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# UR-NAMMA THE CANAL-DIGGER: CONTEXT, CONTINUITY AND CHANGE IN SUMERIAN LITERATURE

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The reconstruction of Sumerian literature deserves to be considered one of the great achievements of the twentieth century. The basic principle of this reconstruction, however, leaves a widespread sense of unease, resting as it does on a compromise between the practical need (one might almost call it a romantic desire) to have a “complete” text and the methodological awareness that in almost no case did those texts ever exist as reconstructed.<sup>1</sup> Nor is it often the case, however, that we have multiple sources of a single composition that are well enough preserved to enable us to read the versions against each other, and to date no attempt has been made to take advantage of the exceptions. The present paper<sup>2</sup> offers an initial attempt to remedy this situation, by examining the interrelationships of several avatars

of the Ur-Namma hymn known elsewhere as “The Coronation of Ur-Nammu” or “Ur-Namma D.” In the following pages this text will be referred to by its incipit, *Aba munbale*, “who will dig it?” Our sources evidence three traditions of *Aba munbale*.<sup>3</sup> The first is the unprovenanced one-column exercise tablet from Yale, or the Yale tradition as it will be called here.<sup>4</sup> The second, the Ur tradition,<sup>5</sup> is composed of two one-column exercise tablets from Ur preserving the same text as each other, but with some variations in spelling.<sup>6</sup> The third is the Nippur tradition, again evidenced by two pieces that preserve the same text as each other, though this time on different types of tablet; one a single-column exercise text, the other a two-column collective tablet.<sup>7</sup> The text

1. The most recent discussion of this problem is that of J. Black, *Reading Sumerian Poetry* (Athlone: London, 1998) 28–38, with previous literature.

2. An earlier presentation of this research was offered at the 204th meeting of the American Oriental Society Meetings in Madison, Wisconsin in March 1994. The current version has benefited from comments of M. Civil, P. Michalowski and P. Steinkeller. I am grateful to Dr. J. Sabloff, Charles K. Williams III Director of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology for his generous support of the travel required to permit collation of many of the texts utilized in this study. The following abbreviations are used: Hallo “Coronation” = W. W. Hallo, “The Coronation of Ur-Nammu,” *JCS* 20 (1966) 133–41; *RIME* 3/1 = D. O. Edzard, *Gudea and His Dynasty*, Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods, 3/1 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997); *RIME* 3/2 = D. Frayne, *Ur III Period (2112–2004 BC)*, Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods, 3/2 (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1997); Sefati, *Love Songs* = Y. Sefati, *Love*

*Songs in Sumerian Literature* (Bar-Ilan: Bar-Ilan University, 1998).

3. A formal list of sources is presented with the synoptic edition below.

4. This tablet was first presented in transliteration in Hallo “Coronation.” I am grateful to Professor Hallo and Ulla Kasten for their assistance in the Yale Babylonian Collection where I was able to collate this tablet in 1995, and for providing the photographs of this tablet that are published here (pl. I).

5. Also first presented in Hallo “Coronation.” I wish to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to publish the photographs of these tablets (pls. II, III).

6. It is plausible, if unprovable, that these tablets represent a pair of copies made from dictation during a single class. The objects were both among the finds at no. 1 Broad Street, discussed by Charpin, *Clergé* 434–86.

7. Photographs of these tablets, taken by Fred Schoch, head photographer of the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology, are published here with the permission of the Board of Trustees of that institution (pls. IV, V).

is mentioned in a fragmentary catalogue from Nippur,<sup>8</sup> and there is also evidence that the text was known at Uruk, where a text of uncertain content mentions Aba munbale by its incipit.<sup>9</sup>

Narrative differences between texts offer a challenge for modern editors. In the present case it is necessary for the argument to present all three traditions individually, and equally necessary for understanding the reconstructions to present all of the texts synoptically. Since providing a standardized reference point with a clear, systematic labeling system is a primary responsibility of a modern editor, the synoptic text is given a single sequence of line numbers which are marked with an asterisk to draw attention to the fact that this lineation is a construct.<sup>10</sup> It is suggested here that the various versions of this text be referred to as follows:

- Ur-Namma D Nippur 1ff.: The Nippur version
- Ur-Namma D Ur 1ff.: The Ur version
- Ur-Namma D Yale 1ff.: The Yale version
- Ur-Namma D \*1ff.: The synoptic version

As a discursive strategy, the reconstructions offered below as a basis for discussion are deliberately maximal, with restorations being made not only from the texts of each tradition but also, where the editor considers it warranted, from the texts of the sibling traditions.<sup>11</sup> In general, in both the selection of restorations and the translations there are serious problems with identifying a single correct solution given the evident variability of the traditions, and the critical reader will see quickly that in many cases there is little ground on which to choose between alternatives. As a matter of principle, I have attempted not to succumb too often to the temptation to homogenize variation, while at the same time remaining sensitive to the apparently inexpert nature of the writers of the texts at our disposal.<sup>12</sup>

Let us begin by examining the shortest of the three traditions represented by our sources, that of Nippur:

#### Nippur Version

1. a-ba-a mu-u[n-ba-a]l-e a-ba-a mu-un-ba-al-e
2. íd asilal kù a-ba mu-un-ba-al-e
3. íd pa<sub>5</sub>-bi [lu<sub>h</sub> a]-ba mu-un-ba-al-e
4. [(x)] ur<sup>2</sup>-d<sup>1</sup>[namma kù tu]ku mu-un-ba-al-e
5. [šul zi níg tu]ku mu-un-ba-al-e
6. [lugal-mu bára]-za <sup>d</sup>en-l[íl]-le [en] <sup>d</sup>dil-ím-babbar
7. [gá-e uru-gá a-r]á-bi ku<sub>6</sub><a> ri-bi mušen-a
8. [uri<sub>5</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ma] a dùg-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-a [ri]-bi mušen-a

- Who will dig it? Who will dig it?  
 The canal of sacred joy, who will dig it?  
 The canal whose channel is cleansed, who will dig it?  
 Ur-Namma, the wealthy one, will dig it!  
 The vigorous youth, the prosperous one, will dig it!  
 My lord (Nanna), on your dais (you are) lord Dilimbabbar to Enlil!  
 As for me (Ur-Namma), my city's water-course is fishes, its flow is birds.  
 Ur's fresh water is fishes, its flow is birds.

8. CBS 14007 + N 3637 + Ni 9925 v 3; see W. W. Hallo, "Another Sumerian Literary Catalogue?," *StOr* 46 (1975) 79.

9. A. Cavigneaux, *Uruk: Altbabylonische Texte aus dem Planquadrat Pe XVI-4/5*, *Ausgrabungen in Uruk-Warka Endberichte* 23 (Mainz am Rhein: von Zabern, 1996), 45 no. 83, with discussion.

10. Note that no composite text is offered with the synoptic presentation on the grounds that it would be egregiously meaningless in the present case.

11. For a full edition with commentary see now Esther Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition*, *Orbis biblicus et orientalis* 166 (Friburg: Universitätsverlag / Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999), 228–59.

12. In particular, the Ur texts exhibit syllabic, unusual and in some cases presumably erroneous writings, and do not inspire great confidence in the expertise of their writers.

