Enheduanna on a limestone disc from Ur (restored)

The Exaltation of Inanna

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W.W.H.
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CHAPTER 1

Enheduanna: Her Life and Works

Cuneiform literature has long been stigmatized as anonymous, or at best pseudonymous, and this in marked contrast to the literature of the ancient world generally, which placed a high value on attribution, authentic or merely traditional, whether we look at Egyptian literature, or Hittite, Canaanite, Hebrew, or Greek. By the same token, Mesopotamia plays almost no role in the standard histories of autobiography, where it is represented solely by royal inscriptions.1 And yet this judgment has recently had to be revised. It is true that the colophons of Sumerian and Akkadian literary series—which correspond to the title pages of a modern book—fail to mention authors' names.2 But this omission is made good in other ways, most notably by separate lists of authors' names in combination either with the kings they served (by way of dating them)3 or with the works which, rightly or wrongly, were attributed to them;4 in other cases the text of the composition revealed, in more or less open form, the name of the author.5

This last practice can no longer be said to be a late phenomenon in Mesopotamian literature. For at or near the very beginning of classical Sumerian literature, we can now discern a corpus of poetry of the very first rank which not only reveals its author's name, but delineates that author for us in truly autobiographical fashion. In the person of Enheduanna, we are confronted by a woman who was at once princess, priestess, and poetess, a personality who set standards in all three of her roles for many succeeding centuries, and whose merits were recognized, in singularly Mesopotamian fashion, long after.

The sources for Enheduanna's remarkable career are of three kinds: historical, archaeological, and literary. The contemporary inscriptions from Ur, now conveniently listed by I. J. Gelb6 and H. Hirsch,7 show her to have

2. But see below, p. 3.
been the daughter of Sargon and high priestess (en) of the moon-god Nanna of Ur. As such she stands at the head of a long succession of princely holders of this office, all of whom are now known until the end of the reign of Rim-Sin some five centuries later. We know from these inscriptions that she functioned in the reign of her nephew Naram-Sin, but it is probable that she had already assumed her office in the lifetime of her father Sargon at least a quarter of a century earlier, for long terms of office were the rule rather than the exception for the high priestess of Nanna. The functions of the office have been described by Boehm 13 Does it date from her old age?

The archaeological record for Enheduanna is unique. The two seals mentioning her name 11 are designed in classical Akkadian style. According to Boehmer, 12 they show close affinities to the seals of Lugalanna and Urukagina and thus date from the very beginning of the Akkadian period. This is a factor to remember when attempting a more precise dating of her "reign." The seal impression's style, on the other hand, is held unthinkable in the century earlier, for long terms of office were the rule rather than the exception of this office, all of whom are now known until the end of the reign of Rim-Sin.

It is shown in profile, and is far from stylized. She is shown wearing the tiara appropriate to her priestly office (see 1. 107). The nose is sharply aquiline, the features intent and intelligent, and the bearing determined and individualistic. Most impressive of all, however, is the literary record. 17 We still do not know the full extent of Enheduanna's literary reuvre, but so strong is the assurance that the great cycle of hymns to the temples of Sumer and Akkad (i-na si-bu-ti-su), a major piece of Mesopotamian theology, is, on the authority of its own colophon, from her hand. 18 The poem in-nin me-hu,-a, generally referred to as the "Myth of Inanna and Ebih," does not mention Enheduanna by name in the portions so far published. 20 Yet it almost certainly fits into her cycle of hymns to Inanna, and not only stylistically: its main theme, the revolt of Ebih (i.e. Jebel Hamrin) 21 presumably against Naram-Sin, is alluded to in another hymn of praise (ra-zi) to Inanna, known from its incipit as in-nin ha-ga-ga-ra. In this hymn, Inanna's conquest of Ebih is referred to as the parade example of the goddess' warlike prowess in one brief couplet (ll. 109 f.) which virtually presupposes the text of "Inanna and Ebih." 212 In it, Enheduanna speaks in the first person at least once, 213 and its principal theme is the acknowledgment of Inanna's jurisdiction, her omnipresent and omnipotent role in human affairs, under the motto of "It's thine, oh Inanna" (i-nanna za-a,-a) kam = ha-(un-ma)-el-tar.

There can be little doubt that this is simply a hymnic expansion of the same acknowledgment that, according to the historical tradition, marked Sargon's successful suppression of the general rebellion late in his reign. The three accounts of this rebellion in the chrono-choric literature 24 show that, in Sargon's old age (i-na li-ba-li-lu), all the countries revolted against him and besieged him in the city of Akkad, but that Sargon broke the siege and inflicted stamp of her style and her convictions in the poems that can definitely be attributed to her, that it may one day be possible to detect her authorship also in other, less well-preserved pieces. 16 For the present we can say with some assurance that the great cycle of hymns to the temples of Sumer and Akkad (e-u-4-nir), a major piece of Mesopotamian theology, is, on the authority of its own colophon, from her hand. 18 The poem in-nin me-hu,-a, generally referred to as the "Myth of Inanna and Ebih," does not mention Enheduanna by name in the portions so far published. 20 Yet it almost certainly fits into her cycle of hymns to Inanna, and not only stylistically: its main theme, the revolt of Ebih (i.e. Jebel Hamrin) 21 presumably against Naram-Sin, is alluded to in another hymn of praise (ra-zi) to Inanna, known from its incipit as in-nin ha-ga-ga-ra. In this hymn, Inanna's conquest of Ebih is referred to as the parade example of the goddess' warlike prowess in one brief couplet (ll. 109 f.) which virtually presupposes the text of "Inanna and Ebih."

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a decisive defeat on the rebels, who thereupon acknowledged Istar

These events, and their poetic expression, are in turn presupposed by the

hymn edited below. This refers to the "'Tis thine" of Inanna as a kind of

attributes, and with them of supremacy among the gods, from Nanna to

Inanna. It does so while recounting the fate of Enheduanna, paralleling that

of Inanna, in almost autobiographical terms.

Thus the literary evidence constitutes a sizable and consistent body of

work. The temple hymn shows us Enheduanna as a kind of systematic theolo­
gian, well versed in the subtleties of a—perhaps already traditional—set of

Sumerian beliefs, and capable of adapting them to a new point of view (see

below). The cycle of hymns to Inanna, on the other hand, reveals a less

objective but at the same time more passionately involved author, striving to

plead the cause of her goddess in terms that bring her ever closer to her

audience: beginning with Inanna’s triumphs among the barbarians of Mt.

Ebih, describing her role among civilized men in general, and ending with

her cultic primacy in Ur and Uruk, ancient centers of Sumerian religion.

Note what appears like a somewhat similar progression in "Inanna and

Su‘alutetta." After traversing Elam and Subir, Inanna plagues Sumer and, when that fails to achieve her purpose, proceeds to Enidu as the text breaks off. In other respects, too, this composition seems to be dependent on the great cycle of hymns to Inanna. Indeed, just as Enheduanna's com­bination of princely and priestly roles was precedent-making (barring the discovery of still earlier antecedents), so too her poetic efforts must have served as a model for much subsequent hymnography. It may remain for literary criticism to trace the influence of her writings on other and later

collections; in the Old Babylonian period. The poem nin-me-sár-ra which is offered herewith is not only listed in several literary catalogues of that period, but the relatively brief text of 153 lines is attested by, and reconstructed below from, nearly fifty different exemplars. This is twice as many as, for example, the familiar and popular hymn to Enil called "en-111 su-rá-šé" or the best attested hymn to the kings of Ur.

27. Ibid., pp. 403 f.
28. Cf. below, note 46, and notes 19 and 60 to Chapter 5.
29. For some possible examples, see below, pp. 5 f.
30. See below, Chapter 3, notes 10 and 11.
34. Miss Gertrud Flügge, for example, has utilized 45 exemplars for her unpub­lished edition of Lipit-Istar *23. Lexical texts and proverbs, since they formed the basis of all instruction, are of course even more plentifully attested. Cf. also E. I. Gordon, _Sumerian Proverbs_ (1959), pp. 19 f.
35. _CT_ 42:13 i 20; cf. the review by S. N. Kramer, _JCS_, 18 (1964), 45, n. 76.
39. _SAHG_ No. 33:29; _BL_ 71:40.
40. _SAHG_ No. 33:21 f.; _BL_ 71:32 f.
41. Ibid.
One of the most striking coincidences in the language of the two genres is represented by the expression “Fluttering like bats they fly off from before you to the clefts (of the rock).” In our poem (1. 35), as in an early Ur III incantation from Drehem, this topos is applied to the Anunnas; in the laments it is applied to Inanna herself, but the wording is virtually identical. Thus Enheduanna appears to be confused, if not precisely identified, with one or another of the deities whom she served, particularly Inanna. This raises some significant historical questions.

In the first place it is legitimate to ask whether this confusion, not to say identification, was really only a late development, or whether in fact our customary definitions of deity and deification are not a little too circumscribed when applied to the third millennium. We are familiar, notably from Catholic usage, with the notion of canonization, of the elevation of a deceased human being to a rank worthy of worship or at least devotion, in recognition of outstanding achievements or exemplary conduct during his or her lifetime. It seems at least conceivable that Enheduanna, together with many other historical figures such as, for example, Gudea, Ur-Nammu, and Zariqum, enjoyed a similar posthumous treatment.

But we can go further and suggest that the constantly changing status of the different gods in Mesopotamian theogony and theology may have at times reflected the actual fortunes of their pious counterparts on earth. Thus the elevation of Inanna-Itar, which plays such a pervasive role in both Sumerian and Akkadian theology, may well have originated with Sargon of Akkad. According to one legend, the Akkadian uarper was himself the illicit(?) product of a union between a high priestess and an unknown father. In the King List tradition, this father (?) was a “gardener,” an epithet apparently applied to kings or their substitutes in the “sacred marriage” of the New Years’ ritual, but reminiscent here also of Inanna’s seduction by the gardener Sukkaletuda in the Sumerian tradition and of her seduction of Iballanu the gardener in the Akkadian Gilgames epic. It may further be supposed that Sargon’s rise to prominence at the Sumerian court of Kish was in alliance with a Sumerian priestess representing the Sumerian goddess, for, as the aforementioned legend puts it, he won “Itar’s” love as a youth and in the guise of a gardener. Thus the exaltation of the goddess would be reflected by a historical tradition which makes Sargon variously the son, lover, or father of a priestess representing the goddess, and the three great hymns of Enheduanna dedicated to Inanna would then represent a major contribution by Sargon’s brilliant daughter to the propagation of the new theology.

In the second place there is, historically, no question but that Enheduanna stood in the service of the moongod Nanna of Ur. How, then, are we to explain her near-identification with Inanna, and indeed the outspoken pro-Inanna bias of her poetry? Our poem may be said to provide an answer quite consonant with the historical situation in the early Old Akkadian period as we know it at present from other sources.

When Sargon began his struggle for the hegemony of “Sumer and Akkad,” Mesopotamian constitutional organization was based on a system of largely independent city-states united in a loose and primarily cultic league. Among these cities, however, three had long monopolized, by turns, such hegemony as the league was willing to acknowledge. These were Kish in the north and Ur and Uruk in the south. Moreover, Ur and Uruk had already then a tradition of dynastic union which meant that they more often than not acted in concert. Sargon first rose to prominence at the court of Kish; it was in this area that he founded his own new city-state of Akkad; and it was as king of Kish that he laid claim to a greater dominion. His principal opponent was Lugalzagesi who, starting from an equally modest base in Umma, won the hegemony of Sumer by successfully laying claim to the kingship of Uruk and Ur. When, therefore, Sargon defeated Lugalzagesi, the condominium of Ur and Uruk fell to him by right of conquest. He assumed those titles and functions of Lugalzagesi which stressed this claim, and he strengthened it by a new and cultically critical institution: the installation of his daughter as high priestess and “bride” of the moongod at Ur and—we must suppose—of his “sister” as priestess and bride of the Heaven-god at Uruk. Such, at any rate, is the literal implication of the title p a 4 - š e 4 - a n - ( n a ) which he was the first to assume. This title, which reflected his rule over Uruk, meant not “anointing anointed priest of An” as formerly translated but rather “older brother, brother-in-

42. H. de Gennochen, La Trouvaille de Drehem (1911), 1:4; 11; cf. most recently Falkenstein, AS, 16 (1965), 136(f).
43. SAHG No. 33:28; BL 71:39.
44. CT 13:42:1-4; cf. CAD,E, 173a.
46. Cf. Kramer, ArOr 171 (1949), 400-02; Speiser, ANET, p. 84.
47. F. R. Krauss, ZA, 50 (1952), 35-57, for the reflection of this historical reality in the King-List tradition.
48. According to CAD,A,7:204d, he was followed in this usage by his son Manisultu. The reference is to the fragmentary first column of his Cruciform Monument which, though the rest of the document was largely an Old Babylonian forgery, may in this instance have been copied from authentic originals; cf. Gilb, JNES, 8 (1949), 348, n. 11; note that the title is fully preserved in the neo-Babylonian copy published by Thureau-Dangin, Râ, 7 (1910), 180, where, however, it is written pa ś a ś a n. 49. Hallo, Early Mesopotamian Royal Titles (1957), pp. 5 f.; for older interpretations, cf. Hirschi, AOJ, 20 (1933), 78 f.
50. See references in CAD,A,7:205a s.v. abu râbî = râbî ahi, where this translation is rejected.
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law of An." In this sense it is generally confined to gods, but the usage here is no more startling than the Middle Babylonian usage "father-in-law of Nanna\(^{40}\) to designate Adad-apal-iddina as the king whose daughter served as high priestess-and-bride of the moon god at Ur. As Edzard has shown, however, the Sumerian kinship terminology is a functional rather than a strictly genealogical one;\(^{41}\) the term "brother-in-law" could readily come to stand for the older male person who was guardian of one's bride before her marriage, whether as brother or father. It is thus a fairly moot point whether Sargon's in-law relationship to An was based originally on a sister or a daughter; certainly Enheduanna seems, eventually if not at once, to have served also at Ur. In the latter function, Enheduanna must have been regarded as the virtual personification of Inanna who, by the same token, was elevated to equal rank with An. [But see Addenda 1.]

There is, indeed, indirect evidence from a more recent period to a dual residence, if not office, of high priestess of Nanna. In addition to her gi\(^{a}p\)uru at Ur, there was another at Karzida which, after long neglect, Amarsin built or rebuilt for the high priestess of Nanna of Karzida. According to Sollberger,\(^{43}\) this lady was distinct from the contemporary high priestess of Nanna at Ur, although he admits that the latter's predecessor may also have resided at Karzida.\(^{50}\) But whether in separate persons or in one person under different names, it is clear that the high priestess of Nanna functioned at the gi\(^{a}p\)uru of Karzida as well as at that of Ur in the Ur III period.\(^{51}\)

We do not, as at Ur, possess contemporary inscriptions from Uruk attesting to Enheduanna's presence and functioning there. But her very name was, like the names of all but one of her successors, compounded with An. It was, of course, a cult name, carefully chosen, it would seem, to suggest both her priestly role and her ties to Ur. For it is attested in an early literary text as a priestly name at Lagash\(^{57}\) and in the Sumerian King List as a princely name at pre-Sargonic Ur.\(^{58}\)

As for the princess' dual cultic role at Ur and Uruk, this would parallel the aforementioned dual political role of her father. Her poem supports this conclusion. For although neither Ur nor Uruk are mentioned in it by name, the divine protagonists are, apart from Inanna, precisely the deities of those two cities, the moongod and the god of Heaven respectively. Enheduanna is expelled from both places, that is from both her priestly roles, and pleads in vain with both Nanna and An for the restoration which, in the end, she owes to Inanna.

