HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME 3 | ISSUE 1 | 2022

https://harjournal.com/

HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW

ON THE COVER:
Gudea's head "Grande tête à turban" Louvre AO 13.
Photo: Gábor Kalla.

HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW

VOLUME 3, ISSUE 1
2022

Institute of Archaeological Sciences
Institute of Ancient and Classical Studies
Eötvös Loránd University
Budapest

HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW

HAR – Hungarian Assyriological Review

Journal of the Institute of Archaeological Sciences and the Institute of Ancient and Classical Studies (Department of Assyriology and Hebrew Studies), Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest, Hungary.

HAR is a peer-reviewed electronic journal (HU ISSN 2732-2610) published in two issues per year. The journal covers the philology and the archaeology of the Ancient Near East, publishing research articles, brief notes, and field reports.

Papers in HAR are published under the platinum open access model, which means permanent and free access in downloadable format (pdf) for readers and no publication fees for authors. The issues can be both downloaded for free and ordered as printed volumes at own cost.

For article submission guidelines, see https://harjournal.com/author-guidelines/

Publisher *(kiadó és kiadásért felelős személy)*:
Gábor Kalla, *Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest*

Registered office *(a kiadó székhelye)*:
Institute of Archaeological Sciences, Múzeum krt. 4/B., 1088 Budapest, Hungary

Email address:
info@harjournal.com

Design and typesetting:
Attila Király (attila@litikum.hu)
using Noto font family by Google Inc., under the terms of the SIL Open Font License.

CONTENTS

Hungarian Assyriological Review

volume 3, issue 1, 2022

HAR - HUNGARIAN ASSYRIOLOGICAL REVIEW • VOLUME 3 (2022) • 9–23
HU ISSN 2732-2610 • https://harjournal.com

The Wording of Inana's 'Blessing' and the Characterisation of the Gardener in *Inana and Šukaletuda*

Anna Krisztina Pintér*

* – Eötvös Loránd University, Budapest. Email: annakrisztina4@gmail.com

Abstract: The present paper examines the wording of the fate decree in the mythic story *Inana and Šukaletuda* (ll. 296–301). Šukaletuda receives eternal fame from Inana, which resembles the fates destined for great kings. Nonetheless, Šukaletuda's fate subtly differs from the kings' share. According to administrative documents, milk churners, shepherd-boys, and novice singers are low-class workers. Thus, the characters who are selected to transmit Šukaletuda's story belong to his own class, and thus, relativise the benefits of his destiny.

Keywords: Sumerian literature, Inana and Šukaletuda, mythic narratives, social classes, singers, shepherds

Cite as Pintér, A. K. 2022: The Wording of Inana's 'Blessing' and the Characterisation of the Gardener in *Inana and Šukaletuda*. *Hungarian Assyriological Review* 3: 9–23. https://doi.org/10.52093/hara-202201-00026-000

Introduction[1]

The mythic composition *Inana and Šukaletuda* recounts an incident between a goddess and a gardener. One day, Šukaletuda the gardener notices the sleeping goddess Inana and rapes her. After waking up, Inana becomes furious, seeks after the perpetrator, and she delivers the following speech when she finally finds him (ll. 296–301, English translation by the author):[2]

ĝen-na ba-ug$_5$-ge-ˈenˈ nam-ĝu$_{10}$ mu-zu nam-ˈba-da-ḫaˈ-lam-e
ˈmuˈ-zu en$_3$-du-a ḫe$_2$-ĝal$_2$ en$_3$-du ḫe$_2$-dug$_3$-ˈgeˈ
ˈnarˈ tur-e e$_2$-gal lugal-la-ka ḫu-ˈmuˈ-ni-in-ku$_7$-ˈkuˈ-[de$_3$]
ˈsipadˈ-de$_3$ dun$_5$-dun$_5$ ^{dug}šakir$_3$-ˈraˈ-ka-na dug$_3$-ge-eš ḫe$_2$-ˈem-miˈ-ib-be$_2$
sipad tur-re ki udu lu-a-na mu-zu ḫe$_2$-em-tum$_2$-tum$_2$-mu
e$_2$-ˈgalˀˈ edin-na e$_2$-zu ḫe$_2$-a

[1] This paper is a revised version of Pintér 2022, which itself is based on a talk given in Pécs in May 2022.

[2] Edition and transcription: Volk 1995, 124. There is more than one possible way to translate ll. 296–297 which also questions as to whether Šukaletuda was killed or not, as the following translations demonstrate. Volk 1995, 133: 'Wohlan! Du wirst sterben! Was ist das (schon)? Deinen Namen soll man dabei (aber) nicht vergessen!'; Attinger 2019, 11: 'Va! Tu-tuerai-je? A quoi bon? Ton nom ne tombera certainement pas dans l'oubli'; Mittermayer 2013, 36: 'Doch wohlan, du wirst sterben. Doch was soll's? Dein Name wird dadurch nicht in Vergessenheit geraten!'; Wilcke 1993, 57 n. 126: 'komm, töte ich dich, was bedeutet das mir – deinen Namen würde es nicht vernichten'; ETCSL 1.3.3: 'So! You shall die! What is that to me? Your name, however, shall not be forgotten'.

'Now, you will die! Then what? Your name will not disappear thereupon,
your name shall be in songs, it shall make the songs sweet!
May the small singers sweeten it in the royal palace,
may the shepherds tell it melodiously while churning,
may the small shepherd spread your fame at the folds,
may the Palace of the Steppe be your house!'

This baffling speech has triggered several scholarly remarks on this contradictory issue: Šukaletuda receives a favourable fate, the everlasting fame much coveted by kings, despite his improper deed. Hence, this passage has been understood as a blessing, rather than a curse.[3] It is not only the speech's content which conveys a favourable impression of the decreeing of his fate, but also the choice of the speech's introductory formula. It is not labelled as a curse: the speech is preceded by the phrase **nam—tar** 'to decree a fate', and not **nam—kud** 'to curse'.[4]

Yet, the favourability of Šukaletuda's fate can be disputed in view of some elements in the composition, such as the professions enumerated in the 'blessing', Šukaletuda's characterisation, and the narrative structure of the text. In this context, the following study discusses three issues: firstly, the wording of the text which consigns Šukaletuda to the lower social classes. Secondly, the formulation which questions the correctness of his deed, and, finally, the significance of **nam—tar** and **nam—kud** in this passage. Taken together, these findings relativise the favourability of Šukaletuda's fate: he does not receive the fame much sought-after by kings and the elite; as eternal his fame might be, it will nonetheless be transmitted by low-class workers such as shepherd-boys and novice singers.

The topic of the myth and its scholarly interpretations

At this juncture, it is worth summarising briefly the composition's story.[5] It begins with a description of the goddess Inana, who leaves her sanctuaries and ventures triumphantly into the mountains, in order to 'reveal truth and falsehood' and to inspect the land.[6] The following lines are broken, thus, rendering it unclear as to how the topic transitions to the episode of Enki and the raven.[7] The raven's deeds are surprising: it gardens like humans. Enki instructs the bird how to plant seeds, and date palms grow out of the raven's pots.

