

THE (INCHOATE) MARRIAGE OF LUGALBANDA AND NINSUMUNA

JAN J. W. LISMAN¹

1. *Introduction*

The literary text IAS 327 (AbS-T 171) from the Early Dynastic IIIa period, found in Abū Ṣalābīḥ and qualified as an ‘exercise tablet’,² was partly translated by Bing, and translated and edited by Jacobsen and by Wilcke,³ and became known as the story of Lugalbanda and Ninsumuna. This composition is still unique: no new copies of it have been discovered. Also unique is the content of this tablet. There is no reference in any other (Sumerian) composition whatsoever to the story of Lugalbanda and Ninsumuna as told in the composition in question. Both Jacobsen and Wilcke agreed about the problems involved in it. Jacobsen put this as follows: ‘The text presents obvious difficulties, not the least of which are due to the highly elliptic orthography of its period.’ Wilcke limited himself in this respect to: ‘Reading, translation and interpretation are still very subjective.’ On the other hand, Jacobsen and Wilcke disagreed about the translation and interpretation at several points. The different interpretations of both authors were partly caused by the expression IM.RU, for Jacobsen a weapon called ‘Niri’, and for Wilcke a ‘clan (list?)’.⁴ We present now a new edition of the text of IAS 327.

2. *Synopsis and Interpretation*

2.1 The manuscript

First of all, it may be clear and does not require an explanation that this school text does not represent a complete story: it is only an excerpt of a longer, unique story. Nevertheless, we shall try to give an interpretation of this incomplete part.

Our point of departure for the interpretation of the composition concerns the lines in which Inanna said to Lugalbanda that he should go to his father-in-law and should ask him if he might be his son-in-law, in other words: if Ninsumuna might become his wife. Several phases in this concise story may be distinguished.

¹ I am very grateful to Prof. Dr. M. Krebernik who gave me valuable comments and suggestions during the preparation of this text edition. I thank Mrs. Helen Richardson-Hewitt, who corrected the English of this article. For any errors that remain the author alone is responsible. E-mail address: lismanj@xs4all.nl.

² Biggs 1974, 91, no. 327.

³ Bing 1977; Jacobsen 1989 (quotation on p. 69); Wilcke 2015a (quotation on p. 37, note 89); Wilcke 2015b, 226-227 (which is a German translation of the English translation in Wilcke 2015a). Wilcke translated some lines in the RIA-lemma ‘Lugalbanda’ (1987, 130-131, § 4.1.4), and he gave a summary of this story (1989, 563a). The CDLI has a transcription (P010263).

⁴ Jacobsen and Wilcke commented elaborately on IM.RU; for details: see the section ‘Comments’.

The first phase is the meeting between Ninsumuna and Lugalbanda. To judge from the fact that Ninsumuna brought along beer loaves we may guess that she was going for something like a picnic with Lugalbanda. Afterwards Lugalbanda spent the night with her in Iri'aza, somewhere in the mountains in Elam. In the morning Ninsumuna received a message in the form of an enclosed tablet from, as later appeared, the Anunna gods. Apparently Ninsumuna recognised this tablet, or even knew about it already. In any case, she urged Lugalbanda to go together with her to the En in Uruk. This exhortation is not preserved in the text (obv. V 1), but it may be inferred from the continuation of the story. That they probably went to Uruk – also supposed by Jacobsen and Wilcke – may be obvious from what is 'known' about Lugalbanda: 1. He is mentioned in the Sumerian King List as the third king of the Uruk I dynasty; 2. The appearance of Inanna may also point to Uruk, because she is the city goddess of Uruk; and 3. Ninsumuna and Lugalbanda had their temple e_2 -ki-ka1 in Uruk.⁵

The second phase is situated in the environment of the En's courtyard. Lugalbanda meets the En, who is curious as to what Lugalbanda had brought with him, the more so as he obviously knew that the Anunna gods were involved (rev. I 4). The moment that the envelope of the tablet is broken, Inanna appears. This introduces the next phase.

Ninsumuna lustrated the ground, Lugalbanda shivered and threw himself to the ground in a corner, apparently full of awe because of Inanna's appearance. Inanna confronted Lugalbanda with his behaviour, i.e. that he had brought to the En of Uruk a spouse from the mountains with whom he had already slept. She directed him to fulfil his duty, i.e. to ask, as a son-in-law, his father-in-law (whose name is not mentioned) for his daughter's hand in marriage: 'Let me be your son' (rev. IV 6).

The end of the story is less clear, but if our reconstruction is correct, then Lugalbanda invited the witnesses at the wedding ceremony from both parties – his own family and Ninsumuna's relatives – to go to the gate of the outer courtyard.

2.2 Some details

2.2.1 *The meeting point in Iri'aza*

Why was Lugalbanda in Iri'aza? Ninsumuna, as a goddess, could appear everywhere. Lugalbanda is mentioned only in a few Early Dynastic compositions: the god lists from Fara and Abū Ṣalābīḥ, and the $z a_3$ -me hymns, but these few data give hardly any information about Lugalbanda.⁶ Jacobsen inferred from the context of the composition under discussion that Lugalbanda was sent to the mountains as a royal messenger to collect and bring back tribute.⁷ His role as messenger is known from the Old Babylonian composition 'Lugalbanda and the Anzud bird',⁸ where Lugalbanda is a messenger for Enmerkar, Lord of Uruk. We have no attestation of this story from the Early Dynastic period. Wilcke wrote that the text of IAS 327 was part of a tale about Lugalbanda and Ninsumuna, attesting 'to early stories about the mountain-traveller Lugalbanda'.⁹ Wilcke's characterisation of Lugalbanda as mountain

⁵ George 1993, 110, no. 598.

⁶ Fara god list: SF 1, vii 15 (Krebernik 1986, 174); Abū Ṣalābīḥ god list no. 123 (Mander 1986, 27); $z a_3$ -me hymn, the lines 85-86 (Biggs 1974, 48).

⁷ Jacobsen 1989, 81.

⁸ Wilcke 1969; ETCSL 1.8.2.2.

⁹ Wilcke 2015a, 37.

traveller fits perhaps better than that as messenger. Another point of departure we can imagine is the Sumerian King List. This is the only composition in which it is mentioned that Lugalbanda had been a shepherd before he became a king of Uruk. In our opinion it is not unthinkable that Lugalbanda was in the mountains with his herd or flock. In the neighbourhood of Iri'aza there was fresh grass available for the nuptial bed (obv. III 3), but then most probably also for animals.

2.2.2 *The enclosed tablet*

The enclosed tablet appeared to be an important but also mysterious object. Analysing what is related with respect to the tablet we observe the following. At first it is only mentioned that Ninsumuna (in our hypothesis, because the text is broken at that point, obv. IV 1) received 'an enclosed tablet'. This seems to have been the immediate cause of Ninsumuna's urge to go with Lugalbanda to the En of Uruk. Even before he received the enclosed tablet (rev. II 4-5), the En knew that the Anunna gods were involved in what was happening, most likely because of the appearance of Ninsumuna. At the moment that the envelope of the tablet was broken, Inanna suddenly appeared. Nowhere is the text of the tablet itself mentioned; we have to guess at the content. The only thing we can say is that it was a message from the Anunna gods.

2.2.3 *The role of the Anunna gods*

As pointed out by several authors, a Mesopotamian marriage was usually arranged by the respective fathers of the future couple.¹⁰ In this case no parents are known, neither those of Ninsumuna nor those of Lugalbanda.¹¹ Ninsumuna, being a goddess, was in this case 'represented' by the Anunna. And the Anunna's letter to the En appeared to be a sufficient substitute for a missing father of Lugalbanda. From some subtle indications it seems clear that Ninsumuna might have been aware of this intended marriage. Several times an initiative was taken by her: she brought food (for a picnic?) and afterwards lay at Lugalbanda's feet (in order to seduce him?); Ninsumuna urged Lugalbanda to go to the En (probably in Uruk) after she had received an enclosed tablet from the Anunna. After this, we may call the marriage between Ninsumuna and Lugalbanda 'an arranged marriage'.

