

# SUMERIAN LITERATURE; A PRELIMINARY SURVEY OF THE OLDEST LITERATURE IN THE WORLD

S. N. KRAMER

University Museum, University of Pennsylvania,  
Oriental Institute, University of Chicago.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
List of Abbreviations .....	293
The Significance of Sumerian Literature .....	293
Inanna's Descent to the Nether World .....	295
Introduction .....	295
Transliteration .....	296
Notes on Transliteration .....	303
Translation .....	305
Notes on Translation .....	312
Excursus A: The Decipherment of Sumerian .....	316
Excursus B: Sumerian Epics and Myths .....	318
Plates 1-10	

## ACKNOWLEDGMENT

The author is profoundly grateful to the Board of Managers of the University Museum, to Dr. George C. Vaillant, its director, to Mr. Horace H. F. Jayne, his predecessor, and to Professor Leon Legrain, the curator of its Babylonian Section, for their generous cooperation in making this study possible.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AOF</i>	<i>Archiv fur Orientforschung</i> (Berlin).	<i>PBS X 2</i>	Langdon, S. H. <i>Sumerian Liturgical Texts</i> (Philadelphia, 1917).
<i>AS No. 12</i>	Kramer, Samuel N. <i>Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur</i> (Chicago, 1940).	<i>RA</i>	<i>Revue D'Assyriologie et D'Archéologie Orientale</i> (Paris).
<i>BASOR</i>	<i>Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research</i> (Baltimore).	<i>SBH</i>	Reisner, George A. <i>Sumerisch-babylonische Hymnen nach Thontafeln griechischer Zeit</i> (Berlin, 1896).
<i>BE XXXI</i>	Langdon, S. H. <i>Historical and Religious Texts from the Temple Library of Nippur</i> (München, 1914).	<i>SEM</i>	Chiera Edward. <i>Sumerian Epics and Myths</i> (Chicago, 1934).
<i>CBS</i>	Catalogue of the Babylonian Section of the University Museum (followed by number).	<i>SRT</i>	Chiera, Edward. <i>Sumerian Religious Texts</i> (Upland, Pa., 1924).
<i>GSG</i>	Poebel, Arno. <i>Grundzüge der Sumerischen Grammatik</i> (Rostok, 1923).	<i>ŠL</i>	Deimel Anton. <i>Šumerisches Lexicon</i> (Rome, 1930).
<i>HGT</i>	Poebel, Arno. <i>Historical and Grammatical Texts</i> (Philadelphia, 1914).	<i>TRS</i>	Genouillac, Henri de. <i>Textes Religieux Sumeriens du Louvre</i> (Paris, 1930).
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>American Oriental Society, Journal</i> (Boston).	<i>VS II</i>	Zimmern, Heinrich. <i>Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit</i> , 1. Reihe (1912).
<i>K</i>	British Museum. Kouyunjik collection (followed by number).	<i>VS X</i>	Zimmern, Heinrich. <i>Sumerische Kultlieder aus altbabylonischer Zeit</i> , 2. Reihe (1913).
<i>Ni</i>	Museum of the Ancient Orient (Istanbul). Nippur Collection.	<i>ZA</i>	<i>Zeitschrift fur Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete</i> (Leipzig).
<i>PBS I 1</i>	Myhrman, David W. <i>Babylonian Hymns and Prayers</i> (Philadelphia, 1911).		

## THE SIGNIFICANCE OF SUMERIAN LITERATURE

THE Sumerians are a non-Semitic people who flourished in southern Babylonia from the beginning of the fourth to the end of the third millennium B.C. During this long stretch of time, the Sumerians, whose racial and linguistic affilia-

tions are still unclassifiable, represented the dominant cultural group of the entire Near East. This cultural dominance manifested itself in three directions:

1. It was the Sumerians who developed and probably invented the cuneiform system of

writing<sup>1</sup> which was adopted by nearly all the peoples of the Near East and without which the cultural progress of western Asia would have been largely impossible.

2. The Sumerians developed religious and spiritual concepts together with a remarkably well integrated pantheon which influenced profoundly all the peoples of the Near East including the Hebrews and Greeks. Moreover, by way of Judaism, Christianity, and Mohammedanism, not a few of these spiritual and religious concepts have permeated the modern civilized world.

3. The Sumerians produced a vast and highly developed literature, largely poetic in character, consisting of epics and myths, hymns and lamentations, proverbs and "words of wisdom." These compositions are inscribed largely in cuneiform script on clay tablets and fragments dated approximately 2000 B.C. In the course of the past hundred years, approximately three thousand such literary pieces have been excavated in the mounds of ancient Sumer. Of this number, *over two thousand*, more than two-thirds of our source material, were excavated by the University of Pennsylvania in the mound covering ancient Nippur in the course of four gruelling campaigns lasting from 1889 to 1900; these Nippur tablets and fragments, therefore, represent the major source for the reconstruction of the Sumerian compositions. As literary products, these Sumerian compositions rank among the finest creations known to civilized man. Their significance for a proper appraisal of the cultural and spiritual development of the Near East can hardly be overestimated. The Assyrians and Babylonians took them over almost in toto. The Hittites translated them into their own language and no doubt imitated them widely. The form and contents of the Hebrew literary creations and to a certain extent even those of the ancient Greeks, were profoundly influenced by them. As practically *the oldest written literature of any significant amount ever uncovered*, it furnishes new, rich, and unexpected source material to the archaeologist and anthropologist, to the ethnologist and student of folk lore, to the students of the history of religion and of the history of literature.

<sup>1</sup> For a sketch of the fascinating story of the decipherment of Sumerian, as well as a brief general appraisal of the contents of the Sumerian tablets excavated in the course of the past century, cf. Excursus A: *The Decipherment of Sumerian*.

In spite of their unique and extraordinary significance, and although the large majority of the tablets on which they are inscribed have been excavated almost half a century ago, the translation and interpretation of the Sumerian literary compositions have made relatively little progress to date. The translation of Sumerian is a highly complicated process. The grammar has only comparatively recently been scientifically established, while the lexical problems are still numerous and far from resolved. By far the major obstacle to a trustworthy reconstruction and translation of the compositions, however, is the fact that the greater part of the tablets and fragments on which they are inscribed, and which are now largely located in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul and in the University Museum at Philadelphia, have been lying about uncopied and unpublished, and thus unavailable for study. To remedy this situation, I travelled to Istanbul in 1937, and with the aid of a Guggenheim fellowship, devoted some twenty months to the copying of one hundred and seventy tablets and fragments in the Nippur collection of the Museum of the Ancient Orient. And largely with the help of a grant from the American Philosophical Society, the better part of the past two years has been devoted to the studying and copying of the unpublished literary pieces in the Nippur collection of the University Museum. As a consequence we are now already in a position to reconstruct the greater part of the texts of twenty-three unique and significant Sumerian epics and myths and are at last on the very threshold of apprehending their contents.<sup>2</sup> The completion of the final translation of the epics and myths will be followed by the reconstruction of the contents of the important collection of Sumerian hymns dedicated to their gods and kings. I then hope to concentrate all my time and efforts to the Sumerian lamentations and to their proverbs and wisdom literature; this latter group is particularly difficult to decipher because of the laconic and cryptic wording of their contents. Finally as a crowning achievement it is hoped to reconstruct and translate the Sumerian Tammuz compositions, the forerunners of the ancient myths concerned with the dying god and his resurrection, a group of compositions which are of basic significance for a scientific approach to the history of religion.

<sup>2</sup> For an outline of the contents of these twenty-three compositions, cf. Excursus B: *Sumerian Epics and Myths*.

As an illustration of the temper and mood, the swing and rhythm of Sumerian poetry, may I present to the American Philosophical Society the translation of a myth whose text has been reconstructed and deciphered by me in the course of the past several years. Creatively speaking, it undoubtedly ranks among the great compositions of all times. Its influence on literature has been universal and profound. Moreover the story of its decipherment will furnish an illuminating illustration of the not uninteresting process involved in the reconstruction of a Sumerian literary composition.

### INANNA'S DESCENT TO THE NETHER WORLD

#### *Introduction*

For many many years, for almost three quarters of a century, a myth usually designated as *Ishtar's Descent to the Nether World* has been known to scholar and layman. Because it is written in Assyrian, a Semitic language, on tablets dating from the first millennium B.C., tablets, therefore, that are later by more than a millennium than our Sumerian literary pieces, it was generally assumed to be of Semitic origin. It is therefore quoted and cited in all major works concerned with mythology and religion as a remarkable example of Semitic myth-making. With the appearance of the publications of the Nippur literary material, however, it gradually became obvious that this "Semitic" myth goes back to a Sumerian original in which Ishtar is replaced by Inanna, her Sumerian counterpart. Arno Poebel, now of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, was the first to locate three small pieces belonging to this myth in the University Museum; these he published under the auspices of the University Museum in 1914. In the very same year, the late Stephen Langdon of Oxford, published two pieces which he had uncovered and copied in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul. One of these was the upper half of a large four column tablet, which, as will soon become evident, proved to be of major importance for the reconstruction of our myth. The late Edward Chiera, a member of the faculty of the University of Pennsylvania until called to head the Assyrian Dictionary staff of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, uncovered three additional pieces in the University Museum at Philadelphia. These were published in his two posthumous volumes

of Sumerian literary texts which I prepared for publication by the Oriental Institute in 1934.

By this time, therefore, we had eight pieces, all more or less fragmentary, dealing with the myth. Nevertheless the contents remained obscure, for the breaks were so numerous and came at such crucial points that an intelligent reconstruction of the extant parts of the composition was impossible. It was a fortunate and remarkable discovery of Chiera which saved the situation. He discovered in the University Museum in Philadelphia, the *lower* half of the very same four column tablet whose *upper* half had been found and copied by Langdon in the Museum of the Ancient Orient in Istanbul years before. The tablet had evidently been broken before or during the excavation and the two halves had become separated, the one was retained in Istanbul and the other came to Philadelphia. Unfortunately, Chiera, who fully recognized the significance of his discovery, died before he was in a position to utilize its contents.

It was by making use of this lower half of the four column tablet, despite the fact, that it, too, is very poorly preserved, that I was enabled to reconstruct the contents of the myth. For when joined to the upper part of the tablet, the combined text furnishes an excellent framework in which and about which all the other texts could be grouped. Needless to say there were still numerous gaps and breaks in the text which made the translation and interpretation of the contents no easy matter, and the meaning of several of the more significant passages remained obscure. In 1937 I was fortunate enough to discover in Istanbul three additional pieces belonging to the myth, and upon returning to the United States in 1939 I located yet another large piece in the University Museum. Quite recently in the process of reexamining the Nippur collection in the University Museum I discovered another small piece which is being published here for the first time. These five pieces helped to fill out the most serious lacunae in my first reconstruction, and as a result, the story, as far as it goes, is now practically complete. It runs as follows:

Inanna, the Queen of Heaven, the goddess of light, and love, and life has set her heart upon visiting the Nether World, perhaps in order to set free her lover Tammuz. She collects all the appropriate divine decrees, adorns herself with her queenly robes and jewels, and is ready to enter the "Land of No Return." Queen of the

Nether World is her elder sister and bitter enemy Ereshkigal, the goddess of darkness, and gloom, and death. Fearing lest her sister put her to death in the Nether World, Inanna instructs her messenger Ninshubur who is always at her beck and call, that if after three days she shall have failed to return, he is to set up a hue and cry for her in Heaven, in the assembly hall of the gods. Moreover, he is to go to Nippur (the very city where our tablets have been excavated) and plead before the great god Enlil to save Inanna from Ereshkigal's clutches. If Enlil refuses, he is to go to Ur (Ur of the Chaldees, whence, according to Biblical tradition, Abraham migrated into Palestine) and plead before Nanna, the great Sumerian moon-god, to come to her rescue. If Nanna, too, refuses, he is to go to Eridu (the city in which Sumerian civilization originated according to Babylonian tradition) and repeat his plea before Enki, the Lord of Wisdom, and the latter, who "knows the food of life," who "knows the water of life," will surely restore her to life.

Inanna then descends to the Nether World and approaches Ereshkigal's temple of lapis lazuli. At the gate she is met by the chief gatekeeper who demands to know who she is and why she has come. Inanna concocts a false excuse for her visit, and the gatekeeper, upon instructions from his mistress leads her through the seven gates of the Nether World. As she passes through each of the gates her garments and jewels are removed piece by piece in spite of her

protests. Finally after entering the last gate she is brought stark naked and on bended knees before Ereshkigal and the Anunnaki, the seven dreaded judges of the Nether World. These fasten upon Inanna their "look of death" and she is turned into a corpse which is then impaled on a stake.

So pass three days and three nights. On the fourth day, Ninshubur, seeing that his mistress has not returned, proceeds to make the rounds of the gods in accordance with his instructions. As Inanna had predicted, both Enlil and Nanna refuse all help. Enki, however, devises a plan to restore her to life. He fashions the *kurgarrû* and the *kalaturru*, two sexless creatures, and he entrusts to them the "food of life" and the "water of life," with instructions to proceed to the Nether World and sprinkle this "food" and this "water" sixty times upon Inanna's impaled corpse. This they do, and Inanna revives. As she leaves the Nether World, however, to reascend to the earth, she is accompanied by the dead and by the bogeys and harpies who have their home there. Surrounded by this ghostly, ghastly crowd she wanders from city to city in Sumer.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>3</sup> Here all the extant source material for *Inanna's Descent to the Nether World* unfortunately breaks off. But this is not the end of the myth. It is not too much to hope that some day in the not too distant future, the pieces on which the conclusion of the story is inscribed will be discovered and deciphered.

### Transliteration

1. [an-gal]-ta ki-gal-šè geštug-ga-ni na-an-g[u b]
2. AN an-gal-ta ki-gal-šè geštug-ga-ni na-an-g[u b]
3. <sup>d</sup>inanna an-gal-ta ki-gal-šè geštug-ga-ni na-an-g[u b]
4. nin-mu an mu-un-šub ki mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>
5. <sup>d</sup>inanna an mu-un-šub ki mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>
6. nam-en mu-un-šub nam-nin mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>
7. nug<sup>ki</sup>-ga é-an-na mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>
8. bād-tibira<sup>ki</sup>-a é-mùš-kalam-ma mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>
9. zabalām<sup>ki</sup>-a gi-gu<sub>16</sub><sup>ki</sup>-na 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>
11. nibru<sup>ki</sup>-a bara-tuš-gar-ra mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>
12. kiš<sup>ki</sup>-a ħur-sag-kalam-ma mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>
13. a-ga-dè<sup>ki</sup> é-ul-maš<sup>ki</sup> mu-un-šub kur-ra ba-e-a-e<sub>11</sub>
14. me-imin-bi zag mu-ni-in-kešd
15. me mu-un-kin-kin šu-ni-šè mu-un-gál
16. me-DU gir-gub-ba i-im-DU
17. <sup>túg</sup>š u-gur-ra-men-edin-na sag-gá-na mu-un-gál
18. ħi-li sag-ki-na šu ba-ni-in-ti
19. gi-diš-ninda-ŠÈ-gán-za-gìn šu mi-ni-in-du<sub>8</sub>

20. <sup>na4</sup>z a-gìn-tu<sub>19</sub>-tu<sub>19</sub>-lá gú-na ba-an-lá
21. <sup>na4n</sup>unuz-tab-ba gaba-na [ba-ni]-in-si
22. ̄UR-guškin šu-na ba-ni-in-du<sub>8</sub>
23. tu-di-tum-lú-gá-nu-gá-nu gaba-na ba-an-BU
24. <sup>túg</sup>palà-a-<sup>túg</sup>palà-a bar-ra-na ba-an-dul
25. šim(?) -e-ḫé-im-DU-ḫé-im-DU igi-na ba-ni-in-gar
26. <sup>d</sup>inanna kur-šè i-im-du
27. sukkal-a-ni <sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-šubur-ra [zag(?)]-a-na i-im-du
28. kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-šubur-ra gù mu-na-dé-e
29. gi-en-gi-en-mu
30. sukkal-e-ne-è m-šag<sub>5</sub>-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-mu
31. ra-gaba-e-ne-è m-gi-en-gi-en-na-mu
32. u<sub>4</sub>-da kur-šè mu-un-e<sub>11</sub>-dè
33. u<sub>4</sub>-da kur-šè DU-na-mu-dè
34. an du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub>-dam gar-gar-ma-ni-ib
35. èš-gú-en-na tuku-a-ma-ni-ib
36. é-dingir-ri-e-ne-ke<sub>4</sub> nigin-na-ma-ni-ib
37. i-bí-zu ̄UR-ma-ab ka-zu ̄UR-ma-ab
38. ki(?) -mu-lu-da u-di-šu-gal-zu ̄UR-ma-ab
39. mu-lu-nu-tuku-gim túg-aš-a mu<sub>4</sub>-ma-ab
40. é-kur-ri-é-<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-líl-lá-šè me-ri-zu aš gub-mu-un
41. é-kur-ri-é<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-líl-lá-šè tu-tu-da-zu-dè
42. i-bí-<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-líl-lá-šè ír šéš-a
43. a-a-<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-líl ṭu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
44. kug-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu saḫar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-ri
45. za-gìn-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-ka nam-ba-da-an-si-il-li
46. <sup>giš</sup>urkarin(?) -zu giš-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-da-dar-dar-ri
47. ki-sikil-<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
48. u<sub>4</sub>-da <sup>d</sup>mu-ul-líl e-ne-è m-ba nu-ri-gub urí<sup>ki</sup>-šè DU-na
49. urí<sup>ki</sup>-é-mud(?) -kalam-ma-ka
50. é-kiš-šir<sub>5</sub>-gál-<sup>d</sup>nanna-šè tu-tu-da-zu-dè
51. i-bí-<sup>d</sup>nanna-šè ír šéš-a
52. a-a-<sup>d</sup>nanna ṭu-mu-zu mu-lu-kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
53. kug-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu saḫar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-ri
54. za-gìn-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-ka nam-ba-da-an-si-il-li
55. <sup>giš</sup>urkarin(?) -zu giš-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-da-dar-dar-ri
56. ki-sikil-<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
57. u<sub>4</sub>-da <sup>d</sup>nanna e-ne-è m-ba nu-ri-gub uru-ši-ib<sup>ki</sup>-šè DU-na
58. uru-ši-ib<sup>ki</sup> é-<sup>d</sup>am-an-ki-ga-šè tu-tu-da-zu-dè
59. i-bí-<sup>d</sup>am-an-ki-ga-šè ír-šéš-a
60. a-a-<sup>d</sup>am-an-ki ṭu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e
61. kug-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu saḫar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-ri
62. <sup>na4z</sup>a-gìn-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-ka nam-ba-an-da-si-il-li
63. <sup>giš</sup>urkarin(?) -zu giš-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-da-dar-dar-ri
64. 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>giš</sup>túg-[da(?)]-ma-al-la-ke<sub>4</sub>
66. ú-nam-ti-la mu-un-zu a-nam-ti-la mu-un-zu
67. e-ne ma-ra ḫu-mu-un-ti-li
68. <sup>d</sup>inanna kur-šè i-im-du
69. sukkal-a-ni-<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-šubur-ra gù mu-na-dé-e
70. DU-na <sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-šubur-ra
71. e-ne-a-ra dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-mu-? šà la-ba-pàd
72. <sup>d</sup>inanna é-gal-kur-za-gìn-šè um-ma-te
73. <sup>giš</sup>ig-kur-ra-ka níg-ḫul ba-an-uš

