

By the Rivers of Babylon: A Balag-Liturgy of Inanna

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[Continuing a series of articles, published in various journals, which gives editions and translations of the more remarkable Sumerian religious texts in the British Museum, the present study deals with a long liturgical poem, šà-zu a-še-ir-bi, in which Inanna laments her fate. She bemoans in it the disappearance of her lover Dumuzi. Most of the rhetorical themes are known from similar poems, but the repetition of the unusual theme of lamenting by the river banks makes this composition noteworthy].

Introduction*

The *balag*-composition¹ edited in this paper has been found inscribed on two British Museum tablets: (A) BM 96933, a fragmentary eight-column tablet inscribed with the beginning and end of the *balag*, copied by Cyril Gadd and published in *CT XXXVI* plates 35-38; and (B) BM 96680 (see photograph), a four-column tablet identified by me in the course of my researches in the British Museum² and published here for the first time, that is inscribed with the second half of the composition consisting of 193 lines of which more than half are fairly well preserved. The composition, which in its original form has approximately 433 lines in length³, is divided into *kirugu*'s of diverse length, but the number of *kirugu*'s differs considerably in the two recensions: it is thirty in A and only twenty-two in B⁴. The contents of this difficult, complex and fragmentary

* M. Civil read my manuscript and provided improved readings for lines 18, 255, 265f., 290, and 297. See also his interpretation of lines 361ff., ad loc.

1. For an analysis of the nature of the contents of the *balag* liturgies and their structure, cf. Krecher, *SKLy* (sub Sachindex); M. Cohen, *An Analysis of the balag-compositions to the God Enlil*. Diss. University of Pennsylvania 1971; *id.*, *Balag Compositions*. Malibu 1974; C. Wilke, in S. Lieberman, ed., *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen*. Chicago 1976, pp. 285-286.

2. Cf. S. N. Kramer, "Sumerian Literature and the British Museum". *PAPS* 124(1980) 297-298.

3. This number is obtained by assuming that BM 96680 (B) is the second of a pair of four-column tablets that between them were inscribed with the entire composition. Since each of the three fully inscribed columns on B, consists of approximately 60 lines, it is not unreasonable to assume that the missing four-column tablet contained 240 lines; added to the 193 extant lines of B, the total is 433. A roughly similar approximate number may be obtained for the eight-column tablet BM 96933 (A), on the assumption that each of the seven columns contained between 54 and 55 lines, and the the last column about 50 lines.

4. There are quite a number of other divergences between the two texts, including variants of words and complexes; addition and omission of lines and passages, disagreements in the order of the lines. It is obvious that while the scribes who prepared A and B utilized closely similar sources, these were not identical; or even if they were, each scribe felt free to make what seemed to him reasonable changes.

balag are difficult to summarize— they consist largely of exclamatory addresses by the poet to the goddess, narrative passages of diverse length and content, and above all laments by the goddess herself⁵. The longest and most moving of these laments consists of a recurrent refrain portraying the goddess mourning by the Euphrates and “its twin”⁶, a motif reminiscent to some extent of the weeping of the Jewish exiles “by the rivers of Babylon” (Psalm 137).

Transliteration

1. šà-zu a-še-ir-bi èn-šè i-kúš-ù
2. ama-mu-gi₁₇-ib šà-zu a-še-ir-bi èn-šè i-kúš-ù
3. mu-gi₁₇-ib ga-ša-an-na šà-zu a-še-ir-bi
4. ga-ša-an-é-an-na šà-zu a-še-ir-bi
5. ga-ša-an-gi₆-par₄-ra šà-zu a-še-ir-bi
6. ga-ša-an-an-na-zabalam^{ki} šà-zu a-še-ir-bi
7. ga-ša-an-e-ib-gal šà-zu a-še-ir-bi
8. ga-ša-an-igi-zi-bar-ra šà-zu a-še-ir-bi èn-šè i-kúš-ù
9. nin-a-TU-lá-ba-šè šà-zu a-še-ir-bi èn-šè i-kúš-ù
10. mu-gi₁₇-ib ša é-zu-šè àm-ši-ma-al-la-zu-šè
11. šà é-ḥul-a-zu uru-ḥul-a-zu àm-ši-ma-al-la-zu-šè
12. šà dam-bi-nu-mu-un-ti-la-zu àm-ši-ma-al-la-zu-še
13. šà dumu-bi-nu-mu-un-ti-la-zu àm-ši-ma-al-la-zu
14. mu-gi₁₇-ib šà íd-gim a-gi₆-súr-a-zu
15. šà-ab ^{gi₆}ig-kalag-ga ba-e-gub-ba-zu
16. si-gar-kalag-ga ba-e-mar-ra-zu
17. é-TAR-TAR lú-nu-ku₄-ku₄-zu
18. é-dur₅-dur₅-a-àm ḥu-ru-ḥu-ru-zu
19. en-nu-zalag gi₆-gi₆-gál-la-zu
20. dam íb-tuku ki-kúr-ra ba-e-šub
21. dumu íb-tuku nim-nim-ma ba-e-šub
22. é-tùr mu-e-gul áb sig₁₁ ba-e-dug₄
23. ki-amaš mu-e-ḥul e-zé sig₁₁ ba-e-dug₄
24. šà-zu dumu ama-gan-zi-dè ur-re-èš ba-tu₁₀-bé-èš
25. u₄-ri-ta u₄-sù-du-ri-ta
26. gi₆-ri-ta gi₆-sù-du-ri-ta
27. u₄ dam kúr-re ba-an-zé-èm-mà-ta
28. gi₆ dumu kúr-re ba-an-zé-èm-mà-[ta]
29. ma-la. ?-?-la dam i-ug₅-[ga-ta]
30. dam i-ug₅ dam i-ug₅-[ga-ta]
31. dumu i-ug₅ dumu i-ug₅-[ga-ta]
32.

(about 22 lines missing)

55. sù-du-bi bad-du-bi ga-[ša-an-an-na]

5. For full details cf. Commentary.

6. Cf. note 22.

56. ga-ša-an-an-na eš-[é-an-na-ta]
 57. nin-mu ma-gi-gun₄-na-ta- nin-mu [ma-gi₆-par₄-ra-ta]
 58. nin-maḥ-e é-ib-gal-[la-ta]
 59. dam-ta šu mu-un-da-...
 60. dumu-ra mu-un-da-ra-...
 61. al-sù-ga šu mu-un-gi₄[gi₄]
 62. ki-ná-sù-ga u₄ mi-ni-ib-zal-[e]
 63. lú-dí i-lu nam-mu-un-[na-ab-bé]
 64. ga-ša-an-an-na lú-di dug₄-ga-[na-ab]
 65. i-bi-lum-[lum].-ta(?) a-ra-li(?) ...
 66. sipad-šag₃-ga ù-mu-un-...
 67. sù-du-bi bad-du-bi [ga-ša-an-an-na]
 ki-ru-[gú-2(?)-kam-ma]
 68. a-KA-KA ...
 69. im-ma-al ...
 70. egi-re ...
 71. ama mu-gi₁₇-ib ...
 72. mu-gi₁₇-ib ...
 73. gal ...
 74. ...
 75. a ...

(about 165 lines missing)

241. ...[ša]-mu zi-ga-àm
 242. ...ša-mu-zi-ga-àm
 243. ...še zi^Jzi-da^l
 244. ...-ra mu-un- [til]-le-en-na
 245. ...
 246. ...
 247. ki-šu-nu^Jdi-a^l [igi-mà im-mi-DU]
 248. ki-sá-nu^Jdi-a^l [igi]-mà im-mi-DU
 249. me-e kur-ra [i-DU] za-e igi-mà im-mi-DU
 250. ga-ša-an... mu(?) ...
 251. tir-... tir-kù-ga ...-nigin-e
 252. anše-kur-ḥur-sa[g-glá] ...-nigin-e
 253. [x] kur-ra im-ma-an- ...[im-ma]-zi-ge-en
 254. ...im-ma-an ... [im-ma]-zi-ge-en
 255. [unú] nam-mi-in-lá [šuba^l] nam-mi-in-lá
 256. ... sir-re ...-re
 257. ... šu im-mi-dù
 258. ... nam(?)-. -1á(?) šu im-mi-dug₄
 259. [ga-ša]-an-na-ke₄(?) ... BU(?)-nam
 260. ... an im(?)-il(?)-il(?) ... si ba-ni-ri
 261. ... im-il-il ... an-né si ba-ni-ri
 262. ...-mu-šè an ba-ši-dúb
 263. [an] ba-ši-dúb ki ba-ši-sig