The historical tradition amply confirms the uneasy peace which the Sargonic kings imposed on both Ur and Uruk. In Ur, for example, we know of a rival king, Kuku, as late as the reign of Rimush, from the Nippur copies of the Sargonic royal inscriptions. At Ur, we know from "legendary texts"\(^{59}\) that a certain Lugalannu or Lugalanna played a role in the great revolt against Naram-Sin, and it seems difficult to dissociate these later traditions from the Lugalanna whose role in the present hymn is painted in such negative terms. It seems, then, entirely possible that Sargon, in a conscious effort to replace the loose alliance of Sumer and Akkad with a truly centralized imperial system, adapted the existing cultic and dynastic institutions of the south to his own purposes—that he not only perpetuated the dynastic union of Ur and Uruk in his own person, but instituted a cultic union of their chief priestly offices in the person of his daughter Enheduanna, the devotee of Inanna. We may even see in this assumed state of affairs a partial explanation of the Sargonic break with the well-attested tradition of expressing the condominium of Ur and Uruk as a kingship of Ur and en-ship of Ur.\(^{60}\)

As a final step in this politico-religious reformation, Sargon equated the Sumerian Inanna with the Akkadian Ishtar to lay the theological foundations for a united empire of Sumer and Akkad, and thus ushered in what the

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52. UET 1:166 f.; cf. B. Landsberger, OLZ (1931), v. 129.
54. AFO, 17 (1954–56), 28 f.
55. Ibid., pp. 19 and 28 f.
56. This particular kar-zi-da (literally, "good quay") was situated at Gaes, a port city (cf. the loan word kipašu = merchant), for whose location cf. Oppenheim, yções, 74 (1954), 4, n. 22: "quite near to Ur if it was not actually a suburb or quarter of this very town," and Falkenstein, Friedrich. AV (1959); probably "nicht weit von Ur entfernt gelegen." It should be noted, however, that all the relevant building inscriptions (Amar-Sin 6, 8, and 11 in my bibliography, HUC4, 33 [1963], 35 f. and 43) are of unknown provenience except the last, and both exemplars of this (UWB, 10 [1939], 18 f.; UWB, 12/13 [1956], 25) come from Ur! Although it is true that these two pivot stones were reused by Merodach-baladan II in the building of the temple of Ningizzida (cf. R. North, Or., 26 [1957], 223 f.), one wonders how far they may have been brought from their original site, and it has even been suggested that they may have come from a "temple" built by Amarsin in the "lower court" of Eanna at Ur itself (H. Lenssen, Iraq, 19 [1957], 149 f.; 22 [1960], 132, 134).
chronographic tradition regarded as the "dynasty of Ishtar." The notion that a rival designation of the Sargonic period as the "age of Nanna" (a-di-i \( \text{nannari} \)) was current in the neo-Assyrian period, improbable enough in the light of "Sargonic theology" generally and nin-me-\( \text{a} \text{a}-\text{ra} \) in particular, is based on a misreading of the passages in question, which should rather be understood as "from distant days until now" (a-di-i \( \text{nanna} \)).

Enheduanna's cycle of temple hymns to Inanna could well have celebrated this reformation for, as Falkenstein has seen, it is unique in linking the temples and cult centers of Akkad with those of Sumer. In sum, it seems that the role of Inanna-Istar is equally prominent in the Sumerian as in the later Akkadian "historical tradition" concerning Sargon, and that it rests on an authentic historical basis of its own, rather than on a kind of "Eannatum-typology" as has recently been suggested. One further question deserves to be aired in this connection, and this is our poem's puzzling reluctance to refer to Inanna by name. It is striking that, in all its 153 lines, this paean of uninterrupted praise to the goddess manages to invoke her name only four times. And not once does Enheduanna directly address the goddess as Inanna, not even in the place where Sumerian hymns to gods otherwise do so as a matter of course, that is at the beginning of the second line or strophe in parallelism to the opening epithet. Instead, line 3 invokes the deity by another epithet which, while most often applied to Inanna, is also employed of other goddesses. The actual mentions of Inanna are all qualified in one way or another.

The second mention of Inanna's name (1. 83) occurs, precisely, in the one stanza of Enheduanna's long speech which is definitely not addressed to the goddess. And even in this stanza, Inanna is, on our interpretation, twice referred to as "this [respectively, that] woman" with what appears to be intentional obscurity. The third mention (1. 145) occurs outside of Enheduanna's speech altogether, in what is probably a kind of stereotyped denouement if not actually a secondary editorial addition to the original composition. The last is in the standard closing formula of the entire poem (1. 153).

Ordinarily, the Sumerian poets certainly had no scruples, religious or stylistic, about addressing the deity by name. Enheduanna's reticence in this respect seems the more remarkable as she found more than forty different epithets, apart from numerous similes and other descriptions, wherewith to address the goddess while avoiding, as it seems, her name. Nor is the same reticence characteristic of the other compositions for Inanna attributed, or attributable, to Enheduanna. To regard it as coincidental in the present context seems therefore as difficult as it is to find a convincing reason for it. But perhaps the aforementioned aim to achieve a syncretism between Inanna and Istar had some bearing on the question.

With this brief appreciation of its historical and literary setting, we can now proceed to a presentation of the hymn itself, first in transliteration and translation. This will be followed by a slightly more detailed analysis not, however, in the form of the usual line-by-line commentary, but treating separately and in succession the textual, structural, contextual, and lexical problems raised by our text.
nin-me-šár-ra: Transliteration and Translation

The following transliteration employs the Sumerian values as given by Labat, *Manuel d'épigraphie accadienne* (1948). It is based on A + X, photographs of which appear as Plates 1–3. This text was collated from the original, and collations are indicated by asterisks. Where the text was broken or, in our opinion, defective, restorations (marked •) and emendations (marked +) were supplied from the duplicates, as indicated in the critical apparatus. For the sigla of all the exemplars, see below, pages 36 f. For many of the ideas and idioms as reflected in our translation, see Chapters 4 and 5, respectively, below.
NIN-ME-SÁR-RA: TRANSLITERATION

(i) 1 nin-me-sára 2 "mif"-zi me-tam gur-ru 3 nu-gig-an-na 4 aqqa-zi-de ki-aqqa 5 me-imin-bé 6 nin-mu me-gal-gal-la* 7 me mu-ul 8 me mu-uur 9 usumgal-gin kur-ra 10 "iškur-gin* ki-sig(ka × 13) "giš*"zaš 11 a-ma-ru kur-bi-ta 12 sag-kal an-ki-a

(ii) 9 ušumgal-gim kur-ra* 10 "iškur-gum* ki-sig(ka × 13) "giss*"zaš 11 a-ma-ru kur-bi-ta 12 sag-kal an-ki-a

NIN-ME-SÁR-RA: TRANSLATION

A. EXORDIUM

(i) Inanna and the me's
1 Lady of all the me's, resplendent light,
2 Righteous woman clothed in beloved of Heaven and Earth,
3 Radiance,
4 Hierodule of An (you) of all the great ornaments,
5 Enamored of the appropriate tiara, suitable for the high priest-hood
6 Whose hand has attained (all the "seven" me's),
7 You have picked up the me's, you have hung the me's on your hand,
8 You have gathered up the me's, you have clasped the me's to your breast.

(ii) Inanna and An
9 Like a dragon you have deposited venom on the land
10 When you roar at the earth like Thunder, no vegetation can stand up to you.
11 A flood descending from its mountain,
12 Oh foremost one, you are the Inanna of heaven and earth!
13 Raining the fanned fire
down upon the nation,
14 Endowed with me's by An,
drowned on a beast,
15 Who makes decisions
at the holy command of An.
16 (You) of all the great rites,
who can fathom what is yours?

(ii) Inanna and Enlil
17 Devastatrix of the lands,
you are lent wings by the storm.
18 Beloved of Enlil,
you fly about in the nation.
19 You are at the service
of the decrees of An.
20 Oh my lady, at the sound of you
the lands bow down.
21 When mankind
comes before you
22 In fear and trembling
at (your) tempestuous radiance,
23 They receive from you
their just deserts.
24 Proffering a song of lamentation,
they weep before you,
25 They walk toward you along the path
of the house of all the great sighs.

(iv) Inanna and Iskur
26 In the van of battle
everything is struck down by you.
27 Oh my lady, (propelled) on your own wings,
you peck away (at the land).
In the guise of a charging storm you charge.
With a roaring storm you roar.
With Thunder you continually thunder.
With all the evil winds you snort.
Your feet are filled with restlessness.
To (the accompaniment of) the harp of sighs you give vent to a dirge.

28 Inanna and the Anunnaki
34 Oh my lady, the Anunnaki, the great gods,
35 Fluttering like bats fly off from before you to the clefts,
36 They who dare not walk(?) in your terrible glance,
37 Who dare not proceed before your terrible countenance.
38 Who can temper your raging heart?
39 Your malevolent heart is beyond tempering.
40 Lady (who) soothes the reins, lady (who) gladdens the heart,
41 Whose rage is not tempered, oh eldest daughter of Suen!
42 Lady supreme over the land, in your terrible glance,
43 Lady supreme over the land, before your terrible countenance.
44 Your raging heart? is beyond tempering.
45 Lady (who) gladdens the heart, who has (ever) denied (you) homage?

28 In the guise of a charging storm you charge.
29 With a roaring storm you roar.
30 With Thunder you continually thunder.
31 With all the evil winds you snort.
32 Your feet are filled with restlessness.
33 To (the accompaniment of) the harp of sighs you give vent to a dirge.

(v) Inanna and the Anunnaki
34 Oh my lady, the Anunnaki, the great gods,
35 Fluttering like bats fly off from before you to the clefts,
36 They who dare not walk(?) in your terrible glance,
37 Who dare not proceed before your terrible countenance.
38 Who can temper your raging heart?
39 Your malevolent heart is beyond tempering.
40 Lady (who) soothes the reins, lady (who) gladdens the heart,
41 Whose rage is not tempered, oh eldest daughter of Suen!
42 Lady supreme over the land, in your terrible glance,
43 Lady supreme over the land, before your terrible countenance.
44 Your raging heart? is beyond tempering.
45 Lady (who) gladdens the heart, who has (ever) denied (you) homage?
In the mountain where homage is withheld from you vegetation is accursed. Its grand entrance you have reduced to ashes. Blood rises in its rivers for you, its people have nought to drink. It leads its army captive before you of its own accord. It disbands its regiments before you of its own accord. It makes its able-bodied young men parade before you of their own accord. A tempest has filled the dancing of its city. It drives its young adults before you as captives.

Over the city which has not declared "The land is yours," have verily turned it back from your path, from out of its byre. Its woman no longer speaks love of with her husband. At night they no longer have intercourse. She no longer reveals to him her inmost treasures.
58 im-petuous wild cow, 59 Lady supreme over An great daughter of Suen, who has (ever) denied (you) homage?

(viii) Invocation of Inanna

60 You of the appropriate me’s, great queen of queens, 61 Issued from the holy womb, supreme over the mother who bore you, 62 Omniscient sage, lady of all the lands, 63 Sustenance of the multitudes, I have verily recited your sacred song!

64 True goddess, fit for the me’s, it is exalting to acclaim you. 65Merciful one, brilliantly righteous woman, I have verily recited your me’s for you!

B. THE ARGUMENT

(ix) The Banishment from Dr

66 Verily I had entered my holy giparu at your behest, 67 I, the high priestess, I, Enheduanna!

68 I carried the ritual basket, I intoned the acclaim. 69 (But now) I am placed in the lepers' ward, I, even I, can no longer live with you!

58 *So also H; D, O, R, U, W, s, t, and u omit. 59 *D, J, n, (and O?) add -a. 60 *10-line mark (U) in Q; H, O, R, r, and u: -da.

64 *D, O, U, and o omit; *A and O: -bi; J: -ni; D: -ao-zi; *D: anne.

65 *Q and s: -sur; *U2: -da; O: -tu; D: ?; Q and s: -er; H, J, O, and U omit -da; D inserts -di; *J, o, and u omit; *D and (and U2?): -ni; *D: ha-emu-an-na-ab-bé.
They approach the light of day, the light is obscured about me,
the light is covered with a (sand)storm.

My mellifluous mouth is cast into confusion.
My choicest features are turned to dust.

(x) The Appeal to Nanna-Suen

What is he to me, oh Suen, this Lugalanne!
Say thus to An: "May An release me!"
Say but to An "Now!" and An will release me.
This woman will carry off the manhood of Lugalanne.
Mountain (and?) flood lie at her feet.
That woman is as exalted (as he)—she will make the city divorce him.
Surely she will assuage her heartfelt rage for me.
Let me, Enheduanna, recite a prayer to her.
Let me give free vent to my tears like sweet drink for the holy Inanna!
Let me say "Hail!" to her!

(xi) The Indictment of Lugalanne(?)

I cannot appease Ashimbabbar.
(Lugalanne) has altered the lustrations of holy An and all his (other rites).
NIN-ME-SÁR-RA: TRANSLATION

86 He has stripped An of (his temple) Eanna.
87 He has not stood in awe of An-Iugal.
88 That sanctuary whose attractions are irresistible, whose beauty is endless,
89 That sanctuary he has verily brought to destruction.
90 Having entered before you as a partner, he has even approached his sister-in-law.
91 Oh my divine impetuous wild cow, drive out this man, capture this man!

(xii) The Curse of Uruk

In the place of sustenance what am I, even I?
(Uruk) is a malevolent rebel against your Nanna—may An make it surrender!

This city—may it be sundered by An!
May it be cursed by Enlil!
May its plaintive child not be placated by his mother!
Oh lady, the (harp of) mourning is placed on the ground.

One had verily beached your ship of mourning on a hostile shore.
At (the sound of) my sacred song they are ready to die.