The story of the raven and that of Šukaletuda are seemingly unrelated. As G. Selz has observed, it is perhaps the analogy between vegetal and human fertility which links them.[8] The raven digs the earth and pollinates the palm: these details evoke the connection between agriculture and fertility. T. Mařík also suggested that the materials used by the raven, such as oil and kohl, may recall the tools used in divination,[9] or cosmetics employed in preparation for marriage, perhaps, foreshadowing Šukaletuda's outlaw nuptial.[10] Finally, the date palm sprouts and blossoms. Its practical uses and its worthiness to the royal palace and the temples of the gods are then highlighted in the text. After the description of the date palm, the story continues with Šukaletuda, the unsuccessful gardener. His plants perish, and the wind blows dust into his eyes. As he wipes

3 Compare Hruška 1998, 323: 'Die Wirkung dieses merkwürdigen Mythos kommt in einer überraschenden Schicksalsentscheidung (Z. 296-301) zustande'; Alster 1999, 687: 'Amazingly, this all ends with a blessing of Šukaletuda, whose name is to be remembered in songs forever'; Mařík 2003, 157: '(…) so kommt nur Inanas unerwartet positive abschließende Schicksalsentscheidung für Šukaletuda in Frage (…)'.

4 Volk 1995, 114 l. 294: [**nam mu-n]i-ib-tar-re**.

5 For the critical edition, see Volk 1995; for the most recent translation, see Attinger 2019.

6 For the intertextual references in this text, see Wilcke 1993, 56–57.

7 For an explanation, see Verderame 2021, 18–19.

8 Selz 2001a, 48; also, for a more detailed analysis, see Mařík 2003.

9 Volk 1995, 149–150.

10 Mařík 2003, 153–155.

out the dust from his eyes, it results in an extraordinary consequence: he gains vision to the otherworld. There, he sees ghosts, and Inana sleeping under a tree. Šukaletuda violates her and returns to his fields. When Inana wakes up, she notices its evidence, and starts to seek after the committer. Until this part, the text contains rhetorical questions:[11]

i_3-ne-$še_3$ lu_2-ra dili a-na na-an-du_{11}
lu_2 lu_2-ra dili a-na na-an-daḫ

'Now, what does one say to another?
What else can one add to another?'

Stylistically, the composition consists of two parts, distinguishable from each other by their narrative style and the appearance of rhetorical questions. The rhetorical questions in the first part do not belong to the story world, but to the (imaginary) setting of the presentation of the story. Consequently, the narrative style of the first part has a perceptible narrator. Furthermore, the narrator describes the events and narrates the characters' perceptions.

In the second part, Inana hunts after Šukaletuda, and imposes plagues on the country whenever her attempts to find him prove to be unsuccessful. Šukaletuda hides among the black-headed people in the mountains, as advised by his father. Finally, Inana appeals to Enki and asks for compensation, who then unwillingly hands over Šukaletuda, after which Inana decrees Šukaletuda's fate. The second part does not contain rhetorical questions, and the narration consists of dialogues, simple descriptions of events, and accounts of what the characters do; the narrator no longer reveals the characters' inner perceptions.

This story has inspired multiple theories as to its meaning and connotations; the text's first editor, S. N. Kramer highlighted the plagues in the story, comparing them to the Biblical story of plagues.[12] K. Volk provided an elaborate analysis of each parts of the text: the plagues, the significance of gardening, and the story's broader political context.[13] It has also been suggested that Inana's route represents the path of Venus, and an astral myth is being described.[14]

Recent research has dealt with the fertility aspects, noting the apparently incoherent insertion of the raven's episode, and the possible analogy between vegetal and human fertility in the actions of the raven and Šukaletuda.[15] Further emphasis has been placed upon Šukaletuda's assault as a disfigurement of a royal ritual, the violation of the sacred marriage ceremony,[16] wherein the kings participate in the role of Dumuzi, Inana's divine husband.[17] Although Šukaletuda's involvement is 'illegitimate',[18] his acts nonetheless imitate the rite, wherein the goddess is obliged to bless the king and the people.[19] By means of contrast, Inana imposes plagues on the land, instead of blessing the country, as customary in this ritual. As the participant of the rite symbolically becomes the spouse of the goddess, the gardener's fate becomes that of Inana's husband, Dumuzi. Ironically, what Šukaletuda gains with this is Dumuzi's dying aspect; he can die and dwell in the 'palace of the steppe', just like the divine husband.[20]

11 Volk 1995, 74–75; English translation by the author.
12 Kramer 1949; on plagues see Volk 1995, 41.
13 See Volk 1995.
14 Cooley 2008a and 2008b; Cooper 2001, 142–144.
15 See Kirk 1970, 97–105 for the connection of fertility, the fields, agriculture, and irregular sexuality; see also Mařík 2003, 151, who understands it as an aetiological story.
16 For this rite and the present composition, see Hruška 1998, 322; Selz 2001a, 55; and its desecration: Cooley 2008b, 76–77: 'darkly comedic parody of the *hieros gamos*'.
17 Selz 2001a; Mařík 2003, 161.
18 See Selz 2001a, 53–55 on the problem of legitimacy.
19 Mařík 2003, 157.
20 Mařík 2003, 161; for the discussion of the term 'palace of the steppe', see note 69 below.

Šukaletuda's characterisation as a commoner

Mesopotamian kings are portrayed as great personalities nursed by gods and are singled out from among 'the multitude of people'.[21] Royal inscriptions praise their charisma, their wisdom, strength, divine relatives, and power. An example can be found in the inscription of Gudea's Statue B:[22]

> 'When Ninĝirsu had looked favourably upon his city, and chosen Gudea as the true shepherd of the Land, taking him by the hand from among the multitude of people (…).'

Inana and Šukaletuda repeatedly emphasises that Šukaletuda is less outstanding. Even his name[23] has a peculiar meaning, literally, 'the one born of a rare hand',[24] although, an ancient Sumerian-Akkadian lexical list translates the word **šukaletuda** as a skin disease (smallpox, warty, leprous).[25] Further analyses of this name have also proposed some intriguing solutions for its meaning; thus, it might refer to a congenital defect[26] or be an 'euphemistic term for male genitals'.[27]

In turn, Šukaletuda, or 'Spotty'[28] as called by Black is not a chief gardener, but a labourer, who waters the fields (ll. 91–94):[29]

> **ud-da šu-kal-le-tud-da mu-ni ḫe$_2$-na-nam**
> **ad-da-ni igi-sig$_7$-sig$_7$ lu$_2$ a-bala-a-kam**
> **mu$_2$-sar-ra a sig$_{10}$-sig$_{10}$-ge$_5$-da-ni**
> **nisig-ga da pu$_2$ ak-da-ni**
>
> 'That time, there was a man called Šu-kale-tuda.
> His father was Igisig(sig), a water drawer.
> He was about to water the garden plots
> and build the installation for a well among the plants.'

Administrative texts demonstrate that water drawers are average workers, belonging rather to the bottom of the hierarchy.[30] His father, Igisig(sig)[31] is a member of the same class, and the mentioning of his occupation underlines Šukaletuda's lowly pedigree.

---

21 For ideal kingship and the kingdom, see, e.g., Kramer 1974; Dietrich – Dietrich 1998; Wilcke 2002; lately: Weiershäuser 2020 (and other studies in the same volume).

22 ETCSRI: Gudea Statue B iii 6–11.

23 Volk 1995, 171–172 and 2012.

24 Selz 2001a, 49–50 n. 44; translated into Akkadian as *šullānum* (Níg-ga = *makkūru*, MSL 13, 118: l. 124).

25 Durand 1979, 165 n. 45; Hallo 1980; Lacambre 1994, 276; Besnier 2002, 63–64 n. 19: 'warty', 'deaf', 'crooked', 'sterile', 'stupid'; Keetman 2004, 22 n. 75; Attinger 2021, 1000.