¹⁰ Stol 2000, 488b; Stol 2016, 68, 72; Wilcke 2007, 61, § 5.1.3.1.1. Stol (2016, 73) gave some examples of marriages in the divine world in which the bridegroom takes the initiative (e.g. Dumuzi as lover of Inanna; Enlil in 'Enlil and Sud'). Another example is 'The marriage of Martu' (ETCSL 1.7.1; the lines 82-83), where the young god Martu asks for the hand of Numušda's daughter in marriage.

¹¹ We agree with Wilcke (1987, 117b) who wrote that Lugalbanda's mother, according to an Old Babylonian composition, might have been Uraš. In this composition ('Lugalbanda in the mountain cave', ETCSL 1.8.2.1, ll. 59-61) there were 'seven' borne by Uraš. Only in line 71 is mentioned: lu gal-^{da}banda₃ 8-kam-ma-ne-ne 'Lugalbanda, the eighth of them', but his mother is then not explicitly mentioned. Mittermayer (2012, 316 and note 13) formulates the question of Lugalbanda's parents as follows: 'Einstmals ein General des Enmerkara, kann sich Lugalbanda als "militärischer Emporkömmling" weder auf eine göttliche noch eine dynastische Abstammung berufen, so werden auch seine Eltern in keinem der Texte namentlich genannt.' Mittermayer supposes that in 'Lugalbanda and the Anzud bird' (ETCSL 1.8.2.1., ll. 3-4) an allusion is made to the absence of Lugalbanda's parents: ama nu-mu-un-da-an-til₃ na nu-mu-un-de₅-de₅ a-a nu-mu-un-da-an-til₃ inim nu-mu-un-di-ni-ib-be₂ 'No mother is with him to offer advice, no father is with him to talk to him.' Mittermayer (2012, 317-318) remarks appropriately that there is a clear discrepancy between the Sumerian King List and the myths.

2.2.4 *Lugalbanda's proposal of marriage*

The marriage rules in Mesopotamia as can be deduced from several codes, marriage contracts, and other texts concerning marriage, have been extensively treated by, among others, Westbrook and Wilcke; Greengus redefined inchoate marriage.¹² The general rules may be summarised as follows. When the fathers of the future bride and bridegroom have agreed to their marriage, the next step is that the man has to go to his father-in-law to ask his permission to marry his daughter. We have no relevant texts or codes from the Early Dynastic period at our disposal.¹³ The first code available to us is the so-called Codex Urnamma from the Ur III period, in which the following indirect evidence for this practice may be found: 'Wenn ein Schwiegersohn in das Haus (s)eines Schwiegervaters eintritt, sein Schwiegervater seine Ehefrau danach einem anderen gibt (...)'.¹⁴ Other evidence may be obtained from a later period, written in the 'Law of Eshnunna':¹⁵ 'If a man took another man's daughter without asking her father and mother (...)'. Since Ninsumuna's parents are not known to us, it is unclear to whom Lugalbanda should have addressed his request; perhaps he should have asked the supreme god of the Anunna, An.

2.2.5 *The gate*

Several authors reported the importance of the temple and the city gates as the 'customary location of legal transactions and oath-taking in ancient Mesopotamia.'¹⁶ On the so-called ušumgal-stèle most likely such a legal transaction at a gate is depicted.¹⁷ Other textual examples are given by Alster, Steinkeller, Stol, and Wilcke.¹⁸

2.2.6 *Witnesses*

Important proceedings, like legal transactions or marriage vows, were always held in the presence of, usually male, witnesses.¹⁹ Our hypothesis is that the five men, mentioned in col. rev. V 1 are witnesses to the marriage between Ninsumuna and Lugalbanda. Lugalbanda asked them to go to the gate of the courtyard, the place where such ceremonies took place.

3. *Jacobsen's interpretation*

Jacobsen started by saying that the text IAS 327 may be 'merely the middle part of a longer tale, the beginning and end of which are missing.' Another possibility he put forward is that 'the storyteller could begin at will in *medias res*', because the audience knew the story by heart. Jacobsen made no choice between these two possibilities as to which was the right one.

¹² Westbrook's study (1988) concerns the Old Babylonian period; about 'betrothal' and 'standard inchoate marriage', see Westbrook 1988, 29-36; 85 ad 2. Wilcke 1985; idem 2002, 2007 and 2014. Greengus 2002.

¹³ Wilcke 1985, 245: 'Quellen über Eheabsprachen entstammen vor allem der Zeit der III. Dynastie von Ur.'

¹⁴ Wilcke 2002, 316, § 15; Wilcke 2014, 542 § 15.

¹⁵ Yaron 1988, 58, 59 section 27/28, lines 31-32; 173; Greengus 2002, 131 (quotation).

¹⁶ Gelb *et al.* 1991 (Text section), 44b.

¹⁷ Gelb *et al.* 1991 (Plates section), Plates 13-17.

¹⁸ Alster 1993, 21-22 (TMHNF III 25, l. 6; a marriage affair); Steinkeller 1978, 75-76; Stol 2016, 290 (an example from Nuzi); Wilcke 2007, 42, § 3.3.1.

¹⁹ Greengus 2000, 475a.

In a footnote Jacobsen described his point of departure.²⁰ This was the occurrence of *ha-luḥ* (rev. III 5) ‘he shuddered’ and *ab-lal₃* (rev. III 1) ‘hatch’, which – according to Jacobsen – ‘suggested the appearing of a ghost and further a series of events leading up to it.’ Jacobsen understood the tablet IAS 327 as part of a sequence of tablets, because the beginning and the end of the story are missing. He distinguished three episodes. For the first episode (obv. I-III) he would like to answer three questions. The first one – ‘where is the scene of events?’ – is easy to answer, i.e. in Iri’aza, located in the eastern mountains somewhere in Elam, and perhaps more specifically at Ninsumuna’s home where she is busy with brewing beer. The second question is: what took Lugalbanda to Iri’aza? Therefore, Jacobsen supposed, based on the fact that Lugalbanda was expected to bring things from the mountains and also because of the mention of the tablet(s) of ‘incoming deliveries’ (obv. V 2), that Lugalbanda was sent to the mountains as a royal messenger to collect and bring back tribute. The role of messenger is traditionally associated with Lugalbanda: therefore, Jacobsen referred to the story known as ‘Lugalbanda and the Anzud bird’.²¹ The third question is about the relationship between Lugalbanda and Ninsumuna. According to Jacobsen, Lugalbanda and Ninsumuna were married (rev. IV 3-4) and the marriage was already consummated (obv. I 5 – II 6) due to a ‘deliberate and successful gambit.’ The second episode (obv. IV 1 – rev. II 2) concerns the change of scene to Uruk while Lugalbanda takes with him the weapon *Niri* (obv. IV 3), and there is also a new event, i.e. the request of the En, who may be Enmerkar. The En asks Lugalbanda to show him what he has brought along with him from the mountains. But Lugalbanda could only show Ninsumuna and not the expected deliveries, which the En wanted to show to the nobles (*a-nun*). Lugalbanda is silent about the (supposed) collected tribute; therefore, Jacobsen suggested (‘clearly conjectural and conjectural only’) that it was used to pay the bride price for Ninsumuna. In the last episode (from rev. II 3) the central figure is a *lil₂*-spirit. Lugalbanda’s ‘mother is dead and his tutelary goddess is in her in the grave, but rises to appear as a *lil₂*-spirit (rev. II 5) to protect her son from threatening danger.’ Ninsumuna addresses this *lil₂*-spirit as her mother-in-law and asks her for five sons (and possibly also five daughters, but that line is lost). The number of children of Lugalbanda and Ninsumuna can be found in the god list *an = anum* (tablet V 4-13).

