

# With roots in the Abzu and crown in the sky: Temple construction in between myth and reality

- A study of the Eninnu temple of the Gudea cylinders as divine house and cosmic link.



Fig. 1: Statue of Gudea.

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# Preface

The major background work for this dissertation consisted in reading through the entire text of the Gudea cylinders, from the original hand-copies of the cuneiform to comparing various translations. The opportunity to go through the text in this manner has been a priceless aid in the further work with this dissertation, and provided me with a familiarity with the Cylinders I would never otherwise have obtained. Hence, my sincerest thanks go to those individuals who made this a possible and, not least, entertaining and inspiring undertaking! I worked through Cylinder A together with Mr. Alexander Lange Ziesler, much of the time in his sitting room encouraged by his impressive red cat and many a strong coffee, during the best part of a year of regular reading sessions. Thank you for sharing so generously of your time and knowledge! Partly preceding and overlapping this period, we read through Cylinder B at the weekly seminar of the Norwegian Institute of Palaeography and Historical Philology, which is led by Professor Jens Braarvig. It was here I was first introduced to the Gudea text and became inspired and encouraged to make its study my own project. Jens has been a great tutor - thank you for your constant inspiration, enthusiasm, patience and flexibility! And not least to the rest of the participants of the weekly seminar group, for keeping the study of dead things alive.

Thanks also to Professor Andrew George for setting me on the writings of Averbeck, which greatly sped up my search for recent material on the Cylinders, and to Dr. Richard Averbeck himself for his encouraging reply to my email! Also, to the eminent archaeologist Ole for reading through and commenting on major parts of this dissertation, and, lastly, to friends and family for putting up with and appreciating my somewhat eccentric interests.

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Appendix 1: ETCSL composite translation and transliteration of Gudea cylinders A and B

Appendix 2: My translation of major parts from the Cylinders, from *Verdens Hellige Skrifter* (with extended notes).

## **Bibliography**

# 1. Introduction

## I. Presentation and scope

The Cylinders of Gudea comprise one of the longest and most complete pieces of Sumerian literature that is known to date. The lengthy hymn celebrates the rebuilding of the grand *Eninnu*-temple of the god Ningirsu by Gudea, the governor (*ensi*) of the region and city of Lagash during its 2<sup>nd</sup> dynasty, which may, according to the most likely chronologies, be dated roughly to 2125 BC. The temple was built in the ancient city of Girsu, now the site of modern Telloh in southern Iraq.

The principal aim of the present dissertation is to study the ‘metaphysical’ side of the Eninnu-temple on the basis of this text, more precisely, the identification of the temple with its god, and the position of the temple in the cosmos as a link and ‘meeting point’ between the worlds. In my view, the Gudea text conveys a clear idea of transcendence as essential to Sumerian thought. I will argue that, throughout the process that the cylinders describe, it runs through as a core that the aim is to express and ‘catch’ this transcendent reality and make it immanent by means of the correct rites and symbols; one might say that the dichotomy between the ‘transcendent’ and the ‘immanent’ becomes bridged by the correctly functioning (i.e. cultically right) symbols, realised in the text through metaphorization and figurative language. It is this world of symbols that I will describe and discuss in the main parts of this dissertation, and the way these symbols partake in a particular metaphysical horizon. Thorkild Jacobsen<sup>1</sup> has described the Sumerian ‘numinous’ reality as basically “intransitive” and immanent, echoing the tautagorical ideas of German romanticism, but I will hold that the picture is more complex. It seems evident that one should not underestimate ability of the Sumerians to abstract thinking and forming metaphysical concepts, of which one testimony is the development of their writing system and their poetry, where the use of metaphor and the playful alteration between abstract and concrete sign-values is a central characteristic.

The story told in the Gudea cylinders is so rich and complex that, even with a vantage point limited by a particular focus like the present, it proves hard to cut down on the great many

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<sup>1</sup> 1976

elements that *could* always find a relevant place within our study. However, I have tried to select and stick to the elements that stand out as most significant in relation to the identification of the temple with the divine and its function and definition as ‘cosmic link’. The text is laden with metaphors when it describes the ritual process of the temple building and its circumstances, and often appears to deliberately place the action in an ambivalent position in between myth and reality. In my view, this language clearly reflects something of greater cultic importance than mere descriptive praise, and no less so with the ritual process described, in which any distinction between the mythical and the ‘real’ is wiped out. This tells of a wish to establish a bond between the realm of divine operations (which *is* eternal and stable) and the human sphere of the practical and performative (so that it *may become* eternal and stable), in creating a mirror-image of the divine plan which is loaded with, and activated by, its metaphorical meaning.

As our primary source is a document originally written in the Sumerian language, it is unavoidable that our study is conditional upon several difficult and ambiguous notions, and important values of meaning are easily lost or significantly altered with the varying translations. Hence philology has an important place in this study, and indeed it is philology that forms its very foundation – this being, after all, a study of a particular text that must be approached with a constant awareness of the original language and context. This ‘double’ focus – history of religion mediated by philology – seems to me what makes such a study particularly interesting, as we rarely see the two fields joining forces in order to calibrate their results. A treatment of such a text as the Gudea cylinders ignorant of the religious and cultic context is bound to miss out on important points, and so it would seem in the opposite case as well. As we will see particularly as related to the theme of chapter 4, certain of the metaphors we are to study have figured more or less out of context in theoretical works such as those of Eliade and a few of his critics, and it is part of our task to pay attention to these cases and ‘disentangle’ the very notions where their place in modern discourse seems to have lost touch with their original meaning and context.

Full translations and transliterations of Cylinders A and B, as well as translations of the most important other Sumerian material used throughout this dissertation, are attached<sup>2</sup>, as well as my translation into Norwegian of major parts of the text, that was published in the *Verdens*

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<sup>2</sup> From the ETCSL project, transliteration and composite translation.

*Hellige Skrifter* -series in 2006. This is somewhat less literal than the other full translations for the sake of length and accessibility, but it remains a major part of my own work with the original text.

## II. The text of the Gudea cylinders – notes on genre, function and context

There are many limitations to our knowledge of the Cylinders that an understanding of the text alone cannot solve; as Richard Averbeck puts it, "...the events which are commemorated do not necessarily give the whole answer to the reason for the writing of the document in the first place and the use to which it was put."<sup>3</sup> We may ask the question with regard to the physical cylinders as well as to their textual contents, and I also wish to differentiate somewhat between the *use* and the *function* of the cylinders. The following subchapters will present and attempt to briefly clarify these topics.

### Genre and structure – the nature of the text

We shall not move far into questions of genre and literary structure, as this dissertation is not to be a literary study but one focusing on religious and contextual aspects – but it still seems pertinent to treat some of the points that arise in literary studies of the text. The way that the cylinders records and moulds the mythical, the ritualistic and the ‘historical’ or ‘practical’ into one story, is a theme that lies at the core of our present study.

The Cylinder text is exceptional in many respects: it is the longest literary work from the Neo Sumerian period, and as for the contents there exists so far no other text from the period with which it can be compared on general grounds. It certainly is in many respects reminiscent of ‘standard’ temple building texts and royal inscriptions; a hymn praising and glorifying the god, the temple and the ruler, yet it far surpasses the scope of any one category and is much more of a unique narrative that melds myth and reality into one account.

As Victor Hurowitz puts it:

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<sup>3</sup> 1986: 37



“Despite the great detail in which events are described, the Gudea cylinders are not to be seen as a work having the sole purpose of recounting the events as they were witnessed by a detached bystander. Just the opposite! The story before us is a literary composition with well-planned style and structure, and with a clear message.”<sup>4</sup>

He further notes that “there is so much divine participation in the events that the story takes on nearly mythic character”<sup>5</sup>, and that it would be hard – and indeed artificial – to try and separate what goes on at the divine and human levels. As he says:

“Even if one is to admit that the gods mentioned in the work were embodied in their statues, emblems, priestly proxies, or activities associated with them, the story only occasionally takes this into account.”<sup>6</sup>

A particular point concerning this ‘mythical’ aspect, is the way that several ritual actions are carried out simultaneously by gods and human beings – sometimes on one plane, sometimes on another, but always keeping the temple-building as the focus so as to formally establish it with the same strength ‘everywhere’ in the cosmos.

Averbeck and, to some degree, Hurowitz, have done notable work on analysing the narrative structure of the Gudea text, by its own account as well as for the comparative study of biblical temple building accounts. Averbeck pays particular attention to the way that the rituals structure and make up the skeleton of the literary structure, pointing out in one of his later articles that this is a feature that in many ways separates the Gudea cylinders from “parallel biblical accounts”<sup>7</sup>. He argues that the text is to a greater degree a “step by step ritual process”<sup>8</sup>, and further that the recording of this ritual process must have been among the principal aims for the making of the cylinders. The rituals and the physical building itself are to a strong degree portrayed as one dynamic whole in the cylinders, and as Averbeck writes, “one ritual leads to another and together they regulate the stages in the actual construction and dedication work.”<sup>9</sup>

### The use of the text

Scholars have presented different theories concerning the function of the text, and it has for example been argued that several passages in the cylinders prove that the text describes a

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<sup>4</sup> 1992: 46

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.

<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> 2003: 95

<sup>8</sup> Ibid.

<sup>9</sup> 1997: 89

*hieros gamos* – particularly the sections where Ningirsu and Bau enter the temple and their bedroom(s), and the abundance that follows from this. Several authors have suggested that an actual sacred marriage rite is described<sup>10</sup>, where Gudea played the part of Ningirsu and, supposedly, a priestess that of Bau, but the evidence for this seems inconclusive from the original text. Averbeck notes Sauren’s suggestion that the Cylinder text was used as a mystery play “composed on the occasion of the temple consecration and performed yearly at the temple dedication feast”<sup>11</sup>, where it would have been read on particular days. Sauren also suggested that central parts of the narrative, such as the making of the first brick, might have been re-enacted on this occasion. Averbeck criticises this theory on several accounts, arguing that Sauren’s interpretation of the text and what he takes to be a parallelism between the rituals in Cyl A and those in Cyl B is a matter very much open to doubt.

It may seem strange to us that a text of such detail and eloquence would be composed and inscribed for no particular purpose other than ‘mere’ commemoration. One can hardly underestimate the importance to the king of ensuring that his deeds and his pious dedication were remembered by the gods for eternity, and it seems at least likely that the basic function of the cylinders was to provide a dedication text commemorating every aspect of the temple building project. This, of course, does not exclude the possibility that the text or parts of the text were also used – even performed – on special days of celebration at the temple. One may also want to consider the many fancy votive statues of Gudea that were found at the deposit at Tello, some with thorough inscriptions praising the ruler and the temple that are similar to other known votive / ‘commemorating’ texts, and whether the presence of these might make the clay cylinders seem superfluous as mere votive objects. Whatever is the case, one may imagine that the cylinders represented proof of the stability and divine origin of both the temple itself and the idea of it, as if representing a ‘contract’ between gods and men concerning the occasion.

#### ‘The writing on the wall’ – about the locality of the cylinders

In the introduction to his translation, Averbeck points out that “The cylinders are not really ‘monumental’ (...), since they are not inscribed on a monument, unless the cylinders

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<sup>10</sup> More detailed accounts of these theories are to be found, for example, in Averbeck 1987: 250-253 and in Hurowitz 1992: 45-46 (footnote 1).

<sup>11</sup> Averbeck 1987: 253. For further details, cf. also pp 254-257.

themselves are viewed as monuments”.<sup>12</sup> Unfortunately, there is at present very little we can deduce from the archaeology about the place and function of the cylinders as physical objects, nor do we have any comparable cases to turn to in order to learn more. The use of clay cylinders as a medium is not unique to the Gudea text, and Claudia Suter mentions several other examples of similar carriers of text; for example the even older cylinders from the first Akkadian period with “literary texts of a mythic nature”.<sup>13</sup> However none of these are comparable to the Gudea cylinders neither in scope nor in content, and we do not know any more about the practical use of the other cylinders. The text itself does not give any clue as to the use to which the Gudea cylinders were put, but it seems at least meaningful to assume that they were in some or another manner displayed in the temple. Suter notes that if so, they must have been “in themselves a demonstration of power, since literacy was restricted and writing was a tool of the ruling class”<sup>14</sup>, and that even if they were visible to visitors who could not read, people would probably still be aware of what the cylinders were and the message they contained “from hearsay”.<sup>15</sup>

One can only guess at the actual worth of the cylinders as carriers of the ‘story’ of the temple, but apart from speculation about the use to which the text was put, it seems relevant to consider the implications for the authority of the temple that the account of its creation is manifested and displayed in the form of these rather imposing cylinders. And it is not just any account – it is the story of a largely ritual process, which has run smoothly and has been carried out to absolute perfection, involving and weaving together both the human and divine spheres into the core of the temple’s existence. If we view the cylinders as an integral part of the actual temple complex (notwithstanding our lack of knowledge about their physical location), we may see them as something much more than mere carriers of text, in a very dynamic and physical manner – as the ‘writing in stone’ of the actual and true story of the temple legitimizing its existence and guaranteeing its absolute perfection, and providing the bricks of the temple with a special ‘soul’. The importance of the divine decree – that the decision and permission to build the temple indeed derives from the very highest of authorities – and that the manifestation of the ‘heavenly’ pre-existent plan of the temple is carried out correctly, is very much emphasized in the cylinder text. Hence the inscription might be seen both as a seal and an affirmation that this has taken place in the correct manner,

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<sup>12</sup> 2000: 417

<sup>13</sup> 2000: 74

<sup>14</sup> Ibid: 159

<sup>15</sup> Ibid: 279

addressing the divine as well as the human world. This is a topic that will be analysed much more closely in chapter 4.3 below.

### III. Research and related literature

#### Primary sources: Text and translations

The first translation of the Gudea Cylinders was published by Thureau Dangin in 1925, along with transliteration and hand-copies. While our knowledge of the Sumerian languages has grown greatly since then and outdated the earliest translations, the hand-copies of Thureau Dangin have still been the primary source for even the most recent translations.

Falkenstein published his highly respected German translation in 1953, and he has also written extensive commentaries on both grammatical and historical issues relating to the Cylinders. However, the three translations that form the primary reference material for this dissertation are those of Thorkild Jacobsen (1987), E. Jan Wilson (1996) and Dietz Otto Edzard (1997).

The edition of Edzard includes both a transliteration and translation, and is very thorough with regard to grammatical detail, yet it could have benefited greatly from the inclusion of more footnotes and commentaries. It seems fair to say that from among the most recent translations, that of Edzard appears as the most methodical, literal and pragmatic – despite the fact that his solutions, which often differ on fundamental points from the other translations, are rarely explained or given further comment.

Jacobsen chose to include his translation of the Gudea Cylinders in *The Harps that once...*<sup>16</sup>, his collection of Sumerian literature that proved popular with the general audience as well as with scholars. This book does not include transliterations. Jacobsen's edition is very poetic and easy-flowing, with commentaries in the form of footnotes that emphasize cultural rather than grammatical information, but it has been criticized for being somewhat overly 'inventive'.

As Wilson states in his introduction<sup>17</sup>, his primary aims were to provide an up to date continuous transliteration and translation, as well as a more literal translation than that of

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<sup>16</sup> 1987

<sup>17</sup> 1996: 1

Jacobsen. Having worked through the entire text line by line using Wilson's translation as basis because of the practical format, whilst comparing the text with other translations, I still find that the work of Edzard appears as more thorough with attention to detail (despite the lack of commentary). Nevertheless, the book of Wilson has been an extremely helpful source and tool, much thanks to the handy format and the index of Sumerian terms and names from the Cylinders. Moreover, it contains informative and concise footnotes that frequently refer to Falkenstein and others on points of etymology and grammar.

#### Secondary literature and essential works of reference

The only major work I have come across which theme is centred on the Gudea text itself, is the PhD thesis of the biblical scholar Averbeck from 1987: *A preliminary study of ritual and structure in the Cylinders of Gudea*. For the purposes of this dissertation, this thesis has been a particularly helpful source in providing a thorough overview of theory and literature relating to almost every aspect of the subject matter of the Cylinders, as well as Averbeck's own views on topics like the role and function of the temple, and the rituals described. His articles from 1997 and 2002 that also treat the Cylinders, paying more attention to different comparative aspects. Hurowitz, another Semitic scholar, provides in his book from 1992 an analysis of the Gudea Cylinders in order to study the background for Biblical temple building accounts, and, like Averbeck, he focuses on the narrative structure of the building account. Suter, in her book from 2000, provides much up-to-date information and sums up all that is available of the archaeological circumstances and material relating to Gudea, information that I have been unable to trace elsewhere. She provides a critical study of the relationship between the different sources of information we have that relates to the temple building process; the most important being the Cylinders, the inscribed statues and the stelae – written texts and visual image, respectively.

#### The 'essentials' of general literature on Sumer and Sumerian religion

From what might be said to be the 'classics' of general literature on Sumer, the most important books for this dissertation have been Jacobsen's *Treasures of Darkness* from 1976, Kramer's *The Sumerians: their history, culture and character* from 1971 and Bottéro's *Religion in Ancient Mesopotamia* from 2001. From among these Jacobsen will be referred to the most frequently throughout this dissertation, particularly on the topics of the sacred and the religious cosmos in Sumer, as well as on the 'metaphysics' of the divine and the temple.

### Works of reference

A few books concerning the Sumerian sign system, language and grammar will be referred to as authorities throughout this dissertation. Marie-Louise Thomsen's *The Sumerian Language...*<sup>18</sup> provides a detailed in depth account of Sumerian grammar and the difficult and debated issues related to its study, as well as providing rich examples from a wide array of Sumerian texts, and is so far the only book of its kind. John L. Hayes' *A Manual of Sumerian Grammar and Texts* is primarily a learning tool, but it also contains much additional information on a great many subjects related to Sumerian culture. René Labat's *Manuel d'Epigraphie akkadienne* is an extremely detailed list of Sumerian and Babylonian cuneiform signs, tracing their development and change in form, and listing their syllabic and logographic values. This is a unique and highly respected book which I will not hesitate to refer to, even if it may be criticized for its lack of a scientific apparatus<sup>19</sup>. Lastly, *The Concise Dictionary of Akkadian* of Black, George and Postgate deserves a mention – this dictionary is both handy and comprehensive, and includes references to the Sumerian origins where applicable.

## IV. Notes on method

As mentioned in part I. above, we are to focus on symbolism relating to the temple and the divine in the text, and how (as I argue) these ideas both partake in and are symptomatic of a well developed metaphysical and immanent-transcendent reality. It follows that our methodological approach is centred on theory of symbols, but philological method is just as central to the present study, enabling a critical and contextual analysis of such elements as they appear in the text.

Almost all our knowledge about ancient Mesopotamia is extracted from its written material; hence one may say that the entire base for our study rests on Philology. This is not the place to go into the history of the interpretation of Sumerian - suffice it to say that there are, to date, very few 'truths' agreed upon by scholars about Sumerian grammar and vocabulary. Almost every passage in a Sumerian text may be translated and interpreted in a variety of ways that often disagree profoundly with respect to meaning, though the differing approaches may be

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<sup>18</sup> 1984

<sup>19</sup> Cf., for example, the review of the first edition by I. J. Gelb 1949.

equally justifiable depending on the translators' preferences on grammatical points. The three most recent editions of the Gudea text that I have studied and will keep referring to – namely those of Edzard, Jacobsen and Wilson – frequently demonstrate this problem upon comparison, and many such passages will need to be examined closely in the course of this dissertation as important layers of meaning may depend totally upon difficult and ambiguous modes of expression.

There is obviously never a guarantee that the textual material will be interpreted correctly – or even translated correctly in the first place –, we are irrevocably cut off from, and at least partly unable to estimate the extent of, knowledge and concepts that may be presupposed by the scribe, and in the end, our conclusions may never be proven with certainty. There is always the danger of reading too much into the text or unconsciously making it fit convenient frames according to our chosen topic, and it is hard if not impossible to totally avoid this risk. Liverani writes that an ancient document should not be viewed as

“a ‘source of information’, but as information in itself; not as an opening on a reality laying beyond, but as an element which makes up that reality. Or (...) not as an informer, but as a member of the community under study.”<sup>20</sup>

I believe that it is in a sense both; it seems to me that the text may well be viewed as a ‘filter’ that transmits a certain reflection of a reality ‘behind’ it, and that this alone makes that reality present – even if it is long gone and unapproachable as such. Of course the Gudea text, with its metaphors, exaggerations and unfamiliar values, is in many respects a closed world that communicates only *a very particular* view on the reality which it aims to describe, yet I would argue that just because of this it does tell us a great deal about that situation through the means that the ancient author used to portray it to the reader. Kramer writes about the account of the rites and circumstances in the Gudea cylinders that they “seem to contain more fact than fancy”, but – as Averbek points out in light of his own chosen synchronistic approach – this is not a problem if one focuses on context and avoids isolating any single elements from the text as medium. As he says: “This does not alter the fact that this is indeed the picture painted in the document.”<sup>21</sup> And such is our aim at present; to study the picture painted of the Eninnu temple in the Gudea text, and not so much analyse the way that our conclusions are applicable to ‘the Sumerian temple’ in general. The latter would seem to require a much larger and more wide-ranging study than the present thesis, and not least a much more comparative approach.

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<sup>20</sup> 1973: 179

<sup>21</sup> 1987: 36

## V. Theoretical concepts and perspectives

### Of dichotomies and abstractions

Our theoretical key concepts are centred on the relationship between the temple, the divine and the cosmos, and at the core of this analysis stands the overall metaphysical / tautagorical dichotomy, which crystallise into opposites such as transcendent ('heavenly' or abstract) / immanent ('earthly' or concrete), macrocosm / microcosm, permanence / impermanence, the heavenly 'blueprint' of the temple / the physical temple, and so forth. In my view, the relationship and interplay between these dichotomies are central to the Sumerian worldview and cultic thought, which overall aim appears to wipe out the 'gap' between these levels of being through symbols and metaphorical representation, thus making the transcendent immanent in the human sphere. The relationship in religion between transcendence and immanence has given rise to significant debates in this field of study, but we will not move far into the theoretical discourse as such in this dissertation. It will, however, surface at certain points. For example, a major part of chapter 3 below studies the nature of the divine and divine symbols on a quite theoretical level, on basis of Jacobsen's view in *Treasures of Darkness* which seem to largely agree with the *tautagoria* of Schelling and the German romanticism. According to this view, the symbol and its object are seen as basically one, and thus, arguably, it excludes the bearing of any notion of metaphysical transcendence. Here the symbol seems regarded almost in the sense of Goethe's definition of *allegory*: "the allegory changes the phenomenon to a concept, and the concept to an image, in such a way that the concept is kept fully in the image and still limited so as to say the same thing."<sup>22</sup> Lakoff, on the other hand, does not regard these two 'levels' as a necessary antagonism, but opens up for both a broader and more complex understanding: a metaphor or concept may well represent both something 'in the world', and abstract, metaphysical concepts – which are far from meaningless in themselves. In other words, as Lakoff sums it up, reason is not a mere "mirror of nature", and concepts are more than "internal representations of external reality".<sup>23</sup> In my view, this stance is interesting when viewed in relation to ancient Sumer, not only in relation to their religion as such, but also to their expression in language by written sign, symbol and idea.

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<sup>22</sup> In Braarvig 1997: 48 (author's translation from German).

<sup>23</sup> 1987: 370



We may briefly look at one example, which is a notion quite central to the concern of the Gudea cylinders – namely the word *zi* or *zid*.<sup>24</sup> The early pictographic version of the sign clearly shows an upright reed or straw, but its basic logographic meanings are “to live” (Akkadian *nēšū*), “life” (*napištu*), “height” (, “grow”, “rise” (*tebû*), and similar. Perhaps more commonly, like in the Gudea cylinders, the word is used about anything that which is “true”, “right”, “correct”, “loyal”, “permanent” and so forth (*kīnum*), and in our text it usually describes the nature or actions of divine beings or the pious ruler, rites that are carried out to “perfection”, or objects that fulfil their ideal function. The concept is obviously extremely important with respect to cult, and tells of the all-importance for everything to be or happen according to what is “true” or “stable” according to cosmic law. The concept of *zi(d)* encompasses the pictogram, being a direct representation of nature (the reed), as well as abstract concepts (life, permanence, correctness), both united by the sign – which, by itself, suddenly pertains to neither category alone. In my view, we have here an excellent illustration of the point of Lakoff, and not least of the ability of the Sumerians to form and express abstract concepts.

It seems pertinent to briefly define in relation to the present material the central, analytical notions that are to be used frequently in this study – namely metaphor, emblem and symbol. The borderline between their definitions may sometimes appear fleeting and conditional upon varying interpretations, as well as tricky points of grammar, so where one term is chose above another in the course of this dissertation (for example metaphor for symbol), I am not necessarily claiming that this is the only correct ‘category’ of function and significance.

### Metaphor

Metaphor – of the Greek *μετάφerein*, means to “transfer” or “carry” onto. When applied to elements in the Gudea cylinders, or as related to cult or religion, I think we may – in light of *emblem* as defined below – say that metaphORIZATION occurs when what we may call the emblem of someone or something is ‘transferred’ onto the subject; for example when the Eninnu-temple is described as behaving like the Thunderbird. Also, of course, a *metaphor* is something described as something ‘other’, in a general sense. The ideas of “being” versus “being like” in Mesopotamia is worth a note in this context. The two suffixes commonly used to denote identity or likeness are *àm* and *gim* (*/gin^7*) appear at least in the Gudea text to be

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<sup>24</sup> Cf. Labat 1994 s.v. *zi*, and for the Akkadian words associated with the Sumerian *zid*, cf. Black, George and Postgate 2000.

used more or less interchangeably with regard to meaning. Even though *àm* seems used to denote a somewhat closer sense of identity than *gim*, which it is often natural to translate with “as” or “like”, I would not call the latter “simile” as opposed to *àm* as “metaphor”. My impression is that in our case, no picture or symbol is chosen at random – most if not all the symbols, comparisons or figures of speech always appear to have some deeper or culturally significant connotation, that relate directly to the object in question. There seems to be no real sense of *distance* in the language; the ‘similes’ and the metaphors equally appear to represent parallel correspondents to their object, only on a different (cosmic) level, and contribute to catching the transcendent reality and transfer it onto its ‘mundane’ counterparts.

### Emblem

The emblem will be a central notion particularly to chapter 3, which discusses the nature of the divine, its representations, and its relation to the temple. One might say that the emblem is an ‘outer’, visual symbol; an imprint of the symbol of the object, like the banner or the brick stamp showing the Thunderbird, being the emblem associated with Ningirsu. The word “emblem” is derived from the Greek verb *ἐμβάλλω*, to “stamp” or “emboss”, and the noun “emblema” is explained by *A Greek-English Lexicon* as a “chased or embossed ornament used in decoration of plate”<sup>25</sup>. As for the Gudea cylinders themselves, if viewed as a ‘contract’ of sorts between Ningirsu and Gudea, we may perhaps regard the physical cylinders as an emblem for this contract, and the textual contents as the metaphysical world in which the Cylinders partake as symbols.

### Symbol

Symbol, of the Greek *σύμβολον*, means “what can be united”, whereas the verb *σύμβάλλω* means “to ‘unite’, to ‘join’”<sup>26</sup>. In relation to the emblem, the symbol may perhaps be seen as encompassing both it and that which is expressed in the emblem – being the ‘idea’ that is perceived through the emblem.

Braarvig notes that

“the original meaning of symbol (...) expresses basically a proportional relation, a relation of one-to-one, two objects which are the expression of each other as two parts of a defined whole.”

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<sup>25</sup> 1966: s.v. *emblema*.

<sup>26</sup> Braarvig 1997: 45

Further on, that:

“So in the religious sphere the relation between a symbol and its meaning is in a certain sense (...) regulated as an agreement between two parties and regulated as an unequivocal pact. (...) Even possessing only one part, then, creates expectations of fulfilment of an agreement.”<sup>27</sup>

So much more could be said about symbol theory, particularly as related to the ‘reality’ in which the symbols partake and their substratum, like we touched upon briefly above in connection with the dichotomies central to this study. I have already stressed that I wish to discuss and show how the symbols of the Gudea cylinders partake in a particular metaphysical horizon. However, I find the above definition of the symbol as a *contract* a very interesting point when related to our study; we may, for example, view the building of the temple as the construction of a great symbol - the one end of a pact - that both fulfils (as an act of necessity) the divine or macrocosmic model, and aims to attract the presence of the divine and transcendent initiators of the pact. It would seem, subsequently, that these aims are attained almost out of logical necessity – taken that everything is done according to what is “correct”.

#### Microcosm and macrocosm

The last part of chapter 4 below will investigate about the way that the Eninnu-temple might be seen as a *microcosm* of the divine realm. Every author we will refer to in the context of the Gudea cylinders who has used one or both of these notions uses them freely and without discussing their background, and it would seem that these words with their relatively recently acquired ‘general’ meanings are sufficiently incorporated into the modern language to stand on their own. Still it seems timely to discuss briefly the background of the terms, which are probably derived from Greek, meaning “little world” and “small world” respectively. Conger writes that

“Possibly the adjective *μακρὸς κόσμος* was first intended to refer to the long duration of the universe as compared with man. Aristotle, in place of this, uses a form of the adjective *μέγας*; the word ‘Megacosmus’ is found in Latin, and its equivalent sometimes in English. The term *μακρὸς κόσμος* has been ascribed, upon doubtful authority, to Democritus; its first indisputable occurrence is in Aristotle.”<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> Ibid:

<sup>28</sup> Conger 1967: xiv

The notions have been used and applied to quite different purposes throughout time, and became particularly important to the ‘magical’ worldview of the Renaissance - to which the general idea of correspondences on many levels both within the sphere of the earth and between the earth and the cosmos was essential. According to thinkers and writers such as Paracelsus and Bruno man was the centre and microcosm, being a reflection of and containing within himself all the properties and potentials of the greater cosmos from the Creation. In contemporary academia, however, ‘microcosm’ and ‘macrocosm’ are frequently used descriptively to denote anything that appears as a ‘mirror image’ of something else on a different scale.

#### *Axis mundi, Weltberg and centre*

Eliade argues that we can recognise in various cultures the common idea of a ‘sacred pole’ or ‘cosmic pillar’ breaking through and connecting the worlds of the sacred and the profane, providing a point where communication in between the planes is possible. In *The Sacred and the Profane* he systematizes this idea as follows:

“(a) a sacred place constitutes a break in the homogeneity of space; (b) this break is symbolized by an opening by which passage from one cosmic region to another is made possible (from heaven to earth and vice versa; from earth to the underworld); (c) communication with heaven is expressed by one or another of certain images, all of which refer to the *axis mundi*: pillar (cf. the *universalis columna*), ladder (...), mountain, tree, vine etc.; (d) around this cosmic axis lies the world (our world), hence this axis is located ‘in the middle’, at the ‘navel of the earth’; it is the Center of the World.”<sup>29</sup>

He goes on to describe the cosmic or sacred mountain, which summit is “holy ground *because it is the place nearest to heaven*, because from here (...) it is possible to reach heaven...”<sup>30</sup>

This ‘mountain’ is again a centre, and Eliade systematizes this “other series of cosmological images” thus:

“(a) holy sites and sanctuaries are believed to be situated at the center of the world; (b) temples are replicas of the cosmic mountain and hence constitute the pre-eminent ‘link’ between earth and heaven; (c) the foundations of temples descend deep into the lower regions.”<sup>31</sup>

Among the examples he draws in to support his argument, we find common Babylonian and Sumerian temple or sanctuary -names and epithets that contain the word “Mountain”, as well as *Dur-an-ki* – which may be translated (as does Eliade) as “Link between Heaven and

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<sup>29</sup> 1987:37

<sup>30</sup> Ibid: 39

<sup>31</sup> Ibid.

Earth”<sup>32</sup>. These terms will be analysed much more closely with respect to their use and meaning in the Gudea cylinders in chapter 4 below. As for the background of the term *Weltberg* and its relation to the Near East, it was introduced and promoted in the late 1800’s by authors such as Peter Jensen and Hugo Winckler, and carried on by Alfred Jeremias with the so-called Pan-Babylonian school. The central idea that became popular particularly among German assyriologists, was “the mythical notion of the world-mountain as a vertical ‘link’ with heaven engulfing the apex and the underworld situated at the base(…)”<sup>33</sup> Basic to this idea was the mountain as binding together the three cosmic layers, being a centre of gravity or “navel”, as it was first described by Jeremias, in the land. It is quite clear that Eliade builds on this tradition as he defines his own “cosmic mountain”. The main point of the critics of the *Weltberg*, as well as of the related concepts presented by Eliade, is that the theories derive from (and are made conditional on) erroneous interpretations of the original Near Eastern sources.

Richard J. Clifford and Jonathan Z. Smith are among those who have put forward unequivocal criticism against Eliade’s alleged generalisations, and they both disapprove of the very foundations for his claims. Clifford even states that the *Weltberg* of Mesopotamia “as it has been understood by an older generation of scholars, does not exist”<sup>34</sup> However, only a small part of Clifford’s work is dedicated to Mesopotamia specifically, and it seems to me that his interpretations and discussion of the Sumerian words *hur-sag* and *kur* (that may or may not so much describe what we think of as ‘mountain’) are rather brief and inconclusive.

Smith refers to and agrees with Clifford’s stance against the *Weltberg*, and in addition he argues that Eliade is utterly mistaken in his interpretation of the notion *dur-an-ki* saying that “the term means the opposite of what he [Eliade] suggests.”<sup>35</sup> The meaning that Smith points towards, that *dur-an-ki* is the notion used about the mythological ‘navel’ (rather than ‘navel string’!) of the earth from creation – certainly alters the significance of the term from the way it is applied by Eliade, but Smith does not prove his point. His argument that that *dur-an-ki* must prove a state of “permanent disassociation” as opposed to “conjunction and access between the (...) realms”<sup>36</sup> relies, as I demonstrate in chapter 4.2.1, on a subjective interpretation of Sumerian cosmogony. The theme requires an analysis, relating as it does

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<sup>32</sup> Ibid: 40-41

<sup>33</sup> Korom 1992: 110

<sup>34</sup> 1972: 2

<sup>35</sup> 1992: 16-17

<sup>36</sup> Ibid

closely to the picture of the Sumerian temple as cosmic link and the idea of the cosmic mountain.

The critical comments of Clifford and Smith are by no means unwarranted, but I feel they say rather more about the many philological and hermeneutical uncertainties within the study of Assyriology than they defeat the relevance of Eliade's use of Near Eastern examples and the legitimacy of particular theoretical concepts. It seems particularly evident with respect to the Sumerian material that no specific interpretation based on original sources should be treated as absolutely conclusive, particularly because this material depends so heavily upon knowledge of etymology and context that is often patchy (as well as upon source material that simply cannot provide us with such knowledge). It appears, all in all, that the importance of keeping in a close and conscious dialogue with the original textual material, together with an awareness of its shortcomings and uncertainties, should never be ignored or underestimated.

# 1. Gudea and the cylinders: ‘Locus’ and context.

## 1.1. Gudea and his time

*Neo Sumerian* is what we call the period of revival of the Sumerian culture after the fall of the first Akkadian dynasty, and this is assumed to have lasted roughly from a little before 2100 to 2004 when Ur fell and Akkadian rulers again seized power in Mesopotamia. Gudea was governor (*ensi*) of the city-state of Lagash under the reign of the Gutians, during the Second Dynasty of Lagash that was founded by the king Ur-Baba, Gudea's father in law. The chronology of this period is not settled relative to the Third Dynasty of Ur<sup>37</sup>, but a date somewhat before 2100 is usually suggested for the writing of the Cylinder text. The rule of Gudea appears to have been a quite peaceful time, yet the focus in the cylinders on Ningirsu as a mighty warlord, beside his properties as bringer of abundance and fertility, may indicate that this peace was fragile, and the relationship between Lagash and its neighbours somewhat strained. According to Kramer, Gudea claims to have won one military victory “over the state Anshan”<sup>38</sup>. The text repeatedly reminds the reader that peace, justice and prosperity were among Gudea's main concerns, and stresses the importance of having the stern gaze of a strong, protective deity and an awe-inspiring temple to aid in keeping enemies at bay. Grandiose temple complexes and keeping the gods pleased were plainly regarded as a vital insurance against intruders, and the large expenses that these projects craved must have seemed quite justifiable (at least, sufficiently to be carried through with all the necessary means and effort) in this respect. Gudea built and restored a significant number of temples and sanctuaries in his time, keeping active trade with very distant lands – as Kramer puts it, “with practically the entire ‘civilized’ world of those days”<sup>39</sup>. The deification of Gudea's name<sup>40</sup> in later dedicatory texts indicates that he came to be regarded by his successors as a great and virtuous ruler. Edzard notes<sup>41</sup> that unlike several other known Mesopotamia rulers,

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<sup>37</sup> Edzard 1997: 3

<sup>38</sup> Kramer 1971: 67

<sup>39</sup> Ibid.

<sup>40</sup> Written with the determinative *dingir*, that usually accompanies divine names and certain rulers.

<sup>41</sup> 1997: 26

Gudea never used the determinative *dingir*, the sign that indicates divine names, to accompany his own name in his lifetime.

## 1.2. The cylinders

### Description

Each of the two large clay cylinders that comprise the Gudea text measures approximately 60 cm in height and 30 cm in diameter, and together they contain almost 1400 ‘lines’ of text, inscribed within 54 vertical columns. They were excavated by de Sarzec at Tello in southern Iraq - the site of ancient Girsu - in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, a site which has unfortunately suffered from poor as well as several illicit excavations that have left little and very patchy documentation on details surrounding the early finds and the scanty remains of signs of architecture. However, Suter notes on the discovery of the Gudea cylinders that “although the cylinders were not found *in situ*, they were found in the context of Gudea period architectural remains”<sup>42</sup>, and that the inscription of a nearby brick pillar

“records Gudea’s construction of Agaeren within Eninnu, and identifies it as Ningirsu’s place of judgement. The proximity of the findspot (...) of the cylinders to a building of Eninnu together with the fact that they commemorate Gudea’s construction of Eninnu suggests that they were originally kept in the temple, whether in the Agaeren or elsewhere.”<sup>43</sup>

The cylinders are hollow and their bases are “pierced in the centre”<sup>44</sup>, and when found they were “filled with plaster (“plâtre”), and the perforations were closed with clay plugs (“bouchons”).”<sup>45</sup> The plaster was removed, but the cylinders proved to be empty inside. Suter notes that it has been suggested that the cylinders were mounted horizontally for reading, perhaps on poles so that they could be rotated – possibly with the ‘plugs’ serving as handles. However Ellis points out that this would seem more convenient for the purpose of the writing of the cylinders, so as “to avoid touching the surface unnecessarily”<sup>46</sup>. In any case, if the Gudea cylinders were kept on display in the temple one might well imagine them

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<sup>42</sup> 2000: 71

<sup>43</sup> Ibid. Suter suggests that the *a-ga eren* (*a-ga* meaning perhaps “rear” and *eren* meaning “cedar”) may be seen related to the *Shugalam* gate referred to in Cylinder A (e.g. in iix, 8-9 which describes it as “the terrible place, the place for judgement”).

<sup>44</sup> Ibid. Suter obviously refers to the observations made by de Sarzec upon discovery.

<sup>45</sup> Ibid.

<sup>46</sup> 1968: 114, note 35.



mounted on poles, either horizontally, or vertically secured on upright poles. Suter argues that the nature of the text indicates that “the normal position of the cylinders was horizontal”<sup>47</sup>, but the evidence for this seems inconclusive and others have argued against this position.

The cylinders came into the collection of the Louvre museum in 1878, and are now displayed there together with several beautifully carved and well preserved statues, some of which are carrying dedicatory inscriptions<sup>48</sup>, of Gudea.



Fig.2. The Gudea Cylinders in the Louvre.

There is some dispute as to whether there might have existed a third Cylinder, as the final lines in Cylinder A can be interpreted as reading “The temple of Ningirsu being built, this is the middle hymn of praise.”<sup>49</sup> Now, the opening of Cylinder A seems to be a very natural beginning, describing how the ‘destinies’ of heaven and earth are decreed and hence the source of the decision that the Eninnu should be built – an opening passage which, as Hurowitz<sup>50</sup> points out, has parallels in many other Sumerian texts we know to be complete. Moreover the structure of the narrative in the cylinders appears harmonious and complete, but if there ever was a third Cylinder it might, as Jacobsen suggests, have consisted of “hymns

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<sup>47</sup> 2000: 72

<sup>48</sup> Published in Edzard 1997.

<sup>49</sup> Cyl. A xxx, 15-16

<sup>50</sup> 1992: 34

with general praise of the temple and of Ningirsu”<sup>51</sup> and possibly some background history for the building and of Gudea’s predecessors. I have not yet seen anyone suggesting the possibility that the so-called “middle” might actually imply “middle *part*”, in the sense that one is ‘halfway through’ at this point in Cylinder A, and that the second half of the story is to be continued. Whatever can be said to be the case, the hypothetical existence of a third Cylinder should not (and indeed, does not) hinder us from viewing and reading the present text as complete by its own right.

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<sup>51</sup> 1987: 386

## **2. A synopsis of the Gudea cylinders, with a preliminary explanation of important names and notions.**

This chapter will provide a fairly detailed summary of the text, so that elements may be referred to at a later point without always necessitating closer explanation and cross-reference to the complete translation provided in the appendix. The reader may also find such a summary helpful, so as to gain an overview without necessarily having to study full translations of the text first.

Prior to the summary itself, I will provide a brief list of certain notions, expressions and divine names that are particularly important or often occur in the text. Lesser deities or deities that do not play any significant part in the story, or notions of less importance to our overall topic, will be explained in context or in a footnote where appropriate rather than in the following section.

### **2.1 Names and concepts**

#### **2.1.1. *Dramatis personae***

Except from Gudea himself, no other human is named or given any central role in the story. The various important gods and divine and mythical beings that are mentioned in the Cylinders are described below, with special attention to their significance in the Gudea Cylinders rather than their general roles and positions in the pantheon. We start with Ningirsu, the Thunderbird and Bau, and then list the other gods (from An) in alphabetical order:

##### Ningirsu

Ningirsu, literally meaning “Lord of Girsu”, was the most important deity in Lagash and the main god of the Eninnu-temple. It is Enlil who decides that this temple must be built, but it is Ningirsu who reveals to Gudea the plans and directions in visionary dreams. He is the son of Enlil and Ninlil, husband of the goddess Bau (or Baba), and the brother of Nanshe and Nidaba, both major goddesses. Another name for this god is Ninurta, under which he appears

more frequently in other literature. Ninurta / Ningirsu seems to primarily have been a god of warfare, but he is also very much connected with agriculture, fecundity and abundance; at least these aspects are, beside his warlike qualities, very prominent in the Gudea Cylinders. For example, Ningirsu promises Gudea that when he lays the foundations of temple, “the great fields shall extend their sprouts towards you, dikes and canals will fill to their brims for you, and water shall rise for you up into the mountains.”<sup>52</sup> It might be worth noting that according to Black and Green<sup>53</sup>, in the Kassite period a plough appears as a symbol for Ningirsu, and Jacobsen interestingly points out that the words in the name Ninurta (nin+urta) refer to “an old cultural loan word for that instrument (u r t a < \*hurta < \*hurt), and may mean ‘Lord Plough’.”<sup>54</sup> The symbol or emblem that is the most prominent in connection with Ningirsu in the Gudea Cylinders, however, is the Thunderbird.

#### Imdugud: the Thunderbird

The terrifying *Imdugud* bird, usually translated as Thunderbird<sup>55</sup> (and also commonly referred to by its Akkadian name *Anzu*), is repeatedly referred to in the Cylinders as a character emblematic for Ningirsu as well as the Eninnu-temple itself, for which is often appears as a metaphor. The symbols and emblems of the gods is a prominent feature of Mesopotamian religion, but their nature and origin has been subject to some discussion. Jacobsen argues in *The Treasures of Darkness*<sup>56</sup> that these mainly derived from early forms of the later anthropomorphised god forms and were, because of the conflict arising between the human and non-human god forms, later turned into and reduced to enemies or antagonists of the anthropomorphised gods. Whether this is the case with Ningirsu and the Thunderbird may well be disputed (cf. chapter 3.3), but at least it seems reasonable to claim that the Thunderbird relates much more directly to the nature phenomena of thunder, floods and rain - and hence the principles of war and fecundity – than does the form of Ningirsu. Averbeck points to some interesting differences to the degree of identification as regards the Thunderbird, Ningirsu and the Eninnu temple in the Cylinders. Whereas the Thunderbird “often stands in apposition as an epithet of the temple”<sup>57</sup> such as, for example, where “the

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<sup>52</sup> Cyl. A xi, 12-15.

<sup>53</sup> 2003: 138

<sup>54</sup> 1976: 127

<sup>55</sup> The signs *im + dugud (/mi^6)* can, as Jacobsen (1976:128) notes, be interpreted as “heavy rain” and possibly refer to hailstorms. His suggestion that the Thunderbird is a mythopoetic form of the thundercloud seems reasonable.

<sup>56</sup> 1976

<sup>57</sup> 1987: 210

Eninnu, being<sup>58</sup> the bright Thunderbird, it spreads its talons upon the highlands...<sup>59</sup>, this is never the case with Ningirsu even if the bird is obviously associated with the god as some sort of symbol. Averbeck further notes<sup>60</sup> that this is the rule for all the examples where the Thunderbird appears in the Cylinders -- arguably with the exception of the description of Ningirsu in Gudea's first dream, where properties of the Thunderbird are used in describing the awesome appearance of the god himself: "... his head was like that of a god, his arms were the wings of the Thunderbird, his legs were like a floodstorm..."<sup>61</sup>. The relationship between the Eninnu-temple and the Thunderbird appears to be even more complex, and this is a central topic regarding the nature of the temple that will be studied more closely in chapter 3.3 below.

### Bau or Baba

Bau or Baba (the name can be read as both, but for the sake of consistency *Bau* will be used throughout this dissertation) is the wife of Ningirsu, and was an important goddess in Lagash. In the Gudea Cylinder she is for example referred to as "Bau, lady (and) head-daughter of An...", which proves her to be of high rank and of the same generation as the great gods Enlil, Enki and the goddess Gatumdug. Bau had her own temples in Lagash and Girsu where, according to Black and Green, "oracles were given in Early Dynastic times"<sup>62</sup>.

Bau does not play any very large part in the narrative of the Cylinders, except from the vital section in Cyl. B where she and Ningirsu are brought into the Eninnu: "Bau entered her quarters; a skilled woman setting hand to her household. She entered her sleeping chamber, and was like Tigris overflowing. She laid her ear down there to rest, the lady, daughter of bright An -- a green garden bearing fruit. The Sun broke through, the destinies were decreed -- Bau had entered her quarters, Lagash was all abundance!"<sup>63</sup> A section further below describes the different parts of the temple, and the great bed of the gods, reads: "... on its holy cover, strewn with fresh herbs and flowers, the mother Bau rested comfortably with her lord Ningirsu"<sup>64</sup>. Whether or not one goes as far as to interpret these sections as describing a

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<sup>58</sup> Here, the Sumerian term used is *àm* ("being") rather than *gin*<sup>7</sup> ("being like/ likening"). The rest of the line is somewhat ambiguous as to what exactly the Thunderbird is doing.

<sup>59</sup> Cyl. B i, 8-9

<sup>60</sup> Ibid.

<sup>61</sup> Cyl. A iv, 16-18

<sup>62</sup> 2003: 39

<sup>63</sup> Cyl. B v, 10-18

<sup>64</sup> Cyl. B xvi, 20 – xvii 1-3 (it should be noted that some of these lines have been subject to rather differing translations).

sacred marriage rite (as has been suggested by some), fecundity and fertility at least seem to be among this goddess' primary areas of power.

### An

An is the god of heaven as well as heaven itself, and the most exalted of all the gods. He is the father of all the great gods and the creator of the known universe, yet rarely the subject of hymns and praises; he is a distant and 'resting' god, a sublime and removed force that was never really given an anthropomorphized godform. According to Black and Green<sup>65</sup>, he is "seldom (if ever) represented in art, his specific iconography and attributes are obscure." In Cyl. A column x, the god bestows upon Ningirsu the title of lustration priest, and he appears to have been some extent attributed to purification, cleanness and "princeliness"<sup>66</sup> There are also references to the temple as being "founded" by An, such as in Cyl. A xxvii, 8, but strictly speaking it is hard to tell to what degree this passage is meant to refer to the actions of the 'humanized' form of the sky-god.

### Enki

Enki, literally "Lord Earth", is the son of An and the brother of Enlil, and thus of the primary gods. His dwelling is in the *Abzu*, the subterranean realm of freshwater, and he is a god of growth and fertility-bringing floods as well as of dangerous and uncontrollable floodwaves. Wisdom and cunning are among his other properties; for example, it was Enki who begot the idea of creating humans so that they could take on the heavy labour of the gods. Enki is referred to in the Cylinder text as aiding with his logic and planning in organising the temple plans<sup>67</sup>, and he gives Gudea counsel during the building of the foundations<sup>68</sup>. Later on he fills in the foundations<sup>69</sup>, and reveals good omens for the temple<sup>70</sup>. It also seems that Enki is connected with cleanliness and purification; in Cyl A he helps in purifying the *temen* of the temple<sup>71</sup>, and it is hardly insignificant in this respect that the *Abzu* is itself regarded as a holy and pure place of great cultic importance (proved, for example, by the presence of the so-called 'Abzu-tanks' in many temples).

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<sup>65</sup> 2003: 30

<sup>66</sup> The notion *nun* often stands in context with what is pure, noble, 'princely' and of good quality.

<sup>67</sup> Cyl. A 17, 17

<sup>68</sup> Cyl. A xxii, 12

<sup>69</sup> Cyl. B xiii, 3

<sup>70</sup> Cyl. B iv, 3

<sup>71</sup> Cyl. A xx, 11

## Enlil

His name meaning “Lord Wind”, Enlil was a very important deity and a very ‘active’ force indeed. He is usually regarded as the son of An, so his position as a god of the first generation sets him above most of the other gods. Enlil decides ‘fates’, and it is he who in the first paragraph of our story chooses to favour the city of Lagash with abundance and endorses the project of rebuilding the great temple for his son Ningirsu. In Cylinder A, Ningirsu describes how his father Enlil bestowed upon him the power over fifty *me*<sup>72</sup> (it is worth noting that fifty was a special number attributed to Enlil), and this *might* be what the temple-name E-ninnu refers to.

## Gatumdug

Gatumdug was a very important goddess in Lagash, and late traditions identify her with Bau who is, at this early point, considered her sister and also a daughter of An. Wilson refers to her as “one of the oldest deities of Lagash”<sup>73</sup>. In the Gudea Cylinders, she is named as the “mother” of Lagash as well as of Gudea, and she appears to have been the main protective deity of the city. Concerning Gudea and Gatumdug the following lines from Cyl. A may be quoted, where he addresses the goddess seeking advice and protection after having had the first dream: “I am without mother -- you are my mother. I am without father -- you are my father. You placed my ‘water’<sup>74</sup> inside of you; you gave birth to me in the sanctuary. (...) (As) you let the wheat grow in rich water, you provide me with life”.<sup>75</sup> It seems vital that Gudea is granted all of Gatumdug’s goodwill and protection before his journey to Nanshe’s temple where he will have his dream interpreted, and (among other things) he asks that her “good demon” and her “protective spirit”<sup>76</sup> may accompany him there. Gatumdug also assists in the building of the temple, as described later in Cyl. A: “The mother of Lagash, holy Gatumdug, gave birth to its bricks...”<sup>77</sup>.

## Nanna-Suen

The moon god is often referred to by only one of his two names. He is the son of Enlil and Ninlil, the father of the sun god Utu and of the goddess Inanna, and married to the goddess

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<sup>72</sup> Cyl A x, 6: “*me-ninnu-a zag mi-ni-kéš*”, *ninnu* meaning “fifty”.

<sup>73</sup> 1996: 6

<sup>74</sup> The “water” here ought to refer to the seed from which Gudea was born (Sumerian *a-mu* = “my water”).

<sup>75</sup> Cyl. A iii, 6-12

<sup>76</sup> Cyl. A iii, 20-21

<sup>77</sup> xx, 17-18

Ningal. He frequently appears in poetry as herding the ‘cows of heaven’ which are seemingly a metaphor for the stars, but is also an important deity to cowherds -- possibly due to his association with springs and wetland-areas that provided good grazing for the domestic herds.

In the Gudea Cylinders Nanna-Suen sometimes appears in the context of purity and renewal, such as in the following line that first describes the moon illuminating the land, then the temple as new-born and brilliant<sup>78</sup>: “Ningirsu returned from Eridu while the radiant moon illuminated the land, and when the sun arrived at its place, the Eninnu -- born of Suen -- competed with it (in brilliance).”<sup>79</sup> The cows of Nanna-Suen, i.e. the stars, interestingly appear as a metaphor for the first brick (and then possibly by analogy, for all the bricks) of the Eninnu in the following line: “The brick lifted its head towards the temple, like the cows of Nanna, eager to graze in their field.”<sup>80</sup> One may note that “Nanna” is the only name used for the moon god in Cyl. A, whereas “Suen” only appears in Cyl. B. The reason for this, however, seems unclear.

### Nanshe

Nanshe, like Gatumdug, was a prominent goddess in the local pantheon in Lagash. She is the sister of Ningirsu and the daughter of Enki, and by virtue of being a goddess of divination and dream interpretation, she plays a central role in the Gudea Cylinders, first and most importantly in the first part of the story. Gudea travels to her temple after he has his first dream-vision, and has the message interpreted there. He also receives instructions from Nanshe on how to build a suitable war chariot for Ningirsu, so as to gain more information from him about the divine directions for the temple. It is clear that Nanshe is one of the deities that are particularly important to Gudea; there are several lines referring to him as, for example, “the one looked upon by Nanshe with favour”<sup>81</sup>, or “the powerful steward of Nanshe”<sup>82</sup>. When the great gods themselves are working on the temple (Cyl. A xx and Cyl. B iv and xiii), Nanshe is the one taking care of the divination and the cultic considerations. In

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<sup>78</sup> I interpret this line as portraying a strong sense of sanctification, particularly when viewed in connection with the preceding lines that describe the month (the first of the year?) and moon phase (waxing) for the ‘correct’ day when the induction of the gods into the temple was to take place; the moon is new born, its light white and pure, and the temple itself is subsequently describes as being born, in turn, of the moon god.

