

Dumuzi and Ĝeštinanna

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ABSTRACT

The present article contains the philological edition of the Old Babylonian Sumerian composition *Dumuzi and Ĝeštinanna* (UET 6, 11), a study of its literary characteristics, intertextual elements, allusions, and early hermeneutic techniques.

KEYWORDS

Dumuzi, descent to the netherworld, dying gods, word plays, graphic plays, Sumerian literature

Within the Sumerian literature of the Old Babylonian period, the deaths of the dying gods numbered among the most frequently copied and reformulated stories. The sorrowful fates of Dumuzi, Damu, and Ningišzida possess over a dozen of presently known adaptations, including liturgical laments.¹ In terms of copies, the composition *Dumuzi's Dream* has some seventy-eight manuscripts to date,² and may well have formed part of the curriculum at scribal schools.³ Other versions of the same theme, sometimes containing peculiar reformulations, have only been preserved in solitary manuscript. One such example, a single manuscript text found in the fill of a house in the city of Ur, is the composition called *Dumuzi and Ĝeštinanna* (Charpin 1986: 440 and 438).

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¹ For the list of texts and references, see Fritz 2003.

² Attinger <https://zenodo.org/record/2599639#.XaWr9XduLIU> (last access: 2019. 10. 15.)

³ Robson (2001: 54): in the curricular group of 'House F Fourteen'.

Its text has posed some intriguing problems. Sharing elements with the mythical narrative *Inana's Descent to the Netherworld*, it has been a topic of scholarly discourse as to whether it represents an independent version of Dumuzi's story or is rather an excerpt of a longer work. There has also been an interest in its focus and wording; A. Ferrara has even deemed it a 'laboratory curiosity' (Ferrara 2010: 27), so unusual are its grammar and the formulations at various junctures.

Issues in some sections of the composition, however, have remained unsolved; this paper will, thus, present an edition and review of the text, examining its literary characteristics, sign use, vocabulary, and intertextual parallels of the text with the aim of illuminating some of its previously obscure aspects.

THE TEXT

Dumuzi and Ĝeštinanna tells the well-known story of Dumuzi: Inana, his divine wife, is released from the netherworld after her attempt to conquer this realm, but she must find a substitute for herself according to the orders of the netherworld. In order to be free, she hands over her husband to the galla-demons. Dumuzi prays to the sun god Utu, Inana's brother, to alter his figure so that he can escape from the demons. He finds refuge with his loyal sister, Ĝeštinanna, who mourns for him, but the demons eventually find him at the sheepfold. The story ends with Ĝeštinanna's search for him.

The text was collated by M.-C. Ludwig (Ludwig 2009: 26–27), and J. Peterson has recently published a new translation and transcription, in which he has discussed many of the problematic sections (Peterson 2019).⁴ I have also collated the tablet in the British Museum. Some of the lines are more than enigmatic; in the absence of a parallel manuscript, the translation may nonetheless be improved.

Transcription:

1. ᵀgallaᵀ tur ka ba-a-ši-ba₉-re₆ galla gu-la-ra gu₃ mu-na-de₂-ᵀeᵀ
2. ḡa₂-nam-ma-an-ze₂-en ur₂ ku₃ ᵀinana-ka-še₃ ga-da-re₇-en-de₃-en
3. galla unug^{ki}-še₃ ba-ni-in-ku₄-re-eš ku₃ ᵀinana-ke₄ mu-ni-in-dab₃[!]-be₂-ne
4. ḡa₂-nu ᵀinana kaskal-zu-še₃ ni-ba ḡen-na kur-še₃ e₁₁-bi₂
5. ki ša₃-ge₄-de₆-a-ᵀzuᵀ-še₃ ḡen-na kur-še₃ e₁₁-bi₂
6. ki ᵀereš-ki-gal-la-še₃ ḡen-na kur-še₃ e₁₁-bi₂
7. ^{tu}g²ba₁₃ ku₃ ᵀtug²ᵀ pala₃-a tug₂-nam-nin-zu nam-ba-mu₄-mu₄-ᵀun kur-še₃ e₁₁-bi₂ᵀ
8. men ku₃ me-ᵀteᵀ ka-silim-ma saḡ-zu-a um-ta-ḡa₂-ᵀar kur-še₃ e₁₁-bi₂ᵀ
9. ḡi-li-a ᵀigi-zuᵀ šu la-ba-ni-in-du₇ kur-še₃ ᵀe₁₁-bi₂ᵀ
10. ur idim za₃^{??} ḡiri₃-zu-ᵀše₃^{??}-[x-x-x d]u₈-du₈ kur-še₃ ᵀe₁₁-bi₂ᵀ
11. ᵀu₄^{??} za-e e₁₁-x [...] ba[?][...] nu-su₃-su₃
12. ku₃ ᵀinana-ke₄^{??} mu-un-bur₂-bur₂-re-eš [mu[?]-un[?]-dub^{??}]₂^{??}-be^{??}-de₃-eš
13. ᵀinana ni₂-te-na ᵀdumu-zi šu-še₃ ᵀba-an-šum₂ᵀ
14. ḡuruš-e^{ḡeš}<rab> maḡ-a ḡiri₃-ni im-ma-an-ḡar-re-en-de₃-en

⁴ The text was also edited by Sladek (1974: 225–239), Kramer (1963: 515–516) and Katz (2003: 289–300).



15. ġuruš-e ġeš eš-ad šub-bu-de₃-en-de₃-en ġeš-gu₂ gu₂ i₃-ġar-^rre-en-de₃-en^r
16. ^{urud}ubri₂ ^{urud}kibir₂ ^{urud}šukur maḥ-e igi-ni-še₃ ba-an-ši-ib₂-il₂
17. ^{urud}ḥa-zi-in gal-gal-la u₃-sar i₃-^rak-e^r-ne
18. ġuruš-e mu-ni-in-gub-bu-de₃-eš mu-ni-in-durun-ne-eš
19. eš₂ murgu-na i₃-šub-bu-de₃-en-de₃-en gab₂-gaz gub-bu-de₃-en-^rde₃-en^r
20. ġuruš-e a₂-na mu-un-la₂-e-de₃-eš ^{tug²}eš-dara₄ u₃-mu-un-ši-in-ak-eš
21. tug₂ ni₂-te-na igi-na mu-ni-in-dul-u₃-de₃-eš
22. ġuruš-e ^dutu-ra an-še₃ šu-ni ba-an-na-zi^r
23. ^dutu gu₃-li-zu ġe₂₆-e-me-en šul-me-en za-e mu-zu^r
24. nin₉-zu nam-dam-še₃ ba-an-tuku-a
25. e-ne kur-še₃ e₁₁-de₃
26. mu ^re^r-ne kur-še₃ e₁₁-de₃
27. ġe₂₆-e ki-ġar-ra-bi-še₃ kur-še₃ ba-ab-šum₂-mu-de₃
28. ^dutu di-ku₃ niġ₂-si-sa₂ za-e-me-en nam-ba-šaġa^r-de₃
29. šu-ġa₂ u₃-mu-e-kur₂ ulutim₂-ġu₁₀ u₃-^rmu-e^r-bal
30. šu gal₃-la₂-ġu₁₀-ne ga-ba-e-da-an-ze-er nam-mu-^rḥa-a-za-aš^r
31. muš saġ-kal-gen₇ ša₃-tum₂ ḥur-saġ-ġa₂ hu-mu-ni-in-^rbal-bal^r
32. ki nin₉ ^dġeštin-an-na-še₃ zi-ġu₁₀ ga-ba-an-ši-^rin-de₆^r
33. ^dutu er₂-na šu ba-an-ši-^rin-ti^r
34. šu-ni mu-ni-in-kur₂-kur₂ ulutim₂-ma-ni mu-ni-^rin-bal-bal^r
35. muš saġ-kal-gen₇ ša₃-tum₂ ḥur-saġ-ġa₂ mu-ni-in-bal-^rbal^r
36. ^ddumu-zi-de₃ mušen šu sur₂-du₃ mušen dal-a-gen₇ zi-ni ur₃-da i₃-ak^r-^re^r?
37. ki ^dġeštin-an-na-še₃ zi-ni ba-ši-in-tum₂
38. [^d]ġeštin-an-na šeš-a-ni igi ba-ni-in-du₈-am₃

Rev.

