 44 (G. Castellino, ZA 53, pp. 119 and 122): dsuen-e u6-e ki-aga2-ni "Suen admires (it), his beloved"; ISET 1, 38 Ni. 2781, 27: u4-sakar dalla-e3-a hi-li-gur3-ru [u6]-di-du10-ga-zu-še3 "New-moon light come into view, arrayed in grace, because of your sweet sight (Ninlil came)."

Text B Obv. = Text A Rev.
2' (=4'). The expression la-la ak occurs also at PBS 10/2, 11 obv. 3: nam-sa6-ga-ni-še3 la-la ba-an-ši-in-ak "She (Inanna) revealed (her) desire for his beauty" (cf. G. Farber-Flügge, AOAT 25, p. 178); see also Enlil diriše 103 (cf. J. van Dijk, BiOr 11, p. 84 and W. Ph. Römer, SKIZ, p. 45, line 104 and n. 341): mir-ša4-ma-ga2

la-la ḫu-mu-ši-in-aka "fur meinen Gürtel(?) mir Üppigkeit bereitet" (Römer's translation); SLTNi 128 obv. i 6: kuš-bal la-la-bi aka-da kuš-ib₂-ba-aš ba-an-ku₄ "The profit of the wealth which was made(?) has turned into deficit" (mine). In connection with the moon-god the word la-la is found in the following contexts: Å. Sjöberg, Mondgott, p. 166, 10: ḫi-li la-la ma-al-la-ta = kuzbu lalâ malû "voll von Üppigkeit und Reizen' and Mondgott, p. 14, 23: dEn-lil₂-la₂ lu₂-la-la-ni (var. -la-la-a-ni) na-nam "Er ist der Mann der Wonne Enlils"; N1316 obv. 6 (unpublished) bala-zu dSuen x ḫi-li la-la x x x x-šeš ḫe₂-a. The expression la-la ak seems to have both sexual connotations and to refer to prosperity, gain, abundance of produce, and fertility of land. Both lines 2' (=4') and 3' (=5') have decidedly sexual connotations. Thus, in this context la-la ak carries sexual nuances.

In 4' the sign read banšur(!?) appears to be copied as URU ⸗ AB, which is nowhere else attested as far as I know; the reading banšur "offering table" must therefore remain tentative. The sign following banšur may be -kuš or -e.

6' (=8'). For Nanna's connection with the butter churn see SRT 9, 30 = TCL 15, 21, 9 (revising Å. Sjöberg's reading in Mondgott, p. 13, 9): ga-ab₂-sigz-a dug-šakiš-ra i-ni-in-de₂ "Milk of the beautiful cow he poured into the butter churn" (translation mine) and SRT 9, 58 + duplicates (revising once again Mondgott, p. 14,

37): ab2-GAR.NE ga dug-šakir3-ra i-ni-in-de2 "He poured milk of(?) the ... cow into(?) the butter churn" (translation mine); cf. UET 6/1, 68, hymn to Nanna, text C, 17 (see treatment above): dug-šakir3-[x] šu mu-na-tag-[tag].

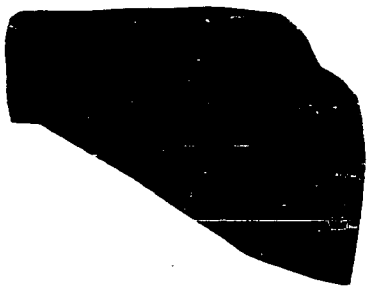
10' and 11'. On u4 du6-ul-la see Å. Sjöberg, Or Suec 19-20, p. 162, commentary to No. 2, 11: gidri u4 du6-ul-la daš-im2-ba[bbar ...]; cf. Ni316 (unpublished) rev. 8': nam-ti u4-du6-ul-la x hu-mu-ra-[x ...]; AfO 24, p. 7 rev. 11 (against Wilcke's reading): ul-še3 me-u4-du6-ul-la(!)-ka; STVC 34 iv 27 (see D. Reisman, JCS 24, p. 5): [x x]-si-sa2 u4 du6-la2-še3 na-ga2-ga2-zu. In light of the fact that the expressions nam-ti-u4-sud-ra2 and gidri-u4-sud-ra2 are attested frequently in Sumerian literature, Å. Sjöberg's suggestion (Or Suec 19-20, p. 162) that u4 du6-ul-la is a scribal variant (he says error) for u4-ul-li2-a or u4-ul-la, (which I take as parallel expressions to those quoted above) seems probable.

11'. The meaning of A2-.MI is obscure despite the suggestion of A. Falkenstein in An Or 28, pp. 23ff. that A2.MI is a phonetic variant of E2 .MI "cella." This interpretation is highly unlikely since E2.MI is a variant of E2 x MI and was pronounced itima, itim (see PBS 5, 106 rev. 17 = Diri v 229: restore [i-ti-m]a = E2.MI = ki-is-sum). Neither E2 or MI were ever pronounced, so it is out of the question that A2.MI

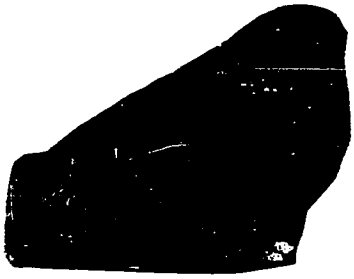
could be a phonetic variant. The lexical passage Izi Boghazkoy A 80 (MSL 13, p. 135) may shed some light on the present context: [a2]-MI = ⌜GIŠ.MI⌝ = GIŠ.MI-aš "shadow." To describe Nanna's temple as the "shadow of the courtyard of Nanna" seems plausible in light of the fact that the ziggurat at Ur overshadowed the main courtyard; cf. line 12': e2 gizzu-bi "The temple, the shadow of which ..."

12'. Translation based on Steible ABW Teil I, pp. 290-291, Ukg. 4, 2, 11-13 = 5, 13-15 and Teil II, p. 143, commentary (5).

14'. For saŠ-sig see Å. Sjöberg, TCS 3, p. 70 (90) and Addenda, pp. 151ff.

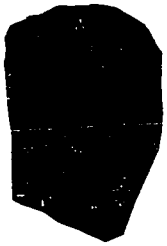


N 1542 obv.

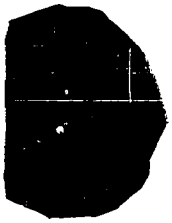


N 1542 rev.

N 1542 top



N 3082 obv.



N 3082 rev.

