

Die Anunna in der Sumerischen Überlieferung  
*The Anunna in the Sumerian Tradition*  
A. Falkenstein, Heidelberg  
Literal Translation (with some adjustment for clarity)  
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\*only footnotes with German text are translated  
(see the [German original for other footnote material](#))

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The Sumerian tradition, like the Acadian, has many different names for their various god-groupings. To these belong the dingir-an-na, “the gods of the sky,” dingirkia, “the gods of the earth,” dingir-an-ki-a, “the gods from the earth and the sky,” dingir-kur-kur-ra, “the gods of foreign lands,” dinger-hur-sag-ga, “the gods of the mountains,” dingir-sar-sar-ra, “the uncountable gods,” dingir-ki-lagaski-a, “the gods from the region of Lagas.” The most frequently used names are the dingir-gal-gal, “the great gods,” and da-nun-na. The second member of the Acadian opposition-pair danunnaku:digigu, Sumerian dnun-gal-e-ne, is rarely testified to until at least the old-Babylonian era.

The supporting documents for da-nun-na, also those for dingir-gal-gal and the rest of the mentioned titles are exclusively characterized in literary texts. They are not mentioned in numerous administrative documents that have to do with the offerings given to various gods. There are also no temples that were made holy to the A. [Anunna] or any other of the various god groupings. This shows that those associated with the veneration of the A. didn't have a big influence on cultic practices. That they also don't appear in personal names lets us know even more that the A. gods, as a 'group under the gods', were not a part of the private religious sector.

In the literary tradition, the supporting documents are not evenly distributed. This fact remains despite the difficult vacancies that appear for us in the consistency of the text. The A. are often only mentioned so that the rank and works of a certain divinity can be highlighted. This function is placed as the pinnacle of the A. Their deeds are represented as paramount achievements, which causes the A. to provoke marveling admiration and deep fright, a point which is expounded upon later (see below, under page 8). This is the prized song to the highest being and the main category in which the records supporting the A. appear. Furthermore they appear in the King's writings of the Isin-Larsa time period, after which the writing style became more educated in nature. These writings were positioned as inscriptions on the pinnacle of a building; like a hymn addressed to the deity that the building represented. Concerning religious history, the A. would have played a minor role in the old myths. See their portrayal in the Enki-Ninhursanga-mythology for example. They apparently are only allocated an active role in the myths of Enlil and Ninlil, and in the later myths of the creation of the first people from the blood of two deities. In the lamentations, the A. appear in those which concern Enlil and Inanna's acts of violence. They barely appear in the lamentations from the Inanna-Dumuzi cycle as well as the texts which relate to the

pantheon of Kesi and Adab. In the incantations they are mentioned only seldom. In the proverbs they are completely absent.

Because the literary texts in which the A. are named emerge from so many different time periods—from the second half of the third millennium into the first millennium—a change must be made as to how these god-groups are conceived; specifically with texts that appear after 1500 B.C., in part also with texts of the old-Babylonian emergence period. It must be considered that perceptions that were associated with the Acadian tradition really found their origins in the Sumerian literary works. The somewhat clear findings are indicated in the following:

1. *Spelling.* –The oldest spelling is

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a-nuna (=NUN), before the plural suffix of the personal form –ene a-nuna-ke-ne<sup>31</sup>. Sporadic spellings without god-determinative appear in the inscriptions of Gudea with two exceptions. They are also found in texts which for us lie within the old-Babylonian tradition<sup>4</sup>. However, one does not find them when examining the incantation texts of the Ur III era, and only seldom in later texts. The elliptical spelling <sup>d</sup>a-nuna, which is native to the old-Sumerian orthography, appears twice in the Gudea-inscriptions, and is even more prevalent in the old-Babylonian transcriptions.

The texts of later origins are occasionally written in accordance with the younger ‘normal form’ of the Acadian da-nun-na-ki instead of da-nun-na-ke-(e-)ne da-nun-na-ke-(e-)ne<sup>9</sup>.

There is no graphical basis for DINGIR.DINGIR-a-nun-na (or –nuna) which appears in the texts of the old-Babylonian era. I want to insert an abbreviation into the da-nun-na da-nun-na which is seen in the Gudea and rewrite this as dingir-dingir-a-nun-na (or –nuna)<sup>11</sup>.

2. *Word meaning-* the word meaning of the terminus da-nun-na is still contended. A. Deimel goes off of the epithet of the “words” of the A. a-mah-e-a, “aqua excelsa scaturiens,” in a Gudea inscription and concludes that a-nun is the “aqua excelsa, pura, sicut in fontibus e terra (abyss) profluit.” Aside from the fact that the pictorial marking a-(mah-)e-a, “(biggest) water, that from there comes,” is derived from the water masses which flowed out from the opening of the reservoir, but also from the destructive floods

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<sup>31</sup> S.N...5; this is the oldest document of that time. It is older than the Gudea inscriptions.

<sup>4</sup> H. Radau,...not included is the *Sumer* XIII... this text is predominantly written syllabically and the determinative is automatically left out.

<sup>9</sup> the [dim-me]... has replaced the –ki from da-nun-na-ki with –ke.

<sup>11</sup> ...In CT XLII 31:15 is written ..., while the Dupl. TCL XV 15 ii 18 only offers da-nun-na-ke-ne.

