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is a Young Man: A new edition of Ištar-Louvre (TAB. I-II)



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COMMENTATIONES

The Man is Like a Woman, the Maiden is a Young Man

A new edition of Ištar-Louvre

(TAB. I-II)

Michael P. STRECK – Nathan WASSERMAN¹

1. Introduction

AO 6035, re-edited here, was first published by B. Groneberg in her 1997 monograph “Lob der Ištar”. Her pioneering edition paved the road into the rocky terrain of this difficult text and made it known to the scientific community. Many of her readings still hold. W. G. Lambert, in his review of Groneberg’s book (Lambert 1999/2000), offered some important suggestions for a better understanding of the text. A partial translation of the text was presented by Foster 2005, 281–285. Around the same time, the text was incorporated into the project *Sources of Early Akkadian Literature* (SEAL)², and a preliminary edition, based on Groneberg and Lambert, was prepared by J. Wende in Leipzig, and posted online. More than two decades after Groneberg’s study, we present a new edition of the text, with commentary, making use of high-resolution digital photos³ taken by Wasserman in the Louvre, and his collations of the text⁴. All readings which differ from Groneberg’s *editio princeps* are marked by an asterisk (*).

¹ We thank Emily Zeran (University of Jena) for correcting our English.

² <http://www.seal.uni-leipzig.de/>.

³ In our experience, gained from collaborative work on the SEAL project for more than ten years, high-resolution digital photos taken from different angles and with different light conditions prove to be a prime tool for reading cuneiform tablets, replacing, at least in part, the work in the museums themselves. Digital photography allows as many “visits” as needed in the museum and more importantly, makes it possible for two or more scholars to work concomitantly on the same tablet for hours and days. Furthermore, these photos, once published online, allow fruitful criticism from other scholars, leading to better readings. The SEAL project, therefore, strives to publish as many photos as possible online, given the applicable legal rights. Digital photos of AO 6035 are available online under: www.seal.uni-leipzig.de (section Hymns and Prayers/Old Babylonian/Ištar). Other photos of the tablet (with lower resolution) are found in the CDLI project under: <http://cdli.ucla.edu/dl/photo/P492407.jpg>.

⁴ We thank the friendly staff of the département des Antiquités orientales, Musée du Louvre, notably Marielle Pic, Philippe Marquis and Mahmoud Alassi, for their ready help and hospitality while working in the museum.

Following this introduction, we present a survey of the compositional structure and the thematic division of the text (§ 2). Next come observations regarding orthography, grammar and lexicon, with the aim of suggesting a plausible time-frame for the composition of the text (§ 3), and a short epigraphical note (§ 4). The study terminates with a new edition and translation of the text (§ 5), a commentary (§ 6) and a list of collations (§ 7).

The focus of this study is primarily philological; therefore, we abstain from presenting a complete reconstruction of Ištar's cult, as described in this text, nor do we comment on its deeper religious meaning. This task, we hope, will be accomplished by other scholars who will take into account this highly interesting composition – the longest and most detailed of all Ištar-related texts from the second millennium known to date.

2. Structure and contents of the text

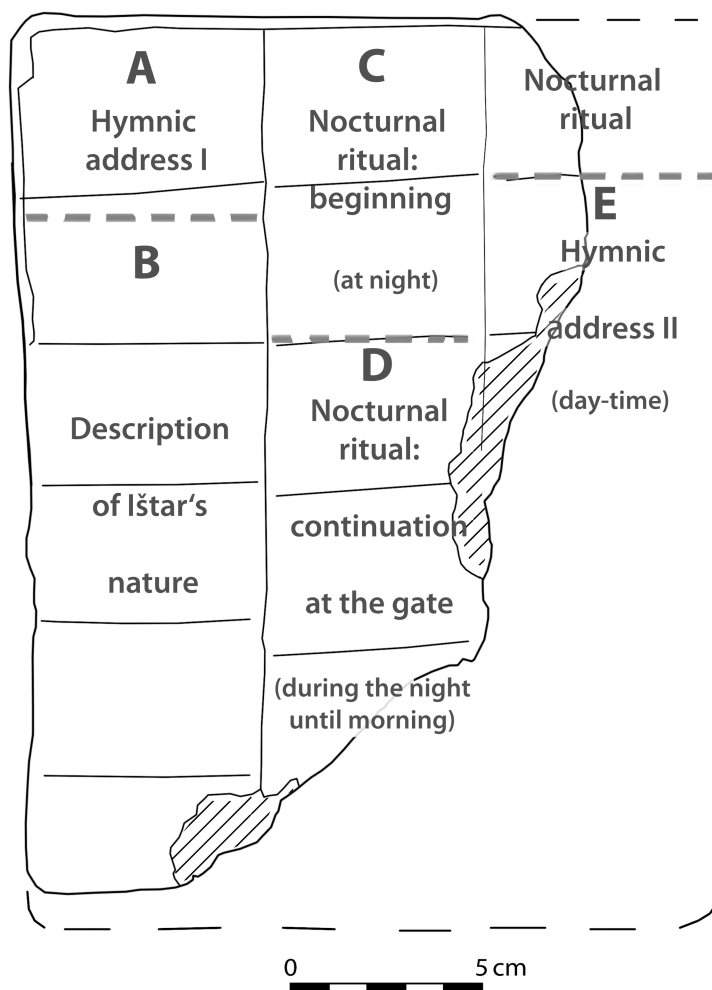
This large three-column tablet (23.5×13.5 cm)⁵ has clear divisions, containing in most cases 10 lines each. In a few cases, however, towards the lower or upper part of the tablet, smaller sections are found (see the broken end of col. ii, the broken beginning of col. v and the end of col. v). The original number of lines can be cautiously estimated as following: col. i: 60 preserved lines; col. ii: 47 preserved lines and 7–9 missing lines; col. iii: 21 preserved lines and c. 29 missing lines; col. iv: 19 preserved lines and c. 31 missing lines; col. v: 41 (partially) preserved lines and about 6 missing lines; col. vi: only 3 very broken lines are preserved. This last column however, was once complete, since the colophon of the tablet is written on the upper edge of the tablet, just below the missing column. Thus, in total, the tablet originally contained between 300 and 360 lines (47–60 lines per column).

As far as preserved, this hybrid text – alternating between hymnal sections and descriptions of a complex ritual – is structured as following:

Section A: i 1–12: Hymnic Address to the Goddess (I). Included are the typical phrases *luštašnī* i 1 “let me tell”, *unaʾad* i 3 “I will praise”, as well as the singer/player (*nāru* i 2), the orchestra (*mummu* i 2 and i 4), the loud voices (*rigmu* i 5), the singing (*zamāru* i 7) and the audience (*āšibu* i 2 and i 4 “the sitting one”).

Section B: i 13–60: Description of Ištar. The goddess is strange (*šani'ā epšētūki* i 13 “strange are your deeds”) and unique in all aspects (*mēdū šiprūki*

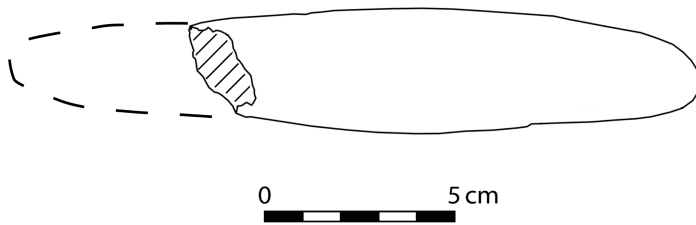
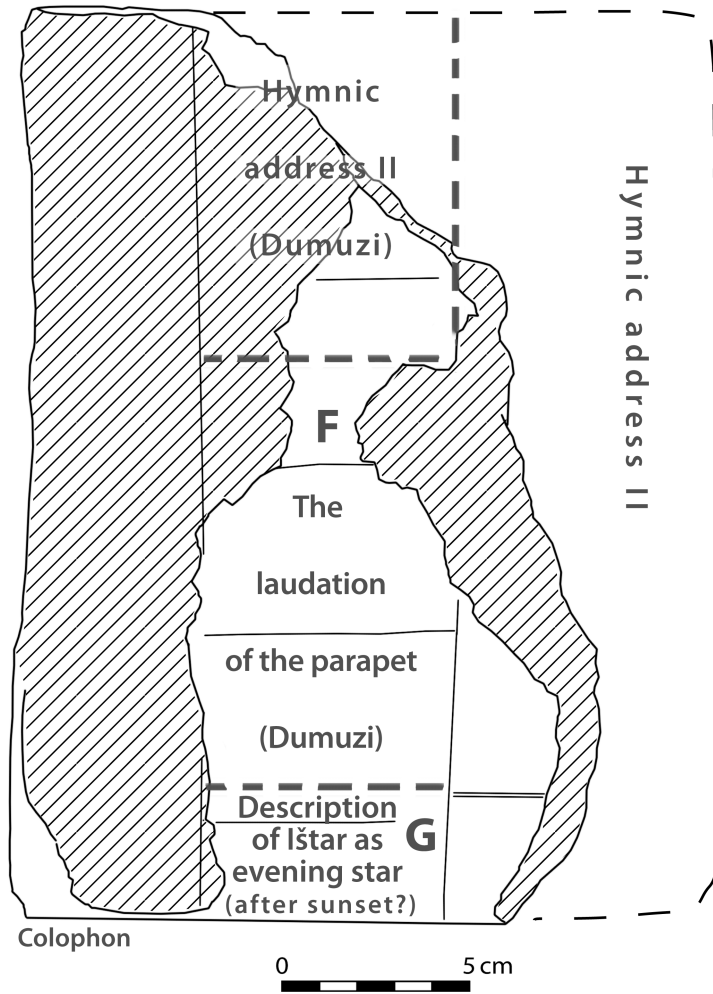
⁵Cf. Groneberg 1997, 3.



i 14 “unique are your words”). In many cases, her character is dialectical, and she is responsible for contradictory, even paradoxical activities. This accumulation of opposing tasks and concerns is ascribed to Istar, with the refrain *kūmma Istar* “is yours, Istar”⁶. The following topics are found⁷:

⁶This refrain also appears in the Istar hymn *Innišagurra*, *ZA* 75, 188: 115 ff., as *I n a n a z a - a - k a m* (Sum.) and *kūmma Istar* (Akk.), with many parallels to Istar Louvre (s. for details the commentary § 5, below). A late historical omen on Sargon describes the performance in unison of the *kūmma Istar* refrain: *ummānšunu rabīta ušamqitū makkūršunu elīšunu iksū kūm Istar ilšū* K.2130 r. 1 = Koch-Westenholz 2005, 229 “They defeated their large army, strapped their goods on them and cried: ‘it is yours, Istar’”.

⁷See also the survey given by Groneberg 1997, 124.



- i 15–16: justice and oppression (*ešrūtu la'sūtu*), scattering of dwellings and stomping bricks (*sapāḥ šubti u šuḥbut libnāti*).
- i 17–18: happiness (*tūb libbi*) and confusion (?, *mūšītu*).
- i 19–20: war (*šāltu, tuqmātum* and brotherhood (*aḥūtu*).
- i 21–22: insults and good words (*tazzīru u qibīt šapti šuṣṣuru* “curse, guarding the word of the lip”).
- i 23–24: confusing omen reports (*šutābul tēmāti*) and making good pronouncements (*du(m)uq siqrī*), hard work (*dullu*) and dissolving possessions (*pašār nikmatim*).
- i 25–26: good spirits, abundance and hardships of farming (*tuḥdu u dunnu kaqqari*).
- i 27–28: turning strangers and enemies into brothers (*athīša šitkunu*).
- i 29–30: good (*bu'āram*) and bad (*šuttuqu* “to split”) condition of the house and its inhabitants.
- i 31–32: profitable business (*ištaḥu*) and profit (*nēmeltu*).
- i 33–34: battle (*tāḥāzu*) and wisdom (*nēmequ*).
- i 35–36: charms (*lala'ū*), silence (*saktūtu*) and dwellings (*šubtu*).
- i 37–38: frightening people, making special hairstyles for women (*šakān qimmāti mēlul pērēte* i 38 “making a hairdo, whirling of locks”).
- i 39–40: hate (*zērūtu*), cultic prostitution (*šutar'umu* “making mutual love”), making women enter the *sekretu* status.
- i 41–42: birth.
- i 43–44: sexuality.
- i 45–46: turning men into women and women into men (*zikrum sinništeš ardatu eṭel* “(that) the man is like a woman, the maiden is a young man”, a topic on which the text expands in the next section C)⁸.

⁸The sexual dimorphism of Ištar and the cross-dressing and cross-gender activities connected to her cult, has attracted much scholarly attention. Key examples from cuneiform texts include: *zikaram ana sinništīm sinniṣ ana zikarim turrum kūmma Ištar ZA 75, 190: 120* (Inninšagurra) “to turn a man into a woman, a woman into a man are yours, Ištar”. *nitaḥ munus-a munus nitaḥ-a-bi ku₄-ku₄ šu bal ba-a-ak Išme-Dagan K (= ETCSL 2.5.4.11; Gronenberg 1997, 141) 21* “to turn a man into a woman and a woman into a man – you made (this) change”.

