

“INANNA’S DESCENT TO THE NETHER WORLD”  
CONTINUED AND REVISED

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*Second Part*

*Revised Edition of “Inanna’s Descent to the Nether World”*

The following revised edition of the entire extant text of the myth “Inanna’s Descent to the Nether World” was prepared primarily in order to incorporate the numerous additions, corrections, and clarifications resulting from the new material published in the first part of this study.<sup>1</sup> The tablets and fragments on which the new reconstructed text is based are:<sup>2</sup> Ni 368 + CBS 9800 (A), CBS 13932 (B), CBS 12368 + 12702 + 12752 (C), Ni 2279 (D), CBS 13908 (E), Ni 4034 (F), CBS 11064 + 11088 (G), Ni 9685 (H), PBS V 24 (I), CBS 15212 (J), Ni 4200 (K), Ni 2762 (L), YBC 4621 (M), CBS 13902 (N), CBS 15162 (O). Line by line the text is reconstructed as follows:

1–208 A i-iv	133–142 H rev.
1– 49 B obv. and rev.	144–204 J obv. and rev.
1– 48 C obv. and rev.	207–244 K obv. and rev.
3– 25 D obv. (rev. destroyed)	225–242 L obv.
52– 95 E obv. and rev.	264–359 M obv. and rev.
88– 94 F obv. (rev. destroyed)	266–323 N obv. and rev.
95–141 G obv. and rev.	273–295 L rev.
105–119 H obv.	302–313 O obv.
129–137 I	354–364 O rev.

Transliteration

1. [an-gal]-ta ki-gal-šè geštug-ga-ni na-an-gu[b]  
  
dingir(?) an-gal-ta ki-gal-šè geštug-ga-ni na-an-gu[b]  
<sup>d</sup>inanna an-gal-ta ki-gal-šè geštug-ga-ni na-an-gu[b]  
nin-mu an mu-un-šub ki mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub><sup>3</sup>
5. <sup>d</sup>inanna an mu-un-šub ki mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>  
nam-en mu-un-šub nam-nin mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>

1. This new edition also incorporates some of the more valuable suggestions in Falkenstein’s detailed study published in AOF 14: 113–38; it is to be carefully noted however that Falkenstein’s study, although it appeared as late as 1942 is based on the writer’s first edition of the myth in RA 34: 93–134 which appeared as early as 1937. The writer’s more definitive edition of the myth (PAPS 85: 293 ff.) also appeared in 1942, that is the same year in which Falkenstein’s study was published, but it goes without saying that Falkenstein and the writer had not seen each other’s studies until

Translation

- From the [“great above”] she set her mind toward the “great below,”  
The *goddess* from the “great above” she set her mind toward the “great below,”  
Inanna from the “great above” she set her mind toward the “great below.”  
My lady abandoned heaven, abandoned earth, to the nether world she descended,  
5. Inanna abandoned heaven, abandoned earth, to the nether world she descended,  
Abandoned lordship, abandoned ladyship, to the nether world she descended.

several years after the Second World War had come to an end, that is, about five years ago. Included in the newly revised edition are also a number of suggestions made by Landsberger in a letter to me several years ago, and several suggestions made by Witzel in a study published in *Orientalia N. S.* 14: 24–69; cf. also Addendum.

2. For details in regard to the publication of all these pieces except YBC 4621 and Ni 9685 (both published in Part I of this study) cf. PAPS 85: 303.

3. D omits the -e- of *ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>*.

- unug<sup>ki</sup>-ga é-an-na mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub><sup>4</sup>  
 bād-tibira<sup>ki</sup>-a é-mùš-kalam-ma mu-un-šub  
 kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>  
 zabalām<sup>ki</sup>-a gi-gu<sub>15</sub>-na<sup>5</sup> mu-un-šub kur-ra  
 ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>
10. adaba<sup>ki</sup> é-šar-ra mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>  
 nibru<sup>ki</sup>-a bara-dúr-gar-ra mu-un-šub kur-ra  
 ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>  
 kiši<sup>ki</sup>-a ħur-sag-kalam-ma mu-un-šub kur-ra  
 ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>  
 a-ga-dè<sup>ki6</sup> é-ul-maš<sup>ki7</sup> mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-  
 e-a-e<sub>11</sub>  
 me-imin-bi zag mu-ni-in-kéš
15. me mu-un-ur<sub>4</sub>-ur<sub>4</sub> šu-ni-šè mu-un-<sup>8</sup>gál<sup>9</sup>  
 me-<sup>10</sup>DU<sup>10</sup> ġir-gub-ba i-im-<sup>11</sup>DU<sup>11</sup>  
<sup>12</sup>túg<sup>12</sup>šu-gur-ra men-edin-na sag-gá-na mu-un-  
 gál<sup>12</sup>  
 ħi-li-sag-ki-na<sup>13</sup> šu ba-ni-in-ti  
 gi-diš-ninda-ešé-gán-za-ġin šu<sup>14</sup> mi-ni-in-<sup>15</sup>du<sub>8</sub>
20. <sup>na4</sup>za-ġin-tu<sub>19</sub>-tu<sub>19</sub>-lá<sup>16</sup> ġú-na ba-an-lá  
<sup>na4</sup>nunuz-tab-ba gaba-na [ba-ni]-in-si<sup>17</sup>  
 ħar-ġuškin šu-na ba-ni-in-<sup>18</sup>du<sub>8</sub>  
 tu-di-tum-lú-ġá-nu-ġá-nu gaba-<sup>19</sup>na ba-an-<sup>20</sup>BU  
 túg-palà-<sup>21</sup>túg-<sup>22</sup>nam-nin-a bar-ra-na<sup>22</sup> ba-an-  
 dul
25. šim-ħé-em-<sup>DU</sup>ħé-em-<sup>DU</sup>igi-na<sup>23</sup> ba-ni-in-<sup>24</sup>gar  
<sup>25</sup>inanna kur-šè i-im-<sup>25</sup>du<sup>25</sup>  
 sukkal-a-ni <sup>26</sup>ga-ša-an-<sup>26</sup>šubur-ra [zag(?)]-a-na  
 i-im-du
4. A omits the refrain *kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>* in lines 7-13. In B the list of the cities and temples is identical with that of A, but the order varies, thus: Erech, Zabalām, Adab, Agade, Kiš, Badtibira, Nippur (cf. RA 36: 76-7). C lists two cities and temples, the names are destroyed.
5. B: -ga for -na. This may be an error but there is also the possibility the final consonant of *ġigun* was nasalized *n* of the type found in *ġuškin*, which when combined with the vowel *a* was written both as *na* and as *ga*, cf. GSG §32.
6. B adds -a. 7. B adds -a. 8. B: -u<sub>8</sub> for -un-.
9. C: -gar for -gál. 10. D: -<sup>DU</sup>ġ for -<sup>DU</sup>.
11. D: *um-mi-in*-[<sup>DU</sup>] for *i-im*-<sup>DU</sup>.
12. The order of lines 17-25 is based on A. In B the order is 17, 18, 21, 20, 23, 24, 25, 19, 22 (the latter is destroyed). In C the order is: 17, 18, 23, 24, 22, 20, 21, 15, 19. In D the order is 17, 18, 24, 23, 22, 20, 21 (19 and 25 are destroyed).
13. B omits -na. 14. C adds -na.
15. C: *ba-an-* for *mi-ni-in-*. 16. B omits -lá.
17. B and C: *ba-an-* for *[ba-ni]-in-*.
18. C: *ba-an-* for *ba-ni-in-*.
19. A seems to insert a sign between *gaba-* and -na.
20. B adds -a. 21. D omits túg.
22. C: -bi for -ra-na. 23. C: -ni for -na.
24. D: -ib- for -in-.
25. C omits this line and the next.
26. C: *nin-* for *ga-ša-an-*.
- In Erech she abandoned Eanna, to the nether world she descended,  
 In Badtibira she abandoned Emuškalamma, to the nether world she descended,  
 In Zabalām she abandoned Ġiguna, to the nether world she descended,  
 10. In Adab she abandoned Ešarra, to the nether world she descended,  
 In Nippur she abandoned Baradurgarra, to the nether world she descended,  
 In Kiš she abandoned Ĥursagkalamma, to the nether world she descended,  
 In Agade she abandoned Eulmaš, to the nether world she descended.  
 She arrayed herself with the seven "decrees,"  
 15. She gathered the "decrees," placed them in her hand,  
 All the "decrees" she set up at (her) waiting foot.  
 The *šugurra*, the crown of the plain, she put upon her head,  
 Locks (of hair) she fixed upon her forehead,  
 The measuring rod (and) line of lapis lazuli she gripped in her hand,  
 20. Small lapis lazuli stones she tied about her neck,  
 Twin *nunuz*-stones she fastened to her breast,  
 A gold ring she put about her hand,  
 The breastplate "Man, come, come!" she bound about her breast,  
 With the *pala*-garment, the garment of ladyship, she covered her body,  
 25. The ointment "He (the man) shall come, he shall come," she daubed on her eyes,  
 Inanna walked toward the nether world,  
 Her minister Ninšubur walked at her [side].

- kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-šubur-ra gù mu-  
na-dé-e  
ge-en-ge-en-mu<sup>27</sup>
30. sukkal-e-ne-è-m-šag<sub>5</sub>-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-mu  
ra-gaba-e-ne-è-m-ge-en-ge-en-<sup>28</sup>na-mu  
u<sub>4</sub>-da kur-šè mu-un-e<sub>11</sub>-dè<sup>29</sup>  
u<sub>4</sub>-da kur-šè gen-na-mu-dè<sup>30</sup>  
ír du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub>-dam gar-gar-ma-ni-ib<sup>31</sup>
35. šém gú-en-na tuku-a-ma-ni-ib<sup>32</sup>  
é-dingir-re-e-ne-ke<sub>4</sub> nigin-na-ma-ni-ib<sup>33</sup>  
i-bí-zu HAR-ma-ab ka-zu HAR-ma-ab  
ki-mu-lu-da-nu-di zù-gal-zu HAR-ma-ab  
mu-lu-nu-tuku-gim túg-aš-a mu<sub>4</sub>-ma-ab
40. é-kur-re é-<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-líl-lá-šè me-ri-zu aš gub-  
mu-un<sup>34</sup>  
é-kur-re é-<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-líl-lá-šè tu-tu-da-zu-dè  
i-bí-<sup>35d</sup>mu-ul-líl-lá-šè ír šés-a<sup>36</sup>  
a-a-<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-líl tu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-  
ba-da-an-gúr-e  
kug-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu saḥar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-  
da-<sup>37</sup>šár-e
45. za-gìn-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-<sup>38</sup>ka nam-ba-  
da-an-<sup>39</sup>si-il-le<sup>40</sup>  
<sup>gi</sup>štaškarin-zu giš-<sup>41</sup>nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-da-  
dar-dar-re<sup>42</sup>  
ki-sikil-<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-  
gúr-e  
u<sub>4</sub>-da <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-líl e-ne-è-m-ba nu-<sup>43</sup>ri-gub urí<sup>ki</sup>-  
šè gen-na  
urí<sup>ki</sup> é-mud(?) -kalam-ma-<sup>44</sup>ka
50. é-kiš-nu<sub>x</sub>-gál-<sup>d</sup>nanna-šè tu-tu-da-zu-dè  
i-bí-<sup>d</sup>nanna-šè ír šés-a  
a-a-<sup>d</sup>nanna tu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-  
da-an-gúr-e
27. In C the line reads: [gá-nu sukkal]-zi-é-an-na-mu.  
B has a variant reading for lines 29–31, as follows:  
[gá-n]u sukkal-zi-é-an-na-mu  
[na] ga-e-ri na-ri-mu hé-díb  
[inim] ga-ra-ab-dug<sub>4</sub> gizzal hé-[im-ma-ag].  
For the reading and rendering of the passage cf. JCS  
1: 33, note 208.  
28. C omits -en-. 29. C: e<sub>11</sub>-dè-en for mu-un-e<sub>11</sub>-dè.  
30. In C the verb reads e<sub>11</sub>-dè-mu-dè.  
31. In B the verb reads mu-un-na-gá-gá.  
32. In B the verb reads mu-un-na-tuku-a.
- The pure Inanna says to Ninšubur:  
"O (you who are) my constant support,
30. My minister of favorable words,  
My knight of true words,  
I am now descending to the nether world.  
When I shall have come to the nether world,  
Set up a lament for me *by the ruins*,  
35. Play for me the drum in the assembly shrine,  
Wander about for me in the houses of the  
gods,  
*Tear at your eyes for me, tear at your mouth*  
for me,  
Tear for me at the place which no one . . . s,  
your large . . . ,  
Dress for me like a pauper in a single gar-  
ment,
40. Direct your step, all alone, to the Ekur,  
the house of Enlil.  
Upon your entering the Ekur, the house of  
Enlil,  
Weep before Enlil:  
'O Father Enlil, let not your daughter be  
*put to death* in the nether world,  
Let not your good metal be covered with the  
dust of the nether world,
45. Let not your good lapis lazuli be broken  
up into the stone of the stone-worker,  
Let not your *boxwood* be cut up into the  
wood of the wood-worker,  
Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death*  
in the nether world.'  
If Enlil stands not by you in this matter, go  
to Ur.  
In Ur, upon your entering the house of . . .  
of the land,
50. The Ekišnugal, the house of Nanna,  
Weep before Nanna:  
'O Father Nanna, let not your daughter be  
*put to death* in the nether world,
33. In B the verb reads *mu-un-na-nigin*.  
34. In B the verb reads *mu-un-[gub]*; C has a verbal  
form ending in *-na*.  
35. B: *igi-* for *i-bí-*. 36. B: *àm* for *-a*.  
37. B: *-da-ab-* for *-an-da-*. 38. B omits *-ma-*.  
39. C: *-ab-* for *-an-*. 40. B: *-si-il-si-il* for *-si-il-li*.  
41. A inserts *-nam-* before *-nagar-*.  
42. B and probably C: *nam-ba-an-dar-dar-e*.  
43. C inserts *mu-e-* before *-ri-*.  
44. B: *-kur-ra-* for *-kalam-ma-*.

- kug-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu saḥar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-re  
 za-gìn-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-ka nam-ba-an-da-an-si-il-le<sup>45</sup>
55. <sup>45</sup>taškarin-zu giš<sup>46</sup>nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-dar-dar-re  
 ki-sikil<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e  
 u<sub>4</sub>-da <sup>d</sup>nanna e-ne-è-m-ba nu-ri-gub uru-zí-ib<sup>ki</sup>-šè gen-na  
 uru-zí-ib<sup>ki</sup> é<sup>d</sup>am-an-ki-ga-šè tu-tu-da-zu-dè i-bí<sup>d</sup>am-an-ki-ga-šè ír šés<sup>a</sup><sup>47</sup>
60. a-a-<sup>d</sup>am-an-ki tu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e  
 kug-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu saḥar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-re  
 za-gìn-<sup>48</sup>šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-ka nam-ba-an-da-si-il-le<sup>49</sup>  
<sup>45</sup>taškarin-zu giš<sup>50</sup>nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-da-<sup>51</sup>dar-dar-re  
 ki-sikil<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
65. a-a-<sup>d</sup>am-an-ki-ù-mu-un-mu-uš-<sup>52</sup>túg-[da(?)]-ma-al-la-ke<sub>4</sub>  
 ú-nam-ti-la mu-un-zu a-nam-ti-la mu-un-zu e-ne ma-<sup>53</sup>ra ḥu-<sup>54</sup>mu-un-ti-le<sup>54</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>inanna kur-šè i-im-du<sup>55</sup>  
 sukkal-a-ni-<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-šubur-ra gù mu-na-dé-e
70. gen-na <sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-šubur-ra  
 e-ne-[è-m]-<sup>56</sup>a-ra-dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-mu gú-zu la-ba-ši-šub-[bé-en]  
<sup>d</sup>inanna é-gal-kur-za-gìn-šè um-ma-te  
<sup>57</sup>ig-kur-ra-ka ní-g-ḥul ba-an-ús  
 é-gal-kur-ra-ka gù-ḥul ba-an-dé<sup>57</sup>
75. é gál-ù ì-du<sub>8</sub> é gál-ù<sup>58</sup>  
 é gál-ù <sup>d</sup>NE-ti é gál-ù aš-mu-šè ga-tu  
<sup>d</sup>NE-ti-ì-du<sub>8</sub>-gal-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>
45. E: -si-il-si-il for -si-il-le.  
 46. A inserts -nam- between giš- and -nagar-.  
 47. E: -àm for -a. 48. A adds determinative.  
 49. E: -si-il-si-il for si-il-le.  
 50. A inserts -nam- before -nagar-.  
 51. A inserts -an- before -dar-.  
 52. E inserts -a- before -ra.  
 53. E probably omits ḥu-. 54. A adds -en after -le.  
 55. Between lines 68 and 69 E inserts the line: sukkal-a-ni-<sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-ra [zag?]-a-na i-im-DU, cf. line 27.
- Let not your good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,  
 Let not your good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stone-worker,  
 55. Let not your *boxwood* be cut up into the wood of the wood-worker,  
 Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world.  
 If Nanna stands not by you in this matter, go to Eridu.  
 In Eridu, upon your entering the house of Enki,  
 Weep before Enki:  
 60. 'O Father Enki, let not your daughter be *put to death* in the nether world,  
 Let not your good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,  
 Let not your good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stone-worker,  
 Let not your *boxwood* be cut up into the wood of the wood-worker,  
 Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world.'  
 65. Father Enki, the lord of *wisdom*,  
 Who knows the food of life, who knows the water of life,  
 He will surely bring me to life."  
 Inanna walked toward the nether world,  
 Says to her minister Ninšubur:  
 70. "Go, Ninšubur,  
 Do not neglect the word which I have commanded you."  
 When Inanna arrived at the palace, the lapis lazuli mountain,  
 She acted evilly at the door of the nether world,  
 Spoke evilly in the palace of the nether world:  
 75. "Open the house, gatekeeper, open the house, Open the house NETI, open the house, all alone I would enter."  
 NETI, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world,
- 
56. The -è-m is assumed to have been omitted accidentally by the scribe, cf. also AOF 14: 122 f.  
 57. Line omitted in E.  
 58. In E lines 75-6 are written as three lines, thus:  
 é-gál-lu ì-du<sub>8</sub> é-gál-lu  
 ì-du<sub>8</sub> é-gál-lu <sup>d</sup>NE-ti é-gál-lu  
 ì-du<sub>8</sub> é-gál-lu aš-mu-šè ga-tu.

- kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ra<sup>59</sup> mu-un-<sup>60</sup>na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>  
a-ba-me-en-za-e
80. me-e <sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-na<sup>61</sup> ki-<sup>d</sup>utu-è-a-aš<sup>62</sup>  
tukum-bi za-e <sup>d</sup>inanna<sup>63</sup> ki-<sup>d</sup>utu-è-a-aš  
a-na-àm<sup>64</sup> ba-du-un kur-nu-gi<sub>4</sub>-šè  
ḥar-ra-an lú-du-<sup>65</sup>bi nu-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-dè šà-zu a-gim  
túm-mu-un  
kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> mu-na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>
85. nín-gal-mu-<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-ki-gal-la<sup>66</sup>  
mu dam-a-ni-ù-mu-un-gu<sub>4</sub>-gal-an-na ba-an-  
ug<sub>5</sub>-ga  
ki-sì-ga-na i-bí du<sub>3</sub>-ù-dè  
kaš-sì-ga-na gu-ul ba-ni-in-dé ḥur-šè ḥé-me-  
a<sup>67</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>NE-ti-ì-du<sub>3</sub>-gal-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>
90. kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> mu-<sup>68</sup>na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>  
túm-túm-ma-ab <sup>d</sup>inanna nin-mà ga-an-na-  
ab-dug<sub>4</sub>  
nin-mu-<sup>d</sup>ereš-ki-gal-la-ra ga-an-na-dug<sub>4</sub> . . .  
ga-an-na-ab-dug<sub>4</sub>  
<sup>d</sup>NE-ti-ì-du<sub>3</sub>-gal-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>  
nin-a-ni-<sup>d</sup>ereš-ki-gal-la-ra<sup>69</sup> é-[a-ni-šè ba-a]n-  
ši-in-tu gi<sub>4</sub> mu-na-dé-e
95. nin-mu ki-sikil-diš-àm  
dingir-gim sukud(?) . . . .  
<sup>g</sup>iš<sup>g</sup> . . . .  
. . . .  
é-an-na-ka . . . .
100. me imin-bi zag mu-ni-in-kéš<sup>70</sup>  
me mu-un-ur<sub>4</sub>-ur<sub>4</sub> šu-ni-šè mu-un-gál  
me-DU gír-gub-ba i-im-DU  
<sup>túg</sup>š<sup>u</sup>-gur-ra-men-edin-na sag-gá-na mu-un-gál  
ḥi-li sag-ki-na šu ba-ni-in-ti
105. gi-diš-ninda-ešé-gán-za-gìn šu<sup>71</sup> mi-ni-in-du<sub>3</sub><sup>72</sup>  
<sup>na</sup>za-gìn-tu<sub>19</sub>-tu<sub>19</sub>-lá gú-na ba-an-lá
- Answers the pure Inanna:  
"Who, pray, are you?"  
80. "I am Inanna of the place where the sun rises."  
"If you are Inanna of the place where the sun rises,  
Why, pray, have you come to the land of no return,  
On the road whose traveller returns not,  
how has your heart led you?"  
The pure Inanna answers him:  
85. "My elder sister Ereškigal,  
*Because* her husband, the lord Gugalanna,  
had been killed,  
To witness his funeral rites,  
Has *poured . . . on his . . .*, verily 'tis so."  
NETI, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world,  
90. Answers the pure Inanna:  
"*Stay*, Inanna, to my queen let me speak,  
To my queen Ereškigal let me speak, . . .  
let me speak."  
NETI, the chief gatekeeper of the nether world,  
Enters the house of [his] queen Ereškigal,  
says to her:  
95. "O my queen, a maid,  
Like a god . . . .,  
The door . . . .  
. . . .  
In Eanna . . . .,  
100. She has arrayed herself with the seven 'decrees,'  
She has gathered the 'decrees,' has placed them in her hand,  
*All* the 'decrees' she has *set up at (her) waiting foot*.  
The *šugurra*, the crown of the plain, she has put upon her head,  
*Locks (of hair)* she has *fixed* upon her forehead,  
105. The measuring rod (and) line of lapis lazuli she has gripped in her hand,

59. E: -ke<sub>4</sub> for -ra. 60. E omits -un-.61. E: *ga-ša-an-an-na*. 62. B: -šè for aš.63. E: *an-na* for <sup>d</sup>*inanna*, probably a scribal error.

64. E omits -àm. 65. E inserts -ù- before -bi.

66. The last sign is a badly squeezed -la (not -šè) on the original.

67. So, not ḥé-a as copied in SEM 48.

68. F inserts -un- before -na-. 69. F: -šè for -ra.

70. For the restoration of lines 100-111 cf. lines 14-25. Note that A is inconsistent in the order of arrangement of the lines 24-5 and the corresponding lines 110-111. In G the order of the lines varied from that of A but the text is too badly damaged for a detailed account. In H lines 105-11 have the following order: 106, 107, 111, 110, 109, 108, 105.

71. H adds -na. 72. H: *i-im-[du<sub>3</sub>]*.

- <sup>na4</sup>nunuz-tab-ba gaba-na ba-ni-in-si  
 ḥar-guškin šu-na ba-ni-in-du<sub>8</sub><sup>73</sup>  
 tu-di-tum-<sup>74</sup>lú-gá-nu-gá-nu gaba-na ba-an-BU
- Small lapis lazuli stones she has tied about  
 her neck,  
*Twin nunuz-stones* she has fastened to her  
 breast,  
 A gold ring she has put about her hand,  
 The breastplate "Man, come, come!" she  
 has bound about her breast,
110. šim-<sup>75</sup>ḥé-em-DU-ḥé-em-DU<sup>76</sup> igi-na<sup>77</sup> ba-ni-in-  
 gar  
 túg-palà-túg-<sup>78</sup>nam-nin-a bar-ra-na ba-an-dul  
 u<sub>4</sub>-ba <sup>d</sup>ereš-ki-gal-la-ke<sub>4</sub> ḥáš bar-bi-šè(?) . . .  
 KA bí-in-DU KA-šà-TÚG ba-an- . . .<sup>79</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>NE-ti-<sup>80</sup>ḥ-du<sub>8</sub>-gal-ni-ir gù mu-na-dé-e  
 gá-nu <sup>d</sup>NE-ti-ḥ-du<sub>8</sub>-gal-kur-ra-mu
110. The ointment "He (the man) shall come,  
 he shall come," she daubed on her eyes,  
 With the *pala*-garment, the garment of lady-  
 ship, she has covered her body."  
 Then Ereškigal *bit* the thigh . . . ,  
 Says to NETI, her chief gatekeeper:  
 "Come, NETI, my chief gatekeeper of the  
 nether world,
115. inim-a-ra-dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-mu<sup>81</sup> gú-zu la-ba-an-šub-be-  
 en(?)  
 ká-gal-kur-ra imin-bi <sup>si</sup>si-gar-bi ḥé-eb-?  
 é-gal-ganzir [igi-kur-ra-ka]<sup>82</sup> aš-bi <sup>si</sup>ig-bi šu  
 ḥa-ba-an-ús  
 e-ne tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
 gam-gam-ma-ni SU(?)-NUN-NUN-ma-ni-ta mu-  
 di-ni- . . .<sup>83</sup>
115. Do not neglect the word which I speak to  
 you.  
 Of the seven gates of the nether world, *lift*  
 their bolts,  
 Of the one palace, Ganzir, [the face of the  
 nether world], *press apart* their doors.  
 Upon her entering,  
*Bowed low . . .*"
120. <sup>d</sup>NE-ti-ḥ-du<sub>8</sub>-gal-kur-ra-[ke<sub>4</sub>]  
 inim-nin-a-na-šè sag-kéš ba-ši-[in-ag]  
 ká-gal-kur-ra imin-bi <sup>si</sup>si-gar-bi [bí-ib-?]  
 é-gal-ganzir-igi-kur-ra-ka aš-bi [<sup>si</sup>ig-bi šu ba-  
 an-ús]  
 kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ra gù mu-na-dé-e
120. NETI, the chief gatekeeper of the nether  
 world,  
 [He]ded the word of his queen.  
 Of the seven gates of the nether world, [he  
*lifted*] their bolts,  
 Of the one palace Ganzir, the face of the  
 nether world, [he *pressed apart* its door].  
 He says to the pure Inanna:
125. gá-nu <sup>d</sup>inanna tu-um-ma-ni  
 e-ne<sup>84</sup> tu-tu-da-ni-ta<sup>85</sup>  
 túg-šu-gur-ra-men-edin-na-sag-gá-na lú ba-  
 da-an-zí-ir<sup>86</sup>  
 ta-àm-me-a<sup>87</sup>  
 si-a <sup>d</sup>inanna me-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> šu al-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>
125. "Come, Inanna, enter."  
 Upon her entering,  
 The *šugurra*, the crown of the plain of her  
 head, was removed.  
 "What, pray, is this?"  
 "Be silent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the  
 nether world are perfect,
130. <sup>d</sup>inanna garza-kur-ra ka-zu na-an-ba-e-en<sup>88</sup>
130. O Inanna, do not let your mouth deprecate  
 the rites of the nether world."

73. H: *i-im-dus*. 74. H: *-da* for *-tum*.75. H inserts *lú-* before *-ḥé-*.76. H omits one *ḥé-em-DU*. 77. H: *-ni* for *-na*.78. H omits *túg*.

79. Cf. note 65 of Part I of this study.

80. H omits <sup>d</sup>NE-ti-.81. In H the first complex reads: *a-ra-ab-bé-en-na-mu*.82. For the restore *igi-kur-ra* cf. line 123; H omits the complex.

83. Cf. note 71 of Part I of this study.

84. G: <sup>d</sup>inanna for *e-ne*.

85. Between lines 126 and 127 G inserts a line corresponding to line 132.

86. According to H the verb in this line (cf. also lines 132, 137, 142, 147, 152, and 157) reads *ba-da-an-NUN*, cf. comment to line 5 of the reverse of H in Part I of this study.87. According to H *ta-àm-me-a* (lines 128, 133, etc.) has a variant reading *ta-àm-ne-e*.88. According to H this verb (cf. also lines 135, 140 etc.) omits the final *-en*.

- ká-gal-min-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
gi-diš-ninda-ešé-gán-za-gìn lú ba-da-an-zí-ir<sup>89</sup>
- ta-àm-me-a  
si-a <sup>d</sup>inanna me-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> šu al-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>
135. <sup>d</sup>inanna garza-kur-ra ka-zu na-an-ba-e-en  
ká-gal-eš-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
<sup>na</sup>za-gìn-tu<sub>19</sub>-tu<sub>19</sub>-lá-gú-na lú ba-da-an-zí-ir<sup>90</sup> ta-àm-me-a  
si-a <sup>d</sup>inanna me-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> šu al-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>
140. <sup>d</sup>inanna garza-kur-ra ka-zu na-an-ba-e-en  
ká-gal-limmu-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
<sup>na</sup>nunuz-tab-ba-gaba-na lú ba-da-an-zí-ir<sup>91</sup>  
ta-àm-me-a  
si-a <sup>d</sup>inanna me-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> šu al-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>
145. <sup>d</sup>inanna garza-kur-ra ka-zu na-an-ba-e-en  
ká-gal-ià-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
ḥar-guškin-šu-na lú ba-da-an-zí-ir  
ta-àm-me-a  
si-a <sup>d</sup>inanna me-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> šu al-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>
150. <sup>d</sup>inanna garza-kur-ra ka-zu na-an-ba-e-en  
ká-gal-àš-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
tu-di-tum-lú-gá-nu-gá-nu-gaba-na lú ba-da-an-zí-ir  
ta-àm-me-a  
si-a <sup>d</sup>inanna me-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> šu al-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>
155. <sup>d</sup>inanna garza-kur-ra ka-zu na-an-ba-e-en  
ká-gal-imin-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
túg-palà-a-túg-nam-nin-a-bar-ra-na lú ba-da-an-zí-ir<sup>92</sup>  
ta-àm-me-a  
si-a <sup>d</sup>inanna me-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> šu al-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>
160. <sup>d</sup>inanna garza-kur-ra ka-zu na-an-ba-e-en  
[gam-gam-ma]-ni su(?)-N[U]N-NUN-[ma]-ni-ta  
lú [mu-dí-ni- . . . ]
- Upon her entering the second gate,  
The measuring rod (and) line of lapis lazuli  
was removed.  
"What, pray, is this?"  
"Be silent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the nether  
world are perfect,  
135. O Inanna, do not let your mouth deprecate  
the rites of the nether world."  
Upon her entering the third gate,  
The small lapis lazuli stones of her neck were  
removed.  
"What, pray, is this?"  
"Be silent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the  
nether world are perfect,  
140. O Inanna, do not let your mouth deprecate  
the rites of the nether world."  
Upon her entering the fourth gate,  
The *twin nunuz*-stones of her breast were  
removed.  
"What, pray, is this?"  
"Be silent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the  
nether world are perfect,  
145. O Inanna, do not let your mouth deprecate  
the rites of the nether world."  
Upon her entering the fifth gate,  
The gold ring of her hand was removed.  
"What, pray, is this?"  
"Be silent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the  
nether world are perfect,  
150. O Inanna, let not your mouth deprecate the  
rites of the nether world."  
Upon her entering the sixth gate,  
The breastplate "Man, come, come!" of her  
breast was removed.  
"What, pray, is this?"  
"Be silent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the  
nether world are perfect,  
155. O Inanna, do not let your mouth deprecate  
the rites of the nether world."  
Upon her entering the seventh gate,  
The *pala*-garment, the garment of ladyship  
of her body was removed.  
"What, pray, is this?"  
"Be silent, Inanna, the 'decrees' of the  
nether world are perfect,  
160. O Inanna, let not your mouth deprecate the  
rites of the nether world."  
Bowed low . . .