9. [gá-e íd-gá ú]-lál-a mu-un-du [suḥu]r<sup>ku</sup><sub>6</sub> àm-gur-gur
10. [uri<sup>ki</sup>-ma ú]-lál-a mu-un-du [suḥur<sup>k</sup>]<sup>u</sup><sub>6</sub> àm-gur-gur
11. [gá-e uru-gá gi]-zi-bi lál-àm ku<sub>6</sub> ḥa-ma-gu<sup>7</sup>-e
12. [uri<sup>ki</sup>-ma] gi-zi-bi lál-àm ku<sub>6</sub> ḥa-ma-gu<sup>7</sup>-e
13. [gá-e íd-m]u ki-gar-ra-bi-ta ku<sub>6</sub> mušen sù-ga-àm
14. [uri<sup>ki</sup>-ma] x ki-gar-ra-bi-ta ku<sub>6</sub> mušen sù-ga-àm
15. [lugal-b]i lugal eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga pa-a-zu sù-ga-àm
16. [d<sup>nu</sup>-dim]-mud lugal eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga pa-a-zu sù-ga-àm
17. [gá-e íd-gá] a dùg ḥu-mu-un-túm-mu [gíš]dub=sig-e ḥa-ma-lá-e
18. [úri<sup>ki</sup>-m]a a dùg ḥu-mu-un-túm-mu [gíš]dub=sig-e ḥa-ma-lá-e

As for me, he (Enki) planted the sweet plant in my canal, (now) the carp grow fat.  
 In Ur he planted the sweet plant, (now) the carp grow fat.  
 As for me, my city's zi-reeds are sweet, so my fish may eat them.  
 Ur's zi-reeds are sweet, so my fish may eat them.  
 As for me, since my canal was founded it is full of fishes and birds.  
 Since it was founded in Ur it is full of fishes and birds.  
 Its king, the king of Eridu—your foliage is joy!  
 Nudimmud, the king of Eridu—your foliage is joy!  
 As for me, may he bring sweet waters in my canal! May he weigh me (things) out for basket(-loads).  
 In Ur may he bring sweet waters in my canal! May he weigh me (things) out for basket(-loads).

Superficially, the significance of this text might be considered straightforward: the text describes the digging of a canal by king Ur-Namma,<sup>13</sup> and the fertility and abundance that is associated with the all-important water-supply. On one level, we can situate such a text directly in the reign of Ur-Namma himself, for we have several genuine Ur-Namma royal inscriptions recording the digging of canals dedicated to Enlil and Nanna-Suen.<sup>14</sup> In addition, the inscription on the Stele of Ur-Namma consists largely of an enumeration of the various canals dug by that king.<sup>15</sup> In all cases the term Ur-Namma uses to refer to canal-digging is *ba-al*, or *íd...ba-al*, literally “to dig a canal.” The expression does not occur in pre-Ur inscrip-

tions,<sup>16</sup> and no other Ur king is attested as using this expression in his inscriptions;<sup>17</sup> it is only in Isin times that the term reappears in a large number of the formulae used by kings of Isin and Larsa as the names of the years of their reign.<sup>18</sup>

It is initially tempting, then, to construct a scenario in which Ur-Namma celebrated the construction of one or more of his many canals with a ritual at which some original incarnation of Aba munbale was performed. On one level, the meaning of the text, like the meaning of *ba-al*, “to dig,” is simple enough: the water-supply of Ur needed improvement, and Ur-Namma rose to the

13. Strictly speaking, the occurrence of Ur-Namma's name in the Nippur text is uncertain owing to the poor condition of the sources.

14. Ur-Namma 22 [RIME 3/2.1.1.39], 23 [RIME 3/2.1.1.26], 24 [RIME 3/2.1.1.40], 28 [RIME 3/2.1.1.28].

15. Only two canal names can be deciphered on the stele inscription, however: Nanna-gugal and Gubi-Eriduga. See RIME 3/2.1.1.22.

16. See H. Steible, *Die neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, Freiburger altorientalische Studien 9/2 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1991), 116.

17. It is attested at Lagaš, however, for example in Gudea Year Name 2: *mu íd-d<sup>ni</sup>n-gír-su-ušumgal ba-ba-al-la* (RIME 3/1, 27).

18. See the convenient collections of data in PSD B 10–12 and A. H. Kromholz and M. Sigris, *Concordance of the Isin-Larsa Year Names*, Assyriology Series 1 (Berrien Springs: Andrews University, 1986), s.vv. *ba-al*, *ba-al-lá* and *ba-ba-al*.

challenge. Once dug, the canal brought plenty, symbolized by the fishes and the birds, and the god Enki, with whom the short version closes, is invoked to ensure a steady water-supply, which will in turn ensure an abundance of produce.

One of the Nippur sources, however, though very fragmentary, provides a hint that there is more here than meets the eye. Unlike any other source for this hymn, this tablet (CBS 8037+) has not one composition inscribed upon the unruled lines of its double columns, but four; and on this collective tablet the scribe chose to interpolate between three poems about the sexual relations between Inanna and her consort Dumuzi, our text which apparently deals with the mundane canal-digging efforts of king Ur-Namma. Given that collective tablets are rarely, if ever, random collections of compositions, we must examine the associations of the other texts written along with Aba munbale in search of a deeper understanding of it.

The first of the four texts remains unidentified, but the few words that we can pick out fit well

within the milieux of the love poetry. The fourth is also very poorly preserved, and represents the only known source of another text which is typical of the Dumuzi-Inanna literature.<sup>19</sup> The third text on the collective tablet is the fragmentary remains of Aba munbale. The remaining text, second in the order written by the scribe, and immediately preceding Aba munbale, is well-preserved and distinctly suggestive in the context of the present analysis. From the several duplicates this text, Dumuzi-Inanna C, can be completely reconstructed.<sup>20</sup> The text opens with a young girl being questioned: "What are you doing in the house? Young one, what are you doing?" She replies in detail about the step by step preparations made for the arrival of her lover: bathing, fixing her hair, dressing and donning jewelry. The couple address each other as brother and sister and she at one point mentions the fact that "my brother enters from the palace" hinting at a possible regal subtext. The "brother" goes on to recite the following:<sup>21</sup>

[u<sub>8</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> si]la<sub>4</sub> h<sub>é</sub>-em-túm [h<sub>é</sub>-em-túm]  
[nin<sub>9</sub>-mu é-a] 'ga<sup>1</sup>-mu-'u<sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup>-[da-túm-túm]

[ud<sub>5</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> máš] h<sub>é</sub>-em-túm [h<sub>é</sub>-em-túm]  
[nin<sub>9</sub>-mu é-a] 'ga<sup>1</sup>-mu-'u<sub>8</sub><sup>1</sup>-d[a-túm-túm]

[u<sub>8</sub>-gin<sub>7</sub> sila<sub>4</sub> sa<sub>6</sub>-s]a<sub>6</sub>-ga h[é-a]  
[nin-mu é]-'a ga<sup>1</sup>-mu-u<sub>8</sub>-da-[túm-túm]

[ud<sub>5</sub>-gi]n<sub>7</sub> máš gùn-gùn-a h<sub>é</sub>-[a]  
[nin-m]u é-a ga-mu-u<sub>8</sub>-da-[túm-túm]

Like a ewe may she bring lambs, may she bring!  
My sister, I would like to bring (them) into the  
house with you!

Like a goat may she bring kids, may she bring!  
My sister, I would like to bring (them) into the  
house with you!

Like the ewe may they be good lambs!  
My sister, I would like to bring (them) into the  
house with you!

Like the goat may they be fine kids!  
My sister, I would like to bring (them) into the  
house with you!

19. For the other two fragmentary texts on this tablet, see S. Tinney, "Notes on Sumerian Sexual Lyric," *JNES* 59 (2000) 23–30.

20. See now Sefati, *Love Songs*, 132–50, for synoptic edition and commentary. The Sumerian text cited here is based on CBS 8037+, restored from the other duplicates in order to show exactly what is preserved on the collective tablet.