For the 20th tablet of the *balag*-composition *Úru-àm-ma-ir-ra-bi*, mentioned in Gronenberg 1997, 142 n. 156 and 148–150, see FAOS 18, 143f. and 150: 65–70 (Akk. version): *imna ana šumēl(u) ašakkan šumēla (ana) imni ašakkan zikar(i) (ana) sinništi utār sinništum ana zi(kari) utār ša zikar(i) ana sinništ(um) uza'īnu anāku sinništum ana zikari uza'īnu anāku*, “I place right to left, I place left to right. I change man into woman, I change woman into man. I am the one who decorated a man into a woman. I am the one who decorated a woman into a man”.

A somewhat neglected reference to cross-dressing is found in a bilingual proverb collection from Nineveh whose Sumerian is broken: *[a]-ḥur-ru-ú [a]na aššatišu iqabbi [at]tī lū eṭlu [anāku] lū ardatu [...]. ana eṭli attūru [... I]ū sinnišu [...]. zikaru BWL 226: 1–7* “a brute man(?) says to his wife: ‘may you be the young man, may [I] be the maiden!’. . . (truly) I have turned to a young man ... (truly) a woman... a man”. The proverb seems to offer a parody of well-known

i 47–48: Ištar’s cult (*puḥḥur aššāti surru qimmāti šārta* “to assemble the women, to let the locks dance, the hair”), making a gift (*qī’āšu*).

i 49–50: child rearing (*tarbītu*), sleep and dreams (*šittu, šunātu*).

i 51–52: seduction (*dād kabatti* “underwear of the mid-body”) and adultery (*uznān nansukā* “that the ears are torn out” as punishment), cross-dressing (further elaborated in section C).

i 53–54: (cultic) dancing (*sāru*), wisdom, nursemaid (*tārītu*).

i 55–56: (cultic) running (*lismū*), making stable the throne (*kunnū kussī*).

i 57–60: cross-dressing (cf. i 45–46).

Section C: ii 1–20: Nocturnal Ritual – Beginning. The ritual starts at night (*mūša* i 4) with Ištar’s saying “yes” (*annu* ii 2) to a performer. The ritual involves cross-gender activities (*šubalkutma šipru* ii 1 “the (usual) behavior is turned upside-down”) and the performance of sexual acts (*ʿšū’itam¹ erbī sassūrī šuḥḥīma šūzibī šumšu* ii 15 “enter (fem.) the lady, have (fem.) intercourse with my womb⁹, leave (fem.) his progeny”; *nīšī šakin igappir* ii 16 “my erection is in place, it is growing stronger!”). Actors are men performing as women (*assinnu* ii 16) and women performing as men (their appellation, if there was any, is not mentioned). This part of the ritual takes place outside of the temple on a mat (*ina kīdi zibnu* ii 10), in the presence of the goddess (*paḥḥurū elki* ii 20 “they are gathered around you”).

It is interesting to list the cross-sexual paraphernalia which characterizes men as women, and vice versa, in this part of the ritual:

Men: garments (*nahlapātu* ii 3), wigs (*pursāsū* ii 3), balance (*kišrinnu* ii 5), hairpin (*kirissu* ii 7), *siBtu* (ii 7), *uḥḥu* (ii 7), harp (*tibbu* ii 7), *tīlu*-ornament (ii 9), spindles (*pilakkū* ii 18), combs (*zappū* ii 19), multicolored cloth (*libšu burrumu* ii 19), multicolored headgear (*barmūtu* ii 20).

Women: quiver (*ušpatu* ii 6), bow (*qaštu* ii 6), bows (*tilpānātu* ii 8), slings (*aspū* ii 8), sling-stones (*assukkū* ii 8)¹⁰.

religious activity practiced by cult professionals, and reflected in different texts and in i 45, ii 11 and ii 15–20 of our text. (The reading *aḥurrū* follows Foster 2005, 422. An alternative reading is [A]-*mur-ru-ú*, “[an A]morite”, preferred by Lambert *BWL* 230 and followed by *CAD* A/2, 94 *amurrū* a as well as *CAD* S 188 *sinništu* 1a1’)

At the margins of this extensive literature, which cannot be discussed here, we shall only mention the likely possibility that the Biblical ban on cross-dressing (“A woman shall not wear anything that pertains to a man, nor shall a man put on a woman’s garment; for whoever does these things is an abomination to the Lord your God”, Dt 22: 5, RSV) is not unrelated to Ištar’s or other gods’ cultic activities (see Römer 1974 and recently Sacher Fox 2009 with earlier literature).

⁹In this context “womb” (*rēmu*) is most likely used euphemistically for the female sex organs. For similar use, see Wasserman 2016, 39.

¹⁰One cannot avoid mentioning that not only is Ištar able to turn men into women and vice versa, but many of her own characteristics are based on cross-gender mixing and sexual transformations. She has both feminine and masculine appearances, paired with corresponding

Section D: ii 21 – iii 10(?): Nocturnal Ritual – Continuation. The ritual moves now to the temple’s gate (*ib-bābi* ii 22, *bābiški* ii 24 “at your gate”; *bābišmi šakān puḥrim* ii 30 “at the gate of making an assembly”; *qerbū bābiki* ii 42 “in the midst of your gate”). It takes place “during the night until morning” (*mūša adī šērim* ii 23) and “during the watch of the night” (*im-maššarat mūšim* ii 39). It involves the enigmatic love-charm (*irīmki* i 21)¹¹, offerings (*inaqqī kurra* ii 22 “he pours a kor”; *zībum* ii 32; *sirqū* ii 33) and music (the *inu*-instrument ii 25, 28).

This part of the ritual is public, and the participation of the population is mentioned (*nišū* ii 24) as making noise (*ruššušā* ii 24), performing a procession (*illakū* ii 30) and crying (*biki[tam]* ii 30). The performer, however, takes the leading role, moaning and crying (*innaḥ inanhū rigmū* ii 31). The offerings which were brought to Ištar are now accepted by the goddess and rewarded with agricultural abundance (*nuḥuṣ ašnan* ii 37 “plenty of barley”), *aklātim* ii 40 “bread loaves” and with favorable astrological omens (*bibbī* ii 38 “planets”).

Unfortunately, the bad state of preservation of this part of the tablet prevents a definitive understanding of the end of this section: possibly Ištar, who was present at the temple gate, enters back into her temple (*tēterba* ii 45), and the performer follows her (*itnallak bītišš[a]* ii 46), libating (*itnaqqā[m]* ii 47) and prostrating (*šukē[num]* iii 1).

Section E: iii 11 – v 33’: Hymnic Address to the Goddess (II). A badly preserved second hymn begins here (*luššib lumnū epšā[t Ištar]* iii 11 “let me add, let me tell the deed[s of Ištar]”). The notation *šanīš* iii 17 “a second time” might refer to the second cycle of hymns and rituals on the tablet.

Whereas the foregoing hymn and ritual took place during the night, this hymn praises Ištar as the morning star, hinting that the morning is about to break (*taššarruru* iii 15 “she constantly flashed”; *liwwir* iii 18 “let shine”; *melemmūk* iii 19 “your aura”; and esp. *tešterī* iv 10’ “you rose in the morning, *tanaššar šēra* iv 13’ “she guards at the dawn” and *tešerrī elīta Ištar* v 27’ “you rise above in the morning, Ištar”. Music is mentioned again (*mumma* iv 11’ “orchestra”).

Although not well preserved, this section of the hymn alludes to various mythical narratives about Ištar, Dumuzi and perhaps also his sister, Geština-ana. Apart from the name Dumuzi itself (iv 17’ f.), this can also be inferred from the following: *būlu* iv 15’ f. “animals”, being led by somebody, probably

emotions and attitudes — compassion and delicateness vs. wrath and horror-spreading. She is often depicted standing with her long hair arranged in a chignon, on a lioness, carrying a bow and arrows, showing at times opposite secondary sex characteristics — long dress and breasts vs. manly stance and a beard (see Sacher Fox 2009, 53 f.).

¹¹For more references of the *irīmul/irimmul/ir’imu* in love literature, see Wasserman 2016, 53.

Dumuzi; *rē'û* v 18' "shepherd", a typical appellation of Dumuzi; *ina kīdi irtanappud* v 25' "he (Dumuzi) constantly runs outside"; *tabkīma išīšū* v 28' "you (Ištar) wailed with him (Dumuzi)"; *tešmēma ikribšu* v 29' "you (Ištar) heard his (Dumuzi's) prayer". We believe that the second feminine person, which does not address Ištar (v 30', 32' f.), might refer to Geštin-ana.

Section F: v 34'–43': The Laudation of the Parapet. In this section the parapet, *sētu*, is mentioned four times (v 34', 38', 41', and esp. 43'). It is praising Ištar (*inādmi* v 38') and calling her name (v 34'). The upper part of the wall stands here metonymically for the temple of Ištar in general (*šubtaša* v 41'). The section presents Ištar as Venus who guides the travelers on their way (*amrāti nišī gerrī šumbī* v 40' "you watch the people, caravans, wagons") and probably alludes again to Dumuzi (*māru* v 39' "darling"). There is no direct indication as to the time of this part of the ritual, but given the fact that the previous parts took place at night (section D) and during day-break (section E), and that sun-discs (*šaššānu* < *šamšānu* v 42') are now mentioned, it is plausible that the parapet section took place in broad daylight.

Section G: v 44'–48': Ištar as the Evening Star. This section speaks of Ištar as evening star (*emūq līlēn* v 46' "power of the night"), helping travelers to reach their destination. This is exemplified by describing two young men (*šenā eṭlā* v 44') going into the mountains (*šadī'a* v 44') — perhaps an allusion to Gilgamesh and Enkidu on their way to the Cedar Mountain.

If reconstructed correctly, it seems that the tablet describes a ritual which went on for twenty-four hours.

Section H: upper edge: subscript.

3. Observations on the Orthography and Language of the Text¹²

The text is varied, showing an unusual mix of grammatical and lexical features typical for administrative OB texts (§ 3.1), archaic or archaizing features characteristic for OB literary texts (§ 3.2), and forms typical of late OB, or even post-OB features (§ 3.3). Besides these three diachronic categories, some features which are not significant for dating the text can also be found (§ 3.4). An interesting trait of the text is the high number of hitherto unattested words it contains. As such, the text adds considerably to our knowledge of the Akk. lexicon (§ 3.5).

Considering the data gathered below, we may conclude that the text was either composed in the late OB or MB period. More precisely, the defective

¹²Some of the following observations were already made by Groneberg 1997, 4–9.

spelling of final contracted vowels and the // > /r/-change, both mentioned in § 3.3, below, might date the texts to the period of the Sealand Dynasty. However, the scribe deliberately used archaisms, or copied in this later period from an OB tablet, during which process the scribe modernized the text in part. The latter option is favored by the consistent OB paleography of the text and by the two haplographies mentioned below under § 3.4, which can best be explained by imagining a later scribe copying from an original.

3.1. Typical OB Features

- The vowel sequence /i-a/ is almost always uncontracted¹³: *līpīra* i 5, *šanīā* i 13, *qīāšum* i 48, *našīā* ii 8, *šanīat* ii 17, *malīat* ii 43, *pīyāt[im?]* ii 43, *pīātki* iv 8', *apīat* v 41', *šadīa* v 44'.
- Intervocalic /w/ is preserved, spelled *PI* in three cases¹⁴: *awīlī* i 35, *awāt* i 31, *a-wi-lu* ii 36.
- In the minority of cases, word initial /s/ is an affricate, spelled with Z-signs¹⁵: *sà(ZA)-pa-aḥ* i 16, *sà(ZA)-aḥ-ma-aš-tum* i 19, *sé(ZI)-ek-ra-at* i 40, *sí(ZI)-ir-ḡú* ii 33.
- Long /ss/ is an affricate in a single case¹⁶: *ki-ri-is(IZ)-sà(ZA)-am* ii 7.

3.2. Features Typical for OB Literary Texts¹⁷

- Archaic sign values: *pi*₅(NE) i 5, *sa*₆ i 53, *ti*₄(DI) ii 9, v 33' and v 41'.
- No *e*-colouring of /a/¹⁸: *lā'ām* i 3, *ṭēmātim* i 23, *epšāt* iii 11, *emqa[t]* iv 2'.
- The vowel sequences /a-u/ and /u-a/ are always uncontracted: *ku'āt* i 14, *bu'āram* i 29, *lala'ū* i 35, *bu'ār* i 44, *qu'āti* ii 18, *šu'ātu* v 47'.
- Shortened possessive pronouns: *tīlšin* ii 9, *urḥuš* ii 12, *ṭēmiš* ii 12, *riḡmašnu* ii 14, *imduk* ii 38, *ikribšun* ii 40, *melemmūk* iii 19, *ardūtaš* v 33', *binītaš* v 22', 36', *elīk* v 45', *uznāšnu* v 45', *iš-šulīš* v 47'.
- Inflected relative pronoun¹⁹: *šūt* ii 40.

¹³ For a single exception see § 3.3, below.

