**Why did Inana Ascend from the Netherworld So Many Times?**

**The Literary Growth of *Angalta*, 282–306**

1. Introduction

Lines 282–306 in *Angalta* follow the account of Inana’s departure from the netherworld with the assistance of Enki. One of their striking features is the multiple repetition of the sentence “Inana ascends from the netherworld”, in temporal and in indicative moods alike, in lines 284, 285, 288, 290, 305c and 306.[[1]](#footnote-1) Looking at each duplicate *per se*, it repeats 5 times within approximately 30 lines in duplicate S; 4 times in V; and 3 times in U and T (though T is partially broken).[[2]](#footnote-2) In addition, line 281 (which is followed directly by line 285 in most of the duplicates) also tells of the rising of Inana from the netherworld, yet with a different verb: “Inana arose.” Modern translators of this work have thus had to omit some of those lines or, alternatively, to add particles that do not exist in the original text or to use various verbs instead of the same repetitive one, in order to smooth the sequence.[[3]](#footnote-3) This textually situation was probably also one of the main reasons for the statement of Katz, who brilliantly analyzed the development of *Angalta* as a whole, that “the development of the first literary unit, which describes the intervention of the Anuna and the dispatch of the *galla* [i.e., ll. 285–306 according to Katz], is impossible to trace.”[[4]](#footnote-4)

And indeed, in terms of narrative, it is difficult to comprehend the motivation for so many repetitions of the same phrase, or the circumstances that led to so many differences between the duplicates in this short unit.[[5]](#footnote-5) However, examining the work in terms of the compositional process, the fact that such phenomenon is found precisely in these lines could be anticipated, as they are the lines that open the middle section between the story of Inana’s journey to the netherworld (ll. 1–281), and the story of Dumuzi’s descent to the netherworld (ll. 368–403). Meeting points of traditions or sources tend to absorb multiple additions, whose by-products are occasionally repetitions and textual variations. Moreover, when such by-products are preserved, they can help to trace the development of the work they are part of. The present article thus seeks to examine the motivations for the repetitions and textual differences in *Angalta*, 282–306, in order to trace the gradual literary growth of this part. As a first step, however, it is essential to specifying the significance of lines 282–306 within the composition of *Angalta*.

1. The place and significance of lines 282–306 in *Angalta*

The complete work of *Angalta* contains several duplications and inconsistencies. Prominent among them are: (1) The double rescues of Inana from the underworld: once with the assistance of Enki in accordance with Inana's instructions to her minister Ninšubur before she descended to the netherworld, as portrayed in the first part of *Angalta*. And once by bringing a substitution to the netherworld after her ascent from there, in accordance with the capture of Dumuzi in the next part of the work. (2) The pleas of Dumuzi to the sun-god, his brother in-law, to save him from the demons of the netherworld thanks to his marriage with Inana, while it is the same Inana who surrounded him to these demons. (3) The crying of Inana to the fly to reveal the place of Dumuzi after he was taken to the netherworld, while she is the one whose revengeful orders brought him there all along.

The circumstances that led to such of duplications and inconsistencies have been well presented by the studies of Katz, Alster and Zgoll.[[6]](#footnote-6) Following them, it can be put thus: *Angalta* appears to consist of several independent traditions – some in regard to Inana, and other relating to Dumuzi. These traditions have been set in two separated units. The first one, lines 1–281 (S ends the unit at l. 284, see below), telling of Inana's descent to the netherworld and her ascent from there with the help of Enki (= herewith Inana unit), belongs to a group of accounts describing Inana's journeys outside her city and her saving by Enki(’s wisdom).[[7]](#footnote-7) It has also relations to Inana's (cyclical) descent to and ascent from the netherworld, attested in other compositions.[[8]](#footnote-8) The second unit, lines 368–403, telling of Dumuzi's descent to the netherworld (= herewith Dumuzi unit), is based on diverse traditions regarding Dumuzi's death, preserved in additional numerous works.[[9]](#footnote-9)

The literary link between the Inana unit and the Dumuzi unit occurs in the section set between them, lines 285­–367 (= herewith the middle section). This section describes how the Anuna Council instructed Inana, after she had already ascended from the netherworld, to find a substitute in order to be freed from the netherworld unscathed, and she chose Dumuzi because he has sinned against her. The content embedded in this section created for the first time a direct link between the descent of Dumuzi to the netherworld and the ascent of Inana from the netherworld.[[10]](#footnote-10) At the same time, however, it created inconsistencies and duplications in the work, since it still preserved the firm Sumerian traditions about the ascent of Inana from the netherworld with no need of substitution, as well as her endless loyalty to Dumuzi her spouse regardless her orders against him. In other words, while the section between Inana unit and Dumuzi unit serves as a ‘literary glue’ between two distinctive unit, it is also, and therefore, the cause for the inconsistencies and the duplications occurring in the work.