26 Selz 2001a, 49–50 n. 44: '„von/mit kostbarer Hand geboren"; ironisch, oder Hinweis auf einen geburtsbedingten körperlichen Defekt?'.

27 Mařík 2003, 165: '*qātu* als euphemistischer Ausdruck für das männliche Geschlechtsorgan', and also Wasserman 2019, 1134.

28 Black 2002, 58.

29 For the unpublished manuscript (MS 4508, CDLI P253614) and the complete transliteration of these lines, see Attinger 2019, 5 with n. 38–39: 'En ce temps vivait un certain Šukaletuda, fils d'IgiSIG-a, le responsible du puisage de l'eau. Comme il voulait abreuver les plates-bandes et entourer le puits de verdure.' Further translations: Volk 1995, 119 and ETCSL 1.3.3: '… was to water garden plots and build the installation for a well among the plants'.

30 Greco 2015, 44–49; Focke 2015, 877–888; for the dresses of low-class workers, such as water drawers, see Waetzoldt 2010, 201; for their low salary, see de Maaijer – Jagersma 1997–1998, 280 and Lewis 1980, 57.

31 For Igisig(sig), see Volk 1995, 172–173. In the god-list An = *Anum*, Igisigsig is designated as the god An's gardener (Litke 1998, 253). An Udug-ḫul incantation also mentions Igisigsig, a divine gardener plucking out plants for medical use, see Geller 2016, 471: (128) **^{d}igi-sig$_7$-sig$_7$ nu-^{ĝiš}kiri$_6$ gal an-na-ke$_4$** ^{d}MIN *nu-ka-ri-bu* GAL-[*u š*]*a*$_2$ ^{d}*a-nim* (129) **šu ku$_3$-ga-a-ni-ta pa ^{ĝiš}ĝišimmar im-ma-an-bu** *ina qa-ti-šu*$_2$ KU$_3$.MEŠ *a-ra is-suḫ-ma*

An additional appellation for the gardener can be found in the scene wherein he visits his father and tells him what he did. Šukaletuda is called here **lu$_2$ tur** 'small man' (ETCSL 1.3.3 ll. 177, 206, 231 'his father replied to the boy';[32] l. 139. 'The boy went home to his father and spoke to him…').[33] **tur** or **(lu$_2$) tur-(ra)** can be used in the sense of 'young', 'minor', or 'unmarried'.[34] Besides its use in reference to a person's age, it can also denote a subordinate status.[35] J.-M. Durand has also underlined the significance of his designation as a 'little guy' with references to tales in which the protagonist is a commoner.[36]

The fatherly advice following this passage contains expressions, which illuminate his inherence to everyday people (ll. 179–181):[37]

dumu-ĝu$_{10}$ iri šeš-zu-ˈneˈ ḫe$_2$-eb-us$_2$-en
saĝ gig$_2$ šeš-zu-ne ˈĝiri$_3$ˈ gub-ba ĝen-ˈnaˈ
munus-e šag$_4$ kur-kur-ra-ka nu-ˈumˈ-ma-ni-in-pad$_3$-ˈde$_3$ˈ-en

'My son, in the city you should follow your brothers!
Move your feet, go to the black-headed people, your brothers!
The woman will not find you in the mountains.'

The primary reason for sending Šukaletuda to the crowd is to hide him from Inana. At the same time, his father's speech portrays Šukaletuda as an ordinary person: the black-headed people are called his brothers, and the goddess cannot spot him, meaning that his appearance cannot be distinguished from that of his peers. It is the exact opposite of the royal image in hymns: kings do not follow the black-headed people, but rather lead them. Compare *Lipit-Eštar C* (ll. 40–41, translation of ETCSL 2.5.5.3):[38]

'May concord be created under you in the established cities, settlements and dwellings!
May the black-headed people, numerous as flocks, follow the right path under you!'

It is also said of kings that they are noticed and chosen by Inana;[39] their beauty, which catches her attention, is positively portrayed.[40] Furthermore, their 'visibility' is highly valued (*Lipit-Eštar C* ll. 35–39, translation of ETCSL 2.5.5.3):[41]

'Amurriqānu (Igi-sigsig), the great gardener of Anu, uprooted the date-palm frond with his pure hands'. For the possible meaning of the name, see Michalowski 1981, 8 and Verderame 2021, 19: 'jaundice', a type of skin disease, green/yellow face and eyes. **sig$_7$** is also a designation of workers (Focke 2015, 822–826; Greco 2015, 40 n. 134.), for its sense 'blinded' see, Heimpel 2009; Cooper 2010; Steinkeller 2013a, 71 mentioning Šukaletuda's father. For its interpretation as prisoners of war working in gardens, see Steinkeller 2013b. As meaning 'unskilled workers' instead of 'blinded', see Greco 2015, 49 and n. 162 with further refs.; Focke 2015, 826–828. For further options, see also George 2002 (**sig$_7$-sig$_7$**) and Tinney 1996, 144 for **še$_x$-še$_x$** and **sig$_7$.sig$_7$** with the sense 'to cry'. For other associations between the words of the text, such as that the dust blown into his eyes must have made him drop tears, see Verderame 2021, 19.

[32] **lu$_2$-tur ad-da-ni mu-na-ni-ib-gi$_4$-gi$_4$**.

[33] **lu$_2$-tur ad-da-ni-ir e$_2$-a ba-ši-in-kur$_9$ gu$_3$ mu-na-de$_2$-e**.

[34] Bartash 2018, 18–20.

[35] Bartash 2018, 18–20.

[36] Durand 1979, 165 n. 45.

[37] ETCSL 1.3.3 and Volk 1995, 108.

[38] ETCSL 2.5.5.3 and Römer 1965, 14–15: (40) **iri a$_2$-dam maš-gana$_2$ ki ĝar-ra gu$_3$ teš$_2$ ḫu-mu-ra-ab-sig$_{10}$** (41) **uĝ$_3$ saĝ gig$_2$-ga u$_8$-gin$_7$ lu-a us$_2$ zid ḫu-mu-ra-ab-sig$_9$-ge$_5$**.

[39] For divine relatives, see Sjöberg 1972; *Ur-Ninurta D*: Falkenstein 1957, 59–60 and ETCSL 2.5.6.4, ll. 13–14. 'You cheer on the king whom the gods love: Ur-Ninurta, the youth whom you chose (…)'.

[40] It is their fate to be beautiful, see Ceccarelli 2016, 72–73.

[41] ETCSL 2.5.5.3 and Römer 1965, 14–15: (35) **^{d}li-pi$_2$-it-eš$_4$-tar$_2$ a$_2$ šum$_2$-ma-ĝu$_{10}$-me-en gu$_2$ an-še$_3$ ḫe$_2$-zig$_3$** (36) **ud gu$_3$ di saĝ-bi zi-zi-gin$_7$ su zig$_3$ ḫe$_2$-me-da-ri** (37) **gu$_2$-erim$_2$-ĝal$_2$ kur nu-še-ga-zu u$_{18}$-lu-zu**

> 'Lipit-Eštar, on whom I bestowed power, may you lift your head high! May you spread fearsome radiance as if you were the front of a rising tempest! May your storm cover the enemy territories, the disobedient countries! You have established justice in Sumer and Akkad, and made the Land feel content. Lipit-Eštar, son of Enlil, may you shine as brilliantly as the sunlight!'