N 2746

N 3723

N 2746 edge

N 3082 edge

CHAPTER 10

FINAL SUMMATION AND CONCLUSIONS

The stated aim of this dissertation was to explore the character and the cult of the Sumerian moon-god through an intensive analysis of original Sumerian cuneiform texts (see Chapter 1, section 1.1). In the preceding chapters all types of textual evidence relative to a study of the moon-god have been examined and evaluated. In order to analyze Sumerian concepts of the moon-god and the practice of his cult it was decided in the introduction that the analysis must consist of three basic aspects. The first was to recognize the complexity of the moon-god's character which was a composite of at least two originally separate deities. The long historical development of this character, the process of syncretism, and the widespread geographic distribution of his cult had to be taken into consideration in order to appreciate the many factors that went into the formation of his character and his cult. The second aspect of the analysis was then to examine in depth the composite character formed by this process of historical development and to determine the key concepts associated with the character of the moon-god. In similar fashion, an in-depth analysis of the cult of the moon-god at Ur was undertaken as a complement to the foregoing survey of his wide-ranging

cultic influence. Finally, the third aspect of the analysis was to examine the character and the cult of the moon-god within the larger context of the Sumerian pantheon and the system of inter-city cultic ties which was an intergral part of Sumerian culture as a whole. These three aspects of the analysis run through the presentation and investigation of the evidence from chapter to chapter like connecting threads.

It is now necessary to summarize the evidence in light of the analysis and determine what conclusions the study has led to. First, a brief synopsis of each chapter highlighting the results of the analysis will be given. Then, a final summation of what the textual evidence has revealed about Sumerian concepts of the moon-god's character and the workings of his cult will be presented, the elucidation of which has been the primary aim of this work.

Chapter 1 was a general introduction to the whole dissertation. It outlined the aim of the study, its limits, the major problems to be considered, and the methodology used to deal with the problems and present the evidence. The aim of this work has just been synopsized above and need not be elaborated upon here.

Three basic limits were placed on the study: one of time, one of place, and one of source material. It was decided to limit the study to a time frame ranging from the Presargonic period to the Old-Babylonian period. The evidence within this time frame was determined to be

manageable for treatment in a dissertation and to contain the most significant information about the Sumerian moon-god. Limits of provenience were dictated by the nature of the extant evidence. Since most of the evidence comes from Ur and Nippur, the picture of the moon-god which emerges necessarily reflects traditions in these cities. Finally, textual evidence alone is considered in this study. It would not have been practical to treat the evidence from archaeology and art history along with the textual evidence; these areas of inquiry are better left to specialists in those fields.

As for the problems involved in this study, they are of a general and a specific nature. The chief problem of studying religion in general is the difficulty of obtaining objective and unbiased evidence on an experience which is inherently intimate and subjective. Problems specifically involving the study of ancient religions are the piecemeal nature of the evidence and the difficulty of comprehending ancient religious concepts from a modern vantage point so far removed and having so little in common with an ancient society.

The methodology section outlined the principles of research which insure that a study of religion is as objective and unbiased as possible. An approach which embodies these principles is the recognition and differentiation of "emic" and "etic" views of religion.

The first was defined as the insider's or participant's view of a religion under study; the second as the researcher's or interpreter's view of a religion. By preserving native categories of thought as well as the phraseology which expresses that thought and by keeping the researcher's interpretations clearly separated, the most objective results can be achieved. Preconceived theories of religion should be avoided in the analysis of the evidence; only the most basic underlying concepts should be used as a means of organizing the evidence. For the purposes of this study, these were determined to be the concepts of religion, deity, symbol, and cult; a working definition of each was given.

Approaches to the study of Mesopotamian religion were then reviewed. Finally, the approach used in this study was outlined. Careful consideration of the many limiting factors which condition the textual evidence was stressed: the evidence must be presented and evaluated according to time period, provenience, and text type; textual evidence bearing on the moon-god should be presented in the original Sumerian context and the many lexicological problems of its interpretation taken into account; in accordance with the principle of distinguishig between the "emic" and "etic" views of the Sumerian moon-god, the Sumerian textual evidence must be clearly separated from analyses and interpretations. Having emphasized these principles of presenting and evaluating the evidence, the chapter-by-chapter

organization of the evidence was outlined and the underlying analytical basis of this organization was stated.

Chapter 2 examined the principle names of the moon-god: Nanna, Suen and Aš̌imbabbar. The very fact that the moon-god was known by three completely unrelated names suggested that already by the historical period a process of syncretism, whereby two or perhaps three originally separate moon-gods were melded into one personality, was well under way. This was in part born out by philological analysis of the names. The earliest writing of the name Nanna as LAK 32(pronounced *uri?)-NA implied an identification of the god with his traditional cult city, Ur (written LAK 32-EŠ3/UNUG). The name Suen, on the other hand, appears to have had Semitic origins. It is already attested in Ebla texts in far-away western Syria; later the name occurs in Ugaritic and South Arabian texts, all of which points to a continuous history of association with Semitic peoples. An analysis of the way his name was written in cuneiform indicates that the frozen form dEN.ZU was probably a scribal invention utilized to associate the foreign god Suen with the indigenous Sumerian gods, many of whose names began with en. Finally, the name Aš̌imbabbar appears at Abū Ṣalābīkh in the Presargonic period and much later in Old-Babylonian literary texts. It remains unclear whether the name ever designated a

separate moon-god with his own cult site. Thus, the result of the analysis of the divine name indicated that in the Protoliterate and early Presargonic periods the moon-gods Nanna and Suen (and Ašimbabbar as well?) were separate entities originally confined to separate geographical areas. Nanna confined to Ur and southern Mesopotamia, Suen covering a much wider range extending from western Syria to northern and eventually southern Mesopotamia.

This general picture was made more specific in Chapters 3 and 4. Chapter 3 examined the theophoric personal names which contain one of the names of the moon-god; Chapter 4 reviewed the dedicatory inscriptions and year-dates which mention the moon-god. The evidence of both chapters taken together attested to the pervasiveness of the moon-god's cult throughout the historical period. The examination of the personal names revealed that the earliest written evidence of the moon-god is found in a personal name on Jemdet-Nasr-period tablets from Uruk (en-nanna). This demonstrated the antiquity of the moon-god's presence in southern Mesopotamia. At Ur in the archaic period, the name Nanna is often attested in personal names, while the name Suen is absent. If this is not just accidental, it indicates that the cult of the moon-god Suen had not yet reached as far as southern Mesopotamia by this time. The name Suen is, however, found somewhat later in the Fara period along with the names Nanna and Ašimbabbar at the

more northernly sites of Abū Ṣalābīkh and Šuruppak (Fara). This may indicate that the cult of Suen moved into southern Mesopotamia around this time. The high prevalence of the name Suen in Akkadian personal names and of Nanna in Sumerian personal names confirms the association of the god Suen with Semitic peoples.

The dedicatory inscriptions present much the same picture while providing the first real insights into the cult of the moon-god at various sites.[1] Inscriptions from Ur address Nanna much more frequently than Suen, whose name only becomes more common in the Old-Babylonian period. On the other hand, in the northern Diyala site of Tutub, another cult center of the moon-god, the moon-god is addressed solely as Suen. His name is found already in Presargonic inscriptions and frequently in Old-Babylonian personal names from this site. Archaeological excavations revealed a huge oval temple to the god Suen at Tutub.[2]

The value of negative evidence is evident at the site of Lagash where a great number of Presargonic administrative texts have been found, none of which mention the moon-god by any of his names. However, the god is mentioned in an inscription of Eannatum in a long, formulaic passage that lists a series of major Mesopotamian deities.[3] Thus, it appears that though Suen was recognized at Lagash as one of the great gods of the pantheon, he was not a part of the local cult there.