264. an ba-ši-dúb-dúb ki ba-ši-sig-sig
 265. 'ku₆ ab-ba' mu-un-ḥu-luḥ-ḥe
 266. mušen an-[na] mu-un-ḥu-luḥ-ḥa
 267. ?-? ... nin₉ ...-a
 268. mu-lu ... kur-še ba-u₅
 269. mu-ud-[na ...kur-še ba-u₅
 270. ... ù-mu-un-da
 271. ...
 272. ... búr(?) -ra-mu-dè
 ki-ru-gú-16-kam-ma-àm
 273. [ba-an]-ir-ra-ta ba-an-ir-ra-ta
 274. ?-?-zu(?) ba-an-ir-ra-ta ba-an-ir-ra-ta
 275. uru-[mu] ba-ḥul-ḥul ir-ra-bi
 276. 'é-mu' ba-gul-gul ir-ra-bi
 277. ...erín-e ba-an-ir
 278. ... kúr(?) -re ba-ab(?) -il(?) -e
 279. a mu-un-ga-mu a gil-sa-mu im-me-ne
 280. ma-an-ga kúr-re ba-ab-ir^Jra-mu' im-me-ne
 281. gil-sa kúr-re ba-ab-il-[la-mu] im-me-ne
 282. [a] é-mu a urú-mu gig-ga-bi im-me-ne
 ki-ru-gú-17-kam-ma-àm
 283. ù-ma-mu ù-ma-mu ù-li-la-lu
 284. [a]-è-a ga-ša-an-an-na an-na gur₄-gur₄-ra
 285. ga-ša-an-an-na ki-a gur₄-gur₄-ra
 286. é-a ga-ku₄ uru-a ga-ku₄
 287. ?-ma-al-la-mu ?-ma-al-la-mu ma-a-?-mu
 288. a-urú-a-urú-a me-e mu-lu-bi nu-mèn
 289. [ab]-lál-ab-lál-ba tu-gur₄mušen-bi nu-mèn
 290. [á]-bulug-á-bulug-ba buru₅-[ḥabr]ud^{mušen}-bi nu-mèn
 291. ?-?-?-bi su-dín^{mušen} -bi nu-mèn
 292. [id-dè] še àm-ša₄ šà-mu še àm-ša₄
 293. [u₄]-RI-LI-na íd-dè še àm-ša šà-mu šè àm-ša₄
 294. [id] dè íd-nun-e še am-sa₄
 295. [id]-dè íd-asila-ke₄ še àm-ša₄
 296. [id]-asila-ke₄ íd-kù-ge še àm-ša₄
 297. [id-dè] ^{id}kir₁₁(SAL.SILA₄)-sig-e še àm-ša₄
 298. [id-dè] íd-buranuna-na še àm-ša₄
 299. maš-tab-ba-íd-buranun-na-ke₄ še àm-ša₄ šà-mu še àm-ša₄
 300. ?-?-?-bi nu-zalag-ga-bi
 301. šà-mu ki-mè-ka e-ne-[di]-dug₄-ga-bi
 302. šà-mu ḥul-ṁa-al-[ḥul-ma]-al-la-bi
 303. ...[é-má] ma-ab-bé ... uru-má ma-ab-bé
 304. ...[dam]-má ma-ab-bé ... dumu (!)-má ma-ab-bé
 305. ...-ḥul-a-mà tuku-àm ma-ab-bé
 306. ...-ḥul-a-mà tuku-àm ma-ab-bé
 307. ga-ša-an-an-na [é-tùr] gul-la-na gud-sig₁₁-dug₄-ga-na
 308. ga-ša-an-an-na k[i-amaš ḥul-l]a-na e-zé-sig₁₁-dug₄-ga-na

309. ...[ba-e]-kar-ra-na
 310. ...ba-e-ḫul-la-na
 311. id-dè še àm-ša₄ šà-mu nu-kú-e
 312. u₄-RI-LI-na id-dè še àm-ša₄ šà-mu nu-kú-e
 313. id-dè id-nun-e še àm-ša₄ šà-mu nu-kú-e
 314. maš-tab-ba-^{id}buranun-na-ke₄ še àm-sa₄ šà-mu nu-kú-e
 315. šà-mu ú-kú-dùg-ge kú-a kú-a
 316. šà-mu u₄-RI-šè kú-a kú-a
 317. ú ba-ab-zé-è-m-e ú na-ma-kú-e
 318. a ba-n[i-i]n-dé a na-ma-nag-nag
 319. i-bí ù nu-un-ti i-bí ù nu-ma-al
 320. KU-KU-a-ba u₄ ba-an-ta-zal
 321. šu-dul-šu-dul-la u₄ im-ma-ni-ku₄
 322. id-dè mi-ri-gub šà-mu nu-kú-e
 323. u₄-RI-LI-na id-dè mi-ri-gub šà-mu nu-kú-e
 324. id-dè id-nun-e mi-ri-gub šà-mu nu-kú-e
 325. maš-tab-ba-^{id}buranun-na-ke₄ mi-ri-gub šà-mu nu-kú-e
 326. a-ra-li-mèn šeš-ta gil-li-è-m-mà-mèn
 327. kú-^{id}inanna-mèn(?) a-ra-li-mèn šeš-ta gil-li-è-m-mà-mèn
 328. ga-ša-an-an-na šeš-ta gil-li-è-m-mà-mèn
 ... ma ... KU (?) - KU (?)
 329. ... ḫar(?) - ra-...
 330. ... na-ám-šes-a ...-ra-mèn(?)
 331. guruš mu-[lu-mu i-me]-a-mu
 332. mu-lu mu-[ud-na-mu] i-me-a-mu
 333. mu-na-nigin nu-mu-na-ab-zé-è-m-mèn
 334. ba-an-da-gam-ma-ni lú e-ne-è-m ma-ab-bé
 335. šeš-mu ^{šig}ig-kur-ra gá-la ba-ab-dag
 336. a-ra-li-mèn šeš-ta gi-li-è-m-mà-mèn
 337. mušen-ambar-ra ambar-lil-lá i-bí-zu nu-uš i-ma-al
 338. mu-gi₁₇-ib-ga-ša-an-an-na i-bí-zu mu-e-ši-ma-al
 339. nin ga-ša-an-é-en-na i-bí-zu nu-uš i-ma-al
 340. nin ga-ša-an-ki-unu^{ki}-ga i-bí-zu nu-uš i-ma-al
 341. nin ga-ša-an-ki-zabalam^{ki} i-bí-zu nu-uš i-ma-al
 342. nin ga-ša-an- dingir-igi-zi-bar-ra i-bí-zu nu-uš i-ma-al
 343. nin ga-ša-an-dingir-GĪR-maḫ-a i-bí-zu nu-uš i-ma-al
 344. ⁱi-àm-ma e-la-lu
 ki-ru-gú-18-kam-ma-àm
 345. i-bí-mu àm-ši-ma-al dim-ma-kur-ra-ke₄
 346. a-è-a u₄-di(?) i-di-di-dé-[i]n?
 347. me-e ga-ša-an-an-na-mèn i-di-di-di-in
 348. ga-ša-an-é-an-na-mèn i-di-di-in
 349. ga-ša-an-ki-unu^{ki}-ga-mèn i-di-di-dí-in
 350. ga-ša-an-ki-zabalam^{ki}-mèn i-di-di-di-in
 351. ga-ša-an-dingir-igi-zi-bar-ra-mèn i-di-di-in
 352. ga-ša-an-dingir-GĪR-maḫ-a-mèn i-di-di-di-in
 353. ga-ša-an-mèn a-še-ir-re mu-kúš-ù