21. Dumuzi-Inanna C 34a–35b. The passage was translated differently by Sefati, who takes the animals to be a list of

the wedding gifts brought by the groom, and postulates a meaning "as well" for -gin<sub>7</sub>. In the present writer's opinion, however, the analogy in 34a–35b is between the girl and the fruits of her union with Dumuzi. Similarly, in the following passage (36a–37), the point is that the offspring should be of the same quality as their mother, i.e., Inanna.

The “sister” replies:<sup>22</sup>

ʿi<sup>1</sup>-da-lam gaba-mu ba-g[ub-gub]  
 i-ʿda<sup>1</sup>-lam gal<sub>4</sub>-la-mà síg ba-[an-mú]  
 úr mu-ʿtin<sup>1</sup>-na-šè di-di-dè ba-ba g[a-ba-ḥúl-ḥúl-  
 le-en-dè-en]  
 gu<sub>4</sub>-ud-ʿan-zé<sup>1</sup>-en gu<sub>4</sub>-ud-an-zé-en  
<sup>d</sup>ba-ʿba<sub>6</sub> gal<sub>4</sub>-la<sup>1</sup>-mà-ke<sub>4</sub>-eš ga-ba-ḥúl-ḥ[úl-le-en-  
 dè-en]  
 gu<sub>4</sub>-ud-ʿan-zé<sup>1</sup>-en gu<sub>4</sub>-ud-an-zé-en

Now my breasts are standing out,  
 Now the hair on my vulva has grown,  
 Going to the lap of my spouse, . . . , let us rejoice,

Let us dance! Let us dance!  
 Baba, let us rejoice because of my vulva,

Let us dance! Let us dance!

The juxtaposition of symbols of agricultural fertility and human sexual maturation and pleasuring is obvious. The scribe of the collective tablet from Nippur drew a single ruling after the preceding composition and began immediately with the question “Who will dig it?” It seems only natural to draw the conclusion that in the context of the Nippurian version of our Ur-Namma text, the act of canal-digging must be taken as a metaphor for sexual intercourse.<sup>23</sup> On its own, this observa-

tion may be seductive, but it is not conclusive. The context alone does not absolutely prove that *íd* . . . ba-al, “to dig a canal,” is a figure for intercourse, and even if it were, that would not be enough to prove that *Aba munbale* can be read on this other level. There is, however, both internal and external evidence that seals the case. The latter consists of a speech placed in the mouth of the goddess Nanaya, a manifestation of Inanna, who describes the cost of performing various sexual acts:<sup>24</sup>

gúr-e-mu 1½ gín-àm  
 íd nam-ba-al-en íd-zu ḥé-me-en  
 a-šà na-an-ur<sub>11</sub>-ru-dè-en a-šà-zu ḥé-me-en  
 mu-gàr ki duru<sub>5</sub> na-an-kin-kin  
 ki duru<sub>5</sub>-zu ḥé-me-en

It costs one and a half shekels for me to bend over.  
 Don’t go digging any other canal: I will be your canal!  
 Don’t go ploughing any other field: I will be your field!  
 Farmer, don’t go looking for any other moist patch: I will be your moist patch!

As also realized by Alster,<sup>25</sup> these lines form a consistent series of images describing human sexual acts, giving canal-digging an entirely different connotation.<sup>26</sup>

Also suggestive is the reference to the *mu-gàr* in this passage, in view of the fact that *engar/mu-(un-)gàr*, “farmer,” is known as a royal role in both

22. Dumuzi-Inanna C 40–44.

23. For a convenient and very valuable account of the historical, theoretical and practical aspects of the analysis of Sumerian figurative language see J. Black, *Reading Sumerian Poetry*.

24. Inanna hymn H 19–23; see Å. Sjöberg, “Miscellaneous Sumerian Texts: II,” *JCS* 29 (1977) 16–27; B. Alster, “Marriage and Love in the Sumerian *Love Songs*,” in *The Tablet and the*

*Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, ed. M. Cohen et al. (Bethesda: CDL, 1993), 15–27.

25. Alster, “Marriage and Love” 15.

26. There are at least two other passages in Sumerian literature in which this sense may be operative. Death of Ur-Namma 225 includes *íd ba-al-la-zu*, “your canal-digging,” is among the feats commemorated by Inanna in her eulogy of the deceased king. In Enmerkar and Ensuhkeshdanna

Ur III and Isin times, as in Shepherd and Farmer,<sup>27</sup> passim, and the following selected examples:

engar aša<sub>5</sub> zi-dè gub-bu apin<sup>2</sup>-ni mu-na-ab-tur-re  
(Ur-Namma A 24)

lugal engar zi aša<sub>5</sub> dagal-la e-pa<sub>5</sub>-re ki [...]   
ur-<sup>d</sup>namma engar zi aša<sub>5</sub> dagal-la e-pa<sub>5</sub>-re k[i ...]   
(Ur-Namma G 19–20)

mu-un-gàr še maḥ tùm-me ḥé-me-en  
(Šu-Sin C 20)

[<sup>d</sup>i]š-bi-èr-ra-mu engar <sup>d</sup>en-líl-le [(...) á maḥ mu-  
na-an-šúm] (Išbi-Erra B/c r. 10')

engar guru<sub>7</sub>-ni dub-dub-ba me-en  
(Lipit-Eštar A 44)

The Nanaya hymn, rather than being the earthy comments of a common prostitute, may be better conceived of as one more incarnation of the royal sexual literature. The internal evidence is subtler, but still compelling. For one thing, note that the canal-names we find here are not attested anywhere in the corpora of administrative texts and royal inscriptions. The Idasilalku, or “canal of sacred joy” and the Ipabiluḥ, or “canal whose channel is cleansed,” are restricted to the literary, rather than the real, world, and can be taken as figures for the female sexual organs.<sup>28</sup>

Also leading is the mention of the god Enki at the end of the Nippur version, for not only is it to

Enki's fresh-water domain that the fishes and the birds belong, but it is Enki who fills the Tigris, in one tale, by masturbating and ejaculating into it.<sup>29</sup> This is a natural inflection of the relationship between the two meanings of the Sumerian term /a/, which means not only “water,” but also “semen,” and a play on precisely this polysemy serves as the climax of the Nippur versions:

As for me (Ur-Namma), may (Enki) bring sweet waters in my canal. May he weigh me (things) out for basket(-loads).

In Ur may he bring sweet waters in my canal. May he weigh me (things) out for basket(-loads).

For “sweet waters” here one can also understand “good, i.e., fertile, semen.”

There are further hints that we still do not understand all of the allusions in texts of this nature. In Aba munbale, for example, we find the following:

I (Ur-Namma), the sweet-plant grows in my canal—the carp grow fat.

In Ur the sweet-plant grows—the carp grow fat.

which calls to mind the following passage describing conception from Sumerian birth incantations:<sup>30</sup>

[áb<sup>2</sup>-e] é-tùr amaš kù-ga nínda zi ba-u<sub>5</sub>

[numun]-zi nam-lú-ùlu šà-ga ba-ni-in-ri

The breed-bull has mounted the the cow<sup>2</sup> in the pure pen and fold,

He has poured the seed of humanity into (her) womb,

143=156, the king of Aratta is reported to have said [gá-e íd] unug<sup>ki</sup>-ga-ke<sub>4</sub> ga-àm-ba-al, “I want to dig the canal of Uruk!” A sexual connotation is not certain in either case, but should be considered.

27. Sefati *Love Songs* 324–43.

28. I have taken the canal names as proper names in the Ur and Yale versions, as these explicitly describe naming the watercourses; it is also the standard usage in historical inscriptions to construe íd ... ba-al with proper names. In the Nippur texts, however, I have treated the names as common noun phrases in order to bring out more clearly the poetic fit of their postulated figurative usage. The reading of the canal

name íd-giš-gisal-a-gar-ra in the Ur version follows a suggestion of M. Civil.