74. é-gal-kur-ra-ka gù-ḥul ba-an-dé  
 75. é gál-ù ì-du<sub>8</sub> é gál-ù  
 76. é gál-ù <sup>d</sup>NE-ti é gál-ù aš-mu-šè ga-tu  
 77. <sup>d</sup>NE-ti-ì-du<sub>8</sub>-gal-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>  
 78. kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ra mu-un-na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 79. a-ba-me-en-za-e  
 80. me-e-<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-na ki-<sup>d</sup>utu-è-a-aš  
 81. tukum-bi za-e <sup>d</sup>inanna ki-<sup>d</sup>utu-e-a-aš  
 82. a-na-àm ba-du-un kur-nu-gi<sub>4</sub>-šè  
 83. ḥar-ra-an-lú-du-bi nu-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-dè šà-zu a-gim túm-mu-un  
 84. 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  
 86. mu dam-a-ni-ù-mu-un-gu<sub>4</sub>-gal-an-na ba-an-ug<sub>5</sub>-ga  
 87. ki-sì-ga-na i-bí du<sub>8</sub>-ù-dè  
 88. kaš-sì-ga-na gu-ul ba-ni-in-dé ḥur-šè ḥé-me-a  
 89. <sup>d</sup>NE-ti-ì-du<sub>8</sub>-gal-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>  
 90. kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> mu-na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 91. túm-túm-ma-ab <sup>d</sup>inanna nin-mà ga-an-na-ab-dug<sub>4</sub>  
 92. 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>  
 93. <sup>d</sup>NE-ti-ì-du<sub>8</sub>-gal-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>  
 94. nin-a-ni-<sup>d</sup>ereš-ki-gal-la-ra é-[a-ni-šè ba-a]n-ši-in-tu gù  
 mu-na-dé-e  
 95. nin-mu ki-sikil-diš-àm  
 96. dingir-gim-sukud (?) .....  
 97. <sup>gi</sup>šig .....  
 98. ....  
 99. é-an-na-ka .....  
 100. me imin-bi zag mu-ni-in-kešd  
 101. me mu-un-kin šu-ni-šè mu-un-gál  
 102. me-DU gír-gub-ba i-im-DU  
 103. <sup>túg</sup>šu-gur-ra-men-edin-na sag-gá-na mu-un-gál  
 104. ḥi-li-sag-ki-na šu ba-ni-in-ti  
 105. gi-diš-ninda-ŠÈ-gán-za-gìn šu mi-ni-in-du<sub>8</sub>  
 106. <sup>na</sup>az a-gìn-tu<sub>19</sub>-tu<sub>19</sub>-lá gú-na ba-an-lá  
 107. <sup>na</sup>an unuz-tab-ba gaba-na ba-ni-in-si  
 108. ḤUR-guškin šu-na ba-ni-in-du<sub>8</sub>  
 109. tu-di-tum-lú-gá-nu-gá-nu gaba-na ba-an-BU  
 110. šim (?) -e-ḥé-im-DU-ḥe-im-DU igi-na ba-ni-in-gar  
 111. <sup>túg</sup>palà-a-<sup>túg</sup>palà-a bar-ra-na ba-an-dul  
 112. u<sub>4</sub>-ba <sup>d</sup>ereš-ki-gal-la-ke<sub>4</sub> .....  
 113. <sup>d</sup>NE-ti-ì-du<sub>8</sub>-gal-ni-ir[mu-na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>]  
 114. gá-nu-<sup>d</sup>NE-ti-ì-du<sub>8</sub>-[gal-kur-ra]  
 115. inim (?) -a (?) -ra (?) -dug<sub>4</sub> (?) -ga (?) -mu geštug (?)  
 ḥé (?) -[im (?) -ma (?) -ag (?) ]  
 116. ká-gal-kur-ra imin-bi [<sup>gi</sup>šsi-gar-bi gál-ù]  
 117. ká-gal-[ganzir-igi-kur-ra ka-aš-bi bar-ra]  
 118. e-ne tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
 119. gam-gam-ma-ni ?-?-nun-?-ni-ta .....  
 120. <sup>d</sup>NE-ti-ì-du<sub>8</sub>-gal-kur-ra-[ke<sub>4</sub>]  
 121. inim-nin-a-na-šè sag-kešd ba-ši-[in-ag]  
 122. ká-gal-kur-ra imin-bi <sup>gi</sup>šsi-gar-bi[in-gál]  
 123. ká-gal-ganzir-igi-kur-ra ka-aš-bi[in-bar]  
 124. kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ra gù mu-na-dé-e  
 125. gá-nu <sup>d</sup>inanna tu-um-[ma-ni]

126. e-ne tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
 127. <sup>túgš</sup>u-gur-ra-men-edin-na-sag-gá-na lú ba-da-an-ši-ir  
 128. ta-àm-me-a  
 129. diri <sup>d</sup>inanna me-kur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub> šu al-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>  
 130. <sup>d</sup>inanna garza-kur-ra ka-zu na-an-....-e-en  
 131. ká-gal-min-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
 132. gi-diš-ninda-ŠÈ-gán-za-gìn lú ba-da-an-ši-ir  
 133. ta-àm-me-a  
 134. diri <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-....-e-en  
 136. ká-gal-eš-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
 137. <sup>na</sup>az a-gìn-tu<sub>19</sub>-tu<sub>19</sub>-lá-gú-na lú ba-da-an-ši-ir  
 138. ta-àm-me-a  
 139. diri <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-....-e-en  
 141. ká-gal-limmu-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
 142. <sup>na</sup>an unuz-tab-ba-gaba-na lú ba-da-an-ši-ir  
 143. ta-àm-me-a  
 144. diri <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-....-e-en  
 146. ká-gal-ía-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
 147. ĤUR-guškin-š-u-na lú ba-da-an-ši-ir  
 148. ta-àm-me-a  
 149. diri <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-....-e-en  
 151. ká-gal-àš-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
 152. tu-di-tum-lú-gá-nu-gá-nu-gaba-na lú ba-da-an-ši-ir  
 153. ta-àm-me-a  
 154. diri <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-....-e-en  
 156. ká-gal-imin-kam-ma tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
 157. <sup>túg</sup>palà-a-<sup>túg</sup>palà-a-bar-ra-na lú ba-da-an-ši-ir  
 158. ta-àm-me-a  
 159. diri <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-....-e-en  
 161. gam-gam-ma-ni ?-?-nun?-ni-ta lú.....  
 162. [kug-<sup>dereš</sup>]-ki-gal-la-[k]<sub>e4</sub> <sup>giš</sup>gu-za-na i-ni-in-[tuš]  
 163. <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-di-kud-imin-bi igi-ni-šè di mu-un-[ši-in-kud]  
 164. i-bí mu-ši-in-bar i-bí-úš-a-kam  
 165. [inim]-ma-ne-ne inim-LIPIŠ-gig-ga-àm  
 166. ...-tu-ra KA-...-tag(?)-tag-ga-àm  
 167. [munus]-tu-ra uzu-níg-sìg-šè ba-an-tu  
 168. uzu-níg-sìg-ga <sup>giš</sup>kak-ta lú ba-da-an-lá  
 169. u<sub>4</sub>-eš gi<sub>6</sub>-eš um-ta-zal-la-ta  
 170. sukkal-a-ni-<sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>  
 171. sukkal-inim-šag<sub>5</sub>-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-ni  
 172. ra-gaba-inim-gi-en-gi-en-na-ni  
 173. an du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub>-dam mu-un-na-gá-gá  
 174. èš-gú-en-na mu-un-na-tuku-a  
 175. é-dingir-ri-e-ne-ke<sub>4</sub> mu-un-na-nigin  
 176. i-bí-ni mu-un-na-ĤUR ka-ni mu-un-na-ĤUR  
 177. ki(?)-lú-da u-di-š-u-gal-ni mu-un-na-ĤUR  
 178. mu-lu-nu-tuku-gim túg-aš-a[im-ma]-an-mu<sub>4</sub>  
 179. é-kur-é-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá-šè gír-ni aš mu-un-gub

180. é-kur-é-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá-šè tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
 181. igi-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá-šè ír im-ma-š<sub>e8</sub>-š<sub>e8</sub>  
 182. a-a-<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-líl tu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e  
 183. kug-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu saḥar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-ri  
 184. za-gìn-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-ka nam-ba-da-an-si-il-li  
 185. <sup>giš</sup>urkarin(?) -zu giš-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-dar-dar-ri  
 186. ki-sikil-<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e  
 187. a-a-<sup>d</sup>en-líl-li <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-ra mu-na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 188. dumu-mu an-[gal-la] al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub> ki-gal-la al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub>  
 189. <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>  
 191. a-ba-àm ki-bi-[š]è(?) ? in-na-an-dug<sub>4</sub> al mu(?) -ni-ib-dug<sub>4</sub>  
 192. a-a-<sup>d</sup>en-líl inim-ba[nu-na-gub]urí<sup>ki</sup>-[šè ba]-du-un  
 193. urí<sup>ki</sup> é-mud(?) -kur-ra-ka  
 194. é-kiš-šir<sub>5</sub>-gál-<sup>d</sup>nanna-šè tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
 195. igi-<sup>d</sup>nanna-šè ír im-ma-š<sub>e8</sub>-š<sub>e8</sub>  
 196. a-a-<sup>d</sup>nanna tu-mu-zu mu-lu kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e  
 197. kug-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu saḥar-kur-ra-ka nam-ba-an-da-šár-ri  
 198. za-gìn-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-ka nam-ba-da-an-si-il-li  
 199. <sup>giš</sup>urkarin(?) -zu giš-nam-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-dar-dar-ri  
 200. ki-sikil-<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e  
 201. a-a-<sup>d</sup>nanna <sup>d</sup>nin-šubur-ra mu-na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 202. dumu-mu an-[gal-la] al bí-in-dug ki-gal-la al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub>  
 203. <sup>d</sup>inanna an-[gal-la] al bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub> ki-gal-la al bi-in-dug<sub>4</sub>  
 204. me-kur-ra me-al-me-al ki-bi-šè sá bí-in-dug<sub>4</sub>  
 205. a-ba-àm ki-bi-šè(?) ? in-na-an-dug<sub>4</sub> al mu(?) -ni-ib-dug<sub>4</sub>  
 206. a-a-<sup>d</sup>nanna inim-ba[nu-na-gub]uru-ši-ib<sup>ki</sup>-šè ba-du-un]  
 207. uru-ši-ib<sup>ki</sup>é-<sup>d</sup>en-ki-ga-šè tu-tu-da-ni-ta  
 208. igi-<sup>d</sup>en-ki-ga-šè ír im-ma-š<sub>e8</sub>-š<sub>e8</sub>  
 209. a-a-<sup>d</sup>am-an-ki tu-mu-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-ri  
 211. za-gìn-šag<sub>5</sub>-ga-zu za-zadim-ma-ka nam-ba-da-an-si-il-li  
 212. <sup>giš</sup>urkarin(?) -zu giš-nagar-ra-ka nam-ba-dar-dar-ri  
 213. ki-sikil-<sup>d</sup>ga-ša-an-na kur-ra nam-ba-da-an-gúr-e  
 214. 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  
 216. <sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> a-na bí-in-ag mà-e mu-un-kúš-ù  
 217. nin-kur-kur-r[a-ke<sub>4</sub>]a-na bí-in-ag mà-e mu-un-kúš-ù  
 218. nu-u<sub>8</sub>-gig-an-na-ke<sub>4</sub> a-na bí-in-ag mà-e mu-un-kúš-ù  
 219. ?-?-ni mu-sír ba-ra-an-túm kur-gar-ra ba-an-dím  
 220. ?-dirig-?-ma-na mu-sír ba-ra-an-túm ga[la-tur ba-an]-dím  
 221. kur-gar-ra ú-nam-ti-la ba-an-[sì(?)]  
 222. kala-tur-ra a-nam-ti-la ba-an-[sì(?)]  
 223. [a-a]-<sup>d</sup>en-ki kala-tur-kur-gar-ra gù mu-u[n-ne-dé-e]  
 224. .... -an-ši-en GÎR-kur-TÚG ná-ba-an-ši-en  
 225. .... -a ..... -dè-en-si-en  
 226. .... -dè-en-si-en  
 227. .... -šè  
 228. .... -ra-àm  
 229. ....  
 230. ....  
 231. .... -ni  
 232. .... -na ..... -eš  
 233. .... -ni



234. .... dug<sub>4</sub>(?) - ga - na - ab - ši - en  
 235. .... - ši - en  
 236. .... - mu (?) - ta (?) ..... KA ... ba - e - dè - en - ši - en  
 237. .... dug<sub>4</sub>(?) - ga (?) ..... en (?) ši - en  
 238. .... ib (?) - tar (?) - ri (?) - en - ši - en  
 239. .... - dè - en - ši - en  
 240. a - a ..... - ab - ši - en  
 241. a - a ..... - na (?) kug (?) - e - dè šu nam - ba - bu - i - en - ši - en  
 242. a - ? - tu (?) ..... - na (?) kug - e - dè šu nam - ba - bu - i - en - ši - en  
 243. uzu - níg - sîg - ga - <sup>si</sup>kak - ta - lá - a ní - me - lám dug<sub>4</sub> - ga - na - ab - ši - en  
 244. gîš - àm ú - nam - ti - la gîš - àm a - nam - ti - la ugu - na  
     šub - bu - dè - en - ši - en  
 245. <sup>d</sup>inanna ḥa - ba - gub  
     Break of 20(?) lines.  
 266. .... <sup>si</sup>kak - ta .....  
 267. kug - <sup>d</sup>ereš - ki - gal - la - la - ke<sub>4</sub> ka [la - tur - kur - gar - ra  
     mu - ne - ni - ib - gi<sub>4</sub> - gi<sub>4</sub>]  
 268. uzu - ám - sîg me - ám ga (?) .....  
 269. uzu - níg - gîš (?) - ra (?) - a ÁG (?) - ḥú! (?) - la ..... ? me (?) - teš (?)  
     in - na - [an - dug<sub>4</sub> - gi - eš]  
 270. uzu - níg - sîg <sup>si</sup>kak - ta - lá - a ní - me - lám (?) ? - uš  
 271. gîš ú - nam - ti - la gîš a - nam - ti - la ugu - na bí - in - šub - bu - uš  
 272. <sup>d</sup>inanna ba - gub  
 273. <sup>d</sup>inanna kur - ta ba - e<sub>11</sub> - dè  
 274. <sup>d</sup>a - nun - na - ke<sub>4</sub> - ne ba - ab - za ḥ - aš  
 275. a - ba - àm - lú - kur - ra - ke<sub>4</sub> - ne kur - ra silim - ma - bi e<sub>11</sub> - dè  
 276. u<sub>4</sub> - da <sup>d</sup>inanna kur - ta ba - e<sub>11</sub> - dè  
 277. ug<sub>5</sub> - ga sag - a - na ha - ba - ab - si - mu  
 278. <sup>d</sup>inanna kur - ta ba - e<sub>11</sub> - dè  
 279. galla - tur - tur gi - igi - dù - ra (?) - gim  
 280. galla - gal - gal gi - dub - ba - na - ke<sub>4</sub>  
 281. zag - ga - na ba - an - dib - bi - eš  
 282. lú - igi - na - dib ..... - nu - me - a gišdar šu bi - in - du<sub>8</sub>  
 283. bar - ra - na - dib ..... - nu - me - a <sup>si</sup>tukul úr - ra bí - in - lá  
 284. lú - e - ne - ra - in - ši - sùg - eš - àm  
 285. lú - <sup>d</sup>inanna - ra - in - ši - sùg - eš - àm  
 286. ú - nu - zu - me - eš a - nu - zu - me - eš  
 287. zi - dub - dub - ba - nu - kú - me - eš  
 288. [kaš (?) ] - bal - bal nu - nag - nag - me - eš  
 289. úr - lú - ka dam šu - ti - a - me - eš  
 290. ? - umme - da - lá - ka dumu - šu - ti - a - me - eš  
 291. <sup>d</sup>inanna kur - ta ba - e<sub>11</sub> - dè  
 292. <sup>d</sup>inanna kur - ta e<sub>11</sub> - da - ni  
 293. [sukkal - a - ni] <sup>d</sup>nin - šubur - ke<sub>4</sub> gîr - ni - šè ba - an - šub  
 294. saḥar - ra ba - da - an - tuš <sup>túg</sup>mu - sîr - ra ba - an - mu<sub>4</sub>  
 295. galla - e - ne kug - <sup>d</sup>inanna - ra gù mu - un - na - dé - e  
 296. <sup>d</sup>inanna uru - zu - šè gub - ba e - ne ga - ba - ab - túm - mu - dè  
 297. kug - <sup>d</sup>inanna - ke<sub>4</sub> galla - e - ne mu - na - ni - ib - gi<sub>4</sub> - gi<sub>4</sub>  
 298. sukkal - e - ne - èm - šag<sub>5</sub> - šag<sub>5</sub> - ga - mu  
 299. ra - ga - ba - e - ne - èm - gi - en - gi - na - mu  
 300. na - ri - ga - mu šu nu - mu - un - bar - ri  
 301. e - ne - èm - dug<sub>4</sub> - ga - mu gú - zal la - ba - pàd  
 302. an du<sub>6</sub> - du<sub>6</sub> - da ma - an - gá - gá  
 303. èš - gú - en - na ma - an - tu - ku - a

