

### Foundation Rites for a New Temple

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The building of a new temple was a very solemn enterprise, for the actual erection of the building was in some ways the least hazardous part of the undertaking. The scanty evidence for the rites of foundation of temples indicates that every new temple, as distinct from a mere shrine or chapel, was founded in accordance with precisely ordained rites. The earliest and most renowned of these sacred edifices was the temple of the god Enki at Eridu, believed to be based in (or on) the *Abzu* <sup>(1)</sup>, the ocean of the Lower World. Later temples were founded in conformity with "the ordinances and ritual of Eridu" <sup>(2)</sup>. Kings of Larsa expressly state that they carefully complied with those ordinances when they built temples for the deities Nannar, Ilabrat (Ninshubur), and Ninsianna <sup>(3)</sup>. Therefore when a temple is said to be like the temple of the Abyss, or some comparison with that famous sanctuary is made <sup>(4)</sup>, it does not imply that the architectural aspect of the temple at Eridu was reproduced, but that in the construction of the later building all the rules laid down at Eridu were faithfully observed.

Even if it is not so stated, it seems probable that it was always supposed to be in obedience to the expressed wish of the divinity that the project to erect a new temple was undertaken, just as Gudea explains that in a dream Ningirsu instructed him to build a new and

<sup>(1)</sup> BE XXXI, 20 and other fragmentary texts, see Kramer, *Sumer. Mythology*, pp. 62-3, 116, note 60.

<sup>(2)</sup> PBS XIII, No. 35, Obv. 11-18; Zimmern, SKL No. 100, Obv. 10-13; *Code of Hammurabi* I: 66-II: 1.

<sup>(3)</sup> Gadd and Legrain, URI, p. 37, No. 131, Col. I: 12-13, p. 39, No. 138, l. 14, p. 41, No. 140, l. 21. See Urninurta, SAK, p. 204, l. 6, duplicate, UVB I, p. 51, No. 6.

<sup>(4)</sup> Gudea, Cyl. A, 10: 15-16, 24: 20, 26, 27: 1; Cyl. B, 5: 7; St. B, 4: 7-9

better Eninnu, and as Samsuiluna was commanded by Shamash, and Waradsin by Nannar<sup>(1)</sup>.

Before beginning to build, the protective divinities of the various parts of the edifice had to be convoyed by ship from Eridu, and this task could not be performed by the earthly builder. It can be readily understood why the deity who wished to have a new temple had to go in person to lay before Enki his request for the protective divinities who would be needed. The fact that reference is often made in texts to the ship of some particular deity does not necessarily imply that the vessel referred to was employed exclusively for the mission to Eridu, for the gods used boats for various purposes. The "heavenly ships" to which the task of transporting the guardian divinities was assigned must have been specially constructed. Phrases in the texts reveal that the ship for the purpose was wide to accommodate so many passengers, and was covered to protect them from the inclemencies of the weather.

There are reasons to think that when a temple was finished, and all the divine guardians installed in their proper places, a model of the ship on which they had travelled was dedicated in the completed edifice in gratitude for the good augury it had brought, and as a token that all the prescribed rites had been performed. If the time-lag were not so great it would be tempting to suggest that the "Boat-Shrine" in the Neo-Babylonian precinct of Nannar at Ur<sup>(2)</sup> was an elaborate, large-scaled dedication of that nature; it was located in such a way that the temple of Nannar, the divine owner of the cult site, was counterbalanced by a sanctuary which was not precisely a "Boat-Shrine", but a chapel of all the divinities who were transferred from Eridu to guard the temple of the Moon-god, and it contained a model of the boat on which they had made the voyage.

A dedication of Gudea is inscribed on a stone base which can be shown to have been the socle of the model of a ship<sup>(3)</sup>. The inscription invokes Enlil and specifies that Gudea dedicated for the god's house Duranki "the wide ship of Ekur" (ll. 8-9). It has been

(1) Gudea, Cyl. A, 1:17-22, 5:12, 9:5-6, 12:13-15, 20:8; S. Smith, RA XXI, (1924), p. 77, B. M. 115039, Col. II:35-7; Gadd and Legrain, URI, p. 37, No. 131, Col. II: 30-32; Lambert et Tournay, *Rev. Bibl. LV* (1948), p. 406.

(2) Woolley, *Ur Excav. V: The Ziggurat*, pp. 67-8, Pl. 78.

(3) Unger, *Publik. der kgl. osmanischen Museen I*, p. 30; Hilprecht, *Explor. in Bible Lands*, pp. 473-4.

suggested that "the ship of Ekur" was probably the same as that named in a list of four ships given in K. 4338. Another of the four was "the festival ship of the goddess Bau" (1). Gudea relates that before ever he started work on the temple of Bau at Lagash he took care that "her beloved boat", complete with captain and crew (2), should be moored at the quay ready for her departure to Eridu. What may have been a model of that ship was set up in the part of the portico of the goddess Bau which was called "the place of counsels" (3). That particular spot was probably chosen because it was the meeting-place of the Anunna (4), who were one of the largest groups of the divine beings transferred from Eridu on the ship (5), and who, in addition to being guardians, were also judges (6).

