INANNA-ISHTAR
AS PARADOX AND
A COINCIDENCE
OF OPPOSITES

Rivkah Harris

The god: day and night, winter and summer, war and peace, satiety and hunger.¹

Inanna-Ishtar frequently has been described by ancient Near Eastern scholars as a complex, multifaceted goddess.² Thorkild Jacobsen concludes his sensitive discussion of the goddess by saying that Inanna has

This is a revised and expanded version of a paper that was presented at the American Oriental Society meeting held in Los Angeles in March 1987 and at the Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale in July 1988 in Philadelphia. Much has been written about Inanna-Ishtar by people outside of the field of ancient Near Eastern studies. The tendency in these writings is to flatten and level the distinctively Mesopotamian features of the goddess. For example, Joan O'Brien, in reviewing D. Wolkstein and S. N. Kramer, *Inanna, Queen of Heaven and Earth: Her Stories and Hymns from Sumer* (New York: Harper & Row, 1983) in *Classical World* 79 (1985): 60, states that "Inanna's resemblances to various Greek deities and to the Aegean nature deities of the Bronze Age [is] currently being resurrected by archaeologists and students of Greek religion." See also the observation by Marvin Pope, *Song of Songs*, Anchor Bible (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1977), p. 562: "The combination of beauty and terror which distinguishes the Lady of the Canticle also characterizes the goddess of Love and War throughout the ancient world, from Mesopotamia to Rome, particularly the goddess Inanna or Ishtar of Mesopotamia, Anat of the West Semites, Athena or Victoria of the Greeks and Romans, Britannia, and most striking of all, Kali of India." The telling comments → Jo Ann Hackett, "Can a Sexist Model Liberate Us? Ancient Near Eastern 'Fertility' Goddess," *Journal of Feminist Studies in Religion* 5, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 65–76, serve as a corrective. She notes (p. 75) that "the fullness and breadth of the power of these goddesses represented in the ancient world is boiled down to one or two aspects." I will therefore largely bypass the works by nonspecialists and focus on the primary sources and the studies by specialists.

² The history of the syncretism and fusion of the Sumerian Inanna with the Akkadian Ishtar is complex and problematic. Scholars have attempted to resolve the problem in different ways. See the study by W. Heimpel, "A Catalog of Near Eastern Venus Deities,"
“become truly all woman and of infinite variety.”\(^3\) Samuel N. Kramer has taken note of “the contrasting strands in Inanna’s multi-faceted character.” Leo Oppenheim was of the view that Ishtar possessed “divine qualities which are extremely difficult to characterize.”\(^4\) In his thoroughgoing article on Inanna-Ishtar, C. Wilcke comments that although all possible epithets are attributed to the goddess, there is little within the scope of human life that falls within her domain.\(^5\) That Inanna “represents the irrational notions within Sumerian society” is the suggestion of B. Alster.\(^6\)

More recently, the French Assyriologist J. Bottéro has emphasized the bipolarity and marginality of the goddess that he believes derives from her association with the prostitute.\(^7\) Of special interest too is the stimulating article by H. I. J. Vanstiphout where he stresses the goddess’s “variety of features, her constant movement, her unabating struggle for domination.” He concludes that the Mesopotamians “so to speak eliminated strife as an abstract principle by incorporating it into the psychology of Inanna.”\(^8\)

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3 Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness, p. 143. In his article “Mesopotamian Religion: An Overview,” in The Encyclopedia of Religion, ed. M. Eliade (New York: Macmillan, 1987), 9:459, Thorkild Jacobsen suggests that the fact that “the offices attributed to her show little unity or coherent pattern” may be due to “the syncretistic image of Inanna.” I hope to show that, on the contrary, there does exist a coherency in her attributes.


7 J. Bottéro, “La femme, l’amour et la guerre en Mesopotamie ancienne,” Poikilia Études offertes à Jean-Pierre Vernant (Paris: EHESS, 1987), pp. 165–83. Bottéro suggests various possible explanations for the special character of the goddess, which include ethnographical, historical, and psychological factors. For him, since the gods are man writ large, the human model for the deity is the prostitute, advocate of free love, a marginal person in society, “incapable de s’intégrer directement à la vie sociale des autres, et . . . génératrice de conflits, incapable de resoudre ces heurts inévitables et quotidiens en se pliant aux usages et aux convenances” (p. 177). Bottéro’s views certainly merit consideration. But there is, in my opinion, much more to the goddess. 

8 H. I. J. Vanstiphout, “Inanna/Ishtar as a Figure of Controversy,” Struggles of the Gods: Papers of the Groningen Work Group for the Study of the History of Religions,
These scholars and others all touch on a highly elusive yet essential aspect of the goddess's configuration, one that was at the core of her awesomeness and the source of her abiding fascination for the Mesopotamians and their neighbors. It is this baffling yet basic quality of the goddess on which I will focus and which I will attempt to define and describe.