86 aD: -re-; b-bD, K, 0, U 1 , 2: -dim; H and s: -ke-; D: -le-; H: -ge-; J: -e-; H: -na;
fH: -a-; H: -i-.
87 Restored from 0, }, and K. aD, 0, U 1, 2: uru; D: uru K 1 ; bD, K, 0, U 1, 2, s, and t: -ne; H, J, and n: -e; } u 1 , 2 : -pa-; H omits, *H, O, and t: -ab; K, Y, and s omits; } U 1, 2 omits; K: -i-; J adds -me-.
88 Restored from D, H, K, O, and U 1, 2. *D: -ani-; *D (and U 1, 2) add -re.
89 Restored from 0, K, O, and U 1, 2. *D: -e-; D: -an-; D: -a-ni; 0: -ni-; H: -n-; J: -a-n-; E: -mid-.
90 Restored from D, K, O, and U 1, 2. *D: -an-; D: -a-ni; *E: -am-; *K: -ma-; *K: -na-.
91 *U 1, 2, 0, and p omits; @: t: -im-; J: -im-; J: -im-.
92 *U 1, 2, 0, and p omits; @: t: -im-; J: -im-; J: -im-.
93 *U 1, 2, 0, and p omits; @: t: -im-; J: -im-; J: -im-.
NIN-ME-SÁR-RA: TRANSLITERATION

-restored from U 2 • a r:-A; b:U 2 : uF-; CA omits; d:O, U l , and h: -an; D, H, and K omit.

restored from 0, etc. ao adds -a; b:H, K, h, s, t, (and U?) insert -ib-; 0 and n insert -ib-; U 2 : -mi-; H: -a-; U 2 : -me-en.


restored from O, etc. O adds -a; H, K, s, t, (and U?) insert -ib-; O and n insert -ib-; U 2 inserts -ib-; O and U 2 ; c: -en-; U 2 : -en-.

restored from H; H, K, s, t, (and U?) insert -ib-; O and n insert -ib-; U 2 inserts -ib-; O and U 2 ; c: -en-; U 2 : -en-.


30 NIN-ME-SÁR-RA: TRANSLITERATION

117 (But) my own sentence is not con­
118 cluded, a hostile judgment appears before
119 my eyes as my judgment.

118 (My) hands are no longer folded
119 I may no longer reveal
120 on the ritual couch,
121 the pronouncements of Ningal to
122 man.

120 (Yet) I am the brilliant high priestess of Nanna,
121 Oh my queen beloved of An, may your heart take pity on me!

125 "That you are lofty as Heaven
126 be it known!
127 That you are broad as the earth—
128 be it known!
129 That you devastate the rebellious
130 land—
131 That you roar at the land—
132 be it known!
133 That you smite the heads—
134 be it known!
135 That you devour cadavers like a
136 dog—
137 That your glance is terrible—
138 be it known!
139 That you lift your terrible glance—
140 be it known!
141 That your glance is flashing—
be it known!

125-32 Order of lines differs in each exemplar, as follows:
126 c: [125 -125a -127 -128 -129 -130 -131 -132]
127 T: [125 -125a -127 -128 -129 -130 -131 -132]
128 bf omits; OK, P, f, 1, and n: -il-i-.
129 bV 1 omits.
130 V 1 : [125a -125 -127 -126 -128 -129 -130 -131 -132]
131 q: [125a -125 -127 -126 -128 -129 -130 -131 -132]
132 n: [125a -125 -127 -126 -128 -129 -130 -131 -132]
133 f: [125a -125 -127 -126 -128 -129 -130 -131 -132]
134 f: [125a -125 -127 -126 -128 -129 -130 -131 -132]
135 K: [125a -125 -127 -126 -128 -129 -130 -131 -132]
136 P: [125a -125 -127 -126 -128 -129 -130 -131 -132]
137 b: [125a -125 -127 -126 -128 -129 -130 -131 -132]
138 L: [125a -125 -127 -126 -128 -129 -130 -131 -132]
139 U: [125a -125 -127 -126 -128 -129 -130 -131 -132]
140 f: [125a -125 -127 -126 -128 -129 -130 -131 -132]
NIN-ME-SÁR-RA: TRANSLITERATION

131 en-na-nu4-še-ga4-za
132 ú-ma4-gub-gub-bu4-za
133 "nanna li-bi4-ši4-du11-ga4-za-a4-kam b4-t-i4-du11-ga4
134 nin-mu šu4-gu4-ul-en4
135 nin-ki4-ša-an-na4-me-en4

(xvi)

136 izi-ur4 mu-un4-dub
137 é4-é4-dam-kù ma-ra4-gil4
138 im-ma4-si-im-ma4-diri-ga4-ta4-nin un-gal4 ma-ra4-tu4-ud4
139 ni gi4-ù-na
140 gala4-an-te4-ke4-t10
141 dam-dib-ba-za4-ke4-e4
142 šu4-ba-zu4-fb-gu4-ul

NIN-ME-SÁR-RA: TRANSLATION

31 That you are ill-disposed toward the...be it known!
32 That you attain victory—be it known!
33 That one has not recited (this) of that one has recited it as a "'Tis Nanna,
34 (That), oh my lady, has made you great, you alone are exalted!
35 Oh my lady beloved of An, I have verily recounted your fury!

C. PERORATION

(xvi) The Composition of the Hymn

136 One has heaped up the coals (in prepared the lustration
137 The nuptial chamber awaits you, let your heart be appeased!
138 With "It is enough for me, it is too much for me!" I have given birth,
139 That which I recited to you at (mid)night
140 May the singer repeat it to you at noon!
141 (Only) on account of your captive spouse,
142 Your rage is increased, on account of your captive child,

138 Restored from H. *U4 and m omit; *U4, m, n, q, and s omit.
139 Restored from P. *U4, l, and U4 omit; *P inserts -an-; *A inserts -an-; *t: -mu; *d-P: -du; M, n, q, and s: -du.
138 Restored from P. *U4, l, and U4 omit; *P inserts -an-; *t: -mu; *d-P: -du; M, n, q, and s: -du11.
137 Restored from H, P, and U4. *P, U4, m, n, and r omit; *H, U4, and m insert -an-; b adds -la; H: -gar4; *t: -eras4-za; *U4, b, and m: hu.
(xvii) The Restoration of Enheduanna

143 The first lady, the reliance of the throne room,
144 Has accepted her offerings
145 Inanna’s heart has been restored.
146 The day was favorable for her, she was garbed in womanly beauty.
147 Like the light of the rising moon, how she was sumptuously attired!
148 When Nanna appeared
149 They (all) blessed

(xviii) Doxology

150 For that her (Enheduanna’s) speaking to the Hierodule was exalted,
151 Praise be (to) the devastatrix of the lands, endowed with me’s from An,
152 (To) my lady wrapped in beauty, (to) Inanna!

Colophons. A: su-nigin 2 su-si 33 mu-sid-bi
B: su-dnin-urta-mu-ba-li-it igi din-ne-*sa6
C: e-li-tum d: *•••••

A: su lagal-hè-a[n]
dumu d-a-i-din-n[a(?)]
B: li-nin-urta-mu-ba-li-it
igi “nasaba igi *nàta-akša
bè-en-[nàa]
T: *••••••
D: *•••••
CHAPTER 3

Textual Questions

In the above chapters we have treated the composition as a whole, regarding it as a valid eyewitness account and interpretation of historical events of the early Sargonic period. But this reconstructed whole has come down to us in the form of separate manuscripts, dating, presumably, some five to six hundred years later. These manuscripts are valid testimony in their own right, especially to certain scribal conventions and educational practices which are not without significance for the cultural history of their own time. Therefore it seems justifiable to present the textual evidence separately and in some detail.

THE TEXTUAL REPERTOIRE
(see also the charts below, chapter 4)

| A = CBS 7847 | Published by S. Langdon, PBS, 10/4 (1919), 3; joins X, Cf. Plates 1–3. |
| B = CBS 7878 | Ibid., 4. |
| C = MIO 1167 | Publ. by Langdon, BE, 31 (1914), 41; collated by S. N. Kramer, JAOS, 60 (1940), 249; joins H. |
| D = AO 6713 | Publ. by H. de Genouillac, TRS (1930), 51. |
| E = CBS 7924A | Publ. by E. Chiera, SEM (1935), 102A. |
| F = CBS 13313 | Ibid., 104. |
| G = CBS 8507 | Ibid., 105. |
| H = Ist. Ni. 2755 | Publ. by Kramer, SLTN (1944), 64; joins C. |
| J = Ist. Ni. 4202 | Publ. by Muazzem Çığ, Or. N.S., 22 (1953), Pl. L. |
| L = Kich C. 13 | Publ. by de Genouillac, Kіч, 2 (1925), Pl. 5. |
| N = YBC 4656 | Publ. below, Pls. 4–5. |
| O = YBC 7169 | Publ. below, Pls. 6–7. |
| P = YBC 7167 | Publ. below, Pls. 8–9. |

We are greatly indebted to Samuel Noah Kramer for providing us with casts, copies and photographs of unpublished exemplars of the hymn which he identified in the University Museum, Philadelphia, in the Museum of the
Ancient Orient, Istanbul, and in the finds of the third (postwar) expedition to Nippur, and to Thorkild Jacobsen for graciously ceding his publication rights to the last-mentioned group of texts (e-s).

For previous treatments of lines 1-79 of the composition (based on A and B), see S. Langdon, PBS, 10/4 (1919), pp. 260-64, and M. Witzel, Keilschriftliche Studien, 6 (1929), 73-89.

TYPOLOGY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

In view of the large number of exemplars (on the significance of which see above, page 4) it seems worthwhile to offer a brief summary and typology of the manuscripts, thereby illustrating the differences between an advanced schools.

These are reliable texts from Nippur (A + X, B, C + H, T, n, q, r, s, u) for our edition.

Except for the most fragmentary ones, the surviving exemplars of the text can nearly all be assigned to one of five categories representing, in all likelihood, successively less polished products of the Old Babylonian scribal schools.

1. Prisms, complete in four columns of about forty lines each (R, 1, and possibly o). These prisms, all from Nippur, probably constituted models for dictation, but in their present fragmentary state they cannot serve as a basis for our edition.

2. One-tablet recensions complete in four columns of about forty lines each. These are reliable texts from Nippur (A + X, B, C + H, T, n, q, r, s, u) and Ur (U 5, U 6). We have chosen one of them (A + X) as the basis of our edition.

3. Three-tablet recensions in six columns (two per tablet) of about twenty-five lines each. This category, like the next two, includes texts from various sites. On the basis of their preserved text, they may be distributed with some probability as follows:
   a. Tablet I N (1-51) W ([1]-60+)
   b. Tablet II O (52-102) J (58-111) D (51-100) t (51-101)
   c. Tablet III P (102-end) M ([104-end]) L ([100-end?]?)

4. Five-tablet recensions in ten columns (two per tablet) of about fifteen lines each, here pictured as follows:
   a. Tablet I Z (1-40) e (1-41) g (1-31)
   b. Tablet II E (357-70?) Q (31-66)


2. This is a more elongated tablet with three columns of about fifty lines each and the fourth column uninscribed except for the "explicit."

5. Extract tablets of thirteen to twenty-one lines each. One cannot really regard these as recensions. They were clearly schoolboy exercises and include some of the worst orthography (for example, S). Some of them divide the text normally over obverse and reverse (h and probably U 5) but most of them have fewer lines on the reverse than on the obverse (S, i, j, k, p) and one of them leaves the reverse entirely uninscribed (a). Arranged as a hypothetical "series," they appear as follows: a (1-13), j (19-38), k (38-63), S (57-78), p (78-92), h (97-118), U 5 (137?-end). It is not difficult to picture the examples from the classroom(?) at Nippur (a, k, i, p) as the daily penasum of advanced students.

Theoretically, one might expect to find a still smaller unit, the exercise tablet, typically lenticular in shape, with a one- or two-line quotation from the composition. The fact that these have not turned up so far may simply prove that the text was not used at an elementary level of education, and that there was accordingly no need to resort to such tablets, which were most popular for lexical texts and proverbs, though also attested occasionally for royal hymns.

The same explanation may apply also to the distribution of the exemplars. These are not concentrated in the first part of the poem, as was often the case with more elementary texts, and in later periods with all texts. Thus the observation "that the first tablets of important series are preserved in many more copies than the following tablets" and that, consequently, "the apprentice scribe was apparently not required to complete his copy of the series before moving on to the next text of the prescribed curriculum" does not seem to apply here.

A number of fragments from Nippur (F, G, d) are too small to be definitely assigned to any of the five attested categories, though they no doubt belong among them; it is even possible that they may prove to join some of the larger Nippur fragments such as C + H or T.

GENEALOGY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS

"The process of recension, i.e. constructing a stemma or pedigree," is a standard preliminary technique in the treatment of classical and medieval manuscripts which has been applied, so far, to but a single Sumerian composition: the Sumerian King List in the edition of Thorkild Jacobsen.


It would be tempting to employ it on the numerous exemplars of nIn-Ne-me-
ša-ra, but this attempt has not been pursued to its conclusion here. We
will content ourselves with suggesting the likeliest division into, and assign­
ment to, "families" of manuscripts, and with drawing some conclusions
from the resulting distribution.

Without becoming overly mechanical, we will approach this problem by
means of what may be called "patterns of variants." That is to say, we will
concentrate, in the first instance, on variations between manuscripts that
occur not just once but at repeated and preferably scattered intervals. By this
means the danger of a chance scribal variation is minimized and a pattern
emerges; at the same time a larger number of manuscripts is involved in the
comparison than only the ten or twelve available for anyone given line. The
variant-patterns selected for this purpose may serve at the same time as a
check on these claims.

1. -za vs. -zu. Throughout the first part of the poem, a hymnic exordium
to Inanna, the second person possessive pronoun appears as -za (<zu + a [or
ak]) in one group of manuscripts, and as -zu (<zu + e [or zero]) in another.
The pattern is nearly unbroken, as this table shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>-za (-me-en)</th>
<th>-zu (-mu)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>A C N R N e</td>
<td>A T U (&gt;46)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>A C N U W e</td>
<td>U S n n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>A N Q U e q</td>
<td>U S n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>A N Q U e q</td>
<td>S U n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>A N Q U e q</td>
<td>S U n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>A N Q e q</td>
<td>S U n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>39</td>
<td>A N Q e q</td>
<td>S U n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51</td>
<td>A E T W u</td>
<td>A D O R S U n t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55a</td>
<td>A T W</td>
<td>A D O R S U n t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>55b</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>A D O R S W u t</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This pattern is harder to trace in the rest of the poem where, moreover,
many of these same manuscripts are no longer represented. But we find an
interesting echo of it in the "magnificat" of lines 123-32, where -zu occurs,
not as the second person possessive suffix, but as the verbal root "know.

The distribution, however, as far as the manuscripts already noted above are
concerned, is the same: word-final -za in A (here represented by the join X),
zu in U 4 . At the same time the word-medial form has the opposite distribu­
tion: -zu in A + X, -za in U 4 . The same pattern of variants holds through­
out the eleven to twelve lines of the chorus, also for the other manuscripts
preserved at this point (including L, T, b, f, l, n), all of which accord with A.

2. -mu vs. -me-en. A rather conspicuous variant for the copula of the

5. Cf. already a similar approach by Kramer, AS, 12 (1940), 8-14, and M. Civil,
"The Transmission of Sumerian Literary Texts" (unpub. lecture); cf. JAOS, 83
(1963), 400.

Although the pattern is not as pervasive in this case, it is never violated.

