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"INANNA'S DESCENT TO THE NETHER WORLD"
CONTINUED AND REVISED

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The Sumerian myth "Inanna's Descent to the Nether World," as is well known, is still incomplete. The published text,¹ as reconstructed to date from thirteen tablets and fragments, consists of only the approximately first 384 lines of the poem, and of these, less than 300 are well preserved. The following study should therefore prove of no little value; its first part adds a considerable amount of new text to the myth, while its second part presents a new and revised version of the extant text of the myth as a whole in the light of this new material.

First Part

New Material

The new material published here for the first time consists of an excellently preserved tablet in the Yale Babylonian Collection,² and of a fragment in the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul.³ Of these two new pieces, the Yale

tablet is by far the more important; it contains 91 lines of text in well-nigh perfect condition. Of these, the last 31 lines, which are practically entirely new, restore a large part of the gap between lines 329-374 of the reconstructed text;⁴ this new passage, moreover, is of very particular importance, since it contains a significant and quite unexpected bit of mythological information relating to the god Dumuzi. But even the first 60 lines of the tablet, although they duplicate text already largely known, are highly useful since they help to correct and clarify quite a number of misreadings and misinterpretations of the earlier material.⁵ As for the Istanbul fragment which contains relatively few lines of text, and these badly broken, it too helps to restore quite a number of words and phrases which are missing in the reconstructed text. The following is a transliteration and translation, with commentary, of the two new pieces.

YBC 4621:⁶

1. íd a-ba mu-na-ba-e-ne šu nu-ma-bu-dè-ne

a-šà še-ba mu-na-ba-e-ne šu nu-ma-bu-dè-ne

uzu-níg-sìg-ga-^{is}kak-ta-lá sì-me-eb in-na-
ne-eš

a-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi-gi

1. They present them a river as a water-gift,
they accept it not.

They present them a field as a grain-gift,
they accept it not;

"Give us the *corpse* hung from the *stake*,"
they said to her.

She answers them:

1. Cf. the last edition of the extant text of the myth in PAPS 85: 295 ff. for full details.

2. Copied by Ferris J. Stephens and reproduced on pp. 212 f; its provenience is unknown.

3. Copied by the writer in Istanbul in 1946, cf. BASOR No. 105, 7.

4. It is to be borne in mind that beginning with line 229 of the reconstructed text, the line enumeration is approximate only.

5. Cf. e. g. notes 7, 14, 15, 16, 19 etc. etc.

6. For the system of transliteration cf. AS No. 12, 6-8; note, however, that in case of those signs which represent syllables consisting of a consonant and the ambiguous *e/i* vowel, the reading *e* will be preferred in those instances where it represents the combination of a final consonant with the vowel *e* of an immediately following grammatical element, since this usage is now gradually becoming standard.

5. uzu-níg-sìg-ga níg-ga-ša-an-zu-ne-ne-ka
níg-sìg-ga níg-nin-me h́é-a sì-me-eb in-na-an-
ne-eš
níg-sìg-ga-^{is}kak-ta-lá ba-an-sì-ne
gíš-àm ú-nam-ti-la gíš-àm a-nam-ti-la ugu-na
ba-an-šub ^dinanna gub-ba
^dinanna kur-ta e₁₁(!)-da-ni
10. ^da-nun-na-ke₄-e-ne ba-ab-ḥa-ḥa-a-aš
a-ba-àm lú-kur-ta-e₁₁-dè kur-ta silim-ma-ni
um-ta-e₁₁(!)
u₄-da ^dinanna kur-ta e₁₁(!)-dè
sag-aš(!) sag-gá-na-gim ḥa-ba-ab-sì-mu
lú-igi-na sukkal nu-me-a gíšdar šu bí-in-du₈
15. bar-ra-na ra-gaba nu-me(!)-a ^{is}tukul úr-ra i-
ni-in-lá
galla-tur-tur gí-šukur-ra-gim
galla-gal-gal gí-dub-ba-an-na-gim zag-ga-na
ba-ab-(díb)-bé-eš
lú-ù-ne-lú-mu-un-dè-súg-re-eš-àm
lú-^dinanna-mu-e-ši-súg-re-eš-àm
20. ú nu-zu-me-eš a nu-zu-me-eš
zì-dub-dub-ba nu-kú-me-eš
a-bal-bal-a nu-na₈-na₈-me-eš
níg-ša-a-níg-dùg-ga šu nu-BU-me-eš
úr-dam níg-dùg-ge-és nu-si-ge-me-eš
25. dumu-níg-ku₇-ku₇-da ne nu-su-ub-ba-me-eš
dam úr-lú-ka ba-ra-an-si-il-si-il-le-eš
dumu-lú du₁₀-ub-ta ba-ra-an-zì-ge-eš
é-gi₄-a é-ur₇-ra-ka im-ta-an-è-eš-àm
^dinanna kur-ta e₁₁(!)-da-ni
30. ^dnin-šubur-ra-ke₄ gír-ni-šè ba-šub
saḥar-a im-da-an-tuš ^{is}mu-BU-ra ba-an-
mu₄(!)
galla-e-ne kug-^dinanna-ke₄ gù mu-na-dé-e
^dinanna uru-zu-šè gub-ba én ba-ab-túm-dè-en
kug-^dinanna-ke₄ galla-e-ne mu-un-ne-ni-gi₄-gi₄
35. ír du₆-du₆-dam ma-ni-gar-gar-re-en
šém gú-en-na ma-ni-in-tuku-àm
é-dingir-re-e-ne ma-ni-in-nigin-dè
5. "The *corpse*, it is your queen's."
"The *corpse*, *though* it is our queen's, give to
us," they said to her.
They give them the *corpse* hung from the
stake.
Sixty times the food of life, sixty times the
water of life, they sprinkled upon it; Inanna
arose.
Upon Inanna's ascent from the nether world,
10. The Anunnaki were seized,
(*And*) whoever *might have* brought up from
the nether world the *news* of those ascend-
ing from the nether world.
When Inanna ascends from the nether world,
Verily she places the . . . on her head.
Who (was) in front of her, (though) he was
not a messenger, held a scepter in the hand,
15. (Who was) at her side, (though) he was not a
courier, fastened a weapon about the loin,
The small demons, like *šukur*-reeds,
The large demons, like *dubban*-reeds, walked
at her side.
They who accompanied her,
Who accompanied Inanna,
20. (Were beings who) know not food, know not
water,
Eat not sprinkled flour,
Drink not libated water,
Accept not the offering, the good,
Sate not *pleasurably* the lap of the wife,
25. Kiss not the children (*raised on*) *delicacies*;
They tore away the child from the man's lap,
They lifted the man's son from (his) knee,
They carried off the bride from the house of
the father-in-law.
(Upon) Inanna's ascent from the nether
world,
30. Ninšubur threw himself at her feet,
Sat in the dust, dressed in a filthy garment.
The demons say to the pure Inanna:
"O Inanna, *step up to* your city, (and as for)
him, let us carry him off."
The pure Inanna answers the demons:
35. "He set up a lament for me *by the ruins*,
Played for me the *double-flute* in the assembly
shrine,
Wandered about for me in the houses of the
gods,