39. te-na mu-ni-in-ḥur-ḥur ^rgiri₁₇-na mu-ni-in-ḥur-ḥur
40. dala za₃-ga-na mi-^rni^r-in-du₈ tug₂-ni mi-ni-in-da-da-ra
41. ġuruš aġ₂-gig-ra ^ri-lu^r aġ₂-gig-ga ḥu-mu-ni-^rib₂^r-be₂
42. a šeš-ġu₁₀ a šeš-ġu₁₀ ġuruš u₄-bi nu-um-^rsi^r-si^r
43. a šeš-ġu₁₀ su₈-ba ^dama-ušumgal-an-na ġuruš u₄-bi ^rx^r-bi nu-^rum^r-si
44. a šeš-ġu₁₀ ġuruš dam nu-tuku dumu nu-tuku
45. a šeš-ġu₁₀ ġuruš gu₅-li nu-tuku du₁₀-us₂-sa nu-tuku
46. a šeš-ġu₁₀ ġuruš ama-ni sa₆-ga-ni <igi> nu-du₈
47. gal₅-la₂ ^ddumu-zi-de₃ mu-ni-in-kiġ₂-kiġ₂-ne mu-ni-in-niġen-na-eš
48. gal₅-la₂ tur gal₅-la₂ gu-la -ra gu₃ mu-na-de₂-e-ne
49. gal₅-la₂ arḥuš nu-tuku^r ad-da ama dam šeš nin₉ dumu nu-tuku-me-eš
50. u₄ me-da u₄ kalam^r-ta^r? ġar-ra an ki-ta ri-a-bi
51. za-e-ne-ne gal₅-la₂-en-ze₂-en lu₂ za₃-ga-ni gi-šukur-gen₇-ne-eš
52. šu ġar sa₆-ga nu-tuku-me-eš sa₆-ga ḥul nu-zu-me-eš
53. lu₂-u₃ e₂ nu ni₂-te-na zi-ni silim-ma a-ba-a igi mu-ni-in-du₈
54. ki gu₅-li-bi nu-um-ši-du^r-de₃-en ki mussa-bi nu-um-ši-du-de₃-en
55. su₈-ba-ra ki ^dġeštin-an-na-ka-še₃ ga-an-ši-re₇-en-de₃-en
56. gal₅-la₂-e e-ne šu-ta ba-ab-saġ₃-saġ₃-ge-me-eš mu-ni-in-^rkiġ₂-kiġ₂^r-ne-eš
57. i-lu-bi ka-ga₁₄-na nu-mu-un-til-la-am₃
58. gal₅-la₂ ki ^dġeštin-an-na-še₃ ba-e-ši-re₇^{re}-eš



59. ki šeš-zu la₂-ma-ra-ab e-ne mu-ni-ib₂-be₂-e-ne inim-bi nu-mu-na-ab-be₂
 60. siki ni₂-te-na ur₂-ra ba-ni-in-ze₂-eĝ₂ inim-bi nu-mu-na-ab-be₂
 61. šu¹ ni₂-te-na igi-na ba-ni-in-ĥur-ĥur inim-bi nu-mu-na-an-be₂
 62. šu ni₂-te-na tug₂-na ba-ni-in-bir₇-bir₇ inim-bi nu-mu-na-ab-be₂
 63. saĥar⁷ ur₂-ra-na ba-ni-in-de₂-de₂ inim-bi nu-mu-na-ab-be₂
 64. ^ddumu-zi-de₃ e₂ ^dĝeštin-an-na-ke₄ nu-um-me-ni-in-pad₃-de₃
 65. ¹gal₅-la₂¹ [tur gal₅-]la₂ gu-la-ra gu₃ mu-na-de₂-e-ne
 66. ĝa₂-n[am-ma-an-ze₂-en am]aš ku₃-ga-še₃ ga-an-ši-re₇-de₃-en
 67. ^ddumu-zi-de₃ am[aš ku₃-ga-?] ¹x¹ mu-ni-in-dab₅-be-de₃-eš
 68. mu-ni-in-niĝen₂-ne-eš [x x x mu-ni-in-da]b₅-be-de₃-eš
 69. mu-ni-in-kiĝ₂-ne-eš igi ba-ni-in-du₈-¹am₃¹
 70. ĝuruš-ra e₂ nu-na-ma ^{urud}ĥa-zi-in šu ĝal₂ ba-ši-in-teĝ₄
 71. ĝiri₂ ur₃-ra mu-ni-in-sar-sar-re-eš ki si-ga mu-ni-in-niĝen²-ne¹-eš
 72. nin₉-e na-aĝ₂ šeš-na-še₃ iri-a mušen-gen₇ im-ma-an-niĝen
 73. šeš-ĝu₁₀ aĝ₂-gig-ga gal šu ga-de₆ e₂ na-me ga-an-¹ku₄¹

Translation

1. The little galla-demon opens his mouth and says to the big galla-demon:
2. ‘Let’s go! Let’s go to the lap of the shining Inana!’
3. The galla-demons entered Unug, and they seized the shining Inana.
4. ‘Come on, Inana, go to your way alone, descend to the netherworld!’
5. Go to the place of your heart’s desire, descend to the netherworld!
6. Go to the place of Ereškigal, descend to the netherworld!
7. Do not wear the shining attire, your queenly dress, the garment of ladyship – descend to the netherworld!
8. After you have taken off your shining crown, the symbol of glory of your head, descend to the netherworld!
9. Your face should not be made attractive with a wig – descend to the netherworld!
10. The rabid dogs [...] to the side² of your legs, release² them [...], descend to the netherworld!
11. When² you go down [...] do not proceed²’
12. They released the shining Inana, they [pushed her away²].
13. Inanna gave Dumuzi into their hands instead of herself.
14. ‘The lad, we put a big <shackle> on his feet,
15. the lad, we throw him into a trap, we put a neckstock on his neck!’
16. Axe, chisel, and a great spear were levelled at his face,
17. they are sharpening their big axes.
18. The lad, they made him stand, they made him sit down.
19. ‘We will throw a rope on his shoulders, we will set him to a murderer!’
20. The lad, they bound his arms, they bound him with a sash,
21. they covered his face with his own garment.
22. The lad raised his hand to Utu, to the sky:
23. ‘Utu, it is me, your friend, you know me, the young (man),



24. the one, who took your sister as a wife.
25. It is she, who goes down to the netherworld,
26. because she goes down to the netherworld,
27. *I will be given over as a substitute to the netherworld!*
28. Utu, you are a just judge, may you not treat me unjustly!
29. Please, change my hands, please, transform my figure,
30. so that I can slip out of the hands of my galla-demons, lest they should catch me.
31. Like a saġkal-snake, I would transgress the meadows of the mountains,
32. I would take refuge at the place of my sister, Ğeštinaⁿna.’
33. Utu accepted his tears,
34. he changed his hands, he transformed his figure.
35. Like a saġkal-snake, he traversed the meadows of the mountains.
36. Dumuzi, like a bird, which has (just) flown away from the claw of a falcon, heeded his life,
37. and he escaped to the place of Ğeštinaⁿna.
38. When Ğeštinaⁿna noticed her brother,
39. she scratched her cheek, she scratched her nose,
40. she loosened the lapel pin on her side, she tore her dress.
41. For the cursed lad, she sings a cursed song:
42. ‘Oh, my brother, oh my brother, lad, whose days were not filled!
43. Oh, my brother, shepherd Ama-ušumgal-anna, lad, whose days... were not filled.
44. Oh, my brother, lad, who has no spouse, no children,
45. oh, my brother, lad, who has no friends, no companions,
46. oh, my brother, lad, whose mother could not <see> his beauty!’
47. The galla-demons were looking for Dumuzi, they surrounded him.
48. The small galla-demons say to the big galla-demons:
49. ‘The galla-demons are the ones, who have no mercy, they have no father, mother, spouse, sister, children.
50. In ancient days, since the land was established, and the sky drifted apart from the earth,
51. it is you, the gallas, who surround men like a reed-hedge.
52. They do not pardon, they do not know good and evil.
53. Who has ever seen anyone, who has no house, he is on his own, and his life is fine?
54. We are not going to his friend, we are not going to his in-law,
55. let’s go to Ğeštinaⁿna’s place for the shepherd!’
56. The demons, the ones who bind one by the hand, searched for him.
57. She has not even finished her lament,
58. when the galla-demons arrived at Ğeštinaⁿna’s place.
59. ‘Show me where your brother is!’ they forced her to speak, but she did not speak.
60. He made her tear out her hair by the root², but she did not say a word,
61. he made her scratch her own face, but she does not say a word,
62. he made her tear her garment with her own hands, but she doesn’t say a word,
63. he made her pour dust³ in her lap, but she does not say a word.
64. After they had not found Dumuzi at the house of Ğeštinaⁿna,
65. the [small] ‘galla¹’ says to the big ‘galla¹’:
66. ‘Come on, let’s go to the holy sheepfold!’
67. They caught Dumuzi at the [holy sheep]fold.