29. See most conveniently the discussion of J. S. Cooper, “Enki's Member: Eros and Irrigation in Sumerian Literature,” in *DUMU-E<sub>2</sub>-DUB-BA-A: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, ed. H. Behrens et al. Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 11 (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1989), 87–89.

30. UM 29-15-367:2–8 = 19–24, collated. This tablet is an Ur incantation with OB duplicates, edited and discussed by J. J. A. van Dijk, “Incantations accompagnant la naissance de l'homme,” *OrNS* 44 (1975) 52–79.

[a šà]-ga ri-a zú-kéš-re lú-ra dumu<sup>1</sup> šúm-mu

[munus]-e ú-làl-àm zú bí-in-gub

ša-gal ba-ni-in-gar

ú-làl níg ki-ág-gá-ni [z]ú bí-in-gub

ša-gal b[a-n]i-i[n-ga]r

The semen poured into the womb congeals, giving  
the man a child,

The woman ate the sweet plant itself,

She swelled (from it).

She ate the sweet plant she loved,

She swelled (from it).

The association with birds, carp and fertility is also clarified by their occurrence in the list of wedding gifts received by Inanna as part of her nuptials:<sup>31</sup>

li-bi-<sup>1</sup>ir-si<sup>1</sup>-ni níg-a-de<sub>6</sub> im-de<sub>6</sub>

mušen zà-ga mušen-dù mu-un-de<sub>6</sub>

su<sup>ku</sup>hur<sup>ku</sup> <sup>1</sup>gur-gur-ra<sup>1</sup> šu-<sup>ha</sup>-dé mu-un-de<sub>6</sub>

nin-m[u x (x)] x ba-an-da-ab-dug<sub>4</sub>

lú-sipa-dè ì šu-šè mu-un-lá

<sup>d</sup>dumu-zi-dè <sup>1</sup>ga<sup>1</sup> zà-šè mu-un-lá

The bridesmen brought the wedding gifts:

Chosen birds the fowler brought,

Fattened carp the fisher brought,

The queen . . . set them down beside her.

The shepherd carried butter in (his) hand,

Dumuzi carried milk on (his) shoulder.

Even if we cannot yet follow every nuance in any of these texts, it is at least clear that the Nippur version of Aba munbale can be read on multiple levels, one of which binds the association between animal fecundity and human sexuality.<sup>32</sup> By its heavily allusive overlaying of sexual interaction and the life-bringing powers of the canal waters the text functions as an extended metaphor which must be understood in the context of the Dumuzi-Inanna literature as a whole.

The second level on which we can read Aba munbale, then, suggests that in one life, at least, the text belonged to the realm of royal sexual rituals associated with the Inanna cult, regardless of whether it was ever originally composed as a naïve account of the agricultural benefits of canals.

Complementary insight into the significance of the aquatic fertility imagery of Aba munbale is provided by another important Ur-Namma text (Ur-Namma hymn G), which occurs only on an unnumbered collective tablet in the Oriental Institute in Chicago.<sup>33</sup> This short hymn, a balbale of Enlil which originally contained twenty-seven lines according to the line-count in the subscript, is well-preserved for sixteen of its lines, and is of importance because it presents the agrarian fertility counterpart of Aba munbale in the context of Ur-Namma's relationship with Enlil. While it is beyond the scope of the present article to offer a comprehensive analysis, it is necessary to review the key features. Enlil bestows the carp-flood, crops and fine grain upon Ur-Namma,<sup>34</sup> who is characterized as a farmer who does perfect work

31. Dumuzi-Inanna C<sub>1</sub>:21–26., see Sefati, *Love Songs*, 286–300, with commentary and discussion.

32. The pervasiveness of sexual metaphor in the royal literature and elsewhere remains barely exposed. Compare, for example, Steinkeller, "On Rulers Priests and Sacred Marriage" n. 101 [see n. 37]; P. Michalowski, "On the 'Fowler and his Wife,'" *RA* 75 (1981) 170.

33. I am grateful to Miguel Civil for furnishing me with a transliteration of this text. See now Flückiger-Hawker, *Ur-amma*, 290–96.

34. Ur-Namma G:8. a eštub <sup>d</sup>ašnan še gu-nu sag-e-eš <sup>h</sup>é-mu-<sup>r</sup>rig<sup>1</sup>.

in the fields of Enlil.<sup>35</sup> The king as loyal farmer also appears explicitly in an unfortunately broken couplet.<sup>36</sup> Despite its fragmentary condition, Ur-Namma G offers invaluable further contextualiza-

tion of the fertility imagery of Aba munbale within the Ur-Namma corpus.<sup>37</sup>

Let us turn now to the other versions of Aba munbale, beginning with that of Ur:

#### Ur Version

1. [íd a-ba mu-un-ba-al-e]
2. [íd a-ba] mu-un-ba-[al-e]
3. [íd-kéš-kù a-ba mu-un-ba-al-e]
4. [íd a-ba mu-un-ba-al-e]
5. [íd-pa<sub>5</sub>-bi]-lu<sub>h</sub>-ha a-ba 'mu<sup>1</sup>-u[n-ba-al-e]
6. 'íd a-ba<sup>1</sup> mu-un-ba-al-[e]
7. íd-giš-gisal-a-gar-ra a-ba mu-[un-ba-al-e]
8. íd a-ba mu-un-ba-a[l-e]
9. ur-<sup>d</sup>namma kù konu mu-un-ba-[al-e]
10. íd a-ba mu-un-ba-al-e
11. <sup>d</sup>šul-gi níg konu mu-un-ba-al-e
12. íd a-ba mu-un-ba-al-e
13. lugal šà zi-da nam-tar-ra nam-nir-ra sag-íl
14. ur-<sup>d</sup>namma šul igi íl-la kur gal ud <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá-ke<sub>4</sub>
15. <sup>d</sup>nun-nam-nir ki-en-gi ki-uri-e me-àm mu-un-su<sub>h</sub>-e
16. nibru<sup>ki</sup>-e hur-sag nam-ti-la-ka nam-mi-im-mi-in-tar
17. uri<sup>ki</sup>-e é-mud-kur-ra-kam
18. <sup>giš</sup>gu-za-a-ni su<sub>h</sub>uš-bi im-mi-in-gi
19. aga me-lám me-téš nam-lugal-la sag-gá im-mi-gál
20. <sup>giš</sup>gidru kù un šár si-si-e-sá šu-gá im-mi-in-sá
21. enkara šibir eš-kìri zi-gál la<sub>h</sub><sub>6</sub>-la<sub>h</sub><sub>6</sub>-e 'šu-mu<sup>1</sup>-uš im-ma-an-<sup>1</sup>šúm?<sup>1</sup>
22. [...] x [...] u<sub>6</sub> di-da-bi [si] 'im<sup>1</sup>-mi-in-sá-a
23. [...] 'x<sup>1</sup> [...] 'igi<sup>2</sup> íl<sup>2</sup>-la<sup>2</sup><sup>1</sup>
24. [...]
25. [...]

Who will dig it?  
 The canal, who will dig it?  
 The Ikešku, who will dig it?  
 The canal, who will dig it?  
 The Ipabilu<sub>h</sub>a, who will dig it?  
 The canal, who will dig it?  
 The Igišgisalagara, who will dig it?  
 The canal, who will dig it?  
 Ur-Namma, the wealthy one, will dig it!  
 The canal, who will dig it?  
 Šulgi, the prosperous one, will dig it!  
 The canal, who will dig it?  
 The king whose fate was decreed in the true womb, to raise (his) head in authority,  
 Ur-Namma, the youth who caught the eye of Great Mountain, Storm Enlil,  
 It is I whom Nunamnir (= Enlil) chose for Sumer and Akkad!  
 At Nippur, in the mountain of life, he decreed my fate.  
 At Ur, in the Emudkura itself,  
 He secured the foundations of his throne,  
 He placed the splendid crown befitting kingship on my head,  
 He arranged the sacred staff for organizing the teeming people in my hand,  
 He handed over to me the rod, ring and nose-rope to lead the living.