354. ir-re a-še-ir-re mu-kuš-ù
 355. a-še-ir-é-mà-ke₄ mu-kuš-ù
 356. a-še-ir-uru-mà-ke₄ mu-kuš-ù
 357. a-še-ir-dam-mà-ke₄ mu-kuš-ù
 358. a-še-ir-du₅-mu-mà-ke₄ mu-kuš-ù
 359. nu-nuz-mèn i-di-di-dí-in me-ri gaba mu-...
 360. gù-dé-dé-da ad mu-mar-a-àm
 361. lú-ra-ná-a-gim mu-na-te-gá-dè-en
 362. lú-ra-pa₄-hal-la-ná-a-gim mu-na-te-gá-dè-en
 363. a lú-bi i-im-mèn-kam-ma-mu-úr mu-un-ši-ib-uš
 364. àm-mu-uš-kam-ma-mu mu-un-ši-ib-uš
 365. ga-DU ga-DU-DU me-e ga-ša-an-an-na-mèn
 me-e mu-lu-ta-ŠEŠ-me-en
 366. i-bi-imin gaba-imin ga-[DU-DU]
 367. nu(?)-gig(?) gal-zu ní-te-ni mu-un-pi-el
 368. me-e ga-ša-an-an-na-mèn me-e mu-lu-ta-ŠEŠ-me-en
 369. ...-mà si-mùš-bi ga(?)-...
 370. ...-mà mu-gi₄-bi ga-an-TAR
 371. ...-a mu-lu nam-mu-un-e₁₁-dè
 372. ... kar-ra a-a ma-ni-in-ma-al
 373. ... a-a ma-ni-in-ma-al
 374. ... a-na ma-ab-bé
 375. ... a-a ma-ab-è
 376. ... ma-ab-gam
 377. ... ma-ab-gam
 378. [a-a-^dmu-ul-lil]-le ša-sù-ud mu-un-ag-e
 [ki-ru-gú-19]-kam-ma-àm
 379. [al-di-di ama-^dinanna] al-di-di-in
 380. [ù-u₈-ù-u₈ e-la-lu ama]-^dinanna al-di-di-in
 381. [ama-lul-la ga-ša-an-na] al-di-di-in
 382. [ga-ša-an-é-an-na] al-di-di-in
 383. ga-ša-an-gi₆-par₄-ra] al-di-di-in
 384. [ga-ša-an-an-na-zabalam^{ki} al-di-di-in]
 385. [ga-sa-an-dingir-igi-zi-bar-ra al-di-di-in]
 386. ga-ša-an-dingir-GĪR-maḥ-a al-di-di-in]
 387. ...
 388. ...
 389. ...-ta la- ba-rà-è
 390. ... ul-ta la-ba-ra-è
 391. ... dūr-ru-dūr-ru-àm
 392. ... -na dūr-ru-dūr-ru-àm
 393. ... dūr-ru-dūr-ru-àm
 394. ú-u₈-[ù-u₈ e-la-]lu a-na šu ba-ni-ti
 395. é-mu ù-mu-un-bi mà-mar-ra
 396. ù-u₈-ù-u₈ [e-la-lu] ù-mu-un-bi ba-ug₅
 397. ma-an-ga-mu UB ... ù-mu-un-bi ba-u₅
 398. ù-u₈-ù-u₈ [e-la-lu] ba-ba-bi ga-da

399. ma-ba-ba ...-a-e
 400. ù-u₈-ù-u₈ e-[la-lú]... -bi ga-da
 ki-ru-gú-20-kam-ma-àm
 401. ám ní-zu a-gim bí-ag ám ní-zu a-gim bí-ag
 402. mu-gi₁₇-ib ga-ša-an-an-na ní-zu a-gim bí-ag
 403. nin ga-ša-an-é-an-na ní-zu a-gim bí-ag
 404. nin ga-ša-an-ki-unu^{ki}-ga ní-zu a-gim bí-ag
 405. nin ga-ša-an-ki-zabalam^{ki} ní-zu- a-gim bí-ag
 406. ga-ša-an-dingir-igi-zi-bar-ra ní-zu a-gim bí-ag
 407. ga-ša-an-dingir-GĪR-maḥ-a ní-zu a-gim bí-ag
 408. ám ní-zu a-gim nu-zu-a-e
 409. ám-dam-šag₅-ga nu-zu-a-e
 410. uru i-dù mu-lu-mu nu-un-tuš
 411. é i-dù mu-lu-mu nu-un-ku₄-ku₄
 412. addir-ra mu-lu-si-si-a-ba nu-mu-ni-bal-e
 413. uru-mu ir-ra-bi mušen-dù-e sa ba-an-gi₄
 414. mušen-dù sir-ra ga-nam na-nam ul₄-ul₄ sa bi-in-gi₄
 415. šà-ba na-ám-tar-mu ga-nam na-nam gá-gi₄-a ma-ni-in-dù
 416. me-e ám ní-mu ba-ra-mu-un-ag a-a-mu mu-un-ag
 417. a-a -mu- ^dmu-ul-lil-le a-a-mu mu-un-[ag]
 418. sù-du-ám-TU-TU-dè mu-un-ag a-a-mu mu-un-[ag]
 419. še mu-un-ku₅-ku₅ bur₅^{mušen}-mu mu-un-dal-dal
 420. [a-a-mu ám]-gig-ga mu-un-kú
 421. [kur-gal-^dmu-ul]-lil-le mu-un-ag
 a-a-mu mu-un-ag
 [ki-ru]-gú-21-kam-ma-àm
 422. [íd-sed_x(MŪŠ.DI)-dè] me-na-sed_x-dè
 423. [^didiglat ^dburanun]-na me-na-šed_x-dè
 424. [šà-bur₅^{mušen}-gim] ba-e-gub-ba-zu
 425. [^{gi}si-gar-kalag-ga] ba-e-mar-ra-zu
 426. [ù ba-ab-zé-èṁ]-e ú na-ma-kú-e
 427. [a ba-ni-in-dè] a na-ma-nag-nag
 428. [i-bi ù nu-un]-ti i-bi ù nu-ma-al
 429. [KU-KU-a-ba] u₄ ba-[an-da-zal]
 430. [šu-dul-šu-dul]-la u₄ im-ma-[ni-kú]
 431. [íd-šed_x]-dè me-na-sed_x-dè
 432. [...] me-na- mu-un-...
 433. ... é-a u₄ ...

[ki]-šú-bi-[im]
 [balag]-^dinanna-[kam]

Textual Notes

Beginning with line 327, the reverse of A duplicates our text which is based on B, but with numerous and diverse variants and variations. Line by line the correspondences and differences between A and our text are as follows:

A rev. i

1. kú(!)-^oinanna(!)... = 327. 2 = 328. 3 = 331 (lines 329 and 330 are missing in A): lú for m u-[lu]. 4 = 332: lú for m u-lu. 5 = 333: nu-m u-un-na-nigin for m u-na-nigin. 6. lú-ta-è tar-ra šu-... (line omitted in our text). 7 = 334 (following line 7 in A is the rubric ki-ru-gú-24-[kam-ma]). 8. This line seems out of order; it corresponds to line 322. 9 = 337 (A omits the rather crucial lines 335 and 336). 10 = 338; it omits m u-gi₁₇-ib and has the seemingly correct verbal form n u-uš i-[ma-al] for the m u-e-ši-m a-al of our text. (Following line 10 is the rubric ki-ru-gú-25[kam-ma]). 11 = 345 (lines 339-344 followed by the rubric ki-ru-gú-18-kam-ma-àm are missing in A): igi for i-bí and m a-al for gál. 12 = 346: e-a-ù for a-è-a; it omits the seemingly unjustified u₄-di(?). 13 = 347: omits -m èn. 14 = 348: -m á for m èn. 15 = 349: -gi₆-par₄-ra-m á for -ki-unu^{ki}-ga-m èn. 16 = 350: ga-ša-an-an-na-ki-zabalam^{ki} for ga-ša-an-ki-zabalam^{ki}-m èn. 17 = 351: omits -dingir- and -m èn. 18 = 352: omits -dingir- and -m èn. 19. nin-a-TU-lá-ba-še i-di-di-[di-in] (line omitted in our text). 20-21: ga-ša-an-m u e-ne- < èm > m u-m a-al i-di-di-[di-in]. šà-kù-m u e-ne-em m u-m a-al i-di-di-[di-in] (these two lines are missing in our text which has instead lines 353-358). 22 = 359: -m e-en for m èn. 23 = 360: no variants. 24-25: These two lines correspond to one line, 365, except for the end of line 25 which reads urú-a-ta ... instead of m e-e m u-lu-ta-ŠEŠ-m e-en (note that lines 361 and 362 correspond to lines 28 and 29 in A, and that lines 363 and 364 are missing in A). 26 = 366. Only the first two complexes correspond (note the variant igi for i-bí); the rest of the line that reads ga-ša-an-na-m èn urú-a-ta ... differs altogether from the ga-D U-D U of our text. 27 = 367. The only variant is m u-nus for n u-nuz if the reading of the relevant signs should turn out to be correct. 28 = 361: lú-nu-a-gim for lú-ra-ná-a-gim. 29 = 362: pa₄-hal-la-nu-m e-a-gim for lú-ra-pa₄-hal-la-ná-a-gim. Lines 30-35, the last lines of kirugu 26 of A correspond only very slightly to the eleven lines that end kirugu 19 of our text, thus: lines 368, 369, 370, 371, 374, 375 are all missing in A; line 30 of A that reads a-a-m u kur-ra a-a-m u kur-ra a-a-m u [kur-ra] is missing in our text; line 31 which reads: a-a-m u kur-ra m u-ni-ingar-gar- may perhaps correspond to line 372; line 32 which reads a-za-lu-lu-m u kur-ra m u-ni-ingar-gar- may correspond to line 373; line 33 which reads urú-a TUR-TUR-e da-ri ba-da-an-[gam(?)] may correspond to line 376; line 34 which reads: urú-a-TUR-TUR-lá u₄-da-ri-e ba-ab-[gam(?)] may correspond to line 377; line 35 which reads: urú-a-ḥul i-ni-in-si mi-ni-in-.. may be the semantic counterpart of of line 378, since these lines depict Enlil's cruel acts directed against Inanna and her city. Lines 36-41 correspond to line 379-384 which they help to restore.