¹⁴ But in two cases we find a spelling 0; see § 3.4, below.

¹⁵ For affricate and deaffricate /s/ in OB see Streck 2016, 218–227. For deaffricated word initial /s/ in the text see § 3.3, below.

¹⁶ In two other cases long /ss/ is deaffricated; see § 3.3, below.

¹⁷ For the use of the locative and terminative cases see Groneberg 1997, 7 f., for the shortened pronouns *in(a)* and *an(a)* ib. 8. We do not repeat Groneberg's observations here.

¹⁸ But in other similar cases *e*-colouring is found, e. g., *epšētūki* i 13, *rēqet* i 13, *mēnešum* i 49, *lē'ū* ii 36.

¹⁹ For uninflected *ša* see i 53, ii 45, iii 15(?) and v 16'.

- Nouns in the dual (not counting body parts): *rabbatān* i 43, *eṭlā* v 44'²⁰.
- Feminine *PiRSat* instead of *PiRiSt*: *nikmatim* i 24, *nikmat* iii 7'²¹.
- Construct state²² ending in vowel /u/²³: *dunnu qaqqari* i 26, *qablu bītim* i 29, *surru qimmāti*, *tūbu mayyāli* i 50'²⁴, *ra-i-mu abūbi* ii 14.
- Construct state of *PaRS* and *PiRS* nouns is *Pa/iRSa-* instead of *PaRaS* and *PiRiS*: *niṭlašunu* ii 14, *rigmašnu* ii 14, *gimrašu* ii 22, *maḥraki* ii 22, *rigmašu* ii 31.
- Construct state of the fem. plural before suffixes ending in /a/: *libbātaša* v 26', *zinnātaya* v 35'.
- Prefix *ta-* for 3rd p. singular is always used with persons²⁵: *tattapras* ii 12, *tešmē* ii 40, *tanaddan* ii 40, *tēterb[a]* ii 45, *taššarruru* iii 15, *tanaššar* iv 13', *tīšū* v 35'.
- Shortened Gtn-stem forms: *itnallak* ii 46, *itnaqqā[m]* ii 47.
- Shortened D-stem form: *liwatrū* i 6.
- Š-stem of verbs I-w with /šū/ instead of /šā/ or /šē/: *tušūbilī* v 32' (see also v 20').
- The forms *tukī'al* ii 6 and *ukī'allū* ii 18 from *kullu*²⁶.

3.3. Late OB or Post-OB Features

- Sign value *sek* i 40.
- The vowel sequence /i-a/ is contracted once: *itnaqqā[m]* ii 47'²⁷.
- Final contracted vowels are sometimes written defectively²⁸: *tu-še-eš-mé* ii 3, *ti-ib-ba* ii 7, *šu-uš-nu* ii 9, *na-šu* ii 13, ii 34, *ú-te-te-qú* ii 33, *ú-ma-lu* ii 34.
- Verbs I-w always lose word initial /w/²⁹: *āšibu* i 2, 4, *āšibtašu* i 29, *ardatu*

²⁰ For the dual *līlēn* “evening” see commentary to v 46'.

²¹ *ippaššar nikmat* [...] in iii 7 shows, that the word is singular and not a plural *nikmātum*.

²² Pace Groneberg 1997, 9, neither *ba-bi-ki* i 12 nor *ka-ba-at-ti-ki* ii 25 are remarkable literary construct state forms: the first form is plural oblique case *bābika*, the latter singular genitive *kabattiki*.

²³ Pace Groneberg 1997, 8, forms like *bullū tuqmātim* i 20, *šunnū dulli* i 24 and *neptū rēmi* i 41, all from III-weak roots, are not diagnostic, since the /ū/-vowel is a reflex of the root vowel here. *nāšū patarrī* ii 13 is also not diagnostic, since III-weak roots tend to a triptotic declension also elsewhere.

²⁴ But cf. *tūb libbi* i 17.

²⁵ But fem. non-persons use masc. prefix *i-*, see *inādmi sētu* v 38' “the parapet is praising”.

²⁶ Cf. *ukī'al* VS 10, 214 ii 11 (Agušaja) and see already Groneberg 1997, 5.

²⁷ In all other cases /i-a/ remains uncontracted, see § 3.1, above.

²⁸ This orthography is typical for omen texts from the Sealand Dynasty, s. George 2013, 137. In Ištar Louvre it is, however, inconsistent; see *a-ḥu-ú* i 27, *du-šu-ú* i 48, *šu-uš-nu-ú* ii 1, *i-du-ú* ii 18, *a-ru-ú* ii 35, *ni-qi-ī*? iv 5', *ud-du-ú!* v 36'.

²⁹ *ēttum* i 9 and *ēdu* i 27 are not diagnostic because word initial /w/ is lost frequently before /e/ and /i/ already in OB.

- i 45, *aspī* ii 8, *arḫi* ii 20, *ardātīm* ii 28, *ašābišša* v 30', *ardūtaš* v 33', *apī'at* v 41', *arḫiš* v 43'.
- /w/ is sometimes written *m*³⁰: *mé-du* i 14³¹, *la-mi* ii 21, *at-mi-[i]* ii 36.
 - /md/ > /nd/: *endū* < *emdū* ii 19.
 - Word initial /s/ is deaffricated in the majority of cases³², written with S-signs: *si-in-ni-iš-te-eš* i 45 and ii 19, *su-ur-ru* i 47, *si-in-ni-iš-tim* i 57, *si-in-ni-iš-t[um]* i 58, *si-ni-iš-ta* i 60, *si-in-ni-š'a¹-tu* ii 4, *si-ni-iš-tum* ii 6, *si-IB-tam* ii 7, *si-in-ni-š'a-tu* ii 8, *si-ni-iš-tum* ii 11, *su-u[r-ri]* v 12', *se(-e)-tu(-um)* v 34', 38', 41', *se-ti-iš* v 43'.
 - Long /ss/ is deaffricated in two instances³³, written with S-signs: *la-ma-as-š'u¹* i 25, *as-si-in-nu-um-mi* ii 16.
 - In words with two /s/ both /s/ are deaffricated, written with S-signs³⁴: *ḫa-si-su* i 11, *si-šs(AB)-si-in-ni* i 44, *sa-as-su-ru* i 43 and ii 15.
 - /ll/ > /r/³⁵: *arkat* < *alkat* i 54, *arkassunu* < *alkassunu* ii 17.
 - Mimiation is in the vast majority of cases not present. Not counting CVm-signs, we find 11 cases with mimiation but 69 without mimiation in col. i only. This statistic is representative of the entire text.
 - Post-OB words used in the text are, e.g., *mērešu* i 3, *nanzāzu* v 35'.

3.4. Further observations

- Vowel plene spellings occur at the beginning of a word: *a-at-la-li* i 6, *e-ep-še-tu-ki* i 13, *a-ap-li* i 42, *i-in* ii 25, *a-ap-pu-na* ii 39, *a-ak-la-tim* ii 40, *e-en-nu-iš* ii 44, *e-em-q[á-at]* iv 2', *e-eṭ-la* v 44'.

³⁰ Other spellings for /w/ are *pi* (see § 3.1, above) and 0 (see § 3.4, below).

³¹ Word initial *m*-spellings are generally rare, since word initial /w/ drops almost at the same time that *m* for /w/ becomes common. But see *mi-iš-ša* AbB 2, 25: 16 (OB letter) *wišša* “is too little”, *mu-uš-ši-ma* AbB 9, 34: 20 (OB letter) *muššīma* < *wuššīma* “spread!”.

³² But sometimes word initial /s/ remains an affricate, spelled with Z-signs; see § 3.1, above.

³³ But once it remains an affricate; see § 3.1, above.

³⁴ In OB, both /s/ in a word frequently remain an affricate, see, e. g., *ḫa-zi-za-am* ARM 2, 15: 34 *ḫasīsam* “wisdom”, *zi-zi-na-tum* VS 13, 18: 5; 7, 34: 18 *sissinnātum* “date spadices”. Sometimes one of two /s/ is deaffricated, e. g., *iḫ-zu-sv-* ARM 28, 20: 8 *iḫsusū-* “they remembered”, *si-iz-zi-ik-t[i]* AbB 7, 182: 1; CT 48, 50: 17 *sissikti* “hem”.

³⁵ This shift also occurs in two other literary texts: *šēru pa-ar-ku* Atr. 78 iv 8' *parkū* < *palkū* “broad plain” and 30 *še-ri ina libbiša addi* Finkel 2014, 360: 13 (Ark Tablet) *šēri* < *šēli* “I placed 30 ribs into it (the ship)” (cf. also *še-e-ri-ša* ib. p. 362: 29 *šēriša* < *šēliša*). Both texts seem to be late OB or early MB, see for the latter text Streck 2017a, 152. The shift /ll/ > /r/ also occurs in texts of the Sealant Dynasty, which certainly date to the very end of the OB period or sometime between the OB and the MB period: (*W*)*arad-ur-maš-ši-ti* CUSAS 9, 15 *urmaššīti* < *ulmaššīti* “Slave of Urmaššītu (i. e. of Ištar of Ulmaš)”. However, there is also an older attestation from the middle OB period: *ul kīma rimmatim ša kišādīm ša ištēt pešēt u ištēt ša-ar-ma-at uštapparasū* Durand 1990, 102: 17 *šarmat* < *šalmat* “will they not distinguish like termites in a necklace, of which one is white and one is black?”

- Sandhi spellings: *mu-um-ma a-ši-bu* and *mu-um-ma aš-ri-šu* iv 11' instead of *mummu ašibu/ašrišu* i 2, 4³⁶, *ku-at i-lu* instead of *ku'āti ilu* i 14, *i-na-an-ḫu* ii 31 for *ina inḫū* (locative).
- Haplographies: *mi-li <li-ir-ta-ab-bi* i 8, *pa-al-ki<-i> i-ši-id* i 17.
- Intervocal /w/ is written 0³⁷: *a-i-lu* i 11 for *awīlu*³⁸, *a-a-as-sà* ii 43 for *awāssa*.
- Intervocalic /m/ is written 0³⁹: *ra-i-mu* ii 14.
- /ḫ/ > /k/⁴⁰: *nansukā* < *nansuḫā* i 51.
- Terminative *-iš* in comparative function⁴¹: *dunniš* i 8, *sinništeš* i 45, ii 19.
- *PaRRuS*, instead of *PuRRuS*, appears once: *paḫḫurū* ii 20⁴². The form looks Assyrian, but as we do not find any other Assyrian forms in the text, it is better interpreted as an archaism.

3.5. Lexicon

Many hapax legomena are found in the text: *ešrūtu* i 15, *la'sūtu* i 15, *tattashuru* i 15, i 52, *mūšītu* i 19, *tazzīru* i 22, *kamliš* i 30, *saktūtu* i 35, *sekrūtu* i 40, *siBtum* ii 7, *uḫḫu* ii 7, *uddušiš* ii 20, *kunāmum* ii 23, *dabriš* iv 9', *ullu* v 37'.

The following index compiles selected words from Ištar Louvre which add important new information to the Akk. dictionaries. This list comprises hapax legomena (marked by “+”), rare words, and known words with special meanings, or remarkable forms or spellings.

alālu Gt “to rejoice” i 6

alālu D “to hang on” i 59

alkatu see *arkatu*

³⁶ That the word is not indeclinable *mumma* but can be inflected is shown by the texts from Mari, see *FM* 10 index p. 321.

³⁷ /w/ was most probably pronounced [w] in these instances. Usually intervocal /w/ is written *PI* in our text, see. § 3.1, above.

³⁸ Cf. *a-i-lu-tam* CUSAS 18, 13: 47 (OB omen text). Between /a/ and /u/ similar spellings rarely occur, see, e. g., *a-ta-ū* AbB 14, 199: 12 (OB letter) *ātawwū* “I will speak”.

³⁹ Apparently pronounced [w]. That intervocalic /m/ was rarely pronounced [w] in OB can be seen from ref. like *in-na-wi-ir* AbB 12, 22: 7 *innawir* < *innamir* “he met” (letter) or *šu-we-lam* RA 67, 51 no. 2: 30 (omen text) *šuwēlam* < *šumēlam* “left”.

⁴⁰ Other OB examples for /ḫ/ > /k/ include, e. g., *a-ka-ar-r[a-]ar* AbB 13, 150: 15' (letter) *akarrar* < *aḫarrar* “I will dig”, *ma-ki-ir* *JCS* 9, 62 no. 8: 10 *makīr* < *maḫīr* “exchange rate”, *it-ta-sa-ak* CH § 248 *ittasak* < *ittasaḫ* “he tore out” or *i-ša-ak* RA 101, 64: 24, 41 (literary text) *išāk* < *išāḫ* “will laugh”.

⁴¹ For comparative *-iš* in OB literary texts see Streck/Wasserman 2016, 244.