3. an-né vs. an-e and an-na vs. an-a. The patterning of this variant is
considerably less consistent, due in part, though not entirely, to the diver­
genous ways in which the different manuscripts treated the distinction between
an + e = "by An" and -an + e as part of the proper name Lugal-anne.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Line</th>
<th>an-né</th>
<th>an-e</th>
<th>an-na</th>
<th>Remarks</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>74</td>
<td>A CH D J O s U 1</td>
<td>A CH J U 1</td>
<td>Lugal-anne</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>D O U 1</td>
<td>A CH J U 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>76</td>
<td>D O U 1</td>
<td>A CH J U 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>77</td>
<td>D O U 1</td>
<td>A CH J U 1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>93</td>
<td>AX D K O U 1 s J</td>
<td>CH J n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>94</td>
<td>D K O U 1 n s t</td>
<td>CH J n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>109</td>
<td>A K P U 1 h u n</td>
<td>AX</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This will become clearer if we rechart the pattern to indicate the degree to
which the proper name is distinguished from the divine name, that is, the
degree to which, most likely, the proper name was understood as such. Then
we see that the number of verses in which the divine name is orthographically
distinguished from the proper name is, in D and O, zero (out of a possible
maximum of four attested occurrences). By contrast, it is three (out of five)
in A + X, four (out of four) in C + H and J, and five (out of five) in U 1 . No
judgment is possible in the case of K, P, U 2 , h, n, s, t, and U.

4. As a final criterion we will use, not a pattern, but a single variant of a
conspicuous sort such as is least likely to have developed independently in
separate manuscript traditions. In line 76, A and U 4 have an imperative,
udin-mu-na-ab (thus repeating the imperative of the preceding line),
whereas five other manuscripts (D, H, J, O, U 1 ) have an indicative
(ha-na-na-ab-bè, etc.)

6. U 1 omits the suffix here.

7. For an-e/an-né as a "free variant," cf. e.g. Kramer, AS, 12 (1940), 8, n. r.
To sum up, the variant patterns (1) and (2) are fairly or even highly consistent within themselves, but they do not wholly agree either with each other or with the nonpatterned variants (3) and (4). Another table will make this graphic (with the less decisive patterns italicized):

| (1) | ACE | NQR | T W e g j q | A D P O | R S T U W Z l n |
| (2) | A C J K | U4 | U3 | D O P Q | T U | b f l m p |
| (3) | A C J | U4 | U3 | D O | C D J O | U1 |
| (4) | A | D O P S | U1 | Z b f l m p |

The extent of the "patterning of the patterns" is apparent in this arrangement. It must be granted at once that the arrangement is deliberately chosen and not the only possible one. But no grouping can put all the same manuscripts in the same columns, and the one chosen at least succeeds in respect of three manuscripts, namely A, D, and O, with A always falling into a different group from D and O.

We have already seen reason to regard A as a reliable manuscript (above, page 38) and we may now add that this argues for its antiquity, or rather for the antiquity of its prototype. On internal grounds it is even more obvious that D is a late manuscript. The other manuscripts fall between these two presumed extremes. Some, like C, J, and U4, more often than not accord with A, others, like U1, more often accord with D (and O). Still others go as often with one as with the other. Very approximately, then, we may chart the major families as follows:

- **A family:** AX CH J K N U9 U4 e g j
- **Mixed family:** E Q R T U2 W n q r s
- **D family:** D O P S U1 Z b f l m p

An interesting corollary of this conclusion, no matter how tentative, is the observation that the family distribution seems independent of the provenience of the manuscripts, for exemplars from both Ur and Nippur figure equally in all three families. To put it another way, there are no conspicuous scribal peculiarities in the texts, either of Ur or of Nippur or, for that matter, of Kish, though the single witness from that site (L) barely figures in the above comparisons. This finding implies a unity of the scribal system of education among the indicated centers, and at the same time a diversity in the manuscript tradition that was quite independent of the provenience, though it may have been dependent on the date, of the individual copy.

The question of the larger context can be disposed of quickly, since the evidence is meager and inconsistent. The usual mechanical criteria for assigning a place in a putative canon or sequence of literary texts are entirely absent in the case of nin-me-ēkā-ra, and its place in the catalogue texts from Nippur and Ur is evidently determined by other considerations. We can only repeat what we have said above (pages 39, 3ff) in other connections. On the basis of the, largely negative, evidence of the manuscript typology, the hymn probably belonged to an advanced stage of the curriculum of the scribal schools in general. More specifically, and on internal evidence, it probably formed an integral part, and perhaps the concluding part, of a cycle of hymns to Inanna which also included, at a minimum, in-nin-me-ēku-a and in-nin-ēē-quina-ra.

Poetic Structure

The poetic structure integral to every Sumerian composition needs to be taken into account for its proper understanding. It has been incorporated in the preceding transliteration and translation, and it remains at this point only to indicate the degree to which the suggested structure finds support in the texts.

The usual division of each line (or stichos) into two (or occasionally three) more or less equal parts (hemistichoi) is attested for nearly all but the longest and most crowded lines by one or more exemplars, usually, though not always, in agreement with each other. We have indicated the attested caesuras in our transliteration without, however, deeming it worthwhile to record conflicting witnesses.

After the stichos, or colon, the next highest unit is the bicolon or tricolon, that is two or three lines united by sense or structure or both to form a strophe. Such units are not mechanically indicated with anything like the rigor of the stichoi, but they played a role in the division of the text over separate tablets, as Falkenstein has seen, and perhaps even over the separate columns of single tablets. The strophic structure suggested by our edition is based in the first instance on poetic and syntactic context, but may be tested against these more mechanical factors in over fifty cases (ll. 18-145). As the following charts show, nearly half of these are confirmed by one, two, or even more witnesses, or thirty-five cases in all, as against only six cases where they are contradicted by the division into tablets and twelve where they disagree with the division into columns.

The tables will, however, show with equal clarity that the combination of couplets and triplets, most often four in number, into stanzas as proposed here finds no particular support in the external appearance of the texts. It is based entirely on the internal evidence of the content and structure of the poem, and is intended to further its understanding, without claiming to restore an original feature of the composition. The same reservation holds for our proposed division of the entire poem into three “rhetorical” parts. Both of these divisions will, therefore, be defended in the literary analysis that follows.

2. *SGL* 1:9 f.
3. As indicated by the “arrowheads.”
4. This is true only of the “kirugu”-compositions, where the separate stanzas (kirugu's) are always respected in the tablet division in the sense that exemplars from multitablet recensions always contain one or more complete kirugu's.
THE EXALTATION OF INANNA

AX CH DEJ KO QRSTU, U, U, U, W Y hikinos pqrs tu

POETIC STRUCTURE

- Beginning or end of text
- Beginning or end of column
- Break
  > Strophic and graphic structure coincide in one exemplar
  > Strophic and graphic structure coincide in two exemplars
  > Strophic and graphic structure coincide in three exemplars

Colophon
CHAPTER 5

Literary Structure and Parallels

The poem begins with a long exordium of sixty-five lines together constituting a paean of praise to the goddess Inanna. The numerous epithets and descriptions are, however, carefully selected to illustrate those characteristics of the goddess which are pertinent to the narrative that follows. They are, moreover, arranged in a conscious sequence—worthy of an Amos—in which the range of Inanna’s activities is brought closer to the (presumably) audience of the poem.

(i) In the first stanza, then, Enheduanna speaks in general terms of Inanna’s claims to all the great me’s, a word which we will leave untranslated for the moment. Inanna’s preoccupation with the me’s may almost be said to approach the character of an obsession in Sumerian literature. In “Inanna and Enki” we have one version of the manner in which, with a good deal of deviousness, the goddess acquired the me’s from Enki or, in Kramer’s terms, “transferred the arts of civilization from Eridu to Uruk.” In “Enki and the Organization of the World” we have another, according to Falkenstein, later, treatment of the same theme, though here it is Enki who seems inclined to cheat the goddess out of her rightful share of the me’s. Finally, in为我们 poem seems to revert to the same subject. There is no mention here, as in the mythology, of Enki. Rather it is An who bestows the me’s here, and this is an act of grace, as it were. The verbs used to describe his donation of the me’s are “give” (S1, line 14), and “bestow” (ba, line 152), rather than “distribute, assign” (ha(l)-ha(l)) as in the myths. Only a variant of line 64 (see the Glossary, s.v. tum) recalls the mythological version of Inanna’s rape of the me’s.

The contexts in which me-ba (or me-si, me-tum) and me-ha(l)-ha(l) occur are quite revealing in this respect. The basic sense of ha(l)-ha(l) was established as “deal out” by Falkenstein, who also called attention to the similar term ba, “apportion,” in connection with the me. But a comparison of their respective contexts shows that me-ha(l)-ha(l) is most often modified by zi, “right, proper, just,” and typically belongs in the sphere of Enki, of whom we know, thanks to “Enki and the Organization of the World,” that, as “bookkeeper of heavens and earth” (l. 71), he assigned appropriate functions to thirteen (lesser) gods, probably on behalf of Enlil from whom he here receives the me’s (and nams; cf. ll. 61–66). On the other hand, me-ba (or me-si, me-tum) is characteristically found in the context of kinship symbolism, with An (or Enlil) bequeathing the me’s to his divine offspring, or with a deity bestowing the me’s on his or her divine parent. In any case, the implication is of an “act of grace” on the part of the donor, not of a legal claim on the part of the recipient, and it is precisely this distinction that sets off our hymn from the myth of “Enki and the Organization of the World.”

Since the me’s occupy the present poem so prominently both at its beginning and its conclusion, one is inclined to suppose that they also form a, if not the, main concern of the body of the composition. And indeed we find them referred to again in the concluding couplet of the exordium (ll. 64 f.) in which Enheduanna begs leave to “recite the me’s” of the goddess. Is then the whole argument which follows such a recital? Hardly all of it, but only its climactic, concluding part, the chorus in stanza xv. It is true that the elements of this chorus are not there called me’s as such. But some of them, at least, are known as such from the catalogue of me’s in Inanna and Enki. Moreover, these elements are here described as “‘Tis Thine’s” of Inanna, and the much longer list of such “‘Tis Thine’s” in Enheduanna’s other hymn of praise to Inanna clearly coincides in large measure with the me’s of Inanna and Enki. In short, the attribution to Inanna of these me’s represents the main point of both of Enheduanna’s hymns.

What, then, are the me’s? This question, so long debated, has recently been summarized in a study according to which the me represents a more appropriate functions to thirteen (lesser) gods, probably on behalf of Enlil from whom he here receives the me’s (and nams; cf. ll. 61–66). On the other hand, me-ba (or me-si, me-tum) is characteristically found in the context of kinship symbolism, with An (or Enlil) bequeathing the me’s to his divine offspring, or with a deity bestowing the me’s on his or her divine parent. In any case, the implication is of an “act of grace” on the part of the donor, not of a legal claim on the part of the recipient, and it is precisely this distinction that sets off our hymn from the myth of “Enki and the Organization of the World.”

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What, then, are the me’s? This question, so long debated, has recently been summarized in a study according to which the me represents a more
primitive stage in, and the conception of an anthropomorphic deity (dingir) the most advanced stage of, a linear intellectual development. The essential distinction between me and dingir, however, is not historical at all but better expressed as the relationship of pars: totum. For one of the most consistent and conspicuous features of the me's is their plurality or, in terms of the individual me, its partiality. No dingir can be equated or, in Sumerian terms, satisfied with a single me, but it is precisely the mark of a great deity that he collect or gather numerous me's to himself. The distinction can be phrased in more familiar theological terms as that between the deity and his attributes. It is therefore preferable to regard the me's as "divine attributes," and our poem as exalting Inanna by recognizing in, that is attributing to, the goddess those divine attributes that are hers by grace of An, the supreme god, with whom she is thus equated at the expense, not of Enlil, but of Nanna.

(ii) From the preceding it is clear that the second stanza is closely related to the first, which already anticipated the familiar title of Inanna: Hierodule of An (nu-(u)-gig-an-na). This epithet, though occasionally applied also to other goddesses such as Naná and Ninisina, is most often used of Inanna. The translation "hierodule" is, however, ill-suited to convey its theological implications, for we know from the earliest Sumerian royal inscriptions that it was a high title, if not in fact the throne-name, of the queen-consort of Mesannepadda. For Inanna, it therefore already implies that elevation to equal rank with An which is the point of the whole poem.

The significance of this claim is not, however, exhausted by its theological interpretation. We have suggested above that the invocation of and reliance upon Inanna by the Sargonic kings was intended at the same time to justify their imperial designs on Sumer (pp. 6-10). In this framework, it was in their interests to emphasize their adherence to Sumerian norms and beliefs. The "Sargonic theology" therefore represents Inanna, or the kings of Akkad acting in her name, as merely carrying out the commandments of the supreme deity of the Sumerian pantheon, An (I. 15).

(iii) The next stanza repeats this theme (I. 19) and develops it further. For if Inanna is to be executrix of An's commands, what then is the role of Enlil, the executor of An's commands in the traditional Sumerian view? The poetess implies that, as beloved of Enlil (I. 18), Inanna is, as it were, merely assisting him in his functions. And she remains quite willing to invoke Enlil for specific interventions such as the curse of Uruk (I. 55).

6. K. Oberhoffer, Der numinose Begriff ME im Sumerischen (= Innsbrucker Beiträge zur Kulturwissenschaft, Sonderheft 17 [1963]). [The critique and alternatives proposed in this paragraph are my own. For van Dijk's views, see in detail his review, OLZ, 62 (1967), 229-44. W.W.H.]

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But Inanna's mission is not to be justified solely by this piece of sophistry. She claims a special capacity which equips her to discipline mankind. She is, in fact, the "Inanna of battle," a figure familiar not only from the bal-bal-e hymn sometimes so designated but from numerous later allusions to the particular delight she takes in the sights and sounds of conflict. These descriptions recall the Sumerian goddess of love and fecundity much less than the Akkadian Istar and her warlike West Semitic cognates, Astarte and Anat. (iv) More specifically, we meet Inanna here (I. 27; cf. already II. 17 f.) as the winged goddess, the flying Inanna who, in the guise of the storm(god), pounces on every unsuspecting culprit among the sinful nations. This metaphor, though employed here most dramatically, is not unique to our poem. In "The Curse of Agade" (I. 64), the goddess is described as "flying out of her city to give battle," according to two unpublished duplicates from the Yale Babylonian Collection. In a late bilingual text from Babylon we read, in a description of her warlike pastime: "in the battle I fly like a swallow, I heap up heads that are so many harvested rushes." Nor was this picture drawn exclusively in words: the much debated "Burney relief" shows the goddess with feet and wings of a bird, a recurrent iconographic theme which is readily explicable on this basis. If the venerable Inanna is, then, pictured as a kind of bird, it is not hard to see how, by extension, she could be compared to the storm, or even the stormgod Enlil. For the notion of the storm or storm cloud as a bird with outspread wings was a commonplace in Sumerian iconography as well as literature. Here, however, we are dealing with more than a simile. The "comparative" postposition (−gim), used in line 28, and the "comitative" postposition (−da), used in lines 29-31, often have more than merely metaphorical or instrumental force in religious texts. They may imply actual or virtual identification. This is a point that requires further study.