A rev. ii

Lines 1-3 correspond to lines 405-407, but add ám before ní-zu and omit a-gim bí-ag. Line 4 which reads ám ní-zu n u-un-zu-a-gim seems to be a rather garbled variant of line 408. Line 5 which reads ... -e ám m u-uš(?) -BU₄(?) -e is missing in our text. 6 = 409: no variants. Line 7 which reads: ám -dum u-šag₅-ga n u-zu-a-e is missing in our text. 8 = 410: no variants. 9 = 411, assuming that the m u- preceding ku₄-ku₄ is a scribal error for n u-. Line 10 which reads addir (note the missing following S1) m u-lu-si-a-? nu(!)-m u(!)-ni-bal-e corresponds to line 412, but note the missing -ra following addir; the omission of one -si- in the second complex; -ni- for -un- in the verbal form. 11 = 413, but note -ba for -bi (end of second complex). 12 = 414: sá for sa. 13 = 415: no variants. 14 = 416: adds ám before ní-m u and reads ba-ra-an-ga for ba-ra-m u-un-ag. 15 = 417: adds m u-ag and omits -un- in the verbal form. 18 = 420-421 (line 419 is omitted in A): dū for kú; omits m u-un-ag (line 18 is followed by the rubric ki-ru-gú-28-kam-ma). 19 = 422: no variants. 20 = 423: no variants. 21 = 424: -e for -zu in the verbal form. 22 = 425: šé(?) for -zu in the verbal form. Lines 23-27 correspond to lines 426-430 which are identical with lines 317-321. The variants in this passage are as follows: 23 = 426: -m èn for -e; 24 = 427:

no variants; 25 = 428: a for ù and -d é for -ti; 26 = 429: -bi for -ba (end of first complex); 27 = 430: ú for u₄. 28 = 431: no variants. Line 29, the last line in A, may correspond in some way to the very fragmentary line 432 which, however, is not the last line of our text (433, the last line, does not have any counterpart in A).

Translation

1. Your heart— until when will its lament weary you!
 2. Mother Hierodule, your heart— until when will its lament weary you!
 3. Hierodule, Queen of Heaven, your heart— (until when will) its lament (weary you!)
 4. Queen of Eanna, your heart— (until when will) its lament (weary you!)
 5. Queen of the Gipar, your heart— (until when will) its lament (weary you!)
 6. Heavenly Queen Of Zabalam, your heart— (until when will) its lament (weary you!)
 7. Queen of the Ibgal, your heart— (until when will) its lament (weary you!)
 8. Queen of steadfast gaze, your heart— until when will its lament weary you!
 9. Queen of ..., your heart— until when will its lament weary you!
 10. Hierodule, your heart which you have set toward your house— (until when will its lament weary you!)
 11. Your heart which you have set toward your destroyed house, your destroyed city— (until when will its lament weary you!)
 12. Your heart which you have set toward its spouse who is no longer living— (until when will its lament weary you!)
 13. Your heart which you have set toward its son who is no longer living— (until when will its lament weary you!)
 14. Hierodule, you heart, which is a raging torrent like a river— (until when will its lament weary you!)
 15. Your heart (because of which) you have torn away the mighty door— (until when will its lament weary you!)
 16. Your heart (because of which) you have ripped out the mighty bolt— (until when will its lament weary you!)
 17. Your (heart that is a) TAR-TAR-house where none may enter— until when will its lament weary you!
 18. Your (heart that is a) village which has been destroyed... (until when will its lament weary you!)
 19. Your (heart that is a) bright morning watch which has become pitch black— (until when will its lament weary you!)
 20. You had a spouse, you cast him into a hostile place.
 21. You had a son, you cast him into a waterless place.
 22. You laid waste to the stall, you dispersed the cows.
 23. You destroyed the fold, you dispersed the sheep.
 24. Your heart struck down as enemies the sons of the righteous child-bearing mothers.
 25. From that day, from that distant day.
 26. From that night, from that distant night.
 27. From the day when the spouse had been given over to the enemy.
 28. From the night when the son has been given over to the enemy.
 29. (From the day when)... the spouse had been killed.
 30. (From the day when) the spouse had been killed, the spouse had been killed.
 31. (From the night when) the son had been killed, the son had been killed,
 32. ...
- (about 22 lines missing)
55. Distant, far away (is) I[nanna],

56. Inanna (is distant, far away) [from] the shrine [Eanna],
 57. My Queen (is distant, far away) from the house Giguna, my Queen (is distant, far away) [from the house Gipar],
 58. The noble Queen (is distant, far away) [from] the Ibgal.
 59. She ... from the spouse
 60. She ... to the son,
 61. She ... in an empty...,
 62. She spends (her) days in an empty bed.
 63. The passerby [utters] an outcry to her.
 64. Inanna, say to the passerby:
 65. "He of the lu m -lu m eyes has... from(?) ...[to?] Arali(?)
 66. The comely shepherd, the lord ..."
 67. Distant, faraway (is) Inanna.
 the second(?) *kirugu*.
 68. ...
 69. The cow ...
 70. The princess
 71. The mother, hierodule ...
 72. The Hierodule, the Queen of Heaven ...
 73-75. ...
 (about 165 lines missing)
241. ... my heart is distraught,
 242. ... my heart is distraught.
 243. ...
 244. ... you to whom I have put an end,
 245. ...
 246. ...
 247. You went before me to the place where there is no touching,
 248. You went before me to the place where there is no judgment,
 249. I went to the Nether World, you went there before me.
 250. Queen ...
 251. In the ... forest, the holy forest ...I(?) wander(?)
 252. In the mountains (and?)hills ... I(?) wander (?)
 253. I ... to the fisherman, I rose up,
 254. I ... I rose up,
 255. I put on the necklace, I put on the šu ba-stones.
 256. ...song ...
 257. I tied the hands...
 258. I bound(?) the arms..., I touched.
 259. Queen of Heaven ...,
 260. ... I lift(?) ... I direct a ray of light,
 261. ... I (?) lift ... I direct a ray of light at heaven,
 262. At my [cry] heaven quaked,
 263. Heaven quaked, Earth trembled,
 264. Heaven quaked again and again, Earth trembled again and again.
 265. I frightened the fish of the sea,

266. I frightened the birds of the sky.
 267. ... sister ...
 268. ... sailed to the Nether World.
 269. ... sailed to the Nether World
 270. ... with the lord
 271. ...
 272. In my ...

The sixteenth *kirugu*

273. After it had been carried off, after it had been carried off,
 274. ... after it had been carried off, after it had been carried off,
 275. The ... city was destroyed utterly— (that which) was carried off from it.
 276. The ... (?) was devastated utterly— (that which) was carried off from it,
 277. ... the troops carried off,
 278. ... the enemy transports,
 279. Oh my possessions! Oh my wealth! —they say,
 280. The possessions, the enemy has carried them off—they say
 281. The wealth, the enemy has transported it —they say,
 282. Oh my house! Oh my city!— bitterly they say

The seventeenth *kirugu*

283. My victory cry, my victory cry —ulilalu!
 284. Oh and Woe, Queen of Heaven, exalted in heaven,
 285. Queen of Heaven, exalted on earth,
 286. I would enter the house, I would enter the city.
 287. My existing ..., my existing ..., my ...
 288. Oh city! Oh city! Oh! —I am not its mistress
 289. Of its nooks— I am not their fat dove,
 290. Of its windows— I am not their sparrow,
 291. Of its crevasses(?)— I am not their bat.
 292. [By the river] it grieves, my heart grieves,
 293. [Day] after day (?) by the river it grieves, my heart grieves,
 294. By the [river], by the Idnun, it grieves,
 295. By the [river], by the river of jubilation, it grieves,
 296. By the [river] of jubilation, by the holy river, it grieves,
 297. [By the river], by the Isinītu-canal, it grieves,
 298. [By the river], by the Euphrates, it grieves.
 299. By the twin of the Euphrates it grieves, my heart grieves.
 300. Its ..., its not being bright
 301. My heart, my prancing about in the battlefield.
 302. My heart, its utter desolation,
 303. Of the ... [of my house], it speaks to me, of the ... of my city it speaks to me,
 304. Of the ... of my [spouse], it speaks to me, of the ... of my son it speaks to me
 305. "Take the ... of my destroyed house", it says to me,
 306. "Take the ... of my destroyed city", it says to me.
 307. The Queen of Heaven, in her destroyed cattle pen, among her disperses oxen.