⁴² See the commentary to the line.

arkatu “behavior” i 54, ii 17
assukku “sling-stone” ii 8
aštāpīru see *ištāpīru*
awātu “word” ii 43
awīlu “man” i 11
bibbu “planet” ii 38
+ *dabriš* “aggressively” iv 9’
dadmū see *dadnū*
dadnū v 36’
dīdu “underwear” i 51
epēru + Gtn “to provide constantly” ii 37
ērūtu see *īrūtu*
+ *ešrūtu* “justice” i 15
gadāru “to rear up” ii 4, ii 11
gapāru “to be(come) strong” ii 16
gišrinnu see *kišrinnu*
inu “a musical instrument” ii 25?, ii 28
ir’emu “love-charm” ii 21
īrūtu “wakefulness” i 33
išdaḥu, “profitable business” i 31
išdiḥu see *išdaḥu*
išpatu see *ušpatu*
ištāpīru “servant” i 27
kadāru see *gadāru*
+ *kamliš* “furiously” i 30
kašāšū Gt “to gnash” i 37
kirissu “hairpin” ii 7
kišrinnu “balance” ii 5
kullu “to hold” ii 6, ii 18
+ *kunāmu* ? ii 23
+ *la’šūtu* “oppression” i 15
līlu “evening” ii 18, v 46’
mašlu, “resembling” ii 29
mēlulu, “to play” i 38
+ *mummu*, “orchestra” i 2, i 4, iv 11’
+ *mūšītu?* “confusion” i 19
namūtu “fun” ii 2
nannū “order” ii 37
nasāḥu N “to be torn out” i 51
nīšu “erection” ii 16
pū, pl. *pīy/’ātu* “mouth” ii 43, iv 8’

pursāsu “wig” ii 3
qû, pl. *qû’ātu* “thread” ii 18
rabbu “soft” i 43
râmu + Štn “to cause to constantly have love” i 39
rašāšu + D “to make noise” ii 24
 + *saktūtu*, “silence” i 35
sâru D “to let/make dance” i 47
 + *sekrūtu* “status of *sekretu*” i 40
sētu “parapet” v 34’, v 38’, v 41’, v 43’
 + *sinništeš* “like a woman” i 45, ii 19
šarāru + Gtn “to flash constantly” ii 15
šumbu “wagon, wheel” v 40’
šamnu “oil” v 15’
šaššānu “sun-disc” v 42’
šēru “to be(come) morning, to rise in the morning” iv 10’, v 27’
šu’ātu see *šu’itu*
šuhhû “to have intercourse” ii 15
šu’itu “lady” ii 15
šu’u “prince” i 9
tākaltu “bag” ii 34
 + *tattashuru* “giving constant favor, going back and forth” i 15, i 52
 + *tazzīru* “curse” i 22
tibbû “harp” ii 7
tibbuttu see *tibbû*
 + *uddušiš* “at the renewal” ii 20
 + *ullu* “joy” v 37’
ušpatu “quiver”
wuṣṣû “to spread” ii 18

4. Epigraphical Note

The text is written in a confident Babylonian hand. Erasures and corrections occur, but they are rare. Writing such a large and complex tablet certainly is a task which only a well-trained scribe can accomplish. Epigraphically, the most interesting feature of the text is the occasional (but not rare) extra-wedge found on different signs, usually appended to the upper left side of a vertical wedge (see, e.g., *mu-um-ṣma* i 2; *li-iš-ṣku-nu* i 4; *i-di-ṣki* i 9; *ṣdi-id ṣka-ṣba-at-ti* i 51; *ṣki-ri-is-sà-am* ii 7 and passim). As this epigraphical trill is found throughout the tablet it must have been intentional, but its purpose escapes us. Our best guess is that this was a graphic ornament used by the scribe to lend an archaizing quality to the text.

5. Transliteration and Translation

col. i

- 1 [be]-el-ti lu-uš-ta-aš-ni qú-ru-ud i-lu-ti-ki
My [La]dy, let me recount the valor of your divinity!
- 2 [na*]-ru*-um li-iš-pu mu-um-ma a-ši-bu ú-¹zu¹-un-šu li-iš-ku-u[n]
May the [sin]ger become loud! May the orchestra present be attentive!
- 3 Iš₈-tár me-re-iš-ki la-⁴a⁴*-am ú-na-a-ad
Ištar, I will praise your skillful wisdom!
- 4 ú-zu-un-šu li-iš-ku-un mu-um-ma a-ši-bu qú-ru-ud-ki li-iš-me
May it be attentive, may the orchestra present hear your valor!
- 5 ri-ig-mu ra-ma-an-šu li-pi₅*-a a-di su-ur-ri
May the voice make itself appear at once,
- 6 a-at-la-li Iš₈-tár li-wa-at-ru na-ar-bi-ki
Rejoice, Ištar! May they make your powers exceedingly great.
- 7 li-iš-mu-ma qé-er-bi-šu za-ma-ra-am
Let them hear the singing in it (the *mummu*)!
- 8 du-un-ni-iš et-lu-ti-ki ki-ma mi-li (li-)ir-ta-ab-bi
Like the strength of your manhood, may it constantly grow like a flood!
- 9 et-tu-um* šu-ú la i-mu-ru i-di-ki
O unique one, the princes who have not yet perceived your power (lit. arms),
- 10 aḥ-ri-ti-¹iš¹ ú-mi i-ša*-ru še-pí-¹ki¹
will take care of your feet forever.
-
- 11 i-la-am-ma-ad iq-qé-er-bi la ḥa-si-su a-i-lu
The unwise man will learn in it (the temple).
- 12 i-še-i ba-bi-ki la-ma ta-aš-ku-ni qá-ti*-ki el-šu
He will look for your gates, before you will have placed your hands on him.
- 13 ša-ni-a e-ep-še-tu-ki a-la-ak-ta-ki re-qé-et
Strange are your deeds. Your behavior is far (from understanding).
- 14 mé-du ši-ip-ru-ki la ki ku-at i-lu ia-um-ma
unique are your works. No god is like you.
- 15 eš-ru-tum la-a'(Aḥ)-šu-tu* ta-at-ta-ás-ḥu-ru tu-¹ur* pa*¹-ni*-k[i*]
Justice, oppression, giving constant favor, changing your face,

16 *sà-pa-aḥ šu-ub-ti ù šu-uḥ-bu-ut li-ib-na-ti ku-um-ma Iṣ₈-tár*
scattering of a dwelling place and stomping bricks – are yours, Iṣtar.

17 *šu-ba-al-ku-ut pa-al-ki(i) i-ši-id ka-ab-ta-ti ṭú-ub li-ib-bi*
To overthrow the broad foundation of the mind, well-being of the
heart,

18 *mu-ši-tu šu-un-nu ṭe₄-e-mi ù na-ak-ru-ṭú ku-um-ma Iṣ₈-tár*
confusion(?), changing the mind and showing mercy – are yours,
Iṣtar.

19 *ša-al-tu sà-aḥ-ma-aš-tum te-eš-[mu](erasure) a-ḥu-tu*
Quarrel, turmoil, compliance, brotherhood,

20 *di-pa-ar a-na-an-tim ù bu-ul-lu tu-uq-ma-tim ku-um-ma Iṣ₈-tár*
the torch of battle and extinguishing wars – are yours, Iṣtar.

21 *uz-zum* ta-am-ḥa-šú ši-ib-ba-tu ù na-ḥu*
Anger, battle, glow and calming down,

22 *ta-*zi-ru qí-bi-it ša-ap-ti šu-uš-šú*-ru ku-um-ma Iṣ₈-tár*
Cursing, guarding the uttering of the lip – are yours, Iṣtar.

23 *ba*-ṽla*-al*¹ ta*-ki-tim šu-ta-bu-ul ṭe₄*-ma-tim du(-mu)-*uq si-iq-ri*
Mixing the confirmation, confusing the reports, making good
pronouncements,

24 *šu-ṽtu*-ur*¹ du-ul-li ù pa-ša-ar ni-ik-ma-tim [ku]-um-ma Iṣ₈-tár*
making the toil excessive and dissolving the possessions – are yours,
Iṣtar.

25 *ba-aš-tu un-ni-nu še-e-du ù la-ma-as-ṽsu¹*
Dignity, prayer, genius and protective spirit,

26 *i-ša-ar-tu ṭú-uḥ-du ù du-un-nu ka-aq-qá-ṽri ku¹-um-ma Iṣ₈-tár*
prosperity, abundance and hard soil – are yours, Iṣtar.

27 *ši-i-ru e-du a-ḥu-ú iš-ta-pi-ru*
The flesh (= kin), the lone one, the stranger, the servant,

28 *na-ak-ru at-ḥi-ša ši-it-ku-nu ku-um-ma Iṣ₈-tár*
the enemy, making (them) into brothers forever – are yours, Iṣtar.

29 *ṽqá¹*-ab-lu bi-tim il₅-šu a-ši-ib-ta-šu bu-a-ra-am*
(That) the inner part of a house, its god, (and) the (family) who dwells
there are in good condition,

30 *aš-ri-uš ṽša li-ib-bi-ki¹ [k]a-am-li-iš šu-ut-tu-qú* ku-um-ma Iṣ₈-tár*
wherever you want, to furiously split (the house) – are yours, Iṣtar.

31 *ṽiš-da*-ḥu¹ bi-ṽni*-tum¹ [...] a-wa-at ur-ti*
Profitable business, building, ... words of order,

- 32 *šu-¹ta-pu¹ i*-du¹ ¹šu-x x¹-i ut-tu-ur ne-me-li ku-um-ma Iš₈-tár*
partners, wages, ..., maximizing the profit — are yours, Ištar.
- 33 *ta*-¹ḫa-zum* pu-uz-¹ru¹ i-ru-tu ù pu-lu-uḫ-tum*
Battle, shelter, wakefulness(?) and fear,
- 34 *¹e-te-el-lu-tu-um¹ na-pa-al-tu ¹ù ne¹-me-qú ku-um-ma Iš₈-¹tár¹*
supremacy, answer and wisdom — are yours, Ištar.
- 35 *la-la-ú ma*-¹qú?*-¹ sà-ak-tu*-tu-um du-mu-uq a-wi-li*
Charms, being beautiful(?), silence, making the people (feel) good,
- 36 *šu-ub-tum ¹ú-¹uḫ¹*-du* iš-da-tim šu-ur-šu-du ku-um-ma Iš₈-tár*
a dwelling place, abundance, making firm foundations — are yours, Ištar.
- 37 *šu-uš-gu-um ¹ri¹-[ig]-mi ki-ša-aš ša-ḫu-ur-ru-tim*
Causing one to utter shouts, the gnashing of the stupefied ones,
- 38 *ša-ka-an qí-im-ma-tim me-lu-ul pé*-re-te ku-um-ma Iš₈-tár*
making a hairdo, whirling of locks — are yours, Ištar.
- 39 *ze-ru-tu šu-ta-ar-ú-mu il-ta ù ḫa-ri-im-ta*
Hate, to constantly let the goddess and the prostitute make love (with their lovers),
- 40 *sé-ek-ra-at e-mu-tim sek*-ru-tu šu-¹uš¹-ku-nu ku-um-ma Iš₈-tár*
making the women forbidden from marriage enter the status of *sekretum* — are yours, Ištar.
-
- 41 *né-ep-tu ¹re¹-e-mi ik-ka-ar-ši da-di ša-ka-na (erasure)*
The opening of the womb, placing the beloved ones in the belly,
- 42 *tu-am!* ¹še-er¹-ri šu-ur-šu a-ap-li ù na-ap-¹lu-su ku¹-um-ma Iš₈-tár*
twin babies, bringing about the first-born son and glancing (at him) — are yours, Ištar.
- 43 *ki-it-tum sa-as-su-ru* ša-ap-ta-an ra-ab-ba-ta-an / nu-du-un še-eḫ-ri*
Reliable womb, soft lips, the gift of the baby,
- 44 *si-ìs-si-ni ka-al-lu-tim* ù bu-a-ar ma-aš-ta-ki ku-um-ma Iš₈-tár*
the date spadix of matrimony, the happiness of the chamber — are yours, Ištar.
- 45 *zi-ik-ru-um si-in-ni-iš-te-eš ar-da-tu e-¹te₄-el**
(That) a man is like a woman, a maiden is a young man,
- 46 *li-it-ta-šu i-na at*-ta!*-da-tim ta-aš-ku-ni ku-um-ma Iš₈-tár*
you have put his offspring in the gutter — are yours, Ištar.
- 47 *pu-ḫu-ur a-ša-¹ti!¹ su-ur-ru qí-¹ma¹-ti ša-ar-ta*
Assembling the women, letting the locks dance, the hair,