89. G substitutes a line reading: *ḫi-lí-sag-ki-na lú ba-da-an-zí-ir*.

90. G substitutes a line corresponding to line 142, except that it reads *gaba-na* for *zag-ga-na*.

91. J substitutes line 157.

92. J substitutes line 132.

- [kug-<sup>d</sup>ereš]-ki-gal-la-[k]e<sub>4</sub> <sup>ε</sup>is<sup>is</sup>gu-za-na i-ni-in-  
[tuš]  
<sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-di-kud-imin-bi igi-ni-šè di mu-un-  
[ši-in-kud]  
[i]-bí mu-ši-in-bar i-bí-úš-a-kam
165. [inim] i-bí-ne inim-LIPIŠ-gig-ga-àm  
[gù] i-bi-dé gù-nam-tag-tag-ga-àm<sup>93</sup>  
[munus]-tu-ra uzu-níg-sig-šè ba-an-tu  
uzu-níg-sig-ga<sup>94</sup> <sup>ε</sup>is<sup>is</sup>kak-ta lú ba-da-an-<sup>95</sup>lá  
u<sub>4</sub>-eš gi<sub>6</sub>-eš um-ta-<sup>96</sup>zal-la-ta
170. sukkal-a-ni-<sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>  
sukkal-inim-<sup>97</sup>šag<sub>5</sub>-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-ni<sup>98</sup>  
ra-gaba-inim-<sup>99</sup>ge-en-ge-en-<sup>100</sup>na-ni<sup>101</sup>  
ír du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub>-dam mu-un-na-gá-gá  
šém gú-en-na mu-un-na-tuku-a
175. é-dingir-re-e-ne-ke<sub>4</sub> mu-un-na-nigin  
i-bí-ni mu-un-na-<sup>HUR</sup>ka-ni mu-un-na-<sup>HUR</sup>  
ki-lú-da-nu-di zù-gal-ni mu-na-an-<sup>HUR</sup>  
mu-lu-nu-tuku-gim túg-aš-[a im-ma]-an-<sup>102</sup>  
mu<sub>4</sub>  
é-kur-é-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-<sup>103</sup>lá-šè gir-ni aš mu-un-gub
180. é-kur-é-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-<sup>104</sup>lá-šè tu-tu-da-ni-ta<sup>105</sup>  
igi-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá-šè ír im-ma-še<sub>3</sub>-še<sub>3</sub>  
a-a-<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-líl-<sup>106</sup>tu-mu-zu mu-lu-kur-ra nam-  
ba-da-an-gúr-e  
kug-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu saḫar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-  
da-šár-re<sup>106</sup>  
za-gìn-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-<sup>107</sup>ka nam-  
ba-da-an-si-il-le<sup>108</sup>
185. <sup>ε</sup>is<sup>is</sup>taškarin-zu giš-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-dar-  
dar-re<sup>109</sup>  
ki-sikil-<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-  
gúr-e
- [The pure Ereš]kigal [seat]ed herself upon  
her throne,  
The Anunnaki, the seven judges, [pro-  
nounc]ed judgment before her.  
She fastened the eye upon her, the eye of  
death,  
165. Spoke the word against her, the word of  
wrath,  
Uttered the cry against her, the cry of guilt,  
The sick [woman] was turned into a *corpse*,  
The *corpse* was hung from a nail.  
After three days (and) three nights had  
passed,  
170. Her minister Ninšubur,  
Her minister of favorable words,  
Her knight of true words,  
Sets up a lament for her *by the ruins*,  
Played for her the drum in the assembly  
shrine,  
175. Wandered about for her in the houses of the  
gods,  
*Tore at his eyes for her, tore at his mouth for*  
*her,*  
*Tore for her at the place where no one . . . s,*  
*his large . . .*  
Dressed for her like a pauper in a single  
garment.  
Directed his step, all alone, to the Ekur, the  
house of Enlil.  
180. Upon his entering the Ekur, the house of  
Enlil,  
Before Enlil he weeps:  
'O Father Enlil, let not your daughter be  
*put to death* in the nether world,  
Let not your good metal be covered with the  
dust of the nether world,  
Let not your good lapis lazuli be broken up  
into the stone of the stone-worker,  
185. Let not your *boxwood* be cut up into the  
wood of the wood-worker,  
Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death*  
in the nether world."

93. J omits line.

94. J omits *-ga*. 95. J: *-an-ta* for *-da-an*.

96. J: *ám* for *um-ta*. 97. A: *e-ne-ém* for *KA*.

98. J: *-mu* for *-ni*. 99. A: *e-ne-ém* for *KA*.

100. J omits *-en*.

101. J: *-mu* for *-ni*. Between lines 172 and 173 J in-  
serts two lines which read:

[na]-ri-ga-ni šu nu-bar-ri

[inim]-dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-ni gú-ni la-ba-ši-šub.

For the reading of the second line, cf. comment to line 11  
of the reverse of Ni 9685 in Part I of this study.

102. A probably has *-ab* for *-an*.

103. J: *-<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-líl* for *-<sup>d</sup>en-líl*.

104. J: *-<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-líl* for *-<sup>d</sup>en-líl*.

105. For *tu-tu-da-ni-ta* A seems to have a variant which  
is illegible.

106. A: *-e* for *-re*. 107. J omits *-ma*.

108. J: *-si-il-si-il* for *-si-il-le*. 109. J: *-e* for *-re*.



- a-a-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-le <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-ra mu-na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 dumu-mu an-[gal-la] al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub> ki-gal-la al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub>  
<sup>d</sup>inanna an-[gal-la] al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub> ki-gal-la al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub>
190. me-kur-ra me-al-me-al ki-bi-šè sá bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub> a-ba-àm ki-bi-[š]è(?) ? in-na-an-dug<sub>4</sub> al mu (?)-ni-ib-dug<sub>4</sub>  
 a-a-<sup>d</sup>en-líl inim-ba [nu-na-gub] urí<sup>ki</sup>-[šè ba]-du-un  
 urí<sup>ki</sup> é-mud(?)-kur-ra-ka  
 é-kiš-nu<sub>x</sub>-gál-<sup>d</sup>nanna-šè tu-tu-da-ni-ta
195. igi-<sup>d</sup>nanna-šè ír im-ma-šes-šes  
 a-a-<sup>d</sup>nanna tu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e  
 kug-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu saḥar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-re  
 za-gìn-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-ka nam-ba-da-an-si-il-le  
<sup>is</sup>taškarin-zu giš-nam-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-dar-dar-re
200. ki-sikil-<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e  
 a-a-<sup>d</sup>nanna <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-ra mu-na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 dumu-mu an-[gal-la] al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub> ki-gal-la al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub>  
<sup>d</sup>inanna an-[gal-la] al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub> ki-gal-la al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub>  
 me-kur-ra me-al-me-al ki-bi-šè sá bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub>
205. a-ba-àm ki-bi-[š]è(?) ? in-na-an-dug<sub>4</sub> al mu (?)-ni-ib-dug<sub>4</sub>  
 a-a-<sup>d</sup>nanna inim-ba [nu-na-gub] uru-zí-ib<sup>ki</sup>-šè ba-du-un  
 uru-zí-ib<sup>ki</sup> é-<sup>d</sup>en-ki-ga-šè tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
 igi-<sup>d</sup>en-ki-ga-šè ír im-ma-šes-šes  
 a-a-<sup>d</sup>am-an-ki tu-mu-<sup>110</sup>zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
210. kug-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu saḥar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-re  
 za-gìn-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-<sup>111</sup>ka nam-ba-da-an-si-il-le  
<sup>is</sup>taškarin-zu giš-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-dar-dar-e
- Father Enlil answers Ninšubur:  
 My daughter *has demanded* the '[great] above,' *has demanded* the 'great below,'  
 Inanna *has demanded* the '[great] above,' *has demanded* the 'great below,'
190. The 'decrees' of the nether world, the . . . 'decrees,' the . . . 'decrees,' she has *arrived* at their place,  
 Who is it *that . . . ?*"  
 Father Enlil [stood not by him] in this matter, he went [to] Ur.  
 In Ur, upon his entering the house of . . . of the land,  
 The Ekišnugal, the house of Nanna,
195. Before Nanna he weeps:  
 "O Father Nanna, let not your daughter be *put to death* in the nether world.  
 Let not your good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,  
 Let not your good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stone-worker,  
 Let not your *boxwood* be cut up into the wood of the wood-worker,
200. Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world."  
 Father Nanna answers Ninšubur:  
 My daughter *has demanded* the '[great] above,' *has demanded* the 'great below,'  
 Inanna *has demanded* the '[great] above,' *has demanded* the 'great below,'  
 The 'decrees' of the nether world, the . . . 'decrees,' the . . . 'decrees,' she has *arrived* at their place,
205. Who is it *that . . . ?*"  
 Father Nanna stood not by him in this matter, he went to Eridu.  
 In Eridu upon his entering the house of Enki,  
 Before Enki he weeps:  
 "O Father Enki, let not your daughter be *put to death* in the nether world,
210. Let not your good metal be covered with the dust of the nether world,  
 Let not your good lapis lazuli be broken up into the stone of the stone-worker,  
 Let not your *boxwood* be cut up into the wood of the wood-worker,

110. In K the traces of the sign preceding *-zu* do not point to its restoration as *-mu* (of the expected *tu-mu-*

*zu*); perhaps therefore the scribe wrote the Eme-ku *dumu*.

