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INANNA'S DESCENT TO THE NETHER WORLD¹.

THE SUMERIAN VERSION OF "IŠTAR'S DESCENT"

By S. N. KRAMER

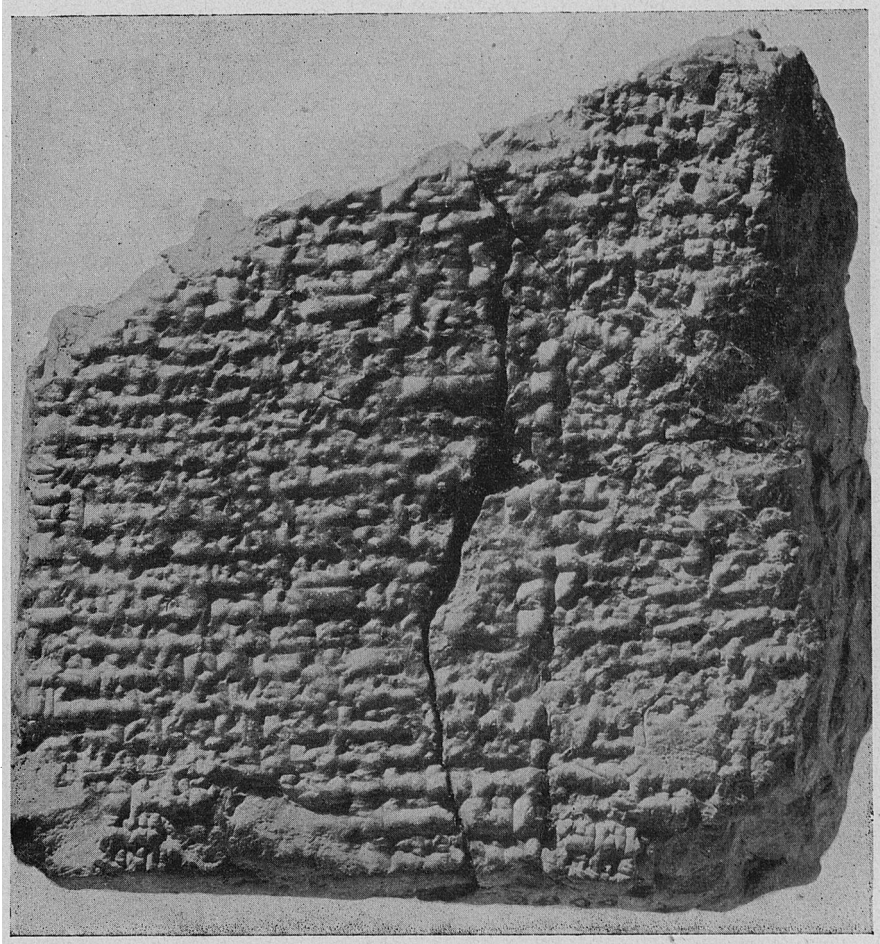
While parts of the Sumerian version of "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World" had been published as early as 1914², and while numerous additional texts have been published in the years that followed³, the meaning of the contents of this published material has remained obscure to the present day. Due to the fragmentary nature of the tablets from which they were copied, the breaks in these texts are so numerous and come at such crucial points that an intelligent reconstruction of the extant parts of this poem has hitherto remained impossible. Moreover, because of the illegibility or partial legibility of many of the signs on the copied texts, even the translation of individual passages of the copied material could not but prove largely erroneous. The present publication is made possible by the utilization of CBS 9800, the lower half of a large four-column tablet whose upper

1. The following is a list of the less common abbreviations used : BL, Langdon, *Babylonian Liturgies* ; CSRT, Chiera, *Sumerian Religious Texts* ; HAV, Radau, *Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts* (Hilprecht, *Anniversary Volume*, pp. 374 ff.) ; SEM, Chiera, *Sumerian Epics and Myths* ; SLT, Chiera, *Sumerian Lexical Texts* ; STV, Chiera, *Sumerian Texts of Varied Contents*.

2. HGT, Nos. 22, 23, and 24.

3. BE, XXXI, Nos. 33 and 34 ; CSRT, No. 53 (a republication of BE, XXXI, No. 33) ; SEM, Nos. 48, 49, and 50.

half (Ni. 368), located in the Ottoman Museum, was first published by Langdon and later republished by Chiera ¹. First discovered by Chiera in the Nippur collec-



CBS 9800
Obverse

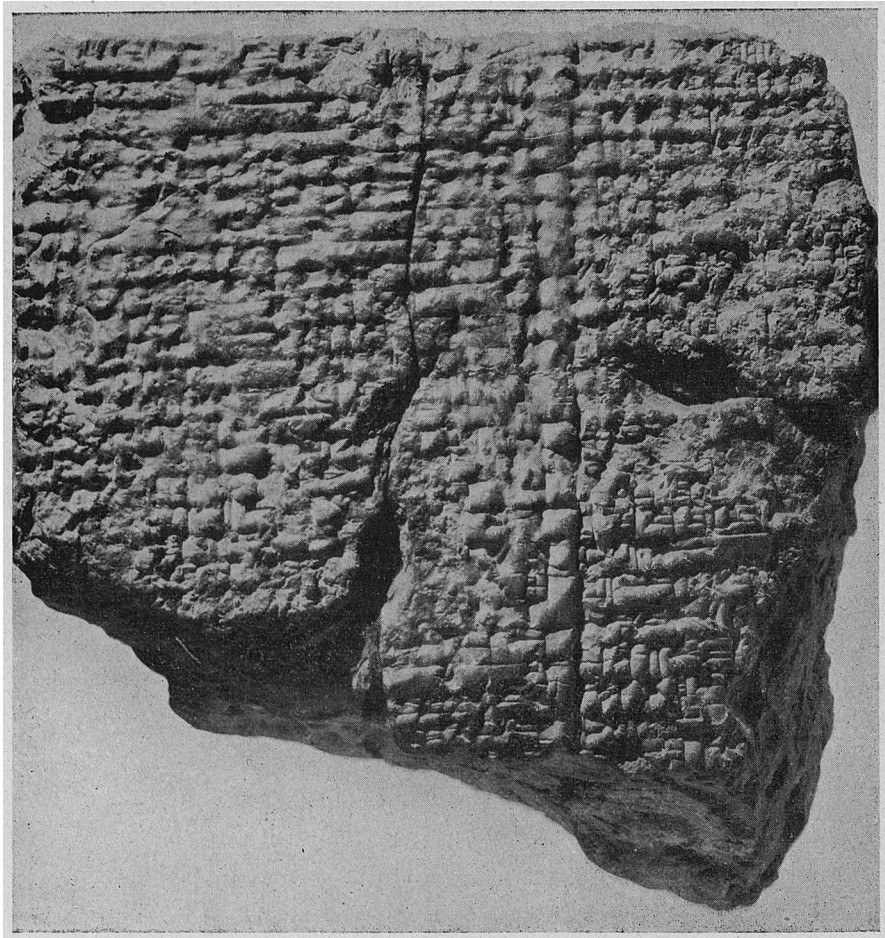
tions of the University of Pennsylvania ², CBS 9800 has remained uncopied, untransliterated and untranslated. The surface of both its obverse and reverse, as the accompanying photographs show ³, is poorly preserved and many of the signs

1. BE, XXXI, No. 53 (republished in CSRT, No. 53).

2. Cf. the remarks to CSRT, No. 53, on p. 37 of the Introduction to that volume.

3. It is for this reason that I have decided not to copy this text but to make it available to scholars in photographic form only. Because of the damaged condition of the surfaces, many of the signs are now so misshaped and malformed that any attempt to copy them in the form which they *seem* to present would lead to serious

are wholly or partially illegible. However, when joined with Ni. 368, the combined text furnishes us with an excellent framework, in which and about which to place



CBS 9800
Reverse

all the other extant material concerned with this epic. Moreover, as a perusal of the transliteration will show, the frequent repetition of certain passages in the poem enables us not only to restore numerous signs now broken away and to read signs which would otherwise remain illegible, but also to correct numerous signs

misreadings. Numerous misreadings of this type are found of course in some of the material already published. Fortunately, many of these can now be rectified with the aid of the contents of CBS 9800, especially since the latter makes possible an intelligent use of the duplicate material on hand.

which have been miscopied in some of the published material, and which are crucial for a proper understanding of the text.

Briefly, the contents of the extant parts of the poem run as follows¹: Inanna has forsaken heaven and earth and her most cherished temples and cities in order to descend to the nether world. Having collected all the important *paršû* and adorned herself with her queenly robes and jewels, she is ready to enter the "land of no return". Before doing so, however, she instructs her messenger Ninšubur to go to the Ekur in Nippur and plead with Enlil to see to it that no harm befall his daughter during her stay in the nether world. If Enlil refuses, Ninšubur is instructed to go to Ur and present the same plea before Nanna. If Nanna refuses, she is to go to Eridu and make her plea to Enki, who, because he "knows" the "food of life" and the "water of life", will surely "make his daughter to live". Inanna then descends to the nether world and approaches Ereškigal's temple of lazuli. At the gate she is met by the keeper NEti who demands to know who she is and why she came. Having brought Inanna's answer to his mistress, the latter instructs him to allow Inanna to enter through the seven gates and then to attack her. As Inanna passes through each of the gates, one of her garments or one of her ornaments is removed. Presumably after passing through the last gate Inanna is either killed or attacked with intent to kill². At this point, however, Ninšubur, in accordance with his instructions, sets out to make his rounds to the gods. Refused by Enlil and Nanna, as had been foretold by his mistress Inanna, he is promised aid by Enki. With the help of the "food of life" and the "water of life", Inanna is enabled to leave the nether world unharmed³. However, in her ascent to the earth, Inanna is accompanied by the dead and by the *gallû*, large and small. She is met by Ninšubur, who dressed in sackcloth (?) and covered with dust, accompanies Inanna and her ghostly retinue to Umma. There Inanna is met by Šara, who, dressed in sackcloth (?) and covered with dust, accompanies Inanna and her ghostly host to Badtibira⁴.

Obviously enough, then, the Sumerian version of "Inanna's Descent to the

1. Obviously, this is not the beginning of the poem. A previous portion must have told of the reason for Inanna's determination to descend to the nether world. It is clear, however, since at least four of the Sumerian duplicates as well as the Semitic duplicates of K 162 and KAR 1 begin at this point, that it marks the beginning of what may be said to correspond to a new chapter in the story.

2. What happens to Inanna after passing through the last gate is told in a passage of from nine to ten lines which is unfortunately so badly mutilated that almost nothing of its contents can be reconstructed.

3. Unfortunately, this passage, too, in which the saving of Inanna from the hands of Ereškigal (perhaps, indeed her resurrection) is described, is broken in part and in part missing altogether.

4. Here the available material ends. This is of course not the end of the epic, which may indeed have run to a very considerable length.

Nether World ", at least as current in Nippur, differs radically from the Semitic version currently known as " Ištar's Descent to the Nether World ". Only in the most general outlines of the story do the two agree : The goddess descends to the nether world ; passes the seven gates at each of which one of her garments or ornaments is removed ; an attempt on her life is made at the command of Ereškigal ; she is saved by the efforts of the wise and knowing Enki and finally reascends to the earth. But almost none of the details and particulars that go to fill in these skeleton lines of the story are alike in the two versions. And what is even more interesting, is the palpable difference in style and tone. For the temper of the Sumerian composition is calm, subdued, unemotional in its rather impassive narration of the incidents whose details it recites and repeats almost to the point of monotony. The Semitic version skips altogether or glosses over many of the particulars but expands, on the other hand, with descriptions that are emphatic and even vehement in their language, those incidents and circumstances, which because of their emotional possibilities lend themselves to such treatment ¹. It goes without saying that the style and tone of each version springs from the temper and genius of the people responsible for it. What gives the Sumerian redaction a truer ring, a more convincing authenticity, is its greater organic homogeneity. For while the Sumerian version is Sumerian in both content and tone, the Semitic version is, as a whole, Semitic in tone only. Or, to put it in another way, the Sumerian version was created *and* developed by the Sumerians, while the Semitic version was developed *only* by the Semites ².

1. Thus, for instance, it takes more than 70 lines of the Sumerian version to describe in detail Inanna's acts preparatory to her descent into the nether world. Not a trace of this passage is to be found in the Semitic version. On the other hand, the latter's expressive description of the ghastliness of the nether world and its inhabitants is wanting in the Sumerian. The rather violent passage in the Semitic version containing Inanna's threats against the nether world, corresponds to two vaguely worded and rather colorless lines in the Sumerian. The reason given by Inanna for her descent is not only different in content in each of the redactions, but the very spirit and tone of her words in the two quotations have little in common. It is possible of course that a Sumerian version of " Ištar's Descent " resembling the known Semitic composition much more closely than that of our Nippur texts, may still be uncovered. But, as things now stand, this is very unlikely.

2. This statement represents of course only an approximation of the true state of affairs since, obviously, the terms " creation " and " development " when applied to a mythological composition cannot represent two separate and distinct processes, as the wording seems to imply. Nevertheless, since the original core of the story of " Ištar's Descent " is undoubtedly of Sumerian origin, it is not altogether unjust if rather inexact to term it a Sumerian creation.

TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION

1. [an-gal]-ta [ki-gal-šè] geštúg-ga-ni na-an-g[ub]
From [the great heaven] t[o the *kig*]allu, he (?) ga[ve] ear ² to him (her ?)
2. an a[n-g]al-ta ki-gal-[šè] geštúg-ga-ni na-an-g[ub]
Anu (?) from the great heaven to the *kigallu*, ga[ve] ear ² to him (her ?)
3. ^dinanna [an-gal-ta ki-gal-šè] geštúg-ga-ni na-an-g[ub]
Inanna [from the great heaven to the *kigallu*], ga[ve] ear ² to him (her ?)
4. nin-mu an mu-un-šub ki mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e₁₁ ³
My Lady, the heaven she forsook, the earth she forsook, to the nether world she descended
5. ^dinanna an mu-un-šub ki mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e₁₁
Inanna, the heaven she forsook, the earth she forsook, to the nether world she descended
6. nam-en mu-un-šub nam[n]in mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e₁₁
The *lord*-ship she forsook, the [*la*]dy-ship she forsook, to the nether world she descended

1. Reconstructed from the following texts :

Lines 1-207 = A = Ni. 368 (= BE, XXXI, No. 33 ; republished CSRT, No. 53)
and CBS 9800 (cf. accompanying photographic reproductions)

1-49 = B = SEM, No. 49

1-48 = C = SEM, No. 50

3-26 = D = BE, XXXI, No. 34.