68. They encircled him, [the]y caught him,
 69. they searched for him, they finally saw him.
 70. To the young man, who has no house, they approached to him with a copper axe held in the hand,
 71. they were sharpening the belt-daggers, they surrounded the silent place.
 72. The sister circled in the town like a bird because of the fate of her brother.
 73. ‘My brother, I will carry the great misfortune, I will enter anyone’s house!’

COMMENTARY

1. Grammatical problems

Many verb forms in this text have strange **-de₃-eš**, or **-de₃** suffixes, where they are either unnecessary or grammatically incorrect. The demons, for example, order Inana, to descend, with the verbal form **e₁₁-de₃**, which looks more like a participle form than an imperative (lines 4–10). All of the editions and translations hitherto have agreed on the imperative so far, although their explanations for this vary.⁵ A solution for this problematic imperative form could be a correction of the transliteration: the form would then be **e₁₁-bi₂**, instead of **e₁₁-de₃** containing a locative suffix (Attinger 2004, no. 75). The imperative forms of **e₁₁** are **e₁₁-bi** in *Dumuzi’s Dream*,⁶ and **e₁₁-de₃-mu-na-ab** in *Gilgameš, Enkidu and the Netherworld*.⁷ Another verb, **u₅** ‘to ride’ has a similar imperative form in *Ninjišzida’s Journey to the Netherworld*: **u₅-bi₂**, where the previous transcription was **u₅-de₃**, earlier, much akin to our example (Jacobsen and Alster 2000: 333: l. 55).

Present-future and preterit tenses are mostly clear to the scribe; see, for example the present-future in line 3: **mu-ni-in-dab₅-be₂-ne**, or line 59: **ki šeš-zu la₂-ma-ra-ab e-ne mu-ni-ib₂-be₂-e-ne inim-bi nu-mu-na-ab-be₂**; 65: **mu-na-de₂-e-ne**; and the preterite in line 58: **ba-e-ši-re₇^{re}-eš**, line 3: **ba-ni-in-kur₉-re-eš**; line 71: **mu-ni-in-sar-sar-re-eš**, and line 68 and 71: **mu-ni-in-niĝen-ne-eš**. The problematic forms are the verbs with the suffix **/-E-de₃-eš/** and **/-de₃-en-de₃-en/**.⁸ D. Katz (2003: 292–293) has suggested that the suffix **/-ed-/** can express a prospective aspect; accordingly, the demons’ actions would be mostly planned, or they would be in progress, and the escape from the coming danger would be emphasised. Very few things really happen this way. However, the prospective has an uneven occurrence, see for example the following lines:

⁵ Participle forms for **e₁₁-de₃**: *Ibbi-Sin to Puzur-Numušda* (Michalowski 2011: 463–464): 14. ^{ug₂}**u₄-bi kur-bi-ta e₁₁-de₃** ‘a monkey descending from his mountain’; *Inana B* (Zgoll 1997: 210 and 19): 11. **a-ma-ru kur-bi-ta e₁₁-de₃** ‘Sturzflut, die sich auf das feindliche Land stürzt’; *Ninurta’s Return to Nibru* (Cooper 1978: 78–79): line 132. **meš₃ kur gal e₁₁-de₃ u₄-ba-[nu-il₂]-[la¹-ĝu₁₀ mu-da-an-ĝal₂-la-^{ra}am₃]** ‘I bear the man who comes down from the great mountains, my Udbanuila. *Inana and Enki* makes a difference between **e₁₁-de₃** ‘going down’ and **e₁₁-da** ‘coming up’ (or having gone?) from the netherworld, see Glassner 1988: 59: **kur e₁₁-de₃** ‘la descent au kur’ **kur e₁₁-da** ‘la montée depuis kur’).

⁶ Alster 1972: 60–62: 71. **nin₉ du₆-da e₁₁-bi₂ nin₉ du₆-da e₁₁-bi₂**, 76. **nin₉ du₆-da e₁₁-bi₂** ‘Sister, go up upon the hill, sister, go up upon the hill!’

⁷ Gadotti 2014: 219 and 159: line 241. **šubur-a-ni kur-ta e₁₁-de₃-mu-na-ab** ‘send his servant up to him from the Netherworld’

⁸ L. 12: the verb is broken; l. 15: **šub-bu-de₃-en-de₃-en**; l. 18: **mu-ni-in-gub-bu-de₃-eš mu-ni-in-durun-ne-eš**; l. 20: **mu-un-la₂-e-de₃-eš**; l. 21: **mu-ni-in-dul-u₃-de₃-eš**.



17. ^{urud}ḥa-zi-in gal-gal-la u₃-sar i₃-^rak-e¹-ne
 18. ḡuruš-e mu-ni-in-gub-bu-de₃-eš mu-ni-in-dur₂-de₃-eš
 19. eš₂ murgu-na i₃-šub-bu-de₃-en-de₃-en gab-gaz gub-bu-de₃-en-^rde₃-en¹
 20. ḡuruš-e a₂-na mu-un-la₂-e-de₃-eš ^{tug²}eš-dara₄ u₃-mu-un-ši-in-ak-eš
 21. tug₂ ni₂-te-na igi-na mu-ni-in-dul-u₃-de₃-eš

They are sharpening their big axes, (*present-future*)

The lad, they were going to make him stand, they were going to make him sit down, (*intention, 'prospective'*)

'We will throw a rope on his shoulders, we will expose him to a murderer!' (*intention, speech*)

To the lad, they were going to bind his arms (*intention*), they were to bind him with a sash (*past: this is the first actual deed*),

They were to cover his face with his own garment. (*intention again*)

Normally, the form /-ed₃-eš/ is used with intransitive verbs (Zólyomi 2017: 127–128; Krecher 1995: 179–182). The compiler might have confused the suffix's uses and interpreted it as a type of present tense.⁹ Moreover, the ergative seems to appear at multiple places where an accusative would be expected (ll. 3 and 12: **ku₃ ^dinana-ke₄**; ll. 47, 64 and 67: **^ddumu-zi-de₃**; ll. 15, 18, 20: **ḡuruš-e¹⁰**). Accordingly, the text might have been composed by an Akkadian-speaking scribe, who seemingly opted not to copy the standard forms of *Inana's Descent to the Netherworld* but rather to create a new version based on his knowledge of Sumerian. These details could support the text's independent status (see also the commentary to line 1), even if it might have been combined at some juncture with *Inana's Descent*.

Commentary

1. The phrase **ka – ba** is attested lexically in Sig₇.alan=*nabnītu*. MSL XVI, Tablet IV-IVa p. 76: 4-5¹ **ka bar-ra** 6. **ka ba₉.re₆ pi-it pi-i** 7. **ka ba** MIN.¹¹ According to Lambert (1981: 91), this is not a typical Sumerian phrase, but rather an Akkadian epic formula.