The final couplet of this stanza (II. 32 f.) is difficult to link with what precedes. One could perhaps translate: "At your feet the widow is 'seated,' she recites a lament with the harp of mourning" and treat it as alluding to the slaughter that Inanna causes in battle. But the notion of a tireless Inanna playing an instrument of mourning is known from "Enki and the Organization of the World" (II. 441-43), and we therefore prefer to leave the subject of the couplet unchanged. One may also consider the possibility that Enheduanna alludes to herself in line 33, and that the "song" (I-Iu) mentioned here 9. SMT 9:1-21; cf. M. Lambert, RA, 55 (1961), 193, No. 55] 10. B. Landsberger, WZKM, 56 (1960), 121 f. (b); ibid., 57 (1961), 23. 11. B. Landsberger, AJA, 66 (1962), 121 f. (b); ibid., 57 (1961), 23. 12. M. Lambert, WZKM, 56 (1960), 121 f. (b); ibid., 57 (1961), 23. 13. H. Frankfort, AO, 12 (1937-39), 130. 14. For further parallels, cf. E. D. van Buren, AO, 11 (1936-37), 354-57; Marie-Thérèse Barrelet, "Les dieux armés et armées," Syria, 32 (1955), 222-60. 15. For -gim see a forthcoming Heidelberg dissertation on Sumerian metaphors.
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refers to the four stanzas that follow. In any case, the hymnic exordium
reaches a definite caesura here, at its midpoint, and the tenor of its second half
if quite different, for it brings the terrible goddess into closer and closer touch
with the world of the audience.
(9) That Inanna is supreme among the gods had already been expressed
or implied in many ways in what preceded. Here, her supremacy is painted
in graphic terms borrowed from, or at least shared with, the language of
incantations, one of the oldest of all attested Sumerian literary genres (cf.
above, p. 6). While Inanna swoops down like the great stormbird, the lesser
gods flutter off like so many surprised bats. We meet here, for the first but by
no means last time in the poem, the notion of Inanna’s untamable anger. The
translation “reins and heart” does scant justice to the conceptual range of
the Sumerian idiom (ur₂-₄₂₄), which approximates respectively the emotional
and intellectual responses. Divine rage is, of course, a theme common to
many Sumerian and Akkadian myths and epics, for natural and political
disasters were quickly interpreted as the price paid to placate the divine
displeasure.
(vi) An illustration of this lesson is provided in the next stanza, where a
mountain (probably Ebih) is the unfortunate target of Inanna’s wrath. Of the
several, somewhat obscure allusions employed here, one (l. 45) is particularly
suggestive. Large-scale slaughter involves the problem of disposing of the
bodies of the slain, and even in our own days a river is sometimes considered
the handiest receptacle for this purpose, 1 like sa-kus-u, can imply both “taking counsel” and “consorting together.” For
the expression occurs frequently in juxtaposition with “incantation (song)” and has itself possibly the connotation
of incantation, as indeed sir, “song,” by itself seems at times to have. Moreover
it passed into Akkadian as a technical term, šīruq. 2 It recurs in our
text (l. 99) in a context which is anything but trivial. It is possible that in
its present context it already heralds the climactic chorus that is to conclude
the body of the poem.
20. Our translation reflects the apparent double entendre of ad-gü, which,
like šā-kūš-ū, can imply both “taking counsel” and “consorting together.” For
šā-kūš-ū, cf. Römer, SGL 174 ad 9*103 and 194 ad 9*191. For both verbs
together, cf. Falkenstein, SGL, 1:18, 133.
22. Cf. VAT 8381 (unpubl. inim-in-im-ma a-wu-uk-tum) 1-3: mi-e šē-tūr
his wife whom he had impregnated in the stall, the holy sheepfold, whom he had
impregnated in the birth house, the stall, the holy sheepfold, in her lap he deposited
the life-giving seed of mankind.”
23. Cf. milti biliti, a favorite epithet of Inanna-litar in Akkadian contexts.
24. Hallo, Titles, p. 32 and nn. 2-4.
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Another interpretation, however, is preferable. Since the “cohortative” ga-preformative is translated by the Akkadian (first person) precative in Old Babylonian texts, it is possible that it came to share also the latter’s asseverative function; a very similar development in Sumerian can be observed, probably under the influence of Akkadian, in the case of the (third person”) “precative” preformative ha. The two functions may even have been secondarily differentiated, with the asseverative function employing the hamtu stem of the verb and the cohortative one the mari stem, as in the case of the precative. Both in the present passage and in line 135, the former is employed; in both cases, the form closes a major section of the poem. It is therefore preferable to regard it as referring to the recital that has preceded rather than to the narration that follows. Much the same can be said of Inanna and Ebih, where the comparable ga-i-30 concludes rather than precedes the hymnic apostrophe to the goddess.

(ix) Even if we maintain the cohortative meaning, it is clear that the sacred song to which Enheduanna refers does not follow at once. Instead, the second part, or Argument, of our poem begins with a long recital of Enheduanna’s past glories and present plight, partly narrative and autobiographical, and not all addressed to Inanna. But this too can be paralleled from other contexts, for the “recitation of the exaltation” is a fairly common topos not confined to Inanna, and not always followed at once by the apostrophe to the deity even when the “cohortative” form of the verb is used.29

The argument begins, as we interpret it, with Enheduanna’s banishment from Ur, on the assumption that the giddru of line 66 is the famous “cloister” or residence of the high priestess of Nanna in that city or possibly at Karzida or Gae, and not the synonymous residence of the (male) en at Uruk, whose existence Jacobsen has pointed out.30 Enheduanna recalls two highlights of her quondam priestly functions at Ur (l. 68). The carrying of the ritual basket is not, here, an allusion to the office of canephore which may or may not have been filled, at times, by women,31 but rather to the bringing of grain and other offerings, in a ritual basket, to Bau and other deities in an as yet somewhat obscure rite. Gadd has gathered the evidence from scattered sources

36. Cf. e.g. passim in the OBGT.
37. Cf. SRT 42:11: ka-tar-mu hé-si-il-le nam-mah-mu hé-em-me and below, note 29. Jacobsen, however, holds that ga “is incompatible with durative [i.e. mard] root,” AS, 16 (1965), 73.
38. Cf. e.g. PBS 10:4:9 obv. 23.
39. Cf. Glossary s.v. nam-mah…/i/le and below, note 29. Jacobsen, however, holds that ga “is incompatible with durative [i.e. mard] root,” AS, 16 (1965), 73.
40. T. Jacobsen, ZA, 52 (1957), 107-10, n. 32; cf. also Eemmerhor, 60 ff.; CAD,G, 84cd. [The newly published Enheduanna text, TAMH n.F. 4:7 ll. 107-68, clinches the argument in favor of Ur. Cf. especially l. 160: gi-ma-ši-ah ku₄₄-ku₄₄-dam ašila₄₄-d₁-dam.]

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and periods which shows that this basket was related to the “marriage” of Marduk, possibly with Bau, and has found pictorial representations which liken it to a shell. One of his literary references is worth quoting in full: “you, oh maiden Inanna, are not (yet) a woman! You are going to the house of the oneiroincancer (iššaḫu); after having filled the ritual basket with barley, put it as food to his [i.e. Dumuzi’s] dead spirit.”32

The acclaim (asīla) in the same line (68) may be related to the preceding, for in at least one instance the term occurs precisely in the middle of a “fertility topos” contained in a hymn to Bau.33 Although the exact significance of the high priestess’ role as pictured here remains obscure, it does then seem to emphasize her importance to the rites connected with assuring fertility. This is in keeping with Enheduanna’s other reminders of her own role and Inanna’s (cf. above, p. 53).

Her present status is in stark contrast to these past glories.34 The exact nature of her fate is again enveloped in poetic ambiguity, but it seems to involve her exile to the edin, the steppe, for that is where, from all indications, the “lepers’ ward” (ki-si-ga; euphemistic variant: ki-ša₄₄-ga, good place) is to be found. Occasionally it is also located in the marsh (ambar).35 But here the steppe is surely meant, for the next couplet36 evokes the picture of a sudden duststorm blotting out the light of day.37 The reference in the next couplet (ll. 72 f.) is thus not the mud (u₄₄h)38 of the marsh but to the confusion (u₄₄h₄₄-sa₄₄) and dust (sa₄₄bar) in which Enheduanna wallows.

(x) The next stanza is the first in which Inanna is not addressed in the second person. Rather she is spoken of in the third. We therefore take the divine name Suen in line 74 to be a vocative (in spite of the variant spellings in-e and -a) and regard the whole stanza as an address to the moongod.39

32. SBH 77:29. Note also in a neo-Sumerian balanced account concerning fish, an entry for twenty baskets (of one gur fish each?) described as the bride-price (nt₄₄m₁₁₄₄-sa₄₄) of Bau (L.R. 2490, to be publ. in TLEB 5/2-3).
33. Cf. Römer, SKIZ 337, l. 46.
34. The verbs in lines 66 and 68 are here regarded as preterites. Note the variants, especially the ending -em in line 66 (0), probably -em; for J. Krecher’s interpretation of final -em (0) -em after ku₄₄ and other verbs, cf. ZA, 37 (1965), 29 ff.
35. See Glossary s.v. ki-si-ga; cf. also J. Laesse, BMNAC, 29, f. 32; cf. also J. Krecher’s interpretation of final -em (0) -em after ku₄₄ and other verbs, cf. ZA, 37 (1965), 29 ff.
36. Lines 70 f.; note the interesting climactic parallelism with the subject postponed to the second stichos.
37. For a similar contrast between light and shadow, cf. Enmerkar, 428 f.: u₄₄-ta gizzu₄₄-te ṣ₄₄m₄₄-े ṣ₄₄m₄₄-े/gizzu₄₄-ta u₄₄₄₄-ṭₑ ṣ₄₄m₄₄-े.
38. Assuming that ü₄₄h could stand for ü₄₄h or uh = ratts2, for which see Deimel, ü₄₄l 2:398:37; 2:392:18 f.
39. For synonyms to the last expression, see Glossary s.v. sa₄₄bar….gizzu₄₄-te.
40. Note that nam-mu₄₄ occurs only in direct discourse; Falkestein apud MSL, 4:42.
Enheduanna's nominal "husband and employer," he might be expected to intervene on her behalf against Lugalanne.

The reference, by name, to the hated usurper at Uruk is surprising in this context, though not more so than that to Mansium, who usurped Ur under Naram-Sin, in the "Curse of Agade." In fact, later copyists may no longer have recognized the name as such (above, p. 41). As to the identity of this Lugalanne, we have already referred to his place in the "historical tradition," (above, p. 9) where the spelling of his name varies between Lugal-an-na (Old Akkadian period) and Lugal-an-na (OB period). Neither of these spellings is, however, likely to mirror the original name in its full form. More likely it is a hypocoristic abbreviation of a name more fully preserved in the contemporary royal inscriptions or their later copies, or in the royal hymns. On this assumption, names like Lugallanadu of Umma, or Uruk, or Lugallanedu or even Lugallanemudu of Adab suggest themselves for comparison. The "short" form of the name also occurs in the "Royal Correspondence of Isin." But this is not the place to explore the historical implications of these possible identifications.

For the present, rather, much of the historical content of the entire poem remains concealed behind the difficult lines 77-79. The identities of subjects and objects, of the antecedents of the personal pronouns, of the "woman" of lines 77 and 79 and of the city in line 79—all are open to numerous interpretations. Perhaps the clue is in the verb of line 79a, "she is equally exalted, as exalted (as he)." As who? The whole tenor of the poem suggests: An! The force of the verbal prefix (i)n-ga-, with or without the corresponding nominal postposition -gim, is precisely that of a comparative (see the Glossary, s.v.), while the stem -mah is used in this poem with the particular connotation of exal(t)ed (cf. especially II. 64, 123, 134). It would agree with the whole concept of the composition to read line 79a as "That woman (Inanna) is as exalted as he (An)," and to regard the "city" of line 79b as Uruk, the city of An, Inanna, and Lugalanne, with whom this stanza deals, and not Ur, the city of Nanna-Suen to whom the stanza is addressed.

The content of Enheduanna's plea is short and to the point. She begs Suen to intercede for her with An so that he may "release" her. The verb used is si bi-in-du (cf. now also TMH n 47 l 117: si-lu-hu-nam-en-nu-ke si bi-in-[s.a].)

41. Falkenstein, ZA, 57 (1965), 54, l. 68. Is there any connection with xi-ub-num king of Gutium? Cf. V. Scheil, CRAI (1911) 319. [See Addenda 2.]
42. Ibid.
43. F. Thureau-Dangin, ArOr, 20, (1926), 2.
44. CT 36:40:25 ff., translating "(Tuba), you have given to Lugallanadu the lofty name of Lamma" against Falkenstein, SAHG No. 9.49 ff. on the one hand, and Kramer, BOr, 17 (1954), 182, n. 19, on the other.
46. Line 84; Asinambar is another name for the moongod; cf. lines 118 f. for the reference to a similar cultic disability with reference to Nanna's consort Ningal.
47. Cf. line 135 and van Dijk, JCS, 19 (1965), 9, ll. 199 f.: en ki-ruh-ku-me-ba bi-in-du-ku-em. [Cf. now also TMH n 47 l 117: si-lu-hu-nam-en-na-ke si bi-in-[s.a].]
...the stanza that follows again poses the problem: who is addressed, and by whom? The clearest examples of the second person are "your Nanna" (l. 93) and "your ship of mourning" (l. 98)—and it is clearly Enheduanna who refers to "my Nanna" in the next stanza (l. 100). Apart from line 92, which begs the question, the clearest example of the first person is "my sacred song" (l. 99)—and in line 63, "your sacred song" surely referred to the sacred song of Inanna. One might thus incline to regard the entire stanza as Inanna’s response to Enheduanna, heeding her appeal in line 91. In the next stanza, the introduction with an emphatic "as for me" (ga-e, l. 100) would mark the reversion to Enheduanna’s first-person speech.

Two arguments speak against this interpretation, however. In the first place, the first 142 lines of the poem are otherwise one continuous address by Enheduanna. More important, the presumed vocative in line 97 ("Oh lady"), clearly attested in nine manuscripts, would have to be emended (to balag, tigi, or the like). We prefer, then, to regard "your Nanna" as alluding, in this case, to the fact that Nanna-Suen is the father of Inanna, and "my sacred song" as the song which Enheduanna sings to Inanna.

On this interpretation, it is Enheduanna who now invokes An and Enlil to call down a terrible curse upon Uruk. No other city can be meant in lines 92-96. Though much briefer, it is something of a counterpart and fore­runner to the "Curse of Agade" (ll. 228-74). Most of its individual phrases can be found again in other contexts: line 96 in the Sumerian love charm, line 97 in the "Lamentation Over Ur," and echoes of line 98 in the Inanna laments. But the particular thought of the climactic line 99 is peculiar to the present context. Does it, and therefore the whole strophe, allude to the ritual couch (literally "fruitful, un-sed x (Mus!A!m!)-de; cf. Falkenstein, ibid., 127 f.