75-95 = E = SEM, No. 48

116-141 = F = HGT, No. 23

129-137 = G = HGT, No. 24

207-212 = Cf. comment on p. 55

⌠(212 +)⌡ 1-x 58 = H = HGT, No. 22

x 58-x 63 = Cf. comment on p. 61

For the sake of consistency and because no thorough investigation of the problem involved has as yet been made, all final consonants (except those of words like *u*, “ day ”, *šà*, “ heart ”, for which the shorter transcription is more or less accepted by Assyriologists) are reproduced in the transliteration of the Sumerian, despite the numerous indications that even in the more or less artificial Sumerian of the early post-Sumerian period, by no means all the final consonants were pronounced. Similarly the signs BI, GI, NI, etc. are transliterated as bi, gi, ni, etc., despite the fact that we now have proof that they actually represent the syllables be, ge, ne, etc.; cf. the writer’s monograph, “ The Sumerian Prefix BE- and BI- in the Time of the Early Princes of Lagaš ”.

2. Literally, “ raised the ear ”.

3. D omits -a- in this and the following lines.

7. unug^{ki}-ga é-an-na mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e₁₁ ¹
In Uruk, Eanna she forsook, to the nether world she descended
8. ZA.USLAN-UNU^{ki} ² -a gi-gu₁₅-^{ki}na (!) mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e₁₁
In ZA.USLAN-UNU^{ki}, Giguna she forsook, to the nether world she descended
9. [ur^{ki}-ma é-dilmun-]na mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e₁₁ ³
[In Ur, Edilmun]na she forsook, to the nether world she descended
10. [adaba^{ki}] ě-šar-ra mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e₁₁
[In Adab], Ešarra she forsook, to the nether world she descended
11. nibru^{ki} -[a dur-an-ki] mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e₁₁
[In] Nippur, [Duranki] she forsook, to the nether world she descended
12. kiš^{ki}-a ĥur-sag-kalam-ma mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e₁₁
In Kiš, Ĥursagkamma she forsook, to the nether world she descended
13. a-ga-dè^{ki}-a ⁴ é-UL-maš (!) mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e₁₁
In Agade, EULmaš she forsook, to the nether world she descended
14. me-imin-bi zag-mu-ni-in-kešd
The seven *rites* she bound to her side
15. me mu-un-kin-kin šu-ni-šè mu-un-⁵ -gál
Again and again she sought out the *rites* (and) placed them in her hand
16. me-DU ⁶ GIR-gub-ba i-im-DU ⁷
The... *rites*
17. ⁸šū-gur-ra men-edin-na sag-gá-na ⁸ mu-un-gál
The *šugurra* garment, the crown of the plain, she set upon her head
18. ĥi-LI sag-ki-na šu-ba-ni-in-ti
Radiance (!) she placed upon her countenance
19. gi-ninda-ĥun-gá-za-gin šu-mi-ni-in-du₈ ⁹
The... measuring rod of lazuli she gripped in her hand

1. A omits kur-ra ba-e-a-e₁₁ in this and the following six lines.

2. B omits -a.

3. Lines 9-13 are omitted in C and D. B where the last five cities are arranged in a different word order lists bád-tibi[ra]^{ki}-a é-MÚ[Š-kalam-ma] instead of Ur and its temple Edilmunna.

4. -a omitted in A.

5. B perhaps U₈ for UN ; or is it a bad copy for sign UN ?

6. D, if the copy is correct, has du₁₀.

7. D seems to read : um-mi-in-[DU].

8. B seems to omit the sign NA ; more likely, however, the last sign on the line, which looks like a bad MU, may have been NA on the original.

9. This line is not found in the extant text of B and D. In C, line 20 of the obverse corresponds to this line ; the sign GÁN at the beginning of this broken line is a miscopy for GÁ. Instead of šu-mi-ni-in-dus, D seems to have šu-na[ba]-an-dus.

20. ^{na}za-gin-tur-tur ¹ gu-na ba-an-la ²
Small lazuli stones she tied about her neck
21. ^{na}nunuz-tab-ba gaba-na ba-ni-in-si ³
Sparkling (?) ⁴ *erimtu*-stones she fastened to her breast
22. HUR-guškin šu-na ba-ni-[in]-du₈ ⁵
A gold ring she gripped in her hand
23. tu-di-tum lú-gá-nu-gá-nu ba-an-BU ⁶
A breastplate (?) ⁷ she ed
24. túg-nam-nin-a ⁸ -túg-nam-nin-a ⁹ bar-ra-na ¹⁰ ba-an-? ¹¹
Garments of *lady*-ship she . . . ed about her body
25. gi(?)-e-? ¹² -he-im-DU he-im-DU igi-na ¹³ ba-ni-in ¹⁴ -gar ¹⁵
. she placed in her eyes
26. ^dinanna ku[r-š]è i-im-DU
Inanna went [tow]ards the nether wor[ld]
27. sukkal-a-ni-^dga-ša-an-šubur] -na i-im-DU ¹⁶
Her messenger Nin[šubur] walked(?) at her. . . .
28. kug-^dinanna-[ke₄] ^dga-ša-an-šubur-ra ¹⁷ gu-mu-na-dé-e
The pure Inanna to Nin-Šubur says :
29. [g]i-en-gi-en-mu ¹⁸
" Oh my ever confirmer

1. D has TUR-TUR-lá. C may also have TUR-TUR-lá ; if so the sign before-la is miscopied.

2. The corresponding lines on the duplicates are : B obv. 20 ; C obv. 17 ; D obv. 20.

3. The corresponding lines on the duplicates are : B obv. 19 ; C obv. 18 ; D obv. 21. B and C seem to have the variant ba-an-si. In B, the sign GIM is a miscopy, of course, for BA.

4. Or " The twin (?)".

5. The corresponding lines on the duplicates are : C obv. 16 ; D obv. 19 ; this line is not in the extant text of B. C seems to have the variant [ba]-an-dus.

6. The corresponding lines on the duplicates are : B obv. 29 ; C obv. 15 ; D obv. 18.

7. Or " A girdle (?)".

8. So B and D. A and C are broken but A obv. ii 55 seems to omit the sign A.

9. So B ; D omits the sign TÚG.

10. C seems to have bar-bi ; the tablet however is badly damaged at this point and what may have looked like the sign BI may have been the two signs RA and NA.

11. The corresponding lines on the duplicates are : B obv. 22 ; C obv. 15 ; D obv. 17.

12. There may have been a sign between E and the HE.

13. C : igi-ni.

14. C : -ib-.

15. The corresponding lines on the duplicates are : B obv. 23 ; C obv. 19 (!) ; this line is not on the extant text of D.

16. This line is omitted in C.

17. C : ^dnin-šubur-ra.

18. C : [gá-nu sukkal-z]i-é-an-na-mu ; so also probably B rev. 3. The latter, however, is followed by two lines descriptive of Ninšubur which do not seem to duplicate those of A and B, although because of their mutilated state they do not permit an intelligent restoration. Cf. also comment to lines x 25 and x 26.

30. *sukkal-e-ne-ém-šag₆-sag₆-ga-mu*
My messenger of favorable words
31. [r]a-gaba-e-ne-ém-gi-en-gi-en ' -na-mu
My carrier of true words
32. u₄-da kur-šè mu-un-e₁₁-dè-en ' ²
On the day when I shall descend to the nether world
33. ... kur-šè gin-na-mu-dè ' ³
To the ... of (?) the nether world, upon my going ' ⁴
34. [uru (?)] dul-dul-da ' gar-gar-ma-ni-ib ' ⁶
[The cities (?)] turn to ruins for me ' ⁷
35. ... gú-en-na tuku-a-ma-ni-ib ' ⁸
... in the *guen* take (?) for me ' ⁹
36. [é(?)]-dingir-ri-[e-ne-k]e₄ (?) PA.GIŠ-ma-ni-ib ' ¹⁰
At (?) the house of the gods... for me ' ¹¹
37. [?-NE-zu] ár-ma-ab KA-zu ár-ma-ab
Thy..., ... for me; thy mouth (?), ... for me
38. ?-mu-lu-da U(?)·DI·ŠU-gal-zu HUR-ma-ab
....., thy great... smell (?) for me
39. mu-lu-nu-tuku-gim túg-aš-a mu₄-ma-ab
Like a pauper in a single garment dress for me
40. [é]-kur-ri-é.^dmu-ul-lil-lá-šè me-ri-zu aša(?) tum (?) ' ¹² -mu-un
To the [E]kur, the house of Mullil bring (?) alone (?) thy foot
41. [é]-kur-ri-é.^dmu-ul-lil-lá-šè tu-tu-da-zu-dè
The [E]kur, the house of Mullil, upon thy entering
42. [igi]-kug.^dmu-ul-lil-lá-šè ir šés-ám
[Before] the pure Mullil weep :

1. C omits -en .

2. C seems to omit the first part of the verbal form ; the tablet, however, is in poor condition at this point, and the copy may be erroneous.

3. C seems to read e₁₁-[d]a (l)-mu-dè.

4. C : " upon my descending "

5. B seems to have -dam.

6. B : [m]u-un-[na]-gá-gá.

7. B : " The cities (?) she turned to ruins for her ".

8. B : mu-un-na-tuku-a.

9. B : "... in the *guen* she took(?) for her ".

10. B : mu-un-na-[PA]. GIŠ.

11. B : " At(?) the house of the gods she...ed for her ".

12. Seems to be omitted in B.

43. a-a^d mu-ul-lil tu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-da-an[gam]-e
'Oh Father Mullil, thy daughter let no one in the nether world [ravish]
44. kug-šag₅-ga-zu saḥar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-ri'
Thy good metal let him not carry off with him into the dust of the nether world
45. za-gin-šag₅-ga-zu za-?-ma-ka nam-ba-an-da-si-il-[li(?)]¹
Thy good lazuli let him not remove with him into the.....
46. ^{8is}KU-zu giš-nam-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-da-an-dar-dar-e³
Thy *URkarinnu*-wood(?) let him not tear away(?) with him into the.....
47. ki(?)-sikal(?)-^dga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gam-e⁴
The virgin(?), the Lady of Heaven, let him not in the nether world ravish'
48. u₄-da ^dmu-ul-lil e-ne-è-m-ba nu⁵-ri-gub ur[^{1ki-}]-šè gin-na⁶
If Mullil does not stand by thee in this matter, go to Ur
49. ur^{ki}-ma é-nam-dùg-kalam (?)-ma(?)⁷-ka
In Ur, the house of the welfare of the land(?)
50. é-kiš-šir₅-gál-é(?)^dnanna-šè tu-tu-da-[zu]-dè
The Ekišširgal, the house of Nanna, upon [thy] entering
51. [igi]-kug-^dnanna-šè ir-šéš-ám
[Before] the pure Nanna weep :
52. a-a^dnanna tu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gam-[e]
'Oh Father Nanna, thy daughter let no one in the nether world ravish
53. [kug]-šag₅-ga-zu saḥar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-ri
Thy good [metal] let him not carry off with him into the dust of the nether world
54. [za]-gin-šag₅-ga-zu za-?-ma-ka nam-ba-an-da-si-il-li(?)
Thy good [la]zuli let him not remove with him into the.....
55. [^{8is}KU-zu] giš-nam-nagar-[ra-ka] nam-ba-da-an-dar-dar-e
[Thy *URkarinnu*-wood(?)] let him not tear away (?) with him into the.....
56. [ki(?)-sikal(?)-^dg]a-š[a-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-]da-an-gam-e
[The virgin(?), the La[dy of Heaven, let him not in the nether world] ravish'

1. B : nam-ba-da-ab-šár-ri.

2. B : nam-ba-da-an-si-il-si-il-[li] ; C perhaps : [nam-ba-da-]ab-si-il-li.

3. B : nam-ba-an-dar-dar-e.

4. In both B and C the sign U is a miscopy for the sign GAM.

5. C reads -e- before -ri-.

6. Here ends C. Line 48 is written in two lines in B and C.

7. B reads kur-ra instead of kalam-ma. B ends here.

57. [u₄-da ^dnan]na e-[ne-è^m-ba nu-ri-gub u]ru-ši-ib^{ki}-šè(?) gin-na ¹
If Nanna does not stand by thee in this matter], go to Urūšib
58. uru-ši-ib^{ki} é-^d[am-an-ki-ga-šè tu-tu-da-zu-dè]
In Urūšib, the house of [Amanki, upon thy entering]
59. [igi-kug-^d]am-an-ki(!)-ga(!)-še i[r-šéš-ám]
[Before the pure] Amanki [weep] :
60. [a-a]-^dam-an-ki tu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra [nam-ba-da-an-gam-e]
[Oh Father] Amanki, thy daughter [let no one] in the nether world
[ravish]
61. kug-šag₅-ga-zu saḥar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da[šar-ri]
Thy good metal let him not [carry off] with him into the dust of the
nether world
62. ^{na}za-gin-šag₅-ga-zu za-[?]ma-ka nam-ba-an-da-[si-il-li(?)]
Thy good lazuli let him not [remove] with him into the.....
63. ^{giš}KU-zu giš(!)-nam(!)-nagar-ra(!)-ka nam-ba-da-an-dar-[dar-e]
Thy *URkarinnu*-wood(?) let him not [te]ar away(?) with him into the.....
64. ki(?)-[sik]il(?)-^dga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gam-e
The vir[gi]n(?), the Lady of Heaven, let him not in the nether world
ravish' "
65. a-a-[^dam]-an-ki-ù-mu-un-mu-uš-tùg(!)-da(!)-ma-al-la-k[e₄](?)
" Father Amanki, lord of wisdom ²
66. ú-[nam-t]ji-la mu-un-zu a-nam-ti-la mu-un-[zu]
The food of life he knows, the water of life he knows
67. e-ne ma-ra ḥu-mu-un-ti-li-en
He(?), for me, may he make thee(?) to live "
68. ^dinanna kur-šè i-im-DU
Inanna went towards the nether world
69. sukkal-a-ni^dga-ša-an-šubur-ra gù-mu-un-na-d[é-e]
To her messenger Ninšubur she sa[ys] :
70. gin-na ^dga-ša-an-šubur-ra
" Go Gašanšubur
71. e-ne-a-ra dug₄-mu-un gú-zu la-ba-pád
Unto him(?) speak(?) thy... has not been(?)...ed "
72. ^dinanna é-gal-kur-za-gin-šè um-ma-te
Inanna approached the lazuli palace of the nether world