Stated succinctly, I would say that Inanna-Ishtar was a paradox; that is, she embodied within herself polarities and contraries, and thereby she transcended them. She was, to put it somewhat differently, a deity who incorporated fundamental and irreducible paradoxes. She represented both order and disorder, structure and antistructure. In her psychological traits and behavior she confounded and confused normative categories and boundaries and thereby defined and protected the norms and underlying structure of Mesopotamian civilization.

Prayers, hymns, myths, festivals, and cultic personnel reveal the contours of this distinctive aspect of the goddess who was far more than simply the goddess of fertility, of love and war, and the Venus star. I might add that in Mesopotamia it could only be a goddess and not a god who would incorporate anomalies and antinomies. As Sherry Ortner suggests, it is the female who is usually assigned "completely polarized and apparently contradictory meanings, since extremes, as we say, meet."10

Although the oxymoronic aspect of Inanna-Ishtar's personality may well be rooted in historical events, it had, I think, profound theological significance for the ancients.11 The contraries that led to disorder added a dimension that should not be quickly dismissed or denigrated. Inanna-Ishtar was far more than "truly all woman and of infinite variety."12

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ed. H. G. Kippenberg (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1984), pp. 225–37, esp. p. 233. Vansciclphout discusses the various scholarly interpretations suggested down the years to account for her manifoldness.

9 There are, e.g., many parallels between Ishtar and the Hurrian goddess Ishtar-Shawushka. For these see I. Wegner, Gestalt und Kult des Ishtar-Shawuska Kleinasien, Hurritologische Studien (Kevelaer: Verlag Butzon & Zerker, 1981), 3:1–9.


11 Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness, p. 135, observes that her many different aspects (which make for the ambiguities) incline one "to wonder whether several, originally different deities, have not here coalesced in one, the many faceted goddess Inanna." See also the study by Heimpel (n. 1 above) for an historical reconstruction of the fusion of Inanna and Ishtar.

12 As Jacobsen concludes his discussion of the goddess (The Treasures of Darkness, p. 143). So, too, Kramer, From the Poetry of Sumer (n. 3 above), p. 96, misses the menacing complexity of the goddess when he says that "Inanna is the very epitome of the liberated woman, the ideal divine patroness for the current women's lib movement. Bright, brave and desirable, nonetheless she allowed no one, neither man nor god, to stand in her way."
The texts reveal both the benign and the horrific sides of the goddess’s personality. All too often, as others have noted, Inanna-Ishtar frequently acts in ways that disrupt the social order. She can be wild and savage, excessive in her sexuality and love of war. Her sexual encounters mingle eroticism with violence.

In the Gilgamesh Epic she is depicted, on one hand, as a compassionate, maternal goddess, distraught at the destruction of mankind by flood: “Ishtar cries out like a woman in travail.” At the same time she is described in the scene where she proposes marriage to Gilgamesh as a lusty, aggressive goddess, vindictive and vengeful when rejected by the hero. The composer of the so-called standard version of the Gilgamesh Epic incorporated the originally separate flood story into his version, surely aware of the contradictory depictions of the goddess. They apparently presented no problem to him.

The goddess’s hypersexuality is frequently noted in the texts, especially in the Gilgamesh Epic. But it comes as no surprise that a recently published myth emphasizes her sexual innocence: “I am one who knows not that which is womanly—copulating. I am one who knows not that which is womanly—kissing.”

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13 Especially Kramer and Jacobsen.
15 See J. Pritchard, ed., *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1955), p. 94 xi:116. This is not to say that Inanna-Ishtar is a mother goddess. She is not. Although the mother of sons (see Wilcke [n. 5 above], p. 80), her maternity is of no consequence in her myths.
Inanna-Ishtar is a liminal figure; she is androgynous, marginal, ambiguous. She is neither here nor there. She is betwixt and between. And as Victor Turner observed, “ambiguous and indeterminate attributes are expressed by a rich variety of symbols.”

The powerful hymn of the entu priestess Enheduanna, daughter of Sargon, ruler of Akkad (2370–2316 B.C.E.) to Inanna highlights the anomalies of the goddess: she is the “Lady (who) soothes the reins, the lady (who) gladdens the heart,” but also: “Like a dragon you have deposited venom on the land.” She is both a loving spouse to Dumuzi and a hostile wife.

The most vivid expressions of the goddess’s innate contradictions appear in the following passage:

To run, to escape, to quiet and to pacify are yours, Inanna. . .
To destroy, to build up, to tear up and to settle are yours, Inanna. . .
To turn a man into a woman and a woman into a man are yours, Inanna. . .
Business, great winning, financial loss, deficit are yours, Inanna. . .
Neglect, careful preparation, to raise the head and to subdue are yours, Inanna. . .
Slander, untruthful words, to speak inimical (words) (and) to add hostile words are yours, Inanna. . .
To initiate a quarrel, to joke, to cause smiling, to be base and to be important are yours, Inanna.

Even more pointed are the following lines: “You have thrown into confusion those threads which have been ordered. . . . You organize those threads which bring confusion. . . . Inanna, you have destroyed what should not have been destroyed, you have made what should not have been made.”