Lines 282–306, of which this study questions about, are at the meeting point of the end of Inana unit and the beginning of the middle section that tells of Inana's searches for a substitute, which will eventually lead to the descent of Dumuzi to the netherworld. Now that the place and significance of these lines is clear, the question of their composition can be examined.

1. The repetitions and variants in *Angalta* 282–306 according to four duplicates

The following figure (no. 1) illustrates the relation between the four (relatively complete) duplicates of *Angalta* regarding lines 284, 285, 288, 290, 305c, and 306. To achieve a broader view, the figure opens in line 281, which closes the Inana unit in most of the duplicates; and ends with line 307, where the account of Inana's meeting with her minister Ninšubur out of the netherworld begins. For convenience, the English translation of the relevant sentences is bold and accompanied by a Sumerian text.

Figure no. 1: lines 281–307 in the four duplicates of *Angalta*

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **T** | **V** | **U** | **S** | **Lines nos.** |
| BROKEN | **Inana arose.** | **“Inana, raise up!”**[[11]](#footnote-11)  | **Inana arose.**dinana ba-gub  | 281 |
| Ereškigal said to the galatura and the kurgara: | 282 |
| “Carry your queen, your seized […]” | 283 |
| **Inana**, through Enki's instructions, **ascends from the netherworld.** | 284 |
| **Inana ascends from the netherworld,** | **As Inana was getting out of the netherworld**,[[12]](#footnote-12) | **As Inana was ascending from the netherworld,** | 285 |
| the Anunna seized her: | 286 |
| “Who has ever ascended from the netherworld, has ascended unscathed from the netherworld?[[13]](#footnote-13) | 287 |
| **[When Inana] will ascend [from the netherworld,]** | **When Inana will ascend from the netherworld,** | **[When Ina]na will go out of the netherworld,** | **[When Ina]na will ascend from the netherworld,** | 288[[14]](#footnote-14) |
| let her provide a substitute for herself.” | 289 |
| **Inana ascends from the netherworld.** | **Inana ascends from the netherworld.** |  |  | 290 |
| DESCRIPTIONS OF THE DEMONS IN DIFFERENT ORDER AND WORDINGS IN EACH MSS.  | 291–305c |
|  | **Inana ascends from the netherworld.** |  |  | 305c(differ from S 305c) |
| **As Inana was ascending from the netherworld,** | **As Inana was ascending from the netherworld,**  | **As Inana was getting out of the netherworld,** | **When Inana was ascending from the netherworld,**  | 306 |
| Ninšubur threw herself at her feet[[15]](#footnote-15)… | 307 ff. |

A quick look at this figure—both horizontally and vertically—reveals how often the sentence “Inana ascends[[16]](#footnote-16) from the netherworld” appears, usually without a plot justification, and with different occurrences in each duplicate. To this should be added, as stated above, the sentence in line 281: “Inana arose,” which concludes the ascent of Inana from the netherworld by the assistance of Enki, and its meaning is almost identical to the following repetitive lines. However, the original belonging of line 281 to the Inana unit, rather than to the middle section, is manifested not only thematically, but also in terms of vocabulary. Line 281 describes the fulfillment of the plan of Enki by using the same verb that describes earlier his instructions to his two aides (cf. l. 253: “Thus Inana would rise”). On the other hand, the verb èd, repeating from line 284 up to line 306, relates to the command of the Anuna Council in lines 286–290 to have a substitute for Inana, a theme restricted to the middle section of the work.[[17]](#footnote-17)

It is plausible to assume that the alternation between these verbs had no significance for the author of *Angalta*, as well as it has for some modern translators of this work ​​who did not distinguish between the different verbs. Nevertheless, this difference is another mark of the borderline between the independent Inana unit and the section that follows it, resulting from an editorial process of connecting distinct parts. The multiple repetition of the sentence “Inana ascends from the netherworld” in the following lines, which creates inconsistencies in the sequence, seems to be a result of an editorial activity as well.