A hymn describes how Enki embarked on a "heavenly ship" laden with an immense number of tutelary divinities and sacred objects, and proceeded by water to Nippur to found Ekur, the temple of the god Enlil (7). The goddess Innina also sailed from Eridu on a "heavenly ship" with a heavy cargo of protective spirits and cult objects necessary to found her temple Eanna at Uruk (8). On his way to implore the goddess Nanshe to interpret his dream Gudea stopped at the temple Bagar to pray to Ningirsu. Among other petitions he formulated a wish that Nanshe, "the Child of Eridu, thy sister of Sirara", might be induced to set foot in her ship which was drawn up in the canal which formed the waterway linking the temple of Ningirsu with that of Nanshe (9). Like a melancholy refrain

(1) K. 4338, Col. V:39, Landsberger, *Kult. Kal.*, p. 52, note 5.

(2) Gudea, St. D. 3:3-10.

(3) Gudea, Cyl. A, 26:12-14; Brick G, 10-12.

(4) Gudea, Cyl. A, 27:14-15.

(5) Poebel, PBS V, No. 25, Obv. II:41,63.

(6) Lutz, PBS I, 2, No. 144, Obv. 12; *Ishtar's Descent to Hades*, Rev. 33, 37; Clay, *Babyl. Records* IV, p. 36, Fragment of *Etana Epic*, l. 1; Jensen, KB VI, 1, p. 583, K. 2609:9-10.

(7) Witzel, *AnOr.* 4 (1932), No. 2, p. 25 = Langdon, PBS X, 2, Pl. VII, pp. 112-15, No. 4562, Col. III:2-8. Cf. Lutz, PBS I, 2, No. 144, CBS. 14152, Obv. 10, 12; Chiera, SRT No. 11:15.

(8) Witzel, *op. cit.*, No. 4, pp. 56 ff. = PBS V, No. 25, Obv. II and III.

(9) Gudea, Cyl. A, 2:4-5, 16-19, 4:3-4; Thureau-Dangin, SAK, pp. 90, 92. M. Lambert et R. Tournay (*Le Cylindre "A" de Gudea: Rev. Bibl.* LV (1948), p. 409) translate the passages differently and interpret them as referring to Gudea's peregrinations in a boat from temple to temple

he repeats this wish twice, thereby proving how troubled he was about the matter. Apparently he had undertaken to build a new temple for the goddess, but for some reason she had delayed her departure on the heavenly ship which had long lain idly at the quay, and thus she had impeded the start of the work upon her temple. She must have been at length persuaded to embark upon her errand to Eridu, for among his other pious deeds Gudea was at last able to record that for Nanshe, his Lady, he built her temple Esirara<sup>(1)</sup>. Moreover, as testimony of the voyage he says that he set up (a model of) "the heavenly ship, the emblem of the goddess Nanshe"<sup>(2)</sup>. What happened on the voyage to Eridu on this or a similar occasion is told in a hymn extolling the goddess Nanshe (Ninā) which is known from two copies, both defective<sup>(3)</sup>; for that reason the name of the temple concerned and the purpose of the voyage are not clearly explained. As, however, the ship is described as a "festive ship", "a splendid ship, a ship of happy dreams (augury?)"<sup>(4)</sup>, and as mention is made of building the "house" (temple) of the goddess and of its "sure foundations"<sup>(5)</sup> it may be assumed that the voyage celebrated was that of the goddess Nanshe, guided and escorted by "the fishes of the sea", to Eridu preparatory to the erection of her temple. The second part of the chant evidently lauded the return journey because the heavenly ship is said to be "richly laden", "with treasures laden"<sup>(6)</sup>. We are expressly told that it was "a covered ship"<sup>(7)</sup>, so that the divine passengers should not be inconvenienced by sun or rain.

Before work on Eninnu was begun Ningirsu went to the temple of the *Abzu* at Eridu, and returned thence<sup>(8)</sup>. There was even a

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seeking divine aid to solve his problems. This interpretation is logical and makes admirable sense. Nevertheless, as the earlier interpretation also makes good sense and agrees perfectly with the evidence from other sources, it has been adopted as the basis for this discussion.

(1) Gudea, Brick H, 1:1-5; St. I, 1:3, Mace-head C, 7-9.

(2) Gudea, Cyl. A, 14:23.

(3) IOM, Scheil, RA XV (1918), pp. 127-34; VAT 7025, Zimmern, SKL No. 199; Falkenstein, ZA N.F. 13 (1942), pp. 219-20; Witzel, AnOr 10 (1935), pp. 422-34, Nos. 60, 61.