The next stanza is the logical conclusion to the preceding three and begins, like those, with a mention of the moon god under one of his three names. He had been invoked in the first of these four stanzas, but the appeal exists only in lines 118-125. Though much briefer, it is something of a counterpart and fore­runner to the "Curse of Agade." (ll. 228-74). Most of its individual phrases can be found again in other contexts: line 96 in the Sumerian love charm, line 97 in the "Lamentation Over Ur," and echoes of line 98 in the Inanna laments. But the particular thought of the climactic line 99 is peculiar to the present context. Does it, and therefore the whole strophe, allude to the ritual couch (literally "fruitful, un-sed x (Mus!A!m!)-de; cf. Falkenstein, ibid., 127 f.

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to Ishtar; but her claim to the role of earth goddess is based on her identification, as Isanna, with Antum = ki, the terrestrial consort of the Heaven-god.66

What, then, is the relationship of our text to the later tradition of the exaltation of Ishtar as attested by late bilingual texts from Uruk and Babylon in which the equation of Ishtar and Antum is made explicit?67 While this question must be left unanswered here, it is already possible to suggest that the later series68 links up somehow with a much older tradition of which our poem is a contemporary witness. We therefore consider the verbs of line 134 as related to each other like the adjectives gal and msh,69 that is as positive to comparative or superlative.

(xvi) The first stanza of the peroration is also the last in which Enheduanna speaks in the first person. In it, the poetess seems to describe her creative labors. Unfortunately the reference to the composition (ll. 139) is not as explicit as one might wish, but perhaps the technical term for it is contained in line 13570 which we have, without much conviction, appended to the preceding stanza. But the notion of giving birth to, or fashioning71 in connection with intellectual activity or creativity is attested in the concept of "conceiving the word."72

As Enheduanna relates it, then, her inspiration came to her by night, and was cast into poetic terms in a creative agony well-phrased as labor pains. Nocturnal inspiration is, of course, not confined to poets. It is thus, for example, that Gudea conceived or received, first the notion of building the temple of Ningirsu, and then the procedures to be followed toward this end—albeit in (successive) dreams which he himself was unable to interpret without...
further divine assistance. Nor does Enheduanna speak explicitly of a dream, but even if the scene in lines 136 f. is meant to describe the preparations for "incubation,"73 she was presumably qualified to be her own dream interpreter (cf. above, p. 59).

At any rate, the passage is unique in Sumerian literature in describing the process of poetic inspiration. And though this (nocturnal) process can be reconstructed for Akkadian literature from the so-called "prayers to the gods of the night,"74 the description of the process itself is unmatched there except by the strikingly similar denouement of the "Epic" of Erra. The parallel extends further, for just as Kabti-ili-an-Marduk there recommends his "composition"75 to future generations to protect them from a recurrence of the wrath of Erra which it describes, so Enheduanna concludes with the pious wish that the professional chanters may henceforth include her hymn in their repertoire. And just as the Erra Epic was, according to its author, recorded faithfully and literally,76 so Enheduanna used the verb repeat (su ... gi 4 - gi 4 , asserting her triumph in the particular circumstances described in her own poem.

The couplet that follows (ll. 141 f.), like the last line of the preceding stanza (135), is difficult to justify at this point. Perhaps the two "insertions"—if that is what they are—are related. Inanna has been appeased, her rage mollified. Why, then, any further need to pacify her wrath (ll. 142) or recite her fury (ll. 135; but cf. above, p. 61)? The allusion here may be to an entirely different aspect of the Inanna cult, perhaps to a preexistent Sumerian aspect such as is reflected in certain Inanna and Dumuzi laments.77 It is even found in the prose frame of the Book of Job,82 is reserved to wisdom compositions. And if wisdom texts in general, and disputations in particular, may be said to concern themselves with "academic questions," that is far from the case with nin-me-šar-ra: it was the literary expression of a burning politico-religious reality by its author, princess to Sargon, priestess to Nanna, and poetess to Inanna.82

73. For the es-dam in line 137, cf. Falkenstein, ZA, 56 (1964), 118 f.
75. In Erra V 42 (cf. P. F. Falkenstein, Iraq, 24 (1962), 122 f.), he is styled the "compiler of its tablets, author," just as the Collection of Temple Hymns (above, p. 3) is called, in the colophon, the "compilation (ka-ššidiš = kāriš) of Enheduanna."
76. Erra V 43 f.

LITERARY STRUCTURE AND PARALLELS

78. M. Civil, Studies Presented to A. Leo Oppenheim (1964), p. 89. On the letter-prayers and their intimate connections with the later ir-ra-hun-ga's, see a forthcoming study by Hallo, JAOS, 89 (1968).
79. Cf. e.g. van Dijk, Syria (1953), p. 59.
80. Cf. also the concluding lines of "The Curse of Akkad" and "Inanna and Ebih"; Falkenstein, ZA, 37 (1965), 124 ad 283.
81. Van Dijk, Orientalis et Bibliica Lovaniensia, 1 (1957), 15 f.
82. And we might almost add, in the light of lines 118 f., "prophetess" to Ningal.
CHAPTER 6

The Typology of Divine Exaltation

In the attempt to arrive at an overall evaluation of our text (above, Chap. 1), we stressed its historical and literary setting. Only in conclusion (esp. pp. 6-10) did we allude to its religious significance. Yet the text is, after all, primarily a religious document and, if we have not erred completely in reconstructing its historical context, it should be possible, indeed obligatory, to exploit its religious connotations as well. This will be attempted here in reference to that area where political and religious history meet. We would address ourselves, in short, to the question of the impact of historical events on the history of religions as reflected, subsequent to the exaltation of Inanna, in the later religious literature of the Ancient Near East.

But first we must dispose of an alleged antecedent. The chief deity of the Sumerian pantheon, An, is conspicuous by his absence from the archival and monumental texts of pre-Sargonic Lagas. Now a series of cones and tablets published since 1930 records Entemena's construction of the ḍ-mūš for Inanna and her consort, and the latter's name was read as lugal-ē-mūš, An, master of the ḍ-mūš, by M. Lambert, who then concluded that the inscriptions commemorated the introduction of the divine couple of Uruk into the cult of Lagas upon the conclusion of the alliance between Entemena of Lagas and Lugalkinisedudu of Uruk referred to in the concluding temporal clause of the clay cones. This interpretation was vigorously challenged by C.-F. Jean, and it must be given up. Indeed, it has now been demonstrated that the cones in question came from the site of Bad-Tibira, about halfway between Uruk and Giru-Lagas. The original ḍ-mūš is in

1. Note, however, in the onomasticon such names as Eannatumu.
2. See now E. Sollberger, Corpus sub Ent. 45–73, 74–75, and pp. xiii note (1) and xvi note *.; Note also that the Oriental Institute has an unpublished brick (A 7121 = Ent. 151; cf. JNES 17 (1958), 212, § 7) and bronze foundation figurine (A 7122) inscribed with two versions of an inscription of Entemena to lugal-ē-mūš.
6. Cf. already (i.a.) A. Falkenstein, ZA, 45 (1939), 186; SGL 1 (1959), 58 f.
7. Cf. e.g. Y. Rosengarten, "Le concept sémirien de consommation" (1960), p. 287.
8. Written u-mu-un-e-mu-š, as J. Krecher, ZA, 57 (1963), 18 f. and n. 11.
9. The term "theogony" is used here, for want of a better, to suggest not only the genealogy and "birth of God," but also for the changing status, relative to each other, of various deities within a single pantheon.
12. If we may read (iš)-gii]-gii in spite of the collation.
13. For the "early history" of this deity, cf. van Dijk, UVB 18 (1962), 51; Gisassmann, Era-Epos, p. 68; i. J. Gelb, MAD 2 (2nd ed. 1961), 55, no. 25.
and An-am of Uruk, are the kings of Larsa, who repeatedly invoke Nergal as patron deity (lugal), as personal deity (dingir), or, what amounts to the same thing, as divine begetter (dingir-sag-du = i- lam ṣa-ni qa-ag-ga-d). It must be admitted, however, that the early history of the deity, as of the Hābīru, is too obscure to admit of any facile correlation of the two.

The exaltation of Ninurta was, in essence, the theme of the lengthy myth called lugal-e ur Im-bi nir-gal whose popularity is attested by numerous Sumerian exemplars from Old Babylonian times and late bilingual versions from Nineveh, Kalah, Ashur, Babylon, and elsewhere. In certain formal respects, the myth parallels the later versions of the exaltation of Inanna, as pointed out by Langdon. At first glance, the parallel does not extend to the contents, since the Ninurta myth takes place entirely in the realm of divine and natural phenomena, with no reference to human history; as Jacobsen has summarized it, "Altogether the myth of Ninurta and Asag appears to be a nature myth telling of the yearly battle of spring and winter." But it should be remembered that, in its latest form, the exaltation of Ištar likewise preserves none of the allusions to contemporary history with which its Sargonic forerunner is replete. And although, in this form, it does not go back as far as the Ninurta myth, we should consider the possibility that there was an earlier version of the latter myth as well. In it, such mythical matters as the great battle of Tablets II–V may have had a much more clearly historical background.

Perhaps the most celebrated example of the elevation of a Mesopotamian deity is that of Marduk, who rose from a completely obscure status to the most exalted rank in the pantheon. There is no question about his dramatic exaltation, which occurred most likely in the late second millennium, if not immediately then in short order. The defeat of Elam by Nebukadnezar ushered in a much more gradual growth in the importance of this cult as attested primarily by date formulas, personal names, royal inscriptions, or literary works, and there is no evidence to suggest a change in this situation through most of the Kassite period. Under the Second Dynasty of Lain, however, and in the reign of Nebukadnezar I (ca. 1124–03 B.C.) in particular, one can detect a sudden upsurge in the explicit "status" of Marduk in a number of sources. This "turning point in the history of ancient Mesopotamian religion" had been long in the making, but its immediate cause, according to Lambert, was the recovery of Marduk's statue from captivity in Elam, which he dates to this reign. Given the importance attached to the divine statues, their capture and recapture, throughout Mesopotamian history, the occasion alluded to could well have loomed large in Babylonian religious history. But we should not overlook the significance of this particular triumph over Elam for political and military history as well. For the defeat of Elam by Nebukadnezar ushered in, if not immediately then in short order, a total eclipse of Elamite power and the removal of this traditional rival from the Babylonian scene for almost three centuries. The magnitude of the military triumph, then, may well have combined with the dramatic recovery of the statue to lay the basis for Marduk's exaltation at Babylon in the unique manner attested by the "Epic of Creation" and other sources. Since this example brings us well into the second half of the second millennium, it may be worth noting in conclusion the striking parallel that it affords to the "exaltation of Yahweh" at the Exodus, an event datable only a little earlier. The religious history of Israel is almost inexplicable without accepting the historicity of the Exodus, as most Biblical scholars are now inclined to do. But the Exodus gains in historical validity, not only by its connection with personal names; cf. H. A. Fine, Studies in Middle Assyrian Chronology and Religion (1955), esp. pp. 108–12 (=HUCA, 25 [1954], 126–30).
continued literary reflection in the "Exodus typology" of later Israelite thought and experience, but also by its direct and intimate bearing on the emergence of Israel's God to an unchallenged supremacy in the eyes of his people. Events at the Reed Sea and God's exaltation are closely related, and this relationship, which deserves further study, can materially help to date the former while strengthening the historical character of the latter.

The phenomenon thus illustrated has many other ramifications for the history of religions, in particular for the problem of henotheism. There is no intention to go into these here, nor even to exhaust the examples of divine exaltation within the Mesopotamian experience. The illustrations already adduced, however, should suffice to emphasize the close dependence of major "theogonic" revolutions on historical events. We have tried to link the exaltation of Inanna to certain events in the Sargonic period as adumbrated in the poem nin-me-sar-ra. The later parallels, it is to be hoped, indicate that this historical aspect is a legitimate and fruitful one under which to view the phenomenon of divine exaltation not only in Mesopotamia but also elsewhere in the Ancient Near East.

CHAPTER 7

Glossary

Because of the lack to date of an adequate dictionary, or even glossary, of literary Sumerian, translations of Sumerian literary texts have in recent years either rested on unstated lexical assumptions or else called forth lengthy commentaries on each passage, in which basic lexical questions were intermingled with purely grammatical comments on the one hand and considerations of historical or literary significance on the other. Although such commentaries fulfill an extremely useful and, in the absence of dictionary or glossary, even an essential function, they tax both the commentator's time and the reader's. It has seemed to us more appropriate to segregate the purely lexical evidence by presenting it in simple alphabetical order and by citing in full the most cogent Belegstellen except where these have already been assembled conveniently by our predecessors.

The nature of the Sumerian literary idiom makes this the more feasible as certain words repeatedly appear in combination. This is true not only of the so-called compound verbs but of numerous other complexes peculiar to the stylized diction of Sumerian poetry. By concentrating on these complexes rather than the simple roots, it is possible to reduce the attested citations to those best suited to throw light on the specific meaning of the separate elements. This is not to ignore the frequent interchange in the elements of such complexes. But such interchanges, while contributing to lexical clarity, can better be treated in the framework of the "literary criticism" of the entire genre in which they occur, where their role is primary. Words and phrases already discussed in the commentary are therefore not repeated here.