As I seek to show below, lines 282–306 consist of additions upon additions. While some of the additions were added at an earlier stage of the composition, thus they are documented in all duplicates, others were added at a later stage, and are therefore only documented in a few. In all cases, in order to fit the new addition within the sequence, it was opened or ended—and sometimes both opened and ended—with a repetition of the moment in which Inana was ascending from the netherworld, i.e., the very moment in which the previous unit ends.

This editorial technique, namely, setting of a new addition by means of a repetition of words from the closing sentences of the previous unit, was identified long ago in various biblical and a few Mesopotamian texts, termed by scholars as a ‘related expansion’ and a ‘resumptive repetition’. The former relates to the sentence that introduces a new addition, while the latter to the sentence that concludes it.[[18]](#footnote-18) Both these technique means were not invented specifically for interpolations, but they rather served narrators whenever they seek to deviate from one matter to another. Nevertheless, the very presence of these techniques in texts whose content and/or their manuscripts testify for being interpolations, indicates that they were incredibly effective in the process of inserting additions into an old sequence.

1. The development of *Angalta*,282–306

An additional look at figure no. 1 above reveals that all the versions share a temporal sentence in line 306: “As Inana was ascending from the netherworld”, and most of them share the same sentence in line 285.[[19]](#footnote-19) All the versions also share the Anuna statement, that no one can leave the netherworld without a substitution. The latter contains another temporal sentence regarding Inana's departure from the netherworld in line 288. Following the Anuna statement, the *galla*-demons are described in different wordings and order in each duplicate. This description is introduced by three of the duplicates (T, V and apparently also y, 290) with an indicative sentence identical to that of lines 285, 288, and 306 (minus the temporal component). One extant duplicate (V, 305c) also closes this description with the same indicative sentence. A final significant variation between the duplicates in those lines is the plus between lines 281 and 285 that occurs only in one duplicate (S, 282–284), and concludes with a sentence closes to that of lines 285, 288, 290, 305c and 306, though with extras.

It is common to assume that uniformity in textual witnesses indicates an old stratum, whereas different texts indicate for later changes that took place after the duplicates (or their urtext) had already been separated from each other.[[20]](#footnote-20) Therefore, the earlier stratum of the first lines of the middle section appeared to include lines 285–289 and 306, all are shared by all duplicates (with minor variations).

Figure 2: The shared lines of all duplicates

|  |
| --- |
| **As Inana was ascending from the netherworld,**  |
| the Anuna seized her: |
| "Who has ever ascended from the netherworld, has ascended unscathed from the netherworld? |
| When Inana will ascend from the netherworld, |
| let her provide a substitute for herself." |
| **As Inana was ascending from the netherworld.** |

Similar to the situation in most of the extant duplicates, line 285 seemed to open the old stratum of the middle section, right after the end of Inana unit. This line anchors the beginning of the middle section by means of a temporal sentence at the very moment the previous unit is ended, i.e., when Inana departs from the netherworld. Katz suggested that line 306, which closes this unit and repeats the same temporal sentence "As Inana was ascending from the netherworld," functions together with line 285 as a framework (or *inclusio*), defining the content between them as a sub-unit.[[21]](#footnote-21) However, since temporal sentences tend to precede the narrative, rather than conclude it, it is much more likely that line 306 introduces the second episode of the middle section (ll. 307 ff.), as it was indeed translated and interpreted by other scholars.[[22]](#footnote-22) On the other hand, repeating of the same temporal sentence as an introduction to the subsequent episode obviates the previous one. Therefore, most of these scholars have translated each of the sentences (i.e., ll. 285 and 306) differently, as opposed to the Sumerian original text, thus reflecting the literary difficulties in this place.[[23]](#footnote-23) Yet, as argued above, the reason for these difficulties is not literary, but textual. In order to enlighten the situation better, one must first examine the additional repetitive sentences that are not documented in all the manuscripts and were probably not part of the old stratum: lines 284, 290 and 305c. Then we can return to this conundrum.