111. K omits *-ma-*.

- ki-sikil-<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-<sup>112</sup>na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e  
a-a-<sup>d</sup>en-ki <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> mu-un-na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>
215. dumu-mu a-na bí-in-ag mà-e mu-un-kúš-ù  
<sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> a-na bí-in-ag mà-e mu-un-kúš-ù  
nin-kur-kur-r[a-ke<sub>4</sub>] a-na bí-in-ag mà-e mu-un-kúš-ù  
nu-u<sub>8</sub>-gig-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub> a-na bí-in-ag mà-e mu-un-kúš-ù  
dubbin-?-ni mu-sír ba-ra-an-túm kur-gar-ra ba-an-dím
220. dubbin-su<sub>4</sub>-še-gín(!)-na mu-sír ba-ra-an-túm  
ga[la-tur ba-an]-dím  
kur-gar-ra ú-nam-ti-la ba-an-[sì(?)]  
kala-tur-ra a-nam-ti-la ba-an-[sì(?)]  
[a-a]-en-ki kala-tur-kur-gar-ra gù mu-u[n-na-dé-e  
...-an-zé-en GÌR-kur-TÚG ná-ba-an-z[é-en]
225. ....-a ....-[d]è-en-zé-e[n]  
....-[dè-e]n-zé-en  
....-šè  
....-ra-àm  
....
230. ....  
....-ni  
....-na-... eš  
....-ni  
.... [du]g<sub>4</sub>-ga-na-ab-zé-en<sup>113</sup>
235. ....-zé-en  
....-mu(?) -ta(?) .... ba-e-dè-en-zè-en  
.... dug<sub>4</sub>(?) -ga(?) .... -en(?) -zé-en  
.... -ib(?) -tar(?) -re(?) -en-zé-en  
.... -dè-en-zé-en
240. ....-ab-zé-en  
íd(!) a-b[a mu-un-n]a-ba-e-ne šu na[m-ba]-  
BU-i-en-zé-en  
a-šà še-ba m[u-u]n-na-ba-e-ne šu nam-ba-  
BU-i-en-zé-en  
uzu-níg-sìg(!)-<sup>giš</sup>kak-ta-lá-a sì-me-eb dug<sub>4</sub>-  
ga-na-ab-zé-en  
diš-àm ú-nam-ti-la diš-àm a-nam-ti-la ugu-  
na šub-bu-dè-en-zé-en
245. <sup>d</sup>inanna ḥa-ba-gub
- Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the nether world.”  
Father Enki answers Ninšubur:
215. “What has happened to my daughter! I am troubled,  
What has happened to Inanna! I am troubled,  
What has happened to the queen of all the lands! I am troubled,  
What has happened to the hierodule of heaven! I am troubled.”  
From *his* finger-nail he brought forth dirt, fashioned the *kurgarrû*,
220. From the *red-painted* finger-nail he brought forth dirt, fashioned the *ka[laturru]*,  
To the *kurgarrû* he [gave] the food of life,  
To the *kalaturru* he [gave] the water of life,
223. [Father] Enki says to the *kalaturru* and *kurgarrû*:
- (Lines 224–240 too poorly preserved for translation)
241. “They will present you with a river as a water-gi[ft], do n[ot] accept it;  
They will present you with a field as a grain-gift, do not accept it;  
‘Give us the *corpse* hung from the nail,’ say to her.  
One (of you) sprinkle the food of life, the other the water of life,
245. Surely Inanna will arise.”

112. K inserts *-an-* between *-an-* and *-na*.113. In L the corresponding line ends in *-eš*.

(Break of approximately 18 lines)

íd a-ba mu-na-ba-e-ne šu nu-ma-BU-dè-ne  
 265. a-šà še-ba mu-na-ba-e-ne šu nu-ma-BU-dè-ne  
 uzu-níg-sìg-ga-<sup>g18</sup> kak-ta-lá sì-me-eb in-na-ne-  
 eš  
 kug-<sup>d</sup>ereš-ki-gal-la-ke<sub>4</sub> ka[la-tur-kur-gar-ra]  
 mu-na-ni-ib-g[<sub>4</sub>gi<sub>4</sub>]<sup>114</sup>  
 uzu-níg-sìg-ga níg-ga-ša-an-zu-ne-ne-ka<sup>115</sup>  
 níg-sìg-ga níg-nin-me hé-a sì-me-eb in-na-an-  
 ne-eš

270. níg-sìg-ga-<sup>g18</sup> kak-ta-lá ba-an-sì-ne  
 diš<sup>116</sup> ú-nam-ti-la diš<sup>116</sup> a-nam-ti-la ugu-na  
 bí-in-šub-bu-uš<sup>117</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>inanna ba-gub<sup>118</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>inanna kur-ta ba-e<sub>11</sub>-dè<sup>119</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne ba-ab-<sub>4</sub>ha-<sup>120</sup>a-aš

275. a-ba-àm lú-kur-ta-e<sub>11</sub>-dè kur-ta silim-ma-ni  
 um-ta-e<sub>11</sub><sup>121</sup>  
 u<sub>4</sub>-da <sup>d</sup>inanna kur-ta ba-<sup>122</sup>e<sub>11</sub>-dè  
 sag-aš sag-a-na<sup>123</sup> <sub>4</sub>ha-ba-ab-sì-mu  
<sup>d</sup>inanna kur-ta ba-e<sub>11</sub>-dè<sup>124</sup>  
 galla-tur-tur gi-šukur-ra-gim<sup>125</sup>

280. galla-gal-gal gi-dub-ba-<sup>126</sup>na-ke<sub>4</sub><sup>127</sup>  
 zag-ga-na ba-an-díb-<sup>128</sup>bé-eš<sup>129</sup>  
 lú-igi-na sukkal-nu-me-a gišdar šu bí-in-du<sub>8</sub>

114. The *-ne-* in the transliteration in PAPS 85 is an error. In M the line reads: *a-na mu-na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>gi<sub>4</sub>*.

115. So M which is well preserved at this point; for the variants in N cf. note 10 of Part I of this study.

116. M adds *-àm*. 117. M: *ba-an-šub*.

118. M: *gub-ba* for *ba-gub*. In M lines 271-2 are written as one line.

119. M: *-e<sub>11</sub>-da-ni* for *ba-e<sub>11</sub>-dè*.

120. M: *-<sub>4</sub>ha-<sub>4</sub>ha-* for *-<sub>4</sub>ha-*.

121. So M; for the probable reading of N cf. note 15 of Part I of this study.

They present them a river as a water-gift,  
 they accept it not,  
 265. They present them a field as a grain-gift,  
 they accept it not,  
 "Give us the *corpse* hung from the nail," they  
 said to her.

The pure Ereškigal answers the *ka*[*laturru*  
 and *kurgarrú*]:

"The *corpse*, it is your queen's."

"The *corpse*, though it is our queen's, give  
 to us," they said to her.

270. They give them the *corpse* hung from the  
 nail,

The one sprinkled upon her the food of life,  
 the other, the water of life,

Inanna arose.

Inanna is about to ascend from the nether  
 world,

The Anunnaki seized her (saying):

275. "Who of those who have descended *to* the  
 nether world (*ever*) ascend *unharm*ed from  
 the nether world!

If Inanna would ascend from the nether  
 world,

Let her give one substitute as her substi-  
 tute."

Inanna ascends from the nether world,

The small demons like *šukur*-reeds,

280. The large demons like *dubban*-reeds,

Held onto her side.

Who (was) in front of her (though) he was  
 not a minister, held a scepter in the hand,