Take notice of Langdon, BL.... The late text CT XIII...*da-nun-na-ki*, is not always safe to add. In KAR.... dim-me-er is apparently reproduced through sdr...

which poured out over the nearby land. He revises<sup>14</sup> the resistlessness of the “word” of the A., which in turn breaks down the interpretation that the nature of the relationship should be grouped as genitival, which manifests itself also in the Acadian loanword *anunnakku*. A. Deimels proposes further that...[Latin text]...(abzu)” it does not stand to reason that they were assuming that NUN<sup>ki</sup> should be read nun<sup>ki</sup> rather than eridu(g)<sup>ki</sup>. St. Lange-

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-don’s interpretation “gods of the great father”<sup>15</sup> is incorrect at least in that the normal form for “father” from the new-Sumerian time onward reads a-a.

The obvious interpretation “(Gods, the) seeds/semens of the ‘First’ are,” satisfies the claim that the genitive relationship must exist. To answer the question, ‘who are the ‘First’<sup>17</sup> and what is their relationship with NUN,’ one is led to Enki from Eridu. He carries the epithet of NUN. His city is also identified with NUN<sup>ki</sup>. Those who are mentioned in an old invocation called a-nun-na-eriduki <-ga> ninnu-bi, “the ‘fifty’ A. von Eridu,” are attested to be the oldest local pantheon under this identification; even though the “A. of the area of Lagas”<sup>19</sup> and the A. from Nippur were by that time already attested to.<sup>21</sup>

3. *Genealogical Relationships.*—The genealogical relationships between the gods were considered in so far as they were understood. This can be seen, for example, in the identification of the A. in terms of a pantheon of a city (e.g. the “A. von Eridu”) or a territory (e.g. “A. from the land of Lagas”). Yet the whole Sumerian pantheon and the main characters of this pantheon—this applies to the majority of the supporting documents—were seen in context with the A. Therefore the genealogical conditions, which were embraced concerning the old local god-circles, were not fully transferrable to the A., because the discrepancy would have become too conspicuous. As father of the A., An, the highest god of the Sumerian “ruling pantheon,” had to inevitably appear. The most meaningful example is spoken out through the conflict-poem (Germ.: Streitgedicht) “Mother sheep- crop/grain/corn”: “As An in ‘mountains from heaven (and) earth’ the A.-gods conceived”; furthermore a passage from the lamentation of Aruru: Seven of the

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<sup>14</sup> S. the literary documents for a-(mah-)e-a, which Sjöberg, *Mondgott*, S. 115f., compiled; further UMBS...”Elam like powerful erupting water...”; SRT 21 iii 2; the plastish document is Kramer... “his (meaning those from Ur) troops summoned to sleep are erupting water, which no one stands against.”

<sup>15</sup> Bab...His further argumentation in BE XXXI 20, footnote 1, whereby the original a-nun-na-eriduki-ke-ne was changed to da-nun-ki-ke-ne. This is based upon a mis-reading in BE XXXI 6:16, where da-nun-na(!) is written (not ki)- ke-ne;...further SGL I 16, LINE 100.

<sup>17</sup> On the issue of the meaning of NUN see Th. Jacobsen, ZA NF XVIII 136...

<sup>19</sup> Gudea Zyl... “the gods of the land of Lagas”

<sup>21</sup> The singular equation a-nun-na=ardatu, which corresponds to the different goddesses who are equally compared with Inanna, is still not clarified in SBH... For distar, Tallqvist gives the definition “princely blood” whereas he doesn’t give any word meaning to da-nun-na.

chief gods, An, Enlil, Ninlil, Enki, Ninmah, Nanna, and Utu went to the female gods. They could not, however, please them (nu-mu-ni-in-hun-e). Then the A. tried this:

“To them went the Anunna, the (gods), whom An conceived in the sky,  
Went to them,  
The (gods), whom An conceived on the earth,  
Went to them.”

That they, who ‘from An in the sky and on the earth were conceived’ are identical to the A. is still present in later tradition. In a neo-Babylonian text<sup>25</sup> it is written:  
“In the city tremble the Anunna, whom An in the sky conceived,  
<sup>26</sup> .....the Anunna, whom An on the earth conceived.”

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A later development of this idea is seen in the following relatively young creation account: “He [Marduk] completely created the Anunna-Gods,” whereby Marduk from Babylon is accredited with the creation of the A.<sup>28</sup>

As children of An, the A. are seen as siblings. With reference to Nergal, who otherwise was considered the son of Enlil and Ninlil, it is written “the Anunna, your godly brothers.” The same phrase is applied to Enki<sup>30</sup>, who, according to older traditions, was considered a generation higher than Nergal.

4. *The number of the Anunna.*—The texts give very different results for the population of the Anunna. The “Anunna from Eridu” are traditionally “fifty” in number. This is problematic when compared with the local Pantheon of Eridu<sup>31</sup>; even if “fifty” stands for a general round number. In “Inana’s Journey to the Underworld”, the A. serve as the “seven judges” for Ereskigal<sup>33</sup>. With this information, we still cannot conclude the

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<sup>25</sup> CT...for comparison see CT XLII 15 v 24; SBH II (!) 8-13 (the two last lines from CT XLII 15 ii 28-30 are located here. They are shortened to an-na a-ri-a and ki-a-ri-a, with sa rehu da=ni-rehu and sa rehu antu rehu translated. The linkage of rehu with the goddess Antu makes the faultiness clear); IV R (2. edition.) 21...=sa rehu danu rehu in reference to demons in CT XVI 9 i l.

<sup>26</sup> al-gub-gub-gu-x-en; hardly correct.

<sup>28</sup> From UMBS V 68 ii 6-7, that Ninlil is represented as “great Mother of the Anun[na], Ruler of the Ki’ur”, is certainly not meant to derive that also Enlil and Ninlil were seen as parents of the Anunna; see below page 135f with footnote 122. Compare with the title bestowed on Ningal: “Mother of the great gods” in BA X 103, LINE 13-14; further “father of the Anunna” with reference to Utu in UMBS I 2, Nr. 118 Vs. (!).....