- 48 *qí-a-šu*-um* du*-ṛšu*-ú¹ ga-ma*-lu ù ṛšu-ta-du-ru¹ ku-um-ma Iš₈-tár*
making a gift, providing abundantly, showing mercy and becoming
worried — are yours, Ištar.
- 49 *me-ne-šu-um d[a*-an*]-ṛnu-tum¹ ta-ar-bi-tu* tu(-lu)-ú la-ú!-tum*
Weakness, strength, child rearing, breasts(?), babies,
50 *ši-it-tu šu-na-tu ù ṛú-bu ma-ṛia¹-li ku-um-ma Iš₈-tár*
sleep, dreams and the well-being of the bed — are yours, Ištar.
-
- 51 *di-id ka-ba-at-ti uz-na-an na-an-sú-ka im*-ma!*-tim**
The underwear for the mid-body, (that) the ears are torn out(?) (as
customary) in the land,
52 *ša-ka-an te-ni-im pa-da-nu ta-at*-ta-ás-ḫu-ṛru ku-um-ma¹ Iš₈-ṛtár¹*
providing a change (of clothes), the path, going back and forth — are
yours, Ištar.
- 53 *sa₆-ar-ša* ne-me-eq-ša^{dEN.KI} ša x [...]*
(That) Ea [gave her(?)] her dancing, her wisdom,
54 *ar-ka-at it-pé-eš-tim ta*-ri-[tim] [... ku-um-ma Iš₈-tár]*
the behavior of a capable nursemaid [... — are yours, Ištar.]
- 55 *li-is-mu da-an-nu-tum šu*-ru*-ḫu x [...]*
Difficult running courses, making haste ...,
56 *ku-un-nu^{gisGU.ZA} aš-ru ù ša-[qú?-ú? ku-um-ma Iš₈-tár]*
establishing firmly the throne, the humble one and the *pro*[minent
one(?) — are yours, Ištar.]
- 57 *ma-la-ak si-in-ni-iš-tim zi-[ik-ru il?-la?-ak?]*
(That) a m[an goes] the way of a woman,
58 *ša zi-ik-ri-im si-in-ni-iš-t[um ta?-al?-ak? ku-um-ma Iš₈-tár]*
a woman [goes] (the way) of a man, [— are yours, Ištar.]
- 59 *zi-ik-ra-am tu-al-la-lí šu x [...]*
(That) you hang on the man ...
60 *si-ni-iš-ta ki zi-ik-ri ta-x- [...]*
(that) you [...] a woman, like a man, [— are yours, Ištar.]

col. ii

- 1 *šu-ba-al-ku-ut-ma ši-ip-ru šu-uš-nu-ú pa-nu-šu*
The (usual) behavior is turned up-side-down, his (the performer's)
face is changed.

- 2 *na-mu-ti-iš-ki an-nu an-na-šu tu-ur-ki Iš₈-tár*
For your fun — (you say:) “Yes!”. His (the performer’s) “Yes” is brought back to you, O Ištar!
- 3 *na-aḥ-la-pa-ti pu-ur-sa*-si tu-še-eš-mé zi-ik-ri*
You make men obey (the rules of) garments (and) wigs.
- 4 *mu-ša* i-la-ap-ta si-in-ni-^Γša¹-tu pé*-re-te ga-ad-ra-ma*
At night, the women are touched. They are untidy regarding the hair-locks.
- 5 *na-ši-ma zi-ik-ru ki-iš-^Γri*¹-nam-ma qá-ti-iš-šu*
The man is carrying a balance in his hand.
- 6 *si-ni-iš-tum ki zi-ik-ri ša-ak-na-at uš-pa-ta-am tu-ki!(D1)-a-al qá-aš-ta*
The woman, like a man, is equipped with a quiver, she holds a bow.
- 7 *ki-ri-is-sà-am si-IB-tam uḥ?-ḥa ti-ib-ba na-ši zi-ik-ru*
The man carries a hairpin, a *siBtum*, an *uḥḥu*, a harp.
- 8 *ti-il-pa-na-ti aš-pi as-su-uk-ki si-in-ni-ša-tu na-ši-a*
The women are carrying bows, slings, sling-stones.
- 9 *ša-bi-it-su-ma zi-ik-ru ti₄-il-ši-in šu-^Γuš¹-nu pa-nu-šu*
The man is holding it, their (women’s) *t. ornament*. His face is changed.
- 10 *ša-ak-na-as-súm-ma zī-ib-nu i-na ki-di ba-ú i+na-aš-ši qá-as-su*
The mat is prepared for him outside. The passer-by raises his hand.
-
- 11 *ù si-ni-iš-tum ki zi-ik-ri lu-bu-uš-ta-ša ga-ad-ra-at-ma*
Verily the woman, like a man, her dress is untidy.
- 12 *i-ru-ub úr-ḥu-uš ta-ta-ap*-ra-as iš-ni-ma* [f]e₄*-mi-iš MI RI*
He (the man) stepped in her path, then she was blocked, his mind became different, ...
- 13 *na-šu pa-ta-ar-ri zi-^Γik¹-ka-ru sà-^Γki*¹-ip la-bi-ša-ti-im-ma*
The man carrying a dagger has overturned the clothed (women).
- 14 *pa-al-ḥu-ma ni-iṭ-la-šu-nu ra-i-mu a-bu-bi ^Γri¹-ig-ma-aš-nu*
Fearful is their glance, a roar of flood is their cry:
- 15 *^Γšu*¹-i-^Γta¹-am er!-bi sa-as-su-^Γri¹ šu-ḥi-ma šu-zi-bi šu-um-šu*
“Enter (fem.) (into) the lady! Have intercourse (fem.) with my womb! Leave his (the penis?) progeny!”
- 16 *^Γiš*¹-si as-si-in-nu-um-mi ib*-bi ni-ši* ša-ki-in i-ga*-ap*-pí*-ir*
He cried: “O *assinum!*” He wailed: “My erection is placed, it is growing stronger!”

- 17 *ša-ni-a-at ar-ka-as-su-nu ši-pí-ir-šu-nu nu-uk-ku-ur*
Different is their way, their activity is strange.
- 18 *ú-ki-al-lu pí-la-ak-ki i-na uš*-šī* li-li i-du-ú qú*-a-ti*
They hold spindles. They have thrown threads in the spread of the evening.
- 19 *en-du za-ap-pí zi-ik-ru si-ni-iš-te-eš li-bi-is-su-nu bu-ur-ru-um*
The men are endowed with combs like a woman. Their cloth is multicolored.
- 20 *ap-ru ba-ar-mu-ti-im-ma ki ú-du-ši-iš ar-ḥi pa*-ḥu*-ru él*-ki*
Their (head) is covered with multicolored (cloths). As at the renewal of the moon they are gathered around you.
-
- 21 *na-zu-us-su* i-ri-im-ki i+na ta-ba-¹ar-ri-im¹* la*-mi*
Your love-charm stands by him (the performer), wrapped in red wool.
- 22 *i-¹ba-bi*¹ iṭ-tú-ub-bu gi-im-ra-šu ma-aḥ-ra-ki i-na-qí kur-ra**
In the gate, happily, in its entirety, he pours out a kor (of barley?) in front of you.
- 23 *¹ṭa-bi-iš¹ iš-ša-ak-ka-an ku-na-mu-um mu-ša a-di še-ri-im*
A *kunāmum* is happily placed during the night until morning.
- 24 *x x UZ i-te*-eḥ*-mi di*-im?-ma ru-šu*-ša* ni-šu ba-bi-iš-k[i]*
... moaning(?). The people make noise at your gate.
- 25 *i*-in-ša* ¹x¹ BI ša*-am-ši šu-up-šu-ḥi-iš ka-ba-at-ti-ki*
Her lute ... of the sun in order to calm your mood.
- 26 *x ki x ba/ma la AD* x x ka-am-mi ta-ḥa-za-ma te-le*-q[é]*
... You receive the battle.
- 27 *ku-ul-la-at ka-ak-ki x x x ¹iṭ¹-te₄-e-ru ra-šu-ba-[ta-am]*
All weapons ... They take away in fe[ar].
- 28 *ki* ši-ig-ma-at ad-¹di¹ i-nu za!*-me-ru ar*-da-tim* ku-[x x]*
Like the roar of thunder the singing lute has ... the young women.
- 29 *ma-aš-lu-ut la-bi-im ku-ur-ba ¹ku*-ur*-ba*¹ ú-šu-ru-ut pé*-er!* (text: NI)-[ti-im]*
“O you resembling a lion, pray, pray, you of loosened l[ocks],
- 30 *ba-¹bi-iš¹-mi ¹ša*-ka*¹-an* pu-úḥ-ri-im i-la-ku bi-ki-[ta-am]*
at the gate of gathering!” They are walking, cry[ing].
-
- 31 *i+na-aḥ i-na-an-ḥu ri-ig-mu ri-ig-ma-šu i-ša-ap[-pu]*
He is moaning with moan and cry. His cry becomes loud.
- 32 *pa-r[i]-is-ma zi-bu-um ši-ip-ru i-pé-UŠ né-ú mi?* x x [x]*
The offering is divided, *the one turning away* makes the performance [...]

- 33 ʿeb-bu¹ sí-ir-qú¹ ʿx¹* ú-te-te*-qú ma-ḥa-ar-ki
Pure are the offerings. They have been poured in front of you.
- 34 [na]-ʿšú¹ ta-ka-la-ti[m]*-ma* bi-it-ki ú-ma*-lu ba*-la-x-t[im*?]
They carry bags. They fill your house with ...
- 35 ʿx¹-ri-ʿki¹ ʿx¹-ḥi-ki šu*-ut-ta-ar-ki a-ru-ú
They bring your ..., your ..., your ...
- 36 ʿša¹-aḥ-tu-ʿum* ka?-ab?-tu¹ la le-ú a-wi*-lu* at-mi-[i*]
The humble one, the mighty(?) one, the unable man – speak (to them),
- 37 na-nu-uk-ki nu-ḥu-uš áš-na-an i-te-ep-pí-ru-ú-iš-nu-t[i*?]
(and) at your command they provided them with plenty of barley!
- 38 i+na im-du-ʿuk¹ ša-pí-ik!* bu-du-šu-nu bi-bi ia-ú-te ep-ši-i
Through your support, it (the grain) is heaped up on their shoulder.
(They pray): “Make (fem.) the planets, which are mine, (favorable)!”
- 39 ʿru-ú¹ i-ma-ʿaš¹-ša-ra-at mu-ši-im a-ap-pu-na i-de-ek-ki-ma
The friend, moreover, will wake (the sleepers) in the watch of the night.
- 40 a-ša-lu-tim šu-ut ik-ri-ib-šu-un te-eš-me / ta-na-ad-da-an a-ak-la-tim
For the sleeping ones, whose prayer she heard, she will give bread.
-
- 41 tu-uš-bi bi-ki-tu-um-mi ra-bi-tu
“You, O great one, have increased (the abundance) while weeping.”
- 42 qer-bu kÁ-ki li-ša-ar-bi šu-um-ša
In the midst of your gate may (the performer) make her(sic) name great.
- 43 pa-al-ḥa-at a-a-as-sà ma-li-a-at pí-ia-t[im? ...]
Her word is frightful, she is full of [frightening] comm[ands].
- 44 a-na la e-en-NU-iš^d*EN*.KI* ma-l[i-ku ...]
For her being unfavorable Ea, the ad[visor ...]
- 45 ma-la-ki-iš-šu Iš₈-tár ša te-te-ʿer¹-[ba ...]
At his advice, Ištar, who has e[ntered ...]
- 46 it-na-al-la-ak bi-ti-iš-š[a ...]
He (the performer) keeps walking to h[er] house [...]
- 47 it-na-aq-ʿqá¹-[am...]
He regularly offers (her) libations [...]
- 48–50 (Missing)
(-----)

(About 4–6 lines are missing to the end of the tablet)

col. iii

- 1 *ù šu-ke-[nu-um ...]*
And prost[rating(?) ...]
- 2 *i-ša-as-si ʿx¹* [...]*
He is calling .[.]
- 3 *aš-ru-ʿš^u¹ ki-du*-x[...]*
At his place, outside x [...]
- 4 *a-aḥ-šu i-na i-r[a-tim? ...]*
His arm on the *br[east]*s ...]
- 5 *ú-ša-aq-ta-ma qé-er-b[u- ...]*
“I will finish in the mids[t of ...]
- 6 *aq-qí ì-lí qá-a[l-la?...]*
I herewith sacrifice, my god, a *li[ttle ...]*”
- 7 *ip-pa-aš-ša-ar ni-ik-ma-ʿat¹* [...]*
The possessions of [...] are dissolved.
- 8 *ši-bu-um-mi eṭ-lu iš-s[u*¹-ú ...]*
“O old man”, the young men sh[outed ...]
- 9 *ma-la-ak qú-ur-di-[k]i Iš₈-tár ʿx¹*[...]*
The advance of your heroism, Ištar, .[.],
- 10 *ki ma*-ma*-na pu-us-sà [...]*
when somebody [...] in front of her.
-
- 11 *lu-ši-ib lu-um-nu ep-ša-a[t* Iš₈-tár]*
Let me add, let me tell the deed[s of Ištar!]
- 12 *e-li ra-bu-ti I-gi-gi ʿa¹*-[at?-ra?-at?]*
[She is *exceeding*] the great Igigi.
- 13 *ù ni-ši du-ul-li šu-ud-du-u[m* ...]*
And to let the people cast off the toils [...]
- 14 *ma ši na ur*^{AD} ḫi?-ki-im-ma [*
...]
- 15 *a-še-er ta*-aš*-ša*-ru-ru* ša x [...]*
Towards the (place) where she constantly flashed [...],
- 16 *aš-ri-iš mi-im-ma ʿte*-te- x*¹- [...]*
there she [...] everything.
- 17 *ša-ni-iš ú-te-em-[mi?-id?]*
A second time he *lean[ed]*
- 18 *li-wi-ir šu-x[...]*
Let [...] shine.