4. Wilcke’s interpretation

Wilcke says little with respect to an interpretation of this composition.²² It ‘attests to early stories about the mountain-traveller Lugalbanda. It speaks of a legal ceremony of the families (*im-ru*) of both partners to a marriage at the gate to witness the ‘marriage vow’ “I shall live with the spouse”’.²³ More or less central to his interpretation is the word *im-ru*, which he explained as being *a*) ‘an admirable hollow and vaulted body with bottom (obv. III 3-4) and a neck (rev. II 3) formed by Lugalbanda from clay (obv. I 1)’, which is brought to Enmerkar in Uruk and from which Ninsumuna appeared (rev. II 6 – III 1). Moreover, *im-ru* denotes *b*) ‘a group of persons who are to meet with “those of princely descent” (= Uruk’s nobility).’

²⁰ Jacobsen 1989, 72, note 3. His chapter ‘Interpretation’ is on the pages 80-86.

²¹ Wilcke 1969; ETCSL 1.8.2.2.

²² Wilcke 2015a, 37-38; Wilcke 2015b, 203-204.

²³ Wilcke 2015a, 37. This ‘marriage vow’ is found in Wilcke’s translation of the line rev. V 5.

Wilcke tried to harmonise the interpretations *a)* and *b)* by assuming that the *im-ru* sub *a)* ‘is a piece of writing naming the members of Nin-sumuna’s kinfolk *b)*.’ The clans of both Lugalbanda and Ninsumuna have to meet at the gate of the outer courtyard ‘to witness to formal contraction of their marriage with solemn words.’ Wilcke changed his mind with respect to the *a-nun* in this composition. In his RIA-article ‘Lugalbanda’,²⁴ the *a-nun* were ‘die Anunna(-Götter?)’; in the recent edition the translation was ‘those of princely descent’, apparently because of his interpretation that two family clans were going to meet at a gate.

5. Transcription and translation²⁵

Obverse

I 1	lammar _x ^d nin-sumun ₂ aĝarin ₅	The guardian goddess Ninsumuna had brought along ^(1.2) beer loaves.
	2 mu-de ₆ -de ₆	
	3 lammar _x [^d]nin-sumun ₂ gal in-zu	The guardian goddess Ninsumuna was sagacious.
	4 igi mu-lib	She woke him up,
	5 ĝiri ₃ -na mu-nu	(and) lay down at his feet.
II 1	lugal- ^{da} banda ₃ gal-zu	The clever Lugalbanda
	2 lammar _x ^d nin-<sumun ₂ >-ra	nestled ^(1.3) the guardian goddess Ninsumuna
	3 da mu-ni-dab	at his side;
	4 igi a-sub ₅	he kisses her eyes,
	5 ka a ¹ (DIŠ)-sub ₅	he kisses her mouth;
	6 ud gal in-ga-mu-zu	then he was again clever.
III 1	[lugal- ^{da} banda ₃ (?)]	[Lugalbanda (?)]
	2 ‘mu ¹ -DU	has
	3 u ₂ za-ĝin ₃ ¹ mu-ni- ^{ba} bara ₃ (DAG)	He spread out fresh grass there.
	4 ki du ₁₀ ĝeš	At a pleasant place with trees,
	5 en-na ud zal	until dawn,
	6 IRI×PIRIĜ dur ₂ -še ₃ al-durun _x (TUŠ.TUŠ)	they kept staying in Iri’aza.
IV 1	[lammar _x ^d nin-sumun ₂ (?)]	[The guardian goddess Ninsumuna (?)]
	2 gal in-zu	was sagacious.
	3 im-šu _x (RU) šu im ¹ (LAK376)-ti	She took the tablet envelope.

²⁴ Wilcke 1987, 131a.

²⁵ Unlike Jacobsen we do not present an ‘adjusted’ transliteration in order to correspond to the more explicit orthography which was in use in later times. Only if a word was obviously forgotten – e.g. sumun₂ in col. obv. II 2 – this was added.

4	lammar _x ^d nin-sumun ₂ lugal- ^{da} banda ₃ ¹	The guardian goddess Ninsumuna addressed herself ^(l. 5) to Lugalbanda:
5	inim mu-gi ₄ -gi ₄	
V 1	[.....] 'x'	[.....]
2	dub mu-še ₃ -de ₆	He brought the tablet to him.
3	lugal- ^{da} banda ₃	Lugalbanda
4	en-ra ki mu-na-za	prostrated himself before the En.
5	en lugal- ^{da} banda ₃	The En addressed himself ^(l. Rev. i: 1) to Lugalbanda:
Reverse		
I 1	'inim mu-gi ₄ -gi ₄ ¹	
2	niĝ ₂ kur-ta de ₆ -<a>-zu	‘That what you brought along with you from the mountains,
3	u ₆ ga-du ₁₁	I will admire it.
4	a-nun si mu-sa ₂ -sa ₂	The Anunna have arranged for it!
5	niĝ ₂ 'kur-ta' [de ₆ -a-zu ?]	That what [you brought along with you ?] from the mountains
6	[.....]	[.....].’
II 1	lugal- ^{da} banda ₃ kisal-bar-še ₃	Lugalbanda brought it out ^(l. 2) into the outer courtyard.
2	im-ma-ta-e ₃	
3	'im ¹ -šu _x (RU) 'gu ₂ ¹ kud	The tablet envelope, (with) the rim cut off,
4	im-šu _x (RU) a-nun	the tablet envelope of the Anunna,
5	'kisal ¹ šu [...] 'gi ₄ ² ¹	was handed over ² [] in the courtyard.
6	[^d inanna [?]]	[Inanna [?]]
III 1	ab-lal ₃ im-ta-e ₃	appeared from a nook.
2	lammar _x ^d nin-sumun ₂	The guardian goddess Ninsumuna
3	kiši ₁₇ a-ra ₂ ki ba-ni-tag	put myrtle oil on the ground.
4	lugal- ^{da} banda ₃	Lugalbanda,
5	ḫa-luḫ	shuddering,
6	'ub kisal [?] ki [ba-ni [?]]-tag ¹	laid himself down on the ground in the corner of the courtyard.
7	^d inan[na] [?]	Inanna [?]
IV 1	lugal- ^{da} banda ₃ «-ra»	addressed herself ^(l. 2) to Lugalbanda:
2	inim mu-gi ₄ -gi ₄	
3	za dam kur-ta mu-tum ₂	‘You brought with you a spouse from the mountains,
4	dam-da mu-nu	(and) you lay with that spouse.

5	ušbar _x (U ₂ .UR ₂) mussa _x (MUNUS.UŠ)	Now say kindly to me ^(l. 7) , as a son-in-law to a father-in-law:
6	[du]mu-zu ħe-me	“Let me be your son.”
7	ša ₃ du ₁₀ du ₁₁ -ma	
V 1	5 nita	Five men
2	<i>hatching</i>	<i>hatching</i>
3	im-ru-ĝu ₁₀ a-nun e ₂ -za	‘Let my family (and) the Anunna of your house
4	ka ₂ kisal-bar ħe-ma-su ₈	go and stand at the gate of the outer courtyard.’
5	‘x’ ‘x’ [...] TI
6	[...] ‘x’ im-r[u]	[...] the family [...]