\[a-a\]: abu "father." R-ugu, 52 = abu idud.
\[a\]: idu "arm, wing, strength." u-de R ... -si, 17; a-ni-za, 27, perhaps ina ramiiniki. Cf. NG 3: 89 a-na "mit eigener Hand"; the expression is explained by a variant a-ni-za du-b "flying on your own"; a-ni-za seems to be an ellipsis for a-ni-za du-b.
\[a-a-ga\]: u-uru; tertu: "instruction, decree." R-an-na, 19.
\[a-a-dub\]: "to flap one's wings." a-ni-za du-b, 27, "flying on your own," a-ni-za du-b, 27, "flapping (your) wings, (supported) on your own." For a-dub, cf. CAD, A, s.v. abru B and D;
ama: auxiliary verb "to do, make." See ki-su-ub ... R, 116.
aga-zi(d): addaxCuJ x BAD) = var. of lu-ese, 50. Probably stands for UJ x GAM, as dim also has the meaning "to devour corpses." ur-gim R, 127. Cf. Falkenstein-Kienast, s.v. kin-gi 4 -a gi 6 -u-na im-dis (cf. CAD, s.v. itação and AFO, 19 [1959-60], 50, ll. 16 f.);-gim sa7-gajan-NE.GAN = ki-za R-ra-de, var. of ba-e-de-su-de, 43. Probably stands for ló × GÁN.
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GLOSSARY

billum: tilid “render a definitive verdict.”
dāb: dāb “seize, capture.” 91.
dal: dāl “fly.” im-mi-in-R, 18; R-a₃, 35; ba-ra-an-R-e(n), 105; see dē-dal below.
dalla: dāl “appear, shine.” Za, 49 (1949), 129 and 26; u₃-R, 1.
dam: mātu-gallatu “spouse.” NG 3, s.v.; 55; R-dīb-ba, 141.
dē: weak form of tum: abālu “carry,” “increase (e.g. the flood).” āł ma-ra-an-R, 45; vari. tum/dū₃, 72.
dē-dal: dītalū “ashes.” For dē-dal as a noun, see below, Chapter 5, n. 71. Cf. also dup (cf. tum, 72; of tum, 46). See also REM: 136, n. 139.
di-dū₅: “prosecute a claim in court”; “render a verdict.”
dub: sābiibu “speak.”
dal: dāl “fly.” im-mi-in-R, 18; R-a₃, 35; ba-ra-an-R-e(n), 105; see dē-dal below.
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dē: weak form of tum: abālu “carry,” “increase (e.g. the flood).” āł ma-ra-an-R, 45; vari. tum/dū₃, 72.
dē-dal: dītalū “ashes.” For dē-dal as a noun, see below, Chapter 5, n. 71. Cf. also dup (cf. tum, 72; of tum, 46). See also REM: 136, n. 139.
di-dū₅: “prosecute a claim in court”; “render a verdict.”
dub: sābiibu “speak.”
én: e-an, “emerge, appear.” iți, . . . , 147. Var. of e1, 104; see Gal-la, 1; gū, 153; u, zi-dē-ē, . . . , R, 148.
e21: egi; ardu; ittūl “ascend, descend, remove.” e-ta . . . , R, var. e, 110; kur-bi-ta R, var. e, 11.
en: én; éntu “high priests.”, 67, 120. See nam-R below.
èn-li1: 18, 95.
en-n-a: see ṣe-ka.
ēs-dam: altsamu, epithet of a temple of Inanna; later “brother.” Cf. Atu, s.v.; OECT 1:15:3:7 ff. + parallels (Acta Or 28/1:4) and ZA, 56 (1964), 118 f.; é-ēs-dam-kū “the holy altsamu,” 137.
ēzu: én-an-na; “grain,” 10, 43.
gá: weak form of gin (hamtu); bi-in-R-e(n) “he made me go to . . .”; var. du, du(h)n, 106.
Gá: doubled weak form of gar (muri). See sag-R below. Cf. e-gar, var. of gā, 137. (Gá is here the simple weak form = hamtu.)
gal-zu: erētu “wise, omniscient.” (fixed form from gas-an-zu); R igi-gāl: erēnu me-dā, 62; cf. YBC 13522:11/ (Hasha) gal-zi-gāl-dingir-re-ne.
gāl: gala: haši “ritual singer,” 140.
gi: var. of gī, 10, 30, 53, 56, 73, 88, 110, 140, 145.
gi: See hul-R below.
gū, var. gī, gi-ū-gū, gi-Rer, gi-Rš; ki-R-kur-ra, 106. Several readings are possible: 106 reads ku-ūn-kur-ka with var.: olā-ba-hi and olāh, 1. A reading ṣeg is possible, cf. PBS 2:2:36 โทร ne-te-a ū-še-ē-gē bi-lā with RA, 8 (1911), 166:69 tumme: ni-te-ni “ū台阶 bi-lā-[i].” This gives the Sumerian reading akkūlā, which is a “loan” from Sumerian: ū-še-ē-gē to akkūlā u-ū-šu, is to alāšu. Cf. M. Held, AS, 16 (1965), 396 ff. 2. The gloss ha-ah gives a reading halū = gī. Cf. Thompson, DAB 178 = puqatu “whistle,” which fits the context well. The same is found in TMH NF 3: 36:62 = SRT 4:55. 3. Thus the var. olāh has to be compared with the preceding and not with MLS 5:1:4:41 = :gīš-har. Cf. CAD-E, s.v. e-šētu; Atu, s.v. alūgū and e-šētu. Falkenstein, ZA, 37 (1965), 122 f. quoting AS, 12 (1940), 62, l. 368: har-ra-an-gīš-e ba-ab-gar-ru-za, sign: kur-ba-ha-mū; cf. Lugabanda and Anzu 270 (= SEM, 1 + OECT 15 + SEM, 6): (i defiantly) gīš-ku, var. of gīš-kur-ka.
gīri-ba-da-ra: patu e patatur “dagger and sword.” R ma-an-si, 108. Mentioned in connection with kur-gar; for refs. cf. Römer, SKIZ 130 f.: 72-75 and ibid., 165 f. Note that in the catalogue of me’s in Inanna and Enki (e.g. PBS § 5: rev. 21 f.), gīri-ba-da-ra follows immediately after kur-gar; cf. also Gossman, Era-Epos, 4:55-58.
giš: tiṣu “foot.” R-ni-bē . . . nā, 78.
giši-na(e) . . . :i “put between the legs”; “fill the legs.” For si with loc./loc-term., cf. Edzard, ZA, 53 (1959), 12-15. girij-zu nu-kū-ū i-in-si, 32; nu-kū-ū, q.v., is here the subject. Cf. BRM 4:9:37; gīš-gū-di me-rā-i-nē i-im-si; SLSN 61:41 l. 56 f.: ṣēkan lugal-an-ē-ka, girij-zu im-mi-si. Cf. also the familiar expression ṣām-hē/eh-a/i-si, e.g. HAV 10:23 + dupl.; ZA, 52 (1957), 17, 19.
gizzu (from gis-ZUx(MI), cf. an_zuxIDUSen and the var. gis-zux-de...)


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Cf. also the articles of Emerenue on “echo-words” in Dravidian Tamil, *JAOS*, 58 (1938), 553; 19 (1939), 503.


hul (cf. gul) tulpata; ububtu “destroy.” R-ā ... kū, 89. See kū.


hul-gi-gā: *sēru; sēru* “hate, hated, hostile,” ki-bala-R, 93.

hul: *ātā* “mountain.” 43.


i: *muru* “river.” 45.


i-lu ... dUl/e: *hul-sag.*


fr: *fr-pan*; *ezzu* “be angry.” *ib-ba*, 41, 142; ša-ib-ba, 38.


in this ki-si-ga is found in CT 45:9-9: hi-zi-ib-ti R-edin-na (cf. also TCL 1:7). The original meaning of ki-si-ga seems to be "a hole in the earth" which served as a dwelling place. The key place for this meaning is ZA, 50 (1952), 70, ll. 92 f.; uku-R-bi-a...mu-mu he-em-mi-za, ki-si-ga seems to be a word for the temporary hut where rituals were performed and for the dwelling place of the ill who were quarantined outside the city. Cf. for refs. AhU, s.v. kisiggil; "Curse of Agade," 256, 265; ZA, 57 (1963), 63. We understand ki-si-ga here as such a hut, where Enheduanna was sitting like a patient, banished from the city, while the dust storms gave her face a ghostlike aspect and her beauty was changed into mud, like a corpse.

ki-su-ub, aka: "to kiss the ground; "make obeisance."

See ki-za. weak form of the preceding, "to kiss the ground; "make obeisance."

See ki-si-ga. The meaning of this expression should be clarified (cf. van Dijk 13 (Falkenstein, ZA, 50 (1965), 136b and 4R 9a:57-60 (=OECT 6:16); Sjoberg, Nanna, p. 168, L. 27; Sl. 4:61:283. See also Geid. Cyl. Bi 2:461:283. The original meaning of ki-si-ga seems to be "a hole in the earth" which served as a dwelling place. The key place for this meaning is ZA, 50 (1965), 70, ll. 92 f.; uku-R-bi-a...mu-mu he-em-mi-za, ki-si-ga seems to be a word for the temporary hut where rituals were performed and for the dwelling place of the ill who were quarantined outside the city. Cf. for refs. AhU, s.v. kisiggil; "Curse of Agade," 256, 265; ZA, 57 (1963), 63. We understand ki-si-ga here as such a hut, where Enheduanna was sitting like a patient, banished from the city, while the dust storms gave her face a ghostlike aspect and her beauty was changed into mud, like a corpse.

ki-su-ub...aka: "to kiss the ground; "make obeisance; "prostrate oneself;" cf. kir(iMKA) ki-za, kir(i)ku4 ki-su-ub ha-ba-ku4...aka


kur-ta-di; matsu "mountain, (foreign) land." R-ra uku...si, 9; R gu-rum-gurum, 20; R-ra dira-ga, 42; R za-ra, 51; nin-R-R-ra, 62; ki-teg-R-R-ra, 106; R-ra go-de, 125a.

kur-sa ma-ra: tatu "mountain of(?) flood," 78.


kūr: nakału; nakkaru: "be hostile, alien;" ki-R, 98; ni...R...85, 11; dī-la, see di-kū, 117.


kūš: anardu; tānunu; 31, 85; see nu-kūš...-32.

la-la; lālu, "vigor, appeal;" R-ba ra-mu-un-ga, 88; cf. Sjoberg, Nanna, p. 174 but strike Enheduanna A 56 and add ZA, 37 (1965), 53 and 87; R...su-su var. du-du-qa, 146; R...girt, 147. 1ā. See šu-šu; šu-šu...
lù: vi-te; délek. See ukülu-u.
lú-gu-la: 87; read perhaps an-lù-gu-la, var. an-lugal-gu-la. lu-Idu occurs in TRS 10:121 between manifestations of the "mother-goddess" Dinger-mah or Ninursanga (ll. 112-20) and her consort Sulpaia (ll. 122-25; cf. Falkenstein, ZA, 57 [1965], 21). In Tablet II of the canonical God-List, it occurs in the midst of the former as a manifestation of Belit-ili (Deimel, Pantheon, No. 1837), but this name hardly fits our context.
lú-eru-lu. See nam-R.
lū-lū: datlu. See mir-mir, 135.
lugal-an-nē: King of Uruk. Cf. commentary, p. 56; the reading as a personal name seems imperative: no scribes would write an-nē for an-na, and Sin is simply not lār kantu; 74, 77.
lúl. See ki-lu-lu-la.
šma: elippa "boat." R-a-nir-ra, 98. Lines 97-99 are very obscure; like lines 151 f., they seem to contain an allusion to the death of Dumuzi; at least the phraseology of these lines belongs to the Dumuzi literature; cf. VS 2:2 iii 16-18 + RA, 8 (1911), 168, ll. 100-62 in a difficult context: [š]ma-hur-e-gu-la edin-lē-maš-a-ka / ki-bi-a gurus šma-gul-gul-a kur-ra i-de (= du, aldub, weak) / dam-ga-sa-an-an(a)-ka šma-gul-gul-a kur-ra l-de.
mah: sûru "lofty, exalted." an-gim R-a, 123; in-ga-R, 79; aša-R-me-en, 137; te-en-te-bi R-a ("it is sublime ... "); 39; du₄, ga-ni R-a ("that her speaking to ... was sublime ... "); 151; cf. 64; ša-küu-zu R-a, 110.
nam...kar: “take away the fate/the manhood.” 77. Cf. nam-kār, ištinam ištiitu; Ebeling, Hinterherrschaft (VIO 20:60-14), tu-at-te-pē-pē-šu li i-ma-tam-ma e-dam-mi-ig lem-nu; ibid., 128:17 7a šēk-ir ū ti-in-ni[n] ti tultepēli lilitimūti]; both incantations to ḫtarā.
nam-kū: “curse,” 95. Cf. ref. in Romer, SKIZ 100-02; Falkenstein, ZA, 57 (1965), 117, and CH rev, 26:52; ti-ma-ti-su li-ur-ru-ur (cf. Boiger, Or., N.S. 34:168 f.).
nam-ū-ux-ū: nam-en: nam-mu: “what is it to me?” 74,103. Cf. te-am = nam-mu = nam- ... kar: “take away the fate / the manhood,” 77. Cf. nam-kur, 86. GLOSSARY
the context. The only possible interpretation seems to be: Inanna has been placed in the place of Antum, sitting with An on the throne of Heaven. This exalts
paralleling nin-gal, 112. Comparison with nin-9-gal/banda, which occurs in similar contexts, e.g. JCS, 16 (1962), 80, II. 6 f., does not suit the context. The only possible interpretation seems to be: Inanna has been placed in the place of Antum, sitting with An on the throne of Heaven. This exalts
occurs in similar contexts, e.g. JCS, 16 (1962), 80, II. 6 f., does not suit the context. The only possible interpretation seems to be: Inanna has been placed in the place of Antum, sitting with An on the throne of Heaven. This exalts
nin-gal-za-ra nir im-ta-gal-en (“I trust in you”) lu-se R (“that man, what is he to me,” or: “what can I expect from men?”); cf. R-gal, 112; R-gal-nin-ene, bēlīt bēlīti, 60; R-hi-gū-ē, 153; R-kāl-kal, 109; R-ki-gā-an-an-an-ka, 121, 135; R-kur-kur-ka-rā, 62; R-me-sār-rama-du-ur, 1; R ēa hū-l, 40; R un-ria, 138; R ur-ru-an-an-ia, 14; R irt-ī-sē, 40.
nin-gal: 149.
in-in-me-sār-rama kū-ënanna-ka; cf. YOS, 1.31 (“Warad-Sin 8”): 1–3: ḫinan ni-n-gal-gūr-ri me-sār-rama tab-ba. Cf. also LKA 77 ll 2 f. = Ebeling, ArOr 21:364 (Sarrapatum) nin-gal abzu-a / me-sār-rama šu-dū-a, 4 >-a-ri an.-a >-ru-ru-R a >-ri-a >-ri-ka >-ri-an. a lā a-op-is-ti ... lā é-lu-lat par-tu šab-bu-lat.
nu-gig: harinita “hierodule,” 151.
nu-gig-an-na: “hierodule of An,” 3; this is the “civil state” of Inanna in the Sumerian Pantheon, at least at Ur; less certainly at Umma, where Šara is her son, and for the Inanna whose son is dlu-Ial; cf. CT 42:3 v 53–
33, where Inanna seems to be identified with Antum. Cf. s.v. nin, nin-gal; the title may have been applied originally to Inanna; cf. R-kā (ke), nam-gal-la-a- (a-)na in-in-nin-ri šir-re-e-eš ga-an-an- na-ab-bē, Romer, SKIZ 129:15 f. and other references, ibid., 152 and CAD,H, s.v. harinita and CAD,I, s.v. ištulita; RA, 33 (1936), 104, II. 2, 14: 28: 4R u-gib-an-na-men; applied to Nana, SLTN 71:3, to Ninissina, SRT 6:2:32: 7:7: in-in nu-u-gig-gal-gal-an-na-ke, 40, cf. Römer, SKIZ 204:59 and cf. also Enki and the World, 402. But this is certainly a syncretism.
nu-kūš-ū: “restlessness,” 32; deverbal noun, here used, not in the sense of nakūšti (for which see Salonen, Türen, pp. 69 f.) or aimmutsa, but of the Akkadian participle la donu, lahu (for which see Aho, pp. 48 f.). Cf. Lambert, BWH, 242:22: girī-mu nu-kūš-ū = la a-ni-ka la-pa-a-a and ibid., 249 ad loc. For the nominal construction, cf. BRM, 4:9:38 f.: ū-nu-ku i-bi-nē i-ma-al / nu-kūš-ū ā-nā i-ma-al e-me-sal; “sleeplessness is deposited on her eyes, restlessness is placed in her arms”; SBT 57 rev. 4 f.: R-bi-mēn = bē-lu-in-ni-an-na anu-ka. See girī-a (a)...
cf. *dingir-meš* *gig-gu* *inā* *numnum-inu-su* *aqqa-ra* *na*(našqpa), KAR 306:29; R-bi-*a* *ki-* *nu-* *ub* *a*- *ra*- *aka*- *ne*, KAPP, ZA, 51 (1955), 79, ll. 110 f.

pa: *eldu*, see an-*pa* above, s.v. an.