The opposite happens to Šukaletuda: he tries to disappear 'among the mountains', lest he should be spotted by Inana (ll. 254–255, translation of ETCSL 1.3.3):

> 'From fear, Šukaletuda tried to make himself as tiny as possible, but the woman had found him among the mountains.'

Moreover, not only are the mountains the region, which Inana mustered at the beginning of the text, but also the land of the enemy, from where prisoners of war are taken from.[42]

The wording of the curse

Inana's curse determines the fate of the gardener. According to this, he will die and dwell in the steppe, but at least, his name will endure through the songs of the little shepherds and singers. The word **tur** 'small' seems an unimportant detail at first glance: Inana designates the singers and the shepherds as such (**nar tur**, **sipad tur**).

Other attributes for singers are attested within the Old Babylonian literary corpus; many of these sections describe, how songs will be transmitted until eternity, and yet, these singers are never designated as 'small',[43] but rather **nar gal** 'great musician', **nar gal-zu** 'skilled singer', **nar gal-an-zu** 'knowing singer', or **ummia** 'expert'[44] – that is to say, compositions about important figures, which are declared to be sung forever, list the well-trained chief singers.[45] It is these experts, who are expected to perform the songs of great kings, such as Šulgi, or Išme-Dagan before the gods, at festivals, or all over the world.[46]

Archival sources mentioning the properties, the allotments, and the duties of the singers in the Ur III period (2111–2004 BC) permit the approximate reconstruction of their status.[47] Some of them could win a considerable prestige; Dudu, a singer with the title **gala maḫ** 'chief lamentation priest' even married a royal princess.[48]

If **nar tur**[49] 'singer boy' is a deliberate choice in the present text, then the curse emphasises the fact that this composition will not be sung by the expert singers, even when performed in the palace.

ḫe$_2$-em-dul (38) **niĝ$_2$-si-sa$_2$ ki-en-gi ki-uri mu-ni-ĝar su kalam-ma mu-dug$_3$** (39) **^{d}li-pi$_2$-it-eš$_4$-tar$_2$ dumu ^{d}en-lil$_2$-la$_2$ ud-gin$_7$ dalla ḫe$_2$-ni-e$_3$**.

42 See Steinkeller 2013b for prisoners of war as gardeners.

43 Shehata 2009, 15.

44 Ludwig 1990, 41–42; Sallaberger 2003–2004, 56 n. 19; *Išme-Dagan A+V* (ETCSL 2.5.4.1) (333) **um-mi-a nar gal-gal-e-ne** (334) **ša$_3$-ba la-la$_2$ ḫe$_2$-ni-in-ĝar** (335) **a-da-ab tigi$_2$ šumun-ša$_4$ ma-al-ga-tum** (336) **šir$_3$-gid$_2$-da <za$_3$>-mi$_2$ nam-lugal-ĝu$_{10}$ ša$_3$-bi niĝ$_2$ til-la** (337) **a-ra-ḫi bal-bal-e za-am-za-am kun-ĝar-bi** (338) **nar gal-an-zu-ne ma-an-ĝar-re-eš-a** (339) **en$_3$-du ki du$_{12}$-ba mu-ĝu$_{10}$ mi-ni-gal-eš-a** 'I installed … my scholars and chief singers. The skilful singers composed for me *adab*, *tigi*, *šumunša*, *malgatum*, *šir-gida*, royal praise poems perfect in content, *araḫi*, *balbale*, *zamzam* and *kunĝar* compositions. They magnify my name in the places where odes are performed.'

45 Compare the *Lament for Unug* (ETCSL 2.2.5): Segment H 27 **nar gal-zu** 'best singers'; *Išme-Dagan A+V* (ETCSL 2.5.4.1) l. 333 **um-mi-a nar gal-gal-e-ne** 'scholars and chief singers'; l. 338 **nar gal-an-zu-ne** 'skilful singers'.

46 Ludwig 1990, 48–54; Pruzsinszky 2007, 333.

47 Sallaberger 2003–2004, 53, 55–57; for their status see also Pruzsinszky 2010; Paoletti 2012, 300–302.

48 Michalowski 2006.

49 **Nar tur**: Shehata 2009, 26–27.

The shepherds are also designated as 'small', and, in turn, shepherds churning butter are invoked as well. The motif of churning butter is a common image in literary texts, evoking peaceful, flourishing periods, as opposed to the silence, which represent the barrenness of war-stricken cities.[50] Moreover, its sound and rhythm might be compared to a musical accompaniment.[51] Although, churning in the sheepfold is a positive literary image, the reality is that these workers, who churned butter, were at the bottom of the hierarchy.[52] Paradoxically, distinguished and idyllic places were selected for the ideal setting of the story, such as the palace and the sheepfolds, but it is the members of the lower social classes, who perform this song.

Narrative formulation of the composition

Styles of narration are dependent upon the roles and types of narrators, thus, for example, the narrator can be perceptible or imperceptible, objective, intrusive, or omniscient. His narration can be indicated explicitly, or he is as invisible as possible. *Inana and Šukaletuda* is a peculiar composition among Sumerian narratives in this regard. As noted, its first part contains rhetorical questions, rendering the narrator perceptible: this narration exists outside of the world of the story (i.e., the happenings between the goddess and the gardener). Thus, the narration is double layered, detaching the audience from the story world.

Secondly, the narrator employs so-called 'deviant focalisation', which means that the perception of the events and their description do not belong to the narrator, but to a character.[53] In Sumerian mythic narratives, it is generally the characters, who describe what they see in their speeches. In the first part of *Inana and Šukaletuda,* the narrator relates what Šukaletuda sees and thinks (ll. 101–111, translation of ETCSL 1.3.3):

> 'He raised his eyes to the lower land and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun rises. He raised his eyes to the highlands and saw the exalted gods of the land where the sun sets. He saw a solitary ghost. He recognised a solitary god by her appearance. He saw someone who fully possesses the divine powers. He was looking at someone whose destiny was decided by the gods. In that plot -- had he not approached it five or 10 times before? -- there stood a single shady tree at that place. The shady tree was a Euphrates poplar with broad shade. Its shade was not diminished in the morning, and it did not change either at midday or in the evening.'

Deviant focalisation allows an indirect view on the events; the audience does not directly hear it from the gardener, through his speech.[54] Consequently, it highlights the fact that Šukaletuda does not discuss his intentions with anyone, but rather acts in secret. Other mythic stories apply direct focalisation with characters announcing their wishes before they act. For example, in the story of *Enlil and Ninlil*, the god Enlil does not hesitate to share his lust in a speech:[55]

> 'The shepherd who decides all destinies -- his eye was bright, he looked at her. The king said to her, "I want to have sex with you!", but he could not make her let him. Enlil said to her, "I want to kiss you!", but he could not make her let him.'

---

50 Klein 1998, 211–213; Berlin 1979, 85.

51 Klein 1998, 222: 'Apparently, the scribe of version C saw in the churn a primitive type of musical instrument. Or else, he likened the humming of the churn to sweet music.'