6. Comments

This tablet with the text about Lugalbanda and Ninsumuna was characterised by Biggs as an exercise tablet and dated to the Early Dynastic IIIa period.²⁶ Some well-known characteristics of the texts of that period are the elliptic orthography and the fact that the sign order in the respective cases is more or less random. These features can be observed in this text, too. In case several different sign orders might be possible, i.e. leading in our opinion to a meaningful Sumerian expression or sentence, we have chosen what seems to be the most likely one, and discussed other possibilities in the comments. Jacobsen wrote: ‘so attempts at interpretation (...) can hardly be more than tentative and must be content if they can make even a modest contribution toward ultimate understanding.’²⁷ And Wilcke remarked: ‘Reading, translation and interpretation are still very subjective.’²⁸ We would like to add the same remarks and reservations as those of Jacobsen and Wilcke to this edition of the story of Lugalbanda and Ninsumuna.

Obverse

I 1-2 Marchesi and Marchetti mentioned the evidence for the reading ^dKAL = lammar_x instead of /lamma/.²⁹ For /aĝarin/ several meanings are known: 1. matrix, mother-creator; 2. beer mash, beer bread; 3. crucible.³⁰ Ninsumuna – ‘Lady of the wild cows’ – is not known as a mother goddess, like e.g. Ninhursaĝa, Ningal, Aruru.³¹ For aĝarin₅ the meaning ‘beer

²⁶ Biggs 1974, 91; see also CDLI, no. P010263.

²⁷ Jacobsen 1989, 69.

²⁸ Wilcke 2015a, 37, note 89.

²⁹ Marchesi and Marchetti 2011, 168. Wilcke hesitated about where to write the diĝir-determinative:

^dlammar_x nin-sumun₂ or lammar_x ^dnin-sumun₂ (Wilcke 2001, 502a). Both places seem possible.

³⁰ PSD A III, 60-61; ePSD. For the meaning ‘crucible, basin’, see Heimpel 2009, 222, 239. Sallaberger (2012, 311) discussed the meaning of aĝarin as it appears in the lexical list 𒀭𒀭 XXIII (aĝarin₄): ‘gärender, aufgehender Sauerteig’. This product hardly fits what Ninsumuna brought along. Perhaps there is a subtle difference between aĝarin₄(= GA₂×AN.ŠIM) and aĝarin₅(= GA₂×AN.ŠIM×ĜAR in IAS 327), because of the sign ĜAR in aĝarin₅.

³¹ For more information about Ninsumuna, see Wilcke 2001.

bread' seems the most likely one in the context of this myth.³² In the literature several examples were found where /agarin/ appears in the context of beer (products).³³ Wilcke translated *agarin_x* as 'Tonbatzen' or '(lumps of) clay', a meaning the word /agarin/ does not seem to have.³⁴

The verbal form DU.DU may be transcribed in several ways. A transcription *ĝen-ĝen* (*hamtu* stem singular) or *du-du* (*maru* stem singular), expressing 'to come continuously' and 'to stand continuously' respectively, seems very unlikely, because in that case *aĝarin₅* may represent an epithet of Ninsumuna, which seems unsuitable. Sallaberger elaborately discussed the verb DU with the meaning 'to bring'.³⁵ The verbal form DU.DU may be transcribed as *lah_{4/5}* (plural absolute, *hamtu* and *maru* stem). This transcription does not apply here because the subject (Ninsumuna) is singular and animate objects are missing. Another transcription is *de₆-de₆* (*hamtu* stem, singular subject, plural inanimate object: *aĝarin₅*), which does apply here.

I 4-5 The compound verb *igi...lib* 'to be awake' is used in this line in the transitive meaning 'to wake somebody up', in our opinion. When in this story one of the protagonists is called *gal-zu* 'sagacious, clever', it is followed by an action of that clever person as an expression of that cleverness.³⁶ 'To be awake' is no action, therefore a transitive meaning fits better in the course of this story. Moreover, Ninsumuna herself was awake already, because 'she was sagacious' (I 3) and therefore one has to be awake. As Jacobsen had noted: *nu* was written instead of *nu₂*.

II 3 DIB = *dab*, sometimes used for *dab₅*, 'to seize'. Our interpretation of this line is that Lugalbanda made Ninsumuna, who was lying at his feet, lie beside him (thus a causative construction), so that he can kiss her (the lines obv. II 4-5). The compound verb *da...dib* 'to pass the side; to go along a side' could not be attested in any other text, but is, even in a causative construction, less likely in this context, in our opinion.

II 4-5 The sign MUNSUB (LAK672) = *sub₅* is supposed to be used for *sub* or *su-ub* 'to rub'. Jacobsen and Wilcke assumed that the expression *ne sub/su-ub* 'to kiss' was meant in these two lines, notwithstanding the absence of *ne*,³⁷ and we agree with their opinion, although the expression *ne sub/su-ub* was seldom used to describe the kissing of special parts of the body.³⁸ About the use of the prefix *a in Northern Sumerian, Jagersma wrote that this prefix in perfective forms was used to express 'the state of the object as

³² See Jacobsen (1989, 74-75) for his explanation of the term AMA.ŠIM×ĜAR = *agarin₅*.

³³ 1. M. Tanret, MHET 3 1/2, 26, obv. I 8 (P332868); 2. E. Reiner, M. Civil, MSL 11, 111N, rev. 1' 4' (P228562); 3. E. Chiera, OIP 11, 12, obv. III 9 (P227925); *idem*, OIP 11,16, obv. III 3' (P229352).

³⁴ Wilcke 2015a, 37; Wilcke 2015b, 226. In PSD A III 60-61 'agarin' ad 2. the meaning '(fertile, generative) soil' is mentioned. For the examples given sub 2.1 a translation 'mother-creator' seems more appropriate. For the examples at 2.2 the following restriction was made (p. 61b): 'The Gudea passages cited sub 2.2 are somewhat doubtful.' In the ePSD the meaning '(fertile, generative) soil' has been deleted.

³⁵ Sallaberger 2005; summary at p. 573.

³⁶ See obv. II 1-5; obv. II 6 – III 1-3; obv. IV 1-3.

³⁷ Text AbS-T96 (IAS 368), III' 3-4 has: 3. *igi an-ni-sub₅* 4. *ka an-ni-sub₅*, also without *ne*.

³⁸ The examples Jacobsen gave in his commentary for *su-ub* appearing without *ne* and meaning 'to kiss' are not convincing in our opinion; e.g. *ki su-ub* is 'to prostrate oneself', not 'to kiss the ground'. Examples of kissing body parts are: *l. nundum* 'lips' in 'Dumuzid's dream' (ETCSL 1.4.3), the lines 168, 195, 230, and in 'A *balbale*

resulting from a previous action’ or ‘it is used as a passive marker’.³⁹ A passive meaning (‘her eyes were kissed, her mouth was kissed’) seems to us less plausible, because of the ‘active’ Lugalbanda. The prefix *a also occurred in main clauses with imperfective verbal forms.⁴⁰ We suppose that this use of *a is applicable in these lines, although the third person suffix *e is missing.⁴¹

III 1-2 We agree with Jacobsen’s suggestion that in these lines is alluded to the preparation of a bed with herbs and grass. But contrary to Jacobsen, who supposed that Ninsumuna is the subject of the lines III 1-2, we assume that the bed was made up by Lugalbanda. It follows also from the foregoing line II 6, in which is said that Lugalbanda is again very clever. In this composition always follows an action of the person who is called wise. Moreover, if it was indeed meant as a bed for lovemaking, its preparation was mostly not done by the woman, but by either the man or others.⁴² Therefore a possible restoration of these lines might be: [lugal-^{da}banda₃ u₂] mu-de₆: Lugalbanda brought herbs.

