"WHO IS DUMUZI'S FRIEND (ku-ll) ?"

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A relatively little known Sumerian composition is the myth, first entitled "Dumuzi's Dream" by Thorkild Jacobsen, who gave a short sketch of its contents based on 2 duplicates in JNES 12 [1953], 165–166. The dream which forms part of the beginning of the myth was translated by Th. Jacobsen in L. Oppenheim, The Interpretation of Dreams (Philadelphia 1956) 240; but the first to give a more detailed sketch of the myth was S. N. Kramer in Mythologies of the Ancient World (New York 1961), 100–115 (cf. also S. N. Kramer, The Sumerians (Chicago 1963), 155–169; here the myth is entitled "The Death of Dumuzi"). Also A. Falkenstein translated the dream in La Divination en Mésopotamie, XIVe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale (Paris 1960), 62–64; and S. N. Kramer gave a revised sketch of the entire myth in his book The Sacred Marriage Rite (London 1960), 121–127.

Up till now, 47 duplicates for "Dumuzi’s Dream" are known, most of them having been identified by S. N. Kramer; but additions have been made by M. Civil, J. van Dijk, and A. Falkenstein (SLTN 34, cf. CRRA III [1954] 556). Most of the duplicates are very small fragments. This involves a number of difficulties in reconstructing the myth, especially in the case of two passages (lines 89–109 and 126–150), which are crucial with regard to the proper understanding of the sequence of events. It was not until I had the opportunity, in January, 1970, to study an unpublished fragment from Ur in the British Museum, unnumbered, consisting of 8 badly preserved lines, that the duplicates could be placed correctly. This fragment, to which Professor Kramer had drawn...
my attention, was joined, in 1960, by Professor Aaron Shafer, to UET 6/2187, and will be published in the forthcoming UET 6/3 volume. I am greatly indebted to Professor A. Shafer for his permission to use this text before publication.¹

The myth begins by relating that Dumuzi had a dream which he reported to his sister Geshinanna. She interpreted the dream as an omen foreboding his death (lines 1–67). There follow about twenty lines which are too poorly preserved to warrant a connected translation (lines 68–86); but part of this passage seems to have been a conversation between Geshinanna and Dumuzi,² at the end of which she advises him to hide from the demons who will attack him and cause his death (lines 87–88). Following her advice, Dumuzi tells her that he will hide in one of four places, and she takes an oath not to betray him (lines 89–95). There follow six lines which are too badly preserved to make any connected sense (lines 96–101).³ When the context becomes clear again, we find Dumuzi repeating his decision to hide, to his

¹ It gives me great pleasure to express my gratitude to Professor S. N. Kramer who most generously entrust me copies and photographs of 27 unpublished tablets in The University Museum, Philadelphia, and The Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul, and to Professor J. van Dijk for his permission to use his copies of two fragments from the Baghdad Museum as well as a number of excellent suggestions; to Professor Thoralf Jacobsen for providing me with translations of three SIT texts and especially for the letter to be quoted in this article; to Professor Ato Sjöberg, Tablet Curator of The University Museum, for the use of 18 excellent photographs of unpublished texts; to Mrs. J. Helmerdinger for providing me with copies of seven SIT texts; to Dr. Goldberger for permission to collate the duplicates in The British Museum, and to use the unpublished Ur fragment to be studied in this article; to Dr. P. Amiet for permission to collate the duplicates in the Musée du Louvre; to Mrs. M. Cig, for collations of a number of tablets in The Museum of the Ancient Orient, Istanbul; and to Professor J. Lasson for his kind advice and help.

² It seems that Dumuzi in line 85 addresses Geshinanna as "my (female) friend" (ma-na-nu) (not ku-il-nu) but the only two duplicates NI 4240 and NI 4508 are too poorly preserved to allow a definite interpretation. See refs. for ma-il-gi = ruhil in C. Wilcke, ZAIP 25 (1928) 84² ("Sowohl feststehbar besteht sich ma-il durchaus auf ein (subjektives) Verhältnis zwischen Freunden").