Line 284: “Inana, through Enki's instructions, ascends from the netherworld.” This line concludes the story of Inana’s ascension from the netherworld through the help of Enki, according to S. Together with lines 282–283, this plus of three sentences misses in the rest of the duplicates. In terms of content and terminology, line 284 looks like another one of the ‘Inana’s ascent’ sentences with minor extras. A broader look at the context reveals, however, that together with lines 282–283, these minor extras correspond to line 254 (earlier in the work) that introduces the fulfillment of Enki's instructions: “The gala-tura and the kur-gar paid attention to the instructions of Enki”. Since line 281 (“Inana arose”) corresponds respectively to line 253: “Let Inana rise (Inana ḫa-ba-gub),” it appears that the author of the edition reflected in duplicate S sought to extend the correlation between line 253 and line 281—shared by all duplicates—into lines 254 and 281–284 as well. By doing so, he followed the general trend of *Angalta*, to have a correlation between Enki's instructions to his two aides and the fulfillment of his instructions. In all other duplicates it ends in line 281, while in S it is extended to three more lines.

This conjecture is seemingly inconsistent with another unique feature of duplicate S, namely the omission of most of the lines describing the fulfillment of Enki's instructions, including lines 253 and 254 mentioned above.[[24]](#footnote-24) However, that minus starts in fact already before the end of Enki’s instruction, taking place between two almost identical lines – one still belongs to the section of the instructions (l. 251, after which the omission begins) and the other belongs to the section of their fulfillment (l. 280, then the omission ends) – without any indication of transition from the instructions section to the fulfillment section, unlike the other duplicates.[[25]](#footnote-25) Considering this, that enormous omission assumes to be erroneously caused by an homoearchton, namely, a haplography due to a similar beginning of texts. The copyist of S thus skipped unintentionally from line 251 to line 280, due to its identical beginning (in fact, only the last verb in ll. 251 and 280 conjugates differently).[[26]](#footnote-26) It is thus essential to distinguish between an editorial process, which deliberately designs the unique literary and linguistic feature of a given text, and scribal errors that although create changes as well, sometimes even in the very same place, they are all unintentional.[[27]](#footnote-27)

The symmetric trend revealed in lines 282–284 in relation to line 254, is revealed in further places in duplicate S. For example, lines 249–251, which belong to the section of Enki’s instruction, occur also only in S. These lines, however, correspond precisely to lines 277–279 of the fulfillment section, found in the rest of the manuscripts and missed in S. It appears therefore that this plus too was added by the author of S in order to achieve a complete symmetry between the section of Enki’s instructions and that of their fulfillment, prior to the homoearchton. The distinction between the two phenomena, editorial process and scribal errors, appears to solve this difficulty as well.[[28]](#footnote-28) Moreover, the author who added lines 227–229 is probably the one who caused the later copyist to fail due to his fond to symmetry.

An additional example of this is line 306 in S (see figure no. 1 above), which does not repeat on line 285 as in the other duplicates, but rather on line 288. The latter is part of the instructions given by the Anunna Council to Inana. Since Inana begins to fulfil these instructions in line 306, the author of S seemed to change its original text in order to fits accurately the instructions.

To conclude, it seems that lines 282–284 were added by the author of S to complete the symmetry between Enki’s instructions and their fulfillment in the Inana unit. The tendency reflected in this duplicate to corelate between instructions and their fulfillment in other places supports the conjecture that this plus is unique to S, rather than being skipped by other duplicates. Moreover, the occurrence in line 284 of terminology that appears only in the following lines, i.e., lines 285–306, surmises that this plus was added after all the units had already been combined.[[29]](#footnote-29)

Lines 290 and 305c: “Inana ascends from the netherworld”. Between these two identical lines, documenting in only a few of the duplicates, the *galla*-demons who were sent with Inana to find her a substitute, are described. As Katz rightly argued, viewing the *galla* as emissaries of the netherworld who prosecute the instructions of the Anuna is also one of *Angalta*'s innovations. No wonder therefore that they are presented as related to the netherworld just in the middle section, where all the innovations of *Angalta* occur. Nevertheless, as the wordings and order of lines 291–305 in each duplicate are different, it appears that the passage dedicated to the detailed description of the *galla* was probably added at a relatively later stage of the work’s formation, after the textual witnesses were already separated but still influence – or contaminate – each other. The latter suggestion may by the reason as well for the presence of ‘Inana’s ascent’ sentences both at the beginning of the passage or at its beginning and end.[[30]](#footnote-30)

