

Abhandlung

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The Song of Innana and Išme-Dagan: An Edition of BM 23820+23831

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Abstract: This article offers a first edition of BM 23820+23831, a manuscript of a previously unknown Old Babylonian Sumerian poem on the relationship between the goddess Innana and king Išme-Dagan of Isin. The king is initially depicted as a humiliated supplicant who suffers under Innana's wrath, until the intervention of his personal god restores Innana's favour. A mythological catalogue lists other individuals and places who offended the goddess and were destroyed by her in retribution.

The Old Babylonian Sumerian poem edited in this article is a song of 123 lines, written in a very small but clear script on a tablet that now consists of two joined fragments in the collections of the British Museum (BM 23820+23831).¹ The provenance of the tablet is unknown, as it was acquired by purchase (CBT III, 8). Several generations of scholars have taken an interest in the text, which is classed under the title 'Išme-Dagan AB' in the catalogue of Ludwig (1990, 24), and various extracts from it have been cited over the decades in the academic literature; substantial passages were quoted in an English translation by Kramer (1979, 88–91) and Wolkstein/Kramer (1983, 95 f.). But none of the full editions that have been announced, most recently by

Bruschweiler (1987, 15), have ever appeared, and so this important work of Sumerian literature has remained inaccessible for far too long. The aim of this article is to make the text publicly available and to suggest an analysis of its intriguing content: the story of how king Išme-Dagan of Isin came to be alienated from, but ultimately reconciled with, the goddess Innana.

Summary

The song is composed of four parts of almost equal length. In the opening section, which extends as far as the first horizontal ruling, Innana is described in conventional terms as a fearsome deity whose violent anger has the effect of a powerful storm (lines 1–29). Much of the second section, which ends on a $\dot{g}e\dot{s}-gi_4-\dot{g}al_2$ -refrain, is lost: in a series of allusions to well-known tales of Sumerian mythology, the remaining text lists places and individuals, such as the mountain range of Ebiḫ and the maiden Amanamdag, who misbehaved in the past and were punished by Innana for their lack of respect (30–59). A change of scene then occurs, for the third quarter of the song until the next horizontal ruling (60–91) depicts a cultic scene in which the goddess is imagined to be present: Innana is washed and dressed, her 'beloved husband' (king Išme-Dagan) joins her on the dais, the gods and the people of the country are in attendance. But the mood turns sombre when Innana appears to disdain a 'crescent-moon bed' that is suddenly mentioned, and the song laments her capricious and destructive temper. The final section (92–123) introduces the king's personal god, who successfully intercedes: the king's offence is remitted, his

¹ The text is published by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum, and we particularly thank Dr Jon Taylor of the Museum for his assistance. Abbreviations follow the Reallexikon der Assyriologie, with the addition of aBZL = Mittermayer (2006); DCCLT = Digital Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/index.html>); ELS = Attinger (1993); ETCSL = The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature (<http://etcs1.orinst.ox.ac.uk/>). We are grateful to Prof. Pascal Attinger for reading an earlier draft of our edition and generously providing us with corrections and suggestions, and to Prof. Antoine Cavigneaux and Prof. Walther Sallaberger for further comments. It should not be assumed that these scholars necessarily agree with all aspects of our interpretation of the text, for which we remain fully responsible. Ludwig transliterated BM 23820+23831 in the context of her doctoral research on the poetry of Išme-Dagan (Ludwig 1990), and Metcalf produced a transliteration of his own, at the suggestion of Ludwig, in 2013. The edition presented here is a combination of our efforts.

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punishment removed, and the goddess now appears as a merciful deity. Išme-Dagan is named explicitly as Innana's spouse, and the song enumerates the many gifts that she has bestowed on him, in particular a wife and an heir. The text concludes with a *ki-šu₂*-couplet in praise of Innana's clemency, in response to the *ĝeš-gi₄-ĝa₁₂*-refrain at the end of the second section.

Interpretation

Despite the text's numerous idiosyncrasies, some familiar themes of Old Babylonian Sumerian and Akkadian literature can be discerned. The intervention of the personal god, in particular, can be compared to the resolution of the 'Lament for Ur' and the 'Lament for Uruk', where the destructive anger of the great deities is dissipated in the same manner.² Innana's wilful, sometimes terrifying character, which in this text moves abruptly from violent tempers to kindness, is likewise a well-known topic of Sumerian and Akkadian religious poems.³ More difficult to interpret is the description of the troubled relationship between Innana and king Išme-Dagan, who is rejected by the goddess because of an offence that he committed against her. The king's rejection, which occurs in the third part of the song, is foreshadowed by a series of mythological allusions at the end of the second section, where the text briefly evokes a catalogue of places and individuals who angered Innana and suffered her punishment (lines 51–57). It is probably not incidental that the final item of the catalogue mentions the case of Amanamdag, the impudent maiden of Innana who provoked her wrath by sitting on her throne and sleeping in her bed with her husband (most likely Dumuzi) while the goddess was away, which led Innana to murder Amanamdag and to reject Dumuzi (see note on line 56). We assume that the scornful treatment of Išme-Dagan as Innana's 'husband' (65, 120) is intended to mirror the fate of Dumuzi in the tale of Amanamdag, and that the king's rejection is to be interpreted as Innana's punishment for disrespectful or hybriatic behaviour.

The pitiful portrayal of a humiliated royal subject in Išme-Dagan's ensuing lamentation (lines 77–91) may seem

unusual, but is not without parallels. One comparandum is a letter from king Sin-iddinam of Larsa to Ninisina (ed. Brisch 2007, 142–156), in which the king describes himself as sick and weak, and pleads for mercy. The negative depiction of the king has led Brisch (2007, 80 f.) to suggest that this letter (and another addressed to Utu) must have been composed posthumously in order to defame Sin-iddinam, and an analogous interpretation might be envisaged in the case of the present text. But it is perhaps a mistake to assume that the self-image projected by a king was always bound to be heroic and glorious. Babylonian kings of the first millennium BC are known to have taken part in an annual ritual of mock imprisonment, during which they prayed for their offences to be remitted and for their gods to be pacified (Ambos 2013). The present text perhaps alludes to this topos of 'detention' (*en-nu-u-ĝ₃*, line 90) as a metaphor of the king's (temporary) alienation from the gods, but the context is fragmentary (see notes on lines 90 and 106–108). The later Babylonian ritual suggests, at least, that there is no reason to believe that a king could not portray himself as a humiliated suppliant before the gods. Seen in this light, the description of Išme-Dagan's toils is a display of his all-enduring piety, and the elaborate account of his suffering perhaps already contains the implied promise of his eventual relief.⁴

The song nowhere indicates the specific offence with which the king has angered Innana. This might again be compared to the Sumerian city laments, which similarly prefer to dwell on the gods' wrath and its dissipation rather than on its cause.⁵ Here, too, the outcome is positive: it emerges very clearly at the end of the song that Innana has blessed Išme-Dagan with a family and a male heir (111–114), and that this happy resolution is linked to the remission of his offence: 'Who lets people live, lets them give birth, and remits the offence in the way that you (Innana) do?' (119). This suggests that Innana had previously punished the king by upsetting his family life and dynastic interests. His lament seems to allude to a 'slip in the womb' (line 80), which was perhaps seen as a consequence of Innana's refusal to join him on the

² See the recent remarks of Attinger (2011), Cavigneaux (2013, 15) and Samet (2014, 10, 30) on the role of the personal god in city laments, and Gabbay (2014, 9, 33 f.) on the common theme of divine 'heart pacification' in Old Babylonian and later prayers.

³ See e.g. Groneberg (1997, 65–67), and compare the many literary parallels collected in the apparatus and commentary on the present text.

⁴ For further arguments against the position of Brisch, see Charpin (2008, 152). Frayne (1998, 21 f.) has suggested that the alienation of Innana in BM 23820+23831 refers to a time 'when the cult of Inanna at Uruk was not in the hands of the king of Isin', but the text gives no reason to suppose this.

⁵ Note also the remark of Ambos (2013, 64) on the prayers of the ritually imprisoned Babylonian king: 'Was den Zorn von Gott und Göttin verschuldet hatte, wird in den Gebeten nicht ausdrücklich beschrieben. Es finden sich nur allgemeine Erwähnungen von nicht näher spezifizierter "Sünde" und von "Frevel", von denen gelöst zu werden der Beter sich wünschte'.

‘crescent-moon bed’. While the poem seems highly (and perhaps deliberately) oblique on these points, it does give some support to the view that the successful union between the king and Innana was seen on a mythological level to create or legitimise the royal offspring.⁶

The song has affinities with many branches of Sumerian religious literature without belonging to any particular category. The final verses form a *ki-š_u2*-couplet, which is a rubric that is frequently found in lamentations such as the well-attested *balaĝ*-compositions, and the horizontal rulings that mark important sub-sections (after lines 29, 91 and 123) are probably equivalent to *ki-ru-g_u2*-stanzas, which also occur in the *balaĝ*.⁷ This agrees with the lamentation-theme that pervades much of the text, especially the first, second and fourth sections. On the other hand, the third section (60–91) depicts in some detail a festival for Innana and the king, thereby blending praises of the goddess with a vivid description of a cultic occasion: the hymn ‘Iddin-Dagan A’ is a well-known comparandum from the same historical period.

The manuscript

The setting in which the song was composed and performed cannot be determined, but the version preserved on tablet BM 23820+23831 appears to be a later Old Babylonian copy of *Vorlagen* that possibly dated to the Isin-period.⁸ Like most Old Babylonian Sumerian literary manuscripts, the present text contains problematic passages that create serious obstacles for the modern reader, and some of the peculiar errors that are to be witnessed here (see notes on lines 7, 55 and 67) lead us to think that even the ancient scribe’s own comprehension of the text was flawed, despite the highly skilful execution of the tablet. Grammatical inconsistencies and glosses that might record textual variants (see notes on lines 60–75, 70, 103) indicate that more than one *Vorlage* was used in the production of the present manuscript. While some orthographic or

grammatical features are typical of Old Babylonian literary manuscripts (see notes on lines 70, 98 f.), verbal forms such as *mu-u₈-da-ur₄-re* (line 15) and *[m]u-u₈-ĝar* (line 50) show a phonetic manner of spelling that is considered to be archaic in Old Babylonian texts; the spelling *bi₂-ib₂-bala*, displaying *-ib₂-* rather than *-ib-*, points in the same direction (line 55).⁹ This general picture is consistent with the assumption that the present text was copied from older *Vorlagen*, conserving some archaisms while also introducing errors and inconsistencies.