<sup>30</sup> CT XXXvi 32 Rs. 25. On both of those named places [s e s] must have been understood as siblings. For a variant attempt at getting this result, see SGL II 18.

<sup>31</sup> Except for Enki and his wife Ninhursanga, later Damgalnunna, only Asalluhi and his family and the children of Enki, are those who are named in the myth “Enki and Ninhursanga” (see S.N. Kramer, BASOR “Supplementary Studies” Nr. 1; UET VI 1) 11 in total. They should be integrated into the count under the “Anunna of Eridu”. The “ ‘fifty’ la-ha-ma of Abzu” surely had too small of a position or else they would have been reckoned with the Anunna.

<sup>33</sup> In the text “Urnammu in the Underworld” (UMBS X 2, Nr. 6...) the Gods of the Underworld are named Nergal, Gilgames, Eres[kigal], Dumuzi, Namtar, Husbisa, Ningizzida and Ninazimua. Consider that in UMBS X 2...[dingir-nam-tar-ra]-urugal-la-ke-ne, complements “the ‘all-deciding of the future’ god of the underworld,” for which [da-nun-na] could be added.

entire number for the A., who were not confined to the underworld in Sumerian texts. At the end of a long listing of the gods, the elaborate tidings contain late cultish litanies: “The gods of the sky, the gods of the earth, the ‘fifty’ great gods, the ‘seven’ gods of ‘future/fate decisions’, the three hundred Anunna of the sky, the six hundred Anunna of the earth.”

This enumeration, which names at least four different god-groupings<sup>35</sup>, can rely for the “great gods” and the “gods of future decisions” only on older credentials: in the myth of “Enlil and Ninlil” “the ‘fifty’ great gods and the ‘seven’ gods of the ‘future decisions’ capture Enlil in Ki’ur” and identify him as the sexually impure (uzug) one from Nippur. But, because the Ki’ur sanctuary is emphatically known as the dwelling place of “the Anunna, the great gods” until in the old-Babylonian era, and in part because “great gods”<sup>38</sup> was considered only a epithet of the A. (see page 139 with footnote 193), the old and the young tradition are limited in capacity together.

5. *The Seat of the Anunna.*—Only neo-Sumerian texts name the “Anunna of Eridu” (see above under 2) and the “Anunna of the land of Lagas” (see above by footnote 19)<sup>39</sup>. The old-Babylonian texts reference more the A. than the deities of Nippur. To the now named document from the myth “Enlil and Ninlil” joins a passage from “Enki and the World Order”: “The Anunna, the great gods, have through you (that is Nippur) taken possession of the

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Ki’ur sanctuary. They eat in your Giguna with the single trees.” A few lines later reads, with reference to Nippur: “The Anunna want to decide the future in you!” And further “for the Anunna you (that is Nipuur) were built for their lifelong nourishment (u-nam-ti-la-bi-se), for their food (and) their drink you were made, the sheepfold, which is there for their lives, you are.”

In a Gilgamesh text, the hero distributes gifts to six underworld gods, later to the “Mother-Father” deities of Enlil, Sulpa’e, Sumugan and Ninhursanga, and finally to the “Anunna of the Holy Hill” and the “Nungalene of the Holy Hill.”<sup>44</sup> Whether this is a reference to the Nippur worship cite of the du-ku (-g), the “holy hill”, or whether the original/primeval “Holy Hill” is meant, must remain open to interpretation. The conflict-poem “Mother sheep-Grain” is positioned against the mythical place of the “Holy Hill”: “From the abundant proceeds (he-gal) of the Mutter sheep and the (godly) grain, the

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<sup>35</sup> It is curious that here the dnun-gal-e-ne = *digigu* is missing. This might conceal itself under the “three hundred Anunna of the sky”, whereby then the actual Anunna would be the “sixhundred Anunna of the earth.”

<sup>38</sup> “Enki and the World Order” Line 200-201; see below with footnote 40.

<sup>39</sup> This could reference ni-guru-da-nuna-ke-ne-me-en, “you are the one, who under the Anunna was clothed with fright,” in the adab-song for Baba, which Gudea mentions.

<sup>44</sup> ...Pay attention to the double placement of –ene in the second line.

Anunna of the Holy Hill eat, but from it they are not satisfied; from their pure sheeppcote they drink the good SUM-milk, from it the Anunna of the Holy Hill are not full.”<sup>47</sup>

6. *Characteristics and Activities of the Anunna.*—Although differences between the A. and the dingir-nam-tar-ra, the ‘Gods who decide the future,’ are very distinct (see above under 4), the nam-tar is one of the main responsibilities and privileges of the A. According to “Enki and the World Order” the ones in Nippur should “decide the future”. Likewise, in Nippur is carried out the “decision about the future” for Ismedagan: “Enki, Ninki, Enul (und) Ninul<sup>50</sup> and the Anunna, who the ‘decide the future,’ the udu(g) of Nippur, the protector deities (dlama) for Ekur<sup>51</sup>, who under the great gods speaks the ‘decision of the future’ with their unbreakable ‘So it is’ (he-am nu-kur-ru-bi).”<sup>52</sup> After which An summoned Lipitestar, “gather yourselves around them the Anunna, the gods altogether (dingir-kilib-ba-bi) to the place of the ‘future decision.’”<sup>53</sup> A spot in the myth “Enki nad Ninhursanga” is rather unclear: “The Anunna grasped them on their cloth, and to it made....., ‘certain the fate of it,’ .....” In the interrelationship of the “fate/future decision” belongs a statement in the “Ur-lamentation”: “For the second time, as the gathering of the council (the gods) (pu-ug-ru (-u)m ki) the head sank to the ground, stayed (literally sat) the Anunna by their obligatory word,” and further a passage from the “Nippur