In duplicates V, T and y the ‘Inana’s ascent’ sentence opens the paragraph of the *galla*-demons (l. 290, see figure no. 1 above), while V also concludes the paragraph with the same sentence (l. 305c). By appending that sentence to the *galla*-paragraph, it locates the new addition precisely in the time of Inana’s departure from the netherworld. In terms of the narrative, this is again not necessarily and even making difficulties in the sequence. However, for the author, this appended sentence assisted to connect the new addition to the old sequence.[[31]](#footnote-31) As mentioned, V is the only one that assisted by this sentence in both the beginning and end of the paragraph (or perhaps the only one that preserved it). This intensity probably led one of the copyists of V to erroneously alter the original temporal sentence in line 285 into an indicative sentence as well.[[32]](#footnote-32)

The discussion so far has shown that wherever the textual witnesses present pluses or major wording and order changes, the repetitive sentence relating to Inana's ascent from the netherworld appears as well. In each of them, further philological considerations conclude that these are late additions, inserted in the old sequence by means of the ‘Inana’s ascent’ sentence. In light of this, can we assume that one of the ‘Inana’s ascent’ sentences in lines 285 or 306 also implies for an interpolation– together with the following or subsequent lines; an interpolation that occurred in an early stage of the formation of *Angalta*? After all, like in the other cases, so does here, the presence of two identical sentences with the same information at such a small gap is odd in terms of the narrative.

It thus may suggest that the old stratum is in fact comprises of two formation’s stages. At first, only one of the temporal sentences attesting in the old stratum had connected between the end of Inana unit and the deeds of Inana out of the netherworld. In other words, immediately after telling how Inana was rescued (l. 281: "Inana arose"), the author proceeds to tell how on the day of her departure (l. 306: "as Inana was ascending from the netherworld") Inana met Ninšubur who mourned her out of the netherworld, and so on, until at last she found the happy Dumuzi and sent him to the netherworld as a substitute. In this very early stage, only one temporal sentence combined between the Inana unit and the middle section.

At a later stage of the work’s formation, when the author (the same, or maybe another one) sought to further strengthen the connection between Inana's departure from the netherworld and Dumuzi’s death, he added that her search for a substitute was done only due to the Anunna's instructions (ll. 286–289), the same council that determined the death of Inana in the netherworld.[[33]](#footnote-33) To this end, the author repeated on the temporal sentence "as Inana was ascending from the netherworld" (l. 285) in order to locate the new addition as well at the moment of Inana's departure from the netherworld, before her meeting with Ninšubur. This editorial act produced the presumption that the Anuna verdict is framed within two identical sentences, or forced modern scholars to translate each sentence differently, but it is in fact a mere result of a gradual development of the passage. As stated, since all duplicates share these lines (that is, the two temporal sentences, and the Anuna verdict in between), this development took place prior to the separation of the duplicates from each other. In contrast, the other additions discussed above, which are not found in all duplicates, took place at a later stage.

The following figure (no. 3) illustrates the two early stages in the formation of lines 285–306 as proposed above, and two of the later stages as reflected in duplicates V and S.

Figure no. 3: the proposed growth of lines 282–306

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| --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **S**[[34]](#footnote-34) | **Ur-text of V (before contamination)**[[35]](#footnote-35) | **Second stage** | **First stage** |

1. Conclusions

The present discussion suggests that the reason for the multiple repetitions in the first lines of the middle section that linked the Inana unit with the Dumuzi unit, is not a literary one – as was suggested by earlier scholars – but textual. In other words, it is the gradual development from one sentence into a paragraph of ca. 30 lines that created this messy structure. For the reader seeking for a smoothy plot, these repetitive sentences seem unnecessary and disturbing. However, as the various duplicates testify, these repetitive sentences were for the authors – whether that of the old text or those of the later layers – the means by which they anchored various additions, time and again, into the moment when Inana departed from the netherworld. In time, the few other compositions that absorbed the innovations embodied in *Angalta*, took them already for granted and no longer needed any of these editorial techniques (and theological explanations) when making Inana the responsible for the death of Dumuzi.[[36]](#footnote-36)