This suggests that as early as the Presargonic peric the individual cities of Mesopotamia were linked by cultic ties and recognized an "official," inter-city pantheon.

Both dedicatory inscriptions and year-dates are valuable sources of evidence because they are reliable as historical records. They document specific cultic acts and can be dated according to the king for whom they were written with a reasonable amount of certainty. Besides attesting to the range of the moon-god's cult in specific geographic areas at specific time-periods, the incriptions and year-dates provide a great deal of information about the cult of the moon-god at Ur, from which site the vast majority of the inscriptions dedicated to the moon-god come. I will summarize what is known about the cult of the moon-god at Ur below.

The prevalence of documentation from the city of Ur led to a narrowing of this study's focus in Chapter 5. Ur-III administrative tablets formed the basis of this chapter By concentrating on this one corpus of texts from Ur dating to a relatively narrow time frame I hoped to gain some insight into the daily workings of the cult at the dominant cult site of the moon-god. The system of offerings presented by the king to the temple of the moon-god was discussed in great detail. The chapter demonstrated that specific kinds and even quantities of offerings were regularly presented to the temple of Nanna and other cultically significant shrines and

objects. The offerings were most often made on holidays known as eš3-eš3 festival days which seem to have corresponded to the major phases of the moon, new moon and full moon being considered the most significant days. Since most of the offering texts involved the king, he stood out as a major participant in the cult of the moon-god. Other imporant aspects of the cult at Ur were also considered, such as the Akiti-festival and purification rituals. These aspects will be summarized in greater detail below when I present my final summary of the moon-god's cult. Since most of the textual evidence for the cult of the moon-god at Ur comes from the late Ur-III period, Chapter 5 of necessity concentrated on this time period. Such detail for the earlier Presargonic and Sargonic periods or for the later Old-Babylonian period was not available.

In Chapter 6, 7, and 8 the focus of the discussion shifted to the character of the moon-god. Chapter 6 concentrated on the evidence for the moon-god in literary texts, surveying all significant references in the various genres from the Presargonic to the Old-Babylonian period. Literary texts as a whole and in particular, the many hymns to the moon-god provide a great deal of information on characteristics of the moon-god, his personas, and his spheres of influence. The literary epithets connected with the moon-god in these texts are especially noteworthy because they

constitute the basic descriptive elements used to portray the moon-god and to express the concepts associated with him. Thus, in my analysis of literary texts I put particular emphasis on the epithets used in the literature centering on the moon-god and grouped them according to the type of imagery they expressed. It was demonstrated that the types of imagery most frequently associated with the moon-god were what I termed celestial and pastoral. The first type includes all of the epithets which describe the moon-god in terms of a celestial phenomenon: the brightness, appearance, and shape of the moon, its position in the sky, and its functional aspects as a light source and as a time referent for the lunar calender. The second type portrays Nanna/Suen as a god of the herds, a fertility god who appears in the guise of a bull or calf and keeps the herds fertile and prolific.

A good deal of evidence on the cult is also available in literary texts. This was duly noted and will be fully evaluated below in light of what is known about the cult from other sources (administrative texts, inscriptions, archaeological finds).

Though I considered the evidence of literary texts to be important for this study, I also pointed out the dangers of extrapolating earlier cultic practices and conceptions of the moon-god from literary texts which date to the Old-Babylonian period. The paucity of literary texts from earlier periods seriously handicaps

the researcher's ability to trace the evolution of the moon-god's character and the concepts that came to be associated with him. The image of the moon-god which literary texts present is essentially that of the Nippur scribal school of the Old-Babylonian period, from which place and time most of the evidence comes.

An intensive philological analysis of the literary epithets connected with the moon-god was the subject of Chapter 7. Having demonstrated the wide use of literary epithets in both literary texts and in dedicatory inscriptions (Chapters 4 and 6), I attempted in Chapter 7 to come to a deeper understanding of their connotations, particularly as they are related to the character of the moon-god. Besides the celestial and pastoral epithets so often associated with the moon-god, epithets which define the moon-god's relation to the rest of the deities in the pantheon are also common, especially those which refer to his role as an offspring of Enlil or An. Other epithets cast him in the role of judge or decider of fates. He also bears epithets which define his power, prestige, or high status as well as honorific titles, both of which were applied to many of the major deities of the pantheon. Thus, Chapter 7 attempted to elucidate the key literary phraseology connected with the moon-god and to show the important aspects of his character which this phraseology expressed.

In Chapter 8 I tried to compensate for the distortion inherent in studying one god as an isolated phenomenon and thus divorcing him from the theological and cultic context of which he was an integral part. By concentrating on the moon-god's relationship to other deities I hoped to widen the scope of the investigation and to show how the moon-god fit into the pantheon of major and minor deities. Both genealogy and cultic ties were considered. The moon-god's connection with the "official" pantheon based in Nippur, the deities of which were revered in many cities, as well as his position in relation to the local circle of deities based in Ur were included in the discussion. Deity-lists, literary texts, inscriptions, and administrative texts were all used as sources of evidence. Since the character and the cult of the moon-god are directly influenced by his relationship to other deities, this chapter was considered to be an important element of this study.

Finally, Chapter 9 presented as an appendix to this study a philological treatment (transliteration, translation, and textual commentary) of nine hitherto untreated hymns to the moon-god. This chapter is intended to make accessible to the reader a new corpus of hymns to the moon-god. Taken together with the hymns already published mainly by Å. Sjöberg, they represent one of the best sources of textual evidence on the character and the cult of the moon-god.

Having summarized the chapters of this dissertation, I will proceed to the final summation of the character and the cult of the moon-god. Since most of this dissertation has been taken up with the presentation and organization of a plethora of details, it is important to conclude with a final synthesis.

The Character of the Moon-God

The character of the moon-god, like that of every other deity of the pantheon, was an amalgamation of concepts which became associated with him over the course of a long evolutionary process. Our knowledge of these concepts must be inferred largely from textual evidence which dates to a time when this evolutionary process had been underway for at least a millennium. Thus, the picture of the moon-god which emerges from the extant texts is the product of many centuries of syncretism and accretion.

The character of the god portrayed in the texts is probably a composite of at least two originally distinct moon-gods. This is evident from the wholly unrelated names by which the moon-god is referred to (Nanna, Suen, Ašimbabbar?) and has been amply demonstrated in the various usages of these names throughout this study.[4] This synopsis of the moon-god's character should therefore begin with a brief review of what is known about the original characters of Nanna and Suen before the two identities were combined through syncretism.

Through this approach one can form some idea of how the moon-god's character developed historically and trace the elements that went into the making of his composite character.