III 3-4 We tentatively read za-gin₃, albeit that Biggs’ line copy does not show the sign KUR = gin₃; the photo is unclear at this point, but KUR is not inconsistent with the extant part of the sign. The use of u₂ za-gin₃ for the preparation of a bed is attested at several places; the translation varies from ‘pure plants’ to ‘fresh herbs’ and ‘clean hay’.⁴³ A translation like ‘clean hay’ for u₂ za-gin₃ seems not to correspond to the basic meaning of za-gin₃ ‘lapis lazuli’. As an adjective at u₂ it points to the colour of that grass, and therefore we prefer a translation ‘fresh’, implying the fresh green colour of grass. The *ba in this line most likely is a gloss at DAG to indicate that the word barag₂ is meant here.

Wilcke’s transcription and translation of the lines III 3-4 are: kuš₃-min limmu-ba mu-ni-dag ki ġiš-ġe ‘He spread out two cubits square as an earth and as a vault of heaven.’ What is missing is: what should be spread out? As becomes clear from his comment⁴⁴,

to Inana [Dumuzid-Inana B] (ETCSL 4.08.02), the line 6; 2. ġiri₃ ‘foot’ in ‘The debate between Grain and Sheep’ (ETCSL 5.3.2), the line 186.

³⁹ Jagersma 2010, § 24.5.2, 543-545.

⁴⁰ Jagersma 2010, § 24.5.3, 546-548.

⁴¹ See also Krebernik’s remark about the ‘Nachlässigkeit des Schreiberns’ (comment at line obv. IV 3), which could be observed also at some other places in this manuscript.

⁴² Some examples can be found at Sefati 1998, 99-101.

⁴³ A nice example was found in ‘Enmerkar and En-suġġir-ana’ l. A81 (ETCSL 1.8.2.4): ġe₂₆-e ġeš-nu₂ gi-rin ^dinanna-ka u₂ za-gin₃ bara₃-ga-a-ba ‘I, after fresh grass was spread on Inanna’s brilliant bed.’ Other examples are: ‘The building of Ningirsu’s temple’, cyl. B 9:8 and B 17:1 (ETCSL 2.1.7); ‘The lament for Sumer and Urim’ l. 443 (ETCSL 2.2.3); ‘The death of Ur-Namma’ l. 159 (ETCSL 2.4.1.1); ‘A *kunġar* to Inana (Dumuzid-Inana-T)’ l. 41 (ETCSL 4.08.20); ‘The Temple Hymns’ l. 210 (ETCSL 4.80.1). See also PSD-B 146, sub bara₃ ad 2.

⁴⁴ Wilcke 2015a, 37-38, note 91. Wilcke’s explanation is rather complicated; therefore the complete text of the note 91 will be cited here: ‘Assuming that the im-ru is (a) an admirable (vi 3) hollow (Nin-sumuna came out of its opening: vii 6-viii 1), vaulted (iii 3) body with bottom (iii 3) and a neck (vii 3) formed by Lugalbanda from clay (i 1) which is later (v 3) called a (clay) tablet which he brought “hither” (to Uruk), before the “Lord” (Enmerkar), and assuming that im-ru (b) also denotes a group of persons who are to meet with “those of princely descent” (= Uruk’s nobility) at the gate of the outer courtyard (i.e., coming from the outside). Both, (a) and (b) can be harmonised if (a) is a piece of writing naming the members of Nin-sumuna’s kinfolk (b), her clan (im-ru-a = im-ri-a = *kimtu*, *nišūtu*, *salātu*; see CAD s.vv.), who are to meet with Lugalbanda’s kinfolk to witness the formal contraction of their marriage with solemn words. The description of the inscribed object (a) resembles the hollow clay “cones” and vessels with royal inscriptions discussed by Cooper 1985 and Marzahn 1997. (...) It must have been

Wilcke supposed that Lugalbanda formed with clay (mentioned in the line obv. I 1 as his translation of aĝarin₅) a huge hollow vaulted body in which Ninsumuna was hidden. The term ĝiš-ĥe ‘firmament, vault of the sky’ could only be attested in a few Old Babylonian texts. Another, minor, objection is the fact that the words ki ĝiš-ĥe in Wilcke’s interpretation are placed after the verb, in the next case, which is rather unusual.⁴⁵ Jacobsen’s transcription of line III 4 is ki ĥi-is ‘a pad of lettuce’, which is very unlikely because the spelling ĥi-iz ‘a vegetable’ is not yet common practice in the Early Dynastic period.⁴⁶

III 5 For some examples of ud...zal ‘to dawn’, see Veldhuis 2004, 132.

III 6 Jacobsen discussed the sign IRI×PIRIĜ, and he concluded that it could represent the city of Iri’aza.⁴⁷ On the photo of the tablet IAS 327 the hatching of the ‘ear’ of the sign PIRIĜ is hardly visible; moreover, it seems as if a very weak sign AZ is present at the left of the sign PIRIĜ, below the ‘ear’, which may confirm the reading Iri’aza.

For durun_x(TUŠ.TUŠ), see Krebernik 1984a, 643. A literal translation of dur₂-še₃ tuš may be ‘to sit on the buttocks’.

IV 1 The restoration of Ninsumuna in this line is based on the context.

IV 3 Jacobsen discussed the term NI₂(LAK377)-RU extensively.⁴⁸ He wrote: ‘At first glance one might think of im-ru, later im-ri-a, “clan, family”, (...)’, but in his opinion such a meaning is ‘hardly suitable’ in this passage. He argued that a weapon was meant by this expression and that ‘a reading NI₂-ri_x(RU), “the one endowed with dreadfulness”, would seem to yield a suitable name for a neck-cutting weapon’. This argument was based on the text of line rev. II 3: gu₂ kud ‘neck cutting’ (in Jacobsen’s translation). On the other hand, Wilcke translated im-ru as ‘clan’.⁴⁹ In our opinion, both translations/interpretations – ‘weapon Niri’ and ‘clan’ – are not suitable in the context of this composition.

In obv. V 2 a tablet is mentioned, and in rev. II 3 the rim of the im-RU is cut off. Therefore, we propose the transcription im-šu_x for im-RU and the translation ‘tablet envelope’, which in later periods was written as im-šu₂.⁵⁰ Selz referred to an example of an Early Dynastic clay envelope plus tablet: Amherst 1.⁵¹

quite big, if the goddess could hide in it. Nin-súmun(.ak) means “Lady of the aurochs cows”; were her relatives aurochs?’

⁴⁵ Moreover, such a huge object of clay (‘two cubits square’) is hardly realisable, let alone movable. As Wilcke admitted (2015a, 38, note 91): ‘It must have been quite big, if the goddess could hide in it.’

⁴⁶ In Early Dynastic Plants ĤI^{sar} is present (nos. 69, 115); the spelling ĥi-iz^{sar} is only present since the Ur III period.

⁴⁷ Jacobsen 1989, 76 at line 17.

⁴⁸ Jacobsen 1989, 77 at line 20.

⁴⁹ Wilcke’s interpretation of im-RU was already given above in a note at line obv. III 3-4.

⁵⁰ Civil 1986, 76. Steinkeller (1990, 22-23) discussed a term NI.RU, in all probability to read u_x-šub (or i₃-šub), which represented a variant spelling of u₃-šub ‘brick mould’. This NI.RU appeared to be not only part of a sledge or of a chair, but it was also used for a lattice of a window.

⁵¹ Selz 2011, 276; CDLI P100839.

With respect to the variant spelling of the sign *im* – normally in this text LAK377, but here once LAK376 –, Krebernik remarked that ‘mit einer Nachlässigkeit des Schreibers zu rechnen ist, da der Text sonst “normales” *im*- als Verbalpräfix verwendet.’⁵²

V 1 From the continuation of the story we infer that Ninsumuna might have said to Lugalbanda something like: ‘You must go to the En!’