308. The Queen of Heaven, in her destroyed shepfold, among her dispersed sheep.
 309. Among her ... that had been seized.
 310. Among her ... that had been destroyed (keeps lamenting):
 311. By the river it grieves, my heart does not eat,
 312. Day after day(?) by the river it grieves, my heart does not eat,
 313. By the river, by the Idnun, it grieves, my heart does not eat,
 314. By the twin of the Euphrates it grieves, my heart does not eat.
 315. My heart—eat, eat the good repast
 316. My heart, eat, eat, for ... day.
 317. Food is given, I do not eat the food.
 318. Water is poured, I do not drink the water,
 319. I shed no tears, I had no tears,
 320. In its ... I spend the days,
 321. Hands swathed, I ate the food there.
 322. Having set foot at the river, my heart does not eat
 323. Day after day(?), having set foot at the river, my heart does not eat,
 324. Having set foot at the river, at the Idnun, my heart does not eat,
 325. Having set foot at the twin of the Euphrates, my heart does not eat.
 326. I am of Arali, I have been deprived of the brother.
 327. I am holy Inanna, I am of Arali, I have been deprived of the brother,
 328. (I), the Queen of Heaven, have been deprived of the brother,
 329. ...
 330. I am ... because of the brother ...
 331. My lad who ([was my] man
 332. My man who was my bridegroom,
 333. I circled about for him, I did not give him over to him.
 334. Someone keeps telling me of his having been bent low,
 335. My brother disappeared at the door of the Nether World,
 336. I am of Arali, I have been deprived of the brother.
 337. Would that you had cast your eye on the bird of the marshes, the desolate marshes,
 338. Hierodule, Queen of Heaven, would that you had cast your eye upon it,
 339. Queen, queen of the Eanna, would that you had cast your eye on the bird of the marshes, the desolate marshes,
 340. Queen, Queen of Erech, would that you had cast your eye on the bird of the marshes, the desolate marshes.
 341. Queen, Queen of Zabalam, would that you had cast your eye on the bird of the marshes, the desolate marshes,
 342. Queen, Divine Queen, of steadfast gaze, would that you had cast your eye on the bird of the marshes, the desolate marshes,
 342. Queen, Divine Queen of the noble path, would that you had cast your eye on the bird of the marshes, the desolate marshes,
 344. i-àm -m a e-la-lu

The eighteenth *kirugu*

345. I have set my eye on the feeble beings of the Nether World,
 346. Oh and Woe, I keep wandering,

347. I, I who am the Queen of Heaven, keep wandering,
 348. I who am the Queen of the Eanna, keep wandering,
 349. I who am the Queen of Erech, keep wandering,
 350. I who am the Queen of Zabalam, keep wandering,
 351. I who am the divine Queen of steadfast gaze, keep wandering,
 352. I who am the Divine Queen of the noble path, keep wandering.
 353. I who am the Queen, am wearied by lamenting
 354. I am wearied by weeping and lamenting,
 355. I am wearied by lamenting for my house,
 356. I am wearied by lamenting for my city,
 357. I am wearied by lamenting for my spouse,
 358. I am wearied by lamenting for my son.
 359. I who am a woman, keep wandering, feet, chest, ...
 360. While calling, calling, I set up a cry,
 361. Like to one who is lying I shall approach him,
 362. Like to one who is lying motionless I shall approach him.
 363. Oh, the lying man has stood up(?), he has leaned against my ...
 364. Oh, ..., he has leaned against my ...
 365. I would walk, I would keep walking— I, I who am the Queen of Heaven— I, I who, am... from the man
 366. (With) seven faces, seven chests, I would keep walking.
 367. The wise hierodule(?) defiled herself.
 368. I, I who am the Queen of Heaven, I, who am... from the man.
 369. Of my ... I will ... its radiance,
 370. Of my ... I will cut down its canebrake,
 371. In ... no one will ascend,
 372. ... the father has placed it for me there,
 373. ... the father has placed it for me there,
 374. ... what will he say to me?
 375. ... the father will cause to come out for me.
 376. ... he has bent low for me,
 377. ... he has bent low for me,
 378. [Father Enlil], (he whose) heart is distant, is doing this.

[The nineteenth] *kirugu*

379. She roamed about, Mother Inanna roamed about,
 380. Woe, Woe elalu, Mother Inanna roamed about,
 381. The deceitful mother, the Queen of Heaven, roamed about,
 382. The Queen of Eanna roamed about,
 383. The Queen of the Gipar, roamed about,
 384. The Queen of Zabalam roamed about,
 385. The Divine Queen of steadfast gaze roamed about,
 386. The Divien Queen of the noble path roamed about,
 387. ...
 388. ...
 389. She did not come forth out of ...,
 390. She did not come forth out of ...,

- 391. ...
- 392. ...
- 393. ...
- 394. Woe, Woe, elalu, what did she take?
- 395. My house— its lord who had been destined for me—
- 396. Woe, Woe, elalu, its lord has been killed,
- 397. My possessions having been ..., its lord sailed away,
- 398. Woe, Woe, elalu I shall abandon (?) its allotments (?)
- 399. What has been allotted(?) to me ...
- 400. Woe, Woe, elalu, I shall abandon(?) its ...

The twentieth *kirugu*

- 401. How have you yourself done this? How have you yourself done this?
- 402. Hierodule, Queen of Heaven, how have you yourself done this?
- 403. Queen, Queen of the Eanna, how have you yourself done this?
- 404. Queen, Queen of Erech, how have you yourself done this?
- 405. Queen, Queen of Zabalam, how have you yourself done this?
- 406. Divine Queen of the steadfast eye, how have you yourself done this?
- 407. Divine Queen of the noble path, how have you yourself done this?
- 408. How have you yourself not known this?
- 409. (How) have (you yourself) not known this about (?) the comely spouse.
- 410. I built a city (but) my man does not dwell there,
- 411. I built a house (but) my man does not enter there.
- 412. The ferry— he who loaded it does not transport it.
- 413. My city— its carried off (possessions) the fowler has prepared,
- 414. The fowler has prepared it there hurriedly in song —indeed it is so,
- 415. In its midst my Namtar has built a convent for me —indeed it is so.
- 416. I, I myself did not do this, my father did it,
- 417. My father Enlil, my father did it,
- 418. He who gives birth to light did it, my father did it.
- 419. He has kept cutting down the grain, he has made the sparrows fly away,
- 420. My father has made me eat that which is bitter.
- 421. The Great Mountain Enlil has done this.

The twenty-first *kirugu*

- 422. River, be calm, when will you be calm?
- 423. Tigris, Euphrates, when will you be calm?
- 424. Your heart (because of which) you have torn away ..., (when will it be calm?)
- 425. Your (heart because of which) you have ripped out the mighty bolt, (when will it be calm).
- 426. Food is given, you do not eat the food.
- 427. Water is poured, you do not drink the water,
- 428. You shed no tears, you had no tears,
- 429. In its ... you spend the days,
- 430. Hands swathed, you ate the food there.

431. River, be calm, when will you be calm?
 432. ... when ...
 433. ... in the house ...

It is its end
 It is a *balag* of Inanna

Commentary

kirugu 1 (lines 1-32). This extant portion of the first *kirugu* may be divided into three parts: lines 1-19; lines 20-24; lines 25-32.

Lines 1-19. These lines consist of an exclamatory address by the poet, characterized by the recurrent refrain⁷ consisting of the rhetorical query: "Until when will its lament weary you?"⁸ Lines 3-9 contain epithets of Inanna which are well-known except for that in line 9 which is altogether obscure⁹. In lines 10, 11, 12, the first -šè is assumed to be unjustified—hence its absence in line 13. In line 10, it is assumed, on the other hand, that the šè at the end of the complex preceding the verbal form, is correct, and that it is unjustifiably omitted in lines 11-13. Lines 14-19, if correctly rendered, depict the stormy, cruel, impenetrable, black heart of the goddess¹⁰. For the rather unusual rendering of the verbal roots *gub* and *mar* (i. e. *gar*) in lines 15 and 16, cf. especially Sjöberg, *JCS* 24(1971-1972)112¹¹. The reading and meaning of the first complexes of lines 17 and 18 are altogether uncertain¹². In line 19, the rendering of *en-nu* as "morning watch" assumes that it is the equivalent of the Akkadian *maššartu*¹³.