Inanna-Ishtar as the source of human conflict and destruction is frequently underlined in prayers: “Star of the battle-cry, who can make brothers who have lived together in harmony fight each other.”

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20 See the moving laments of the bereaved young widow Inanna after the death of her husband Dumuzi in Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness, pp. 49–52. And yet the goddess is responsible for his seizure in her stead by the demons of the netherworld in the Sumerian myth, “Inanna’s Descent to the Netherworld.”
“When you put clean festive garments on them / You soil one, / and another you neglect even though his is clean(!) . . . “You, Ishtar, thus always finish men off.”24

Inanna-Ishtar is ambiguity incarnate. She is, to quote Susan Stewart’s definition of ambiguous, “that which cannot be defined in terms of any given category [she] threatens the integrity of individual categories being ‘either this or that something else.’ [She] belongs to more than one domain at a time and will not fix [her] identity in any one member of this set of domains. [She] is both this and that.”25

Two myths seem to imply the great vulnerability of the goddess to madness, the enormous potential of her raw power for incalculable destructiveness if uncurbed. Her wildness and unpredictability, they suggest, are dangerous to both humans and gods. She cannot in her marginality be a symbol of unchecked power. The Sumerian myth several times repeats the refrain, “How you (Inanna) torment heaven and earth.”26 It is the wily Sumerian trickster god Enki who comes to the aid of gods and men by fashioning the gala, the lamentation priest, providing him with prayers and laments as well as with musical instruments. With their aid, the gala soothes the fierce and angry goddess.

More curious is the Akkadian myth incorporated into a hymn in praise of Ishtar.27 It relates the creation by the Akkadian counterpart of Enki, Ea, of the goddess’s double, Saltu, literally, Strife.28 He creates her from the dirt of his fingernails, as he does the sexless creatures in the Sumerian version of the goddess’s descent to the


26 S. N. Kramer, “BM 29616: The Fashioning of the gala,” Acta Sumerologica 3 (1981): 1–9. This is an instance, then, of music as therapy as it is in an episode of the biblical David and Saul story (1 Sam. 16:23). I. J. Gelb, “Homo Ludens in Early Mesopotamia,” Studia Orientalia 46 (1975): 73, comments, “It also seems quite clear that the gala, while men, had certain feminine characteristics which connect them with women.” This is especially interesting in light of the sexual ambiguity of the goddess’s cultic personnel.

27 For an excellent treatment of this myth and references to studies of the text, see B. R. Foster, “Ea and Saltu,” in Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of J. J. Finkelstein, ed. M. de J. Ellis (Hamden, Conn.: Academy of Arts and Sciences, 1977), pp. 79–84.

Netherworld.\(^{29}\) (That strife is personified may indicate the high value the Mesopotamians placed on it and the importance of the role attributed to it.) Šaltu is formed to do battle with the ferocious Ishtar and so to tame her. But this proves unnecessary. The sight of Šaltu, “a gross travesty of Ishtar herself” is sufficient to curb the goddess.\(^{30}\) The hymn ends with Ea conciliating Ishtar by instituting an annual whirling dance in her honor, a dance associated with men.\(^{31}\)

W. W. Hallo has noted: “Ishtar’s preoccupation with the me’s may almost be said to approach the character of an obsession in Sumerian literature. In ‘Inanna and Enki’ we have one version of the manner in which with a good deal of deviousness, the goddess acquired the me’s from Enki.”\(^{32}\) The mes are especially important in Enheduanna’s hymn to the goddess.

The meaning of the term me basic to civilization has long been discussed and debated.\(^{33}\) What is significant for us is the intimate relationship between the goddess and the mes, for both embody antitheses. Among other things, the mes include: “The setting up of lamentsations . . . the art of lovemaking . . . the art of prostitution . . . the art of forthright speech . . . the art of prostitution . . . the art of treachery . . . the art of straightforwardness . . . the plundering of cities . . . deceit . . . the art of kindness . . . fear . . . consternation . . . the kindling of strife . . . counseling . . . heart-soothing.”\(^{34}\)

Central then to the Mesopotamian perspective is the existence of antitheses and contradictions, the delicate balancing of order and disorder.

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29 Pritchard, ed. (n. 15 above), p. 56:219. These creatures, like Inanna-Ishtar, are liminal, being neither male nor female. In the Akkadian Descent Ea creates an assimmu, who is a cultic member of the goddess's temple.


31 The Akkadian word for this whirling dance is guštu, a pun on Ishtar’s name, Gušea. In this hymn Ishtar is described as “dancing the whirl as a man does.”

32 Hallo and van Dijk, p. 48.

33 For a discussion of the meaning of me, see ibid., pp. 49–50. Hallo and van Dijk translate the mes as “divine attributes.” For a full analysis of the mes, see G. Farber-Flügge, Der Mythos Inanna und Enki unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Liste der me, Studia Pohl, no. 10 (Rome: Päpstliches Bibelinstitut, 1973), pp. 116–64. I find that the translation by Alster, “the cultural norms,” is the most fitting. See his “On the Interpretation of the Sumerian Myth ‘Inanna and Enki’” (n. 14 above), pp. 20–34, esp. p. 21.