122. M omits *ba-*. 123. M adds *-gim*.

124. M omits line.

125. The corresponding line in L is reverse 16 while  
 in M it is obverse 16.

126. M inserts *-an-*. 127. L perhaps *-ka* for *-ke<sub>4</sub>*.

128. M accidentally omitted *-dib-*.

129. Lines 280-1 are written as one line in L rev. 17  
 and M obv. 17.

- bar-ra-na ra-gaba-nu-me-a <sup>g</sup>is<sup>130</sup>tukul úr-ra i-  
ni-in-<sup>130</sup>lá  
lú-e-ne-ra-in-ši-súg-eš-àm<sup>131</sup>
285. lú-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ra-in-ši-súg-eš-àm<sup>132</sup>  
ú nu-zu-me-eš a nu-zu-me-eš  
zì-dub-dub-ba nu-kú-<sup>133</sup>me-eš  
a-bal-bal<sup>134</sup> nu-na<sub>8</sub>-na<sub>8</sub>-me-eš<sup>135</sup>  
úr-lú-ka dam šu-ti-a-me-eš<sup>136</sup>
290. [ub]ur-umme-da-lá-ka dumu šu-ti-a-me-eš<sup>137</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>inanna kur-ta ba-e<sub>11</sub>-dè<sup>138</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>inanna kur-ta e<sub>11</sub>-da-ni  
[sukkal-a-ni]-<sup>139d</sup>nin-šubur-<sup>140</sup>ke<sub>4</sub> gír-ni-šè ba-  
an-<sup>141</sup>šub  
sa<sub>har</sub>-ra<sup>142</sup> ba-<sup>143</sup>da-an-tuš túg-mu-sír-ra ba-  
an-mu<sub>4</sub>
295. galla-e-ne kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ra<sup>144</sup> gù mu-un-<sup>145</sup>na-  
dè-e  
<sup>d</sup>inanna uru-zu-šè DU-ba e-ne<sup>146</sup> ga-ba-ab-túm  
mu-dè<sup>147</sup>  
kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> galla-e-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-  
gi<sub>4</sub><sup>148</sup>  
sukkal-e-ne-è<sup>m</sup>-šag<sub>5</sub>-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-mu<sup>149</sup>  
ra-gaba-e-ne-è<sup>m</sup>-ge-en-ge-na-mu
300. na-ri-ga-mu šu nu-mu-un-bar-re  
e-ne-è<sup>m</sup>-dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-mu gú-ni la-ba-ši-šub  
ír du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub>-da<sup>150</sup> ma-an-gá-gá<sup>151</sup>  
šém gú-en-na ma-an-tuku-a<sup>152</sup>  
é-dingir-re-e-ne-ke<sub>4</sub> ma-an-nigin<sup>153</sup>
305. i-bí-<sup>154</sup>ni ma-an-ĤUR ka-ni ma-an-ĤUR  
ki-mu-lu-<sup>155</sup>da-nu-di<sup>156</sup> zù-gal-a-<sup>157</sup>ni ma-an-  
ĤUR  
mu-lu-<sup>158</sup>nu-tuku-gim túg-aš-a<sup>159</sup> im-ma-an-  
mu<sub>4</sub><sup>160</sup>
130. So H; L: *bi-* and N: *mi-ni-* for *i-ni-*.  
131. In M the line reads: *lú-ù-ne-lú-mu-un-dè-súg-re-eš-àm*. L omits this line and the one following.  
132. In M the line reads: *lú-<sup>d</sup>inanna-mu-e-ši-súg-re-eš-àm*.  
133. L inserts *-ù-* after *-kú-*.  
134. M adds *-a* after *-bal-*.  
135. L and M have a line reading: *kadra-níg-dùg-ga šu-nu-BU-i-* (M omits *-i-*) *me-eš*.  
136. Instead of this and the following line M has an expanded passage of 5 lines, (lines 24-8); cf. Part I.  
137. Following this line L inserts two lines ending in *ur nu-zu(?)* and *mu-un-ur<sub>4</sub>-[ur<sub>4</sub>]-re-eš*.  
138. Line omitted in L and M.
- (Who was) at her side, (though) he was not  
a knight, had a weapon fastened about the  
loin.  
They who accompanied her,  
285. They who accompanied Inanna,  
(Were beings who) know not food, know  
not water,  
Eat not sprinkled flour,  
Drink not libated water,  
Take away the wife from the man's lap,  
290. Take away the child from the nursemaid's  
[bre]ast.  
Inanna ascends from the nether world.  
Upon Inanna's ascent from the nether world,  
[Her minister] Ninšubur threw himself at  
her feet,  
Prostrated himself in the dust, dressed in a  
filthy garment.  
295. The demons say to the pure Inanna:  
"O Inanna, proceed to your city, we will  
carry this one off."  
The pure Inanna answers the demons:  
"My minister of favorable words,  
My knight of true words,  
300. —He fails not my instructions,  
Neglected not my commanded word—  
Sets up a lament for me *by the ruins*,  
Played for me the drum in the assembly  
shrine,  
Wandered about for me in the houses of the  
gods,  
305. *Tore* at his eyes for me, *tore* at his mouth for  
me,  
*Tore* for me *at the place* where no one . . . s,  
his large . . . ,  
Dressed for me like a pauper in a single  
garment,
139. M omits this complex. 140. M inserts *-ra-*.  
141. M omits *-an-*. 142. M: *-a* for *-ra*.  
143. M: *im-* for *ba-*. 144. M: *-ke<sub>4</sub>* for *-ra*.  
145. M omits *-un-*. 146. M: *én* for *e-ne*.  
147. M: *ba-ab-túm-dè-en*.  
148. M: *mu-un-ne-ni-in-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>*.  
149. M omits lines 298-301. 150. M: *-dam* for *-da*.  
151. M: *ma-an-gá-gá*. 152. M: *ma-ni-in-tuku-àm*.  
153. M: *ma-ni-in-nigin-dè*. 154. M: *igi* for *i-bi*.  
155. M: *-lú-* for *-mu-lu-*. 156. M: *-du<sub>8</sub>* for *-di*.  
157. M omits *-a-*. 158. M: *lú-* for *mu-lu-*.  
159. M omits *-a-*. 160. M: *mu-un-mu<sub>4</sub>*.  
161. M: *-re* for *-ra*. 162. M: *-en-* for *-mu-ul-*.

- é-kur-ra-<sup>161</sup>é-d<sup>162</sup>mu-ul-<sup>162</sup>líl-lá-šè  
urí<sup>ki</sup>-ma é-d<sup>163</sup>nanna-<sup>163</sup>šè
310. uru-zí-ib<sup>ki164</sup> é-d<sup>165</sup>am-an-<sup>165</sup>ki-šè  
e-ne ma-a-ra mu-un-ti-le-en<sup>166</sup>  
ga-an ší-sÚG-dè-en<sup>167</sup> umma<sup>ki-a</sup> sig<sub>4</sub>-<sup>168</sup>kur-šà-  
ga-<sup>169</sup>šè ga-an-ší-<sup>170</sup>sÚG-dè-en  
umma<sup>ki-a</sup> sig<sub>4</sub>-kur-šà-ga-ta<sup>171</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>šara<sup>172</sup> gír-ni-šè ba-an-šub<sup>173</sup>
315. saḥar-ra<sup>174</sup> ba-<sup>175</sup>da-an-tuš túg-mu-sír-ra ba-  
an-mu<sub>4</sub>  
galla-e-ne kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ra<sup>176</sup> gù mu-na-dé-e  
<sup>d</sup>inanna uru-zu-šè DU-ba e-ne<sup>177</sup> ga-ba-ab-túm-  
mu-dè  
kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> galla-e-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>  
LI.DU- . . . <sup>d</sup>šara-m[u]<sup>178</sup>
320. dubbin-tar-tar-mu gú-TAR-lá-mu  
NE<sup>179</sup> ta-gim nam-ma-ra-ni-ib-zé-è-m-DU  
ga-e-sÚG-en-dè-en<sup>180</sup> bàd-tibira<sup>ki-a</sup><sup>181</sup> é-mùš-  
kalam-ma-šè ga-an-ší-sÚG-en-dè-en<sup>182</sup>  
bàd-tibira<sup>ki-a</sup><sup>183</sup> é-mùš-kalam-ma-ta<sup>184</sup>  
<sup>d</sup>latarak<sup>185</sup> uru-ni-a<sup>186</sup> gî[r]-ni-šè ba-<sup>187</sup>šub
325. saḥar-a im-da-an-tuš túg-mu-sír-ra ba-an-  
mu<sub>4</sub>  
galla-e-ne kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub><sup>188</sup> gù mu-na-dé-e  
<sup>d</sup>inanna uru-zu-šè DU-ba e-ne<sup>189</sup> ga-ba-ab-túm  
mu-dè<sup>190</sup>  
kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> galla-e-ne mu-un-<sup>191</sup>ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-  
gí<sub>4</sub>  
<sup>d</sup>latarak-zag-è-a zi-<sup>192</sup>da-gùb-bu-mu-ús<sup>193</sup>
330. én ta-gim nam-ma-ra-ab-<sup>194</sup>zé-è-m-en-zé-en  
ga-e-sÚG-dè-en <sup>g</sup>išḥašḥur-gul-la-edin-kul-  
aba<sup>ki</sup>  
<sup>g</sup>išḥašḥur-gul-la-edin-kul-aba<sup>ki</sup> gír-ni-šè ba-e-  
sÚG-re-eš  
<sup>d</sup>dumu-zí túg(!)-maḥ-a i-im-mu<sub>4</sub> maḥ-a-dúr-a  
dúr im-ma-gar  
galla-e-ne zù-a-na im-díib-bé-eš
335. duk-ubur(!)-imin-bi(?) mu-un-d[é]-eš-àm
163. M: -zuen-na- for -nanna-. 164. M omits -ib.  
165. M omits -an-.  
166. M omits this line but has instead a line reading:  
*én ta-gim nam-ma-ra-ab-zé-è-m-e[n-zé-en]*.  
167. M omits complex. 168. M: še-eb for sig<sub>4</sub>.  
169. M: -ba- for -ga-. 170. M: ga-e- for ga-an-ší-.  
171. M omits line.  
172. Following <sup>d</sup>šara M inserts uru-ni-a.  
173. M probably omits -an-, cf. note 17.  
174. M: -a for -ra. 175. M: im- for ba-.  
176. M: -ke<sub>4</sub> for -ra. 177. M: én for e-ne.  
178. So M: for the possible variant in N cf. note 39  
in Part I of this study.
- To the Ekur, the house of Enlil,  
In Ur, to the house of Nanna,
310. In Eridu, to the house of Enki  
He brought me to life.  
“Let us accompany you, in Umma to the  
Sigkuršagga let us accompany you.”  
In Umma, from the Sigkuršagga,  
Šara threw himself at her feet,
315. Prostrated himself in the dust, dressed in a  
filthy garment.  
The demons say to the pure Inanna:  
“O Innanna, proceed to your city, we will  
carry this one off.”  
The pure Inanna answers the demons:  
“My Šara, who . . . s the hymns,
320. My barber, my valet—  
Do not give this one away at any price.”  
“Let us accompany you, in Badtibira to the  
Emuškalamma let us accompany you.”  
In Badtibira, from the Emuškalamma  
Latarak threw himself at her feet,
325. Sat in the dust, dressed in a filthy garment.  
The demons say to the pure Inanna:  
“O Inanna, proceed to your city, we will  
carry this one off.”  
The pure Inanna answers the demons:  
“Latarak, the leader who stands at my right  
and left—
330. Do not give this one away at any price.”  
“Let us accompany you to the . . . ḥašḥur-  
tree of Kullab.”  
They followed her to the . . . ḥašḥur-tree of  
Kullab.  
(There) Dumuzi dressed himself in a noble  
garment, seated himself nobly on (his)  
seat.  
The demons seized him by his . . .
335. Poured out the (contents of) the vessel with  
the seven teats,
179. M: én for NE, cf. note 29 in Part I of this study.  
180. O omits -en. 181. M and O omit -a.  
182. M and O omit verb.  
183. M omits determinative and -a.  
184. The corresponding line in M reads: bàd-tibira  
é-mùš-kalam-ma-šè gír-ni-šè ba-e-sÚG-eš.  
185. O adds -e. 186. O omits complex.  
187. O inserts -an-. 188. O probably -ra for -ke<sub>4</sub>.  
189. M: én for e-ne. 190. M: -un-dè-en for -dè.  
191. M omits -un-. 192. In O á precedes -zi-.  
193. In O -sa follows -ús-. 194. O: -ni-ib- for -ra-ab-.