The Separate Characters of Nanna and Suen

Since the earliest written sources reveal little about how the moon-god was conceptualized, one is forced to rely on Old-Babylonian literary texts for most of the information on the moon-god's character. It is difficult to distinguish separate character traits for each of the original gods, Nanna and Suen, in these texts which were written at the end of the Sumerian religious tradition. However, there is some indication that Old-Babylonian scribes were still aware of the early distinctions between Nanna and Suen. Particularly in hymns to the moon-god, one notes that the god is more often called Suen when he is characterized in one way and Nanna when he is characterized in another way. For instance, when he is depicted as a young boy and his dependency on his parents Enlil and Ninlil is stressed, he is then almost always referred to as Suen. His most frequent epithet in this role is šul ^{d}suen "the youth, Suen";[5] the expression *šul ^{d}nanna never occurs. In such contexts Suen is frequently described as a young cowherd who tends the cattle, watches over the cattle stalls, and supplies the products of the herd for Enlil and Ninlil.[6] His connection with the Ekur, Enlil's temple in Nippur

is also mentioned often in such contexts. As Suen the moon-god is more often associated with Nippur than Ur. In the myth "Enlil and Ninlil," a Nippur composition which describes the birth of the moon-god at Tummal (a shrine of Ninlil close to Nippur), he is exclusively referred to as Suen.[7] In addition, the offering site of the moon-god at Nippur is called ki-^{d}suen-na (Akkadian gizinakku).[8]

By contrast, the moon-god is most often called Nanna when he is described in relationship to his spouse, Ningal.[9] Ningal is rarely called the wife of Suen.[10] This is to be expected inasmuch as Ningal like Nanna was traditionally connected with the city of Ur. The name Suen is not prevalent in Ur inscriptions, administrative texts, or personal names until the Old-Babylonian period. In his relationship with Ningal one notes a decidedly sexual connotation to the role Nanna plays. This is a feature of Nanna's character as opposed to Suen's and it is only demonstrated in his relationship to Ningal.

The following tentative conclusions regarding the evolution of the moon-god's composite character can be drawn based on the foregoing analysis:

1) The role of the youth (^{d}šul ^{d}suen), the young boy in the care of his mother and father, Enlil and Ninlil, and the cowherd who tends the cattle of Nippur were traditionally associated with the character of Suen.

2) Suen appears to have had long-standing cultic ties with Nippur; according to the myth "Enlil and Ninlil" he was born at Tummal close to Nippur.
3) The role of spouse to Ningal is almost always played by Nanna; in this role the erotic aspects of Nanna's character are often described.
4) Nanna was traditionally associated with Ur; Suen is infrequently connected with Ur and is comparatively a late comer.

These individual characteristics of Nanna and Suen are admittedly few, yet they are the only indications of the early development of the moon-god's character preserved in extant texts. At least, they indicate that the characters of Nanna and Suen originally had separate associations and that these were melded into one character to form the moon-god of the Sumerian literary tradition. This composite character can now be analyzed in light of the above evidence concerning his historical development.

The Composite Character of Nanna/Suen

The various concepts which went into the making of the character of Nanna/Suen as he is depicted in literary texts, can be analyzed into four basic types: those which were thought to be quintessential to his identity and distinquished him from all other deities; those which he shared with other deities; those which were largely defined by his relationships to other

deities; and those which were largely defined by his relationship to man. The first type is obviously the unique identification of Nanna/Suen with the moon, which defines him alone as the god of the moon and the moon as the primary manifestation of his divine existence. This is the one character trait which distinguishes Nanna/Suen from all the other deities of Mesopotamia. It is also the factor which probably led to the syncretism of the characters of Nanna and Suen; their mutual identification with the moon cancelled out the chief distinguishing trait of each one's identity, thus conflating the two characters.

This lunar or celestial aspect of the moon-god's character had wide-spread ramifications. Not only was the moon-god revered as the chief luminary of the night sky, but in his manifestation as the ever-recurring new moon he functioned as the key time referrent of the lunar calender.[11] The observed, predictable lunar cycles were also fundamental to the workings of the cult since offerings, rituals, festivals, and holidays were all organized according to the time scheme of a lunar calender. There is a good deal of evidence that regular monthly holidays corresponded to certain major phases of the moon.[12]

The moon's course through the night sky and its appearance and disappearance at the start and the end of each month also took on mythical connotations. Evidence in literary texts suggests that the moon-god was thought

to sojourn in the underworld at the end of each month when the moon disappeared from the sky. There he was believed to act as a judge who rendered verdicts and decided fates. With the reappearance of the moon at the start of each month the moon-god was seen as emerging from the underworld, the land of the dead.[13]

As new moon he was thus viewed as the symbol of rejuvenation. The waxing, waning, temporary disappearance, and perennial renewal of the moon each month was taken as an expression of the larger life cycle of birth, growth, decay, and death. Accordingly, the moon-god was a god who could bestow his power of ever-renewing life on the lands, the crops, the animals, and the continuous generations of mankind.[14]

Closely connected with this essential concept of the moon-god's identity is his association with cattle. The god's power of rejuvenation, as manifested in the moon's ever-renewing cycle, was also thought to cause the continuous procreation and proliferation of the cattle herds. This aspect of Nanna/Suen's character belongs to the second type of concept associated with him, the type which is not unique to him, but which other deities share in as well. Among other deities identified with the fertility of the cattle herds are Ningublaga and occasionally Inanna, the son and daughter of the moon-god. Like Nanna/Suen's identification with the moon, his association with cattle is attested in the

earliest written sources. Literary phrases frequently endow the image of the moon with pastoral connotations. Such epithets as amar-ban3-da-an-na "frisky calf of heaven," si-mul-mul "with shining horns," and si-mu2-ku3-an-na "the pure long-horn of heaven" express the two images of the moon-god as crescent moon and as a pair of shining bull's horns inseparably joined together in one identity.[15]

The third type of concept connected with the character of Nanna/Suen is that which defines him as the off-spring of either Enlil and Ninlil or of An. His connection with Enlil is already evident in one of the earliest-attested epithets applied to him amar-ban3-da-^{d}en-lil2(-la2)[16] "frisky calf of Enlil" dating from the Presargonic period. By the Ur-III period he is known as dumu-sag-^{d}en-lil2-la2[17] "chief son" or "eldest son of Enlil," an epithet very frequently applied to him throughout the Ur-III and Old-Babylonian periods. This relationship to Enlil had an effect on the formation of the moon-god's character; for it conferred upon him a very high status within the pantheon and determined certain character traits which the god otherwise would not have had.[18] His role as the young offspring of Enlil and Ninlil was discussed above.

His genealogical connection with An, the sky-god, was also important in the formulation of this character; for through this connection his role as moon-god with all of its celestial associations was emphasized. To be

linked with the highest authority in the pantheon also established the moon-god's status as one of the major deities of the pantheon.[19] According to literary sources Nanna/Suen received his power and his prerogatives directly from both An and Enlil through a sort of divine delegation of duties. This transference of power is a common motif in hymns. An is sometimes depicted as conferring upon the moon-god the me's[20] or the "shepherdship of the land" (nam-sipa-kalam-ma).[21] Enlil shares the power to decide fates (nam-tar)[22] with his son. Perhaps the best expression of this transference of power is found in the prologue to the law-code of Urnammu.[23] Here both An and Enlil are described as granting Nanna the kingship of Ur. Thus, though Nanna/Suen was a major deity of the pantheon, he was part of a theological hierarchy and his ultimate authority was derived from the two highest gods, An and Enlil. Political motivations may have had some influence on the formulation of this theological hierarchy, especially during the Ur-III period when the dominance of Ur would have made the close association of Nanna with the great gods, An and Enlil, desirable. Many of the literary references which allude to the delegation of authority from An and Enlil may have had their origin in the Ur-III period.