The observation by Froma Zeitlin on the personality of the Greek god Dionysus seems particularly appropriate to Inanna-Ishtar: in her own person she "attests to the coincidentia oppositorum that challenge the hierarchies and rules of the public masculine world, reintroducing into it confusions, conflicts, tensions, and ambiguities, insisting always on the more complex nature of life than masculine aspirations would allow."

Central to the goddess as paradox is her well-attested psychological and more rarely evidenced physiological androgyny. Inanna-Ishtar is both female and male. Over and over again the texts juxtapose the masculine and feminine traits and behavior of the goddess. She can be both compassionate, supportive, and nurturing and assertive, aggressive, and strong-willed. In short, she breaks the boundaries between the sexes by embodying both femaleness and maleness.

To illustrate briefly from the primary sources:

→ Froma Zeitlin, "Playing the Other: Theatre, Theatricality, and the Feminine in Greek Drama," *Representations* 11 (Summer 1985): 63–94, quote on 79. I find that Dionysus in the deepest sense approaches the very special and elusive quality of Inanna-Ishtar far more than does any goddess in any other tradition.

36 Heimpel (n. 1 above), disagrees with the view that a case can be made for Inanna-Ishtar's androgyny. But see now the thorough and excellent article by B. Groneberg, "Die sumerische-akkadische Inanna/Ishtar: Hermaphroditos?" *Die Welt des Orients* 17 (1986): 25–46, who criticizes Heimpel's view (pp. 30–33). She concludes, "Die Tatsache ist ein weiter Hinweis darauf, dass auch in Mesopotamien die bi-sexuelle Idee nicht in konkreter, sondern in mythologischer Sprache, verstanden werden will." Groneberg finds the male warlike aspects of the goddess attested from ca. 2500–ca. 700 B.C.E. Iconographically, Inanna-Ishtar is frequently represented as a woman-in-arms. On her iconography with bibliography, see U. Seidel, "Inanna-Ishtar," in *Reallexikon der Assyriologie*, ed. D. O. Edzard (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1976), 5:87–89. J. Ochshorn, "Ishtar and Her Cult," in *The Book of the Goddess Past and Present*, ed. C. Olson (New York: Crossroad, 1986), p. 20, errs when she speaks of "the startlingly androgynous vision of ancient near Eastern polytheism." Apart from Inanna-Ishtar (and Hurrian Ishtar-Shawushka) the gender boundaries are strictly adhered to in Mesopotamia. So, too, is she mistaken when she suggests that "victory in war was not viewed as an essentially feminine or masculine trait" (Ochshorn, p. 20). War was a masculine occupation and preoccupation. Although Mesopotamian society was not the sexually dimorphic society of classical Athens, the public sphere, with the exception of very limited functions, was closed to women. For this, see I. J. Winter, "Women in Public: The Disk of Enheduanna, the Beginning of the Office of En-priestess and the Weight of Visual Evidence," in *La femme dans le Proche-Orient Antique*, ed. J.-M. Durand (Paris: Éditions recherche sur les civilisations, 1987), pp. 189–201. It is noteworthy that C. Fontaine, "The Deceptive Goddess in Ancient Near Eastern Myth: Inanna and Inaras," in *Reasoning with the Foxes: Female Wit in a World of Male Power*, ed. J. C. Exum and J. W. H. Bos, Semea, no. 42 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1988), p. 91, applying folkloristic methodology to the Sumerian myths of Inanna, comments that "Inanna fills with ease the typical action roles ascribed to male characters in traditional compositions. . . . *At the same time, Inanna resists total 'masculinization' and retains her feminine nature*" (emphasis mine). In short, the goddess is both masculine and feminine.
Though I am a woman I am a noble young man, 37
Her coming forth is that of a hero . . . lordship and kingship he placed in her hand. 38
When I take my stand at the rear of battle, verily I am the woman who comes and draws near. When I sit in the ale-house, I am a woman (but) verily I am an exuberant man,
When I am present at a place of quarreling, verily I am a woman, a perfect pillar.
When I sit by the door of the tavern, verily I am a prostitute who knows the penis. The friend of a man, the girl-friend of a woman. 39

Though Inanna-Ishtar is a wife and mother, neither is of great significance in her mythology. 40 She is not involved with the normal feminine pursuits of weaving and child care. The goddess’s roles as prostitute and warrior place her outside of the female domestic domain and in the extradomestic world of the former and in the public arena of men who quest for power and fame. 41 Over and over again the texts stress her bloodthirstiness, her love of war and carnage: “Battle is a feast for her.” 42 “She washes the tools in the blood of battle. She opens the ‘door of battle.’” 43 “Inanna, you pile up heads like dust, you sow heads like seeds.” 44