52 Stol 1994, 195; Berlin 1979, 86.

53 Fowler 1990, 42.

54 Genette 1980, 163.

55 Behrens 1978, 214 and translation of ETCSL 1.2.1: (27) **[sipad] na-aĝ$_2$ tar-tar-re igi kug-ga-am$_3$ igi im-ma-ši-in-bar** (28) **[lugal-e ĝiš$_3$] ga-e-dug$_4$ mu-na-ab-be$_2$ nu-un-da-ra-ši-ib-še-ge** (29) **[^{d}]en-lil$_2$-le ne ga-e-su-ub mu-na-ab-be$_2$ nu-un-da-ra-ši-ib-še-ge**.

This indirect style of narration (deviant focalisation) portrays the events as an internal experience and a vision, lending thereby a subjective tone. Šukaletuda's actions cannot be verified, and the refrains' rhetorical questions also highlight its incomprehensibility: 'who has ever seen such a thing?'. This refrain occurs regularly in other genres, such as in disputations and incantations.[56] In disputations, two members argue with each other, with one of the characters winning the contest, and occasionally, they ask 'what else can anyone add (to this argument)?'.[57] This mixing of genres renders the possible readings more complex, and calls attention to the fact that this situation departs from the norm. With this formula borrowed from disputations, a controversial situation is created in the narrative: 'Now, what did one say to another? What further did one add to the other in detail?'.[58] Consequently, the events are hardly indisputable; it is not an unquestionable case presented with a standard objective style.

Curse or blessing?

The final issue to be discussed here concerns the phrases for 'blessing' and 'curse', **nam—tar** and **nam—kud**.[59] Essentially, **nam—tar** has a neutral sense,[60] simply meaning 'to decree fate'.[61] Should the fate be good, it is indicated with an attribute (**dug$_3$**, **sag$_9$**).[62] It is **nam—kud** which is usually translated as 'to curse', the phrase perhaps alluding to the untimely cutting of the thread of one's life.[63]

Inana determines Šukaletuda's fate with the phrase **nam—tar**, the essentially neutral term, and then she kills him. Bilulu and her sons encountered a similar fate in the composition *Inana and Bilulu*, where the robbers, who murdered Inana's husband, are turned into objects and spirits.[64] Her intention was 'to kill Bilulu', similarly to Šukaletuda's case.

When gods of creation and fertility allot fates, they first give birth to gods and people, and then determine their roles. Unlike such creator deities, Inana's procedure of determining fate is not creation, but rather revenge and putting her victims to death. This accords with their distinct dominions of creation and fertility, and liminality respectively.[65] Inana, the goddess of transitions,[66] who crossed the netherworld, and who crosses the sky as the planet Venus, also determines fate, albeit through death, the final passage.

As P. Steinkeller has explained, the phrase **nam—tar** refers to determining 'the essence' of things.[67] From a divine standpoint, fate does not operate according to a binary of 'good' and 'bad'. Rather, it can be favourable for its bearers, but it is not a matter of human judgment: it operates according to the principles of order and disorder.[68]

---

56 Geller 1985, 30.

57 Mittermayer 2019, 153–154.

58 Translation of ETCSL 1.3.3. See Ponchia 2016, 582 for Akkadian examples and controversial issues in literary compositions.

59 Steinkeller 2017, 8; Zgoll 1997, 49 n. 190; for a summary, see Lämmerhirt – Zgoll 2009.

60 Selz 2001b, 385.

61 Steinkeller 2017, 6–7: 'to determine the essence or existence of a person or a thing'.

62 Steinkeller 2017, 6.

63 Steinkeller 2017, 8.

64 Jacobsen – Kramer 1953; also, with **nam—tar**, ETCSL 1.4.4 l. 99: **ki-tuš-a ba-e-gub nam mu-ni-ib-tar-re** '(she) stepped into a seat, began to determine fate'.

65 See, e.g., *Enki and Ninḫursaĝ* (Attinger 1984), *Enki and Ninmaḫ* (Ceccarelli 2016).

66 See Groneberg 1986 and 1997; Harris 1991; Glassner 2014; Esztári – Vér 2015, 7–11.

67 Steinkeller 2017, 6–7: 'to determine the essence or existence of a person or a thing'.

68 Steinkeller 2017, 12–17, 20–21.

The nature of the gardener's fate is left unspecified in the text. As the 'palace of the steppe' may be a metaphorical expression for death in the wasteland ('falling in the meadows'),[69] Šukaletuda would eventually receive one of the worst possible deaths according to Mesopotamian belief: death in faraway, unknown lands, without burial and funerary offerings.[70] Elsewhere, the sense of the 'palace of the steppe' is not entirely clear, as it occurs in administrative documents and in royal inscriptions as a real toponym.[71] Cult places hardly exist without own sacred stories, as mythic or legendary stories provide their value.[72] Although it cannot be proven, it may be suggested that the mentioning of the toponym contains an aetiological element and that this story has relevance for a specific cult location, the Egal-edinna.[73]

Either way, concerning his death, Šukaletuda's fate becomes supposedly that of Inana's spouse, Dumuzi.[74] Moreover, the nature of **nam-tar**, 'fate', renders the respective goodness or badness irrelevant: he becomes part of the divine order, which is a majestic event.[75] The irony of this opposition looms over the story: the opposition of the impersonal world order decreed by a deity and the gardener's subjective viewpoint.

Also, both the topic and the transmission of the text contains paradoxes. The text's wording is interwoven with sarcasm: the boy is described as a runaway and lowly individual, who gains the fate of the divine model of the kings, and this event is gloriously transmitted by the low status members of the society. Inconsistent as this may seem, it nonetheless combines the lots of Inana and that of the gardener alike: the song contains the story of a goddess which will be told in the palace and the idyllic steppe, realms of her mundane spouses and love affairs, and also, the tale of the gardener, whose song will be sung by his equals.

Conclusions

Generally, Sumerian literary texts do not attribute a negative tone to the masses akin as is known from some Greek or Roman works,[76] but the Mesopotamian population stands in contrast to the personage of the king.[77] The representations of the masses (both divine and human) are similar: the unnamed masses of Anunnaki gods gaze, admire, praise, or become afraid of the great gods.[78] The well-being of people is determined to a great extent by the rule of the king. Every literary account describes them living peacefully, well, and happily under the rule of the just king. In hymns, the relationship between the oppressed weak and the oppressive rich is balanced by the king.[79] The masses are a homogenous material, consisting of average people, and the charismatic rulers are selected from among them, because the ruler is a captivating person, who is a head taller than others and possesses divine relatives.

Šukaletuda manifests the opposite of these royal qualities: he follows the black-headed people, and his head is not raised high as those of kings in hymns. Thus, these characteristics raise the

[69] For **e_2-gal$^?$ edin-na** as a euphemistic term for death and not as a real toponym, see Borger 1969, 6–7: *na-me-e na-du-u_2*. For a detailed commentary, see Volk 1995, 211–212. For its interpretation as a garden, Šukaletuda's usual environment, see Rendu Loisel 2013, 76.

[70] Bauer 1989; Lambert 1980.

[71] Edzard *et al.* 1977, 41; George 1993, 87; Pongratz-Leisten 1994, 72 and 80; in the *Ninegalla-hymn*, Behrens 1998, 81–82.

[72] Veyne 1988, 17, 76–78.

[73] For the connection of myths and their references to rituals and cult places (called 'pseudo-myths'), see Komoróczy 1979.

[74] Mařík 2003, 161.

[75] For the ambivalence of divine blessings and curses, see Selz 2001b, 386–389.