(4) IOM, Rev. 14; 16-17.

(5) *Ibid.*, Obv. 18, 20.

(6) *Ibid.*, Rev. 15, 22.

(7) *Ibid.*, Rev. 21.

(8) Gudea, Cyl. A, 2:11; Cyl. B, 3:9, 5:7, 8:13, 15.

divine travel-agent who was appointed to make sure that the voyage should be safe and comfortable <sup>(1)</sup>. That was an essential precaution, for a text containing a series of omens gives a lugubrious account of the misadventures which might happen on the voyage <sup>(2)</sup>, and which, if they should do so, would irretrievably jeopardize the plans for the building. There seems reason to think that when Ningirsu went to Eridu the god Enki not only permitted whatever would be required to found Eninnu to be embarked on the ship, but himself accompanied the voyagers to Lagash. This inference may be drawn from details mentioned in the texts; for instance, Enki's presence at Lagash is attested before any work on the building began; he purified the site and foundations with the ritual "purity of Eridu" <sup>(3)</sup>, he gave advice, helped to make the ground-plan, and predicted the destiny of the projected temple <sup>(4)</sup>. Moreover, in one passage Gudea compares various parts of Eninnu, and draws a parallel between a certain object difficult to explain and "the sacred antelope of the deep" <sup>(5)</sup>. The "Antelope of the Deep" was the name of the heavenly ship of Enki, as shown by the date-formula for the second year of the reign of Gimilsin, King of Ur <sup>(6)</sup>. This fact suggests that Enki made the voyage in his own ship, and that a model of it or of some part of it, such as the high prow, was dedicated in Eninnu to commemorate the happy augury brought to Lagash by a ship which bounded like an antelope over the waters. As the evidence seems to prove that Enki went to both Nippur and Lagash when new sanctuaries were founded at those places, it is possible that whenever a god came to Eridu to request protective divinities Enki always accompanied the migrating party to make sure that the ritual for the foundation was properly carried out.

*Makurru*, *makua*, was not the name of a boat, but was a generic term to denote the particular type of ship which transported deities to and from Eridu. Each ship was given its own name, just as is done now-a-days. Thus the "beloved ship of Bau" was call-

<sup>(1)</sup> Gudea, Cyl. B, 8:11-22.

<sup>(2)</sup> Thureau-Dangin, RA XIX (1922), pp. 142-3, No. 9 = TC VI.

<sup>(3)</sup> PBS XIII, No. 35, Obv. 11-18; Zimmern, SKL No. 190, Obv. 10-13; Chiera, SRT No. 4.

<sup>(4)</sup> Gudea, Cyl. A, 17:17, 19:11-12, 20:15, 22:12-14; Cyl. B, 4:3, 13:3.

<sup>(5)</sup> Gudea, Cyl. A, 24:21-2.

<sup>(6)</sup> Ungnad, *Datenlisten*: RLA II, p. 144.

ed *kar-nun-ta-è-a* <sup>(1)</sup>. The model of a *makurru*-ship dedicated in a temple was not worshipped; nevertheless, offerings were made to it <sup>(2)</sup>, but with the underlying intention that the offerings were collectively for the divinities brought by the ship. The *makurru*-ship of Sin was in the image of the waxing moon <sup>(3)</sup>. Evidently the one alluded to was a model of the original ship, and had an exceptionally high and curving prow and stern. References to other *makurru*-ships must also be to the models of them dedicated in temples, as, for instance, the *makurru*-ship of Ningirsu, for the adornment of which gold and silver were delivered <sup>(4)</sup>, and that "splendid ship" which Gimilsin prepared for Enlil and Ninlil <sup>(5)</sup>. In late times a *makurru* type of ship was not reserved exclusively for the voyage to Eridu, for *makurru*-ships conveyed the deities Marduk, Nabû, and Anu when they travelled annually by water to take part in the *akitu* festival <sup>(6)</sup>, probably because the type of vessel was well adapted to their needs on account of its unusual form and dimensions.

When Ningirsu was finally conducted into his new habitation everything in Eninnu was in order, and the divinities who had come from Eridu were each one installed in his or her own place <sup>(7)</sup>. That state of perfection was only accomplished step by step, beginning with the foundations, a vital point, because if the foundations of a temple were defective, materially or spiritually, the whole edifice was in peril. To safeguard the foundations from harm of every kind the EN, male and female <sup>(8)</sup>, assigned to protect them were embarked at Eridu on the heavenly ship <sup>(9)</sup>, and on arrival at their destination they, or more precisely, the figurines which were supposed to repre-

<sup>(1)</sup> Gudea, St. D. 3:3-4. The names of four of these ships are given in K. 4338, Col. V:39 ff.

<sup>(2)</sup> Genouillac, *Umma*, 6053, Rev. II:18; ITT III, 5280:35; Legrain, TRU, p. 72, No. 275:14; Deimel, *Pantheon*, p. 172, No. 2058: *Ma-gur-ra-ri*.