³ If we assume that Geshinanna is still talking in line 96—It is a constant difficulty in this composition that the passages of direct speech are in most cases not preceded by an introductory line, so that we have to conclude from the context who the speakers are—her words "your friend" (ku-il-nu) imply that she is not
friend and the friend taking the same oath as Gelltanna that he
will not betray Dumuzi (lines 102-108). Immediately afterward,
the demons arrive in order to find Dumuzi (line 100). 4

There follows a translation (variants will be quoted in my
forthcoming complete edition of the myth), and a translation, of
lines 87-100: 6

Dumuzi’s friend (ku-ll). In the following line, a da-
thu-a-an = “companion” is men-
tioned. The two words ku-ll and da-thu-a-an often occur together; cf. C. Wilcke,
ZANP 24 (1962) 92-93 and passim.

1 We have to conclude from the context that Dumuzi immediately after line 100
left his friend and went away to hide. This stylistic effect that we have to read
between the lines to understand the action, is constantly repeated in “Dumuzi’s
Dream”. A similar, but much sharper effect is caused by the anacoluthon in GHRPL
EraHannuna 28 (1952) 5-14: In lines 5-10 we read EnumaAmsuAmsuAmsu fighting
against UmaAmsuAmsuAmsu, but from lines 11-14 we learn that UmaAmsuAmsuAmsu
was defeated by his son Kinté. We must draw the conclusion that EnumaAmsuAmsu
was killed in the contest mentioned in line 10 (differently Th. Jacobsen, ZANP
18 (1957) 128). Another anacoluthon has been observed by A. Falkenstein in
GHRPL Ushshadha 4 X 20-32 and XI 1-18 (= SAK p. 51, 11: 20-31 and 21-10; cf. GLZ
25, 192, 644 and AOs 18 (1957-58) 96. See also GHRPL Ushshadha 6 II 9-10: damnu-ukkA-t-ke, HAR.SAGu.NA-
pond?”, man took its fishes away. That man (= the poor man) said: “O God.”.”
The logic continuation might have been: “But nobody helped him”, but instead of
this we find that a new section begins in line 15 (cf. also the repetition in III,
4-9 where the last line is omitted: damnu-ukkA-t-ke, HAR.SAGu.NA-an da-bu-
ku-ll bA-bA-bA-da-thu-a-an-tA-ru-tA-ru” differently A. Delitzsch, Orientalia 2 (1925) 19 and 27-28;
M. Lange, TAA 25 (1956) 171-175; J. M. Di luckily, RA 52 (1958) 11; E. Soll-

2 The following duplicates have been used in this article: N = 3N-T 68, Q =
3N-C 295, S = 4N 441, T = UET 418 (collated), U = 4N 425, W =
CT 49, 34 (collated), X = 3N-T 511, Y = 3N-T 946, 321 (copied by J. Heinsohnberger),
Z = 9N 9035, a = 4N 4081 (= TAD 3/2 Lev. XXXV), b =
UET 8/3 187 (collated); C. J. Gadd has copied the opposite only; Johns dj, d = BM unnumbered, to be
published by A. S. Arad (cf. above; Johns 6, c = 3N-T 226, f = CHS 2166, g =
UET 418 (collated), h = SLSNI 34, l = NI 4070, k =
3N-T 946, 321 (copied by J. Heinsohnberger),
S = UT, V, Z, and I will be published in a forthcoming volume by M. Chib, H. Kölpin,
and S. N. Kramer.