...  
 ...  
 ...  
 ...

35. Ur-Namma G:16–17. lugal-mu aša<sub>5</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá-ka á šu ha-ba-e-ni-du<sub>7</sub> / ur-<sup>d</sup>namma aša<sub>5</sub> <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá-ka á šu ha-ba-e-ni-du<sub>7</sub>.

36. Ur-Namma G:20–21. lugal engar zi aša<sub>5</sub> dagal-la e pa<sub>5</sub>-re ki [...] / ur-<sup>d</sup>namma engar zi aša<sub>5</sub> dagal-la e pa<sub>5</sub>-re k[i ...].

37. The extensive and pervasive nature of royal involvement in one form of sacred marriage ritual or another has now been discussed by P. Steinkeller, "On Rulers, Priests and Sacred Marriage," in K. Watanabe, ed., *Priests and Officials in the Ancient Near East* (Heidelberg: Winter, 1999), 103–37.

26. [x (x)] x gál sag kun gál-l[a<sup>2</sup>]  
 27. [x x (x)] g]ùr-ru ki-tuš šà húl-<sup>1</sup>la<sup>1</sup>  
 28. [x (x)] x-da úr-bi im-mi-in-gi  
 29. [x x (x)]-na-kam gú-da am-bi šú  
 30. [x (x)] gi-zi kù-babbar-ra gub-ba-àm im-mi-ir-mi-ri  
 31. na-ri-mu u<sub>4</sub> h<sub>6</sub>é-gál-la bal ub-ba íd-kéš-kù mu-še  
 32. mu da-ri ka-ke du-a-ba íd-pa<sub>5</sub>-bi-lu<sub>6</sub>-ha mu-še  
 33. gá uru<sup>ki</sup>-gá a-rá-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-ab te-li-bi mu-še-na  
 34. íd-kéš-kù uru<sup>ki</sup>-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-ab te-li-bi mu-še-na  
 35. íd-pa<sub>5</sub>-bi-lu<sub>6</sub> a-rá-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-ab te-li-bi mu-še-na  
 36. h<sub>6</sub>é-gál-bi ku<sub>6</sub> ha-ma-ra-ab-túm é-kiš-nu-gál-šè  
 37. gú-gú-bi ú-munzur lú-a ú-làl-e gu<sub>7</sub>-e  
 38. a-gàr-gal-bi še gu-nu mú-mú <sup>giš</sup>tir-gin<sub>7</sub> su-su-[e]  
 39. lugal an-ub-[da-limmu]-bi še-ga <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá  
 40. ur-<sup>d</sup>namma sipa ú-a ki-en-gi ki-uri-e ki-ág <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá  
 41. bala-na níg úr<sup>ki</sup>-ma-ke<sub>4</sub> / sil-àm u<sub>4</sub> mi-ni-in-za-e-en-za-e-le za-e-me-en  
 42. ur-<sup>d</sup>namma lugal mu da-a-ri zà-mí-zu dùg-ga
- ... placed at head and tail.  
 ... a dwelling that pleases the heart.  
 ... its roots he secured.  
 ...  
 ...  
 My canal is days of abundance ... the Ikešku I named it.  
 An everlasting name, fit for the mouth, the Ipabilu<sub>6</sub>ha I named it.  
 I, my city's watercourses are fishes, above them birds.  
 The Ikešku, its city is fishes, above it birds.  
 The Ipabilu<sub>6</sub>'s watercourses is fishes, above it are birds.  
 May their abundance bring you fishes to the Ekišnugal.  
 Their banks are lush with munzur-plants, with sweet-plant to eat.  
 Their arable tracts are growing fine grain, sprouting abundantly like a forest.  
 King of the four quarters of the world, favorite of Enlil,  
 Ur-Namma, the shepherd, the provider of Sumer and Akkad, beloved of Enlil.  
 In his reign, which is a joy to Ur, you are the one whom he will cause to pass the time.  
 Ur-Namma, king of eternal reputation, your praise is sweet!

It is immediately obvious that the Ur recension is much longer than that of Nippur, in part because of simple compounding of repetitive elements. In the very first line the Ur tradition adds another “who will dig it?” clause to the initial question. As if this did not make things repetitious enough, a third canal is mentioned, which in turn involves asking “who will dig it” an additional two times, and then poses the question yet again after the answer has been received. The Ur tradition repeats the question “who will dig it?” no less than ten times, compared to the mere four times of the Nippur tradition.

The Ur tradition also contains other differences; “vigorous youth” becoming “divine Šulgi”;

the single line invocation of the Nippur tradition being omitted in the Ur version (at least as preserved); the mention of “Emudkura at Ur,” a Nanna shrine that was perhaps part of Ekišnugal; and the specification of Nanna's temple Ekišnugal itself as the destination of the riches brought by the canals. This increased emphasis on Nanna, which is heightened by the Ur version's omission of the Enki-section with which the Nippur version concludes, is not the only substantial thematic difference between Ur and Nippur recensions, however, for the Ur tradition also contains an insert of as much as 17 lines of royal rhetoric that are lacking in the Nippur texts.

It will not have escaped the reader's attention that the Ur version is not only broken, but also syllabically written and both grammatically and syntactically obtuse in places. In order to further

interpretation, it is necessary to present now the third tradition, represented only by a single source, which is now located in the Yale Babylonian Collection.