<sup>(3)</sup> *Makû* III:128; AO 6468:44, RA XI, p. 141.

<sup>(4)</sup> ITT III, 8062.

<sup>(5)</sup> SAK, p. 234, 8, note κ; RA III, p. 124.

<sup>(6)</sup> Langdon, VAB IV, 1, No. 20; Legrain, *Royal Inscrip.* (PBS XV), p. 41, No. 79, Col. II:20; Clay, *Babyl. Records* IV, Pls. 6-7, ll. 13-18; AO 6459:14; Thureau-Dangin, RA XX (1923), pp. 111-12; *Rit. acad.*, p. 107, note 1.

<sup>(7)</sup> Gudea, Cyl. B. 6:9.

<sup>(8)</sup> Chiera, SRT No. 11:18.

<sup>(9)</sup> PBS V, No. 25, Obv. III (?) and 20 (= Witzel, AnOr 4 (1932), No. 4, p. 57).

sent them were "deposited" in the foundations, "placed in rows" in the words of a hymn to Enlil<sup>(1)</sup>, which presumably means stationed at intervals. This reference is to the EN of Enlil's temple Ekur at Nippur; other passages refer to the EN of the newly built temple of Nannar at the *kar-zi-da*<sup>(2)</sup>; to those "deposited" by Gudea in the foundations of Eninnu at Lagash<sup>(3)</sup>; and to those of a temple of Shamash<sup>(4)</sup>. It was a vitally important matter that the divine guardians should be properly installed; conversely, the most terrible thing that could happen to a temple was that the EN should be disturbed or driven forth<sup>(5)</sup>. Who these impersonal EN were is definitely explained: "The EN of the temple are the Anunna"<sup>(6)</sup>. Numerous texts refer to the Anunna as guardians of temples and their foundations, often combined with allusions to their functions as judges. They are thus mentioned in connexion with the Esagila built by the gods for Marduk "at the head of the *Apsû*"<sup>(7)</sup>; at Nippur with the Ekur of Enlil and also with Kenurra, the temple or chapel of his consort Ninlil<sup>(8)</sup>; at Lagash with the Eninnu of Ningirsu<sup>(9)</sup>; at Larsa with the temple and walls of Ebabbara<sup>(10)</sup>; and with other less distinctly specified sanctuaries<sup>(11)</sup>.

The statement that the EN of the temple were the Anunna needs to be qualified because several texts reveal that associated

(1) Witzel, *AnOr* 15 (1938), No. 7, p. 49 = PBS I, 2, No. 144, CBS 14152, Obv. 10-12.

(2) Lenzen, UVB X (1939), p. 19, Pl. 28 with duplicate CT XXXVI, Pl. 2; SAK, p. 198, c; Gadd and Legrain, URI, p. 15.

(3) Gudea, Cyl. A, 20:21.

(4) Schollmeyer, *Sumer.-babyl. Hymnen und Gebete an Samas*, No. 26, p. 112, K. 2603:10-12. See also *é e n d a n s e*, ITT II, No. 731.

(5) Reisner, SBH No. 23, Col. V:11 = IV R<sup>2</sup> 11, 35-6, PBS X, 2, p. 123, CBS 4577, Obv. 30-1, Ni. 497 = VAT 1334, Obv. II:18; PBS X, 4, No. 6, CBS 2154, Obv. 24-5, 45-6.

(6) OECT I, Pl. 42, Col. IV:1; PBS X, 2, p. 149, No. 4563, Rev. I: 17-18; Zimmern, SKL No. 26, ll. 9-10 (= Witzel, *AnOr* 10 (1935), No. 4, pp. 76-7).

(7) *Enûma elîš*, Tab. VI:62-4 (*Anc. Near Eastern Texts* [ed. Pritchard], p. 69 [Speiser]).

(8) Langdon, PBS X, 2, p. 149, No. 4563, Rev. I:17-19, p. 114, No. 4562, Obv. III:21-3.

(9) Gudea, Cyl. A, 14:1-4, 20:21-2; Cyl. B, 1:11, 5:22.

(10) *Code of Hammurabi*, Tab. XLIV:73-6.