Lines 20-24. This passage depicts some of Inanna's cruel destructive acts: she has cast her own husband and son into hostile, desertlike places; she has destroyed her stall and sheepfold and dispersed their cows and sheep. For the rendering of lines 20-21, cf. the bilingual passage cited in *CAD sub ezèbu* (p. 423 near top), the Sumerian of which reads: *dam bí-ib-tak₄ ki-kúr-ra bí-in-in-šub dumu bí-ib-tak₄ nim-nim-ma bí-in-šub*¹⁴, which should be rendered: "You caused the spouse to be abandoned, you cast him into a hostile place. You caused the son to be abandoned, you cast him into a waterless place"¹⁵. In line 22-23, note that the two verbal forms which seem to be grammatically identical, begin with different thematic particles. The translation and interpretation of the rather obscure line 24, are quite uncertain; for a different translation that is hardly more illuminating and persuasive, cf. Krecher, *SKL*, p. 107.

7. The refrain appears in full only in lines 1, 2, 8, 9; it may be reasonably assumed, however that it is to be understood in every line of the passage.

8. The rendering assumes that the *-bi* of *a-še-ir-bi* refers to the heart; for a different interpretation cf. Krecher, *SKL*, p. 148.

9. In line 7, the *-e-* preceding *ib-gal* seems unjustified. These Inanna epithets are repeated several times throughout the text with relatively minor variations, cf. lines 338-343, 347-352, 382-386, 402-407.

10. Line 15 ff. are paralleled to a large extent by the bilingual *SBH* 44 obv. 13-26, thus: line 15 = 13-14, line 16 = 15, line 18 = 16 (uncertain but probable), line 19 = 20-21, line 22-23 = 24-26.

11. In line 15, note the rather unexpected *ša-ab* for *ša*.

12. The rendering "diminishes" for *hu-ru-hu-ru* in line 18 is based on the assumption that it corresponds to the *ĪAR-ĪAR-ra* of line 16 of the *SBH* bilingual cited in note 10, where it is rendered by *tu-sa-ĥi-ra*. As for the first complex of line 18, reading it *é-dur₅-dur₅-a-am* makes it possible to reconcile it with the *un-dúr-dúr-ru-na-šè* of line 16 of the *SBH* bilingual.

13. Note that *en-nu-zalag* seems to parallel the *u₅zalag-ga* of line 20 of the *SBH* bilingual.

14. The second of these lines is also cited in the *CAD sub amirānu*.

15. "Waterless" renders *-nim-nim-ma* which is translated in the *CAD ezèbu* citation by "the flood-water", and in the *amirānu* citation by "the water standing after the flood". These *CAD* translations are based on the Akkadian rendering of *nim-nim-ma* by *lairānu*, *amirānu*, etc., words that also render the Sumerian *NIGIN* and *A. NIGIN*. As I have demonstrated in the *Gurney Festschrift*, (*Anatolian Studies* 30) p. 12. *A. NIGIN* (and *NIGIN*) mean "thirst", not "flood water" or "water standing after the flood".

Lines 25-32. These lines which are virtually identical with lines 13-20 of the a-ab-ba-ḫu-luḫ-ḫa extract published in *CT XLII* No. 1¹⁶ are part of a narrative passage in which the poet must have depicted the weeping and lamenting that filled Inanna's city and temple following the death of her spouse and son in distant days¹⁷.

kirugu 2 (lines 55-67). This self-contained passage that begins and ends with identical lines, probably consists of the entire second *kirugu*¹⁸. If the suggested restorations, translations and interpretations turn out to be close to the mark, the passage consists of the poet's bemoaning Inanna's abandonment of her shrines and her consequent loneliness, tragic events that move the passerby to cry out in disamy until the goddess, at the urging of the poet, reveals the cause of her distress: he of *lumlum*-eyes, the good shepherd (that is probably her spouse Dumuzi) has gone to the Nether World¹⁹.

kirugu 3 (lines 68-75). Too fragmentary for comment.

kirugu 16 (lines 241-272). The contents of this complex *kirugu* are difficult to surmise from its fragmentary remains. Very tentatively it may be divided into two parts. The first (lines 241-249) consists of an address by Inanna, perhaps to her spouse whose end she had brought about, in which she speaks of her distress at his preceding her to the Nether World. The second part (lines 250-272) seems to consist of a monologue by the goddess depicting her actions related in one way or another to the death of her spouse and son who have sailed away to the Nether World.

kirugu 17. (lines 273-282). In this brief *kirugu* the poet bemoans the carrying off by the enemy of the destroyed city's possessions and riches, and the bitter words of the inhabitants as they mourn their loss.

kirugu 18 (lines 283-344). This intricate, complex, tantalizing *kirugu* may be divided into several sections. The first (lines 283-291) consists of a cry of woe by the goddess²⁰ lamenting that she would enter her city of which she is no longer mistress and in which she no longer plays any role whatever²¹. The second section (lines 292-306) begins with the first of the recurrent passages in which the goddess portrays her heart mourning by the Euphrates, the river customarily the scene of jubilation, and "its twin" (lines 292-299)²², and concludes with her depiction of her desolate heart speaking to her and telling her of the destruction of her city and the death of her spouse and son²³. Following four narrative lines in which the poet pictures the goddess among her dispersed possessions, and among the ruins of her destroyed city (lines 307-310)²⁴, Inanna

16. Cf. R. Kutcher, *The Angry Sea (YNER 6)*. Yale-London 1975, pp. 55-56 and the detailed commentary on p. 69 ff.

17. The lines depicting the weeping and lamenting are broken away in our text, but the general nature of their contents though not the specific details—the a-a-b-ba-ḫu-luḫ-ḫa extract is an Enlil, not an Inanna, composition—may be surmised from lines 21-27 of the latter text. In lines 27 and 28 of our text, note that if the rendering is correct, k ũ r-re might have been expected to read k ũ r-ra.

18. Note that line 55 is the first line of A obv. ii and it is not unreasonable to assume that *kirugu 1* ended with the last line of A obv. i.

19. The obscurities and uncertainties throughout this passage will be readily apparent to the Sumerologist from the transliteration and translation. Note especially that line 64 might be rendered "Passerby, say to Inanna" rather than "Inanna, say to the passerby".

20. Note, however, the omission of the expected m é n "I who am" in lines 284-285. Difficult, too, is the interpretation of line 283; if the rendering is correct, it may be an ironic exclamation contrasting the goddess's days of victory with her present abject state.

21. This is expressed metaphorically by having the goddess compare herself to the birds that make their home in the city. In line 291, note that the first complex might have been expected to read d u ḡ-d u ḡ-da or k i-in-d a r-ra, but the traces do not point to these readings. [See now b ũ r-ra-a ḫ in PSD B 198 s.v. M.C.].

22. In line 293, "day after day" is no more than a guess for the obscure u ḡ-R I-L E-n a. In line 294, id-n u n is assumed to be an epithet of the Euphrates. The m a ṣ-t a b-b a of the Euphrates may refer to a large canal paralleling the Euphrates, for an id-m a ṣ-t a b-b a, cf. Edzard, *Die Zwischenzeit*, pp. 115 and 178.

23. The logical relationship between lines 300-302 and the lines following is not clear; presumably they depict the state of Inanna's heart before it began telling her of the calamities that had befallen her. In lines 303-306 it is difficult to surmise the words broken away before "of my house", "of my city", etc., although one might expect these to be words of lament such as ir or a-ṣe-ir.