This abrupt beginning is not without parallels. The first lines of *Ninḡišzida's Journey to the Netherworld* (only manuscript NBC 7897) are also a call for the young man to be taken to the netherworld (Jacobsen and Alster 2000). An Ur manuscript of the composition *Ninurta and the Turtle* begins with the words of the Anzu chick (UET 6/1, no. 2). In turn, *Ninurta and the Turtle* might have a fragmentary duplicate containing the prologue (Alster 1972a: 120 and n. 3; and Alster 2006: 13–16), which could mean that UET 6/11 is an excerpt tablet. In case, it is an excerpt tablet, the length of the text approximately equals the narrative portion of *Eršemma no.97*. (Cohen 1981: 71–83), thus, the possibility that it belonged to a lament cannot be excluded either.

⁹ Verbs, however, that end with -r, -n, and -ḡ are immediately followed by NE-eš, -re-eš, or -re-en-de₃-en – assimilated consonants (12: **mu-un-bur₂-bur₂-re-eš**; 14: **im-ma-an-ḡar-re-en-de₃-en** 15: **i₃-ḡar-^rre-en-de₃-en¹**).

¹⁰ An alternative explanation might be a demonstrative pronoun here, see Wilcke 2012: 18–20, 29–31 and Wilcke 2013.

¹¹ See also Karahashi 2000: 128; Cohen 1981: 91–91: 173³; Krecher 1966: 190: V 38.



4. For the orthographical variant **ni-ba** for **ni₂-ba** 'alone' (see Sladek 1974: 237). The *Eršemma* no. 163.1 has also **ni-ba** (Cohen 1981: 189: commentary to line 18. 'by itself').

8. For a parallel, see *Eršemma* no 97. 56' **men ku₃ saĝ-zu um-te-ĝal₂ saĝ-su-zu ĝen-na** (Cohen 1981: 77).

10. For **ur idim tur²** (see Peterson 2019: 40). There seems to be a wedge in the sign hitherto read as **tur**; therefore, I read **za₃** instead.



11. The translation for **nu-BU-BU** at the end of the line is a suggestion. BU has several readings, and **su₃** has several Akkadian translations. Evil spirits and ghosts of the dead can be blown away with **su₃** (see CAD *edēpu*: 28–29); another translation could be SUD *erīšu* 'naked' 'empty' (CAD *erū* p. 320, 2R 44 no 1:9). In the latter case, the broken sign could be **su** 'body', or **tug₂** (?): thus, the translation 'however, when you ascend, your body is not naked'. Thematically, it would be a pleasing solution, only I have not found enough examples for **sug₄** meaning 'naked' in other literary texts. Time can pass or be drawn out, as in **iti su₃-su₃**; *Lugalbanda and Anzu* l. 259 (Wilcke 1969: 114): **u₄ ba-zal-zal iti ba-su₃-su₃ mu ama-bi-ir ba-ĝi₄** 'days pass, month become long, a year passed' – Inana spent three days in the netherworld, but also, Inana sprinkles the food and water of life on people: *Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta*, (Mittermayer 2009: 148–149: l. 575: **a nam-til₃-la-ka 'mu¹-un-ne-su₃-su₃**, 'mit dem Lebenswasser besprengt' (the people of Aratta). The equivalent *šadāhu* is more common for **su₃**, and both demons and gods can proceed, slip away, or pass by (CAD Š I see lex.) In case, we read BU, it is said of demons that they 'flip around' (CAD N/II. *našarbu^{tu}*).¹²

12. Inana was released (**bur₂**) and perhaps pushed away (?): [**mu-un-du**]b₂-be₂[?]-de₂-eš. For the parallel of **dub₂** and **bur₂**, see the *Šumunda Grass*, line 23 (BM 120011) **u₂ nu-mu-dub₂-dub₂-be₂ u₂ nu-mu-bur₂-bur₂-re** (see Wagensonner 2009). Demons smiting people with the verb **dub₂**: CAD *napāšu*, lex.

13. **ni₂-te-na** might be like the Akkadian *ramānu* (CAD 3[?]) – 'instead of someone' in a ransom.

14. The emendation <**rab₃**> was first suggested by Sladek (1974: 237), because **rab₃ maḥ** 'shackle' has multiple parallels (it is an epithet of Inana, for example, in *Enmerkar and the lord of Aratta*, line 221, see Mittermayer 2009: 181). The weapon ^{ĝeš}**maḥ merētum** for hunting also exists (Salonen 1976: 45), but shackles can be put on feet. If the emendation of the word **rab₃** is correct, the scene may also recall Inana's cultic staff wearing shackles (see the commentary of Attinger 2014: 47, *Iddin-Dagan A* l. 68).

14–20. The emendation of the verbal forms with a prefix **i₃-** is unnecessary, and these cannot be explained as shortened forms on the account of the lack of sufficient space. Similar short forms can be found elsewhere (see Römer 2000: 260). Verbal forms without prefixes might come from the Akkadian stative, or be stylistic in motivation (Römer 2000 with further references).

16. The first two of the weapon names are merely lexically attested, only **kibir₂** can also be found elsewhere, namely in a proverb (see Alster 1997: 71) Coll. 2. 139. ^{ĝeš}**al u₂ nu-ku₅ ^{ĝeš}kibir₂ u₂ nu-ku₅**.

¹² For this suggestion, I am grateful to one of the anonymous reviewers.



The reading of the first weapon name is **ubri** or **henzer**, meaning ‘child’ in the latter case: *Diri Nippur*, MSL 15 p. 18. 146–147. ú-ub-ri IGI.DIM *daḫimum*, *šukurrum*

For the second one, see *Diri III*, MSL 15 p. 136: 002. **ki-bi-ir** ĠIŠ.ŠU₂.AŠ₂ *kibirru* 002a. **ḡeš-ki-bir** *kiškibirru* or 005. **ḡeš-gi-bi-il** ĠIŠ.ŠU₂.AŠ₂ *maqaddu*, *išu erru*; and *EA Tabl. I.*, MSL 14 p. 194: 350. ŠU₂.AŠ₂ *kibirru*; *Ea-Aa Fragments*, MSL 14 p. 519: col iv 1’ [**ki-b**]ir ŠU₂.AŠ₂ *ma-kad₃-du*

17. *Lament over Sumer and Urim* has in line 382 (Michalowski 1989: 170) **urim₅-ma^{urud}ḫa-zi-in gal-gal-e igi-bi-še₃ u₃-sar i₃-ak-e** p. 61: ‘large axes were sharpened in front of Ur’.

18. *Eršemma no. 88*. line 30’ contains a similar situation with Dumuzi (CT 15, Pl. 20–21): **im-da-šub^{ub}-ba-aš im-da-zi-ga-aš** ‘they slammed him down, they lifted him’.

19. For this line, see Peterson (2019: 41): **murgu** instead of **eš-lam** or **tug₂-gun₃-na** (Katz 2003: 291 and Sladek 1974: 227), and **gabgaz** for UŠ KUM. **Gabgaz** in Dumuzi-compositions: *Eršemma no. 88* line 27’ (CT 15, Pl. 20–21). **ka-ab-gaz-e har-ra-an-na im-da-an-zu**. Other example: *Lament over Sumer and Urim*, line 387 (Michalowski 1989: 171) **uri₅^{ki} ne₃-bi-ta nir-ḡal₂ gab-gaz-e ba-gub**.

20. For the second part of the line, see Peterson (2019: 41 and refs.), who transcribes it as: **tu^{g2}eš-dara_x** (SIKI) **u₃[?]-mu-un-ši-ak-eš** ‘and then tighten it up(?)’. For the expression **eš₂-dara₂** AK, see Attinger (2005: 212, 222): ‘se ceindre’, with terminative in the prefix chain: ‘tied to him’.