(11) Witzel, *AnOr* 15 (1938), No. 7, p. 49 = PBS I, 2, No. 144, CBS 14152, Obv. 10-12; Langdon, PBS X, 2, p. 133, No. 4560, Col. IV:31-3.

with the Anunna, and fulfilling similar functions as protectors of the building in all its parts, there were also the Lachmu who were the supporters of the temple of the Abyss at Eridu<sup>(1)</sup>. It has been pointed out that in this context the *la-ḥa-ma* was not the female monster known from the Creation Epic, but a group of apparently asexual beings similar to the Anunna<sup>(2)</sup>. The number of the Anunna varies in different texts between seven and six hundred; the Lachmu also consisted of a large but indefinite number. Gudea's reference to the Lachmu in Cyl. A, 24:26 is worded like that concerning the Anunna in Cyl. A, 20:23. Both groups are mentioned in a section of a List of Gods which enumerates the divinities of Eninnu<sup>(3)</sup>. Both groups were the good genii of persons<sup>(4)</sup>, and also of sacred and even of profane buildings<sup>(5)</sup>. They were the gods who at Babylon in their daily prayers commended to the notice of Marduk "the temple Esagila and the walls of Esagila"<sup>(6)</sup>. Even at a late period *šēdu* and *lamassu* were frequently appealed to as divine protectors and were called upon to attest and guard the sanctity of oaths. Fifty of the Anunna and fifty of the Lachmu of Eridu were taken on the heavenly ship when Enki went to found the Ekur at Nippur, and when Innina sailed from Eridu to found her Eanna at Uruk<sup>(7)</sup>. All these details taken together strengthen the supposition that the EN and the LA.GAL, said by Gudea to have been deposited in Eninnu and presumably in the foundations, were alternative appellations of the Anunna and the *la-ḥa-ma*, the more so because he sums up the whole matter by concluding: "He caused the Anunna to repose admirably"<sup>(8)</sup>.

Shamash was acclaimed as "greatest of the Anunna"<sup>(9)</sup>, and according to another text the goddess Nanshe was "Queen of the

(1) Gudea, Cyl. A, 24:27.

(2) Witzel, AnOr 4 (1932), p. 67. Therefore it is possible to equate Anunna = *utukku* = *šēdu* and the corresponding *la - ḥ a - m a* 2. <sup>d</sup>KAL. *la-mas-su*, Str., AV, 4712.

(3) Weidner, *Altbabyl. Götterlisten*: AfO II (1924), p. 74, Col. V. 2.5.

(4) Gudea, Cyl. A, 3:20-1; Cyl. B, 2:9-10; Meier, *Die Zweite Tafel der Serie bit mēsari*: AfO XIV (1942), pp. 142-3, ll. 12-13.

(5) Meier, *op. cit.*, pp. 146-7, l. 130.

(6) *Code of Hammurabi*, Rev. XXV:48-55.

(7) Witzel, AnOr 4 (1932), No. 2, p. 35 (= PBS X, 2, pp. 113-15, No. 4562, Col. III: 5), No. 4, p. 57. (= PBS V, No. 25, Obv. II:7, 28, 41, 63).

(8) Gudea, Cyl. A, 20:21-3.

(9) SAK, p. 208, b, l. 4.

Lachmu" (1). The Lachmu received oblations like the other gods (2). As the guardian angel of the ruler offerings were made to "4Lama of the king", or of Bursin, and of Ibbisin (3). Urukagina apparently built a temple for them (4), and their priestess owned slaves (5). Owing to their close association with the *Abzu* the Lachmu were appointed "Masters of the Fish-ponds" to provide fish for Ningirsu (6). 4Lama was hailed as "Porter of the Ekur" of Enlil at Nippur (7), and was also *sukal* of the goddess Bau (8), and guardian of the foundations of her temple Esilsirsir at Lagash (9). Because at Eridu the temple of the Abyss (10) and the *gigunu* on its upper storey (11) were based upon the Lachmu, those divinities were called upon to perform the same good offices for the Eninnu (12). Finally pairs of colossal figures of the *lamassu* guarded the doorways of Assyrian palaces. The Anunna and the Lachmu together seem to have constituted the EN of the temple, their special task being to guard the foundations.

Not only the foundations, but other parts of the edifice were closely connected with the temple of the Abyss. The *gigunu*, in which the most important rites of the sacred marriage were carried out, was a secret place into which mortal men were forbidden to look (13), as befitted the sanctity of the mysteries practised within it. It was located on the uppermost of the seven zones of the temple-tower (14). It was built in a pure place like the *gigunu* of the temple

(1) SAK, p. 220, f. 2:6-7.

(2) Jean, *Relig. sumér.*, p. 120; Deimel, *Pantheon*, p. 154, No. 1662; 4KAL, II, 8; Schneider, *Götternamen*, p. 39, No. 237; 4KAL.

(3) Genouillac, TEO, 5664, Rev. 5; *Tabl. de Drihem*, 5531; CT XXXII, Pls. 41-4, Rev. IV:7.

(4) SAK, p. 44, g. 2:6-7.

(5) ITT IV, No. 8055.

(6) Gudea, Cyl. B. 12:1-6.

(7) Langdon, *Babyl. Liturgies*, No. 1:2.5; cf. Deimel, *Pantheon*, p. 156, Nos. 1667, 1670.

(8) CT XXXII, No. 1:26.

(9) SAK, p. 64, f. 2:2-3; Barton, *Royal Inscr. of Sumer and Akkad*, 282:24.