- igi-ni ma-an-HUR ka-ni ma-an-HUR
 ki-lú-da-nu-du_g zù-gal-ni ma-an-HUR
40. lú-nu-tuku-gim túg(!)-aš mu-un-mu₄
 é-kur-re é-^den-líl-lá-šè
 urí^{ki}-ma é-^dzuen-na-šè
 [uru]-zír^{ki} é-^dam-ki-ga-šè gír aš mu-gub
 én ta-gim nam-ma-ra-ab-zé-è[m-e]n-zé-en]
45. umma^{ki}-a še-eb-kur-šà-ba-šè ga-e-s[úg-en-dè-
 en]
^dšara uru-ni-a gír-ni-šè ba-[šub]
 saḥar-a im-da-an-tuš ^{túg}(¹) mu-BU-ra ba-[an-
 mu₄]
 galla-e-ne [ku]g-^dinanna-ke₄ gù mu-na-d[é-e]
^dinanna uru-zu-šè gu[b-b]a én ga-ba-ab-túm-
 mu-dè
50. kug-^dinanna-ke₄ [ga]lla-e-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄
 LI.DU-. . . ^dšara-m[u]
 dubbín-tar-tar-mu gú-TAR-lá-mu
 én ta-gim nam-ma-ra-ni-ib-zé-è[m-DU]
 ga-e-súg-en-dè-en bàd-tibira^{ki} é-mù[š-k]alam-
 ma-šè
55. bàd-tibira é-mùš-kalam-ma-šè gír-ni-šè ba-e-
 súg-eš
^dlatarak uru-ni-a gí[r]-ni-šè ba-šub
 saḥar-a im-da-an-tuš ^{túg}(¹)[m]u-BU-ra ba-an-
 mu₄(¹)
 galla-e-ne kug-^dinanna-ke₄ gù mu-na-dé-e
^dinanna uru-zu-šè gub-ba én ga-ba-ab-túm-
 mu-un-dè-en
60. kug-^dinanna-ke₄ galla-e-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi₄-gi₄
^dlatarak-zag-è-a zí-da-gùb-bu-mu-ús
 én ta-gim nam-ma-ra-ab-zé-è[m-en]-zé-en
 ga-e-súg-dè-en ^{is}ḥašḥur-gul-la-edín-kul-aba^{ki}
^{is}ḥašḥur-gul-la-edín-kul-aba^{ki} gír-ni-šè ba-e-
 súg-re-eš
65. ^ddumu-zi túg(!)-maḥ-a i-im-mu₄ maḥ-a-tuš-a
 tuš im-ma-gar
 galla-e-ne zù-a-na i-im-díb-bé-eš
 kaš-banšur-imín-bi(!?) mu-un-d[é]-eš-àm
 imín-àm á(?)-lú-tu-ra-gim sag mu-un-d[a]-sàg-
 ge-[n]e
 sipad-dè gi-BU gi-di-da igi-ni šu [nu]-mu-un-
 tag-ge-ne
- Tore at his eyes for me, tore at his mouth for me,*
Tore for me at the place which no one . . . s,
his large anus,
40. Dressed like a pauper in a single garment,
 To the Ekur, the house of Enlil,
 In Ur, to the house of Sin,
 In Eridu to the house of Enki, all alone he
 directed his step—
 You shall not carry him off like (*just*) any-
 thing (*at all*)."
45. "Let us accompany you to the Sigkuršagga in
 Umma."
 In his city Šara threw himself at her feet,
 Sat in the dust, dressed in a filthy garment.
- The demons say to the pure Inanna:
 "O Inanna, *step up to your city, (and as for)*
him, let us carry him off."
50. The pure Inanna answers the demons:
 "My Šara, who . . . s the hymns,
 My barber, my *valet*—
 You shall not carry him off like (*just*) any-
 thing (*at all*)."
 "Let us accompany you to the Emuškalamma
 in Badtibira."
55. They followed her to the Emuškalamma in
 Badtibira.
 In his city Latarak threw himself at her feet,
 Sat in the dust, dressed in a filthy garment.
- The demons say to the pure Inanna:
 "O Inanna, *step up to your city, (and as for)*
him, let us carry him off."
60. The pure Inanna answers the demons:
 "Latarak, the leader, who stands at my right
 and left—
 You shall not carry him off like (*just*) any-
 thing (*at all*)."
 "Let us accompany you to the . . . of Kullab."
 They followed her to the . . . of Kullab.
65. (There) Dumuzi dressed himself in a noble
 garment, seated himself loftily on (his) seat.
 The demons seized him by his anus,
 Poured out the seven *table-drinks*,
 The seven attack him like the *strength* of the
 sick,
 The shepherds play not the flute and the
 pipe before him.

70. igi mu-un-ši-in-bar igi-úš-[a]-ka
 inim i-bí-ne inim-LIPIŠ-gig-ga
 gù i-bí-dé gù-nam-tag-tag(!)-ga
 én-šè tùm-mu-an-zé-en
 kug-^dinanna-ke₄ su₈-ba-^ddumu-zi-da šu-ne-ne-
 a in-na-sì
75. lú-e-ne-lú-mu-un-dè-súG-eš-àm
 lú-^ddumu-zi-mu-un-ši-súG-eš-àm
 ú nu-zu-me-eš a nu-zu-me-eš
 zì-dub-dub-ba nu-kú-me-eš
 a-bal-bal-a nu-na₈-na₈-me-eš
80. úr-dam níG-dùg-ge-és nu-si-ge-eš
 dumu-níG-ku₇-ku₇-da ne nu-su-ub-ba-me-eš
 dumu-lú du₁₀-ub-ta ba-ra-an-zi-ge-eš
 é-gi₄-a é-ur₇-ra-ka im-ma-an-è-eš
^ddumu-zi-dè fr im-ma-pàd sig₇-sig₇ i-gá-gá
85. mà-e ^dutu-ra an-šè šu-ni ba-an-na-zi
^dutu muru₆-mu-me-en mà-e mí-ús-sá-zu-me-en
 é-ama-zu-šè ià-gùr-ru-me-en
 é-^dnin-gal-šè ga-gùr-ru-me-en
 šu-mu šu-muš-a ù-mu-ni-in-sì
90. gùr-mu gùr-muš-a ù-mu-ni-in-sì
 galla-mu ga-ba-da-kar nam-mu-un-ḫa-ḫa-ne

Commentary to YBC 4621

Lines 1-3. These three lines correspond to lines 264-6 of the text as restored in PAPS 85: 301, lines 264-5 being the last two of the approximately 20-line break noted on that page. The first "they" of lines 1 and 2, to judge from the context, refers to Ereshkigal and her companions, presumably the Anunnaki of the nether world mentioned in lines 163 and 274 of the reconstructed text, or perhaps to the Anunnaki alone. In any case, as Enki had forewarned them,⁷ the *kalaturru* and *kurgarrú* refused to accept the river and the field offered them as a gift and insisted

7. Lines 1-3 of the Yale tablet enable us now to restore correctly the very important and largely misread lines 241-3 of the reconstructed text in which Enki forewarns the *kalaturru* and *kurgarrú* not to accept the gifts offered them in the nether world, thus:

241. íd(!) a-b[a mu-un-n]a-ba-e-ne šu na[m-ba]-BU-i-en-zé-en

242. a-šà še-ba m[u-u]n-ba-e-ne šu nam-ba-BU-i-en-zé-en

70. She fastened the eye upon him, the eye of death,
 Spoke the word against him, the word of wrath,
 Uttered the cry against him, the cry of guilt;
 "As for him, carry him off."
 The pure Inanna gave the shepherd Dumuzi into their hands.
75. They who accompanied him,
 They who accompanied Dumuzi,
 (Were beings who) know not food, know not water,
 Eat not sprinkled flour,
 Drink not libated water,
80. Sate not *pleasurably* the lap of the wife,
 Kiss not the children (*raised on*) *delicacies*;
 They lifted the man's son from (his) knee,
 They carried off the bride from the house of the father-in-law.
 Dumuzi wept, his face turns green,
85. Toward heaven, to Utu, he lifted his hands:
 "O Utu, you are my wife's brother, I am your sister's husband,
 I am one who carries fat to your mother's house,
 I am one who carries milk to Ningal's house,
 Turn my hands into the hands of a snake,
90. Turn my feet into the feet of a snake,
 Let me escape my demons, let them not seize me."

instead that the suspended corpse of Inanna be given them. The *-na-* of *mu-na-ba-e-ne* in lines 1 and 2, is for the expected *-ne-*; this seems to be the accepted practice in the Yale text, cf. lines 4, 50, 60, and 74.⁸ In the verbal form *nu-ma-BU-dè-*

243. uzu-níG-sig(!)-^εiškak-ta-lá-a si-me-eb dug₄-ga-na-ab-zé-en
 "They will present you with a river as a water-gift, do n[ot] accept;
 They will present you with a field as a grain-gift, do not accept;
 'Give us the *corpse* hung from the *stake* ' say to her."

8. Note however the expected *-ne-* in line 34. In the tablet published in *PBS V 22* on which lines 266-323 of the reconstructed text is based and which duplicates the Yale tablet lines 3-55, the same holds true, that is, *-na-* is written for the expected *-ne-*, cf. lines 297 (note however that the corresponding line 34 of the Yale tablet here uses the expected *-ne-*), 318, and 328; note, too, that in line 267 of the reconstructed text, the *-ne-* in the transliteration was an error; the tablet actually has *-na-*, cf. note 114 of Part II of this study.

ne, the reading of BU seems to be *gid*,⁹ rather than *bu*, as might have been expected from a writing such as *nam-ba-BU-i-en-zé-en* (cf. lines 241-2 of the reconstructed text). In line 3, note the omission of the expected *-a* after *-lá* (cf. also line 7); the verb *sì-me-eb* is an imperative and as far as I know provides us with the first example of a first person plural dative infix; the verbal form *in-na-ne-eš* is to be analyzed as *i-na-n-e-eš*, the *-ne-* thus representing a combination of the subject element *-n-* with the verbal root *e* "to speak," (cf. e. g. AS No. 12, 85 and AS No. 15, 99); the *-na-* of the verbal form is rendered as a singular referring to Ereškigal, rather than as a plural corresponding to the first "they" of the two preceding lines, since according to line 4, it is Ereškigal alone who answers the *kalaturru* and the *kurgarrû*.