1. Here ends col. i of A; col. ii begins with the line following.

2. Literally : " The lord of the wide ears ".

73. gi^{s} ig-kur-ra-ka nig-ḥul ba-an-g[ál]
On the door of the nether world she se[t up] something evil
74. $\text{gi}^{\text{s}(?)}$ ig-kur-ra-ka gù-ḥul ba-an-d[é]
At the door (?) of the nether world she utt[ered] an evil cry :
75. é-gál-ú ' i-du₈ é-gál-ú
“ Open the house, gatekeeper, open the house
76. é-gál-ú ^dNE-ti é-gál-ú aš(!)-mu-šè ga-tu ²
Open the house, NEti, open the house, alone I would enter ³ ”
77. ^dNE-ti-i-du₈-gal-kur-ra-ke₄
NEti, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world
78. kug-^dinanna-ra mu-un ⁴ -na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄
To the pure Inanna answers :
79. a-ba-me-en za-e
“ Who, pray, art thou ? ”
80. me-e ^dga-ša-an ⁵ -na-ki-^dutu-è-a-és ⁶
“ I am the Lady of Heaven, dwelling(?) at the place where the sun rises ”
81. tukum-bi za-e ^dinanna ⁷ ki-^dutu-è-a-[éš] ⁶
“ If thou art Inanna, [dwelling(?)] in the place where the sun rises
82. a-na-àm ⁸ ba-du-un kur-nu-gi₄-šè
Why hast thou come to the land of no return ?
83. ḥar-ra-an-lú- ⁹ du-bi-nu-gi₄-gi₄-dè šá-zu a-gim tum-mu-un
On the road (which) he who travels it does not return, how hath thy heart led thee ? ”
84. kug-^dinanna-ke₄ mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄
The pure Inanna answers him :
85. SAL+KU-gal-mu-^dga-ša-an-ki-gal-la(?)
“ My older (?) sister Gašankigal

1. E begins with this line. Instead of -ú. E reads -lu.

2. E writes this line as two ; thus :

i-du₈ é-gál-lu ^dNE-ti é-gál-lu

i-du₈ -égál-lu aš-mu-šè ga-tu

3. E : “ Gatekeeper, open the house ; NEti, open the house
Gatekeeper, open the house, alone I would enter ”

4. E omits -un-.

5. E : ^dga-ša-an-an-na.

6. E : -aš.

7. The sign NA in E is a miscopy.

8. E omits -àm.

9. E adds -ù- after -du-.

86. mu-dam-a-ni-ù-mu-un-gu₄-gal-an-na ba-an-ug₅-ga
Because(?) her husband, the lord Gugalanna, had been killed
87. ki-sì-ga-na i-bí du₈-ù-dè
To witness his funeral rites
88. kás(?)-sè-ga-na gu-ul-[dè(?) b]a(?)-ni-in-dug₄(!) hur-šè he-a
To mult[iply(?)]..... she commanded; so be it "
89. ^dNE-ti i-du₈-gal-kur-ra-ke₄
NEti, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world
90. kug-^dinanna-ra(!) mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄
To the pure Inanna answers :
91. ?-?-ma-? ^dinanna nin-[mu(?)-r]a(?) ga-an-na-a[b-d]ug₄
"....., Oh Inanna, t[o(?) my] lady let me speak
92. nin-mu ^dereš-ki-gal-la-ra ga-an-na-dug₄ ga-an-na-ab-dug₄
To my lady, Ereškigal, let me speak, let me speak "
93. ^dNE-ti-i-du₈-gal-kur-ra-ke₅
NEti, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world
94. nin-a-ni-^dereš-ki-gal-la-ra é-[kur-za-g]in-šè ba]-ši-in-tu gù-mu-na-dé'
To his lady, Ereškigal, [in the lazuli] palace of [the nether world e]ntered
(and) says :
95. nin-mu ki-sikil-diš-ám²
" My lady, a virgin
96.
.....
97.
.....
98.
.....
99. é-an-na-ka
In Eanna.....
100. me-imin-[bi] zag-mu-[ni-in-kešd]
The seven *rites* [she bound] to her side
101. me mu-un-kin-kin šu-n[i-šè mu-un-gál]
Again and again she sought out the *rites* (and) [placed them in h]er hand
102. me-DU GIR-gub-ba [i-im-DU]
The... *rites*[.....]

1. E divides this line into two lines.

2. Here ends E.

103. ^{tú}šū-gur-ra men-edin-n[a sag-gá-na mu-un-gál]
The *šugurra* garment, the crown of the pla[in, she set upon her head]
104. ħi-LI sag-ki-na šu-ba-n[i-in-ti]
Radiance(?) she pla[ced] upon her countenance
105. gi-ninda-ḥun-gá-za-gin šu-[mi-ni-in-du₈]
The... measuring rod of lazuli she [gripped] in her and
106. ^{na}4za-gin-tur-tur gú-[na ba-an-lá]
Small lazuli stones [she tied about her] neck
107. ^{na}4nunuz-tab-ba gaba-na [ba-ni-in-si]
Sparkling(?)¹ *erimtu*-stones [she fastened] to her breast
108. ḤUR-guškin šu-na [ba-ni-in-du₈]
A gold ring she [gripped] in her hand
109. tu-di-tum lú-gá-nu-gá-nu [ba-an-BU]
A breast-plate(?)²[she....ed]
110. [gi(?)]-e-?-[ḥe-im-DU-ḥe-im-DU igi-na ba-ni-in-gar]
[.....].[..... she placed in her eyes]
111. túg-nam-nin-[a-túg-nam-nin-a bar-ra-na ba-an-?]
Garment[s] of *lady*-ship [she...ed about her body] ”
112. u₄-ba(?) ⁴ereš-ki-gal-la-ke₄.....
Then(?) Ereškigal.....
113. ⁴NE-ti-l-du₈-gal-ni-ir [mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄gi₄]
To NEti, her chief gatekeeper, [she answers] :
114. gá-nu ⁴NE-ti l-du₈-[gal-kur-ra]
“ Come, NEti, [chief] gatekeeper of [the nether world]
115.
.....
116. ká-gal-kur-ra-imin-bi ⁸ⁱ³[si-gar-bi gál-ú]
Of the seven gates of the nether world, [open their locks]
117. ká-gal-ganzir-igi-[kur-ra ka-aš-bi bar-ra]³
Of the gate *ganzir*, the face(?) of [the nether world, define its rules]
118. ká(?) -gal(?). tu-tu-da-[ni-ta]
[Upon her] entering the.....gate
119. gam-gam-ma-ni..... ni(?) -ta(?).
.....

1. Or “ The twin(?) ”.

2. Or “ A girdle(?) ”.

3. A obv., col. ii ends here; rev. iii begins with the following line.

120. ^dNE-ti-l[-du₆-gal]-kur-r[a-ke₄]
 NEti, [the chief gatekeeper] of the nether world
121. inim-nin-a-na-šè sag-KÈS-ba-ši-[in-ag] ¹
 Hono[red] the word of his lady
122. ká-gal-kur-ra-imin-bi ⁶si-gar-bi [in-gál]
 Of the seven gates of the nether world, their locks [he opened]
123. ká-gal-ganzir-igi-kur-ra ka-aš-bi [in-bar]
 Of the gate *ganzir*, the face(?) of the nether world, [he issued] its decree
124. kug-^dinanna-ra gù-mu-na-d[é-e]
 To the pure Inanna he sa[ys] :
125. gá-nu ^dinanna tu-um-[ma-ni] ²
 “ Come, Inanna, ent[er] ” ³
126. ⁴ tu-tu-da-ni-ta
 Upon her entering the first gate
127. ^{10g} šu-gur-ra men-edin-n[a]-sag-gá-n[a lú ba-da-an-ši-ir]
 The *šugurra* garment, the “ crown of the plain ” of her head, [someone removed]
128. ta-àm me -a
 “ Why ? ”
129. diri ^dinanna me-kur-ra-ke₄(!) šu-a[l-du₇-du₇] ⁵
 “ Extraordinarily, Oh Inanna, have the *rites* of the nether world been pe[rfecte]d]
130. ^dinanna garza-kur-ra KA-zu na-a[n- -e(?) -en]
 Oh Inanna, the *rites* of the nether world, thy mouth(?) let not [.] ”
131. ká-gal-min-kam-ma tu-tu-da-[ni-ta]
 [Upon her] entering the second gate
132. gi-ninda-ḥun-gá-[za-gin] lú ba-da-[an-ši-ir] ⁶
 The . . . measuring rod of [lazuli] someone rem[oved] ⁷

1. F begins here.

2. F adds two lines which are not in A ; thus :
^dinanna tu-tu-[da-ni-ta]
 gi-ninda-ḥun-gá-za-gin

3. F adds two lines which are not in A ; thus :
 Inanna, [when she] entered,
 The . . . measuring rod of lazuli

4. F : ká-gal-diš-kam-ma.

5. G begins here.

6. F : [hi]-LI-sag-ki-na lú ba-da-[an-ši-ir].

7. F : The [rad]iance(?) of her countenance someone rem[oved].

133. ta-ám me.....-a
 “ Why.....? ”
134. diri ^dinanna me-kur-ra-ke₄(!) šu-al-[du₇-du₇]
 “ Extraordinarily, Oh Inanna, have the *rites* of the nether world been
 perf[ected]
135. ^dinanna garza-kur-ra KA-zu na-an- [....-e(?) -en]
 Oh Inanna, the rites of the nether-world, thy mouth(?) let not [.....] ”
136. ká-gal-eš-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta
 Upon her entering the third gate
137. [^{na}4za-gln-tur-tur-]gú-na lú [ba-da-an-ši-ir] ¹
 [The small lazuli stones of] her neck some one [removed] ²
138. ta-ám me.....-a
 “ Why.....? ”
139. diri ^dinanna me-kur-ra-ke₄ šu-al-[du₇-du₇]
 “ Extraordinarily, Oh Inanna, have the *rites* of the nether world been
 perf[ected]
140. ^dinanna garza kur-ra KA-zu na-an- [....-e(?) -en]
 Oh Inanna, the rites of the nether world, thy mouth(?) let not [.....] ”
141. ká-gal-lim[mu-kam]-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta ³
 Upon her entering the fou[rt]h gate
142. [^{na}4nunuz-tab-ba-gaba-na lú ba-da-an-ši-ir]
 [The sparkling(?) ⁴ *erimtu*-stones of her breast someone removed]
143. [ta-ám] me.....-a
 “ [Why].....? ”
144. [diri ^dinanna me-kur]-ra-ke₄ šu-[al-du₇-]du₇
 “ [Extraordinarily,] Oh Inanna, have the *rites* of the nether w]orld be[en
 perf]ected
145. [^dinanna garza-kur-ra] KA-[zu na-an-]....-e(?) -en
 [Oh Inanna, the rites of the nether world], thy [mouth(?) let not]..... ”
146. [ká-gal-ia-kam-ma] tu-tu-da-ni-ta
 Upon her entering [the fifth gate]
147. [ḤUR-guškin-šu-na] lú ba-an-ši-ir
 [The gold ring of her hand] someone removed

1. F : ^{na}4nunuz-tab-ba-zag-ga-na lú ba-d[a-an-ši-ir] (i. e., the text corresponding to line 142); G ends here.

2. F : The sparkling (?) *erimtu*-stones of her side(?) someone removed.

3. F ends here.

4. Or “ The twin(?) ”.

148. [ta-àm] me.....[a]
 “ [Why].....[...i] ”
149. [diri ^dinanna me-kur-ra-ke₄ šu-al-]du₇-du₇,
 “ [Extraordinarily, Oh Inanna, have the *rites* of the nether world been] perfected
150. [^dinanna garza-kur-ra KA-zu-na-an-....-e(?)]-en
 [Oh Inanna, the rites of the nether world, thy mouth(?) let not.....] ”
151. ká-gal-àš-kam-ma [tu-tu-da-ni-ta]
 [Upon her entering] the sixth gate
152. [tu-di-tum lú-gá-nu-gá-nu lú ba-da-an-ši-ir]
 [The breast plate(?)'.....someone removed]
153. ta-àm me..... [a]
 “ Why.....[...?] ”
154. [diri ^dinanna me-kur-ra-ke₄ šu-al-du₇-du₇]
 “ [Extraordinarily, Oh Inanna, have the *rites* of the nether world been] perfected]
155. [^dinanna garza-kur-ra KA-zu na-an-....-e(?)]-en]
 [Oh Inanna, the rites of the nether world, thy mouth(?) let not.....]”
156. ká-[gal-imin-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta]
 [Upon her entering the seventh] gate
157. [túg-nam-nin-a-túg-nam-nin-a-bar-ra-na lú ba-da-an-ši-ir]
 [The garments of *lady*-ship of her body someone removed]
158. ta-àm me.....[a]
 “ Why[...?] ”
159. [diri ^dinanna me-kur-ra-ke₄ šu-al-du₇-du₇]
 “ [Extraordinarily, Oh Inanna, have the *rites* of the nether world been] perfected]
160. [^dinanna garza-kur-ra KA-zu na-an-....-e(?)]-en]
 [Oh Inanna, the rites of the nether world, thy mouth (?) let not.....] ”
161.-ni-in-²

162. A IN NE³

163.
 :.....