### Yale Version

1. [a-ba-a mu-un-b]a-al-e a-<sup>1</sup>ba-a mu<sup>1</sup>-[un-ba-al-e  
íd] a-ba-a mu-u[n-ba-al-e]
2. [íd-kéš-kù] a-ba-a mu-un-ba-[al-e] <sup>1</sup>íd<sup>1</sup> a-ba-a  
mu-un-ba-al-e
3. [íd-pa<sub>5</sub>-bi]-lu<sub>h</sub> a-ba-a mu-un-ba-al-e <sup>1</sup>íd<sup>1</sup> a-ba-a  
mu-un-ba-al-e
4. <sup>d</sup>ur-<sup>d</sup>namma kù tuku mu-un-ba-al-e
5. šul zi <sup>1</sup>níg tuku<sup>1</sup> mu-un-ba-al-<sup>1</sup>e<sup>1</sup>
6. lugal-mu bá-ra-za <sup>d</sup>en-líl-le en <sup>d</sup>dil-ím-babbar
7. šul <sup>d</sup>suen bá-ra-za <sup>d</sup>en-líl-le en <sup>d</sup>dil-ím-babbar
8. lugal šà zi-ta nam-tar-ra nam-nir-ra sag-íl
9. <sup>d</sup>ur-<sup>d</sup>namma šul igi íl-la kur <sup>1</sup>gal<sup>1</sup> <sup>d</sup>en-líl-le
10. <sup>d</sup>nu-nam-nir-re ki-en-gi <sup>1</sup>ki-uri-a<sup>1</sup> gá-e mu-un-  
su<sub>h</sub>-en
11. nibru<sup>ki</sup>-a <sup>h</sup>ur-sag nam-ti-<sup>1</sup>la-ka<sup>1</sup> nam-mu im-  
mi-in-tar
12. sag-ki zalag-ga-ni mu-un-ši-in-bar <sup>1</sup>nam<sup>1</sup>-lugal  
<sup>1</sup>ba<sup>1</sup>-an-<sup>1</sup>šúm<sup>1</sup>
13. úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma é-mud-kur-ra-ka
14. <sup>g</sup>[i<sup>š</sup>gu-z]a-gá su<sub>h</sub>uš-[bi im-mi-in-g]i-en
15. gidri kù un šár <sup>1</sup>si sá-sá-e<sup>2</sup> šu<sup>1</sup>-[gá im-mi-in-sá]
16. šibir enkara un dagal lu-a <sup>1</sup>x <sup>h</sup>é<sup>1</sup>-e[m<sup>2</sup>-mi-  
la<sub>h</sub><sup>4</sup>-la<sub>h</sub><sup>4</sup>-e]
17. en <sup>d</sup>dil-ím-babbar-<sup>1</sup>ke<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> zi u<sub>4</sub> sù-s[ù ...]
18. <sup>d</sup>en-líl-<sup>1</sup>le<sup>1</sup> ub-da-limmu-ba <sup>1</sup>x x<sup>1</sup> [...]
19. mu da-rí-mu ka-ge <sup>1</sup>ba-ab-du<sub>7</sub><sup>1</sup>-[àm íd-pa<sub>5</sub>-bi-  
lu<sub>h</sub> mu-sa<sub>4</sub>]
20. <sup>d</sup>en-ki-<sup>1</sup>ke<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> gés<sub>tug</sub> dag[al]-<sup>1</sup>la-mu<sup>1</sup> [s]ag-e-eš  
m[u-rig<sub>7</sub>]
21. <sup>1</sup>gá<sup>1</sup>-e uru<sup>ki</sup>-gá <sup>1</sup>íd<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup>h<sup>é</sup>-gál-la mu<sup>1</sup>-ba-al íd-kéš-  
kù mu-sa<sub>4</sub>
22. úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma <sup>1</sup>íd <sup>h</sup>é-gál<sup>1</sup>-la mu-ba-al <sup>1</sup>íd-kéš<sup>1</sup>-kù  
mu-sa<sub>4</sub>

Who will dig it? Who will dig it? The canal,  
who will dig it?  
The Ikešku, who will dig it? The canal, who  
will dig it?  
The Ipabilu<sub>h</sub>, who will dig it? The canal, who  
will dig it?  
Ur-Namma, the wealthy will dig it!  
The vigorous youth, the prosperous one will  
dig it!  
O King, on your dais (you are) Dilimbabbar to  
Enlil!  
Youth Suen, on your dais (you are) Dilimbab-  
bar to Enlil!  
The king whose fate was decreed in the true  
womb, to raise (his) head in authority,  
Ur-Namma, the youth who caught the eye of  
Great Mountain Enlil,  
Me, Nunamnir (= Enlil) chose in Sumer and  
Akkad,  
In Nippur, in the Mountain of Life, he de-  
creed my fate,  
Looked approvingly upon me and gave me  
kingship.  
In Ur, in the Emudkura,  
He secured the foundations of my throne,  
He arranged the sacred staff for organizing  
the teeming people in my hand,  
May I lead the numerous, flocking people  
(with) rod and ring  
Lord Dilimbabbar, beaming surely down ...  
Enlil, in the four quarters (of the world) ...  
My everlasting name which is fit for the  
mouth; Ipabilu<sub>h</sub> I named it.  
Enki bestowed upon me my broad under-  
standing.  
I, in my city I dug the canal of abundance; I  
named it Ikešku,  
I, in Ur I dug the canal of abundance; I  
named it Ikešku.

23. mu da-rí ka-ge ba-ab-du<sub>7</sub>-àm íd-pa<sub>5</sub>-bi-lu<sub>h</sub>  
mušen-àm
24. gá-e uru-gá a-rá-a-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-àm diri-bi mušen-àm
25. úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma a-rá-a-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-àm diri-bi mušen-àm
26. gá-e íd-gá ú-làl-e mu-un-dù su<sub>h</sub>ur<sup>ku<sub>6</sub></sup>-e àm-  
gur-gur-e
27. úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma ú-làl-e mu-un-dù su<sub>h</sub>ur<sup>ku<sub>6</sub></sup>-e [àm-gu]r-  
gur-e
28. gá-e uru-gá gi-zi-bi làl-àm áb-e ha-ma-gu<sub>7</sub>-e
29. úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma gi-zi-bi làl-àm áb-e ha-ma-gu<sub>7</sub>-e
30. gá-e [íd-mu ki-gar-ra-bi-t]a ku<sub>6</sub> mušen [sù-ga-  
àm]
31. úri<sup>k</sup>[i-ma ki-gar-ra-bi-ta ku<sub>6</sub> mušen sù-ga-àm]
32. gá-e íd-gá a-[rá-a hu-m]u-un-[tùm] <sup>giš</sup>dubsig-e  
hu-mu-un-na-lá-e
33. úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma íd-gá a-rá-a hu-mu-un-tùm <sup>giš</sup>dubsig-e  
hu-mu-un-na-lá-e
34. lugal-bi lugal eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga pa-a-zu sù-àm
35. <sup>d</sup>nu-dim-mud lugal eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga pa-a-zu sù-àm
36. lugal an-ub-da-limmu-ba šà <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá du<sub>10</sub>-  
ge-en
37. <sup>d</sup>ur-<sup>d</sup>namma ú-a nibru<sup>ki</sup> sag-ús úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma
38. iti<sub>6</sub>-šè kalam úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma-šè
39. asilal<sup>?</sup> (EZEN×LÁL<sup>?</sup>)-a u<sub>4</sub> mi-ni-ib-zal-zal-le-ne
40. <sup>d</sup>ur-<sup>d</sup>namma lugal úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma zà-mí-zu du<sub>10</sub>-ga-  
àm

An everlasting name which is fit for the  
mouth; Ipabilu<sub>h</sub> is a bird.

I, my city's waterway is fish, above it are  
birds,

Ur's waterway is fish, above it are birds,

I, in my canal he (Enki) planted the sweet-  
plant, (now) the carp grow fat,

In Ur, he planted the sweet-plant, (now) the  
carp grow fat.

I, my city's zi-reeds are sweet, so my cows  
may eat them.

Ur's zi-reeds are sweet, so my cows may eat  
them.

I, since the founding of my canal, it was full  
of fishes and birds.

In Ur, since its founding it was full of fishes  
and birds.

I, in my canal may he bring sweet waters, so  
he may weigh himself out (produce) for  
basket(-loads).

In Ur, in my canal may he bring sweet wa-  
ters, may he weigh himself out (produce)  
for basket(-loads).

Its king, the king of Eridu, your foliage is a  
joy.

Nudimmud (= Enki), the king of Eridu, your  
foliage is a joy.

King of the four quarters (of the world), you  
please the heart of Enlil!

Ur-Namma, provider of Nippur and constant  
attendant of Ur,

At the rising of the moon, over the land of Ur,  
You will pass time in happiness—

Ur-Namma, king of Ur, your praise is sweet!

At its fullest, then, Aba munbale as presently known had six components. (1) All versions begin with an introduction based on the question “who will dig it?” (2) After the third-person introduction may come a one or two line invocation. Following the invocation, the text switches person again, with a passage spoken by Ur-Namma himself. This passage consists of (3) an account of Ur-Namma's claims to kingship, and (4) a section

dealing with canals and the life they bring. There may be (5) an Enki-section, optionally followed by (6) the finale of the text consisting of further royal rhetoric, concluding with the line “Ur-Namma, your praise is sweet.”

This short summary of the contents of the text brings out the commonalities of the composition, but what is more interesting here are the differences. Most striking is that the texts vary greatly

in length. The Nippur version has only 19 lines, whereas the Ur and Yale versions are more than twice as long, at about 40 lines.