The moon-god's relationship with his spouse, Ningal, also had an influence on the nature of his

character. As I mentioned above, the erotic side of Nanna's character is frequently displayed in contexts in which he is paired with Ningal. The sexual nature of his relationship with Ningal is reminiscent of the erotic interplay between Dumuzi and Inanna.

The last type of concept associated with the moon-god's character is that which can be defined by Nanna/Suen's relationship to man. In this category belongs the notion of the moon-god as "father" (a-a),[24] a concept which in literary texts refers to the moon-god's relationship to his city and its inhabitants. As the tutelary deity responsible for the prosperity and welfare of all aspects of city life, the moon-god is very much like a father who is the provider of the needs of his family and the protector of its welfare. In this capacity Nanna/Suen takes on the persona of a general fertility god; one who insures the fertility and proliferation not only of the herds, but of all living things: the fish in the waterways, the birds in the air, the croplands and their produce, wildlife, animal herds, and ultimately, man himself. In his role as fertility god Nanna/Suen is often envisioned as riding a boat along the flood waters of the river which bring natural irrigation and fertility to the crop lands; the crescent moon as the manifestation of the moon-god is seen as the boat of heaven because its shape (in the Middle East the cusps of the crescent moon are almost parallel to the horizon) was very much like the shape of Sumerian river

boats. This role is well illustrated in the myth "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur" in which the moon-god makes a river journey by boat to Nippur to bring back to Ur all the fruits of prosperity which he receives from his father, Enlil. This same topos of fertility also occurs in hymns to the moon-god.[25]

Other concepts which express Nanna/Suen's relationship to man are the many titular epithets which define the moon-god's authority, power, and status. Such epithets as en, lugal, both of which denote different types of authority and can be loosely rendered as "lord," ur-sag "heroic warrior," nun "prince" all define the moon-god's relationship to man as that of powerful overlord to his subjects and divine defender of his city. These concepts are applied to most of the major gods of the pantheon and merely express the difference in status and power between the gods and men.[26]

These four basic types of concepts taken together may be said to define the vast majority of notions connected with the moon-god in textual sources. Nearly all of the phraseology associated with the moon-god is expressive of one or more of the characteristics alluded to above. Ultimately, all of these concepts originated in the fundamental symbol of the crescent moon, which both as a literary image and as an intellectual notion generated a great number of interconnected concepts on may connotational levels. The god who was identified

with the natural phenomenon of the moon was thought to embody the power to renew life as manifested in the moon's ever-renewing cycles and could bestow this power of continuous fertility and generation on all creatures.

The Cult of the Moon-God at Ur

The cult of the moon-god at Ur has been a major topic of interest throughout this study. In as far as the cult is the outward manifestation and expression of the netword of concepts associated with the character of the moon-god, it is an indispensible part of this study. Since the cult was the area where man could interact with the moon-god, an examination of the cult can reveal a good deal about how the ancient inhabitants of Ur perceived the moon-god and what his significance was in relation to his city. I have concentrated on the moon-god's cult at Ur because this site was the major cultic center of the moon-god through much of the historical period covered in this dissertation.[27] The site also has yielded a rich store of documentation pertaining to the cult of the moon-god; furthermore, archaeological excavations have revealed much useful information about the layout of the temple complex there.

It must be emphasized that not every aspect of the cult life in Ur has been covered in this study. A great many deities, numerous temples, shrines, personnel, paraphernalia, and rites were involved in the daily workings of the cult at Ur. It was beyond the confines

of this dissertation and not directly pertinant to it to study every aspect of these large-scale cultic activities. Only those features which directly involved the moon-god have been examined. As has been the case throughout this study, most of the evidence was taken from textual sources. I also occasionally referred to the archaeological evidence when this could clarify or support the texutal data.

Cult as it is defined here consists of rituals, festivals, prayers, offerings, cultic paraphernalia, and personnel. These terms are used in their broadest possible sense and encompass a wide range of phenomena. I have presented a complete definition of cult, in Chapter 1 (section 3.1) and in the introduction to Chapter 5.

The salient point which has stood out in my analysis of the cult at Ur in all periods is the fact that the same overall cultic system was consistently used from age to age. One notes the resurgence of cultic tradition in the face of even the most sweeping political changes. Offerings are made according to a prescribed regimen, the same monthly holidays and seasonal festivals are consistently celebrated, specific rites are regularly performed, and the En-priestesses of the moon-god are continuously appointed. Even the fragmentary evidence from the earlier periods indicates the existence of traditions which are more fully documented in later periods. Thus, in the following

review of the evidence for the cult of the moon-god at Ur certain features of the cult will be frequently noted.

The first event of major importance for the cult of the moon-god was the appointment in the Sargonic period of the first known En-priestess of the moon-god at Ur, Enḫeduanna. She or her father Sargon founded a cultic institution which lasted for about 500 years.[28] She left a considerable impression on Sumerian literature, for many major compositions including a fragmentary hymn to the moon-god, all of which survive only in Old-Babylonian versions, were ascribed to her.[29] Whether the details of the cult described in the hymn to the moon-god date back to her day is uncertain since it is not known how faithfully Old-Babylonian editions transmitted earlier traditions.[30] In any case, the acts she is involved in include putting the washing rites in order, carrying a ritual offering basket, singing, and restoring the Gipar for Ningal, the residence of the En-priestesses at Ur.[31] The En-priestess was probably responsible for maintaining and restoring the Gipar when it fell into disrepair; much later the En-priestess Enanedu also describes her own restoration of the Gipar.[32]

Enḫeduanna as well as many later En-priestesses of the moon-god called herself "the wife of Nanna" (dam-^{d}nanna) and used the title EN-MUNUS-NUNUZ-ZI-^{d}NANNA. The

significance of the title is not known.[33] The designation "wife of Nanna" may indicate that the En-priestess identified herself with Ningal. This is supported by the fact that her residence, the Gipar, was called the temple of Ningal. Whether the connection of the En-priestess with Ningal may be used to support the much-disputed "sacred marriage" ceremony is uncertain. The evidence for such a ceremony at Ur is slim.[34] An obscure passage from Šulgi G implies that the king was sired by the moon-god in the Ekur temple in Nippur; an En-priestess is described as the king's mother.[35] It seems unlikely that the En-priestess in this context is the En-priestess of the moon-god since there are many indications that the En-priestess was the daughter of the king. What relation the cultic act described in Šulgi G, if it is more than just a literary device, has to the cult of the moon-god is uncertain.