The tablet itself has a distinctive and very remarkable shape, being long, flat and thin. It measures 12.97 × 4.36 cm (approx.) only, and is written in a so-called ‘miniature script’.¹⁰ Every tenth line is marked with a ‘Winkelhaken’ on the left margin. The tablet shows similarities to MS 2624, a tablet containing a bilingual composition dubbed ‘The Scholars of Uruk’ by A.R. George (CUSAS 10, 14). That tablet is rather larger, measuring 19.8 × 6.4 cm (approx.), but both tablets have very similar proportions (length divided by width): 2,975 for BM 23820 and 3,093 for MS 2624, i.e. roughly 3. MS 2624 exhibits miniature writing too, albeit a more cursive ductus and a wider spacing of lines than BM 23820. As both tablets share such unusual features one may speculate that they might have come from the same or a related source,¹¹ possibly a place where one experimented with Sumerian texts in various ways. The Sumerian text on MS 2624 belongs to the genre of speculative creations called ‘abstruse’ Sumerian by Th. Jacobsen (see George 2009, 112 with bibliography), an academic form of pseudo-Sumerian that tried to explore new relationships between Sumerian and Akkadian words. While BM 23820+23831 does not belong to this genre, the text that the manuscript presents can nevertheless be described as an experimental patchwork, in which a superficially coherent narrative conceals serious inconsistencies that result from a lack of grammatical harmonisation of the various *Vorlagen* on which the text is based.

⁶ See Hallo (2010, 231–236). The absence of non-literary evidence for such a union, however it is to be imagined in practice, has been emphasised by Sallaberger (1999, 155 f.).

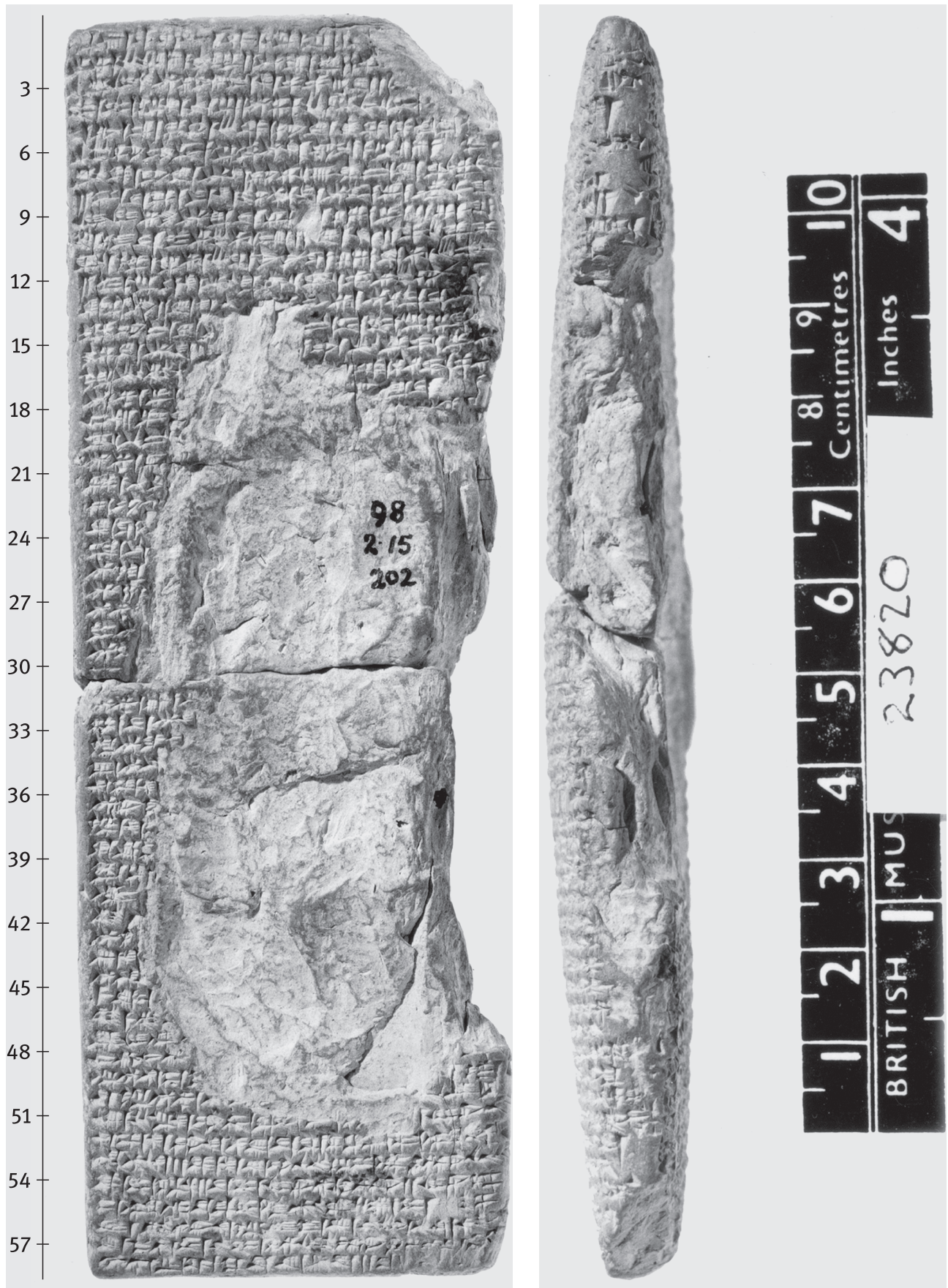
⁷ See recently Löhnert (2009, 41), Shehata (2009, 348–351) and Gabbay (2014, 5–7) on these Sumerian rubrics.

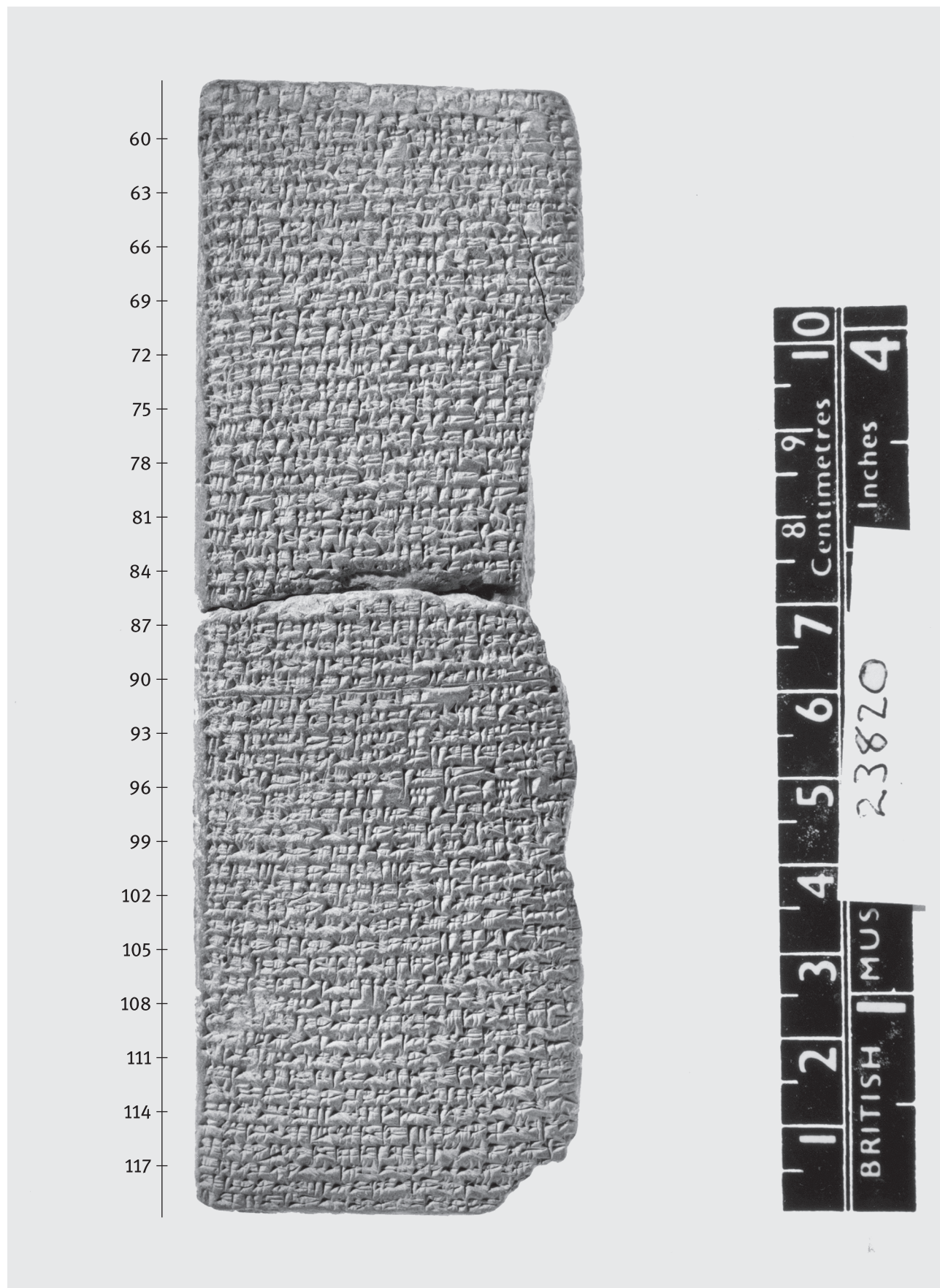
⁸ The text presents a patchwork of various conventional elements of Sumerian literature, and some of the elements recycled in the poem (such as the hymnic praises of Innana, the motif of the marriage between Innana and the ruler, and the theme of divine wrath and pacification) may of course pre-date the time of Išme-Dagan; see e.g. Tinney (1999, 31–49) and Ludwig (2015, 258–260) on processes of literary incorporation in Sumerian texts.