Lines 4-8.¹⁰ For *a-ne = e-ne*, cf. Falkenstein, An. Or. 28: 49-50;¹¹ as the duplicate line 267 of the restored text shows, it refers to Ereškigal; for the writing *-na-* instead of *-ne-* in the verb, cf. comment to lines 1-3. In line 5, note the use of Eme-KU *nig* for the expected Emesal *ám* (cf. note 10 for the correct *ám* in the duplicate on which the reconstructed text was based); the scribe of the Yale tablet is quite inconsistent throughout in this respect;¹² the final *-ka* in this

9. On the surface the form may of course be analyzed as *nam-ba-bu-(e)d-ene*, that is, as the root + the present-future element *ed*, but this seems rather unlikely since the verb is transitive.

10. These lines duplicate lines 267-72 of the reconstructed text, and the Yale tablet enables us to correct the largely misread lines 267-70, thus:

267. kug-^d ereš-ki-gal-la-ke, ka[la-tur-kur-gar-ra] mu-na-ni-ib-g[₁₄-g₁₄]

268. uzu-ám-sig-ám-ga-ša-[an-zu-ne-ne-ka]

269. uzu-nig-sig(!) ám-nin h[é(!)-a] si-me-eb in-na-an-ne-eš

270. uzu-nig-sig-^ui^kak-ta-lá-a im-me-ne-s[₁₄-u]š

For line 267, cf. note 8; in line 268 note the inexplicable ME preceding the second *ÁM*, it is probably an intended erasure; in line 269 the signs between *sig(!)* and *ám* are probably intended erasures (note, too, that the traces do not point to the expected *-me* following *ám-nin*); in line 270, the reading of the verb as *im-me-ne-si-uš* for the expected *mu-ne-si-mu-uš* is strange and far from assured, but that is actually what the tablet seems to have on the original, except that *im-* might perhaps be an intended erasure.

11. This of course does not resolve the problem of why *a-ne* is used for the customary *e-ne* in this particular instance.

12. Thus in the very same line he uses quite correctly *rašan* instead of *nin*, but in lines 35-44, which contain a

line is assumed to be for the more expected *-kam*. As for the implications of Ereškigal's statement these are not too clear; on the surface she seems to offer no more than a bit of straight information.¹³ In line 7, the verb might have been expected to read *ba-an-si-mu-ne* if the present was intended, although actually the preterit *ba-an-si-mu-uš* seems more suitable to the context (cf. also note 11 for the strange form found in the corresponding line of the duplicate tablet). In line 8, note that the corresponding line of the reconstructed text has the more correct *bi-in-šub-bu-uš*; the final *gub-ba* is obviously a scribal error for *ba-gub* as correctly written in the corresponding line 272 of the reconstructed text.

Lines 9-17. The meaning of *ba-ab-ša-ša-aš*¹⁴ is assured from line 91 of the Yale tablet where *nam-mu-un-ša-ša-ne* is glossed by the Akkadian *la i-ša-ba-tu-ni-in-ni*; what is not clear from this laconic line, however, is how and by whom the nether-world Anunnaki (cf. line 163 of the reconstructed text) were seized. Line 11 still presents many difficulties and possibilities¹⁵; according to the attempted rendering of the line, which

speech by Inanna, the scribe uses the Eme-KU throughout except in lines 43-4. In line 45, on the other hand, he writes the name of the Umma temple in the Emesal for no justifiable reason; so too he uses the unjustified Emesal *su₈-ba* for *sipad* in line 74 (cf. also comment to line 73).

13. A similar difficulty meets us in the next line. Note, too, that from the contents of lines 5-6 we may conclude that Enki created these two creatures to be in the service of Inanna, although it is not actually so stated in the relevant passage (lines 214 ff.) of the reconstructed text. Cf. now also Oppenheim, *Orientalia* N. S. 19: 135, note 1.

14. In the corresponding line 274 of the reconstructed text, therefore, the verbal form should have been read as *ba-ab(!)-ša-ša-aš*.

15. Particularly uncertain is the attempted rendering of *a-ba-ám*, *silim*, and *um-ta-e₁₁*; as for the *-ni* of *silim-ma-ni*, it is assumed to take up the anticipatory genitive *lu-kur-ta-e₁₁-dè* (*-dè* presumably for *-da*). Note, too, that the sign TA between *-e₁₁-* and *-dè* is no doubt an intended erasure in spite of the fact that there are no traces of an attempted erasure on the tablet, cf. also comment to line 45. As for the corresponding line 275 of the reconstructed text, to judge from the Yale tablet, it should have been read as follows: *a-ba-ám lu-kur-ra-e₁₁(!)-dè kur-ra silim-ma-bi-e₁₁-dè*. If the reading is correct *kur-ra* may be for *kur-ta*; *silim-ma-bi* would be a variant for *silim-ma-ni* (the correct form however is *silim-bi*); the final *-e₁₁-dè* seems to be a participle and the line is thus left without the expected finite verbal form.

is of course quite uncertain, it seems to say that in addition to the nether-world Anunnaki there were also seized all those who might give information (to the gods?) that a general ascent from the nether-world was about to take place. In line 12 the verb might have been expected to read *ba-e₁₁-dè*, cf. the corresponding line 276 of the restored text. In line 13, the first complex *sag-aš*¹⁶ is difficult to translate in the context since the known Akkadian equivalents do not seem to fit; note, too, that the complex *sag-gá-na-gim* is rendered as if the final *-gim* is a scribal error,¹⁷ and that the verb *ha-ba-ab-si-mu* is rendered as if *ha-* were an asseverative rather than a precative particle attached to the present future, an assumption which may turn out to be erroneous.¹⁸ Lines 14–15 correspond to lines 282–3 of the reconstructed text,¹⁹ while lines 16–17 correspond to lines 279–81; the Yale tablet thus has a variant order for the lines of this passage and omits altogether a line to correspond with line 278 of the reconstructed text. In line 16, *gi-šukur-ra-gim* is glossed by the Akkadian *qān-qupri*, the meaning of which is uncertain. In line 17, the word *dubban* in the complex *gi-dub-ba-an-na-gim* is of uncertain meaning.²⁰

Lines 18–28. This passage corresponds to lines 184–90 of the restored text, but adds a number of lines which further emphasize the viciousness of the demons.²¹ In line 18 *lú-ù-ne* is not the plural

16. In the corresponding line 277 of the reconstructed text, therefore, the first complex should have been read *sag-aš*, not *ug₅-ga*.

17. Note that the corresponding line 277 omits it.

18. Difficult, too, is the gloss in the Yale tablet which seems to read *ma-ni-ma*.

19. As the Yale tablet shows, therefore, the first part of line 282 should have been read as *lú-igi-na sukkal nu-me-a* (the sign between *-na* and *sukkal* is an intended erasure), while the first part of line 283 should have been read *bar-ra-na ra(!)-gaba(!) nu-me-a* (note the traces of an erased sign between *-na* and *ra-*).

20. Cf. Falkenstein, *AOF* 14: 127 where the meaning “spear-shaft” for *gi-šukur-ra-* is suggested. As for the word *dubban*, as Landsberger suggested to me in his letter (cf. note 1 of Part II), it probably has nothing to do with the word *dub* “tablet,” and the doubtful rendering “tablet-styluses” in line 311 of the reconstructed text might have been better omitted altogether. Note, too, that the *-gim* at the end of the complex in the Yale tablet is of course preferable to the *-ke₄* of the reconstructed text (so actually on the original of *PBS V* 22 on which the reading of the line is based).

21. Note, however, that the Yale tablet has no line corresponding to line 290 of the restored text. The

of *lú* but consists of the noun *lú* and the pronoun *ene* (cf. line 75 of the Yale tablet); note, too, that the following *lú* seems redundant.²² In the verbal forms in lines 18 and 19, it is to be noted that the root represented by *SÜG* ended in an *-r*;²³ also that what, grammatically speaking, seem to be two identical verbal forms begin with *mu-un-dé-* in one case (line 18) and *mu-e-ši-* in the other (line 19).²⁴ In line 22 note the *a* which begins the line; the [*kaš(?)*] of the corresponding line 288 of the reconstructed text should therefore be changed accordingly.²⁵ For *niq-šà-a* in line 23, cf. e. g. *JCS* 1: 10, line 34; note, too, that this line probably corresponds to Ni 2762 (cf. *PAPS* 85, plate 8) rev. 11 which should thus be restored to read: [*niq-šà-a niq-dùg-ga šu nu-]BU-i-me-eš*.²⁶ In line 24, if the rendering is correct, the first complex might have been expected to read *úr-dam-a(k)* instead of *úr-dam*; the second complex might have been expected to omit the initial *niq*; the verbal form might have been expected to read *nu-si(g)-me-eš* rather than *nu-si-ge-me-eš*. In line 25, if the reading is correct,²⁷ *-ku₇-ku₇-da* is for grammatical *ku(d)-kud-a(k)*. For the reading *NE* as *ne* in the verb *ne—sub*, cf. AO 17: 402, note 14; note that instead of *nu-su-ub-ba-me-eš* one might have expected *nu-su-ub-me-eš*. In line 26 *úr-lú-ka* seems to be for *úr-lú-ta*. For another example of the writing *du₁₀-ub* for *dùg* “knee,” cf. *JCS* 1: 14, line 90. In line 28, the

description of the evil demons was of course a stock literary motif which was contracted or expanded as the poet saw fit.