Line 83 with parallels: lA-bA = mu-sag, see AFA n. c. of Inanna’s Decree 263
and 314 (JCS 5 (1955) 12-13). mu-sag means to mean “plant log”. It should probably
not be connected with mu-sag “early grass” (cf. mu-sag-ga in RA 8 (1931) 151: 22
(= VS 2, 2 19; mu-sag-ga) parallel with bA-sag-ga “late grass”; the composition
mu-sag-ga bu-sag-ga “in the descent in the early grass” (see Th. Jacobsen, FAPS 107
(1963) 476)); cf. also eouucu (see refs. In W. Helmer, Tierbilder der Su-
87 N
[šeš-mu₇] gal₄, lâ-zu₁-un mu-e-re₇[eš
sag-ó šub-û]

88 N
[šdum₂-z] gal₄, lâ-zu-um mu-e-re₇[eš
sag-ó šub-û]

89 N S
ni₈₉-mu₈₉ sag-ó ga-an-šub ki-mu na-ab-
p(a-dè)

90 N S T U
sag-û di₉₃ di₁₃² lâ ga-an-šub ki-mu na-ab-
pà-dè

91 N S T U V
gal-gal la ga-an-šub ki-mu na-ab-
pà-dè
e-a-ra-li-ka ga-an-šub ki-mu na-ab-
pà-dè
t₈₁₄₉ ki-zu ab-pà-dè-en-na-ur-zu hu-mu-
lû-e
v₈₉₉ ur-nam-sipa-da-zi

94 N S U V
g₈₉₉ ur-nam-en-na-ur-zu hu-mu-
lû-e

96 U
[ \[x \] u₈₉₉-ša ku-li-zu
ri-bê²]

S
[ \[x \] \[x \] mu₈₉-un-ri-ge [ ]
[ m[e]-ri-ge [ ]

97 U
[ \[x \] \[x \] \[x \] \[x \] \[x \] \[x \]
S
[ d₈₉₃-sa du₈₉₉-sa

98 U
[ \[x \] \[x \] \[x \] \[x \] \[x \] \[x \]

99 U
[ \[x \] \[x \] \[x \] \[x \] \[x \] \[x \]

100 U
[ \[x \] \[x \] \[x \] \[x \] \[x \] \[x \]

101 U
[ \[x \] \[x \] \[x \] \[x \] \[x \] \[x \]

102 U W
ku-li-mu sag-ó-a ga-an-šub ki-mu na-
ab-pà-dè

103 U W
sag-û di₉₃ di₁₃² lâ ga-an-šub ki-mu na-ab-
pà-dè

merischen Literatur (Foerst 1968 447–449)). A reading sag-ô(a) ga-an-šub "I will
throw the head in the plants" is unlikely, because line 92 does not read: sag
ea-ra-li-ka ga-an-šub. It is not clear what is the concrete difference between sag-ô,
sag-û di₉₃ di₁₃², and sag-ô gal.

77, Pl. 5, 7–8: lu-su kis-ta lâ-gurum-um lâ-sig ga he-he dinam-nu-e-kam] –
obharem damnum eškum u utilum šábbatum šimmuu lîtar (red. J. van Dijk), cf.
translation in CAD s.v. obharem.
87 "[My brother(?), your demons will come against you,
[throw yourself in the plant tops!]
"[Dumuzi(?), your demons will come against you,
[throw yourself] in the plant tops!
"My sister, I will throw [myself] in the plant tops,
tell not my place;
90 "I will throw [myself] in the top of the small plants,
tell not my place;
"I will throw [myself] in the top of the big plants,
tell not my place;
"I will throw [myself] in the ditches of Arali,
tell not my place!
"When I tell your place, may your dog devour me,
"The black dog, your dog of shepherdship,
95 "The noble dog, your dog of lordship, may your dog devour me!
"[ ] is, on that day(?) . . . your friend.
97 "[ ] companions.

(Lines 98–101 are too badly preserved for translation).
102 "My friend, I will throw [myself] in the plant tops,
tell not my place;
"I will throw [myself] in the top of the small plants,
tell not my place;
"I will throw [myself] in the top of the big plants,
tell not my place;
"I will throw (myself) in the ditches of Arali,
tell not my place.
"When I tell your place, may your dog devour me,
"The black dog, your dog of shepherdship,
"The noble dog, your dog of lordship, may your dog devour me!

"Those who went against the king (Dumuzi) were creatures
who oppose one man to his fellow..."