[76] Baier 2010.

[77] For the slightly pejorative sense of **nam-lu_2-ulu_3**, see Limet 1982, 266.

[78] Falkenstein 1965.

[79] Kramer 1974, 175.

question as to whether the story conveys a notion of average people's roles and the king's privileges. Accordingly, rights and obligations, especially those centring upon the sacred, are upheld only for those to whom they are assigned;[80] thus, the story can be understood as an anti-myth, describing 'what should not happen'.[81]

The present article is hardly the first attempt to interpret this extraordinary composition, and its complexity would certainly justify its designation as a 'reflected myth' in von Soden's terminology.[82] Its versatility renders *Inana and Šukaletuda* one of the most fascinating works in Sumerian literature, certainly leaving this topic open for further discussions.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank the reviewers for their extremely helpful comments and suggested references. All the remaining errors and problematic interpretations are mine.

Bibliography

Alster, B. 1999: Review of Volk 1995. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 119, 687–688. https://doi.org/10.2307/604850

Attinger, P. 1984: Enki et Ninḫursaĝa. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 74, 1–52. https://doi.org/10.1515/zava.1984.74.1.1

Attinger, P. ²2019: Innana et Šukaletuda (1.3.3). https://zenodo.org/record/2599591#.Y9VRynbMKUl (accessed: 24 August 2022).

Attinger, P. 2021: *Glossaire sumérien–français principalement des textes littéraires paléobabyloniens*. Wiesbaden. https://doi.org/10.13173/9783447116169

Baier, Th. 2010: Die Darstellung der Masse in der römischen Literatur. *Aevum* 84, 161–176.

Bartash, V. 2018: Sumerian "Child". *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 70, 3–25. https://doi.org/10.5615/jcunestud.70.2018.0003

Bauer, J. 1989: Der "schlimme Tod" in Mesopotamien. In: Behrens, H. – Loding, D. M. – Roth, M. T. (eds.): *Dumu-E_2-dub-ba-a. Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*. (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 11) Philadelphia, 21–27.

Behrens, H. 1978: *Enlil und Ninlil. Ein sumerischer Mythos aus Nippur*. (Studia Pohl, Series Maior 8) Rome.

Behrens, H. 1998: *Die Ninegalla-Hymne. Die Wohnungnahme Inannas in Nippur in Altbabylonischer Zeit*. (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 21) Stuttgart.

Berlin, A. 1979: *Enmerkar and Ensuḫkešdanna. A Sumerian Narrative Poem*. (Occasional Publications of the Babylonian Fund 2) Philadelphia.

Besnier, M.-F. 2002: Temptation's Garden: The Gardener, a Mediator Who Plays an Ambiguous Part. In: Parpola, S. – Whiting, R. M. (eds.): *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2-6, 2001*. Helsinki, 59–70.

[80] See Besnier 2002, 63 and 69 for Šukaletuda's 'hybris', and the garden as a symbol for the transgression of rules. See also Jones 2003, 299–300 for the kings' negative characterisation in hymns describing the sacred marriage ritual.

[81] Müller 2004, 45: 'Antimythen sollen delegitimieren, was nicht sein darf (…)'. In comparison, Sargon of Akkad is also raised by a gardener called Aqqī (meaning 'I poured (water)'), but he wins Inana's favour. Besides the fact that water drawers and gardeners were underpaid in real life, they might have also embodied the typical poor characters in folktales. Perhaps, the story of Enlil-bāni of Isin also implies this notion: a poor person becomes the mightiest one. Šukaletuda's story, however, appears as the ironic and tragicomic version of the tale type of a king, who has a humble origin and eventually gains power. On this motif, see Lewis 1980.

[82] Von Soden 1984.

Black, J. A. 2002: The Sumerians in Their Landscape. In: Abusch, Tz. (ed.): *Riches Hidden in Secret Places. Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen.* Winona Lake, 41–61. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781575065335-007

Borger, R. 1969: Die erste Teiltafel der zi-pà-Beschwörungen (ASKT 11). In: Röllig. W. (ed.): lišān mitḫurti. *Festschrift Wolfram Freiherr von Soden zum 19. VI. 1968 gewidmet von Schülern und Mitarbeitern.* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 1) Kevelaer – Neukirchen-Vluyn, 1–22.

Ceccarelli, M. 2016: *Enki und Ninmaḫ. Eine mythische Erzählung in sumerischer Sprache.* (Orientalistische Religionen in der Antike 16) Tübingen.

Cooley, J. L. 2008a: Inana and Šukaletuda: A Sumerian Astral Myth. *Kaskal* 5, 161–172.

Cooley, J. L. 2008b: Early Mesopotamian Astral Science and Divination in the Myth of Inana and Šukaletuda. *Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions* 8, 75–98. https://doi.org/10.1163/156921208786182446

Cooper, J. S. 2001: Literature and History: The Historical and Political Referents of Sumerian Literary Texts. In: Abusch, Tz. – Beaulieu, P.-A. – Huehnergard, J. – Machinist, P. – Steinkeller, P. (eds.): *Proceedings of the XLV^e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Part I, Harvard University: Historiography in the Cuneiform World.* Bethesda, 131–147.

Cooper, J. S. 2010: Blind Workmen, Weaving Women and Prostitutes in Third Millennium Babylonia. *Cuneiform Digital Library Notes* 2010:5.

Dietrich, M. – Dietrich, W. 1998: Zwischen Gott und Volk. Einführung des Königtums und Auswahl des Königs nach mesopotamischer und israelitischer Anschauung. In: Dietrich, M. – Kottsieper, I. (eds.): "Und Mose schrieb dieses Lied auf". *Studien zum Alten Testament und zum Alten Orient. Festschrift für Oswald Loretz zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres mit Beiträgen von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen.* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 250) Münster, 215–264.

Durand, J.-M. 1979: Un commentaire à *TDP* I, AO 17661. *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 73, 153–170.

Edzard, D. O. – Farber, G. – Sollberger, E. 1977: *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der präsargonischen und sargonischen Zeit.* (Beihefte zum Tübinger Atlas des Vorderen Orients, Reihe B 7: Répertoire Géographique des Textes Cunéiformes 1) Wiesbaden.

Esztári, R. – Vér, Á. 2015: The Voices of Ištar. Prophetesses and Female Ecstatics in the Neo-Assyrian Empire. In: Xeravits, G. G. (ed.): *Religion and Female Body in Ancient Judaism and Its Environments*. (Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies 28) Berlin – Boston, 3–39. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110410099-002

ETCSRI: Zólyomi, G. – Tanos, B. – Sövegjártó, Sz. (2008-): *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Royal Inscriptions*. Budapest. http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/index.html (accessed: 1 November 2022).

Falkenstein, A. 1957: Sumerische religiöse Texte [III]. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 52, 58–75. https://doi.org/10.1515/zava.1957.52.1.58

Falkenstein, A. 1965: Die Anunna in der sumerischen Überlieferung. In: Güterbock, H. G. – Jacobsen, Th. (eds.): *Studies in Honor of Benno Landsberger on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday, April 21, 1965.* (Assyriological Studies 16) Chicago, 127–140.

Focke, K. 2015: *Der Garten in neusumerischer Zeit.* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 53) Münster.

Fowler, D. 1990: Deviant Focalisation in Virgil's *Aeneid. Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society NS* 36, 42–63. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0068673500005228

Geller, M. J. 1985: *Forerunners to Udug-hul. Sumerian Exorcistic Incantations*. (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 12) Stuttgart.