<sup>79</sup> Cyl. B iii, 9-12

<sup>80</sup> Cyl. A xix, 17-18

<sup>81</sup> Cyl. A xvii, 10

<sup>82</sup> Cyl. B xiii, 11



Cyl B her part is described as follows: “The lady who knows the great rites, Nanshe; she who knows sacred words and songs, performed her incantations for the temple.”<sup>83</sup>

### Nidaba

Nidaba, also transliterated as Nisaba, is the goddess of writing, numbers, wisdom and learning, and possibly in older times of “grasses, both of the grains and of the reeds”, as Jacobsen notes<sup>84</sup>. He further points out that because the early stylus was made from cut reeds, her becoming a deity associated with writing and the art of the scribes seems to have been a logical transition. She is usually regarded as the daughter of An, but Green and Black notes<sup>85</sup> that in the local pantheon of Lagash, she was regarded as the daughter of Enlil (and thus the sister of Ningirsu and Nanshe). Her first and most significant part in the Cylinders is in Gudea’s first dream, where she appears with a ‘star chart’ on her lap revealing how he must build the temple according to the stars.

### Ningishzida



Fig.3. From the left: the ‘Dragon of the Land’ Ushumgalkamma, a protective goddess (Gatumdug?), Gudea, Ningishzida, and Enki seated upon his throne overflowing with water. The writing reads “Gudea, *ensi* of Lagash”. Motif from one of Gudea’s cylinder seals.<sup>86</sup>

The personal protective deity of Gudea, Ningishzida is a noteworthy character in the Cylinders although he plays no very active part in the story. His name may be translated as something like ‘Lord of the straight tree’ and, quoting Jacobsen, he was a “chthonic deity, a god of the tree roots, often mythopoetically visualised as serpents.”<sup>87</sup> Sometimes he is associated with Dumuzi and with the underworld, and Jacobsen notes that - because of his

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<sup>83</sup> iv, 6

<sup>84</sup> 1987: 394, footnote 28.

<sup>85</sup> 2003: 143

<sup>86</sup> Cf. detail from the same seal with information, in Black and Green 2000: 139

<sup>87</sup> 1987: 394, footnote 27

chthonic quality - it is significant when Ningishzida proves the capacity to rise up for Gudea “from the horizon, like the sun”<sup>88</sup>. When Gudea walks towards the building area on the day for the making on the first brick, carrying the sacred basket and brick mould and possibly accompanied by procession, Ningishzida is “his guardian deity, leading him by the hand”<sup>89</sup>. This scene is very much reminiscent of the ‘introduction’ scenes common on cylinder seals, like the one below that depicts Gudea being introduced before Enki by Ningishzida, who functions as mediator. The relationship is also emphasized in the last column of Cyl B, where Enki blesses the temple and refers to Gudea as “son of Ningishzida”<sup>90</sup>.

### Utu

Utu is the sun as well as the humanized form of the sun, the latter appearing in texts together with the determinative *dingir* that distinguishes the phenomena from the anthropomorphized god form. Utu was the son of the moon god Nanna-Suen and Ningal, and the brother of the goddess Inanna. Being the sun, it is not surprising that Utu was closely associated with fertility and growth as well as with law and justice, where he holds the highest authority amongst the gods. He was thought to reside in the underworld at night and passing judgements there, while in the day rising as the all-seeing observer of the affairs of mankind. In the Cylinder text Ningirsu compares his own authority to pass judgements to that of Utu, leaving no doubt that Utu is the ideal model: “In the E-babbar, the place of ‘instruction’, the place where I shine like Utu, in that place I (...) present judgements for my city.”<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, the sun as such appears repeatedly as a metaphor for the Eninnu-temple where its brightness and authority is emphasized.

## **2.1.2. A clarification of some central words and concepts**

### The name *Eninnu*

The meaning of this temple name is not clear; *é-ninnu* literally means “the house of fifty” or “the fifty-house”, but it is uncertain what the number refers to. The word *é-ninnu* is

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<sup>88</sup> Cyl. A v, 20. The sun that rises from the horizon in Gudea’s first dream, is interpreted by Nanshe to symbolize Ningishzida.

<sup>89</sup> Cyl. A xviii, 15

<sup>90</sup> xxiv, 7

<sup>91</sup> Cyl. A x, 24-26

sometimes followed in various texts by the line *an-im-mi* (anzu)-*mušen*, meaning “The bright Thunderbird” (or bright Anzu-bird), and Andrew George has made an interesting suggestion that the extended name of the temple (*é-ninnu anzu-mušen-babbar*) should read “The House fifty (white Anzu-birds)”<sup>92</sup>. However, Edzard<sup>93</sup> disagrees and points out that the word “fifty” (*ninnu*) ought, according to grammar, to stand after *an-im-mi-mušen* and not before it.

Moreover, it seems to me that the following line from Cyl. B<sup>94</sup> further supports interpretations like that of Edzard, as it reads exactly like the above but omitting the word “fifty”: “*é an-im-mi-mušen...*” (“The House, the bright Thunderbird...”). If “fifty thunderbirds” was the temple’s epithet it would seem strange to mention the object(s) but not the number in random lines, as there being “fifty” (and not, say, forty or sixty) would supposedly have been symbolically significant. It is hard if not impossible to arrive at safe conclusions when dealing with the Sumerian language as so much remains uncertain, and most translations simply interpret the second part of the line as “the bright Thunderbird” (or whatever akin adjective or name they chose) as an epithet to *Eninnu*, leaving the name itself open to interpretation.

Another possibility is that the ‘fifty’ refers to the fifty *me* that Enlil bestows upon Ningirsu for safekeeping. As mentioned above fifty is the particular number of Enlil, and as he acts as the highest authority when it comes to divine decisions (including those concerning temple building) as well as the fact that he is Ningirsu’s father, it would not seem unlikely if the name refers either to the fifty *me* or even to Enlil himself.

#### House, temple and sanctuary: a brief look at the É and the ÈŠ

Another matter that seems worth a note, is the way the Sumerian sign *é* (which equivalent is *bītu* in Akkadian and בית in Hebrew) covers the values of both “house” and “temple”. For example, a school-house is called *é-dub* – “house of tablets”, and a “beer house” is written as *é-kaš*. As for temples, their names are always preceded by the *é* as a determinative in a similar way, like *é-ninnu* and *é-babbar* (a common name for temples of Utu). On the other hand, the word commonly translated as “sanctuary”, *èš*, is never used alone to denote a temple as such but rather refers to sacred precincts within a larger temple area, or certain parts of the temple itself. In the Cylinders we find “*èš é-ninnu*” – “sanctuary of the Eninnu” – written several times in different contexts, usually when a *part* of the temple or a building on its grounds (e.g. the various storehouses are described as *èš* in Cyl. B) is described. Besides, *èš* sometimes

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<sup>92</sup> 1993: 134

<sup>93</sup> 1997: 5

<sup>94</sup> xxiii, 1

appears in the text as a kind of epithet to the Eninnu temple, but always in a line following one that includes the word “é”.

In quoting Sumerian texts in the summary below and in the remainder of the dissertation, I will usually refrain from translating temple names except in additional notes where appropriate, but where the word *é* occurs alone it will be translated either as “House” (stressing that we have to do with not just any house) or as “temple”, depending on the context. The Sumerian temple indeed serves the function of a *domus dei* in a very literal sense, as Jacobsen puts it:

“Like a human dwelling, the temple was the place where the owner could be found. Its presence among the houses of the human community was visible assurance that the god was present and available (...), the temple called for a staff, for organization and management. The daily service was that of other great houses (...).”<sup>95</sup>

### The *me*

It seems right to look into this concept now, as I believe that in most cases simple one word translations can hardly render it justice. It is also convenient to be able to refer to the concept by using the Sumerian term in the following summary as well as in the remaining dissertation. The meaning of *me* often seems to depend on context, and whereas translations such as “powers” or “fates” may be adequate in one place, they may not reflect sufficient nuances of meaning in another.

“Powers” and “fates” are two possibilities, and so are “regulations”, “decisions”, “offices”, “rituals”, and similar notions. For the Norwegian translations of Sumerian texts<sup>96</sup> where it seemed at all necessary to translate the word, we sometimes chose to translate *me* as “*værekraft*”, meaning something like “power of being” or “*lebenskräften*”, so as to leave the interpretation as open as possible. Gragg<sup>97</sup> has suggested that *me* is etymologically connected to the verb for “to be” as a nominalized form, which would further prove it likely that at least basically the notion has to do with the *essence* of a thing or concept.

As it appears in Sumerian literature, the *me* might be described as the ‘essential function’, ‘definition’ or ‘inner nature’ of a particular object, concept, condition or property, and may perhaps be likened in some respects to a Platonic idea. Yet they often appear as tangible objects that the gods can share among themselves or fight over, so as to gain control over the particular areas of power that the *me* represent. For example, when Inanna runs off

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<sup>95</sup> 1976: 16

<sup>96</sup> Braarvig (ed.): *Sumeriske skrifter*, 2006

<sup>97</sup> 1968: 102-103

with the *me* of Enki in the myth “Enki and Inanna”<sup>98</sup>, she suddenly rules over a great array of matters pertaining to civilization. To mention a few there’s kingship, the art of love, travelling, the art of the blacksmith, the mastery of fire, the knowledge of creating disagreements, the skill to pass judgements and so forth. When she leaves Enki’s abodes, the *me* are described as being loaded onto the boat just like any concrete items. This example illustrates how the *me* may simultaneously appear both as tangible objects and abstract concepts. One may perhaps view the *me* a kind of bureaucratic decrees of the divine world, existing there as a kind of blueprint controlling the nature of absolutely anything that can be found to exist in the human world.

The meaning of the *me* is often vague where it occurs in the Gudea cylinders. For example, Cyl. A<sup>99</sup> tells us that “he will make the *me* of the Eninnu brilliant in heaven and earth”. One issue is that it is hard to tell whether we are dealing with one or more *me*, partly because of the inconsistency of the use of plural markers in Sumerian, and partly because the context rarely tells us clearly. Moreover, *me-bi* – “it’s *me*” – may well refer to a particular ‘Eninnu-*me*’ as well as one or more *me* pertaining to the Eninnu. Most translators seem to opt for the latter, although I see nothing grammatically or contextually wrong with the former. Because of the difficulty of determining quantity, I find it most appropriate not to use any plural ending when I refer to the *me* – whereas some chose to write “*me*’s” when they believe the plural is intended.

Wilson<sup>100</sup> usually translates *me* as “rituals”, which seems to me as a very narrow interpretation – although something more open like ‘cultic decrees’ might have seemed fitting. Edzard<sup>101</sup>, on the other hand, often treats the single *me* as a kind of reflexive pronoun, and hence chooses not to translate it as anything else. Line 20 below in the same column at least indicates quantity: “*é-ninnu me-bi gal-gal-la-àm*”: “Eninnu, it’s *me* being great”, the duplication of the adjective *gal* indicating a plural noun. Here Edzard translates with “powers”<sup>102</sup>, Wilson with “rituals”<sup>103</sup> and Averbeck as “stature”<sup>104</sup>.

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<sup>98</sup> A good translation of this myth may, for example, be found at ETCSL (cf. URL in Bibliography).

<sup>99</sup> i, 11. The Sumerian reads: *é-ninnu me-bi an-ki-a pa-è mu-ak-ke*<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>100</sup> 1996

<sup>101</sup> 1997: 69

<sup>102</sup> Ibid.

<sup>103</sup> 1996: 13

<sup>104</sup> 2000: 419

With respect to the great emphasis in the Cylinders that all must be (cultically) “right”, *me* comes in as an interesting and vital concept. The text refers to the *me* of the Eninnu several times, something that underlines the sense in which the idea of the temple is preordained at a primeval cosmic plane, into which Gudea is given a glimpse through his dreams that ‘connect’ him to this transcendent landscape.

## 2.2. A synopsis of the Gudea Cylinders

### **2.2.1. Cylinder A: *Divine decree, preparation and building of the temple.***

Enlil fixes a good fate for Lagash, and Gudea receives the first vision.

The destinies of “heaven and earth” and of the city of Lagash are decreed.

Enlil is favourable towards the city of Lagash, and decides that the temple Eninnu must be built for his son Ningirsu according to the heavenly plan and with the proper cultic preparations. Gudea experiences his first visionary dream, wherein he sees the all-important first brick of the temple and encounters Ningirsu. The deity commands him to build his “House”, and shows him the temple’s magnificent *me*.

Nanshe interprets the first vision.

Gudea journeys to the temple of the goddess Nanshe in the city of Nina, stopping by local sanctuaries of Ningirsu and Gatumdug on the way where he gives offerings and prays for protection and guidance. At the temple of Nanshe, he offers bread and water and prays to her that she may interpret his dream. The goddess explains the elements of the vision as follows:

- The great figure with the head of a god and wings like the Thunderbird, feet like a thunderstorm and lions resting on each side of him, is Ningirsu, asking for his temple to be built.
- The sun that rose from the horizon before him is Ningishzida – Gudea’s ‘personal’ god.

- The young woman who was making sheaves, holding a brilliant stylus and consulting a “star-chart” is Nidaba – indicating how the temple must be built “according to the shining stars”<sup>105</sup>.
- The warrior holding a lapis lazuli tablet was Nindub, carving out the plan of the temple.
- The sacred basket, the sacred brick mould and the ‘fated’ brick that was put into it, concerns the ‘right’ brick of the Eninnu.
- The beautiful poplar tree before him, from which bird-men poured water from *tigid*-vases<sup>106</sup>, means that Gudea will not sleep while the building is in progress.
- The donkey stallion by his masters side that scratches the ground, symbolizes Gudea himself, and his impatience to build the temple.

### Induction of the second dream-vision.

Nanshe next advises Gudea to please Ningirsu by making him a magnificent chariot, so that the god may reveal more of his plans. She describes the chariot in detail, how it must look and what it must contain -- among other things, the legendary *ankar*-weapon<sup>107</sup> and the musical instrument *Ushumgalkalama*<sup>108</sup>. Gudea meticulously follows the goddess’ advice, and brings the finished gift into the Eninnu<sup>109</sup>. He then undertakes an array of cultic preparations; he quiets anything that is loud and disturbing, makes sacrifices in the *Shugalam* – an area of the temple dedicated judgements and where the mighty gods stay particularly watchful –, burns incense of juniper, and calls to Ningirsu for advice. Then Gudea falls asleep, and receives the second vision which is described at length in the original text. These are the essential points:

- General praise of the grandeur of the temples function and aspect; how it will reach into heaven, its *me* surpassing all, that it will be splendid and frightening like the Thunderbird and radiate awe and fear far into foreign lands.

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<sup>105</sup> vi, 1

<sup>106</sup> A very tricky passage (v, 8-9). My interpretation is inspired by that of Jacobsen (1987: 393), who suggests that this translation might reflect a mythopoetic reference to images of rainclouds. This symbolism at least seems very fitting, considering the important fertility-bringing aspect of the temple project.

<sup>107</sup> The *ankar* or *enkar* weapon, possibly a mace, is one of the “seven slain heroes” that are referred to later in the text. The weapon also figures in many other myths involving Ningirsu / Ninurta.

<sup>108</sup> Literally meaning “The Dragon of the Land”. The term for the musical instrument is *balag*, which was possibly a kind of harp or lyre, or some sort of drum – or, as has been suggested by some - an instrument that could function as both.

<sup>109</sup> These actions probably take place in the temple that is to be restored.

- The “regulations”<sup>110</sup> of the temple accords with the stars (in other words, with the preordained guidelines).
- Ningirsu praises himself, describing i.e. how Enlil named him and left “the fifty *me*” in his care, and how An gave him the title “Ningirsu, king and lustration priest”<sup>111</sup>. He mentions some of his other temples, and describes how Lagash will prosper in all possible ways as soon as the project is begun.
- Ningirsu next speaks of what building materials will be needed and from where they are to be brought, and stresses that this task will be light. He says that fire will surround the building area (probably referring to the common consecration rite) by the time this is done.

The building area is cleared physically and cultically.

Upon awakening, Gudea sacrifices a white kid and performs a divination<sup>112</sup>. Seeing that the prospect is good, he promptly starts to organise the workforce of Lagash. It is clear from the text that the building period was a time of peace and silence, where no one should behave badly or get punished, and no word of complaint or legal case was to be voiced to Gudea. The city is ritually purified by fire, and any “impure” person is banished from the area.

Another kid reveals an omen concerning the brick-making, before Gudea approves of the shed for the brick moulds and the sacred “brick-pit” where he raises a banner with the emblem showing the Thunderbird for protection. He has the temple mound blessed and purified with burning juniper and cedar incense, and spends the following day and night with offerings and prayer while Anunna-gods of Lagash<sup>113</sup> stay by his side.

Materials are imported and the first brick is made. Gudea receives a third dream vision.

The beginning of this section is fragmentary, but what happens is that extra taxes are required from the many “clans” of the land, and various materials such as stones, silver, alabaster and

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<sup>110</sup> The Sumerian word *giskim*, consisting of the signs *igi+dub* (eye+tablet), may be interpreted as “characteristics” or “sign” (cf. Labat 1994, entry 452).

<sup>111</sup> x, 13

<sup>112</sup> Probably by extispicy, a common divination method in Mesopotamia where the liver of an animal, often that of a lamb, was observed.

<sup>113</sup> The *Anunna*, *a-nun* literally meaning “princely offspring”, probably refers to a general group of lesser gods or divine beings within the local pantheon of Lagash. At this point in time, these should not be confused with the Babylonian *Anunnakkū*, which – according to Black and Green 2003: 34 – became a term used to denote “gods for the earth (*Ki*) and underworld.”



timber of many different sorts are imported – some from very far away<sup>114</sup>. Gudea walks around and happily admires the building site, checking that measures and markers are correct.

The day dawns for the making of the first brick, and Gudea walks into the city where he sacrifices an ox and a goat. He approaches the temple while carrying the sacred basket and brick mould, accompanied by the gods Lugalkurdub, Igalim and Ningishzida. With great ceremonial he pours a libation-offering of water by the brick-shed, prepares the brick mould, mixes honey, cream and various extracts into the clay paste and at last he reveals the finished, utterly perfect and “right” brick of the Eninnu, which he lifts up and carries ceremoniously around. This is an occasion for great joy.

Next, we hear of Gudea's inner troubles – that he cannot sleep at night and wanders restlessly to and fro. Yet, his intention to build the temple correctly is pious and firm. He performs more divinations, and is very happy when he receives another dream vision that shows him the restored Eninnu in full and perfect completion.

### The restoration is completed.

The following sections describe the restoration itself, where different gods play very practical roles: Enlil builds the fundament, Nanshe performs divinations, and Gatumdug gives birth to all the bricks which Bau in turn sprinkles with cedar oil. Gudea blesses the temple seven times, declaring the perfection and awe of its different properties, and next every new section of the temple is described and praised: some with grandiose metaphors and some likened with various demons or with wild or mythological beasts. Six inscribed steles made from great stone slabs (which it took, according to the text, two years of effective labour to obtain and fashion) are erected around the temple. Seven emblems that respectfully represents Ningirsu's slain enemies are also placed in various important sections or rooms inside the temple, each with its mouth directed towards a “drinking (libation) place”<sup>115</sup>.

The following section describes the Eninnu as physically finished, and the general perfection and grandeur of the temple is praised – emphasizing its abundance of food, wine and rich treasuries. Cylinder A ends with a comparison of the temple with the sun and with the moonlight, and with the fertile ‘highlands’.

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<sup>114</sup> For instance, cornelian and lapis lazuli were imported from a place called Meluhha, which is nowadays understood to have been the area of Afghanistan.

<sup>115</sup> xxvi, 15-16. As Wilson notes (1996: 114), providing the dead with water is a way of honouring the dead, and the mention of this tradition here proves that these slain foes of Ningirsu were treated and regarded with respect. Interestingly, lines 1-2 in column xxix says that the seven stelae were erected in the temple so that the king might take counsel with them, and it seems likely that these refer to the seven slain enemies rather than to the inscribed stelae that are raised around the temple, which are six in number.

### 2.2.2. Cylinder B: Completion: Inauguration of the gods, gifts, and a divine house-warming banquet.

The last preparations.

Cylinder B opens with the probably the most notable lines of the entire text: “The House, ‘great mast’ of the land, set up between heaven and earth...”<sup>116</sup> The workforce is sent home from the temple, and the Anunna gods assemble to admire it. Gudea greets them, and prays that he may have their blessing. With his “good *udug*”<sup>117</sup> and his “*lama*”<sup>118</sup> walking beside him, he approaches the “old Eninnu” and declares to Ningirsu and Bau that the temple is ready. Ningirsu returns from Eridu<sup>119</sup> at the beginning of the new year, under the bright light of a new moon. Gudea decorates the temple, sprinkles fine oil over the floors, and prepares food offerings. Various deities take care of the last cultic preparations; they perform divination and present omens, burn incenses and special woods, and performs incantations. Again, Gudea quiets anything that is disturbing or loud and prohibits “chance utterances”, so that harmony rules in the city as well as among the animals in the fields and in the steppes.

Ningirsu and Bau enter the temple, with complete household and officers.

Gudea spends day and night with offerings and prayer, and early in the morning – with the fading moonlight<sup>120</sup> – Ningirsu approaches his new House and enters it like “the eagle lifting its gaze to the wild bull, (...) (like) a storm raging towards battle”<sup>121</sup>. Having found everything in order, he exits “like Utu rising over Lagash”<sup>122</sup>. Bau enters her rooms, and upon laying down to rest in her bedroom she is “like Tigris overflowing” and “a green garden bearing fruit”.<sup>123</sup> The sun rises fully, and the (good) “fate”<sup>124</sup> (of Lagash) is definite. The

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<sup>116</sup> i, 1-2. The Sumerian reads: *é dim-gal kalam-ma / an-ki-da mú-a*.

<sup>117</sup> The *ú-dug*, or, in Akkadian, *Utukku*, is according to Black and Green (2003: 179) a type of demon that could be turned to both beneficial and evil purposes.

<sup>118</sup> The *lamas* were beneficent and protective deities, possibly considered as female, which often appear in art as “introducing worshippers into the presence of important deities.” (*Ibid*: 115)

<sup>119</sup> Possibly the divine statue has been kept here during the restoration, and Eridu might perhaps be the site of the “old Eninnu” that is sometimes referred to. However, the “old Eninnu” may just as well signify an old part of the main temple that is under restoration.

<sup>120</sup> Depending on how one chooses to interpret this difficult line. Jacobsen (1987: 429) translates “at the moon of morning”, and Edzard (1997:91) writes “the early morning (had) the moonlight (caused to fade)”, whereas neither Falkenstein nor Wilson chooses to translate the line.

<sup>121</sup> v, 3

<sup>122</sup> v, 9

<sup>123</sup> v, 13-16. It has been suggested that this passage describes a sacred marriage rite, although the evidence for this is inconclusive. Cf. chapter 1. 2. 3. for references and discussion.

Anunna gods shine by Ningirsu's side, the purification / sanctification is completed, and all oracles are thoroughly studied.

People now gather noisily in the temple's front yard, food and drink is brought into the temple, and Ningirsu rises ("from sleep") and lines up his entire court and household of lesser gods and symbolic entities (like, for example, the *ankar*-weapon and the harp named *Ushumgalkalama*) -- the family of Ningirsu and Bau, different officers and functionaries and so forth. What follows is a very long section where all these are named and assigned various tasks. Their responsibility concerns not only the Eninnu temple itself, but the entire region of Lagash. The next section describes and praises the parts that the various greater gods have played in the building process which has resulted in such utter perfection, and after this follows an elaborate list of the various and rich gifts that Gudea bestows the temple.

Completion – all is well in Lagash. General praise, and the final divine house warming banquet.

The following section extols the grandeur and abundance of the Eninnu, as well as the glory of Ningirsu. Everything is right in the city, and the *me* of the temple are manifested to perfection. During these first days after completing the restoration Gudea is particularly generous towards his people, and he introduces a period of almost carnivalesque social 'equality' where slaves and masters stand on equal footing. Again he turns away all that is of disturbance and possible enmity towards the temple, and emphasizes that he protects those that are weak; "a day of justice had dawned for him"<sup>125</sup>, and he is compared even to Utu. Gudea walks to the temple, where he sacrifices oxen and goats and places out bowls with wine, and a great feast begins where all the major gods take part. The following part (which is relatively long) is very fragmented, but what appears to happen next is that Ningirsu praises Gudea for having perfectly carried out his orders, before the god praises and blesses the temple.

The hymn concludes as follows: "Like a grand mountain, the temple rises into heaven; its terrible splendour covering the lands. The fate of Lagash is decided by An and Enlil, and the

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<sup>124</sup> Sumerian *nam-tar*. The literal meaning of the notion may be interpreted as "that which is 'cut out'", i.e. decided on.

<sup>125</sup> xvii, 10-11

lands have witnessed the pre-eminence of Ningirsu. The Eninnu is founded with<sup>126</sup> heaven and earth – praised be Ningirsu! This is the final part of the hymn praising the building of the temple of Ningirsu.”<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>126</sup> The meaning depends on how one interprets the commitative suffix *-da* in this line, “*é-ninnu an-ki-da mù-a*”. Its usual meaning is “with”, which I use as it seems the most literal reading. Different interpretations of this line (and other similar lines) may well have a significant impact on how one chooses to look at e.g. the place of the temple in the cosmos, which is a topic to be studied more closely in chapter 4 below.

<sup>127</sup> xxiv, 9-17

### 3. Temple and divine presence: Modes of identification

This main section turns towards the Eninnu temple itself. We will start looking at the outer and physical aspects of the temple, beginning with the archaeology of the remains at Tello and view these in light of what can be deduced from textual and other material about the physical nature of the temple. Then, following a short overview and discussion of core concepts of the Sumerian religion and worldview such as sanctity and divine immanence, having Jacobsen's *The Treasures of Darkness* as our vantage point, as well as the significance of the cult statue, we will look at the peculiar and complex way in which the Eninnu temple is identified with Ningirsu and his emblem the thunderbird Imdugud in the cylinder text.

#### 3.1. The physical Eninnu in Archaeology and text



Fig.4. The site of Girsu (modern Telloh), now a bleak desert land characterised by small mounds.

As mentioned in chapter. 1.2., the archaeological information available from the site of Tello is incomplete and the remains themselves are quite scanty. Suter brings together the following details from the site:

“a twelve meter long niched wall with an entrance, a double basin, a platform, a well, and an exedra on Tell A (tell du palais); a staircase with foundation deposits, and a construction associated with three brick pedestals between Tell A and B; a pillar made of bricks (...) recording the construction of Eninnu’s place of judgement, four foundation deposits, and parts of an enclosing wall on Tell I (tell des piliers). The remains of Tell A have generally been interpreted as part of Gudea’s Eninnu, based not only on the niched wall, but also on the accumulation of Gudea objects there, especially bricks pertaining to Eninnu. (...) The location on the site of the many buildings commemorated in Gudea’s inscriptions is impeded by the fact that the findspots of inscribed architectural elements found in large numbers, such as bricks, clay nails, and foundation deposits, were not recorded individually.”<sup>128</sup>

In the introduction to his translation of the cylinders, Wilson observes that:

“Some remains were uncovered in Tell A where Gudea apparently expanded the foundations put in place by Urbaba. Additional foundation remains were also discovered in Tell I, and the dimensions can be estimated at approximately 460x300 metres, which means that the Eninnu was even larger than the Eanna temple in Uruk.”<sup>129</sup>

There are records of the Eninnu temple being rebuilt a number of times, last by king Shulgi. There is relatively little we can deduce from the archaeological remains about the physical structure of the temple, except for the size of its outline and that it “incorporated a complex of buildings arranged around courtyards and may have included a ziggurat.”<sup>130</sup> The presence of the ‘ziggurat’-tower can be assumed from what we know of other major temples; at least it would seem very likely that such a construction was part of the complex. Considering the alleged size and importance of the Eninnu, which – according to the remains of what is taken to have been its wall – must have been one of the largest temples ever in Mesopotamia, it would seem strange indeed if the characteristic temple tower was not part of it. Moreover, the number of descriptions like “the temple which brilliance reaches into heaven”<sup>131</sup>, “the temple, ‘great mast’ of the land, set up between heaven and earth”<sup>132</sup> and “the temple, being a great mountain reaching into heaven...”<sup>133</sup> seems to clearly stress the importance of the temple being a *tall* and imposing landmark. Yet again, the eloquent descriptions of the temple are full of metaphors that clearly have metaphysical or cultic significance, and besides, in this the Gudea hymn reflects a very traditional mode of expression of which we find parallels in a number of other and less ‘important’ hymns of praise.

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<sup>128</sup> 2000: 32

<sup>129</sup> 1996: 3

<sup>130</sup> Suter 2000: 113

<sup>131</sup> Cyl A, xvii.18

<sup>132</sup> Cyl B i, 1-2

<sup>133</sup> Cyl B i, 6

The Cylinders mention a courtyard (*ki-sal*) which, it appears, had to accommodate a large number of people on special occasions as well as a number of other parts of the temple (some which place and function are rather obscure), and also what can be interpreted as smaller houses on the temple area (such as e.g. a bakery and a brewery). Suter writes that

“The descriptions of the various parts are metaphorical, which obscures the meaning of rare technical terms for parts of the structure, and impedes a modern visualization of Eninnu’s physical appearance. Moreover, the enumeration of the parts does not seem to follow a logical sequence.”<sup>134</sup>

Perhaps not *all* the references to the different parts need be regarded as only metaphorical as such, but at least the descriptions appear in a context that all along finds itself in an uncertain landscape in between the mythical, the metaphorical and the real. And indeed, as the Gudea text in many respects is a hymn of *praise*, most if not all its descriptions of the Eninnu somehow contain grand metaphors and /or poetic hyperboles. As Averbeck puts it:

“In terms of ‘form’, the text is explicit only in a metaphorical and idealistic manner; that is, there are no precise dimensions given even though it is clear that Gudea spent a lot of energy and time obtaining and following precise directions (...).”<sup>135</sup>

We will not move further into the details of the temple building at this point, but certain features of significance will be discussed closer below where relevant to our discussion.

## 3.2. Backdrop: confronting, imagining and placing the sacred in Sumer

This chapter will largely focus on general core notions related to early Mesopotamian religion and worldview, such as sacredness, the *numinous*, and question of how one might aim to understand the way these people imagined and shaped in phenomena and symbol their conception of the divine and sacred. The latter point in particular forms a backdrop for the discussion below of the relationship between the Thunderbird and Ningirsu.

The only author I have found to have written relatively broadly on these concepts on a general scale, relating specifically to Ancient Mesopotamia, is Jacobsen – first and foremost in *The Treasures of Darkness* which first part in particular treats these themes in relation to textual material.

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<sup>134</sup> Ibid.

<sup>135</sup> 1987: 129

Although this subject forms an important backdrop to our ensuing discussion of the Eninnu-temple and its divine inhabitant, scope and length does not permit us to enter deeply into a discussion of the theoretical basis of Jacobsen – into which we could certainly have drawn in names such as Goethe and Schelling. Although in *The Treasure of Darkness* Jacobsen does not discuss nor place himself explicitly within the discourse of symbol and metaphor theory, his view seems quite in line with that of German romanticism. As an illustration, we may quote Braarvig’s succinct presentation of Schelling’s main points:

“in mythical language the symbol is itself the reality it describes, the symbol is one with its content, in the symbol the spiritual reality is united with its physical manifestation. The mythical symbol does not express something other, as does the allegory, mythical language is *tautagorical*, it expresses *the same (tauta)* as it is itself.”<sup>136</sup>

Jacobsen presents the origin of the Mesopotamian pantheon as being essentially characterised by the oneness of the *numinous* or divine influx with its object; a state which he a little obscurely terms the “intransitiveness”<sup>137</sup> of the immanent force. Or as he puts it; “this immanence in, and being *bound within*, a phenomenon.”<sup>138</sup> One may interpret Jacobsen – if we stick with the terminology of Schelling – to argue for a development of the Mesopotamian religion and pantheon from an essentially *tautagorical* origin, illustrated with the pre-anthropomorphic images representing the *numen* within nature phenomena, towards the allegorical, represented by the humanized “ruler-god forms” (such as the *En*-‘s and *Nin*-‘s<sup>139</sup>).

Jacobsen seemingly aims at presenting a coherent picture of the metaphysics of early Mesopotamian religion, yet we do know very little indeed about its early stages. The evidence is scarce and perhaps more open to interpretation than what Jacobsen seems to allow for, and the time span as well as the geographical space is wide. Nor is the development of and relationship between the non-anthropomorphic god forms, symbols or emblems and the anthropomorphic deities quite as clear as one might wish they were. Undoubtedly, this field of study would benefit from more extensive analyses of the generation and nature of symbols and metaphors, where it seems there is yet many ‘white spots’ on the map to explore.

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<sup>136</sup> 1997: 49

<sup>137</sup> The terms “intransitive” and “transitive” are applied by Jacobsen without much further ado, but a quick look at their significance as linguistic terms may be in place. A verb that is called intransitive is one that does not take a direct object, whereas a transitive verb necessitates a direct object in order to have a complete sense meaning. Cf. the Sumerian verbal system in Thomsen 1984: 140 ff.

<sup>138</sup> 1976: 9 (My italics).

<sup>139</sup> As we saw many examples of in chapter 2.1.1, many god names are formed by these words – meaning Lord or Lady – followed by the word for the phenomenon over which the deity ruled.



### 3.2.1. A look at *me-lám* and *ní*

Jacobsen makes frequent reference to Rudolph Otto's notion of the *numen* in his studies of the Sumerian religious experience and worldview, and although Jacobsen might be criticised for being unfashionably phenomenological and generalising in his treatment of ancient religion, and Otto might be too much of a mystic for the general taste within the modern discourse of religious studies, the way Jacobsen applies this notion to describe certain aspects of Sumerian religion does not seem out of place. For example, the Sumerian notions of *me-lám* and *ní* – which we will look into shortly – appear to very much describe a strong sense of awe and wonder in experiencing the 'sacred' and divine. Both words appear frequently in the Gudea text, where they are clearly used in describing the glory of the Eninnu and the impact of its presence in the land. First, however, I wish to make a note on the application of the concepts of "sacred" and "sanctity".

In a world where there divine powers appear to be very much extended and manifested into every aspect of the material world, it seems very inappropriate to imagine – or, through habitual terminology, convey the sense of – a marked polarity between the sacred and the profane. Yet the Sumerian temple is very much a marked space in which the *numen* is particularly present, but I would hold that this appears so because the temple functions as a meeting place between the human and divine spheres rather than because it is 'sacred' by its own right as some sort of binary opposite to the rest of the world. The temple is constructed and consecrated ritually, and thus marked off as a special space, but its sacredness clearly derives from the condensed and focused presence of the divine power that is stronger here than elsewhere, or perhaps rather *present* in a different manner. I would suggest that in the temple the divine power might be seen as 'dwelling' and 'unapplied', whereas in nature it is manifested within the particular phenomena that is the god's assigned 'office' (*me*). It would seem then, that it is largely a question of degree rather than any marked opposition between something sacred and profane, and from this perspective the word 'sacred' might seem somewhat out of place. When I use the notion therefore, it is not intended to mark off the one part of a binary opposition but rather to convey the meaning of *cultically special* or to describe something which might be termed (in a loose sense) *numinous*.

I believe a perfect illustration of the sense of the *numen* in Sumerian religion is to be found in the notion *me-lám* (Akkadian *melammu*), which – as I put it in a note to the Gudea text in *Sumeriske skrifter* –

“is hard to translate, but the notion (...) describes a kind of awesome and holy aura or overwhelming radiance that gods, demons and particularly important persons possessed, and that disappeared when they died. Temples and the sacred symbols or objects pertaining to gods could also have *me-lám*.”<sup>140</sup>

Bottéro describes the *me-lám* as:

“that terrifying ‘supernatural brilliance’, that fulgurating ‘divine splendour’, fascinating and terrible at the same time, which we have recognized as a projection of the religious sentiment.”<sup>141</sup>

The word may be translated literally as something close to “*me* of fire” or of “luminance”<sup>142</sup>. In the English translations of the Gudea text the word is, for example, rendered as “splendour”<sup>143</sup>, “halo”<sup>144</sup> and “nimbus”<sup>145</sup>. Of course, translations must be attempted for the sake of accessibility and practicality (in contrast to what I believe is necessary in the case of the *me*), yet I doubt the usefulness of ascribing too much meaning to a definition that must, at least according to the state of our present knowledge, be deemed fairly arbitrary.

When the word *ní* appears in relation to *me-lám* it usually describes the awesome and often terrifying effect of the *me-lám* upon the observer. According to Labat<sup>146</sup> the sign *ní* is identical to that of *im*, being the sign for the thunder-god *Iškur* as well as a component of the name *Imdugud* (i.e. the Thunderbird). Labat lists the Akkadian equivalent as *puluhtu*, which can be translated as “fear(someness)”, or in verbal form “to be terrified” or to “respect (something)” or to “venerate (gods)”<sup>147</sup>. The two words may also be interpreted as having more or less interchangeable meanings; for example, Jacobsen writes about the Mesopotamian temple that it “carried ‘awesome aura’ (*ní*) and awesome ‘nimbus’ (*me-lám*).”<sup>148</sup> It seems evident that these Sumerian notions are quite open to interpretation, yet despite the uncertainty they clearly convey the sense of something which lays at the core of the Sumerian religious experience.

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<sup>140</sup> 2006:354 (my translation from Norwegian).

<sup>141</sup> 1998:61

<sup>142</sup> According to Labat 1994, entry 172, the sign *lám* is identical to *izi* (Akkadian *išātu*): “fire”. The early pictogram seems to show a burning torch.

<sup>143</sup> Wilson 1996

<sup>144</sup> Edzard 1997

<sup>145</sup> Jacobsen 1987

<sup>146</sup> 1994, entry 399

<sup>147</sup> Summarized from the entry in Black, George and Postgate 2000: 278

<sup>148</sup> 1976: 16

### 3.2.2. The nature of the divine: phenomenon, deity and image

The themes of identification and immanence will recur several times in our analysis of the metaphors of the Gudea cylinders, and so we may start with having a look at these concepts on a general level. Of course the Sumerian cosmology and pantheon are not uniform and simple systems; local variations and details are many, and not least, we are dealing with a great time-span in which the location and concordance of specific events and ‘trends’ are uncertain.

#### Views on metaphors, immanence and transcendence

One of Jacobsen’s main aims with *The Treasures of Darkness* is to show how the manner that the divine was viewed and represented the religious metaphor changed over time, from an early phase approximately of the fourth millennium where the divine power was mainly embodied in the natural phenomena, via what he calls the “ruler metaphor” of the third millennium where the anthropomorphised god form replaced the older image, and often appeared as king and leader against enemies, towards an emphasis on the personal god in the second millennium and onwards<sup>149</sup>. Even if he admits to the “transitive” position of these “ruler forms” as something (albeit obscurely) opposed to the earliest forms, it is notable that still he does not seem to allow for any notion of transcendence of the divine powers. Jacobsen does not claim that these are more than general tendencies, but it seems that perhaps we ought to treat even this general systematization with a critical eye.

To mention another major scholar on Mesopotamian religion at this point, Bottéro comes across as at the same time more pragmatic and more cautious in his study. He says about the non-anthropomorphic imagery that:

“The use of animal forms in religious imagery came out of a symbolism whose meaning is rarely clear, and which turned certain animals, indeed certain objects, real or imaginary, into suggestions, not representations; animals and objects were less companions than emblems of certain divinities.”<sup>150</sup>

He also makes a note of the strikingly concrete way the gods were viewed as ‘contained’ within their images, yet he explicitly allows for the transcendence of the divine sphere, stating that “The *transcendence* of the divine over the human is one of the fundamental truths of

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<sup>149</sup> Argument summarized in 1976: 20-21

<sup>150</sup> 2001:64

Mesopotamian religious thought.”<sup>151</sup> He also says, on basis of the mysterious system of correlations between certain numbers and gods<sup>152</sup>, that

“It would not seem admissible, in its existential context, if we did not conceive of this as an attempt to stress both the transcendence and the mystery of the supernatural world, which we will not fail to see as the expression of a meritorious religious depth, at least among certain great minds.”<sup>153</sup>

However, as Bottéro does not treat the meaning of symbols and emblems related to gods to the extent that Jacobsen does, we will (critically) build our further discussion upon the writings of the latter.

As was mentioned in the introduction to this section, Jacobsen argues that the immanent presence of the early Mesopotamian gods in nature was basically “intransitive”; that “characteristic boundness to some phenomenon – that we have termed ‘intransitiveness’ – is a basic aspect in all Mesopotamian gods”<sup>154</sup>. As he puts it, the numinous was seen as “a revelation of indwelling spirit, as power at the center of something that caused it to be and thrive and flourish.”<sup>155</sup> Furthermore, that “the numinous power appeared fulfilled in the specific situation or phenomena, and did not reach out beyond it. The deity (...) was, and ceased being in and with its characteristic phenomenon.”<sup>156</sup> He interprets the fact that the earliest, Protoliterate sources present the gods as “shown largely in nonhuman forms, forms linking them closely with the specific phenomenon of which they are the indwelling power”, as proof of this their “intransitive” and pre-anthropomorphized origin. One example of this ‘intermediate’ stage, according to Jacobsen, is illustrated by Ningirsu appearing with the features of the Thunderbird – just like the god appears to Gudea at one point in the cylinders. Jacobsen argues that what eventually became the symbols, emblems or special attributes pertaining to the various gods, probably reflect the earlier and pre-anthropomorphic image of the deity itself. At the same time, he finds it plausible that, even in the earliest time, “the human form would seem to have been an alternative, or perhaps a competing, possibility...”<sup>157</sup> Jacobsen makes specific mention of Ningirsu and Imdugud in the following section, which I find apt to quote in length:

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<sup>151</sup> Ibid: 61

<sup>152</sup> As we touched upon in chapter 2.1, the most important gods correspond to special numbers, which seem to reflect their hierarchy – An is 60, Enlil 50, Enki 40, Sin 30, Utu 20, and Inanna 15. Cf. Labat 1994: 291-296

<sup>153</sup> 2001: 71

<sup>154</sup> 1976: 20

<sup>155</sup> 1976: 6

<sup>156</sup> Ibid: 9

<sup>157</sup> 1976: 9

“This victory of the human over the nonhuman forms was won slowly and with difficulty. To the latest time the older forms retain a curious vitality, seeming to lurk under the human exterior ready to break through it to reveal the true essence of the divine power and will: rays pierce through the human body of the sun god from within, ears of grain grow out through the human shoulders of the grain goddess, serpent heads through those of Ningishzida, and when Gudea sees the god Ningirsu in a dream the god still has the wings of his old form, the Thunderbird Imdugud. He retains those wings in Assyria in representations carved as late as the first millennium.

Also – and importantly – on crucial occasions it was their old forms as ‘emblems’ that the gods elected to be present to follow and guide the army to victory, or to be brought out to witness and guarantee the making of oaths.”<sup>158</sup>

Whereas Jacobsen points at a very intriguing feature of the Mesopotamian pantheon, it does still seem a little limiting to ‘reduce’ the development into an identification – and conflict – between two forms originating from exactly the same idea. Presumably one might well take the added features to the anthropomorphic god forms as straight-forward symbols of their different areas of power, and not necessarily as remains of an old and defeated form of its own. At least, it does not seem clear that we can apply this development to Ningirsu and the Thunderbird. As we will see in chapter 3.3, myths that date quite far back – and which oral transmission may be brought back even further – treat them as to quite separate entities, yet admittedly their relationship is very complex, so little is certain. Nevertheless it seems reasonable to view characters such as the Thunderbird as a more direct and ‘primordial’ representations of a pure natural force (the fierce and unpredictable bird seems a good and obvious metaphor for wind, clouds, thunder and so forth) than the anthropomorphic Ningirsu, and thus it is not hard to imagine the possibility that Imdugud was at some point gradually absorbed into the mythology of the latter. As Black and Green suggest, this might be the reason behind the ‘slain foes’ of Ningirsu<sup>159</sup> among which Imdugud has a particular place in myth – but this does not seem to necessitate their having derived from the one and same principle and become competing images forming their mythological ‘friend and foe’-relationship. The development of mythical characters and gods is obviously a tricky matter that cannot be easily solved or systematized. I cannot hope to do more at this stage than to point out some of the more difficult points, in an attempt to contextualise a little better our analysis of Ningirsu, Imdugud and the Eninnu-temple.

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<sup>158</sup> Ibid.

<sup>159</sup> 2003: 65. Cf chapter 3.3. below for a more detailed analysis of their relationship in myths as well as in the Gudea cylinders.

It seems to me that Jacobsen's view on the "intransitive" immanence is in some senses rather static, and the changes in metaphor too symmetrical; he sweeps over an enormous time span with the idea of a coherence that might not – perhaps particularly not on a general level – be applicable. Jacobsen supports his view on intransitiveness with examples of that the destruction of a god image or temple effected the departure of the deity from that object or place, and while he clearly does not imply that this was the ultimate destruction of the god as such, his reasoning is rather unclear. He appears to stand against the idea of transcendence in Mesopotamian religion, particularly in its early stages, and yet it seems to me that we might well make a distinction between the divine (or "numinous", to follow Jacobsen) as manifested and extended into the physical world, and the divine world 'as such'. However, what Jacobsen means by the "transitivity" of the "ruler-gods" remains somewhat unclear – especially as he elsewhere claims that "'intransitiveness'" (...) is a *basic aspect in all Mesopotamian gods*.<sup>160</sup> In line with the grammatical definition of transitivity as a verb that requires a direct object in order to gain meaning, I would interpret his argument to imply that the anthropomorphic god forms to depend absolutely upon their nature substratum for their 'existence' – being merely empty images if left without this reference. Such a view certainly favours animation of nature through poetry and image, but appears to fundamentally contrast perspectives such as the metaphor theory of Lakoff, where symbols (or as here, god forms) and abstract notion may have content and change independently of their concrete correspondences.

Why establish temples described metaphorically as links and communication points in between the worlds, if the Mesopotamians viewed the gods' "boundness to the phenomena"<sup>161</sup> as absolute? It seems there would be little use for elaborate consecration and inauguration rites if the divine presence on earth was not subject to a – in some way or another – 'transcendent' ruling principle; something that is *in*, and animates, the phenomenon (or the cult statue), and may enter it or leave according to conditions, but which existence extends beyond it and has its essential root in what we may call the divine realm or 'heaven' where the gods carry on their business – perhaps simultaneously envisioned as abstract forces and human-like characters. This seeming division cannot be proven to have been the view in the very earliest times, but neither can the opposite; Jacobsen even writes that the humanized god form seems to have been an alternative even in "Protoliterate or earlier periods"<sup>162</sup>, and to me

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<sup>160</sup> 1976: 20

<sup>161</sup> Cf. Jacobsen 1976: 20 (my italics).

<sup>162</sup> 1976: 9

this possibility makes the picture all the more complex than what Jacobsen appears to allow for. At least, I will suggest in following sections that it is the abstract and transcendent master-form of the ‘divine-realm-Ningirsu’ that the Eninnu-temple aims to attract, and through it its corresponding forces which are emphasized by the presence of various symbols and emblems. Furthermore that it is this dynamics which necessitates the establishing of the temple by metaphor as a cosmic link and microcosm, so as to enable it to function as a place into which the divine may extend itself by means of rightly performed rituals and cultically conscious play with symbols and metaphors.

#### The deity in the temple: Notes on the cult statue.

In chapter 2.1.2 we saw how the temple constituted a household for the god, both in a practical and symbolical sense. The deity was clearly thought to really reside there, contained within – or more precisely, as discussed above, by virtue of its power being extended into – the cult statue and /or its image, which in turn resided in the most sacred spot within the temple. Harold Turner, writing about the nature of the “idol”, argues against the tendency to view the “heathen” as “bowing down to wood and stone”. He explains what he sees as “the seeming paradox in all religion”:

“...while the gods are in all things earthly as their source and life, yet they are not equally in all things nor confined to this immanent existence. They also transcend the earthly sphere and have their proper home in an ideal and ultimate realm whose dimensions and nature are fitting from the gods.”<sup>163</sup>

Dick and Walker similarly emphasize that the idea of immanence must not be taken as far as to reduce the god’s existence to depend on the image, rather the other way around: “The statue was the living embodiment of the deity; the deity was the reality, not the statue!”<sup>164</sup>

Bottéro writes about the cult images that:

“Mysteriously, but true, in fact, in the eyes of the faithful, the god’s image ‘enclosed’ his person and ensured his ‘true presence’. It was in the name of the same ‘realism’ that, for example, the gods were moved around, in the form of their images, transported by cart or by boat, *intra muros* or beyond, to visit other divinities or even, lying side by side in their closed ‘bedroom’, to spend their honeymoon night together, as in the *hieros gamos* of the first millennium. In the case of military defeat, the gods’ images – as well as the kings’ - were deported abroad by the conquerors.”<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>163</sup> 1979: 32

<sup>164</sup> 2001: 6

<sup>165</sup> 2001: 65

We find numerous confirmations of these aspects in the Gudea cylinders. Even if the story is told as if the gods really *do* travel around and (inter)act as in a mythical tale, they were quite possibly moved in form of their statues or other eventual emblems. It has, however, been questioned whether cult-statues were used prior to the Neo-Sumerian period. Averbeck refers to Spycket, who notes that, before this period, “divine cult statues are attested neither in the excavations from Mesopotamia nor on the texts.”<sup>166</sup> Of course, the fact that we have not encountered such statues physically need not mean they never existed – there may be several reasons why such objects, which must have been regarded as intensely loaded with the divine force, was not simply discharged or left behind when it had fulfilled its purpose. Perhaps were they ritually destroyed, the divine presence released or transferred into a new statue? There could be many possibilities. Surely this remains speculation, but even if there is made no explicit mention of statues as “statues” in texts this is certainly no proof for their non-existence. Taken the degree to which the force of the god was seen as immanent in its symbol, it is not far fetched to imagine that the descriptions of the gods doing this or that action, or travelling on boats or in charts as we are told of in the Gudea cylinders, really describes the statue being transported around. Where the gods interact, we may be right to assume that what really took place was the statues being brought to physically visit each others’ temples; that when Ningirsu and Bau approach and enter the finished Eninnu, it was their statues that were transported there, assumedly accompanied by a grand procession. And not least – that when the deities lay down in the ‘bedroom’ together to ensure fecundity in Lagash, it is conceivable that their statues ‘acted out’ the symbolic *hieros gamos* when they lay together on the consecrated bed.

### 3.3. “Eninnu, being the bright Thunderbird...:”<sup>167</sup> On the metaphorical relationship between Ningirsu, Imdugud and Eninnu.

This chapter aims to analyse the rather complex relationship between the temple, the god and the ‘emblem’ of the god as it appears in the Gudea cylinders. Some might argue that lines

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<sup>166</sup> 1987: 215, note 188.

<sup>167</sup> Cyl. B i, 8



such as the one quoted above in the title are merely examples of descriptive poetic language, but taken the implication of the temple's function as a 'house' for the divine force, and as a 'link' which is meticulously established so as to attract this force through cultic procedures, this metaphorical animation of the building would seem a very conscious choice of potent imagery, that may tell us much about the metaphorical position of the temple. This relationship is undoubtedly important if we are to fully understand the metaphysical aspects of the Eninnu-temple (and the Sumerian temple in general), but is – alas – very difficult if not impossible to clarify sufficiently.

We will begin this section by looking at a couple of myths that involve the characters of Ningirsu (Ninurta) and Imdugud (Anzu), so as to briefly contextualise our analysis of their mutual relationship as well as their relationship with the Eninnu temple.

### 3.3.1. Different views on Imdugud as Ningirsu's accomplice: original form, emblem or enemy?



Fig.5. Imdugud flanked by two lions, much the same way as it appears in Gudea's first vision. From a stone relief dating to the Early Dynastic period, found at Girsu.

In cylinder A iv, lines 14-21, Gudea recounts to the goddess Nanshe his vision of Ningirsu as follows:

“In the dream there was a man; vast as the heavens was he,  
great as the earth.  
As for his head, it was that of a deity.  
As for his arms, they were the wings of the Thunderbird.  
As for his legs, they were a floodstorm,  
and on each side of him lay a lion.  
He told me to build his house,  
but I did not understand what his heart was set on.”

It is clearly the god Ningirsu himself who commands the building of the temple, and who is the “man”-shape (*lú*) behind this curious figure, but it is through the features of Imdugud that he is identified by Nanshe as her brother Ningirsu. I still contend that this seeming confusion and melding together of forms is not necessarily proof of an earlier unity of the two, such as Jacobsen claims. The Gudea cylinders seem to me clear on the point that Ningirsu and Imdugud are essentially two very separate characters, and hence I interpret the appearance of Ningirsu carrying the physical features of Imdugud to be a conscious combination of symbols, which purpose is to emphasize certain of Ningirsu’s powers. The Thunderbird is the ideal metaphor for Ningirsu’s heroic and warlike qualities, as well as for his control over thunder – and rainstorms; powers that the god perhaps attained when he gained control over the Thunderbird in the mythic past, as we shall see below. Of course this is not to say that the Thunderbird, and what came to be the character of Ningirsu, cannot have originated as the one and same divine being or principle, but I wish to show that this is by no means an evident development. If there was ever a consistent stage of equal identity, it must have been at a very early point in time indeed – at least considerably earlier than the origin of any of our available sources.

As we saw at the end of the previous chapter as well as in the overview of characters in chapter 2.1.1, Jacobsen argues that Imdugud is an older form of Ningirsu, and that the melding together of the thunderbird and the anthropomorphized god form in text and imagery (such as e.g. Gudea’s preliminary vision of Ningirsu in the cylinders) indicates an intermediate stage between the Thunderbird as the original god form for that which Ningirsu represents, and the Imdugud as a foe in later myths. Jacobsen takes this to have been a relatively linear and distinguishable development; that the “dislike of the nonhuman form and the difficulty of expunging it made it a foe, a captured enemy”<sup>168</sup>, and exemplifies with the mention of Anzu as a foe slain by Ninurta (Jacobsen suggests that this story might have originated in Lagash close to the time of Gudea, and that the name Ningirsu would hence have figured in the original<sup>169</sup>) in the mountains in the myth *Lugale*. Yet in the very same myth, Ninurta’s weapon and spy Sharur – which very much appears as an animated and personified character – might also well be identified with the Thunderbird. This Jacobsen points out himself, in a note to his own translation:

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<sup>168</sup> 1976: 129

<sup>169</sup> 1987: 234

“Consonant, with its storm character, it [Sharur] was envisioned as a bird, in this tale even as a bird with a lion’s head, which makes it indistinguishable from the thunderbird, Imdugud or Anzu...”<sup>170</sup>

However, this fact seems to further complicate the god-emblem relationship, and not least problematize Jacobsen’s use of this myth as an example to prove this point.