1. The lines are numbered according to the composite edition. For the various duplicates, their provenance, and the transliteration (below) see... I am grateful to Cuperly for kindly sending me her doctoral dissertation. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)
2. Duplicates t, y and W are very broken in this section, and therefore they were not included here. They will be referenced below when possible. [↑](#footnote-ref-2)
3. See some examples in nn. … below. [↑](#footnote-ref-3)
4. [↑](#footnote-ref-4)
5. Kuperly suggested that “[t]he result is a mirroring of Innana’s difficult way up. The story keeps being interrupted, like Innana’s journey”. However, since this ‘textual mirroring’ is not used in all the other events when Inana or Dumuzi have had difficulty in their way, it seems to be an ad hoc interpretation of a complex textual situation, and therefore cannot be accepted. [↑](#footnote-ref-5)
6. [↑](#footnote-ref-6)
7. For the similar traditions about Inana’s getting into trouble and getting out of it by the help of Enki, see the works *Inana and Šukalletuda*, *Inanan and Ebiḫ, Inana and Enki*, and the hymn *Inana Nin-egala*. [↑](#footnote-ref-7)
8. See *Inana and Enki*. For further texts from Fara and Abu-Salabih see. [↑](#footnote-ref-8)
9. For close or even identical descriptions of the descent of Dumuzi to the netherworld, the plea of Dumuzi to the sun-god to save him from his executioners, and the search of Inana after Dumuzi by the assistance of the fly, see… Note, however, that *Angalta* omits the traditional introduction of the descent of Dumuzi to the netherworld which lacks an emic explanation to his death, since it was linked directly to the Inana unit, as will be elaborate below. The content of *Angalta*, 404–409, was not found so far in other Sumerian texts and seems to be part of a different tradition relating to the cyclical descent and ascent of Dumuzi from the netherworld. To date, it is only known from Mari texts of the 18th century. For a discussion, see... [↑](#footnote-ref-9)
10. It should be emphasized that the theme of substitution in the netherworld for itself is not an innovation as well, except for the use of this theme in the context of the ascent of Inana and descent of Dumuzi. Nevertheless, most of the Mesopotamian texts in extant give the impression that viewing Inana as the one who led to the death of Dumuzi was not accepted well by other narrators (and this is true also regarding the rising of Dumuzi which concludes *Angalta*). The few exceptions are…They all relate, directly or indirectly, to Inana as in charge of the death of Dumuzi (but even these works do not relate to the rising of Dumuzi). [↑](#footnote-ref-10)
11. The difference between an indicative sentence and an imperative one here stems from the location of the component ba. Therefore, Kramer assumed that the deviation of U resulted from a scribal error (metathesis) which should be corrected to an indicative sentence. Since the imperative does not fit indeed into the context, while it may be a scribal error (whether it was copied from memory, dictation, or another written exemplar), it also may stem from a misinterpretation of the context by a certain scribe. [↑](#footnote-ref-11)
12. For the permanent use of è instead of èd in U, see n… below. [↑](#footnote-ref-12)
13. V has kur-ra instead of kur-ta, implying for the opposite direction of descending to the netherworld. See further below, n….and n… [↑](#footnote-ref-13)
14. Note that l. 288 in duplicate y (which is very broken in this place) begins without the temporal component ud-da (“when”). [↑](#footnote-ref-14)
15. For the few variations between the duplicates in this line, see fig. 3 below. [↑](#footnote-ref-15)
16. As the figure above shows, U has a permanent preference for the verb è, rather than èd. This alternation might have stem as well from copying from memory or dictation. An exception is found in line 287, where the first verb is written as èd (rather than è); but this line seems to suffer anyway of several scribal errors, see... Another possibility is that the exception in line 287 related originally to the descent to the netherworld, rather than to the ascent from there, as attested probably in V, in the same line (see n… above, and cf. the introduction of *Angalta* in all duplicates). Alternatively, Kramer suggested to correct all è in U to èd. [↑](#footnote-ref-16)
17. The only additional unit that includes the verb èd is the introduction of *Angalta*, but there it portrays the descent of Inana to the netherworld, rather than her ascent from there. Nevertheless, the occurrence of this verb in both units may attest for a deliberately inter-textualism. [↑](#footnote-ref-17)
18. Rofé termed the technique means ‘related expansion,’ referring to a case when the last words of the passage to which an addition is set introduce the new addition in a form of a temporal close, in order to anchor the addition in the passage it is added to. Kuhl termed the technique means ‘resumptive repetition’ (in German: Wiederaufnahme), referring to the means used at the end of a new addition setting in an old sequence. In order to resume the original sequence at the same place where the addition interrupted it, the author repeats or rephrased the last words of the sequence before deviating it at the end of the new addition. [↑](#footnote-ref-18)