- 19 *me-le-em-mu-uk** x[...]
Your aura [...]
- 20 *Iš₈-tár ki-ma la-b[a-ti ...*
Ištar like a lioness [...]
- *
- 21 *iš-šu-x* [...]

(About 29 lines missing)

col. iv

(About 32 lines missing)

- 1' *ku-x*[...]
-----*
- 2' *e-em-q[á-at ...]*
She is wi[se ...]
- 3' *qá-di-iš-t[um* ...]*
The *qadištu*-priestess [...]
- 4' *qí-ši ul-lu-t[um?* ...]*
Bestow, O exal[ted one ...]
- 5' *i-ni-ši-i ni-qí-i¹?[...]*
Among the people the sacrifices(?) [...]
- 6' *ub-lam*-ma li-ib-ba-ki* [...]
Your heart has driven you to [...],
- 7' *te-te-er-ši-i-šu i+na me*[-...]*
then you have wished from him in [...]
- 8' *šu-ú la iš-me pi-a-at-ki* [...]
Has he not heard your commands [...],
- 9' *da-ab-ri-iš ta-az-za-az-z[i ...]*
you stand aggressively [...]
- 10' *te-eš-te-ri šu-ú-ma m[i*...]*
You rose in the morning, he, however, [...]
- 11' *mu-um-ma aš-ri-šu ad-na-t[im?* ...]*
The orchestra, at its place, [makes ...] the peo[ple].
-
- 12' *ù DINGIR* qá*-sa-ma ra-bi-[tum* ...]*
And the goddess – her bi[g] hand [...]

- 13' *ta-na-aš-ša-ar še*-ra* [...] She guards the dawn [...]
 14' *i-nu pí*-ri-tam na-qi-[tam ...]* When worrying fear [...]
 15' *i-re-di bu-ú-li* [...] He (Dumuzi?) leads the herds [of ...]
 16' *i-re-ṛdi* ú?*¹-ma-m[i* ...]* He (Dumuzi?) leads the animals(?) [of ...]
 17' *Dumu*-z[i!* ...]* Dumuzi [...]
 18' *Dumu*-z[i!* ...]* Dumuzi [...]
 19' *i? i? ṛti?*¹* [...] ...

col. v

(1 line missing)

- 1' x [...] ...
 2' *i-lu*-ut* ṛ[Iš₈?-tár? ...]* The divinity of [Ištar? ...]
 3' *ṛqá¹-ti-ša ni-id*-* In her hand ...

(6 lines missing)

- 10' [...] x* [...] ...
 11' [...] *an-ni-ma* ṛia*-a¹-[ti?]* [...] me.
 12' [...] *la-ni a-di su-u[r-ri]* ... me(?) immediately.
 13' [...] *ṛir?¹*-ta-pí*-iš ṛ^{BIL.GI} ṛx¹* [...] the fire spread(?).

 14' [...] *ù ši-i i-qi*-is-su a-r[i*- ...]* [...] and she presented(!) to him.

- 15' [...] *a te-er-ta ù ne-me-la i[d?-di?-in?]*
 ... he g[ave(?)] ..., instruction and profit
i+na ša-ma-an pí-ia ᵀa?-x¹*
 through the oil of my mouth.
- 16' [...] *-ra ù ša ta-ra-a-mi-ᵀma¹**
 [...] and what you love.
- 17' [...] *ᵀx¹-ud-de-e ir-ta-ki tu-ša-ᵀal¹-bi[-ši?]*
 With ... you clothed(?) your breast.
- 18' [...] *é-ᵀer¹-bi-šu re-um pa-ᵀqi?*-¹[du?-um?]*
 [...] in it the ca[ring(?)] shepherd (Dumuzi(?)).
- 19' [...] *q]á-ti be-li iṣ-b[a?-at]*
 [...] he to[ok(?)] the [h]and of the lord.
- 20' [...] *x-as-sà tu-šu-bi*-¹[li/il ...]*
 You/She caused her to brin[g] her [...]
- 21' [...] *ᵀx¹*-ú-ti ma AZ-ZA-[...]*
 ...
- 22' [...] *iš bi-ni-ta-aš [...]*
 [...] stature [...]
- 23' ... *maḥ!?* -ša-tum!? ta-ᵀx¹-[...]*
 [...] the beaten ones(?) [...]
-
- 24' [...] *x x ᵀḥa*¹ al a-[...]*
- 25' [...] *ᵀi*-na* ki-di¹ ir-ta-na-pu-ud bu-bu-ti-ᵀšu?¹ [...]*
 [...] in [his(?)] hunger, he (Dumuzi?) constantly roams outside.
- 26' [*ug*-g]u*-ᵀga¹-at-ma ú-gu-um li-bi-ša li-ib!(text: 1A)-ba-ta-ša ᵀx¹-[x]*
 She (Ištar) was very [fu]rious and in the anger of her heart, he/she ...
 her fury.
- 27' *ki-ma i-li ta-dam-qí at-ti te-še-ri e-li-ta Iš₃-ᵀtár¹*
 You have become beautiful like a god. You rise above in the morning,
 O Ištar.
- 28' *ta-ab-ki-ma iš-ti-šu tu-ša-ni-ḥi pa-a-ki*
 You (Ištar) wailed with him (Dumuzi?), made your mouth weary.
- 29' *te-eš-me-e-ma ik-ri-ib-šu un-né*-en-šu ú-ri da-li-li-[k]i*
 You (Ištar) heard his (Dumuzi's?) prayer, his supplication at the days
 of [you]r praise.
- 30' *bi-ta-am ṭa-aḥ-da-am ta-aš-ru-ki a-ᵀša¹*-bi-iš-ša*
 You (Ištar) presented a copious house for her (Geštin-ana's?)
 living.

- 31' [i]-nu a-ba-bi ta-ta-ku-ši e-li-ki iš-bu-ús
When you (Ištar) went out through the gate, he (Dumuzi?) got angry with you.
- 32' ʿšu-pa¹-as-sà šu-ur-šu-ut-ta tu-šu-bi-li ša-ri-i
You (Ištar) made the winds carry her (Geštin-ana's?) well-founded abode.
- 33' [a]t*-ti a-{x}-nu-ta pu-ti₄-iš na-ri ta-aš-ku-ni ar-du-ta-aš*
[Y]ou (Ištar), as in your Anu-state(?), established her (Geštin-ana's?) slavery in front of the rivers.
-
- 34' [š]a*-si šu-um-ša se-tu-um i-na ma-aš-ri-im ger-ri IK-KU-ru-ki
The parapet is shouting her (Ištar's) name: “With riches they led caravans to you!
- 35' [k]a-aš-da-at du-um-qá la* ti-šu zi-in-na-ta-ia na-an-za-za
She is triumphant! She does not have grace! My (the parapet's) provisions are present.”
- 36' x-DA* da*-ad-ni im-ma-ta-tu ud-du-ú!* bi-ni-ta-aš
All the settlements have made known her stature in the lands.
- 37' [q]ú*-ru*-na-at-ma i-ka-ri ki-tim ni-ši i-ba-aš-ši ul-lu
She has piled up (grain?) in the just harbor. As for the people — there is joy(?).
- 38' [te-e]š-me-ma šu-um-ša i+na-ad-mi se-e-tu
[She (Ištar) hea]rd “The parapet is praising her name”.
- 39' [ku*-ul*-la*-a]t* da-ad-mi it-tu-uš-ša-ma ta-aš-ku-ni ma-ra at-ti
[A]l] the settlements are at her (Ištar's) side. It is you who have placed the darling.
- 40' [na?*-ak?*-r]a* ra-ad-da-ti am-ra-ti ni-ši ger-ri šú-um-bi
You pursue [the enem]y(?). You watch the people, the caravans, the wagons.
- 41' [hi?-it?]-ti₄ ba-bi-ki ki-na-at šu-ub-ta-ša se-e-tu a-pí-a-at*
[The lint]el(?) of your gate is firm. Her dwelling – the parapet (of it) is shining.
- 42' [x]-[x]¹*-t*?-aš-ši ša-aš-ša-nu bu-nu-ki
... Your appearance is a sun-disc.
- 43' [t]u*-ri-iš-ši ú-su-uk-šu ar-ḫi-iš ta-aš-ku-ni-i-ši / se-ti-iš du-ú-ri
You (fem.) make rejoicing its ... You put its (the sun-disc's) ..., like the moon, on the parapet of the wall.
-

- 44' [e?]-*ma ur-ḥa-am še-na e-ʿeḏ¹-la i-la-ka ša-di-a*
[Where]ver(?) the two men were walking on the path through the mountains,
- 45' ʿe¹!?-*li-iš mu-ut-ti-ki uz-na-aš-nu iš-ku-nu e-li*-ik i-¹{si}-su!*
they were attentive to you above(?), and they(!) called for you.
- 46' [*t*]-*ma-ag-ri a¹-pu-uz-ri-im ta-ḥu-zi / e-mu-uq li!*-le!*-en*
You were favorable and took (them) into a shelter, O the power of the evening!
- 47' [*t*]-*e-ḫe-ri šu-a-tu ʿiš¹-š¹-li-iš qú-ru-ud-ki / tu-ba-li-ṭi ta-ap-pa-šu*
You saved him on his way, (by) your heroism, you saved his companion.

col. vi

- 1 [...] x
2 [...] -*tim**
3 [...] -*ši*

Upper edge

[2? šēr?] *ta-na-ti Iš₈-tár*
[2(?) songs(?)] of praise for Ištar.

6. Commentary

In general: In many cases our readings differ from Groneberg's edition. Only few of them are discussed in the commentary.

i 2, 4: For *mummu* as an institution for the study and performance of music in OB Mari, see Ziegler 2007, 77 f. The discussion of *mumma* in Lambert 1999/2000, 274 f. and Groneberg 2005 is now irrelevant. — For *āšibu* instead of *āšipu*, see Lambert 1999/2000, 274f., and Foster 2005, 282, pace Groneberg 2005. *mumma-āšibu* is a sandhi spelling.

i 3: *mērešu* is a rare word heretofore attested only in the first mill. (*CAD* M/2, 26). For *lā'û* (archaic instead of *lē'û*), see Lambert 1999/2000.

i 5: Note archaic *pi₅*. — For a similar use of *wapû* D, cf. *si-pi-it-tam na-ru ḥal-la-tuš-a ša pi-i-[šū-nu] up-p[u-ú] ša ri-gi-im-šū-nu iš-te-ni-iš šu-te-es-mu-[ú] zi-im-ma-at-sú-nu ša-aq-la-[at]* PBS 1/1, 11: 51–53 (cf. *AHW* 1459 *wapû* D c) “The apprentice singers, [whose] voices make appear the lamentation, whose cry is heard in unison, whose wailing is balanced”. Foster 2005, 282

and 285, reads *li-bí-a* and translates “may the clamor call him here quickly”, which does not render correctly *ramanšu* “himself”.

i 6: For the shortened form *liwatrū* instead of *liwattirū*, see Lambert 1999/2000, 275.

i 8: Note the haplography *-li li-*.

i 9: For *ēttum* referring to a goddess, see Streck/Wasserman 2012, 187: 19 (Nanāya hymn).

i 9–10: Who was negligent towards your power, will eventually be submissive to you. We understand *šu'ū lā īmurū* as an asyndetic relative clause. Foster 2005, 282 translates “that one who had no experience of your power, your footsteps will guide (him)”. However, the relative pronoun is elsewhere never written *šu-ú*; moreover, *šēpīki* is in the oblique case, and *iššarū* requires a subject in the plural.

i 11: *a'īlu* “man” looks like a MA form. In i 35 and ii 36 the text writes *a-wi-li/lu*. Cf. *a-a-as-sà* ii 43 for *awāssa*. Moreover, in ii 14, *ra-i-mu* is clearly used for *ramīmu*, which also favors the interpretation of the word as *aw/mīlu*. — For the entire phrase *lā hāsīsu a'īlu*, cf. *lā lē'ū awīlu* ii 36.

i 12: The unwise man will try to escape *qāt Ištar* “the hand of Ištar”, the deadly wrath of the goddess.

i 13: Cf. *šanī šipirša* Agušaya A vi 24 and *alaktaša rēqet* ib. i 10.

i 14: Neither *medū* “sichtbar werden” (Groneberg), a verb which pace *AHw* does not exist (see correctly *CAD M/2*, 3 s. v. *medū*), nor *mi-du* “many” (Lambert 1999/2000, 275; Foster 2005, 282), which likewise does not exist, but a later spelling of *wēdu*. *m* for */w/*, see also in ii 36. Note further the sandhi-spelling *ku-at(-)i-lu* for *kuāti*.