304. é-dingir-ri-e-ne-ke<sub>4</sub> ma-an-nigin  
 305. i-bí-ni ma-an-ĤUR ka-ni ma-an-ĤUR  
 306. ki(?) -mu-lu-da u-di-š-u-gal-a-ni ma-an-ĤUR  
 307. mu-lu-nu-tuku-gim túg-aš-a im-ma-an-mu<sub>4</sub>  
 308. é-kur-ra-é-<sup>d</sup>mu-ul-líl-lá-šè  
 309. urí<sup>ki</sup>-ma é-<sup>d</sup>nanna-šè  
 310. uru-ši-ib<sup>ki</sup> é-<sup>d</sup>am-an-ki-ga-šè  
 311. e-ne ma-a-ra mu-un-ti-li-en  
 312. ga-an-ši-súg-dè-en umma<sup>ki</sup>-a sig<sub>4</sub>-kur-šà-ga-šè  
     ga-an-ši-súg-dè-en  
 313. umma<sup>ki</sup>-a sig<sub>4</sub>-kur-šà-ga-ta  
 314. <sup>d</sup>šara gír-ni-šè ba-an-šub  
 315. saḥar-ra ba-da-an-tuš <sup>túg</sup>mu-sír-ra ba-an-mu<sub>4</sub>  
 316. galla-e-ne kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ra gù mu-na-dé-e  
 317. <sup>d</sup>inanna uru-zu-šè gub-ba e-ne ga-ba-ab-túm-mu-dè  
 318. kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> galla-e-ne mu-na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 319. ià(?) -giš(?) -máš(?) -gud(?) .....  
 320. ? ..... gú-TAR-lá .....  
 321. NE-ta gim-nam ḥ[i(?) -l]i(?) -aš(?) ši-è m(?) .....  
 322. ga-e-súg-en-dè-en bàd-tibira<sup>ki</sup>-a é-mùš-kalam-ma-šè  
     ga-an-ši-súg-en-dè-en  
 323. bàd-tibira<sup>ki</sup>-a é-mùš-kalam-ma-ta  
 324. <sup>d</sup>.....-e gír-ni-šè ba-an-šub  
 325. saḥar-ra ba-da-an-tuš <sup>túg</sup>mu-sír-ra ba-an-mu<sub>4</sub>  
 326. galla-e-ne kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ra gù mu-na-dé-e  
 327. <sup>d</sup>inanna uru-zu-šè gub-ba e-ne ga-ba-ab-túm-mu-dè  
 328. kug-<sup>d</sup>inanna-ke<sub>4</sub> galla-e-ne mu-un-na-ni-ib-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 329. .... á-zi-da-gùb-bu-mu-uš .....  
 330. .... -ib-ši-è m .....  
 331. .... -la ga-sì kul-aba<sup>[ki]</sup>-...  
 332. .... kul-aba<sup>ki</sup>-a .....  
 333. .... AN .....  
     Break of 40(?) lines.  
 374. ....  
 375. .... kur-kur-ra .....  
 376. .... NE(?) ki(?) -tuš(?) -bi .....  
 377. .... šub(?) -šub(?) -ba mu-un-ri-eš  
 378. .... -ni i-in-sìg-gi-ne  
 379. .... e(?) -ne i-lu mi-ni-ib-bi-ne  
 380. .... -e ?-ni bí-in-šub-bu-uš  
 381. .... gú(?) -giš dùg(?) súg(?) -súg(?) -e-dè  
 382. .... šu-ni mi-ni-in-dù-dù  
 383. .... -kur-kur-ra igi mi-ni-ib-íl-íl-i  
 384. .... -ne-ne ..... -ga(?) -me-eš me-luḥ(?) ? kal-la-mu

*Notes on the Transliteration*

The texts on which the reconstruction of our myth is based are as follows:

Lines	1-208	A(=Ni 368+CBS 9800)i-iv
	1-49	B(=CBS 13932) obv. and rev.
	1-48	C(=CBS 12368+12702+12752) obv. and rev.
	3-25	D(=Ni 2279) obv. (rev. destroyed)
	52-95	E(=CBS 13908) obv. and rev.
	88-94	F(=Ni 4034) obv. (rev. destroyed)
	95-141	G(=CBS 11064+11088) obv. and rev.
	129-137	H(=HGT No. 24)
	144-204	I(=CBS 15212) obv. and rev.
	207-244	J(=Ni 4200) obv. and rev.
	225-242	K(=Ni 2762) obv.
	265-323	L(=CBS 13902) obv. and rev.
	273-295	K rev.
	302-313	M(=CBS 15162) obv.
	354 <sup>4</sup> -364	M rev.

The upper half of A (*cf.* Pls. 1 and 2), Ni 368, is in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul. It was first published by Langdon in BE XXXI No. 33 and then republished by Chiera in SRT No. 53 (for corrections to the latter, *cf.* Kramer, RA XXXVI pp. 76-80). The lower half of A, CBS 9800, is in the University Museum at Philadelphia. It was first published by me in photographic form in RA XXIV p. 93 ff. B and C (*cf.* Pls. 3 and 4) have been published by Chiera in SEM Nos. 49 and 50. D has been published by Langdon in BE XXXI No. 34 (for corrections, *cf.* Kramer, JAOS 60 p. 246). In the case of E (*cf.* Pl. 5), its reverse only has been published by Chiera in SEM No. 48. F (*cf.* Pl. 10) was copied by me in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul. G (*cf.* Pl. 6) has been published by Poebel in HGT No. 23 (*cf.* also *ibid.* Pl. XCIV). H has been published by Poebel in HGT No. 24. I (*cf.* Pl. 7) has been published by me in BASOR No. 79 p. 18ff. J and K (*cf.* Pl. 8) have been published by me in RA XXXVI p. 68ff. L (*cf.* Pl. 9) has been published by Poebel in HGT No. 22. M (*cf.* Pl. 10) has been discovered and copied by me recently in the University Museum at Philadelphia.

<sup>4</sup> The break in M between the last line of its obverse and the first line of its reverse is assumed to contain 40 lines.

The reconstruction of the myth *Inannas' Descent to the Nether World* together with the transliteration and translation as presented in this study is intended to supersede that published by me in RA XXXIV pp. 93-134, RA XXXVI pp. 68-80, and BASOR No. 79 pp. 18-27.

*Line 1.*—For omission in SRT 53, *cf.* RA XXXVI p. 76.

*Line 3.*—In D the second sign is Inanna, not N U N .

*Line 4.*—D omits the - e - of b a - e - a - e<sub>11</sub> in this and the following lines.

*Lines 7-13.*—A omits the refrain k u r - r a b a - e - a - e<sub>11</sub> in these lines. In B the list of cities and temples is identical with that of A, only the order varies; thus: Uruk, Zabalam, Adab, Agade, Kish, Badtibira, Nippur (*cf.* RA XXXVI pp. 76-7). In line 9, B actually has - g a for the expected - n a in g i - g u<sub>15</sub><sup>ki</sup> - n a ; this is probably a scribal error. In line 13, B adds - a after a - g a - d è<sup>ki</sup> and also after é - u l - m a š<sup>ki</sup>. C lists only two cities and temples; the names are destroyed.

*Line 15.*—B has - u<sub>8</sub> - for - u n - in m u - u n - g á l ; in C the verb reads [m u] - u n - g a r .

*Line 16.*—D has - D Û G for - D U in m e - D U ; in D the verb reads u m - m i - i n - [D U] .

*Lines 17-25.*—The order of these lines is based on A; in B the order is: 17, 18, 21, 20, 23, 24, 25, 19, 22 (the latter line 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). In line 18, B omits the - n a of s a g - g á - n a . Note the corrected reading of line 19, the sign following - Š È - is G Á N (not G Á); *cf.* the erroneous reading in RA XXXIV p. 99 (especially note 9); *cf.* also BASOR No. 79 p. 24, note 9. For š u m i - n i - i n - d u<sub>8</sub> of this line C has š u - n a b a - a n - d u<sub>8</sub>. In line 20, not only D but also A and C have - l á after - t u<sub>19</sub> - t u<sub>19</sub> (Chiera's copies are to be corrected accordingly), only B omits the - l á . In line 21, the verb reads b a - a n - s i in B and C; in B the sign copied by Chiera as G I M is B A written over an erasure. In C the verbal form of line 22 reads b a - a n - d u<sub>8</sub>. In line 23 note that A seems to insert a sign after the g a b a of g a b a - n a ; *cf.* BASOR No. 79 p. 24, especially note 8. In line 24, A omits the - a after the first p a l à - ; D omits the determinative before the second - p a l à - ; C, no doubt as the result of a scribal error, actually has b a r - b i for the expected b a r - r a - n a .

Note that the last sign in this line is D U L (*i.e.* ROEC 542) and SRT 53 is to be corrected accordingly; *cf.* RA XXXVI p. 77. In line 25, C has -ni for the -na of igi-na, and -íb for the -in- of ba-ni-in-gar.

*Lines 26-27.*—Both lines are omitted in C.

*Line 28.*—C has the expected nin- for ga-ša-an-.

*Lines 29-31.*—In C, line 29 reads: [g á - n u sukka l] - z i - é - a n - n a - m u ; in line 31, C omits the -en- of -en-na-mu. B has a variant reading for ll. 29-31, as follows:

[g á - n] u sukka l - z i - é - a n - n a - m u  
[n a] g a - e - r i n a - r i - m u ḫ é - [d í b]  
[i n i m] g a - r a - a b - d u g<sub>4</sub> g e š t u g X<sup>5</sup>  
ḫ é - [i m - m a - a g]

*Line 32.*—In C the verb reads e<sub>11</sub> - d è - e n ; it lacks the expected prefix.

*Line 33.*—In C the verb reads e<sub>11</sub> - d è - m u - d è .

*Lines 34-40.*—In lines 34, 35, 36, and 40, B has the indicative forms mu-un-na-gá-gá, mu-un-na-tuku-a, mu-un-na-nigin, and mu-un-[gub] instead of the imperative forms; these variants are no doubt the result of a scribal error. In line 40, C seems to have a verbal form ending in -na instead of the expected gub-mu-un.

*Line 42.*—B has IGI- for i-bí-, and -àm for -a.

*Lines 43-47.*—In line 44, B has -da-ab- for -an-da- in the verb. In l. 45, B omits the -ma- after -zadim-; it reads -si-il-si-il for -si-il-li in the verb; C has -ab- for -an- in the verb. In line 46, A inserts -nam between giš- and -nagar- (also in lines 55, 63).<sup>6</sup> The verb in line 46 probably reads nam-ba-da-dar-dar-ri in A; in B and probably in C, it reads nam-ba-an-dar-dar-e.

*Line 48.*—C inserts -mu-e- before the -ri- of nu-ri-gub.

*Line 50.*—B has -kur-ra- for -kalam-ma-.

*Line 55.*—E has -si-il-si-il for -si-il-li.

*Line 59.*—E has -àm for -a after -šéš-.

*Line 62.*—E omits the determinative na<sub>4</sub> and has -si-il-si-il for -si-il-li.

<sup>5</sup> For the form of the sign, *cf.* SRT No. 6 obv. 27-8, and TRS No. 22, line 8

<sup>6</sup> So also in line 55; in l. 63, however, A inserts -an- between -da- and -dar-.

*Line 67.*—E probably inserts -a- after the ma- of ma-ra-, and probably omits the ḫu- of the verb. A adds -en after -li-.

*Lines 68-69.*—Between these two lines E inserts a line reading:

s u k k a l - a - n i - <sup>n</sup> i n - š u b u r - r a  
[z a g (?) ] - a - n a i - i m - D U

*Cf.* line 27.

*Line 74.*—Line omitted in E.

*Lines 75-76.*—In E these two lines are written as three, thus:

é g á l - l u i - [d u<sub>8</sub> é g á l - l u]  
i - d u<sub>8</sub> é g á l - l u <sup>d</sup> [N E - t i é g á l - l u]  
i - d u<sub>8</sub> é g á l - l u a š - m u - š è g a - t u

*Line 78.*—E has -ke<sub>4</sub> for -ra (scribal error) and omits the -un- of the verb.

*Line 80.*—E inserts -an- between -an- and -na; B has -šè for -aš.

*Line 81.*—E has an-na for <sup>d</sup>i n a n n a .

*Line 82.*—E omits -àm.

*Line 83.*—E inserts -ù- between -du- and -bi-.

*Line 90.*—F inserts -un- after mu- in the verb.

*Line 94.*—F has -šè for -ra after -la-.

*Lines 100-111.*—For restoration, *cf.* lines 14-25. Note that A is inconsistent in the order arrangement of lines 24-25 and the corresponding lines 110-111. In G, the order of the lines varied from that of A, but the surface is too badly broken for a detailed account.

*Line 117.*—For the restoration of the line, *cf.* line 123 which is based on G. In A, the line seems to read:

k á - g a l - I G I . Z A . K U R . . . k u r -  
r a (?) . . . . .

In G, too, the traces do not point to the same reading of the line as that restored from line 123.

*Line 118.*—Restorations that are quite certain because of continued repetitions are not bracketed.

*Lines 126-127.*—In line 126, G has <sup>d</sup>i n a n n a for e - n e . Instead of line 127, G substitutes the text of line 132, and follows it by two lines reading:

k á - g a l - d i š - k a m - m a t u - t u - d a - n i - t a  
<sup>tú</sup>g š u - g u r - r a - m e n - e d i n - n a - s a g -  
g á - n a l ú b a - d a - a n - š i - i r

*Line 132.*—In G the line reads:

ḫ i - l i - s a g - k i - n a l ú b a - d a - a n - š i - i r

*Line 137.*—In G the line reads:

<sup>na</sup>n u n u z - t a b - b a - z a g - g a - n a l ú  
b a - d a - a n - š i - i r

*Line 142.*—I substitutes the text of line 157.

*Line 157.*—I substitutes the text of line 132.

*Line 161.*—Cf. line 119.

*Line 163.*—SRT No. 53 iii 22 is to be corrected accordingly.

*Line 166.*—This line is omitted in I.

*Line 168.*—I omits the -g a after -s i g - ; it has - a n - t a - f o r - d a - a n - in the verb.

*Line 169.*—I has à m - f o r u m - t a - in the verb.

*Line 171.*—A has the Emesal form - e - n e - è m - f o r - i n i m - .

*Line 172.*—A has the Emesal form - e - n e - è m - f o r - i n i m ; I omits the - e n - o f - e n - n a - n i and has - m u f o r - n i (scribal error). Following line 172, I inserts two additional lines:

[n a] - r i - g a - n i š u n u - b a r - r i  
[i n i m] - d u g<sub>4</sub> - g a - n i g ú - z a l l a - b a - p à d

*Line 178.*—A probably has - a b - f o r - a n - in the verb.

*Line 179.*—I has the Emesal form - m u - u l - l í l - f o r - e n - l í l .

*Line 180.*—I has the Emesal form - m u - u l - l í l - f o r - e n - l í l - . For t u - t u - d a - n i - t a , A seems to have a variant reading which is illegible.

*Line 183.*—In A the last sign is - e instead of - r i .

*Line 184.*—I omits - m a - after - z a d i m - , and has - s i - i l - s i - i l f o r - s i - i l - l i .

*Line 185.*—In I the last sign is - e instead of - r i .

*Lines 188–191.*—For restoration of this passage and that of lines 202–205, cf. RA XXXVI pp. 79–80 and BASOR No. 79, p. 27. Note that in line 190, there is probably nothing missing after b í - i n - d u g<sub>4</sub>. In line 191, the transliteration assumes that there is nothing missing between i n - n a - a n - d u g<sub>4</sub> and a l .

*Line 193.*—Note that A writes - k u r - r a - in this line although it writes - k a l a m - m a - in the corresponding line 49.

*Lines 202–205.*—Cf. lines 188–191.

*Line 209.*—Note that in J, the traces of the sign preceding - z u do not point to its restoration as - m u (of the expected t u - m u - z u); perhaps the scribe, wrote the e m e - K U d u m u instead.

*Line 211.*—J omits the - m a - after - z a d i m - .

*Line 213.*—J inserts - a n - between - a n - and - n a .

*Line 234.*—In K the corresponding line seems to end in - e š .

*Line 245.*—For the size of the break following line 245, cf. RA XXXVI p. 74, note 3.

*Line 279.*—In K the corresponding line is rev. 16.

*Lines 280–281.*—In K, rev. 17 corresponds to these two lines. Note that K probably has - k a f o r - k e<sub>4</sub> in g i - d u b - b a - n a - k e<sub>4</sub>. The verbal form, too, which is badly broken in K, probably varied.

*Line 283.*—L has m u - u n - f o r b í - i n - .

*Lines 284–285.*—Both lines are omitted in K.

*Line 287.*—K inserts ù after - k ú - .