1. Or “ The girdle (?) ”.

2. Perhaps there was another line preceding this one in the original, which is completely broken away.

3. Here ends A rev. iii; rev. iv begins with the next line.

164. NE igi(?) -na(?) -ám

165. -ga(?) -ám

166. igi(?) -ni(?) -šè kug(?) -^dinanna(?)
 before(?) her(?) pure(?) Inanna(?)
167. g^{is}kak-ta lú ba-da-an-lá
 with nails someone fastened
168. u₄(?) -da(?) ^dinanna(?) -?-? um-ta-ni-?-?
 On the day(?) when(?) Inanna..... was ed
169. sukkal-a-ni ^dnin-šubur-ra(?) -ke₄(?)
 Her messenger, Ninšubur
170. sukkal-e-ne-èm-šag₅-šag₅-ga-ni
 Her messenger of favorable words
171. [ra-gaba]-e-ne-èm-gi-en-gi-na-ni
 Her [carrier] of true words
172. [uru(?) -dul]-dul-da mu-un-n[a]-gá-gá
 Turned [the cities(?)] to [ru]ins for he[r]
173. ... gú-en-na mu-un-na-tuku-a
 Took(?)... in the *guen* for her
174. é(?) -dingir-ri-e-ne-ke₄(?) mu-unl[na]-PA.GIS
 ed at(?) the house of the gods for [her]
175. ?-NE-ni mu-un-na-ár KA-ni [mu-]n-na-ár
 ed his... for her, ed his mouth(?) for her
176. ?-lú-da U(?) -DI-ŠU-gal-ni mu-u[n-n]a-HUR
 Smelled(?)..... his great ... for [h]er
177. mu-lu-nu-tuku-gim túg-aš-a [im-ma]-na-mu₄
 [Dr]essed like a pauper in a single dress for her
178. [é-kur-r]i é-^den-lil-lá-šè gír-ni [aša(?) mu-]un-t[um]
 [To the Ekur], the house of Enlil, [alone(?), he brought (?)] his foot.
179. [é-kur-r]i é-^den-lil-lá-šè tu(?) -tu(?) -da(?) -ni(?) -ta(?)
 Upon(?) his(?) entering(?) [the Ekur], the house of Enlil
180. [igi-kug-^den-lil-lá]-šè ir im-ma-[še₈]še₈
 [Before the pure Enlil] he weeps :
181. [a-a-^dmu-ul-lil tu]-mu-zu mu-lu [kur-ra nam-ba-da-a]n-gam-e
 [Oh Father Mullil], thy [dau]ghter [let no] one [in the nether world ra]-
 vish

182. [kug-šag₅-ga-zu saḥar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-]šár-e
[Thy good metal let him not car]ry off [with him into the dust of the nether world]
183. [za-gin-šag₅-ga-zu za-?-ma-ka nam-ba-an-da-si-il-]li (?)
[Thy good lazuli let him not remove with him into the]
184. [giš^{is}KU-zu giš^{is}-nam-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-da-]an-dar-dar-ri
[Thy URkarinnu-wood (?) let him not] tear away (?) [with him into the]
185. [ki(?)-sikir(?)^dga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-]gam-e
[The virgin(?), the Lady of Heaven, let him not in the nether world ra]vish
186. [a-a^den-lil-li ^dnin-šubur-ra mu-un-na]-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄
[Father Enlil unto Ninšubur a]nswers :
187. bi-in-dug₄
“ he(?) has commanded concerning it
188. [^dinanna AN] bi-in-dug₄
[Inanna]. he(?) has commanded concerning it
189. [me-kur-ra al-] bi-in-dug₄
[The rites of the nether world]. he(?) has commanded concerning it
190. [id(?)^a-an-ki-bi-] -ni(?)^a-ib-dug₄
[The river(?), the water(?) of heaven(?) and(?) earth(?)]. he(?) has commanded concerning it ”
191. [a-a^den-lil e-ne-ém-ba nu-na-gub uri^{ki}-šè ba-]du-un
[Father Enlil did not stand by him in this matter; to Ur he w]ent
192. [uri^{ki}-ma é-nam-dùg]-kur-ra-ka (!)
[In Ur, the house of the welfare] of the land
193. [e-kiš-šir₅-gál e(?)^dnanna-šè tu-tu-da-ni]-ta
[The Ekišširgal, the house of Nanna upon [his entering]
194. [igi-kug-^dnanna-šè ir im-ma-še₈-še₈]
[Before the pure Nanna he weeps :]
195. [a-a^dnanna tu-mu-zu mu-lu] kur-ra nam-[ba-da-an-gam-e]
“ [Oh Father Nanna, thy daughter] let no [one] in the nether world [ravish]
196. [kug-šag₅-ga-zu saḥar-kur-ra-]ka nam-ba-a[n(?)^a-da-šár-ri]
[Thy good metal] let him not [carry off with him] into [the dust of the nether world]
197. [za-gin-šag₅-ga-zu za-?-ma(!)-ka nam-ba-[an-da-si-il-li(?)]
[Thy good lazuli] let him not [remove with him] into the [.]
198. [giš^{is}KU-zu giš^{is}-nam-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-]da- [an-dar-dar-e]
[Thy URkarinnu-wood(?) let him not tear away(?)] with him [into the]

199. [ki(?)-sakil(?)-^dga-ša-an-na kur-ra] nam-ba-da(!)-an-gam-e
The virgin(?), the Lady of Heaven, let him not [in the nether world] ravish”
200. a-a-^d[nanna ^dnin-šubur-ra mu-un-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄]
Father [Nanna unto Ninšubur answers] :
201. bi(!)-in-dug₄
“ he(?) has commanded concerning it
202. ^dinanna AN. [bi-in-dug₄]
Inanna. [he(?) has commanded concerning it]
203. me-kur-ra al-.... [bi-in-dug₄]
The *rites* of the nether world. [he(?) has commanded concerning it]
204. id(?)-a-an-ki-bi. [-ni(?)-ib-dug₄]
The river(?), the water(?) of heaven(?) and(?) earth(?)..... [he has commanded concerning it]”
205. a-a-^dnanna [e-ne-ēm-ba nu-na-gub uru-ši-ib^{ki}-šè ba-du-un]
Father Nanna [did not stand by him in this matter; to Eridu he went]
206. uru-ši-ib^{ki} é-^den(!)-ki(!)-ga-šè(!) [tu-tu]-da-ni-ta
In Urūšib, upon his [entering] the house of Enki
207. igi(!)-^den-ki-ga-šè [ir im]-ma-še₈(!)-še₈(!) ¹
Before Enki he [we]eps :
208. [a-a-^dam-an-ki tu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gam-e]
[“ Oh Father Amanki, thy daughter let no one in the nether world ravish]
209. [kug-šag₅-ga-zu saḥar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šār-ri]
[Thy good metal let him not carry off with him into the dust of the nether world]
210. [za-gin-šag₅-ga-zu za-?-ma-ka nam-ba-an-da-si-il-li(?)]
[Thy good lazuli let him not remove with him into the.....]
211. [gi^{is}KU-zu giš-nam-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-da-an-dar-dar-e]
[Thy *URkarimmu*-wood(?) let him not tear away(?) with him into the.....]
212. [ki(?)-sakil(?)-^dga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gam-e]
[The virgin(?), the Lady of Heaven, let him not in the nether world ravish”]

(Break of unknown number of lines)

- XI. giš^{is}kak-ta. ²
..... with nails.

1. A ends here.

2. H begins here.

- x2. [k]ug-^dereš-ki-gal-la-ke₄ GIŠ(?)..... mu-na-ni-ib-g[i₄(?)-gi₄(?)]
The [p]ure Ereškigal..... unto her(?) answers :
- x3. uzu-ág-PA(?)-me ág-?-?.....
“Flesh(?).....”
- x4. uzu-NÍG... -a ág-ḥúl(?)-la(?)..... si(?)-?-? in-na.....
On(?) flesh..... joy(?).....
- x5. uzu-NÍG.....-a ní-me-lám-?-? ¹
On(?) flesh..... the fearfulness of the melammê(?).....
- x6. DIŠ ú-nam-ti-la DIŠ a-nam-ti-la ugu(?)-[na(?) b]i(?)-in-šub(?)-bu-uš(?)
....The food of life, the water of life, they sprinkled upon(?) [her(?)]
- x7. ^dinanna..... ba-DU
Inanna..... went(?)
- x8. ^dinanna k[ur-t]a ba-e₁₁-dè
Inanna from(?) the nether world(?) ascends
- x9. ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne šu-?-?-ám
The Anunnaki.....
- x10. a-ba-ám lú-kur-ra-ke₄(?)-ne kur-ra DI(?).....e₁₁-dè
“Who, pray, of(?) the men of the nether world in(?) the nether world...?”
- x11. u₄-da ^dinanna kur-ta ba-e₁₁-dè
On the day that Inanna from the nether world ascends
- x12. ug₆-ga sag-a-na ḥa-ba-ab-sì-mu
May the dead hasten in front of her”.
- x13. ^dinanna kur-ta ba-e₁₁-dè
Inanna from the nether world ascends
- x14. [g]alla-tu[r-tu]r gi-IGI-KAK(?)?-gim
The s[mal]e [g]allé, like..... reeds
- x15. galla(!)-gal-gal gi-dub-ba-na-gim(!)
The large gallé, like tablet styluses
- x16. zag-ga-na ba-an-dib(?)-bi-eš
Walked (?) at her side
- x17. lú-igi-na(?)?-?-nu-me-a gišdar šu-bí-in-du₈
The one in front of her, not being, held a scepter
- x18. bar-ra-na-?-?-nu-me-a^{giš}tukul(?) úr-ra mu-un.....
At her side, not being,ed a weapon (?) on the loins
- x19. lú-e-ne-ra-in-ši-sùg-eš-ám
They who accompanied her

1. Or are there more than two signs missing?

- x20. lú-^dinanna-ra-in-ši-súg-eš-ám
They who accompanied Inanna
- x21. ú nu-zu-me-eš a nu-zu-me-eš
Were (beings who) do not know food, do not know drink
- x22. [zì]-dub-dub-ba nu-kú-me-eš
Were (beings who) do not eat sprinkled(?) [flour]
- x23. [kaš(?)]-bal-bal nu-nag-nag-me-eš
Were beings who) do not drink libated [wine?]
- x24. [ú]r-lú-ka dam šu-ti-a-me-eš
Were (beings who) take away the wife from the [loins] of a man
- x25. ?-um-me-ga(!)-lá-ka dumu šu-ti-a-me-eš
Were (beings who) take away the child from the [breasts(?)] of the nursing woman
- x26. ^dinanna kur-ta ba-e₁₁-dè
Inanna from the nether world ascends
- x27. ^dinanna kur-ta-e₁₁-da-ni
Upon Inanna's ascending from the nether world
- x28. [sukkal-a-ni] ^dnin-šubur-ke₄ gír-ni-šè ba-an-šub
[Her messenger], Ninšubur, threw himself at her feet
- x29. [saḥar-ra ba]-da-an-tuš^{tuš}mu-sír-ra ba-an-mu₄
In the dust he sat, sackcloth(?) he put on
- x30. [galla] e-ne kug-^dinanna-ra gù-mu-na-dé-e
The *gallú*, to her(?) to the pure Inanna, says :
- x31. [^dinan]na uru-zu-šè gub-ba e-ne ga-ba-ab-tum-mu-dè
“ [Oh Inan]na, at thy city take stand(?), let us bring him(?) in ”
- x32. [kug]-^dinanna-ke₄ galla e-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄
[The] pure Inanna, to(?) the *gallú*, she(?) answers :
- x33. sukkal-e-ne-è^mšag₅-šag₅-ga-mu
“ My messenger of favorable words
- x34. ra-gaba-e-n e-è^mgi-en-gi-na-mu
My carrier of true words
- x35.
.....
- x36. ÁG..... GÚ.....
.....
- x37. [uru(?)] dul-dul-da ma-[an]-gá-gá
Turned [the cities(?)] into ruins for me

- x38. ... gú-en-na m[a-a]n-tuku-a
Took(?) ... in the *guen* fo[r m]e
- x39. [é(?)]-dingir-ri-e-n[e-k]e₄(?) ma-an-PA. GIŠ
... ed at(?) [the house] of the gods for me
- x40. [?-NE-]ni ma-an-ár KA-ni ma-an-ár
... ed his [...] for me, ... ed his mouth(?) for me
- x41. [?]-mu-lu-da U(?)-DI-ŠU-gal-a-ni ma-an-ḪUR
Smelled(?)..... his great... for me
- x42. [mu]-lu-nu-tuku-gim túg-aš-a im-ma-an-mu₄
Dressed like a [p]auper in a single dress for me
- x43. [é]-kur-ra é-^dmu-ul-lil-lá-šè
To the [E]kur the house of Mullil
- x44. urⁱki-ma é-^dnanna-šè
In Ur to the house of Nanna
- x45. uru-ši-ib^{ki} é-^dam-an-ki-ga- šè
In Urušib to the house of Amanki ”
- x46. e-ne ma-a-ra mu-un-ti-li-en
“ He(?), for me, has made thee(?) to live ”
- x47. ga-an-ši-súg-dè-en umma^{ki}-a sig₄-kur-ru(!)-ga-šè [ga]-an-ši-súg-dè-en
“ Let us accompany her, in Umma to the Sigkurruga [let] us accompany her ”
- x48. um[ma^{ki}-a] sig₄-kur-ru-ga-ta
[In Um]ma from the Sigkurruga
- x49. ^dšara gír-ni-še ba-an-šub
Šara threw himself at her feet
- x50. saḫar-ra ba-da-an-tuš^{tu}gmu-sír-ra ba-an-mu₄
In the dust he sat, sackcloth(?) he put on
- x51. galla e-ne kug-^dinanna-ra gù-mu-na-dé-e
The *gallû*, to her(?), to the pure Inanna says ;
- x52. ^dinanna uru-zu-šè gub-ba e-ne ga-ba-ab-tum-mu-dè
“ Oh Inanna, at thy city take thy stand(?) let us bring him(?) in ”
- x53. [ku]g-^dinanna-ke₄ galla e-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄
The pure Inanna, to the *gallû*, she(?) answers :
- x54. ŠÈ(?)
- x55. ?..... gú(?) -TAR-la.....

- x56. NE-ta-gim nam -aš(?) ši
Like ”
- x57. ga-an(!)-ši(!)-súg-en-dè-en bá[d-t]ibira^{ki}-a [é-MÚŠ-kalam-ma-šè] ga-an-ši-súg-en-dè-en(!)
“ Let us accompany her, in Ba[dt]ibira [to EMUŠkalamma] let us accompany her ”
- x58. bád-tibira^{ki}-a é-MÚŠ-kalam-[ma-ta]
In Badtibira [from] EMUŠkalam[ma]
- x59. [d? gír-ni-sé ba-an-šub]
[X (name of deity) threw herself (or himself) at her feet]
- x60. [saḥar-ra ba-da-an-tuš^{úg}mu-sír-ra ba-an-mu₄]
[In the dust she (he?) sat, sackcloth(?) she (he?) put on]
- x61. [galla e-ne kug-^dinanna-ra gú-mu-na-dè-e]
[The *gallú* to her(?), to pure Inanna says ;]
- x62. [^dinanna uru-zu-šè gub-ba e-ne ga-ba-ab-tum-mu-dè]
[“ Oh Inanna, at thy city take thy stand(?) let us bring her(?) (him(?)) in ”.]
- x64. [kug ^dinanna-ke₄ galla e-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄]
[The pure Inanna, to the *gallú*, she answers :]

COMMENTARY

Lines 1-3. — The reconstruction of the first line is doubtful; it is based on the assumption that the three lines form a triplet whose first line is characterized by the fact that its contents are exactly the same as the two succeeding lines, except that for the purpose of heightening the effect it omits the subject.

The post position -šè of the phrase *ki-gal-šè*, if the restoration is correct, corresponds to the *ana* which begins the Semitic version.

The *na-* of *na-an-gub*, as the translation assumes, is the third person dative infix; the verbal form, therefore, seems to lack the thematic prefix. It is not impossible, however, that we here have a case of a transcription more phonetic in character than the usual. For in the actual recitation of the poem, the final *i* of *geštug-ga-ni* and the initial *i* of *i(n)-na-an-gub* were no doubt contracted; i. e., *geštug-ga-ni i(n)-na-an-gub* was actually pronounced *geštug-ga-ni-na-an-gub*. Whether *na-* is to be translated “to him” or “to her” depends of course on the preceding passages of the epic which unfortunately are not extant. If we assume that the reason for Inanna’s descent to the nether world is actually the one she gives to the gatekeeper (cf. lines 87-88) then perhaps *na-* should be translated “to her (i. e., Ereškigal)”. On the other hand, we may well assume that Inanna decided to visit the nether world for some reason of her own, such as perhaps to save her husband Tammuz whose cries may have

reached her from the nether world. In the latter case, of course, Tammuz is the one referred to by the pronominal element contained in the particle *na-*.