21. For parallels for removing Dumuzi’s garments, see Kramer (1969: 133) and *Eršemma no. 88*. (CT 15, Pl. 20–21.) lines 31, 46–47.

23. For this line, see Zólyomi 2014: 47. In my opinion, the final sign on the edge of the tablet resembles a ZU. Peterson (2019: 41) reads **-gen₇**, and translates ‘like you(?) I am a youth’.

25–26. Dumuzi says **e₁₁-de₃** in these lines, when his wife ‘descends’ to the netherworld.¹³ See also Glassner’s remark on the difference between **e₁₁-de₃** and **e₁₁-da** (1988: 59: **kur e₁₁-de₃** ‘la descent au kur’ **kur e₁₁-da** ‘la montée depuis kur’).

28. Peterson (2019: 41) reads the 14th sign as **šaḡa**. **lul** comes from Alster 1972: 115. The sign could be half of a **lul[!]** because of the small wedge under the 14th sign. **še₂₉** is not normally used as a verb (and **lul** hardly ever). Perhaps, **še₂₉** hails from the Akkadian legal contexts (CAD *ḫabālum* A), wherein the weak should not be oppressed: e.g. Codex Hammurapi (Harper and Godbey 1903: I 39, XL 60.)

31. For **muš-saḡ-kal**, and verbs with snakes, see Pientka-Hinz 2009: 211; as for the species, see Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 1993: 186: unknown species of snake.

36. For this line, see Pfitzner (2017: 5–6) and Cooper (1983: 254) for l. 221 **ur₅-da—ak nup-puqu** ‘to constipate’ or ‘to be trapped’. For the translation ‘to heed’ something, see CAD *puququ* lex.

40. For IGI.DU₃ with the reading **dala** (CAD *šillū* A. lex.).

An alternative orthographic form is used here for the reduplicated verb, **dar**. **da-da-ra** usually means ‘to gird on’: CT 12, Pl. 34–35, *Nabnītu*. *Lipit-Eštar* A line 72 (Römer 1965: 35): **da-da-ra nam-šul-la zu₂ keše₂ nu-du₈-me-en** ‘girded in manliness, I never loosen my harness’.

42–43. The phrase in lines 42–43 ‘my brother, whose days were not fulfilled’ is a commonplace in lamentation literature, but the closest parallel can be found in *Urnamma’s Death*, a similarly

¹³ The sense of **e₁₁-de₃** is quite vague here: either a present tense was meant here, or it implies Inana’s purpose, such as in *Gilgameš, Enkidu, and the Netherworld*: Gadotti (2014: 217 and 158) line 234 **en-ki-du₁₀ e₁₁-de₃ i₃-gi₄-en kur-re im-ma-an-dab₅** ‘In order to bring them up, Enkidu was coming back, but the Netherworld held him there.’ In this case, it might be **e-ne kur-še₃ e₁₁-de₃ / mu ‘e’-ne kur-še₃ e₁₁-de₃** ‘As for her, she descended for the netherworld, because she descended for the (the rule over the (?)) netherworld.’



unjust case. Flückiger-Hawker (1999: 111: l. 54. **u₄-bi la-ba-ni-ib-si**. **U₄-bi** might have been written accidentally twice in line 43.

50. **u₄ me-da u₄ kalam-ta ġar-ra an ki-ta ri-a-bi**

For **u₄ me-da** see Castellino (1972: 58) *Šulgi B* l. 283: **u₄ me-da u₄ ul-le₂-a-še₃** ‘always, until eternal days’, and commentary on p. 215. It can indicate past events as well; For the Akkadian translation, see Sjöberg 1974, *Bau A* 2l. 8 (CBS 10986, CDLI no. P266176, line 9.: **u₄ me-da ina matīma**).

The fourth and the fifth signs resemble GAL and UN respectively, and Kramer (1963: 493) reconstructs the word **kingal** ‘officier’ here. It is also possible, that the sign is an UD rather than a GAL. The fifth sign resembles an UN, after which comes a TA. Literally, without emendations, the line would be: ‘The days, when the storm was removed from the land, and the sky moved away from the earth’.

UD as storm in the land occurs several times within lamentation literature: see Römer (2004: 49) *Lament over Ur*, 203: **u₄ kalam-ta ba-ba**; p. 96: ‘der Sturmwind, der dem Lande Sumer Abbruch tat’. There are several examples, where the suffix -ta is an ablative case with temporary sense: **u₄ ul kalam ki ġar-ra-ta** (Michalowski 1989: 168: *Lament over Sumer and Urim*, l. 367: **u₄ ul kalam ki ġar-ra-ta**; Römer 2004: 84: *Lament over Ur*, l. 418: **u₄ ul kalam ki ġar-ra-ta{še₃}{ba}** p. 104: ‘Seit uralten Tagen, als das Land Sumer gegründet wurde’. See his commentary on p. 168 and Samet (2014: 129), according to whom **uġ₃** ‘settled people’ could potentially be read instead of **kalam** ‘land’. In the present case, should this be meant here in *Dumuzi and Ġeštīnanna*, then the ablative -ta- is in the wrong place and a **ki** should be emended:¹⁴ **u₄ kalam <ki> ġar-ra-ta**, the sense hence being: ‘in ancient days, when the land was established and settled, and the sky drifted apart from the earth’.

51. Galla-demons surrounding Dumuzi and people like a reed-hedge occur in *Inana’s Descent* (Sladek 1974: 139–140) l. 293. **gal₅-la₂ tur-tur gi-šukur-gen₇**, 294. **gal₅-la₂ gal-gal gi dub-ba-an-na-gen₇, za₃-ga-na ba-an-dab₅-be-eš**; *Eršemma* no. 97, l. 120 (Cohen 1981: 80 ms. B, see also Scheil 1911: 161): **gal₅-la₂, ⁸¹šukur nu-me-a za₃-ga-a-na ba-an-dab₅-be₂-eš** ‘The gallas are not reed-hedges, still they caught him on (both) sides’.

53. Bilulu has the epithet **nin ni₂-te-na** ‘matriarch and her own mistress’ in *Inana and Bilulu*, (Jacobsen and Kramer 1953: 175, l. 89, Pl. LXVII o. 20.)

54. For the inanimate -bi, see Brisch 2007: 100–102: animate and inanimate can be confused.

56. **šu sag₃-sag₃** has an Akkadian equivalent in CT 18, Pl. 29–30 r. ii. 12: *ra-ki-su* ‘to bind, prepare, set ready’.

60–63: These lines all have problematic first signs.

The torture consists of the usual gestures of mourning: tearing the hair, scratching the face, tearing the dress, and dust poured over oneself (Gruber 1980: 456–476). As Katz (2003: 299) observed, a novel phrasing may here be found in the causative forms: Ġeštīnanna is forced to perform the gestures of mourning, whereas in other instances, she is bribed, and she performs them of her own accord (Alster 1972: 68–69, 80–81).

60. For this line, see also Peterson (2019: 43) and *Eršemma* no. 97: line 15: **ki-sikil uru^{ki}-ni-gen₇, siki nu-zu-a-na / ki-sikil-uru₃-na-ka siki nu-ze₃-ba-a-na** (Cohen 1981: 74 and 80: ‘of him for whom hair was not pulled out among the maidens of his city’. **Ze₂.b** means ‘to pull out’, here we have **ze₂-eġ₃** (ES) – **šum₂** (EG). BM 100046 17–18. writes **siki-ni im-ze₂-e** ‘she tore out her

¹⁴ Brisch 2007: 95–96: locative meaning.



hair' (Kramer 1980), and the sense must be the same here as well. See also Alster (1983: 4) for the pulling out of hair. There might also be a /g/ /b/ replacement here, although this applies to /g/ and not /ġ/ (Civil 1973: 58–60).

63. According to Peterson (2019: 43), the first sign cannot be **esir**₂, but might rather be **sahar**.

67. The sign form favours Peterson's suggestion: **mu-ni-in-šub-be**₂-**de**₃-**eš**, and a line (61) in *Dumuzi's Dream*: (in one version, Alster 1972: IM 58448, Pl. IV l. 13.) **lu**₂ **hul-ġal**₂-**e ġa**₂ **udu-ta am**₃-**mu-e-re-šub** 'the evil one will hurl at you from the byre'.