*Line 288.*—Between lines 288 and 289, K inserts a line which reads:

..... [š u n u] -  
b u - i - m e - e š

*Line 290.*—Following this line, K inserts two lines which read:

..... u r n u - z u (?)  
..... [m u] - u n -  
u r<sub>4</sub> - u r<sub>4</sub> - r i - e š

*Line 291.*—K omits this line.

*Line 302.*—M omits - e n - in the first complex, and - a after b à d - t i b i r a<sup>ki</sup>; it probably omits the final complex g a - a n - š i - s ú g - e n - d e - e n .

*Translation*

1. From the ["Great Above"] she set her mind towards the "Great Below",
2. The goddess, from the "Great Above" she set her mind towards the "Great Below",
3. Inanna, from the "Great Above" she set her mind towards the "Great Below".
4. My Lady abandoned Heaven, abandoned Earth, to the Nether World she descended,
5. Inanna abandoned Heaven, abandoned Earth, to the Nether World she descended,
6. Lordship she abandoned, Ladyship she abandoned, to the Nether World she descended.

7. In Uruk she abandoned Eanna, to the Nether World she descended,
8. In Badtibira she abandoned Emushkalamma, to the Nether World she descended,
9. In Zabalam she abandoned Giguna, to the Nether World she descended,
10. In Adab she abandoned Esharra, to the Nether World she descended,
11. In Nippur she abandoned Baratushgarra, to the Nether World she descended,
12. In Kish she abandoned Hursagkalamma, to the Nether World she descended,
13. In Agade she abandoned Eulmash, to the Nether World she descended.
  
14. The seven decrees she fastened at the side,
15. She sought out the decrees, placed them at her hand,
16. *All the decrees she set up at (her) waiting foot,*
17. The Shugurra, the crown of the plain, she put upon her head,
18. *Radiance* she placed upon her countenance,
19. The . . . . . rod of lapis lazuli she gripped in (her) hand,
20. Small lapis lazuli stones she tied about her neck,
21. *Sparkling* . . . . stones she fastened to her breast,
22. A gold ring she gripped in her hand,
23. A . . . . . breastplate she bound about her breast,
24. All the garments of Ladyship she *arranged* about her body,
25. . . . . *herbs* she put on her face.
  
26. Inanna walked towards the Nether World,
27. Her messenger Ninshubur walked at her [*side*].
28. The pure Inanna says to Ninshubur:
29. "Oh (thou who art) my constant support,
30. My messenger of favorable words,
31. My carrier of supporting words,
32. I am now descending to the Nether World.
  
33. When I shall have come to the Nether World,
34. *Fill Heaven with complaints for me,*
35. In the assembly shrine *cry out* for me,
36. In the house of the gods *rush about* for me,
37. *Lower* thy eye for me, *lower* thy mouth for me,
38. With . . . . . *lower* thy great . . . . . for me,
39. Like a pauper in a single garment dress for me,
40. To the Ekur, the house of Enlil, direct thy step.
  
41. Upon thy entering the Ekur, the house of Enlil,
42. Weep before Enlil:
43. 'Oh Father Enlil, let not thy daughter be *put to death* in the Nether World,
44. Let not thy good metal be *ground up* into the dust of the Nether World,
45. Let not thy good lapis lazuli be *broken up* into the stone of the stone-worker,
46. Let not thy *boxwood* be *cut up* into the wood of the wood-worker,
47. Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the Nether World.'
  
48. If Enlil does not stand by thee in this matter, go to Ur.
49. *In* Ur upon thy entering the house of the . . . . of the Land,
50. The Ekishshirgal, the house of Nanna,
51. Weep before Nanna:
52. 'Oh Father Nanna, let not thy daughter be *put to death* in the Nether World,
53. Let not thy good metal be *ground up* into the dust of the Nether World,
54. Let not thy good lapis lazuli be *broken up* into the stone of the stone-worker,
55. Let not thy *boxwood* be *cut up* into the wood of the wood-worker,
56. Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the Nether World.'

57. If Nanna does not stand by thee in this matter, go to Eridu.  
 58. *In* Eridu, upon thy entering the house of Enki,  
 59. Weep before Enki:  
 60. 'Oh Father Enki, let not thy daughter be *put to death* in the Nether World,  
 61. Let not thy good metal be *ground up* into the dust of the Nether World,  
 62. Let not thy good lapis lazuli be *broken up* into the stone of the stone-worker,  
 63. Let not thy *boxwood* be *cut up* into the wood of the wood-worker,  
 64. Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the Nether World.'  
 65. Father Enki, the Lord of Wisdom,  
 66. Who knows the food of life, who knows the water of life,  
 67. He will surely bring me to life."
68. Inanna walked towards the Nether World,  
 69. To her messenger Ninshubur she says:  
 70. "Go, Ninshubur,  
 71. *The word* which I have commanded thee . . . . ."
72. When Inanna had arrived at the lapis lazuli palace of the Nether World,  
 73. At the door of the Nether World she *acted* evilly,  
 74. In the palace of the Nether World she spoke evilly:  
 75. "Open the house, gatekeeper, open the house,  
 76. Open the house, Neti, open the house, all alone I would enter."
77. Neti, the chief gatekeeper of the Nether World,  
 78. Answers the pure Inanna:  
 79. "Who, pray, art thou?"
80. "I am the Queen of Heaven, the place where the sun rises."  
 81. "If thou art the Queen of Heaven, the place where the sun rises,  
 82. Why, pray, hast thou come to the Land of No Return,  
 83. How has thy heart led thee on the road whose traveller returns not?"
84. The pure Inanna answers him:  
 85. "My elder sister, Ereshkigal,  
 86. Because her husband, the lord Gugalanna, had been killed,  
 87. To witness his funeral rites,  
 88. . . . .; so be it."
89. *Neti*, the chief gatekeeper of the Nether World,  
 90. Answers the pure Inanna:  
 91. "*Stay*, Inanna, to my queen let me speak,  
 92. To my queen Ereshkigal let me speak . . . let me speak."
93. *Neti*, the chief gatekeeper of the Nether World,  
 94. Enters the [house] of his queen Ereshkigal (and) says to her:  
 95. "Oh my queen, a maid,  
 96. Like a god . . . . .,  
 97. The door . . . . .,  
 98. . . . .,  
 99. In Eanna . . . . .,  
 100. The seven decrees she has fastened at the side,  
 101. She has sought out the decrees, has placed them at her hand,  
 102. *All the decrees she has set up at (her) waiting foot*,  
 103. The Shugurra, the crown of the plain, she has put upon her head,

104. *Radiance* she has placed upon her countenance,  
 105. The . . . . . rod of lapis lazuli she has gripped in (her) hand,  
 106. Small lapis lazuli stones she has tied about her neck,  
 107. *Sparkling* . . . . stones she has fastened to her breast,  
 108. A gold ring she has gripped in her hand,  
 109. A . . . . . breastplate she has bound about her breast,  
 110. . . . . *herbs* she has put on her face,  
 111. All the garments of Ladyship she has *arranged* about her body.”
112. Then Ereshkigal . . . . . ,  
 113. [Answers] *Neti*, her chief gatekeeper:  
 114. “Come, *Neti*, [chief] gatekeeper of the [Nether World],  
 115. *Unto the word which I command thee*, [give ear].  
 116. Of the seven gates of the Nether World, [open their locks],  
 117. Of the gate [Ganzir, the face of the Nether World, define its rules].  
 118. Upon her entering,  
 119. Bowed low . . . . . let her . . . . .”
120. *Neti*, the chief gatekeeper of the Nether World,  
 121. Honored the word of his queen.  
 122. Of the seven gates of the Nether World, [he opened] their locks,  
 123. Of the gate, Ganzir, the face of the Nether World, [he defined] its rules.  
 124. To the pure Inanna he says:  
 125. “Come, Inanna, enter.”
126. Upon her entering,  
 127. The Shugurra, the crown of the plain of her head was removed.  
 128. “*What, pray, is this?*”  
 129. “Extraordinarily, Oh Inanna, have the decrees of the Nether World been perfected,  
 130. Oh Inanna, *do not question* the rites of the Nether World.”
131. Upon her entering the second gate,  
 132. The . . . . . rod of lapis lazuli was removed.  
 133. “*What, pray, is this?*”  
 134. “Extraordinarily, Oh Inanna, have the decrees of the Nether World been perfected,  
 135. Oh Inanna, *do not question* the rites of the Nether World.”
136. Upon her entering the third gate,  
 137. The small lapis lazuli stones of her neck were removed.  
 138. “What, pray, is this?”  
 139. “Extraordinarily, Oh Inanna, have the decrees of the Nether World been perfected,  
 140. Oh Inanna, *do not question* the rites of the Nether World.”
141. Upon her entering the fourth gate,  
 142. The *sparkling* . . . . stones of her breast were removed.  
 143. “What, pray, is this?”  
 144. “Extraordinarily, Oh Inanna, have the decrees of the Nether World been perfected,  
 145. Oh Inanna, *do not question* the rites of the Nether World.”
146. Upon her entering the fifth gate,  
 147. The gold ring of her hand was removed.  
 148. “What, pray, is this?”  
 149. “Extraordinarily, Oh Inanna, have the decrees of the Nether World been perfected,  
 150. Oh Inanna, *do not question* the rites of the Nether World.”



151. Upon her entering the sixth gate,  
 152. The . . . . . breastplate of her breast was removed.  
 153. "What, pray, is this?"  
 154. "Extraordinarily, Oh Inanna, have the decrees of the Nether World been perfected,  
 155. Oh Inanna, *do not question* the rites of the Nether World."
156. Upon her entering the seventh gate,  
 157. All the garments of Ladyship of her body were removed.  
 158. "What, pray, is this?"  
 159. "Extraordinarily, Oh Inanna, have the decrees of the Nether World been perfected,  
 160. Oh Inanna, *do not question*, the rites of the Nether World."
161. Bowed low . . . . .  
 162. [The pure Eresh]kigal [seated] herself upon her throne,  
 163. The Anunnaki, the seven judges, [pronounced] judgment before her,  
 164. They fastened (their) eyes upon her, the eyes of death.  
 165. *At* their [word], the word which tortures the spirit,  
 166. . . . . ,  
 167. *The sick* ["woman"] was turned into a *corpse*,  
 168. The *corpse* was hung from a *stake*.
169. After three days and three nights had passed,  
 170. Her messenger Ninshubur,  
 171. Her messenger of favorable words,  
 172. Her carrier of supporting words,  
 173. *Fills* the Heaven *with complaints* for her  
 174. *Cried out* for her in the assembly shrine,  
 175. *Rushed about* for her in the house of the gods,  
 176. *Lowered* his eye for her, *lowered* his mouth for her,  
 177. *With* . . . . . he *lowered* his great . . . . . for her,  
 178. Like a pauper in a single garment he dressed for her,  
 179. To the Ekur, the house of Enlil, he directed his step.
180. Upon his entering the Ekur, the house of Enlil,  
 181. Before Enlil he weeps:  
 182. "Oh Father Enlil, let not thy daughter be *put to death* in the Nether World,  
 183. Let not thy good metal be *ground up* into the dust of the Nether World,  
 184. Let not thy good lapis lazuli be *broken up* into the stone of the stone-worker,  
 185. Let not thy boxwood be *cut up* into the wood of the wood-worker,  
 186. Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the Nether World."
187. Father Enlil answers Ninshubur:  
 188. "My daughter, in the "[Great] Above" . . . . . in the "Great Below" . . . . . ,  
 189. Inanna, in the "[Great] Above" . . . . . in the "Great Below" . . . . . ,  
 190. The decrees of the Nether World, the . . . . . decrees, to their place . . . . . ,  
 191. Who, pray, *to* their place . . . . . ?"
192. Father Enlil [did not stand by him] in this matter, he [went] to Ur.  
 193. *In* Ur, upon his entering the house of the . . . . of the land,  
 194. The Ekishshirgal, the house of Nanna,  
 195. Before Nanna he weeps:  
 196. "Oh Father Nanna, let not thy daughter be *put to death* in the Nether World,  
 197. Let not thy good metal be *ground up* into the dust of the Nether World,  
 198. Let not thy good lapis lazuli be *broken up* into the stone of the stone-worker,

199. Let not thy 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."

201. Father Nanna answers Ninshubur:

202. "My daughter, in the "[Great] Above" ..... in the "Great Below" .....,  
 203. Inanna, in the "[Great] Above" ..... in the "Great Below" .....,  
 204. The decrees of the Nether World, the ..... decrees, to their place .....,  
 205. Who, pray, *to* their place .....?"

206. Father Nanna [did not stand by him] in this matter, [he went to Eridu].

207. *In* Eridu, upon his entering the house of Enki,

208. Before Enki he weeps:

209. "Oh Father Enki, let not thy daughter be *put to death* in the Nether World,  
 210. Let not thy good metal be *ground up* into the dust of the Nether World,  
 211. Let not thy good lapis lazuli be *broken up* into the stone of the stone-worker,  
 212. Let not thy boxwood be *cut up* into the wood of the wood-worker,  
 213. Let not the maid Inanna be *put to death* in the Nether World."

214. Father Enki answers Ninshubur:

215. "What now has my daughter done! I am troubled,  
 216. What now has Inanna done! I am troubled,  
 217. What now has the Queen of all the Lands done! I am troubled,  
 218. What now has the Hierodule of Heaven done! I am troubled."  
 219. .... *he brought forth dirt* (and) fashioned the *kurgarrû*,  
 220. .... *he brought forth dirt* (and) fashioned the *kalaturru*.  
 221. To the *kurgarrû* he gave the food of life,  
 222. To the *kalaturru* he gave the water of life.  
 223. [Father] Enki sa[ys] to the *kalaturru* and *kurgarrû*:  
 224. "..... lay .....,  
 225. ....,  
 226. ....,  
 227. ....,  
 228. ....,  
 229. ....,  
 230. ....,  
 231. ....,  
 232. ....,  
 233. ....,  
 234. ....,  
 235. ....,  
 236. ....,  
 237. ....,  
 238. ....,  
 239. ....,  
 240. ....,  
 241. To *purify* ..... do not .....,  
 242. To *purify* ..... do not .....,  
 243. *Upon the corpse hung from a stake direct the fearfulness of the melammu*,  
 244. *Sixty times* the food of life, *sixty times* the water of life, sprinkle upon it,  
 245. Surely Inanna will arise."

Break of 20(?) lines.

266. .... *from a stake* .....,  
 267. The pure Ereshkigal answers the *ka[laturru* and the *kurgarrû*):  
 268. "*The corpse* ....."

269. Upon the smitten flesh they . . . . .
270. *Upon the corpse hung from a stake the fearfulness of the melammu . . . . .*
271. *Sixty times, the food of life, sixty times the water of life, they sprinkled upon it,*
272. Inanna arose.
273. Inanna ascends from the Nether World,
274. The Anunnaki fled,
275. *(And) whoever of the Nether World that had descended peacefully to the Nether World.*
276. When Inanna ascends from the Nether World,
277. Verily the dead *hasten ahead of her.*
278. Inanna ascends from the Nether World,
279. The small *demons* like . . . . . reeds,
280. The large *demons like tablet styluses,*
281. Walked at her side.
282. Who *walked* in front of her, *being without . . . .*, held a staff in the hand,
283. Who *walked* at her side, *being without . . . .*, carried a weapon on the loin,
284. They who *preceded* her,
285. They who preceded Inanna,
286. (Were beings who) know not food, who know not water,
287. Who eat not sprinkled flour,
288. Who drink not libated [*wine*],
289. Who take away the wife from the loins of the man,
290. Who take way the child from the *breast* of the nursing mother.
291. Inanna ascends from the Nether World.
292. Upon Inanna's ascending from the Nether World,
293. [Her messenger], Ninshubur, threw herself at her feet,
294. Sat in the dust, dressed in *dirt*.
295. The *demons* say to the pure Inanna:
296. "Oh Inanna, *wait before thy city, we would bring him to thee.*"
297. The pure Inanna answers the *demons*:
298. "(He is) my messenger of favorable words,
299. My carrier of supporting words,
300. He *fails* not my directions,
301. He *delays* not my commanded word,
302. He *fills* the Heaven *with complaints for me.*
303. In the assembly shrine he *cried out* for me,
304. In the house of the gods he rushed about for me,
305. He *lowered* his eye for me, he *lowered* his mouth for me,
306. *With . . . . . he lowered his great . . . . . for me*
307. Like a pauper in a single garment he dressed for me,
308. To the Ekur, the house of Enlil,
309. In Ur, to the house of Nanna,
310. *In Eridu, to the house of Enki (he directed his step).*
311. He brought me to life."
312. "Let us *precede* her, in Umma *to the Sigkurshagga* let us *precede* her."
313. In Umma, from the Sigkurshagga,
314. Shara threw herself at her feet,
315. Sat in the dust, dressed in *dirt*.
316. The *demons* say to the pure Inanna:
317. "Oh Inanna, *wait before thy city, we would bring him to thee.*"
318. The pure Inanna answers the *demons*:
319. " . . . . .

320. ....  
 321. ....”  
 322. “Let us *precede* her, in Badtibira to the Emushkalamma let us *precede* her.”  
 323. In Badtibira from the Emushkalamma,  
 324. .... threw *themselves* at her feet,  
 325. Sat in the dust, dressed in *dirt*.  
 326. The *demons* say to the pure Inanna:  
 327. “On Inanna, *wait before* thy city, *we would bring them to thee*.”  
 328. The pure Inanna answers the *demons*:  
 329. .... to my right and left .....  
 330. ....  
 331. .... *I would give*, Kullab .....  
 332. .... Kullab .....  
 333. ....  
                     Break of 40(?) lines.  
 374. ....  
 375. .... all the lands ..... ,  
 376. .... *their dwelling place* ..... ,  
 377. .... they *carried off*,  
 378. .... they *smite* (?)  
 379. .... a lament they utter  
 380. .... they *hurled*  
 381. ....  
 382. .... *she points her finger*  
 383. .... all the lands, she lifts her eye  
 384. ....