Geller, M. J. 2016: *Healing Magic and Evil Demons. Canonical Ugud-hul Incantations*. (Die babylonisch-assyrische Medizin in Texten und Untersuchungen 8) Boston – Berlin. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781614513094

Genette, G. 1980: *Narrative Discourse. An Essay in Method* (transl. by Lewin, J. E.). Ithaca.

George, A. R. 1993: *House Most High. The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 5) Winona Lake.

George, A. R. 2002: How Women Weep? Reflections on a Passage of Bilgames and the Bull of Heaven. In: Parpola, S. – Whiting, R. M. (eds.): *Sex and Gender in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 47th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Helsinki, July 2-6, 2001*. Helsinki, 141–150.

Glassner, J.-J. 2014: Rites de passage en Mésopotamie: le rôle d'Inanna-Ištar. In: Mouton, A. – Patrier, J. (eds.): *Life, Death, and Coming of Age in Antiquity: Individual Rites of Passage in the Ancient Near East and Adjacent Regions / Vivre, grandir et mourir dans l'antiquité: rites de passage individuels au Proche-Orient ancien et ses environs*. (Uitgaven van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden 124) Leiden, 507–520.

Greco, A. 2015: Garden Administration in the Ĝirsu Province during the Neo-Sumerian Period. (Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 12) Madrid.

Groneberg, B. R. M. 1986: Die sumerisch-akkadische Inanna/Ištar: Hermaphroditos? *Die Welt des Orients* 17, 25–46.

Groneberg, B. R. M. 1997: *Lob der Ištar. Gebet und Ritual an die altbabylonische Venusgöttin.* Tanatti Ištar. (Cuneiform Monographs 8) Groningen.

Hallo, W. W. 1980: Šullanu. *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 74, 94.

Harris, R. 1991: Inanna-Ishtar as Paradox and a Coincidence of Opposites. *History of Religions* 30, 261–278. https://doi.org/10.1086/463228

Heimpel, W. 2009: Blind Workers in Ur III Texts. *Kaskal* 6, 43–48.

Hruška, B. 1998: Inanna und Šukaletuda. Eine gutgeheissene Unzucht mit der Kriegsgöttin. *Archiv Orientální* 66, 318–324.

Jacobsen, Th. – Kramer, S. N. 1953: The Myth of Inanna and Bilulu. *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 12, 160–188. https://doi.org/10.1086/371135

Jones, Ph. 2003: Embracing Inana: Legitimation and Mediation in the Ancient Mesopotamian Sacred Marriage Hymn Iddin-Dagan A. *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123, 291–302. https://doi.org/10.2307/3217685

Keetman, J. 2004: König Gilgameš reitet auf seinen Untertanen: Gilgameš, Enkidu und die Unterwelt politisch gelesen. *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 64, 5–31. https://doi.org/10.2143/BIOR.64.1.2021779

Kirk, G. S. 1970: *Myth. Its Meaning and Functions in Ancient and Other Cultures.* (Sather Classical Lectures 40) Cambridge – Berkeley – Los Angeles. https://doi.org/10.1525/9780520342378

Klein, J. 1998: The Sweet Chant of the Churn: A revised edition of Išmedagan J. In: Dietrich, M. – Loretz, O. (eds.): *dubsar anta-men. Studien zur Altorientalistik. Festschrift für Willem H.Ph. Römer zur Vollendung seines 70. Lebensjahres mit Beiträgen von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen.* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 253) Münster, 205–222.

Komoróczy, G. 1979: A šumer mitológiai epika [Sumerian Mythological Epics]. In: id., *A šumer irodalmi hagyomány. Tanulmányok* [The Sumerian Literary Tradition. Studies]. (Elvek és utak) Budapest, 185–200.

Kramer, S. N. 1949: A Blood-Plague Motif in Sumerian Mythology. *Archiv Orientální* 17, 399–405, Pl. 16–17.

Kramer, S. N. 1974: Kingship in Sumer and Akkad: The Ideal King. In: Garelli, P. (ed.): *Le palais et la royauté. (Archéologie et Civilisation).* Paris, 163–176.

Lacambre, D. 1994: L'enlèvement d'une fillette. In: Charpin, D. – Durand, J.-M. (eds.): *Recueil d'études à la mémoire de Maurice BIROT* (Florilegium Marianum 2 = Mémoires de N.A.B.U. 3) Paris, 275–284.

Lambert, W. G. 1980: The Theology of Death. In: Alster, B. (ed.): *Death in Mesopotamia. Papers read at the* XXVI^e^ Rencontre assyriologique internationale. (Mesopotamia 8) Copenhagen, 53–66.

Lämmerhirt, K. – Zgoll, A. 2009: Schicksal (-stafel, -sbestimmung). A. In Mesopotamien. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 12, 145–155.

Lewis, B. 1980: *The Sargon Legend: A Study of the Akkadian Text and the Tale of the Hero Who Was Exposed at Birth*. (American Schools of Oriental Research Dissertation Series 4) Cambridge.

Limet, H. 1982: «Peuple» et «humanité» chez les Sumériens. In: van Driel, G. – Krispijn, Th. J. H. – Stol, M. – Veenhof, K. R. (eds.): *Zikir šumim. Assyriological Studies Presented to F. R. KRAUS on the Occasion of His Seventieth Birthday.* (Studia Francisci Scholten memoriae dicata 5) Leiden, 258–267.

Litke, R. L. 1998: *A Reconstruction of the Assyro-Babylonian God-Lists An: ^d^A-nu-um and An: Anu šá amēli*. (Texts from the Babylonian Collection 3) New Haven.

Ludwig, M.-Ch. 1990: *Untersuchungen zu den Hymnen des Išme-Dagan von Isin*. (Santag 2) Wiesbaden.

de Maaijer, R. – Jagersma, B. 1997–1998: Review of Å. W. Sjöberg (ed.), The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Vol. 1 A Part I–II. *Archiv für Orientforschung* 44–45, 277–288.

Mařík, T. 2003: Sex, Religion and Antimony. Zu einer apolitischen und ahistorischen Deutung von Inana und Šukaletuda. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 93, 147–166.

Michalowski, P. 1981: Carminative Magic: Towards an Understanding of Sumerian Poetics. *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie* 71, 1–18. https://doi.org/10.1515/zava.1981.71.1.1

Michalowski, P. 2006: Love or Death? Observations on the Role of the Gala in Ur III Ceremonial Life. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 58, 49–61. https://doi.org/10.1086/JCS40025223

Mittermayer, C. 2013: Gut und Böse: Anforderungen an menschliches Handeln im Beziehungsgefüge zwischen Göttern und Menschen in den mesopotamischen Mythen. In: Nesselrath, H.-G. – Wilk, F. (eds.): *Gut und Böse in Mensch und Welt. Philosophische und religiöse Konzeptionen vom Alten Orient bis zum frühen Islam.* (Orientalische Religionen in der Antike 10) Tübingen, 31–50.

Mittermayer, C. 2019: *‚Was sprach der eine zum anderen?' Argumentationsformen in den sumerischen Rangstreitgesprächen.* (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 15) Berlin – Boston. https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110634327

Müller, H.-P. 2004: Mythos und Metapher. Zur Ambivalenz des Mythischen in poetischer Gestaltung. In: Irsigler, H. (ed.): *Mythisches in biblischer Bildsprache. Gestalt und Verwandlung in Prophetie und Psalmen.* (Quaestiones disputatae 209) Freiburg – Basel – Wien, 43–63.