V 2 The *dub* in this line refers to the content of the *im-š_x* in the line *obv. IV: 3*. The subject is not clear, it may also be ‘she’, in this case Ninsumuna, but if our supposition with respect to the line *obv. V 1* is true, we assume that ‘he’, Lugalbanda, is bringing the tablet to ‘him’, the En.

Reverse

I 2-3 What the En will admire is the *im-š_x*, and the message on the tablet.

I 4 Wilcke gave an overview of ‘datable occurrences’ of the compound verb *si...sa₂*, with meanings like ‘to make straight, right’, ‘to put in order’.⁵³ In our opinion this is what the Anunna did: they arranged the future marriage of Ninsumuna and Lugalbanda; instructions therefore were on the tablet, we assume. Jacobsen translated this line as follows: ‘The Anunaki are headed hither’; Wilcke’s translation was ‘Those of princely descent came straight away’.⁵⁴

II 1-2 The sign *KISAL* stands for *kisal* ‘courtyard’, but ‘in the early script’ it may also stand for *gipar_x*.⁵⁵ In the context of this story it seems more obvious to transcribe *KISAL* bar as *kisal-bar* ‘outer courtyard’ – the place where Lugalbanda arrives in the first place – instead of *bar gipar_x* ‘outside of the *gipar*’,⁵⁶ although it cannot be excluded that indeed the *gipar* is meant as the house of the En. These two lines might also be translated as: ‘Lugalbanda came out/appeared into the outer courtyard’. But that seems illogical, because he already had prostrated himself before the En, who was then talking to him. The important object in the lines *rev. I 1-6* and *rev. II 1-5* is the tablet envelope, which Lugalbanda then showed and handed over at the En’s request.

II 3 *gu₂...kud* ‘to cut the neck’ may be interpreted as a to cut off the rim of the tablet envelope; for *kud* we suppose the perfective participle *kud-da*.

II 5 The first sign in this case most likely is *KISAL*; see the photograph of the tablet: the left part of the sign in particular is very similar to the *KISAL* sign in *rev. II 1*; the weakly drawn vertical line near the centre of the sign in *rev. II 5* (in the line art representation) seems actually to be a crack. In this case, *KISAL* may also be transcribed as *gipar_x*, because it

⁵² Krebernik 1984b, 28; ‘normales’ *im*: LAK377. See also Krebernik 1998, 277 and note 468.

⁵³ Wilcke 2000.

⁵⁴ In his RIA article ‘Lugalbanda’ (1987) Wilcke translated *a-nun* as ‘Die Anunna(Götter?)’ (p. 131a). In his recent article he defined *a-nun* as ‘Uruk’s nobility’ (Wilcke 2015a, note 91).

⁵⁵ Steinkeller 1999, 109, note 18.

⁵⁶ See also Steinkeller 1999, 107, note 8.

may be assumed that the tablet envelope was presented to the En in his house, the gipar. Jacobsen's interpretation of this sign was li1₂ 'spirit', which in our opinion is very unlikely.

II 6 Wilcke restored the name of Ninsumuna in this line, and Jacobsen wrote: ama lu_x (AMA. ^dINANNA) lu gal-ban₃-da 'the goddess mother of Lugalbanda'. In both cases Inanna should appear suddenly in the line rev. III 7 and start speaking without being introduced. In our interpretation of this story neither Ninsumuna nor an ama lu is meant in this line.⁵⁷ As we saw, the Anunna were involved, thus it is more obvious that Inanna herself is appearing. We guess that there is enough room in this case to add an epithet for Inanna. The only one we could find in Early Dynastic texts is ki-siki1.⁵⁸ Although the place where Ninsumuna and Lugalbanda have gone is not preserved (possibly it was mentioned in obv. V 1), the suggestion is that it is Uruk, the place par excellence of the En⁵⁹ and of course also of Inanna.

III 3 The following transcriptions, based on the equation GIR₂-gunû = ul₄ 'to hasten', with the corresponding translations were given: 1. Jacobsen, i₃-ul₄ e₄-gub.ki ba-tag '(Cherub Ninsuna) was quick, sprinkled holy water on the ground'; 2. Wilcke, ul₄ i₃-gub a ki ba-su_x (ŠUM) '(Guardian-Angel Ninsumuna) stood up quickly and sprinkled the ground with water.' Although the Sumerian text was rendered differently by these authors, their interpretation was nearly the same. A formal argument against the interpretation of GIR₂-gunû = ul₄ is the fact that now two verbal phrases are placed within one case, which would be unique for this composition, but of course not impossible. Another equation is GIR₂-gunû = kiši₁₇ 'myrtle';⁶⁰ this plant contains fragrant oils, the extraction of which may be indicated by the word a-ra₂.⁶¹ Its aromatically smelling sap may be used during this lustration rite on behalf of Inanna. The use and the meaning of the prefix *ba in verbal expressions (in this line: ba-ni-tag) were discussed by Jagersma.⁶²

III 5 ħa-luĥ, later ħu-luĥ, 'to shudder, to be frightened' was used e.g. to express the fear of the gods.⁶³ Here it is used to show the reaction of Lugalbanda, full of awe, after the appearance of (presumably) Inanna. The suggestion of Wilcke that 'Lugalbanda took fright' after

⁵⁷ In the Early Dynastic Lu E lexical text (a list of professions) AMA.AN.INANNA is listed (no. 74) between other priestesses. The meaning 'goddess' could be attested in Old Babylonian lexical lists, and in some literary compositions, e.g. 'Enki and Ninmah' (the lines 5-7); for a discussion about ama lu: Ceccarelli 2016, 18, 141-142 ad a 5-7, and references to further literature in the footnotes 557-561. To this can be added: Volk 1989, 83, l. 45.

⁵⁸ Biggs, R., BiMes 3 (1976), 33 (CDLI P221803).

⁵⁹ Marchesi and Marchetti 2011, 105-106.

⁶⁰ Several other transcriptions are possible for GIR₂-gunû: 1. ad₂ 'a thorn bush'; 2. kišig₂ 'an acacia', but these plants do not seem to be suitable candidates for a lustration rite (Biggs 1974, 69-70; Molina and Such-Gutiérrez 2004, 9-10). Examples of šim-kiši₁₇: DP 513, obv. III 3; RTC 20, obv. I 5; TSA 6, obv. II 3; one example of i₃-kiši₁₇ in: VS 14, 123, obv. III 4.

⁶¹ See PSD A I, 152 ad a-ra₂ F. Some Ur III examples with kiši₁₇ a-ra₂ (tablet nos.): Ashm 1911-0139 obv. 2; BM 107083 obv. 5; BM 111690 obv. 3; MAT 694 obv. 2.

⁶² Jagersma 2010, § 17.2.1, 400-401.

⁶³ Another example is found in the Gudea cyl. A XII 13, when Gudea i₃-ħa-luĥ 'shuddered' after Niĝirsu had appeared to him in a dream. In 'Lugalbanda in the mountain cave' [ETCSL 1.8.2.1] l. 361, we read that Lugalbanda woke up after a dream and im-bu-lu¹-uĥ₃ 'he shivered'.

Ninsumuna ‘came out through the opening’ seems less plausible, because Lugalbanda had come to the En together with Ninsumuna, so he knew her already.

III 6 From what is remaining of the signs in this case, a restoration like ‘ub-kisal’ ki [ba-ni’]-tag’ may be possible. We suppose a completion of the verbal form with *ba-ni, analogous to the verbal form in line rev. III 3. Lugalbanda’s reaction to the appearance of Inanna was first a shudder, and then he also prostrated himself before the goddess. A verbal form ub-su_x (Wilcke) or ub-tag (Jacobsen) is in our opinion less likely; the *b before the *hamtu* stem represents an inanimate subject, while the subject in their translations is Ninsumuna.