#### Notes on the Translation <sup>7</sup>

*Lines 1-3.*—The a n - g a l, “Great Above”, of the Sumerians is the space above the sky and includes the dwelling places of the “sky” gods. The k i - g a l, “Great Below”, is the space below the surface of the earth and includes the dwelling places of the chthonic deities. The n a - o f n a - a n - g u b, as Falkenstein has pointed out, is a thematic prefix (my suggestion in RA XXXIV p. 116 is erroneous); it is probably the same prefix which is involved in the Gudea verbal forms listed in GSG §205. The use of the word A N (= d i n g i r (?)) as an epithet of Inanna in the second line of our triplet is unusual, one might rather have expected a term such as n i n - m u or n u - g i g - a n - n a.

*Line 8.*—The reading m ù š of the sign M Û Š in é - M Û Š - k a l a m - m a is not certain but quite probable.

*Line 13.*—The reading ul of the sign U L in é - U L - m a š<sup>ki</sup> is not certain but quite probable.

*Lines 14-16.*—The translation “decrees” for

the Sumerian m e is preferable to “rites”. While the nature of the “decrees” mentioned in lines 14-16 is as yet quite uncertain, we now know at least how Inanna came into their possession, cf. p. 322 No. 12. Since these “decrees” were transported by Inanna on a boat from Eridu to Erech, it is not unlikely that they were conceived as written down on tablets. Perhaps, therefore, it is these tablets which Inanna “fastened at her side”, “placed at her hand”, etc.<sup>8</sup> With line 14, cf. VS X No. 199 ii 16 m e - g a l - g a l - l a z a g m u - n i - i n - k e š d, “He (*i.e.* Anu) fastened the great decrees at his side”. In line 15, the - Š È of š u - n i - Š È may of course be transliterated as - é š (cf. also lines 94, 163, 191, 192, 204, 205, 273, 314, 324) just as it may be transliterated - u š<sub>4</sub> in u r u - z u - Š È (lines 296, 317, 327) and - a š<sub>10</sub> in s i g - k u r - š à - g a - Š È (line 312). In line 16, the translation “all” for the D U of m e - D U is predicated on the bare possibility

<sup>8</sup> Note, however, that in VS X No. 199 iii 19, Inanna boasts: t ú g - m e - k u g k u š - m à m u - n i - i n - l á, “The pure garment of decrees, he (*i.e.* Enlil) tied about my body.” This statement, if it is intended to be taken literally, would seem to indicate that the “decrees”, or at least some of them, were part of a special garment.

<sup>7</sup> These notes are intended to supplement and, wherever necessary, to modify the commentary on the translation in RA XXXIV, RA XXXVI, and BASOR No. 79.

that it may be a variant of  $d\dot{u}$  and on the fact that D has the variant  $D\dot{U}G$  which may be read  $\check{s}\acute{a}r$ , "all".<sup>9</sup>

*Line 19.*—The  $g\dot{i}-d\dot{i}\check{s}-n\dot{i}n\dot{d}a-\check{S}\dot{E}-g\acute{a}n$  seems to be the Akkadian *ginindanakku* despite the fact that the syllabaries do not attest the Sumerian form quite as it appears in our text; cf. Ungnad in ZA XXXI p. 25.

*Line 23.*—For  $t\dot{u}-d\dot{i}-t\dot{u}m$ , cf. the variant  $t\dot{u}-d\dot{i}-d\dot{a}$  in VS II No. 32 i 7.

*Lines 26–28.*—The root of the word represented by  $D\dot{U}$ , "to go", in  $i-i\dot{m}-D\dot{U}$ , is transliterated as  $d\dot{u}$  rather than  $g\dot{i}n$ , since to judge from  $b\dot{a}-d\dot{u}-u\dot{n}$ , "thou hast come" (line 82) and  $-d\dot{u}-\dot{u}-b\dot{i}$ , literally "its goer" (line 83), it ends in the vowel  $u$ . In the Emesal passages, on the other hand, it does seem to have ended with the consonant  $n$ , cf. the imperative  $D\dot{U}-n\dot{a}$  (lines 48, 57, 70) and the infinitive  $D\dot{U}-n\dot{a}$  (line 33). For the unexpected Emesal writings  $g\dot{a}-\check{s}\acute{a}-a\dot{n}$  (lines 27–28), cf. AS XII p. 10, heading 9. For  $e\dot{m}e-K\dot{U}$  writings in Emesal passages, cf. *ibid.* p. 7 ff.

*Lines 29–31.*—The translation "supporting" for  $-g\dot{i}-e\dot{n}-g\dot{i}-e\dot{n}-n\dot{a}$ - (line 31) seems preferable to "true", since the meaning might be expected to parallel the  $-\check{s}\acute{a}g_5-\check{s}\acute{a}g_5-g\dot{a}$  of the preceding line. Note that  $-\check{s}\acute{a}g_5-\check{s}\acute{a}g_5-g\dot{a}$ - and  $-g\dot{i}-e\dot{n}-g\dot{i}-e\dot{n}-n\dot{a}$ - probably represent the reduplicated  $\check{s}\acute{a}g_5$  and  $g\dot{i}n$  rather than  $\check{s}\acute{a}g_5-a$  and  $g\dot{i}n-a$  (as suggested in RA XXXVI p. 120), the final  $a$  is probably the genitive  $-a(k)$ . For the reading and meaning of the variant lines in E, cf. BASOR No. 79 p. 25, note 25; for the restoration  $\check{h}\acute{e}-i\dot{m}-m\dot{a}-a\dot{g}$ , cf. SRT No. 6 line 28.<sup>10</sup>

*Lines 34–42.*—For lines 34–37, cf. BASOR No. 79 p. 26. For the translation "lower" for  $\check{H}UR$  (lines 37–38), cf. perhaps  $\check{H}UR = qad\acute{a}du$  and the phrase *guddud appušu* in *Ishlar's Descent*. In line 40, the first sign in the verbal form is to be read  $g\dot{u}b$  (not  $t\acute{u}m$ ). In line 42, note the corrected reading  $i-b\dot{i}$ - for  $i\dot{g}i-k\dot{u}g$ -.

*Lines 42–47.*—Note the corrections in the transliteration and translation of this passage as compared with those of RA XXXIV. For the equation  $g\acute{u}r = m\acute{a}tu$ , cf. especially SBH No. 4

<sup>9</sup> Cf. also VS X No. 199 ii 17:  $m\dot{e}-\check{s}\acute{a}r-r\dot{a}g\dot{i}r-n\dot{i}n\dot{a}m-m\dot{i}-i\dot{n}-g\dot{a}r$ , "He (*i.e.* Anu) placed all the decrees at his feet."

<sup>10</sup> In HGT No. 1 (the "deluge" tablet), line 5 of col. iii is probably to be restored:  $n\dot{a}-r\dot{i}-g\dot{a}-m\dot{u}g\check{s}t\dot{u}g$  X  $\check{h}\acute{e}-i\dot{m}-m\dot{a}-a\dot{g}$ , rather than as suggested in BASOR No. 79 p. 26.

lines 26–27;<sup>11</sup> for the reading  $g\acute{u}r$  rather than  $g\dot{a}m$ , cf.  $b\dot{a}-a\dot{n}-k\dot{u}r$  in K 6930. Still difficult is  $m\dot{u}-l\dot{u}$  of line 43; if the construction involved is that of the passive (cf. BASOR No. 79 p. 21, note 5), there seems to be no reason for its use in this particular line and not in any of the following four lines. In line 46, B clearly reads:  $g\dot{i}\check{s}-n\dot{a}g\dot{a}r-r\dot{a}-k\dot{a}$  while A inserts  $-n\dot{a}m$ - before  $-n\dot{a}g\dot{a}r$ -; the former reading was chosen since  $n\dot{a}g\dot{a}r$  seems to parallel the  $z\dot{a}d\dot{i}m$  of the preceding line, cf. RA XXXVI p. 77, note 11. To judge from the context both the  $z\dot{a}d\dot{i}m$  and the  $n\dot{a}g\dot{a}r$  of our myth are denizens of the Nether World.

*Lines 48–50.*—For  $D\dot{U}-n\dot{a}$  (line 48), cf. comment to lines 26–28. In line 49, between  $\acute{e}$ - and  $-k\dot{a}l\dot{a}m$ - is the sign  $M\dot{U}D$  (or perhaps the signs  $M\dot{U}\check{S}E\dot{N}$  and  $D\dot{U}G$ ), not the signs  $N\dot{A}M$  and  $D\dot{U}G$ . In line 50, there is no  $\acute{e}$ - preceding  $^n\dot{a}n\dot{a}-\check{s}\acute{e}$ .

*Lines 52–56.*—Cf. comment to lines 43–47.

*Line 57.*—For  $D\dot{U}-n\dot{a}$ , cf. comment to lines 26–28.

*Lines 60–64.*—Cf. comment to lines 43–47.

*Lines 65–67.*—Note the corrected translation of these lines as compared with that of RA XXXIV. It assumes the  $-d\dot{a}$ - of  $-d\dot{a}-m\acute{a}-a\dot{l}$ - has been omitted by scribal error; that  $e-n\dot{e}$  (line 57) refers to Enki; that  $m\dot{a}-r\dot{a}$  (for the expected  $m\acute{a}-e$ ) is a dative of reference (cf. comment to lines 284–285) and that  $\check{h}\dot{u}-m\dot{u}-u\dot{n}-t\dot{i}-l\dot{i}$  is a present-future asseverative form of the third person singular.<sup>12</sup>

*Lines 68–71.*—For  $i-i\dot{m}-d\dot{u}$  (line 68) and  $D\dot{U}-n\dot{a}$  (line 70), cf. comment to lines 26–28. Note the corrected word division in line 71; the meaning might be expected to approximate: "Do not delay my commanded word." As the line stands at present, however, it is difficult to analyze.

*Lines 72–74.*—As the translation indicates the  $u$  of  $u\dot{m}-m\dot{a}-t\dot{e}$  is the conditional  $u$ , cf. GSG §426; the suggestion offered in RA XXXVI p. 124 seems less likely. Note the corrected reading  $b\dot{a}-a\dot{n}-u\check{s}$  for  $b\dot{a}-a\dot{n}-g\acute{a}l$  in line 73.

*Line 80.*—The  $-a\check{s}$  (=  $-\check{s}\acute{e}$ ) of  $k\dot{i}-d\dot{u}t\dot{u}$ -

<sup>11</sup> The Sumerian reads  $u\dot{m}-u\dot{n}-e\dot{e}-n\dot{e}-\acute{e}m-m\dot{a}n\dot{i}$   $^{\acute{e}}\acute{e}n-par$  (!)  $T\dot{U}L-b\dot{a}\acute{a}m-m\dot{i}-i\dot{b}-g\acute{u}r-g\acute{u}r$ . The word  $^{\acute{e}}\acute{e}n-par$  is the phonetic form of  $a\dot{m}b\dot{a}r$  (Akkadian loan word *apparu*). Note, therefore, that the equations to be derived from this passage are:  $^{\acute{e}}\acute{e}n-par = apparu$  and  $T\dot{U}L-b\dot{a} = ina \check{s}uklisu$ , and that ŠL 85: 144 and 74: 348 are to be eliminated.

<sup>12</sup> The final  $-e\dot{n}$  in A's variant, if not a scribal error, remains difficult.

è - a - a š is not the postposition as assumed in RA XXXVI, but the verb š è, "to do", "to make", etc. A more literal translation of ki - <sup>d</sup>u t u - è - a - a š is, therefore, "the place where the sun makes (his) rising"; for this idiomatic and from our point of view pleonastic use of the verbs š è and a g, cf. Poebel in AOF IX p. 266.

*Line 88.*—Note the corrected reading of the line; the translation of the first half of the line in RA XXXIV is therefore erroneous.

*Line 91.*—Instead of ni n - m à the form might have been expected to read ni n - m u - r a .

*Lines 126-160.*—According to this passage, Inanna wore seven bits of apparel which were removed piece by piece as she passed through each of the seven gates of the Nether World. On the other hand, the passage describing Inanna's dress preparatory to her descent consists of nine lines, each of which seems to describe a specific unit of apparel. In A, the removal of the ḥi - li - sag - ki - na and the šim (?) - e - ḥ é - im - D U - ḥ é - im - D U is omitted. In G, it is to be noted, the gi - di š - ni n d a - Š È - g á n was removed even before she entered the first gate, although according to A it was removed at the second gate, and according to I it was removed at the seventh gate. According to G, therefore, it is not impossible that eight bits of apparel were removed. For the expressions lú ba - da - an - ši - ir and tà - à m - me - a, cf. BASOR No. 79 p. 21. The translation "do not question" for ka - z u n a - an - . . . - e - en is a guess based on the context; the grammatical relationship between ka - z u and the partly broken verbal form still remains uncertain.

*Line 161.*—Cf. RA XXXVI p. 79, comment to col. iii 19, and especially note 6; cf. also BASOR No. 79 p. 24.

*Lines 162-168.*—Cf. BASOR No. 79 p. 24 ff. In line 163 it is perhaps the plural form of the verb which is to be restored; note, however, the singular mu - ši - in - bar in line 164. For the unjustified Emesal i - bí (line 164), cf. comment to lines 26-28.

*Lines 169-178.*—Note the incorrect Emesal writings i - bí (line 176) and m u - l u (line 178). In line 177, on the other hand, note the correct writing lú; the corresponding line 38, which is part of Inanna's speech, uses the Emesal m u - l u .

*Lines 188-191.*—The translation of this significant passage will be impossible as long as the

meaning of the compound al - d u g<sub>4</sub> remains uncertain.

*Lines 209-245.*—Cf. RA XXXVI p. 68 ff. In line 233, note that the restoration - ne - is preferable to - na - in m u - ne - d é - e, although to judge from lines 277, 318, and 328, it is not impossible that the scribe wrote the grammatically incorrect - na - . For line 243, cf. BASOR No. 79 p. 24, line 20.

*Lines 246-323.*—In line 247, the restoration of - ne - in m u - ne - ni - ib - gi<sub>4</sub> - gi<sub>4</sub> is preferable to - na - , cf., however, preceding note. Line 268 probably contains Ereshkigal's speech, note the Emesal á m for the e me - K U ní g . Lines 269-271 describe the action of the kalaturru and kurgarrú; cf. especially line 270 with line 243 and line 271 with line 244. In line 280, the last sign is K E<sub>4</sub>, not G I M . In line 284, - e n e - r a seems to be a dative of reference; so also - <sup>d</sup>i n a n n a - r a of line 285; cf. comment to lines 65-67. In line 290, the sign preceding - lá - is D A, not G A . In line 295, the translation assumes that ga ll a - e - ne is a plural and that it is the subject of g ù m u - u n - n a - d é - e, although the latter is in the singular. For ga - ba - a b - t ú m - m u - d è (line 296) cf. RA XXXIV p. 112. In line 297, ga ll a - e - ne is assumed to be a plural in spite of the singular infix - na - (for the expected - ne -). For lines 298-307, cf. lines 29-39 and lines 170-178. Line 308 is a contraction for the entire passage contained in lines 179-192; line 309 is a contraction for that contained in lines 193-206; line 310 is a contraction for that contained in lines 207-213. In line 311, the translation assumes that ma - ra is a dative of reference and that the final - en of the verbal form is a second person singular accusative element; cf. comment to line 67. For ga - a n - ši - s ú g - d è - en (line 312), cf. RA XXXIV p. 133 and especially note 2. In line 312, note that the corrected reading of Shara's temple in Umma is sig<sub>4</sub> - k u r - š à - g a ; cf. TRS No. 15 obv. ii 12: é - bi u m m a sig<sub>4</sub> - k u r - š à - g a<sup>13</sup> and the Emesal form S I G<sub>4</sub> (!) - k u r - š à (!) - b a in PBS X 2 No. 4 rev. 16. In line 324, if no error is involved the verb is a third person plural preterit.

*Lines 374-384.*—In its present fragmentary state it would be futile to attempt any definitive interpretation of the passage.

<sup>13</sup> A collation of the duplicate STVC No. 66 rev. i 15 shows it to begin with: é - bi u m m a (!)<sup>ki</sup> - a sig<sub>4</sub>(!) - k u r - š à - g a - k e<sub>4</sub>.

## EXCURSUS A

*The Decipherment of Sumerian*

The decipherment of Sumerian differed from that of Assyrian and Egyptian in one significant detail, a detail which proved to be one of the factors in hampering the progress of Sumerology to no inconsiderable extent. For in the case of both Egypt and Assyria, the investigating scholars of western Europe had at their disposal much relevant material from Biblical, classical and post-classical sources. Not only were such names as Egypt, Ashur, Babylon, etc. well known, but at least to a certain extent and with much limitation and qualification, even the history and culture of the peoples were not altogether unfamiliar to them. In the case of the Sumerians, however, the situation was quite different; *there was no recognizable trace of Sumer or its people and language in the entire Biblical, classical, and post-classical literature.* The very name Sumer was erased from the mind and memory of man for over two thousand years. The discovery of the Sumerians and their language came quite unexpectedly and was quite unlooked for, and this more or less irrelevant detail was at least partially responsible for the troubled progress of Sumerology from the earliest days to the present moment.