22. Cf. lines 284–5 of the reconstructed text where the postposition *-ra* follows the *lú*-complexes.

23. Cf. also *ŠL* 207, 17 for other examples indicating a final *r* for this root. Note, therefore, that the *-sùg-* of lines 284, 285, 312, and 322 of the reconstructed text should have been transliterated as *-SÜG-*.

24. In lines 284 and 285 of the reconstructed text the verb begins in both cases with *in-ši-*. Moreover in lines 75 and 76 of the Yale tablet where the grammatical construction is identical the verb reads *mu-un-ši-SÜG-eš-àm*.

25. So already correctly adduced by Falkenstein in *AOF* 14: 128.

26. For the difficulty in the reading of the sign *BU* cf. comment to lines 1–3.

27. That is, the transliteration assumes that the sign is *ŠL* 110 which can be read either *ku(d)* or *kuruš(d)*; the translation treats the first complex in line 25 as a genitive, literally, “sons of delicacies,” cf. perhaps *ŠL* 597, 146 (the reading of *NIG* as *niq* is of course not certain).

-ka of *é-ur₇-ra-ka* is for the expected -ta, cf. comment to line 26.

Lines 29–44. This passage corresponds to lines 291–311 of the reconstructed text.²⁸ In lines 30–31 note the minor variants when compared with the corresponding lines of the reconstructed text; note, too, the reading *mu-BU-ra* (line 31) instead of *mu-sír-ra*, cf. AOF 14: 128. In line 32, the -ke₄ of *inanna-ke₄* is for the expected -ra, cf. the corresponding line 295 of the reconstructed text. In line 33 note the rather unusual use of the sign LI with the reading *én* for the pronoun usually written *e-ne*;²⁹ the verb *ba-ab-tám-dè-en* should no doubt have begun with the precativè particle *ga-*, cf. lines 49 and 59 of the Yale tablet.³⁰ In line 34, note the correct -ne- in the verbal form, and cf. note 8. In lines 35–43 Inanna lists in abbreviated form the deeds of Ninšubur in her behalf as the reason for her refusal to permit the demons to do him harm. In line 35, the Yale tablet's *ír* gives at long last the correct reading of the first word of the corresponding line 302 of the reconstructed text and thus helps clarify the meaning considerably;³¹ note, however, the

28. Note, however, that the Yale tablet omits altogether the text corresponding to line 291 as well as to lines 298–301 and 311. On the other hand the reconstructed text has no line corresponding to the very important line 44 of the Yale tablet; this is undoubtedly an oversight since it does have the corresponding line in the parallel passage (line 321).

29. We may therefore conclude that the pronoun was pronounced *en* as well as *ene*, cf. *GSG* §20 and the corresponding phenomenon where an initial vowel may be dropped, e. g. *utud* and *tud* "to give birth," *ušub* and *šub* "brickmold" (cf. now *An. Or.* 28, 41 ff.) Another way of looking at the matter is to assume that LI has the value *ene* as well as *én* and probably even *ne* (cf. the variant NE for *én* in line 321 of the reconstructed text) just as for example ŠĒ has the value *ešé* as well as *éš*, and *šè*.

30. Note that the variant writings [ga]-*ba-ab-tám-dè-en* (line 33), *ga-ba-ab-tám-mu-dè* (line 49), and *ga-ba-ab-tám-mu-un-dè-en* (line 59) all represent the same grammatical verbal form; cf. also the variant forms *ga-e-SŪG-en-dè-en* (line 54) and *ga-e-SŪG-dè-en* (line 63), and the comment in *RA* 34: 133, note 2.

31. The first word in lines 34, 173, and 302 is therefore to be corrected from *an* to *ír*, and for *ír-gar*, cf. especially Jacobsen in *AJSL* 58: 221, note 11. Note, however, that the complex *du₆-du₈-dam* is still of rather uncertain meaning (the conclusions in *BASOR* No. 79, 26, note 27 are now, as a result of the new reading *ír*, shown to be quite wrong), perhaps the complex refers to Inanna's abandoned cities listed at the beginning of

strange and no doubt erroneous verbal form *ma-ni-gar-gar-re-en* for the expected *ma-ni-gá-gá*. In line 36, the Yale tablet's *šém* gives us at last the correct reading of the first sign of line 303 of the reconstructed text and clarifies the meaning of the line.³² In line 37, the first complex omits the expected -ke₄, cf. lines 36, 175, and 304 of the reconstructed text; note, too, that the verb in this line has a present form while the corresponding lines of the reconstructed form have the preterit. In line 38, note the Eme-KU *igi* for the expected Emesal *i-bí*, cf. note 12; for the rendering of HUR with "tear at," cf. the Gudea passage translated by Poebel in AS No. 14: 43 where HUR has a meaning such as "paw." Line 39 is still difficult; the Yale tablet now assures the reading *nu* for the fourth sign³³ as well as the reading *di* for the sign DI in lines 38, 177, and 306 of the reconstructed text (that is, the Yale tablet's *du₈* is probably a phonetic variant of *di*), but the grammatical structure and meaning of *ki-lú³⁴-da-nu-di* (or *du₈*) remain uncertain.³⁵ In line 40 note again the Eme-KU writing *lú* for the expected Emesal *mu-lu*, cf. line 307 of the reconstructed text and note 12.³⁶ In line 41, note the -re for the expected -ra in *é-kur-re*, and the Eme-KU orthography *en-líl* for the expected *mu-ul-líl*, cf. line 308 of the reconstructed text and also see note 12. In line 42, the deity of Ur is called *zuen* instead of *nanna*, cf. line 309 of the reconstructed text. In line 43, the scribe seems to have made two errors; he omitted the -ib of [*uru*]-*zi-ib^{ki}* and the -an- of *am-an-ki*, cf. line 310 of the reconstructed text; note, too, that

the poem, which might have been turned into ruins upon Inanna's descent to the nether world.

32. Note that the sign for *šém* may perhaps correspond to ŠL 426 rather than 424, and may therefore perhaps be better read *šém*. The first word in lines 35, 174, and 303 should be corrected accordingly.

33. Cf. already Falkenstein, *AOF* 14: 119; lines 38, 177, and 306 are therefore to be corrected accordingly.

34. For the Eme-KU *lú* instead of the expected Emesal *mulu* (cf. line 30 of the reconstructed text), see note 12.

35. The translation assumes that *ki-* refers to *zù-gal-ni*, that *lú-da-nu-du₈* further describes *ki-*, that -da- is a direct object of -*du₈*; needless to say that while this analysis seems most likely to me, it is of course only one of a number of possibilities.

36. Note that this line varies from the corresponding line 307 in omitting the -a following aš- and in using the prefix *mu-* instead of *im-ma-*.

strangely enough he writes these two complexes with the Emesal orthography but in line 43 he reverts again to the Eme-KU orthography *gír* for the Emesal *me-ri*, cf. line 40 of the reconstructed text. In line 44 the word division involving the first three signs is quite uncertain; the translation assumes that the sign LI is to be read *én* (cf. comment to line 33), that *ta* is the Emesal form of the interrogative pronoun *ana*, that the *-ra-* of the verbal form is the privative infix (cf. now ZA 45: 180 ff.), and that the *zè-em* of the verbal form is the Emesal form of *túm*.³⁷

Lines 45-53. This passage corresponds to lines 312-21 of the reconstructed text. Line 45 varies from line 312 as follows: It omits the initial verbal form altogether; it writes the name of Inanna's temple in Umma with its Emesal rather than its expected Eme-KU form (cf. note 12; note, too, that the sign ZU between *še-* and *-eb-* is no doubt an error which the scribe failed to erase, cf. note 15); it begins the verbal form with *ga-e-* instead of *ga-an-ši-*³⁸ (hence the new rendering "let us accompany thee" rather than "her"). Line 46 is a contracted version of lines 313-4 of the reconstructed text. For lines 47-50 cf. comment to lines 31-4. In lines 51-2 Inanna states her reason for not permitting the demons to harm Šara by describing the latter's praiseworthy activities in her behalf. Unfortunately the two lines are of uncertain meaning; line 51, to judge from

37. Cf. the comment to the Emesal form of the name *Gatumdug* in AS No. 11, 75.

38. Note, however, that the grammatically identical form in line 63 reads *ga-e-SÚG-dè-en*, cf. note 30. In all cases, however, the form shows *-e-* following *ga-* and this *-e-* seems to have been regarded by the scribe of the Yale tablet as the second person singular *accusative* participle. The scribe of PBS V 22, on the other hand, writes *ga-an-ši-SÚG-dè-en* in the line corresponding to line 45 of the Yale tablet (cf. line 312 of the reconstructed text), while in the line corresponding to line 63 of the Yale tablet (cf. line 322 of the reconstructed text) he writes it once with an initial *ga-e* just as on the Yale tablet (so too CBS 15162, cf. pl. 10 in PAPS 85), and once with *ga-an-ši-*. Moreover in a passage where the verbal root SÚG has a meaning identical with that of lines 45 and 63, the scribe of the Yale tablet writes it once preceded by the infix *-dè-* and once (strangely enough in a grammatically identical verbal form) preceded by *-ši-* (cf. lines 75-6). Note finally, the forms in lines 58, 69, 71 and 139 in "Gilgameš and the Land of the Living" (JCS 1: 3 ff.).