In the myth *Angim*, also known as *Ninurta’s return to Nippur* (or *Nibru*<sup>171</sup>), Ninurta returns to the city from battle in his chariot to which he has fastened several captives as war trophies. Among these is the Anzu-bird, whom Ninurta had tied to “the front guard”<sup>172</sup>. Likewise, in the middle fragment that is left of *Ninurta and the turtle*<sup>173</sup> (referred to by Jacobsen as *Ninurta and the Anzu bird*<sup>174</sup>), the Anzu-bird figures as the villainous thief of the *me* of the Abzu which belonged to Enki; a motif that is very reminiscent to the more well known Akkadian myth in which the Anzu-bird steals the tablets of destinies from Enlil. At the beginning of the (incomplete) Sumerian version<sup>175</sup> it appears that Ninurta has defeated Imdugud, and they proceed together to visit the great god Enki to whom the *me* have successfully been returned. Imdugud, curiously, now leads Ninurta by the hand. The hero is praised for his deeds, and the following is said about Anzu: “As for the bird which your mighty weapon captured, from now to eternity you will keep your foot placed on its neck.”<sup>176</sup>

In *Lugale*, Ninurta defeats the mountain-dwelling demon Azag with the *aid* of Sharur (/the Thunderbird). It is true that *Lugale* lists the Anzu-bird as one of the “names of the warriors slain by you to be mentioned”<sup>177</sup>, but perhaps this might hint at an earlier mythical happening, that – like in the line from the story of *Ninurta and the turtle*, quoted above – turned Anzu into the pacified ally that figures as Sharur in the present story? One might wonder whether Imdugud became emblematic for Ninurta /Ningirsu by virtue of having been slain by him; that is, in a positive respect, and not as result of a ‘crisis’ arising between two different images of one deity. If so, the Mesopotamians might have regarded Imdugud as the living proof and emblem for Ningirsu’s prowess and a worthy measure for the extent of his heroic powers, as well as for his control over the various natural phenomena symbolized by Imdugud. That is – in the sense of an ally and a positive symbol, rather than an adversary.

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<sup>170</sup> 1987: 237, note 7.

<sup>171</sup> cf. ETCSL

<sup>172</sup> ETCSL transl. by Cooper, 1998, line 62.

<sup>173</sup> ETCSL

<sup>174</sup> 1976: 132

<sup>175</sup> The first part is missing.

<sup>176</sup> ETCSL 1998, lines 17-18

<sup>177</sup> Jacobsen’s translation of *Lugale*, 1987: 243

This order of events would seem to contrast Jacobsen's view on the development from emblem to enemy, not least because the myths we have looked at appear to refer to the defeat of the Anzu bird as a historic mythical event, which has occurred prior to the main action where Ningirsu and Imdugud are 'brought together' so to speak. Much of this must obviously remain speculation, not least because the dating of the myths we have referred to cannot be fully ascertained. Yet it is remarkable that they do not seem to have originated significantly later than the Gudea cylinders, something that may speak against a linear development from one deity, via one form becoming the emblem of the other, to the two becoming enemies.

As for the character of Sharur, the Gudea cylinders frequently mention both it and Imdugud, and it is notable that they seem to appear as two separate entities and /or emblems in this text. Moreover, every reference to them in the cylinders is undeniably positive. I have not come across any information or comment on these two characters and their relationship related specifically to the Gudea text anywhere, but this point seems worth keeping in mind if seen in light of the identification between the two in *Lugale*, which presents Sharur as Ningirsu's weapon and ally, and the role of Imdugud in *Angim* and *Ninurta and the turtle* – first as a captured enemy and then as a more or less subdued and even friendly companion of Ningirsu's. There is always a likely chance that the degree of identification, as well as the mythical events that lead up to this identification, results from local custom as well as changes over time, and so there seems to be little point to over-analyse the seeming discrepancies to this relationship.

A last detail which seems worthy of attention, is the reference in the Gudea cylinders to Ningirsu's slain foes. During the last stages of the building of Eninnu in cylinder A, emblems or statues representing the conquered foes of Ningirsu are placed in particular spots inside the temple area<sup>178</sup>. These objects are to receive libation offerings, and are obviously treated as worthy of great reverence. This is a curious point in itself, but what is more – whilst the traditional slain foes are mentioned here, Imdugud does not figure among these. This, again, seems to emphasize the special and positive position of this character in relation to Ningirsu.

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<sup>178</sup> xxvi, 15-16

### 3.3.2. Imdugud as the link between Eninnu and Ningirsu

There are several references in the cylinders to the Eninnu being identified – in essence, one might say – to the Imdugud, as Ningirsu’s foremost emblem. In the cylinders, we read about Ningirsu commissioning the temple and how the building is prepared so that he may live and prosper there; but moreover, the metaphorical language that praises the stature of the temple makes it clear that his very presence – or something that is actively intended to invoke his presence – was somehow seen as ‘animating’ the physical building itself. Jacobsen writes that:

“The Sumerian and Akkadian words for temple are the usual words for house (é = bītum). They implied between the divine owner and his house not only all the emotional closeness of a human owner and his home, but beyond that a closeness of essence, of being, amounting more nearly to embodiment than to habitation. In some sense, the temple, no less than the ritual drama and the cult image, was a representation of the form of the power that was meant to fill it.”<sup>179</sup>

Indeed, it is very clear in the case of the Eninnu that the building in itself is meant to represent – in a metaphorical way, at least – a form which closely connects it to its divine inhabitant. The Thunderbird appears throughout the cylinders both as an emblem (on physical standards) and as a descriptive metaphor, a total of 14 times<sup>180</sup>. It is worth noting that apart from the description of Ningirsu’s appearance in Gudea’s first vision, every single reference in the cylinders to Imdugud is related to the temple itself: Imdugud occurs repeatedly as an epithet to the temple name, but *never* to the name of Ningirsu. Averbeck makes a reasonable suggestion for why this may be so:

“...it is probably correct to say that since the Eninnu was a temple which was dedicated to Ningirsu particularly as a warrior god (in contrast to the other temples of Ningirsu listed and described in CA [cylinder A] 10: 15-29, and since the Anzu-bird was known to be vicious and powerful, it was helpful and appropriate to describe Ningirsu as well as the temple by reference to it.”<sup>181</sup>

While war and protection from potential enemies are among the obvious reasons behind the temple building, these are – as we have seen earlier – by no means the only motives in the case of the Eninnu. Fecundity and influence over the often unpredictable weather of Sumer shine through the cylinder text as at least equally important as invoking a god to figure as a

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<sup>179</sup> 1976: 15-16

<sup>180</sup> Cf. the index of terms in Wilson 1996: 202

<sup>181</sup> 1987: 210

strong leader in battle. When the god settles in the temple, it is the abundance and well-being of Lagash that is praised, although admittedly when he is about to enter it he arrives “like a storm raging towards battle”<sup>182</sup>.

Perhaps one might suggest that Ningirsu was thought to ‘conquer’ and ‘possess’ the temple – and take as his own its form – in much the same way as he first conquered and then was assigned the care as well as the powers of the Thunderbird in the myth of *Ningirsu and the turtle*? Line 1 in col. xxiii of Cyl. B reads “May the temple, *your* Thunderbird, An will lift up...” Yet the metaphorical animation of the temple building itself is curious. For example, Cyl. A ix: 14-15 says about the Eninnu that “at its cry, like that of the Thunderbird, the heavens tremble”<sup>183</sup>, xi: 1-3 reads (Ningirsu speaking) “My house, the temple that is the greatest in all the lands, the true strength of Lagash, the Thunderbird which cry resounds in the heavens...”, and Cyl. B i: 8-9 that “Eninnu, being the bright Thunderbird, spreads its talons upon the mountains...”<sup>184</sup> Averbeck concludes that “the very form of the temple itself is meant to manifest the immanence of the deity”<sup>185</sup>, and whilst the relationship between Ningirsu and Imdugud is indeed complicated, there seems little doubt about the significance of the Thunderbird as the foremost metaphor for Ningirsu’s area of power. Thus, it appears logical to view its identification with the Eninnu as a matter of considerable cultic significance, which in many ways contributes towards the making of Eninnu into a great metaphor in its own respect.

#### An emblem shining brightly: Imdugud and the temple bricks

An example of the symbolic worth of Imdugud being embedded, so to speak, into the very core of the temple is the presence of the emblem by (or on) the brick-mould(s). The lines from cylinder A describing this part are tricky and have been subject to differing interpretations, but the material point does nonetheless concern the association between Imdugud as a physical emblem and symbol and this creature’s influence over the making of the bricks for the temple. In this case I find it better to quote the considerably differing translations than attempt a single one of my own. At this point in the story, Gudea performs different acts

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<sup>182</sup> Cyl. B v: 5

<sup>183</sup> The various translations of these two lines differ significantly. I settled on Wilson’s version for this one, which seemed to me the most literal rendering of the Sumerian. It is superfluous to point out that this is, as always, open to interpretation.

<sup>184</sup> Again, line 9 is tricky to translate (my rendering). There seems to be no doubt, however, that line 9 is an apposition to line 8, and the active thunderbird thus an epithet to the temple. The Sumerian word *kur* (mountains) may, by the way, just as well translate as “(foreign /enemy) lands”.

<sup>185</sup> Ibid: 213

related to purification and sanctification in the city and on the building area, and now he has come to the area assigned to the brick-making. For the sake of easy reference we may add the Sumerian transliteration of lines 20-23, from column xiii:<sup>186</sup>

pisaĝ u<sub>3</sub>-šub-ba-<ka> ĝiš bi<sub>2</sub>-hur-ra-ni /  
ka-al nam-nun-na mu-ni-ĝar-ra-ni /  
anzud<sub>2</sub><sup>mušen</sup> šu-nir lugal-la-na-kam /  
urin-še<sub>3</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-mul

The rather cautious composite translation of ETCSL reads as follows:

“After making a drawing on the ..... of the brick mould and ..... the excavated earth with majesty, he made the Anzud bird, the standard of his master, glisten there as a banner.”<sup>187</sup>

In the more pragmatic language of Edzard:

“The design he had drawn at the shed of the mould and the clay pit (into which) he had reached deeply rendered indeed (in each case) the Thunderbird, the standard of his master. He made it glitter on (Ningirsu’s) banner.”<sup>188</sup>

And the translation of Wilson, which appears to me as the most literal attempt in line with the transliteration:

“Over the shed of the brick-molds which he had designed, (and) the ... which he had set ‘in princeliness’, he made the thunderbird shine as protection.”<sup>189</sup>

Finally, the most recent translation of Averbeck. His solution differs from the others on some central points, yet it is strongly revised since his earlier working-translation from 1987.

“The box of the brick-mold, which he designed; the hoe, which he established in princely form; being the Anzu-bird of the standard of the king, he caused (them) to shine brightly as protective emblems.”<sup>190</sup>

We shall not move very deeply into a discussion of etymology here, as the different translations speak for themselves of the many (more or less verifiable) possibilities for interpretation. Yet we ought to make a few observations, as this section of the text is indeed important to the metaphorical relation between our three ‘protagonists’:

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<sup>186</sup> Copied from the ETCSL transliteration, so as to easily keep the special cases. Note that different transliterations often vary slightly, and that some variations may carry somewhat different meanings. However, whether one chose to write e.g. *pisan* for *pisaĝ*, or *ù* for *u<sub>3</sub>* and so forth, is more a matter of taste and different conventions, and does not make any difference with regard to meaning.

<sup>187</sup> ETCSL lines 345-352.

<sup>188</sup> 1997: 77

<sup>189</sup> 1996:66-67

<sup>190</sup> 2000: 424-425

- Wilson observes that *pisan* generally means “container”<sup>191</sup>, but finds it sensible to adopt Jacobsen’s idea that it is here best translated as “shed”, since the brick mould (*u<sub>3</sub>-šub*) is mentioned next as the subject of the *pisan*. As we see, Edzard also opts for this solution, although he does not discuss his reasons for doing so. If they are correct, we may assume that the drawing or banner showing Imdugud (*giš-hur* may translate as drawing, design or decree<sup>192</sup>) is somehow made or set up on or right by this “shed”. Furthermore, if we are to assume that this “shed” is to house the production of all or at least a major amount of the bricks, we may conclude that the Thunderbird is intended to somehow influence them – i.e. the general production of bricks – by virtue of its metaphorical presence.

- Another possibility is that the “shed” is set up for the particular occasion of the ceremonial making of the all-important first brick, which the cylinders describe a little later in columns xviii-xix. Depending on our interpretation of the metaphorical significance of the first brick, the cultic creation of which we may – at the very least – assume is intended to sympathetically influence all the other bricks of the temple, the ‘blessing’ of the Thunderbird is transferred onto each one of them sympathetically through the first brick. In other words, the same effect as in the first version – just through a somewhat more complex route.

- In his translation from 2000, Averbeck chooses to translate *pisan* as “box”, and *ka-al* as “hoe”. He takes these two objects to be ascribed special cultic importance as the “protective emblems” referred to in line 23, and suggest in a note that they “take on the character and function of Ningirsu’s Anzu bird standard in this context.” Further, that “The reference to ‘designing’ the brick-mold in line 20 suggests that perhaps the brick.-mold had the design of the Anzu-bird on it.”<sup>193</sup> These are interesting suggestions, but Averbeck puts a little more into his reading than what is supported by the original text; first, the meaning of *ka-al* is far from certain, and is as we see above left untranslated both in ETCSL and by Wilson. Whether it means “hoe”, “brick-pit” or something rather different, is open to question. Hence it seems problematic to base one’s interpretation of the subsequent lines partly on this word. Furthermore, we have seen that the “design(ing)” does not have to refer to the brick-mould itself – but this becomes subject to the problematic *pisan* as we discussed above.

In his thesis from 1987, Averbeck presents as a fact that the first brick “was imprinted with the image of the Anzu-bird (CA xiii: 22-23) so that the temple was impacted by the Anzu

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<sup>191</sup> 1996: 64, note 4

<sup>192</sup> Cf. Labat 1994, entry 296

<sup>193</sup> 2000: 425, note 33.



qualities even down to the individual bricks, of which the first was the exemplary prototype.”<sup>194</sup> From the working translation which is attached to his thesis, it is clear that Averbeck believed the brick-mould to be carved on the inside with the Thunderbird as a ‘stamp’. However, he has discharged this interpretation in his recent translation (without commenting on the particulars of this choice), and no other author seems to support or consider the idea of the ‘stamp’. Although this interpretation certainly pushes the evidence, the brick itself carrying the physical mark of Imdugud seems nevertheless an interesting possibility.

Whichever of the details discussed here is proven true or false in the future, at least the importance of Imdugud to the metaphorical and cultic aspect of the temple building appears clear enough. Moreover, we may infer from the text that the Thunderbird functions as some sort of intermediate metaphorical link between the temple and Ningirsu, although in exactly what respect and to what extent we cannot know for certain. Taken the close identification between the temple and Imdugud, however, it seems we should not underestimate the cultic importance of this relationship.

#### Imdugud as a symbol of the immanent presence of Ningirsu

As we have seen, Imdugud and the Eninnu-temple are presented with a close sense of identification, whereas Ningirsu appears as a somewhat more distanced, transcendent character who is literally the owner and master of both the temple as well as of the Thunderbird. Yet, Ningirsu and Imdugud are also sometimes seen to share properties and meld together, and it seems we may assume that the presence of an emblem depicting the Thunderbird indicated the presence of, at least certain of, Ningirsu’s powers.

As mentioned above in chapter 3.2.2 in the section on cult images, there is no hard evidence for the actual existence of a cult statue of Ningirsu, although the presence of such objects would probably be described in text as the deities ‘as such’ acting on their own accord – not least in the lines describing the alleged “hieros gamos” between him and Bau. Yet if the immanent presence of Ningirsu was to be represented by other and more indirect symbols, then the Thunderbird would naturally be the foremost among these. Averbeck stresses the importance of the standard depicting Imdugud, as well as the war chariot of Ningirsu,

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<sup>194</sup> 1987: 212

equipped with his special weapons, as well as the war trophies – all objects explicitly associated with the heroic aspects of the god in myths.<sup>195</sup>

### 3.4. Summary and conclusion to this chapter

In the first part of this chapter, we had a look at the archaeology of the Eninnu temple, and also briefly on the relation between its physical appearance from archaeology and text. Of this there is relatively little that can be deduced, other than the basic outline of the walls which gives us an impression of the size of the temple complex – which must have been quite impressive compared to other temples in the area of this time. Next, we discussed the nature of the divine or the *numen* in Sumer, primarily on basis of Jacobsen’s presentation of the topic in *Treasures of Darkness*, and the degree to which its presence might have been regarded as immanent – whether in an ‘enclosed’ (or “intransitive”) or a simultaneously transcendent fashion – in its respective phenomenon or image. This formed the background to a more specific analysis of the relationship between Ningirsu and his emblem and companion Imdugud, and finally between the Eninnu-temple itself as related to these two characters, and I hope at least to have shown that this is a complex subject matter which cannot be easily systematized. In any case it seems safe to conclude that the Thunderbird is definitely the most central emblem for Ningirsu in this text if not in fact – as Jacobsen argues, and which I have partly suggested against – to be seen as the original form of Ningirsu himself, one step closer to his nature substratum. Moreover, the presence of the image of Imdugud appears to work as a link between the Eninnu-temple and Ningirsu, and here lays in my view an indicator of that which we may treat as the transcendent nature of the deity.

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<sup>195</sup> Cf. Averbeck 1987: 216

## 4. “I will make it’s *me* resplendent in heaven and on earth”<sup>196</sup>: Considering the Eninnu as cosmic link and microcosm

This chapter will primarily study the way that the Eninnu-temple is conveyed in the text as a sacred place and *centre*, and the way it as such becomes a ‘link’ between the human and the divine worlds and – in turn – may be said to represent a microcosm of the divine realm.

Rather than attempt at a complete overview and analysis of every element in the cylinder text that may or may not relate to cosmic link –and macro/microcosm symbolism, this fourth and last part of the dissertation will focus on a few central metaphors and instances, and try and ‘disentangle’ these a little from the differing translations (most markedly in the case of *dur-an-ki* /”bond of heaven and earth”) and not least, to a realistically limited extent, from the related theoretical discourses in which some of them have figured. Certain notions have been subject to more debate than others, such as the temple being named in the text a “bond between heaven and earth” (it will be considered as *cosmic link* and *axis mundi*) and a “mountain” (it will be considered as *cosmic mountain* or *Weltberg*), and it seems natural to treat these topics with all the more attention to philological detail, in light of original textual material. This consideration will make chapter 4.2 below the largest – and arguably, most central – part of this section.

The first subchapter will provide a general overview of what is to be done, as well as a brief, general presentation of the theoretical subject matter. Next, the remaining chapter will discuss the Eninnu temple as cosmic link and focal point, and as microcosm, respectively. I must ask the reader not to seek any particular significance in the order in which I chose to discuss these topics; they might as well have been reversed. The one state or function does in my opinion not follow linearly from the other, and the “axis mundi”- and the “microcosm” aspects of the temple may well be seen to meld into, uphold and highlight each other. Yet I believe that when we consider the temple as a microcosm, we observe a more settled and ‘all-encompassing’ picture than when we study its place and function as cosmic link which – in

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<sup>196</sup> Cf. Cyl A i, 11

my view – describes the idea of a more specific and dynamic process. Thus I felt it natural to conclude with the former, but that is a subjective choice.

## 4.1. Introduction of the further study

The inauguration of the divine into the Eninnu-temple, as described in the cylinders, is clearly effected by the totality of the successfully accomplished cultic preparations; starting with the high gods' initial endorsement of the building project and the building itself - namely the manifestation on earth of the pre-existent plan of the temple, the making of the first brick, the rules of silence and purity imposed by Gudea on his people during critical stages of the building, down to more obvious rituals such as purification of the temple area by fire and water, and the burning of incense. What appears to be a meticulously chosen time for carrying through with the final inauguration of the god into his temple - moon phase, day and indeed minute – is probably no less significant in this respect. The core point seems to be that everything is being prepared for a vulnerable and dynamic cosmic process to take place, to allow for the divine to extend itself and manifest – attracted by that cultically pure and hence 'neutral' space that has been established in the process. The temple has thus become a "meeting point", to use Harold W. Turner's terminology<sup>197</sup>, and in some ways also what we might call a *microcosm* of the divine realm.

Averbeck begins his general chapter on the temple with an introduction of the phenomenological categories of Turner; namely the temple as centre, as microcosm, as meeting point and finally, as immanent-transcendent presence.<sup>198</sup> Averbeck forms his succeeding presentation of the Eninnu as a discourse over these categories, and as a starting point this seems quite fruitful. Even if we will not cover these points in the same manner in the following chapter, I do not think it out of place to make reference to Turner, as he frequently draws on Near Eastern examples (albeit the major part of this relates to Biblical material) in his general and comparative work that relates closely thematically to the cosmic position of the temple. When it comes to his views on the sacred space and the temple as centre and meeting point, they clearly harmonize with and reflect the theories of Eliade – although Turner does not make use of the notions *axis mundi* or cosmic mountain specifically.

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<sup>197</sup> 1979: part 1, chapters 2-4

<sup>198</sup> Ibid.

### Centre, axis and meeting point

The temple is a *centre* in that it forms a focus point and point of reference, as Averbeck puts it; both geographically and cosmographically. For Eliade whose theories about the centre, the *axis mundi* and the cosmic mountain were presented above in part V of the introduction, the centre is the *axis mundi* - a “break in the homogeneity of space”<sup>199</sup>. This “break” provides a communication point in between the worlds; it is the sacred space where the above may interact with the below and vice versa, and it symbolizes the ordered world in which things are homely and known as opposed to the chaotic and unstable hinterlands. We see this very opposition clearly expressed throughout the Gudea cylinders: On the social level there is the polarity between the peaceful and prolific region of Lagash as opposed to the potentially threatening the enemy lands, whereas on a cosmic scale the presence of the cultically perfected temple represents order and eternal stability in opposition to chaos. With respect to the “meeting point”, Turner writes that:

“In the wider sense as the central point of reference for all major affairs of a community the temple serves as meeting point between the whole structure of human life and the life of the divine realms.”<sup>200</sup>

When it comes to the Eninnu in the sense of an *axis mundi*, it is clear that, although the temple may certainly be seen as a ‘vertical link’-symbol by virtue of its mere physical form, there are many more elements in the text that may be analysed in order to examine the function of the temple as cosmic centre and meeting point. In considering whether and how the Eninnu may be seen as a centre, an *axis mundi* and a *Weltberg*, the next chapter will analyse the following respective themes in depth, with focus on etymology, use and meaning:

- The line *dim-gal kalam-ma an-ki mu-a* (“The House, ‘great mast’ of the land, set up between heaven and earth”), what it may tell about the cosmic position of Eninnu, and the way it is closely comparable to the more famous line *dur-an-ki* (“bond of heaven and earth”) that has been discussed by Eliade and others.

- The terms *hur-sag* and *kur(-gal)* which are both commonly translated as “great mountain” in their frequent application as epithets to the Eninnu, as related to the discourse concerning the *Weltberg* which is also closely tied up to the *dur-an-ki* -debate.

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<sup>199</sup> 1987:37

<sup>200</sup> 1979:37

- Metaphors speaking of interconnection between ‘the above’ and ‘the below’, such as the “roots” of the temple reaching down into the Abzu and “the summit” of the Eninnu reaching up into the heavens.

### The making of a microcosm – and beyond

Averbeck writes that “As a microcosm of the heavenly realm, the temple mirrors forms and functions as they are found in the heavenly sphere”<sup>201</sup>, and specifies in a concluding remark that “The temple mirrors the heavenly realm in terms of its design and dimensions and also in terms of the activities performed within it”<sup>202</sup>.

There is great emphasis in the Gudea cylinders on that everything that takes place, from the physical building to the consecration rites, is done rightly and according to the heavenly plan, and there seems to be a sense of utter completeness, perfection and duration in the Sumerian idea of something being ‘rightly’<sup>203</sup> performed. The sealing off, so to speak, of the ritual process in the cylinders entails that the ‘story’ of the temple is completed – meaning that the House has become a full symbol encompassing the necessary metaphors that uphold its value as a link and a place fit for the divine presence. The overall aim is thus for the preordained form and function of the temple to manifest flawlessly in the land of Lagash, like we are told quite explicitly in the beginning of cylinder A: “The lord of the House called for it; ‘I will make the *me* of Eninnu resplendent in heaven and on earth”<sup>204</sup>.

With respect to the ‘microcosmic’ imagery –perhaps better formulated as ‘cosmic parallels’ – we will study the following examples from the Cylinders:

- The opening line of Cylinder A, that refers to “the day when destinies for heaven and earth were decreed”.

- The appearance in Gudea’s first vision of the lapis lazuli-tablet of Nindub, whereon he carves the ground plan of the Eninnu, and also of the “star-chart” of Nidaba, according to which the temple must be built.

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<sup>201</sup> 1987: 194

<sup>202</sup> Ibid: 199

<sup>203</sup> In the Gudea cylinders, the word *zid* is usually translated as “straight”, “right”, “correct”, “true” and so forth, depending on the context, and often describes actions of obvious cultic importance (i.e. a ritual being “rightly” executed, setting the “right” hand to do something, etc. The sign appears to depict an upright straw, and its basic meaning is interestingly “life” (*napištu*) or “to live” (*nēšu*). Cf. Labat 1994, entry 84.

<sup>204</sup> Cyl A, i, 10-11

- The practical tasks, ranging from building work to consecration rites, that are described as being performed by the high gods – assumedly simultaneously with Gudea and his personnel.
- The instalment of the temple staff as well as the final banquet, which are described as affairs exclusively involving gods and divine beings: it is reason to assume that these events had their ‘mundane’ counterparts in human temple staff being installed and a select group of people celebrating the grand feast.

## 4.2. Eninnu in the making: cosmic link and focal point

### 4.2.1. “The House, great mast of the land...” – *Axis mundi*, mooring rope, or navel?

We begin this part with analysing the two opening lines of Cylinder B: *é dim-gal kalam-ma / an-ki-da mú-a*<sup>205</sup>: ““The House, ‘great mast’ of the land, set up between heaven and earth...”. At this point in the text the physical shape of the Eninnu is presented in its fullended glory, and it only remains to conclude the consecration process and divinations, and install the gods and their divine staff. Indeed this last half of the procedure seems no less precarious than the building process itself, probably much more so, cultically speaking – but at least the temple structure now stands ready to receive those forces that are to be invoked into it, and so these opening lines describe this state of ‘cosmic’ potentiality. The Sumerian sentence does, however, deserve a much closer analysis than one subjective translation can provide.

#### *Dim-gal kalam-ma an-ki-da mú-a*

I have unfortunately not found any grammatical commentary on these two lines, but will nonetheless try to analyse the different components on basis of the available sources. I have chosen to render *dim-gal* quite literally (it would seem) as “great mast”, but there are several other possibilities. According to Labat<sup>206</sup>, *dim-gal* equals Akkadian *tarkullu*, meaning “mast”

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<sup>205</sup> i, 1-2

<sup>206</sup> 1994, entry 94

(mât) or pole. The meaning of *dim* alone – following Labat – equals Akkadian *riksu*, or “rope” (lien) or possibly “mooring rope” (mat amarre). *Gal* usually means “great”, so a literal rendering of the line would, if we follow the basic meanings of Labat, become something like “great (mooring) rope”, “-mast” or “-pole”.

From our selection of different translations Averbeck translates *dim-gal* as “mooring pole”<sup>207</sup>, Edzard as “mooring post”<sup>208</sup> which is also the choice of the ETCSL composite translation, Jacobsen as “mooring stake”<sup>209</sup>, and Wilson as “(center) stake”<sup>210</sup>.

*Kalam-ma* quite straight forwardly means “of the land”, the genitive suffix *-ak* being hidden (in the way that it often is) in the *-(m)a*.

*An* and *ki* means “sky” and “earth” respectively. The suffix *-da* is the common comitative, which basic meaning “with” or “together with” express, according to Thomsen, “accompaniment as well as mutual action. In this sense the comitative can be used with almost all verbs”<sup>211</sup>. However, she notes that *-da* occasionally alternates with the ablative-instrumental *-ta* with inanimate beings or objects (i.e. generally non-human), denoting “direction away from”<sup>212</sup>. From this, one may translate this part of the line as “between heaven and earth”<sup>213</sup>, implying a ‘comitative’ connection (“with” or “together with” sound to me rather too literal in the context!), just as well as “from earth to heaven.”<sup>214</sup>

The verb *mú* is marked by the suffix *-a*, which here has a nominalizing function. This is in line with all translations saying that the temple “is” or “has been” “grown”, “built” or “set up”. Of course, changing the literal grammatical value somewhat for the sake of readability need not have any impact on the meaning of the line, as we see in Wilson’s choice of “The temple (...) rising into the universe”<sup>215</sup>. Grammatical detail aside, however, I find in this case that “universe” carries too much interpretation from the original “heaven and earth”, as it

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<sup>207</sup> In his most recent translation of 2000: 429

<sup>208</sup> 1997: 89

<sup>209</sup> 1987: 425

<sup>210</sup> 1996: 129

<sup>211</sup> 1984: Cf. § 188-194

<sup>212</sup> Ibid: Cf. § 449

<sup>213</sup> This translation is my preference, and is also the solution chosen by Averbeck (2000: 429) and also by Jacobsen (1987: 425), who uses the somewhat more poetical variant of “...’twixt heaven and earth”.

<sup>214</sup> Cf. Edzard 1997: 89

<sup>215</sup> 1996: 129



obscures the eventual layers of meaning that may only be reside in the sense of the polarity of the “above and below” which at this point in the cosmos finds itself connected by the temple.

*Dim-gal kalam-ma an-ki-da mú-a as an elaborate alternative to dur-an-ki*

Chapter V of the Introduction gave a brief outline of the disagreement between – primarily - Eliade and Smith, on the meaning of *dur-an-ki* that so often appears both in description and as an epithet to the names of temples all around Mesopotamia as well as for some important places such as, perhaps most famously, the city of Nippur. It is almost surprising that the line does not appear even once in the Gudea cylinders; after all, the text is dedicated to describe one of the grandest temples ever in Sumer. However, it seems we find much of the same value and meaning as in *dur-an-ki* in those two first lines of cylinder B that were just analysed. *Dur-an-ki* is commonly translated as “bond of heaven and earth”, as by Kramer<sup>216</sup> and Jacobsen<sup>217</sup> in their respective translations of *Creation of the Pickaxe*, a myth describing the separation of Heaven and Earth by Enlil which we will come back to shortly. As we have seen, Eliade renders the term as “Link between Heaven and Earth”<sup>218</sup>, but here it is important to note that “link” carries somewhat more interpreted meaning than does “rope” or “bond”, which are the basic values for *dur* as it is glossed by Labat<sup>219</sup>. It is noteworthy that Labat mentions “rope” (lien) and the Akkadian *riksu* in the entries of both *dur* and *dim*. In my view, these largely similar meanings – and both being connected to “heaven and earth” – makes *dur-an-ki* and the way it has appeared in theoretical discourse both a natural and necessary subject for study in relation to the *dim-gal* (etc.) of the Gudea cylinders.

Severing or fastening the cosmic navel string? A look into the “Creation of the Pickaxe”

It seems appropriate to expand the context of *dur-an-ki* somewhat, by studying the mythological backdrop it has in one of the rare examples of a Sumerian cosmology. Smith refers to the abovementioned myth *Creation of the Pickaxe* in order to defeat Eliade’s argument that *dur-an-ki* denotes a link and ‘navel string’, arguing that it is quite the opposite; namely the spot of cosmic separation and thus a ‘navel’ and subsequently no vertical axis. In this sense the place does indeed remain a centre, but a rather different sort of centre than the dynamic, ‘connecting’ *axis mundi* of Eliade – it becomes a place of dissociation, a mere

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<sup>216</sup> 1972: 52

<sup>217</sup> 1970: 113

<sup>218</sup> 1987: 40-41

<sup>219</sup> 1994: entry 108

symbol (albeit a significant one) of what once was *in illo tempore*. Yet the distinction seems to me not all that clear; in both cases the *dur-an-ki* denotes a place of original creation, but in two different senses. We will need to look at the myth itself for a closer analysis of this theme. Although the lines describing Enlil's act separation / reconnection are too obscure for any strong conclusions to be drawn, I am generally sympathetic towards Eliade's application of the term which actually seems quite consistent with the scholarly interpretations of the original text.

*The Creation of the Pickaxe*, or *The Song of the Hoe*, speaks of an original pre-cosmogonic state where heaven (An) and earth (Ki) were united, before Enlil came in between and separated them in order to enable the fertilization of the earth and the creation of humans. The place where people (according to one possible translation) sprouted forth like plants was on the spot termed *dur-an-ki*. We may quote some different translations of the account of how this happened. First, the transliteration of lines 3-7:<sup>220</sup>

- 3: <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub> numun kalam-ma {ki-ta} {(2 mss. have instead:) eš<sub>3</sub>-ta} {ed<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>} {(3 other mss. have instead:) ed<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>}
- 4: an ki-ta ba<sub>9</sub>-re<sub>6</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> saĝ na-an-ga-ma-an-šum<sub>2</sub>
- 5: ki an-ta ba<sub>9</sub>-re<sub>6</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> saĝ na-an-ga-ma-an-šum<sub>2</sub>
- 6: {uzu-e<sub>3</sub>-a} {(2 mss. have instead:) uzu-mu<sub>2</sub>-a} saĝ mu<sub>2</sub>-mu<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
- 7: dur-an-ki-ka bulug {nam-mi-in-la<sub>2</sub>} {(1 ms. has instead:) nam-il<sub>2</sub>-e} {(1 ms. has instead:) nam-il<sub>2</sub>-la}

The composite translation from ETCSL:

“Enlil, who will make the human seed of the Land come {forth} {(3 mss. have instead:) up} from the {earth} {(2 other mss. have instead:) chamber} -- and not only did he hasten to separate heaven from earth, and hasten to separate earth from heaven, but, in order to make it possible for humans to grow in {'Where Flesh Came Forth'} {(2 mss. have instead:) 'Where Flesh Grew'} (the name of a cosmic location) , he first {suspended} {(2 mss. have instead:) raised} the axis of the world at Dur-an-ki.”<sup>221</sup>

And Jacobsen:

“Enlil quickly removed heaven from earth  
 So that the seed, from which the nation grew, could sprout up from the field;  
 He quickly brought the earth out from under the heaven as a separate entity  
 And bound up for the earth the gash in the "bond of heaven and earth"  
 So that the earth could grow humankind.”<sup>222</sup>

<sup>220</sup> ETCSL "The Song of the Hoe". The parts within {} mark textual variants.

<sup>221</sup> Ibid.

<sup>222</sup> 1970: 113-114

And finally, Kramer:

“Enlil, who brings up the seed of the land from the earth,  
Took care to move away heaven from earth,  
Took care to move away earth from heaven.  
In order to make grow the creature which came forth,  
In the "bond of heaven and earth" (Nippur) he stretched out the . . .”<sup>223</sup>

From this we see that on basis of this myth, one may interpret *dur-an-ki* both as a sort of ‘navel’ – the “wound” from when earth and heaven were separated – as well as a ‘navel string’, which would be the place where heaven and earth were (re-)connected after the primeval separation. The latter interpretation would seem most consistent with the otherwise very ‘vertical’ and monumental focus of the figurative language that we see in many temple hymns, including the Gudea cylinders, but this value is by no means certain from the original Sumerian. Kramer and, more explicitly, the ETCSL translation, seem to agree upon the latter function of *dur-an-ki*, whereas Jacobsen is less explicit when he translates with the “gash” being “bound up for the earth in the ‘bond of heaven and earth’ [dur-an-ki]”. Still he translates *dur* as “bond” as does Kramer, so the idea of the vertical connection is still present.

The last and in our case most significant line, deserves a closer analysis by itself. The syllable *-ka* following *dur-an-ki* hides an assimilated genitive suffix *-ak*, as well as the locative suffix *-a*, so this part we can safely translate as “in the ‘bond’ of heaven and earth”. *Bulug* equals the Akkadian *pulukku*, meaning “boundary” or, interestingly – “stake”.<sup>224</sup> The verbal chain *nam-il-le* (*il* being the root) can be read as “he raised”, “... lifted” or “...built”<sup>225</sup>. If I were to translate the whole line literally, I would suggest as follows: “In the bond of heaven and earth, he raised the ‘stake’”, or, alternatively for *bulug*, “...he elevated (or “set up”) a boundary”.

*Bulug* seems to me an intriguing concept; it is tempting to imagine it in relation to *dur-an-ki* as a delimited, vertical space (of cosmic ‘limbo’?) which is ‘activated’ at a special place where the ‘above’ and the ‘below’ interfere, becoming in cultic language an abstract metaphor for the meeting point between gods and men. However this remains speculation on my part,

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<sup>223</sup> 1972: 52. The great temple of Enlil in Nippur was referred to as ‘where flesh sprouts’, and I assume this is why Kramer mentions Nippur in the last line.

<sup>224</sup> Cf. Labat 1994 entry 96, and Black, George and Postgate 2000: 278 (*pulukku*).

<sup>225</sup> The basic meaning of the verb *il* is to “lift” or “elevate”. Cf. Labat 1994 entry 320. The modal prefix *na(m)-* ought here to have an ‘affirmative’ function (a sort of “indeed”, if translated literally), but the meaning of this prefix has been interpreted in varying ways. Cf. Thomsen 1984: §371-383. The chain ends with the *marû* suffix *-e*, marking the (literally) “fat”, that is, durative, mood.

and it is at least clear that neither *bulug* nor *dur-an-ki* can be translated correctly as conveying any specific and absolute meaning.

What seems clear enough, however, is that Smith does not have the original textual evidence in his favour when he argues against Eliade's use of *dur-an-ki* on basis of this myth. He holds unflinchingly that "it does not refer to a link between heaven and earth, (...) As with the human navel, so with the temple."<sup>226</sup> However, even from our brief analysis of the myth he refers to as evidence, it appears that the term means anything but a "place of permanent disassociation, rather than of conjunction..."<sup>227</sup>. The tale of the separation of heaven and earth, together with the significant 'something' that is "raised up" in between these two spheres, seem to very much speak of a 'navel string' – to continue the anatomical terminology.

#### Final comments

Another point which possibly speaks for that the notion *dur-an-ki* attached to temples must have had considerable cultic consequence, and not merely been "a hyperbolic way of saying that one's temple is very large"<sup>228</sup>, is to be found in the very same myth as a whole. It is noteworthy that the establishing of *dur-an-ki* by Enlil happens straight following the creation of the ordered and defined cosmos, namely the separation of heaven and earth, which seems to me a classic example of a paradigmatic act carried out by the gods *in illo tempore* which is re-enacted by humans; imagined and described deliberately using the same metaphors to emphasize the durability and 'time-and space-lessness' of the temple building. Without entering into the territory of the 'Myth and Ritual'-debate, it seems one should note how much this way of thinking appears as a core feature to the cultic practice; how the interplay and dynamics within the cosmos as envisioned was seen to sustain the fabric of reality itself. Not least, this is highly comparable to the parallel ritual actions which are described explicitly in the Cylinders and which will be discussed in chapter 4.3. Again we see the melding together of the 'mythical' and the 'mundane' into metaphors (and indeed metaphorical *actions*) which effect the transportation of the temple into a space beyond 'simple reality', which – in my view – is basically what enables it to function as a cosmic link and meeting place.

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<sup>226</sup> Smith 1992: 16

<sup>227</sup> Ibid.

<sup>228</sup> Ibid: 132, note 56 (commentary to the argument on p. 16)

In sum, we have analysed the way one may interpret the Eninnu-temple of Gudea as a “great mast (...) set up between heaven and earth”, in light of the notion *dur-an-ki* as it appears in the cosmogonic myth. The extent to which this metaphor should be interpreted as implying a ‘cosmic bond’ or a “link” in the sense of Eliade’s *axis mundi* should not be underestimated, and its validity seems to me partly proved although Eliade might well originally have applied the notion somewhat uncritically.

#### **4.2.2. “The House is a great mountain reaching toward heaven”<sup>229</sup>: Eninnu considered as a link in the shape of a *Cosmic Mountain*.**

Eninnu is described as “Great Mountain” a countless times in the Cylinders and often as an epithet, either by the word *kur* or *hur-sag*. The metaphor appears frequently in temple hymns and other texts, and is very much part of traditional language attributed to temples, in much the same way as is *dur-an-ki*. In the Gudea cylinders “Great Mountain” is by far the most prominent and frequently used metaphor for the Eninnu, and might perhaps be regarded as the ‘physical’ counterpart to the more complex and abstract concept of *dur-an-ki* (or *dim-gal* as in the Gudea Cylinders). Again we may turn to Eliade for an example of the phenomenological application of this metaphor, as he takes the emphasis on mountains in religious contexts to be examples of both the *centre* and the *axis mundi*; turning metaphorically into the “cosmic mountain”. We may repeat what he writes about this specific “cosmological image”:

“(b) temples are replicas of the cosmic mountain and hence constitute the pre-eminent ‘link’ between earth and heaven; (c) the foundations of temples descend deep into the lower regions.”<sup>230</sup>

In the same spirit, Turner writes that:

“The Babylonian ziggurats (meaning ‘mountain peak’) [were] vast earth mounds or artificial hills forming replicas of the cosmic mountain, (...) testify to the (...) function of the sacred place as the meeting point between heaven and earth.”<sup>231</sup>

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<sup>229</sup> Cyl. B i: 6.

<sup>230</sup> 1987: 37

<sup>231</sup> 1979: 26

### The temple as mountain in stature and description

Strictly speaking, contrary to how Turner puts it, the ziggurat of Mesopotamian temples denotes the topmost temple *tower* rather than the temple complex as such, and these towers were certainly no “earth mounds” but solid brick constructions. There is in the Gudea Cylinders mention of a *mound* measuring 24 *iku*<sup>232</sup>, and it seems to me this can be interpreted two ways; either it describes the volume of earth that was cleared for the foundations of the temple “dug to the depth of one *kush* (0.5 m), such as Jacobsen suggests<sup>233</sup>, which would total as much as 42 300 cubic metres of earth, or the mound itself was somehow part of the foundation itself (or perhaps used to fill in the first “step” of the base of the ziggurat?). Something like the latter might be the case, as the selfsame mound is subject to purification and consecration rites in the following lines. Unfortunately, there is no archaeological evidence from the site to provide any clearer indications as to what exactly is meant here. Nevertheless, it seems unnecessary to search for technical evidence to support the picture of the temple physically likening a mountain. To be sure, on the level plains of Mesopotamia any particularly tall building would stand out against the horizon – imposing whether perched on top of an artificial mound or not. As Edzard puts it,

“Anyone travelling through (...) Babylonia and approaching a city would already see from a great distance something high, gigantic, mountain-like rising up. We experience this today when we drive through the ‘steppe’ towards Uruk with its Etanna, or approach Ur with its Ekišnungal, or the ‘Mountain-of-the-land-of-Sumer, hur-sag kalamma (...). Is not ‘mountain’ then a rather banal image?”<sup>234</sup>

He answers himself a little later, emphasizing that the imagery indeed has more metaphysical significance beside the obvious physical description. Before we question and analyse the ‘cosmic’ aspects, however, let us briefly look at the words that are usually translated as “mountain” or similarly, namely *kur* and *hur-sag*, as they appear in examples from the Gudea Cylinders.

The Sumerian word *kur* may mean several things depending on the context, but when it appears in singular it is often translated as “mountain”, which is also the basic value given by Labat.<sup>235</sup> The name of Enlil’s famous temple in Nippur was *É-kur*; the “Mountain-temple” or

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<sup>232</sup> Cyl A xiii, 24-27. 1 *iku* measures, according to Jacobsen, an area of 3528,36 m<sup>2</sup>, i.e. a little less than an acre. Cf. Jacobsen 1987: 404, note 61.

<sup>233</sup> Ibid. (Jacobsen).

<sup>234</sup> 1987: 14

<sup>235</sup> 1994, entry 366

– as Edzard puts it – “The temple (which is a) mountain.”<sup>236</sup> *Kur* may otherwise mean “mountain land”, particularly when it is duplicated (*kur-kur*) it often appears translated as “mountain regions”, just “lands”, or “foreign” -or “enemy lands”. Most translations of the Gudea Cylinders choose to translate *kur* simply as “mountain”.

I named the title of this chapter after line 6 of column i. of Cylinder B “The House is like a great mountain reaching toward heaven” – a fairly literal translation where “mountain” seems a natural rendition of *kur*. Elsewhere, it says that “it [the temple] grew like a mountain”<sup>237</sup>, and further below that “the House which ‘prospect’ is grounded in the manner of a great mountain”<sup>238</sup>.

As with *kur*, *hur-sag* appears several times in the cylinders to describe mountains or mountainous areas which have little direct relevance to the Eninnu, but there are also several examples where *hur-sag* is used as a metaphor for or epithet to the temple. *Hur-sag* has a similar meaning to *kur*; basically “mountain” – identical to the Akkadian *huršānu*. Edzard writes that it is “related to *kur* as well, but also to ‘a long stretch of raised land’ (like the ‘mountains’ of nomads).”<sup>239</sup> While Edzard translates the notion as “mountain range”<sup>240</sup>, Jacobsen as “foothills”<sup>241</sup> and ETCSL “hills”, I choose – like Wilson – simply to render it as “mountain”, or in our last example from Cyl. B, as “mountain top”. The various nuances should in any case be implied.

During the building process in Cylinder A, the following is said about the temple as *hur-sag*:

“They made the House grow high like a mountain; they let it float like a cloud in the midst of the sky. (...) The House is made to raise its head in between earth and heaven like a mountain.”<sup>242</sup>

And a little further on: “The good shepherd Gudea made it rise like heaven and earth”<sup>243</sup>, and in the first lines of Cylinder B, when the temple stands ready, it “meets the eye like a green mountain-top, rising from among the mountains.”<sup>244</sup>

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<sup>236</sup> 1987: 14

<sup>237</sup> Cyl. A xxii: 10

<sup>238</sup> Cyl. A xxvii: 11

<sup>239</sup> 1984: 14-15

<sup>240</sup> 1997

<sup>241</sup> 1987

<sup>242</sup> xxi, 19-23

<sup>243</sup> xxiv, 9

<sup>244</sup> i, 4-5. “Mountains” here is *kur-kur*.

It is interesting to observe that the temple, metaphorized as “mountain” either by *kur* or *hur-sag* (though particularly in the case of the latter), often appears in relation to either heaven or earth, or (as with *hur-sag*) with both. Of course one might always argue that this is a description as banal as the ziggurat being likened to a mountain, but seen in context with the idea of the Sumerian creation and the theoretical notion of the *Weltberg* one may consider other and more ‘metaphysical’ implications.

... But a cosmic mountain?

Having suggested earlier the possibility that the ‘mountain’-metaphor is just an example of banal description, Edzard goes on to say that:

“the vivid ‘surface’ mountain and mountain range imagery and the reference to the heavens have deeper meanings. *They describe the cosmic function of the shrine.* As a ‘mountain’ the temple is a link between heaven and earth: thus *d u r - a n - k i*, ‘link of heaven and earth’, is the name of e.g. the holy quarter in Nippur. Just as the mountains partake of the plain *and* the clouds in the sky, the ziggurat stands on the earth and reaches up into heaven.”<sup>245</sup>

Now, let us have a closer look at the *Weltberg* / cosmic mountain –debate before moving back to the Gudea Cylinders. To Eliade, as we have seen, the mountain is a perfect image of the axis mundi, or *centre*, linking as it does together the underworld, the earth and the heaven. The so-called *Weltberg* is not a word used by Eliade as such, but his “cosmic mountain” implies much the same meaning as the *Weltberg*, which is in this sense most prominently employed by the ‘Pan-Babylonists’ of the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by whom Eliade was strongly influenced<sup>246</sup>. The *Weltberg* traditionally describes – as Clifford sums it up – “the world conceived as a huge mountain with heaven at the peak and the underworld at the base...”<sup>247</sup> He notes that Peter Jensen interpreted “some uses” of *hur-sag* as *Weltberg* in 1890 and, similarly, Bruno Meissner in 1925, but that this interpretation has become problematic and increasingly unpopular in later years. As we saw above in chapter V., Clifford denies the existence of the idea of the *Weltberg* in Mesopotamia and is quoted by Smith for his stance against Eliade on the application of the idea. Kramer, to mention a recent expert on Sumerian culture, writes in *Sumerian Mythology* that “It is not unreasonable to assume (...) that heaven and earth united were conceived as a mountain whose base was the bottom of earth and whose

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<sup>245</sup> 1987: 15. My italics in the second line.

<sup>246</sup> Cf. for example Korom1992, who critically examines the inspiration and background for Eliade’s central concepts.

<sup>247</sup> 1972: 9



peak was the top of the heaven.”<sup>248</sup> This he bases largely on the myth *Cattle and grain*, which also indirectly hints at original creation: “After on the mountain of heaven and earth, / An had caused the Anunnaki (his followers) to be born,…”<sup>249</sup>. Here Kramer translates *hur-sag* as “mountain”, but of course – as we have seen above – the notion may have variable meanings (such as ‘mountain range’ etc.) and it appears here as less ‘concrete’ as it does not occur, say, as the epithet of a particular temple. To simply translate *hur-sag* as “mountain” might (arguably) seem more justified in e.g. the Gudea text, where Eninnu is also described as “*kur*”. Hence Kramer’s solution to present the line in *Cattle and grain* as an example of a ‘world mountain’ is surely debatable, but the suggestion cannot be disowned.

There is one other significant argument in favour of the positive view on the *Weltberg* in the literal role as *universal* ‘world mountain’ in Mesopotamia, and that is that the great god Enlil often bears the very epithet “Great Mountain”. This fact is considered neither by Clifford nor by Smith (who both, admittedly, move only briefly into the topic of the Sumerian *Weltberg*). As we saw in the myth *Creation of the Pickaxe*, Heaven and Earth are separated by Enlil before he establishes the *dur-an-ki*. He was regarded as a descendant of “Lord and Lady Earth” (Enki\* and Ninki).<sup>250</sup> As was also mentioned above, Enlil’s temple *E-kur* had the epithet *dur-an-ki*, and so it seems we have here a good collection of ‘primordial’ interconnections between our core concepts:

- Enlil - ‘Lord Air’ - caused the primordial creation of the inhabitable world by intersecting heaven and earth; in fact he was the offspring of the earth (before creation, assumedly not identified as a polarity to ‘heaven’), and literally caused this separation by growing up ‘in between’. In this regard we may note the several examples we have seen from the Gudea Cylinders, where the temple in some way or another grows up between heaven and earth, or alternately, from earth into heaven.

- Enlil himself bears the epithet “Great Mountain” – or is identified by that name alone - in several texts, including the Gudea Cylinders: “My king Ningirsu, who turns back the great waters, / Truthful lord, created by the seed of the Great Mountain!”<sup>251</sup> The myth *Enlil in the*

<sup>248</sup> 1972:39

<sup>249</sup> Ibid.

<sup>250</sup> Cf. Black and Green 2000: 76. \*Note that this primordial En-ki is *not* identical to the younger Enki who resides in the subterranean Abzu!

<sup>251</sup> Cyl. A viii, 15-16. The passage obviously describes how Enlil – the Great Mountain – fathered Ningirsu. In the case of Enlil as “Great Mountain”, the word used for mountain is *kur*. The Sumerian line reads: lugal-ĝu<sub>10</sub><sup>d</sup>nin-ĝir<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>2</sub> en a ħuš gi<sub>4</sub>-a / en zid a kur gal-e ri-a.

*Ekur* describes the lord of the *E-kur* as “Its prince, the great mountain, father Enlil, has taken his seat on the dais...”<sup>252</sup>.

- *E-kur*, conceivably thus named due to the identification with Enlil with a mountain, is built on the exact spot where *dur-an-ki* – which, however one chooses to translate the Sumerian, hardly conveys a meaning much different from a “bond” -or “mast” “of heaven and earth” – is established. This place also appears to be a metaphor for the inhabitable world as such, as this is where “flesh sprouts forth”<sup>253</sup>. The hymn *Enlil in the Ekur* contains the following line which beautifully illustrates this ‘cosmographic’ idea: “you founded it in the *dur-an-ki*, in the middle of the four quarters of the earth.”<sup>254</sup> Commentary seems almost superfluous; it appears, that idea of the temple as “mountain”, placed within the *dur-an-ki*, even at a geographical (or ‘cosmographical’, at this level) centre, can hardly be formulated more explicitly.

The ‘mountain’-metaphor seems in every sense to underline the cosmic position of the Sumerian temple as a ‘centre’ and a vertical ‘axis’, just like Eliade claims, representing in figurative language a connection between heaven and earth. However, whether this ‘mountain’ should be interpreted in relation to the existence of a *Weltberg* as central to the Sumerian cosmogony, still appears an open question. Yet from what we have discussed by now, it would seem that the idea of a *Weltberg* in Sumer – partly defined as what grew forth from original creation – is not totally amiss. There is no conclusive evidence for that this idea was essential to the ‘cosmic’ experience nor the cultic practice of the Mesopotamians, nor can we automatically assume that, even if such an idea may be said to be identifiable in mythology, such *Weltberg* was the ‘model’ according to which the (general) temple was metaphorically imagined. After all, the original material is obscure on these points, and not least, scarce. As Averbeck puts it, having briefly referred to Clifford’s view on the *Weltberg* in relation to the temple: “[there may be]valid support for viewing the temple as a mountain which serves as the cosmic centre but that does not mean that the Sumerians viewed the world as a Weltberg.”

The Eninnu-temple of the Gudea Cylinders seems in every way to share in the characteristics we have discussed. It is very much a *centre* and beyond doubt an imposing landmark; both in

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<sup>252</sup> ETCSL composite translation, lines 39-40.

<sup>253</sup> Cf. chapter 4.2.1., the discussion of the *Creation of the Pickaxe*.

<sup>254</sup> ETCSL composite translation, line 68. The Sumerian reads: *ub-da 4-ba murub<sub>4</sub>-ba dur-an-ki-ka ki ba-e-ni-tag-ge*. (Copied from the transliteration of ETCSL).

a practical and a ‘cosmic’ sense. The metaphor of the mountain appears in the text so as to in every way underline the vertical aspect of the temple and its function in connecting and forming a point of reference in between heaven and earth. To name it a replica of the *Weltberg* or “cosmic mountain” (defined as a cosmogonic model) would undoubtedly be to push the evidence, but still; Eninnu certainly is a “mountain”, and it certainly is “cosmic”.