For the expression *geštug—gub*, “to raise one’s ears (to someone’s plea, etc.)” cf. *en-e geštug-maḥ im-gub-bi*, “The lord (Ninurta) raises a lofty ear” (BE XXIX, No. 2, obv. 13). Note that the bilingual duplicate (SBH, No. 73, obv. 3 f.) translates the root *gub* by *šakānu* and that in our case, too, the Semitic version of “Ištar’s Descent”, uses the verb *šakānu*.

The word *an* which begins the second line seems to be very clear in B; the translation assumes that it refers to Anu, although no mention of him is made in the rest of the extant portion of our poem, nor in any part of the Semitic version.

To judge from the rather fragmentary remains of the signs on B which is the only text preserved for the first half of lines 2 and 3 of our reconstructed text, neither *an* nor ⁴*inanna* are followed by a subject element, although since they are the subject of a transitive verbal form, one might have expected the forms *an-e* (written *an-ni*) and ⁴*inannak-e* (written ⁴*inanna-ke*). Note that sign *MAŠ* and *NUN* at the beginning of D obv.1 are miscopies for the signs *DINGIR* and *INANNA*, and are due to the misinterpretation of the forms of the signs resulting from the poor condition of the surface of the tablet; cf. note 1 on page 2.

Lines 4-6. — The possessive pronoun *mu* (line 4) refers, of course, to the writer or reciter of the poem, although it is difficult to see the reason for the redactor’s choice of this descriptive phrase at this point in our poem; it does not reappear in any other of the extant portions.

The verbal form *ba-e-a-e₁₁* (note that in each of the three lines the sign for *e₁₁* is miscopied as *KA* in A) seems to represent a twice expanded writing for the expected *ba-e₁₁*; cf. *ba-e-a-e₁₁-dè* (SEM iv 34; the duplicate W.-B. 162 [= OECT I, Pl 5 ff.] i 19 reads *ba-e-e₁₁[!]*) for another example of this phenomenon. Note that the variant D writes only *ba-e-e₁₁*, which is itself a lengthened form of *ba-e₁₁*. For other examples of the writing *ba-e-* for *ba-*, cf. *ba-e-til gam-rat(!)*, “it has come to an end” (ASKT, No. 21, obv. 61); *ba-e-tuṣ wa-ši-ib* “he dwells” (IV R 26 b, lines 50 f.); *ba-e-e₁₁-dè*, “he ascends” (U 9364 [= RA XXX127] obv. 15). The verbal form *ba-e-a-e₁₁* being intransitive, its subject (*nin-mu* in line 4; ⁴*inanna* in line 5) does not add the subject element *-e*. The phrase *an mu-un-šub* and *ki mu-un-šub*, which do contain a transitive verbal form are therefore to be considered as more or less parenthetical interpolations between the subject (*nin-mu* and ⁴*inanna* respectively) and its predicate *ba-e-a-e₁₁*.

Lines 7-13. — The names of the first two cities and their temples are found in B and D, the only two texts not broken away at this point; indeed in D (and probably also in C) these are the only two cities mentioned. The third in the order of cities listed in A is, to judge from NA, the only remaining sign of the first part of A obv. line 9 (!), *Ur* and its temple *é-dilmun-na*¹. If this restoration is correct, then B differs from A not only in listing the

1. The cities *Uruk* (and its temple *é-an-na*) and *ZA.USLAN-UNU^{ki}* (and its temple *gi-gu,^{ki}-na*) would, of course, also fit in with the sign *NA*; it is more probable, however, that these cities were mentioned in the preceding two lines of A.

last five cities in a different order, but also in omitting Ur and its temple altogether, and substituting either Adab or Badtibira ¹.

For gi-gu₁₈^{ki}-na (line 8), cf. HGT, No. 157, i 16. Whether D really has a variant gi-gu₁₈^{ki}, or whether some sort of miscopy is involved (e.g., that the sign NA was inadvertently omitted in the copy, or that the sign copied as KI is actually NA) must remain uncertain until the tablet is collated.

The Sumerian names of the cities Kiš (line 12) and Adab (line 10), despite their usual transliterations, ended in a vowel, and probably in accordance with the Sumerian principles of vowel harmony, this vowel was i in the first case and a in the second. In the classical period, this is shown clearly by the fact that whenever the genitive particle follows, it appears as -k (dropped, of course, unless followed by a grammatical element beginning with a vowel) ², not as -ak. Cf., for example, nam-lugal-kiši(-k), "the kingship of Kiš" (Eann. Stone A vi 4); the subject complex : me-silim-lugal-kiši-k-e (Ent. Coneš A and B i 9); the subject complex written dam-ensí-adaba^{ki}-ka-ke₄ (not -adab^{ki}-ba-ka; RTC, No. 19 ii 2); dam-ensí-adaba^{ki}-ka-ra (*ibid.*, vi 2) ³.

Lines 14-17. — me-imin-bi (line 14) is not to be translated, as a superficial glance may suggest, "their seven *rites*"; it is grammatically : me(-k)-imin-bi, "of the *rites*, their seven", i.e., "the (well-known) seven *rites*" ⁴. The translation "*rites*" is, of course, merely an approximation of the Sumerian me; to judge from the verbal compounds zag—kešd and šu—gál, me seems to have denoted some concrete object. As for the number seven, it is not unlikely that it refers to the seven leading deities of the pantheon ⁵.

In the verbal form mu-ni-in-kešd (line 14), the locative infix -ni- recapitulates the dimensional relationship between the verbal root and a preceding complex. As yet, it is uncertain, however, whether zag is the direct object of kešd and me-imin-bi is related dimensionally to it, or whether me-imin-bi is the direct object of kešd and zag is related dimensionally to it. In the latter case, one might have expected zag-a (written zag-ga) or zag-e (written zag-ge).

The me of line 16 would seem to refer to *rites* other than "the seven". The reduplication of the root in mu-un-kin-kin expresses continued repetition of the action; in Akkadian the corresponding verbal form would be a I₃. Instead of mu-un-gál one might have expected mu-ni-in-gál where the locative infix -ni- would recapitulate the dimensional relationship between the verb and the preceding complex. In the passage, lines 14-25, we find

1. In the reconstructed text it was assumed for the purpose of simplicity that the original reading of the first part of A obv. 10 was adaba^{ki} é-šar-ra and that therefore A omitted Badtibira and its temple. It is not impossible, however, that the original read : bád-tibira^{ki}-a é-MÚŠ-kalam-ma, and that Adab was the city omitted in A.

2. Cf. Kramer, *Archiv Orientalni*, Vol. 8, p. 22.

3. Cf. also GSG, § 347, for additional proof of the reading adaba^{ki}, from a tablet of the early post-Sumerian period.

4. For a more detailed analysis, cf. GSG, § 307-8.

5. Cf. also me-imin-bi šu-sá-dug₄-ga, "holding the seven *rites* in the hand", a descriptive phrase used of Inanna (PBS X, No. 4, i 5).

ten verbal forms, each preceded by a dimensional complex. Only six of these contain the infix -ni-; the remaining four, whose construction parallels closely that of the other six, omit it. Moreover, in the case of at least two of the six verbal forms that contain the infix -ni-, there are variants that omit it. The phonetic principles that guided the scribe in using one or the other orthography are still obscure.

For me-DU (line 16), D seems to have me-DÛG; for a possible reading šár for DÛG, cf. the still obscure me-šár-ra ĠÎR-ni nam-mi-in-gar (VS X, No. 199, ii 7).

In the verbal form i-im-DU, the m may at first glance seem to represent the transitive-causative particle -b- which, starting with the inscriptions of Gudea, frequently becomes m when immediately following the prefix i-¹. Note, however, that i-im-DU is found in three other instances in our text (lines 26, 27, 68; all are based on A) where it is undoubtedly an intransitive verbal form, and where most likely it represents grammatically im(mi)-DU, for in all three cases it is preceded by a locative complex which the prefix immi recapitulates². Note, moreover, the variant um³-mi-in-DU for i-im-DU of line 16. The latter, therefore, if it really is a transitive verbal form, is probably to be analyzed grammatically as im(mi-n)-DU; the pronominal -n- of the third person preterit, slurred in the pronunciation since it is the final consonant in an unstressed syllable, was dropped⁴.

Lines 17-25. — The šu-gur-ra⁵ (line 17) (Akkadian *unqi* [?]) must here, of course, refer to Inanna's headdress, further described as men-edin-na⁶. It should correspond approximately to the *agû rabû* of the Semitic version.

For the omission of the locative infix in mu-un-gál (line 17) as well as in ba-an-lá (line 20), ba-an-BU (line 23) and ba-an-? (line 24), cf. comment to mu-un-gál (line 15).

The exact signification of ħi-LI (line 18) is not clear. To judge from the verb šu—ti, however, it may well be a concrete object which is placed on the face or forehead. Moreover, according to the variant F⁷, the ħi-LI is removed from Inanna's countenance as she passes through the second gate, just as her crown, for instance, is removed from her head upon her passing the first gate.

1. Cf. GSG § 531.

2. For the dropping of the final i through syncope, cf. Poebel in ZA XXXVI, p. 265.

3. The change of the initial i of immi- to u may be due to the preceding b of gub, although in that case one might have expected gub-bu instead of gub-ba in the variant.

4. For a more detailed discussion of the omission of the pronominal -n- in the orthography of some of the scribal schools of the early post-Sumerian period, cf. the present writer's forthcoming monograph: "Gilgameš and the Ĥuluppu Tree". That the stress in i-im-DU was on the first syllable is shown by the plene writing i-im-. For additional examples of this relatively rare orthography, cf. among others: i-im-gul-gul-lu-dè (PBS X, Part IV, No. 6, rev. 3; its duplicates STV, No. 28, obv. 7 and No. 29, rev. 5, read i-gul-gul-lu-dè); i-im-tuš (SEM 109, obv. 9; its duplicate HAV, No. 8, line 16 reads nam-mi-in-tuš); i-im-še₇ (SEM, No. 1, iv 30; its duplicate W.-B. 162 [= OECT I, Pl. 5 ff.] i 15 reads im-še₇).

5. Note, too, the regular order šu-gur, eš-gur (is it merely a variant of šu-gur?) and ĤUR in SLT. Nos. 190, rev. iii 14 ff. and 191, obv. iii 21 ff.

6. Does edin here perhaps refer to the nether world? Cf. BE XXX, pp. 17 f.

7. Our text, based on A, omits the removal of the ħi-LI and substitutes that of the gi-ninda-ħun-gá-za-gġn.

In *šu-mi-ni-in-du₈* (line 19) the thematic prefix *mu-* has become *mi-* under the influence of the following *-ni-¹*. The reasons for the scribe's use of the prefix *mu-* in this verbal form (as well as in *mu-un-gíl*, lines 15 and 17) and the prefix *ba-* in the verbal forms on lines 21, 22, etc. are still obscure.

If in the complex *^{na}nunuz-tab-ba* (line 21), the *^{na}nunuz* corresponds to the Akkadian *erimtu* and the root *tab* to *ḥamātu*, the meaning may be "the sparkling(?) *erimtu*-stones". Note, however, that in the Semitic version, the *erimtu*-stones are said to be worn by Ištar on her neck, while on her breast, she is said to wear the breastplates. It is not impossible, therefore, that *tab-ba* has the meaning "twin", and the *^{na}nunuz-tab-ba* refers to the two stones covering her breasts ².

The meaning of *tu-di-tum* (line 23) is still uncertain. Followed by *kam-kam-ma-tum*, it is found in SLT, No. 89, obv. ii, 8-9; 190, rev. iii, 6-7; 191, obv. iii, 16-17; it may therefore refer to a ring-shaped object. For the possible meaning breast-plate, cf. Scheil in RA XVII, p. 212. If, however, *^{na}nunuz-tab-ba* should prove to be "the breast-plates", the *tu-di-tum* may correspond to the *šibbu*, "girdle" of the Semitic version.

Lines 26-28. — For the verbal form *i-im-DU* (line 26) cf. the comment to line 16.

The writing *ga-ša-an* (line 27) in our reconstructed text is based on A; the use of the *eme-SAL* orthography is rather surprising, since Inanna's speech does not begin till line 29; cf. the comment to *uru-ši-ib^{ki}* (ll. 205-6). Variant C writes, more correctly, *NIN*.

Lines 29-33. — *gi-en-gi-en* (line 29) is the reduplicated form of the active participle; the reduplication expresses continued repetition of the action. On the other hand, in the complex *gi-en-gi-en-na-mu*, *gi-en-gi-na* represents the reduplicated infinitive *gin-a*, here used as an adjective, just as *ša₅-ša₅-ga* in the preceding line is the reduplicated form of *ša₅-a*. In both cases the reduplication of the adjective indicates the plural of the substantive which it modifies, with perhaps the added connotation of totality. For the pattern *x-x-a* (and not *x-a-x-a*) cf. GSG, § 146.

Instead of *mu-un-e₁₁-dè-en* (line 32) one might have expected *ba-e₁₁-dè-en* (cf. lines x 8, x 11, etc.), since it seems to be the present-future form of an intransitive root; cf. comment to *ba-an-ug₅-ga* (l. 86) and *ba-ši-in-tu* (l. 94).

For the construction of the infinitive involved in *gin-na-mu-dè* (line 33), cf. GSG, § 703³. Note that the post-position *-da* which changes to *-dè* after *-mu-* and *-zu-* is written as *-ta* after *-ni-*; cf. lines 136, 141, etc. Whether this *-ta* is merely a variant writing for *-da* or whether a phonetic change of the dentals is involved is as yet unknown, although the latter seems the more likely ⁴.

1. Cf. GSG, § 578 ff.

2. Cf. *^{na}nunuz*, *^{na}nunuz-tab-ba*, *^{na}nunuz-gú* in SLT, No. 179, rev. iv, 12 ff. The *^{na}nunuz-gú* may correspond to the *erimmūti ša kišdđj* of the Semitic version.

3. Note that the second example in the second paragraph on p. 289 is now to be corrected as follows: a) the word *tu-tu-da-ni* should be followed by *-ta*; b) the last word *ba-da-[kar]* should read *ba-da-an-ši-ir*.

4. Cf. GSG, § 364, and note that the statement there made in reference to the post-position *-da* after (a)ni preceded by an infinitive is to be modified in accordance with above.