- imin-àm á(?)-lú-tu-ra-gim sag mu-un-d[a]-  
sàg-ge-[n]e  
sipad-dè gi-<sub>1U</sub> gi-di-da igi-ni-šè [nu]-mu-un-  
tag-ge-ne  
igi mu-un-ši-in-bar igi-úš-[a]-ka  
inim i-bí-ne inim-LIPIŠ-gig-ga
340. gú i-bí-dé gú-nam-tag-tag(!)-ga  
én-šè tùm-mu-an-zé-en  
kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> su<sub>8</sub>-ba-<sup>d</sup>dumu-zi-da šu-ne-ne-  
a in-na-sì  
lú-e-ne-lú-mu-un-dè-sÚG-eš-àm  
lú-<sup>d</sup>dumu-zi-mu-un-ši-sÚG-eš-àm
345. ú nu-zu-me-eš a nu-zu-me-eš  
zì-dub-dub-ba nu-kú-me-eš  
a-bal-bal-a nu-na<sub>8</sub>-na<sub>8</sub>-me-eš  
úr-dam níg-dùg-ge-eš nu-si-ge-eš  
dumu-níg-ku<sub>7</sub>-ku<sub>7</sub>-da ne nu-su-ub-ba-me-eš
350. dumu-lú du<sub>10</sub>-ub-ta ba-ra-an-zi-ge-eš  
é-gi<sub>4</sub>-a é-ur-ra-ka im-ma-an-è-eš  
<sup>d</sup>dumu-zi-dè ír im-ma-pàd sig<sub>7</sub>-sig<sub>7</sub> ì-gá-gá  
mà-e <sup>d</sup>utu-ra an-šè šu-ni ba-an-na-zi  
<sup>d</sup>utu muru<sub>5</sub>-mu-me-en mà-e mí-ús-sá-zu-me-  
en
355. é-ama-zu-šè ìa-gùr-ru-me-en  
é-<sup>d</sup>nin gal-šè ga-gùr-ru-me-en  
šu-mu šu-muš-a ù-mu-ni-in-sì  
gùr-mu gùr-muš-a ù-mu-ni-in-sì
359. galla-mu ga-ba-da-kar nam-mu-un-ḫa-ḫa-ne  
(Break of approximately 15 lines)
375. . . . kur-kur-r[a] b[a]-a[n]- . . .  
. . . . [N]E(?) ki-tuš-bi [b]a-[ni]-ib- . . .  
. . . . [š]ub-[š]ub-ba mu-un-RI(?)-eš  
. . . . -ni(?) i-in-sìg-ge-ne  
. . . . e(?)-ne i-lu mi-ni-ib-be-ne
380. . . . -e ?-ni bí-in-šub-bu-uš  
. . . . [g]ú giš DÙG DU.DU.DU.DU-e-dè  
. . . . šu-ni mi-ni-in-dù-dù  
. . . . kur-kur-ra igi mi-ni-íb-il-il-i  
. . . . -ne-ne . . . -ga(?)-me-eš me-? nin(?)-kal-  
la-mu
- The seven attack him like the *strength* of  
the sick,  
The shepherds play not the flute and the  
pipe before him.  
She fastened the eye upon him, the eye of  
death,  
Spoke the word against him, the word of  
wrath,  
340. Uttered the cry against him, the cry of guilt:  
"As for him, carry him off."  
The pure Inanna gave the shepherd Du-  
muzi into their hands.  
They who accompanied him,  
They who accompanied Dumuzi,  
345. (Were beings who) know not food, know not  
water,  
Eat not sprinkled flour,  
Drink not libated water,  
Sate not *pleasurably* the lap of the wife,  
Kiss not the children (*raised on*) *delicacies*;  
350. They lifted the man's son from (his) knee,  
They carried off the daughter-in-law from  
the house of the father-in-law.  
Dumuzi wept, his face turns green,  
Toward heaven to Utu he lifted his hands:  
"O Utu, you are my wife's brother, I am  
your sister's husband,  
355. 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,  
Turn my feet into the feet of a snake,  
359. Let me escape my demons, let them not  
seize me."
375. . . . all the lands . . .  
. . . . their dwelling place . . .  
They *carried off* . . .  
They *smite* . . .  
They utter a lament . . .  
380. They *sprinkled* . . .  
To . . . ,  
. . . his (her?) hand  
He (she?) lifts the eyes . . . the lands  
They . . . my *precious queen*

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Commentary<sup>195</sup>

Lines 1-3. For the particle *na-* of *na-an-gub*,  
cf. now Falkenstein, ZA 47: 181ff. In line 2, two

195. The commentary is restricted primarily to the  
new readings and renderings.

difficulties still remain unresolved: the use of *din-*  
*gir* as an epithet rather than a phrase such as  
*nin-mu* or *nu-gig-an-na*, and the absence of a  
subject element following *din-gir*, the latter be-  
ing the subject of a transitive verb. In line 3 the

same problem is posed by the initial <sup>4</sup>*inanna* (cf. also comment to line 5).

Lines 4–13. The *-e-a-* of *ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>* in these lines (for the prosaic *ba-e<sub>11</sub>*) probably has no semantic significance, (cf. RA 34: 117). In line 5 <sup>4</sup>*inanna* should have been followed by a subject element (cf. preceding note). For the reading *dúr* instead of *tuš* for the sign *KU* in the name of Inanna's Nippur temple, cf. Falkenstein's plausible argument in AOF 14: 115. The compound *zag—kéš* (perhaps better *κ῔š*) is equated with *kiššuru* in CT 16, 25, 49 (so Landsberger in his letter, cf. note 1); *zag* is in all likelihood the direct object of *kéš*, as Falkenstein points out in AOF 14: 115.

Lines 14–25. For the difficult and elusive concept represented by the Sumerian word *me*, cf. PAPS 85: 312 and JCS 2: 47; note particularly that according to the Sumerian thinkers much of what is usually termed "civilization" was originated and controlled by over one hundred *me*'s, cf. SM 64 ff. The rendering "locks" for *hi-li* was suggested by Landsberger; Falkenstein, AOF 14: 115–16 suggested "wig," which at first glance makes excellent sense but which is nevertheless improbable since as both Landsberger and Witzel (Orientalia N.S. 14: 32) point out, the wig is not especially characteristic of the forehead. Note, too, the new rendering of the remainder of the line, and particularly the fact that *sag-ki-na* is not treated as a genitive governed by *hi-li*, but as a locative parallel with *sag-gá-na* (line 17), *gú-na* (line 20), etc. For lines 19–24 cf. comment to lines 1–7 of Ni 9685 in Part I of this study.

Lines 26–67. In line 26 (cf. also lines 27 and 68) the sign *-DU* of the verb is read *-du*, but in line 33 (cf. also lines 48, 57, etc.) it is read *gen* since it is followed by *-na*; for the problem involved, cf. PAPS 85: 313 and AOr 17: 402, note 16 (note, too, the *gír-gub-ba* in that passage which may be identical with the *gír-gub-ba* of line 16). In line 31 note the rendering "true" rather than "supporting" (cf. RA 34: 101 and AOF 14: 130). For the new reading and rendering of lines 34–38 cf. comment to lines 35–39 of YBC 4621 in Part I of this study. In lines 40 and 41 the *-re* of *é-kur-re* is grammatically unjustified, cf. lines 179 and 180 where it is omitted and line 308 where *-ra* takes its place. The problem presented by the fact that the substantive *mulu* is found in line 43 (and lines 52 and 60) but not in what seems to be the practically identical line 47 (and lines 56 and 64) is

still unresolved; note, too, that the position of *mulu* seems unusual, since it might have been expected to come immediately before the verb rather than be separated from it by a locative complex. For "covered" rather than "ground up" as the rendering of *šár* in line 44 (and lines 53 and 61) cf. AOF 14: 120.<sup>196</sup> The reading *taškarin* (or *teškarin*) in line 46 (and lines 55 and 63) was suggested by Landsberger who refers to the writing *ti-iš-ka-ri(!)-ni* in ZA 41: 189, 33. Still obscure are the mythological implications of lines 44–46 (and lines 53–55, 61–63) and their relevance to the plea for Inanna's safety in the nether world. For the still unresolved difficulties in the rendering of line 67, cf. PAPS 85: 313 and the comment to line 311, *ibid.* 314.<sup>197</sup>

Lines 68–71. For the new reading and rendering of line 71 cf. line 115 and note 69 of Part I of this study.

Lines 72–6. In line 72 note the new rendering "at the palace, the lapis lazuli mountain" instead of "at the lapis lazuli palace of the nether world," since the text reads *é-gal-kur-za-gìn-šè* and not *é-gal-za-gìn-kur-ra-šè*, cf. now AOF 14: 310. A more literal translation of the second half of line 73 reads: "she set up alongside (of the door) that which is evil."

Lines 77–88. In line 83 *túm-mu-un* still remains grammatically difficult since it seems to lack a thematic particle, cf. the parallel passage cited by Falkenstein in AOF 14: 123 and perhaps that cited by Witzel in Orientalia N.S. 14: 42–3;<sup>198</sup> interestingly enough the verbal form in all these cases follows the complex *a-gim*. The mythological implications of line 86 are still obscure; note, too, that the verb can be rendered "had died" instead of "had been killed. That the contents of this line had nothing to do with Dumuzi, as argued for example in AOF 14: 124, is clear from M line 65 ff. which shows Dumuzi very much alive in his city Badtibira. The first part of the crucial line 88 remains difficult;<sup>199</sup> for the rendering of *hé-me-a*, cf. now JCS 1: 35, note 214.

196. For the rendering of SEM passage there quoted, cf. now lines 76–8 of "Gilgamesh and Agga," AJA 53: 1 ff.

197. "Second person singular accusative element" in the comment there made should of course have read "first person singular accusative element."