24. This interpretation of the fragmentary lines 307-310 seems reasonable, but is rather uncertain; note especially that the

continues with a bitter lament that begins and ends with a reiteration of the portrayal of her heart grieving by the Euphrates and "its twin", but introduces a new motif, that of fasting— her heart refuses to eat any food or drink any water despite her urgent pleas (lines 311-325)²⁵. She concludes her lament with a revelation of the prime cause of her distress—she has been deprived of her brother (that is, presumably her spouse Dumuzi) who has disappeared at the door of the Nether World (lines 326-336)²⁶. Moved by the distress of the goddess who, following the disappearance of her brother, knew nothing of his whereabouts, the poet implores her to cast her gaze on the bird flying about in the desolate marshes— an enigmatic, riddle-like utterance that seems to refer to the vanished brother (lines 337-344)²⁷.

kirugu 19 (lines 345-378). This *kirugu* begins with Inanna's response to the exhortation of the poet at the end of the preceding *kirugu*: she has indeed cast her eyes upon the feeble beings of the Nether World among whom her brother is presumably lying. That is why, she continues, wearied with weeping and lamenting for her house, city and spouse, she wanders about searching for her vanished brother. And, she claims, she actually did find him and approach him as he was lying motionless (345-362)²⁸. But what happens after this is incomprehensible, the relevant lines (363-371) are too obscure for a reasonable surmise²⁹. Toward the end of the *kirugu* we find Inanna complaining of the cruel acts directed against her by Father Enlil, but the relevant lines are fragmentary and obscure (371-378)³⁰.

explanatory "keeps lamenting" is not in the text. In lines 309-310 the -e- of the verbal form is assumed to be pleonastic and not semantically significant.

25. In line 316, the rendering of u₄-R I-šé is uncertain, a literal meaning such as "at that day" hardly fits the context. In line 317-318, the n a - m a - of the verbal form is assumed to be n u (-im) - m a. In line 319, note the variant u for a "water". The meaning and implication of lines 320-321 are uncertain, especially because of the obscure K U - K U - a - b a and šu - d u l - šu - d u l - l a rendered literally by "swathed (that is "completely covered") hands".

26. The passage is full of uncertainties and obscurities. In lines 326-327 and 336, the implication of "I am of Arali", assuming that the translation is correct, is unclear; note that the same expression is used by the goddess Ninisinna in a composition designated as an "iršem ma of Gula". The rendering "I have been deprived of the brother" in lines 326-328 and 337, is based primarily on the context; perhaps "I have been made to perish by (that is, "because of the brother") is preferable—in either case it seems strange that she refers to her spouse, her "man and bridegroom" (cf. lines 331-332) as "the brother" or "my brother", and assertion more suitable for Dumuzi's loving sister, Geštinanna. Line 333 may allude in some way to the seizure of Dumuzi by the *galla* (the - n a - n u - m u - n a - a b - z e - e m - m é n - might be and error for - n e -); if so Inanna claims that she did not turn her spouse over to the *galla*, though according to "Inanna's Descent" this is just what she did. Lines 334-335 may allude to the recapture of Dumuzi by the *galla* and his disappearance after he had first escaped them with the help of Utu, cf. especially my commentary to the closing lines of "Inanna's Descent" in *PAPS 124* p. 309. Finally, beginning with line 327, A rev. i becomes available, and this adds to the complexities and uncertainties, cf. Textual Note A rev. i lines 1-10.

27. In line 338, note that for some inexplicable reason, B has m u - e - š i - m a - a l for the expected n u - u š i - m a - a l as in A (cf. rev. i 10). In line 344, the meaning of i - à m - m a is unknown, perhaps it is an exclamatory utterance parallel to e - l a - l u .

28. In line 346 the u₄-d i seems redundant (it is omitted in A rev. 1 12), and the - d é - of the verbal form is presumably an error for - d i - . For lines 353-358, A has a two-line variant (rev. 1 20-21) that is difficult to relate in the context. The meaning of the fragmentary second half of line 359 is unclear. The rendering "who is lying motionless" in line 362 is based on the variant A rev. 1 29.

29. The uncertainties involved in the reading and rendering of these lines are obvious. Especially frustrating is the obscurity of the crucial m u - l u - t a - Š E Š - m e - e n in lines 365 and 368 which, to judge from the context, might be presumed to have meaning such as "I am distressed by the man" (note, however, the rather strange variant uru-a-ta ... in A rev. 1 25). In line 364, the expected - ú r following k a m - m a - m u is actually missing on the tablet. Very strange, too, is line 367 which seems to consist of a narrative statement by the poet inserted in the midst of Inanna's lament. [I would read lines 363 and 364 as follows: a l ú - b i i - i m - m é n - k a m - m a - m u - ú r m u - u n - š i - i b - ú s , á m - m u - u š - k a m - m a - m u - < ú r > m u - u n - š i - i b - ú s . The forms i - i m - m é n and á m - m u - u š are Emesal for the numbers two (m in) and three (eš), respectively; see Emesal Vocabulary III 132f., with notes (MSL 3 40). The resulting translation of lines 361-65 would be: "I have to approach the man when he is asleep, I have to approach the man when he is lying sprawled. Oh, men. I followed my second one (and) I followed my third one, (but still) I want to go on, I want to go on and on, I the heavenly queen, I who feels bitter because of men". M.C.]

30. If, as suggested in the textual notes, lines A rev. i 31-35 have their correspondences in lines 372-378, Enlil's hostile acts included the placing of Inanna's azalulu in the k u r , and "bending low" the young and the "little ones" in the city.

kirugu 20 (lines 379-400). This *kirugu* begins with a narrative passage in which the poet bemoans Inanna's continued roaming about (lines 379-386)³¹ as well some mournful events related no doubt to Inanna's distress (lines 387-394)³². It concludes with a lament by the goddess for the death of the Lord of her city and the loss of her possessions (lines 395-400)³³.

kirugu 21 (lines 401-421). The major part of this *kirugu* consists of a motif that reveals a rather unexpected defensive trait in the character of Inanna who is usually portrayed as a defiant, aggressive deity³⁴. It begins with the poet's disconcerting charge that it was Inanna herself who had performed the destructive acts that she was now lamenting so bitterly (lines 401-409), and concludes with Inanna's defensive response that it was not she, but her father Enlil who was responsible (lines 416-421). In between the accusation and the response the poet, rather illogically, inserts a new lament by the goddess for her estranged city and house, and the loss of her possessions (lines 410-415)³⁵.

kirugu 22 (lines 422-433). This last *kirugu* begins and ends with a prayer to the goddess and her angry heart, designated metaphorically as the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, to calm down at long last (lines 422-427 and 432-433. Last line of A. rev. ii)³⁶. In between the poet inserts a passage relating to Inanna's fasting and unhappiness (lines 426-430) that is identical with Lines 317-321) although the rendering varies in accordance with the context³⁷.

31. In line 381, Inanna is designated as a *m a-lu-l-la*, "the deceitful mother: cf. Krecher, *SKLy* p. 155 and line 14 of the obv. of *TMH N. F. III* No. 25 (Kramer, *PAPS* 107 (1963) 499).

32. The relevant lines are fragmentary and largely incomprehensible.

33. As the attempted translation indicates the rendering of much of this passage quite uncertain.

34. Another example of this motif is found in the Inanna *irše m m a* published in *ISET I*, pp. 221-222 (cf. M. Cohen, *Sumerian Hymnology*, Cincinnati 1981, pp. 66 ff.), the last lines of which can be restored (with the help of *BL 71 rev.*) to read as follows:

56. [a-gim i]-gul-gul a-gim i-gul-gul ni-zu a-gim i-pi-[el]

57. [nin ama₅-zu] a-gim i-gul-gul ni-zu a-gim i-pi-[el]

58. [ni-zu mu-lu-kur]-ra a-gim mu-e-na-zé-è m ni-zu a-[gim i-pi-el]

59. [ga-ša-an-kur-ra]-ra a-gim mu-e-na-zé-[em ni-zu a-gim i-pi-el]

60. [me-e ni-mu nu-mu-un-pi-el-en a-a-mu mu-un-pi-el-en]

61. [ù-mu-un-an-gal-e mu-un-pi-el-en a-a-mu mu-un-pi-el-en]

62. [ù-mu-un-kur-kur-ra-ke₄ mu-un-pi-el-en a-a-mu mu-un-pi-el-en]

63. (on left edge) [ù-mu-un-dug-ga-zi-da] mu-un-pi-el-en [à-a(!)-mu(!)mu-un-pi-el-[en]. These lines may be translated as follows (ignoring the brackets):

"How did you devastate it, how did you devastate it, how did you defile yourself! Queen, how did you defile your chamber, how did you defile yourself! How did you give yourself to the hostile man, how did you defile yourself! How did you give yourself to the hostile queen, how did you defile yourself! I, I did not defile myself, my father defiled, me, The Lord, the great An defiled me, my father defiled me, The Lord of all the lands defiled me, my father defiled me, The Lord of the steadfast command defiled me, my father defiled me".