It has been hitherto assumed that line 102 followed directly
upon line 88, and that ku-lú-ú, "my friend", in line 102, refers
to Geštáanna⁶ as we expect to find Dumuzi addressing her im-
mEDIATELY after line 88. The present reconstruction indicates that
they are two different persons as it will become apparent
from the continuation of the myth: In the following passage the
demons are describing as inhuman beings (lines 110–117), where-
upon we find them going out in pairs to search for Dumuzi from
four cities (Adab, Uruk [variant Alḫak], Ur, and Nippur) (lines
118–125). Finally they arrive at Geštáanna's sheepfold and stall
where they catch her and try to bribe her to tell them where
Dumuzi is (lines 128–129). As she refuses, they decide to go to
Dumuzi's friend (ku-lú) — this definitely proves that the friend is
not Geštáanna — whom they succeed in bribing into betraying
Dumuzi (lines 130–138). He cannot say exactly where Dumuzi is,
but enumerated the four possibilities in the same order as Dumuzi
mentioned them (lines 89–92 and 102–105), whereupon the
demons search for Dumuzi and find him in the last of these four
places (lines 131–146).⁷ As soon as Dumuzi discovers the treachery
of his friend, he begins to weep (lines 147–150).

⁶ See S. N. Kramer, The Sacred Marriage 131 ("... we find Dumuzi saying to
Geštáanna, whom he here addresses as "friend", rather than "slater"...") and
C. Wilcke in his study of ku-li in ZANF 25 (1909) 65–99, see p. 65–70 (lines 87,
116, and 125–127) in Wilcke's article correspond to lines 102, 130, and 147–150
in this article.

⁷ The text does not say explicitly that the demons found Dumuzi in the ditches
of Arali (after line 146), but we have to surmise this from the context (cf. note 4).

Line 128: Cf. Lugal-e III 8–9: ṣb-lú-ša-il-ú... = [ššúššíššú... to CAD s. v. 4ši ša, and ddi ša.; the restitution is, however, not certain, as we might expect
a form of ŠDÁ, cf. W. Helms, Tiberiasr 260–262 and 516–517 and ASL 204, 18;
The following is a transliteration (variations will be fully quoted in my forthcoming edition of the myth) and translation of lines 126–150:

The translation is tentative; cf. C. Wilcke, ZANP 25 [1909] 79–81 and Das Legambandemon (Wiesbaden 1908) 49 (Babylonia refers to the mother-goddess, cf. PRAK I B 471 113 where 6th refers to aurochs); cf. also J. van Dijk, OLZ 60, 1965, 27.

Lines 140–150: Cf. "Inanna's Descent": 243–244 and 264–265 (JCS 5 [1951] 10–11). B. Landsberger's translation "They allot to them the water of the river", "They allot to them the grain of the field" (JCS 5 [1951] 17) is grammatically impossible.

Line 143: For [ki]-let-ba, cf. UET 6/2 11, 69; kî-let-um li-ima-ab.


"One man runs to his fellow, and they came to the sheepfold and cowhouse.

"They catch Geštinanna at the sheepfold and stall.
"They offer her a river as a water-gift; she accepts it not,
"They offer her a field as a grain-gift; she accepts it not.

"The little demon speaks to the big demon;
"The clever demon [speaks to the big(?) demon];
"The evil demon [speaks to his companion]:
"Who among(?) the demons
"has ever seen a sister revealing the place of a brother?

"Come! Let us go to his friend!
"on that [day] they offer
"his friend a river as a water-gift; he accepts it;
"They offer him a field as a grain-gift, he accepts it:
"My friend has thrown (himself) in the plant tops,
  but I don't know his place".

They search for Dumuzi in the plant tops,
  (but they find him not).
"He has thrown (himself) in the top of the small plants,
  but I don't know his place".
They search for Dumuzi in the top of the small plants
  (but they find him not).
"He has thrown (himself) in the top of the big plants,
  but I don't know his place".

"He has thrown (himself) in the ditches of Arali,
  but I don't know his place".
"They search for Dumuzi in the ditches of Arali.
“Dumuzi began to weep, and turned exceedingly pale:
“In the city my sister saved my life, but my friend killed me!
“A son—may a sister let him walk on the street—
   may everybody kiss him!
“A son—may a friend let him walk on the street—
   may nobody kiss him!”