### 4.2.3. Of roots and clouds

As the final part of this section dealing with the Eninnu as a cosmic link, where we have focused on the ‘vertical’ imagery, it is fitting to look at the passages in the Cylinders where temple is imagined as ‘rooted’ in the Abzu – the upper layer of the underworld which is a realm of freshwater – and growing up into heaven. We saw above that this imagery is also very much connected with the metaphor of the mountain which grows “between heaven and earth”, but the mention in the Cylinders of the deep-delving foundations of the temple and their ties to the Abzu deserves a section on its own.

We begin with a couple of quotations, before analysing the practical as well as the metaphorical significance of what is described. All the lines mentioning the Abzu in relation to the temple’s foundation occur in the last part of Cylinder A, columns xxi – xxii. Notably, these two columns also contain several lines which were quoted in the chapter treating the *hur-sag*, but which seems relevant to repeat now in relation to (and as a polarity to) the foundation ‘downwards’:

“They made the House grow high like a mountain; they let it float like a cloud in the midst of the sky. (...) The House is made to raise its head in between earth and heaven like a mountain.”<sup>255</sup>

Just a few lines below this description, the workers “prepare wood (/ beams or stakes) in the House, the dragon(s)-of-the-Abzu appearing from everywhere.”<sup>256</sup> Further down in the next column, we read that:

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<sup>255</sup> xxi, 19-23

<sup>256</sup> xxi, 26-27. What exactly is done with the ‘wood’ in line 26 is uncertain; the Sumerian verb used, *gá*, is likely to mean “to place”, “set in place” or “plant” (Akkadian *šakānu*). Cf. Labat 1994 entry 233, and Black, George & Postgate 2000: 348 for many more (related) variations. As for the “dragon(s)” in line 27, the Sumerian does not indicate a plural noun – yet some translations have the dragons in plural nevertheless – which may make sense, depending on one’s view on what the metaphor signifies.

“The ‘shrine’ of Eninnu being placed in the outstretched hand of An (/ heaven), the *ensi* [i.e. Gudea] built the House and had it grow; it grew like a mountain. (For) the foundation of the Abzu, the greatest ‘mast’, he sunk (it) into the ground<sup>257</sup>, so that it may take counsel with Enki in the “House of the watery deep”<sup>258</sup>. (For) the foundation of Heaven, being a ‘warrior’, he positioned it around the temple, at the ‘drinking place’<sup>259</sup> where the gods drink water. (For) Eninnu, he raised the great ‘mast’. He drove in its [foundation pegs in the shape of] praying ‘apkallu-wizards’<sup>260 261</sup>.

These sections underline the ‘vertical’ focus of the temple building, and clearly emphasize Eninnu’s connection with the two cosmographical extremities; the ‘most above’ and the ‘most below’.

As mentioned in chapter 3.1, the most sacred part of the temple – the shrine itself – was traditionally placed on top of the ziggurat; hence the first line appears refreshingly lucid. What exactly the “poles”<sup>262</sup> of the “foundation of the Abzu” and the “warrior” of the “foundation of Heaven” refer to seems more uncertain, although Jacobsen has an extensive note on this section. As he was an experienced archaeologist, we may assume he had a good idea on how the construction basically proceeded. Yet, one ought to keep in mind that his explanations of the metaphorical meanings of the objects described remains *interpretations*. For example, even if his translation of *dim-gal* as “mooring stake” is totally valid, it is not the only possible solution.

“The underground and aboveground terrace refers to the part of the filled-in substructure that was below ground and the part that was above ground. (...) The lower part of the filled-in substructure is termed “of the Abzu” because it reaches down toward, or actually to, the water table; the Abzu. The upper part is “of the sky”, reaching heavenward. The underground part of the terrace is here likened to an enormous mooring stake holding the temple above it steady, as a mooring stake holds a boat

<sup>257</sup> This line reads in Sumerian *temen abzu-bi dim-gal-gal ki-a mi-ni-si-si*. The duplication of *gal-gal* (*gal* meaning “great”), is perhaps most correct to interpret as expressing a superlative, but it may possibly also indicate a plural noun. So we have here two alternatives; either “greatest mast” or “masts” (or whatever alternative one prefers to “mast”). Jacobsen translates as “big mooring stake”, an interpretation which is central to his explanation of its metaphorical value. On the other hand, both Edzard (1996: 83) and Wilson (1996: 100) choose to render the noun in plural.

<sup>258</sup> É-an-gur<sup>4</sup>-ra (Eangurra); one of the names of Enki’s dwelling down in the Abzu. “House of the watery deep” is Jacobsen’s translation in 1987: 416.

<sup>259</sup> This line (15) probably refers to a place where libation offerings were made.

<sup>260</sup> Line 17. The Sumerian can be transliterated as *ab.gal.šud-bi mu-dù*. Both Edzard, Jacobsen and the ETCSL composite translation have “wizards”. (The *Apkallū* – an Akkadian word – are according to myth the seven sages who brought civilization to mankind in the times before the legendary Flood).

<sup>261</sup> Cyl. A xxii, lines 8-17.

<sup>262</sup> The Sumerian word is *dim-gal*, which was discussed at length above in Ch. 4.2.1. Further down in this quotation, I chose to translate the word as “mast”, which to me fits better being “raised” as opposed to “sunk down” (as seemingly is what is done with the “poles” above).

securely moored. The image probably sees it as the sum of individual mooring stakes in it.”<sup>263</sup>

He further interprets the “warrior” as referring to the terrace enclosing the upper structure, which to me appears as an interpretation which is very true to the original text. There is nothing that indicates that “warrior” (*ur-sag*) should be interpreted in plural, as does Edzard<sup>264</sup>, and the word is connected to the “foundation” (*temen*) with the verb *àm*; “being (like)”. Jacobsen writes about the (foundation) “terrace” that

“It may even have had a baked brick mantle, suggesting a warrior’s armour. That it drinks water where the gods drink probably refers to the fact that libations made before the statues of the gods in the temple would be carried down into the substructure by drains in the floors...”<sup>265</sup>

As for the last line, we know from excavations of a numerous temples in Mesopotamia that it was common to leave so-called foundation or building deposits. An archaeologist, Ellis defines these as follows:

“A building deposit is an integral part of the structure of a building but is neither decorative (...) nor structurally useful. (...) Foundation deposits as “a building deposit placed in the foundations or lower parts of a building – below floor level.”<sup>266</sup>

Many examples of different objects which are found in such deposits (often enclosed within special brick boxes) are depicted in his book, among which are several figurines holding a ‘peg’ in their hands, or their lower parts being shaped like pegs. It could be that the “wizards” described in the text refer to such pegs, the context considered. In fact there were found a few such peg-figurines at the site of Eninnu; Ellis’ book depicts one shaped like a bovine, and one picturing Gudea himself styled as a workman.<sup>267</sup> Suter records in her book the same one of Gudea, and also another figure – this one kneeling and holding the ‘peg’ – who wears the tall headdress characteristic of deities in iconography.<sup>268</sup> Perhaps this one could be one of the apkallu? It is interesting to note that a fragment of the carved stela of Gudea<sup>269</sup> depicts a man ceremoniously handling what looks exactly like the latter figurine-peg. In other words – these objects were important enough to be depicted as among the more memorable and significant

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<sup>263</sup> 1987: 416, note 111.

<sup>264</sup> 1997: 83

<sup>265</sup> Ibid, note 112.

<sup>266</sup> 1968: 1

<sup>267</sup> Ibid: Cf. appendix with illustrations, figs. 15, 17 and 19.

<sup>268</sup> 2000: 53, figs. 6 & 7.

<sup>269</sup> Ibid: 386, ST. 55. Suter provides a thorough study of these stela fragments in her book, including a comprehensive catalogue of sixty-four fragments which are *likely* to be from the stela of Gudea.

instances of the building process. About these ‘pegs’, Jacobsen writes that, as the temple was thought to be “moored” upon the waters of the Abzu, it was symbolically fastened to stable land with these pegs. Apparently he takes the “mooring post” (*dim-gal*) that is mentioned in the second last line (he translates with plural, although this is not indicated in the original text) to refer to these. He says that “these pegs or ‘mooring stakes’ were usually placed in a boxlike structure at the bottom of the foundations and formed the main content of the so-called foundation deposits.”<sup>270</sup>

As a side note, it is interesting to note that the great gods of heaven and the watery part of the underworld – An and Enki respectively – are both important characters who stand behind the power of Ningirsu with their authority. In Ningirsu’s speech to Gudea in Cylinder A, the god says that “An, king of the gods, named me ‘Ningirsu, king of the *me* of heaven’.”<sup>271</sup> Which is, obviously, no small pronouncement of legitimacy and power. In Cylinder B, we read that “Holy An ‘established’ (the temple) in the right manner.”<sup>272</sup> Enki, on the other hand, is very much directly involved in the temple building itself, as we are told in Cylinder A: “In the House, Enki consecrated the foundation”. This line may also, depending on one’s interpretation of the verb, translate as “... Enki *filled in* the foundation”<sup>273</sup>. An almost identical line figures in Cylinder B<sup>274</sup>. At other stages, Enki arranges the plans for the temple<sup>275</sup> and provides omens.<sup>276</sup>

Everything we have seen here – Eninnu’s ties to both the sky and the underworld, and the great gods of these realms having essential background parts in the story – seems to very much underline how the temple stood ‘rooted’ as a column through these spheres, tying them together by means of cultically significant metaphors. The temple not only has ‘height’ by virtue of its lofty ziggurat, but it also has ‘depth’ in its deep-reaching roots; it may be well worth considering the significance in its metaphorical ‘foundation’ both below and above the human ‘middle’ world. I must heartily consent with Averbeck, when he writes that

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<sup>270</sup> 1987: 416, note 113.

<sup>271</sup> x, lines 12-13.

<sup>272</sup> xii, 26

<sup>273</sup> xx, line 15. Cf. Edzard 1997: 83 and Jacobsen 1987: 413. Wilson chooses “cleansed” (1996: 92). Taken Enki’s connection to the Abzu, which is again connected with purity and consecration, the latter would be a likely possibility.

<sup>274</sup> xiii, 3.

<sup>275</sup> Cyl. A xvii:17

<sup>276</sup> Cyl. B iv, 3

“some scholars consider these expressions to be poetic fancy (...). To suggest that, for the composer of this text, there is no connection between these combined facts and the notion that the temple was the cosmic link between earth and heaven seems incredible.”<sup>277</sup>

Certainly, the temple extends into the ‘beyond’ at both ends, indeed it runs through all the cosmic levels and by its stature representing their unification – and as such it would seem it can be named a *cosmic link* – and indeed *centre* and *meeting point* – in the fullest possible sense of the words.

### 4.3. “...its *me* made resplendent in heaven and on earth”: Eninnu as a microcosm

We need not look further than to the numerous sets of ‘parallels’ in the text in order to find examples of ‘microcosmic’ metaphors; what is more difficult, however, is to interpret (and avoid over-interpreting!) these elements and judge their impact on the cosmic position of the temple. With parallels I mean the various sets of elements and actions that exist or are carried out simultaneously on two different levels, which seem to have the purpose of underlining the correctness and durability of what ‘actually’ takes place. Averbeck notes that “As a microcosm of the heavenly realm, the temple mirrors forms (...) and functions (...) as they are found in the heavenly sphere.”<sup>278</sup> This observation seems to me a sound vantage point for the organization this chapter; at least we will start with analysing the major examples of the temple being a microcosm of the heavenly realm with respect to its physical manifestation. Next, we will do the same the same with respect to its ‘function’ – or more precisely, the rites and actions that take place in the Cylinders that are either explicitly described – or may be interpreted – as being ‘mirrored’ on a parallel plane of reality.

As mentioned in the introduction, this part will be briefer and pay less attention to textual or grammatical detail and their relation to theoretical discourse than did the previous chapter. This partly because the presentation and interpretation of the elements we are to discuss do not depend so totally upon varying translations of difficult single terms, and partly because there has been no direct application of these elements to general theory that seem crucial to

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<sup>277</sup> 1986: 151-152

<sup>278</sup> 1987: 194

our present study – at least not of the proportion we may accredit the *dur-an-ki* and the ‘mountain’-metaphor.

### 4.3.1. A time-less and space-less model decreed on high: The form of the temple

#### The divine decree and the commission

The land of Sumer was the creation of the great gods and hence their rightful property, and in line with this fact did any big project that would interfere with this creation needed divine endorsement. In the case of the important Eninnu-temple, the initiative to build comes from Enlil, the highest of the gods only second<sup>279</sup> to An, and the very opening line of Cylinder A describes this decision as having been made “On the day when the destinies of heaven and earth were decreed”<sup>280</sup>. This may be interpreted to refer to a primeval event, where the council of the gods – lead by Enlil – decided the original and eternal ‘destinies’ of, for example, the city of Lagash. Or alternatively, as noted by both Averbeck<sup>281</sup> and Jacobsen<sup>282</sup>, this ‘council’ was considered a regular – if so, probably annual – event, where the gods granted favours and exacted judgements. It seems worth quoting the further commentary of Averbeck, as the idea of “destiny” or “fate” is itself interesting related to this point:

“Within the Cylinders themselves, however, *nam-tar* “to decree destiny” sometimes seems to be used in a way that precludes a reference back to primeval times or even a one-time occasion during the year. E.g. although Cyl. A xix. 10-11 is somewhat broken, it is clear enough that Enki ‘decreed destiny’ in the process of moulding the first brick. As far as we can tell from the text, this day was special because of that event, not because it was a New Year’s day or anything of the kind. (...) although it is possible that Cyl. A i.1 refers back to primeval days or to a regular annual day of decreeing destiny, it is just as possible that it simply refers to a particular day on which Enlil decreed a special destiny of blessed abundance for Lagash and Ningirsu. On that day, therefore, Ningirsu called for the building of a new Eninnu...”<sup>283</sup>

Anyhow, at whatever more or less mythical point in time the decision was made, the incentive to build is in any case endorsed – and not least, legitimized – by the very highest of authorities. To be sure it meant a great deal for Gudea’s authority and position that he could

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<sup>279</sup> According to the ‘numbers’ assigned to the gods, Enlil (50) is ranked before Enki (40), although they are brothers and the first generation of gods fathered by An.

<sup>280</sup> Cyl A i, 1.

<sup>281</sup> 2000: 418, note 1.

<sup>282</sup> 1987: 388, note 2.

<sup>283</sup> 2000: 418, note 1



show to such a charter to back his great project, it also underlines Gudea's position as a mediator between the gods and men; making it his task alone to see to that what has been decreed on high is manifested on earth. As we will see just below, this task is achievable as there does indeed exist a heavenly model of the temple, an ideal blueprint; the knowledge of which Gudea strives to attain through induced dream visions, prayer, and various divination rites.

### A blueprint on lapis lazuli and a tablet of stars



Figs. 6 and 7. Diorite statue of Gudea (statue B) in the Louvre, with the ground plan of Eninnu.

Apparently, information about the correct dimensions of Eninnu is revealed to Gudea in the first dream as follows:

“Next, there was a warrior. He held his arm around a tablet of lapis lazuli, and he carved onto it the plan of the House. He placed before me a sacred basket, (and) he prepared the sacred brickmould. He ‘had the auspicious brick be’ for me.”<sup>284</sup>

When Gudea has the vision interpreted by the goddess Nanshe a little later, she explains it as follows:

“...the warrior (...) who held in his hand a tablet of lapis lazuli, he was Nindub carving the plan of the temple. As for the sacred basket that was placed before you, (and) the sacred brickmould that was prepared; in the brick mould was the auspicious brick – indeed, it was the right brick of Eninnu!”<sup>285</sup>

<sup>284</sup> Cyl. A v, 2-7.

<sup>285</sup> Cyl. A vi, 3-8. For these two quotations, I have attempted to translate as literally as possible. Slight variations are of course justifiable, but no alternative translation changes the general meaning of the text.

As is clear from the text, the god Nindub<sup>286</sup> shows that a plan of the temple is very much existent, albeit so far only with the gods, and presents to Gudea the significant first brick which metaphorical relation to the Imdugud-bird and the temple was discussed above in chapter 3.3.2. It is interesting to note that even this all-important brick and its mould have their own heavenly models. Hence we are not just dealing with a heavenly version of the ‘general picture’ of the temple, but with no less than a prototype defined down to of its very measures and single components. Indeed Gudea is shown a picture of the completed temple in the third dream<sup>287</sup>, seemingly as a gesture of encouragement from Ningirsu saying ‘look, the task can and will be completed’.

Another matter worthy of notice, is how the plan of the temple (*giš-hur*) and the first brick appear a second time in the text as related elements. Having first been presented on the ‘unmanifest’ plane in the dream vision, the two reappear as ‘manifest’ at a later point in the Cylinders, just following the elaborate making of the first brick.<sup>288</sup> In fact, this pattern of ‘model’ becoming ‘realisation’ seems repeated throughout the cylinders with regard to other events too – something that Averbeck has made a point of analysing in relation to the literary structure of the Cylinders.<sup>289</sup>

The second dream vision<sup>290</sup> happens after Gudea has taken the proper measures to please Ningirsu and appeal to him for more information, and describes over 86 lines Ningirsu’s message to Gudea about the temple which mostly contains praise of the grandeur of the forthcoming temple, but also some practical information on e.g. building materials. Ningirsu begins his speech by declaring that: “Gudea, for the building of my House, I will present you its portent. (As for) my decrees, the bright stars in heaven, I will reveal them to you.”<sup>291</sup> We may look a little closer at two Sumerian words, namely *giskim* (“portent”) and *garzu* (decree). We may consider these two concepts in relation to the Sumerian notion *nam-tar*, “destiny” or “fate” (literally “that which is cut out”), which is the word used for the “destinies” that were decreed in the opening line of Cylinder A which was discussed above. The most used

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<sup>286</sup> Jacobsen translates his name as “Ninuruda”, and notes that he is a minor and yet unidentified deity. 1987: 395, note 29.

<sup>287</sup> Cf. Cyl. A xx, 7-11, describing the third dream vision: “Gudea laid down and sought a dream vision, he slept, and a vision came to him: the ‘raising’ of the House of his lord, the ‘growing’ of Eninnu between heaven and earth, was before his eyes.”

<sup>288</sup> Cf. Cyl. A xix, 19-20.

<sup>289</sup> Cf. Averbeck 1987 and 1997.

<sup>290</sup> Cyl. A ix, 7 - xii, 11.

<sup>291</sup> Cyl. A ix, 9-10.

meanings of *giskim* (Akkadian *giskimmu*) is “characteristic”, “presage”, “sign” or “omen”<sup>292</sup>, and seems to have a clear positive value. *Garza* (equalling the Akkadian *paršu*) can mean “rite”, “rule” or “divine decree”<sup>293</sup>, and *paršu* “office”, “(cultic) ordinance”, “rites” and so forth.<sup>294</sup> Both *nam-tar*, *giskim* and *paršu* clearly share the basic sense of being something preordained and unalterable, decided by the gods and hence utterly defining the function or fate of its subject.

Another interesting object appearing in Gudea’s first dream, is the “star tablet” of the goddess Nidaba, which appearance is interpreted as follows for him by Nanshe:

“The young woman who came forth (...), holding a stylus of bright metal in her hand and resting a ‘star tablet’ on her lap which she consulted; she was my sister Nidaba! She has called you to build the House according to the sacred stars.”<sup>295</sup>

A translation of *dub-mul* as “star tablet” ought to be as literal as it can get. Even if the meaning of this object is not exactly clear, we know that Nidaba was a goddess associated with knowledge and writing as well as grain and reeds (from which the stylus was made), and so we may perhaps assume the “star tablet” has to do with astrological calculations on a macrocosmic scale. It was clearly essential that everything to do with the temple building happened according to the proper sacred plans and regulations, and so it would seem natural if the day and month for the start of the project (and probably no less for the various rites performed in its course) was preset as part of the heavenly plan. Jacobsen believes Nidaba indicates “the beginning of the month suitable for building operations”<sup>296</sup>, which seems a likely assumption. Averbeck, who has a broader interpretation, writes that:

“there is a distinct possibility, and it is the tentative conclusion of the present writer, that the reason for Nisaba’s consulting of the ‘tablet of heavenly stars’ was to establish the location, the general dimensions, and possibly the orientation of the new Eninnu. The tablet of stars may be referring to astronomical indicators of directions, etc., or it may simply be an idiom for the heavenly involvement in the temple building project.”<sup>297</sup>

He also mentions a few examples of other texts containing reference to Nidaba, one in which she interestingly “applies the measure to heaven and places the measuring-rope on the

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<sup>292</sup> Cf. Labat 1994, entry 452, and Black, George and Postgate 2000: 94.

<sup>293</sup> Cf. Labat 1994, entry 295b.

<sup>294</sup> Cf. Black, George and Postgate 2000: 267.

<sup>295</sup> Cyl. A v, 21 – vi, 2.

<sup>296</sup> 1987: 394, note 28

<sup>297</sup> 1987: 146-147.

earth.”<sup>298</sup> This line seems a quite explicit illustration of how the ideally constructed temple was seen as a copy of the heavenly model, and certainly appears to reflect a clear idea of what we may call macrocosm-microcosm correspondence.

### **4.3.2. Parallel actions: the anchoring of earth’s rituals in heaven’s perfection**

There are several examples in the Cylinders of rites and actions that are described as taking place both on the heavenly plane and the earthly plane, or actions among the gods – such as the final banquet - that can easily be imagined as having had their counterpart in events organised by Gudea and his human temple staff. As with the heavenly ‘blueprint’ or model for the temple, it seems imperative that anything happening in the course of the fragile temple building procedure must be somehow rooted in a sublime and ‘true’ reality. Like Averbeck observes:

“...the rituals and other actions that are performed in a temple or during the building of a temple must be done in accordance with sacred (i.e. heavenly) standards and, in addition, sometimes the human actions are actually thought to be an earthly reflection of the activities of the gods or vice versa [sic].”<sup>299</sup>

#### Practical involvement in the building procedure

When the construction of Eninnu has began, just after the first brick has been made and Gudea sees in his last vision the temple as finished, the great gods are described as taking care of various ceremonial tasks:

“In the House, Enki consecrated the foundation. Nanshe, daughter of Eridu, prepared for the divination. The mother of Lagash, holy Gatumdug, gave birth to its bricks ‘amid cries to high heaven’<sup>300</sup>. Bau, the lady, the firstborn daughter of An, sprinkled (them?) with cedar oil.”<sup>301</sup>

Notably, the text goes on to describe much the same actions (first the important cultic rites, then a ceremonial act representative of the practical building) as they are in turn carried out by Gudea and his priests:

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<sup>298</sup> ETCSL composite translation of *The temple hymns*, line 541.

<sup>299</sup> 1987: 197

<sup>300</sup> Here I follow the interpretation of Jacobsen (1987: 413). The last part of line 18 may also read as “as desired” instead of “amid cries to high heaven”, cf. Jacobsen’s note to his translation, as well as Edzard (1997: 82).

<sup>301</sup> Cyl. A xx, 15-20

“By the temple stood the *en* –and the *lagab*-priests, who rightly performed the rites<sup>302</sup> for it. The Anunna gods came forth with admiration. Gudea, the lord of the House-building, placed on the top of his head a basket of the House (as) a sacred crown. He set down the uprights; he founded the ‘walls’ on the ground.”<sup>303</sup>

Some similar passes in Cylinder B, but here there is no such direct parallel structure:

“Holy An established the temple in the right fashion, (...) Ninhursaga cast her true gaze on it, and Enki, the king of Eridu, filled the foundations. A faithful lord of brilliant heart, Suen made it’s *me* surpass (anything) in heaven and earth.”<sup>304</sup>

While the last quotation at least shows (like so many other sections in the Cylinders) the very ‘matter of fact’ manner in which the contributions of the gods are described, the first two examples above almost appear to tell the story from two different points of view – that of the gods, and later that of men.

#### The instalment of divine temple staff, and the great gods’ final banquet

More than six columns of Cylinder B (vi, 11 – xii, 25) describe Ningirsu’s appointment of his temple household and staff, each one named and his or her office described. We may summarize the general contents of these offices in brief: guardian of general peace and order, second-in-command, head of cleanliness and consecration, commander in war and head of arms and heraldry, advisor and ‘vice regent’, scribe, personal servant, groom responsible for the royal donkeys and wagons, goat herd, bard, singer of “heart-calming elegies”, priestesses who summon rain and speak good prayers for Gudea, farmer and overseer of lands and canals, fishery inspector, guardian of the steppes and guardian of the city wall. Each ‘officer’ is named, and these are either local minor deities, or divine animated ‘objects’ such as the great harp *Ushumgal kamma*<sup>305</sup> being the temple bard.

In fact all of these positions are very pragmatic in nature, and it seems reasonable to assume that each one had its ‘earthly’ counterpart – which instalments were perhaps acted out ceremoniously, each office proclaimed as having a divine patron and corresponding function in the heavenly realm. Averbeck writes about this event that:

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<sup>302</sup> The context considered, it seemed here natural to translate *me* as “rituals”.

<sup>303</sup> Cyl. A xx, 21-26

<sup>304</sup> Cyl. B xii, 26 – xiii, 1-5

<sup>305</sup> Literally, “Great dragon of the land”. A curious name for a musical instrument, perhaps; but then this was indeed a very special one, which must have been imagined as having a supernaturally impressive sound.

“Presumably, all of this was reflected on the human level in the organized priesthood which took charge of the temple. Thus, through the cult the Eninnu was recognized as the link between heaven and earth.”<sup>306</sup>

The final ‘hose-warming banquet’ of the gods, which is described towards the end of Cylinder B, might be a fitting candidate for comparison with the situation of the temple staff, in other words, as an event which was probably celebrated by humans inside the temple. Yet this time it is probably only the event itself – the feast – which has its earthly parallel. The banquet begins as follows:

“For the warrior who had entered his new House, for the lord Ningirsu, he (Gudea) arranged a grand banquet. He placed An at the seat of honour<sup>307</sup>, and directed Enlil (to sit) at An’s side, and Ninmah joined Enlil.”<sup>308</sup>

The remainder of Cylinder B is rather fragmentary, but appears to recount the gods’ speeches and blessings to Gudea, for his great skill and carefulness with the building, and praise to the Eninnu-temple. It is easy to imagine a ceremonial festivity marking the end of the project, where Gudea and the most important among his priesthood and staff took part.

### 4.3. Summary and conclusion to this chapter

In the first part of this chapter, we started off by studying the temple as a centre and cosmic link, through a close analysis of the metaphors *dim-gal kalam-ma an-ki-da mú-a* (“Great mast of the land, grown between heaven and earth”), which meaning I believe I have shown to be clearly comparable to the more ‘legendary’ *dur-an-ki* (“bond of heaven and earth”), and next *hur-sag* and *kur(-gal)* (“Great mountain”). We discussed the meaning of these notions as they appear in the Cylinders with attention to the etymology and grammar of the original language, and I found it both necessary and highly relevant draw in a few other myths and texts to help illuminate their origin and context – not least, with respect to the Sumerian cosmogony and ‘cosmography’. As both concepts have been adopted by theoretical schools – most visibly in the Phenomenology of Eliade – in the shape of *axis mundi* and the “cosmic mountain” or *Weltberg*, I also found it necessary to consider critically the meaning attributed the Sumerian examples in this ‘removed’ context in light of the original material. In my view, the *axis*

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<sup>306</sup> 1987: 166

<sup>307</sup> Literally, “great side”. Wilson reasonably takes this to mean a “place of honor”. 1997: xix, 18

<sup>308</sup> Cyl. B xix, 16-21

*mundi* as defined by Eliade covers very well both the cultic function and the metaphorical picture of the Eninnu-temple, particularly when we – in addition to the metaphors of the ‘mast’ and the ‘mountain’ – consider the way the Eninnu is described as having foundations in the Abzu and its summit in heaven. As for the cosmic mountain or the *Weltberg* (carrying quite the same meaning) as a symbol for the *axis mundi*, being both a centre and a vertical link connecting the cosmic levels, Eliade’s definition seems quite in line with what we find in the Gudea cylinders. However, when we consider the ‘mountain’-metaphor in relation to creation as a cosmic “navel”, as does both Eliade and the theorists that inspired him, we find no real evidence for this connection in our material. I think I have demonstrated, however, that it is neither far fetched nor unreasonable to suggest such an interpretation on basis of the few fragments we have from cosmogonic myths, but it seems equally mistaken to declare as a plain fact the existence of the *Weltberg* in Mesopotamia as its non-existence.

In the second and last part of this chapter, we looked at the temple as a ‘microcosm’ of the heavenly realm. We first focused on the form of the temple as a microcosm, by studying elements such as the lapis lazuli-tablet with the ‘plan’ of the temple – as the heavenly blueprint – and the star-tablet of Nidaba, then we looked at the various parallel rites and actions that are described. It seems quite clear that the temple was, in many respects, regarded as a sort of mirror-image of a superior and perfect model, pre-existent and deriving from the divine realm. As writes Averbeck: “The temple mirrors the heavenly realm in terms of its design and dimensions and also in terms of the activities performed within it.”<sup>309</sup> Earlier on he makes an interesting reference (which he himself relates to the ‘parallel’ acts in the Cylinders) to Theodor H. Gaster, who writes about the sacred marriage rite that

“what the king does on the punctual plane, the god does on the durative. Accordingly, all the ceremonies performed by the king are transmuted, through the medium of myth, into deeds done by the god. (...) the tendency develops to represent what is really a parallel situation on the durative plane as something that happened primordially (...). Presentation then becomes representation; the ritual turns into drama.”<sup>310</sup>

This comment seems most illustrative of the rites and actions that are described as being carried out by the gods in the Cylinders; a direct use of “myth” that provided the acts with “durative” quality. This tendency may resound in Eliades notion of “sacred time”, *in illo tempore*; the re-enactment of a ‘mythical’ past in ritual, that sets the acts into a timeless and eternally ‘primordial’ sphere. Surely this idea would be a perfect model for the present topic,

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<sup>309</sup> 1987: 199

<sup>310</sup> Cf. Averbeck 1987: 143, note 34, quoting Gaster 1975: 17-18.

could we only prove that the Mesopotamian temples were indeed intended to be replicas of the original place of creation, and that the “destinies” that “were decreed” in the opening line of Cylinder A did indeed refer to a single, primordial event where the ways of the universe were ultimately defined, and so forth. Although such interpretations are perfectly likely, there will probably always remain other possibilities that are equally justifiable on basis of the original text.



## 5. General conclusion

The main parts of this dissertation, chapters 3 and 4 (which I have provided respectively with more specific conclusions), studied the Eninnu-temple as divine House, ‘cosmic link’ and ‘macrocosm’, primarily on basis of the way the temple is presented in the Gudea cylinders through figurative language. Perhaps it is not completely beside the point to compare the relationship between the temple, the symbol or image pertaining to the deity, and the deity itself, to the general relationship between the human world, the temple, and the divine world. On both levels, the divine image and the temple – in the respective cases – share the functions as a ‘link’ between two different spheres of existence, yet in a way partaking in both. One might perhaps, with respect to our studies of the temple ‘cosmic link’ (in all its shapes) and as a ‘microcosm’, view the successful dynamics of the former triad as a result of the temple being rightly established – with all that entails.

I believe an essential point is succinctly expressed by Hurowitz, writing about the Cylinders that “all the events described lead towards the accomplishment of the divine design.”<sup>311</sup> Indeed it seems we can infer from our studies that, for the temple to function as it should – for its *me* to be manifest in the ‘right’ manner – it must own sublime perfection and stability in the definition of its very essence, else it would be rejected as a link by very sphere with which it seeks communion. It seems we may certainly interpret Eninnu as a ‘microcosm’ of the divine realm with respect to its form, as well as to the many rites and actions that are performed by gods and men simultaneously. Considering the religious, social and cultural significance such a centre must have had as the main source and focal point for most aspects of the life that revolved around it, and as such ruled by and providing legitimacy to the ruler as well as representing to his subjects a basic world view, it must be significant that the temple through its very creation and nature connects all its functions and activities to the divine model image. It is also in my view clearly intended to represent more than a mere mirror-image of the transcendent and eternal reality, if we take the entirety of chapter 4 into consideration, with metaphors such as “mast of the land” and “great mountain” having foundations delving into the Abzu and a summit reaching into heaven: in essence this absolute centre stands as a symbol of unity, of cosmic ‘interconnection’, and as such it appears to

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<sup>311</sup> 1992: 49

transcend any logical division between 'the above' and 'the below' – and certainly the building is in no way confined to the 'in between'.

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## Illustrations

Figures 1, 2, 6 and 7 are private photos, taken at the Louvre museum in Paris in March 2006.

Fig. 3 is copied from <http://www.bibleorigins.net/CherubimOrigins.html> (accessed 27.7.2007), which cites this illustration from Sir Charles Leonard Woolley, *Vor 5000 Jahren. Ausgrabungen von UR*. Stuttgart, Deutschland. Franckh'sche Verlagshandlung 1928.

Fig. 4 is from the collection of photographs of Archaeological sites by John and Peggy Sanders, available at [http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/asp\\_meso\\_girsu/](http://oi.uchicago.edu/gallery/asp_meso_girsu/) (accessed 20.6.2007).

Fig. 5 is copied from Black and Green 2000: 107.

## The building of Ninĝ irsu's temple (Gudea, cylinders A and B)

1. (A1.1) ud /an ki\-a nam tar-[re]-/da\
2. (A1.2) /lagaš \[k\]-e me gal-la [saĝ ] an-š e<sub>3</sub> mi-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>
3. (A1.3) <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-e en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>2</sub>-š e<sub>3</sub> igi zid mu-š i-bar
4. (A1.4) iri-me-a niĝ <sub>2</sub>-du<sub>7</sub> pa nam-e<sub>3</sub>
5. (A1.5) š ag<sub>4</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-bi nam-gi<sub>4</sub>
6. (A1.6) š ag<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-bi nam-gi<sub>4</sub>
7. (A1.7) š ag<sub>4</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-bi nam-gi<sub>4</sub>
8. (A1.8) a-ĝ i<sub>6</sub> uru<sub>16</sub> nam-mul ni<sub>2</sub> il<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>
9. (A1.9) š ag<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> <sup>id</sup>idigna-am<sub>3</sub> a dug<sub>3</sub>-ga nam-de<sub>6</sub>
10. (A1.10) **e<sub>2</sub>-e lugal-bi gu<sub>3</sub> ba-de<sub>2</sub>**
11. (A1.11) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu me-bi an ki-a pa e<sub>3</sub> mu-ak-ke<sub>4</sub>
12. (A1.12) ensi<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> ĝ eš tug<sub>3</sub> daĝ al-kam ĝ eš tug<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>
13. (A1.13) niĝ <sub>2</sub> gal-gal-la š u mi-ni-mu<sub>2</sub>-mu<sub>2</sub>
14. (A1.14) gud du<sub>7</sub> /maš <sub>2</sub>\ du<sub>7</sub>-re<sub>6</sub> si im-sa<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-e
15. (A1.15) š eg<sub>12</sub> nam tar-ra saĝ mu-š i-ib<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>
16. (A1.16) e<sub>2</sub> kug du<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-bi mu-š i-ib<sub>2</sub>-ziĝ<sub>3</sub>
17. (A1.17) lugal-ni-ir ud ne maš -ĝ i<sub>6</sub>-ka
18. (A1.18) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>2</sub>-ra igi mu-ni-du<sub>8</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
19. (A1.19) e<sub>2</sub>-a-ni du<sub>3</sub>-ba mu-na-dug<sub>4</sub>
20. (A1.20) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu me-bi gal-gal-la-am<sub>3</sub>
21. (A1.21) igi mu-na-ni-ĝ ar
22. (A1.22) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a š ag<sub>4</sub>-ga-ni su<sub>3</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
23. (A1.23) inim-e mi-ni-kuš <sub>2</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>
24. (A1.24) ga-na ga-na-ab-dug<sub>4</sub> ga-na ga-na-ab-dug<sub>4</sub>
25. (A1.25) inim-ba ħa-mu-da-gub
26. (A1.26) sipad-me nam-nun-ne<sub>2</sub> saĝ ma-ab-š um<sub>2</sub>-š um<sub>2</sub>
27. (A1.27) niĝ <sub>2</sub> maš -ĝ i<sub>6</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> ma-ab-de<sub>6</sub>-a-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>
28. (A1.28) š ag<sub>4</sub>-bi nu-zu
29. (A1.29) ama-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> ma-mu-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> ga-na-de<sub>6</sub>
30. (A2.1) ensi kug-zu me-te-na-ĝ u<sub>10</sub>
31. (A2.2) <sup>d</sup>nanš e nin<sub>9</sub> diĝ ir sirara<sub>6</sub>-ta-ĝ u<sub>10</sub>
32. (A2.3) š ag<sub>4</sub>-bi ħa-ma-pad<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
33. (A2.4) ma<sub>2</sub>-gur<sub>8</sub>-ra-na ĝ iri<sub>3</sub> nam-mi-gub
34. (A2.5) iri-ni niĝ in<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>-š e<sub>3</sub> id<sub>2</sub>-niĝ in<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>-du-a ma<sub>2</sub> mu-ni-ri

35. (A2.6) id<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> ħul<sub>2</sub>-la-e kur-ku<sub>4</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-si-il-e
36. (A2.7) ba-gara<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> id<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> la<sub>2</sub>-a-e im-ti-a-ta
37. (A2.8) ninda ĝ iš bi<sub>2</sub>-tag a sed<sub>6</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>
38. (A2.9) lugal ba-gara<sub>2</sub>-ra mu-na-ĝ en š ud<sub>3</sub> mu-na-ra<sub>2</sub>
39. (A2.10) ur-saĝ piriĝ zig<sub>3</sub>-ga gaba-š u-ĝ ar nu-tuku
40. (A2.11) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>2</sub> abzu-a /gal-di\
41. (A2.12) nibru<sup>ki</sup>-a nir-/ĝ al<sub>2</sub>\
42. (A2.13) ur-saĝ /ma\-a-dug<sub>4</sub> š u zid ga-mu-ra-ab-ĝ ar
43. (A2.14) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su e<sub>2</sub>-zu ga-mu-ra-du<sub>3</sub>
44. (A2.15) me š u ga-mu-ra-ab-du<sub>7</sub>
45. (A2.16) nin<sub>9</sub>-zu dumu eridug<sup>ki</sup>-ge tud-da
46. (A2.17) nir-ĝ al<sub>2</sub> me-te-na nin ensi<sub>3</sub> diĝ ir-re-ne-ke<sub>4</sub>
47. (A2.18) <sup>d</sup>nanš e nin<sub>9</sub> diĝ ir sirara<sub>6</sub>-ta-ĝ u<sub>10</sub>
48. (A2.19) ĝ iri<sub>3</sub>-bi ħa-ma-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>
49. (A2.20) gu<sub>3</sub> de<sub>2</sub>-a-ni ĝ iš ba-tuku-am<sub>3</sub>
50. (A2.21) lugal-a-ni sizkur<sub>2</sub> ra<sub>2</sub>-zu-ni gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a-aš <sub>2</sub>
51. (A2.22) en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ke<sub>4</sub> š u ba-š i-ti
52. (A2.23) e<sub>2</sub> ba-gara<sub>2</sub><sup>l</sup>-ka eš <sub>3</sub>-eš <sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-ak
53. (A2.24) ensi<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-tum<sub>3</sub>-dug<sub>3</sub>-š e<sub>3</sub> ki-nu<sub>2</sub>-a-ni ba-gub
54. (A2.25) ninda ĝ iš bi<sub>2</sub>-tag a sed<sub>6</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>
55. (A2.26) kug <sup>d</sup>ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-tum<sub>3</sub>-dug<sub>3</sub>-ra mu-na-ĝ en
56. (A2.27) sizkur<sub>2</sub> mu-na-be<sub>2</sub>
57. (A2.28) nin-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> dumu an kug-ge tud-da
58. (A2.29) nir-ĝ al<sub>2</sub> me-te-na diĝ ir saĝ zig<sub>3</sub>
59. (A3.1) kalam-ma til<sub>3</sub>-la
60. (A3.2) nu-du-zu iri-na
61. (A3.3) nin ama lagaš <sup>ki</sup> ki ĝ ar-ra-me
62. (A3.4) igi uĝ <sub>3</sub>-š e<sub>3</sub> u<sub>3</sub>-š i-bar-ra-zu ni<sub>2</sub>-a ħe<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-la-am<sub>3</sub>
63. (A3.5) š ul zid lu<sub>2</sub> igi mu-bar-ra-zu nam-til<sub>3</sub> mu-na-sud
64. (A3.6) ama nu-tuku-me ama-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> ze<sub>2</sub>-me
65. (A3.7) a nu-tuku-me a-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> ze<sub>2</sub>-me
66. (A3.8) a-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> š ag<sub>4</sub>-ga š u ba-ni-dug<sub>4</sub> unu<sub>6</sub>-a i<sub>3</sub>-tud-e
67. (A3.9) <sup>d</sup>ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-tum<sub>3</sub>-dug<sub>3</sub> mu kug-zu dug<sub>3</sub>-ga-am<sub>3</sub>
68. (A3.10) ĝ i<sub>6</sub>-a ma-ni-nu<sub>2</sub>
69. (A3.11) ĝ iš ĝ iri<sub>2</sub> gal-ĝ u<sub>10</sub>-me zag-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> mu-us<sub>2</sub>
70. (A3.12) NE.GI.BAR a gal-la du<sub>3</sub>-a-me



71. (A3.13) zi š ag<sub>4</sub> mu-š i-ni-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>
72. (A3.14) an-dul<sub>3</sub> daĝ al-me ĝ issu-zu-š e<sub>3</sub>
73. (A3.15) ni<sub>2</sub> ga-ma-š i-ib<sub>2</sub>-te
74. (A3.16) /š u maḥ\)-za sa-ga a<sub>2</sub> zid-da-bi
75. (A3.17) nin-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> <sup>d</sup>ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-tum<sub>3</sub>-dug<sub>3</sub> ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ra ḥa-mu-u<sub>3</sub>-ru
76. (A3.18) iri-š e<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-du-e ĝ iš kim-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> ḥe<sub>2</sub>-sag<sub>9</sub>
77. (A3.19) kur a-ta il<sub>2</sub>-la niĝ in<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>-š e<sub>3</sub>
78. (A3.20) u<sub>2</sub>(source: sukkal)-dug<sub>4</sub> sag<sub>9</sub>-ga-zu igi-š e<sub>3</sub> ḥa-ma-ĝen
79. (A3.21) <sup>d</sup>lamma sag<sub>9</sub>-ga-zu ĝ iri<sub>3</sub>-a ḥa-mu-da-ĝen
80. (A3.22) ga-na ga-na-ab-dug<sub>4</sub>
81. (A3.23) ga-na ga-na-ab-dug<sub>4</sub>
82. (A3.24) inim-ba ḥa-mu-da-gub
83. (A3.25) ama-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> ma-mu-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> ga-na-de<sub>6</sub>
84. (A3.26) ensi<sub>3</sub> kug-zu me-te-na-ĝ u<sub>10</sub>
85. (A3.27) <sup>d</sup>nanš e nin<sub>9</sub> diĝ ir sirara<sub>6</sub>-ta-ĝ u<sub>10</sub>
86. (A3.28) š ag<sub>4</sub>-bi ḥa-ma-pad<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
87. (A3.29) gu<sub>3</sub> de<sub>2</sub>-a-ni ĝ iš ba-tuku-am<sub>3</sub>
88. (A4.1) nin-a-ni sizkur<sub>2</sub> ra<sub>2</sub>-zu-ni
89. (A4.2) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a-aš <sub>2</sub> kug <sup>d</sup>ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-tum<sub>3</sub>-dug<sub>3</sub>-ge š u ba-š i-ti
90. (A4.3) ma<sub>2</sub>-gur<sub>8</sub>-ra-na ĝ iri<sub>3</sub> nam-mi-gub
91. (A4.4) iri-ni niĝ in<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>-š e<sub>3</sub> <ma<sub>2</sub> mu-ni-ri> kar niĝ in<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>-na-ke<sub>4</sub> ma<sub>2</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>
92. (A4.5) ensi<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> kisal diĝ ir sirara<sub>6</sub>-ta-ka saĝ an-š e<sub>3</sub> mi-ni-il<sub>2</sub>
93. (A4.6) ninda ĝ iš bi<sub>2</sub>-tag a sed<sub>6</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>
94. (A4.7) <sup>d</sup>nanš e mu-na-ĝ en š ud<sub>3</sub> mu-na-ra<sub>2</sub>
95. (A4.8) <sup>d</sup>nanš e nin uru<sub>16</sub> nin me <sup>d</sup>kal-<sup>d</sup>kal-la
96. (A4.9) nin <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> nam tar-tar-re
97. (A4.10) <sup>d</sup>nanš e-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-zu zid-dam
98. (A4.11) saĝ -bi-š e<sub>3</sub> e<sub>3</sub>-a-am<sub>3</sub>
99. (A4.12) ensi diĝ ir-re-ne-me
100. (A4.13) nin kur-kur-ra-me ama inim-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> ud-da ma-mu-da
101. (A4.14) š ag<sub>4</sub> ma-mu-da-ka lu<sub>2</sub> diš -am<sub>3</sub> an-gin<sub>7</sub> ri-ba-ni
102. (A4.15) ki-gin<sub>7</sub> ri-ba-ni
103. (A4.16) a-ne saĝ -ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ni-š e<sub>3</sub> diĝ ir-ra-am<sub>3</sub>
104. (A4.17) a<sub>2</sub>-ni-š e<sub>3</sub> anzud<sub>2</sub><sup>muš</sup> en-dam
105. (A4.18) sig-ba-a(source: ni)-ni(source: a)-š e<sub>3</sub> a-ma-ru-kam
106. (A4.19) zid-da gabu<sub>2</sub>-na piriĝ i<sub>3</sub>-nu<sub>2</sub>-nu<sub>2</sub>

107. (A4.20) e<sub>2</sub>-a-ni du<sub>3</sub>-da ma-an-dug<sub>4</sub>
108. (A4.21) š ag<sub>4</sub>-ga-ni nu-mu-zu
109. (A4.22) ud ki-š ar<sub>2</sub>-ra ma-ta-e<sub>3</sub>
110. (A4.23) munus diš -am<sub>3</sub> a-ba me-a nu a-ba me-a-ni
111. (A4.24) saĝ -ĝ a<sub>2</sub> e<sub>3</sub> ki garadin<sub>9</sub> mu-ak
112. (A4.25) gi-dub-ba kug NE-a š u im-mi-du<sub>8</sub>
113. (A4.26) dub mul-an dug<sub>3</sub>-ga im-mi-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>
114. (A5.1) ad im-dab<sub>6</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>
115. (A5.2) min<sub>3</sub>-kam ur-saĝ -ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
116. (A5.3) a<sub>2</sub> mu-gur le-um za-gin<sub>3</sub> š u im-mi-du<sub>8</sub>
117. (A5.4) e<sub>2</sub>-a ĝ iš -ĥur-bi im-ĝa<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>
118. (A5.5) igi-ĝ u<sub>10</sub>-š e<sub>3</sub> dusu kug i<sub>3</sub>-gub
119. (A5.6) ĝ i<sup>š</sup> u<sub>3</sub>-š ub kug / si\ ib<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>
120. (A5.7) š eg<sub>12</sub> nam tar-ra ĝ i<sup>š</sup> u<sub>3</sub>-š ub-ba ma-an-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>
121. (A5.8) ildag<sub>2</sub> zid-da igi-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> gub-ba
122. (A5.9) ti-gid<sub>2</sub><sup>muš</sup> en-lu<sub>2</sub> a ud mi-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-zal-zal-e
123. (A5.10) dur<sub>3</sub> a<sub>2</sub> zid-da lugal-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> ki ma-ĥur-ĥur-e
124. (A5.11) ensi<sub>2</sub>-ra ama-ni <sup>d</sup>nanš e mu-na-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>
125. (A5.12) sipad-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> ma-mu-zu ĝ e<sub>26</sub> ga-mu-ra-bur<sub>2</sub>-bur<sub>2</sub>
126. (A5.13) lu<sub>2</sub> an-gin<sub>7</sub> ri-ba ki-gin<sub>7</sub> ri-ba-eš e<sub>2</sub>
127. (A5.14) saĝ -ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-<ni>-š e<sub>3</sub> diĝ ir a<sub>2</sub>-ni-š e<sub>3</sub>
128. (A5.15) anzud<sub>2</sub><sup>muš</sup> en-eš e<sub>2</sub> sig-ba-a-ni-š e<sub>3</sub> a-ma-ru-eš e<sub>2</sub>
129. (A5.16) zid-da gabu<sub>2</sub>-na piriĝ i<sub>3</sub>-nu<sub>2</sub>-nu<sub>2</sub>(source: SA<sub>4</sub>-SA<sub>4</sub>)-a
130. (A5.17) š eš -ĝ u<sub>10</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>2</sub> ga-nam me-am<sub>3</sub>
131. (A5.18) eš <sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu-na du<sub>3</sub>-ba za-ra ma-ra-an-dug<sub>4</sub>
132. (A5.19) ud ki-š ar<sub>2</sub>-ra ma-ra-ta-e<sub>3</sub>-a
133. (A5.20) diĝ ir-zu <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ iš -zid-da ud-gin<sub>7</sub> ki-š a-ra ma-«ra-da»-ra-ta-e<sub>3</sub>
134. (A5.21) ki-sikil saĝ -ĝ a<sub>2</sub> e<sub>3</sub> ki garadin<sub>9</sub> mu-ak
135. (A5.22) gi-dub-ba kug NE š u bi<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>-a
136. (A5.23) dub mul dug<sub>3</sub>-ga bi<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-la-a
137. (A5.24) ad im-da-gi<sub>4</sub>-a
138. (A5.25) nin<sub>9</sub>-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> <sup>d</sup>nisaba ga-nam me-am<sub>3</sub>
139. (A6.1) e<sub>2</sub>-a du<sub>3</sub>-ba mul kug-ba
140. (A6.2) gu<sub>3</sub> ma-ra-a-de<sub>2</sub>
141. (A6.3) min<sub>3</sub>-kam-ma ur-saĝ -am<sub>3</sub> a<sub>2</sub> mu-gur<sub>8</sub>
142. (A6.4) le-um za-gin<sub>3</sub> š u bi<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>-a

143. (A6.5) <sup>d</sup>nin-dub-kam e<sub>2</sub>-a ĝ iš -ĥur-ba im-mi-sig<sub>10</sub>-sig<sub>10</sub>-ge
144. (A6.6) igi-zu-š e<sub>3</sub> dusu kug gub-ba u<sub>3</sub>-š ub kug si sa<sub>2</sub>-a
145. (A6.7) š eg<sub>12</sub> nam tar-ra u<sub>3</sub>-š ub-ba ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-la
146. (A6.8) š eg<sub>12</sub> zid e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu ga-nam me-am<sub>3</sub>
147. (A6.9) ildag<sub>2</sub> zid-da igi-zu gub-ba
148. (A6.10) ti-gid<sub>2</sub><sup>muš</sup> en-lu<sub>2</sub> a ud mi-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-zal-a-eš e<sub>2</sub>
149. (A6.11) e<sub>2</sub> du<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> igi-zu u<sub>3</sub> dug<sub>3</sub>-ga nu-š i-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>
150. (A6.12) <sup>anš</sup> e<sup>dur</sup><sub>9</sub> a<sub>2</sub> zid-da lugal-zak-ke<sub>4</sub> ki ma-ra-ĥur-ĥur-a-eše<sub>2</sub>
151. (A6.13) ze<sub>2</sub>-me e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu-/uš <sup>2</sup>ni-is-ku-gin<sub>7</sub> ki im-š i-ĥur-e
152. (A6.14) na ga-de<sub>5</sub> na de<sub>5</sub>-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> ĥe<sub>2</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub>
153. (A6.15) ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su<sup>ki</sup> e<sub>2</sub> saĝ ki lagaš <sup>ki</sup>-š e<sub>3</sub> ĝ iri<sub>3</sub>-zu ki i<sub>3</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>
154. (A6.16) e<sub>2</sub> niĝ <sup>2</sup>-gur<sub>11</sub>-<ra>-za kiš ib u<sub>3</sub>-mi-kur<sub>2</sub> ĝ iš u<sub>3</sub>-ma-ta-ĝ ar
155. (A6.17) lugal-zu ĝ iš g<sup>gir</sup> u<sub>3</sub>-mu-DI
156. (A6.18) <sup>anš</sup> e<sup>dur</sup><sub>9</sub><sup>ur</sup><sub>3</sub> u<sub>3</sub>-š i-la<sub>2</sub>
157. (A6.19) ĝ iš g<sup>gir</sup>-bi kug NE za-gin<sub>3</sub>-na š u u<sub>3</sub>-ma-ni-tag
158. (A6.20) ti mar-uru<sub>5</sub>-a ud-gin<sub>7</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>3</sub>
159. (A6.21) an-kar<sub>2</sub> a<sub>2</sub> nam-ur-saĝ -ka mi<sub>2</sub> u<sub>3</sub>-ma-ni-dug<sub>4</sub>
160. (A6.22) š u-nir ki aĝ <sup>2</sup>-ni u<sub>3</sub>-mu-na-dim<sub>2</sub>
161. (A6.23) mu-zu u<sub>3</sub>-mi-sar
162. (A6.24) balaĝ ki aĝ <sup>2</sup>-ni uš umgal kalam-ma
163. (A6.25) ĝ iš -gu<sub>3</sub>-di mu tuku niĝ <sup>2</sup> ad gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-ni
164. (A6.26) ur-saĝ niĝ <sup>2</sup>-ba-e ki aĝ <sup>2</sup>-ra
165. (A7.1) lugal-zu en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>2</sub>
166. (A7.2) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu anzud<sub>2</sub><sup>muš</sup> en babbar<sub>2</sub>-ra u<sub>3</sub>-mu-na-da-kur<sub>9</sub>-re
167. (A7.3) tur dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-zu maĥ dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-am<sub>3</sub> š u ba-a-š i-ib<sub>2</sub>-ti
168. (A7.4) en-na š ag<sub>4</sub> an-gin<sub>7</sub> su<sub>3</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-ni
169. (A7.5) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>2</sub> dumu <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ka za-ra ma-ra-ĥuĝ-ĝe<sub>26</sub>-e
170. (A7.6) ĝ iš -ĥur e<sub>2</sub>-a-na ma-ra-pad<sub>3</sub>-pad<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
171. (A7.7) ur-saĝ -e me-ni gal-gal-la-am<sub>3</sub>
172. (A7.8) š u ma-ra-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-mu<sub>2</sub>-mu<sub>2</sub>
173. (A7.9) sipad zid gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a
174. (A7.10) gal mu-zu gal i<sub>3</sub>-ga-tum<sub>2</sub>-mu
175. (A7.11) inim <sup>d</sup>nanš e-e mu-na-dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-aš
176. (A7.12) saĝ sig ba-š i-ĝ ar
177. (A7.13) e<sub>2</sub> niĝ <sup>2</sup>-gur<sub>11</sub>-ra-na kiš ib bi<sub>2</sub>-kur<sub>2</sub>
178. (A7.14) ĝ iš im-ma-ta-ĝ ar