Historically, the decipherment of Sumerian resulted from that of Assyrian which in turn followed the decipherment of cuneiform Persian. Briefly sketched, the process was as follows: In 1765, the Danish traveller and scholar, Carsten Niebuhr, succeeded in making careful copies of several inscriptions on the monuments of Persepolis. These were published between the years 1774 and 1778, and were soon recognized as trilingual, *i.e.* the same inscription seemed to be repeated in three different languages. It was not unreasonable to assume, since the monuments were located in Persepolis, that they were inscribed by one or more kings of the Achaemenid dynasty and that the first version in each inscription was in the Persian language. Fortunately, at approximately the same time, Old Persian was becoming known to western European scholars through the efforts of Duperron who had studied in India under the Parsees and was preparing translations of the Avesta. And so by 1802, with the help of the newly acquired knowledge of Old Persian and by a keen manipulation of the Achaemenid proper names as handed down in Biblical and classical literature,

the German scholar, Grotefend, succeeded in deciphering a large part of the Persian version of the inscriptions. Additions and corrections were made by numerous scholars in the ensuing years. But the crowning achievement belongs to H. C. Rawlinson. A member of the English Intelligence Service, Rawlinson was first stationed in India where he mastered the Persian language. In 1835 he was transferred to Persia where he learned of the huge trilingual inscription on the Rock of Behistun and determined to copy it. The Persian version of the Behistun inscription consists of 414 lines; the second, now known as the Elamite version, consists of 263 lines, while the third, or Assyrian version, consists of 112 lines. During the years 1835-7, at the risk of life and limb, Rawlinson succeeded in copying 200 lines of the Persian version. He returned in 1844 and completed the copying of the Persian as well as the Elamite version. The Assyrian inscription, however, was so situated that it was impossible for him to copy it and it was not until 1847 that he succeeded in making squeezes of the text. To return to the decipherment of cuneiform Persian, by 1846 Rawlinson published his memoir in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* which gave the transliteration and translation of the Persian version of the Behistun inscription together with a copy of the cuneiform original.

Long before the final decipherment of the Persian text, however, great interest had been aroused in western Europe by the third version of the Persepolis inscriptions. For it was soon recognized that this was the script and language found in numerous inscriptions on bricks, clay tablets, and clay cylinders which were finding their way into Europe from sites that might well be identified with Nineveh and Babylon. In 1842, the French under Botta began the excavation of Khorsabad and in 1845, Layard began his excavations of Nimrud and Nineveh. Inscribed monuments were being found in large quantities in all three sites; moreover Layard was uncovering at Nineveh a large number of inscribed clay tablets. By 1850, therefore, Europe had scores of inscriptions coming largely from Assyrian sites inscribed in the very same script and language as the third version of the Persepolis and Behistun inscriptions. The decipherment of Assyrian, the name soon given to this language, was simplified on the one hand by the fact that it was recognized quite early in the process that it belonged to the Semitic group of languages.

On the other hand, it was complicated seriously by the fact that the orthography, as was soon recognized, was syllabic and ideographic rather than alphabetic. The leading figure in the decipherment of Assyrian was the Irish scholar, Edward Hincks. But once again a major contribution was made by Rawlinson. In 1851 he published the text, transliteration and translation of the Assyrian version of the Behistun inscription, the large trilingual to which he alone had access.

As for the second, or Elamite, version of the Behistun inscription, it offered relatively little difficulty as soon as progress was made in the decipherment of Assyrian, since it uses a syllabary based on the latter system of writing. The major figures in its decipherment were Westergaard and Norris. As early as 1855, Norris, the secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society, published the complete text of the second version of the Behistun inscription which had been copied by Rawlinson together with a transliteration and translation; this remained practically the standard work on the subject until Weissbach published his *Achamenideninschriften zweiter Art* in 1896.

As will be noted, nothing has as yet been heard or said of the Sumerians. As early as 1850, however, Hincks began to doubt that the Semitic Assyrians had invented the cuneiform system of writing. In the Semitic languages the stable element is the consonant while the vowel is extremely variable. It seemed unnatural, therefore, that the Semites should invent a syllabic system of orthography in which the vowel seemed to be as unchanging as the consonant. Moreover, if the Semites had invented the script, one might have expected to be able to trace the syllabic values of the signs to Semitic words. But this was hardly ever the case, the syllabic values all seemed to go back to words or elements for which no Semitic equivalents could be found. Hincks thus began to suspect that the cuneiform system of writing was invented by a non-Semitic people who had preceded the Assyrians in Mesopotamia. In 1855, Rawlinson published a memoir in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* in which he speaks of his discovery of non-Semitic inscriptions on the bricks and tablets from sites in southern Babylonia such as Nippur, Senkereh, and Erech. In 1856, Hincks took up the problem of this new language, recognized that it was agglutinative in character and gave the first examples from bilinguals which had come

to the British Museum from the Nineveh Excavations. The name of the language was variously designated as Scythic or Accadian. But in 1869, the French scholar Oppert, basing himself on the royal title "king of Sumer and Accad" and realizing that Accad was equated with the Semitic Assyria, rightly attributed the name Sumerian to the language spoken by the non-Semitic people who had invented the cuneiform script. Nevertheless, Oppert was not immediately followed by most of the Assyriologists, and the name Accadian which is now used to designate the Semitic population and language of Assyria and Babylonia, continued to be used for Sumerian for many years to come.<sup>14</sup>

For several decades following the discovery of the existence of Sumerian, practically all the source material for its decipherment and study consisted of the bilinguals and syllabaries from the so-called Ashurbanipal library which was discovered and excavated in Nineveh. This material dates from the seventh century B.C., more than fifteen hundred years after the disappearance of Sumer as a political entity. As for the material from the Sumerian sites, it consisted almost entirely of a very small group of bricks, tablets and cylinders from the Sumerian and post-Sumerian periods which had found their way into the British Museum. In 1877, however, began the excavation of Tello, ancient Lagash, an excavation which has been conducted by the French intermittently and with long periods of rest almost to the present day. It was at this site that the first important Sumerian monuments were excavated, the monuments and inscriptions of the *ishakku's* or "princes" of Lagash. Here more than one hundred thousand tablets and fragments were dug up dating from the pre-Sargonid, Sargonid and Ur III periods.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> As a matter of historic curiosity it is noteworthy to mention that in spite of all evidence to the contrary, the well known Orientalist, J. Halévy continued to deny the existence of a Sumerian people and language in Babylonia, as late as the first decade of the twentieth century. According to his biased and subjectively motivated views, no people other than the Semites had ever been in possession of Babylonia. As for the so-called Sumerian language, it was merely an artificial invention of the Semites devised for esoteric purposes.

<sup>15</sup> The first forty thousand tablets were discovered by the Arab workers while De Sarzec, the excavator happened to be away from the mound. They succeeded in getting them all into the hands of dealers, and as a result there is not an important collection in Europe or America which does not have some Lagash tablets. In the Museum of the Ancient Orient, the tablets excavated at Lagash are



The second major excavation of a Sumerian site was that conducted by the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur between the years 1889 and 1900. From the point of view of inscrip-tional finds, this excavation is probably the most important conducted on any Sumerian site to date. Approximately thirty thousand tablets and fragments were excavated at Nippur. Be-cause of the variety of their contents they furnish more significant source material than the much larger number of tablets excavated at Lagash. Of the thirty thousand Nippur tablets, some are Semitic and date from the Hammurabi, Kassite, and Neo-Babylonian periods. Most of the Nippur tablets, however, are Sumerian. They contain a great variety of economic documents dating from the pre-Sargonid, Sargonid and Ur III periods, *i.e.* from approximately 2800 to 2000 B.C. They contain, too, a considerable number of lexical and grammatical texts; it was this group of Nippur tablets which furthered to no small extent the formulation of the principles of Sumerian grammar. *But the unique and most significant part of the Nippur material consists of more than two thousand "literary" tablets and fragments dating from the early post-Sumerian period, i.e. from about 2000 B.C.*<sup>16</sup>

Following Nippur, the excavations by the Ger-mans of Fara (ancient Shuruppak) in 1902-3 and that by the University of Chicago at Bis-maya (ancient Adab) in 1903-4, uncovered im-portant Sumerian economic and lexical material dating largely from the pre-Sargonid and Sar-gonid periods. Excavations at Kish, begun by the French in 1911 and continued under Anglo-American auspices from 1922 to 1930, have yielded important inscrip-tional material. In

---

stacked high in drawer after drawer; it is difficult to esti-mate their number, but it may be close to one hundred thousand.

<sup>16</sup> It is a curious fact that of all the expeditions excavating in Sumer in the course of the past century, the only one which uncovered Sumerian literary material in large quan-tity was that conducted by the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur. Relatively little has been excavated in the other sites of Sumer. No doubt this unfortunate fact is merely a matter of archaeological accident, the excavators evidently failed to come upon the temple and palace libraries. *From the point of view of the spiritual and religious history of the Sumerians as well as from that of Sumerian literature, the site that holds most promise to the future excavator is Eridu.* As the seat of the cult of Enki, the Sumerian "Lord of Wisdom", the keeper of the divine decrees which helped to found and govern Sumerian civilization, it should prove to be a veritable storehouse of literary and religious tablets.

Jemdet Nasr, not far from Kish, a large group of semi-pictographic tablets that go back to the early beginnings of Sumerian writing, have been excavated. Ur, the famous site excavated by a joint expedition of the British Museum and the University Museum between the years 1919 and 1933, yielded many historical and economic in-scriptions and some literary material. In Asmar and Hafaji, east of the Tigris, a large number of economic tablets dating largely from the Sar-gonid and Ur III periods, were excavated by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago in recent years. Finally in Erech, where the Germans conducted excavations from 1928 until the outbreak of the war, a large group of picto-graphic Sumerian tablets antedating those found at Jemdet Nasr have been uncovered.

This brief survey furnishes a bird's-eye view of the Sumerian inscrip-tional finds uncovered and brought to light by legitimate excavations. In addition, scores of thousands of tablets have been dug up clandestinely by the native Arabs in the mounds of Sumer, especially in the ancient sites of Larsa, Sippar, and Umma. It is there-fore difficult to estimate the number of Sumerian tablets and fragments now found in museums and in private collections; a quarter of a million is probably a conservative guess. What, now, is the nature of the contents of this vast amount of Sumerian inscrip-tional material? What sig-nificant information can it be expected to reveal?

In the first place it is important to note that *more than ninety-five percent of all the Sumerian tablets are economic in character, i.e.* they consist of notes and receipts, contracts of sale and ex-change, agreements of adoption and partnership, wills and testaments, lists of workers and wages, letters, etc. Because these documents follow a more or less expected and traditional pattern, which is found also in the Semitic documents of the same character, their translation, except in the more complicated cases, is not too difficult. It is the contents of these tablets which give us a relatively full and accurate picture of the social and economic structure of Sumerian life in the third millennium B.C. Moreover the large quan-tity of onomastic material to be found in these economic documents furnishes a fruitful source for the study of the ethnic distribution in and about Sumer during this period.

Of the Sumerian inscriptions that are not economic in character, one group consists of ap-proximately six hundred building and dedicatory inscriptions on steles, bricks, cones, vases, etc.

It is from this relatively small group of inscriptions that the political history of Sumer has been largely recovered. The translation of these inscriptions, too, offers no great difficulties, since the contents are usually brief and simple. Moreover, the structure and pattern of the Sumerian dedicatory inscriptions are followed to a large extent by the later Semitic building inscriptions; the bilingual material, too, is of considerable help. All in all, therefore, except in the more complicated cases, the Sumerian historical material is relatively simple to translate and interpret.

The most significant material for the study of Sumerian culture, however, especially in its more spiritual aspect, consists of a group of approximately three thousand "literary" tablets and fragments dated about 2000 B.C. which are inscribed with Sumerian epics and myths, hymns and lamentations, proverbs and words of wisdom. Of these three thousand pieces, approximately nine hundred are distributed as follows: Some three hundred very tiny fragments have been found in Kish and were published by De Genouillac in 1924. Approximately two hundred pieces were bought by the Berlin Museum from dealers; these were published by Zimmern in 1912 and 1913. Approximately one hundred were bought by the Louvre from dealers; these were published by De Genouillac in 1930. Less than a hundred pieces have found their way to the British Museum and the Ashmolean Museum and have been published by King, Langdon, and Gadd. To these must be added an uncertain number (two hundred (?)) of tablets and fragments excavated recently in Ur which will be published by Gadd of the British Museum in the near future.

The remaining two thousand and one hundred tablets and fragments, by far the major part of our source material, was excavated by the University of Pennsylvania at Nippur almost fifty years ago. Of this number, over one hundred have found their way to the University of Jena in Germany, approximately eight hundred are located in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul, *and almost eleven hundred are located in the University Museum at Philadelphia.* Of this Sumerian literary material lying in the University Museum, approximately four hundred pieces have been copied and published by a number of scholars in the course of the past four decades. It is the remaining six hundred and seventy-five pieces in the University Museum, which, with the aid of a grant from the American Philo-

sophical Society, I have sought out and begun to copy. It will take some years to complete the copying of this large quantity of source material; its achievement will enable us to reconstruct and translate a large and significant group of Sumerian literary compositions. It is well worth noting that these Sumerian literary creations are significant not only for their remarkable form and illuminating contents. They are quite unique, too, in that they have come down to us as actually written by the scribes of four thousand years ago, unmodified and uncodified by later redactors with axes to grind and ideologies to satisfy. *Our Sumerian literary compositions thus represent the oldest literature of any appreciable and significant amount ever uncovered.*

## EXCURSUS B

### *Sumerian Epics and Myths*

Undoubtedly one of the major significant and enduring humanistic achievements of the past hundred years consists of the discovery and decipherment of the Babylonian literary compositions inscribed on tablets that have lain buried in the ruins of Assyria and Babylonia for more than twenty-five hundred years. Inscribed in the Semitic Accadian language and in the cuneiform script, both of which had been unknown and forgotten for a period of two thousand years, the decipherment and translation of these compositions was so rapid that their contents are now available to the layman as well as the scholar. The *Creation Epic*, the *Gilgamesh Epic*, the myth of *Ishtar's Descent to the Nether World*, to name but three of the better known compositions, are now listed and cited, quoted and analyzed in all the major works on mythology and religion. The men responsible for this achievement, Smith and Pinches, Schrader and Delitzsch, King and Thompson, Haupt and Jensen, to name some of the major figures, have gained lasting and well-earned recognition in the humanistic hall of fame.

As the decipherment and translation of the Babylonian literary compositions progressed, however, a strange phenomenon became increasingly apparent. A closer analysis of the poems revealed that while the language was Semitic, while the form and redaction were Semitic, while, too, the tone and temper, the overtones and undertones, were Semitic in character, the contents themselves clearly be-

trayed their Sumerian origin. For in practically all the Babylonian compositions, many of the major protagonists bear Sumerian, not Semitic, names. Thus, of the deities involved in the epics and myths, by far the greater number belong to the Sumerian pantheon. Gilgamesh, the great Babylonian hero, bears a Sumerian name. His father bears the Sumerian name Lugalbanda, his mother is the Sumerian goddess Ninsun. His friend and companion bears the good Sumerian name Enkidu. The facts and proofs lie clear and on the surface, it required no particular profundity, no extraordinary insight, to realize that the Babylonian compositions are of Sumerian origin.

What prevented scholars from effectively drawing this obvious conclusion is the fact that almost nothing was known of any *Sumerian* literary compositions. By the beginning of our century, the political history of the Sumerians had gradually been recovered, largely through the efforts of the very eminent French Assyriologist, Thureau-Dangin. The economic and administrative documents of the Sumerians, excavated by the hundreds of thousands, were being published and zealously studied. But the literary creations of the Sumerians continued to remain practically unknown. And yet there was no dearth of source material. Almost three thousand Sumerian literary tablets and fragments dating from the early post-Sumerian<sup>17</sup> period, *i.e.* from approximately 2000 B.C. and antedating the Babylonian Semitic compositions by more than a millennium, were lying in the store rooms of the European and American museums. In Nippur alone, the University of Pennsylvania had excavated over two thousand tablets and fragments which were divided between the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul and the University Museum at Philadelphia. The British Museum, the Louvre, and the Berlin Museum had obtained between them

<sup>17</sup> Very little literary material belonging to the Sumerian period proper, *i.e.* to the third millennium B.C., has been unearthed to date. No doubt this is a matter of archaeological accident, it is still lying underground in the excavated and unexcavated mounds of Sumer. The mound of Eridu especially may be expected to yield to the future excavator large quantities of this invaluable literary material dating from the Sumerian period. The major part of our present source material for the reconstruction of the Sumerian literary compositions, however, was written, though not necessarily composed, by the Semitic scribes of the early post-Sumerian period for whom Sumerian was the classical literary and religious language.

more than seven hundred Sumerian literary tablets and fragments, largely from the hands of dealers. To repeat, therefore, there was no dearth of source material.

What then hampered and impeded the decipherment of the Sumerian literary compositions? Why has so little progress been made in the reconstruction and translation of their contents? Primarily this unfortunate situation is due to the fact that only a small fraction of this source material has been copied and published to date. Tablets, and especially those inscribed with the Sumerian literary compositions, which are largely unbaked, rarely come out whole from the ground. Usually they are in a fragmentary, and not infrequently in a very fragmentary, state. Offsetting this disadvantage is the fact that the ancient scribes made more than one copy of any given composition. The breaks in one tablet may therefore frequently be restored from duplicating pieces which may themselves be in a very fragmentary condition. In the case of *Inanna's Descent to the Nether World*, for example, I utilized fourteen different fragments. In the case of the *Lamentation Over the Destruction of Ur* which I recently published, the text was reconstructed from twenty-two different fragments. In reconstructing one of the Ninurta epics (*cf.* No. 7 on p. 321) I utilized *forty-five* different fragments. To take full advantage of these duplications and the consequent restorations, however, it is essential to have as much as possible of the source material available. But of the Nippur literary tablets and fragments excavated by the University of Pennsylvania, over two thousand in number, only about five hundred have been copied and published to date. And while all of the approximately seven hundred pieces in the British Museum, Louvre, and Berlin Museum, have now been published, some of the more important texts did not appear until a relatively recent date. Under these circumstances, the reconstruction and translation of the Sumerian literary compositions on any major scale, were obviously impossible.