Lines 34-40. — The meaning of the first five lines of this passage which contains Inanna's instructions to Ninšubur preparatory to the latter's plea before Enlil, Sin and Ea, is quite obscure. In general, however, the acts which Ninšubur is instructed to perform seem to have the purpose of raising a great hue and cry concerning Inanna's descent to the nether world, in order, perhaps, to make the gods aware of the serious consequences that may result.

The -ma- in *gar-gar-ma-ni-ib* (line 34) and in the verbal forms (all imperatives ¹) of the five lines that follow represents grammatically *m(u-')a*, i. e., the thematic prefix *mu-* followed by the dative infix of the first person singular. The infix -ni- in this verbal form and in the two that follow, recapitulates the preceding locative complex. The reduplication of the root *gar* ² seems to indicate the plurality of the action, although, because the beginning of the line is broken, the matter must remain doubtful.

The *gú-en* ³ (line 35) seems to have been a part of the temples used as an assembly hall ⁴. As the translation indicates, I have analyzed the complex *gú-en-na* as *guen-a* rather than *guen-a(k)*; this would best explain the infix -ni- in *tuku-a-ma-ni-ib*. The -a- after the root in this verbal form (cf. also *mu-un-na-tuku-a* of the variant B and of line 172, as well as *ma-an-tuku-a* of line x38) seems to belong to the root. Just what is involved in this writing *tuku-a* (for the usual *tuku* ?) remains obscure.

é-kur-ri (lines 40 and 41, also lines 178 and 179) as well as *é-kur-ra* (lines x43) is probably merely a variant writing for the more correct *é-kur*. This orthographic development is no doubt the result of the fact that the word *é-kur* followed by a post-position was much more frequent than the absolute form.

In *ír-šés-àm* (line 42), the final *m* may be the causative-transitive particle; for the change of the *b* to *m* when following immediately the prefix *i-* (the latter becomes *a* in the imperative) cf. GSG, § 531. Perhaps, however, *ír-šés-àm* is grammatically *ír-šés-im(ma)* (cf. *im-ma-še-še*, line 180) where the disappearance of the final syllable was favored by the stress.

Lines 43-47. — This passage contains Ninšubur's plea before Enlil; it is repeated verbatim, except for the name of the deity addressed, in lines 52-56 (Sin) and lines 60-64 (Enki); moreover, the three passages are repeated again verbatim in the latter portion of the poem which tells of Ninšubur's executing the instructions received from Inanna. If the translation of

1. The use of three preterit verbal forms in B for the first three of the six verbal forms and having Inanna referred to by the infix -na-, "for her", is quite inexplicable and seems to be a scribal error. It is contrary to the sense of the context which demands all six verbal forms to be imperatives and to refer to Inanna by -'a-, "for me".

2. Note that in preterit verbal form on lines 172 and x38 (cf. also the variant for line 34 on B) the reduplicated root is written as *gá-gá*.

3. Whether the original meaning of *gú-en* was related in any way to a meaning such as "all the *énu*" (cf. KAR, No. 18, obv. 6-7; ASKT, No. 10, obv. 29-30), it is not as yet possible to say.

4. Cf. SEM, No. 16, iii 32: *kisal-maḥ-e kisal-gú-en-na-ka kin-gi-a i-im-mu*, "On the *kisalmahhu* in the *kisal* of the *guen*, Kingia (the *énu* of LAM.KUR.RU^{ki}) spoke up". According to Gudea, Cyl. B, xvi 17, chairs were placed there. A *gutug-gú-en-na* is mentioned in BE XXXI, No. 43, obv. 3 and 4. Cf. also CSRT, No. 1, iii 7; the meaning of the line is quite uncertain.

the passage should prove correct ¹, Ninšubur's plea nowhere mentions directly the possibility and danger of Inanna's being put to death in the nether world. Instead, it concentrates on the risk the gods (Enlil, Sin and Enki) run of losing the precious metals, stones, etc. which Inanna is wearing ².

The four verbal forms, *nam-ba-da-an-gam-e* (lines 43 and 47), *nam-ba-an-da-šár-ri* (line 44), *nam-ba-an-da-si-il-li(?)* (line 45), *nam-ba-da-an-dar-dar-e* ³ (line 46), are all third person singular present-future forms beginning with the negative precativè particle *na-* and the thematic prefix *ba-*, i. e., *nam-ba > na-bba > na-ba* ⁴. Note, however, that the pronominal element *n* in the infix *-n-da* is written only in the second and third verbal forms; in the first and fourth which have the transitive-causative particle *-n-* before the root, it is omitted. The variant B, on the other hand, omits the *n* in *-n-da* ⁵, but writes the transitive-causative particle in all four cases ⁶. The phonetic laws that guided the scribes in the selection of one or the other writing are still unformulated.

ga-ša-an-na (line 47) is a not infrequently found contracted form of *ga-ša-an-an-na*.

Lines 48-50. — In *nu-ri-gub* (lines 48) (grammatically *nu-(i-e)ra-gub*) we have an example ⁷ of a form in which the infix *-ra-* has become *-ri-*; perhaps this is due to the influence of the preceding *nu-(i-e)*. Note, too, that in *nu-ri-gub*, the prefix *mu-* was not substituted for the prefix *i-* as is usually the case before an infix of the second person singular ⁸. No doubt this is due to the preceding *nu-* which in our case seems to have the same effect as a preceding *he-* or *ga-* ⁹. For the use of the permansive form with the present-future meaning in an *u₄-da* clause, cf. GSG, § 422.

kiš-šir₆-gál (line 50) is presumably merely another and older (restricted to the Sumerian and early post-Sumerian periods) writing for the usual *giš-šir-gál* which appears in the last post-Sumerian period.

Lines 52-56. — Cf. comment to lines 43-47.

Lines 57-59. — For *nu-ri-gub*, cf. comment to line 48.

1. It is based on the following assumptions, none of which is quite certain: a) *tu-mu-zu* refers to Inanna; b) the subject of the five verbal forms is *mu-lu* (grammatically *mu-lu(-e)*); c) the verbal roots *gam*, *šár* and *sil*, when preceded by the infix *-da-* are to be equated with the Akkadian *šaldû*, *šardû* and *duppûru* respectively.

2. That is, the translation assumes that the words "thy good metal" "thy good lazuli" really refer to jewels and ornaments. To what, however, does *gišKU-zu* refer?

3. The purpose of the reduplication of the root is obscure, since the meaning of the line is not altogether clear. Note that B seems to have the variant *nam-ba-da-an-si-il-si-il-li* where A has the unreduplicated root.

4. Cf. GSG, § 672. Note that in order to render the prefix *ba-* more exactly our translation would have to add "to his advantage" or perhaps "of his own accord" in each case.

5. B omits the infix *-n-da-* altogether in the third case; this may, however, be due to a passing error of the scribe or the copyist.

6. Before the root *sár*, B writes the transitive-causative particle *as-b-* (not *-n-*).

7. The first as far as is known to me from the early post-Sumerian period. For examples from the classical period cf. Poebel, ZA XXXVI, pp. 5 ff.; for those from the late post-Sumerian period, cf. GSG, § 508.

8. Cf. GSG, § 546.

9. Cf. GSG, § 547.

In line 59 one might have expected the locative -a after *uru-ši-ib^{hi}*. Note that the signs which look like TE and BI on the copy (A ii 2) are miscopies for the poorly preserved KI and GA.

Lines 60-64. — Cf. comment to lines 43-47.

Lines 65-67. — *mu-un-zu* (line 66) “ he knows ” is actually a preterit form ; a more literal translation would therefore read “ he has come to know ”, “ he has learned ”.

The translation of line 67 assumes that *e-ne*, “ he ”, refers to Amanki and that it is the subject of *ḫu-mu-un-ti-li-en* which is a precative verbal form consisting of the particle *ḫu-* (*ḫe-*)¹, the third person singular *preterit* *mu-n-til*² (*mu(-n)-n-til*), and the second person singular *accusative suffix* *-en*³. But even if all these assumptions should prove correct, the interpretation of the passage still remains uncertain because of the ambiguous character of the pronominal elements in the complex *ma-ra* and in the accusative suffix *-en*. If we assume that Inanna is still speaking (and to judge from surface considerations, this certainly seems to be the case, for there is nothing in the text to indicate that Inanna's speech ended with line 64), then the *ma* of *ma-ra* refers to Inanna while the *-en* refers to Ninšubur. But unless the preceding passages have been misinterpreted, which is not impossible⁴, it would make little if any sense for Inanna to say to Ninšubur : “ May he (Amanki) make thee live for me ”, since it is not Ninšubur's life that is being pleaded for, but Inanna's. If, however, we assume that in spite of the absence of an introductory line marking the end of Inanna's speech and the beginning of that of Ninšubur, it is the latter who, beginning with line 64, is speaking, it would seem, at least on the surface, to fit in quite well with the context, for Ninšubur to say : “ May he (Amanki) make thee live for me ”⁵. Cf. also comment to line x46.

Note that lines 28-67 are written in the *eme-SAL* dialect, since they contain the words of

1. For the change of *ḫe-* to *ḫu-* before the prefix *mu-* in the post-Sumerian period, cf. GSG, § 646.

2. If this analysis of *ḫu-mu-un-ti-li-en* should prove correct, it would furnish an example of an instance where the precative particle *ḫe-* is combined with the preterit of a transitive verbal form, instead of, as is usually the case, with the present-future ; cf. GSG, § 642.

3. Cf. GSG, § 517.

4. Cf. comment to lines 43-47.

5. Because, as the matter now stands, the translation and interpretation given above are far from satisfying, it may prove of value to list several other possibilities. Thus it is possible to assume that :

a) The accusative pronominal element *-en*, may be the *first* person (i. e., “ *me* ” rather than “ *thee* ”). The translation of line 67 would then read : “ Inanna says : “ May he make me to live for (?) me (i. e., for my sake ?) ”.

b) The *e-ne* is an independent *accusative* (rather than *nominative*) pronoun, referring to Inanna and is the *object* of *ḫu-mu-un-ti-li-en*, a precative form consisting of the particle *ḫu-* and the second singular *present-future* verbal *mu-n-til-en*, with the meaning “ mayest thou make to live ”. According to this translation, lines 65-67 would continue to be part of Inanna's instructions to Ninšubur who was to continue his plea as follows :

“ Oh Father Amanki, lord of wisdom

The food of life *thou* knowest, the water of life *thou* knowest

Her (Inanna) for me (Ninšubur) mayest thou make to live ”

While this translation seems to make excellent sense and moreover removes the difficulty of having the precative particle *ḫe-* combined with the preterit form of a transitive verb, it seems unlikely for the following reasons :
1) Instead of *mu-n-zu*, one would have expected *mu-e-zu* or *mu-zu* (<*mu(-e)-zu*) ; 2) Line x46 practically repeats

Inanna¹. Thus we find e-ne-è̄m (not KA), mu-lu (not lù), me-ri (not gir), mu-ul-líl (not en-líl), tu-mu (not dumu) ga-ša-an-na (not inanna), uru-ši-ib (not NUN^{ki}), am-an-ki (not en-ki), ù-mu-un (not en), mu uš-tùg (not geštug), da-ma-al (not dagal). The only irregularity seems to be the use of giš instead of mu in lines 46, 55 and 63.

Lines 68-71. — For i-im-DU (line 68), cf. comment to line 16. For the unexpected eme-SAL ga-ša-an instead of NIN in line 69, cf. comment to line 27. In line 70 which again begins a speech of Inanna, we find the writing ⁴ga-ša-an-šubur-ra as the name of the deity. This corresponds to the eme-SAL writing gašan-šubur-ra of the late post-Sumerian period². In the eme-KU dialect however, at least in the Sumerian and early post-Sumerian periods, the name of the deity is written as ⁴nin-ŠUBUR. That the name so written represents a genitive complex (i. e., ⁴nin-šubur-a(k)) is proven beyond doubt by such forms as the subject complex ⁴nin-ŠUBUR-ke₄³. It must, as yet, therefore, remain uncertain whether the writing ⁴nin-ŠUBUR was read ⁴nin-šubur, a contracted form of the original ⁴nin-šubur-ra, or whether the scribes of the eme-KU dialect attributed a longer value šubura to the sign ŠUBUR⁴. Cf. also the comment to ⁴ereš-ki-gal (line 85)⁵.

The translation of e-ne-a-ra (line 71) as “to him” (i. e., to Enki) assumes it to be merely a lengthened form of e-ne-ra; cf., for example, as ba-e-a-e₁₁ (lines 4 ff.) for ba-e₁₁. The translation of dug₄-mu-un assumes it to be an imperative. However, not only the meaning but the very word division of this line is far from certain.

Lines 72-74. — In the complex é-gal-kur-za-gìn (line 72), assuming that the translation “the lazuli palace of the nether world” is correct, one might have expected kur-ra instead of kur.

The verbal form um-ma-te (line 72) is grammatically imma-te; for the change of the initial i of the prefix imma- to u even when not preceded by a word ending with the vowel u, cf. GSG, § 622; also SEM, No. 1, obv. i 14. Note that the dimensional element in the prefixes imma- and ba- which introduce the verbal forms im-ma-te, ba-an-gál and ba-an-dè, recapitulates the locative particle in the three preceding locative complexes. The exact nuance

the contents of line 67 except that it has the verbal form mu-un-ti-li-en (without the precative particle he-), and there it seems to make no sense at all to translate it as a second person singular present-future.

c) It may be that e-NE is not the third person pronoun at all; if so, it is futile, as matters now stand, to attempt an explanation of the passage.

1. For the possibility that the last three lines contain the words of Nin-šubur, cf. comment on p. 12.

2. Cf. BL, Nos. 56, rev. 30; 143, rev. 6; SBH, No. IV 110.

3. Cf. Urukagina Stone Tablet (SAK, p. 42) v 1; line x28 of our text.

4. Note, however, that if the reading ⁴nin-šubur-ra (?)-ke (?) of line 169 of our text should prove correct, the scribe in this case attributes the shorter value to the sign ŠUBUR.

5. We are met with a similar difficulty in the writing of ⁴nin-é-gal which is grammatically ⁴nin-egal-a(k), and for which one might have expected the writing ⁴nin-é-gal-la. The latter writing, however, is found only in the religious texts of the post-Sumerian period (cf. among others BE XXXI, No. 12, rev. 13 and 26 [if the copy is correct the -la is omitted, *ibid.*, 22]). In the building inscriptions, economic texts, and god-lists of the Sumerian and post-Sumerian periods the regular writing is ⁴nin-é-gal. The name ⁴nin-ḫur-sag, too, appears in that form usually in the Sumerian period only. In the post-Sumerian periods, even in the god-lists, it appears as ⁴nin-ḫur-sag-gá.

of the reflexive relationship expressed in our case by imma- and ba- is not quite certain ; perhaps it might best correspond to the English “ for herself (i. e., to her advantage) ”, perhaps to “ by herself (i. e., on her own initiative) ”. Nor can we explain as yet the reason for the scribe's selecting the prefix imma- before the root *te*, and the prefix ba- before the roots *gál* and *dè*.