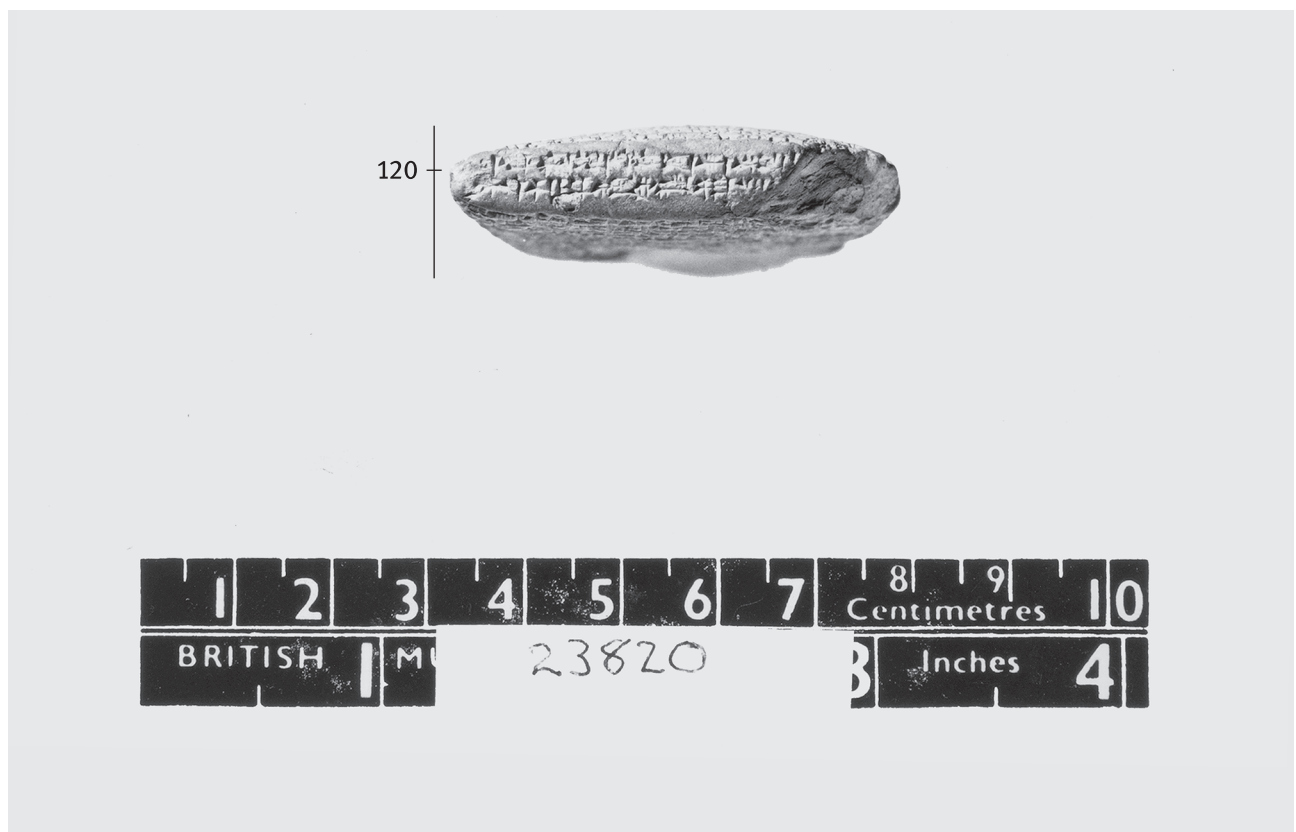
⁹ See especially ELS § 139b, Klein (1981, 64–70), and most recently Lämmerhirt (2012, 22–24).

¹⁰ See most recently Ludwig (2012, 204 f.).

¹¹ The difference in *ductus* does not speak against a common source. Recent investigations by J. Taylor and M.-C. Ludwig into the writing habits of the scribe Damiqilišu working in Old Babylonian Ur (cf. provisionally Ludwig 2009, 9 f.) have revealed considerable palaeographic inconsistencies even as the proportions of the tablets used remained more or less the same.







Transliteration

1. nin nun-gal-e-ne saĝ-il₂ diri-g[a]
2. ^dinnana kur-kur uĝ₃ šar₂-ra šeĝ₃ u₁₈-lu za-pa-a[ĝ₂]
3. nu-u₈-ge₁₇ an tub₂-tub₂ ki sag₃-sag₃ niĝ₂-zu a-b[a a-zu]
4. izi bar₇-ra ki šar₂-ra šeĝ₃-ĝa₂ kur-ra nim-gen₇ ĝ[ir₂]
5. u₄-ta-u₁₈-lu te-eš du₁₁-ga-zu ĥur-saĝ gal dar-dar-r[a]
6. nu-še-ga am-gen₇ si-mul di mud₅-me-ĝar kalam-ma
7. ĝal₂ du₁₁-ga-zu an ki-bi us₂-sa ur₅-ša₄-zu-še₃ gul-gul
8. a ab-ba-ke₄ šu ki-in-dar di an-bar₇-GANA₂ ĥe₂-ši-še₃ ĝal₂
9. kukku₂-ge an-dib-ba us₂-[s]a kalam UR-a ke₄-e
10. ša₃ ib₂-ba i-zi ĥu-luĥ-ĥa-zu peš₁₀ gal kur-ku-ku
11. a₂-dam zar-re-eš-e šal-šal-e uĝ₃ 'zar^l-re-eš du₈-du₈
12. a-ma-ru u₄ ki-bala-še₃ tum₃ a₂-sag₃ zi-ga-gen₇
13. še₂₅-gi₄-a-zu-še₃ ĥ[ur-saĝ] 'x-bu^l-re an-ur₂ ba-an-[]
14. silig-bi gub-zu x[] DU-gen₇ NE.RU-ra x[]
15. ni₂-zu an ki-a [] a-ta mu-u₈-da-ur₄-re
16. nin-ĝu₁₀ nam-x[] saĝ im-da-sag₃-ge
17. ^dinnana ur-[saĝ] x dib-ba-me-[en]
18. libiš tuku K[A(?)] x x x
19. a₂ bad-ra₂ []
20. ^dinnana SA []
21. ama nu-u₈-[ge₁₇]
22. ĝešgu₄-si-[Aš]
23. kuše-g[ur_x(TUM)-(...?)]
24. ze₂-na []
25. ^dnin []
26. AN za-[]
27. ^dinnana []
28. dumu AN []
29. AN x[]
- (horizontal ruling)
30. (traces)
31. ^dinnana kalam z[i(?)]
32. x-ba an ki []
33. nin diĝir gal-g[al]
34. e₂-an-na []
35. ki unu^{ki} []
36. an-ne₂ n[in(?)]
37. dam ki-a[ĝ₂]
38. du₆ ku₃-g[a]
39. ama kalam []
40. me₃ []
41. nam-x[]
42. ^dn[in]
43. eridu^{ki} []
44. ^den-[ki]
45. me abzu x[]
46. nam-išib nam-l[u₂-maĥ]
47. u₈ gegge u[d₅]
48. ab₂ ku₃ ab₂ šilam [] x

49. ma₂ an-na ġeš x[]-dam
 50. ki-sikil ^dinnana 'mu¹-x[]m]u-u₈-ġar
 51. arattaki am-gen₇ 'si bi₂-tu₁₁ x' [x x] a mi-ni-bala
 52. ki unu^{ki}-ga ki-'gal¹-zu ba-e-dub 'šer₇-da' maḥ 'bi₂'-ġar
 53. ebiḥ^{ki}-a giri₁₇ ki su-ub nu-mu-ra-ab-AK ni₂-bi nu-mu-ši-ib-zi
 54. ka bar₇-ra ša₃-ba izi mi-ni-ri ni₂-bi-a mi-ni-dub
 55. ġeš maḥ gurun-ba šu bi₂-ib₂-bala u₂-a-nir bi₂-mu₂
 56. ama-nam-da₆ ki-sikil ^{ġe}ġepar-zu ḥi-li mu-e-ši-in-ti-a
 57. su-din^{mušen}-gen₇ du₁₀-de₃ im-mi-in-ta₃ IM x x x NI-dub
 58. ^dinnana ur-saġ dab₅-ba¹(ZU)-zu niġ₂-zu a-ba 'a-zu'
 (reverse)
 59. ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne 'aga₃-kar₂ bi₂-si₃ šid¹-bi a-ba-a mu-x[...zu(?)]
 59a. ġeš-gi₄-ġal₂-bi-im
 60. u₄ 7 u₄-šakar šu-du₇-a iti sa₂ du₁₁-ga-a-ba
 61. a mu-un-tu₅ a NILI muš₃ ku₃-za si um-mi-in-sa₂
 62. ^{tu}zulumḥi pala₃ nam-nin bar-ra nam-mi-in-dul
 63. me₃ šen-šen-na za₃ mi-ni-in-keše₂ da-da-ra-še₃ ba-e-du₁₁
 64. para₁₀ maḥ-e dur₂ an-še₃ mi-ni-in-ġal₂ ar₂ daġal mu-ni-zu
 65. ^dinnana ġešdan₂ ki-aġ₂-zu za₃-ge₄ mu-un-di-ni-ib-si
 66. diġir kalam-ma ša-mu-ra-su₈-ge-eš di-bi ši-ku₅-de₃
 67. ^da-nun-na an-šar₂ ki-šar₂-ba igi-zu-še₃ i-im-dur₂-ru-uš
 68. zi-ġal₂ kalam saġ gegge uġ₃ lu-a in-na-su₈-ge-eš-a
 69. diġir-bi-gen₇ ši-im-maḥ-en ^{ġe}š^{tu}šutul₄ ku₃-zu bi₂-in-gur₃-ru-uš
 70. ša-mu-ra-su₈(?) KIN/UR₄ iri-ġu₁₀ saġ-keše₂-bi igi-zu-še₃ bi₂-ib-[]
 71. lu₂ dili-du-gen₇ igi-zu-še₃ i-im-ġal₂ IM šub-bi š[a-]
 72. um-ma bur-šu-ma egi₂ zi-da ki-sikil saġ x[]
 73. lu₂-banda₃^{da} ab-ba ġuruš-ša šu mu-un-ne-ġar
 74. gala saġ-ur-saġ kur-ġar-ra ba-da-ra šu du₈[]
 75. ḥi-li ma-az-za sun₇-na AB ZI AK sul-la x[]
 76. ki-nu₂ u₄-šakar-zu saġ li-bi₂-in-us₂-sa-zu []
 77. a ša₃-zu mud-a miri nu-kuš₂ šu-ni la-ba-x[]
 78. lu₂-lu₇-ba nin diġir-re-e-ne kurun₂-gen₇ mu-un-d[e₂(?)...]
 79. ama ^dinnana gilim-gilim-ma diġir-re-e-ne ḥul []
 80. ša₃-tur₃-ra-na ġiri₃ mu-ne-zi₂-ir^{zi}-ir []
 81. umuš-a-ni sug-ge₄ im-mi-gu₇ ġalga-ni x[]
 82. ša₃-sag₃ a-nir-ra u₃-mu-un-gur₄-gur₄ nam-tar u₃-[]
 83. ša₃ ni₂-te si₁₂-si₁₂ ir₂ ge₁₇-ga še-ša₄ mu-u[n-]
 84. dam mu-un-de₃-kur₂ dumu mu-un-de₃-bala su-x[]
 85. lu₂-ba du₁₁-ga-ni x[]x ġešgem-ma x[]
 86. ir₂ a-nir []
 87. [] DA mir-mir-re []
 88. tum₁₂^{mušen}-gen₇ ab-lal₃-ta ba-e-dal-dal balaġ-ġ[a₂]
 89. ^{kuš}usan₃ bar-us₂ ge₁₇ um-mu-e-ta₃ ur-da im-[]
 90. še-gen₇ saḥar ses-a la-ba-an-šum₂-mu en-nu-uġ₃ mu-un-[]
 91. nin-ġu₁₀ nam-sul-zu du₁₂-a-bi e₄-ri-a su₃-ga-a[m₃]
 (horizontal ruling)
 92. diġir lu₂-lu₇-ke₄ arḥuš siškur₂-ra ša-ra-an-x[]
 93. nam-šita-bi giri₁₇ šu ša-ra-ab-ġal₂ ša₃-zu ši-im-ḥuġ []
 94. a-nir-ra ig-ni ša-ra-ni-za ni₂ ša-ra-ab-tur-tu[r]
 95. ir₂-ša₃-ne-ša₄ ša-mu-ra-an-du₁₂-a KA-zu ša-ra-ab-[]
 96. kur-kur-re lu₂ niġ₂ nu-še-be₂-de₃ ama-ni nu-um-du₂-ud