But even in case of the material long copied and published, the attempted translations were rarely scientific and trustworthy. In the first place, the translator was hampered by grammatical difficulties. For Arno Poebel's *Grundzüge der Sumerischen Grammatik*, the work that is now generally conceded to be the first and as yet only trustworthy attempt to place Sumerian grammar on a scientific basis, did not appear

before 1923. Until then the translation of the Sumerian unilingual material was, grammatically speaking, largely a matter of guess work. The *Grundzüge*, however, is conceived and written from a logical rather than a pedagogical approach. Moreover, the principles laid down in it presuppose a thorough understanding of the Sumerian system of writing, a subject upon which the book barely touches. Consequently it presented so many difficulties to its readers that not a few failed to realize its significance and value, the more so since it proved to be no simple matter to apply the grammatical laws to the actual texts. In the course of the past decade this situation has been eased to no small extent by Poebel's more explicit studies and, if I may be permitted to say so, by my own efforts at clarification. While obviously enough many a point still remains obscure, the problem of Sumerian grammar can on the whole be rightly described as adequately settled.

In the second place, the translator was met by many lexical difficulties; indeed at the present moment the lexical problem is far more serious than the grammatical. One of the major sources for Sumerian lexicology consists of the bilingual texts where the Sumerian words are translated into Accadian. But a large number of words found in the Sumerian literary texts still have no Accadian equivalents. On the other hand many of them have, or at least seem to have, more than one Accadian equivalent. In these cases, the difficulties involved in the choice of the correct equation are not infrequently disastrous; a wrong choice may color falsely an entire context.<sup>18</sup>

In view of these difficulties, textual, grammatical and lexical, it is, therefore, profoundly gratifying to be in a position to announce after almost four years of continuous research in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul and in the University Museum at Philadelphia, *the reconstruction of the larger part of the contents of twenty-three Sumerian epics and myths*. In the Museum of the Ancient Orient I copied one hundred and seventy Sumerian tablets and fragments of which approximately thirty are epics and myths.<sup>19</sup> In

<sup>18</sup> The situation is complicated and worsened by the fact that we still lack a trustworthy Sumerian lexicon. The entire problem of Sumerian lexicology and lexicography is the subject of a forthcoming paper by the writer.

<sup>19</sup> Approximately 500 "literary" tablets and fragments from Nippur still remain uncopied in the Museum of the Ancient Orient. The copying of this material which must

the University Museum, after examining the entire Nippur collection consisting of fifteen thousand tablets, I succeeded in cataloguing approximately one thousand and seventy-five pieces which contain Sumerian literary compositions dating from the early post-Sumerian period. About four hundred of these have been copied and published in the course of the past several decades by Poebel, Radau, Myhrman, Lutz, Barton, Langdon, Legrain, and especially by the late Edward Chiera. The remaining six hundred and seventy-five pieces, it is hoped, will be copied by me in the course of the coming several years. Of these six hundred and seventy-five pieces, approximately one hundred and seventy-five are epics and myths, three hundred are hymns, fifty are lamentations, and the remaining one hundred and fifty are proverbs and "wisdom" texts. In the past year my efforts were concentrated on the epics and myths. By utilizing all the extant published material together with the part of the unpublished material which I copied in the Museum of the Ancient Orient at Istanbul and *all* the unpublished pieces in the University Museum at Philadelphia,<sup>20</sup> the following epics and myths can now be reconstructed in large part:

### *Epics*

1. *Enmerkar*.—Two large portions of an epical composition dealing with the exploits of this Sumerian hero in the course of subjugating the city of Aratta to Erech, can now be reconstructed from twenty-five published and unpublished texts. The larger portion consists of approximately three hundred and fifty, and the smaller portion of one hundred and fifty, consecutive

of course await the end of the war, will help to restore many of the passages now missing. Thus in the course of the very last days of my stay in Istanbul I discovered a large prism, excellently preserved, whose text when copied should restore almost completely the Enmerkar epic (No. 1 on p. 320).

<sup>20</sup> It is to be noted that to date only a part of the unpublished one hundred seventy-five tablets and fragments inscribed with Sumerian epics and myths, have been copied by me. Those pieces utilized in the reconstruction of the epics and myths which have not been copied, have been very carefully transliterated. The publication of each of the epics and myths, consisting of the hitherto unpublished original cuneiform text together with a transliteration, translation and commentary—the present publication of *Inanna's Descent to the Nether World* furnishes an excellent illustration of the method to be followed—will appear, it is hoped, in the course of the coming several years.

lines; in both cases the lines are about half complete.

2. *Lugalbanda and Enmerkar.*—The contents of this composition, hitherto usually designated *Lugalbanda and the Zu-bird* may be briefly sketched as follows. Lugalbanda, desirous of journeying to Aratta, is anxious to learn the divine instructions. He goes to Mt. Sabu and wilily succeeds in befriending the Zu-bird who knows the decisions of the gods and advises Lugalbanda accordingly. The latter now returns to Erech, whose king Enmerkar is in desperate straits. For fifty years the Martu have been ravaging all Sumer and Accad, and now Erech is in danger of falling. He was therefore seeking desperately some messenger who would journey to Aratta all alone and inform his sister Inanna of his dire plight. Lugalbanda volunteers for the task and succeeds in carrying Enmerkar's message to Inanna of Aratta, and in obtaining from her the appropriate instructions for the solution of Enmerkar's difficulties.

3. *Lugalbanda and Mt. Hurrum.*—Hitherto largely unknown, this tale narrates the adventures of Lugalbanda and his companions who had set out for an expedition to Mt. Hurrum, the same mountain where his son Gilgamesh later kills the monster Huwawa. Close to three hundred lines can now be reconstructed, half of which are complete.

4. *Gilgamesh and Agga of Kish.*—This tale consists of one hundred and fifteen lines, all practically complete. Briefly sketched, the story runs as follows: Agga, the king of Kish, has sent messengers to Gilgamesh demanding that Erech acknowledge the overlordship of Kish. Gilgamesh thereupon gathers a council of the elders of Erech and urges upon them the refusal of Agga's demands. Erech is then besieged by Agga and his warriors, and Gilgamesh is forced to acknowledge Agga as king of Erech.

5. *Gilgamesh and Huwawa.*—The first part of the composition consists of one hundred and seventy-eight lines, all almost perfectly preserved; it is reconstructed from twelve published and unpublished texts. It differs considerably in tone and contents from the traces of the Huwawa episode in the Semitic version of the Gilgamesh epic. The story runs as follows: Gilgamesh had set his heart to journey to the *kur-lú-ti-la*, perhaps the mountain of immortality. He tells Enkidu of his determination, and the latter advises him to acquaint the sun god Utu of his project, since he is the builder

of the mountain. Thereupon Gilgamesh offers prayers and sacrifices to Utu who helps him cross the seven mountains. At this point Enkidu urges Gilgamesh to abandon his dangerous undertaking, since the mountain is guarded by the fierce monster Huwawa. Gilgamesh refuses to consider Enkidu's advice and continues his journey. He comes upon Huwawa and begins to attack him. But Huwawa breaks into tears and pleads with Gilgamesh for mercy. Gilgamesh is inclined to listen to his plea but Enkidu advises against it. Gilgamesh and Enkidu then bring Huwawa before Enlil and Ninlil. (Here the extant part of the story unfortunately comes to an end.)

6. *Gilgamesh, Enkidu, and the Nether World.*—This composition consists of approximately three hundred lines of which about two hundred are in perfect condition; it is reconstructed from sixteen different fragments. The first half has been published by me under the title *Gilgamesh and the Huluppu-tree*; the latter half duplicates almost verbatim the twelfth tablet of the Semitic version of the *Gilgamesh Epic*.

7. *The Feats and Exploits of Ninurta.*—This epic, usually referred to as *lugal-e-u<sub>4</sub>-me-lám-bi-nir-gál*, consists of approximately six hundred and forty lines of which about four hundred are practically complete; it is reconstructed from forty-five texts of which more than half are still unpublished. It is this composition which was probably utilized in large part by the Semitic scribes in redacting their *Creation Epic*. Roughly the contents may be divided into four parts: 1. Ninurta, with the insistent advice and encouragement of his weapon the Sharur, attacks and destroys Kur, probably the Sumerian equivalent of the Accadian monster Tiamat. 2. He builds the Hursag and appoints the goddess Ninmah as its queen (hence her name Ninhursag). 3. He blesses and curses the stones. 4. He is praised and exalted for his heroic deeds.

8. *The Return of Ninurta to Nippur.*—This is the much shorter composition usually referred to as *an-gim-dím-ma*; it is reconstructed from twelve fragments. It treats largely of Ninurta's return to Nippur after he had vanquished the monster Kur and of the exaltation of his temple Eshumedu.

9. *Inanna and Entiki.*—Hitherto largely unrecognized, this tale narrates of the struggle of Inanna with Entiki, probably another name for Kur. It consists of one hundred and ninety

lines of which approximately one hundred are in perfect condition and is reconstructed from twelve fragments, largely unpublished.

### Myths

1. *The Deluge*.—The tablet published by Poebel in HGT No. 1 still remains the only extant text for this important myth; neither in Istanbul nor in Philadelphia have I succeeded in uncovering any additional material.

2. *Enki and Ninhursag*.—This is the so-called and largely misinterpreted *Sumerian Epic of Paradise*. It consists of two hundred and seventy-six lines and its contents are truly remarkable for their simplicity and uniqueness. They may be briefly sketched as follows: 1. Enki sees to it that holy Dilmun is well supplied with water. 2. He begets Uttu, a female deity largely responsible for the earth's vegetation. 3. He is cursed by the goddess Ninhursag after decreeing the fate of numerous plants. 4. He is healed by Ninhursag who creates numerous deities for that purpose.

3. *Enlil and Ninlil*.—A fascinating myth in explanation of the birth of the moon-god Nanna and of the three chthonic deities, Nergal, Ninazu and one whose name is illegible; its one hundred and fifty-two lines of text are almost complete.

4. *Emesh and Enten*.—Hitherto practically unknown, this agricultural myth consisting of three hundred and eight lines of which approximately half are complete, is reconstructed from five fragments; four of these are still unpublished. Emesh and Enten are two demigods created by Enlil. Enten is appointed as the *en gar-zî*, "the trustworthy field worker" of Enlil, but Emesh disputes his title until finally Enlil is forced to intervene in favor of Enten. In the course of Enten's argument with Emesh he interpolates a prayer for the welfare of Ibi-Sin, the last of the kings of Ur.

5. *Lahor and Ashnan*.—Only one hundred and forty-five lines of this myth are as yet available; these are reconstructed from nine published and unpublished texts. The extant portion treats of the creation of the two cultural beings in charge of grain and cattle, and their descent to the earth at the command of Enlil and Enki.

6. *Enki and Ninmah*.—A very important myth dealing with the creation of man. The extant part consists of one hundred and thirty-one lines, most of which are fairly complete.

7. *Enki and Sumer*.—A myth treating largely of the civilizing of Sumer by Enki who appoints numerous cultural deities to their respective duties. Approximately two hundred and sixty-five lines can now be reconstructed of which about half are fairly complete.

8. *Enki and Eridu*.—This myth consisting of one hundred and twenty-eight lines can now be completely restored from twenty-one different fragments. It describes the building of Enki's temple at Eridu and of his trip to Nippur where he is welcomed by Enlil who blesses his handiwork.

9. *The Creation of the Pickax*.—This composition, too, can now be completely reconstructed; it consists of one hundred and eight lines based on twenty different fragments. It treats of the creation of the *al*, "the pickax", by Enlil, and of its dedication by the gods.

10. *The Pickax and the Plow*.—About two hundred and twenty-two lines of this hitherto almost unknown composition can now be reconstructed from ten fragments; about half of the lines are fairly complete. The extant portion describes a colloquy between the two implements, each extolling its particular virtues. (It is not impossible, therefore, that the composition may turn out to be a fable rather than a myth.)

11. *Inanna's Descent to the Nether World*.—Cf. pages 295–312 of this publication.

12. *Inanna and Enki or The Transfer of Civilization from Eridu to Erech*.—This is one of the largest and most significant myths in the entire group. It consists of eight hundred and nineteen lines, about six hundred of which are complete. It is reconstructed from the large text published by Poebel in HGT No. 25, from PBS I 1, No. 1 (a text whose copy is quite untrustworthy and which I have therefore carefully collated), and from an unpublished fragment discovered and copied by me in Istanbul, which supplies the motivating link in the story. Inanna goes to the Abzu in order to obtain for her city Erech the divine decrees governing the approximately one hundred cultural controls and objects which go to make up the warp and woof of Sumerian civilization. At a feast arranged for her by Enki, she succeeds in inducing him to present all the *me*, "divine decrees" to her; she loads them on the "Boat of Anu" and makes ready to depart for Erech. When Enki recovers from the effects of the banquet, however, he rues his munificence and decides to prevent Inanna from reaching

Erech. Seven times he attempts to have the boat and its precious cargo brought back to Eridu, but each time Inanna is saved by Anu's messenger Ninshubur. In spite of Enki's efforts she arrives in Erech safe and sound and is extolled and glorified by the people of the city for her feat.

13. *The Journey of Sin to Nippur*.—This composition consists of more than three hundred lines, more than half of which are complete. Sin journeys to Nippur with many gifts for his

father Enlil. He is welcomed by the latter who grants him in return all that is essential to the welfare and prosperity of Ur.

14. *The Marriage of Martu*.—Published by Chiera in SEM No. 58, this tablet is still unduplicated; neither in Istanbul nor in Philadelphia have I been able to locate any additional material. The myth, one of the most charming of the group, deals with the marriage of Martu to the daughter of Numushda, the main deity of Kazallu.

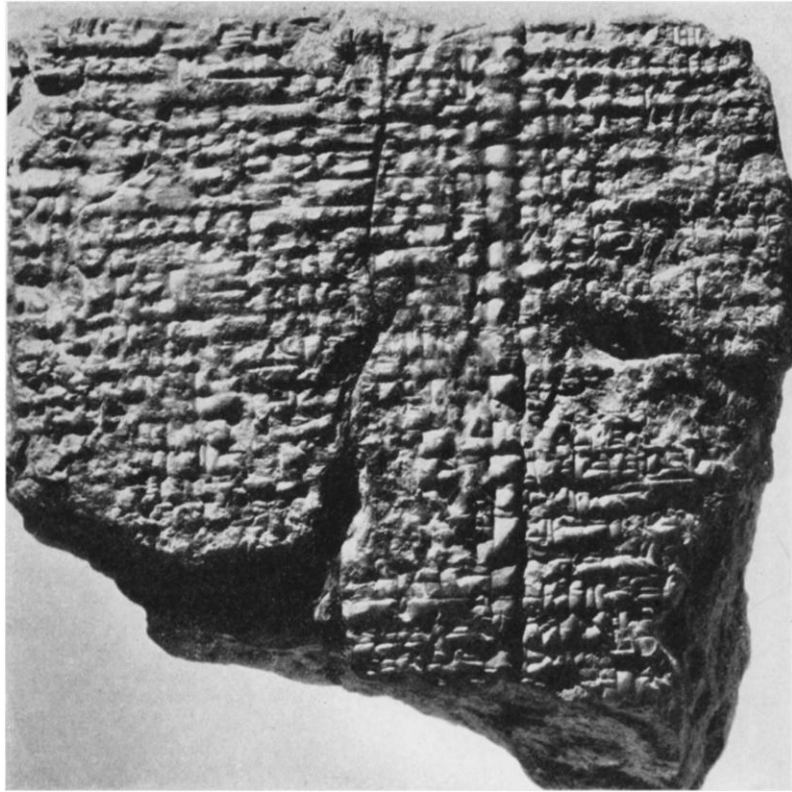


C B S 9800. obv.





PLATE 2  
C B S 9800. rev.

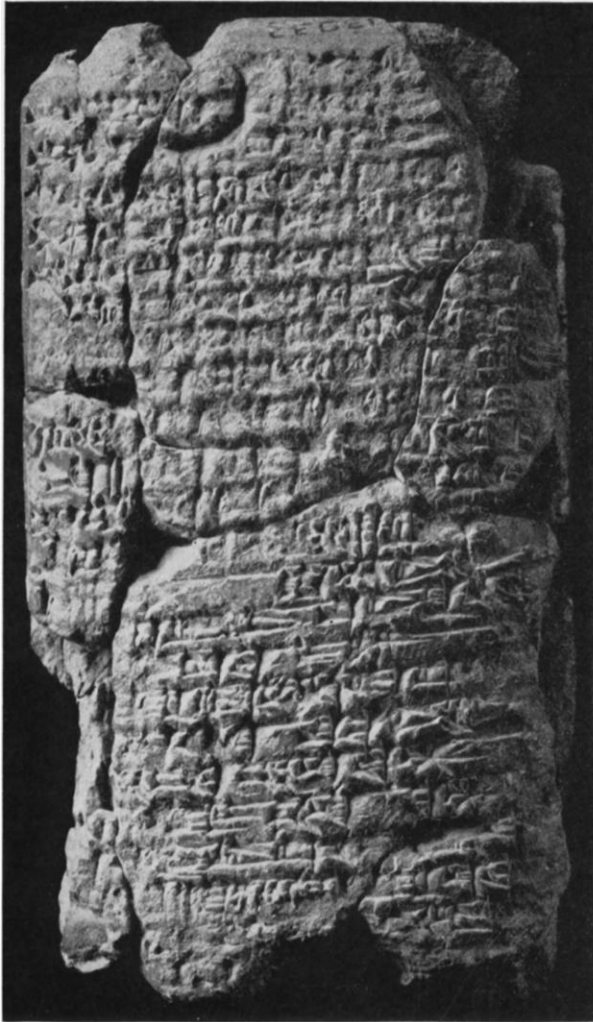


Ni 368. rev.



PLATE 3  
CBS 13932.

obv.



rev.