179. (A7.15) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a ĝ iš -a mu-DU.DU
180. (A7.16) ĝ iš -e mi<sub>2</sub> im-e
181. (A7.17) ĝ iš meš<sub>3</sub>-e saĝ bi<sub>2</sub>-saĝ<sub>9</sub>
182. (A7.18) ĝ iš ħa-lu-ub<sub>2</sub>-ba tun<sub>3</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-bar
183. (A7.19) ĝ iš gigir za-gin<sub>3</sub>-š e<sub>3</sub> mu-na-a-DI
184. (A7.20) dur<sub>9</sub><sup>ur</sup><sub>3</sub>-bi piriĝ -kaš<sub>4</sub>-e-pad<sub>3</sub>-da
185. (A7.21) im-ma-š i-la<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>
186. (A7.22) š u-nir ki aĝ<sub>2</sub>-ni mu-na-dim<sub>2</sub>
187. (A7.23) mu-ni im-mi-sar
188. (A7.24) balaĝ ki aĝ<sub>2</sub>-e uš umgal kalam-ma
189. (A7.25) ĝ iš -gu<sub>3</sub>-di mu tuku niĝ<sub>2</sub> ad gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-ni
190. (A7.26) ur-saĝ niĝ<sub>2</sub>-ba-e ki aĝ<sub>2</sub>-ra
191. (A7.27) lugal-ni en<sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra
192. (A7.28) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu anzud<sub>2</sub><sup>muš</sup> en babbar<sub>2</sub>-ra
193. (A7.29) mu-na-da-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>
194. (A7.30) e<sub>2</sub>-a ħul<sub>2</sub>-la i<sub>3</sub>-na-ni-kur<sub>9</sub>
195. (A8.1) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a eš<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu-ta zalag-ga nam-ta-e<sub>3</sub>
196. (A8.2) min-kam-ma e<sub>2</sub>-š e<sub>3</sub> ud-u<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-dib
197. (A8.3) ĝ i<sub>6</sub>-ĝ i<sub>6</sub> ba-an-dib
198. (A8.4) du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub> mu-si-ig inim-ĝ ar mu-gi<sub>4</sub>
199. (A8.5) aĥ dug<sub>4</sub>-ga ĝ iri<sub>2</sub>-ta im-ta-ĝ ar
200. (A8.6) š u-ga-lam ki ħuš ki di kud-de<sub>3</sub>
201. (A8.7) ki<sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ke<sub>4</sub> kur-kur-ra igi mi-ni-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-la-š e<sub>3</sub>
202. (A8.8) udu-i<sub>3</sub> gukkal maš<sub>2</sub> niga ensi<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub>
203. (A8.9) feš gar ĝ iš nu-zu kuš -ba mi-ni-durun<sub>x</sub>(KU.KU)
204. (A8.10) liĝ iš u<sub>2</sub> sikil kur-ra-kam izi-a bi<sub>2</sub>-si-si
205. (A8.11) š im erin ir-sim diĝ ir-ra-kam
206. (A8.12) i<sub>3</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>-bi mu-du<sub>3</sub>
207. (A8.13) lugal-<ni>-ir uĝ<sub>3</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub> mu-na-zig<sub>3</sub> š ud<sub>3</sub> mu-na-ra<sub>2</sub>
208. (A8.14) ub-š u-kin-na-ka mu-na-ĝ en giri<sub>17</sub> š u mu-na-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>
209. (A8.15) lugal-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>2</sub> en a ħuš gi<sub>4</sub>-a
210. (A8.16) en zid a kur gal-e ri-a
211. (A8.17) š ul ka tar <gaba-ri> nu-tuku
212. (A8.18) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su e<sub>2</sub>-zu ma-ra-du<sub>3</sub>-e
213. (A8.19) ĝ iš kim-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> nu-ĝ u<sub>10</sub>
214. (A8.20) ur-saĝ niĝ<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>-e gu<sub>3</sub> ba-a-de<sub>2</sub>

215. (A8.21) dumu <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su
216. (A8.22) š ag<sub>4</sub>-bi nu-mu-u<sub>3</sub>-da-zu
217. (A8.23) š ag<sub>4</sub> ab-gin<sub>7</sub> zi-zi-zu
218. (A8.24) iz-zi<sub>8</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-zu
219. (A8.25) a e<sub>3</sub>-a-gin<sub>7</sub> gu<sub>3</sub> nun di-zu
220. (A8.26) a-ma-ru<sub>12</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-uru<sub>18</sub> gul-gul-zu
221. (A8.27) ud-gin<sub>7</sub> ki-bal-š e<sub>3</sub> du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>-zu
222. (A9.1) lugal-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> š ag<sub>4</sub>-zu a e<sub>3</sub>-a u<sub>2</sub> nu-la<sub>2</sub>-zu
223. (A9.2) ur-saĝ š ag<sub>4</sub> an-gin<sub>7</sub> su<sub>3</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-zu
224. (A9.3) dumu <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su
225. (A9.4) ĝ e<sub>26</sub> a-na mu-u<sub>3</sub>-da-zu
226. (A9.5) min-kam-ma-š e<sub>3</sub> nu<sub>2</sub>-a-ra nu<sub>2</sub>-a-ra
227. (A9.6) saĝ -ĝ a<sub>2</sub> mu-na-gub ul<sub>4</sub> mu-tag-tag-e
228. (A9.7) ma-du<sub>3</sub>-na ma-du<sub>3</sub>-na
229. (A9.8) ensi<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> ma-du<sub>3</sub>-na
230. (A9.9) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a e<sub>2</sub>-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> du<sub>3</sub>-da ĝ iš kim-bi ga-ra-ab-š um<sub>2</sub>
231. (A9.10) ĝ arza-ĝ a<sub>2</sub> mul-an kug-ba gu<sub>3</sub> ga-mu-ra-a-de<sub>2</sub>
232. (A9.11) e<sub>2</sub>-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu an-ne<sub>2</sub> ki ĝ ar-ra
233. (A9.12) me-bi me gal-gal me-me-a dirig-ga
234. (A9.13) e<sub>2</sub> lugal-bi igi sud il<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>
235. (A9.14) anzud<sub>2</sub><sup>muš</sup> en-gin<sub>7</sub> š eg<sub>12</sub> gi<sub>4</sub>-a-bi-š e<sub>3</sub>
236. (A9.15) an im-š i-dub<sub>2</sub>-dub<sub>2</sub>
237. (A9.16) me-lem<sub>4</sub> ħuš-bi an-ne<sub>2</sub> im-us<sub>2</sub>
238. (A9.17) e<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub> niz gal-bi kur-kur-ra mu-ri
239. (A9.18) mu-bi-e an-zag-ta kur-kur-re gu<sub>2</sub> im-ma-si-si
240. (A9.19) ma<sub>2</sub>-gan me-luĥ-ĥa kur-bi-ta im-ma-ta-ed<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
241. (A9.20) ĝ e<sub>26</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su a ħuš gi<sub>4</sub>-a
242. (A9.21) ur-saĝ gal ki <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ka
243. (A9.22) en gaba-ri nu-tuku
244. (A9.23) e<sub>2</sub>-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu ĝ e<sub>26</sub>-en kur-ra ab-dirig
245. (A9.24) tukul-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> š ar<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub> kur š u-š e<sub>3</sub> ĝ ar-ĝ ar
246. (A9.25) igi ħuš-a-ĝu<sub>10</sub> kur-re nu-um-il<sub>2</sub>
247. (A9.26) a<sub>2</sub>(source: DA) bad-a-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> la-ba-ta-e<sub>3</sub>
248. (A10.1) a ugu<sub>4</sub>-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> nam gal ki aĝ <sub>2</sub>-da
249. (A10.2) lugal a-ma-ru <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>
250. (A10.3) igi ħuš-a-ni kur-da nu-il<sub>2</sub>

251. (A10.4) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su ur-saĝ <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>
252. (A10.5) mu-š e<sub>3</sub> mu-sa<sub>4</sub>
253. (A10.6) me ninnu-a zag mi-ni-keš e<sub>2</sub>
254. (A10.7) <sup>ĝ</sup>iš banš ur mu-il<sub>2</sub>
255. (A10.8) š u-luḥ si bi<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>
256. (A10.9) š u si sa<sub>2</sub>-a-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> an kug-ge u<sub>3</sub>-a ba-zig<sub>3</sub>-ge
257. (A10.10) niĝ <sub>2</sub> š u-ĝ a<sub>2</sub> dug<sub>3</sub>-ga-am<sub>3</sub>
258. (A10.11) a ugu<sub>4</sub>-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> dug<sub>3</sub>-ga-bi mu-gu<sub>7</sub>
259. (A10.12) an lugal diĝ ir-re-ne-ke<sub>4</sub>
260. (A10.13) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su lugal iš ib an-na
261. (A10.14) mu-š e<sub>3</sub> mu-sa<sub>4</sub>
262. (A10.15) ti-ra-aš <sub>2</sub> abzu-gin<sub>7</sub>
263. (A10.16) nam-nun-na ki im-ma-ni-ĝ ar
264. (A10.17) š ag<sub>4</sub>-bi-a /itid\ da ud-sakar-ra
265. (A10.18) me gal-gal ezen an-na-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> š u gal ma-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>
266. (A10.19) e<sub>2</sub>-ḥuš ki ḥuš-ĝu<sub>10</sub>
267. (A10.20) muš -ḥuš-gin<sub>7</sub> ki sumur-ra bi<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>3</sub>
268. (A10.21) ki-bal-ĝ a<sub>2</sub> nu-mi-ib<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub>-ga
269. (A10.22) ud š ag<sub>4</sub>-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> um-š i-mi-ri<sub>2</sub>-a
270. (A10.23) muš ze<sub>2</sub> guru<sub>5</sub>-a-gin<sub>7</sub> uš ma-a-u<sub>3</sub>-ku-e
271. (A10.24) e<sub>2</sub>-babbar<sub>2</sub> ki a<sub>2</sub> aĝ <sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>
272. (A10.25) ki <sup>d</sup>utu-gin<sub>7</sub> dalla-a-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>
273. (A10.26) ki-ba <sup>d</sup>iš taran-gin<sub>7</sub> di iri-ĝ a<sub>2</sub> si ba-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-e
274. (A10.27) e<sub>2</sub>-ba-gara<sub>2</sub> ki banš ur-ra-ĝ u<sub>10</sub>
275. (A10.28) diĝ ir gal-gal lagaš <sup>ki</sup>-a-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne
276. (A10.29) gu<sub>2</sub> ma-si-si-ne
277. (A11.1) e<sub>2</sub>-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> e<sub>2</sub> saĝ -kal kur-kur-ra
278. (A11.2) a<sub>2</sub> zid-da lagaš <sup>ki</sup>
279. (A11.3) anzud<sub>2</sub><sup>muš en</sup> an-š ar<sub>2</sub>-ra š eg<sub>12</sub> gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>
280. (A11.4) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu e<sub>2</sub> nam-lugal-ĝ u<sub>10</sub>
281. (A11.5) sipad zid gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a
282. (A11.6) ud š u zid ma-š i-tum<sub>3</sub>-da
283. (A11.7) an-š e<sub>3</sub> tum<sub>9</sub> duru<sub>5</sub>-e gu<sub>3</sub> ba-de<sub>2</sub>
284. (A11.8) an-ta ḥe<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub> ḥa-mu-ra-ta-du
285. (A11.9) kalam-e ḥe<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-la š u ḥe<sub>2</sub>-a-da-peš -e
286. (A11.10) e<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub> uš ki ḥ ar-ra-bi-da

287. (A11.11) ħe<sub>2</sub>-ġ al<sub>2</sub> ħe<sub>2</sub>-da-ġ en
288. (A11.12) gana<sub>2</sub> gal-gal-e š u ma-ra-ab-il<sub>2</sub>-e
289. (A11.13) eg<sub>2</sub> pa<sub>5</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-bi ma-ra-ab-zi-zi
290. (A11.14) du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub> ki a nu-ed<sub>3</sub>-da
291. (A11.15) a ma-ra-ed<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
292. (A11.16) ki-en-gi-ra<sub>2</sub> i<sub>3</sub> dirig mu-da-de<sub>2</sub>
293. (A11.17) siki dirig mu-da-la<sub>2</sub>
294. (A11.18) ud temen-ġ u<sub>10</sub> ma-sig<sub>9</sub>-ge<sub>4</sub>-na
295. (A11.19) e<sub>2</sub>-ġ u<sub>10</sub> ud š u zid ma-š i-tum<sub>3</sub>-da
296. (A11.20) ħur-saġ ki tum<sub>9</sub>mir tuš -a-š e<sub>3</sub>
297. (A11.21) ġ iri<sub>3</sub>-ġ u<sub>10</sub> ki i<sub>3</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>
298. (A11.22) nitaġ a<sub>2</sub> dirig-ke<sub>4</sub> tum<sub>9</sub>mir-e ħur-saġ ki sikil-ta
299. (A11.23) tum<sub>9</sub> si ma-ra-ab-sa<sub>2</sub>-e
300. (A11.24) kalam-e zi-š ag<sub>4</sub>-ġ al<sub>2</sub> u<sub>3</sub>-ma-š um<sub>2</sub>
301. (A11.25) lu<sub>2</sub> dili lu<sub>2</sub> min-da kiġ <sub>2</sub> mu-da-ak-ke<sub>4</sub>
302. (A11.26) ġ i<sub>6</sub>-a-na i<sub>3</sub>-ti ma-ra-e<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>3</sub>
303. (A11.27) e-bar<sub>7</sub>-gana<sub>2</sub> ud-«ma»-dam ma-ra-e<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>3</sub>
304. (A12.1) e<sub>2</sub> ud-de<sub>3</sub> ma-ra-du<sub>3</sub>-e
305. (A12.2) ġ i<sub>6</sub>-e ma-ra-ab-mu<sub>2</sub>-mu<sub>2</sub>
306. (A12.3) sig-ta ġ i<sub>6</sub> ħa-lu-ub<sub>2</sub>
307. (A12.4) ġ i<sub>6</sub> NE-ħa-an' mu-ra-ta-ed<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
308. (A12.5) igi-nim-ta ġ i<sub>6</sub> erin ġ i<sub>6</sub> š u-ur<sub>2</sub>-men<sub>2</sub> ġ i<sub>6</sub> za-ba-lum ni<sub>2</sub>-bi-a ma-ra-an-tum<sub>3</sub>
309. (A12.6) kur ġ i<sub>6</sub> esi-a-ka
310. (A12.7) ġ i<sub>6</sub> esi ma-ra-ni-tum<sub>3</sub>
311. (A12.8) kur na-ka na gal ħur-saġ-ġa<sub>2</sub>
312. (A12.9) lagab-ba ma-ra-kud-e
313. (A12.10) ud-bi-a a<sub>2</sub>-zu izi bi<sub>2</sub>-tag
314. (A12.11) ġ i<sub>6</sub> kim-ġ u<sub>10</sub> ħa-mu-u<sub>3</sub>-zu
315. (A12.12) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a i<sub>3</sub>-zig<sub>3</sub> u<sub>3</sub>-sa-ga-am<sub>3</sub>
316. (A12.13) i<sub>3</sub>-ħa-luġ ma-mu-dam
317. (A12.14) inim dug<sub>4</sub>-ga <sup>d</sup>nin-ġ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka-š e<sub>3</sub>
318. (A12.15) saġ sig ba-š i-ġ ar
319. (A12.16) maš <sub>2</sub> babbar<sub>2</sub>-ra š u mu-gid<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
320. (A12.17) maš <sub>2</sub>-a š u i<sub>3</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub> maš <sub>2</sub>-a-ni i<sub>3</sub>-sag<sub>9</sub>
321. (A12.18) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a š ag<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-ġ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka
322. (A12.19) ud-dam mu-na-e<sub>3</sub>

323. (A12.20) gal mu-zu gal i<sub>3</sub>-ga-tum<sub>2</sub>-mu
324. (A12.21) ensi<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> iri-na lu<sub>2</sub> dili-gin<sub>7</sub>
325. (A12.22) na de<sub>5</sub> ba-ni-ĝ ar
326. (A12.23) ki lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-e dumu ama dili-a-gin<sub>7</sub> š ag<sub>4</sub> mu-na-AŠ -e
327. (A12.24) ĝ iš -š u mu-du<sub>8</sub> ĝ iš -ĝ iri<sub>2</sub> mu-zig<sub>3</sub>
328. (A12.25) u<sub>2</sub>-guru<sub>5</sub> mu-ĝ ar inim dug<sub>4</sub>-ga bi<sub>2</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>
329. (A12.26) š er<sub>7</sub>-da e<sub>2</sub>-ba im-ma-an-gi<sub>4</sub>
330. (A13.1) u<sub>3</sub>-sa-an bar-us<sub>2</sub>-sa eme i<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>
331. (A13.2) siki udu gan-na-kam š u-a mi-ni-ĝ ar-ĝ ar
332. (A13.3) ama-a dumu-da gu<sub>3</sub> nu-ma-da-de<sub>2</sub>
333. (A13.4) dumu-u<sub>3</sub> ama-ni-ra ka du<sub>3</sub>-a
334. (A13.5) nu-ma-na-dug<sub>4</sub>
335. (A13.6) arad<sub>2</sub> a<sub>2</sub> ĝ iš tag tuku-ra
336. (A13.7) lugal-a-ni saĝ nu-ma-da-dub<sub>2</sub>
337. (A13.8) geme<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> nam-ra<sub>2</sub> ħul mu-na-ak
338. (A13.9) nin-a-ni igi-na niĝ<sub>2</sub> nu-mu-na-ni-ra
339. (A13.10) ensi<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu du<sub>3</sub>-ra
340. (A13.11) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a-ar inim-ĝ ar-bi lu<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>3</sub> nu-ma-ni-ĝ ar
341. (A13.12) ensi<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> iri mu-kug
342. (A13.13) izi im-ma-ta-la<sub>2</sub>
343. (A13.14) uzug<sub>3</sub>-ga ni<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub>-GI.AN
344. (A13.15) iri-ta ba-ta-e<sub>3</sub>
345. (A13.16) pisaĝ u<sub>3</sub>-š ub-ba-š e<sub>3</sub> maš<sub>2</sub> ba-š i-nu<sub>2</sub>
346. (A13.17) š eg<sub>12</sub> maš<sub>2</sub>-e bi<sub>2</sub>-pad<sub>3</sub>
347. (A13.18) ka-al-bi-š e<sub>3</sub> igi zid ba-š i-bar
348. (A13.19) sipad mu pad<sub>3</sub>-da<sup>e</sup>nanš e-ke<sub>4</sub> nam-nun-na i<sub>3</sub>-ĝ ar
349. (A13.20) pisaĝ u<sub>3</sub>-š ub-ba-<ka> ĝ iš bi<sub>2</sub>-ħur-ra-ni
350. (A13.21) ka-al nam-nun-na mu-ni-ĝ ar-ra-ni
351. (A13.22) anzud<sub>2</sub><sup>muš</sup> en š u-nir lugal-la-na-kam
352. (A13.23) urin-š e<sub>3</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-mul
353. (A13.24) u<sub>5</sub> bur<sub>3</sub> eš e<sub>3</sub>-š e<sub>3</sub> iri mu-na-kug-ge
354. (A13.25) u<sub>5</sub> mu-na-sikil-e
355. (A13.26) li<sup>ĝ</sup> iš u<sub>2</sub> sikil kur-ra-kam izi-a bi<sub>2</sub>-si-si
356. (A13.27) š im erin ir-sim diĝ ir-ra-kam i<sub>3</sub>-bi<sub>2</sub>-bi mu-du<sub>3</sub>
357. (A13.28) ud sizkur<sub>2</sub>-ra mu-na-a-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>
358. (A13.29) ĝ i<sub>6</sub> š ud<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> mu-na-zal-e



359. (A14.1) <sup>d</sup>a-[nun-na] ki lagaš <sup>ki</sup>
360. (A14.2) e<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka du<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
361. (A14.3) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a sizkur<sub>2</sub> ra<sub>2</sub>-/zu\-(X)]
362. (A14.4) mu-da-an-š u<sub>4</sub>-š u<sub>4</sub>-ge-eš <sub>2</sub>
363. (A14.5) sipad zid gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a ħul<sub>2</sub>-la-gin<sub>7</sub>
364. (A14.6) im-ma-na-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-ĝ ar
365. (A14.7) ud-ba ensi<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> kalam-ma-na zig<sub>3</sub>-ga ba-ni-ĝ ar
366. (A14.8) ma-da gu<sub>2</sub>-saĝ š ar<sub>2</sub>-š ar<sub>2</sub>-ra-na
367. (A14.9) gu<sub>2</sub>-edin-na <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka-ka
368. (A14.10) zig<sub>3</sub>-ga ba-ni-ĝ ar
369. (A14.11) iri du<sub>3</sub>-a a<sub>2</sub>-dam ĝ ar-ra-na
370. (A14.12) gu<sub>2</sub>-ĝ iš -bar-ra <sup>d</sup>nanš e-ka
371. (A14.13) zig<sub>3</sub>-ga ba-ni-ĝ ar
372. (A14.14) gud ħuš zig<sub>3</sub>-ga gaba gi<sub>4</sub> nu-tuku
373. (A14.15) <sup>ĝ</sup> iš erin babbar<sub>2</sub>-ra lugal-bi-ir dab<sub>6</sub>-ba
374. (A14.16) im-ru-a <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka-ka
375. (A14.17) zig<sub>3</sub>-ga mu-na-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>
376. (A14.18) š u-nir maĥ-bi lugal-kur-dub<sub>2</sub> saĝ -bi-a mu-gub
377. (A14.19) peš <sub>10</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub> gaba-ĝ al<sub>2</sub> a-ta e<sub>3</sub>-a
378. (A14.20) id<sub>2</sub> maĥ a dirigi ħe<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-bi barag<sub>2</sub>-barag<sub>2</sub>
379. (A14.21) im-ru-a <sup>d</sup>nanš e-ka
380. (A14.22) zig<sub>3</sub>-ga mu-na-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>
381. (A14.23) u<sub>5</sub> kug š u-nir <sup>d</sup>nanš e-kam saĝ -bi-a mu-gub
382. (A14.24) gu maš <sub>2</sub>-anš e edin-na la<sub>2</sub>-a
383. (A14.25) ni-is-ku erin<sub>2</sub> mu tuku erin<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>utu ki aĝ <sub>2</sub>
384. (A14.26) im-ru-a <sup>d</sup>inana-ka zig<sub>3</sub>-ga mu-na-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>
385. (A14.27) aš -me š u-nir <sup>d</sup>inana-kam saĝ -bi-a mu-gub
386. (A14.28) e<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka du<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
- 3 lines missing
390. (A15.4) [...] TE [...]
391. (A15.5) š u /NI\ [...] /UŠ \ [...] ĝ ar
392. (A15.6) elam elam-ta mu-na-ĝ en
393. (A15.7) š uš in ki š uš in-ta mu-na-ĝ en
394. (A15.8) ma<sub>2</sub>-gan me-luĥ-ĥa kur-bi-ta gu<sub>2</sub> ĝ iš mu-na-ab-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>
395. (A15.9) e<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka du<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
396. (A15.10) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a iri-ni ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su<sup>ki</sup>-š e<sub>3</sub> gu<sub>2</sub> mu-na-si-si

397. (A15.11) <sup>d</sup>nin-zag-ga-da a<sub>2</sub> mu-da-aĝ<sub>2</sub>
398. (A15.12) urud-da-ni š e maḥ de<sub>6</sub>-a-gin<sub>7</sub>
399. (A15.13) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> du<sub>3</sub>-a-ra
400. (A15.14) mu-na-ab-us<sub>2</sub>-e
401. (A15.15) <sup>d</sup>nin-sikil-a-da a<sub>2</sub> mu-da-aĝ<sub>2</sub>
402. (A15.16) <sup>ĝ</sup> iš ḥa-lu-ub<sub>2</sub> gal-gal <sup>ĝ</sup> iš esi <sup>ĝ</sup> iš -ab-ba-bi
403. (A15.17) ensi<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu du<sub>3</sub>-ra
404. (A15.18) mu-na-ab-us<sub>2</sub>-e
405. (A15.19) kur <sup>ĝ</sup> iš erin-na lu<sub>2</sub> nu-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-da
406. (A15.20) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ke<sub>4</sub>
407. (A15.21) <sup>ĝ</sup> iri<sub>2</sub> mu-na-ni-ĝ ar
408. (A15.22) <sup>ĝ</sup> iš erin-bi tun<sub>3</sub> gal-e im-mi-kud
409. (A15.23) š ar<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub> a<sub>2</sub> zid-da lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-a
410. (A15.24) tukul a-ma-ru lugal-la-na-š e<sub>3</sub>
411. (A15.25) tun<sub>3</sub> im-ma-bar
412. (A15.26) muš -maḥ-am<sub>3</sub> a-e im-dirig-ga-am<sub>3</sub>
413. (A15.27) ḥur-saĝ<sup>ĝ</sup> iš erin-<na-ta> ad <sup>ĝ</sup> iš erin-na
414. (A15.28) ḥur-saĝ<sup>ĝ</sup> iš š u-ur<sub>2</sub>-men<sub>2</sub>-ta
415. (A15.29) ad <sup>ĝ</sup> iš š u-ur<sub>2</sub>-men<sub>2</sub>
416. (A15.30) ḥur-saĝ<sup>ĝ</sup> iš za-ba-lum-ma-ta
417. (A15.31) ad <sup>ĝ</sup> iš za-ba-lum
418. (A15.32) <sup>ĝ</sup> iš u<sub>3</sub>-<suḥ<sub>5</sub>> gal-gal <sup>ĝ</sup> iš tu-lu-bu-um
419. (A15.33) <sup>ĝ</sup> iš e-ra-num<sub>2</sub>
420. (A15.34) ad gal-gal-bi dirig-dirig-ga-bi
421. (A15.35) kar maḥ kan<sub>4</sub>-sur-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>
422. (A16.1) [gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra]
423. (A16.2) [im-ma-na-us<sub>2</sub>]
424. (A16.3) [kur na lu<sub>2</sub> nu-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-da]
425. (A16.4) [gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a] en [<sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>]-su-[ke<sub>4</sub>]
426. (A16.5) <sup>ĝ</sup> iri<sub>2</sub> mu-[na-ni-ĝ ar]
427. (A16.6) na gal-gal-bi lagab-ba mi-ni-de<sub>6</sub>
428. (A16.7) ma<sub>2</sub> ḥa-u<sub>3</sub>-na ma<sub>2</sub> na-lu-a
429. (A16.8) esir<sub>2</sub> a-ba-al esir<sub>2</sub> IGI.ESIR<sub>2</sub> im-babbar<sub>2</sub>-ra
430. (A16.9) ḥur-saĝ<sup>ĝ</sup> ma<sub>2</sub>-ad-ga-ta
431. (A16.10) niĝ<sub>2</sub>-gur<sub>11</sub> ma<sub>2</sub> š e gana<sub>2</sub> de<sub>6</sub>-a-gin<sub>7</sub>
432. (A16.11) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra

433. (A16.12) im-ma-na-us<sub>2</sub>
434. (A16.13) ensi<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu du<sub>3</sub>-ra
435. (A16.14) niĝ<sub>2</sub> gal-gal-e š<sub>3</sub> u mu-na-ab-il<sub>2</sub>
436. (A16.15) ħur-saĝ urud-ke<sub>4</sub> ki-maš<sub>3</sub> -ta
437. (A16.16) ni<sub>2</sub>-bi mu-na-ab-pad<sub>3</sub>
438. (A16.17) urud-bi gi-dirig-ba mu-ni-ba-al
439. (A16.18) lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> lugal-na du<sub>3</sub>-dam
440. (A16.19) ensi<sub>2</sub>-ra kug-sig<sub>17</sub> kur-bi-ta
441. (A16.20) saĥar-ba mu-na-tum<sub>3</sub>
442. (A16.21) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a kug NE-a kur-bi-ta mu-na-ta-ed<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
443. (A16.22) gug gi-rin-e me-luĥ-ĥa-ta
444. (A16.23) š<sub>3</sub> u mu-na-peš<sub>3</sub> -e
445. (A16.24) kur nu<sub>11</sub>-ta nu<sub>11</sub> mu-na-ta-ed<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
446. (A16.25) sipad-de<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub> kug-ga mu-du<sub>3</sub>-e
447. (A16.26) kug-dim<sub>2</sub> im-da-tuš
448. (A16.27) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu za mu-du<sub>3</sub>-e zadim im-da-tuš
449. (A16.28) urud nagga-a mu-du<sub>3</sub>-e
450. (A16.29) saĝ ĝ a-simug<sup>d</sup>nin-tur<sub>5</sub> kalam-ma-ke<sub>4</sub>
451. (A16.30) igi-ni-š<sub>3</sub> e<sub>3</sub> si im-<mi>-sa<sub>2</sub>
452. (A16.31) <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>š<sub>3</sub> u-min-e ud-da-am<sub>3</sub> š<sub>3</sub> eg<sub>12</sub> mu-na-ab-gi<sub>4</sub>
453. (A16.32) <sup>na</sup><sub>4</sub>esi na<sub>4</sub> š<sub>3</sub> u-ke<sub>4</sub>
454. (A17.1) [...] min [...] peš
455. (A17.2) [...] X TI [X] X NAM [X] /a\ maĥ [X] /DU\ a-gin<sub>7</sub>
456. (A17.3) [...] /MU\ [...] X
- 1 line missing
458. (A17.5) /UD\ [...] MU [...]
459. (A17.6) ĝ<sub>i25</sub>-/ĝ<sub>i25</sub>\ mu-na-gid<sub>2</sub>
460. (A17.7) nam e<sub>2</sub> du<sub>3</sub>-da lugal-la-na-š<sub>3</sub> e<sub>3</sub>
461. (A17.8) u<sub>3</sub> ĝ<sub>i6</sub> an-na nu-um-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>
462. (A17.9) u<sub>3</sub> an-ba-ra saĝ<sub>3</sub> nu-mi-ib<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>3</sub>-e
463. (A17.10) igi zid bar-ra <sup>d</sup>nanš<sub>3</sub> e-kam
464. (A17.11) <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> š<sub>3</sub> ag<sub>4</sub>-ga-na-kam
465. (A17.12) ensi<sub>2</sub> [X] X X [(X)] <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ<sub>3</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka-kam
466. (A17.13) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a unu<sub>6</sub> maĥ-a tud-da
467. (A17.14) <sup>d</sup>ĝ<sub>3</sub> a<sub>2</sub>-tum<sub>3</sub>-dug<sub>3</sub>-ga-kam
468. (A17.15) <sup>d</sup>nisaba-ke<sub>4</sub> e<sub>2</sub> ĝ<sub>3</sub> eš<sub>3</sub> tug<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub>

469. (A17.16) ĝ al<sub>2</sub> mu-na-taka<sub>4</sub>
470. (A17.17) e<sub>2</sub>-a <sup>d</sup>en-ki-ke<sub>4</sub> ĝ iš -ĥur-bi si mu-na-sa<sub>2</sub>
471. (A17.18) e<sub>2</sub> me-lem<sub>4</sub>-bi an-ne<sub>2</sub> us<sub>2</sub>-sa
472. (A17.19) me-bi an ki-da gu<sub>2</sub> la<sub>2</sub>-a
473. (A17.20) lugal-bi en igi ĥuš il<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>
474. (A17.21) ur-saĝ <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su me<sub>3</sub> gal-zu-bi
475. (A17.22) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu anzud<sub>2</sub><sup>muš</sup> en babbar<sub>2</sub>-š e<sub>3</sub>
476. (A17.23) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a sig-ta ba-š i-ĝ en
477. (A17.24) nim-š e<sub>3</sub> u<sub>5</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub>
478. (A17.25) nim-ta ba-š i-ĝ en sig-š e<sub>3</sub> u<sub>5</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub>
479. (A17.26) iku zid-dam eš <sub>2</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-ĝ ar-ĝ ar
480. (A17.27) a<sub>2</sub>-ba ĝ iš bi<sub>2</sub>-ĝ ar ni<sub>2</sub>-te-ni mu-zu
481. (A17.28) ĥul<sub>2</sub>-la-gin<sub>7</sub> im-ma-na-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-ĝ ar
482. (A17.29) u<sub>3</sub>-te-am<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub> libir-ra-aš <sub>2</sub> ra<sub>2</sub>-zu-a ba-ĝ en
483. (A18.1) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a barag ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-nun-na-ta
484. (A18.2) š ag<sub>4</sub> mu-na-ĥuĝ-ĝe<sub>26</sub>-e
485. (A18.3) ud im-zal a mu-tu<sub>17</sub>
486. (A18.4) me-te-ni mu-gi
487. (A18.5) <sup>d</sup>utu ĥe<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub> mu-na-ta-e<sub>3</sub>
488. (A18.6) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a [min]-kam-aš <sub>2</sub> iri-kug-[ta] im-ma-[ta]-/e<sub>3</sub>\
489. (A18.7) gud du<sub>7</sub> maš <sub>2</sub> du<sub>7</sub>-re<sub>6</sub> ĝ iš bi<sub>2</sub>-tag
490. (A18.8) e<sub>2</sub>-e im-ma-ĝ en
491. (A18.9) giri<sub>17</sub> š u im-ma-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>
492. (A18.10) dusu kug ĝ iš u<sub>3</sub>-š ub zid nam tar-ra
493. (A18.11) e<sub>2</sub>-/ninnu\ /mu\-[...]
494. (A18.12) X [...] mu-la<sub>2</sub> saĝ il<sub>2</sub> mu-ĝ en
495. (A18.13) <sup>d</sup>lugal-kur-dub<sub>2</sub> igi-š e<sub>3</sub> mu-na-ĝ en
496. (A18.14) <sup>d</sup>ig-alim-ke<sub>4</sub> ĝ iri<sub>2</sub> mu-na-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>
497. (A18.15) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ iš -zid-da diĝ ir-ra-ni
498. (A18.16) š u mu-da-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>
499. (A18.17) pisaĝ u<sub>3</sub>-š ub-ka a sa-ga i<sub>3</sub>-ak
500. (A18.18) ensi<sub>2</sub>-ra a-dab<sub>6</sub> si-im a<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> mu-na-du<sub>12</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
501. (A18.19) ka-al š eg<sub>12</sub>-bi saĝ im-mi-du<sub>8</sub>
502. (A18.20) la<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-nun i<sub>3</sub>-ĥe-nun-na al im-ma-ni-tag
503. (A18.21) š embulug<sub>x</sub>(š IM×Uĥ<sub>3</sub>) Š IM×PI ĝ iš ĥi-a
504. (A18.22) aĥ-še<sub>3</sub> im-mi-ak

505. (A18.23) dusu kug mu-il<sub>2</sub> u<sub>3</sub>-š ub-e im-ma-gub
506. (A18.24) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a im u<sub>3</sub>-š ub-ba i<sub>3</sub>-ĝ ar
507. (A18.25) niĝ<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>7</sub> pa bi<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>3</sub>
508. (A18.26) e<sub>2</sub>-a š eg<sub>12</sub>-bi pa e<sub>3</sub> mu-ni-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>
509. (A18.27) kur-kur-re i<sub>3</sub> mu-da-sud-e
510. (A18.28) erin mu-da-sud-e
511. (A19.1) iri-ni ki lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-e si<sub>11</sub>-le<sub>2</sub>-a
512. (A19.2) ud mu-di<sub>3</sub>-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-zal-e
513. (A19.3) u<sub>3</sub>-š ub mu-dub<sub>2</sub> š eg<sub>12</sub> ħad<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> ba-š ub
514. (A19.4) ka-al im aga<sub>3</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub>-na-ba-š e<sub>3</sub>
515. (A19.5) igi zid ba-š i-bar
516. (A19.6) Š IM×PI ħa-š<sub>u</sub>-ur<sub>2</sub> š embulug<sub>x</sub>(Š IM×UH<sub>3</sub>)-a
517. (A19.7) saĝ im-<ma>-ni-du<sub>8</sub>
518. (A19.8) š eg<sub>12</sub> u<sub>3</sub>-š ub-ba mi-ni-ĝ ar-ra-ni
519. (A19.9) <sup>d</sup>utu im-da-ħul<sub>2</sub>
520. (A19.10) aga<sub>3</sub>-ri<sub>2</sub> id<sub>2</sub> maħ-gin<sub>7</sub> zig<sub>3</sub>-ga-na
521. (A19.11) lugal <sup>d</sup>en-/ki\ /nam<sup>ʔ</sup> mu-[X]-/tar\
522. (A19.12) [X] mu-/ĝ ar u<sub>3</sub>-š ub-ba<sup>ʔ</sup> e<sub>2</sub>-a i<sub>3</sub>-kur<sub>9</sub>
523. (A19.13) pisaĝ u<sub>3</sub>-š ub-ba-ta š eg<sub>12</sub> ba-ta-il<sub>2</sub>
524. (A19.14) men kug an-ne<sub>2</sub> il<sub>2</sub>-la
525. (A19.15) š eg<sub>12</sub> mu-il<sub>2</sub> uĝ<sub>3</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-na mu-ĝ en
526. (A19.16) erin<sub>2</sub> kug <sup>d</sup>utu saĝ bal-e-dam
527. (A19.17) š eg<sub>12</sub>-e e<sub>2</sub>-š e<sub>3</sub> saĝ il<sub>2</sub>-la-bi
528. (A19.18) ab<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>nanna tur<sub>3</sub>-ba erin<sub>2</sub>-erin<sub>2</sub>-dam
529. (A19.19) š eg<sub>12</sub> mu-ĝ ar e<sub>2</sub>-a mu-ku<sub>x</sub>(DU)-ku<sub>x</sub>(DU)
530. (A19.20) e<sub>2</sub>-a ĝ iš -ħur-bi im-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>
531. (A19.21) <sup>d</sup>nisaba š ag<sub>4</sub> š id zu-am<sub>3</sub>
532. (A19.22) lu<sub>2</sub>-tur gibil-bi e<sub>2</sub> du<sub>3</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub>
533. (A19.23) igi-ni u<sub>3</sub> dug<sub>3</sub>-ga nu-š i-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>
534. (A19.24) ab<sub>2</sub> amar-bi-š e<sub>3</sub> igi ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-la-gin<sub>7</sub>
535. (A19.25) e<sub>2</sub>-š e<sub>3</sub> te-te-ma im-š i-ĝ en
536. (A19.26) lu<sub>2</sub> ninda tur ka-a gub-ba-gin<sub>7</sub>
537. (A19.27) du-du-e nu-š i-kuš<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>
538. (A19.28) š ag<sub>4</sub> lugal-na ud-dam mu-<na>-e<sub>3</sub>
539. (A20.1) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a-ar inim <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka urin-am<sub>3</sub> mu-du<sub>3</sub>
540. (A20.2) š ag<sub>4</sub> gu<sub>3</sub> di e<sub>2</sub> du<sub>3</sub>-da-ka-na

541. (A20.3) inim-ĝ ar sag<sub>9</sub>-ga-a lu<sub>2</sub> ma-a-ĝ ar
542. (A20.4) ħul<sub>2</sub>-la-gin<sub>7</sub> im-ma-na-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-ĝ ar
543. (A20.5) maš -a š u i<sub>3</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub> maš -a-ni i<sub>3</sub>-sag<sub>9</sub>
544. (A20.6) a-MIR-e š e ba-š um<sub>2</sub> igi-bi si ib<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>
545. (A20.7) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a saĝ -š e<sub>3</sub> nu<sub>2</sub>
546. (A20.8) mu-nu<sub>2</sub> inim mu-na-ta-e<sub>3</sub>
547. (A20.9) e<sub>2</sub> lugal-na-ka du<sub>3</sub>-bi
548. (A20.10) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu an ki-ta bad-bi
549. (A20.11) /igi\ -a mu-na-a-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>
550. (A20.12) ħul<sub>2</sub>-la-gin<sub>7</sub> im-[ma-na]-/ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-ĝ ar\
551. (A20.13) gu mu-ba-ra me š u im-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>
552. (A20.14) uz-ga kug-ge eš<sub>3</sub> mu-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>
553. (A20.15) e<sub>2</sub>-a <sup>d</sup>en-ki-ke<sub>4</sub> temen mu-sig<sub>9</sub>-ge
554. (A20.16) <sup>d</sup>nanš e dumu eridug<sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub> eš -bar kiĝ<sub>2</sub>-ĝ e<sub>26</sub> mi<sub>2</sub> ba-ni-dug<sub>4</sub>
555. (A20.17) ama lagaš<sup>ki</sup> kug<sup>d</sup>ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-tum<sub>3</sub>-dug<sub>3</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub>
556. (A20.18) š eg<sub>12</sub>-bi kur-ku<sub>4</sub>-a mu-ni-tud
557. (A20.19) <sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub> nin dumu-saĝ an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>
558. (A20.20) i<sub>3</sub> š im erin-na ba-ni-sud
559. (A20.21) e<sub>2</sub>-e en ba-gub la-gal ba-gub
560. (A20.22) me-e š u si im-ma-sa<sub>2</sub>
561. (A20.23) <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na u<sub>3</sub> di-de<sub>3</sub> im-ma-š u<sub>4</sub>-š u<sub>4</sub>-ge-eš<sub>2</sub>
562. (A20.24) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> du<sub>3</sub>-a-ke<sub>4</sub>
563. (A20.25) e<sub>2</sub>-a dusu-bi men kug saĝ -ĝ a<sub>2</sub> mu-ni-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>
564. (A20.26) uš mu-ĝ ar a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ ar ki im-mi-tag
565. (A20.27) sa<sub>2</sub> mu-sig<sub>10</sub> š eg<sub>12</sub>-ga gu bi<sub>2</sub>-dub<sub>2</sub>
566. (A21.1) e<sub>2</sub>-a sa<sub>2</sub> 2-nam nam-mi-sig<sub>10</sub>
567. (A21.2) gu <sup>du</sup>ba saĝ ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-la-am<sub>3</sub>
568. (A21.3) e<sub>2</sub>-a sa<sub>2</sub> 3-am<sub>3</sub> nam-mi-sig<sub>10</sub>
569. (A21.4) anzud<sub>2</sub><sup>muš</sup> en amar-a a<sub>2</sub> pag-am<sub>3</sub>
570. (A21.5) e<sub>2</sub>-a sa<sub>2</sub> 4 nam(source: RI)-mi-sig<sub>10</sub>
571. (A21.6) nemur<sub>x</sub>(PIRIĜ .TUR) piriĝ ħuš-a gu<sub>2</sub>-da la<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
572. (A21.7) e<sub>2</sub>-a sa<sub>2</sub> 5-am<sub>3</sub> nam-mi-sig<sub>10</sub>
573. (A21.8) an nisig su-lim il<sub>2</sub>-la-am<sub>3</sub>
574. (A21.9) e<sub>2</sub>-a sa<sub>2</sub> 6-am<sub>3</sub> nam-mi-sig<sub>10</sub>
575. (A21.10) ud sa<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub>-ga ħi-li guru<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
576. (A21.11) e<sub>2</sub>-a sa<sub>2</sub> 7 nam-mi-sig<sub>10</sub>

577. (A21.12) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu i<sub>3</sub>-ti ud zal-la kalam si-am<sub>3</sub>
578. (A21.13) ĝ iš -kan<sub>4</sub>-na im-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ne
579. (A21.14) an nisig-ga men il<sub>2</sub>-la-am<sub>3</sub>
580. (A21.15) ĝ iš -kan<sub>4</sub>-na-ta ba-ta-tuš
581. (A21.16) e<sub>2</sub> maĥ an-da gu<sub>2</sub> la<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
582. (A21.17) e<sub>2</sub> mu-du<sub>3</sub> ĝ iš -e im-ma-š ub
583. (A21.18) ambar <sup>d</sup>nanna saĝ keš e<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-ki-ka-kam
584. (A21.19) e<sub>2</sub> ĥur-saĝ-gin<sub>7</sub> im-mu<sub>2</sub>-mu<sub>2</sub>-ne
585. (A21.20) dugud-gin<sub>7</sub> an-š ag<sub>4</sub>-ge im-mi-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-dirig-dirig-ne
586. (A21.21) gud-gin<sub>7</sub> si im-mi-ib<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>-ne
587. (A21.22) ĝ iš -gana<sub>2</sub> abzu-gin<sub>7</sub> kur-kur-ra saĝ ba-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>-ne
588. (A21.23) e<sub>2</sub>-e ĥur-saĝ-gin<sub>7</sub> an ki-a saĝ an-š e<sub>3</sub> mi-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>
589. (A21.24) erin duru<sub>5</sub> ki u<sub>2</sub> rib mu<sub>2</sub>-a-am<sub>3</sub>
590. (A21.25) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu š eg<sub>12</sub> ki-en-gi-ra<sub>2</sub>-ka ĥi-li mu-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>
591. (A21.26) e<sub>2</sub>-a ĝ iš im-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ne
592. (A21.27) uš um abzu teš <sub>2</sub>-ba ed<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>-dam
593. (A21.28) KA an-na im-mi-ib<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>-dam
594. (A22.1) muš -maĥ ĥur-saĝ-ĝa<sub>2</sub> nam ak-am<sub>3</sub>
595. (A22.2) e<sub>2</sub> gi guru<sub>5</sub>-bi muš kur-ra teš <sub>2</sub>-ba nu<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
596. (A22.3) sa-tu-/bi\ erin duru<sub>5</sub> ĥa-/šu\-ur<sub>2</sub>-ra š u ĥe<sub>2</sub>-tag-ga-am<sub>3</sub>
597. (A22.4) aga<sub>3</sub> erin igi u<sub>6</sub> di-bi-a erin babbar<sub>2</sub> im-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ne
598. (A22.5) š im zid i<sub>3</sub>-ĥe-nun-ka mi<sub>2</sub> ba-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-e-ne
599. (A22.6) e<sub>2</sub> im-du<sub>8</sub>-a-bi ĥe-nun abzu šu tag-ga-am<sub>3</sub>
600. (A22.7) A.Ĝ AR.KA-bi im-š i-ib<sub>2</sub>-suru<sub>5</sub>-ne
601. (A22.8) eš <sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu š u E<sub>2</sub>×BAD<sup>?</sup> an-na-ka ĝ ar-ĝ ar-a-am<sub>3</sub>
602. (A22.9) ensi<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> e<sub>2</sub> mu-du<sub>3</sub> mu-mu<sub>2</sub>
603. (A22.10) kur gal-gin<sub>7</sub> mu-mu<sub>2</sub>
604. (A22.11) temen abzu-bi dim gal-gal ki-a mi-ni-sig<sub>9</sub>-sig<sub>9</sub>
605. (A22.12) <sup>d</sup>en-ki-da e<sub>2</sub>-an-gur<sub>4</sub>-ra-ka
606. (A22.13) š ag<sub>4</sub> mu-di<sub>3</sub>-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-kuš <sub>2</sub>-u<sub>3</sub>
607. (A22.14) temen an-na ur-saĝ -am<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-e im-mi-dab<sub>6</sub>
608. (A22.15) ki-a-naĝ diĝ ir-re-<ne>-ka a im-na<sub>8</sub>-na<sub>8</sub>-a
609. (A22.16) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu dim gal mu-gen<sub>6</sub>
610. (A22.17) abgal<sub>2</sub>-bi mu-du<sub>3</sub>
611. (A22.18) iri-na ĝ iš asal<sub>2</sub> dug<sub>3</sub>-bi mu-du<sub>3</sub>
612. (A22.19) ĝ issu-bi mu-la<sub>2</sub>

613. (A22.20) ḡ iš š ar<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-bi urin gal-gin<sub>7</sub> lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-da im-da-sig<sub>9</sub>
614. (A22.21) š u-ga-lam ki ḥuš-ba im-mi-ni-ḡar
615. (A22.22) su zig<sub>3</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub> barag ḡ ir<sub>2</sub>-nun-na ki di kud-ba
616. (A22.23) u<sub>2</sub>-a lagaš<sup>ki</sup> gud gal-gin<sub>7</sub> a<sub>2</sub> ba-il<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>
617. (A22.24) na gal-gal lagab-ba mi-ni-de<sub>6</sub>-a
618. (A23.1) mu 1-a mu-de<sub>6</sub> mu 1-a mu-ak
619. (A23.2) ud 2 ud 3 nu-ma-da-ab-zal
620. (A23.3) a<sub>2</sub> ud-da 1-ta mu-du<sub>3</sub>
621. (A23.4) ud 7-kam-ma-ka e<sub>2</sub>-e im-mi-dab<sub>6</sub>
622. (A23.5) na da-bi kun-š e<sub>3</sub> mu-nu<sub>2</sub>
623. (A23.6) /š im\š e<sub>3</sub> mu-dim<sub>2</sub>-dim<sub>2</sub>
624. (A23.7) e<sub>2</sub>-a mi-ni-š u<sub>4</sub>-š u<sub>4</sub>
625. (A23.8) na kisal maḥ-a <im>-mi-du<sub>3</sub>-a-na
626. (A23.9) na-du<sub>3</sub>-a lugal kisal si
627. (A23.10) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a en<sup>d</sup>nin-ḡ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ke<sub>4</sub>
628. (A23.11) ḡ ir<sub>2</sub>-nun-ta mu-zu
629. (A23.12) na-ba mu-š e<sub>3</sub> im-ma-sa<sub>4</sub>
630. (A23.13) na kan<sub>4</sub>-sur-ra bi<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>3</sub>-a
631. (A23.14) lugal a-ma-ru<sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>
632. (A23.15) gaba-š u-ḡ ar nu-tuku
633. (A23.16) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a en<sup>d</sup>nin-ḡ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ke<sub>4</sub>
634. (A23.17) igi zid mu-š i-bar
635. (A23.18) na-ba mu-š e<sub>3</sub> im-ma-sa<sub>4</sub>
636. (A23.19) na igi ud e<sub>3</sub>-a-<ka> bi<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>3</sub>-a
637. (A23.20) lugal ud gu<sub>3</sub> di<sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>
638. (A23.21) en gaba-ri nu-tuku
639. (A23.22) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a en<sup>d</sup>nin-ḡ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ke<sub>4</sub>
640. (A23.23) š ag<sub>4</sub> kug-ge bi<sub>2</sub>-pad<sub>3</sub>
641. (A23.24) na-ba mu-š e<sub>3</sub> im-ma-sa<sub>4</sub>
642. (A23.25) na igi š u-ga-lam-ma-ka bi<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>3</sub>-a
643. (A23.26) lugal mu-ni-š e<sub>3</sub> kur tuku<sub>2</sub>-tuku<sub>2</sub>-e
644. (A23.27) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a en<sup>d</sup>nin-ḡ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ke<sub>4</sub>
645. (A23.28) gu-za-ni mu-gen<sub>6</sub>
646. (A23.29) na-ba mu-š e<sub>3</sub> im-ma-sa<sub>4</sub>
647. (A23.30) na igi e<sub>2</sub>-uru<sub>18</sub>-ga-ka bi<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>3</sub>-a
648. (A24.1) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a en<sup>d</sup>nin-ḡ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ke<sub>4</sub>



649. (A24.2) nam dug<sub>3</sub> mu-ni-tar
650. (A24.3) na-ba mu-š<sub>3</sub> e<sub>3</sub> im-ma-sa<sub>4</sub>
651. (A24.4) na a-ga <sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub>-ka bi<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>3</sub>-a
652. (A24.5) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu igi an-na-ke<sub>4</sub> zu
653. (A24.6) <sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub> zi-š<sub>3</sub> ag<sub>4</sub>-ĝ<sub>2</sub> al<sub>2</sub> gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a
654. (A24.7) na-ba mu-š<sub>3</sub> e<sub>3</sub> im-ma-sa<sub>4</sub>
655. (A24.8) e<sub>2</sub> lugal-na zid-de<sub>3</sub>-eš<sub>2</sub> mu-du<sub>3</sub>
656. (A24.9) sipad zid gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a an ki im-da-mu<sub>2</sub>
657. (A24.10) ud-sakar gibil-gin<sub>7</sub> men bi<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>
658. (A24.11) mu-bi kur-š<sub>3</sub> ag<sub>4</sub>-š<sub>3</sub> e<sub>3</sub>
659. (A24.12) pa bi<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>3</sub>
660. (A24.13) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a e<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ<sub>2</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka
661. (A24.14) <sup>d</sup>utu-gin<sub>7</sub> dugud-ta ba-ta-e<sub>3</sub>
662. (A24.15) ħur-saĝ<sub>2</sub> za-gin<sub>3</sub>-na-gin<sub>7</sub> mu-mu<sub>2</sub>
663. (A24.16) ħur-saĝ<sub>2</sub> nu<sub>11</sub> babbar<sub>2</sub>-ra-gin<sub>7</sub>
664. (A24.17) u<sub>6</sub> di-de<sub>3</sub> ba-gub
665. (A24.18) dub-la<sub>2</sub>-bi am-gin<sub>7</sub> mu-š<sub>3</sub> u<sub>4</sub>-š<sub>3</sub> u<sub>4</sub>
666. (A24.19) uš<sub>3</sub> um-bi ur-maĥ-gin<sub>7</sub> š<sub>3</sub> u-ba bi<sub>2</sub>-nu<sub>2</sub>-nu<sub>2</sub>
667. (A24.20) gi-gun<sub>4</sub>-bi ab-zu-gin<sub>7</sub> ki sikil-e bi<sub>2</sub>-mu<sub>2</sub>
668. (A24.21) urin-bi taraĥ<sub>2</sub> kug abzu-gin<sub>7</sub>
669. (A24.22) si ba-mul-mul
670. (A24.23) ud-sakar gibil an-na gub-ba-gin<sub>7</sub>
671. (A24.24) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a e<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ<sub>2</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka
672. (A24.25) u<sub>6</sub> di-de<sub>3</sub> ba-gub
673. (A24.26) e<sub>2</sub>-a dub-la<sub>2</sub>-bi š<sub>3</sub> u<sub>4</sub>-š<sub>3</sub> u<sub>4</sub>-ga-bi
674. (A24.27) la-ĥa-ma abzu-da šu<sub>4</sub>-ga-am<sub>3</sub>
675. (A25.1) e<sub>2</sub> ĝ<sub>2</sub> iš<sub>3</sub> ĝ<sub>2</sub> ar-ra-bi a-ĝ<sub>2</sub> i<sub>6</sub> ambar maĥ<sub>2</sub> muš<sub>3</sub> a sig-ga-am<sub>3</sub>
676. (A25.2) e<sub>2</sub> KA gid<sub>2</sub>-da-bi
677. (A25.3) an bar-bar-ra ni<sub>2</sub>-ĝ<sub>2</sub> al<sub>2</sub>-la-am<sub>3</sub>
678. (A25.4) e<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-dul<sub>4</sub>-la-bi nu<sub>11</sub> an-š<sub>3</sub> ag<sub>4</sub>-ge dirig-ga-am<sub>3</sub>
679. (A25.5) kan<sub>4</sub> ki lugal kur<sub>9</sub>-bi-ta
680. (A25.6) ħu-ri<sub>2</sub>-in am-š<sub>3</sub> e<sub>3</sub> igi il<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>-dam
681. (A25.7) ĝ<sub>2</sub> iš<sub>3</sub> ti kan<sub>4</sub>-e us<sub>2</sub>-sa-bi
682. (A25.8) tir<sub>x</sub>(NIR)-an-na an-ne<sub>2</sub> us<sub>2</sub>-sa-am<sub>3</sub>
683. (A25.9) ĝ<sub>2</sub> iš<sub>3</sub> -kan<sub>4</sub> an-na-bi e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu ud gu<sub>3</sub>-ba gu<sub>3</sub> di teš<sub>2</sub> -ba gub-ba-am<sub>3</sub>
684. (A25.10) sig<sub>7</sub>-igi-bi ni<sub>2</sub> il<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>-a-bi