97. ni₂ me-lam₂ nam-da₆ ġuruš-a 7 a-ra₂ 7-am₃
 98. nin-ġu₁₀ nam-maḥ-zu ba-e-ni-zu šu-zu zi-ba-an-t[a]
 99. nam-da₆ dugud-bi mu-e-ni-il₂-la ki NE.RU-e šum₂-m[a]
 100. nin-ġu₁₀ diġir lu₂-lu₇-ke₄ igi zi u₃-mu-un-ši-in-bar
 101. gu₃ arḥuš-a mi-ni-ib-de₂-a-ni šu ba-an-ši-in-ti
 102. nin igi-ġal₂-la mas-su kalam-ma-kam ša₃ šu-niġen₂ su₃-ga-am₃
 103. bar-us₂ si₃-ke^{sag₃-ge}-bi mu-ni-in-tag-a lu₂-bi-ir ba-an-t[a-]
 104. a₂-sag₃ uru₂ ge₁₇ mu-na-gul-e lu₂-bi-ir ba-an-ta-[]
 105. kušusan₃ sur₂-bi mu-ni-in-tag-a tu₉niġ₂-la₂ ba-an-AK
 106. ku₃-sa₆-ga-gen₇ saḥar ku₃ mu-un-ta-zalag niġ₂ su-ub mu-ni-AK
 107. igi ḥul₂-ḥul₂-la-na mu-un-ši-in-bar nam-til₃-la mi-ni-in-z[i]
 108. šu sa₆ diġir-ra-na-še₃ im-ma-ši-in-gi₄-gi₄
 109. ^dudug¹ sa₆-ga ^damma ġa₂-la nu-dag-ge saġ-ġa₂-na bi₂-in-t[uku]
 110. ^damma¹niġ₂ ge-na mu-un-na-an-taḥ ur-maḥ mu-ni-mu₄
 111. ša₃-tur₃-ra-na nam im-mi-in-tar ibila mu-na-an-si₃-ga
 112. dam mu-un-ne-šum₂ dumu mu-un-ši-du₂-ud ḥul₂-ḥul₂-la bi₂-in-gub
 113. geme₂ dumu-ni ġiri₃-ni-še₃ im-si tur₃ amaš mu-ni-daġal
 114. ab-sin₂ ġal₂-taka₄-a mu-un-na-an-šum₂ nam du₁₀ mu-ni-in-tar
 115. igi ḥul ġal₂ enim-ġar ḥul dim₂-ma a-ga-bi-še₃ mu-e-gi₄-gi₄
 116. enim du₁₀-ga niġ₂ lal₃-gen₇ rib-ba saġ-e-eš mu-ni-rig₇
 117. e₂-gal-la gu₂ mu-na-zi gaba-gi₄ nu-mu-ni-in-^ttuku¹
 118. du₁₁-ga-ni ^diš-me-^dda-gan-na NI-le-eš mu-[]
 119. a-ba za-gen₇ lu₂ til₃ lu₂ u₃-du₂ nam-da₆ t[uḥ]
 (lower edge)
 120. šu-AK ġešdan₂ ki-aġ₂-zu nun ^diš-me-[^dda-gan]
 121. an ki-šu₂-a-¹še₃ ¹ḥe₂-em-maḥ sipa ¹ša₃-g[a]
 (left edge)
 122. nin-ġu₁₀ igi-du₈-a bar-ra-zu ša₃ šu-niġen₂ su₃-ga
 123. ama nu-u₈-ge₁₇ igi-du₈-a bar-ra-zu ša₃ šu-niġen₂ su₃-ga
 (horizontal ruling)
 123a. ki-šu₂-bi-im
 za₃-mi₂ [du₁₀]-ga ^dinnana-kam
 [...?] 123

Translation

1. Lady among the great princes, proud, superior [...],
2. Innana, raining down on all the lands (and) peoples, storm, bellow [...],
3. Taboo woman, quaking the heavens, shaking the earth – who [understands] your matters?
4. Stirred-up fire that has rained down on all the land, [flashing] in the country like lightning,
5. Tempest, your outburst has cloven the great mountain range,
6. Goring the disobedient like a bull, astounding the land!
7. Your great utterance has reached heaven and earth, destroying them by your roaring.
8. Parting the waters of the sea, turning the morning light into darkness(?),
9. Having followed nightfall(?) at the firmament,...(?).
10. Your angry heart, a dreadful wave overflowing the great bank,
11. Spreading out the villages in sheaves, piling up the peoples in sheaves,
12. Bringing floods and storms to the rebel land, like a demon that has arisen,
13. At your thundering the mountains [are] ripped out, heaven's base [...].

14. You take a majestic stand [...] like [...] to the enemy [...],
15. Your awe [...] in heaven and earth [...] lets shudder because of you,
16. My lady, [...] is trembling at [...],
17. Innana, heroine, [...] you are surpassing,
18. Furious [...],
19. Protection(?) [...],
20. Innana [...],
21. Mother, taboo woman [...],
22. Battering-ram [...],
23. Siege-shield [...],
24. Weapon [...],
25. Lady [...],
26. ...(?) [...],
27. Innana [...],
28. Offspring [...],
29. ...(?)[...].
30. [...],
31. Innana, the land [...] life(?) [...],
32. ...(?) heaven and earth [...],
33. Lady among the great gods [...],
34. The Eana [...],
35. Uruk [...],
36. An, the lady(?) [...]
37. Beloved spouse [...],
38. On the holy hill [...],
39. Mother (of the) land [...],
40. Combat [...],
41. ...(?) [...],
42. Lady [...]
43. Eridu [...],
44. Enki [...],
45. The divine powers of the Abzu [...],
46. The išib-priesthood, the lu₂-maḥ-priesthood [...],
47. A black ewe, a she-goat [...],
48. A sacred cow, a cow [...],
49. The boat of heaven [...],
50. Maiden Innana [...] you placed.
51. Aratta, butted like a bull, [...] overturned.
52. In Uruk, you have heaped up your foundations, you have imposed a great punishment on (the city).
53. In Ebiḥ, they did not prostrate themselves for you, they did not rise for you,
54. You, the burning mouth, have set fire to it, you have turned it into a heap of its own,
55. Its great trees and their fruits have been turned upside down, you have let the sighing-grass grow there.
56. Amanamdag, the maiden who coveted you (in) your residence(?),
57. Crawled(?) into a hole like a bat, she was turned into a heap of her own(?).
58. Innana, when you have captured the heroes, who understands your matters?
59. You have defeated the Anuna-gods, who [knows(?)] how many?
- 59a. It is its antiphon.
60. On the seventh day, as the lunar crescent became full, when the (right) month had arrived,
61. She (Innana) bathed, (and) when she applied flowing water to her(!) holy face,
62. She draped herself in the regal garment, the pala-dress (of) ladyship,
63. She tied battle and combat to her sides, she(!) girded herself with them.

64. On the great dais, she took her seat on high, spreading (her) renown there.
65. Innana, your beloved husband is installed at your(!) side!
66. The gods of the land are standing for you, so that you might decide their case,
67. The Anuna-gods from the entirety of heaven and earth are seated before you.
68. As for the creatures of the land, the black-headed, the teeming peoples who stand there for you(!),
69. You are great like their god, they bear(?) your holy yoke.
70. They are indeed standing(?) for you – the protector of my city [...] before you.
71. Like a single man, they are present before you, ...(?)[...].
72. The matron, the old woman, the high priestess, the maiden, [...],
73. The junior priest, the senior one, the young man – you have placed your hand on them.
74. The ga-la-priest, the sa-ĝ-ur-sa-ĝ, the kur-ĝar-ra holding daggers [...].
75. In charm and joy, pride ...(?)[...].
76. Your (Innana's) crescent-moon bed for which you showed no concern [...],
77. Ah, your heart is troubled, unrelenting anger – his hand¹² did not [...],
78. On this man, the lady of the gods has poured(?) it¹³ like beer.
79. Mother Innana, most twisted one among the gods, evil [...],
80. You have let there be a slip in his womb for him [...],
81. You have let the swamp eat his reasoning, [...] his senses.
82. As he writhes in distress (and) lamenting, as [...] fate,
83. His frightened heart [...] sobbing, bitter tears, mourning.
84. You (Innana) have alienated his wife from him, you have turned his child away from him [...].
85. That man's pronouncement [...] sign [...].
86. Tear, lamentation [...]
87. [...] raging [...],
88. You have made him fly away like a dove from (its) nook, a lament [...].
89. As you apply the grievous whip and goad, [...] with a dog(?),
90. Are they not delivering bitter dust there instead of barley? Detention [...].
91. My lady, to sing of your heroism is an empty wasteland!
92. The god of mankind has [...] mercy and prayer to you.
93. Homage has been paid to you, your heart is appeased [...].
94. In (his) sighing he choked for you, he made himself small for you.
95. Since he sang plaintive laments for you, your...(?) [...] for you.
96. No mother anywhere has ever given birth to anyone who is free of fault,
97. The fearsome gleam (of) a young man's offence is seven times seven!
98. My lady, you have let him know your greatness, lift your hand from him,
99. Give the grievous punishment that you have let him bear to the enemy land!
100. As my lady looked favourably at the personal god,
101. She accepted from him the call for mercy that had been made to her.
102. The watchful lady is the leader of the country, she is full of kindness.
103. For that man, she [...] from him that beating goad that she had applied to him,
104. For that man, she [...] from him the demon, the grievous storm that was about to cause destruction for him,
105. She bandaged (the places where) the whip had fiercely struck,
106. She cleansed him of the pure dust like a good metal, she polished him,
107. She cast her joyous glance upon him, she let him rise up in life,
108. She returned him to the pleasant hand of his personal god.
109. She let a good spirit, an unceasing protective deity attend him,
110. She added for him a protective deity who is loyal, and dressed him (like) a lion,
111. She determined the fate of his womb and installed a male heir for him:

¹² i. e., the king's hand?