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Lament”: “Marad, the city in which canals (lead) always flowing water, in which fields provide ‘motley barley’, the Anunna took away, then gave it back. For Isin, for which the Anunna-gods care [...Sumerian words]<sup>58</sup>, which since a long time ago has been afflicted with fear, An, Enlil, Enki and Ninmah have let the reign get longer. According to<sup>59</sup> their word, the Anunna have laid down their hand/taken hold, so that they have said their ‘so it is’.<sup>60</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> For evidence on the relationship between Kesi and the Anunna see “Kesi Hymn”: ... “the lords of the house are the Anunna”...It has yet to be determined whether STVC....implies a position or chair of the Anunna in Ur; not for sure closer is the “holy seat of the Anunna,” which Ebeh threatened; s. STVC 109: 4-5, supplemented by S.N. Kramer,...

<sup>50</sup> These gods belong to the....

<sup>51</sup> The “udu(g) of Nippur” and the “protector gods of Ekur” could be apposition to da-nun-na. Compare dlama-kur-kur-ra, “Protectorate Gods for all Lands,” as epithet for “Anunna from the land of Lagas” in Gudea...

<sup>52</sup> One awaited that the Gods would close with their amen when the Anunna had made their “decision of fate/the future.” This concept does not require inconsiderable corrections to the text.

<sup>53</sup> ...Kol. I 21 are then named the “Gods of the sky,” i 24 the “Gods of the earth.” It is unclear for whom the da-nun-na.... decide the future.

<sup>58</sup> To u-a, “it supports/provides, see ZA NF XXII 86; it only relates to gods and rulers so that here the A. must be the providers.

<sup>59</sup> With CT XLII 31:17 I read [Sumerian text] instead of (allegedly)...

<sup>60</sup> ... “to the ‘decision of the future’ (nam-tar-ra) Ans and Nunamnirs, the lords of everything living, speak the Anunna, the great gods, ‘so it is’. ...; to “Enki and the World Order” Lines 389-90 where Inanna swears that Enlil laid fast in the hands of the Anunna, the great gods, their office,” see below page 135 with footnote 118.

Related, but not identical, to the “decision of fate/the future” of the A., is their duties as judges (di-ku). Gudea references the “outer throne room (in Eninnu)” (gu-en-bar-ra), “the site of the judgment of the Anunna.” Before Ereskigal, who sat on her throne, “spoke the Anunna, the ‘seven’ judges, their sentence (against Inanna)<sup>62</sup>.” The “[m e] of the underworld” sought them in order to help them reassert themselves when Inanna received permission to go back to earth. They/She “grabbed them” and spoke: “Who is allowed to safely leave the underworld after being brought here? When Inanna comes out from the underworld, she should give over a replacement!”

Allusions to the A.’s actions in the mythical past are offered by a few texts. In the conflict-poem “Mother sheep- Grain” it is written with reference to the A.: “The name of the grain goddess (dasnan), who ‘pours in clean/pure things’ (ku-su), and the name of the mother sheep are not known by the Anunna, the great gods.” That is why no grain grew at that time. Later they diverted to the holy hills (du-ku), “the place, in which the gods were born [Sumerian text], the mother sheep and the grain goddess.<sup>66</sup>” Finally they imparted “the breath of life to human kind in their holy sheepfold, for their wellbeing (ni-du-ga-ne-[ne-se]).” Because humanity already existed beforehand, this must indicate that A. equipped them to with competence. The doings of the A. before the creation of humans are described in a first published/released text, which follows a song of praise for Nippur and the Ekur that Enlil built there. “At that time their mind/reason went out (sa-bi mu-un-e-a) in the great sky and on the wide earth. The Anunna-gods of the sky and the earth worked (kin ib-gi-gi-ne). The pickax and the pannier, the instruments with which the cities were founded, lay in their hand.”<sup>69</sup>

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Unclear is the roll of the A. in an old, only fragmentarily preserved myth in which Enlil turns to the A.<sup>70</sup> to ask for help on behalf of his son Iskur, who in the end befell evil in the underworld. Also a further myth is unclear because of the incompleteness of the text: [.....] spoke to the Anunna: ‘[.....] ...,my child, who was killed by him, whom he (?) killed in the house, [.....]..., my child, whom he (?) killed, whom he (?) killed in the house.’”

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<sup>62</sup> ...The closing passage which begins with “(Ereskigal) looked at her (that is Inanna) with the look of the dead”, contains the execution of the preceding verdict of the A. Which god-group, “the ditilla-decision, the word of the counsel gathering the.....(pu-uh-ru-[um-xxxx]),” was ascribed the commanded to destroy humanity through the flood, is not determinable.

<sup>66</sup> “Mother Sheep-Grain”...the sequel to the passage, see above page 131 with footnote 46. In *From the Tablets of Sumer*, Page 145, Kramer ascribes the LINE 19-24 “the people of that time didn’t know to eat bread, didn’t know to cloth themselves, the people.....ate grass like sheep, drank water from the ditches” erroneously to the A.

<sup>69</sup> [Sumerian text]; unclear. Objectively compare....in relation to the [Sumerian text], “the gods of the Land of Sumer.”

<sup>70</sup> Kramer.....”Enlil said to the Anunna: ‘My son is locked in the underworld....Iskur is locked in the underworld,.....’”