IV 1 Contrary to line obv. IV 4 where the name of Lugalbanda is written without the dative *ra, *ra is written in this line. This led Jacobsen and Wilcke to the supposition that the explicit writing of the dative *ra here pointed to a preceding genitive element *ak. The consequence of that supposition is that someone was not speaking to Lugalbanda, but to the X of Lugalbanda. We give several arguments which may support our idea that (most likely) Inanna is speaking to Lugalbanda himself: 1). A separation between regens (rev. III 7) and rectum (rev. IV 1), being present in two different cases, would be unusual and therefore unlikely. 2). As Biggs noted, this tablet IAS 327 is an exercise tablet,⁶⁴ thus the addition of the dative *ra in this line rev. IV 1 may be a mistake. 3). If our interpretation of this text is correct, then the following lines are addressed to Lugalbanda himself. According to the Sumerian marriage rules the future son-in-law had to go to (the house of) his future father-in-law in order to make the proper arrangements.

IV 3 The Sumerian word dam ‘spouse’ was used for both partners also before the official marriage, the period of the so-called inchoate marriage.⁶⁵ Also the words for father/mother-in-law were used already during the ‘prenuptial’ stage of the inchoate marriage. For the transcription DU = tum₂, see Sallaberger 2005, 573.

IV 5-7 The sign combination UR₂×U₂ has the values ušbar₇ and urum₈,⁶⁶ which denote ‘the cognates of the wife’ and ‘the cognates of the husband’, respectively, in both cases regardless of sex or generation.⁶⁷ Therefore, we propose the transliteration ušbar_x for the combination U₂.UR₂ in this line.⁶⁸ Wilcke demonstrated that the word /ušbar/ has the meaning ‘father-in-law’ as well as ‘mother-in-law’, at least in the Old Babylonian period.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Biggs 1974, 91.

⁶⁵ Greengus 2002, 126; Stol 2016, 74. Most information is from the Old Babylonian period.

⁶⁶ Borger 2010, 108 no. 344.

⁶⁷ Steinkeller 1980, 24 and note 6. For UR₂×U₂ he used the values ušbar₃ and murum₄/urum₂, respectively.

⁶⁸ The sign combination UR₂.U₂ is present in an ED lexical list from Fara: SF 70, rev. III 6.

⁶⁹ Wilcke 1985, 234-239. It is not known to us whether /ušbar/ in the Early Dynastic period had the meaning ‘mother-in-law’, too.

The usual marriage proposal procedure was:⁷⁰ the future husband would ask his father-in-law, or in his absence his mother-in-law, for his/her daughter's hand in marriage.⁷¹ In the lines discussed here, Inanna invites Lugalbanda to say to her: 'Let me be your son.' The parents of Ninsumuna are unknown, which also applies to the relation between Inanna and Ninsumuna. Therefore, we presume that Inanna's invitation to Lugalbanda to propose ('say to me') is not addressed to her personally, as 'mother-in-law'. In our opinion, Inanna acts rather as an intermediate (after all, the tablet which was brought from the mountains was coming from the Anunna, who also 'have arranged for it'), so that line IV 5 may be interpreted as: '(say) as a son-in-law should speak to his father-in-law according to the general rules.' In that context we prefer the translation 'father-in-law' for $u\check{s}bar_x$.

The sign $MUNUS.U\check{S}$ = $mussa_x$ 'son-in-law' was discussed by Steinkeller and Postgate.⁷²

IV 6 We assume that $he-me$ is written instead of $he_2-me(-en)$. The form he_2-me could be attested in an Early Dynastic text: $sipa-sag\ gud\ \hat{g}al_2\ da-ri_2\ he_2-me$ 'may I always be the leading herder of oxen.'⁷³

V 1-2 Jacobsen was of the opinion that the double line after rev. V 1 (with hatching in between) is 'an indication that the writer left out a section of text that was present in his original.' Another possibility may be that this line and the lines rev. V 3-4 form one sentence, as Wilcke supposed. Or the double line with that hatching in between may be an indication that the scribe had made a mistake, but for one or another reason he did not erase it.⁷⁴

V 3-4 We presume that the words in these two lines were spoken by Lugalbanda. For the marriage ceremony witnesses of the families of both partners are necessary. 'The Anunna of your house' belong to the side of Ninsumuna, therefore 'my family' is that of Lugalbanda.

The verb transcribed as sug_2 is the plural stem of gub 'to stand'. $DU.DU$ may also be transcribed as sub_2 , the plural stem of $\hat{g}en$ 'to go'. Due to the absence of e.g. $*\check{s}e_3$ after $ka_2\ kisal-bar$ we presume that sug_2 is meant here. In case the lines rev. V 1 and V 3-4 belong together, the translation may be: 'Let five men, my family (and) the Anunna of your house, go and stand at the gate of the outer courtyard.' In our opinion, the intention is that clan members of both the bride and the bridegroom go to the gate of the outer courtyard in order to act as witnesses at the marriage ceremony.

V 5-6 The continuation of the story in these lines is unclear.

⁷⁰ See also § 2.2.4. It is not known if the same marriage rules, which could be observed from the Ur III period onwards, were valid when the text of the tablet IAS 327 was written (in the Early Dynastic period), in this case: whether a mother-in-law could have replaced a father-in-law in his absence.

⁷¹ For a proposal to a mother-in-law: see e.g. 'Enlil and Sud', line 32, where, by order of Enlil, his vizier Nuska asks Nisaba, the mother of Sud, for her daughter's hand in marriage.

⁷² Steinkeller and Postgate 1992, 37-38.

⁷³ Frayne 2008, 437, Lugalzagesi E1.14.20.1, col. III 35-36.

⁷⁴ Because it was only an exercise tablet, the student probably did not trouble to erase his mistake, but he indicated it by making a double line.