And at the same time, the maternal solicitous love of Inanna for Mesopotamian kings is noted again and again: “She (Ishtar) held you

40 The father of the children is not Dumuzi, and her sons play no role in her mythology or worship.
42 Just as “to go to war is a festival for young men.” See The Assyrian Dictionary, vol. 1/1, p. 197.
44 Cooper (n. 14 above), p. 251:188–89.
in her kind arm (like a child).”45 “In her loving bosom she embraced you and protected your whole figure.”46

The significance of Ishtar-Inanna’s androgyne is aptly described by B. Groneberg: “Wohl infolge ihres bi-polaren Wesens ist vor allem Dingen die Göttin Inanna/Ishtar, die bestehende Ordnungen umkehren und doch als negativen und positiven Pol eines geordneten Ganzen in sich vereinen kann.”47 Her androgyne also manifests itself ritually in the transvestism of her cultic personnel. The awesome power of the goddess shows itself in the shattering of the human boundary between the sexes: “She (Ishtar) [changes] the right side (male) into the left side (female), she [changes] the left side into the right side, she [turns] a man into a woman, she [turns] a woman into a man, she ador[ns] a man as a woman, she ador[ns] a woman as a man.”48

Mesopotamians believed that the transforming of men into women and women into men through the frightening power of the goddess was done “in order to teach the people religious fear.”49

Inanna-Ishtar combines male aggressiveness with the force of a superabundance of female sexuality. She encompasses the two forms of potential disorder and violence—sex and war.50

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46 Pritchard, ed. (n. 15 above), p. 451. The maternal love and concern of Ishtar of Arbela for Esarhaddon and his son Ashurbanipal are especially prominent in the messages sent by the goddess to these rulers via a “prophet” who might be either male or female. On these, see Pritchard, ed., pp. 449–51.
47 Groneberg (n. 36 above), pp. 42–43.
48 Sjöberg, “in-nin ša-gur-ra” (n. 21 above), p. 225. Sjöberg gives references and discusses the meaning of the transformation implied here. In his opinion, the passage does not suggest “a changing of sexes when referring to the Inanna-Ishtar cult. The passages refer only to the changing roles of women and men in the cult ceremonies.” In the reference (p. 225) to Ishtar changing Esarhaddon’s enemy from a man into a woman, in my view, the hope is that the enemy will become powerless like a woman. Note the association in Mesopotamia, as elsewhere, of the left side with the female and the right side with the male. On the “pure right” hand and the “impure left” hand, see M. Civil, “Enil and Ninlil: The Marriage of Sud,” in Studies in Literature from the Ancient Near East Dedicated to Samuel Noah Kramer, ed. J. M. Sasson, American Oriental Series, no. 65 (New Haven, Conn.: American Oriental Society, 1984), esp. pp. 46–47.
49 L. Cagni, The Poem of Erra, Sources from the Ancient Near East 1, no. 3 (Malibu, Calif.: Undena, 1977), p. 52 iv:56: “ana šulḫuḫ niši”. The well-attested sexuality and femininity of Inanna-Ishtar, and her powers of fertility for humans and animals as well as the land, are vividly depicted in the rich poetry of the sacred marriage rites. For these, see S. N. Kramer, The Sacred Marriage Rite: Aspects of Faith, Myth and Ritual in Ancient Sumer (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1969). What I want to emphasize here is the paradoxical juxtaposition of her manliness/maleness alongside her femininity/femaleness, the bipolarity which is the special character of the goddess.
The goddess also confounds the boundaries of status, of high and low. Her very special relationship with kings extends from early times down to Ashurbanipal, the last Assyrian king (see n. 46). Of notable prominence is her relationship with Sargon of Akkad, the Semitic ruler who "laid the basis for the new departure in Mesopotamian political organization and ushered in a complex of social, religious, and artistic innovation that deserve[s] to be regarded as a kind of cultural explosion."51 The term "dynasty of Ishtar" is, as B. Foster describes it, "a tantalizing late sobriquet" for the Old Akkadian dynasty of Sargon and his successors. He makes the provocative comment that "the way of Ishtar points to something in the early Mesopotamian view of warfare . . . a paradox neatly drawn in an Old Babylonian Sargon epic where the undulating lines of battle are compared to two women in the act of giving birth, gushing blood in their climactic agony."52 When Ishtar turns away from her dynasty, ruin and devastation inevitably follow.