The rest of the myth relates that the demons caught Dumuzi, that he received help three times from Utu to escape them, and that they finally caught him in Geštinanna’s fold and caused his death (lines 151–253).

This new interpretation, according to which Geštinanna and the friend are two different persons, was anticipated by Thorild Jacobsen—without knowing the crucial duplicates S and D—as will appear from a letter dated Jan. 22nd, 1970 (translated from the Danish): “The rules for Sumerian narrative art undoubtedly demand that Dumuzi tells his intention to hide and where, both to his sister and to his friend (ku-IL) . . . When the gašun-gendarmes come, Geštinanna withstands their proposal to bribe him to betray Dumuzi, but the friend is more easily tempted . . . Thus quite a few lines [namely lines 89–101] must be lacking before the CT text starts [namely with line 102], and the assumption that ku-IL refers to Geštinanna is scarcely warranted. It is only based on this text and seems quite unacceptable to me”.

We are not likely to find the name of Dumuzi’s friend since he does not seem to play any rôle in other Dumuzi compositions.8

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8 UET 6/1, 55–72 (cf. S. N. Kramer, PAPS 107 [1963] 492–493 and 515–516; A. Falkenstein in Festschrift Werner Castel, Hor. von Erschs Graf (Leiden 1968) 108–109; J. van Dijk, Illustreol Religionshistorie I (Kopenhagen 1968) 222–225; G. Castella, Mitologia sumerico-acadica (Turino 1960) 192–195) gives a different version of the topic found in “Dumuzi’s Dream” lines 137–46, according to which the demons went to Geštinanna’s “place” (ki-Geštin-anna-ku-4a, line 58) where they tried without success to force her to betray her brother by tortureing her. As they did not find him in her “house” (line 60), they decided to go to her sheeಪeld stall (ga-ni-Geštin-anna-ap-du) where tablet Kn. 195–48: ga-an-di-ry-4a-ke: line 60, collocated where they found him. A ku-IL is mentioned in Boo 54 (cf. C. Weilke, ZA NF 25 [1969] 80), but in a quite different context. — According to the well known version of “Inanna’s Descent”, edited in JCS 5 [1951] 1–14, Inanna let the demons catch Dumuzi (line 305) whereupon he escaped by receiving help form Utu (lines 352–363; the last four lines can now be partly restored from new duplicates in The British Museum, joined to UET 6/1 10, to be published by A. Shafer).
According to "Inanna's Descent", Dumuzi was given to the demons by his wife Inanna as a substitute for herself as a punish-
ment because he was not mourning while she was dead in the Nether World. The faithful and self-denying sister Geltinuma is, however, common to both compositions.

[Additional remarks.

Lines 128–129 and 137–138: J. van Dijk has drawn my attention to the parallel in the hymn to Aruru and Ninhursaga CT 36, 47–50 (cf. for this text J. van Dijk, AcOr 28 [1965] 359 and J. Kreeger, Skyl 50; for other hymns to the mother goddesses, cf. G. Gragg in TCS HI 160–164, and H. Sjöberg, OrNu 38 [1969] 355), see CT 36, 48: 15: i₄ (A+LAGABxA) a-bi mu-ra-an-ba a-tā še-bi mu-ra-an-ba, and passim in the same text (for the writing A+LAGABxA, which also occurs in “Dumuzi’s Dream” line 128 as a variant of i₄(-d) in text c (~ UET 6/2 187 II¹ 11), cf. MSL VII 189 note to lines 90–95). Here a translation in accordance with B. Landsberger’s in JCS seems to be justified, although we might except i₄-d₂ and “a-tā-ga . . .].

Dr. A. Shaffer, whom I had asked to confirm my reading of lines 128–127 by collation, kindly informs me that “the sign is TURSAL in both UET 6/2 187 obv. 9 and 10. Thus the reading is ama₄-t₄-šilam in 9 and ama₄-šilam in 10.”}