Peterson (2019: 43) corrected the form to: **šu ga-ba-ši-in-teġ**₄. For this phrase, see e.g. Fakenstein (1959: 39) 'ist zur Hand sein'; Krebernik and Postgate (2009: 20) 'be in the possession of', or **šu-ġar**: *Inana and Ebiġ* line 71 (ETCSL 1.3.2.) 'to carry the šita-weapon' **a**₂ **nam-šita**₄ **šu ġa**₂-**ġa**₂ **mu-bu-um-gen**₇ **gam**. With **ġal**₂: *Rim-Sin B* line 5 (Brisch 2007: 186) **gi ku**₃-**ga šu ġal**₂-**le im nam-tar gal-gal mul-mul** he holds the stylus in his hands.

71. The previous reconstruction is **ki si-ga mu-ni-in-dub**₂-**eš** 'they smashed his hut' (ETCSL 1.4.1.1.), for parallels for smashing a reed hut, see Cooper 1978: 119 n.118; note, however, that in those examples, reed hut is written as **gi-sig**. I rely on Sallaberger's (1993: 239) suggestion on the meaning of **ki si-ga** 'stille Innere der Zella'; it occurs with sheep offerings (e.g. Al-Rawi and Verderame 2006: 165 no. 41. BM 104777 r. 1–4.) **1 udu niga ki si-ga** / **1 udu niga** **3 udu u** / **1 sila**₄ **ki an-na gal-gal**. For the Akkadian equivalent of **ki si-ga**, see CT 42, 42 ii 10. *ašram šaqummiš* 'silent place' (and Van Dijk 1967: 242). It might also allude here to funerary offerings,¹⁵ although, text editions of other compositions exclude its understanding as the kisig-offering for the dead, **ki-si**₃-**ga** (Van Dijk 1967: 242).

The reconstruction of the verbal chain **mu-ni-in-niġen**¹-**ne**¹-**eš** is not absolutely certain, it could be **mu-ni-in-durun**¹-**na-eš**, 'they settled in the silent place'. With **niġen**, see *Curse of Agade* l. 263 (Cooper 1983: 62–63): **edin ki si-ga-ke**₄ **ni**₁₀-**ni**₁₀-**na-gen**₇ **šeg**₁₁ **hu-mu-un-gi**₄-**gi**₄-**gi**₄ 'may they shriek like the 'wandering one' of the silent plains'.

73: Peterson (2019: 44) corrected **te** for **ga-an-kur**₉.

LITERARY ELEMENTS AND TECHNIQUES IN *DUMUZI AND ĞEŠTINANNA*

1. Signs and vocabulary

The use of topoi, stock phrases, and recurring formulas is one of the characteristic traits of Sumerian literature, which occasionally results 'collaged' compositions (Alster 1986: 24–25, 27, 19; Alster 1990: 69; Wassermann 2011). *Dumuzi and Ğeštinanna* is ultimately a compilation from the standard formulas of the dying gods' stories, but it also contains phrasings, which could demonstrate that the present composition is a more sophisticated story variant. The text not only contains the usual formulaic repertoire of the stories of the dying gods, but also, some inventive and creative elements.

Some of the scenes, which appear both in *Dumuzi and Ğeštinanna* and in *Dumuzi's Dream* or *Inana's Descent*, have a more complicated form in *Dumuzi and Ğeštinanna*: when Dumuzi's metamorphosis is described, an elaborate sign, **ulutim**₂ 'figure' is written here (l. 29. **šu-ġa**₂ **u**₃-**mu-e-kur**₂ **ulutim**₂-**ġu**₁₀ **u**₃-**mu-e-bal** 'Please, change my hands, please, turn over my figure') – *Dumuzi's*

¹⁵ Cooper 1983: 256 n. 255: 'puns on the **ki-si**₃-**ga eden-na**'... 'funerary ceremony in the plains'.



Dream, and *Inana's Descent* (Sladek 1974: 149–150) have simply **šu** ‘hand’ and **ġiri**₃ ‘feet’ (*Dumuzi's Dream*: **šu-ni šu maš-da**₃ **u₃-mu-ni-in-se**₃ / **ġiri₃-ni ġiri₃ maš-da**₃ **u₃-mu-ni-in-se**₃ ‘Please, turn my hands into gazelle hands, please, turn my legs into gazelle legs’, see Alster 1972: 72., 76: ll. 197–198, 74: ll. 189–190, 78: ll. 232–233., 80: ll. 236–237). When Inana's iconic dresses, which she must remove when entering the netherworld, are enumerated at the beginning of the text, it has a special structure: precative and prohibitive forms succeed each other in a unique order (line 7. She should *not* put on her dress, line 8: she should take off her headdress, line 9: she should *not* put on her make-up on her eyes [hili], line 10 [broken, but probably] she must release the dogs from her feet). As a last example, the description of the demons and their preparation is elaborate in every composition of dying gods, and the long list of ropes and weapons is remarkable within this text as well (**ubri**₂, **kibir**₂, **šukur**, **ha-zi-in**, **eš-murgu**, **tug₂ eš-dara**₂, **eš-ad**, **ġeš-gu**₂).

As for additional literary devices, some typical elements which are characteristic of Sumerian literary texts are also exhibited in *Dumuzi and Ġeštinanna*. The selection of the following examples concentrates on the use of signs, a distinctive technique in cuneiform literature. The literary quality and the elaborateness of a Sumerian composition depended on several factors; various techniques were applied besides literary vocabulary, imagery, and formulas. These could be sound plays (Farber 1999; Klein and Sefati 2000: 33–42; Johnson 2010; Michalowski 2010; Cooper 2011), citations from lexical lists (Civil 1987; Michalowski 1998: 72; Veldhuis 2004: 89ff; Geller and Johnson 2015) and graphic plays (Böhl 1936–37; Civil 1972: 271; Bottéro 1977; Attinger 1993: 138–139; Finkel and Reade 1996; Pearce 1998; Klein and Sefati 2000: 30ff; Pearce 2006; Lenzi 2015; Van de Mierop 2016; Jiménez 2018; Crisostomo 2018). Word pairs of paranomasia (Klein and Sefati 2000, 35: **mu-ġar** – **a₂-ġar**), alliterations (Klein and Sefati 2000: 41–42: **dam** – **dumu**), and puns on the polysemy of cuneiform signs (Klein and Sefati 2000: 33: **kur₄** – **kur₂**) can be found in other texts as well. A special choice for signs that correspond to the sense of an individual line, or a choice for a sign that occurs both in the verb and in any other words of the sentence might have been a preferred trick. An illustrative example from another work can be found in the dialogue between a teacher and a pupil in line line 33 in the composition *Edubba C* (Vanstiphout 1996, 1–2). The standard version is:

ur-gir₁₅ **tur-gen**₇ **igi mu-e-bad**(BAD)-**bad**(BAD) **nam-lu₂-ulu₃ mu-e-ak**.
‘You opened my eyes like those of a puppy and made a man of me.’

The scribe of the tablet CBS 13106¹⁶ has, however, written **ur-gir**₁₅ **tur-gen**₇ **igi mu-e-bad**₅ (**IGI**-**bad**₅) (**IGI** **nam-lu₂-ulu₃ mu-e-ak**). Thus, he has employed alternative signs (**bad**₅) instead of the standard form of the composite verb (**igi** – **bad**). The trick is that the word eye is **igi** in Sumerian, and **igi** has a reading **bad**₅ with the same phonetic value as the standard **bad**. Thus, even the verbal form contained the object of the sentence, the eyes.

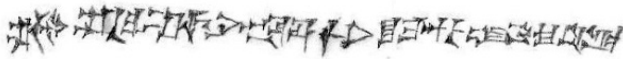
The choice of some words in *Dumuzi and Ġeštinanna* deviating from the formulations within *Inana's Descent* or *Dumuzi's Dream*, suggests that the graphic form and the basic meaning of the signs might have also been taken into consideration by the compilers of the present composition.¹⁷

¹⁶ cdli.ucla.edu: CDLI no. P268191: line 14.