198. The translations are highly doubtful in both cases.

199. Not only is the meaning of the individual complexes uncertain (literally it seems to say "she poured

Lines 89–92. In line 91 the rendering “stay” for *túm-túm-ma-ab* is rather unexpected, but seems to be justified by the context.<sup>200</sup>

Lines 112–119. Cf. comment to lines 8–15 of the obverse of H in Part I of this study. In line 115, the rendering “speak” (rather than “spoke”) is demanded by the context and is based on the variant in H.

Lines 120–125. For *sag-kéš* (line 121) “to heed,” cf. AOF 14: 125. For lines 122–3 cf. comment to lines 116–17.

Lines 126–161. For the discrepancies involved when this passage is compared with lines 17–25, cf. PAPS 85: 314. For the new renderings of lines 129–30 (and lines 134–5, 139–40, etc.) cf. comment to line 2–3 of the reverse of Ni 9685 in Part I of this study. For line 161 cf. comment to line 119.

Lines 162–168. For the new readings and renderings of lines 164–6, cf. note 53 of Part I of this study. In line 168 (cf. also lines 242, 266, etc.) note the new rendering “nail” instead of “stake.”

Lines 169–213. For lines 170–86, cf. comment to lines 30–47. Note the new renderings in line 188–9 (and lines 202–3), these are due primarily to Landsberger’s suggestion that *al-dug<sub>4</sub>* is probably identical with *al-di = erêšu*.<sup>201</sup> If the new translation is correct, Enlil’s (and Nanna’s) statements might give us at last the clue for Inanna’s determination to descend to the nether world (cf. lines 1–3 of the myth): she may have fostered the ambition of making herself queen of the “great below” just as she seems to have succeeded in making herself queen of the “great above,” that is, heaven.<sup>202</sup> Lines 190–1 (and lines 205–6) still

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the *gu-ul* on his *sì-ga* date-wine,”) but its relation to the preceding line (the latter ought to be a direct object of the action described in the first part of line 88) is altogether obscure.

200. Note that lines 97 and 98 might at first glance seem to be possible repetitions of lines 73 and 74, but the traces in A, the only tablet at all preserved at this point, do not point to such a restoration.

201. For further corroboration note that e.g. in SRT 9: 50-1 *al-dug<sub>4</sub>* is used as a parallel to *šà-ge-guru<sub>7</sub>*, and for the latter cf. now Falkenstein, ZA 47: 220.

202. It is to be noted, however, that the locative postposition *-a* of the *an-gal-la* and *ki-gal-la* in lines 188–9 is rather difficult since it is probable that *al-dug<sub>4</sub>* governs a complex ending with the postposition *-e* rather than *-a* (literally perhaps “to utter a demand upon (something)?”). It is not impossible therefore that the rendering of the two lines should read “My daughter

remain obscure. In line 192 the translation assumes that the *-un* of [*ba*]-*du-un* is a scribal error. In lines 206–7 note the unjustified Emesal writing *zì-ib<sup>ki</sup>*.

Lines 214–245. In line 214 note the omission of the expected subject element in the first complex, and the use of *-ke<sub>4</sub>* for *-ra* in the second complex. For the rendering of *a-na bí-in-ag* (lines 215–18) cf. Witzel’s excellent comment in *Orientalia N. S.* 14: 47 and now line 27 of “Gilgamesh and the Land of the Living” (*JCS* 1: 3 ff.). The first sign in lines 209 and 220 was read correctly by Witzel, *Orientalia N. S.* 14: 47, and independently by Landsberger, as *dubbin*; the difficulty is with the second sign which, if the copy is correct, can hardly be restored to the expected *-na-* or *-a-*. For line 220 Landsberger suggests that the first complex be read *dubbin-su<sub>4</sub>-še-gín(!)-na* and that *še-gín = šimtu*. For the reading *mu-bu* cf. comment to line 31 of YBC 4621 in Part I of this study. Lines 224–40 are too poorly preserved for intelligible comment; they contain of course Enki’s numerous instructions to the *kalaturru* and *kurgarrû* relative to their behaviour in the nether world.<sup>203</sup> For lines 241–3 cf. now note 7 of Part I of this study.

Lines 246–66. Lines 246–63 are still missing; they contained the carrying out by the *kalaturru* and *kurgarrû* of Enki’s instructions as detailed in lines 224–240 (for the size of the break cf. RA 36: 74, note 3). For lines 264–6 cf. comment to lines 1–3 of YBC 4621.

Lines 267–72. For lines 267–70 cf. note 10 of Part I of this study.

Lines 273–90. For the new readings and renderings in these lines cf. comment to lines 9–28 of M and particularly notes 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, and 23 in Part I of this study. The new translation of line 275 is suggested as a result of the new sense of the passage following Jacobsen’s rendering (cf. “Addendum” to Part I of this study). See however, note 15 of Part I for the difficulties involved and note particularly that the rendering of *šilim-ma-ni* as “unharméd” (more literally perhaps “his

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has made demands in the ‘great above’ has made demands in the ‘great below,’” etc.

203. Note that line 224 ends in the plural imperative of the verb *ná* and that line 234 ends in “say to her.” Note 7 of Part I should have commented on the fact that the *-na-* of the first verbal forms of lines 241, 242, is unjustified.



state of well being") is quite doubtful. For line 290, cf. AOF 14: 134.

Lines 291–311. Cf. comment to lines 29–44 of M in Part I of this study. For lines 298–300, cf. comment to lines 30–31, and lines 71 and 115.

Lines 312–359. Cf. comment to lines 45–91 of M in Part I of this study.

Lines 375–85. Because of the breaks the meaning of this passage and its relevance to the context of the myth as a whole seems too uncertain for any reasonably safe conclusions.

#### Addendum

For the new readings and renderings in lines 23, 25, 27, 30, 31, 35, 38, 69, 109, 110, 117, 123, 152, 170, 171, 172, 174, 177, 244, 271, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 281, 282, 283, 290, 294, 296, 298, 299, 303, 306, 315, 316, 320, 324, 326, 330, 333, 334, 335, 337, 351 of the myth, see Thorkild Jacobsen's remarks presented in the "Addendum" to Part I of this study and the following comments by Benno Landsberger, who studied the completed manuscript before publication:

Lines 23 and 25 (cf. lines 109 and 110): *tu-ditum* and *šim* (Akk. *riqu*) have names: "O man, come, come!" and "The man shall come." Line 35 (cf. lines 174 and 303): *šim* is a kind of drum, not flute. Lines 37–8 (cf. lines 176–7 and 305–6): CT 21, 15–17 is a passage which has much in common with these lines, but unfortunately its meaning, too, is most uncertain; moreover, no help for the meaning of *ZUM* comes from the vocabularies, since, according to a collation of the pertinent text, ŠL 555, 2 is to be deleted. Line 117: The first sign is É not KĀ in H as well as G [a new collation of G actually shows that the sign É was written over an erased KĀ, Kramer]. Lines 241–2 (cf. lines 264–5): A preferable rendering for the first part of the line is "They allot to them the water of the river," "they allot to them the grain of the field"; the locative *-ba* of *a-ba* and *še-ba* for the expected accusative is inexplicable but is found in numerous cases. Line 244 (cf. line 271): The sign read twice as *giš* in this line should be read *diš*, and the rendering is "the one," i.e., the *kurgarrû*; "the other," i.e., the *kalaturru* [an identical suggestion was made independently by Falkenstein in a recent communication to me, Kramer]; moreover, *ú* and *a* may perhaps here designate drugs used externally, since

the usual rendering "food" for *ú* hardly goes with the verb *šub*. Line 277 may be rendered: "She shall give one substitute as her substitute"; for *sag* = *pûhu*, *dinānu*, cf. ŠL 115, 31, and 17. Line 279: for *šukurrum* and *gubrum* as the Akkadian equivalents of *šukur*, cf. MAOG III 3, 51, 150. Line 280: For *gi-dubban* (meaning unknown), cf. [*gi*]-*dub-ba-an-lá-e* = ditto (= *maḥāšu*) *ša dup-pa-nim* (CT 12, 42 I) and *gi-dub-ba-an* = *qa-an dup-pa-nu* (cf. BM 35503 = CT 14, 47; BM 91010 = CT 14, 13; BM 93086 = CT 14, 49). Line 281: The verb does not mean "walk" but "held" (her side); note again the inexplicable locative. Line 282: *sukkal* is not a messenger but a high official, vizier, minister, or such, and the scepter is his "badge" of office. Line 283: *ra-gab* (so rather than *ra-gaba*) is not "carrier" but an officer of high military rank, comparable perhaps to "knight"; *\*tukul* is to be taken in the concrete sense of "mace" (so correctly Falkenstein, AOF 14: 128); it is the *kurgarrû* and *kalaturru* who are referred to in lines 282 and 283; they play the roles of the *sukkal* and the *ragab*. Line 290: The first word to be restored is probably *ubur* (not *úr*), "breast"; note, too, the difficult *-da-* for the expected *-ga-* in the first complex. Line 294 (cf. lines 315 and 325): for *saḥar-a*—*TUŠ* = *napalsuḥu* "to throw oneself," "to prostrate oneself," cf. HWB 529, and Heidel, AS 13: 64. In the same line the correct reading of the third complex is *túg-mu-sír-ra* as is shown, e.g., by the Emesal form *me-zé-ir* (Delitzsch, SGI 188; the form *mudra* is simply a phonetic variant, cf. e.g. *nidaba* and *nisaba*). Line 296 (cf. lines 316, 327): read *du-ba* (*DU* either *gin* or *du*), not *gub-ba*. Line 321 (cf. also line 330 and note 166): I would render the line, "This one do not give away at any cost"; *zé-è*m is hardly the Emesal form of *tù*m, particularly since in line 341 *tù*m is written in an Emesal speech. Line 333: read *dúr* instead of *tuš*, cf. e.g., *durgarû* = *kussû*; *maḥ* should be rendered as "noble" in both cases. Line 335: I would prefer to read the first complex as *duk-ubur(!)-imin- bi(?)*, "vessel with seven teats," cf. ŠL 309, 52. Line 337: the sign following *-ni* in the fourth complex is *šÈ* (not *šU*). Line cited in note 135: *nĠ.šĠ.A* has the value *kadra* in an unpublished vocabulary; the meaning is "gift," "bribe," rather than "offering."