39. For the reading of LI.DU cf. now the comment in the newly revised ZA (1950): 85, note 3. Note that

the initial LI.DU,³⁹ seems to have something to do with the singing of Inanna's praises. For *dub-bin-tar-tar* cf. ŠL 92b, 11.⁴⁰ The rendering "valet" for *gú-TAR-lá* is a rough guess based on the context; the complex might be expected to refer in some way to the proper grooming of Inanna's person (for *gú-TAR*, cf. perhaps ŠL 106, 42). For line 53, cf. comment to line 44 and note the strange -DU for the expected *-enzen* of the verb (cf. line 62).⁴¹

Lines 54-62. This passage corresponds to lines 322-30 of the restored text.⁴² Line 54 varies from the parallel line 45 in having the verb at the beginning. Line 55 has no corresponding line in the parallel passage beginning with line 45 or in the reconstructed text, but does have a corresponding line in the parallel passage beginning with line 64, where the verb is written as *ba-e-SÚG-re-eš*.⁴³ Line 56 is a contracted form of lines 323-4 of the reconstructed text.⁴⁴ For lines 57-60 cf. comment to lines 47-50.⁴⁵ In line 61⁴⁶ Inanna

in PBS V 22 (cf. line 319 of the reconstructed text) the traces do not point to LI.DU as the first two signs of the line (the copy is faithful to the original except that the first sign looks like an erasure on the tablet), while the last part of the line probably does have ⁴⁷*šara(!)-[mu]* with an erased sign following ⁴⁸*šara-*.

40. Line 320 of the reconstructed text (based on PBS V 22) seems to have a variant reading for the first half of this line.

41. Either this -DU is a scribal error or it has a reading approximating *enzen*. Note, too, the variant NE for *én*, cf. note 179 in Part II of this study.

42. Cf. however the comment to lines 55 and 56 immediately following.

43. The rendering assumes that a more literal translation of the last two complexes is "they accompanied her at her feet" ("her" in spite of the infix *-e-*). Note, too, the omission of the determinative following *bád-tibira*.

44. CBS 15162 (cf. PAPS 85: pl. 10) actually reads *ba-an-šub-bu-uš* for the verb and the reading of line 324 of the reconstructed text should be corrected accordingly.

45. Line 59, as the copy shows, was written on the left edge, since it was accidentally omitted by the scribe who indicated by means of a short horizontal line the exact place where it belongs. This interesting scribal practice was relatively simple to figure out in the case of the Yale tablet as a result of a comparison of the passage beginning with line 54 with the parallel passages beginning with lines 30 and 45, not to mention the presence of the line in the duplicate, cf. line 327 of the restored text. There is at least one other example of this scribal device in the published Sumerian literary texts which has remained unrecognized hitherto be-

describes Latarak as one of her faithful supporters⁴⁷ who must therefore not be harmed by the demons.

Lines 63–74. Line 63 should be parallel to lines 54 (and 45); it seems to omit, however, the complex corresponding to *é-muš-kalam-ma-šê* consisting of the name of the temple followed by the postposition *-šê*.⁴⁸ In line 65 the rendering of *mah-a* as an adverbial complex is of course uncertain; if the assumption is correct, *mah-a-tuš-a* approximates a more prosaic *tuš-mah-a*.⁴⁹ Line 67 might be expected to describe some contemptuous and harmful act of the demons; if the rendering should prove correct, and this is far from certain, the act consisted of pouring out the drinks which Dumuzi was enjoying when Inanna and the demons first appeared. In line 68, "the seven" are taken to refer to the demons, cf. particularly the long known but extremely difficult Dumuzi composition VS II No. 2 (and the duplicate published by Scheil in RA 8, 161–9) whose contents are pertinent to some extent to our text;⁵⁰

cause of lack of duplicating material. Thus in the all-important "deluge" tablet published in PBS V 1, the signs written on the left edge are preceded by a short line just as in the case of the Yale tablet; it is therefore not a colophon (cf. PBS IV 2, p. 63 and Heidel, The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels, p. 105) but a line that was accidentally omitted between lines 5(!) and 6(!) of col. vi., which might perhaps be restored to read: *an-en-lil-li zi-ua-sud-ra mi b[ti-in-dug-ge-eš]* "An and Enlil ch[erished] Ziusudra."

46. Note that line 329, the corresponding line in the reconstructed text, inserts *á-* before *-zi-da* and ends in *ús-sa* rather than *-ús*, cf. CBS 15162 in PAPS 85: pl. 10.

47. The logically difficult "who stands at my right and left" is no doubt to be taken figuratively in the sense that he stands at her side wherever and whenever there is the need. Note, too, that *zag-è-a* is glossed by the Akkadian *ašaridu*.

48. The translation assumes that *viš-hašhur-gul-la-edin-kul-aba^{ki}* (for the reading cf. *viš-hašhur-e-gu-la-edin* in VS II 2 rev. 16, and note 50) in this and the next line is a genitive construction and the postposition *-šê* has been accidentally omitted by the scribe.

49. The Akkadian gloss seems to read *i-di ku-ri-e a-ši-ib* "he seated himself by the . . ."

50. The text is written largely in the Emesal dialect and non-historical orthography, so that its contents are difficult to penetrate. Tentatively they may be sketched as follows: The composition begins with an introductory and more or less stock lament of Inanna for her husband and son (lines 1–27). The actual story then begins with the statement that "in those days" the seven demons of(?) Dumuzi (cf. *galla-guruš-e-imin-bi* and *galla-dumu-zi-dè-imin-bi* in lines 33 and 34) enter the holy stall and find it desolate and forlorn.

it not only involves Dumuzi and the seven demons, but actually contains a passage relating to the transformation of hands and feet to those of an animal (a gazelle in this case). The translation of line 69 is difficult and its implications for the context are obscure; the present rendering assumes that the subject of the verb (note that it is plural in form), *sipad-dè*, in spite of its singular form⁵¹, does not refer to Dumuzi, but to his companion shepherds who presumably played before him in order to entertain him.⁵² In lines 70–72

Dumuzi, it seems, is asleep and unmindful of what has taken place, and the demons try to arouse him with cries that his sheep have been carried off; they urge him to put on his holy crown on his head, his holy garment on his body, to take his holy scepter in his hand and put on his holy sandals on his feet (lines 28–53). But Dumuzi does not return to his stall (lines 54–5). There follows a crucial but obscure passage (lines 56–67) which seems to contain an address in the first person and mentions Inanna, who in one line (60) is called "my avenger" (*šu-gar-gar-ra-mu*). In the next passage (lines 68–70) someone (because of the obscurity of the preceding passage the individual speaking cannot be identified; it may be one of the demons) complains to Utu (cf. line 68 which reads *utu-a-a-ni-šê šà-ne-ša₄ hu-mu-un-?*, "He uttered(?) a lament to Utu his father") that he (that is, Utu) had turned his hands into the hands of a gazelle and his feet into the feet of a gazelle (i.e. *šu-maš-dù-na* and *me-ri-maš-dù-na*; note therefore that the Sumerian word for gazelle was *mašdu(n)*). Lines 71–77 then describe Utu's acts as a result of this complaint, but these remain obscure in the context (according to line 75 "he makes him a hand like a kid"). Following a long and largely obscure dialogue among the demons (lines 78–93) is a passage in which Dumuzi seems to be pleading with Inanna (lines 94–98). The composition closes with Inanna pouring the *a-kur-ra*, further described as "the ship-destroying waters" in the *viš-hašhur-e-gu-la-edin-é-muš-a*, as a result of which there was famine in the land. The last line seems to state that the demons walked at Inanna's side, and it is not unlikely therefore that this was not the end of the myth.

51. There is of course the possibility that the complex ought to be read *sipad-ne* for the grammatical *sipad-ene* which should have been written as *sipad-dè-ne* and that the scribe omitted one of the NE signs accidentally.