¹⁷ See Johnson 2013, although visual aspects in Sumerian literary texts seem to be more restricted than in Chinese examples.



In line 16, where the galla-demons threaten Dumuzi with weapons, the following signs have a similar appearance, perhaps with the intention of evoking pointed utensils:



urud-henzer(Š₂ / IGI.AD₂) urud^lkibir₂(Š₂.AŠ₂) urud^šsukur(IGI.KAK) maḥ-e **igi**-ni-še₃ ba-an-**ši**-ib₂-il₂-il₂
 ‘Axe, chisel, and a great spear were levelled at his face’

The scribe selected weapon names containing the elements of **igi** or resembling **igi**, in this case the sign šu₂, which has the same form in the tablet’s ductus. As the word face (or eye) is **igi** in Sumerian, this means that the weapons pointed at the direction of Dumuzi’s face already possess their target: the syllable of ‘eye’ (**igi**) in its written form, or, at the very last, a graphical resemblance was attested.¹⁸ The first two weapon names are hardly or not at all attested in the literary corpus, but only in lexical lists, which means that rare lexical words were selected (see commentary to line 16). If my translation is correct, the same Diri-compositum, a set of multiple signs with a special reading, appears in line 40 with a different reading and sense (**dala** (IGI.DU₃) **za**₃-**ga-na mi**-^l**ni**^l-**in-du**₁ **tug**₂-**ni mi-ni-in-da-da-ra** ‘she loosened the lapel pin and tore her dress’). The connection of lexical lists and literary texts is a well-known literary feature in Sumerian compositions; scribes compiled sections of literary texts using lexical texts, in order to display an erudition, and, vice versa, lexical lists were assembled from literary texts.¹⁹ Perhaps, some of the Diri-composita of IGI.DU₃/KAK were chosen here for this reason.

A few other lines might also contain graphic plays, where the sense of the line coincides with the selected signs. Lines 4–5 repeatedly write the sign DU (the basic meaning of the sign being ‘to go’).

4. **ga**₂-**nu** ^d**inana** **kaskal-zu-še**₃ **ni-ba** **ĝen**(DU)-**na kur-še**₃ **e**₁₁(DU₆.DU)-**de**₃
 5. **ki** **ša**₃-**ge**₄-**de**₆(DU)-**a-zu-še**₃ **ĝen**(DU)-**na kur-še**₃ **e**₁₁(DU₆.DU)-**de**₃
 ‘Come on, Inana, go on your way alone, go down to the netherworld!
 Go to the place which you coveted, go down to the netherworld!’

Inana’s Descent to the Netherworld uses the phrase **al du**₁₁, to express Inana’s wishes (Sladek 1974: 127: ll. 191–194: 192): [^d**inana**] **an gal al bi**₂-**in-du**₁₁ **ki gal al bi**₂-**in-du**₁₁ ‘Inana wanted the great heaven, she wanted the great earth’. In *Dumuzi and Ĝeštinanna*, a synonym can be found: **ša**₃-**ge**₄ – **de**₆ ‘to desire, to chose’ in which **de**₆ is the sign DU in the lines where she has to go, also with the sign DU.

Perhaps, the reformulation of lines, 29, 31, 34 and 35 (already cited above) describing Dumuzi’s metamorphosis also displays a preference for the signs with the semantics of crossing or motion. Dumuzi’s transformation and his prayer to Utu are recurring themes in the narratives of Dumuzi (Sonik 2012: 387–389, Katz 2006: 106–110). The verb describing the god’s metamorphosis is usually **se**₃ ‘to equal’ (Woods 2013: 520 n. 55).

¹⁸ For further examples for the choice of signs that are similar to each other (especially in the 1st mill.), see Lenzi 2015: 747 and Frahm 2010: ‘etymology of signs’.

¹⁹ For the sophistication of a text and the citations from lexical lists, see Veldhuis 2004: 66 and Chapter 4, Civil 1987: 37. Words, which were taken from lexical lists, or lexical lists, which were compiled from literary texts (Michalowski 1998: 72; Geller and Johnson 2015: 10–11, 18–19).



Dumuzi's Dream ll. 176–177 (Alster 1972: 72 and 76: ll. 197–198, 74: ll. 189–190, 78: ll. 232–233., 80: ll. 236–237):

šu-ni šu maš-da₃ u₃-mu-ni-in-se₃ / ġiri₃-ni ġiri₃ maš-da₃ u₃-mu-ni-in-se₃
 'Please, turn my hands into gazelle hands, please, turn my legs into gazelle legs!'

Inana's descent ll. 373–374 (Sladek 1974: 149–150):

šu-ġu₁₀ šu muš-a u₃-mu-ni-in-se₃ / ġiri₃-ġu₁₀ ġiri₃ muš-a u₃-mu-ni-in-se₃
 'Please, turn my hands into snake hands, please, turn my legs into snake legs!'

These were replaced by the verbs **kur**₂ and **bal** in *Dumuzi and Ġeštinanna*.

29. šu-ġa₂ u₃-mu-e-kur₂ ulutim₂-ġu₁₀ u₃-mu-e-bal
 'Please, change my hands, please, turn over my figure!'

34. šu-ni mu-ni-in-kur₂-kur₂ ulutim₂-ma-ni mu-ni-[†]in-bal-bal[†]
 'He changed his hands, he turned over his figure.'

In addition, **kur**₂ has the ill-omened sound of **kur** 'netherworld', 'foreign land', an example for polysemy, often applied in Sumerian literary compositions.²⁰ **bal** means not only 'to change' but 'to cross' (mountains), and it overarches the scene by appearing in the description of the escape as well: the verb **bal** is used for the movement of the snake in the simile of the escape scene in lines 31 and 35.²¹ Here, the place where Dumuzi as a snake goes is the meadow of the mountains, **ša₃-tum₂**, in which **tum₂** is the DU sign,²² semantically fitting to the sense of the line.

31. muš saġ-kal-gen₇ ša₃-tum₂(DU) ħur-saġ-ġa₂ ħu-mu-ni-in-[†]bal-bal[†]

35. muš saġ-kal-gen₇ ša₃-tum₂(DU) ħur-saġ-ġa₂ mu-ni-in-bal-bal
 'like a saġkal-snake, he traversed the meadows of the mountains'

Similes are sparsely used in Sumerian mythological narratives (Black 1998: 52–54). The choice for the simile of the snake, the symbol of rejuvenation or of the underworld, and a chthonic creature connecting different spheres (Pientka-Hinz 2009–2011: 215–217 with refs.), escaping from the demons with the verb **bal**, evokes notions of crossing thresholds²³ and parallels the problem of the protagonist, namely his crossing over to the sphere of death.

²⁰ For further examples for polysemy, including the word /kur/, see Klein and Sefati (2000: 28–29) and Alster (1975: 209): **du** 'to go' or **du₁₁** 'to say'.

²¹ For the verbs of movement of snakes, see Pientka-Hinz 2009–2011: 211, Heimpel 1968: 491 and 501–502, Wilcke 1969: 114: l. 252.

²² Mountains (**ħur-saġ**) are crossed with the verb **bal** (Wilcke 1969: 114: l. 252).

²³ For images, and subjects, see Black 1998: 82, 84–115.