PAAN: see *billuda* above.


ra: see *gü*-R-R, 29; sag-*giš*-R-R, 126.

rā: see *śud-ra*, 149.

sā*du*: see *śu*-R, 5.

[sag: *śud*]

sag-ga-ga: sag-kis-da:

sag-ki:
sahar-(da) ... gi4: “turn into dust,” “in pulverem reverti,” euphemism

sag-kesda:

sag-ke:

sar:

s i - sa:
si: 1.


*CAD,H*, 5 f. Cf. also *Sagesse*, 1949, 114, 1. 7; 120, 1. 32; me-gal-gal-Ia-R-bi, 6.

for “to die,” 73. Cf. *za-gin-sa* *en-usu*, *ZA*, 10 (1929), 29, n. 36, 38; cf. *Scheil*, *JA*, 7:3 f.: *giSsi-gar-ku-an-na* *si*- *gir* with *variants.*

*sag*: *śud*

sag-ka-al-dnin-urta is attested in *r III* text.

sahar-ra ... bala (cf. *SGL* 2:44).

*za-gin-sa* *en-usu*, *ZA*, 10 (1929), 29, n. 36, 38; cf. *Scheil*, *JA*, 7:3 f.: *giSsi-gar-ku-an-na* *si*- *gir* with *variants.*

sahar-ra ... nigin *prayer.* R ... su-ti, 144.

sikkur: *teilitu* “prayer.” R ... *šu*-ti, 144.

sikur: *teilitu* “prayer.” R ... *šu*-ti, 144.

sī: phon. */sudr/. Cf. var. sa-sur- for sa-su, 65; *la*-Ia ... *su*-su

slim-ma ... dull/e: “say hail,” 83, 150. Cf. refs. collected by *Romer*, *SKIZ* 4:1-11? ad 26; *nu*-bi ... *si*-il, 94; ka-*kelda* ... *si*-il, 47. Cf. *JCS*, 5 (1950-51), 3, 45; *za-gin-ša*- *ga*- *zu* *za*- *zadim-ma*- *ka* (with the stone of ... nam-ba*- *da*- *an*-si-il-le.

sil: *siq* “street,” 25.

silm-ma ... *du*-i/e: “say hail,” 83, 150. Cf. refs. collected by *Romer*, *SKIZ* 149 f. 203 f., n. 52; see *giš*-ka-an-na and *Schollmeyer*, *SAMAL* 7:1; *s* *ši*-gar-kū-an-na-ka-*ke,* slīm-ma hu-mu-ra-ab-be = *li*- *gar- la-me* = *ši*- *lu*- *tum* *tal*- *ma*- *liq*- *hu*- *hu*.


sizkur: *teilitu* “prayer.” R ... *šu*-ti, 144.

si: phon. /sudr/. Cf. *la*-Ia ... *su*-su

sittinnu, *zi-im-ru-sa* *en-usu*, *ZA*, 10 (1929), 29, n. 36, 38; cf. *scheil*, *JA*, 7:3 f.: *giSsi-gar-ku-an-na* *si*- *gir* with *variants.*

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si: *siq* “street,” 25.

dsun-zi: R-mu, 91: either the name of Inanna at Ur, or dingir; sun-zi, attested as epithet of Inanna.
sur: var. of /sudr/ = su, q.v.
sar: “3600, all.” See nin-me-R-ra,
sa-gan: see gurus-R, 50.
se4(d):
sea:
sa-X-*ak: prepositional use; *sa-tur-bi-ak-ta, 54.
seg:
sir-ku:
su:
s -bar:
su-a ... gi 4 -gi 4:
sir:
su-a ... gi 4 -gi 4:

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su-Ia: he-sumsu-mu; but cf. ibid. 14: (asalluhi) igi im-ma-an-si; ha-ba-R-mu, 93; gir ba-da-ra ma-an-R, 108.
su-Ia: “heart, mind.” R-fb-ba, 38; R-hul-gal-la, 39; R i-hul, 40 (possessive use); ni-ku-R-ga-na, 57; R-ku, 61, 110; R-su, 65 (remended);
gub-ba-R-ga-na, 80; R ... se4’ 80, 121, 137; R ki-be ... gi4’ 145.

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til: gamhiru "finish, cease;" hi-li . . . ba-ra-mu-un-R, 88; see di-R, 117.

tu-ud: aldudu "give birth to (a song)," 138. Cf. commentary ad loc. and the
Socratic or maieutic (i.e. midwifery) method. See u₄-tu-ud-da below.

tug: var. of tagu, 79, 98.

tuk: see gù-R.

tum: 1. tālubu "fit;" me-a R-ma, 64; cf. Sjoberg, Nanna-Suen, p. 108,
11 and 110 ad loc.; nam-en-na-R-ma, 4; for en-me-a-R-ma
UN-ga as an epithet of Bar-Sin, cf. BE I 19, AOS 43:8; 2. (na)bdla,
taldi "carry (off)." See ki-Za-R, 42, 59; me-R-ma, 64, var. Cf. Emmer-
har, 57 f.; gâ-e abzu-ta zâ-nî du₁₁-ga-mu-dê / eridū-hi-î-ta me
R-a-mu-dê and the references collected by Römer, SKIZ 153 ad loc.;
STYC 36:9: nin-mu an-an-ta me mu-e-tum (cf. Sjoberg, Nanna,
p. 37); CT 42:12 (Kramer, PAPKS, 107 [1963], 503 f.) and 22. 3. See
šu-h-a-šu nu above.

tür: turbaru "lyre, sacred lyre," 54. dür in this context can hardly be
equated with an ordinary "cow stall" or even with that of the temple
cattle. This dür seems to play a role in religious and social life: perhaps
marriage was consummated there, perhaps a part of sexual life was restricted
to these houses, as it is known from other primitive cultures; cf. above,
Chapter 5, note 22.

u₁: 1. "day; daylight." 2. "storm." 1. R-lalla-e, var. urbar, 1; R-
4:20; var. of tagu, 79, 98.


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u₁: 1. "day; daylight." 2. "storm." 1. R-lalla-e, var. urbar, 1; R-
4:20; var. of tagu, 79, 98.

u₂: see gi₄-ur₄-ur₄.

u₃: see gi₄-ur₄-ur₄.

u₄: see gi₄-ur₄-ur₄.

u₅: see gi₄-ur₄-ur₄.

u₆: see gi₄-ur₄-ur₄.

u₇: see gi₄-ur₄-ur₄.

u₈: see gi₄-ur₄-ur₄.

u₉: see gi₄-ur₄-ur₄.
za x: see he-zu-he-za x.

za-a-kam ... dUll:

usumgal:

dusumgal-an-na,11.

usCKA x us) ... si, var. uSx(KA x su): “throw venom on ... ,” 9.

 Cf. u-sun:

usan: an-us an:

uru:

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in the hymns of praise, as ga-a-kam corresponds to ga-e-me-en in self-predications, e.g. in the enumeration of Inanna’s sanctuaries, PBS 5:157

beginning dutu za-da-nu-me-a, var. za-da-nu-e,

predications, e.g. in the enumeration of Inanna’s sanctuaries,

sion of at least twenty-eight lines ends dinanna za-(a)-kam =

chorus of ten lines each ending za-a-kam followed by at least nine lines (11), 14, var. of an.

za-a-kam corresponded to za-e-me-en

13,

estar.

ku-um-mu,

(5) Nanna: at least seven lines ending in dnanna-kam, Sjoberg, Suen, 33:69 (BiOr, 23 (1966), 245 f.): R uru(ni)-ni-le al-di-me-en.

for Ki-R as epiphet of Uruk, cf. Chapter 5, note 52.

zi-kü: “consume life.” zi-mu um-mi-ku, 105; this idiom must be

different from

zi-gala7: “having life in the body” and esp. Cattle and Grain 35

nam-lu-ux-Iu zi sa im-si-ib-gal “they gave sustenance to mankind.”

Gud. Cy1. A iii 13: zi sa mu-si-ni-gal. Cf. also YBC 7196:7 = Romer,

SAKI 214(b), who cited this equation ad “Warad-Sin 7”:3. Cf. also the refrain in

zi-kü became a noun, like he-zu-he-za x, and is preserved in the omens of Sargon, cf. above, Chapter 1, and n. 24. For refs. and various forms, cf. Römer, SKIZ 248; Athe, pp. 496 f. s.v. ko(m); MSL, 4:62:12.

za(az)al-ga: reading of ud-ud-ga = nṣururu. Cf. Edzard, ZA, 53 (1963), 266, CAD,B, 93d (dammumu); SGL 2:90, n. 27; mi-z-R-ga, mukuratu, 65; en-R-ga, 120.


zë-er: nehelū, see giri-zë-er.

[zi: napisti].

zi-gala: šuḫtu napisti; R-ukū-lu-a, 63. zi-gala, has two meanings: 1. “having life,” “living being,” cf. Römer, SKIZ 172 ad 98; but a translation “in for the living beings (and) the prosperous people” does not yield sense in our context. 2. Cf. CAD,G, 21c: zi: ma-al = ga-mil na-pi-ti, “granting life,” and ibid. 224; cf. already Thureau-Dangin, SAKI 214(b), who cited this equation ad “Warad-Sin 7”:3. Cf. also the epithet of Enizi: zi-sag-gu-ga in “Enki and the World,” 330. R-ukū-lu-a is used as vocative epithet, in a similar sense. See also next entry.

zi-šk-gala1: zišgalāl “sustenance,” 92. Cf. CAD,Z, s.v.; R has the same differentiation of meanings as zi-gala; “having life in the body” and “granting life to,” not so much as “encouragement” (cf. ibid.), but as “food;” cf. TLB 2:1:52: har-ra-an-na zi-šk-gala1-zu ga-me-ēn and esp. Cattle and Grain 35 (SRT 24 + HAV 6 + BE 31:15) nam-lu-ux-Iu zi ša im-ki-ib-gal “they gave sustenance to mankind.”


zi-d: kēnu “true, right(eous), appropriate.” aga-R, 4, 107; dingir-R, 64; me-R, 60; mi-R, 2, 65.

zi-šg-gala1: zišgalāl “sustenance,” 92. Cf. CAD,Z, s.v.; R has the same differentiation of meanings as zi-gala; “having life in the body” and “granting life to,” not so much as “encouragement” (cf. ibid.), but as “food;” cf. TLB 2:2:52: har-ra-an-na zi-šk-gala1-zu ga-me-ēn and esp. Cattle and Grain 35 (SRT 24 + HAV 6 + BE 31:15) nam-lu-ux-Iu zi ša im-ki-ib-gal “they gave sustenance to mankind.”


for Ki-R as epiphet of Uruk, cf. Chapter 5, note 52.

zi-kü: “consume life.” zi-mu um-mi-ku, 105; this idiom must be


Addenda

1. The crucial line 90: tab mu-ši-in-ku4-ra-ni muru4-ma-né hu-mu-un-te requires some additional comments. It is clear that the subject of the pronominal construction, “having entered together with... before you (Inanna),” must be the same as that of the preceding verbs, i.e. Lugalanne. It is equally evident that Lugalanne, by approaching his muru4 (SAL. LAGAR) committed a sin for which he is roundly cursed by Enheduanna. Since muru4 is a kinship term, Lugalanne’s offence must have involved an illicit sexual advance. No other sense of te(g) fits the context. Now Lugalanne, as en of Uruk, was dam-4inanna, “bridegroom of Inanna;” Enheduanna, as en of Ur, was dam-4inanna, “bride of Nanna.” Since Inanna of Uruk is indubitably the daughter of Nanna, this yields the following cultic relationship:

Enheduanna (en-4inanna) = 4Ningal = 4Nanna
4Inanna ~ An = Lugalanne (en-unug80)

once it is conceded that, in the Sargonic theology, Inanna-Istar did in fact become the wife of An, replacing Ki (mother earth), or becoming identified with her. This very exaltation is clearly alluded to in our composition, ll. 112-114: by birth, Inanna had been nin-bân-da, “the junior queen;” now she has become nin-gal, “the senior queen.” It is also the main theme of Enheduanna’s other great hymn to Inanna, in-nin-ba-gur-ra (see glossary s.v. nin). In cultic terms, Uruk became ki-nin, “the queen-place,” Sargon pa2-šē-an-na, the “male in-law of An,” and Enheduanna muru4, the “female in-law” of An and, by extension, of Lugalanne, the en of Uruk who represented An in the sacred marriage at Uruk.

Thus Lugalanne’s sin consisted in his sexual designs, not on Inanna or the priestess playing her role, but on Enheduanna.

2. The analogy to Mansium (above p. 56 and n. 41) may be more complicated than at first appeared. The spelling man-an-si-um actually occurs in only one published version of the Curse of Agade (TRS 66:33; so also YBC 4611, unpubl.); it has been compared to the royal name man-si-sum in a historical omen (KAR 344 obv.[)] by Güterbock, followed by Falkenstein, ZA, 57 (1965), 89.
An unpublished duplicate (YBC 7171) has instead what appears to be ma-\textit{an-ul} or ma-\textit{an-un}, suggesting comparison with ma-\textit{ni-an} or ma-\textit{ni-anum}, the en of Magan mentioned in an inscription of Naram-Sin from Susa and generally equated with ma-\textit{nu-an} or ma-\textit{an-nu-da-an}, king of Magan in the historical traditions about Naram-Sin (Hallo, \textit{Titles} 6, 67; Hirsch, AIF 20:17 n. 182; 24 f.)

The spelling \textit{ma-an-ul} recurs in line 68 of “\textit{Inanna and Ebih}” (cf. UET 6:14:19) with the variants \textit{ma-ul}, \textit{ma-ul-i}, and \textit{\textit{ma-an-ul}-um} (ref. courtesy B. Eichler). The last of these variants suggests a kind of wood or a wooden implement or article of furniture rather than a personal name in this context, which mentions a throne (\textit{\textit{gu}-\textit{za su-hu}-\textit{gi-na}) in the next line. While such a meaning hardly fits the passage in “\textit{The Curse of Agade},” it nonetheless seems possible that some (late) scribes so understood or misunderstood the word here because here too it is followed by “the throne of kingship” (\textit{\textit{gu}-\textit{za}-\textit{nam-l ugala}).

Thus the analogy with Lugalanne survives, but in the history of both compositions there was a tendency to lose sight of the fact that personal names were involved.
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