Paoletti, P. 2012: *Der König und sein Kreis. Das staatliche Schatzarchiv der III. Dynastie von Ur*. (Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 10) Madrid.

Pintér, A. K. 2022: Az *Inana és Šukaletuda* című mítosz. Áldás vagy átok a hírnév? [The myth *Inana and Šukaletuda*: Is fame a blessing or a curse?]. *Antik Tanulmányok* 66, 165–185. https://doi.org/10.1556/092.2022.00011

Ponchia, S. 2016: Expressive and Reflective Strategies in the Poem of "Erra and Išum". In: Corò, P. – Devecchi, E. – De Zorzi, N. – Maiocchi, M. (eds.): *Libiamo ne' lieti calici. Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented to Lucio Milano on the Occasion of his 65^th^ Birthday by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends*. (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 436) Münster, 567–585.

Pongratz-Leisten, B. 1994: *Ina šulmi īrub. Die kulttopographische und ideologische Programmatik der akītu-Prozession in Babylonien und Assyrien im I. Jahrtausend v. Chr.* (Baghdader Forschungen 16) Mainz am Rhein.

Pruzsinszky, R. 2007: Beobachtungen zu den Ur III-zeitlichen königlichen Sängern und Sängerinnen. *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 97, 329–351.

Pruzsinszky, R. 2010: Die königlichen Sänger der Ur III-Zeit als Werkzeug politischer Propaganda. In: Pruzsinszky, R. – Shehata, D. (eds.): *Musiker und Tradierung. Studien zur Rolle von Musikern bei der Verschriftlichung und Tradierung von literarischen Werken.* (Wiener Offene Orientalistik 8) Wien, 95–118.

Rendu Loisel, A.-C. 2013: Heurs et malheurs du jardinier dans la littérature sumérienne. In: Barbu, D. – Borgeaud, Ph. – Lozat, M. – Volokhine, Y. (eds.): *Mondes clos. Cultures et jardins.* (Asdiwal, supplément 1) Gollion, 67–84.

Römer, W. H. Ph. 1965: *Sumerische 'Königshymnen' der Isin-Zeit.* (Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui 13) Leiden.

Sallaberger, W. 2003–2004: Schlachtvieh aus Puzriš-Dagān. Zur Bedeutung dieses königlichen Archivs. *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Genootschap "Ex Oriente Lux"* 38, 45–62.

Selz, G. J. 2001a: Sex, Crime, and Politics. Zur Interpretation sumerischer Literaturwerke. Überlegungen zu Inana-k und Šukaletuda. *Journal of Ancient Civilizations* 16, 37–58.

Selz, G. J. 2001b: Nur ein Stein. In: Richter, Th. – Prechel, D. – Klinger, J. (eds.): *Kulturgeschichten. Altorientalische Studien für Volkert Haas zum 65. Geburtstag.* Saarbrücken, 383–393.

Shehata, D. 2009: *Musiker und ihr vokales Repertoire. Untersuchungen zu Inhalt und Organisation von Musikerberufen und Liedgattungen in altbabylonischer Zeit.* (Göttinger Beiträge zum Alten Orient 3) Göttingen. https://doi.org/10.17875/gup2009-509

Sjöberg, Å. W. 1972: Die göttliche Abstammung der sumerisch-babylonischen Herrscher. *Orientalia Suecana* 21, 87–112.

von Soden, W. 1984: Reflektierte und konstruierte Mythen in Babylonien und Assyrien. *Studia Orientalia* 55, 147–157.

Steinkeller, P. 2013a: A Note on Lines 168–169 of Enki and Ninhursag. *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 65, 69–71. https://doi.org/10.5615/jcunestud.65.2013.0069

Steinkeller, P. 2013b: An Archaic "Prisoner Plaque" from Kiš. *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 107, 131–157. https://doi.org/10.3917/assy.107.0131

Steinkeller, P. 2017: Luck, Fortune, and Destiny in Ancient Mesopotamia — Or How the Sumerians and Babylonians Thought of Their Place in the Flow of Things. In: Drewnowska, O. – Sandowicz, M. (eds.): *Fortune and Misfortune in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the 60th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Warsaw 21–25 July 2014.* Winona Lake, 5–24. https://doi.org/10.5325/j.ctv1bxgzrq.6

Stol, M. 1994: Milch(produkte). A. In Mesopotamien. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 8, 189–201.

Tinney, S. 1996: *The Nippur Lament. Royal Rhetoric and Divine Legitimation in the Reign of Išme-Dagan of Isin (1953–1935 B.C.).* (Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 16) Philadelphia.

Verderame, L. 2021: Animal agents in Sumerian literature. In: Recht, L. – Tsouparopoulou, Ch. (eds.): *Fierce lions, angry mice and fat-tailed sheep. Animal encounters in the ancient Near East.* (McDonald Institute Conversations) Cambridge, 15–22.

Veyne, P. 1988: Did the Greeks Believe in Their Myths? An Essay on Constitutive Imagination (transl. by Wissing, P.). Chicago – London.

Volk, K. 1995: *Inanna und Šukaletuda. Zur historisch-politischen Deutung eines sumerischen Literaturwerkes.* (Santag 3) Wiesbaden.

Volk, K. 2012: Šukaletuda. *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 13, 266–267.

Waetzoldt, H. 2010: The Colours and Variety of Fabrics from Mesopotamia during the Ur III Period (2050 BC). In: Michel, C. – Nosch, M.-L. (eds.): *Textile Terminologies in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean From the Third to the First Millennia BC.* (Ancient Textiles Series 8) Oxford – Oakville, 201–209.

Wasserman, N. 2019: Mesopotamian Underwear and Undergarments. In: Chambon, G. – Guichard, M. – Langlois, A.-I. (eds.): *De l'argile au numérique. Mélanges assyriologiques en l'honneur de Dominique Charpin.* (Publications de l'Institut du Proche-Orient Ancien du Collège de France 3) Leuven – Paris – Bristol, 1125–1144. https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv1q26s9t.57

Weiershäuser, F. 2020: Response: Das Narrativ vom guten König. In: Wagner-Durand, E. – Linke, J. (eds.): *Tales of Royalty. Notions of Kingship in Visual and Textual Narration in the Ancient Near East.* Boston – Berlin, 65–73. https://doi.org/10.1515/9781501506895-005

Wilcke, C. 1993: Politik im Spiegel der Literatur, Literatur als Mittel der Politik im älteren Babylonien. In: Raaflaub, K. (ed.): *Anfänge politischen Denkens in der Antike. Die nahöstlichen Kulturen und die Griechen.* (Schriften des Historischen Kollegs, Kolloquien 24) München, 29–75.

Wilcke, C. 2002: Vom göttlichen Wesen des Königtums und seinem Ursprung im Himmel. In: Erkens, F.-R. (ed.): *Die Sakralität von Herrschaft. Herrschaftslegitimierung im Wechsel der Zeiten und Räume. Fünfzehn interdisziplinäre Beiträge zu einem weltweiten und epochenübergreifenden Phänomen.* Berlin, 63–83.

Zgoll, A. 1997: *Der Rechtsfall der En-ḫedu-Ana im Lied nin-me-šara.* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 246) Münster.