35. In lines 408-409, the obscure -a-e at the end of the verbal form is left untranslated. Following line 409, the variant A rev. ii 7 adds the expected parallel about "the comely son". The role of the "fowler" in lines 413-414 is enigmatic. The rendering "indeed it is so" for *ga-nam na-nam* in lines 414-415 is a surmise only. The implication of Namtar's building a convent (a *gagù*) for the goddess is unclear. In line 416, note the rather strange variant *ba-ra-an-ga* for *ba-ra-mu-un-ag* in A rev. ii 14. In line 420, A rev. ii 14 has the variant *mu-un-dù* (perhaps a parallel of *mu-un-ag*) instead of *mu-un-kù*.

36. In lines 422-423 and the last line of A rev. ii (which corresponds to lines 432-433 though it is not clear just how) the rendering of the first *šed x-dé* assumes that it is an imperative, and that the -*šed x-dé* of *me-na-šed x-dé* is the finite verbal form (i)-*šed x-dé*.

37. In lines 317-321, it is Inanna who is speaking, while in lines 426-430, it is the poet who is addressing Inanna.

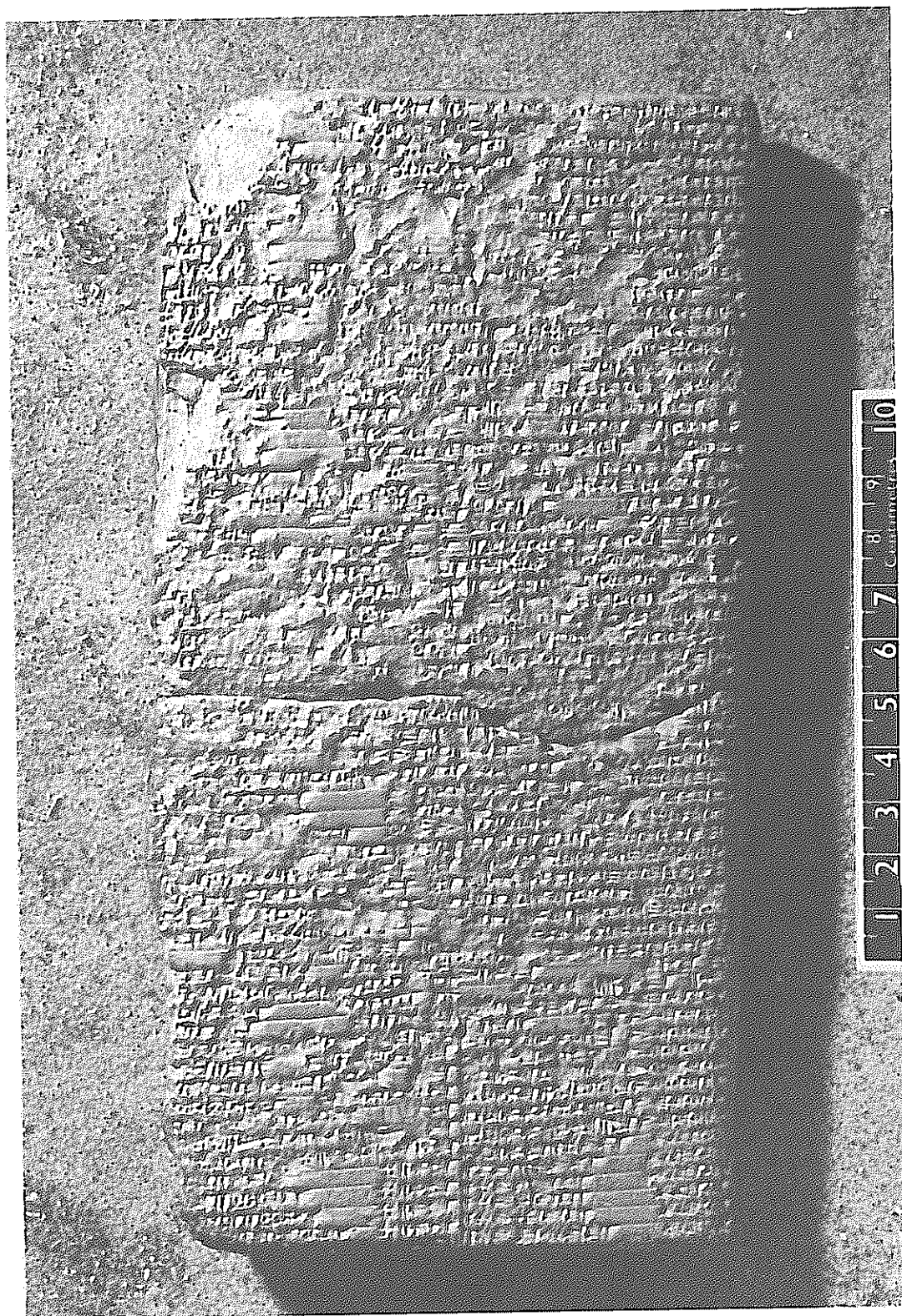


Fig. 1. BM 96680 obverse. With permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.

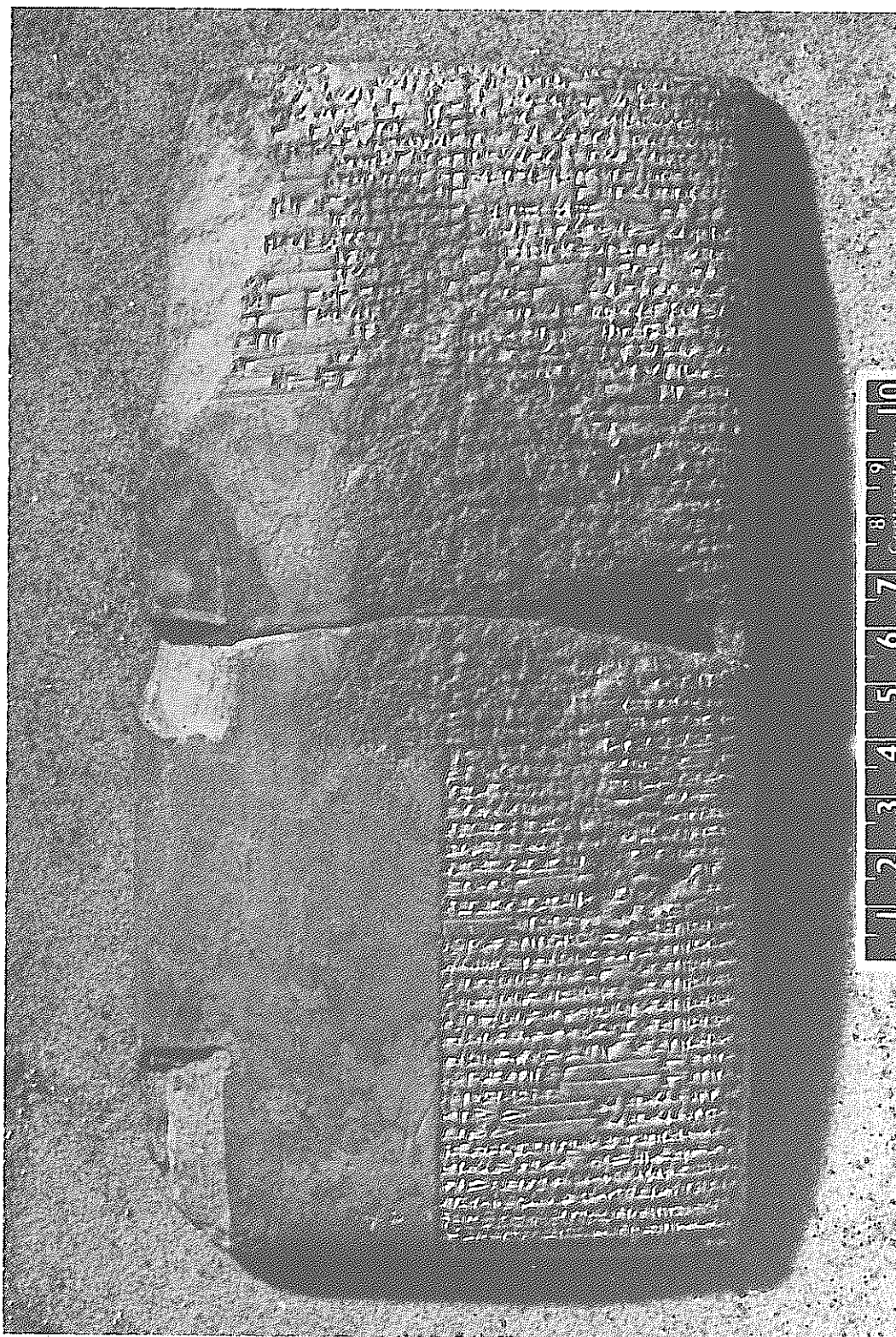


Fig. 2. BM 96680 reverse. With permission of the Trustees of the British Museum.