The florescence of the cult of the moon-god at Ur occurred in the Ur-III period. The kings of the Ur-III dynasty undertook large-scale building projects in the city and gave to the temple complex its essential character, which remained relatively unchanged throughout the history of Mesopotamia. The extent of the cultic activity in this age is well attested not only in the archaeological record, but also in the numerous votive inscriptions which record the many pious deeds which the kings performed in the service of the moon-god.[36] In addition, a great mass of administrative

tablets document the ritual of daily offerings to the deities and cult shrines of Ur, among which Nanna and his temple take a central place.[37] Indirectly, literary texts also attest to the flurry of creative activity in this age, though most of the texts which refer to the Ur-III dynasty come from the later Old-Babylonian period.[38] Based on this evidence a rough notion of cultic activities at the city of Ur during this period can be pieced together.

The center of cultic activities was of course the temple of Nanna called the e2-^{d}nanna in administrative texts, but more often referred to in literary texts and inscriptions as the e2-kiš-nu-gal2. Though the focal point of this temple was undoubtedly the ziggurat, it is uncertain where the shrine housing the statue of the moon-god was precisely located. Archaeological evidence suggests that somewhere along the northwest side of the first tier of the ziggurat lay a shrine, probably dedicated to the moon-god.[39] A shrine at the top of the ziggurat, of which there are no longer any archaeological remains, may also have been the dwelling of the moon-god.[40] Nanna's shrine, wherever it was located, contained a bed chamber near to which was a copper water vessel which seems to have been a significant part of the cult paraphernalia associated with the moon-god. It is mentioned in the "Lamentation over Sumer and Ur" as an object which "no man was ever

to see";[41] and in an inscription of Ibbisuen it is associated with a mouth-opening ceremony for the statue of the moon-god and is part of a purification ritual performed during the New-Year's festival.[42] Some kind of water vessel is consistently mentioned in connection with the moon-god in many references in literature, inscriptions, and in year-dates.[43] What significance and function the vessel or vessels had is unclear.[44]

Within the large temple complex dedicated to Nanna with its many ancillary shrines, offerings were regularly made to the temple of Nanna itself and to other deities and shrines which were a part of the cult of Ur. For the most part it is difficult, if not impossible, to identify the shrines mentioned in texts with concrete locales on the excavation site of Ur.[45] The evidence for identifying the places and objects mentioned in Ur-III offering texts with real archaeological finds has been reviewed in Chapter 5. But as mentioned above, it is not even certain whether the offerings to Nanna were made at the top of the ziggurat, at a shrine on the northwest side, or somewhere else.

A glimpse into the system of cultic offerings to various deities and shrines was provided by a corpus of royal offering texts dating to the reign of Ibbisuen.[46] These texts revealed that the king played a major role in the daily workings of the cult. Specific kinds and even quantities of royal offerings were regularly made on monthly holidays, the first, seventh, and fifteenth

day of the month being of special importance, perhaps because they corresponded to major phases of the moon (new moon, quarter moon, full moon). On these days festivals called eš3-eš3 were held during which a great number and variety of hymns were sung to the accompaniment of musical instruments.[47]

Both literary and administrative texts indicate that the moon-god received a morning and evening meal. According to a Šulgi text the king himself presents the morning meal to the moon-god in a special bowl called bur-nun.[48] Whether this was a daily duty or an occasional one is not known. A bowl (also called bur) is frequently mentioned in the Ibbisuen royal offering texts as one of the cult objects receiving offerings.[49] This bowl may have served the same cultic function as the one referred to in the Šulgi text.

The king also played a major role in large seasonal festivals. At harvest time, the beginning of the new year, he led a procession on behalf of Nanna from Ur to Nippur in order to present the first fruits of the harvest to Enlil. In return, the father of Nanna was thought to bestow on his son, on the king, and on the city of Ur prosperity in the coming year. In some references the king himself heads the procession; in others the moon-god is depicted as personally travelling to and from Nippur. This may indicate that the cult statue of Nanna was actually taken along on the

journey.[50]

Another festival that the king played a part in was the Akiti festival. This usually took place six months after the harvest, at seed time, but is also occasionally attested at harvest time. It was a strictly local festival involving Ur and its environs. The major feature was a procession partly on land, partly by boat in which the statue of the moon-god was transported from his temple in Ur to a temple in a rural outlying district known as Gaeš or Karzida. Here the god remained for some days until he was brought back by another procession to the main temple in Ur. The event included various offerings by the king, some of them made at night. The ceremony seems to have been performed in order to insure the prosperity of the crops at planting time (and sometimes at harvest time).[51]

The Akiti festival may have been instituted by Šulgi; for in his ninth year he claims to have introduced Nanna into the temple in Karzida. The importance of the festival and of the area of Gaeš/Karzida seems to have increased significantly during the reign of Šulgi's successor, Amarsuen. He built another Gipar in this area and installed a separate En-priestess to serve Nanna of Gaeš/Karzida. A hymn to the temple of Nanna at this location probably dates back to Amarsuen's reign.[52]

Under Šu-suen a new cult feature was added to the main temple complex of Ur. This was a temple dedicated

to the moon-god under the obscure name of ^{d}nanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak. The god by this name is connected with ^{d}alamuš and ^{d}nisaba in offering texts. These two deities were associated with the storehouse and its products; so it seems probable that the fertility aspect of Nanna's character was emphasized in this temple.[53]

Purification rites of one sort or another are also frequently mentioned in textual sources as a feature of the cult at Ur. They involved the king and a variety of deities. According to one administrative text the king had a separate "house of purification" built at Ur. It is not clear what the significance of ritual purification was. There is some indication that the ritual was performed on the days of the eš$_3$-eš$_3$ festivals.[54]

Besides the king and the En-priestess, whose roles in the cult have been discussed, there were quite a number of other cultic functionaries at Ur. The gudu$_4$, lu$_2$-šu-luḫ, and išib were all somehow involved in purification rites, but beyond this fact practically nothing is known about them. The lu$_2$-maḫ is connected in one reference with the gi-gun$_4$-na, in another with the Gipar.[55] What little is known about other cultic functionaries is discussed in Chapter 5 sub Personnel.

With the collapse of the Ur-III dynasty and the sack of Ur the cult of the moon-god went into a sudden and precipitous decline. Towards the end of Ibbisuen's

reign as the king was losing his grip on the kingdom the cult became a pawn in the power struggle between Ibbisuen and Išbierra. In a letter from Puzuršulgi, the governor of Kazallu, to Ibbisuen the governor reports how Išbierra claimed that he would perform the eš3-eš3 festivals, install his own cult personnel in the Gipar, and would offer prayers to his own deities before Nanna in the Ekišnugal.[56] The letter clearly demonstrates how cultic activities could mingle with politics. By claiming to perform all of the cultic acts normally reserved for the king, Išbierra was indicating that he had received divine approval to assume the kingship; these cultic acts were symbolic not only of divine approval, but of legitimation and real political power.