52. Among other possibilities we may perhaps assume that the plural verbal form is an error for the singular and that the meaning of the line is "the shepherd (Dumuzi) plays not the flute and pipe before her (Inanna)." Or we may perhaps treat the verb as a causative "they let not play" (the subject would then be "the demons" in accordance with the immediately preceding lines) and the line might be translated "they (the demons) do not let the shepherd (Dumuzi) play the flute and pipe before her (Inanna)"; in this case

the subject of the verbs is of course Inanna;⁵³ note, moreover that *i-bi-ne*⁵⁴ and *i-bi-dé* present the unusual phenomenon where *-bi-* is treated as an infix (like *-mi-*) rather than as thematic particle, cf. GSG §592 for the problem involved. In line 73, the rendering of *én-šè* is of course quite uncertain,⁵⁵ if the rendering of *tùm-mu-an-zé-en*⁵⁶ is correct, *tùm* is a variant writing for the *tùm* of lines 33, 49, and 59, although since it is Inanna who is speaking one might have expected the Emesal form *zé-ém* (cf. lines 44, 53, and 62). In line 74 note the unjustified Emesal form *sus-ba* for *sipad* (cf. note 12); the grammatically unjustified *-da* in the complex ^d*dumu-zi-da*; the use of *-na-* for *-ne-* in the verb (cf. note 8).

Lines 75-84. Cf. the comment to the parallel passage in lines 18-28, and note that this passage omits the text corresponding to lines 23 and 26, as well as the variant forms of the verb in lines 83 and 28.

Lines 84-91. This passage contains Dumuzi's

plea to Utu. For line 84 cf. lines 8 and 9 of the "Gilgameš and the Land of the Living" passage cited in JCS 1: 42, note 245.⁵⁷ In line 85, *mà-e* is certainly a scribal error for *e-ne* (or *a-ne*, cf. comment to line 4),⁵⁸ the verbal form *ba-an-na-zi* furnishes another of the rather infrequent examples of the thematic particle *ba-* followed by the dative infix *-na-* (cf. GSG §611 and AS No. 8: 13-14). According to line 86 Dumuzi had married Inanna some time before she had decided to descend to the nether world. Lines 87-88 confirm the well known fact that according to Sumerian mythological notions Utu was the son of Ningal, the wife of Nanna. For *ià-gùr-ru* and *ga-gùr-ru*, cf. AS No. 11: 62, lines 363-4,⁵⁹ *gùr-ru* is probably for *gùr-e(d)*, cf. GSG §686. In line 91 the expression "my demons" rather than "the demons" may have some mythological implication not apparent on the surface; the rendering of the verb in this line is fortunately supplied by the Akkadian gloss *la i-ša-ba-tu-ni-in-ni*.

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obv.

1. [ⁿza-g]in-t[^u19-tu¹⁹ gú-na ba-an-lá]
 [ⁿanunuz-tab-ba [gaba-na ba-ni-in-si]
 [ⁿpalà-nam-nin-a [bar-ra-na ba-an-dul]
 šim-lú-ḫé-em-du igi-ni [ba-ni-ib-gar]

however, the first complex should read *sipad* rather than *sipad-dè*. Note, too, that the complex *igi-ni* of this line might have been expected to read *igi-ni-šè*.

53. The Yale tablet thus helps to restore lines 164-6 of the reconstructed text which should have been read as follows:

164. [i-b]i mu-ši-in-bar i-bi-úš-a-kam
 165. [inim] i-bi-ne inim-LIPÍŠ-gig-ga-àm
 166. [gù i-]bi-dé gù-nam-[tag]-tag-ga-àm

Note that the Emesal forms in the first line are quite unjustified.

54. Note that while the last complex in line 70 is a genitive construction, the last complexes in the two following lines which on the surface seem to be parallel constructions actually consist of a direct object followed by an active participle (of a compound verb) and probably followed by the enclitic *-à(m)*. As for *-ne* of *i-bi-ne* (line 71), it is to be analyzed as *-n* (the subject element) and *e* "to speak," cf. comment to line 3. Note finally the glosses *i-si-ši-ma* and *ša-si-e ar-ni* for *gù i-bi-dé* and *gù-nam-tag-tag-ga*.

obv.

1. "Sm[all lapis lazuli [stones she has tied about her neck],
 Twin nunuz-[st]ones [she has fastened to her breast],
 With the palà-[gar]ment of ladyship [she has covered her body],
 Man-enticing paint she has daubed on her eyes,

55. So too unfortunately is the reading and meaning of the gloss *an-na-š*. Perhaps *én-šè* should be rendered with its usual meaning "until when," that is, Inanna exclaims: "How long (am I to endure Dumuzi's acts)? Carry (him) off."

56. Note *-an-* for the expected *-un-*.

57. Note that the Yale tablet has the expected subject element missing in line 8 of the JCS passage.

58. If this line is to be taken literally we must assume that Dumuzi is on the earth and thus lifts his hands to Utu in heaven, cf. a similar passage in lines 13-16 of "Gilgameš and the Land of the Living" (JCS 1: 3 ff.). It is a characteristic feature of the Sumerian mythographers to be quite vague in general in reference to the "locale" of the action of the gods or to their methods of travel and means of communication.

59. The first complexes in lines 363-366 of that composition can therefore now be rendered "who brings you fat" (literally "your fat-bringer"), "who brings you milk, the fisherman who brings you fish, the bird-hunter who brings you birds."

5. tu-di-da-lú-gá-nu-gá-nu g[aba-na ba-an-BU]
 ḫar-guškin šu-na i-im-[du_s]
 gi-diš-ninda-ešé(!)-gán(!)-za-gìn šu-na i-im-
 [du_s]
 u₄-ba ^dereš-ki-gal-la-ke₄ ḫáš bar-bi-šè(?) . . .
 KA bí-in-DU KA-šà-TÚG ba-an- . . .
 ì-du_s-gal-ni-ir gù mu-na-dé-e
10. gá(!)-nu ^dNE-ti ì-du_s-gal-kur-ra-mu
 inim-a-ra-ab-bé-en-na-mu gú-zu la-ba-an-šub-
 bé-en(!?)
 ká-gal-kur-ra imin-bi ^{si}gar-bi ḫé-eb-?
 ká-gal-ganzir aš-bi ^{si}ig-bi šu ḫa-ba-an-ús
 [e]-ne tu-tu-da-ni-ta
15. [gam-gam-ma-ni s]U(?)-NUN-NUN-ma-ni? mu-di-
 ni(?) . . .
- rev.
1. [ta-àm] ne-e
 s[í-a ^dinanna me-kur-ra-k]e₄ šu al-du₇-du;
^d[inanna] garza-kur-ra-ke₄ ka-zu na-an-ba-e
 k[á-gal-eš-k]am-ma tu-tu-da(!)-ni-ta(!)
5. ^{na}za-gìn-t]u₁₉-tu₁₉-gú-na lú ba-da-an-NUN
 [ta-àm] ne-e
 [sí-a ^d]inanna me-kur-ra-ke₄ šu al-du₇-du₇
^dinanna garza-kur-r]a-ke₄ ka-zu na-an-ba-e
 [ká-gal-limmu-kam-ma] tu-t[u-da-ni-ta]
10. ^{na}nunuz-tab-bal gaba-na] lú [ba-da-an-NUN]
5. *Man-luring* breastplates [she has *bound*] about
 her bre[ast],
 A gold ring she has [put about] her hand,
 The measuring rod (and) line of lapis lazuli
 she has [gripped] in her hand."
 Then Ereškigal *bit* the thigh . . . ,
 Says to her chief gatekeeper:
 10. "Come, NETI, my chief gatekeeper of the
 nether world,
 Do not neglect the word which I speak to
 you;
 Of the seven gates of the nether world, *lift*
 their bolts,
 Of *all* the gates, *press apart* their doors,
 Upon [h]er entering,
 15. [Bowed low] . . ."
- rev.
1. "[What pray is] this?"
 "[Be] si[ilent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the
 nether world] are perfect,
 O I[nanna], do not let your mouth deprecate
 the rites of the nether world."
 Upon her entering the [thir]d g[ate],
 5. The small [lapis lazuli stones] of her neck were
 removed.
 "[What pray i]s this?"
 "[Be silent, I]nanna, the 'decrees' of the nether
 world are perfect,
 [O Inanna], do not let your mouth deprecate
 [the rites] of [the nether world]."
 [Upon her en]tering [the fourth gate],
 10. [The *twin nunuz*-stones of her body] were
 [removed].

Commentary to Ni 9685

Obv. The text of the obverse corresponds to lines 105–19 of the reconstructed text.⁶⁰ In line 2 note the rendering "twin" (rather than "sparkling" for *tab-ba*; cf. AOF 14: 116 with which I am inclined to agree; cf. now also Oppenheim, *Orientalia* N.S. 19: 139, note 1). For the reading and rendering of line 3⁶¹ cf. the excellent comment in AOF 14: 116–7, a more literal rendering of

60. Note however that the order of the lines 1–7 varies from that of the reconstructed text as follows: 1–2 of the former = 106–7 of the latter, 3 = 111, 4 = 110, 5 = 109, 6 = 108, 7 = 105.