685. (A25.11) igi u<sub>6</sub> di diĝ ir-re-ne-kam
686. (A25.12) e<sub>2</sub>-a barag babbar<sub>2</sub> mu-ru-gu<sub>2</sub>-ni
687. (A25.13) ħur-saĝ za-gin<sub>3</sub>-na an ki-a ki ħe<sub>2</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>-sa-am<sub>3</sub>
688. (A25.14) kiĝ<sub>2</sub>-sig<sub>17</sub> unu<sub>6</sub> gal mu-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ne
689. (A25.15) bur kug-sig<sub>17</sub> lal<sub>3</sub> ĝ eš tin de<sub>2</sub>-a
690. (A25.16) an-ne<sub>2</sub> š u<sub>4</sub>-ga-am<sub>3</sub>
691. (A25.17) e<sub>2</sub>-nu<sub>2</sub>-da mu-du<sub>3</sub>-ne
692. (A25.18) kur š ar<sub>2</sub>-da meš<sub>3</sub> kug abzu-a
693. (A25.19) gurun<sub>7</sub> il<sub>2</sub>-la-am<sub>3</sub>
694. (A25.20) mu-du<sub>3</sub> š u im-ta-ĝ ar-ra-ta
695. (A25.21) š ag<sub>4</sub> diĝ ir-re-ne gu<sub>2</sub>-bi gi<sub>4</sub>-a-am<sub>3</sub>
696. (A25.22) sipad zid gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a gal mu-zu
697. (A25.23) gal i<sub>3</sub>-ga-tum<sub>2</sub>-mu
698. (A25.24) a-ga tukul la<sub>2</sub> kan<sub>4</sub> me<sub>3</sub>-ba
699. (A25.25) ur-saĝ š eg<sub>9</sub>-saĝ -6 saĝ -ar-bi
700. (A25.26) im-ma-ab-dab<sub>5</sub>-be<sub>2</sub>
701. (A25.27) igi iri<sup>ki</sup>-š e<sub>3</sub> ki ni<sub>2</sub> il<sub>2</sub>-ba
702. (A25.28) muš (source: ur)-saĝ -7-am<sub>3</sub> im-ma-ab-dab<sub>5</sub>-e
703. (A26.1) š u-ga-lam kan<sub>4</sub> me-lem<sub>4</sub>-ba
704. (A26.2) uš um ĝ iš nimbar-bi im-ma-ab-dab<sub>5</sub>-be<sub>2</sub>
705. (A26.3) igi ud e<sub>3</sub> ki nam tar-re-ba
706. (A26.4) š u-nir<sup>d</sup>utu saĝ -alim-ma
707. (A26.5) im-ma-da-sig<sub>9</sub>-ge
708. (A26.6) kan<sub>4</sub>-sur-ra igi u<sub>6</sub> di-ba
709. (A26.7) ur-maĥ ni<sub>2</sub> diĝ ir-re-ne-kam
710. (A26.8) im-ma-ab-dab<sub>5</sub>-e
711. (A26.9) tar-sir<sub>2</sub>-sir<sub>2</sub> ki a<sub>2</sub> aĝ<sub>2</sub>-ba
712. (A26.10) ku-li-an-na urud-bi
713. (A26.11) im-ma-ab-dab<sub>5</sub>-e
714. (A26.12) a-ga<sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub> ki š ag<sub>4</sub> kuš<sub>2</sub>-ba
715. (A26.13) ma<sub>2</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-lum gud-alim-bi-da
716. (A26.14) im-ma-ab-dab<sub>5</sub>-e
717. (A26.15) ur-saĝ ug<sub>5</sub>-ga i<sub>3</sub>-me-š a-ke<sub>4</sub>-eš<sub>2</sub>
718. (A26.16) ka-bi ki a naĝ -š e<sub>3</sub> mu-ĝ ar
719. (A26.17) mu-bi mu-ru diĝ ir-re-ne-ka
720. (A26.18) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a ensi<sub>2</sub> lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub>

721. (A26.19) pa e<sub>3</sub> ba-ni-a
722. (A26.20) ig ĝ<sup>iš</sup> erin-na e<sub>2</sub>-a š u<sub>4</sub>-ga-bi
723. (A26.21) <sup>d</sup>iš kur an-ta gu<sub>3</sub> nun di-da-am<sub>3</sub>
724. (A26.22) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu saĝ -kul-bi idim
725. (A26.23) ĝ<sup>iš</sup> nu-kuš u<sub>4</sub>-bi ur-maḥ
726. (A26.24) si-ĝ ar-bi-ta muš -š ag<sub>4</sub>-tur<sub>3</sub> muš -ḥuš
727. (A26.25) am-š e<sub>3</sub> eme ed<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
728. (A26.26) ga-du ig-e u<sub>5</sub> us<sub>2</sub>-sa-bi
729. (A26.27) ug nemur<sub>x</sub>(PIRIĜ .TUR) tur-tur š u-ba du<sub>2</sub>-ru-na-am<sub>3</sub>
730. (A26.28) e<sub>2</sub>-a gag ĝ iš -ur<sub>3</sub> kug mu-sig<sub>9</sub>-ge<sub>4</sub>-ne
731. (A26.29) uš um lu<sub>2</sub>-š e<sub>3</sub> š u ib<sub>2</sub>-ĝ ar-ra-am<sub>3</sub>
732. (A26.30) ig-ba eš<sub>2</sub> kug im-suru<sub>5</sub>-ne
733. (A27.1) <sup>d</sup>niraḥ kug abzu dar-a-am<sub>3</sub>
734. (A27.2) e<sub>2</sub>-sa-la<sub>2</sub>-a-bi keš<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup> aratta<sup>ki</sup> na de<sub>5</sub>-ga-am<sub>3</sub>
735. (A27.3) e<sub>2</sub>-sa-du<sub>8</sub>-a-bi piriĝ ḥuš-am<sub>3</sub>
736. (A27.4) kalam-ma igi mi-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>
737. (A27.5) dili du igi-bi nu-ma-dib-be<sub>2</sub>
738. (A27.6) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu ni<sub>2</sub>-bi kur-kur-ra
739. (A27.7) tug<sub>2</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> im-dul<sub>4</sub>
740. (A27.8) e<sub>2</sub> kug NE-a an-ne<sub>2</sub> ki ĝ ar-ra
741. (A27.9) š embi<sub>2</sub>-zid-da š u tag dug<sub>4</sub>-ga
742. (A27.10) š e-er-zid an-na-ka i<sub>3</sub>-ti-gin<sub>7</sub> e<sub>3</sub>-a
743. (A27.11) e<sub>2</sub> igi-bi kur gal ki us<sub>2</sub>-sa
744. (A27.12) š ag<sub>4</sub>-bi nam-š ub š ir<sub>3</sub> ḥa-mun
745. (A27.13) bar-bi an e<sub>2</sub> maḥ ḥe<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-la zig<sub>3</sub>-ga
746. (A27.14) gu<sub>2</sub>-en bar-ra-bi
747. (A27.15) ki di kud <sup>d</sup>a-nun-ke<sub>4</sub>-ne
748. (A27.16) a-lal<sub>3</sub>-bi-ta inim š ud<sub>3</sub>-da
749. (A27.17) š ukur<sub>2</sub>-bi-da ḥe<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub> diĝir-re-ne-kam
750. (A27.18) urin e<sub>2</sub>-da sig<sub>9</sub>-sig<sub>9</sub>-ga-bi
751. (A27.19) anzud<sub>2</sub><sup>muš</sup> en kur š uba<sub>x</sub>(MUŠ<sup>3</sup>)-a a<sub>2</sub>(source: DA) ḥe<sub>2</sub>-ba<sub>9</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
752. (A27.20) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu im-bi im ḥa-mun
753. (A27.21) <sup>i</sup>d<sub>2</sub>edin-ta ed<sub>3</sub>-da
754. (A27.22) lugal-bi en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ke<sub>4</sub>
755. (A27.23) š ag<sub>4</sub> kug-ge bi<sub>2</sub>-pad<sub>3</sub>
756. (A27.24) š embi<sub>2</sub>-zid-gin<sub>7</sub> saĝ -ĝ a<sub>2</sub> mi-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>

757. (A28.1) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a š e-er-zid an-na-ka
758. (A28.2) š u tag ba-ni-dug<sub>4</sub>
759. (A28.3) e<sub>2</sub> gud-bi-ta
760. (A28.4) i<sub>3</sub> kur<sub>9</sub> ga kur<sub>9</sub>
761. (A28.5) udun-maḥ-bi-ta
762. (A28.6) gug<sub>2</sub> gal si gal
763. (A28.7) ḡ iri<sub>2</sub>-PA-na-bi
764. (A28.8) gud gu<sub>7</sub> udu gu<sub>7</sub>
765. (A28.9) e<sub>2</sub> ki š ukur<sub>2</sub>-bi uz-ga eš<sub>3</sub> ḡ a<sub>2</sub>-ḡ a<sub>2</sub>
766. (A28.10) ne-saḡ -bi
767. (A28.11) kur ḡ eš tin biz-biz-ze<sub>2</sub>
768. (A28.12) e<sub>2</sub>-lunga<sub>3</sub>-bi-ta
769. (A28.13) i<sup>d</sup><sub>2</sub>idigna a-u<sub>3</sub>-ba ḡ al<sub>2</sub>-la-am<sub>3</sub>
770. (A28.14) e<sub>2</sub> niḡ<sub>2</sub>-gur<sub>11</sub>-<ra>-bi-a za kug nagga
771. (A28.15) e<sub>2</sub> ḡ iš<sup>i</sup> gigir-ra-bi
772. (A28.16) kur ki-a gub-ba
773. (A28.17) a-ga balaḡ -a-bi gud gu<sub>3</sub> nun di
774. (A28.18) kisal-bi š ud<sub>3</sub> kug si-im a<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>
775. (A28.19) kun na<sub>4</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-a nu<sub>2</sub>-a-bi
776. (A28.20) ḥur-saḡ ul nun-ne<sub>2</sub>-eš<sub>2</sub> nu<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
777. (A28.21) kun an-na ur<sub>3</sub>-š e<sub>3</sub> da-a-bi
778. (A28.22) nu<sub>11</sub> kur-š e<sub>3</sub> igi sud il<sub>2</sub>-dam
779. (A28.23) ḡ iš<sup>i</sup> kiri<sub>6</sub> gig<sub>2</sub> edin e<sub>2</sub>-š e<sub>3</sub> sig<sub>9</sub>-ga-bi
780. (A28.24) kur ḡ eš tin biz-biz-ze<sub>2</sub> ki ni<sub>2</sub> <me>-lem<sub>4</sub>-e mu<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
781. (A29.1) na<sub>7</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-e dab<sub>6</sub>-ba-bi
782. (A29.2) niḡ<sub>2</sub> lugal-bi-da š ag<sub>4</sub> kuš<sub>2</sub>-kuš<sub>2</sub>-dam
783. (A29.3) e<sub>2</sub>-ninda-ki-sig<sub>10</sub>-bi
784. (A29.4) niḡ<sub>2</sub> sikil abzu na de<sub>5</sub>-ga-am<sub>3</sub>
785. (A29.5) š im na<sub>4</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-a š u<sub>4</sub>-ga-bi
786. (A29.6) e<sub>2</sub> gudug kug a nu-silig<sub>5</sub>-ge-dam
787. (A29.7) bad<sub>3</sub>-si an-na
788. (A29.8) tum<sub>12</sub><sup>muš</sup> en du<sub>2</sub>-ru-na-bi
789. (A29.9) eridug<sup>ki</sup> nam ḥI A du<sub>3</sub>-X-am<sub>3</sub>
790. (A29.10) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu tum<sub>12</sub><sup>muš</sup> en-e ni<sub>2</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-ne
791. (A29.11) an-dul<sub>3</sub> pa gal-gal ḡ issu dug<sub>3</sub>-ga-kam
792. (A29.12) sim<sup>muš</sup> en muš en-e š eg<sub>12</sub> mu-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>

793. (A29.13) e<sub>2</sub>-kur<sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> ezen ġ al<sub>2</sub>-la-am<sub>3</sub>
794. (A29.14) e<sub>2</sub>-a ni<sub>2</sub> gal-bi
795. (A29.15) kalam-ma mu-ri
796. (A29.16) ka tar-ra-bi
797. (A29.17) kur-re ba-ti
798. (A29.18) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu ni<sub>2</sub>-bi kur-kur-ra tug<sub>2</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> im-dul<sub>4</sub>
799. (A30.1) e<sub>2</sub> lugal-bi ħi-li-a i<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>3</sub>
800. (A30.2) <sup>d</sup>nin-ġ iš -zid-da-ke<sub>4</sub>
801. (A30.3) ki gal-la bi<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>3</sub>
802. (A30.4) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a ensi<sub>2</sub> lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub>
803. (A30.5) temen-bi mu-sig<sub>9</sub>
804. (A30.6) e<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>utu-gin<sub>7</sub> kalam-ma e<sub>3</sub>-a
805. (A30.7) gud gal-gin<sub>7</sub> saġar bar-ra gub-ba
806. (A30.8) i<sub>3</sub>-ti giri<sub>17</sub>-zal-gin<sub>7</sub>
807. (A30.9) unken-ne<sub>2</sub> si-a
808. (A30.10) ħur-saġ sig<sub>7</sub>-ga-gin<sub>7</sub>
809. (A30.11) ħi-li guru<sub>3</sub>-a
810. (A30.12) u<sub>6</sub> di-de<sub>3</sub> gub-ba
811. (A30.13) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu ki-bi gi<sub>4</sub>-a-ba
812. (A30.14) <sup>d</sup>nin-ġ ir<sub>2</sub>-su za<sub>3</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub>
813. (A30.15) e<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-ġ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka du<sub>3</sub>-a
814. (A30.16) za<sub>3</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub> mu-ru-bi-im

#### Cylinder B

815. (B1.1) e<sub>2</sub> dim gal kalam-ma
816. (B1.2) an ki-da mu<sub>2</sub>-a
817. (B1.3) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu š eg<sub>12</sub> zid <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-e nam dug<sub>3</sub>-ga tar-ra
818. (B1.4) ħur-saġ nisig-ga u<sub>6</sub>-e gub-ba
819. (B1.5) kur-kur-ta e<sub>3</sub>-a
820. (B1.6) e<sub>2</sub> kur gal-am<sub>3</sub> an-ne<sub>2</sub> im-us<sub>2</sub>
821. (B1.7) <sup>d</sup>utu-am<sub>3</sub> an-š ag<sub>4</sub>-ge im-si

822. (B1.8) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu anzud<sub>2</sub><sup>muš</sup> en babbar<sub>2</sub>-ra-am<sub>3</sub>
823. (B1.9) kur-ra dub<sub>3</sub> mi-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-bad
824. (B1.10) u<sub>6</sub> ba-ĝ ar-ĝ ar kalam ba-gub-gub
825. (B1.11) <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na u<sub>6</sub> di-de<sub>3</sub> im-ma-š u<sub>4</sub>-š u<sub>4</sub>-ge-eš <sub>2</sub>
826. (B1.12) ensi<sub>2</sub> kug-zu-am<sub>3</sub> inim zu-am<sub>3</sub>
827. (B1.13) nam-diĝ ir-re ka ki im-mi-su<sub>2</sub>-su<sub>2</sub>
828. (B1.14) sizkur<sub>2</sub> ra-zu-a niĝ <sub>2</sub>-dun-a ki im-mi-us<sub>2</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>
829. (B1.15) ensi<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> diĝ ir iri-na-ke<sub>4</sub> ra<sub>2</sub>-zu im-ma-be<sub>2</sub>
830. (B1.16) e<sub>2</sub> ninda gu<sub>7</sub>-bi ninda ba-an-taĥ
831. (B1.17) kiĝ <sub>2</sub>-sig<sub>x</sub>(SAR) udu dab<sub>5</sub>-bi udu im-ma-a-taĥ
832. (B1.18) bur ĥe<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub> an-šag<sub>4</sub> NE-ša-gin<sub>7</sub>
833. (B1.19) gaba-ba si bi<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>
834. (B1.20) <<sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-ke<sub>4</sub>-<ne>-er mu-ne-gub
835. (B1.21) š ud<sub>3</sub> mu-ne-ra<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>a-nun-na-<sup>d</sup>a-nun-na u<sub>6</sub> di-de<sub>3</sub> ki lagaš <sup>ki</sup>
836. (B2.1) <sup>d</sup>amma kur-kur-ra dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-ne-ne a maĥ e<sub>3</sub>-a
837. (B2.2) lu<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub> la<sub>2</sub> ba-ab-la<sub>2</sub>-e
838. (B2.3) š ul zid lu<sub>2</sub> igi mu-š i-bar-ra-ne
839. (B2.4) nam-til<sub>3</sub> mu-na-sud
840. (B2.5) sipad-me e<sub>2</sub> mu-du<sub>3</sub> lugal-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-a-na mi-ni-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>
841. (B2.6) <<sup>d</sup>a-nun-na bar-ĝ u<sub>10</sub>-a š ud<sub>3</sub> ĥe<sub>2</sub>-mi-sa<sub>4</sub>-za
842. (B2.7) sipad zid gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a
843. (B2.8) gal mu-zu gal i<sub>3</sub>-ga-tum<sub>2</sub>-mu
844. (B2.9) u<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>4</sub> sag<sub>9</sub>-<ga>-ni igi-š e<sub>3</sub> mu-na-ĝ en
845. (B2.10) <sup>d</sup>amma sag<sub>9</sub>-ga-ni eĝ er-ni im-us<sub>2</sub>
846. (B2.11) lugal-ni e<sub>2</sub> ul e<sub>2</sub> libir ki-tuš -na-š e<sub>3</sub>
847. (B2.12) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra
848. (B2.13) niĝ <sub>2</sub>-ba na-gu-ul-gu-ul
849. (B2.14) en-ra e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu-a mu-na-kur<sub>x</sub>(DU)
850. (B2.15) š ud<sub>3</sub> mu-na-ra<sub>2</sub>
851. (B2.16) lugal-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su
852. (B2.17) en a ĥuš gi<sub>4</sub>-a
853. (B2.18) en dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-ni saĝ -biš e<sub>3</sub>-a
854. (B2.19) dumu-nitaĥ<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> ur-saĝ ma-a-dug<sub>4</sub>
855. (B2.20) š u zid ma-ra-a-ĝ ar
856. (B2.21) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su e<sub>2</sub>-zu mu-ra-du<sub>3</sub>
857. (B2.22) ĥul<sub>2</sub>-/la ĥa-ni\ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>

858. (B2.23) <sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub>-ĝ u<sub>10</sub> a<sub>2</sub>-mi-zu ma-ra-ĝ ar
859. (B3.1) ki-tuš dug<sub>3</sub>-ga-ma-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>
860. (B3.2) gu<sub>3</sub> de<sub>2</sub>-a-ni ĝ iš ba-tuku-am<sub>3</sub>
861. (B3.3) ur-saĝ -e sizkur<sub>2</sub> ra<sub>2</sub>-<zu>-ni
862. (B3.4) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a-aš <sub>2</sub> en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ke<sub>4</sub> š u ba-š i-ti
863. (B3.5) mu ĝ en-na-am<sub>3</sub> itid til-la-am<sub>3</sub>
864. (B3.6) mu gibil an-na im-ma-gub
865. (B3.7) itid e<sub>2</sub>-ba ba-a-kur<sub>9</sub>
866. (B3.8) itid-bi ud <sub>3</sub>-am<sub>3</sub> im-ta-zal
867. (B3.9) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su eridug<sup>ki</sup>-ta ĝ en-am<sub>3</sub>
868. (B3.10) i<sub>3</sub>-ti sa-sa im-e<sub>3</sub>
869. (B3.11) kalam-ma ud mu-ĝ al<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu <sup>d</sup>suen u<sub>3</sub>-tud-da
870. (B3.12) saĝ im-ma-da-ab-sa<sub>2</sub>
871. (B3.13) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a gug za-gin<sub>3</sub> mi-ni-uĥ
872. (B3.14) ub-da im-mi-dug<sub>4</sub>
873. (B3.15) i<sub>3</sub>-ĥe-nun-na ki ba-ni-sud
874. (B3.16) MUŠ DA MA lu<sub>2</sub> kiĝ <sub>2</sub> ak-am<sub>3</sub>
875. (B3.17) e<sub>2</sub>-ta ba-ta-e<sub>3</sub>
876. (B3.18) la<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-nun ĝ eš tin ga š e-a
877. (B3.19) ĝ iš -<ĝ i<sub>6</sub>>-par<sub>4</sub> <sup>ĝ</sup> iš peš <sub>3</sub> niĝ <sub>2</sub>-ĝ en-na
878. (B3.20) ga saĝ -ba dim<sub>2</sub>-ma
879. (B3.21) zu<sub>2</sub>-lum <sup>ĝ</sup> iš an ĝ eš tin tur-tur
880. (B3.22) niĝ <sub>2</sub> izi nu-tag-ga
881. (B3.23) niĝ <sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>7</sub> diĝ ir-re-ne-kam
882. (B3.24) la<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-nun-na kiĝ <sub>2</sub> ba-ni-ak
883. (B3.25) ud diĝ ir zid-da du-da
884. (B3.26) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a ud /ten\ta
885. (B3.27) kiĝ <sub>2</sub>-sig<sub>x</sub>(SAR)-ge bi<sub>2</sub>-dib
886. (B4.1) e<sub>2</sub>-e <sup>d</sup>asar-ri š u si ba-sa<sub>2</sub>
887. (B4.2) <sup>d</sup>nin-ma-da-ke<sub>4</sub> na de<sub>5</sub> mi-ni-ĝ ar
888. (B4.3) lugal <sup>d</sup>en-ki-ke<sub>4</sub> eš -bar kiĝ <sub>2</sub> ba-an-š um<sub>2</sub>
889. (B4.4) <sup>d</sup>nin-dub iš ib maĥ eridug<sup>ki</sup>-ga<sub>14</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub>
890. (B4.5) na-izi ba-ni-sig<sub>9</sub>
891. (B4.6) nin ĝ arza kal-la-ke<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>nanš e š ir<sub>3</sub> kug dug<sub>4</sub> zu e<sub>2</sub>-e ba-an-dug<sub>4</sub>
892. (B4.7) u<sub>8</sub> gig<sub>2</sub>-ge umbin mi-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-kiĝ <sub>2</sub>
893. (B4.8) im-ma-al an-na-ke<sub>4</sub>

894. (B4.9) ubur si ba-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>
895. (B4.10) <sup>ê</sup> i<sup>š</sup> š inig <sup>ê</sup> i<sup>š</sup> Š EG<sub>9</sub>.AN u<sub>3</sub>-tud-<da>-ta
896. (B4.11) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu im-ta-sikil-e-ne
897. (B4.12) im-ta-dadag-ge-eš <sub>2</sub>
898. (B4.13) ensi<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub> iri-a dub<sub>3</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-ĝ ar
899. (B4.14) kalam-ma sig bi<sub>2</sub>-ĝ ar
900. (B4.15) du<sub>6</sub>-du<sub>6</sub> mu-si-ig inim-ĝ ar mu-gi<sub>4</sub>
901. (B4.16) a-aḥ dug<sub>4</sub>-ga ĝ iri<sub>2</sub>-ta ĝ ar-am<sub>3</sub>
902. (B4.17) iri-a ama lu<sub>2</sub> tur<sub>5</sub>-ra-ke<sub>4</sub>
903. (B4.18) a silim ĝ ar-ra-am<sub>3</sub> maš -anš e niĝ <sub>2</sub>-zi-ĝ al<sub>2</sub> edin-na
904. (B4.19) teš <sub>2</sub>-bi-š e<sub>3</sub> gam-ma-am<sub>3</sub>
905. (B4.20) ur-maḥ piriĝ uš umgal edin-na-ka
906. (B4.21) u<sub>3</sub> dub<sub>3</sub> ĝ ar-ra-am<sub>3</sub>
907. (B4.22) ud sizkur<sub>2</sub>-re ĝ i<sub>6</sub> š ud<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>
908. (B4.23) i<sub>3</sub>-ti /niĝ <sub>2</sub>\ ud-zal-la-ke<sub>4</sub>
909. (B4.24) lugal-bi mu-um-ĝ e<sub>26</sub>-e
910. (B5.1) ur-saĝ <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su e<sub>2</sub>-a mi-NI-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>
911. (B5.2) e<sub>2</sub>-a lugal-bi im-ma-ĝ en
912. (B5.3) ḥu-ri<sub>2</sub>-in am-še<sub>3</sub> igi il<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>-dam
913. (B5.4) ur-saĝ e<sub>2</sub>-a-na ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-da-ni
914. (B5.5) ud me<sub>3</sub>-š e<sub>3</sub> gu<sub>3</sub> <sup>ê</sup> a<sub>2</sub>ĝ ar-am<sub>3</sub>
915. (B5.6) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su e<sub>2</sub>-na mu-ku<sub>x</sub>(DU)-ku<sub>x</sub>(DU)
916. (B5.7) eš <sub>3</sub> abzu ezen ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-/la-am<sub>3</sub>\
917. (B5.8) lugal [e<sub>2</sub>]-/ni\ ta nam-ta-ĝ en
918. (B5.9) <sup>d</sup>utu ki lagaš <<sup>ki</sup>>-e e<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
919. (B5.10) <sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub> a<sub>2</sub>-mi-ni-š e<sub>3</sub> du-a-ni
920. (B5.11) munus zid e<sub>2</sub>-a-ni-š e<sub>3</sub> š u ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-dam
921. (B5.12) a<sub>2</sub>-nu<sub>2</sub>-da-ka-na kur<sub>9</sub>-ra-ni
922. (B5.13) <sup>id</sup><sub>2</sub>idigna a-u<sub>3</sub>-ba <sup>ê</sup> a<sub>2</sub>ĝ ar-am<sub>3</sub>
923. (B5.14) da PI-na-ka tuš -a-ni
924. (B5.15) nin dumu an kug-ga <sup>ê</sup> i<sup>š</sup> kiri<sub>6</sub> nisig-ga gurun il<sub>2</sub>-la-am<sub>3</sub>
925. (B5.16) ud e<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>3</sub> nam tar-ra-am<sub>3</sub>
926. (B5.17) <sup>d</sup>ba-/u<sub>2</sub>\ a<sub>2</sub>(source: DA)-mi-na kur<sub>9</sub>-ra-am<sub>3</sub>
927. (B5.18) ki lagaš <sup>ki</sup> ḥe<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-la-am<sub>3</sub>
928. (B5.19) ud im-zal <sup>d</sup>utu lagaš <sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub> kalam-ma saĝ mi-ni-il<sub>2</sub>
929. (B5.20) gud-i<sub>3</sub> udu-i<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-e bi<sub>2</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub>



930. (B5.21) bur an-na mu-gub tin mu-ni-/de<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>\
931. (B5.22) <sup>d</sup>a-nun-<na> ki lagaš (source: Š IR.BUR)<sup>ki</sup> en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-da ki-bi mu-da-rin<sub>2</sub>-ne<sub>2</sub>-eš <sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
932. (B5.23) e<sub>2</sub>-a nam-iš ib-ba š u mi-ni-du<sub>7</sub>
933. (B5.24) eš -bar kiĝ <sub>2</sub> mi<sub>2</sub> mi-ni-dug<sub>4</sub>
934. (B6.1) tin bur gal-la im-ma-de<sub>2</sub>
935. (B6.2) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu UL /GAL\ UL DU gu<sub>2</sub> im-ma-gur-re
936. (B6.3) eš <sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-dub-ke<sub>4</sub> š eg<sub>12</sub> mu-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>
937. (B6.4) ninda ud-da ga maš <sub>2</sub>-lulim-ma
938. (B6.5) ud ĝ i<sub>6</sub>-e de<sub>6</sub>-a
939. (B6.6) nir-ĝ al<sub>2</sub> dumu ki aĝ <sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> ur-saĝ <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su
940. (B6.7) u<sub>3</sub>-a mi-ni-zi-zi
941. (B6.8) me gal-gal-la saĝ /mi-ni\il<sub>2</sub>-e
942. (B6.9) AN /KA\ /mar\-za e<sub>2</sub>-a SA-ni
943. (B6.10) eš <sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu ki-us<sub>2</sub> mu-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>
944. (B6.11) zid-du-e e š u si sa<sub>2</sub>-da
945. (B6.12) erim<sub>2</sub>-du-e gu<sub>2</sub> ĝ iš ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-da
946. (B6.13) e<sub>2</sub> gen<sub>6</sub>-ne<sub>2</sub>-da e<sub>2</sub> dug<sub>3</sub>-ge-da
947. (B6.14) iri-ni eš <sub>3</sub> ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su<sup>ki</sup> na de<sub>6</sub> š um<sub>2</sub>-mu-da
948. (B6.15) ĝ iš gu-za nam tar-ra gub-da
949. (B6.16) ĝ idru ud su<sub>3</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub> š u-a ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-da
950. (B6.17) sipad <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ke<sub>4</sub> gu<sub>3</sub> de<sub>2</sub>-a-ar
951. (B6.18) men nisig-ga-gin<sub>7</sub> saĝ an-š e<sub>3</sub> il<sub>2</sub>-da
952. (B6.19) kuš la<sub>2</sub> gada la<sub>2</sub> saĝ -a mur<sub>10</sub>-a
953. (B6.20) kisal e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu-ka ki-gub pad<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>-da
954. (B6.21) ig gal dim ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-nun-na gal<sub>5</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> gal ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su<sup>ki</sup>
955. (B6.22) <sup>d</sup>ig-alim dumu ki aĝ <sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ni
956. (B6.23) en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra me-ni-da mu-na-da-dib-e
957. (B6.24) e<sub>2</sub> sikil-e-da š u<sub>4</sub>-luĝ ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-da
958. (B6.25) š u kug a en-ra š um<sub>2</sub>-mu-da
959. (B6.26) kaš bur-ra de<sub>2</sub>-da tin dug-a de<sub>2</sub>-da
960. (B7.1) e<sub>2</sub>-lunga<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub> a<sub>2</sub> sikil-ba
961. (B7.2) u<sub>2</sub>-lu<sub>5</sub>-š i-e a pap-sir<sub>2</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub>
962. (B7.3) kun-ka<sub>3</sub>-an za-a-da
963. (B7.4) gud du<sub>7</sub> maš <sub>2</sub> du<sub>7</sub> udu niga
964. (B7.5) ninda ud-da ga maš <sub>2</sub>-lulim-ma
965. (B7.6) ud ĝ i<sub>6</sub>-e de<sub>6</sub>-a nir-ĝ al<sub>2</sub> dumu ki aĝ <sub>2</sub>

966. (B7.7) <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> ur-saĝ <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su
967. (B7.8) gu<sub>7</sub>-a naĝ -a X-bi u<sub>3</sub>-a «MI» zi-zi-<da>
968. (B7.9) en š u<sub>4</sub>-luĥ dadag-ga dumu-saĝ e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu
969. (B7.10) <sup>d</sup>š ul-š ag<sub>4</sub>-ga <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra
970. (B7.11) me-ni-da mu-na-da-dib(source: LU)-e
971. (B7.12) š ita<sub>2</sub> saĝ 7 š u du<sub>8</sub>-a-da
972. (B7.13) e<sub>2</sub>-en-kar<sub>2</sub> kan<sub>4</sub> me<sub>3</sub>-ka ig-bi ĝ al<sub>2</sub> da<sub>13</sub>-da<sub>13</sub>-<da>
973. (B7.14) eme ĝ iri<sub>2</sub> mi-tum ĝ iš -a-ma-ru
974. (B7.15) mar<sub>6</sub>-ra-tum ĝ iš -ĥur me<sub>3</sub>-bi
975. (B7.16) si sa<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>-a-da
976. (B7.17) kur gu<sub>2</sub>-erim<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ka
977. (B7.18) a-gin<sub>7</sub> ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-da
978. (B7.19) ur-saĝ <sup>ĝ</sup> iš š ar<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub> me<sub>3</sub>-a kur š u-š e<sub>3</sub> ĝ ar-ĝ ar
979. (B7.20) š agina gu<sub>2</sub>-tuku e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu
980. (B7.21) <sup>muš</sup> en<sub>sur</sub><sub>2</sub>-du<sub>3</sub> ki-bal-a
981. (B7.22) <sup>d</sup>lugal-kur-dub<sub>2</sub> š agina-ni
982. (B7.23) en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra me-ni-da mu-na-da-dib-e
983. (B7.24) mi-tum an-na-ke<sub>4</sub> ud /ĥuš\gin<sub>7</sub>
984. (B8.1) kur-š e<sub>3</sub> gu<sub>3</sub> ĝ ar-ra-a
985. (B8.2) <sup>ĝ</sup> iš š ar<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub> a-ma-ru me<sub>3</sub>
986. (B8.3) ĝ iš -gaz ki-bal-a
987. (B8.4) en-ne<sub>2</sub> ki-bal kur saĝ -ki-ni u<sub>3</sub>-ma-da-gid<sub>2</sub>-da
988. (B8.5) gu<sub>3</sub> mi-ri<sub>2</sub>-a-ni u<sub>3</sub>-ma-ra
989. (B8.6) lipiš -bi u<sub>3</sub>-mu-ra<sub>2</sub>
990. (B8.7) en-na š agina 2-kam-ni
991. (B8.8) kur-š u-na-buru<sub>5</sub><sup>muš</sup> en-am<sub>3</sub>
992. (B8.9) dumu <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ra me-ni-da mu-na-da-dib-e
993. (B8.10) nam-š ita ki lagaš <sup>ki</sup>
994. (B8.11) š u du<sub>8</sub>-a-da
995. (B8.12) sizkur<sub>2</sub> ra<sub>2</sub>-zu-bi dug<sub>3</sub>-ga ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ a<sub>2</sub>-da
996. (B8.13) ur-saĝ eridug<sup>ki</sup>-š e<sub>3</sub> du-a-ni
997. (B8.14) silim-ma dug<sub>3</sub> di-da
998. (B8.15) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su eridug<sup>ki</sup>-ta du-ni
999. (B8.16) iri du<sub>3</sub>-a <sup>ĝ</sup> iš gu-za-bi gen<sub>6</sub>-na-<da>
1000. (B8.17) nam-til<sub>3</sub> sipad zid
1001. (B8.18) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a-da

1002. (B8.19) giri<sub>17</sub> š u ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-la-da
1003. (B8.20) ad gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-ni
1004. (B8.21) <sup>d</sup>lugal-si-sa<sub>2</sub> en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-<ra>
1005. (B8.22) me-ni-da mu-na-da-dib-e
1006. (B8.23) tur dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-da
1007. (B8.24) maḥ dug<sub>4</sub>-ga-da
1008. (B8.25) inim si sa<sub>2</sub>-e zu<sub>2</sub> keš e<sub>2</sub> ak-da
1009. (B8.26) erim<sub>2</sub> dug<sub>4</sub>-/ga<sup>?</sup> [...] X [...] /da\
1010. (B9.1) ur-saĝ barag kug-ga tuš -a-ra
1011. (B9.2) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu-a inim-bi ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-da
1012. (B9.3) <sup>d</sup>š akkan<sub>2</sub> š eg<sub>9</sub>-bar sukkal e<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>3</sub>-ga saĝ -an-ni
1013. (B9.4) en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra me-ni-da
1014. (B9.5) mu-na-da-dib-e
1015. (B9.6) a kug-ge-da naĝ a sikil-e-da
1016. (B9.7) i<sub>3</sub> bur babbar<sub>2</sub>-ra naĝ a E<sub>2</sub>.NUN-na-da
1017. (B9.8) ĝ iš -nu<sub>2</sub> u<sub>2</sub> za-gin<sub>3</sub> ba-ra-ga-na
1018. (B9.9) u<sub>3</sub> dug<sub>3</sub> ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-da
1019. (B9.10) e<sub>2</sub>-nu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>3</sub>-ga-ni-a
1020. (B9.11) bar-ra ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-da
1021. (B9.12) š ag<sub>4</sub>-ga nu-e<sub>3</sub>-e<sub>3</sub>-da
1022. (B9.13) <sup>d</sup>kinda-zid lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>3</sub>-ga-kam
1023. (B9.14) en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra me-ni-da mu-na-da-dib-e
1024. (B9.15) ĝ iš ĝigir kug an mul-a erin<sub>2</sub>-na-da
1025. (B9.16) anš <sup>e</sup>dur<sub>9</sub><sup>ur</sup><sub>3</sub>-bi piriĝ -kaš <sub>4</sub>-e-pad<sub>3</sub>-da
1026. (B9.17) anš e-ba sig<sub>10</sub>-ga-da
1027. (B9.18) anš e sig-a anš e eridug<sup>ki</sup>-ga<sub>14</sub>
1028. (B9.19) anš <sup>e</sup>dur<sub>9</sub>-da E<sub>2</sub> KA kur-kur kur<sub>9</sub> di-da
1029. (B9.20) lugal-bi <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su ḥul<sub>2</sub>-la tum<sub>2</sub>-mu-da
1030. (B9.21) lu<sub>2</sub> ug-gin<sub>7</sub> š eg<sub>12</sub> gi<sub>4</sub>-a
1031. (B9.22) mar-uru<sub>5</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> zig<sub>3</sub>-ga
1032. (B9.23) maš kim da-ga <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>\-su-ka
1033. (B10.1) <sup>d</sup>en-š eg<sub>12</sub>-nun sipad anš e-ka-ni
1034. (B10.2) en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra me-ni-da mu-na-da-dib-e
1035. (B10.3) i<sub>3</sub> ḥi-a-da gara<sub>2</sub>(source: BI) ḥi-a-da
1036. (B10.4) ud<sub>5</sub> kug ud<sub>5</sub> ga naĝ maš <sub>2</sub>-lulim
1037. (B10.5) ama <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka

1038. (B10.6) i<sub>3</sub> ga-bi eš<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu-a muš<sub>3</sub> nu-tum<sub>2</sub>-da
1039. (B10.7) en-lulim sipad maš<sub>2</sub>-lulim en<sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ<sub>1</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra
1040. (B10.8) me-ni-da mu-na-da-dib-e
1041. (B10.9) ti-gi<sub>4</sub> niĝ<sub>2</sub> dug<sub>3</sub>-ge si sa<sub>2</sub>-a-da
1042. (B10.10) kisal e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu ħul<sub>2</sub>-a si-a-da
1043. (B10.11) al-ĝ<sub>1</sub> ar mi-ri<sub>2</sub>-tum niĝ<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-dug<sub>3</sub>-ga
1044. (B10.12) ur-saĝ<sub>1</sub> ĝ<sub>1</sub> eš<sub>3</sub> tug<sup>tu</sup><sub>2</sub>-a-ra
1045. (B10.13) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ<sub>1</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu dug<sub>3</sub>-bi ĝ<sub>1</sub> a<sub>2</sub>-ĝ<sub>1</sub> a<sub>2</sub>-da
1046. (B10.14) nar ki aĝ<sub>2</sub>-a-ni uš<sub>3</sub> umgal kalam-ma
1047. (B10.15) en<sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ<sub>1</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra me-ni-da mu-na-da-dib-e
1048. (B10.16) š<sub>3</sub> ag<sub>4</sub> ħuĝ<sub>2</sub>-ĝ<sub>1</sub>a<sub>2</sub>-da bar ħuĝ<sub>2</sub>-ĝ<sub>1</sub>a<sub>2</sub>-da
1049. (B10.17) igi er<sub>2</sub> pad<sub>3</sub>-da er<sub>2</sub> š<sub>3</sub> e<sub>x</sub>(SIG)-da
1050. (B10.18) š<sub>3</sub> ag<sub>4</sub> a-nir-ta a-nir be<sub>4</sub>-da
1051. (B10.19) en-na š<sub>3</sub> ag<sub>4</sub> ab-gin<sub>7</sub> zig<sub>3</sub>-ga-ni
1052. (B10.20) <sup>id</sup><sub>2</sub>buranun<sup>ki</sup>-gin<sub>7</sub> luĥ-ĥa-ni
1053. (B10.21) a-ma-ru-gin<sub>7</sub> sa-ga dug<sub>4</sub>-<ga>-ni
1054. (B10.22) kur gu<sub>2</sub>-erim<sub>2</sub>-ĝ<sub>1</sub> al<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ka
1055. (B10.23) a-gin<sub>7</sub> u<sub>3</sub>-mi-/ĝ<sub>1</sub> ar š<sub>3</sub> ag<sub>4</sub> [...] /gu<sub>2</sub>-bi gi<sub>4</sub>\-a-ni a sed<sub>6</sub>? su<sub>3</sub>-da
1056. (B11.1) balaĝ<sub>1</sub> -ĝ<sub>1</sub> a<sub>2</sub>-ni lugal-igi-ħuš-am<sub>3</sub>
1057. (B11.2) en<sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ<sub>1</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra me-ni-da mu-na-da-dib-e
1058. (B11.3) lukur ki ig-ni ĥe<sub>2</sub>-ĝ<sub>1</sub> al<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> šar<sub>2</sub>
1059. (B11.4) <sup>d</sup>za-za-ru
1060. (B11.5) <sup>d</sup>iš<sub>3</sub> kur-pa-e<sub>3</sub>
1061. (B11.6) <<sup>d</sup>>ur<sub>2</sub>-agrun-ta-e<sub>3</sub>-a
1062. (B11.7) <sup>d</sup>ħe<sub>2</sub>-ĝ<sub>1</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-nun-na
1063. (B11.8) <sup>d</sup>ħe<sub>2</sub>-š<sub>3</sub> ag<sub>4</sub>-ga
1064. (B11.9) <sup>d</sup>zu<sub>2</sub>-ur<sub>2</sub>-ĝ<sub>1</sub> u<sub>10</sub>
1065. (B11.10) <sup>d</sup>za-ar-ĝ<sub>1</sub> u<sub>10</sub>
1066. (B11.11) dumu maš<sub>7</sub> <sup>d</sup>ba-u<sub>2</sub>-me
1067. (B11.12) ban<sub>3</sub>-da en<sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ<sub>1</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka-me
1068. (B11.13) nam-š<sub>3</sub> ita sag<sub>9</sub>-ga gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a-a-da
1069. (B11.14) en<sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ<sub>1</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra mu-na-da-š<sub>3</sub> u<sub>4</sub>-ge-eš<sub>2</sub>
1070. (B11.15) gana<sub>2</sub> gal-gal-e š<sub>3</sub> u il<sub>2</sub>-la-da
1071. (B11.16) eg<sub>2</sub> pa<sub>4</sub> lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub>
1072. (B11.17) gu<sub>2</sub>-bi zig<sub>3</sub>-ga-da
1073. (B11.18) edin lugal-bi-ir tum<sub>2</sub>

1074. (B11.19) gu<sub>2</sub>-edin-na-ka <sup>d</sup>ezina<sub>2</sub>-ku<sub>3</sub>-su<sub>3</sub> pa sikil-e
1075. (B11.20) absin<sub>3</sub>-na saĝ an-š e<sub>3</sub> il<sub>2</sub>-š e<sub>3</sub>
1076. (B11.21) gana<sub>2</sub> zid-bi gig ziz<sub>2</sub> gu<sub>2</sub>-gu<sub>2</sub> um-de<sub>6</sub>
1077. (B11.22) guru<sub>7</sub>-guru<sub>7</sub> maš ki lagaš <sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub>
1078. (B11.23) gu<sub>2</sub> gur-gur-ra-da
1079. (B11.24) saĝ -tun<sub>3</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> engar gu<sub>2</sub>-edin-na
1080. (B11.25) <sup>d</sup>ĝ iš -bar-e<sub>3</sub> en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra
1081. (B11.26) me-ni-da mu-na-da-an-dib-be<sub>2</sub>
1082. (B12.1) ambar-bi <sup>ku</sup><sub>6</sub>ĤI.SUĤUR <sup>ku</sup><sub>6</sub>suĥur u<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>6</sub>
1083. (B12.2) ĝ iš -gi /nisig\ -ga-bi gi ĥa-bu<sub>3</sub>-ur<sub>2</sub> u<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>6</sub>
1084. (B12.3) imin-š atam ra-/gaba\ gu<sub>2</sub>-edin-na-ke<sub>4</sub>
1085. (B12.4) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu-a inim-bi ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>-da
1086. (B12.5) <sup>d</sup>lamma enkud-e gu<sub>2</sub>-edin-na
1087. (B12.6) en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra me-ni-da mu-na-da-dib-e
1088. (B12.7) edin ki dug<sub>3</sub>-ge na de<sub>5</sub>-ga-da
1089. (B12.8) gu<sub>2</sub>-edin-na edin dug<sub>3</sub>-ge
1090. (B12.9) na de<sub>5</sub> š um<sub>2</sub>-ma-da
1091. (B12.10) muš en-bi [rin<sub>2</sub>]-rin<sub>2</sub>-na-da
1092. (B12.11) nunuz-bi e<sub>2</sub>-DI-a ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-la-da
1093. (B12.12) ama-bi buluĝ <sub>3</sub>-e-da
1094. (B12.13) du<sub>8</sub>-du<sub>8</sub> maš -anš e lu-a-ba
1095. (B12.14) edin ki aĝ <sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka-ke<sub>4</sub>
1096. (B12.15) niĝ <sub>2</sub>-kud nu-ak-da
1097. (B12.16) <sup>d</sup>dim-gal-abzu niĝ ir gu<sub>2</sub>-edin-na
1098. (B12.17) en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra me-ni-da
1099. (B12.18) mu-na-da-dib-be<sub>2</sub>
1100. (B12.19) iri du<sub>3</sub>-a-da ki-tuš ĝ ar-ra-da
1101. (B12.20) bad<sub>3</sub> iri-kug-ga en-nu du<sub>3</sub>-a-da
1102. (B12.21) <sup>d</sup>aga-us<sub>2</sub> dag-ga-na-bi
1103. (B12.22) š ita<sub>2</sub> saĝ maĥ ĝ iš erin babbar<sub>2</sub>-ra
1104. (B12.23) e<sub>2</sub>-e dab<sub>6</sub>-ba-da
1105. (B12.24) <sup>d</sup>lugal-en-nu-iri-kug-ga-kam
1106. (B12.25) en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra me-ni-da mu-na-da-dib-e
1107. (B12.26) an kug-ge zid-de<sub>3</sub>-eš <sub>2</sub> mu-ĝ ar
1108. (B13.1) <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-e saĝ -ba gur bi<sub>2</sub>-dar
1109. (B13.2) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĥur-saĝ-ke<sub>4</sub> igi zid ba-š i-bar

1110. (B13.3) <sup>d</sup>en-ki\ lugal eridug/<sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub>\ temen-bi /mu\-sig<sub>9</sub>
1111. (B13.4) en zid š ag<sub>4</sub> zalag-zalag-ga-ke<sub>4</sub>
1112. (B13.5) <sup>d</sup>suen-e me-bi an ki-a im-mi-dirig-ga-am<sub>3</sub>
1113. (B13.6) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ke<sub>4</sub> eš <sub>3</sub> numun i-a š ag<sub>4</sub>-ge ba-ni-pad<sub>3</sub>
1114. (B13.7) ama <sup>d</sup>nanš e š eg<sub>12</sub> ki lagaš <sup>ki</sup>-ka
1115. (B13.8) mi<sub>2</sub> zid ba-ni-in-dug<sub>4</sub>
1116. (B13.9) diĝ ir numun zid-zid-da-ke<sub>4</sub>
1117. (B13.10) e<sub>2</sub> /mu\-du<sub>3</sub> mu-/bi\ pa /bi<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>3</sub>\
1118. (B13.11) aĝ rig kalag-[ga] <sup>d</sup>nanš e-/ke<sub>4</sub>\
1119. (B13.12) sipad /gu<sub>2</sub>\-tuku <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka-ke<sub>4</sub>
1120. (B13.13) gal /mu\-zu gal i<sub>3</sub>-/ga\-tum<sub>2</sub>-/mu\
1121. (B13.14) e<sub>2</sub>-e lu<sub>2</sub> /e<sub>2</sub>\ du<sub>3</sub>-a-ke<sub>4</sub>
1122. (B13.15) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a ensi<sub>2</sub>
1123. (B13.16) lagaš <sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub>
1124. (B13.17) saĝ im-rig<sub>7</sub>(source: PA.TUK.DU)-ge
1125. (B13.18) ĝ iš gigir kur mu-gam su zig<sub>3</sub> guru<sub>3</sub> ni<sub>2</sub> gal u<sub>5</sub>-a
1126. (B13.19) anš <sup>e</sup>dur<sub>9</sub><sup>ur</sup><sub>3</sub>-bi ud-gu<sub>3</sub>-dug<sub>3</sub>-dug<sub>3</sub>-ga
1127. (B13.20) anš e-ba sig<sub>10</sub>-ga-da
1128. (B13.21) š ita<sub>2</sub> saĝ 7 tukul ħuš me<sub>3</sub>
1129. (B13.22) tukul ub 2-e nu-il<sub>2</sub> ĝ iš -gaz me<sub>3</sub>
1130. (B13.23) mi-tum tukul nir<sub>3</sub> saĝ piriĝ
1131. (B14.1) kur-da gaba nu-gi<sub>4</sub>
1132. (B14.2) ĝ iš eme(source: KA×Ĝ IR<sub>2</sub>) ĝ iri<sub>2</sub> š u-nir 10 lal 1
1133. (B14.3) a<sub>2</sub> nam-ur-saĝ -ĝ a<sub>2</sub>
1134. (B14.4) ĝ iš pan tir meš <sub>3</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> gu<sub>3</sub> ĝ ar-ra-ni
1135. (B14.5) ti sumur me<sub>3</sub>-a nim-gin<sub>7</sub> ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-da-ni
1136. (B14.6) e<sub>2</sub>-mar-uru<sub>5</sub> ug piriĝ muš -ħuš -š e<sub>3</sub>
1137. (B14.7) eme ed<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub>-da-ni
1138. (B14.8) a<sub>2</sub> me<sub>3</sub> me nam-lugal si-si-a-da
1139. (B14.9) ensi<sub>2</sub> lu<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> du<sub>3</sub>-a-ke<sub>4</sub>
1140. (B14.10) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a ensi<sub>2</sub>
1141. (B14.11) lagaš <sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub>
1142. (B14.12) saĝ im-mi-ib<sub>2</sub>-rig<sub>7</sub>-ge
1143. (B14.13) /urud\ nagga lagab za-gin<sub>3</sub>-na kug NE gug gi-rin me-luĥ-ħa-da
1144. (B14.14) urudš en maĥ urud<sub>uri</sub> maĥ
1145. (B14.15) urud<sub>eš</sub> <sub>2</sub>-da kug urud<sub>bur</sub> kug an-ne<sub>2</sub> tum<sub>2</sub>

1146. (B14.16) X IM X 𒄩 GA-ke<sub>4</sub>
1147. (B14.17) banš ur kug an-na il<sub>2</sub>-la-da
1148. (B14.18) ki sa<sub>2</sub>-[dug<sub>4</sub>-ga] bi<sub>2</sub>-[gub]
1149. (B14.19) <sup>d</sup>nin-/ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>\-[su]-ke<sub>4</sub> iri-ni
1150. (B14.20) lagaš <sup>ki-e</sup> /u<sub>2</sub>? X\ ki dug<sub>3</sub> ba-š um<sub>2</sub>
1151. (B14.21) e<sub>2</sub> ki-nu<sub>2</sub>-a ki ni<sub>2</sub> te e<sub>2</sub>-a-ba
1152. (B14.22) nu<sub>2</sub> mu-ni-gub
1153. (B14.23) kur-kur-re muš en-gin<sub>7</sub> sila-ba dumu <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-da
1154. (B14.24) ni<sub>2</sub> mu-da-ab-ten-ten
1155. (B14.25) id<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> a zal-le si-a-da
1156. (B14.26) ambar-ra 𒄩I.SU𒄩UR<sup>ku<sub>6</sub></sup> suḥur<sup>ku<sub>6</sub></sup> ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-la-da
1157. (B15.1) enkud ku<sub>3</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-bi zag-ba gub-ba-da
1158. (B15.2) a gal-gal-e š e si-si-a-<da>
1159. (B15.3) guru<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>6</sub> guru<sub>7</sub>-maš ki lagaš <sup>ki-ke<sub>4</sub></sup>
1160. (B15.4) gu<sub>2</sub> gur-gur-ra-da
1161. (B15.5) tur<sub>3</sub> du<sub>3</sub>-a-da a-maš du<sub>3</sub>-a-da
1162. (B15.6) u<sub>8</sub> zid-da sila<sub>4</sub> /du<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>3</sub>\-a-da
1163. (B15.7) udu-nitaḥ<sub>2</sub> u<sub>8</sub> zid-bi š u ba-ba-ra-da
1164. (B15.8) ab<sub>2</sub> zid-da amar gub-gub-ba-da
1165. (B15.9) š ag<sub>4</sub>-ba gud-ninda<sub>2</sub> gu<sub>3</sub> nun-bi di-da
1166. (B15.10) gud-e š udul<sub>2</sub>-la si sa<sub>2</sub>-a-da
1167. (B15.11) engar gud-ra-bi zag-ba gub-ba-da
1168. (B15.12) anš e niĝ <sub>2</sub>-tug<sub>2</sub>-bi il<sub>2</sub>-a-da
1169. (B15.13) a<sub>2</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub> š e si-bi eĝ er-bi us<sub>2</sub>-sa-/da\
1170. (B15.14) dur<sub>9</sub>-e <sup>urud</sup>ḥa-X maḥ la<sub>2</sub>-a-da
1171. (B15.15) e<sub>2</sub>-kin<sub>2</sub>-kin<sub>2</sub> maḥ il<sub>2</sub>-la-da
1172. (B15.16) Ĝ A<sub>2</sub> DA Ĝ A<sub>2</sub> GADA+KID<sub>2</sub>.DU<sub>8</sub> e<sub>2</sub> geme<sub>2</sub> tur <sup>d</sup>/nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su\-[ka]-/ke<sub>4</sub>\
1173. (B15.17) [...] /A\gin<sub>7</sub> [...] a-a-da
1174. (B15.18) [...] /G\ EN ĝ ar-e si /sa<sub>2</sub>\-a-da
1175. (B15.19) kisal e<sub>2</sub>(source: SA)-ninnu-/ke<sub>4</sub>\ ḥul<sub>2</sub>-la si-a-da
1176. (B15.20) si-im-da a<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> balaĝ nam-nar š u du<sub>7</sub>-a
1177. (B15.21) balaĝ ki aĝ <sub>2</sub>-ni uš umgal kalam-ma
1178. (B15.22) saĝ -ba ĝ en-na-da
1179. (B15.23) ensi<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu mu-du<sub>3</sub>-a
1180. (B16.1) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra
1181. (B16.2) mu-na-da-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub> (source uses REC 144 here; everywhere else it uses REC 56)