19. In V, 185 the sentence is in indicative mood, unlike the rest of the duplicates, while the temporal sentence in S, 306 differs a bit from the rest. For the possible circumstances that led to these variants, see below. [↑](#footnote-ref-19)
20. This is of course not an absolute law, since a situation where most of the extant duplicates are derived from a corrupt, or revised version, while only a few duplicates stem from a less-corrupted version, is also possible (though rarer). Therefore, each case should be examined on its own, according to its specific features. In this case, as will be shown below, further evidence suggests that lines 282–284, occurring only in S, were added at a later stage of the formation of *Angalta*, namely, only after the urtext of S was separated from the other duplicates. [↑](#footnote-ref-20)
21. This sub-unit was called by Katz ‘The first episode’, while lines 307–367 were called ‘the second episode.’ [↑](#footnote-ref-21)
22. [↑](#footnote-ref-22)
23. Among the scholars mentioned above, only Cuperly, who suggested a literary explanation for the repetitive sentences, translated the two identical sentences with the same words, as in Sumerian. All others translated this line differently than the subsequent one. Thus… [↑](#footnote-ref-23)
24. [↑](#footnote-ref-24)
25. A similar ‘skipping’ on Ea’s instructions in *Ištar’s Descent* may suggest that this revised Akkadian version stems from the same urtext of S. [↑](#footnote-ref-25)
26. The large omission (‘parablepsis’), due to a scribal error, fits well a process of copying from memory, but it can also occur during copying from another exemplar or from dictation, as is demonstrated by biblical and classical examples. For additional examples of homoeoteleuton in Sumerian and Akkadian texts, though relating to an omission of a few cuneiform signs only, see... For a similar phenomenon of homoearchton in an Akkadian text, see…, regarding the omission of lines 268–267 in *Gilg..*. [↑](#footnote-ref-26)
27. As was emphasized by Delnero (and others), one of the parameters to distinguish between a scribal error and an editorial process is that “the source in which it (=scribal error) occurs does not contain multiple variants of the same type.” In the present source, although both of these phenomena happen to occur in the same lines, the homoearchton is unique to this place whereas the wish to have a full correlation between the instructions part and the fulfillment part characterizes S, as will be elaborated further below. [↑](#footnote-ref-27)
28. Note that Peterson tried to mediate the homoearchton through a harmonistic translation of the text, and compare Kramer, whose translation reflects this omission. [↑](#footnote-ref-28)
29. *Contra* Katz, who argues that these lines originally ended the Inana unit, missed by all other manuscripts. Note, however, the comment of Katz, regarding the attribution of Larsa as Dumuzi's meeting place with the *galla*-demons, rather than the traditional Kulaba as in the other duplicates of *Angalta* and additional works, which implies for a later revision of S. For further unique features of S, see... [↑](#footnote-ref-29)
30. Katz, on the other hand, assumes that only line 290 was added at a later stage in V and T in order to separate the *galla*-demons paragraph from the Anuna episode. However, it is difficult to find a reason for such an editorial work, and it is indeed unexplained by Katz either. [↑](#footnote-ref-30)
31. While the opening sentences fulfil the function of a ‘related expansion,’ the closing sentence might be a case of a ‘resumptive repetition’; both these phenomena are familiar from other texts, as was explained above. It is a question whether such sentences were dropped by the later authors of other duplicates, erroneously or intentionally, or were never added by them. [↑](#footnote-ref-31)
32. Cf., also Attinger, who defines this as a contamination. [↑](#footnote-ref-32)
33. Although the Anuna Council functions in a similar role in other compositions, it does not limit at all to the netherworld. [↑](#footnote-ref-33)
34. The translation here follows that of Kuperly, which is the closer to the Sumerian content. For the philological considerations, see there. [↑](#footnote-ref-34)
35. The contamination relates to both line 285, which is assumed to be originally a temporal sentence, and line 287, where the element ra instead of ta appears, changing the direction from ascending into descending. A plausible reason to the latter change (l. 287), which does not fit the context at all and seems secondary, is a contamination resulting from the many occurrences of Inana kur-ra èd in the text (even though the close context has Inana kur-ta èd). [↑](#footnote-ref-35)
36. Cf. n. 10, above. [↑](#footnote-ref-36)