The A. appear as paltering in a two-voice passed down myth, which because of its spoken form is not clear all the way through.<sup>72</sup> After the first creation accounts, “An, Enlil, Utu and Enki, the great gods, (and) the Anunna, the great gods” unified. To the question from Enlil<sup>73</sup>, “what do we want to create, what do we want to build?” “the great gods answered, who were standing there, the Anunna, who ‘decide the future/fate,’ they answered Enlil: ‘In Uzumua<sup>76</sup>, in Duranki, we (!) want to slaughter the two Lamga-gods, and from their blood create the humans! The tasks, which until now the gods (were incumbent upon), are now your tasks!’”<sup>77</sup>

The majority of the supporting documents reference only limited doings of the A. The citations which report that the A. go to, or haste to (bur-bur), a cultic site or to a god [Sumerian text], contain the underlying idea that the A. have their dwelling places in different locations, and from there, come together at various locations. For example, at the completion of a sanctuary that they marveled<sup>78</sup> at, or the configuration of a cultic site where they were in awe at the completed works. They were excited about the productivity of the gods<sup>80</sup> and praised them because of their works.<sup>81</sup> As Enlil created the pickax (gisal) and with their help enabled humanity to break through (ki mu-si-in-dar-re) the earth (like plants), “the Anunna went to him, laid their hands (in prayer/devotion) on their mouth, reassured Enlil with prayer/offerings/devotion.” They also found themselves at feasts: “To those in you (that is in Eninnu in Girsu), the Anunna-gods, goes the (featured) abundant kurun-drink.” Enki arranged a feast in Nippur for Enlil after he built the E’engurra sanctuary in Eridu, and the A. sat next to (ki-us-ki-us-bi) An, Enlil and Nintu.<sup>84</sup> In the ‘thank you’ speech of Enlil it is written: “You great gods, that came here, you Anunna, that just went to Ubsu’unkenna!”<sup>85</sup> Also in the temple of Nininsinna “ate the Anunna, the great gods” together with the lords of the sanctuary.

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Many times it is cited that the A. left their dwellings when their pray prayer/devotion/supplications were necessary. As the Eninnu completed Gudea so that Ningirsu and Baba could move in, he turned in a prayer to the A.: “Anunna, Anunna, the land of Lagas wonders over you, protectorate gods of a land, your word (like) rushing water no one weakens.<sup>88</sup> The right youngling, whom you smile upon, remains a life time. I, the shepherd, have built the house. I want to lead my lord into his house! Anunna, pray for this on my behalf!” As Enki built his temple in Eridu, “the Anunna went there in

<sup>72</sup> KAR 4:7 ff.; lastly translated from E. Ebeling in H. Gressmann...Because in this composition Enlil plays an important roll, the setting of the events is in Nippur. Therefore one has to recon with the spoken form of the Sumerian text with a genesis in the late old-babylonian time.

<sup>73</sup> According to LINE 23: “They answer Enlil.”

<sup>76</sup> To this mythological place in Nippur writes Th. Jacobsen, JNES V 137: “flesh producer.”

<sup>77</sup> On this topic see C.J. Gadd...above page 132 with footnote 69.

<sup>78</sup> Gudea.... “the Anunna went in with wonder.”

<sup>80</sup> ....see also ...LINE 70, whose text is also through the new Dupl.... not yet definitively established.

<sup>81</sup> “Enki and the World Order”...

<sup>84</sup> ...The break after the related passage Gudea Zyl B xix 17-21 might allude to the fact that the Anunna took part in a feast.

<sup>85</sup> OECT....also below with footnote 127 and with footnote 165.

<sup>88</sup> ....whereby lu-u is an uncommon spelling for lu (-u).



prayer and supplication, and [founded] for Enki in E'[engurra] the biggest (?) throne/office." In the conflict-poem "Winter-Summer" after Ibbisin organized the feast of the gods it is written: "The Anunna bowed<sup>91</sup> on their....., brought in enamtila, his kingly city, upon which An sat down, the place of the cheerful mind (ki-ur-sa-ga), a good feast time (subun-ni-du)."<sup>93</sup> According to a lament from Aruru the A., "who An in the sky sired, that An on the earth sired", resorted to cheerfulness the goddess. This was after seven of the highest gods were not capable of pacifying them. Here also belongs a passage from the end of a long god-enumeration, "the Anunna went to the sky, the Anunna went to the earth."<sup>95</sup> In another place in the cult liturgy: "To the place where An lives, they hurry, my people, their Anunna, to the place, where An lives, they hurry, my people!"

Young texts accentuate the endeavors of the A. to pacify the "heart" of angry deities: "His 'heart' to comfort, the Anunna want to go to him in supplication, the Anunna want [to go to him], whom An sired in the sky"; "to you the Anunna want to go with supplication, the Anunna want to go, who in the sky were sired, the Anunna want to go, who were sired on the earth!"<sup>98</sup>

7. *The Anunna and the Rulers.*—uncommonly rare are the documents, in which the rulers of Babylon in their inscriptions reference the A. Sinidinnam of Larsa calls himself "him, who the Anunna adore (ni-tuku)." The same ruler renews the " 'godly strengths' (and) the cultic laws (gis-hur) of the Anunna." Urnammu complained in the underworld: "I have provided a service to the gods. I have allotted them a concrete place (in the cult), to the Anunna have I shown overflow," he didn't get the praise he wanted however. Sulgi says of himself: "To be of service to the gods, the Anunna to....., I understand." There is reference to the rulers: "When you come from the 'bath house', the Anunna, the great gods, want to give you life and good health."; "the Anunna, the great gods, they-

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-want to speak a good word for you to Utu!"