At the same time that the goddess is associated with the most powerful in the land, with those who wield the greatest human power, she is also the patroness of prostitutes, those who belong to the fringes of society, to its marginal members.53 In the Gilgamesh Epic, Ishtar assembles her devotees to mourn the killing of the Bull of Heaven by Gilgamesh and Enkidu: "(Thereupon) Ishtar assembled courtesans, hierodules and prostitutes."54 She is herself as the harimtu, the harlot of Heaven, the role model for her votaries: "O harlot, you set out for the alehouse / O Inanna, you are bent on going into your (usual) window (namely to solicit) for a lover . . . / You, my lady, dress like one of no repute in a single garment / The beads (the sign) of a harlot

valued masculine characteristics are often associated with war, a female warrior must be seen as inherently unsettling to the social order." War, contra Ochshorn (n. 36 above), is a masculine activity in Mesopotamia. See now the provocative but problematic comments of B. R. Foster, "Women in Sargonic Society," in La femme dans le Proche-Orient Antike, ed. J.-M. Durand (Paris: Éditions recherche sur les civilisations, 1987), pp. 55–56, where he speaks of "the feminine aspect of war." Crucial is the very significant role that Ishtar plays in the Akkadian dynasty, a period of transition and ideological transformations in Mesopotamian society.


53 For comments on prostitution in Mesopotamia, see my "Images of Women in the Gilgamesh Epic" (in press).

54 Tigay (n. 16 above), p. 135.
you put around your neck.”

Inanna-Ishtar thus breaks down the
category of status as noted quite explicitly in the proverb: “At Ishtar’s
command the noble’s wife gets a bad name.”

Inanna-Ishtar shatters the boundaries that differentiate the species,
those between divine and human, divine and animal, human and
animal. But evidence for this is harder to come by than her confusion
of the sexual categories. An episode in the Gilgamesh Epic is perhaps
the most telling. She becomes enamored with the hero and proposes
marriage to him—thereby assuming the masculine role. Gilgamesh,
in a long, devastatingly critical speech, rejects her proposal. (She will
subsequently retaliate in typically male fashion.) He enumerates her
past sordid affairs, her previous lovers and their fates. They were
Dumuzi, a bird, a lion, a war-horse, a shepherd, and a gardener. All
came to grief. The shepherd she turned into a wolf. Ishtar thus
confused the boundaries in her choice of lovers between divine and human,
divine and animal (and bird); and in the transformation of a human
into a wolf, the boundary between human and animal, the divisions
then between the species.

Lions especially are associated with Ishtar. She is the only goddess
to have the epithet of lionness (labbattu), and with her fierceness and
raging power it is indeed a fitting epithet, even more befitting the
maleness of the goddess.

Relevant here is the new interpretation by Thorkild Jacobsen of the
well-known Burney Relief. The winged goddess of the plaque with

55 Jacobsen, The Treasures of Darkness (n. 1 above), p. 140. See below Jacobsen’s new
interpretation of the Burney Relief as an Ishtar icon that may have been on display in a
brothel.
Note that this proverb is immediately preceded by proverbs concerning prostitutes, male
and female, the goddess’s devotees.
57 Her proposal is very brief in contrast to Gilgamesh’s lengthy rejection. In “Images
of Women in the Gilgamesh Epic,” borrowing from W. D. O’Flaherty’s discussion on
“Banalization and Derision of Gods” in her Women, Androgynes and Other Mythical
Beasts (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), pp. 72–76, I suggest that in this
episode Ishtar is at the bottom, not on the top, as she would expect a goddess to be. This
is an instance, one of several in the epic, of status inversion.
58 See Abusch (n. 16 above), pp. 165–73, for a stimulating discussion of the space/time
structure of Gilgamesh’s speech.
59 See Seidel (n. 36 above), vol. 5, p. 88, and vol. 7/1–2, p. 81, for “Löwen in
Verbindung mit Götern.” See also V. W. Fauth, “Istar als Löwengöttin und die löwen-
61 Thorkild Jacobsen, “Pictures and Pictorial Language (The Burney Relief),” Figura-
tive Language in the Ancient Near East, ed. M. Mindlin et al. (London: School of
Oriental and African Studies, 1987), pp. 1–11. For the earlier interpretation, see H. Frank-
pp. 110–12.
bird's claws, flanked by owls and standing on two lions couchant, he believes, is Inanna as "Lady Owl" who, when named Kilili, "denotes the harlot who like the owl comes out at dusk." He suggests that the Burney Relief may have "served as a cult-relief at the house altar of an ancient bordello." If so, and Jacobsen makes a convincing case, then the very depiction of the goddess breaks down the boundary between species, between the divine and the ornithic.

There is the strong possibility that the cultic celebrations enacted in worship of the goddess shattered and confused the boundaries that separated the generations, for on these occasions adults played at children's games. The festivals of the goddess were the time for disorder and antistructure, when reversals in categories of age, species, status, and sex all came into play.