2. Intertextual parallels and the blame on Inana

One of the most important topics of the reception history of Dumuzi-texts was the cause of his death.²⁴ The three options are: Inana is to blame (*Inana's Descent to the Netherworld* [Sladek 1974], *Dumuzi and Ğeštinanna*, BM 100046²⁵), Dumuzi is to blame (*Inana's Descent to the Netherworld*, *Uru₂-am₃-ma-ir-ra-bi* balaĝ-composition [Volk 1989]), and no reasons are given, or the bandits and demons simply take him away (*Dumuzi's Dream*, eršemma-compositions²⁶, *Inana and Bilulu* [Jacobsen and Kramer 1953]). As observed by D. Katz (2003: 299), the present composition focuses particularly on the galla-demons, who were accused of causing Dumuzi's death (Katz 2003: 289, 296). The presentation of the events has some disproportionate features; of the text's 73 lines, the demons are speaking or are the subjects of the verbs in approximately 40 lines. This seems a rather uniquely demon-centric portrayal (Katz 2003: 299);²⁷ in other Dumuzi stories, it is usually the narrator who describes the demons (Sladek 1974: 148–149: ll. 359–367, Alster 1972: 64–66: ll. 111–118), whereas here the demons introduce themselves and add a cosmological explanation for their behaviour (ll. 49–52). D. Katz (2003: 289, 299–300) also noticed that the wording of the composition might reveal its connection to incantation series against demons, perhaps, a result of the compilers' special interest evident in this work.

While the particular focus upon the demons is indisputable, the intertextual elements, and the characters' speeches rather reveal Inana's guilt for her husband's death.

Dumuzi and Ğeštinanna is probably the version where Dumuzi complains about his wife in the most straightforward way within his prayer to Utu; he does not usually lay the blame on his wife in such a dissatisfied manner:²⁸

23. ⁴utu gu₅-li-zu ĝe₂₆-e-me-en šul-me-en za-e mu-zu¹

24. nin₉-zu nam-dam-še₃ ba-an-tuku-a

25. e-ne kur-še₃ e₁₁-de₃

26. mu ¹e¹-ne kur-še₃ e₁₁-de₃

27. ĝe₂₆-e ki-ĝar-bi-še₃ kur-še₃ ba-ab-šum-mu-ne

28. ⁴utu di-ku₅ niĝ₂-si-sa₂ za-e-me-en nam-ba-šaĝa¹-de₃

'Utu, it's me, your friend, you know me, the young one, the one, who took your sister as a wife. It was she, who goes down to the netherworld, and because she goes down to the netherworld, I was given over as a substitute to the netherworld. Utu, you are a just judge, may you not treat me unjustly!'

²⁴ See Kramer 1969: 107, Alster 2011: 65, Jacobsen 1976: 47.

²⁵ Kramer 1980; For collations, see CT 58, no. 42.

²⁶ Cohen 1981: no. 97; no. 88; no. 165; no.60, although, many of them are rather elliptic because of the length of the songs.

²⁷ Compare Sladek 1974: 34, according to whom the focus is on Ğeštinanna.

²⁸ For his prayers, see Katz 2006: 106–110.



Another important note: Inana, the accused one, does not speak in this composition.²⁹ Utu's role as a divine judge is specially underlined in line 28 (Katz 2003: 297). In a court procedure, both parties can raise arguments,³⁰ but Inana's lack of response might indicate her lack of justification.

In addition, some intertextual references and subtle double-entendres, may also suggest that the present composition has a bias toward the suffering husband, and the story was reformulated in such a sense. The following examples are phrases relating to Inana's relationship with her spouses.³¹ In these cases, however, the objects are not her husbands, but the demons and the netherworld. Line 2 might contain an implied reproach to Inana: the demons go to Inana's lap, **ur₂**, (**ġa₂-nam-ma-an-ze₂-en ur₂ ku₃^dinana-ka-še₃ ga-da-re₇-en-de₃-en** 'Let's go! Let's go to the lap of the shining Inana!'). In Inana-Dumuzi love or wedding songs, it is Dumuzi who goes to his wife, and the legendary king Enmerkar is also chosen by Inana to go 'to her lap'.³² The phrase has simple affectionate nuances as well, Utu retires to the lap of his mother Ningal, in the evening.³³ In any cases, the phrase occurs in a loving context. The same could be said about the line 5 cited above (**ki ša₃-ge₄-de₆-a-^rzu¹-še₃ ġen-na** 'go to the place of your heart's desire'), in which the netherworld is Inana's 'heart's desire'. The phrase is often applied to kings as the husbands of the goddess.³⁴ The allusion seems to convey irony,³⁵ and it might be an accusation that Inana had misdirected desires.

SUMMARY

As is usual during the Old Babylonian period, the text's composer remains unknown; moreover, the tablet was found in the fill of the basement of the house Broad Street 1 in Ur (Charpin 1986: 481–486). The special uses of signs, their emphasis upon the crossing of different spheres, the exceptional interest and focus upon the demons, and the intertextual parallels could indicate that the composer(s) might have been a person (or a group of people), who had a well-considered concept of Dumuzi's affair. Texts of a similar length with one or a very few manuscripts, with unconventional formulations and alternative views on mythological topics have been investigated by B. Alster; in his edition of *Ninurta and the Turtle*, he supposed that scribes of the Isin-Larsa period (ca. 2000–1700 BC) searched for novel and inverse formulations to express their critique on certain topics (Alster

²⁹ For examples on the implications of the narrative structure in the Bible, such as which characters speak, and how much, see Alter 2011.

³⁰ See Osborne 1973: 100–102, 95–96. For self-presentation, as a technique of argumentation in disputations, see Mittermayer 2019: 139–140.

³¹ Alster 1975: 221: *Dumuzi, the Jolly Brother* uses words which are taken from the standard Dumuzi-texts.

³² See Sefati 1998: 104–106 and *Enmerkar and Ensuġkešdana* l. 281 (Mittermayer and Attinger 2020: 244 and 255): **inana-ke₄ ur₂ ku₃-ga-ni-še₃ zi-de₃-eš mu-un-pa₃-de₃-en ki aġ₂-ġa₂-ni-me-en** 'Innana hat dich richtigerweise für ihren glanzvollen Schoßerwählt, du bist ihr geliebter' (Sefati 1998: 31 also cites it); and *Dumuzi-Inana D1* l. 66 (Sefati 1998: 303): **ur₂ ku₃^r [ga-ša-an-na]-ka^r-še₃ saġ il₂-la mu-un-ġen** 'I go to the shining lap of Gašanna with head risen high'. *Ur-Ninurta D* l. 36 (Falkenstein 1957: 60–61): **inana ur₂ ku₃ niġ₂ du₁₀-za^r ur^d-nin-urta-ke₄ nam-ti₃-la u₄ ġa-ba-ni-ib-su₃-ud-de₃** 'Inanna, in deinem reinen guten Schoß möge Urnirurta lange Tage in Leben verbringen!'

³³ *Gilgamesh and Huwawa A* (Edzard 1991: 193) l. 79. **utu ur₂ ama-ni^d nin-gal-še₃ saġ il₂-la mu-un-ġen** Utu going to Ningal with head raised high must come from a formula, see Sefati (1998: 303: ll. 67–68).

³⁴ *Lipit-Eštar B* line 16 (Vanstiphout 1978: 36 and 41); *Anam A* line 8 (Falkenstein 1963: 80); and Sefati (1998: 38: n. 20).

³⁵ Alster (2011: 68–70): examples for ironizing Inana.



2006: 33–34). In light of the difficulties in determining the exact date and origin of these compositions, it remains a hypothesis whether *Dumuzi and Ġeštinanna* numbers among these ‘inventive’ texts, although the allusions and the reformulations certainly point in this direction.

ABBREVIATIONS

- CAD = *The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago*
 CDLI = *Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative*: <https://cdli.ucla.edu/>
 CT = *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum*
 ETCSL = J.A. BLACK, G. CUNNINGHAM, J. EBELING, E. FLÜCKIGER-HAWKER, E. ROBSON, J. TAYLOR, and G. ZÓLYOMI, *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature* (<http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/>), Oxford 1998–2006.
 MSL 14 = *Materials for the Sumerian Lexikon. XIV: Ea A = nâqu, Aa A = nâqu with their Forerunners and Related Texts*
 MSL 15 = *Materials for the Sumerian Lexikon. XV: The Series DIRI = (w)atru*
 MSL 16 = *Materials for the Sumerian Lexikon. XVI: The series SIG7.ALAN = Nabnitu*

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