The ultimate calamity occurred when Ur was invaded by the Elamites and the statue of the moon-god was abducted to Elam. Fortunately, the kings of Isin were quick to restore order. King Šulišu is credited with defeating the Elamites and returning the statue of Nanna to its temple in Ur.[57] He and succeeding kings moved to repair and rebuild the city of the moon-god. They not only restored the old shrines; in many cases, they surpassed them with new structures. Archaeological excavations as well as inscriptions attest to the fact that the city flourished once again under the Isin-Larsa kings.[58] Besides the many building projects undertaken by these kings, En-priestesses of the moon-god continued to be appointed. The ritual of daily offerings to

various deities and shrines continued in this age, though the source material for the Old-Babylonian period does not concern royal offerings (as in the Ur-III period), but expenditures of the granary of Nanna and the storehouse of the temple of Ningal. The tablets which record these offerings come from the Larsa period dating from the reign of Gungunum to Rīmsîn.[59] Though these texts come from a different area of the temple complex and the nature of the expenditures are different from the Ur-III offering texts, the organizational principles in each corpus of texts is basically the same. Like the Ur-III offerings specific quantities and kinds of offerings are consistently presented to deities, to shrines, and for festivals. They demonstrate that there was a prescribed regimen for the feeding of the gods and caring for the cultic needs of the temple complex, just as there was in the Ur-III period.

The observance of the $\underline{e\check{s}_3}$-$\underline{e\check{s}_3}$ festivals on the same monthly holidays is also mentioned on other Old-Babylonian offering texts from Ur; an extra $\underline{e\check{s}_3}$-$\underline{e\check{s}_3}$ holiday held on the 25th day of the month appears to have been added in this period.[60] The texts also record offerings for regular meals for the gods. The water vessel associated with Nanna's cult paraphernalia in the preceding age is also used in this period. It is mentioned in year-dates of Gungunum and Rīmsîn.[61]

The cultic role of the king in the Old-Babylonian

period appears to be quite similar to that of his Ur-III counterparts. Literary texts tell of cultic processions from Ur to Nippur to offer the first fruits of the harvest by kings Nūradad and Sîniddinam.[62] As mentioned above, Išbierra claimed to perform the cermonies of the eš3-eš3 festivals.[63] A complete review of the role of other cultic personnel in this period has been made by J. Renger, ZA 58, pp. 114-134; ZA 59, pp. 104-230.

Thus, it appears that the whole cultic apparatus used in this period was largely a continuation of the preceding age.

NOTES

1. For a list of the sites in each period see Chapter 4, synopses at the end of sections 1-4.

2. See Th. Jacobsen, P. Delougaz, OIP 53. Chicago, 1940.

3. Eannatum "Stele of the Vultures," col. 20, 1, 10; 21, 6; 22, 5, 8; 23, 5; see H. Steible, H. Behrens, FAOS 5/1, pp. 120ff.; see Chapter 4, section 1. There are also several personal names from Lagash containing the name Suen; see Chapter 3, section 1.

4. See Chapter 2 and 3.

5. See Chapter 7 sub šul.

6. See Chapter 6, section III B 1.1; 1.3; and 1.14.

7. See my discussion of "Enlil and Ninlil" in Chapter 6, section III B 3.2.

8. See CAD, vol. 5 (G), p. 115.

9. See Chapter 8, section I, 3: Ningal.

10. Cf. N. Schneider, AnOr 19, p. 72, 545.

11. On the moon-god's function as a time referrent see my discussions sub Chapter 6, section III A 2.4, Šulgi E, 32; section III B 1.5; section IV 3.5, No. 4B, rev. 16; see also Chapter 5: Summary of Textual Evidence and Conclusions; Chapter 7 sub iti.

12. See Chapter 5: Summary of Textual Evidence and Conclusions.

13. The references from literary texts which suggest mythological connotations are discussed in Chapter 6, section III B 1.5.

14. See my discussion of amar and mu2-mu2 in Chapter 7.

15. See Chapter 7 sub amar and si-mah, si-mu2, si-mul(-mul), si-un3-na. See Chapter 6, section III B for the frequent attestation of the moon-god in connection with cattle herds.

16. Eannatum "Stele of the Vultures" col. 20, 1-3; FAOS 5/1, pp. 120ff.; see Chapter 4 sub Presargonic period.

17. See Chapter 4, section 3, Ur-III period and Chapter 7 sub dumu.

18. See Chapter 8 section I 1: son of Enlil and Ninlil.

19. See Chapter 7 sub dumu-an-na and Chapter 8, section I 2: relationship to An.

20. See Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 35, obv. 5 and discussion in Chapter 6, section III B 1-3.

21. See Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, p. 15, 49.

22. See Chapter 7 sub nam-tar.

23. See Chapter 6, section III A 1: Urnammu.

24. See Chapter 7 sub a-a.

25. See Å. Sjöberg Mondgott, pp. 44-54 and my discussion in Chapter 6, sections IV 1; III B 3.2; III B 1.8.

26. See Chapter 7: Introduction.

27. Other cult sites where the moon-god was revered were Tutub and Nippur. See Chapter 3, 4, and 5 for information on other cult sites.

28. See my discussion of munus(-zi)-zi-^{d}nanna in Chapter 4 sub Presargonic and Sargonic period for the possibility that the office of En-priestess was already in existence at Ur in the Presargonic period.

29. See Chapter 6, section II (Sargonic period) for a survey of the literature attributed to Enḫeduanna.

30. See the introduction to Chapter 6 for a discussion of the problems involved in the evaluation of literary texts.

31. See Chapter 9 for a complete treatment of TuM NF IV, 7, iii 7–iv 19, the text ascribed to Enḫeduanna; cf. Chapter 6, section II: Sargonic period.

32. Rīmsîn Inscription 8; cf. Chapter 4, section 4: Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period.

33. See Chapter 4, note 26.

34. Cf. Th. Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness, pp. 125–126; S.N. Kramer, PAPS 107, pp. 485–527; The Sacred Marriage Rite; J. Renger, J. Cooper, RlA 4, pp. 251–269; J. Klein, Three Šulgi Hymns, pp. 32–33, n. 48.

35. Šulgi G, 15–18; see my discussion in Chapter 6, section III A 2.6: Šulgi G.

36. See Ur Excavations, vol. 5 and vol. 6 for archaeological evidence; cf. Chapter 5 sub II, 2: Archaeological Evidence. See Chapter 4: Ur-III period for inscriptions.

37. See Chapter 5.

38. See Chapter 6, Introduction and section III: Ur-III period.

39. See Chapter 5, Part II, section 2: Archaeological Evidence.

40. This shrine is probably the one known as the ni-

gun4-na in literary texts; see CAD vol. 5 (G), pp. 67-70 sub gigunû; cf. Chapter 5, Part II, section 2: Archaeological Evidence.