On one level, the explanation for this is refreshingly straightforward: the Nippur version of Aba munbale lacks all of the references to coronation imagery, and all of the rhetoric based on various names and epithets of the king.<sup>38</sup>

In fact, though, the relationships between the three versions are complicated, and assessing them accurately is hampered by the poor condition and quality of the Ur version. The Yale tradition, which is approximately the same length as the Ur tradition, and shares with it the insertion of extensive coronation and royal rhetoric, at the same time shares with the Nippur tradition the invocation and the Enki-section, both apparently omitted in the Ur traditions. Rather than present a catalogue of minutiae detailing the divergences between Nippur, Yale and Ur versions, the burden of the analysis will shift now to a consideration of the collective differences between the Yale and Ur versions on the one hand, which we may characterize as the long version, and the Nippur version on the other hand, i.e., the short version. Admittedly with some reductivism, one can pose the question of the interrelationships of the versions most simply in the form: why does the long version contain the coronation and other royal rhetoric? Ideally, one might attempt to answer this question by reference to chronological developments, but this is not yet possible for Aba munbale. All of the actual sources are Old Babylonian, perhaps dating from only a few decades apart<sup>39</sup> and there is no diagnostic internal evidence on which to base a chronological seriation of the recensions. It is thus necessary to consider the long and short versions of the text in compar-

ison with each other without being able to answer with certainty the question of which came first.

W. W. Hallo has suggested that the coronation rhetoric that characterizes the long version is in fact a description of the coronation of Ur-Namma.<sup>40</sup> Two points of textual history made it clear, however, that the text had been adulterated after Ur-Namma's time. One is the obviously later reference to Šulgi in the Ur version. The other, as Hallo himself also noted, is that the royal epithets in the Yale and Ur versions are anachronistic, fitting known Isin-dynasty rhetoric rather than that of the Ur period.<sup>41</sup> In view of this evidence of the later manipulation of the text, the existence of the short version, which was not accessible to Hallo, forces us to re-examine the possibility of an alternative scenario in which the short version be viewed as the precursor to the long version, with its coronation imagery and anachronistic epithets.

From the fact that four of the five tablets preserving the composition are one-column school texts, it is clear that Aba munbale was a text that was used to train scribes, and one locus for the changes is therefore simply within the day to day practice of scribal education. The evidence on schooling presently suggests that much of it was carried out in private houses, and may often have consisted of bureaucrats training their children.<sup>42</sup> As they passed on the compositions they learned during their own schooldays, they must inevitably have introduced either accidental or intentional textual modifications prompted by a variety of motivations. It may be, then, that the royal rhetoric in our text is an addition, probably made in isolation from contemporary royal interest or influence, for simple pedagogical reasons. There are certainly Sumer-

38. As previously alluded to by M. Civil, "Les limites de l'information textuelle," in *L'archéologie de l'Iraq du début de l'époque néolithique à 333 avant notre ère* (Paris: ERC, 1980), 229.

39. The date of the Nippur literary texts is discussed by M. Civil, *Ea A = nâqu, Aa A = nâqu, with their Forerunners and Related Texts*, MSL 14 (Rome: Pontilicium Institutum Biblicum, 1979), 8. The texts from Ur date perhaps twenty years earlier, as discussed by Charpin *Clergé* part 3, passim.

40. Hallo, "Coronation," 133–41.

41. Hallo, "Coronation," 140.

42. There is an extensive and constantly growing literature on this topic, references to most of which may be found in the introductory sections of the writer's "On the Curricular Setting of Sumerian Literature," *Iraq* 61 (1999) 159–72.

ian literary texts that are based on vocabulary exercises, in which the composition is built around a list of fish,<sup>43</sup> the plants that sheep eat,<sup>44</sup> and other topics.<sup>45</sup>

The influence of the lexicon is not the only compositional technique that may be relevant here, however, for it is also a feature of the royal literature in general that sections of various thematic content may be loosely juxtaposed in a form of pastiche.<sup>46</sup> In this environment, chunks of text—especially thematically coherent chunks of text—could easily be inserted or omitted according to whim or inspiration, exactly as the lengthy passages of royal rhetoric are “inserted” en bloc relative to the Nippur versions. If the coronation imagery and royal epithets were introduced into Aba munbale for reasons of pedagogy, compositional convention or generic constraint, we would have to uncouple our text not only from the coro-

nation of Ur-Namma himself, but from any coronation of any specific king.

One further striking difference between the long and short versions is the long version’s increased emphasis on Nanna. This difference, however, is one of degree rather than of presence versus absence as is clear from an analysis of various aspects of the prolific hymnic literature concerning the god Nanna. For one thing, the short version does contain the invocation “My lord (Nanna), on your dais (you are) lord Dilimbabbar to Enlil,” though it lacks following line whose parallel makes explicit the connection between lugal-mu and šul<sup>d</sup>suen.

Another important connection with the Nanna literature is provided by the refrain concerning the fishes and birds—present in all versions of Aba munbale—which recurs in Nanna hymn D 20–26:<sup>47</sup>

[íd ki-gar-ra<sup>2</sup>-b]i<sup>2</sup>-t[a<sup>2</sup>] ku<sub>6</sub> mušen sù-ga-àm

[íd ki-gar-ra<sup>2</sup>]-bi-t[a] kù mušen sù-ga-àm

[a-rá-a-b]i ku<sub>6</sub>-àm diri-bi mušen-àm

[a-rá-a-b]i ku<sub>6</sub>-àm<sup>1</sup> diri-bi mušen-àm

[ú-làl-e m]u-un-dù suhur<sup>ku<sub>6</sub></sup>-e àm-gur<sub>4</sub>-

gur<sub>4</sub> <sup>[l]</sup>i-š/i-i-ma ir-te-e

[ú-làl-e mu-u]n-dù amar-e ha-ma-an-gu<sub>7</sub>-e

[ú-làl-e mu-u]n-[dù] áb-e ha-ma-gu<sub>7</sub>-e

[Since the founding of the canal<sup>2</sup>] it is full of fishes and birds.

[Since the founding of the canal<sup>2</sup>] it is full of fishes and birds.

Its water course is fishes, above it are birds.

Its water course is fishes, above it are birds.

He planted the sweet-plant there, now the carp grow fat.

He planted the sweet-plant there, so the calves eat it.

He planted the sweet-plant there, so the cows eat it.

It is clear from this passage that elements of these traditions were recombinant rather than being tightly bound to specific compositions. The

relationship between Nanna, moon god and patron deity of cows, and the life-giving force of the canals is understated in the Nippur tradition of

43. M. Civil, “The Home of the Fish,” *Iraq* 23 (1961) 154–75.

44. M. Civil, “Feeding Dumuzi’s Sheep: The Sumerian Lexicon as a Source of Literary Inspiration,” in *Language, Literature and History: Philological and Historical Studies Presented to Erica Reiner*, ed. F. Rochberg-Halton, AOS 65 (New Haven: Scholars, 1987), 37–55.

45. For example, Dumuzi-Inanna A, in which terminology for textile production is woven into a dialogue between Inanna and Utu (see now Sefati, *Love Songs* 120–27).

46. Compare the remarks of B. Alster on “block” or “patchwork” compositions in “Interaction of Oral and Written Poetry in Early Mesopotamian Literature,” in *Mesopotamian Epic Literature: Oral or Aural*, eds. M. E. Vogelzang and H. L. J. Vanstiphout (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen, 1992), 23–69, esp. 53–54.