(10) Gudea, Cyl. A. 24:27; cf. Zimmern, SKL No. 190, Obv. 7-9.

(11) OECT I, PL. 42, Col. IV:1.

(12) Gudea, Cyl. A. 24:20, 26.

(13) IV R 24, No. 2:5.

(14) SAK, p. 214, e. 1:9, II:3-4; CT XXXVII, Pls. 1-4, B. M. 115039: 15-16. Sidney Smith, RA XXI (1924), p. 77; Schott, UVB I, p. 62, No. 30, Col. II:16.

of the Abyss <sup>(1)</sup>, and apparently like it was founded upon the Lachmu <sup>(2)</sup>. This suggests that, owing to the extreme holiness of the *gigunu*, the chapel crowning the temple-tower was consecrated with a repetition of the foundation rites performed when Eninnu itself was founded, and had its own EN and Lachmu. Various texts support this theory. One passage speaks of the *en ki-ur<sup>ki</sup> ge.* <sup>(3)</sup> When on the banks of the canal at Nippur Enlil had wooed and eventually won Ninlil, the divine lovers entered the *ki-ur* accompanied by fifty great gods and seven gods of fate <sup>(4)</sup>. Who these "great gods" were is explained in another text <sup>(5)</sup>:

21. "The Anunna, the great gods,

22. Within the *ki-ur* reside.

23. In thy great *gigunu* they provide food in abundance".

Reference was often made to the EN in connexion with the *giparu* into which they were said to be introduced or in which they were installed <sup>(6)</sup>. The *é-nig-ki-si* was said to be "pure with the purity of the Abyss" <sup>(7)</sup>. The dovecote was "like Eridu", for the doves by their flight intimated the fortunes of the temple <sup>(8)</sup>. The metal decoration of the great entrance door was varicoloured like the pure serpent of the Abyss <sup>(9)</sup>; this interesting comparison might be interpreted to imply that the sheathing of gilded copper applied to the panels of the door glinted like the scales of a snake, or even that a design of a serpent was incised in the metal or represented in relief, since elsewhere Gudea speaks with pride of the carved decoration of the temple <sup>(10)</sup>. Among the inducements to the god to come

<sup>(1)</sup> Gudea, Cyl. A, 24:20; SAK, p. 214, f. 1:10.

<sup>(2)</sup> OECT I, Pl. 42, Col. IV:1; Gudea, Cyl. A, 24:27.

<sup>(3)</sup> TC XVI, No. 40, Pl. 82, AO 6446:15.

<sup>(4)</sup> IV R 27, No. 2, II:18 ff., supplemented by K. 5008, Rev. = K. 4898; Langdon, *Sumer. and Babyl. Psalms*, p. 220; OECT VI, p. 17; Pinches, JRAS 1919, p. 192, No. 9205, Obv. II:20.

<sup>(5)</sup> Langdon, PBS X, 2, p. 111, Obv. III:21-3; Witzel, AnOr 4 (1932) No. 2, pp. 36-7 and commentary p. 38.

<sup>(6)</sup> Schollmeyer, *Sumer.-babyl. Hymnen und Gebete an Šamas*, p. 112, No. 26, K. 2603:10-12; Zimmern, SKL No. 26, ll. 9-10; Lenzen, UVB X (1930), p. 19 with duplicate SAK, p. 198, e, ll. 16-18, 21-4; PBS X, 2, N. 479 + VAT 1334, Obv. II:18.

<sup>(7)</sup> Gudea, Cyl. A, 29:4.

<sup>(8)</sup> Gudea, Cyl. A, 29:7-10.

<sup>(9)</sup> Gudea, Cyl. A, 26:30-27:1.

<sup>(10)</sup> Gudea, St. B, 6:77.

into his reconstituted temple he is informed that "into Esagila have they brought the wild bull of Eridu" (1). The significance of this bull is revealed in the ritual for the consecration of a lyre to be recited in the college of psalmists: by its bellowing the bull invoked fertility and "bestowed mercy in plenty... caused the fields to rejoice". The ritual adds: "O Bull, offspring of Zû art thou, for the ceremonial rites have they set thee up" (2). In the hymns the bull is addressed as if it were a living animal, but the passage last cited proves that it was some kind of image of a bull. Moreover, Gudea relates that in the portico of Bau, named the Portico of the Lyre, he installed a stele, a ship, and a powerful wild bull with a noble resonant voice (3), and that the carved figures of dragons (muš-huš), which decorated the entrance door of the Eninnu and are referred to elsewhere as "the dragons of the Abyss", stretched out their tongues towards the bull (4); their gesture being motivated by the fact that they also were bringers of fertility, for from their open mouths fertilizing streams of water gushed forth (5), evidently evoked in this case by the voice of the bull which was in reality a lyre, the deep tones of which resembled the voice of a bull. Sir Leonard Woolley observes that the lyres represented on a seal cylinder and in the mosaic decoration of a sound-box were in the shape of a bull's body, legs and all, and that even "the animal heads on lyres are not merely ornamental excrescences, but are germane to the body of the sound-box" (6). The statement that the high-priest of Inanna was exalted to be EN of the Great Bull of Heaven (7) suggests that this priest was leader of the psalmists and was supposed to be the incarnation of the original divine EN of the instrument which, by its voice, led the chants which invoked fertility. Finally, as culminating proof of derivation and intimate relation, the Eninnu, rising

(1) Reisner, SBH, No. 22, Rev. 26.