8. *Gods in relationship to the Anunna.*—Frequently, the A. are only named, so that certain deities, that are themselves daemons, are allocated a special high rank through the comparison with them, the highest gods of the pantheon. Mainly, when the text more closely defines the works of certain deities through the idea that they can inscribe their imprint on the A., they often don't shy back from the ascribing the A. a humble roll. Occasionally, it is also indicated that duties and responsibilities, which from the house of the A. devolved, were delegated to certain gods.

<sup>91</sup> .....;the meaning of su-gal. ....is unclear.

<sup>93</sup> Barton....a in part abnormal translation is given by J. van Dijk...

<sup>95</sup> ....Related texts are offered on page 130 with footnote 34, a cited passage.

<sup>98</sup> ....(in part an incorrect translation. See above pg 129, footnote 25). The passage has a predecessor in VAS II 22 Rs. 2-4, where in an-na (!) me-ri-a and ki-a me-ri-a, mer-ri-a<mu-e-ri-a, "you have sired," is present.

A list of zi he-pa-forms attests that the "heart" of the Anunna is self calming, the *ArOr* XXI 385.

a. An: “The Nungal-Gods Ear, Reason, (and) Eye align themselves with your holy sentence, all the Anunna go full of dread to you, shake before your (!) word like pipes in the storm.”

b. Anzu(d): As the Anzu(d)-bird yelled for his young, without answer, there “went”, as the bird cried, “the Anunna (and) the gods of the mountains<sup>107</sup> like ants in the crevices, as the bird lamented over it, as his wife lamentations raised up.”

c. Assur: “Assur, great lord, god (accusative king) of the Anunna.”

d. Asnan: “The present (kadra) of the Anunna, the reason/mind of the rulers (bara-bara (-g)) am I.”<sup>110</sup>

e. Baba: “You are the one, who under the Anunna is taken with fear.”<sup>111</sup>

f. Daemon, not further named: Before the drive of a Daemon, whose workings on a person through magical instructions (which Enki issued), could be destroyed “flew the ‘fifty’ Anunna from Eridu like (fast) flying bats away in the crevices of the earth.”<sup>112</sup>

g. Enki: “Enki, lord of the overflowing river, magician (isib) of the Anunna”<sup>113</sup>; “Enki, with expansive reason/mind, higher guide (mas-su-mah) of the Anunna”; “Greater (diri) under the Anunna”; the epithet “leader of the council gathering (kingal) of the Anunna” is also most likely a reference to Enki.”

“The Anunna, the great gods, didn’t go about against him”; “the office of the Anunna, of the great gods, the ‘future/fate to decide,’ laid Enki close in your hand”; “Enki built a dwelling place for the Anunna in the city (that is in Nippur), set fields for them in the meadows.”<sup>119</sup>

h. Enlil: “(Enlil) is the highest god (din-gir-mah) under the Anunna”; “the life of the great lord of the Anunna be invoked!”<sup>121</sup>

“The Anunna turned to them their gaze (that is Enlil and Ninlil) like to their loving parents, esteemed (gizzal si-ma-an-

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<sup>107</sup> [Sumerian text] is hardly to be understood as opposition to da-nun-na.

<sup>110</sup> *STVC*.... The epithets are not clear, because the genitive connections have multiple meanings.

<sup>111</sup> *STVC*...(named Gudea); for reading the lines see S.N. Kramer...

<sup>112</sup> *TDr*...; thereby is d u8 graphically a variant to d u6 (see thereto footnote 139). This is the oldest example of the multiple documented phrases. It serves here to praise the wisdom of Enki as outstanding.

<sup>113</sup> “Enki and the World Oder” LINE 8; in... Enki, Iskur, Asnan and Sumugan are depicted as en-he-gal-la-k[e4-ne].

<sup>119</sup> “Enki and the World Order” lines 369-71. To the “Fields of the Anunna” see also *KAR 4 Rs. 6*, “the fields of the Anunna to make good” with this is meant the allotted grain fields for the gods, not the E. Ebeling by H. Gressmann....., the “earth.”

<sup>121</sup> ....unclear is, whether in SRT... there is a reference to Enlil.

<ak-> ke4-es) on their holy highly prized word, that they spoke exactly.”<sup>122</sup>; “on a decided word the Anunna went there (that is to Nippur)”<sup>123</sup>; “in the city shook the Anunna <before> the word <of Enlil>, shook the Anunna, whom An sired in the sky,.....the Anunna, whom An on the earth sired”<sup>124</sup>; “your word was spoken in the sky—the Nungal-gods prayed to you; your word was spoken on the earth—the Anunna kissed the earth”; “his word, before the Anunna hobbled (gi16-le-em).”<sup>126</sup> Helplessness manifested the A. in the “Nippur-lament”; arguably after a decision, which Enlil met: “The Anunna (tried) to impart council [Sumerian text], could (but) identify in Ubsu’unkenna, the place where the big judgments were issued, no right decision.”

i. Inanna: “Lords of the sky, broad-minded ones, aggressive lords, nobility under the Anunna”<sup>128</sup>; “Lords of the sky, who the Anunna precede (za-dib)”; “Hierodule, Lords, who for the Anunna is taken over with fear”; “the ‘dragon’ (usumgal) for the Anunna, who like sheep graze, am I”<sup>131</sup>; “I am greater than the (other) [gods], greater (myself) than the [Anunn]a”; “the life of Inanna, against her word none of the Anunna go, be invoked!”<sup>133</sup>