Bibliography

- Alster, B. 1993. Marriage and Love in the Sumerian Love Songs. With Some Notes on the Manchester Tammuz. In: M. E. Cohen, D. C. Snell, D. B. Weisberg (eds.), *The Tablet and the Scroll. Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, 15-27. Bethesda, Maryland.
- . 1997. *Proverbs of Ancient Sumer. The World's Earliest Proverb Collections*. Vols. I and II. Bethesda, Maryland.
- Biggs, R. D. 1974. *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh*. OIP 99. Chicago & London.
- Bing, J. D. 1977. Gilgamesh and Lugalbanda in the Fara Period. *JANES* 9, 1-4.
- Borger, R. 2010. *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon. Zweite, revidierte und aktualisierte Auflage*. AOAT 305. Münster.
- Ceccarelli, M. 2016. *Enki und Ninmah. Eine mythische Erzählung in sumerischer Sprache*. ORA 16. Tübingen.
- Civil, M. 1986. Sur les “livres d'écolier” à l'époque paléo-babylonienne. In: J.-M. Durand, J.-R. Kupper (eds.), *Miscellanea Babylonica. Mélanges offerts à Maurice Birot*, 67-78. Paris.
- Edzard, D. O., G. Farber, E. Sollberger. 1977. *Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes. Band 1. Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der prä-sargonischen und sargonischen Zeit*. Wiesbaden.
- Frayne, D. R. 2008. *Presargonic Period (2700-2350 BC). The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia Early Periods (RIME) / Vol. 1*. Toronto, Buffalo, London.
- Gelb, I. J.†, P. Steinkeller, R. M. Whiting, Jr. 1991. *Earliest Land Tenure Systems in the Ear East: Ancient Kudurrus; Text and Plates*. OIP 104. Chicago.
- George, A. R. 1993. *House Most High. The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia*. Winona Lake, Indiana.
- Greengus, S. 2000. Legal and Social Institutions of Ancient Mesopotamia. In: J. M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 469-484. Peabody.
- . 2002. Redefining “Inchoate Marriage” in Old Babylonian Contexts. In: T. Abusch (ed.), *Riches Hidden in Secret Places. Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen*, 123-139. Winona Lake, Indiana.
- Heimpel, W. 2009. *Workers and Construction Work at Garšana*. CUSAS 5. Bethesda.
- Jacobsen, Th. 1989. Lugalbanda and Ninsuna. *JCS* 41, 69-86.
- Jagersma, A. H. 2010. *A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian*. Dissertation. Leiden: Faculty of the Humanities, Leiden University.
- Krebernik, M. 1984a. Rezension H. Steible, H. Behrens, *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*. Teil I, II. *BiOr* 41, 641-646.
- . 1984b. *Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla. Untersuchungen zur ältesten keilschriftlichen Beschwörungsliteratur*. Hildesheim/Zürich/New York.
- . 1986. Die Götterlisten aus Fāra. *ZA* 76, 161-204.
- . 1998. Die Texte aus Fāra und Tell Abū Šalābīh. In: J. Bauer, R. K. Englund, M. Krebernik, *Mesopotamien. Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit*. OBO 160/1, 237-427. Freiburg/Göttingen.
- Mander, P. 1986. *Il Pantheon di Abu-Šalābīkh. Contributo allo Studio del Pantheon Sumerico Arcaico*. Napoli.
- Marchesi, G., and N. Marchetti. 2011. *Royal Statuary of Early Dynastic Mesopotamia*. Winona Lake, Indiana.
- Mittermayer, C. 2012. Die Uruk I-Dynastie – ein Konstrukt der Isin-Zeit? In: G. Wilhelm (ed.), *Organization, Representation, and Symbols of Power in the Ancient Near East*. Proceedings of the 54th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Würzburg 20-25 July 2008, 313-326. Winona Lake, Indiana.
- Molina, M., and M. Such-Gutiérrez. 2004. On Terms for Cutting Plants and Noses in Ancient Sumer. *JNES* 63, 1-16.
- Sallaberger, W. 2005. ‘Bringen’ im Sumerischen. Lesung und Bedeutung von de_6 (DU) und tum_2 (DU). In: R. Rollinger (ed.), *Von Sumer bis Homer. Festschrift für Manfred Schretter zum 60. Geburtstag am 25. Februar 2004*, 557-576. Münster.

- . 2012. Bierbrauen in Versen: Eine neue Edition und Interpretation der Ninkasi-Hymne. In: C. Mittermayer, S. Ecklin, *Altorientalische Studien zu Ehren von Pascal Attinger*. mu-ni u₄ ul-li₂-a-aš ĝa₂-ĝa₂-de₃. OBO 256, 291-328. Fribourg/Göttingen.
- Sefati, Y. 1998. *Love Songs in Sumerian Literature. Critical Edition of the Dumuzi-Inanna Songs*. Ramat Gan.
- Selz, G. J. 2011. Reconstructing the Old Sumerian Administrative Archives of the é-mí – é-^dba-ba₆-Institution. In: G. Barjamovic *et al.* (eds.), *Akkade is King. A Collection of Papers by Friends and Colleagues Presented to Aage Westenholz on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday of May 2009*, 273-286. Leiden.
- Steinkeller, P. 1978. On the Reading and Meaning of a-ZAR-la. For Professor Ignace J. Gelb on his Seventieth Birthday. *RA* 72, 73-76.
- . 1980. On the Reading and Location of the Toponyms ÚR_xÚ.KI and A.HA.KI. *JCS* 32, 23-33.
- . 1990. Ceremonial Threshing in the Ancient Near East. II. Threshing Implements in Ancient Mesopotamia: Cuneiform Sources. *Iraq* 52, 19-23.
- . 1999. On Rulers, Priests and Sacred Marriage: Tracing the Evolution of Early Sumerian Kingship. In: K. Watanabe (ed.), *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East*, 103-137. Heidelberg.
- Steinkeller, P., and J. N. Postgate. 1992. *Third-Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad*. Winona Lake, Indiana.
- Stol, M. 2000. Private Life in Ancient Mesopotamia. In: J. M. Sasson (ed.), *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, 485-501. Peabody, Massachusetts.
- . 2016. *Women in the Ancient Near East*. Boston/Berlin.
- Veldhuis, N. 2004. *Religion, Literature, and Scholarship: the Sumerian Composition Nanše and the Birds, with a Catalogue of Sumerian Bird Names*. CM 22. Leiden/Boston.
- Volk, K. 1989. *Die Balag-Komposition uru₂ am₃-ma-ir-ra-bi. Rekonstruktion und Bearbeitung der Tafeln 18 (19^{ff.}), 19, 20 und 21 der späten, kanonischen Version*. FAOS 18. Stuttgart.
- Westbrook, R. 1988. Old Babylonian Marriage Law. *AfO Beiheft* 23.
- Wilcke, C. 1969. *Das Lugalbandaepos*. Wiesbaden.
- . 1985. Familiengründung im alten Babylonien. In: E. W. Müller (ed.), unter Mitarbeit von P. Drechsel *et al.*, *Geschlechtsreife und Legitimation zur Zeugung*. Freiburg/München.
- . 1987. Lugalbanda. *RIA* 7/1-2, 117-132. Berlin/New York.
- . 1989. Genealogical and Geographical Thought in the Sumerian King List. In: H. Behrens, D. Loding, M. T. Roth (eds.), *DUMU-E₂-DUB-BA-A. Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*. Philadelphia: The Samuel Noah Kramer Fund; 557-571. [Corrections: C. Wilcke, *NABU* 1990/37, 28].
- . 2000. The Verb si- sa₂: A Diachronic List of Datable Occurrences Grouped According to the Number of Participants to the Action. In: J. Black (†), G. Zólyomi (eds.), *Special Volume in Honor of Professor Mamoru Yoshikawa, 1. The Study of Diachronic and Synchronic Variation in Sumerian: Papers Presented at the 6th Meeting of the Sumerian Grammar Discussion Group, Oxford, 17th and 18th September 1999* [Organized by J. Black (†) and G. Zólyomi]. *ASJ* 22, 279-301].
- . 2001. Ninsun (^dNin-súmun.(a)k). *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 9/7-8, 501-504. Berlin/New York.
- . 2002. Der Kodex Urnamma (CU): Versuch einer Rekonstruktion. In: T. Abusch (ed.), *Riches Hidden in Secret Places. Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen*, 291-333. Winona Lake, Indiana.
- . 2007. *Early Ancient Near Eastern Law. A History of its Beginnings. The Early Dynastic and Sargonic Periods*. (Revised Edition). Winona Lake, Indiana.
- . 2014. Gesetze in Sumerischer Sprache. In: N. Koslova, E. Vizirova, G. Zólyomi (eds.), *Studies in Sumerian Language and Literature. Festschrift für Joachim Krecher*, 455-616. *Orientalia et Classica* LVI; Babel und Bibel 8. Winona Lake, Indiana.
- . 2015a. Law and Literature in the Third Millennium B.C. In: A. Archi, in collaboration with A. Bramanti (eds.), *Tradition and Innovation in the Ancient Near East*. Proceedings of the 57th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Rome, 4-8 July 2011, 13-48. Winona Lake, Indiana.
- . 2015b. Vom klugen Lugalbanda. In: K. Volk (ed.), *Erzählungen aus dem Land Sumer*, 203-204; 226-227. Wiesbaden.
- Yaron, R. 1988. *The Laws of Eshnunna*. Second Revised Edition. Jerusalem/Leiden.