(2) IV R 23, No. 1, Rev. II:8-12, 18-19; Langdon, *Babyl. Liturgies*, p. XIII.

(3) Gudea, Cyl. A, 26:13-14, 28:17; Lambert et Tournay, *Rev. Bibl.* LV (1948), pp. 421-2.

(4) Gudea, Cyl. A, 21-27, 26:24-5; See Lambert et Tournay, *op. cit.*, p. 419.

(5) Van Buren, *The Dragon in ancient Mesopotamia: Or.* 15 (1946), p. 10 and *passim*.

(6) Woolley, *Ur Excav.* II, p. 257, Pl. 194, No. 22, Pl. 105.

(7) Gadd and Legrain, *URI*, p. 58, No. 195; Legrain, *Historical Fragments* (PBS XIII), p. 8, No. 48, CBS. 7849, Col. II:11-13.

aloft in all its finished perfection, was compared to the *kishkanu* tree which grew in Eridu<sup>(1)</sup>.

Together with the EN and the Lachmu many other divinities closely associated with the temple of the Abyss at Eridu took part in the building of Eninnu. Foremost amongst them "Enki, King of Eridu, made fast its temen"<sup>(2)</sup>, in addition to his other good offices previously mentioned. The goddess Nanshe, "Child of Eridu"<sup>(3)</sup>, took care of the oracle of the temple and of the bricks used in its construction<sup>(4)</sup>. As stated above, in the time of the kings of Larsa she was hailed as "Queen of the Lachmu"<sup>(5)</sup>, but in much earlier times she was known as the NIN-EN<sup>(6)</sup>.

The relation between the goddess Nanshe and the god Nindar was close, but ill-defined<sup>(7)</sup>. Nindar was called "lugal-en"<sup>(8)</sup>. His temple in Girsu is mentioned<sup>(9)</sup>. He was a warrior god<sup>(10)</sup>, who endowed Gudea with strength to carry out his pious task<sup>(11)</sup>, and to whom Gudea dedicated a mace-head<sup>(12)</sup>. Many of the qualities of Nindar were shared by Nindub who was also a warrior god<sup>(13)</sup>, and possessed a temple in Girsu<sup>(14)</sup>. Sacrifices were offered to him<sup>(15)</sup>.

(1) Gudea, Cyl. A, 21:19-23. Cf. IV R<sup>2</sup> 15:53 ff.; CT XVI, 46-7, ll. 183 ff.

(2) Gudea, Cyl. B, 13:3; Cyl. A, 20:15, 22:12-14.

(3) Gudea, Cyl. A, 2:16, 20:16.

(4) Gudea, Cyl. A, 20:16; Cyl. B, 13:7-8.

(5) SAK, p. 220, f. 2:6-7.

(6) Urnanshe, Tab. B, 2:2, Triangular Plaque, 5:2, Eannatum, Stele of Vultures, Rev. 5:55, Gudea, St. I, 2:14-15; Cyl. A, 4:8; Brick H, 1:2; B. M. 117836, clay cone of Utu-hegal, Gadd, JRAS 1926, p. 686. For *nin-en* as a common epithet of the goddess Nanshe (Ninā) see Kosmoskó, ZA XXXI, p. 90; Witzel, *Keilinschriftl., Studien*, I, p. 125.

(7) Deimel, *Pantheon*, pp. 204-5, No. 2490; Jean, *Relig. sumér.*, pp. 49, 97.

(8) Urbau, St. 5:2; Gudea, Brick A, 2; Mace-head C, 1-3; Gadd and Legrain, URI, p. 6, No. 28, l. 2. For the epithet *lugal-en* see Thureau-Dangin, *Mon. Piot* XXVII, p. 14, note 3.

(9) Urukagina, Clay Tab., Obv. 5:4; Urbau, St. 5:2-3; Gudea, Year formula, SAK p. 227.

(10) Gudea, St. B, 8:54.

(11) Gudea, St. B, 2:12-13.

(12) Gudea, Mace-head C, 1-3, 11.

(13) Gudea, Cyl. A, 5:2, 6:3.

(14) Gudea, Clay Nail A, 7-8.