41. See Lamentation over Sumer and Ur, 446-447 (Ms. P. Michalowski, University Museum), cf. Šulgi G, 14.

42. Ibbisuen Inscription A 9-10, 23-26; cf. Chapter 4, section 3: Ur-III period.

43. See, for example, Gudea Cyl. A, xxi, 18 (bugin-dnanna); UET 6/1 67, 1, 11, 40, 43, 45 (alal = AB x A); cf. Chapter 9 sub UET 6/1, 67; Gungunum year-date 10; Rîmsîn year-date 23 (both year-dates have alal = SID x A); cf. Chapter 4, section 5: Year-Dates; see Chapter 9 sub UET 6/1, 67, commentary to line 1 for reading AB x A as alal.

44. Cf. Th. Jacobsen's interpretation in The Treasures of Darkness, p. 124.

45. See my discussion of "Lamentation over Sumer and Ur" in Chapter 6, section IV 2.1 for other features of the temple complex at Ur.

46. See Chapter 5.

47. See my discussions of Šulgi A, Šulgi E, and the Letter of PuzurŠulgi to Ibbisuen in Chapter 6, sections III A 2.1; 2.4; and 5.6.

48. Šulgi V, 24-25; see Chapter 6, section III A 2.10.

49. See Chapter 5, Table II.

50. See my discussion of Šulgi F. 10-18 and 69-77; and Šulgi O, 5; and "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur" in Chapter 6, sections III A 2.5; 2.8; and III B 3.1.

51. See Chapter 5, Part II, section 3.2: Akiti festival.

52. See Chapter 6, section III A 3: Amarsuen.

53. See Chapter 5, Part II, section 3.3: dnanna-mu-ri-a-na-ba-ak and Chapter 8, IV: Alamuš and Nisaba.

54. See Chapter 5, Part II, section 3.3: Purification Rituals.

55. See Lamentation over Ur, 352 and Letter of Puzuršulgi to Ibbisuen 21.

56. See my discussion of the Letter of Puzuršulgi to Ibbisuen in Chapter 6, section III A 5.6.

57. Šuilīšu 1; see Chapter 4, section 4: Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period.

58. See UE 5 for archaeological evidence; see Chapter 4, synopsis of Isin-Larsa/Old-Babylonian period at the end of section 4 for inscriptional evidence.

59. See H. Figulla, Iraq 15, pp. 88-122 and 171-192; cf. Chapter 5, Part III.

60. Cf. UET 507 and UET 3, 270; cf. B. Levine, W.W. Hallo, HUCA 38, pp. 17-58; see also CAD, vol. 4, p. 373 sub essešu.

61. See note 43.

62. See JCS 19, pp. 1-25; cf. Chapter 6, section IV, 3.6: Nūradad and 3.8: Sîniddinam.

63. See note 56.

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INDEX

a-a 625

^{d}ab$_2$-kara$_2$ 626

aga 627

alal 823

alam-^{d}amar-^{d}suen 323-324

^{d}alamuš 745

a-lugal 626

am 631-632

amar 632-634

^{d}ama-ra-a-zu 744

^{d}ama-ra-ḫe$_2$-ag$_2$-e 744

amar-bar$_3$-da 100; 620; 632

an 728

a nu-gi$_4$ -a 634

^{d}aš-im$_2$-babbar 42-43

ag$_2$-tal$_2$-tal$_2$ 635

a-tu$_5$ 135; 342-343

bugin 108

bur 296; 324; 432

dalla-e$_3$ 636-638

dub-lag$_2$-maḫ 278; 321; 405

dug-šakir$_3$ 838-839

dumu-an-na 643; 728

dumu-nun 646-647

dumu-sag-
^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ 647-649

du$_6$-ur$_2$ 318-319

e$_2$-kiš-nu-gal$_2$ 317-318

e$_3$ 642-643

en 650-654

en-an-e-du$_7$ 192-193

en-an-na-tum$_2$ 175-176

^{d}en-bi-lu-lu 734-735

^{d}en-ki 732

^{d}en-lil$_2$ 726

EN-MUNUS-NUNUZ-(ME-)
^{d}NANNA 108; 175

en-nin-sun$_2$-zi 146; 176

ensi$_2$ 654-655

en-šag$_3$-
ki-ag$_2$-^{d}nanna 181

eš$_3$-eš$_3$ 261-267; 287-311; 418-420

^{d}ga-a-a-u$_2$ 746-747

ga-eš$_5^{ki}$ 132-133; 332-341

gakkul 774

gal-zu 656

gi-ma-sa$_2$-ab 398; 775

gi6-du10-du10 656

giri17-/kiri4-zal 667-671

giskim-ti 656-657

giš-nu11(-gal) 657-658

gu2-gal/ku6-gal2 671-672

gu2-me-er-me-re 658-659

gu4 659

dḫa-ya3 319-320; 747-748

ḫe2-du7 659-662

ḫi-li 662-663

igi-dagal 663-664

IGI-DU-da-nun-na-ke4-ne 664

i-lim 665-666

dinanna 736-737

diškur 744

iti, iti6 666-669

iti-iti-da mu2-mu2 198

kur-ra tu-da-ni 672

lugal 672-674

ma2-gur8 413-414; 675-677

ma2-nisag-ga2 421

maš2-sag 677

me-a-am 681

men 627-631

me-te 678-679

mu-LU 681

mu2-mu2 679-681

mu-nu10 681

mu6-sub3 681

dMUŠ-IR-ḪA-GEŠTIN-BALAG-DU 748-749

muš3 681-682

na-de6 682

na-gada-maḫ 682

namra ṣīt 45; 536

nam-tar 682-684

nam2-nun 684-686

Nergal 734-735

ne3-gal tuku 686

ni3-na 325

dnin-a-zu 744

dnin-DAR-a 752

dnin-e2-gal-la 743-744

dnin-e2-i3-ga 746

dnin-gal 730

dnin-gublaga 737-740

dnin-ḫur-sag 731-732

dnin-ku3-nun-na 751-752

dnin-lil2 726-728

dnin-unu 750-751

dnin-uri2ki-ma 749-750

nir-gal2 687-689

dnisaba 747-748

ni3-si-sa2(-e) ki-ag2 686-687

dnu-muš-da 742-743

nun 689-690

^{d}nun-bar-an-na 752

sag-gal 691

sag-il$_2$ 692-693

sag-kal 692

še-er-zi 697-698

si-mah 693-695

si-mu$_2$ 693-695

si-mul 694

sipa 161

siskur 268-282; 295-304

si-un$_3$-na 694-695

su$_6$-za-gin$_3$-la$_2$/
-su$_3$-su$_3$ 697

sud-DU-ag$_2$ 695-696

šul 699-700

^{d}šu-ni-du$_{10}$/-du$_7$ 746-747

u$_4$ 702-707

ubur-an-na-ke$_4$
si-sa$_2$-e-de$_3$ 709

u$_6$-di 707-709

udul 712

u$_3$-na 700-701

u$_4$-na$_2$-a 479-480

ur-sag 710

u$_{18}$-ru/uru$_{16}$ 710-711

u$_3$-sun$_2$-zi 701

u$_4$-te-eš 706

^{d}utu 740-742

za$_3$-dib 712

zi-šag$_3$-gal$_2$-
kalam-ma 714