1182. (B16.3) /e2\~e me gal-la /saĝ \ mi-ni-ib2-il2
1183. (B16.4) ni2 me-lem4-ma š u mi-ni-ib2-du7
1184. (B16.5) ma2-gur8-gin7 sumur3? im-[X]
1185. (B16.6) dim2-sa-bi im-ak
1186. (B16.7) lugal-bi barag ĝ ir2-nun-na-ka
1187. (B16.8) ur-saĝ <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir2-su ud-de3-eš 2 im-e3
1188. (B16.9) ĝ iš PU2 niĝ 2 il2-la du2-ru-na-bi
1189. (B16.10) an sig7-ga su2-lim il2-la-am3
1190. (B16.11) š u-nir-bi saĝ -š u4-ga-bi
1191. (B16.12) <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir2-su <su> zig3 mu-guru3-am3
1192. (B16.13) kuš la2 igi-bi-š e3 si sa2-a-bi
1193. (B16.14) muš -gu3 sig7-ga a tu17-a-am3
1194. (B16.15) ĝ iš gigir za-gin3 ul il2-a-na
1195. (B16.16) lugal-bi ur-saĝ <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir2-su /<sup>d</sup>utu-am3 mu-gub
1196. (B16.17) gu-za gu2-en-na gub-ba-bi
1197. (B16.18) e2 kug an-na ul-la du2-ru-na-am3
1198. (B16.19) nu2-bi ki-nu2-a gub-ba-bi
1199. (B16.20) š ilamx(TUR3) ki-nu2-ba dub3 ĝ ar-ra-am3
1200. (B17.1) bar kug u2 za-gin3 ba-ra-ga-ba
1201. (B17.2) ama <sup>d</sup>ba-u2 en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir2-su-da
1202. (B17.3) ki-nu2 mu-da-ab-dug3-ge
1203. (B17.4) zabar gal-gal-e teš 2 mu-gu7-e
1204. (B17.5) e2 zid-da /zag\~da /zabar\ kug-ge ne-/saĝ \
1205. (B17.6) mi-ni-ib2-š eĝ 6-š eĝ 6
1206. (B17.7) bur kug unu6 gal-la š u4-ga-bi
1207. (B17.8) buniĝ (SUG) maḥ ban3-da a nu-silig5-ge-dam
1208. (B17.9) eš 2-da-bi da-ba gub-ba-bi
1209. (B17.10) <sup>id</sup>2idigna <sup>id</sup>2buranun<sup>ki</sup>-bi-da
1210. (B17.11) ḥe2-ĝ al2 tum2-tum2-am3
1211. (B17.12) niĝ 2-du7 iri-na-ke4 pa bi2-e3
1212. (B17.13) gu3-de2-a e2-ninnu mu-du3
1213. (B17.14) me-bi š u bi2-du7
1214. (B17.15) e2-i3-gara2-ba i3 gara2 i3-kur9
1215. (B17.16) e2 kug AN.KA-ba ninda mu-ni-ĝ ar-ĝ ar
1216. (B17.17) ur5 mu-du8 š u-š u mu-luḥ(source: Ĝ AR)
1217. (B17.18) ud lugal-ni e2-a kur9-ra



1218. (B17.19) ud imin-ne-eš<sub>2</sub>
1219. (B17.20) geme<sub>2</sub> nin-a-ni mu-da-sa<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
1220. (B17.21) arad<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> lugal-e zag mu-da-gub-am<sub>3</sub>
1221. (B18.1) iri-na u<sub>2</sub>-si<sub>19</sub>-ni zag-bi-a mu-da-a-nu<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
1222. (B18.2) eme niĝ<sub>2</sub>-ĥul-da inim ba-da-kur<sub>2</sub>
1223. (B18.3) niĝ<sub>2</sub>-erim<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ba im-ma-an-/gi<sub>4</sub>\
1224. (B18.4) niĝ<sub>2</sub>-/gen<sub>6</sub>\-[na]<sup>d</sup>[nanš e]<sup>d</sup>/nin\-[ĝ<sub>2</sub> ir<sub>2</sub>-su]-/ka\-[š<sub>3</sub> e<sub>3</sub>]
1225. (B18.5) en<sub>3</sub> [im]-/ma\-[š<sub>3</sub> i-tar ]
1226. (B18.6) nu-/siki\ [lu<sub>2</sub> niĝ<sub>2</sub>-tuku] nu-/mu\-[na-ĝ<sub>2</sub> ar]
1227. (B18.7) nu-/mu\-[su] lu<sub>2</sub> [a<sub>2</sub>-tuku] nu-na-[ĝ<sub>2</sub> ar]
1228. (B18.8) e<sub>2</sub> /ibila\ nu-[tuku]
1229. (B18.9) dumu-/munus\-[bi i<sub>3</sub>-bi]-lu-[ba mi-ni-kur<sub>9</sub>]
1230. (B18.10) ud niĝ<sub>2</sub>-si-[sa<sub>2</sub>] mu-na-/ta-e<sub>3</sub>\
1231. (B18.11) niĝ<sub>2</sub>-erim<sub>2</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-<sup>d</sup>utu gu<sub>2</sub>-bi ĝ<sub>2</sub> iri<sub>3</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>
1232. (B18.12) iri-e <sup>d</sup>utu-gin<sub>7</sub>
1233. (B18.13) ki-š<sub>3</sub> a-ra im-ma-ta-a-e<sub>3</sub>
1234. (B18.14) saĝ<sub>2</sub> -ĝ<sub>2</sub> a<sub>2</sub>-ni-a gur im-mi-dar
1235. (B18.15) igi an kug-ga-ke<sub>4</sub>
1236. (B18.16) ne-te-ni bi<sub>2</sub>-zu
1237. (B18.17) gud-gin<sub>7</sub> saĝ<sub>2</sub> il<sub>2</sub>-la mu-ku<sub>4</sub>-ku<sub>4</sub>
1238. (B18.18) eš<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu-a
1239. (B18.19) gud du<sub>7</sub> maš<sub>2</sub> du<sub>7</sub>-e ĝ<sub>2</sub> iš<sub>3</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-tag
1240. (B18.20) bur an-na mu-gub
1241. (B18.21) ten mu-ni-de<sub>2</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>
1242. (B18.22) uš umgal kalam-ma ti-gi<sub>4</sub>-a mu-gub
1243. (B19.1) a<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> ud-dam š<sub>3</sub> eg<sub>12</sub> mu-na-ab-gi<sub>4</sub>
1244. (B19.2) ensi<sub>2</sub> zag-e<sub>3</sub>-a
1245. (B19.3) nam-mi-gub
1246. (B19.4) iri-ni u<sub>6</sub> mu-e
1247. (B19.5) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a [...]
- 6 lines missing
1254. (B19.12) [... ĥe<sub>2</sub>]-ĝ<sub>2</sub> al<sub>2</sub> [mu-na]-/ta\-[e<sub>3</sub>]
1255. (B19.13) ki š<sub>3</sub> e gu-[nu] mu-na-mu<sub>2</sub>-mu<sub>2</sub>
1256. (B19.14) ensi<sub>2</sub>-da lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-e ĥe<sub>2</sub>-ĝ<sub>2</sub> al<sub>2</sub>-la
1257. (B19.15) š<sub>3</sub> u mu-da-peš<sub>3</sub> -e
1258. (B19.16) ur-saĝ<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub> gibil-na kur<sub>9</sub>-ra-am<sub>3</sub>

1259. (B19.17) en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ra ĝ iš bun dug<sub>3</sub> mu-na-ni-ib<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>
1260. (B19.18) an zag gal-la mu-na-tuš
1261. (B19.19) an-ra <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub> im-ma-ni-us<sub>2</sub>
1262. (B19.20) <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-ra
1263. (B19.21) <sup>d</sup>nin-maĥ mu-ni-us<sub>2</sub>  
12 lines missing
1276. (B20.13) [...] /SUD\ [...]
1277. (B20.14) e<sub>2</sub>-/da\ lugal /im\ -da- /ĥul<sub>2</sub>\
1278. (B20.15) š eg<sub>12</sub> ninnu-ka /nam\ im-[mi-ib<sub>2</sub>]-tar-re
1279. (B20.16) /š eg<sub>12</sub>\ [e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu]
1280. (B20.17) nam dug<sub>3</sub> ĥe<sub>2</sub>-tar
1281. (B20.18) š eg<sub>12</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu nam ĥe<sub>2</sub>-tar
1282. (B20.19) nam dug<sub>3</sub> ĥe<sub>2</sub>-tar
1283. (B20.20) e<sub>2</sub> kur an-ne<sub>2</sub> ki ĝ ar-ra
1284. (B20.21) me gal-la du<sub>3</sub>-a  
16 lines missing
1301. (B21.17) /š eg<sub>12</sub> e<sub>2</sub>\-[ninnu]-ka nam i<sub>3</sub>-mi-ib<sub>2</sub>-tar-re
1302. (B21.18) š eg<sub>12</sub> nam ĥe<sub>2</sub>-tar
1303. (B21.19) š eg<sub>12</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu nam dug<sub>3</sub> ĥe<sub>2</sub>-tar
1304. (B21.20) e<sub>2</sub> IM ne-mur š ub ki<sup>1</sup> us<sub>2</sub>-[sa] an gu<sub>2</sub> la<sub>2</sub>-a
1305. (B22.1) [...] kug [...] E [...]  
14 lines missing
1320. (B22.16) [...] /a<sup>?</sup>\
1321. (B22.17) [...] mu-zu-š e<sub>3</sub> tur<sub>3</sub> ĥe<sub>2</sub>-em-š i-du<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>3</sub>
1322. (B22.18) a-maš ĥe<sub>2</sub>-em-š i-gibil<sub>4</sub>-gibil<sub>4</sub>
1323. (B22.19) uĝ <sub>3</sub> u<sub>2</sub>-sal-la ĥe<sub>2</sub>-ĝ al<sub>2</sub>-<la ĥa-mu-da>-nu<sub>2</sub>
1324. (B22.20) ki-en-gi-re<sub>6</sub> kur-kur-<re> igi-bi ĥa-mu-ši-ĝal<sub>2</sub>
1325. (B23.1) e<sub>2</sub> anzud<sub>2</sub><sup>muš</sup> en-zu an-ne<sub>2</sub> ĥa-ra-[ab]-/il<sub>2</sub>\  
11 lines missing
1337. (B23.13) [...] X [...] /GA\ [...] me
1338. (B23.14) [...] /NINA\ [X] du<sub>3</sub>-a
1339. (B23.15) [...] du<sub>3</sub> [...] /PA<sup>?</sup>\
1340. (B23.16) [<sup>d</sup>]gilgameš <sub>2</sub>\-da mu<sub>2</sub>-a
1341. (B23.17) ĝ iš gu-za gub-ba-bi lu<sub>2</sub> nu-kur<sub>2</sub>-e
1342. (B23.18) diĝ ir-zu en <sup>d</sup>nin-ĝ iš -zid-da dumu-KA an-na-kam
1343. (B23.19) diĝ ir-ama-zu <sup>d</sup>nin-sumun<sub>2</sub>-na ama gan numun zid-da

1344. (B23.20) numun-e ki aġ<sup>2</sup>-ġ<sup>2</sup> a<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>
1345. (B23.21) ab<sub>2</sub> zid-de<sub>3</sub> dumu(source: MUNUS) ba-tud-da-me
1346. (B23.22) meš<sup>3</sup> zid ki lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-[a] e<sub>3</sub>-a
1347. (B24.1) <sup>d</sup>nin-ġ<sup>2</sup> ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka-me
1348. (B24.2) sig-ta nim-š<sup>e<sub>3</sub></sup> /mu\zu ħe<sub>2</sub>-ġ<sup>2</sup> al<sub>2</sub>
1349. (B24.3) gu<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>2</sub>-a [dug<sub>4</sub>]-ga-za
1350. (B24.4) [X] BI TUG<sub>2</sub> /lu<sub>2</sub>\ na-DU
1351. (B24.5) [...] X KA ġ<sup>2</sup> uruš [X] an-ne<sub>2</sub> zu-me
1352. (B24.6) /ens<sub>2</sub> zid\ e<sub>2</sub>-e nam [dug<sub>3</sub>] tar-ra-me
1353. (B24.7) /gu<sub>3</sub>\-de<sub>2</sub>-a /dumu\ <sup>d</sup>nin-ġ<sup>2</sup> iš<sup>2</sup> -zid-da-ka
1354. (B24.8) /nam\-til<sub>3</sub> /ħa\ -mu-ra-sud
1355. (B24.9) /e<sub>2</sub>\ kur gal-gin<sub>7</sub> an-ne<sub>2</sub> us<sub>2</sub>-sa
1356. (B24.10) ni<sub>2</sub> me-lem<sub>4</sub>-bi kalam-ma ru-a
1357. (B24.11) an-ne<sub>2</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-e nam lagaš<sup>ki</sup> tar-ra
1358. (B24.12) <sup>d</sup>nin-ġ<sup>2</sup> ir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka nam-nir-ġ<sup>2</sup> al<sub>2</sub>-ni
1359. (B24.13) kur-kur-re zu-a
1360. (B24.14) e<sub>2</sub>-ninnu an ki-da mu<sub>2</sub>-a
1361. (B24.15) <sup>d</sup>nin-ġ<sup>2</sup> ir<sub>2</sub>-su za<sub>3</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub>
1362. (B24.16) /e<sub>2</sub>\ <sup>d</sup>nin-ġ<sup>2</sup> ir<sub>2</sub>-su-/ka\ du<sub>3</sub>-a
1363. (B24.17) za<sub>3</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub> eġ<sup>2</sup> er-bi

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#### Print sources

- [Edzard 1997](#), pp. 68-101: translation, commentary, composite text
- [Falkenstein 1953](#), pp. 137-182: translation
- [Hurowitz 1992](#), pp. 33-57: commentary
- [Jacobsen 1987](#), pp. 386-444: translation, commentary
- [Suter 1997](#): commentary, translation, score transliteration (A 20.24-21.12)
- [Suter 2000](#): commentary
- [Zólyomi 1999](#): commentary

#### Electronic sources

- [Krecher 1995a](#): composite text, translation
- [Krecher 1995b](#): composite text, translation
- [Krecher 1996](#): composite text

# ETCSLtranslation : t.2.1.7

## The building of Ninĝ irsu's temple (Gudea, cylinders A and B)

[1-4.](#) On the day when in heaven and earth the fates had been decided, Lagaš raised its head high in full grandeur, and Enlil looked at lord Ninĝ irsu with approval. In our city there was perfection.

[5-9.](#) The heart overflowed with joy, Enlil's heart, a river in flood, overflowed with joy. The heart overflowed with joy, and just as the Tigris brings sweet water, so Enlil, whose will is an enormous flood, sparkling and awe-inspiring, came to a sweet decision:

[10-16.](#) "The lord called for his house and I intend to make the grandeur of E-ninnu known everywhere. Using his wisdom, the ruler (i.e. Gudea) will achieve great things. He will direct faultless cattle and kids for offering. It is for him the fated brick is waiting. It is by him that the building of the holy house is to be done."

[17-23.](#) On that day, in a nocturnal vision Gudea saw his master, lord Ninĝ irsu. Ninĝ irsu spoke to him of his house, of its building. He showed him an E-ninnu with full grandeur. Outstanding though his mind was, the message remained to be understood for him.

[24-32.](#) "Well, I have to tell her about this! Well, I have to tell her about this! I will ask her to stand by me in this matter. Profound things (?) came suddenly to me, the shepherd, but the meaning of what the nocturnal vision brought to me I do not understand. So I will take my dream to my mother and I will ask my dream-interpreter, an expert on her own, my divine sister from Sirara, Nanše, to reveal its meaning to me."

[33-38.](#) He stepped aboard his boat, directed it on the canal Id-Niĝ in-dua towards her city Niĝ in, and merrily cut through the waves of the river. After he had reached Bagara, the house extending as far as the river, he offered bread, poured cold water and went to the master of Bagara to pray to him.

[39-51.](#) "Warrior, rampant lion, who has no opponent! Ninĝ irsu, important in the abzu, respected in Nibru! Warrior, I want to carry out faithfully what you have commanded me; Ninĝ irsu, I want to build up your house for you, I want to make it perfect for you, so I will ask your sister, the child born of Eridug, an authority on her own, the lady, the dream-interpreter among the gods, my divine sister from Sirara, Nanše, to show me the way." His call was heard; his master, lord Ninĝ irsu, accepted from Gudea his prayer and supplication.

[52-63.](#) Gudea celebrated the eše festival in the house of Bagara. The ruler set up his bed near to Ĝ atumdug. He offered bread and poured cold water and went to holy Ĝ atumdug to pray to her: "My lady, child begotten by holy An, an authority on her own, proud goddess, living in the Land, ..... of her city! Lady, mother, you who founded Lagaš, if you but look upon your people, it brings abundance; the worthy young man on whom you look will enjoy a long life."

[64-67.](#) "For me, who has no mother, you are my mother; for me, who has no father, you are my father. You implanted my semen in the womb, gave birth to me in the sanctuary, Ĝ atumdug, sweet is your holy name!"

[68-79](#). "Tonight I shall lie down here (?). You are my great dagger (?), being attached to my side; you are a ..... planted in great waters, providing me with life; you are a broad sunshade; let me cool off in your shade. May the favourable, right-hand palm of your lofty hands, my lady Ĝ atumdug, lend me protection! I am going to the city, may my sign be favourable! May your friendly guardian go before me, and may your friendly protecting genius walk with me on the way towards Niĝ in, the mountain rising from the water."

[80-89](#). "Well, I have to tell her about this! Well, I have to tell her about this! I will ask her to stand by me in this matter. I will take my dream to my mother and I will ask my dream-interpreter, an expert on her own, my divine sister from Sirara, Nanš e, to reveal its meaning to me." His call was heard; his lady, holy Ĝ atumdug, accepted from Gudea his prayer and supplication.

[90-100](#). He stepped aboard his boat, directed it towards her city Niĝ in, mooring it at the quay of Niĝ in. The ruler raised his head high in the courtyard of the goddess from Sirara. He offered bread, poured cold water and went to Nanš e to pray to her: "Nanš e, mighty lady, lady of most precious (?) powers, lady who like Enlil determine fates, my Nanš e, what you say is trustworthy and takes precedence. You are the interpreter of dreams among the gods, you are the lady of all the lands. Mother, my matter today is a dream:"

[101-109](#). "In the dream there was someone who was as enormous as the heavens, who was as enormous as the earth. His head was like that of a god, his wings were like those of the Anzud bird, his lower body was like a flood storm. Lions were lying at his right and his left. He spoke to me about building his house, but I could not understand what he exactly meant, then daylight rose for me on the horizon."

[110-114](#). "Then there was a woman -- whoever she was. She ..... sheaves. She held a stylus of refined silver in her hand, and placed it on a tablet with propitious stars, and was consulting it."

[115-123](#). "There was, furthermore, a warrior. His arm was bent, holding a lapis lazuli tablet in his hand, and he was setting down the plan of the house. The holy basket stood in front of me, the holy brick mould was ready and the fated brick was placed in the mould for me. In a fine ildag tree standing before me tigidlu birds were spending the day twittering. My master's right-side donkey stallion was pawing the ground for me."

[124-131](#). His mother Nanš e answered the ruler: "My shepherd, I will explain your dream for you in every detail. The person who, as you said, was as enormous as the heavens, who was as enormous as the earth, whose head was like that of a god, whose wings, as you said, were like those of the Anzud bird, and whose lower body was, as you said, like a flood storm, at whose right and left lions were lying, was in fact my brother Niĝ irsu. He spoke to you about the building of his shrine, the E-ninnu."

[132-133](#). "The daylight that had risen for you on the horizon is your personal god Niĝ iš zida, who will rise for you as the daylight on the horizon."

[134-140](#). "The young woman ..... sheaves, who held a stylus of refined silver in her hand, who had placed it on a tablet with propitious stars and was consulting it, was in fact my sister Nisaba. She announced to you the holy stars auguring the building of the house."

[141-143](#). "The second one, who was a warrior and whose arm was bent, holding a lapis lazuli tablet in his hand, was Nindub, putting the plan of the house on the tablet."

[144-146](#). "As regards the holy basket standing in front of you, the holy brick mould which was ready and the fated brick placed in the mould, this part of the dream concerns the good brick of the E-ninnu."

[147-149](#). "As regards the fine ildag tree standing before you, in which, as you said, tigidlu birds were spending the day twittering, this means that the building of the house will not let sweet sleep come into your eyes."

[150-151](#). "As regards that part when the right-side donkey stallion of your master, as you said, pawed the ground for you; this refers to you, who will paw the ground for the E-ninnu like a choice steed."

[152-172](#). "Let me advise you and may my advice be taken. Direct your steps to Ĝ irsu, the foremost house of the land of Lagaš , open your storehouse up and take out wood from it; build (?) a chariot for your master and harness a donkey stallion to it; decorate this chariot with refined silver and lapis lazuli and equip it with arrows that will fly out from the quiver like sunbeams, and with the an-kar weapon, the strength of heroism; fashion for him his beloved standard and write your name on it, and then enter before the warrior who loves gifts, before your master lord Ninĝ irsu in E-ninnu-the-white-Anzud-bird, together with his beloved balaĝ drum Uš umgal-kalama, his famous instrument to which he keeps listening. Your requests will then be taken as if they were commands; and the drum will make the inclination of the lord -- which is as inconceivable as the heavens -- will make the inclination of Ninĝ irsu, the son of Enlil, favourable for you so that he will reveal the design of his house to you in every detail. With his powers, which are the greatest, the warrior will make the house thrive (?) for you."

[173-195](#). The true shepherd Gudea is wise, and able too to realise things. Accepting what Nanš e had told him, he opened his storehouse up and took out wood from it. Gudea checked (?) the wood piece by piece, taking great care of the wood. He smoothed meš wood, split ħalub wood with an axe and built (?) a blue chariot from them for him. He harnessed to it the stallion Piriĝ -kaš e-pada. He fashioned for him his beloved standard, wrote his name on it, and then entered before the warrior who loves gifts, before his master lord Ninĝ irsu in E-ninnu-the-white-Anzud-bird, together with his beloved balaĝ drum Uš umgal-kalama, his famous instrument to which he keeps listening. He joyfully brought the drum to him in the temple. Gudea came out of the shrine E-ninnu with a radiant face.

[196-206](#). Thereafter the house was the concern of all the days and all the nights that he made pass by. He levelled what was high, rejected chance utterances (?), he removed the sorcerers' spittle (?) from the roads. Facing Š u-galam, the fearful place, the place of making judgments, from where Ninĝ irsu keeps an eye on all lands, the ruler had a fattened sheep, a fat-tail sheep, and a grain-fed kid rest on hides of a virgin kid. He put juniper, the mountains' pure plant, onto the fire, and raised smoke with cedar resin, the scent of gods.

[207-216](#). He rose to his master in public and prayed to him; he went to him in the Ubš u-unkena and saluted him: "My master Ninĝ irsu, lord who has turned back the fierce waters, true lord, semen ejaculated by the Great Mountain, noble young hero who has no opponent! Ninĝ irsu, I am going to build up your house for you, but I lack an ominous sign. Warrior, you asked for perfection, but, son of Enlil, lord Ninĝ irsu, you did not let me know your will as to how to achieve it."

[217-225](#). "Your will, ever-rising as the sea, crashing down as a destructive flood, roaring like gushing waters, destroying cities (?) like a flood-wave, battering against the rebel lands like a storm; my master, your will, gushing water that no one can stem; warrior, your will inconceivable as the heavens -- can I learn anything about it from you, son of Enlil, lord Ninĝ irsu?"

[226-231](#). Afterwards, Ninĝ irsu stepped up to the head of the sleeper, briefly touching him: "You who are going to build it for me, you who are going to build it for me, ruler, you who are going to build my house for me, Gudea, let me tell you the ominous sign for building my house, let me tell you the pure stars of heaven indicating my regulations (?)."

[232-240](#). "As if at the roaring of the Anzud bird, the heavens tremble at my house, the E-ninnu founded by An, the powers of which are the greatest, surpassing all other powers, at the house whose owner looks out over a great distance. Its fierce halo reaches up to heaven, the great fearsomeness of my house settles upon all the lands. In response to its fame all lands will gather from as far as heaven's borders, even Magan and Meluĥa will come down from their mountains."

[241-247](#). "I am Ninĝ irsu who has turned back the fierce waters, the great warrior of Enlil's realm, a lord without opponent. My house the E-ninnu, a crown, is bigger than the mountains; my weapon the Š ar-ur subdues all the lands. No country can bear my fierce stare, nobody escapes my outstretched arms."

[248-253](#). "Because of his great love, my father who begot me called me "King, Enlil's flood, whose fierce stare is never lifted from the mountains, Ninĝ irsu, warrior of Enlil", and endowed me with fifty powers."

[254-261](#). "I lay the ritual table and perform correctly the hand-washing rites. My outstretched hands wake holy An from sleep. My father who begot me receives the very best food from my hands. An, king of the gods, called me therefore "Ninĝ irsu, king, lustration priest of An"."

[262-265](#). "I founded the Tiraš shrine with as much majesty as the abzu. Each month at the new moon the great rites (?), my "Festival of An", are performed for me perfectly in it."

[266-270](#). "Like a fierce snake, I built E-ĥuš, my fierce place, in a dread location. When my heart gets angry at a land that rebels against me -- unutterable idea (?) -- it will produce venom for me like a snake that dribbles poison."

[271-276](#). "In the E-babbar, where I issue orders, where I shine like Utu, there I justly decide the lawsuits of my city like Iš taran. In the E-bagara, my dining place, the great gods of Lagaš gather around me."

[277-285](#). "When you, true shepherd Gudea, really set to work for me on my house, the foremost house of all lands, the right arm of Lagaš, the Anzud bird roaring on the horizon, the E-ninnu, my royal house, I will call up to heaven for humid winds so that plenty comes down to you from heaven and the land will thrive under your reign in abundance."

[286-293](#). "Laying the foundations of my temple will bring immediate abundance: the great fields will grow rich for you, the levees and ditches will be full to the brim for you, the water will rise for you to heights never reached by the water before. Under you more oil than ever will be poured and more wool than ever will weighed in Sumer."

[294-305](#). "When you drive in my foundation pegs for me, when you really set to work for me on my house, I shall direct my steps to the mountains where the north wind dwells and make the man with enormous wings, the north wind, bring you wind from the mountains, the pure place, so that this will give vigour to the Land, and thus one man will be able to do as much work as two. At night the moonlight, at noon the sun will send plentiful light for you so the day will build the house for you and the night will make it rise for you."

[306-314](#). "I will bring ḫalub and neḫan trees up from the south, and cedar, cypress and zabalumwood together will be brought for you from the uplands. From the ebony mountains I will have ebony trees brought for you, in the mountains of stones I will have the great stones of the mountain ranges cut in slabs for you. On that day I will touch your arm with fire and you will know my sign."

[315-322](#). Gudea rose -- it was sleep; he shuddered -- it was a dream. Accepting Ninḡ irsu's words, he went to perform extispicy on a white kid. He performed it on the kid and his omen was favourable. Ninḡ irsu's intention became as clear as daylight to Gudea.

[323-329](#). He is wise, and able too to realise things. The ruler gave instructions to his city as to one man. The land of Lagaš became of one accord for him, like children of one mother. He opened manacles, removed fetters; established ....., rejected legal complaints, and locked up (?) those guilty of capital offences (instead of executing them).

[330-344](#). He undid the tongue of the goad and the whip, replacing them with wool from lamb-bearing sheep. No mother shouted at her child. No child answered its mother back. No slave who ..... was hit on the head by his master, no misbehaving slave girl was slapped on the face by her mistress. Nobody could make the ruler building the E-ninnu, Gudea, let fall a chance utterance. The ruler cleansed the city, he let purifying fire loose over it. He expelled the persons ritually unclean, unpleasant to look at, and ..... from the city.

[345-352](#). In respect of the ..... of the brick-mould he had a kid lie down, and he requested from the kid an omen about the brick. He looked at the excavated earth (?) approvingly, and the shepherd, called by his name by Nanš e, ..... it with majesty. After making a drawing on the ..... of the brick mould and ..... the excavated earth with majesty, he made the Anzud bird, the standard of his master, glisten there as a banner.

[353-364](#). The citizens were purifying an area of 24 iku for him, they were cleansing that area for him. He put juniper, the mountains' pure plant, onto the fire and raised smoke with cedar resin, the scent of gods. For him the day was for praying, and the night passed for him in supplications. In order to build the house of Ninḡ irsu, the Anuna gods of the land of Lagaš stood by Gudea in prayer and supplication, and all this made the true shepherd Gudea extremely happy.

[365-371](#). Now the ruler imposed a levy on his Land. He imposed a levy on his realm of abundant ....., on Ninḡ irsu's Gu-edina. He imposed a levy on his built-up cities and settlements, on Nanš e's Gu-ḡ iš bara.

[372-376](#). There was a levy for him on the clans of Ninḡ irsu "Rampant fierce bull which has no opponent" and "White cedars surrounding their master", and he placed Lugal-kur-dub, their magnificent standard, in front of them.



[377-381](#). There was a levy for him on the clan of Nanše "Both river banks and shores rising out of the waters, the huge river, full of water, which spreads its abundance everywhere", and he placed the holy pelican (?), the standard of Nanše, in front of them.

[382-385](#). There was a levy for him on the clans of Inana "The net suspended for catching the beasts of the steppe" and "Choice steeds, famous team, the team beloved by Utu", and he placed the rosette, the standard of Inana, in front of them.

[386-391](#). In order to build the house of Ninĝirsu,  
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[392-396](#). The Elamites came to him from Elam, the Susians came to him from Susa. Magan and Meluĥa loaded wood from their mountains upon their shoulders for him, and to build the house of Ninĝirsu, they gathered for Gudea at his city Ĝirsu.

[397-404](#). Ninzaga was commanded and he made his copper, as much as if it were a huge grain transport, reach Gudea, the man in charge of building the house. Ninsikila was also instructed and she made large ĥalub logs, ebony, and aba wood reach the ruler building the E-ninnu.

[405-411](#). Lord Ninĝirsu directed Gudea into the impenetrable mountain of cedars and he cut down its cedars with great axes and carved the Šar-ur, the right arm of Lagaš, his master's flood-storm weapon, out of it.

[412-423](#). It was like a giant serpent floating on the water as, for lord Ninĝirsu, Gudea had the long rafts floating downstream moor at the main quay of Kan-sura: logs of cedar wood from the cedar hills, logs of cypress wood from the cypress hills, logs of zabalum wood from the zabalum hills, tall spruce trees, plane trees, and eranum trees.

[424-433](#). Lord Ninĝirsu directed Gudea into the impenetrable mountains of stones and he brought back great stones in the form of slabs. For lord Ninĝirsu, Gudea had ships with ĥauna dock there, and ships with gravel, with dried bitumen, ..... bitumen, and gypsum from the hills of Madga, cargoes like boats bringing grain from the fields.

[434-445](#). Great things came to the succour of the ruler building the E-ninnu: a copper mountain in Kimaš revealed itself to him. He mined its copper onto rafts. To the man in charge of building his master's house, the ruler, gold was brought in dust form from its mountains. For Gudea refined silver was brought down from its mountains. Translucent cornelian from Meluĥa was spread before him. From the alabaster mountains alabaster was brought down to him.

[446-451](#). The shepherd was going to build the house with silver, so he sat together with silversmiths. He was going to build the E-ninnu with precious stone, so he sat with jewellers. He was going to build it with copper and tin, so the mother-goddess of the Land directed before him the chief of the smiths.

[452-456](#). The heavy hammer-stones roared for him like a storm. The dolerite, the light hammer-stones, ..... two ..... three. .... like a huge mass of water gushing forth,

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[458-462](#). He ..... the days (?). Gudea prolonged the nights (?) for Ninĝ irsu. Because of building the house for his master, he neither slept at night, nor did he rest his head during the siesta.

[463-470](#). For the one looked on with favour by Nanše, for the favourite of Enlil, for the ruler ..... by Ninĝ irsu, for Gudea, born in the august sanctuary by Ĝ atumdug, Nisaba opened the house of understanding and Enki put right the design of the house.

[471-481](#). Towards the house whose halo reaches to heaven, whose powers embrace heaven and earth, whose owner is a lord with a fierce stare, whose warrior Ninĝ irsu is expert at battle, towards E-ninnu-the-white-Anzud-bird, Gudea went from the south and admired it northwards. From the north he went towards it and admired it southwards. He measured out with rope exactly one iku. He drove in pegs at its sides and personally verified them. This made him extremely happy.

[482-491](#). When the night fell, he went to the old temple to pray, so that the inclination of the one from the dais of Ĝ ir-nun (i.e. Ninĝ irsu) would become favourable for Gudea. When day broke, he took a bath and arranged his outfit correctly. Utu let abundance come forth for him. Gudea left Iri-kug a second time; he sacrificed a perfect bull and a perfect kid. He went to the house and saluted it.

[492-498](#). He ..... the holy basket and true fated brick mould ..... the E-ninnu. As he ..... and walked proudly, Lugal-kur-dub walked in front of him, Ig-alim directed him and Ninĝ iš zida, his personal god, held him by the hand throughout the time.

[499-512](#). He poured clear water into the ..... of the brick mould -- adab, sim and ala drums were playing for the ruler. He prepared the excavated earth for making (?) the brick, and hoed honey, ghee and precious oil into it. He worked balsam (?) and essences from all kinds of trees into the paste. He lifted up the holy carrying-basket and put it next to the brick mould. Gudea placed the clay into the brick mould and acted exactly as prescribed, bringing the first brick of the house into existence in it, while all the bystanders sprinkled oil or cedar perfume. His city and the land of Lagaš spent the day with him in joy.

[513-522](#). He shook the brick mould and left the brick to dry. He looked at the ..... with satisfaction. He anointed it with cypress essence and balsam (?). Utu rejoiced over the brick put into the mould by Gudea, and king Enki ..... the ..... rising like a great river. .... and Gudea went into the house.

[523-542](#). He raised the brick out of the ..... of the mould, and it looked as a holy crown worn by An. He lifted up the brick and went around among his people: it was like Utu's holy team tossing (?) their heads. The brick lifting its head toward the house was as if Nanna's cows were eager to be tethered in their pen. He put down the brick, entered the house and as if he himself were Nisaba knowing the inmost secrets (?) of numbers, he started setting down (?) the ground plan of the house. As if he were a young man building a house for the first time, sweet sleep never came into his eyes. Like a cow keeping an eye on its calf, he went in constant worry to the house. Like a man who takes but little food into his mouth, he went around untiringly. The intention of his master had become clear for him, the words of Ninĝ irsu had become as conspicuous as a

banner to Gudea. In (?) his heart beating loudly because of building the house, someone ..... a propitious ominous remark. This made him extremely happy.

[543-550](#). He performed extispicy on a kid and his omen was favourable. He cast grain on to ..... and its appearance was right. Gudea lay down for a dream oracle, and while he was sleeping a message came to him: in the vision he saw his master's house already built, the E-ninnu separating heaven and earth. This made him extremely happy.

[551-561](#). He stretched out lines in the most perfect way; he set up (?) a sanctuary in the holy uzga. In the house, Enki drove in the foundation pegs, while Nanše, the daughter of Eridug, took care of the oracular messages. The mother of Lagaš, holy Ĝatumdug, gave birth to its bricks amid cries (?), and Bau, the lady, first-born daughter of An, sprinkled them with oil and cedar essence. En and lagar priests were detailed to the house to provide maintenance for it. The Anuna gods stood there full of admiration.

[562-577](#). Gudea, in charge of building the house, placed on his head the carrying-basket for the house, as if it were a holy crown. He laid the foundation, set the walls on the ground. He marked out a square, aligned the bricks with a string. He marked out a second square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is the line-mark for a topped-off jar of 1 ban capacity (?)". He marked out a third square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is the Anzud bird enveloping its fledgling with its wings". He marked out a fourth square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is a panther embracing a fierce lion". He marked out a fifth square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is the blue sky in all its splendour". He marked out a sixth square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is the day of supply, full of luxuriance". He marked out a seventh square on the site of the temple, saying, "It is the E-ninnu bathing the Land with moonlight at dawn".

[578-590](#). They inserted the wooden door frames, which were like a crown worn in the blue sky. As Gudea sat down at a wooden door frame, from there it was like a huge house embracing heaven. As he built the house and laid wooden scaffolding against it, it was like Nanna's lagoon attended by Enki. They made the house grow as high as the hills, they made it float in the midst of heaven as a cloud, they made it lift its horns as a bull and they made it raise its head above all the lands, like the ĝiš-gana tree over the abzu. As the house had been made to lift its head so high as to fill the space between heaven and earth like the hills, it was like a luxuriant cedar growing among high grass (?); E-ninnu was decorated most alluringly among Sumer's buildings.

[591-601](#). As they placed wooden beams on the house, they looked like dragons of the abzu coming out all together, they were like ..... of heaven ....., they were like huge serpents of the foothills ....., The reeds cut for the house were like mountain snakes sleeping together. Its upper parts were covered with luxuriant cedar and cypress, and they put white cedars in its inner room of cedar, marvellous to behold. They treated them with good perfume and precious oil. The mud-wall of the house was covered with the abundance (?) of the abzu and they tied its ..... to it. The shrine of E-ninnu was thus placed in the ..... hand of An.

[602-616](#). The ruler built the house, he made it high, high as a great mountain. Its abzu foundation pegs, big mooring stakes, he drove into the ground so deep they could take counsel with Enki in the E-engura. He had heavenly foundation pegs surround the house like warriors, so that each one was drinking water at the libation place of the gods. He fixed the E-ninnu, the mooring stake, he drove in its pegs shaped like praying

wizards. He planted the pleasant poplars of his city so that they cast their shadow. He embedded its Š ar-ur weapon beside Lagaš like a big standard, placed it in its dreadful place, the Š u-galam, and made it emanate fearsome radiance. On the dais of Ĝ ir-nun, on the place of making judgments, the provider of Lagaš lifted his horns like a mighty bull.

[617-624](#). It took one year to bring the great stones in slabs and it took another year to fashion them, although not even two or three days did he let pass idly. Then it needed a day's work to set up each one but by the seventh day he had set them all up around the house. He laid down the trimmings from the slabs as stairs, or fashioned basins from them, and had them stand in the house.

[625-629](#). The stela which he set up in the great courtyard he named as "The king who ..... the courtyard, lord Ninĝ irsu, has recognised Gudea from the Ĝ ir-nun".

[630-635](#). The stela which he set up at the Kan-sura gate he named as "The king, Enlil's flood storm, who has no opponent, lord Ninĝ irsu, has looked with favour at Gudea".

[636-641](#). The stela which he set up facing the rising sun he named as "The king, the roaring storm of Enlil, the lord without rival, lord Ninĝ irsu, has chosen Gudea with his holy heart".

[642-646](#). The stela which he set up facing Š u-galam he named as "The king, at whose name the foreign countries tremble, lord Ninĝ irsu, has made Gudea's throne firm".

[647-650](#). The stela which he set up facing E-uru-ga he named as "The lord Ninĝ irsu has decided a good fate for Gudea".

[651-654](#). The stela which he set up by the inner room (?) of Bau he named as "The eyes of An know the E-ninnu, and Bau is the life source of Gudea".

[655-664](#). He built his master's house exactly as he had been told to. The true shepherd Gudea made it grow so high as to fill the space between heaven and earth, had it wear a tiara shaped like the new moon, and had its fame spread as far as the heart of the highlands. Gudea made Ninĝ irsu's house come out like the sun from the clouds, had it grow to be like hills of lapis lazuli and had it stand to be marvelled at like hills of white alabaster.

[665-672](#). He made its door-sockets stand like wild bulls and he flanked them with dragons crouching on their paws like lions. He had its terraced tower (?) grow on a place as pure as the abzu. He made the metal tops of its standards twinkle as the horns of the holy stags of the abzu. Gudea made the house of Ninĝ irsu stand to be marvelled at like the new moon in the skies.

[673-687](#). The built-in door-sockets of the house are laḥama deities standing by the abzu. Its timber store (?) looks like waves (?) of an enormous lagoon where snakes have dived (?) into the water. Its ..... is ..... full of fearsomeness. Its ..... is a light floating in the midst of heaven. On the "Gate where the king enters" an eagle is raising its eyes toward a wild bull. Its curved wooden posts joining above the gate are a rainbow stretching over the sky. Its upper lintel of the gate like (?) the E-ninnu stands among rumbling, roaring storms. Its awe-inspiring eyebrow-shaped arch (?) meets the admiring eyes of the gods. His white dais ..... of the house is a firmly founded lapis lazuli mountain connecting heaven and earth.

[688-695](#). They installed the great dining hall for the evening meals: it was as if An himself were setting out golden bowls filled with honey and wine. They built the bedchamber: it is the abzu's fruit-bearing holy meš tree among innumerable mountains. He finished with the building, which made the hearts of the gods overflow with joy.

[696-721](#). The true shepherd Gudea is wise, and able too to realise things. In the inner room (?) where the weapons hang, at the "Gate of Battle" he had the warriors Six-headed wild ram and ..... head take their stand. Facing the city, its place laden with awe, he had the Seven-headed serpent take its stand. In Š u-galam, its awesome gate, he had the Dragon and the Date palm take their stand. Facing the sunrise, where the fates are decided, he erected the standard of Utu, the Bison head, beside others already there. At the Kan-sura gate, at its lookout post, he had the Lion, the terror of the gods, take its stand. In the Tar-sirsir, where the orders are issued, he had the Fish-man and the Copper take their stand. In Bau's inner room (?), where the heart can be soothed, he had the Magilum boat and the Bison take their stand. Because these were warriors slain by Ninĝ irsu, he set their mouths towards libation places. Gudea, the ruler of Lagaš , made their names appear among those of the gods.

[722-729](#). The cedar doors installed in the house are Iš kur roaring above. The locks of the E-ninnu are bisons, its door-pivots are lions, from its bolts horned vipers and fierce snakes are hissing at wild bulls. Its jambs, against which the door leaves close, are young lions and panthers lying on their paws.

[730-737](#). The shining roof-beam nails hammered into the house are dragons gripping a victim. The shining ropes attached to the doors are holy Niraĵ parting the abzu. Its ..... is pure like Keš and Aratta, its ..... is a fierce lion keeping an eye on the Land; nobody going alone can pass in front of it.

[738-758](#). The fearsomeness of the E-ninnu covers all the lands like a garment. The house! It is founded by An on refined silver, it is painted with kohl, and comes out as the moonlight with heavenly splendour. The house! Its front is a great mountain firmly grounded, its inside resounds with incantations and harmonious hymns, its exterior is the sky, a great house rising in abundance, its outer assembly hall is the Anuna gods' place of rendering judgments, from its ..... words of prayer can be heard, its food supply is the abundance of the gods, its standards erected around the house are the Anzud bird spreading its wings over the bright mountain. E-ninnu's clay plaster, harmoniously blended clay taken from the Edin canal, has been chosen by its master lord Ninĝ irsu with his holy heart, and was painted by Gudea with the splendours of heaven as if kohl were being poured all over it.

[759-769](#). From its cow-pen butter and milk are brought in. From its huge oven, great cakes and croissants come. Its ..... feeds cattle and sheep. Its house of food rations ..... an uzga shrine. Its wine-cellar (?) is a mountain oozing wine, from its brewery as much beer comes as the Tigris at high water.

[770-780](#). Its storehouse is full of gems, silver and tin. Its coach-house is a mountain set on the ground. Its drum hall is a roaring bull. Its courtyard resounds with holy prayers, sim and ala drums. Its stone stairs, laid before the house, are like a mountain range lying down in princely joy. Its upper stairs leading (?) to the roof are like a light clearly visible as far as the mountains. Its vineyard "Black garden in the steppe", planted near the house, is a mountain oozing wine and grows in a place with fearsomeness and radiance.

[781-798](#). The seven stones surrounding the house are there to take counsel with its owner. Its chapel for funerary offerings is as pure as the clean abzu. The stone basins set up in the house are like the holy room of the lustration priest where water never ceases to flow. Its high battlements where pigeons live is ..... Eridug ..... E-ninnu offers rest to pigeons, it is a protective cover with large branches and a pleasant shade, with swallows and other birds chirping loudly there. It is Enlil's E-kur when a festival takes place in it. The house's great awesomeness settles upon the whole Land, its praise reaches to the highlands, the awesomeness of the E-ninnu covers all lands like a garment.

[799-803](#). The house has been built most sumptuously by its lord. It was built on a pedestal by Ninĝ iš zida. Its foundation pegs were driven in by Gudea, the ruler of Lagaš .

[804-812](#). For the restoration of E-ninnu, the house that rises like the sun over the Land, stands like a great bull in the ..... sand, illuminates the assembly like delightful moonlight, is as sumptuous as lush green foothills, and stands to be marvelled at, praise be to Ninĝ irsu!

[813-814](#). This is the middle of the hymn "The building of Ninĝ irsu's house".

[815-819](#). House, mooring post of the Land, grown so high as to fill the space between heaven and earth, E-ninnu, the true brickwork, for which Enlil determined a good fate, green hill standing to be marvelled at, standing out above all the lands!

[820-823](#). The house is a great mountain reaching up to the skies. It is Utu filling the midst of the heavens; E-ninnu is the white Anzud bird spreading its talons upon the mountain land.

[824-829](#). All the people were placed (?) before it, the whole Land was detailed (?) to it. The Anuna gods stood there in admiration. The ruler, who is wise, who is knowledgeable, kissed the ground before that godly company. He touched the ground in prostration (?), with supplications and prayers; the ruler, the god of his city prayed.

[830-833](#). For the bread-consuming house he added more and more bread, for the suppers in need of mutton he added sheep. In front of the house he lined up bowls like ..... abundance .....

[834-841](#). He went to the Anuna gods and prayed to them: "O all you Anuna gods, admired by the land of Lagaš , protectors of all the countries, whose command, a massive breach in a dam, carries away any who try to stop it. The worthy young man on whom you have looked will enjoy a long life. I, the shepherd, built the house, and now I will let my master enter his house. O Anuna gods, may you pray on my behalf!"

[842-850](#). The true shepherd Gudea is wise, and able too to realise things. His friendly guardian went before him and his friendly protecting genius followed him. For his master, lord Ninĝ irsu, Gudea gave numerous gifts to the house of yore, the old house, his dwelling place. He went into the E-ninnu to the lord, and prayed to him:

[851-862.](#) "My master Ninĝ irsu, lord who has turned back the fierce waters, lord whose commands take precedence, male child of Enlil, warrior, I have carried out faithfully what you have ordered me to do. Ninĝ irsu, I have built up your house for you; now I shall let you enter it in joy! My goddess Bau, I have set up your E-mi quarters for you: take up pleasant residence in them." His call was heard, his hero lord Ninĝ irsu accepted from Gudea his prayer and supplication.

[863-870.](#) The year ended and the month was completed. A new year started, a month began and three days elapsed in that month. As Ninĝ irsu arrived from Eridug, beautiful moonlight shone illuminating the Land, and the E-ninnu competed with the new-born Suen.

[871-882.](#) Gudea made a paste with cornelian and lapis lazuli and applied it to the corners. He sprinkled the floor with precious oil. He made the ....., who worked there (?), leave the house. Syrup, ghee, wine, sour milk, ĝ ipar fruit, fig-cakes topped with cheese, dates, ..... and small grapes, things untouched by fire, were the foods for the gods which he prepared with syrup and ghee.

[883-891.](#) On the day when the true god was to arrive, Gudea was busy with the evening meal from early morning. Asari cared for the maintenance of the house. Ninmada took care of its cleaning. King Enki gave oracular pronouncements concerning it. Nindub, the chief purification priest of Eridug, filled it with the smoke of incense. The lady of precious rites, Nanš e, versed in singing holy songs, sang songs for the house.

[892-906.](#) They sheared the black ewes and milked the udder of the cow of heaven. They cleaned the E-ninnu, they polished it with brooms of tamarisk and ..... The ruler made the whole city kneel down, made the whole land prostrate itself. He levelled what was high, rejected chance utterances (?); the sorcerers' spittle (?) was removed from the roads. In the city only the mother of a sick person administered a potion. The wild animals, creatures of the steppe, all had crouched together. The lions and the dragons of the steppe were lying asleep.

[907-909.](#) The day was for supplication, the night was for prayer. The moonlight ..... early morning. Its master .....

[910-924.](#) Warrior Ninĝ irsu entered the house, the owner of the house had arrived. He was an eagle raising its eyes toward a wild bull. The warrior's entering his house was a storm roaring into battle. Ninĝ irsu entered his house and it became the shrine of the abzu when there is a festival. The owner came out of his house and he was Utu rising over the land of Lagaš . Bau's going to her E-mi quarters was a true woman's taking her house in hand. Her entering her bedroom was the Tigris at high water. When she sat down beside her ....., she was the lady, the daughter of holy An, a green garden bearing fruit.

[925-928.](#) The daylight came out, the fate had been decided. Bau entered her E-mi quarters, and there was abundance for the land of Lagaš . The day dawned. Utu of Lagaš lifted his head over the Land.

[929-933.](#) The house received fattened oxen and sheep. Bowls were set up in the open air and were filled with wine. The Anuna gods of the land of Lagaš gathered around lord Ninĝ irsu. In the house the purification had been completed, the oracular pronouncements had been taken care of.

[934-943](#). Wine was poured from big jars while ..... was heaped up in the E-ninnu. Nindub caused the sanctuary to be filled with clatter and noise (?) and with fresh bread and hind's milk available day and night; he woke from sleep the noble one, the beloved son of Enlil, the warrior Ninĝ irsu. Ninĝ irsu raised his head with all the great powers, and ..... rituals, ..... for (?) the sanctuary E-ninnu.

[944-956](#). With his divine duties, namely to guide the hand of the righteous one; to force the evil-doer's neck into a neck stock; to keep the house safe; to keep the house pleasant; to instruct his city and the sanctuaries of Ĝ irsu; to set up an auspicious throne; to hold the sceptre of never-ending days; to raise high the head of the shepherd called by Ninĝ irsu, as if he wore a blue crown; and to appoint to their offices in the courtyard of E-ninnu the skin-clad ones, the linen-clad ones and those whose head is covered, Gudea introduced Ig-alim, the Great Door (ig gal), the Pole (dim) of Ĝ ir-nun, the chief bailiff of Ĝ irsu, his beloved son, to lord Ninĝ irsu.

[957-970](#). With his divine duties, namely to keep the house clean; to let hands always be washed; to serve water to the lord with holy hands; to pour beer into bowls; to pour wine into jars; to make emmer beer in the brewery, the house of pure strength, fizz like the water of the Papsir canal; to make certain that faultless cattle and goats, grain-fed sheep, fresh bread and hind's milk are available day and night; to wake from sleep the noble one, Enlil's beloved son, warrior Ninĝ irsu, by offering (?) food and drink, Gudea introduced Š ul-š aga, the lord of the pure hand-washings (š u-luĝ), the first-born son of E-ninnu, to Ninĝ irsu.

[971-982](#). With his divine duties, namely to carry the seven-headed mace; to open the door of the an-kar house, the "Gate of Battle"; to hit exactly with the dagger blades, with the mitum mace, with the "floodstorm" weapon and with the marratum club, its battle tools; to inundate Enlil's enemy land, Gudea introduced Lugal-kur-dub, the warrior Š ar-ur, who in battle subdues all the foreign lands, the mighty general of the E-ninnu, a falcon against the rebel lands, his general, to lord Ninĝ irsu.

[983-989](#). After the heavenly mitum mace had roared against the foreign lands like a fierce storm -- the Š ar-ur, the flood storm in battle, the cudgel for the rebel lands -- after the lord had frowned at the rebellious land, the foreign country, hurled at it his furious words, driven it insane (the text here seems to be corrupt, and there may be some lines missing) ,

[990-992](#). With his divine duties, Gudea introduced the lord's second general, Kur-š una-buruam, to the son of Enlil.

[993-1005](#). With his divine duties, namely to send entreaties on behalf of the land of Lagaš ; to perform supplications and prayers for it, propitious ones; to greet pleasantly the warrior departing for Eridug; and until (?) Ninĝ irsu comes from Eridug, to keep the throne of the built-up city firm; to pray, with hand placed before the nose, together with Gudea, for the life of the true shepherd, Gudea introduced his adviser, Lugal-si-sa, to lord Ninĝ irsu.

[1006-1014](#). With his divine duties, namely to request; to command; to co-operate with the one speaking straightforwardly; to ..... the one speaking evil; to inform Ninĝ irsu, the warrior sitting on a holy dais in the E-ninnu, Gudea introduced Š akkan, the wild ram, the minister of the E-duga, his ....., to lord Ninĝ irsu.



[1015-1023](#). With his divine duties, namely to clean with water; to clean with soap; to ..... with oil from white bowls and with (?) soap; to urge him to sweet sleep on his bed strewn with fresh herbs; to let him enter the E-duga, his bed chamber, from outside (?) and to make him not wish to leave it, Gudea introduced Kinda-zid, the man in charge of the E-duga, to lord Ninĝ irsu.