(15) Deimel, *Pantheon*, p. 205, No. 2498; Jean, *Relig. sumér.*, pp. 98-9; Schneider, *Götternamen*, p. 49, No. 371.

and he, like Nindar, was addressed as "lugal-en" (1). Nindub, however, was "High-priest of Eridu", and in that capacity he fumigated the whole building with sweet-smelling incense (2). Gudea in his dream beheld the god Nindub holding a tablet of blue stone on which he engraved the outline of a temple (3). It has been pointed out that his name signifies "Lord of the tablet". The god Dimgal-Abzu, charged to purify the plain and watch over the birds and cattle of the *gú-edin* (4), must, from his name, have been connected with Eridu; his temple was mentioned by Entemena (5).

The god Uri-zid, "the pure hero of the *Abzu*", was revered at Lagash in very ancient times. Sacrifices were offered to him (6); Urnanshe erected his statue and a mace-head was dedicated to him for the life of Nammahni (7). Gudea says that Uri-zid was the god appointed by Ningirsu to preside over the preparations for, and to ensure the privacy of the all-important nuptial rites, and that some object in Eninnu was like the vase which the god held (8). It is possible that the hero who is often described as a "Gilgamesh figure", and who in Akkadian and Neo-Sumerian art is represented grasping with both hands a round-bodied vase from which streams of water flow, may in reality be the god Uri-zid (9). His very important functions as overseer of the supreme rites of the sacred marriage would explain why he was so frequently represented, for the inexhaustible flow of water from the vase he held symbolized the fertility which resulted from the successful performance of the ceremony.

(1) Gudea, Clay Nail A, 2.

(2) Gudea, Cyl. B, 4:4-5, 6:3. See Lambert et Tournay, *Rev. Bibl.* LV (1948), pp. 527-8, 539, note 38.

(3) Gudea, Cyl. A, 5:2-4, 6:3-5.

(4) Gudea, Cyl. B, 12:7-18.

(5) SAK, p. 40, n. Cone 4:31.

(6) Deimel, *Pantheon*, p. 128, No. 1274; Schneider, *Götternamen*, p. 87, No. 633.

(7) SAK, p. 4, Tab. C, 3:1, p. 64, d, Mace-head A, 1-10.

(8) Gudea, Cyl. A, 25:17-19; Cyl. B, 9:13; cf. also 17:7.

(9) AJ III (1923), Pl. XXXIV, fig. 1, b; Menant, *Cat. Coll. de Clercq* I, Pl. V, No. 46; Ward, *Seal Cylinders*, Figs. 204, 477; PBS XIV, Pls. XI, No. 160, XXI, No. 336, a; Van Buren, *The Flowing Vase*, p. 82, Pl. XIII, Figs. 43-4, B. M. 116813, 21204; *Clay Figurines*, p. 205, Nos. 997-1001; CCO, T 156, Pl. 11, fig. 9, A 404, Pl. 82, fig. 2; Ranke, BE III, 1, Pl. 23, No. 28, Pl. IV, No. 7. These are a very few of the innumerable examples.

The Brick-god, who was created by Ea out of a pinch of clay taken from the *Apsû*, is occasionally mentioned. <sup>(1)</sup> His functions extended only to the actual making and laying of the bricks, and when that was done his task was ended because, unlike the other divinities, he had no duties of guardianship or protection to detain him. It was apparently for that reason that a Babylonian ritual to be recited when the construction of a house was completed ordains that, when the building operations were finished, sacrifices for the well-being and prosperity of the house should be offered to Shamash, and then a sacrifice should be made to the Brick-god. <sup>(2)</sup> That done, the priest addressed the Brick-god, telling him there was nothing further for him to do, and exhorting him to depart. A figurine of him was placed in a (model) boat and supplied with provisions for the journey; finally the boat was launched upon the river, evidently that he might proceed forthwith upon his voyage back to the place of his origin, Eridu.

The subject of foundation rites may be briefly summarized. Temples were always founded in accordance with the ordinances of Eridu, and the protective divinities were brought on purpose from Eridu, for it was their task to safeguard the foundations and all the more important parts of the building. They also supervised the correct performance of the ritual, and provided what was necessary for the comfort and support of the divine owner and his household. Even minor objects in the new temple were made to resemble corresponding features in the temple of the Abyss. The ordinances of Eridu had nothing to do with the ceremony of the sacred marriage, except in the sense that unless a temple were consecrated in accordance with those ordinances the sacred marriage or any other religious function performed in the edifice would be null and void.

<sup>(1)</sup> *Ancient Near Eastern Texts* (ed. Pritchard), p. 341 (A. Sachs), *Ritual for the Repair of a Temple*, Text C = Weissbach, *Babyl. Miscellen* No. 12, ll. 26-7; pp. 178, b, 180, a, (Meek) *Code of Hammurabi*, Rev. XXV. 45-50, XXVIII:70-80; Kramer, *Sumer, Mythology*, pp. 61, 116, note 59.

<sup>(2)</sup> Zimmern, *ZA* XXIII (1909), pp. 369-76.