61. Line 111 should have been read accordingly, cf. also PAPS 85: 303, comment to the variants of line 24.

the line would read: "She *wrapped* the *palà*-garment of ladyship about her body." In line 4 "man-enticing" is an attempted rendering of *lú ḫé-em-DU*⁶², literally perhaps, "may it bring men." In line 5 "man-luring" is an attempted rendering of *lú-gá-nu-gá-nu*, literally perhaps "makes men come hither," cf. AOF 14: 116.⁶³ For the rendering of line 6, cf. the comment in AOF 14: 116 and lines 64 and 68 of the text published in JAOS 69:

62. The line varies from line 100 in having *lú* before *ḫé-em-DU* and in not repeating the latter complex.

63. Note however that *gá-nu* does not have the form of an active participle. For the variant *tu-di-da* for *tu-di-tum* cf. e. g. VS II 32 i 7.

3 ff.⁶⁴ For line 7 cf. Witzel's excellent comment in *Orientalia* N.S. 14: 32-3. Landsberger (cf. note 1 of part II) refers to the Burney relief discussed by Frankfort in AOF 12: 29 ff. which actually seems to depict the rod and line in the hands of a female deity. While, therefore, the renderings "measuring rod" and "line" are reasonably certain, there is still some difficulty with the words "of lapis lazuli" since the rod might be expected to be of wood and the line of rope rather than of stone. Landsberger therefore suggests the possibility that "lapis-lazuli" is here used figuratively for the color blue. In line 8,⁶⁵ the context demands a meaning such as "she bit her thigh,"⁶⁶ it is difficult, however, to relate the complex *bar-bi-šē(?)* to the context particularly because of the break following.⁶⁷ Line 9 corresponds to line 113 of the reconstructed text⁶⁸ which should be corrected accordingly. Line 10 corresponds to line 114 of the reconstructed text where the final *-ke₄* should be corrected to *-mu*. Line 11 gives at last the correct reading of line 115 of the restored text.⁶⁹ Lines 12 and 13 provide the correct

64. The reading *har* for *ḪUR* "ring," was suggested by Landsberger (cf. note 1 in Part II) who will give the evidence in a future study. Note the variant *i-im-du₈* for *ba-ni-in-du₈* in line 108 of the reconstructed text.

65. The transliteration assumes that the line beginning with what looks like an erased KA(?), that is, the line below the one beginning with *u₄-ba*, was purposely indented (hence probably the erasure of the first sign), and that its text therefore is actually part of line 8. Note however that the corresponding line 112 of the reconstructed text (based on CBS 9800 rev. i 1) has only one line of text; presumably therefore it wrote both line 8 and 8a (the indented line) on one line.

66. For *hāš* "thigh" cf. SS No. 1, 30. KA *bī-in-DU* might perhaps be read *su₁₁ bī-in-tūm*, "she brought the tooth upon it," "she bit it", cf. too perhaps *nīg-KA-DU* discussed by Falkenstein in *Die Welt des Orients* 1 (1948), p. 181.

67. If the assumption that the text of line 8a (cf. preceding note) completes that of line 8 is correct, the broken text at the end of line 8 should be no more than a sign or two, probably a participle. The complex KA-*šā-TŪG* is altogether unintelligible.

68. Except that it omits the name of the chief gate-keeper.

69. Line 115 of the reconstructed text should therefore have read: *inim-a-ra-du₄-ga-mu gū-zu la-ba-an-šub-bē-en*. For the meaning of *gū-šub*, cf. Falkenstein's excellent comment in AOF 14: 122-3. Note that the copy of Ni 9685 seems to have AŠ as the final sign rather than EN; it is not unlikely that the AŠ-like sign is actually the beginning of the EN and that the scribe omitted the remainder of the sign because of lack of

reading of lines 116 and 117 of the reconstructed text, but unfortunately the meaning of the two lines remains uncertain; the present rendering is of course a guess based on the context.⁷⁰ Line 14 corresponds to line 118 exactly. Line 15 corresponds to line 119, but unfortunately the reading and meaning of the line remains obscure.⁷¹

Rev. The text of the reverse corresponds to lines 133-42 of the reconstructed text. In lines 1 and 5 note the interesting variant *ne-e* for *me-a*; the phrase is the practically exact equivalent of the English "What pray is this?"⁷² For the new rendering of *si-a* (lines 2 and 7) as "be silent," cf. the excellent suggestion in AOF 14: 126.⁷³ In line 3 (cf. line 8) we have at last the reading of the verbal root, that is, *ba* "to lessen, to make

space. However it is not impossible that I failed to see the rest of the sign on the tablet because of the crowded writing on the edge, and a future collation will therefore be necessary.

70. It seems impossible to make a reasonably safe guess at the reading of the crucial last sign in line 12. In line 13 note that the new text proves Falkenstein's division of the line (cf. AOF 14: 125) correct and mine erroneous, that is, the complex is not *ka-aš-bi* but *aš-bi*; cf. also Witzel in *Orientalia* N. S. 14: 44 (particularly for the rendering of *aš-bi*). Note finally that line 13 omits *igi-kur-ra*, the complex modifying *ganzir*; the translation assumes that *ganzir* in line 13 parallels *kur* in line 12, and that *aš-bi* in line 13 parallels *imin-bi* in line 12.

71. Line 119 of the reconstructed text is based on CBS 9800 rev. 8 (cf. PAPS 85, pl. 2) and CBS 11064+11088 (ibid. pl. 6) obv. last line; according to a collation of the originals, the former seems to read *gam-gam-ma-ni SU(?) NU[N-N]UN-[ma]-ni-ta. . .*, while the latter seems to read *gam-gam-ma-ni SU(?) -NUN-NUN-[ma-ni-ta] ? mu(?) -ni. . .*. A comparison with the new text, line 15, shows that the latter omits the final *-ta* of the second complex and that it seems to have an infix *-di-* in the verb. Note finally that the verb might be expected to be an imperative and that therefore *-ib* might perhaps be the final syllable (there seems to be room for more than one sign however in CBS 11064+11088), and that preceding *mu-* in the new text is a sign which looks like ŠITA (in CBS 11064+11088 it looks as if it were composed of two separate signs, though the text is too poorly preserved for certainty).

72. Cf. also the *a-na-àm ne-e* of line 199 of "Enki and Ninhursag" (SS No. 1, 3 ff.).

73. Note however that the difficulty pointed out by Witzel, *Orientalia* N. S. 14: 44 (that the root of the verb is *sig* and that the imperative would therefore be written *si-ga* rather than *si-a*) is still unresolved. Note also that *me-kur-kur-ra-ke₄* is a locative complex; a more literal rendering of the line would read: "Be silent, Inanna, on the decrees of the nether world the hand has been . . ."

little of something".⁷⁴ In line 5 note that the text omits *-lá-* after *-tu₁₉-tu₁₉-*. As for the verb in this line (cf. also line 10), it is written with the sign NUN which is probably to be read *zil* and is perhaps no more than a phonetic variant for *-zi-ir* of the reconstructed text.⁷⁵

ADDENDUM

Thorkild Jacobsen, of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, had the opportunity of examining this study in galley proof, and has forwarded to the writer several pertinent comments which are particularly significant for the "ascent" episode in the myth and show it in quite a new light. For reasons of economy, however, Jacobsen's suggestions are not incorporated in the body of this study, but are given practically in his own words in the form of the following addendum:

Line 9-14 would better be rendered as follows:

- As Inanna was ascending from the nether world,
 10. The Anunnaki seized her (saying): "...
 When Inanna ascends from the nether world,
 May she give a "single head" (in return) for her head."

The rendering "(in return) for her head" assumes that the thing in return for which something is

74. In lines 130, 135, 140, 145, 150, 155, and 160 of the reconstructed text, therefore, the verb should read *na-an-ba-e-en*. Note that if only the reading of the line as in Ni 9685 had been preserved, that is, without the final *-en*, the translation would probably have read "let not your mouth deprecate"; it is the final *-en* of the variant which points to the rendering "do not let your mouth deprecate."