“The Anunna go to the place, where you live, pray to you”; “all month long, on the new moon day the ‘godly power’ to implement, gathers together around her the gods of the land of Sumer, bow down because of this the Anunna, the great <gods>, speak the prayer for all lands to her”<sup>135</sup>; “before her uproar (za-pa-aga) shake the gods of the land of Sumer, before her yelling sink the Anunna like a single tube/pipe the head (sag-sig-sig)”<sup>136</sup>; “in such a way (a-gim) you are great than the Anunna; the Anunna kiss you before the judgment of the earth”<sup>137</sup>; “the Anunna bow themselves before you”; “my lady, the Anunna, the great gods, flee before you like (fast) flying bats in the crevices (du-de, variation di-de), they do not walk before your vengeful eye, they do not go against your wild disposition”; “the gods are (anxious) birds (buru= *issuru*)—I am the lady (mutin); the Anunna pounce/jerk (like cattle)—I am the good wild cow”<sup>140</sup>; “the Anunna bow before (your) word, sit (still) before (your) decree”; “the-

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<sup>122</sup> UET....(see also *Baghdader*...): “The black-headed look at you, (Iddindagan), like on their father.”

<sup>123</sup> SRT....;similar SGL..., “they awaited it.”

<sup>124</sup> CT..., see above page 129 with footnote 25; similar SBH... which in part after CT... can be corrected.

<sup>126</sup> SBH....;see to these documents CAD...

<sup>128</sup> Sumer...”the High One under the Igu.”

<sup>131</sup> TCL... with apostil...; the text is epigraphically unsure, but through comparison with SBH....

<sup>133</sup> CT XVI...Unclear is STVC 30....”mine: the life of the Anunna is there,” which through SBH... is not sufficiently enlightened.

<sup>135</sup> SRT... The terminative infix...is perhaps a reference to the SRT...chosen “fate-decision,” which An and Inanna decided upon.

<sup>136</sup> STVC....Parallel turnarounds are mentioned in SGL I 56 with footnote 71-72

<sup>137</sup> UMBS...supplemented through the (in part abnormal) Dupl....

<sup>140</sup> VAS...in the young tradition.... (in part uncommon).

-Gods tremble before her, the Anunna shake before her.”

k. Marduk: “(As An and Enlil) named him with the highest name under the Anunna.”

l. Mar.tu: “The Anunna, the great gods, made (all) consider his heroic arm, [spoke] certain to him, [imparted] him reputation, that in the slaughter (his reputation) was like a suite of armor was on his side.”

m. Meslamta’ea: “[Mes]amta’ea, lord, (accusative Enlil) of the Anunna, lord, who opens [.....] (so after the accadian).”

n. Nanna: “Nanna, first (sag-gal) of the Anunna-gods”; “Nanna, who (proud) the head raises, the highest of the Anunna”; “(An and Enlil the Nanna) laid the leading-rope (es-kiri (=KA)), the decision of the Anunna, in his hand”; “King (un-ga) of the Anunna, (all) god are you.”

o. Nergal: “ ‘Ruler,’ who forever ‘godly power’ (possesses), who among the Anunna appears beaming”; “.....(pes-gal=*mamlu*)the Anunna.”<sup>151</sup>

“The Anunna, the great gods, writhe in the dust before your terrifying brilliance”; “the Anunna, your godly brother, pray to you.”

p. Ninhursanga: “Ninhursanga swore by Enki: ‘with the eye of life I will not look upon him until he dies!’ the Anunna writhe over this in the dust.”

q. Ninlil: “Ninlil, highest lady, to whom the Anunna gleaming appear”; “great mother of the Anun[na], lady of Ki’ur.”

r. Ninurta: “The life of Ninurta, the heroin of Nun[gal-gods and the Anunna are invoked]!” “Grand [hero] in the sky (and) on earth, great one of the Anunna”; “the sage (igi-gal) under the Anunna, the great gods, are you”; “Hero, strong under the Anunna, who from the Ekur [came]”; “strong one (a-gal=*mamlu*) under the Anunna”<sup>161</sup>; “the one who avenges the Anunna (su-gar-gar-ra-am).”

“The Anunna, the great gods, do not go against him”; “the Anunna, the great gods,.....(nam-mi-in-tar=*i-tar-ru*) altogether (en-sar-ra=*adi sari*)”; “the Anunna should not rouse you in their dwelling place, the Ubsu’unkenna”<sup>165</sup>; “The Anunna go like mice (hu-mu-un-si-ir) in the crevices of the earth (du-du-da)”; “the Anunna-gods are set to serve you”; “the Anunna lay like sheep together (ki-sar-ra)”; “as he (that is Ninurta) the sky convulsed, rang (An) a hand over the hearts. Enlil trembled-

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<sup>151</sup> IV R... Unclear is the epithet of Nergal “.....the Anunna, the great gods” in *LKA*...

<sup>161</sup> angim I3 (young collection)

<sup>165</sup> angim...Unclear is angim....

-and turned to an angle/corner/chevron. He sought the Anunna, the protective wall, and *flew* like (scared) doves *away* from the house and lamented about it.”

s. Nusku: “You are the wise one (igi-gal) under the Anunna.”

t. Sarpanitu: “(the Life) of the great protectorate gods of the sky and of the earth, the queen (un-gal) of the Anunna, be invoked!”

v. Utu: “Utu, judge of the gods, Utu, to whom the decision falls, father of the Anunna”<sup>173</sup>; “Utu, highly respected one (nir-gal) under the gods, . . . . [Sumerian text], father of the Anunna”; “Utu, leading bull [Sumerian text] of the gods are you, who leads the way of the Anunna, are you”; “gleaming, great one under the Anunna”; “Great one (diri!) of the Anunna”; “the God, who guides the Anunna along the right path”; “great hero, strong one (?) (kal) under the Anunna, against your ‘godly power’ no god goes”; “Elder (urin=*urinnu*) of the Anunna, ‘Dragon’ (usumgal) of the Nungal-gods.”