¹³ i. e., her anger?

14. silig-bi gub-zu x[] DU-gen₇ NE.RU-ra x[]
(^dištar) ša-ga-pu-ri-iš it-na-za-az (Agušaya B, II 14 = 18)
52. ki unu^{ki}-ga ki-^lgal^l-zu ba-e-dub ^lšer₇-da^l maḥ ^lbi₂^l-ḡar
šer₇-da gu-la-zu (of Innana) su-ḡu₁₀ ba-e-zu-zu (Innana C 250)
53. ebiḥ^{ki}-a giri₁₇ ki su-ub nu-mu-ra-ab-AK ni₂-bi nu-mu-ši-ib-zi
(ebiḥ^{ki}) giri₁₇-bi ki-še₃ na-ma(-ra)-ab-te-a-gin₇ (to Innana) (InEb 33)
ebiḥ^{ki} giri₁₇ ki-še₃ nu-mu-ra-an-te (to Innana) šu nu-mu-ra-mu₂-mu₂ (Innana C 111)
55. ḡeš maḥ gurun-ba šu bi₂-ib₂-bala u₂-a-nir bi₂-mu₂
ḡeš maḥ ur₂-bi-a mu-un-bal-e (Lugale 87 = LSUr 87)
eden-ne₂ u₂-a-nir mu₂-mu₂-de₃ (LSUr 11)
eden-eden-e u₂ s[a₆-ga(?)] nu-mu-un-mu₂ u₂-a-nir ba-an-mu₂ (UN A 28)
57. su-din^{mušen}-gen₇ du₁₀-de₃ im-mi-in-ta₃ IM x x x NI-dub
nin-ḡu₁₀ ^da-nun-na diḡir gal-gal-e-ne / su-din^{mušen} dal-a-gen₇ du₆(//du₁₀)-de₃ mu-e-ši-ba-ra-aš (Innana B 34f.)
61. a mu-un-tu₅ a NI.LI muš₃ ku₃-za si um-mi-in-sa₂
62. ^{tu}zulumḥi pala₃ nam-nin bar-ra nam-mi-in-dul
(^dinnana) a u₃-um-ma-an-tu₅ (...) ^{tu}pala₃-a na-am₂-gašan-an-na u₃-um-ma-an-mu₄ (Uru'ammairrabi 19.64–68)
(^dinnana) a mu-un-tu₅ i₃ du₁₀-ga mu-u[n]šeš₄ / ^{tu}pala₃ maḥ bar-ra nam-mi-^lin-dul^l (DI C₁ B13–14)
(^dinnana) ^{tu}pala₃ ^{tu}g nam-nin-a bar-ra-na ba-an-dul (InDesc 21)
64. para₁₀ maḥ-e dur₂ an-še₃ mi-ni-in-ḡal₂ ar₂ daḡal mu-ni-zu
^dnin-e₂-gal-la-ke₄ para₁₀ za-gin₃-ba dur₂ an-še₃ mi<ni>-in-ḡar (Nungal A 36)
65. ^dinnana ḡešdan₂ ki-aḡ₂-zu za₃-ge₄ mu-un-di-ni-ib-si
lugal ^dutu-gen₇ za₃-ge₄ mu-di-ni-ib-si (with Innana) (Id-D A 200)
70. ša-mu-ra-su₈(?) KIN/UR₄ iri-ḡu₁₀ saḡ-keše₂-bi igi-zu-še₃ bi₂-ib-[]
^diš-me-^dda-gan dumu ^den-lil₂-la₂ / en unu^{ki}-ga saḡ-keše₂-ba^l mi-ni-in-^lku₄^l / [b]i₂-in-AK ^dinnana nin an-ki-ke₄
(Hymn to Innana for Išme-Dagan C10–12)
71. lu₂ dili-du-gen₇ igi-zu-še₃ i-im-ḡal₂ IM šub-bi š[a-]
72. um-ma bur-šu-ma egi₂ zi-da ki-sikil saḡ x[]
73. lu₂-banda₃^{da} ab-ba ḡuruš-ša šu mu-un-ne-ḡar
74. gala saḡ-ur-saḡ kur-ḡar-ra ba-da-ra šu du₈[]
(^dinnana) saḡ-ur-saḡ-ḡa₂ mu-ni-ib₂-DU / saḡ-ur-saḡ-ḡa₂ mu-un-da-dur₂-ru-ne-eš / na-am₂-gala-e mu-ni-ib₂-DU (...) kur-mar-ra-ta mu-un-na-da-dur₂-ru-ne-eš (Uru'ammairrabi 19.51–58)
Id-D A, 45–86 (saḡ-ur-saḡ, um-ma, ḡuruš, ki-sikil, kur-ḡar-ra ba-da-ra šu du₈)
75. ḥi-li ma-az-za sun₇-na AB ZI AK sul-la x[]
ḥi-li-ḥi-li-a sun₇-na DI DI ^dinnana za-a-kam (Innana C 136)
79. ama ^dinnana gilim-gilim-ma diḡir-re-e-ne ḥul []
ša₃-ḡu₁₀ mud-a ba-ni-gil-le-em₃-men₃ (NL 137)
80. ša₃-tur₃-ra-na ḡiri₃ mu-ne-zi₂-ir^{zi}-ir []
ša₃-tur₃-bi-ta ḡiri₃ ḥe₂-eb-ta-an-zi₂-ir (Innana B 54)
81. umuš-a-ni sug-ge₄ im-mi-gu₇ ḡalga-ni x[]
ḡalga kalam-ma sug-ge₄ ba-ab-gu₇ (LU 232)
82. ša₃-sag₃ a-nir-ra u₃-mu-un-gur₄-gur₄ nam-tar u₃-[]
ša₃-sag₃ a-nir-ra a-ba-a i-ni-in-ḡar (LUruk 1.20)
84. dam mu-un-de₃-kur₂ dumu mu-un-de₃-bala su-x[]
uru₂-a dam ba-šub dumu ba-šub (LU 235)
(^dinnana) dam ib₂-tuku ki kur₂-ra ba-e-^lšub^l / dumu ib₂-tuku nim-nim-ma ba-e-^lšub^l (Ša₃-zu a-še-er-bi 20f.)
88. tum₁₂^{mušen}-gen₇ ab-lal₃-ta ba-e-dal-dal balaḡ-ḡ[a₂]
(lugal-ane) sim^{mušen}-gen₇ ab-ta ba-ra-an-dal-en (Innana B 105)
(^dnin-ḥur-saḡ) tum₁₂^{mušen}-gen₇ ab-lal₃-ta ba-da-an-dal (LSUr 208)
91. nin-ḡu₁₀ nam-sul-zu du₁₂-a-bi e₄-ri-a su₃-ga-a[m₃]
ur-saḡ-gal-meš nam-maḥ-bi e₄-ri-a su₃-ga-am₃ (Ibbi-Suen B, to Meslamtaea and Lugallerra B1)

92. diġir lu₂-lu₇-ke₄ arġuš siškur₂-ra ša-ra-an-x[]
93. nam-šita-bi giri₁₇ šu ša-ra-ab-ġal₂ ša₃-zu ši-im-ġuġ []
 diġir nam-lu₂-lu₇ siškur₂ a-ra-zu-a mu-na-an-su₈-su₈-ge-eš (Ninisina A 43)
 diġir lu₂-lu₇-ke₄ kadra₂^a mu-ra-an-de₆ / lu₂ siškur₂-ra-ke₄ a-ra-zu mu-ra-ab-be₂ / ^dnanna arġuš su₃
 kalam-ma-me-en (...) lu₂ (//diġir) a-ra-zu im-me-a-bi-ir ša₃ ġa-ba-na-ġuġ-e (LU 425–430)
 (^dišme-dagan) e-ne a-ra-zu-a mu-na-an-gub-ba-am₃ giri₁₇ šu mi-ni-ġal₂-la-am₃ / ir₂ ġar-ra nam-šita
 du₁₁-ga-ni...(NL 304f.)
100. nin-ġu₁₀ diġir lu₂-lu₇-ke₄ igi zi u₃-mu-un-ši-in-bar
 lu₂ siškur₂-ra-ke₄ mu-un-gub-ba-bi-ir (^dnanna) igi zi (u₃-)mu-un-ši-in-bar (LU 431)
 (^dinnana) diġir lu₂-ba-ra igi zi u₃-mu-un-ši-in-bar (LURuk 12.31)
104. a₂-saġ₃ uru₂ ge₁₇ mu-na-gul-e lu₂-bi-ir ba-an-ta-[]
 u₄ uru₂-gen₇ gul-lu-ba (LU 99)
106. ku₃-sa₆-ga-gen₇ saġar ku₃ mu-un-ta-zalag niġ₂ su-ub mu-ni-AK
107. igi ġul₂-ġul₂-la-na mu-un-ši-in-bar nam-til₃-la mi-ni-in-z[i]
108. šu sa₆ diġir-ra-na-še₃ im-ma-ši-in-ġi₄-ġi₄
 ša₃ diġir-ra-na u₃-mu-na-ġuġ / ku₃ sa₆-ga-gen₇ šu u₃-mu-ni-in-su-ub saġar u₃-mu-un-ta-zalag / zabar
 ku₃-si₂₂ saġ šu-a gub-ba-gen₇ saġar um-ta-luġ / šu sa₆-ga diġir-ra-na-še₃ im-ši-in-ġi₄-ġi₄ (Nungal A
 106–109)
109. ^dudug¹ sa₆-ga ^dlamma ġa₂-la nu-dag-ge saġ-ġa₂-na bi₂-in-t[uku]
110. ^dlamma¹ niġ₂ ge-na mu-un-na-an-taġ ur-maġ mu-ni-mu₄
^dlamma ġa₂-la nu-dag-ge sa[ġ] ġe₂-mi-in-tuku / alan niġ₂ ge-na ġe-^fen-ga-x¹-taġ (Išme-Dagan A+V A48f.)
^dlamma ġa₂-la nu-dag-ge saġ-ġa₂-na tuku-bi₂-ib (LURuk 12.36)
119. a-ba za-gen₇ lu₂ til₃ lu₂ u₃-du₂ nam-da₆ t[luġ]]
^dnanna lu₂-lu₇-bi nam-da₆-ga-ni u₃-mu-e-tuġ (LU 429)
 MUNUS.LUGAL ša-me-^fe ar¹-ni pu-u^f-ri (KUB 39, 70+ i 8' = CTH 718, § 14' 31', Ištar-ritual from Hattusa).
122. nin-ġu₁₀ igi-du₈-a bar-ra-zu ša₃ šu-niġen₂ su₃-ga
123. ama nu-u₈-ge₁₇ igi-du₈-a bar-ra-zu ša₃ šu-niġen₂ su₃-ga
 (^dnanna) igi-du₈-a bar-ra-zu ša₃ šu-niġen₂ su₃-ga (LU 432)

Commentary

3 There is no single English expression that would adequately render the meaning of the enigmatic and complex term nu-u₈-ge₁₇. Our translation follows a suggestion by W. Sallaberger. For the functions of the nu-u₈-ge₁₇ and her role in midwifery, see most recently Civil (2011, 281–283).