75. Cf. perhaps GSG §66, and such examples as *asal* and *asar(u)*, *zal* and *zar₂*, *tul₃* and *dur₄*.

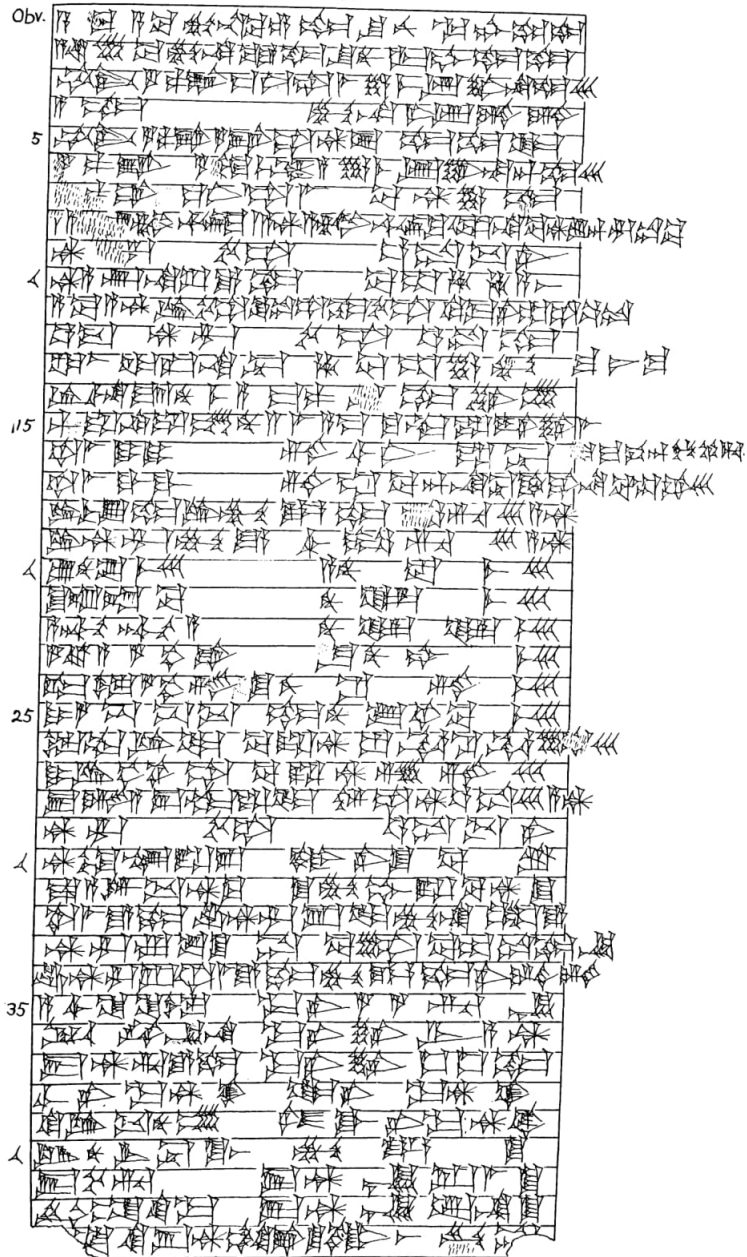
given could be construed with *-a* as well as with the more usual *-šè*. In the *sag-gá-na-ge₁₈* of the Yale tablet (*ge₁₈* = *GIM*), we see a half hearted attempt to improve upon the not fully understood reading *sag-a-na* (cf. PBS V 22 ob. 12 (1)) by the mechanical addition of *-ge₁₈*, which can also mean "in return for," "equal in value to." The force of this *-ge₁₈* is, I believe, rendered by the Akkadian gloss *ma-ni-ma* "counts (for)" in the Yale tablet.

According to this interpretation the Anunnaki make Inanna's release from the nether world conditional upon her supplying a redemptory substitute to take her place there. This would find support in the Akkadian versions of the tale, for there Namtar is told that if Inanna does not give him her ransom, Namtar is to bring her back to the nether world (cf. now ANET p. 108, notes 27 & 28). The interpretation of the passage suggested above, moreover, brings in clearer focus the role of the *gallas* who accompany her in her ascent. They are, as it were, a police detail assigned to bring back the required substitute. Hence their eagerness to seize upon anybody Inanna meets, as is obvious from lines 33, 49, etc. which I would render as: "O Inanna, proceed to your city, we will carry this one off." They are anxious to get their task over with, but Inanna's replies, except in the case of Dumuzi, restrain them. She stresses the value to her of the particular deity in question, and asks the *galla* to let her keep him, that is, I would transliterate and render lines 44, 53, etc. as follows:

én ta-ge₁₈-nam ma-ra-ab-zé-ém-en-zé-en

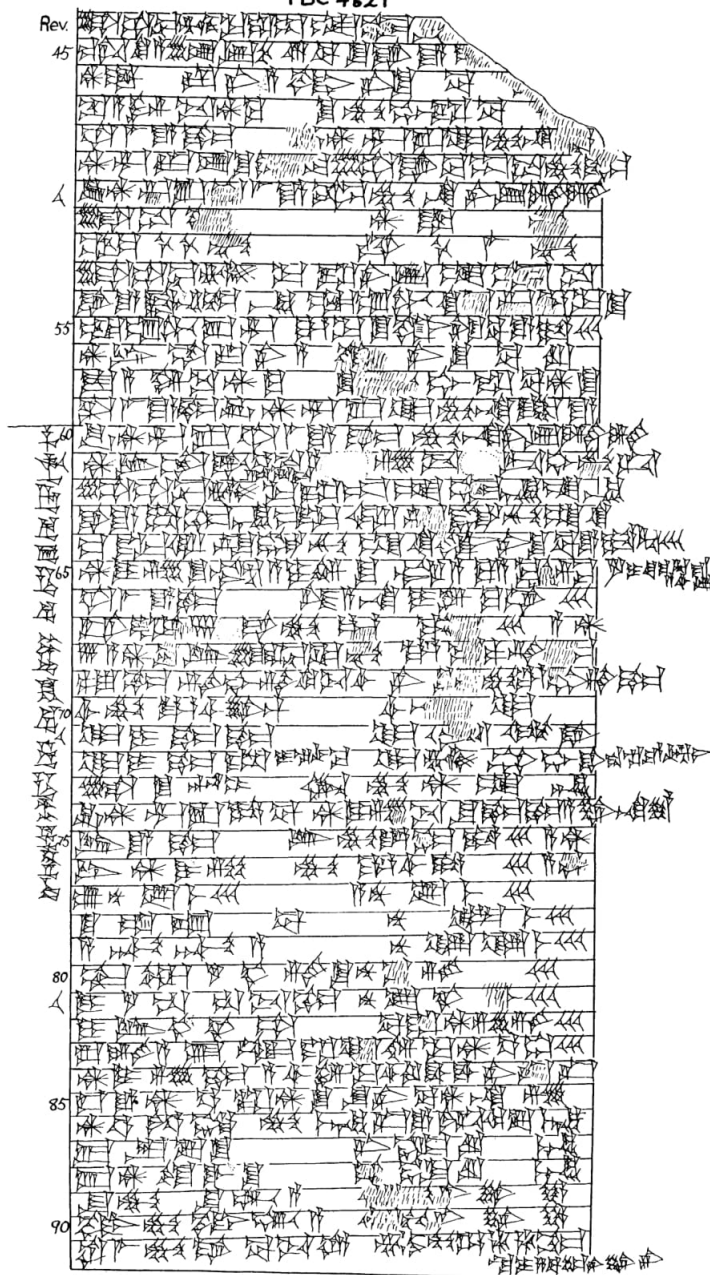
"This one at what(ever) cost you must give me."
 For the meaning of *ta-ge₁₈-nam*, cf. PBS VIII 2 No. 162: *munus šu-gi munus-kaš-ši-tum 5-gín-gus-kin-ge₁₈-nam*, "an old woman, a Kassite, of the value of 5 shekel gold."

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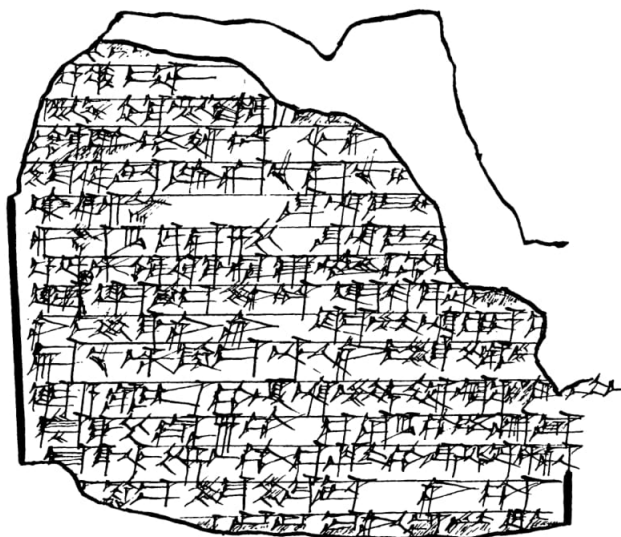


KRAMER: "INANNA'S DESCENT" CONTINUED AND REVISED

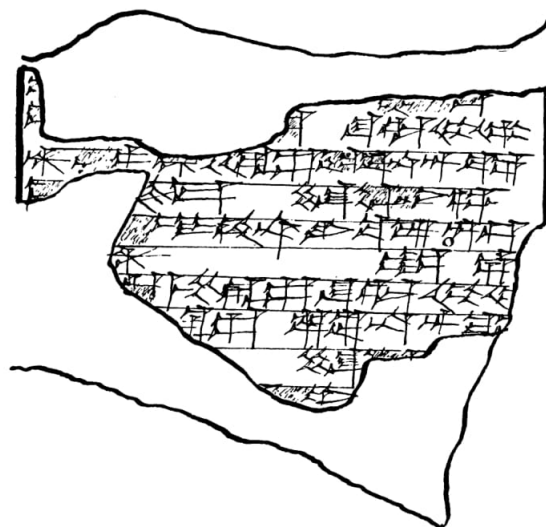
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Ni 9685



Obv.



Rev.