i 15: *ešrūtu* (< *ešēru*) and *la'sūtu* are not attested in the dictionaries. *tattashuru* (also in i 52) is again a new word, with two *ta-* like *tartāmū*, an archaic word attested in OB literary texts (Streck 2012). — Cf. *n a m - n í ĝ - s i - s á b a - < e - d e >* Inana and Enki (ETCSL 1.3.1) segment I 56 “you have brought with you justice”.

i 16: For *ḥabātu* in the process of brick making, see Stol (in the press).

i 17: For *pa-al-ki*, see Lambert 1999/2000, 275. Note the haplography *pa-al-ki(-i) i-...* — *tūb* is pace Lambert ib. not infinitive D, but with Groneberg the noun *tūbu*.

i 18: *mušītu* “night” makes little sense here. We tentatively analyze the word as a hitherto unattested abstract noun from *ešū* “to confuse”, similarly to *mūbū* “thickness”, deriving from *ebū*.

i 19: Cf. *šāltum šaḥmaštum ipp[īrum] anantum u šagāštum kūmma Ištar ZA 75, 194: 164* (Inninšagurra) “quarrel, turmoil, conflict, battle and massacre are yours, Ištar”.

i 20: Cf. *qablātim ubellī* CH xl 32 “I extinguished the fights” and *mu-*

bé-el-li tu-ug-ma-tim RA 86 (1992) 5 iv 10' "who extinguishes the wars". Lambert's (1999/2000, 275) correction to *bullul* is therefore unwarranted. — Note the two congruous components of the war metaphor: *dipāru*, "torch" and *bullû*, "to extinguish".

i 21: CAD U 93b reads *uz-z[u]*. For *šibbatu*, see *ina šibbat kakkiya dannim* BaM 34, 144 viii 11f. (Dāduša stela) "with the glow of my strong weapon".

i 22: *tazzīru* is again another new word. — For *qibīt šapti šuṣṣuru*, see the similar *pā našāru* in Wasserman 2016, 137. *šuzzuru* "to make curse" is not chosen in order to maintain the semantic structure of the text which shows in almost every line an opposition of positive and negative terms. — Cf. *na-me-di ba-⟨e-de₆⟩ na-me-sig ba-⟨e-de₆⟩* Inana and Enki (ETCSL 1.3.1) segment I 41 f. "you have brought with you forthright speech, you have brought with you deceitful speech".

i 23: The line refers to *omina*.

i 24: For *šūtur dullī*, cf. *nišī dullī šuddū* iii 13. — For *pašār nikmatim*, cf. *ippaššar nikmat* [...] iii 7. A similar expression is attested in OECT 11, 1: 4 (Amurru Rīm-Sîn): *pa-te-er arnim pa-š[a?]-er*⁴³ (for *pāšer*) *ni-ki-im-tim* "who absolves the sin, dissolves the possessions".

i 25: Cf. *dūtam bāštam šēda[m l]amassam māḥazam wuddūm kūmma Ištar* ZA 75, 190: 125 (Innišagurra) "to assign virility, dignity, genius, protective spirit and cult-place are yours, Ištar" (and *bāštum mašrahū lamassum šēdum* RA 22, 170: 16 (Ištar Ammiditana) "dignity, splendor, protective spirit (and) genius".

i 26: Unlike Lambert 1999/2000, 275 (followed by Foster 2005, 282), who takes *dunnu* as "bed".

i 27–28: For *šīru* "flesh = kin", see Foster 2005, 283. — For the benevolent and adaptive character of Ištar towards castaways, see *ardat tattadū umma taraššī* RA 22, 170: 19 (Ištar Ammiditana) "the girl which has been cast away will get a mother".

i 29: *āšibtašu* probably refers to one of the fem. words for "family", *kimtu*, *nišūtu* or *salātu*. — We understand *bu'āram* as infinitive "to be healthy (said of persons), to be in good repair (said of buildings)". For the accusative, instead of the expected nominative, cf. *šakāna* i 41 and *šārta* i 47.

i 30: For *aš-ri-uš*, cf. ii 32 *i-pé-uš*.

i 31: For *išdaḥu*, a by-form of *išdiḥu*, cf. *tittūrum iš-da-ḥu-um ... u*

⁴³ Photo and copy of the text also allow reading *pa-t[e₄]-er*; but since *nikimtu* is combined twice with *pašāru* in Ištar Louvre, and as Amurru Rīm-Sîn writes *pa-te-er* in the same line, reading *š[a?]* is preferable, in spite of the broken spelling.

wutturum kûm[ma Ištar] ZA 75, 190: 122 (Inninšagurra) “gain, profit ... and to maximize are yours, [Ištar]”. — Groneberg’s copy shows *bi-ni-tu*, but she reads *bi-ir-tu* “Fessel”. The signs which were seen on Groneberg’s photo are now missing.

i 32: Cf. ... *nēmelum ... kûmma Ištar ZA 75, 190: 123* (Inninšagurra) “profit is yours, Ištar”.

i 34: Cf. *ĝéštug [ba-e-de₆] Inana and Enki (ETCSL 1.3.1) segment I 73* “[you have brought with you] wisdom”.

i 35: Cf. *lalû ... kûmma Ištar ZA 75, 190: 121* (Inninšagurra) “charms ... are yours, Ištar”. — *saktûtu*, “silence”, is a new word. — Note *a-wi-li* vs. *a-i-lu* in i 11.

i 36: With Groneberg (also 2005), contra Lambert 1999/2000, 275, we read *iš-da-tim* and not *iš-da-an*.

i 37: *kiššāš* or *kiššas*, instead of *kiššuš*.

i 38: *pērēte* with Lambert 1999/2000, 275.

i 39: Cf. *nam-ka-r-ke₄ ba-⟨e-de₆⟩ Inana and Enki (ETCSL 1.3.1) segment I 39* “you have brought with you prostitution”.

i 40: The sign *siG* is used syllabically from MB onwards.

i 41: For the accusative *šakāna*, instead of the expected nominative *šakānu*, cf. *bu’āram* i 29 and *šārta* i 47.

i 42: Cf. Foster 2005, 282 “twin babies”. Lambert 1999/2000, 275 reads *qar* instead of *am*. — The verb *naphusu* signifies the father’s accepting glance at his newborn son, cf. Wasserman 2005, 18 f.

i 43: Cf. ... *šapti šerrim našāqum kûmma Ištar ZA 75, 192: 138* (Inninšagurra) “to kiss the lips of the baby are yours, Ištar” and *šapti šerrim rabbatam YOS 11, 92: 15 f.* (inc. against Ardat lilī) “the soft lip of the baby”.

i 44: For *sissinnu* in love-making context, see Wasserman 2016, 151 f.

i 45: There is no sign *-šu* at the end. — The line refers to the transvestite rites culminating in a sex performance described in detail in i 57 ff. Cf. § 2 sections B and C, above.

i 46: *attadû* is a metaphor for the vagina, cf. the use of *pattu* “canal”, in CUSAS 10, 10: 36, see Wasserman 2016, 96 f. — Pace Lambert 1999/2000, 275, *taškunī* is not a mistake (s. also Groneberg 2005).

i 47: Note the accusative *šārta*, instead of expected *šārtu*. Cf. *bu’āram* i 29 and *šakāna* i 41.

i 49: With Groneberg, we correct the text to *tulû*, as *tû* “spell”, would be unexpected here.

i 50: For sleep and dreams in love literature, see Wasserman 2016, 45–47.

i 51: For *dīdu*, a sort of underwear for women, see Durand 2009, 33 (note that the combination *dīd kabatti* is not attested elsewhere). We assume

a garment put off for seduction. — *nansukā* probably stands for *nansuhā* with *h/k*-change; cf. *CAD N/1 20 nasāku 9* for another possible example. — Tearing out the ears is probably a punishment for the adulterous woman, cf. cutting off (*nakāsu*) the ears in different contexts (s. *CAD N/1 175 f. nakāsu 2b1'*).

i 52: For *tattasḥuru*, cf. i 15. — Whereas “providing change” refers to cross-dressing, “path, going back and forth” hints at Ištar as evening star guiding the traveler, a motive that shows up again in v 44'–47'. Cf. *šutēšur kibsim u padānim ... kūmma Ištar ZA 75, 188: 118* (Inninšagurra) “to keep the path and way in good order ... is yours, Ištar”.

i 53: ^dEN.KI following Lambert 1999/2000, 276.

i 54: For *arkatu* < *alkatu*, cf. ii 17.

i 55: *lismū*, “running” (pace Groneberg 2005). Cf. *lasāmum nērubum ... kūmma Ištar ZA 75, 188: 115* (Inninšagurra) “to run, to escape ... are yours, Ištar” and *pīt purīdim lisim birkim ... kūmma Ištar ZA 75, 192: 139* (Inninšagurra) “opening of the leg, running of knees ... are yours, Ištar”.

i 56: Cf. ... *kussī'am ... nadānum kūmma Ištar ZA 75, 192: 142* (Inninšagurra) “to give the throne ... are yours, Ištar”.

ii 1–2: As we understand it, at this point the cross-dressing ritual begins with Ištar calling “Yes!”, echoed by the performer.

ii 3: *pu-ur-sa-si* with Lambert 1999/2000, 276.

ii 4: *mu-ša* and *pé-re-te* with Lambert 1999/2000, 276. — *gadāru* < *kadāru*, cf. *ga(qá)-ad-ru-ti AHW 419 kadru 3*.

ii 5: *kišrinnu* is a new by-form of *gišrinnu*. For Sum. *ḡiš* appearing as *kiš-* in Akk., cf. the tree *kiškanû*, or *kiškattû* “furnace”. — For the *assinnu* carrying the scales in *KAR 42: 67*, see *CAD A/2, 341 assinnu a*.

ii 7: The line is cited in *CAD U/W 41 s. v. uḥḥu* “(a woman’s accessory)”. — *tibbu* < *timbu'u*, *timbuttu* “harp”.

ii 8: For women with weapons in Inana’s cult s. *munus-e-ne-er ḡištukul šúm-mu*, Išme-Dagan K (= ETCSL 2.5.4.11) 24 “to give weapons to the women”.

ii 9: For the archaic syllabic value *ti_i(D₁)*, see also v 33' and v 41'.

ii 12: One expects *tēmuš*, instead of *tēmiš*.

ii 14: *ra-i-mu* stands for *ramīmu*, similarly to *a-i-lu* for *aw/mīlu* i 11.

ii 15: In the preceding lines, the scribe always uses masc. and fem. forms according to the biological sex of the addressee (e.g. masc. forms for biological males and fem. forms for biological females). This means that even if men and women were cross-dressed, the text refers to them grammatically according to their biological sex. Thus, the fem. verbal forms *erbī*, *šuhḥī*, *šūzibī*, which clearly describe male sexual actions of penetration, refer to the women performing as men in the ritual. We put forward that the speaker is the *assinnu*, mentioned in the next line, a man performing as a woman in the ritual.

ii 16: Groneberg 1997, 27 missed the important fact that *-mi* marks an address, a direct speech — the answer to the preceding line⁴⁴. The addressee is the *assinnu*, a man performing as woman in the ritual, and the speaker is apparently the woman performing as man. Thus, in difference to the previous line, the grammatically masc. verbal forms *išši* and *ibbi* refer here to the cultic role and *not* to the biological sex of the actors. If our interpretation is correct, then — contrary to the *communis opinio* (e.g. Peled 2014 with previous literature) — the *assinnu* was not involved in homosexual acts but played the feminine role in a performance whose masculine counterpart was acted by a woman. It is not impossible, however, that secondarily *assinnu* was also used to refer to men taking the passive role in homosexual acts. — We do not follow Lambert 1999/2000, 276, reading *né-ši* “staying healthy” and *ša-ki-tum?*, but we follow him in reading *igappir*.

ii 17: For *alkatu* with *r/l*-change, cf. i 54.

ii 18: (*w*)*ušši lili* is not attested elsewhere. *lilu* “evening”, also appears in the dual in v 46'. For *lilu* in OB, see Streck 2017, 600. Note that Groneberg 1997, 27 took this lemma as *lilû*, “demon”, which gave rise to her discussion of the alleged character of Ištar as mistress of the demon (*Ardat-)**lilû* (Groneberg 1997, 125–130). — For men holding spindles in Inana’s cult see [n i t a ḥ - e] - n e ḡiṣ² b a l š u - b a ? ḡ á ? - ḡ á Išme-Dagan K (= ETCSL 2.5.4.11) 24 “to put spindles into the hands of men”.

ii 19: *endū* < *emdū*.

ii 20: The form *pa-ḥu-ru* is noteworthy since it is modelled after the Assyrian pattern *PaRRuS*, instead of the expected Babylonian *PuRRuS*. Elsewhere the text employs *PuRRuS* (*nukkur* ii 17, *burrum* ii 19, *uddušiš* ii 20, *rušsušā* ii 24).

ii 23: *kunamum* is so far unknown. A piece of furniture?

ii 24: For *rušsušā*, see *rašāšu* A “to ring (said of ears)”, *CAD* R 186 and “to cry” *CDA* 299.

ii 25: *inu* is a long-necked lute, s. Kilmer 1993–1997, 463. New OB attestations of the word are found in *FM* 9 p. 192 no. 44: 6 f.; p. 256 no. 66: 5, 7.

ii 28: *kī šigmat* following Lambert 1999/2000, 276.

ii 32: For the broken spelling *i-pé-uš*, cf. *aš-ri-uš* i 30.

ii 33: x is probably an erasure. — *utteteqqû* is a Dt perfect, an unexpected form. One wonders whether the text has a dittography here, intending *utteqqû*, Dt preterite.

ii 35: For *ma-^lqu[?]1-um* cf. perhaps *mēqī^ram* in *RA* 22, 170: 6, 8 (Ištar Ammiditana). *CAD* M/2, 20 derives the word from *eqû* “to anoint, smear on” and translates “cosmetics”.