Lines 75-76. — Note that according to the corresponding phrase in the Semitic version which reads *pitá bábka*, one might have expected *ká-gál-ú* rather than *é-gál-ú*. In *gál-ú* (*gál-i*) note the labial character of the final *l* of the root ¹.

The reading and meaning of the name of the god ⁴NE-ti (written ⁴NE-du_s, e. g., in IV R, No. 1, ii 49) is still unknown. However, his title *i-du_s* is probably the verbal form *i(-n)-du_s*, “ he opened ”, and it is not unlikely that the Akkadian *atú* is a loan-word from the Sumerian *i-du_s*.

Lines 77-79. — In the literary texts of the early post-Sumerian, the *n* of the infix *-na-* in the verbal form *mu-na-ni-b-gi₄-gi₄* is found both in its simple and doubled form. If there was any principle behind the choice of one or the other writing, it has not as yet been formulated.

The literal translation of line 79 reads : “ Who art thou, thou ? ”.

Line 80. — Since this line contains Inanna's answer, it is written in the eme-SAL dialect ; hence *me-e* (eme-KU *má-e*), *ga-ša-an* (eme-KU *nin*).

The dwelling place of Inanna, described as “ the place where the sun rises ” ² can be localized with a fair degree of certainty from the following statement made concerning the Sumerian Noah in an early post-Sumerian creation myth ³ :

kur-bal kur-dilmun-na ki^dutu-è-és mu-un-ti-eš

On the . . . mountain, the mountain of Dilmun, at the place where the sun rises, they (probably Anu and Enlil) caused him (*zi-u₄-GID-du*) to dwell.

Since it was after *zi-u₄-GID-du* had been granted “ life like a god ” ⁴ that he was placed in the “ place where the sun rises ”, the latter must be the descriptive term for the dwelling place of the gods, which is specifically named in the text as Mount Dilmun.

Lines 81-83. — In line 82 the unusual word order (the locative complex *kur-nu-gi₄-šè* follows the predicate) is perhaps due to the fact that the interrogative pronoun is regularly placed *immediately* before the verb to which it belongs.

In line 83 *ha-ra-an*, despite its endingless form, is logically an anticipatory genitive ⁵. In *lu-du-bi*, literally, “ its travelling man ”, *du* is the intransitive participle. *nu-gi₄-gi₄-dè* ⁶

1. For other examples, cf. GSG, § 678.

2. Note that if the translation of line 80 is correct the predicate corresponding to the English “ dwelling ” or “ I dwell ” etc. is omitted.

3. HGT, No. 1, rev. vi 12 ; cf. PBS IV, Part 1, pp. 9 ff.

4. HGT V, No. 1, rev. vi 8.

5. For the omission of the genitive particle, cf. GSG, § 378.

6. Note that according to form alone *gi₄-gi₄-dè* may be a present-future intransitive participle followed by the locative post-position *-e*.

seems to be grammatically nu-(i-)gi₄-gi₄-(e)d-e(-a-e), i. e., the substantivized form of the third person singular present-future ¹, followed by the locative post-position -e which relates it dimensionally to the preterit verbal form tum-mu-un. The latter ², if the translation is correct, is a finite verbal form despite the fact that it seems to lack the thematic prefix; its subject is šà-zu. The final -un(-en), presumably, is the second person singular accusative suffix.

Lines 84-88. — In line 85, instead of ^dga-ša-an-ki-gal-la (assuming that the reading of the last sign is correct), one might have expected ^dga-ša-an-ki-gal-la-ke₄, since it is the subject of the transitive verbal form ba(?)-ni-in-dug₄ (line 88). The absolute case in this instance may actually represent an anticipatory genitive to which the possessive pronoun of the following dam-a-ni refers, cf. GSG, § 377.

As regards the name of the divinity, forms like ^dga-ša-an-ki-gal-la and ^dereš-ki-gal-la ³ (absolute case), ^dereš-ki-gal-la-ke₄ ⁴ (subject of a transitive verbal form), and ^dereš-ki-gal-la-ra ⁵, all show that the scribes analyzed the name as a genitive complex, i. e., ereš (or gašan)-kigal-a(k), “the queen of the *kigallu*”. Moreover, at least to judge from the orthography, the complex ended with the vowel a. On the other hand, the carefully spelled out e-ri-iš-ki-i-ga-a-al of the Tell el-Amarna version of the Nergal-Ereškigal myth, as well as the writing of the god-lists and the Greek transcription, all indicate that the actual pronunciation, at least from the Kassite period on, omitted the final a ⁶.

If, as the translation assumes, line 86 represents a temporal-causal clause introduced by the substantive mu, one might have expected the post-position -še (or -š only since it follows

1. While the intransitive root gi₄, “to return” forms its present-future from the reduplicated stem with the help of the particle -ed, the transitive -b-gi “to return (something or somebody)” forms its present-future from the reduplicated stem alone.

2. According to form alone tum-mu-un may of course be an imperative.

3. Cf. line 85 of our text and PBS X, Part 2, No. 104, obv. 14. Note that although the sign NIN which is the usual eme-KU writing for the first part of her name is to be read ereš (not nin), the corresponding eme-SAL writing is gašan, the same form which usually corresponds to the eme-KU NIN when the latter has the reading nin.

4. Cf. lines 112 and x2 of our text. On the other hand forms like ^dereš-ki-gal-ke₄ (IV R i 5), and ^dereš-ki-gal-la-ka-ta (PBS X, Part 2, No. 6, iv 11) cannot be utilized to prove that the complex was grammatically ^dereš-ki-gal-a(k). Both examples are preceded by substantive complexes related to them genitively, and both the -ake of the first example and the -aka of the second example may represent the *simple* genitive element in the post-Sumerian period (cf. GSG, § 373 and Poebel in AOF IX 256). Note, too, that in PBS X, Part 2, No. 6, iii 10, we find the writing ^dereš-ki-gal-la (?) (the -la is on the tablet according to Dr. Chiera's collation). But this form, too, is at present of little value in this connection since the line is partly broken and the meaning is rather obscure.

5. Cf. ll. 92 and 94 of our text.

6. The matter is further complicated by the fact that in the Sumerian period, the writing of the absolute form is ^dereš-ki-gal (Cf. DPr No. 51, iii 5), which seems to indicate that the shorter form is the older. Nevertheless it is not impossible that the scribes of that period attributed the longer value gala to the sign GAL; cf. the comment to line 70. Moreover, in the case of ^dereš-ki-gal, mention must be made that the treatment of the name as a genitive complex may be a late (i. e., early post-Sumerian) development and that more originally ki-gal was conceived as an apposition to ereš. If so, ereš-ki-gal originally meant “the lady, the *kigallu*, just as, e. g., ^den-lil really meant “the lord, the wind” rather than “the lord of the wind”.

a vowel) after the substantivizing particle -a ; cf. GSG, § 435. Note the unexpected -n- in ba-an-ug₆-ga, and cf. comment to mu-un-e₁₁-dè-en (l. 32), and ba-ši-in-tu (l. 94).

In line 86 note, as expected, the eme-SAL umun for en, and in line 87, the em-SAL ibi for igi.

kas(?)-si-ga-na (line 88) seems to be parallel in construction to ki-si-ga-na of the line preceding. The meaning remains quite obscure, especially since the restoration of the missing parts of the following words is by no means certain¹.

The -ni- in ba-ni-in-dug₄ refers to Gugalanna ; a more literal translation would read " she commanded concerning him ".

Lines 89-92. — Perhaps the beginning of line 92 should be restored to inim-inim-ma-zu, although the traces of the signs in the copy seem to contradict this possibility. On the other hand, it is not impossible that the expression at the beginning of the line consisted of an imperative verbal form corresponding to the Akkadian *izizzi*.

In line 92, note the omission, accidental in all likelihood, of the transitive-causative particle in the first of the two verbal forms.

Lines 93-111. — ba-ši-in-tu seems to be an intransitive verbal form and one might therefore have expected ba-ši-tu ; cf. comment to mu-un-e-dè-en (line 32), and ba-an-ug₆-ga (l. 86).

For the use of the numeral in ki-sikil-diš-àm, cf. GSG, § 354.

Lines 100-111 are an exact repetition of lines 4-25, except that line 110 which should correspond to line 24 actually corresponds to line 25, while the former corresponds to line 111.

Lines 112-119. — gá-nu (line 114) is a particle not infrequently found in the Sumerian epical texts ; cf. SEM, No. 1, iii 3 ; 30, iv 1, etc. ; HGT, No. 25, obv. i 31, 66, etc. It seems to be the same particle as ga-nu, *alkam* (ASKT, No. 17, obv. 22).

In line 116 gi^{is}si-gar should read gi^{is}si-mar, if Ereskigal's speech is rendered in the eme-SAL.

If the translation of line 117 is correct, igi-kur-ra is a complex in apposition to ká-gal-ganzir. Note the eme-SAL form of the name : ká-gal-ganzir-i-bi-kur-ra (CT XXXVI, Pl. 46, line 9). If we are permitted to conclude from this single example, Ereskigal's speech was not conceived by the Sumerian poets as having been uttered in the eme-SAL dialect. Cf., however, comment to lines x2-x5.

The translation " define its rules " for ka-aš-bi bar-ra (line 11) represents a not very satisfactory attempt to approximate the meaning of the Sumerian. Note that ka-aš-bi bar-ra seems to parallel the phrase gi^{is}si-gar-bi gál-ú of the preceding line. The words kaš and bar may therefore have had a more concrete meaning than the Akkadian *parāsu purussē* seems to indicate.

In line 119, gam-gam-ma-ni (perhaps -ib follows), according to the form, may be an

1. Thus for gu-ul-[dè(?)] which seems to be a present-future infinitive parallel to dus-ù-de of the preceding line, one might have expected gu-ul-lu-dè.

imperative ; its translation may read therefore : “ make her to bow there again and again ”¹. Perhaps, however, *gam-gam-ma-ni*, in our case, too, corresponds to the Akkadian *qadādāniš*, “ bowed ” (cf. IV R, Pl. 24, No. 2, 11 f.)².

Lines 120-126. — The meaning of the compound verb *sag-KEŠ—ag* (line 21), as indicated by its Akkadian equivalent *nādu*, approximates “ to honor ”, “ to revere ”. The grammatical relationship of the components of *sag-KEŠ* to each other and to the verbal root, however, remains quite uncertain. Note that in our text, the complex containing the word *inim* is related dimensionally to the verbal form, while *sag-KEŠ*, at least on the surface, seems to be the direct object of the verbal root *ag*. On the other hand in IV R, Pl. 5, ii 44, where the sentence is quite parallel, the complex containing *inim* (no doubt under Akkadian influence) is conceived as the direct object of the verbal form, while the complex *sag-KEŠ* is treated as dimensionally related to the root *ag*, and as a consequence the post-position *-a* is added to it.

Lines 126-130. — The traces of the beginning of line 126 on A do not seem to permit the restoration of the expected *ká-gal-diš-kam-ma*, which is the reading of the variant F. Whatever the restoration, however, it must certainly consist of some parallel expression.

Diri (line 129) is most likely an adjective modifying the substantive *šu* in *šu-al-du₇-du₇*. In ordinary prose, therefore, the verbal form would read *šu-diri-al-du₇-du₇*³; the *diri* is placed at the beginning of the line in our case for the purpose of emphasis.

In *me-kur-ra-ke₄* (line 129) the final *-e* is most likely the locative post-position indicating the dimensional relationship between the preceding genitive complex and the verbal form *šu—du₇*. A more literal rendering of the line, therefore, than that offered by the translation would read : “ on the *rites* of the nether world the hand has been . . . ”.

Whether the Sumerian *garza* (line 130) is the same word as the Akkadian *paršu* must still remain undecided. It is difficult to assume that *paršu* is a Sumerian loan word⁴, since from *garza* one would have expected *paršû*. On the other hand, if we assume that *garza* (*eme-SAL marza*) is a Semitic loan word, it would follow that the Semitic *p* (or at least a certain kind of Semitic *p*) became *g* in *eme-KU* and *m* in *eme-SAL*, a consonantal shift hitherto unknown.

If *KA-zu* is the subject of the verbal form which seems to be a negated precative beginning with the particle *na-*, the final *-en* of the verbal form is most likely the second singular accusative element and the translation should read “ let not thy *KA* . . . thee ”. If, on the other hand, *KA-zu* is the object, the final *-en* is the subject element and the translation should read : “ do not . . . thy *KA* ”.

1. The root *gam* may of course also have the meaning “ to die ” ; the transitive form *b-gam* may therefore mean “ to kill ”. However, it seems very unlikely that *gam-gam-ma-ni-ib* (?) is to be translated as “ kill her there for me ”, for at least on the surface the reduplication of the root would remain inexplicable.

2. The grammatical analysis of *gam-gam-ma-ni* which makes the translation *qadādāniš* possible is still obscure.

3. Cf. the not infrequently found *šu-gal—du₇* (*Gudea Cyl. A*, x18 ; *CSRT*, No. 14, obv. 12, etc.).

4. For the possibility that in addition to *garza* (*eme-KU*) and *marza* (*eme-SAL*) there was a third Sumerian dialect which had the form *b₁parza*, cf. *ga*(*eme-KU*) = *ma*(*eme-SAL*) = *ba*(*Kiš* ?) in *GSG*, § 75.

Lines 131-160. — These thirty lines contain six passages, each of which consists of five lines and, except for the change involved in the numbering of the gate and in the description of the object removed, is an exact repetition of lines 126-130. Accordingly, one gathers that Inanna wore seven bits of apparel, one of which was removed upon entering each of the seven gates. On the other hand, the passage describing Inanna's dress preparatory to her descent into the nether world (lines 17-25) consists of *nine* lines, each of which seems to describe a specific unit of apparel. In A, the removal of the *hi-LI* is omitted. In F, on the other hand, the removal of the *hi-LI* is mentioned, but most likely that of the *gi-ninda-ḥun-gá-za-gin* is omitted. As for the other omission, our reconstructed text assumes it to be *gi (?) -e-?-ḥe-im-DU-ḥe-im-DU*¹, although since the portions of the lines describing the last four objects removed are broken, the matter must remain uncertain.

Lines 161-167. — This passage, which is unfortunately so poorly preserved, describes the attack made upon Inanna at the behest of Ereškigal. Does line 167 refer to crucifixion?