“The great gods await your light, the Anunna all together look to your face; whose conflicting speech (eme-ha-mun) you make like a unified (word).”  
“The great gods come to you, in order to speak justice, the Anunna come to you, in order to hew the decisions.”

9. *Miscellaneous.*—“The Anunna from the land of Lagas glimmer (rin) for this place with the lord Ningirsu”; “(Ninurta), loved (ki-[aga]) of the Anunna”; “(Eninnu), the one whom the Anunna imparted strength for the battle”; “....., this lamentation is that of the Anunna”; “the Anunna left the people shining brilliantly”; “Azag-Daemon, with the spell of the Anunna I evoke/conjure/swear by you, evil one (lu-hul), with the spell of the Anunna I evoke/conjure/swear by you”; “the life of the Anunna, the great gods, be invoked!” “the Anunna *turned around*”<sup>190</sup>; “in there (that is the sea) the Anunna bathed themselves”; “with his (that is the ‘bath house’s) pure, holy water, the Anunna, the great gods, made themselves clean.”<sup>192</sup>

10. *Conclusions.*—Under the designation Anunna, the gods were a local pantheon from the house out;-

-like the pantheon of Eridu or a territorial state like that of Lagas with its unified centers of Lagas, Girsu and Nina. It is probable that in connection with a congenial union of the

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<sup>173</sup> *UMBS*...see above footnote 5. In IV R (second edition) 17, lines 23-24, and 28, 1:23-24. where St. Langdon, *OECT* VI 46 and 53 da-nun-na insert, so that the decision of the Anunna falls to Utu, is the addition unsure.

<sup>190</sup> *SBH* 24:6; unsure meaning, which the proposed correction from Langdon *SBP* 62 affords;...

<sup>192</sup> Schollmeyer....Unclear are *BE* XXXI....

gods from Nippur, and in suite with the development of the “Imperial Pantheon”, that the idea of a god-grouping may have developed, which, although not including all the gods, did include all of the “great gods” of the Sumerian pantheon.<sup>193</sup> Within the “Imperial Pantheon” system, the A., in part under objection, were understood as children of the sky god An. They belonged together as siblings. Another perception is that of the A. as judges of the underworld. Even so, the A. in Sumerian tradition were not confined to the underworld, as is indicated in part in the middle and late Babylonian literary works in the Acadian language. Dnun-gal-e-ne, the Sumerian equivalent to the Acadian digigu<sup>194</sup>, is inclusively seldom seen in Sumerian texts until the old-Babylonian time. Its specific relationship to the A., therefore, is not ascertainable.

The data concerning the number of the A. is fairly uniform. However, there is no clear consensus as to who belongs to this god-group. We are only clear in that from the gods listed in section 8, 19 belong to the Anunna, and to them also those who, for example Nisaba the great gods have apportioned this role. Whether An, the father of the A. belongs in their number, or whether, like the Ereskigal opposite to the ‘underworld Anunna’, he carries out the decisions of the A., cannot be deciphered from our sources.

The next confusing matters are the varying witnesses in the text: the single deities, but also a whole god-group like for example the dingir-nam-tar-ra who are positioned opposite the A., when they, without doubt, belong to the A. The clearest example is the enumeration of seven of the highest gods who tried to console the lamenting Aruru, before the A. took over the same task. In such instances da-nun-na should be translated “the (rest of/residual) Anunna.”

That the veneration of the A. as a god group did not become a cultic reality is explained in the literary texts: The religious interests were so directed to the single god-beings (the great gods of the “Imperial pantheon” and those only in the local god-circles), that the designation “Anunna, the great gods” served in many ways to praise many gods as the residual/remaining A.

As god-groups, the A. stayed weak. Their doings and tasks are not exactly rewritten. For example, when the “future/fate decision” came to them, it did not conceal

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<sup>193</sup> The identity of the Anunna with the great gods is hardly shown through the frequent supporting documents da-nun-na dingir-gal-gal-e-ne, because this could also mean “the Anunna and the great gods”, it must also be watched that in these supporting documents in the Acadian translations an “and” should never appear between the two limbs (Gliedern), possibly however through the information in the text itself, the “Anunna” and the “Great Gods” can be known as equal worth and exchangeable nomenclature. Sadly, the single supporting documents cannot serve as a basis. Only in so much that the supporting documents for dingir-gal-gal (-e-ne) alone are far more seldom than for da-nun-na, further that there is no temple, which was holy to the “great gods”, and that they are also not found in the administrative documents with the information concerning sacrifices. When the “great gods” and occasionally the “gods who decide the fate” are differentiated from the Anunna, it seems safe to assume that the idea of a grouping by rank among the Anunna is less probable than the tendency towards “parallel ranks/strings” as a means of literary style.

<sup>194</sup> *AHW*.S. 366 f.: “old-Babylonian, in part middle and young Babylonian ‘the (ten) great gods,’ middle/late Babylonian ‘sky gods.’ “ [Sadly I could no longer salvage the important essay of W. von Soden “Babylonische God-groups: Igiu and Anunnaku. Zum Bedeutungswandel theologischer Begriffe”; see...., page 102-11. See also below page 141-58 the article from B. Kienast.]

the fact that the single gods made the decision without the involvement of the A., even against their will. The possibility that from this idea of the A. as a conglomerate of all (great) gods a development could be made, that could lead to a closer unity of the Sumerian pantheon, as was achieved in the “Imperial pantheon”, this possibility could have led somewhere, but was probably never given.