⁴⁴For the particle *-mi*, see Wasserman 2012, 179–205, esp. 188 f.

ii 36: *šahtu* is elsewhere attested in SB only. — For *lā lē'û awīlu*, cf. *lā ḥāsīsu a'īlu* i 11.

ii 37: *nuḥuš ašnan* occurs also in OECT 11, 1: 12 (Amurru Rīm-Sîn). — The attached pronoun *-iš-nu-t[i?]* stands for expected *-šunūti*.

ii 38: We believe that the scribe dropped here by mistake the two winkelhaken at the end of IG, in confusion with the two initial winkelhaken of the following BU.

ii 39: There is no object of *dekû* in the text. We suppose the “sleepers” of the next line.

ii 40: One expects subordinative *tešmû*. Or 2nd p. sg. fem.? But *tanaddan* in the same line is clearly 3rd p. sg. fem. — We do not follow Lambert 1999/2000, 276 in reading *a-ak-la-am*.

ii 43: *a-a-as-sà* for *awāssa* “her word”; cf. *a-i-lu* for *awīlu* i 11. For *pīyā[tim(?)]*, cf. *pī'ātki* iv 8'.

ii 44: For the broken spelling *e-en-nu-iš*, cf. *aš-ri-uš* i 30 and *i-pé-uš* ii 32.

ii 44–45: For Ea advising Ištar, see *Ea eršu ša šūturu malākšu uššab uredde awātam ana karšiša* Agušaya A vii 11 f. “The wise Ea, whose advice is exalted, added word after word to her mind”.

iii 6: The first signs are the end of ii 6.

iii 7: Cf. *pašār nikmati* i 24 and see Lambert 1999/2000, 276.

iii 13: Cf. i 24 *šūtur dullī*.

iv 6': *ub-lam-ma* with Lambert 1999/2000, 276 (pace Groneberg 2005).

iv 8': *pī'ātu* is the fem. pl. of *pû*.

v 14': If correctly understood, *šī iqīssu* is the only case of a 3rd p. singular with *i*-prefix in this text.

v 15': For *šamnu* as a metaphor for good words, see Wasserman 1999, esp. 196.

v 26': For the construct state *libbātaša*, cf. *zinnātaya* v 35.

v 27': Cf. [*dam*]qāta *Enkidu kī ili tabašši* Gilg. SB I 207 “you are handsome, Enkidu, you are just like a god!”.

v 33': We understand x, read *-be-* by Groneberg 1997, 34, as a badly written *nu*, written again. — For the archaic syllabic value *tī₄(DI)*, see also ii 9 and v 41.

v 34': Or *kirrī iqqurūki* “they smashed the *k*.-vessels for you”?

v 34'–35': The text switches between 2nd p. sg. and 3rd p. sg. fem., both referring to Ištar. The same occurs in v 39 and v 41. — The attached possessive pronoun *-ya*, “mine”, shows that the parapet is speaking, but it remains unclear where the speech ends.

v 35': For the construct state *zinnātaya*, cf. *libbātaša* v 26. — *nanzāzu* is elsewhere only attested in post-OB texts.

v 36': The by-form *da-ad-ni* of *dadmū* also occurs in OECT 11, 1: 5, 9, 36 (Amurru Rīm-Sîn).

v 37': As *ullu* “neck stock” seems odd here, we tentatively suggest taking *ullu* as another new word loaned from Sumerian *ul* “to swell”, at times equated with *ulšu* “joy”.

v 39': For *māru*, “darling”, referring to the lover, see Wasserman 2016, 111: 42; 211 vi 19'. If so, *māru* refers here to Dumuzi.

v 39', 41': For the change between 2nd p. singular and 3rd p. singular fem., cf. v 34'–35'.

v 41': A restoration *hittu* seems plausible, as the word is attested several times in a genitive construction with *bābu*. (No word ending in /d/ or /t/ presents itself as part of a gate, cf. Salonen 1961.) If correctly restored, *hittu* is a fem. noun. — For the archaic syllabic value *ti₄(DI)*, see also ii 9 and v 33'.





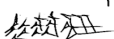
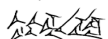





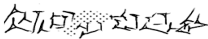



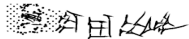
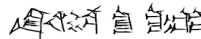



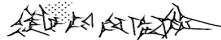



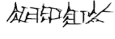


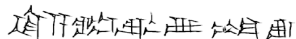
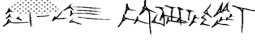



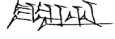
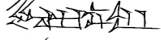


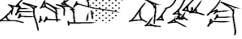

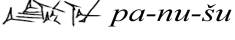
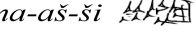



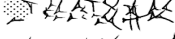
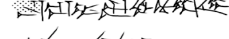
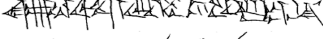
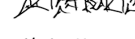
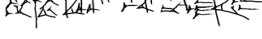




v 43': We suggest *usukku*, “side”, although we are aware that in ARM 6, 1: 19 the word is masc. and that the construct state should be *usukkašu*.

v 44'–47': These lines speak specifically of two young men travelling through the mountains. This scene might allude to Gilgameš and Enkidu on their way to the cedar forest (cf. Wasserman 1999a).

v 46': *līlu* “evening” is also attested in ii 18. For the dual of the word in archaic OB, see Streck 2017, 596 f.

Upper edge: Although *tanāttu* is more common in hymnic writings of post-OB (see *CAD* T 168 f.), it is also attested some OB compositions (Hammurapi, Gungunum, and also *ta-na-da-ti-ia* in the Dāduša stela, see *BaM* 34, 150 xiv 12).

7. List of Collations

- | | | | | |
|-------|---|---|--|---|
| i 2 | [na-] |  | i 3 |  |
| i 5 |  | i 9 |  | |
| i 10 |  | i 12 |  | |
| i 15 |  | i 17 |  | |
| i 21 |  | | | |
| i 22 |  | ša-ap-ti |  | |
| i 23 |  |  si-iq-ri | | |
| i 24 |  | pa-ša-ar |  | |
| i 29 |  | i 30 |  Iš ₈ -tár | |
| i 32 |  | i 33 |  | |
| i 35 |  | i 36 |  | |
| i 40 |  | i 41 |  | |
| i 42 | šē-er]-ri | i 43 |  | |
| i 44 |  | i 45 |  | |
| i 46 |  | i 48 |  | |
| i 49 |  | i 51 |  | |
| i 52 |  | i 53 |  | |
| i 54 | ti]-[tim] | i 55 |  | |
| ii 3 |  | | | |
| ii 4 |  |  ga-ad-ra-ma | | |
| ii 5 |  | ii 6 |  | |
| ii 9 |  pa-nu-šu | ii 10 |  i+na-aš-ši | |
| ii 12 |  | iš-ni- ^r ma ^r |  | |
| ii 13 |  | ii 15 |  | |
| ii 16 |  | ii 20 |  | |
| ii 21 |  i-ri-im-ki | i+na |  | |
| ii 22 |  iṭ-ṭu-ub-bu | i-na-qi |  | |
| ii 24 |  | | | |
| ii 26 | ta-ḥa-za-ma |  | | |

- ii 27 $it_4^1-te_4-e-ru$
- ii 28 $ku-[\dots]$
- ii 29
- ii 31 $ri-ig-ma-šu$
- ii 32 $i-pé-uš$
- ii 34 $[na-]$
- ii 36
- ii 44
- ii 45 $-[ba?...]$
- ii 47
- iii 2
- iii 7
- iii 8
- iii 10
- iii 11
- iii 13
- iii 14
- iii 15
- iv 6'
- iv 12'
- iv 13' $ta-na-aš-ša-ar$
- iv 16'
- iv 17'
- iv 18'
- v 2' $[Ištar?]$
- v 3'
- v 11' $[-ti?]$
- v 13'
- v 14'
- v 15'
- v 16' $[x]$
- v 17' $[-ši?]$
- v 18' $-[qi^1-[du-um]$
- v 20' $-[i / il]$
- v 23'
- v 24'
- v 25'
- v 26' $[ug]-$
- v 29' $ú-ri da-li-li-[k]i$
- v 33' $pu_4-ti-iš$ $ta-aš-ku-ni$
- v 34'
- v 35' $na-an-za-za$
- v 37' $-at-ma$
- v 39' $ta-aš-ku-ni$
- v 40' $[na?-ak?]-$ $ger-ri$
- v 41' $ki-na-at$ $se-e-tu$
- v 43' $ú-su-uk-šu$
- v 45'
- v 46' $[t]a-ma-ag-ri$ $e-mu-uq$

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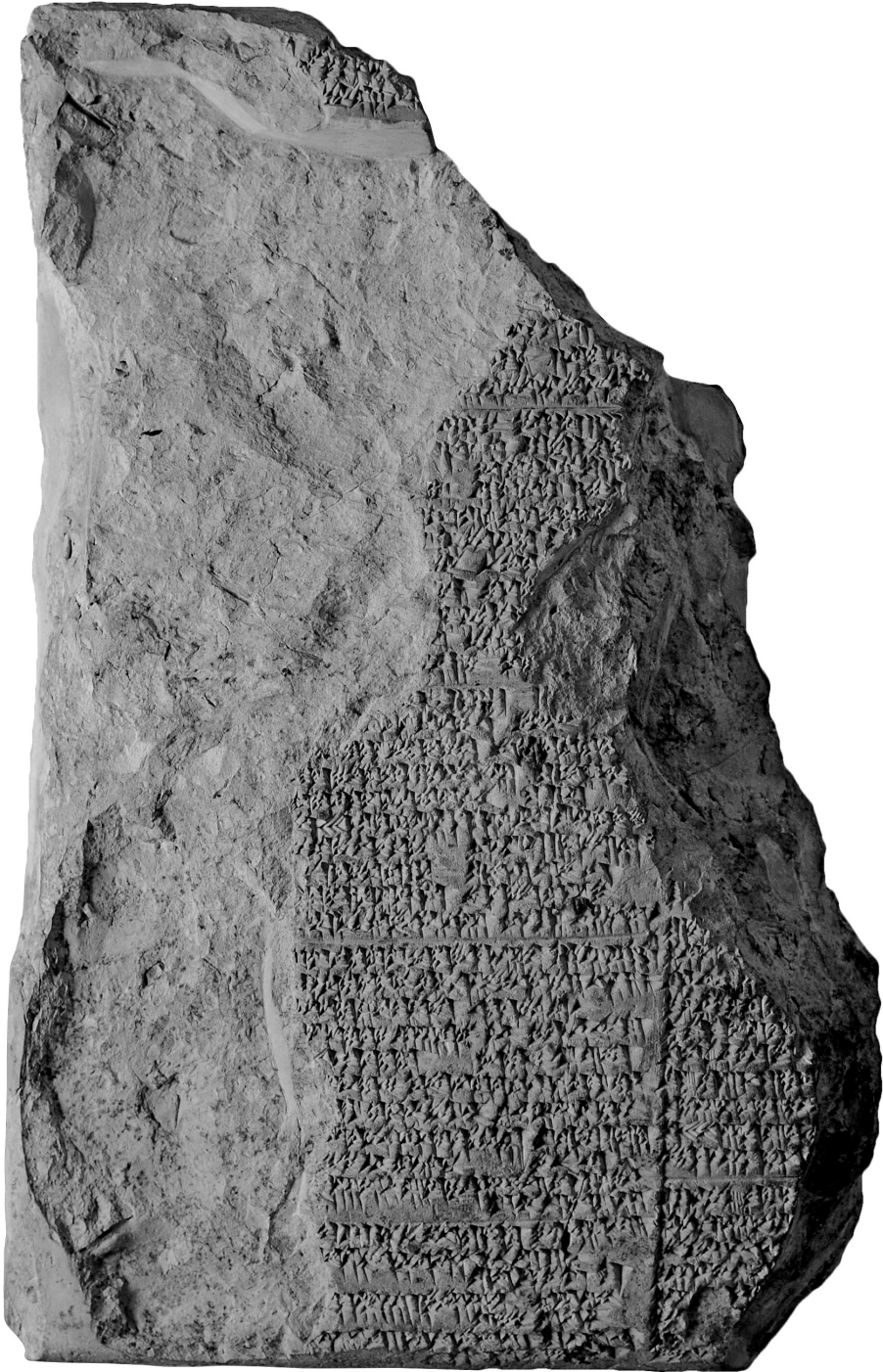
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