Inanna-Ishtar's cultic celebrations and cultic personnel above all reflect her anomalousness and liminality. She is, one might say, externalized into unordered, carnivalesque celebration that demonstrates a reaching beyond the normal order of things and the breakdown of norms. The goddess's festivals are institutionalized license. They celebrate and tolerate disorder. They are occasions when social rules are in abeyance and deviance from norms is articulated. Through symbolic inversion they attack the basic categorical differences between male and female, human and animal, young and old. Crucial in contributing to our understanding of the underlying elements of Ishtar's festivals is a very difficult text that was long thought to be a list of children's games. Anne Kilmer has convincingly demonstrated through painstaking analysis that this text "is at home, so to speak, among the Inanna/Ishtar cultic texts."63

That it was long thought to be a list of children's games is not surprising. It does mention children's games: "jumprope," "disappear," "hide and seek-seek," to name a few. It is striking to find that the types of games mentioned here fit very well into the classification of games set up by Roger Caillois: competition (races, combat), chance (dice), pretense (masks, costumes, theater), and vertigo (swings, merry-go-round[?], dancing [?]).64

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62 It is not my intention to give here the details of these festivals but, rather, to provide a framework for understanding the dynamics of the festivals, which in turn shed light on the distinctive nature of the goddess. To date, no theologico-historical study of these festivals has been made.

63 I am most grateful to Anne D. Kilmer of the University of California, Berkeley, for very generously putting her important manuscript "An Oration on Babylon" at my disposal. It will be appearing in the near future.

Play (mêlulu) is an integral part of Inanna-Ishtar's personality.\textsuperscript{65} She is “the player (mummilitu) par excellence.”\textsuperscript{66} The semantic range of the Akkadian word for play includes dancing and acting and, not surprisingly when we think of the goddess, involves the arena of war, for her playground was the battleground: “Goddess of fights, let the battle proceed like a play of puppets.” “Do not turn away in battle (literally, in the play of Ishtar).” “Ishtar, whose play is fighting.”\textsuperscript{67}

The interrelationship between play and ritual has been the subject of much interdisciplinary study since J. Huizinga's pioneering \textit{Homo Ludens}.\textsuperscript{68} “During carnivalesque occasions the indeterminacy of play serves as a mediating prelude to the transcendence of a social collective preparing it to be recast as a religious community.”\textsuperscript{69} As U. Eco observes, “Comedy and carnival are not instances of real transgressions; on the contrary they represent paramount examples of law reinforcement. They remind us of the existence of rule.”\textsuperscript{70} Play in Ishtar’s festivals is related to the carnivalesque. They “embodied the essential carnival spirit, strongly characterized by the transgression of daily conventions and excesses of behavior.”\textsuperscript{71}

In what must have been boisterous, noisy entertainment, disorder was celebrated in honor of the goddess of disorder. In the “Games Text,” reference is made to “improper speech,” obscenity, in other words. Mockery, abuse, and hostile words were very much part of the goddess’s repertory. They form part of the mes with which the goddess was obsessed.\textsuperscript{72} Pornographic language characterizes the so-called love lyrics that were recited in the cultic performances of her celebrations. These texts are described by their editor, W. G. Lambert: “Imagery of the boldest kind is commonplace, and the eroticism is the most explicit for Mesopotamia. . . . How should we take it? As factual record merely,

\textsuperscript{66} \textit{The Assyrian Dictionary}, vol. M/2, p. 196.
\textsuperscript{67} See the lexical section and b under mêlulu, ibid., p. 15.
\textsuperscript{69} Handelman, p. 366.
\textsuperscript{72} Farber-Flügge (n. 33 above), pp. 108–9, discusses the terminology for abusive language.
as jest, as innuendo or as something else?" 73 In a recent article, D. O. Edzard suggests that Inanna-Ishtar’s cultic personnel were people “mit festgeschribenen Rollen vermutlich von bestimmten Aussenhen, be- sonderer Redeweise, bei denen das vorausgesetzende Publikum ganz bestimmte Handlungen erwartete-sowie etwa über zweitausand Jahre später die Charactere der Comedia dell’ arte.” 74 Bawdy theater was very much a part of the celebration in which the goddess’s personnel enacted (probably with appropriate costumes and masks) the roles of their goddess (paramour of the god Marduk in the “love lyrics”) and other deities (e.g., Marduk and his spouse Sarpanitum). The “Games Text” also seems to be formulated as a dialogue. The “improper speech” of the text suggests that scatological jokes were part of the entertainment, the scatological that “is the explosive flaunting of... taboos” along with “a foisting off of the terror of breaking the taboos.” 75 Ritual obscenity thus also attacked the conventional limits. Through farce and bawdy songs the goddess’s celebrants would find temporary release from societal restrictions.

There are suggestions in the “Games Text” and tantalizing hints from cylinder seals that masked men (and women?) may have worn lion masks and special cloaks during the festivities honoring “the lioness,” thus shattering the boundaries between human and animal. 76

Dancing too was part of the celebration for the goddess who danced “the whirl like a man.” 77 Dance suggests the power of movement as opposed to stasis and limitation.

Inanna-Ishtar’s celebrations were then “creative negation” that re- minded her devotees “of the need to reinvest the clean with the filthy, the rational with the animalistic, the ceremonial with the carnivalesque


75 G. Legman, Rationale of the Dirty Joke (New York: Grove, 1968), p. 14. Kilmer also notes that sounds such as “chirping” and “twittering” were made by the goddess’s personnel, which also suggests a departure from conventional patterns of speech. There may well have been a sacred clown(s) in her personnel, but to date there is no firm data on such a person or persons.