4 Or, alternatively, ‘Stirred up fire that is raining down (šeġ₃-ġe₂₆) on all the lands’.

6 In bilingual sources the term mud₅-me-ġar was equated both to *qūlu*, ‘calm’, and to *rīšātu*, ‘joy’: see Jaques (2006, 205–217), who translates the present passage as ‘joie profonde du pays’.¹⁵ Since the poem is here describing Innana’s terrifying effect, mud₅-me-ġar is more likely to convey a sense of stunned amazement.

7 Literally: ‘Your great utterance, having reached heaven and earth...’. ġal₂ presumably stands for gal; a comparable error may be seen in: ġal₂-bi (*ra-bi-iš*) // gal-bi tar (CT 58, 45: 8 // Si 290: 8, ed. Cavigneaux/Donbaz 2007, 304–321), a late Old Babylonian hemerology from Sippar. Alternatively, one could consider that the original reading was *maġ du₁₁-ga-zu, and that the scribe of an earlier manuscript copied only the second half of MAġ, which was then transformed into ġAL₂. For MAġ-signs whose second halves could be confused with ġAL₂, see e.g. aBZL no. 6 (LU 8 H, LU 352 V, LSU 405 II).

8f. These difficult lines describe Innana in her luminous manifestation as Venus. The radiance of Innana as Venus was often compared to the sun and moon in Sumerian religious poetry (Metcalf 2015, 185f.), and so the first half of line 8 perhaps implies that Innana as Venus is so bright that, like the sun, she is visible in the sea. The Sun-god’s rays are said to penetrate the sea in a well-known later Akkadian hymn to Šamaš (BWL 128: 37f.; cf. YOS 11, 86: 5–10 = Or 42, 503), and the image could further be compared to the Egyptian praise of the

¹⁵ Note also mud₅-me-ġar = *rēšum* in CUSAS 10, 14: 25, with the comments of George (2009, 96f.) *ad loc.*

Sun in the great solar hymn of Akhenaten (lines 82f.): ‘Die Fische im Strom schnellen umher vor deinem Antlitz, / denn deine Strahlen reichen bis ins Innere des Meeres’, in the translation of Bayer (2007, 15). Innana’s ‘parting of the waters’ may thus be an illustration of her great radiance. By contrast, the second part line 8 seems to describe the dimming of this brightness. The term *a n - b a r₇ - GANA₂* should be understood as ‘(early) morning’ according to Mittermayer (2009, 246), who adduces two further passages where it is associated with Innana/Venus in the morning and evening: *ĝe₆ - u₃ - na iti₆ - gen₇ mu - un - e₃ / a n - b a r - GANA₂ u₄ z a l a g - g e n₇ mu - u n - e₃*, ‘At night she emerges like the moon-light, in the early morning she emerges like the radiant sun’ (Iddin-Dagan A 111f.), *a i a - n i - g e n₇ ĝe₆ a n - b a r - GANA₂ - b a ħe₂ - d u₇*, ‘Like her father (Nanna), she is complete at night and in the morning’ (LUruk 12.3). Our text seems to describe how Innana turns this morning radiance into darkness, since *ħe₂ - š i* is probably an instance of the rare term meaning ‘to be obscure; obscurity’: see Green (1984, 278) *ad* LUruk 1.12, and for the sense and reading see in particular the Old Babylonian grammatical text BM 23331 i 4f.: *si - i š i = i - t u₃ - t u m / ħe - š i = KIMIN* (Civil 1994, 205; Veldhuis 2005, 321).¹⁶ In sum, line 8 perhaps states that Innana as Venus is so radiant that her light can be seen even in the sea, and that in her capacity as morning- and evening-star she can herald both the brightness of the morning and the darkness of the evening.

Innana as the evening star, which appears after sunset and can thus be said to ‘follow’ the spread of darkness at nightfall, is probably also the topic of the equally difficult line 9. *u s₂ - [s] a* is a more probable restoration than *ĝa₂ - [ĝa₂]* (Bruschweiler 1987, 113), since a trace of a diagonal wedge can be seen in the lower right corner of the first sign, and *a n - d i b - b a* would then refer to the firmament in which Venus follows her course (compare the late equations: *a n - d i b - b a = ri - kis a n - e // i - š i d¹ [ša] - l me¹ - e*, SBH 130: 32f. = CLAM 154: 17 // KAR 375 ii 40f. = Nötscher 1927, 100: 40f.). The second part of the line ends with a non-finite imperfective form of the verb AK, ‘to do’, on which see Attinger (2005, 62f.). The sign following *k a l a m* seems to be UR, but the reading is uncertain: some *Winkelhaken* are visible inside the sign, suggesting an erasure. For UR- a AK see Attinger (2005, 258), quoting Or. 70, 217 iii 20’, for a reference from an OB lexical list where the term appears to denote a female profession, among mainly ‘prostitutes’ and ‘cultic performers’.

¹⁶ We owe this interpretation of *ħe₂ - š i* and the references to P. Attinger.

¹⁰ See Attinger (2003, 29) on this line and possible parallels.

¹⁴ *silig* is here equivalent to *šagapūru*, ‘majestic’, see e.g. Ea III 96 (MSL 14, 307) for the lexical evidence.

^{22f.} See LUruk 5.12 with Eichler (1983, 98) on these two weapons in association. The battering ram as a description of Innana/Ištar is attested also at GE SB VI 39f., cf. InEb 36f.

²⁴ This line confirms that *ze₂ - na* is another type of weapon used in sieges, see the remarks of Klein (1976, 288) on Šulgi O, 55.

^{43–50} These lines may allude to the tale ‘Innana and Enki’, as do other religious poems on Innana from the Isin-dynasty: see Farber-Flügge (1973, 4–6).

⁴⁹ This perhaps refers to the ‘boat of heaven’-festival that was celebrated in connection with Innana in Uruk, according to documents of the Ur III- and Isin-periods (Sallaberger 1993, I 216–219; Richter 2004, 297f.; Lämmerhirt 2012, 6 n.45; Steinkeller 2013, 470–472; Peterson 2014).

⁵² The verb *d u b*, ‘to heap up’, could be interpreted in both positive and negative ways: an alternative translation of the present line is ‘You have heaped up (i.e. erected) your foundations in Uruk, (but then) you have imposed your punishment on (the city)’. In lines 54 and 57, however, *d u b* is more likely to be used in a negative sense, in which ‘heaping up’ implies destruction (cf. CAD *šapāku* 1a 5’).

^{53–55} These lines allude to the myth told in the poem ‘Innana and Ebiḫ’, where Innana destroys the wooded mountain range because of its lack of respect for her (cf. also lines 5f.). See Attinger (2005, 233) on *ki - s u - u b AK*, ‘to prostrate oneself’, which is presumably complemented by *ni₂ - bi zi*. On *ka b a r₇* compare perhaps: *u₄ k a i z i - g e n₇ b a r₇ - r a*, ‘storm that burns like a mouth of fire’ (LSUr 171), following Attinger (2013).

⁵⁴ The sense of *ni₂ - bi - a* is difficult to grasp: we assume that Ebiḫ has here been turned into an isolated ruin mound (‘a heap of its own’). P. Attinger suggests to us the alternative reading *i m - bi - a*, which might mean that the city has been turned back into ‘clay’. See also line 57, below, with note.

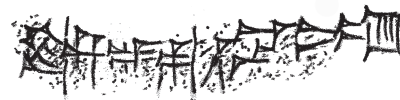
⁵⁵ The surprising reference to trees and ‘fruits’ (*g u r u n*) may reflect a misunderstanding of the common topos of tearing out trees by their ‘roots’ (*u r₂*), compare the parallels cited in the apparatus.

⁵⁶ Based on the attestations collected by Jaques (2006, 68. 256–258), *a m a - n a m - d a₆ k i - s i k i l ĝe₆ ĝe p a r - z u ħ i - l i m u - e - š i - i n - t i - a* is expected to mean, literally: ‘After the maiden Amanamdag felt desire directed at you (in) your ĝe p a r’. Rather than implying that Amanamdag desired Innana herself, the sense seems

to be that Amanamdag coveted Innana's erotic allure and sought to take her place.¹⁷ This interpretation agrees with the version of the Amanamdag-tale that is preserved in tablets 18–19 of the lamentation Uru'ammairabi, which can be summarised as follows: Innana's maiden Amanamdag committed the crime of sitting on the sacred throne and lying in the holy bed, where she learned to make love. Her unchaste behaviour was aggravated by strong indications that Dumuzi, Innana's husband, was the male counterpart. For these transgressions Amanamdag suffered the punishment of furious Innana, who subsequently refused to join Dumuzi (Volk 1989, 48–54, see also Groneberg 1997, 148–150; Fritz 2003, 282; Mittermayer 2013, 34 f.).¹⁸ The allusion to Amanamdag in the present text, standing at the end of a catalogue of disrespectful places that Innana has punished, may be relevant to the later episode in which Innana disdains the king's bed (line 76), perhaps in analogy to her rejection of Dumuzi in Uru'ammairabi 19.79–89. If the punished places and Amanamdag are mythological exempla that are supposed to illustrate Innana's vindictive and destructive temper, then it can hardly be incidental that this particular element concludes the catalogue of past offenders.