Instead of the infix *-(n-)da* in *ba-da-an-lá*, one might have expected the infix *-(n-)ta*. If the sign DA is actually intended to be read *da* and is not merely a variant orthography for *ta*, the change from a voiceless to the corresponding voiced consonant may be due to the influence of the immediately preceding prefix. Cf. also : *ki an-ta ba-da-sur-ri(!)-a-ba*, "After the earth had been separated from heaven" (SEM, No. 21, obv. 8) where we are met with the same difficulty.

Lines 168-180. — For detailed comment to lines 170-180, cf. comment to lines 30-42, which with the necessary changes, correspond to the former.

For the omission of the subject element in the verbal forms of lines 172-177, where the stress is favorable, cf. comment to *i-im-DU* (line 16). Note that the subject element is not omitted in the corresponding verbal forms of lines x37-x42, where the stress is favorable to its retention². In *mu-un-na-gá-gá* (line 172) and the verbal forms of the two lines following, one might have expected the infix *-ni-* to recapitulate the preceding dimensional complex.

im-ma-še₈-še₈ (line 180) is grammatically *imma-še₈-še₈(-e)*, i. e., the third person singular present-future of the verb *šés* which forms its present-future according to the scheme *i-LA(L)-LA(L)-en*. In other words, *šés* belongs to the class of verbs which form their present future from the reduplicated root with the added proviso that if the root ended in a consonant, the latter is dropped and the root is treated as if it ended in a vowel, cf. GSG, § 446 c.

Lines 181-185. — These lines are an exact repetition of lines 43-47. The restoration assumes that *Ninšubur's* speech, too, was uttered in the *eme-SAL* dialect.

1. To judge from the rest of the line which reads *igi-na ba-ni-in-gar*, the object described in the first part of the line may not refer to any bit of apparel at all, but to some sort of preparation used in painting her eyes.

2. To judge from the imperative forms *gar-gar-ma-ni-ib*, *tuku-a-ma-ni-ib*, etc. in the corresponding passage, lines 37-43, it is possible that the verbal forms *mu-un-na-gá-gá*, *mu-un-na-tuku-a*, etc. (lines 173 ff.) and *ma-an-gá-gá*, *ma-an-tuku-a*, etc. (lines x37 ff.) are to be analyzed as *mu-na(-b-n)-ga-ga*, *mu-na(-b-n)-tuku-a*, *m(u-')a(-b)-n-ga-ga*, *m(u-')a(-b)-n-tuku a*, respectively. For the omission of the causative-transitive particle in the preterit verbal form when immediately preceding the subject element, cf. GSG, § 528.

Lines 186-190. — This passage contains Enlil's refusal of Ninšubur's plea.

Lines 191-194. — Cf. the corresponding passage, lines 48-51. If the restoration and translation of ba-du-un (line 191) is correct, the final n seems inexplicable.

Lines 195-199. — This passage is an exact repetition of lines 52-56.

Lines 200-204. — These lines contain Sin's refusal of Ninšubur's plea. Lines 201-204 are probably an exact repetition of lines 187-190.

Lines 205-207. — Cf. the corresponding passage lines 57-59. The use of the eme-SAL form uru-ši-ib^{ki} (ll. 205-6) is quite unexpected; cf. comment to ga-ša-an (l. 27).

Lines 207-212. — These lines are an exact repetition of lines 60-64¹, and, although not extant in any of the existing texts, can be safely restored.

Lines x. — This passage, consisting of an unknown number of lines, contained Enki's favorable reply to Ninšubur; also, no doubt, a description of the manner and means by which he planned to save Inanna. Beginning with line x1, the preliminary acts in the process of saving Inanna seem already to have been completed.

Line x1. — If the restoration of mu-na-ni-ib-g[i₄ (?)]-gi₄ (?) in the following line is correct, this tablet seems to begin with a line which marks the end of an address to Ereškigal². Note that ę^{is}kak-ta may refer to the same complex in line 167.

Lines x2-x5. — The passage is so poorly preserved that not only is the meaning uncertain, it is even difficult to realize with which line Ereškigal's words ended. If -ág- in the complex uzu-ág-PA (?) is eme-SAL for níg (cf. uzu-níg-PA in SLT, No. 46, vii 6) and if Ereškigal's words, like those of Inanna's were rendered by our scribes in the eme-SAL dialect (cf., however, comment to line 117), we might be justified in assuming that her speech ended with line x3, while lines x4-x5 begin to describe the actual performance of the ritual whereby Inanna was to be saved.

Line x6. — The meaning and force of the sign DIŠ before ú-nam-ti-la and a-nam-ti-la is obscure. In ugu(?)-[na (?)], if the reading is correct, the pronominal element must refer to Inanna. Is one to conclude, therefore, that Inanna had actually been killed in the nether world? In bí-in-šub-bu-uš (if the restoration is correct) note the use of the dimensionally characterized prefix bí- to recapitulate the preceding locative element -a.

Lines x7-x8. — To judge from the context, line 7 might have been expected to state that Inanna arose from her death-sleep. Line x8 is repeated two more times in the next twenty lines. It seems to be treated as a kind of "Leitmotif" in this portion of the poem.

Lines x9-x12. — To judge from the verbal form ға-ba-ab-si-mu, at least lines x11-x12

1. Note that the large four-column tablet A ends with line 207. Although the scribe had not quite come to the end of his tablet, he drew a double line and, no doubt, continued the poem beginning with Ninšubur's plea to Enki, on a new tablet, since he realized that if he continued on the same tablet for another eight or ten lines, he would not again have as opportune a break with which to begin his new tablet.

2. The scribe of this single column tablet, obviously, was not interested in making the beginning of his tablet correspond to the beginning of a given passage. It is not surprising to find, therefore, that he ends his tablet in the very middle of a sentence.

contain the direct speech of one or more individuals. Because of the serious breaks in lines x8-x9, however, it is difficult to perceive where the address begins and who is the speaker.

Lines x13-x25. — This passage furnishes a description of the *gallē* who accompanied Inanna in her ascent from the nether world. If our translation of gi-dub-ba-na-gim (line x15) should prove correct (the -na- remains inexplicable), the *gallē* were conceived by our poet to have been extremely small gnome-line creatures, the tallest among them being no larger than the tablet stylus.

In šu-bi-in-du₈ (line x17), literally, “ he held in the hand ”, the use of the dimensionally characterized prefix bi- is quite as expected. The verbal form of the line following, on the other hand, begins with the prefix mu. If the word order preceding the verbal form is correct and úr-ra, as the translation assumes, is a locative complex, one might have expected one of the dimensionally characterized prefixes instead of mu- to introduce the verbal form.

In the translation e-ne in the complex e-ne-ra (line x19) is assumed to be the third person independent pronoun referring to Inanna who is not mentioned until the line following. Cf., however, comment to line x30.

The meaning “ to accompany ” for -ši-súg, which seems to be preceded in our case by a dative of reference, fits the context. More usually, however, the root súg in the meaning of “ to accompany ” is preceded by the infix -(n-)da, cf. dumu-uru-na-mu-un-da-súg-eš-àm, “ the sons of his city who had accompanied him (Gilgamesh) ”, in U 9364 (RA XXX, pp. 127 f.), obv. 19¹.

In line x21 we find that for the active participle of the verb kú, the simple root is used ; that of the verb nag, on the other hand, is expressed by the reduplicated root. Note, too, that nag, like the verb šés (cf. comment to line 180) forms its present-future according to the scheme i-LA(L)-LA(L)-en.

Instead of kaš (line x23) perhaps the text read : a, “ water ”.

For the first word in line x25, one might have expected ubur, “ breast ”; the extant traces, however, do not seem to point that way.

Lines x26-x29. — For the possible reading šubura in the complex ⁴nin-ŠUBUR-ke₄ (line x28), cf. the comment to line 70.

In translating ba-da-an-tuš as “ he sat ”, the meaning of the infix has been left out of consideration, since it is not clear to whom or to what its pronominal element refers. If it should prove to refer to Inanna, the meaning of the first part of line x29 would be “ In the dust he (Ninšubur) sat down alongside of her (Inanna). If so, however, it would seem more likely that the act described in the second part of the line (the putting on of the sackcloth (?)) preceded that of the first part of the line (the sitting down with Inanna). We may, therefore, have here an example of what to us seems inverted word order ², i. e., the translation of the

1. Note that the duplicates SEM, No. 22, obv. (?) 18, and BE XXXI, No. 55, obv. 12, read mu-un-dè-súg-eš-a ; cf. also SEM, No. 23, rev. ii 6.

2. For another example, cf. GSG, p. 146, note 1.

line should perhaps read : “ (After) he had put on sackcloth (?), he sat down in the dust alongside of her ”.

Lines x30-x32. — The major difficulty in attempting to make out the meaning of these three lines is to be found in the interpretation of e-NE, for which our transliteration assumes the reading e-ne. Omitting for the moment the e-NE of line x31, it will be noted that our translation assumes the e-NE of lines x30 and x32 to be the third person singular independent pronoun referring to Inanna, although, at least on the surface, it seems to be quite redundant since the name of the divinity is mentioned in both lines. Nor, in order to avoid the difficulty, does it seem possible to treat e-ne as a plural ending and read galla-e-ne- since the latter would then be subject of a singular verb (line x30); moreover, the infix in the verbal form of line x32 is the singular -na-, not the plural -ne-¹. It is not impossible, therefore, that e-NE represents some substantive or adjective with a meaning as yet unknown, i. e., the translation of the two lines should perhaps read :

x30. The *gallú* to the pure Inanna says

x32. The pure Inanna to the *gallú* answers

As for line x31, our translation assumes e-ne to be the third person singular independent pronoun and object of the following verbal form. Does it refer, then, to Ninšubur? If so, the contents of the line are so cryptic that it is impossible to gather the real sense and purport of the statement².

ga-ba-ab-tum-mu-dè (line x31) is grammatically ga-ba-b-tum·e(n)de(n), i. e., the precativ-cohortative form of the first person plural, which, as we can now see, is formed in the eme-KU dialect according to the scheme ga-(i-)LAL·e(n)de(n)³. For the change of the initial e of the ending to u when following a root containing the vowel u and ending in a labial, cf. GSG, § 470. For the omission of the final n in each of the two component syllables of e(n)de(n), cf. GSG, § 479. Cf. also comment to line x47.

Lines x33-x45. — In this passage Inanna describes Ninšubur's activities in her behalf. For lines x33-x43, cf. lines 30-39 and lines 169-177. Note that lines x35 and x36 seem to contain descriptions of Ninšubur which are omitted in the other two passages; cf. however, note 18 on page 100.

Line x43 which consists of the first half of the sentence contained in line 178 is used by our scribe as a kind of abbreviation for the entire passage contained in lines 178-191.

1. In any case, i. e., no matter what substantive or substantive complex the -na- of mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄ refers, the omission of the post-position -ra which might have been expected to follow that substantive or substantive complex seems rather strange.

2. Note that according to form alone, the four signs preceding ga-ba-ab-tum-mu-dè in line x31 may be read as gub-ba-e-dè, i. e., an imperative verbal form corresponding to the preterit ba-e-dè-gub, “ He (Gilgameš) stood by her (Inanna)” in U 9364 (RA XXX, pp. 127 ff.), obv. 8, whose duplicate (BE XXXI, No. 55, obv. 1) reads ba-dè-gub.

3. GSG, § 666, is therefore to be modified accordingly.

Similarly lines x44 and x45 respectively serve to indicate that the entire passages contained in lines 192-205 and in lines 206-212 are to be repeated verbatim¹.

Line x46. — As the translation indicates, it is assumed that (a) e-NE is to be read e-ne; (b) it is the third person singular independent pronoun referring to Enki and serves as the subject of mu-un-ti-li-en; (c) the latter is a third person singular preterit verbal form ending with the second person singular accusative suffix referring to Inanna; (d) it is Ninšubur who utters the words contained in this line, in spite of the absence of any introductory line to indicate this fact. For the weakness of this interpretation and the suggestion of other possibilities, cf. comment to line 67.

Line x47. — ga-an-ši-súg-lè-en (grammatically ga-n-ši-súg-(en)den) furnishes us with another example of the first person plural precativ form². Who, however, is making the statement contained in line x47? Is it the *gallú* who had addressed Inanna (cf. lines x30 and x31) and is he now urging on his fellows to accompany Inanna to Umma?

sig₄-kur-ra-ga, to judge from line x57 where é-MÚŠ-kaJam-ma is used in a parallel connection, might be the name of Inanna's temple in Umma. Since the latter, however, is usually known as the é-ib-gal³, it is not impossible that there may be a certain relationship between two names which is not obvious on the surface.

Lines x48-x50. — If the postposition -ta in line x48 actually does mean "from", as the translation assumes, it is difficult to take the complex sig₄-kur-ra-ta as modifying dimensionally the verbal form ba-an-šub; one would much rather have expected the former to be followed by the Sumerian equivalent of some such verbal expression as "she went forth". Very likely, therefore, we have here an elliptical construction whose use is not altogether surprising in poetic compositions.

For lines x49-x50, cf. comment to lines x28 and x29.

Lines x51-x53. — Cf. comment to lines x30-x32.

Lines x54-x56. — The passage is too broken for any attempt at restoration.

Line x57. — Cf. comment to line x47.

Lines x58-x63. — For restoration of these six lines, although they are not extant in any of the existing texts, cf. lines x48-x53.

1. We are here confronted with the danger involved in superficial analyses and facile explanations of passages whose individual phrases seem relatively simple and understandable, but which cannot be intelligently placed in the context. Were it not for the realization that lines x43-x46 serve as a kind of abbreviation for relatively lengthy passages which had already been written down in a preceding portion of the composition, the present day translator, in attempting to get at the meaning, would be led into suggesting any number of possibilities, with the great probability that none of them would hit the mark.

2. Note that in the single tablet (H) on which our text beginning with line x1 is based, we find three different orthographies for -enden, the ending of the first person plural precativ form: (1) ga-ba-ab-tum-mu-dè (line x31) where both n's of -enden are omitted; (2) ga-an-ši-súg-dè-en (line x47) where only the first n is omitted but where the initial e has also disappeared as a result of syncope; (3) ga-an-ši-súg-en-dè-en (line x57) where the ending is written out in full. The reasons for the scribe's seemingly inconsistent selections remain obscure.

3. Cf. HGT, No. 157, i 12; also WB, 169 (= OECT, Plates 13 ff.), iii 22-23.

Inanna's answer followed. The line immediately following Inanna's answer was no doubt a repetition of line x47 (or line x57), except that the names of the city and temple were different. This line was in turn followed by a passage of six lines corresponding to x48-x53. How many cities were visited by Inanna and her ghostly host on her ascent from the nether world it is of course impossible to say. And, as matters now stand, it would be quite futile to attempt any sort of reconstruction of the composition from this point to its end.