[1024-1034](#). With his divine duties, namely to yoke up the holy chariot decorated with stars; to harness the donkey stallion, Piriĝ -kaš e-pada, before it; to ..... a slender donkey from Eridug with the stallion; to have them joyfully transport their owner Ninĝ irsu, Gudea introduced En-š eg-nun, who roars like a lion, who rises like a flood storm, Ninĝ irsu's hurrying bailiff, his donkey herdsman, to lord Ninĝ irsu.

[1035-1040](#). With his divine duties, namely, to make the butter abundant; to make the cream abundant; to see that the butter and the milk of the holy goats, the milking goats, and the hind, the mother of Ninĝ irsu, do not cease to flow in the E-ninnu sanctuary, Gudea introduced En-lulim, the herdsman of the hinds, to lord Ninĝ irsu.

[1041-1047](#). With his divine duties, namely to tune properly the sweet-toned tigi instrument; to fill the courtyard of E-ninnu with joy; to make the alĝ ar and miritum, instruments of the E-duga, offer their best in the E-ninnu to Ninĝ irsu, the warrior with an ear for music, Gudea introduced his beloved musician, Uš umgal-kalama, to lord Ninĝ irsu.

[1048-1057](#). With his divine duties, namely to soothe the heart, to soothe the spirits; to dry weeping eyes; to banish mourning from the mourning heart; to ..... the heart of the lord that rises like the sea, that washes away like the Euphrates, that hits like a flood storm, that has overflowed with joy after inundating a land which is Enlil's enemy, Gudea introduced his balaĝ drum, Lugal-igi-ĥuš, to lord Ninĝirsu.

[1058-1069](#). Zazaru, Iš kur-pa-e, Ur-agrunta-ea, Ĥe-Ĝir-nuna, Ĥe-šaga, Zurĝu and Zarĝu, who are Bau's septuplets, the offspring of lord Ninĝirsu, his beloved lukur maidens, who create plenty for the myriads, stepped forward to lord Ninĝ irsu with friendly entreaties on behalf of Gudea.

[1070-1081](#). With his divine duties, namely to see that the great fields grow rich; to see that the levees and ditches of Lagaš will be full to the brim; to see that Ezina-Kusu, the pure stalk, will raise its head high in the furrows in Gu-edina, the plain befitting its owner; to see that after the good fields have provided wheat, emmer and all kinds of pulses, numerous grain heaps -- the yield of the land of Lagaš -- will be heaped up, Gudea introduced Ĝ iš bar-e, Enlil's surveyor, the farmer of Gu-edina, to lord Ninĝ irsu.

[1082-1087](#). With his divine duties, namely to make sure that Imin-š atam, the messenger of Gu-edina, informs Ninĝ irsu in the E-ninnu about the amount of carp and perch (?) yielded by the marshes, and about the quantity of new shoots of reed yielded by the green reedbeds, Gudea introduced Lama, the inspector of the fisheries of Gu-edina, to lord Ninĝ irsu.

[1088-1099](#). With his divine duties, namely to administer the open country, the pleasant place; to give directions concerning the Gu-edina, the pleasant open country; to make its birds propagate (?); to have them lay their eggs in nests (?); to have them rear their young; to see that the multiplication of the beasts of Ninĝ irsu's beloved countryside does not diminish, Gudea introduced Dim-gal-abzu, the herald of Gu-edina, to lord Ninĝ irsu.

[1100-1106](#). With his divine duties, namely to erect cities; to found settlements; to build guard-houses for the wall of the Iri-kug; to have its divine resident constable, the mace of white cedar with its enormous head, patrol around the house, Gudea introduced Lugal-enu-iri-kugakam to lord Ninĝ irsu.

[1107-1117](#). Holy An made the location appropriate. Enlil wound (?) a turban (?) round its top. Ninĥursaĝa looked at it approvingly. Enki, the king of Eridug, drove in its foundation pegs. The true lord with a pure heart, Suen, made its powers the largest in heaven and on earth. Ninĝ irsu chose it among shrines of sprouting seeds with his heart. Mother Nanš e cared for it especially among the buildings of the land of Lagaš . But it was the god of most reliable progeny who built the house and made its name famous.

[1118-1124](#). The mighty steward of Nanš e, the accomplished shepherd of Ninĝ irsu, is wise, and able too to realise things; the man in charge of building the house, Gudea the ruler of Lagaš , was to make presents for the house.

[1125-1142](#). Gudea, the ruler in charge of building the house, the ruler of Lagaš , presented it with the chariot "It makes the mountains bow down", which carries awesome radiance and on which great fearsomeness rides and with its donkey stallion, Ud-gu-dugduga, to serve before it; with the seven-headed mace, the fierce battle weapon, the weapon unbearable both for the North and for the South, with a battle cudgel, with the mitum mace, with the lion-headed weapon made from nir stone, which never turns back before the highlands, with dagger blades, with nine standards, with the "strength of heroism", with his bow which twangs like a meš forest, with his angry arrows which whizz like lightning flashes in battle, and with his quiver, which is like a lion, a piriĝ lion, or a fierce snake sticking out its tongue -- strengths of battle endued with the power of kingship.

[1143-1154](#). Along with copper, tin, slabs of lapis lazuli, refined silver and pure Meluĥa cornelian, he set up (?) huge copper cauldrons, huge ..... of copper, shining copper goblets and shining copper jars worthy of An, for laying (?) a holy table in the open air ..... at the place of regular offerings (?). Ninĝirsu gave his city, Lagaš ..... He set up his bed within the bedchamber, the house's resting place; and everyone (?) rested like birds in the streets with the son of Enlil.

[1155-1181](#). With his duties, namely to fill the channels with flowing water; to make the marshes full with carp and perch (?) and to have the inspector of fisheries and the inspector of dykes stand at their posts; to fill the great waters with boats carrying grain; to see that tons, heaps and tons -- the yield of the land of Lagaš -- will be piled up; to see that cattle-pens and sheepfolds will be erected; to see that lambs abound around healthy ewes; to have the rams let loose on the healthy ewes; to see that numerous calves stand beside healthy cows; to see that breed bulls bellow loudly among them; to have the oxen properly yoked and to have the farmers and ox drivers stand beside them; to have donkeys carry packsaddles and to have their drivers, who feed them, follow behind them; to see that large copper ..... will be strapped onto jackasses; to see that the principal mill will produce (?); to ..... the house of Ninĝ irsu's young slave women; to set ..... right; to see that the courtyard of the E-ninnu will be filled with joy; to see that the ala drums and balaĝ drum will sound in perfect concert with the sim drums, and to see that his beloved drum Uš umgal-kalama will walk in front of the procession, the ruler who had built the E-ninnu, Gudea, himself entered before lord Ninĝ irsu.

[1182-1202](#). The temple towered upwards in full grandeur, unparalleled in fearsomeness and radiance. Like a boat it ..... and ..... Its owner, warrior Ninĝ irsu, came out as the daylight on the dais of Ĝ ir-nun. Its ..... resting on supports was like the blue sky in all its splendour. Its standards and their caps (?) were Ninĝ irsu himself emanating fearsomeness; their leather straps stretched out in front of them were green snake-eater birds bathing. Its owner, warrior Ninĝ irsu, stood like Utu in his most fascinating blue chariot. Its throne, standing in the guena hall, was An's holy seat which is sat upon joyfully. Its bed, standing in the bedroom, was a young cow kneeling down in its sleeping place. On its holy quilt (?), strewn with fresh herbs, mother Bau was resting comfortably with lord Ninĝ irsu.

[1203-1210](#). Large bronze plates (?) offered all sorts of food (?). In the good house ..... were cooked in shining bronze vessels (?). Its pure bowls standing in the great dining hall were troughs in various sizes that never lack water, and the goblets beside them were the Tigris and Euphrates continually carrying abundance.

[1211-1223](#). He had everything function as it should in his city. Gudea had built the E-ninnu, made its powers perfect. He brought butter and cream into its dairy and provided its ..... with bread (?). He had debts remitted and made all hands clear. When his master entered the house, for seven days the slave woman was allowed to become equal to her mistress and the slave was allowed to walk side by side with his master. But the ritually unclean ones could sleep only at the border of his city. He silenced the evil-speaking tongue and locked up evil.

[1224-1231](#). He paid attention to the justice of Nanš e and Ninĝ irsu. He provided protection for the orphan against the rich, and provided protection for the widow against the powerful. He had the daughter become the heir in the families without a son. A day of justice dawned for him. He set his foot on the neck of evil ones and malcontents.

[1232-1247](#). Like Utu, he rose on the horizon for the city. He wound (?) a turban (?) on his head. He made himself known by the eyes of holy An. He entered the shrine of E-ninnu with raised head like a bull and sacrificed there faultless oxen and kids. He set bowls in the open air and filled them full with wine. Uš umgal-kalama was accompanied by tigi drums, and ala drums roared for him like a storm. The ruler stepped onto the outer wall (?) and his city looked up to him in admiration. Gudea .....

6 lines missing

[1254-1257](#). ..... made abundance come forth for him. The earth produced mottled barley for him. Lagaš thrived in abundance with the ruler.

[1258-1276](#). For the warrior who entered his new house, for lord Ninĝ irsu, he arranged a rich banquet. He seated An at the place of honour for him, he seated Enlil next to An and Ninmaĝ next to Enlil.

12 lines missing

1 line fragmentary

[1277-1284](#). Rejoicing over the house, the owner determined a fate for the brickwork of E-ninnu: "O brickwork of E-ninnu, let there be a good fate determined, brickwork of E-ninnu, let there be a fate determined, let there

be a good fate determined! House! Mountain founded by An, built in grandeur!"

16 lines missing

[1301-1320](#). ..... determined a fate for the brickwork of E-ninnu: "O brickwork, let there be a fate determined, brickwork of E-ninnu, let there be a good fate determined! House ..... embers (?) ..... embracing heaven. .... holy ....."

14 lines missing

1 line fragmentary

[1321-1325](#). "On your behalf, numerous cow-pens will be erected and many sheepfolds renewed! The people will lie down in safe pastures, enjoying abundance under you. The eyes of Sumer and all the countries will be directed toward you. An will elevate your house of Anzud for you."

11 lines missing

[1337-1354](#).

3 lines fragmentary "..... grown as tall as Gilgameš . No one shall remove its throne set up there. Your god, lord Ninĝ iš zida, is the grandson of An; your divine mother is Ninsumun, the bearing mother of good offspring, who loves her offspring; you are a child born by the true cow. You are a true youth made to rise over the land of Lagaš by Ninĝ irsu; your name is established from below to above. Gudea, nobody ..... what you say. You are ..... a man known to An. You are a true ruler, for whom the house has determined a good fate. Gudea, son of Ninĝ iš zida, you will enjoy a long life!"

[1355-1361](#). The house reaches up to heaven like a huge mountain and its fearsomeness and radiance have settled upon the Land. An and Enlil have determined the fate of Lagaš ; Ninĝ irsu's authority has become known to all the countries; E-ninnu has grown so high as to fill the space between heaven and earth. Ninĝ irsu be praised!

[1362-1363](#). This is the end of the hymn "The building of Ninĝ irsu's house".

# Gudeas drøm

## *Sylinder A.*

1.

Den dagen da skjebnen ble fastsatt  
i himmelen og på jorden,  
reiste Lagash sitt hode i fullkommenhet,  
og Enlil så på Ningirsu med velvilje –  
han ville at byen skulle stråle  
av ting som var den verdig.

Hjertet svulmet dit hen av fryd,  
Enlils hjerte flommet over som elven –  
hjertet svulmet helt dit av fryd!  
En flodbølge reiste seg, skinnende og fryktelig,  
og likesom Tigris-elven nørte Enlil i sitt hjerte  
vilje til å frembringe gode ting.

Husets herre ropte til sin bolig;  
han ville se Eninnus kultiske bestemmelser  
fullbragt i himmel og på jord.  
Den lydhøre herskeren Gudea tidde oppmerksomt,  
og siden han tok behørig hensyn til alle varsler,  
sendte han bud etter en passende okse  
og en passende geit som offer.

Den høvelige grunnsteinen rakte hodet i været  
og krummet nakken mot ham,  
ivrig etter å bli lagt ned for det hellige huset.  
Gudea møtte i nattens visjon sin konge Ningirsu  
som talte til ham om at han skulle bygge hans hus,  
og i et syn viste ham Eninnus bestemmelser,  
som alle var storslagne.

Skjønt Gudeas forstand rakk dypt,  
grunnet han lenge og vel over dette.

”Sannelig, jeg burde fortelle henne det!  
Sannelig, jeg burde fortelle henne det!  
Måtte hun stå meg bi i denne saken.  
Store ting har kommet til meg, gjeteren,  
så brått – i denne natlige visjonen,  
og jeg forstår ikke dens budskap!  
Jeg må bringe drømmen frem for min mor.  
Min drømmetyderske,  
hun som kjenner det hellige,  
Nanshe, den guddommelige frue fra Sirara –

måtte hun avsløre for meg hva dette betyr!”

2.

Han gikk om bord i sitt skip,  
satte kurs mot Nina, hennes by,  
og seilte inn i Nina-elveløpet.  
Frydefullt skar det gjennom bølgene!

Da han nådde frem til Bagara<sup>i</sup>,  
tempelet ved elvebredden,  
ofret han brød og helte friskt vann til jorden.  
Han frembar en bønn for Bagaras herre:

”Kriger, ville løve uten rival,  
Ningirsu, du som er stor i Abzu<sup>ii</sup>,  
overhode i Nippur<sup>iii</sup>!  
Kriger – du har talt til meg!  
Ydmykt vil jeg gjøre det du har befalt meg;  
Ningirsu, la meg bygge ditt hus for deg,  
la meg gjøre dine værekrefter fullendte!”

”Måtte din søster, Eridus<sup>iv</sup> datter,  
uovertruffen i sitt fag, gudenes drømmetyderske –  
måtte Nanshe, den guddommelige frue fra Sirara,  
rydde vei for meg!”

Hans bønn ble hørt, og herren Ningirsu  
tok velvillig til seg Gudeas ord og offer.

Herskeren la sitt leie ned  
ved siden av gudinnen Gatumdug,  
ofret brød og helte ut friskt vann.  
Han stilte seg fremfor den hellige Gatumdug, og ba:

3

”Min frue, du som fødtes av den hellige An,  
uovertruffen i ditt kall, en strålende guddom  
hvis livskraft er i landet –  
du som vet hva som er godt for din by,  
frue og moder, grunnlegger av Lagash!  
Når du åpner ditt øye mot folket, følger overflod,  
og den hederlige unge mann du kaster blick på,  
skjenkes et langt liv.”

”Jeg er en moderløs – du er min mor.  
Jeg er en faderløs – du er min far.

Du tok mitt livsvann inn i ditt indre,  
du fødte meg fra det rene sted!  
Gatumdug, mildt er ditt hellige navn!”

”I natt vil jeg dvele her –  
du er min trygge krets av tistelplanter,  
du ga meg liv likesom du lar hveten gro  
i fruktbart vann!  
Du er mitt sverd som følger ved min side,  
du er lik en vidstrakt baldakin –  
måtte jeg få kjøle meg av i din skygge!”

”Måtte min frue Gatumdug  
rekke meg sin nådige hånd!  
Jeg reiser til byen – måtte varslet være gunstig!  
Måtte din gode genius gå foran meg  
og dine skytsånder følge bak meg  
på veien til Nina,  
høyden som reiser seg fra vannet.”

Hans bønn ble hørt, og den hellige Gatumdug  
tok velvillig til seg hans offer og ord.

4.

Gudea gikk om bord i sitt skip,  
satte kurs for Nanshes by Nina  
og stevnet inn ved kaien der.  
I forgården til gudinnen i Sirara  
løftet herskeren sitt hode mot himmelen,  
ofret brød og helte friskt vann til jorden.  
Han gikk til gudinnen Nanshe  
og ba fremfor henne:

”Nanshe, opphøyede frue og renselsesprestinne,  
beskyttende genius, mektige guddom!  
Du, frue, som utroper bestemmelser likesom Enlil,  
min Nanshe,  
du hvis ord er godt og går foran alt!  
Du er gudenes drømmetyderske,  
alle lands dronning, mor –  
mitt anliggende er en nattlig visjon!”

”I drømmen var der en skikkelse –  
veldig som himmelen,  
mektig som jorden var han!  
Hans hode var en guddoms hode,  
hans armer var Tordenfuglens vinger.  
Hans ben var likesom en uværstorm,

og på hver side av ham lå en løve.  
Han talte til meg om at jeg skulle bygge hans hus,  
men jeg forsto ikke alt han hadde på hjertet.”

”Solen reiste seg for meg fra horisonten,  
og en kvinne – hvem kunne hun være? –  
trådte så frem.  
Hun bar kornnek i sin favn,  
holdt et skriveredskap av strålende metall i hånden  
og på knærne la hun et stjernekart  
som hun rådførte seg med.”

5.

”I drømmen var det òg en kriger  
som holdt armen rundt en tavle av lapislasuli,  
og på den risset han inn husets grunnplan.  
Han satte en hellig kurv fremfor meg,  
gjorde klar den hellige mursteinsformen  
og la den utpekte mursteinen ned i den for meg.”

”Foran øynene mine sto et fagert poppeltre,  
og over det lot fuglemenn vann risle ned  
fra *tigid*-krukker.<sup>v</sup>  
Eselhingsten på min mesters høyre side  
skrapte ivrig med hoven i marken for meg.”

Til herskeren svarte hans mor, Nanshe, ham dette:  
”Min gjeter, la meg tyde drømmen din for deg:

Når det gjelder skikkelsen  
med velde som himmelen, utstrekning som jorden,  
en guddoms hode og vinger som Tordenfuglen,  
med ben likesom en uværstorm  
og med løver hvilende på hver side av seg –  
visselig er han min bror, Ningirsu!  
Han talte til deg om at du skulle bygge  
hans helligdom, Eninnu.”

”Dagen som rant på himmelhvelvingen fremfor deg,  
var din skytsgud Ningishzida<sup>vi</sup>, som likesom solen  
makter å stige opp for deg fra horisonten.  
Den unge kvinnen som kom frem og bandt kornnek,  
hun som holdt om et skriveredskap av strålende metall  
og la et stjernekart på fanget,  
som hun rådførte seg med –  
visst var hun min søster, Nidaba<sup>vii</sup>!  
Hun oppfordrer deg til å bygge huset  
i henhold til de strålende stjernene.”



6.

”Krigeren som holdt om en lapislasuli-tavle  
var Nindub, og han risset inn husets grunnplan.  
Når det gjelder den hellige kurven  
som ble satt ned fremfor deg,  
den hellige mursteinsformen som ble klargjort,  
og den utpekte mursteinen  
som ble plassert i den for deg,  
dette gjaldt visselig Eninnus rette grunnstein!”

”Det du sa om det fagre poppeltreet  
som sto foran deg,  
det som fuglemenn lot vann risle ned over  
fra *tigid*-krukker,  
betyr at søt søvn ikke vil lukke dine øyne  
mens byggingen av tempelet pågår.  
Eselhingsten på din mesters høyre side  
som skrapte ivrig med hoven i marken for deg –  
den var du selv, som, lik en fyrig ganger,  
skraper i marken for å nå til Eninnu!”

”La meg nå gi deg råd –  
måtte mine instruksjoner bli tatt til følge!”

”Når du har rettet dine skritt mot Girsu,  
den fremste helligdom i landet Lagash,  
brutt seglene til ditt lagerhus  
og lagt frem materialer,  
når du har laget en solid vogn for din mester  
og spent eselhingsten for den,  
når du har dekorert vognen  
med skinnende metall og lapislasuli,  
fått piler til å stikke opp fra koggeret  
så de lyner i solen,  
tatt hånd om *ankar*-våpenet  
som er heltedommens styrke,  
utformet for ham emblemet etter hans ønske  
og satt ditt navn på det,  
når Ushumgalkamma<sup>viii</sup>, hans kjære harpe,  
instrumentet som taler høylytt og er hans rådgiver  
er brakt inn i tempelet Eninnu, den skinnende Tordenfuglen,  
til den gave-elskende kriger, din mester Ningirsu –  
da vil han velvillig ta til seg selv ditt minste ord  
som om det var opphøyet!”

7.

”Herrens hjerte er grenseløst  
lik selve himmelen –  
hertet til Ningirsu, Enlils sønn,  
vil mildnes for deg,  
og han vil åpenbare for deg planene for sitt hus.  
Krigeren – hvis bestemmelser allerede er mektige –  
vil la disse vokse i styrke for deg!”

Den hederlige gjeter Gudea var vis og handlekraftig,  
han bøyde sitt hode for ordene  
Nanshe hadde talt til ham.

*Gudea følger Nanshes råd og bringer de ferdige gavene inn i Eninnu-tempelet.*

8.

Gudea steg ut fra Eninnus helligdom  
i strålende humør.  
Han vendte deretter tilbake dit dag etter dag;  
natt etter natt vandret han rundt utenfor.  
Han stagget alt som var høyt og forstyrrende,  
avviste ubetenksomme ord  
og ryddet urenheter av veien.

Han vendte seg til *Shugalam*<sup>ix</sup> –  
det fryktingytende stedet,  
stedet for domsavsigelser;  
stedet hvor Ningirsu skuer utover landene.  
Herskeren brakte dit en fet sau,  
en fetthalesau og en kornfødd geitekillling  
og la dem ned på skinn fra et hunnlam.

Han kastet einer, fjellets renselsesvekst, på ilden  
og lot røyk stige opp fra aromatisk sedertrekvae,  
gudenes røkelse.  
Han steg frem fra mengden for å be for sin mester,  
trådte frem for ham i *Ubshukkinna*<sup>x</sup> og ba:

”Ningirsu, min konge,  
du herre som snur tilbake de fryktelige vannmasser,  
oppriktige mester, avlet av Det store fjell<sup>xi</sup>!  
Du kriger som ikke har noen verdig utfordrer!  
Ningirsu, jeg vil bygge ditt hus for deg,  
men jeg har ikke noe høvelig varsel å gå etter.  
Kriger, du ønsket det fullkomne,  
men sønn av Enlil, herre Ningirsu –  
dets hjerte har du ikke åpenbart for meg!”

”Ditt hjerte sveller likesom havets dønninger,  
feier av gårde som en tordnende flodbølge  
og som vannmasser når de fosser ut av sitt løp  
og ødelegger byer med flom –  
som et stormvær slår det ned over fiendelandene!”

9.

”Min konge, ditt hjertes vilje  
strømmer som vann fra brudd i dikene  
og kan ikke holdes tilbake.  
Kriger, ditt hjerte er grenseløst likesom himmelen,  
Enlils sønn, herre Ningirsu –  
hvordan kan jeg forstå din vilje?”

For den sovende, for den sovende  
steg Ningirsu så frem til hans hode,  
og berørte det lett:

”Du som skal bygge for meg,  
du som skal bygge for meg;  
du hersker som skal bygge mitt hus,  
Gudea – når du skal bygge mitt hus,  
vil jeg vise deg dets tegn i klarhet,  
la meg åpenbare for deg mine bestemmelser  
i henhold til himmelens strålende stjerner!”

”Himlene skjelver for mitt hus -  
for mitt tempel Eninnu, grunnlagt etter himmelen,  
hvis bestemmelser er storslagne værekrefter  
som overgår alle andre bestemmelser;  
for huset med en herre hvis øye skuer vidt utover,  
for dets gjallende brøl som likner Tordenfuglens!”

”Dets fryktinngytende stråleglans<sup>xii</sup>  
strekker seg opp i himmelen,  
mitt tempel utgyter ærefrykt over landene!  
Alle riker vil samle seg når de hører dets navn,  
helt fra horisontens ende vil de komme –  
Magan og Meluhha vil komme ned fra fjellene<sup>xiii</sup>.”

10.

”Min far som avlet meg  
ga meg i sin kjærlighet som navn:  
'Konge, Enlils stormvær  
hvis skarpe blikk aldri løfter seg fra fjellet,

Ningirsu, Enlils kriger',  
og han overlot i min varetekt de femti *me*'er.<sup>xiv</sup>”

”Jeg gjorde klart bordet,  
forberedte håndvaskingsseremonien  
og strakte hendene ut  
for å vekke den hellige An fra søvnen.  
De beste ting å spise gir jeg fra min hånd  
til min far som avlet meg,  
og An, gudenes konge, ga meg derfor som navn:  
'Ningirsu, herre over himmelens ritualer'.”

*Ningirsu beskriver de andre templene sine, beliggenheten og funksjonene deres, og forteller videre hvordan byen Lagash skal blomstre når det storslagne Eninnu er ferdigstilt.*

11.

”Måtte det straks følge overflod  
når tempelets grunnstein berører jorden!  
De store åkrene vil reise sine spirer mot deg,  
diker og kanaler vil heve sine bredder mot deg  
og vann skal stige for deg opp til høylandet,  
dit vann aldri før har funnet veien.  
Under ditt styre vil Sumer renne over av fet olje,  
og ull vil kunne veies opp i overflod!”

”Når du legger grunnmuren,  
når du tar tak i arbeidet på mitt hus  
med dine hederlige hender –  
da vil jeg rette mine skritt mot fjellet,  
til det stedet hvor nordavinden bor,  
og jeg vil få mannen med overflod av styrke –  
stormvinden fra fjellene, fra det rene sted –  
til å blåse regnskyll i din retning!”

”Når slik en kraft er brakt til landet,  
vil én mann kunne gjøre to manns arbeid.  
Månen vil komme frem for deg om natten,  
rikelig med solskinn vil lyse for deg om dagen –  
og dagen vil frembringe tempelet for deg  
likesom natten vil la det vokse for deg!”

12.

*Ningirsu forklarer videre hvordan og hvorfra ulike tresorter og steiner vil bli hentet som materialer, og understreker hvordan alt skal gå greit og nærmest av seg selv. Innen dette er*

*gjort, erklærer han at ild vil omgi tempeltomten, noe som sannsynligvis viser til et vanlig renselsesritual i forbindelse med (tempel)bygging.*

Gudea reiste seg, det var søvn –  
han skalv av ærefrykt, det var en drøm!  
Han bøyd sitt hode for ordene  
Ningirsu hadde talt til ham.

Han tok leveren ut av en hvit geitekillling  
og iakttok dens varsler, som tydet vel.<sup>xv</sup>  
Ningirsu åpenbarte sitt hjerte for Gudea,  
like klart som solen,  
og vis og handlekraftig som han var,  
instruerte herskeren hele byen  
som om han talte til én mann;  
hele Lagash samlet seg rundt denne saken  
som om de var barn av én mor.  
Redskaper ble tatt i hånd,  
buskas og ugress rensket vekk  
og han forbød det talte ord  
så vel som alt som kunne være fiendtlig  
mot tempelet.

13.

Han løsnet på svepens tunge,  
fant frem piggkjeppen  
og fordelte saueull i deres hender<sup>xvi</sup>.  
Moren lot være å tale hardt til barnet,  
og barnet var ikke ulydig mot moren.  
Ingen herre slo sin slave over hodet,  
og ingen frue slo sin slavepike i ansiktet  
selv om hun hadde oppført seg dårlig mot henne.  
Ingen brakte klagesaker frem for Gudea  
mens han bygget Eninnu.

Herskeren lot byen rense –  
han så til at rensende ild ble tatt gjennom den,  
og at folk som var urene, motbydelige  
eller uverdige fremfor An, ble vist bort fra stedet.

Han lot en geitekillling knele  
i retning av mursteinsform-skuret,  
og den avslørte et varsel for grunnsteinen.  
Han betraktet leirgropen med glede,  
og gjeteren, Nanshes utvalgte,  
ga gropen en fyrstelig rang.  
Over mursteinsform-skuret han hadde utpekt,

og over den hellige leirgropen,  
lot han reise sin mesters bannere,  
der den strålende Tordenfuglen  
spredte sine vinger (i beskyttelse).

Folket velsignet for ham et område på 24 *iku*<sup>xvii</sup>,  
og han rensket høyden for Ningirsu;  
han kastet einer, fjellets renselsesvekst, på ilden  
og lot røyk stige opp fra aromatisk sedertrekvaer,  
gudenes røkelse.  
Dagen brukte han til ofring,  
natten tilbrakte han i bønn,  
og for å bygge Ningirsus tempel  
sto Anunnagudene av Lagash ved Gudeas side,  
i tilbedelse og bønn.  
Lykken var sikret for den hederlige gjeteren Gudea!

*Mindre deler av teksten fremover er fragmenterte. De neste kolonnene beskriver hvordan Gudea oppkrever ekstra skatt fra landets ulike "klaner" for å finansiere byggingen. Så nevnes importen av ulike varer og materialer som hentes inn fra fjern og nær: kobber, tinn, en mengde ulike treslag, steiner fra fjellet og edelstener, bitumen, fint sølv og alabast.*

17.

Gudea vandret til huset  
hvis fryktingytende stråleglans  
strekker seg opp i himmelen,  
hvis værekrefter favner både himmel og jord,  
hvis eier er en herre med skrekkingytende øyne  
og hvis kriger Ningirsu er slagmarkens ekspert.  
Han vandret mot Eninnu, den strålende Tordenfuglen,  
og beundret det fra sør til nord  
på høyden rensket av ild;  
beundret det fra nord til sør  
på høyden rensket av ild.

Med måletauet fant han det nøyaktige *iku*-arealet,  
han så selv til at stakene sto nøyaktig langs det.  
Dette ga ham stor glede, og om kvelden,  
da han gikk til det gamle tempelet for å be,  
ble hjertet mildnet for ham fra *Ulnuns* trone<sup>xviii</sup>.

18.

Det grydde av dag,  
han badet og iførte seg høvelige klær,  
og en sol som varslet om velstand,

steg for ham på himmelen.  
På ny vandret Gudea ut i den strålende byen,  
der hvor han ofret en feilfri okse og en feilfri geit.  
Han gikk så bort til tempelet  
og løftet hånden til hodet i hilsen.

Til Eninnu bar han med hevet hode  
den hellige kurven og mursteinsformen  
som var blitt utpekt for ham.  
Guden Lugalkurdub<sup>xix</sup> vandret foran ham,  
guden Igalim<sup>xx</sup> ryddet vei for ham,  
og Ningishzida, hans skytsgud, holdt ham i hånden.

Ved mursteinsform-skuret ofret han friskt vann,  
og mens *adab*, *sim* og *alu*-instrumenter lød for ham  
strøk han av topplaget for mursteinen.  
Han smurte på honning, smør og fløte;  
han blandet ambra og uttrekk fra alle slags tresorter  
inn i støpemassen.  
Han løftet opp den hellige kurven  
og bar den bort til mursteinsformen.  
Gudea plasserte selv leiren i den  
og lot en fullkommen ting bli skapt -  
han etablerte sitt ry  
ved å la tempelets første murstein tre frem!  
Han stenket olje mot landene;  
stenket sedertreolje,  
og hele dagen gledet byen og landet Lagash  
seg med ham.

19

Han løftet mursteinen ut av mursteinsformen –  
den var lik den hellige krone båret av An!  
Han løftet mursteinen opp,  
og bar den rundt blant sitt folk –  
det var som om Utus hellige tospann nærmet seg!  
Mursteinen reiste sitt hode mot tempelet  
likesom en av Nannas kuer<sup>xxi</sup>,  
ivrig etter å gresse på jordet.  
Han la ned mursteinen, trådte inn i huset,  
og spredte utover tempelets byggeplaner  
som om han hadde selveste Nidabas forståelse  
av tallenes natur.

Likesom for den unge mannen som bygger sitt første hus,  
fant ikke søt søvn frem til hans øyne –  
lik en ku som holder øye med kalven sin  
vandret han stadig til tempelet full av bekymring,

og lik mannen som putter lite i munnen  
tretnet han ikke av den urolige vandringen.  
Hans mesters hensikt sto klar som solen  
for Gudea;  
Ningirsus ord sto plantet som fundamentpæler  
i Gudeas sinn.

20.

Han gransket en geitekillling,  
og fant at dens varsel var gunstig.  
Han kastet korn over friskt vann,  
og det som trådte frem var fordelaktig.  
Gudea la seg ned og søkte et drømmeorakel,  
han sovnet, og et bilde kom til ham:

Hans mesters hus sto ferdigstilt –  
Eninnus fundament strakte seg mellom himmel og jord!  
Dette ble klart for ham i visjonen,  
og synet gjorde ham svært lykkelig.

*Den følgende utelatte delen beskriver ferdigstillelsen av tempelet, og hvordan ulike guder spiller sin rolle: Enlil bygger fundamentet, Nanshe tar seg av all spådomskunst, Gatumdug, "føder" mursteinene og Bau stenker sedertreolje over dem. En renselsesprest utfører sine ritualer til punkt og prikke, og Anunnagudene kommer for å beundre det hele. Gudea gir tempelet syv "velsignelser":*

21.

Han velsignet det for første gang:  
"Måletauet treffer alle mursteinene!"  
Han velsignet tempelet for annen gang:  
"Det er en vinranke med alle sine frukter på en linje!"  
Han velsignet tempelet for tredje gang:  
"Det er Tordenfuglen  
som sprer sine vinger over ungen sin!"  
Han velsignet tempelet for fjerde gang:  
"Det er en løveunge omfavnet av en fryktelig løve!"  
Han velsignet tempelet for femte gang:  
"Det er en blå himmel som bærer frem lys!"  
Han velsignet tempelet for sjette gang:  
"Det er den oppadstigende sol, full av skjønnhet!"  
Han velsignet tempelet for syvende gang:  
"Eninnu bader landet i en mild glans  
likesom månen i de svinnende morgentimer!"



*Så beskrives de siste stadiene av byggeprosessen. De ulike delene av tempelet "gis" egenskapene til mytologiske skapninger, gjenstander og steder, eller beskrives med kosmiske allegorier. Gudea reiser på ulike punkter i og utenfor tempelet steler med innskrifter som hyller Ningirsu og Bau, og plasserer forskjellige emblemer eller steinstøtter som respektfullt representerer egenskapene til hans slagne fiender, i de mange rommene inne i tempelet. Det siste som skjer, er at dørene settes inn, og alt fra selve dørene til låser, nagler og "lukketau" sammenlignes med villdyr og mytologiske skapninger.*

27.

Huset skuet vidt utover landet –  
ingen hovmodig mann  
kunne vandre uberørt fremfor Eninnu,  
hvis fryktingytende nærvær  
dekket landene lik et klede.  
Det hellige tempelet, grunnlagt av An,  
var innhyllet i høvelig duft,  
det reiste seg likesom månen  
på den strålende himmelen;  
huset hvis fasade lignet et stort fjell,  
var reist på jorden!

I dets indre lød besvergelses og hymner i harmoni,  
dets ytre var selve himmelen –  
et mektig stormvær som bringer overflod!  
Dets ytre forsamlingshall var stedet  
der Anunnagudene fattet avgjørelser,  
det lød lovprisninger fremfor dets brønn  
med honningsøtt vann,  
og overdådige matoffer sikret overflod fra gudene.  
Emblemene var reist ved tempelet –  
Tordenfuglen spredte sine vinger  
over det strålende fjellet!  
Eninnus murpuss var en stabil leirblanding  
hentet frem fra ørken-kanalen,  
utvalgt av Ningirsu selv med hans hellige hjerte,  
tømt over dets hode som var det en fin parfyme,  
og dekorert av Gudea med himmelens prakt.

28.

Det ble båret inn fløte og melk fra tempelets fjøs,  
store rundbrød og horn fra dets veldige ovn,  
okser og sauer ble gjort klar for slakteknivene,  
og matlageret ble opprettet som en helligdom.  
Stedet for drikkoffer var et fjell  
dryppende av vin,  
og fra tempelets bryggeri flommet det

som fra Tigris selv.

Dets skattkammer var fylt  
med edelstener, sølv og tinn,  
og vognskjulet var et fjell plantet på jorden.  
Musikkrommet var en okse med høye brøl,  
og i forgården lød velsignelser,  
*sim-* og *alu-*instrumenter.  
Steintrappene som støttet seg opp mot huset,  
steg jevnt lik vakre fjellsider opp mot *Ulnun*,  
og de øvre trappene, som strakte seg til taket,  
var lik en hvit sky som skuet mot fjellene.  
Dets *Kirigiedin*<sup>xxii</sup>, som var anlagt nær tempelet,  
var et fjell som fødte kilder av vin,  
plantet ved det fryktinngytende sted.

29.

De syv stelene som var reist rundt i huset<sup>xxiii</sup>,  
var ting dets herre alltid kunne rådføre seg med.  
Dets hus for begravelsoffer var purt  
som om det var innviet i selveste *Abzu*.  
Steinkarene som var satt opp i tempelet,  
var lik renselsesprestens hellige rom,  
der det alltid finnes vann.

Dets høye tårn, der duene slo seg ned,  
hadde fått en god skjebne likesom Eridu,  
og Eninnu tilbød alltid svalene hvile;  
et beskyttende sted der vide grener ga søt skygge.  
Når fugler av alle slag sang og kvitret,  
var det som om det lød besvergelses  
fra selveste Enlils *Ekur*<sup>xxiv</sup>.

Huset spredte ærefrykt over landene,  
dets pris ble sunget helt opp i høylandene;  
Eninnus fryktinngytende nærvær  
dekket landene lik et klede!

30.

Husets herre hadde bygget det i storslagenhet –  
Ningishzida reiste det fra grunnpilarene,  
og Gudea, herskeren av Lagash,  
drev inn fundamentpluggene.  
Huset steg opp over landet likesom solen,  
og det strålte for forsamlingen  
som det vakreste måneskinn.

Det gav fruktbarhet likesom det frodige høylandet,  
og det står for å bli beundret –  
priset være Ningirsu for gjenreisningen av Eninnu!

Dette er den midtre del av hymnen om byggingen av Ningirsus tempel.

*Fra sylinder B.*

31.

Huset, landets mast, er reist som en fortøyning  
mellom himmel og jord!  
Enlil fastsatte skjebnen til Eninnus mur,  
den møter øyet lik et frodig berg i horisonten.  
Huset stiger opp i himmelen  
likesom solen i dens midte –  
det er den strålende Tordenfuglen selv  
idet den sprer klørne og stuper ned i fjellandet.

Da arbeiderne var sendt hjem og landet falt til ro,  
kom Anunnagudene for å beundre tempelet.  
Ydmykt kysset da herskeren  
jorden for deres føtter –  
han æret gudene på høvisk vis  
og fremsa bønner for byen under sin beskyttelse.  
Han gikk til Anunnagudene og ba fremfor dem:

32.

”Anunnaguder! Anunnaguder!  
Dere som holder oppsyn med stedet Lagash,  
landets skytsguder –  
deres ord feier vekk enhver som vil stagge det  
lik en mektig strøm av vann,  
men den verdige mann dere kaster blick på  
skjenkes et langt liv.  
Jeg er gjeteren som bygget tempelet,  
min herre vil nå tre inn i sitt hus!  
Anunnaguder, måtte dere fremsi bønnen  
på mine vegne!”

Gudea, den hederlige gjeteren,  
var vis og handlekraftig.  
Hans gode genius gikk foran ham  
og hans skytsånd bak ham<sup>xxv</sup>  
da han gikk til sin mesters gamle bolig,  
til sin herres gamle Eninnu, og hilste ham:

”Ningirsu, min konge –  
du herre som snur tilbake de fryktelige vannmasser,  
herre hvis ord går foran alt,  
Enlils sønn, kriger!

Trofast har jeg utført alt det du befalte meg.  
Ningirsu, jeg har reist huset for deg –  
måtte du tre inn i det med glede!”

”Bau, min gudinne,  
jeg har bygget dine hellige gemakker –  
måtte du finne deg til rette der!”

33.

Hans bønn ble hørt, og herren Ningirsu  
tok velvillig til seg Gudeas ord.

Det gamle året tok snart slutt, månen svant;  
et nytt år kom frem på himmelen,  
månen gikk inn i sitt hus.  
Ningirsu vendte tilbake fra Eridu  
mens nymånen badet landet i det vakreste lys,  
og da solen fant sin plass,  
strålte Eninnu om kapp med den,  
helliget under månegudens rene glans.

*I de følgende utelatte linjene forbereder Gudea tempelet ved å utsmykke hjørner og sidevegger med en blanding av lapislasuli og karneol, og han stenker fin olje på gulvene. Han sender arbeiderne bort, og gjør klar matoffer bestående av mange ulike frukter, frø, honning og melk. Det presiseres at denne offermaten er ”urørt av ild”.*

34.

Fra solen steg opp på himmelen,  
og frem til middagstid  
var Gudea opptatt med mange gjøremål.  
Guden Asari så til at tempelet var klart,  
gudinnen Ninmada ga råd  
og kong Enki åpenbarte orakler.  
Nindub, en aktet renselsesprest fra Eridu,  
fylte tempelet med røkelse.

Hun som kjenner de store ritene,  
gudinnen Nanshe;  
hun som kjenner hellige ord og sang,  
fremførte sine besvergelses for tempelet.  
Hun klippet ull av sorte søyer  
og tok melk fra juret til himmelkua.

De rensset tempelet med bunter av tamarisk  
og muflonbusken skapt av An.  
Herskeren fikk byen til å knele

og bød landets folk bøye seg.  
Han stagget alt som var høyt og forstyrrende,  
avviste ubetenksom tale,  
og ryddet urenheter av veien.  
I byen hadde de sykes mødre legemidler for hånden,  
og ute på marken samlet dyrene seg og la seg ned;  
løver og steppelandets drager nøt fredelig søvn.

Dagen gikk med til ofring, natten til bønn,  
og i morgentimenes svinnende månelys  
nærmet husets herre seg.

35.

Krigeren Ningirsu gikk inn i sitt hus –  
husets herre ankom!  
Lik en ørn som retter sine øyne mot et bytte,  
lik en storm som varsler om krig  
gikk Ningirsu inn i sin bolig,  
og han vandret rundt i den  
og tok den i øyesyn.  
Stemningen var som under festen  
i Abzu-helligdommen.  
Da husets herre var klar til å tre ut igjen,  
var han lik solguden  
som steg opp over landet Lagash!

Bau gikk inn i sine rom;  
en dyktig kvinne som tok hånd om sin husstand.  
Lik Tigris som flommet over sine bredder var hun  
da hun kom inn i soveværelset.  
Hun hvilte der som den dronning hun var,  
den hellige Ans datter – en grønn hage full av frukt!

Solen brøt frem, skjebnen var bestemt –  
Baus inntreden i kvinnefløyen  
betydde overflod for Lagash!  
Solen steg høyere –  
solguden hadde reist sitt hode over landet Lagash.  
En fet okse og en fet sau ble brakt til tempelet,  
og vin ble helt ut i en himmelkrukke<sup>xxvi</sup>.

Anunnagudene i Lagash strålte  
ved herren Ningirsus side.  
Den rituelle rensingen av tempelet var fullbragt;  
oraklene var fremlagt og gransket vel.

36.

Det ble skjenket vin fra store mugger,  
mens folk fylte Eninnus forgård.  
Nindub fikk tempelet til å drønne av livlig støy,  
ferskt brød og sauemelk ble båret inn, natt som dag,  
og den rettsindige – Enlils elskede sønn,  
krigeren Ningirsu, våknet opp fra søvnen!

Ningirsu reiste sitt hode i fullkommenhet,  
og én etter én stilte han dem opp fremfor Eninnu:  
gudene, husholderne, funksjonærene,  
hele sitt hoff og sin husstand.

*Deler av teksten fremover bærer preg av gjentakelser og oppramsing og er derfor utelatt. Dette skjer: Ningirsu tildeler de mindre gudene individuelle funksjoner: Ig-alim er vokter av ro og orden, Shul-shaga er overhode for renhold og renselse, Lugal-kur-dub er våpenmester og feltherre og Kur-shuna-shenam en slags nestkommanderende, Lugal-si-sa er rådgiver og "viseragent", Shakan-sheg-bar er skriver, Kinda-zid er personlig tjener og tar seg av sin herres soverom, En-sig-nun er stallkar med ansvar for Ningirsus esler og vogn, En-lulim skal passe geiteflokkene og melkeproduksjonen, Ushumgal-kalamma er tempelets skald, Lugal-igi-hush skal spille "hjerterberoligelses-elegier", Bau og Ningirsus syv døtre er prestinner som kan påkalle regn, Gishbar-e er bonde med ansvar for kanaler og landbruk, Lamar har tilsyn med fisket, Dim-gal-abzu skal se til at alt går vel for seg ute på steppen, og Lugal er vokter av bymuren.*

*Deretter følger en liste over Gudeas gaver til tempelet av våpen, møbler og annet. Til sist beskrives hvordan alt i landet går rett for seg etter at Gudea selv, etter å ha sørget for at gudene fyller sine respektive oppgaver til punkt og prikke, har trådt inn i tempelet fremfor Ningirsu.*

46.

Huset reiste seg fullendt –  
det var pur fullkommenhet  
i dets fryktelige stråleglans!  
Dets herre, krigeren Ningirsu,  
steg likesom solguden opp på *Ulnuns* trone,  
og himlingen som hvilte over den  
lignet en blå horisont, fylt av lys.  
Emblemene som vaiet fra pælespissene  
viste Ningirsus fryktinngytende prakt,  
og båndene som løp like til deres fremside  
var badet i gulsnutede slanger.<sup>xxvii</sup>

I sin stjernebærende vogn av lapislasuli  
sto Ningirsu; han var selveste solguden!  
Tronen som var stilt opp i forsamlingsalen  
lignet Ans hellige sted,  
hvilende blant tindrende stjerner.

Sengen som var plassert i soverommet  
lignet en kvige som knelte på sitt leie,  
og på dens hellige sengeteppe –  
bestrødd med friske urter og blomster –  
hvilte moderen Bau makelig med herren Ningirsu.

47.

Store bronsefat sto dekket med mengder av god mat –  
i huset der alt gikk effektivt for seg  
ble det stadig kokt offermat i blanke bronsekjeler.  
I spisehallen var det satt ut rene mugger  
i ulike størrelser –  
aldri ble de tomme for vann,  
og begrene ved siden av dem bar overflod  
likesom Tigris og Eufkrat.

Gudea så til at alt var som det skulle i byen –  
han hadde bygget Eninnu,  
gjort tempelets bestemmelser fullendte!  
Han sendte smør og fløte  
inn i kammeret for smør og fløte;  
han sendte brød inn i kammeret for brød.  
Han etterga gjeld  
og var rundhåndet med sin nåde.

Den dagen da herren trådte inn i sitt hus,  
og i syv dager fremover  
var slavepiken på like fot med sin frue,  
slaven vandret side om side med sin herre,  
mens de som var rituelt urene  
fikk sove ute ved bymuren<sup>xxviii</sup>.

48.

Gudea fjernet ordet fra den onde tunge,  
han avviste alt som var av fiendskap mot tempelet  
og ga øre til Nanshe og Ningirsus rettferd.  
Han beskyttet den foreldreløse mot den rike,  
han beskyttet enken mot den mektige,  
og i hus der det ikke var noen mannlig arving  
lot han datteren overta sønnens rolle.

En rettferdighetens dag hadde lysnet for ham –  
han satte sin fot ned på all den ondskap  
man klager over under solen,  
visselig var han selv likesom Utu for byen!  
Han dekket til sitt hode



og ga seg til kjenne fremfor den hellige An.  
Lik en mektig okse med løftet hode  
trådte han inn i Eninnus helligdom,  
der han slaktet en feilfri okse og flere lam  
og satte ut kar som han fylte med vin.

49.

Harpen Ushumgalkamma  
fant sin plass blant *tigi*-instrumentene,  
og *alu*-instrumentene brølte for ham lik et uvær.  
Herskeren steg ut på tempelets øverste plattform,  
og byen iakttok ham i beundring.

For krigeren som hadde trådt inn i sitt nye hus,  
for herren Ningirsu,  
arrangerte Gudea et storslått gilde.  
Han plasserte An ved ”storsiden”<sup>xxix</sup>,  
ved Ans side plasserte han Enlil,  
og ved Enlils side plasserte han Ninmah<sup>xxx</sup>.

*Teksten fremover har betydelige brudd, og rekonstruksjoner man har gjort ved hjelp av fragmenter er usikre. Det som videre ser ut til å skje, er at Ningirsu hyller Gudea for hans arbeid med tempelet, før han velsigner og priser selve tempelet. Verset som følger, er hymnens avslutning.*

52.

Lik et mektig fjell  
strekker tempelet seg opp i himmelen;  
dets fryktelige stråleglans  
utgyter ærefrykt over landene.  
Skjebnen til Lagash er bestemt  
av An og Enlil.  
Landene har vært vitne til Ningirsus velmakt,  
Eninnu er endelig reist mellom himmel og jord –  
priset være Ningirsu!

Dette er enden på hymnen som priser byggingen av Ningirsus tempel.

- <sup>i</sup> Et av Ningirsus mindre templer i Lagash
- <sup>ii</sup> En underjordisk verden av ferskvann, der guden Enki regjerte. Stedet lå mellom underverdenen og jordoverflaten, og herfra mente man fra tidlige tider at alle elver og kilder hadde sine utspring.
- <sup>iii</sup> Byen Nippur var svært viktig i religiøs sammenheng. Enlil var byens skyts gud.
- <sup>iv</sup> Eridu var en by sør i Mesopotamia, der Enki var skyts gud.
- <sup>v</sup> Disse linjene er svært tvetydige i originalteksten. Her følges Thorkild Jacobsens tolkning ("The Harps that once..." s 393), som refererer til mytopoetiske gjengivelser av regnskyer i form av bevingede menneskeskikkelser som heller ut vann fra en spesiell type krukke de bærer i armene.
- <sup>vi</sup> Ningishzida opptrer vanligvis som en mektig guddom av underverdenen.
- <sup>vii</sup> På denne tiden var Nidaba først og fremst en gudinne for skrivekunst og tall.
- <sup>viii</sup> Navnet kan oversettes som "Landets drage".
- <sup>ix</sup> Shugalam må ha vært en spesiell arkitektonisk del av den tidligere tempelbygningen, muligens et slags høyt podium.
- <sup>x</sup> Muligens navnet på en lavere del av tempelet, som fungerte som forsamlingssted.
- <sup>xi</sup> Vanlig metafor for guden Enlil.
- <sup>xii</sup> Det interessante begrepet *me-lam* er vanskelig å oversette, men forestillingen omfatter en slags fryktelig og hellig aura eller overveldende utstråling som guder, demoner og særlige viktige personer hadde, og som forsvant når de døde. Templer og guders hellige symboler og gjenstander kan også ha *me-lam*.
- <sup>xiii</sup> Moderne forskere mener at disse stedene kan identifiseres med henholdsvis Oman og Indusdalen.
- <sup>xiv</sup> *Me* er ordet som ellers i denne teksten, avhengig av sammenheng, er oversatt med "bestemmelse", "skjebne" eller "værekraft". Begrepet kan kanskje beskrives som en bestemt tings, tilstands eller egenskaps ideelle funksjon, definisjon eller indre vesen - noe som kan minne om platonske ideer. De fremstilles likevel ofte som nærmest konkrete objekter som gudene kan dele mellom seg eller kjempe over for å vinne kontroll over de områder de ulike *me*'er representerer, og kan derfor ofte forstås som en slags "byråkratiske" forordninger i gudenes verden. Siden Ningirsu har femti *me*'er, er det nærliggende å anta at navnet Eninnu, "femti-huset", viser til disse. Femti er for øvrig også et tall forbundet med Enlil.
- <sup>xv</sup> Å tyde tegn fra et dyrs lever var en vanlig spådomsmetode i Mesopotamia.
- <sup>xvi</sup> Gjelder sannsynligvis arbeiderne.
- <sup>xvii</sup> Til sammen et område på nær 85 000 kvadratmeter, eventuelt 42 300 kubikkmeter om det er snakk om volum. Om det er snakk om volum, kan dette gjelde det første "trinnet" av tempelets base, eventuelt kan denne mengden jord ha blitt gravd ut for tempelets fundament. Det første kan kanskje være tilfellet, da noe som kan tolkes som "haug" eller "høyde" blir gjenstand for renselse i neste linje.
- <sup>xviii</sup> Dvs., Ningirsus hjerte. Ifølge Jacobsen ("The Harps that once..." s 410) er *Ulnun* – tegnene kan for øvrig også leses *Girnum* – Ningirsus domssted på Shugalam-podiet i tempelet (se også note ix).
- <sup>xix</sup> "Herren som knuser fjellet", Ningirsus hærfører og vokter av de guddommelige våpen.
- <sup>xx</sup> "Oksens dør", Ningirsu og Baus sønn og guddommelig oppsynsmann i Girsu.
- <sup>xxi</sup> Stjernene blir noen ganger omtalt som månegudens "kuer", så når mursteinene her sammenliknes med "Nannas kuer" understrekes kanskje det enorme antall murstein som skal gå med til tempelbyggingen – foruten, selvsagt, det 'himmelske' aspektet ved byggeprosessen.
- <sup>xxii</sup> Bokstavelig: "Steffens sorte hage". Sannsynligvis er det her snakk om vinranker, neste linje tatt i betraktning.
- <sup>xxiii</sup> Viser nok til fremstillingene av Ningirsus syv slagne fiender, som han plasserte inne i tempelet, snarere enn de stelene som ble reist ute, som var seks i tallet. Det kan derfor se ut til at egenskapene og kreftene til fiendene på magisk vis kunne formidles via disse 'emblemene' til eieren.
- <sup>xxiv</sup> "Fjellhuset", navnet til Enlils tempel i Nippur.
- <sup>xxv</sup> *U-dug* (*utukku* på akkadisk) er en spesiell type demon – her fremhevet som god, så "genius" kan være en passende oversettelse. *Lama*-guder, i denne linjen oversatt som "skytsånd", er en form for beskyttende guddommer som ofte sees avbildet på segl som skikkelser som presenterer mennesket overfor en større gud. Det er dermed interessant at Gudea i verset ovenfor ber om at de skal fremsi en bønn på hans vegne, etter å ha kalt Anunnagudene for *lama*-guder ("skytsguder"),
- <sup>xxvi</sup> Siden tinn gjerne blir kalt for "himmelmetall", kan det eventuelt være snakk om en skål laget av tinn.
- <sup>xxvii</sup> Det er noe usikkert hva som beskrives her, men det ser ut til å gjelde dekoren til bannerne og en form for støttesnorer.
- <sup>xxviii</sup> Dette er en problematisk linje der originalteksten har flere tolkningsmuligheter.
- <sup>xxix</sup> Angivelig en æresplass.
- <sup>xxx</sup> Ninmah, som også gjerne identifiseres med Ninhursaga, var en viktig modergudinne.