57 The suggestion of Wu (2005) that the signs du_{10} , du_6 etc. in this context should be understood as corrupted versions of $ḫabru d$ (KIXBAD), 'hole, cave', is intriguing but not convincing, as it overlooks those references from syllabic texts which show that the Sumerian word in question was indeed $/du(-d)/$, see Attinger (2015b, 4 n.25) with references. The verb ta_3 (TAG), 'to be in contact with, to touch', which may have been chosen in order to create a deliberate echo of the name $ama-nam-da_6$ (TAG), is difficult to translate in this context. The form $im-mi-in-ta_3$ is transitive, but the resulting translation 'he/she let him/her be in contact with it (the cave)' does not fit the context. We therefore assume that ta_3 represents an abbreviated form of a compound verb that expresses (swift) motion, e.g. $kušu ta_3$, 'to hurry', or $kuš_3 ki ta_3 = pašālu$, 'to crawl'; cf. $ba-ra-aš$ ($/braš/$), 'to fly', in the parallel passage in Innana B 34 f. – The surface of the tablet is worn off in the second half of the line: while the sign following ta_3 is IM and the two last signs on the margin are

clearly $NI-dub$, the signs in between cannot be unambiguously identified without the help of a duplicate (see hand-copy by M.-C. Ludwig). It is possible that the phrase is parallel to $ni_2-bi-a mi-ni-dub$ in line 54, which we take to mean that Innana's victim (Ebih) has been piled up like an isolated ruin mound (see note *ad loc.*). Volk (1989, 49 n.19) has proposed $'im-ma im^{17}-ma-ni-dub$, 'mit Erde hast Du sie zugeschüttet', and a reference to 'mud' (im) does seem plausible, but the second sign is not $-ma$. A. Cavigneaux suggests PA.IB for the traces following IM. To develop this suggestion, the reading $sab(a)$, 'trunk', of PA.IB could be adduced, and one could speculate that the second half of our line might allude somehow to the episode regarding the *succubus* attested in GEN 44/87/131: $sab-bi-a ki-sikil lil_2-la_2-ke_4 e_2 im-ma-ni-ib-du_3$ 'In its trunk, the succubus had built her abode' (Gadotti 2014, 154, 182 and *passim*, see her commentary and bibliography *ad loc.*). A reference to the *succubus*, the ultimate young seductress, would fit the context well, and would not surprise in a text full of allusions, but the reading of the remaining signs is obscure.



BM 23820+, line 57. Hand copy by M.-C. Ludwig.

58f. These lines describe Innana's dominance in the pantheon, the 'heroes' perhaps being the male gods. For a similar image, compare Innana B 113–116, which describes how the Anuna-gods submit to Innana (see further Metcalf 2015, 43 with n.62). The end of line 58, the final line on the obverse of the tablet, is rather squeezed and difficult to read. The sign after $ur-sa_ḡ$ is KU , followed by two ZU -signs of unequal length. The former is shorter than the latter, but both show two vertical wedges as *Innenzeichnung*, and the final vertical wedge (at the end of the sign) has been placed after the horizontal wedge in the middle; this is in contrast to BA in the second half of the line, where the final vertical wedge has been written before the horizontal wedge.¹⁹ It seems safe to assume that the first ZU is a mistake for BA and that the scribe intended to write $*ur-sa_ḡ dab_5-ba-zu$. On subordinate constructions of the type $/B-a-zu(-loc./dir.)$, see now Attinger (2014b).

60–75 The scene abruptly moves to a celebration held on the seventh day of the lunar cycle. Innana washes

¹⁷ Alternatively one could translate 'after A. felt desire directed at you (Dumuzi) (in) your (Innana's) $ḡepar$ ', on the assumption that these lines were transferred without adjustment from a context in which both Innana and Dumuzi were addressed, compare the general discussion of the manuscript (above) and the note on lines 60–75.

¹⁸ So far no text is known which deals exclusively and in detail with the story of Amanamdag. A very broken passage of the hymn Innana C 75–80 (cf. 250), possibly alludes to her fate, but further duplicates are needed to bring clarity.

¹⁹ The distinctive ordering of wedges in ZU - and BA -signs will be discussed in a forthcoming study by J. Taylor and M.-C. Ludwig (see note 11, above).

and dresses herself, as she commonly does in various scenes of seduction (see apparatus to lines 61f.), and takes her seat on a dais. Perhaps because much of this scene is composed of elements that may have been drawn from a variety of *Vorlagen*, the grammatical distinction between the second and third persons singular appears to have become confused. We have adjusted these forms in our translation to create a consistent narrative, and have assumed that Innana's preparations are described in the third person (lines 61–64; differently Bruschweiler 1987, 122), until the song addresses her directly in the second person (lines 65–77). Confusion between second and third person transitive subjects is attested elsewhere in literary Old Babylonian Sumerian sources (Huber 2001, 174 f.), but this text generally observes the distinction.

60 The seventh day of the lunar cycle, when the moon loses its crescent-shape (u_4 -šakar) and appears as a semi-circle, was regularly marked in the cultic calendar (Sallaberger 1993, I 39–41). Alternatively, W. Sallaberger suggests to us that u_4 -šakar could in this context be interpreted as 'month' ('When day seven of the month was completed ...'); the expected genitival suffix is however absent, and the juxtaposition of u_4 -šakar and *iti* with the same meaning might seem surprising. The end of the line can perhaps be compared to Hhy. 26: *iti za₃-mu u₄ sa₂ du₁₁-ga-ba*, literally 'le mois limite de l'année, en son jour arrivé' (Attinger 2015c); on the subordinating syntactical construction (-a-ba), compare Attinger (2014b) and (based on Ur III-period sources) Jagersma (2010, 652f.).

61 See Sallaberger (2012, 300) on the difficulties regarding the reading of a *NI.LI*, for which a *zal-le* had been accepted so far.

63 *ba-e-du₁₁* probably contains an erroneous second person singular subject, given the confusion between the second and third persons that is evident in line 61. Alternatively, ELS p. 459, ex. 221, suggests that /-e-/ can be interpreted as the 'préfixe local': '(le flanc) en est ceint'.

67 *i-im-dur₂-ru-uš* is either an abbreviated version of the expected *-dur₂-ru-ne-eš (/durun-eš/) or a mistake, as if the form were /dur₂-eš/, perhaps under the influence of neighbouring *bi₂-in-gur₃-ru-uš* (line 69). See most recently Attinger (2010) on this verb.

Intentional abbreviations of verbal forms are described by Delnero (2012, 137 f.), but no directly comparable example is given there.

68 Or: 'standing there for them (the gods)'? Compare ELS § 103b R. 1, 2 on the Old Babylonian 3rd person plural dative /-na-/.

69 *bi₂-in-gur₃-ru-uš* is a perfective form ('they bore'), which does not seem to fit the context. The caus-

ative translation of Kramer (1979, 90), 'you made them bear (your holy yoke)', is not compatible with the attested form but would make better sense and is possibly what the scribe had in mind.

70 A sign resembling *su₈* is written slightly above the line, followed by *KIN* or *UR₄*. This might represent a gloss indicating a variant in the older sources from which the present text was copied: *ša-mu-ra-su₈*, 'they are standing for you' // *ša-mu-ra-ur₄*, 'they are assembled for you'. Another case of such a gloss is perhaps found in line 103. The 'head' of the sign following *iri-ĝu₁₀* is slightly scratched and could represent either *SAĜ* or *KA*. Adopting the former we understand the ensuing phrase *iri-ĝu₁₀ saĝ-keš₂-bi* as an anticipatory genitive (literally 'of my city, its guardian'), the form of the genitive -ĝu₁₀-k (instead of expected *-ĝa₂-k) being an OB neologism (Attinger 2012, 358). The comparandum from the 'Hymn to Innana for Išme-Dagan' C10–12 (cited in the apparatus of parallel passages), in which Innana appoints Išme-Dagan as 'protector' (*saĝ-keš₂*) of Uruk, suggests that the king is the subject of the second part of the line. Alternatively, A. Cavigneaux suggests to us the reading *lu₂' iri-ĝu₁₀ zu₂-keš₂-bi igi-zu-še₃ bi₂-ib-[dib(?)]*, 'les gens de ma ville on les fait défiler en rangs serrés devant toi'. This interpretation is semantically attractive, but the sign that we interpret as *KIN* or *UR₄* very clearly differs from the other instances of *LU₂*, which is written consistently in the same way on the present tablet (see e.g. the first sign of lines 71, 73, 78, 85). A reading *zu₂(KA)-keš₂* is possible and would result in the following translation of this line, based on the same grammatical analysis as above: 'They are indeed standing(?) for you – the elite troops of my city [...] before you'.

73 This divine gesture of protection is also described in an incantation for the entering of a temple: *lu₂-banda₃ ša₃-za in-tuš-a / šu diĝir-ra-na ħe₂-me-ši-ĝar-ĝar*, 'When the junior priest is seated inside you (i.e. the temple) / may the hand of his god always be upon you' (A 7479 iv 7'–8', ed. Farber/Farber 2003).

75 Halfway through the third quarter of the song, the present line introduces a change of mood. If *ħi-li ma-a-z-za*, 'charm and joy' (see Jaques 2006, 251 n.519), stands in contrast to *sun₇-na*, 'pride' (*šalṭu*), then the implication might be that Innana has changed her mind and is haughtily distancing herself from erotic pleasure. This would agree with the parallel passage Innana C 136 (cited in the apparatus), where *ħi-li* and *sun₇-na* seem to characterise Innana's capricious behaviour in love; Jaques (2006, 254) translates: 'Atteindre(?) (*sa₂ di*) le plaisir, atteindre(?) la fierté sont à toi Innana'. In that text as much as here, however, the precise meaning is

elusive. Perhaps *hi-li* and *su₇* are also in opposition in the following passage: *la-ba-e-da-hi-li-e la-ba-e-da* (/ -a n -d a) -*su₇* -e, ‘Il ne sera pas charmeur avec toi, il ne fera pas le fier avec toi’ (Instr.Šur. 164), in the translation of Jaques (2006, 254).

76 Our translation understands Innana to be the subject of the verb in the second person, in which case the third-person prefix (/ -n -/) is probably erroneous. This can be compared to *enim bi₂-in-du₁₁-ga-zu* (/ [...]*bi₂-du₁₁* - [...]), ‘the word that you have said’, Innana C 202 (also 205 f.), see ELS § 41 a 1⁹.

78 The tablet seems to show the beginning of *de₂* at the end of the line. The verb is therefore probably transitive, despite the absence of the expected ergative marker (*-ke₄) after *nin diġir-re-e-ne*.

79 P. Attinger suggests to us the alternative reading *a ma lu*, ‘protective goddess’, for AMA.AN.MUŠ₃, which we have interpreted as *a ma* ^d*innana*, ‘mother Innana’.