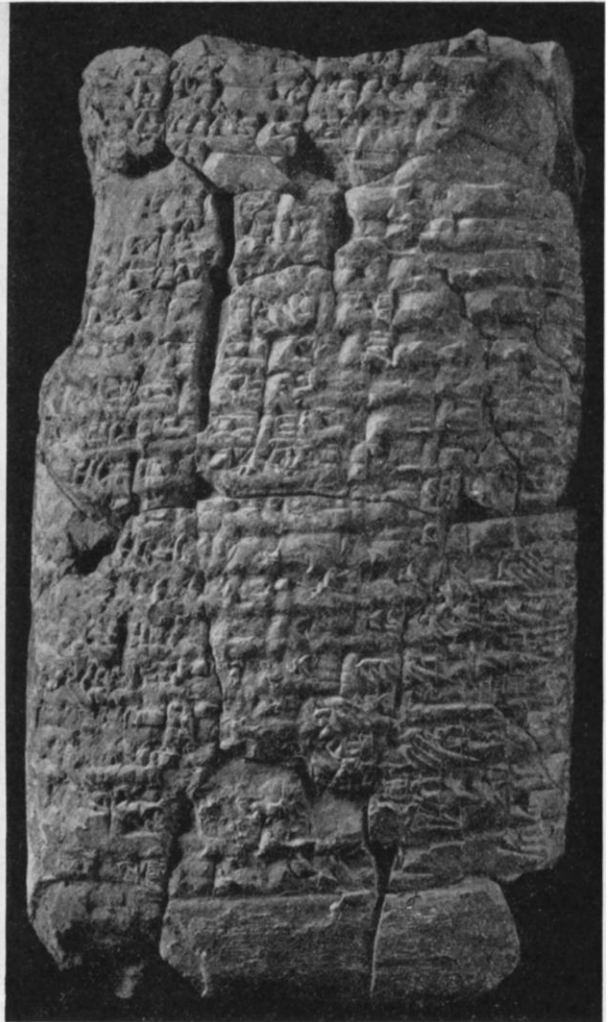


PLATE 4

C B S 12368 + 12702 + 12752.

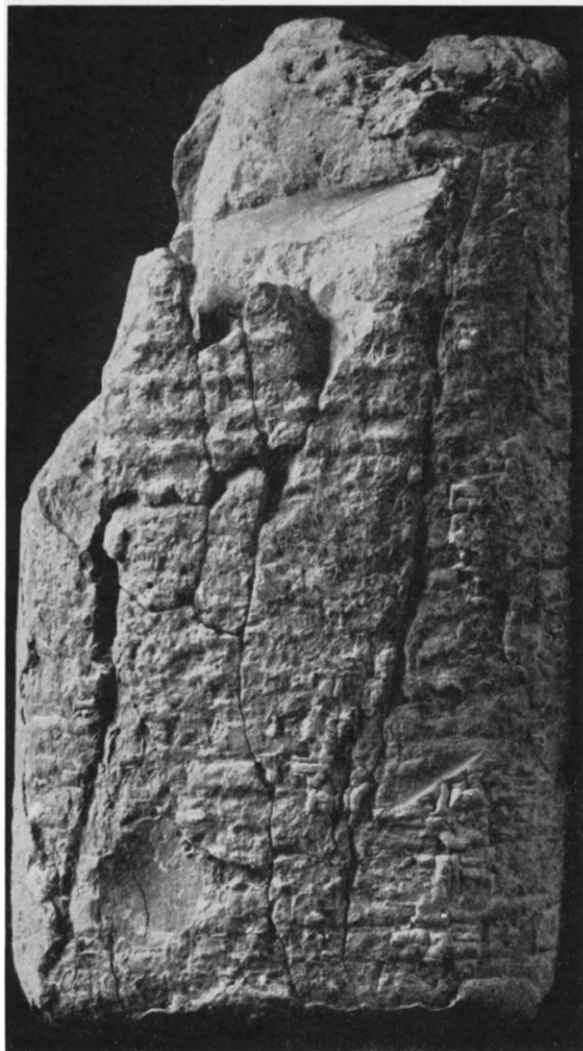
obv.

rev.



PLATE 5  
CBS 13908.

obv.



rev.

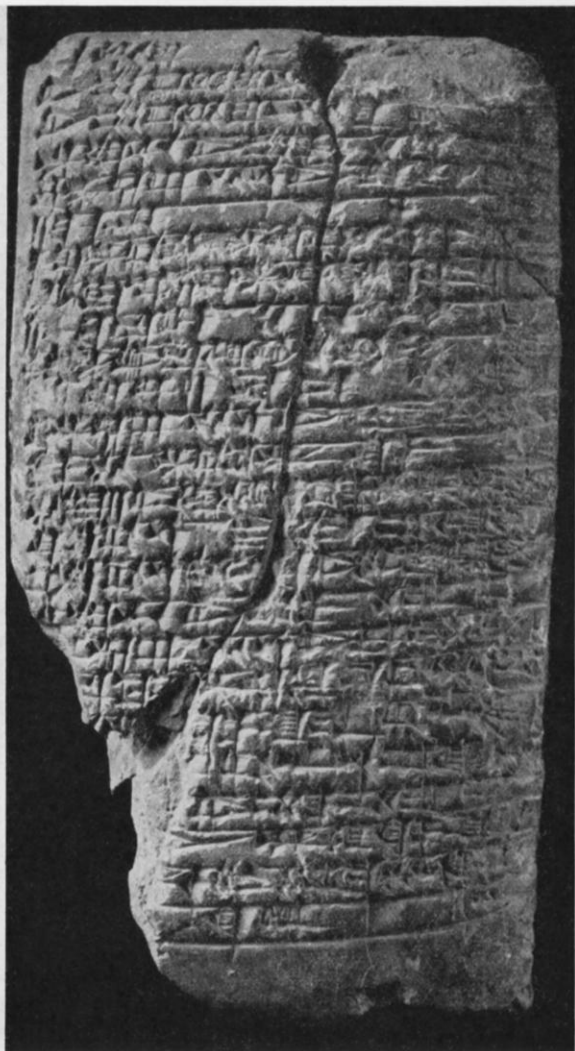


PLATE 6

CBS 11064 + 11088.

obv.

rev.

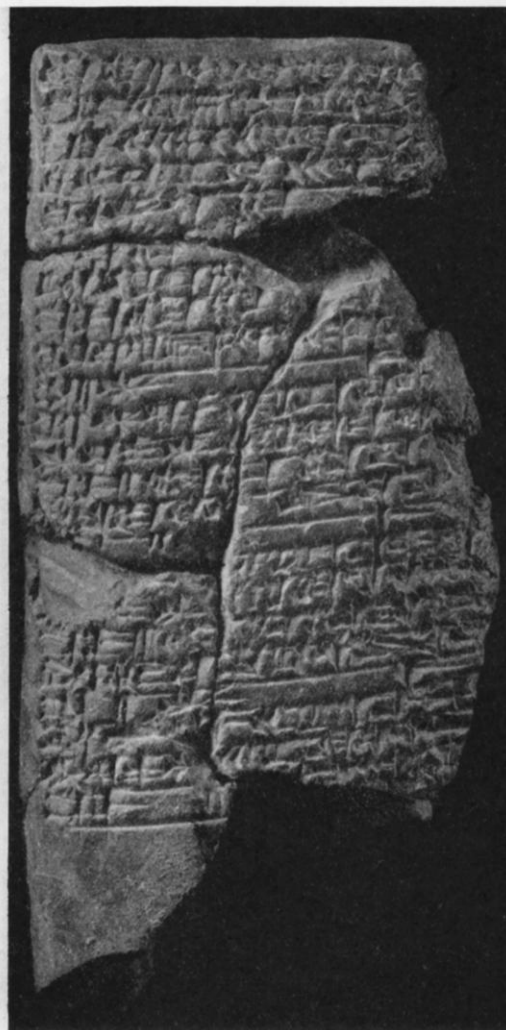
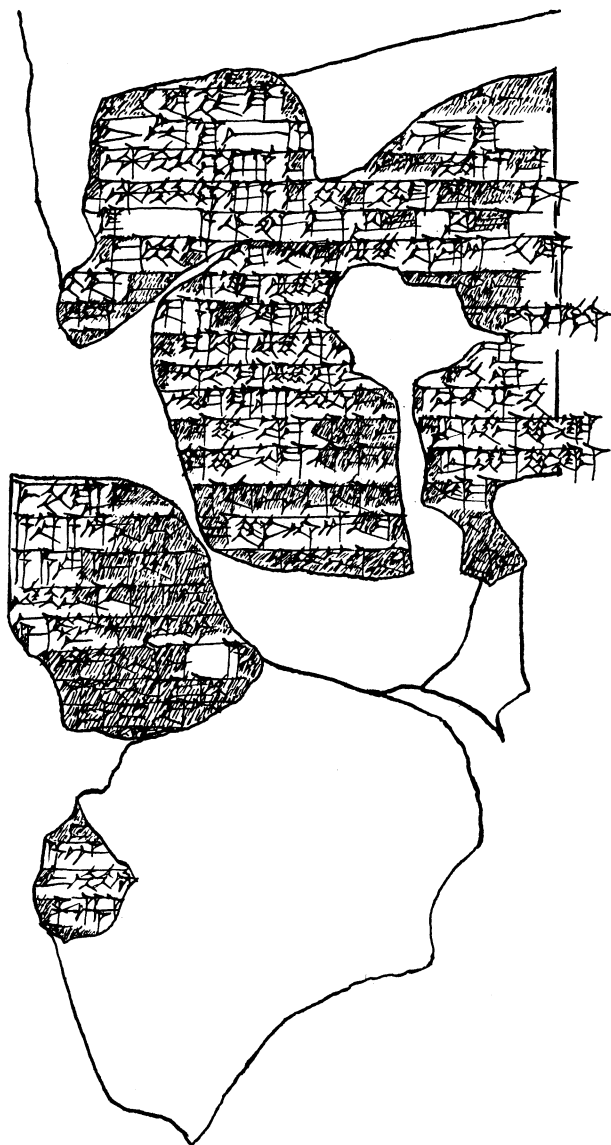


PLATE 7  
CBS 15212.

obv.

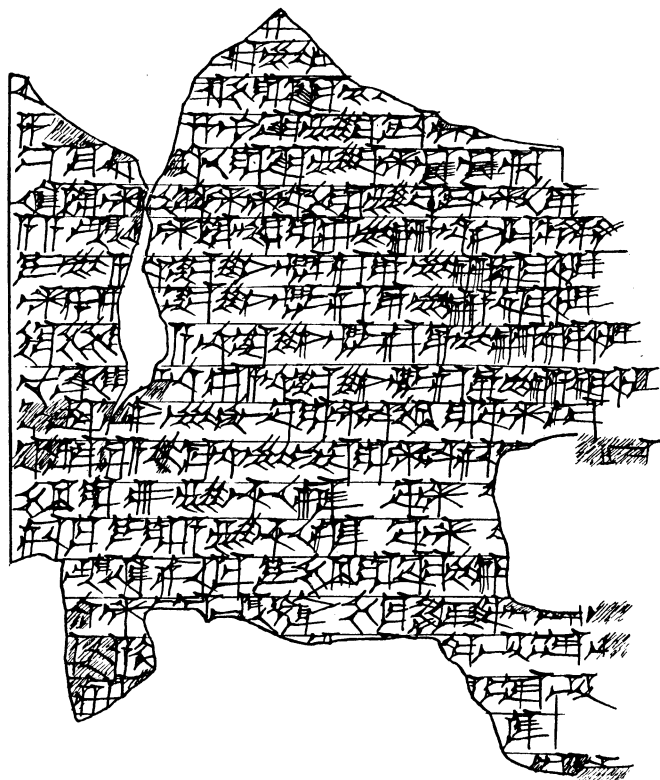


rev.

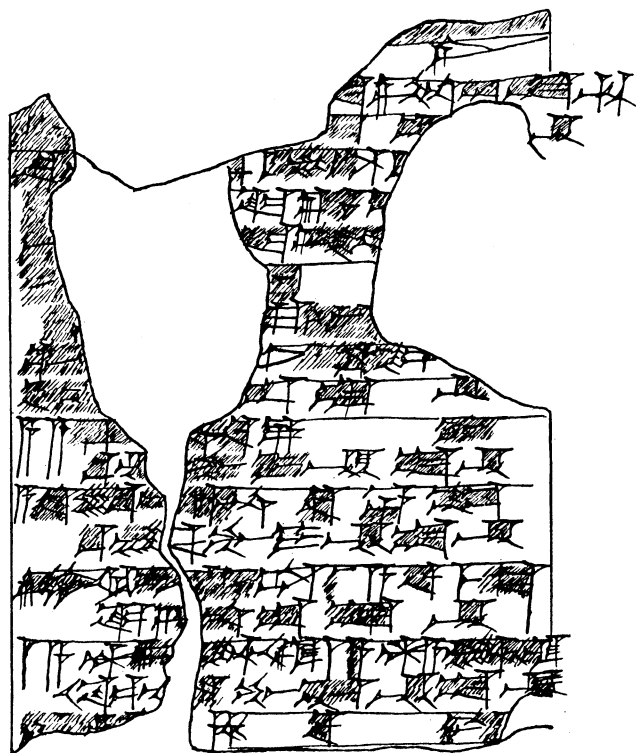


Ni 4200.

obv.

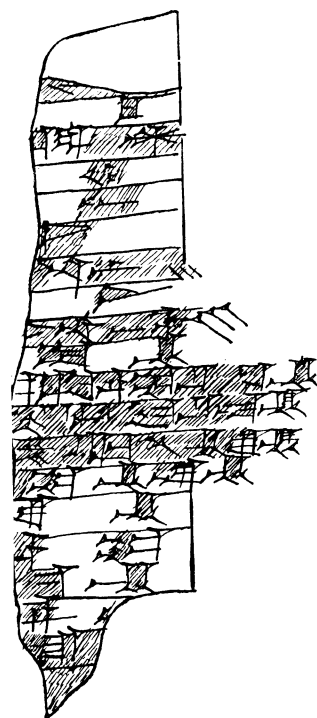


rev.



Ni 2762.

obv.



rev.

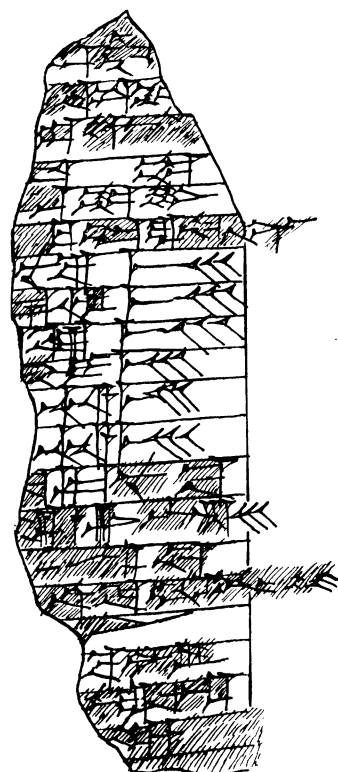




PLATE 9  
C B S 13902.

obv.



rev.

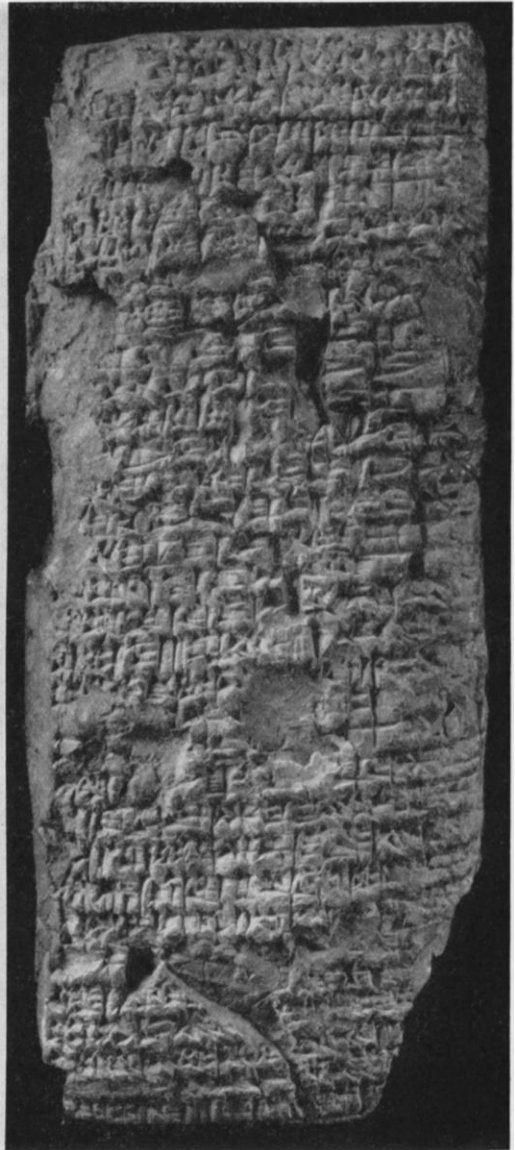
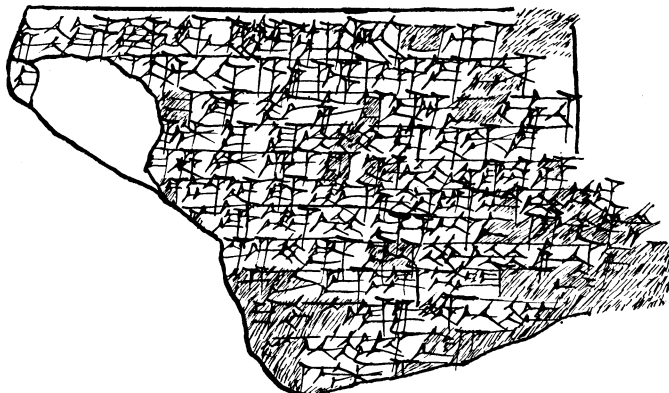




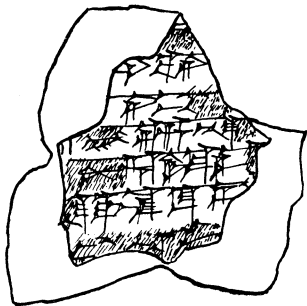
PLATE 10

CBS 15162.

obv.



Ni 4034. obv.



rev. destroyed

rev.