77 See n. 31 above.
in order to maintain cultural vitality. And they confirm the endless potentiality of dirt and the pure possibility of liminality.”

The chief participants and actors in the goddess’s cult are well known by name: assinnu, ḥabbūbu, kurgarrû, kulu’u, pilpilu. What is uncertain is how best to describe them. There is even ambiguity about their sexuality—whether they were eunuchs, hermaphrodites, or simply transvestites. The Assyrian Dictionary describes the assinnu as seeming “to have functioned mainly in the cult of Ishtar, to have sung specific songs and dressed in distinctive garments. There is no specific evidence that he was a eunuch or a homosexual.” The kurgarrû (as well as assinnu and kulu’u) are described as “performing games, plays, dances and music as part of the ritual (of the great festivals). There is no evidence that they were eunuchs or homosexuals. However, in the Descent of Ishtar the reference to the kurgarrû as neither male nor female may indicate they were transvestites performing in female apparel. On the other hand, the mention of daggers seems to suggest that they were devotees of Ishtar’s performing some sword dance.”

Groneberg appropriately describes the kurgarrû and assinnu in the following way: “So tanzen sie und spielen den Kampf. Das ‘Kampfspielen’ . . . und ‘Tanzenlassen des Feindes’ . . . sind aber Eigenschaften der Kriegerischen Ishtar.” And self-mutilation may well have been part of their ritual:

The male prostitutes comb their hair before her . . .  
They decorate the napes of their necks with colored bands . . .  
They gird themselves with the sword belt, the “arm of battle” . . .  
Their right side they adorn with women’s clothing . . .  
Their left side they cover with men’s clothing . . .  
With jump ropes and colored cords they compete before her . . .  
The young men, carrying hoops, sing to her . . .  
The ascending kurgarra priests grasped the sword . . .

79 See Wilcke (n. 5 above), pp. 85–86; and the excellent discussion with references by Groneberg (n. 36 above), pp. 33–39.  
82 Groneberg, p. 39.
The one who covers the sword with blood, he sprinkles blood... He pours out blood on the dais of the throne room.\(^{83}\)

Their transvestism simulated the androgyne of Inanna-Ishtar. It was perhaps the inversion of the male/female binary opposition that thereby neutralized this opposition. By emulating their goddess who was both female and male, they shattered the boundary between the sexes. Thus at her festival time the full range of human emotions might be freely manifested without regard to the stereotypical notions of masculinity and femininity. The function of transvestism, as Eliade observed, was "a coming out of one's self, a transcending of one's own historically controlled situation... a paradoxical situation impossible to maintain in profane time, in an historical epoch, but which is important to reconstitute periodically in order to restore, if only for a brief moment, the initial completeness, the intact source of holiness and power."\(^{84}\) The cultic personnel of the goddess in their costumes, words, and acts had but one goal: "to delight Ishtar's heart, give themselves up to (otherwise) for[bidden] actions."\(^{85}\)

Inanna-Ishtar cuts across socioeconomic and gender distinctions: "Be it slave, unattached girl, [Ishtar] preserves her. Women and men indeed revere her."\(^{86}\)

\(\rightarrow\) D. D. Reisman, "Iddin-Dagan's Sacred Marriage Hymn," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 25 (1973): 187:45–64. For a different translation, see now Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Harps That Once...: Sumerian Poetry in Translation* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1987), pp. 115–17. He translates sag-ursas as "guardsmen" rather than "male prostitutes," and suggests (p. 115, n. 8) that they were "a class of cult personnel in the service of Inanna. Originally apparently a corps of warriors, they developed into actors in ritual performance." The text suggests that the sag-ursas wore partly male and partly female clothing. Jacobsen understands the clothing passage differently (p. 116, n. 10). But he too interprets it as signifying "a reversal of normal usage." Recer \(\rightarrow\) A. W. Sjöberg, "A Hymn to Inanna and Her Self-Praise," *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 40, no. 2 (1988): 177–78, also opts for the warrior status of the sag-ursas, who is equated with the assinnu. This points up how much remains to be known about the goddess's personnel.


\(^{85}\) Cagni (n. 49 above), p. 52. On p. 53, n. 133, he states that "in other contexts (where the Akkadian idiom akdlu asakka 'eat a taboo item' is used) all refer to non-authorized people." Only in the case of Ishtar's devotees is the breaking of taboos permitted and even welcomed.

Perhaps Clifford Geertz's words best explain her enormous and abiding popularity: "The strange opacity of certain empirical events, the dumb senselessness of intense or inexorable pain, and the enigmatic unaccountability of gross inequity all raise the uncomfortable suspicion that perhaps the world, and hence man's life in the world, has no genuine order at all—no empirical regularity, no form, no moral coherence. And the religious response is the same: the formulation, by means of symbols, of an image of such a genuine order which will account for and even celebrate the perceived ambiguities, puzzles and paradoxes in human experience."87

School of the Art Institute of Chicago