80 The ‘slip’ (*ġiri₃ zi₂-ir* = *neġelsû*, Kagal I 313 = MSL 13, 230) perhaps refers to difficulties in fathering an heir that the king is experiencing due to Innana’s neglect of the bed, compare line 84 and Zgoll (1997, 360 f.), Attinger (2012, 5 n.44). As in the English language, the verb could refer to a miscarriage (a cow ‘slips’ her calf), for which there exist a variety of Sumerian euphemisms (Civil 2011, 264 f.). Later, following the intervention of the personal god, the king and his wife are successful in producing male offspring (lines 111 f.). In the present line, ‘his womb’ must therefore refer to the womb in which the king is trying to conceive an heir, compare line 111 below.

81 See Tinney (1996, 153 f.) on the phrase ‘to be eaten by the swamp’, a metaphor of utter destruction that we have chosen to translate literally here.

82 *gur₄* in this context corresponds to Akkadian *qarāru*, ‘to writhe’ (in pain and humiliation), see CAD s. v. *qarāru* A.

83 See George (2002, 142) on *si₁₂-si₁₂*, ‘sobbing’, and related terms.

89 *ur-da*, ‘with a dog’, does not seem to fit the context. It may be a syllabic writing for *ur₅-da* (AK), ‘to pay attention’, on which see Attinger (2005, 258).

90 We owe the translation of the first part of this line to P. Attinger, who compares Lugalb. I 165: *še-gen₇ saġar ses-a nam-ba-da-gu₇-e*, ‘May I not eat bitter dust instead of grain!’. *en-nu-uġ₃*, ‘guard’, is probably best rendered as ‘detention’ here. This was a common metaphor for the desperate state of a supplicant abandoned by the gods, but it also implied the possibility of deliverance: see Ambos (2013, 79–85).

91 The sense is perhaps that Innana’s heroism is so vast that it would fill an empty wasteland to sing of it;

nam-sul-zu du₁₂-a-bi probably represents an anticipatory genitive with *-zu* instead of expected *-za (as suggested to us by P. Attinger; cf. note on line 70, above). Given the king’s procreative difficulties that have been described in this section, there may also be an allusion to the barren ‘spilling of semen’ (*a ri*): if interpreted as *a ri-a su₃-ga-a m₃*, the phrase could have the secondary connotation ‘the spilled semen is empty’.

94 Bruschweiler (1987, 133) translated: ‘(le dieu personnel) à sa porte (*ig-ne₂*) fait résonner vers toi sa plainte, il t’offre le témoignage de son respect (*ni₂ ša-ra-a b-i-i*)’. But rather than referring to a literal ‘door’, the phrase *ig-ni za* is more likely to indicate a speech impediment (*ig* perhaps being a metaphor for the mouth). This interpretation is suggested by a set of entries in the so-called SB List of Diseases: *gu₂ gi₄ = ša-na-’u₅*, *gu₂ gilim = KIMIN*, *ig-SA an-za = iš-ta-na-’i*, ¹*ni₂* *gu₂-gu₂ mur-ri = KIMIN*, *ig-ni an-za = uk-k[u-u]k*, ¹*u₂* ¹*h₂u b₂ = KIMIN* (MSL 9, 93: 36–41). While the precise meanings of these terms remain to be clarified by a detailed study, the general sense in the present context is no doubt that the personal god’s voice was ‘choked’ by his sobbing as he complained to Innana.²⁰ As shown by the shape of *tur* e.g. in lines 73 and 84, the base of the second verb is not *i-i* but *tur-t[ur]* (contrast the shape of *i* in lines 10, 67, 71). *ni₂ tur-tur*, ‘to make oneself (very or continuously) small’, is rendered in Akkadian texts by *utnēnu*, ‘to pray’, see CAD s. v. (lex. sect.) and Jaques (2015, 118) (reference courtesy P. Attinger), which represents an interpretation of the phrase rather than a literal translation.

95 Compare, by contrast: *ir₂-ša₃-ne-ša₄ nu-du₁₂-a m₃*, ‘it (the devastated land) sang no more plaintive laments’ (LU 343).

96 Compare the phrase: *e-ne nam-ku₃-zu nu-še-be₂-da // e-ki-a-am en-qu la i-še-eġ*, ‘Where did (even) the wise man commit no fault?’ (Ešġ n78, rev. 19 f., ed. Maul 1988, 312–318). See further Volk (2011, 77), Lämmerhirt (2012, 10 n.67) and Jaques (2015, 103 f.) on this gnomic topos.

²⁰ On the lexical entries see the remarks of A.D. Kilmer and B. Landsberger *ad loc.* (MSL 9, 99 f.), and compare Farber (1989, 99 f.). Both sources, K 207+ (P365385, collated) and VAT 11507 (P381815), clearly distinguish between *ig-SA* in line 38 and *ig-ni* in line 40 (*pace* J. Peterson in DCCLT s. v. ‘K 00207’), and an emendation *ig-ni* (SA) in line 38 therefore seems unjustified. On the meaning, see CAD s. v. *šanā’u*, ‘to obstruct, irritate the throat’; AHw. lists these entries s. v. *ša’ū(m)* Gtn ‘unruhig herumlaufen?’, which seems less plausible than the alternative listing in AHw. s. v. *šanā’u* I ‘blockieren’. Civil (1987, 26) emended *uk-k[u-u]k* to <*su*>*uk-k[u-u]k*, but given the semantic association between *sukkuku* and *uququ* in ancient commentaries (see CAD s. v. *eqēqu*, *uququ*) this hardly helps to elucidate the sense.

97 To state that an offence is ‘seven times seven’ is to say that it is very great and comprehensive, and supplicants in *eršaḥuḡa*-prayers and elsewhere often describe their offence in this way before asking for remission: see Lambert (1974, 304), Maul (1988, 81 *ad* 27), Jaques (2015, 189).²¹ The reference to the *ḡuruš* (‘young man’), which is paralleled in Ešh n57 (Maul 1988, 263–266), is perhaps a variation of the theme introduced in the previous line: by nature and even in the prime of youth (i.e. even in an ideal state), men offend the gods. In the plaintive letter of Sin-iddinam to Ninisina, the diseased king also describes himself as a *ḡuruš*, whose life is in danger of ending prematurely (line 44, ed. Brisch 2007, 142–156).²² Bruschweiler (1987, 117) translated: ‘le halo de ta splendeur redoutable est 7 × 7 fois plus puissant (*ka l-a*) que la faute’, without clarifying her interpretation of the syntax.

98 f. In Old Babylonian Sumerian verbs the sequence *mu-* or *ba-e-ni-* can reflect /*mu-*/ or /*ba-ni-e-*/ (2nd person sg. transitive subject), see ELS § 139b 3^o R.2.

100 f. See Lämmerhirt (2010, 90 f.) on *igi zi bar*, ‘to look rightly upon s.o.’, which often describes a sign of divine favour, and see also Jaques (2006, 243) on this expression of mercy. For the idea that the personal god is somehow responsible for the failures of his protégé, that it is he who is forgiven by a superior god, not the ‘sinner’ himself, see Attinger (2011). The song now speaks of Innana in the third person until line 112. The passage can perhaps be compared to CT 58, 22 rev. 28–34 (ed. Jaques 2014), a lullaby that requests Innana’s blessing for a happy family life.

102 See Jaques (2006, 241 f.) on *ša₃ šu-niḡen₂ su₃-ga*, ‘full of kindness’, and compare lines 122–123 below.

103 *si₃-ke^{sag₃-ge}-bi* could record a variant in a *Vorlage*: *si₃-ke-bi*, ‘that (goat that is) imposed’ // *sag₃-ge-bi*, ‘that (goat that) beats’. It is also possible that *si₃-ke* represents a phonetic spelling /*sik-*/ of the verb ‘to beat’, since the sign *PA* can in this sense be read *sig₃* as well as *sag₃*, cf. e.g. Ea I 298 (MSL 14, 191).

106–108 The hymn ‘Nungal A’ provides an important parallel passage (see apparatus): the merciful prison-goddess Nungal cleanses the just man and restores him to his personal god. This is the positive complement to the ‘detention’ in which the king previously found himself

and from which is now released: see note on line 90, and Ambos (2013, 83).

106 On the analysis of *mu-un-ta-zalag* (/ni-ta/ or /-n-ta-/), see ELS § 151 R. and Attinger (2003, 28. 34).

107 We assume that *-na* in *hu₂-hu₂-la-na* is an error for expected **-ni*. Pace Jaques (2006, 464), the verb at the end of the line is to be read: *nam-ti₃-la mi-ni-in-z[i]* (not: *-tar*). Compare perhaps the terms *nam-ti₃-la u₄ zi-ga*, probably bestowed by Enki on Išme-Dagan, in a fragmentary context, at IŠD E D6–7 (ed. Sjöberg 1974–75).

110 Kramer (1979, 90) translated: ‘[She had] Utu provide him with truth’, but the reading is clearly *d^lla mma¹*. Dressing ‘like a lion’ is an attribute of kingship in the Isin-dynasty: *ni₂ su-zi ur-maḥ nam-lugal-la tu₉-ba₁₃-še₃ ḥe₂-em-mu₄*, ‘“Fear and trembling”, the “Lion of kingship” – may you (Ur-Ninurta) wear this as a robe!’ (Ur-Ninurta A 39), see Sjöberg (1977, 194) for further attestations. (Sjöberg considers the possibility of reading *teš₂ maḥ*, ‘great pride’.) It may further be relevant that the lion was widely seen as the animal of Innana. [A. Cavigneaux: or read *tuš*, ‘had a lion sit close to him’]

111 On the sense of ‘his womb’, see note on line 80, above.

120 See Attinger (2005, 250) on *šu AK*, ‘to help, save, treat well’, as reflected also in the lexical equations *šu AK-mu* = *tap-pu-ti a-li-ik, šu-zi-ba-ni*, ‘help me, save me!’ (CUSAS 12, 252: 177 f.).

122 f. The translation follows Jaques (2006, 242): ‘ton regard quand il s’épanouit est un abîme de tendresse’, and Attinger (2011): ‘ton regard est rempli de miséricorde’ (LU 432); see most recently Attinger (2015d, 73 f.).

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²¹ There are possible Biblical echoes, in the context of vengeance or forgiveness for offences: Gen 4.15, 24; Mt 18, 21 f.

²² Compare also the lament ‘A Man and His God’ (ETCSL c5.2.4), in which the supplicant repeatedly describes himself as a *ḡuruš*, and perhaps Innana C 83: *KAL(= ḡuruš?) šul-a-lum u₃-mu-ni-in-AK*, in obscure context.

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