47. HS 1513 (*TuMNF* 4 7) iv 20–end, collated by the author; see also Wilcke, *Kollationen* 45–50; M. Hall, *A Study of the Sumerian Moon-God, Nanna/Suen*, Ph.D. Diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1985, 776–87.

Aba munbale, which restricts itself to fish and birds, but is transformed in the Nanna hymn—itsself known so far only from Nippur—by stressing the association with cows. In addition, smaller textual relationships may not be coincidental, such as the fact that the rare pa-a-zu sù-ga-àm recurs also in Šu-Sin hymn J,<sup>48</sup> a liturgical text devoted to the relationship between the king and the moon-god. Nor are these the only intersections between Aba munbale and other Nanna texts, for as shown by C. Wilcke, one can also make comparisons between Aba munbale and certain passages of Nanna-Suen's journey to Nippur.<sup>49</sup> Finally, the occurrence of Aba munbale in the Nippur catalogue CBS 14007+ places it in the context of two other Nanna hymns, i.e., Nanna A and Nanna B,<sup>50</sup> though another Nippur text list, quite different in character from CBS 14007+, excludes Aba munbale.<sup>51</sup>

Other pertinent data hint at the ways in which the Nanna hymnic literature, also often in Emesal, branches and metamorphoses. It can be no coincidence that along with the incipit of an otherwise unknown Šu-Sin hymn, another Nanna hymn also co-occurs on the Chicago collective tablet containing Ur-Namma G. Thus, the Jena collective text contains both Nanna A (the text which co-occurs with Ur-Namma G on the Chicago collective tablet) and Nanna D, which contains the topos also known from Aba munbale. A further hint is provided by the latest instance of one of the key catch-phrases of the composition, and comes from the very end of the use of Sumerian, in the second century B.C. This is a liturgical text from Babylon that sings the praises of

Nanna-Suen, and buried within it is the following line:<sup>52</sup>

a-ab-ba ki níg dagal-la-ba ku<sub>6</sub> mušen-na sù-g[a]

In all the broad expanse of sea and earth, it is full of fishes and birds.

It would be premature to discuss here the relationship between the Nanna hymnic literature, the liturgical practices surrounding the disappearance of the moon,<sup>53</sup> and the development of the liturgical traditions relating to this god and others; provisionally, however, it is noteworthy that they appear to exist in, or stem from, the same continuum.<sup>54</sup>

The relationship between Nanna-Suen and the Dumuzi-Inanna literature also remains unclear, though it is of course tempting to trace connections between Nanna, kingship and fertility to Ur royal ritual involving Nanna at Ur. There is little direct evidence for royal ritual at this date, of course, but proof of its existence, if any were needed, is given by a fragmentary Ur royal ritual or calendar also mentioning Nanna.<sup>55</sup> Tracing these connections in extant Sumerian literature is complex; note for now, however, Nanna hymn O<sup>56</sup> with its first person Emesal passages and mention of the Eḫursag/Enamtila of Šulgi<sup>57</sup> and the as-

52. SBH 38, rev. 3'; the text is a parallel to a Nanna eršemma also known in OB versions (though the incompletely preserved OB tablets do not preserve the fishes and birds motif). See the edition of all sources by Å. Sjöberg, *Der Mondgott Nanna-Suen in der sumerischen Überlieferung* (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell, 1960), 44–54.

53. For example, W. Sallaberger, *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie 7 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993), 60–62; see also M. Cohen, "The Sun the Moon and the City of Ur," in *Religion and Politics in the Ancient Near East*, ed. A. Berlin (Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 1996), 7–20.

54. The issue of continuities and discontinuities between the curriculum and the liturgical literature and the related topic of Nanna and the Dumuzi-Inanna literature will be taken up by the author elsewhere.

55. UET 3, 57 + UET 9, 1177; see J. Krecher, "Review of D. Loding, *Economic Texts from the Third Dynasty*," *OrNS* 48 (1979) 431, with previous literature.

56. Å. W. Sjöberg, *JCS* 29 (1977) 9–10.

57. See the discussion of P. Michalowski, *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1989), 81.

48. Šu-Sin J 46: [...<sup>d</sup>šu-<sup>d</sup>]suen pa-a-zu sù-àm; see S. N. Kramer, "BM 100042: A Hymn to Šu-Sin and an Adab of Nergal," in *DUMU-E<sub>2</sub>-DUB-BA-A: Studies in Honor of Åke W. Sjöberg*, Occasional Publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 11, ed. H. Behrens et al. (Philadelphia: The University Museum, 1989), 303–16.

49. C. Wilcke, *CRRAI* 19, 187–88 n. 12; idem, *Anfänge*, 38–39 w.n. 49–51; *RIME* 3/2, 12–13.

50. CBS 14007+ (see n. 8) v 2–4: a-ba-a mu-un-ba-al-[e] / me-a lu / me am-ra.

51. HS 1504 2–3: me-a lu / me am-ra; see I. Bernhardt and S. N. Kramer, "Götter-Hymnen und Kult-Gesänge der Sumerer auf zwei Keilschrift-Katalogen" in der *Hilprecht-Sammlung*, *WZJ* 6 (1956/57) 389–95 and pl. 1–3.

sociation of a Nanna-focussed tradition with the Dumuzi-Inanna literature suggested by so-called Dumuzi-Inanna L.<sup>58</sup> The latter is an Emesal fragment from Nippur concerning šul <sup>d</sup>nanna-mu, “my youth Nanna,” found on a collective tablet together with Dumuzi-Inanna D and Dumuzi-Inanna Z.

The discussion above has ranged from contemporary Ur-Namma inscriptions of about 2100 BC mentioning canal-digging, through several nearly contemporary versions of a text featuring these acts as a literary topos, and on through the Nanna hymnography, into liturgy and, if by only the most tenuous thread, down to the end of the first millennium BC. Even in the absence of a chronological framework for the development of the texts it is clear that Aba munbale and its motifs were subject to significant differences in meaning both by reuse in new contexts and as a result of textual alterations. One can only speculate on the existence of a hymn concerned with the digging of an actual canal, but one can demonstrate the existence of a text that in one version is associated with the Dumuzi-Inanna literature and focuses primarily on aquatic fertility (Nippur); another that combines this with some increase of emphasis on Nanna and the inclusion of coro-

nation and royal rhetoric (Yale); and a third that excises the references to Enki with the resultant focus having the character of a royal praise of Nanna (Ur). The narrower implication of this is clear: The poetic accounts of Ur-Namma’s canal-digging activities cannot simply be used as independent sources for the history of the Ur III period. Even if some form of the text were originally composed in honor of an actual Ur-Namma canal-opening or coronation, we would have no way of proving this without contemporary inscriptions: Aba munbale, historically speaking, adds nothing.<sup>59</sup>

More importantly, the analysis in hand serves to highlight the nature and importance of differences in narrative construction and contextual significance which are often obscured in the course of textual reconstructions. Given that, as demonstrated above, scribes could consciously and unabashedly manipulate tradition to suit *ex tempore* needs, we should be constantly wary of being lulled into false beliefs that we have either recovered “the complete text,” or possess enough of the all-important context to permit meaningful analysis. What texts are, and what they are good for, will long remain thorny issues for us.

59. For the reasons outlined above, the present writer has deep-seated methodological reservations concerning the viability of analyses such as that of D. Frayne, *RIME* 3/2, 12–13.

58. Sefati, *Love Songs*, 206–7.

### Synoptic Presentation of Aba munbale

Y = YBC 4617 (*JCS* 20 [1966]: 139ff. (transliteration); pl. I). Unknown provenance. One column tablet; appears to have suffered very slight deterioration since Hallo’s transliteration. Collated.

U<sub>1</sub> = U 16895 (*UET* 6, 76 + *UET* 6, \*147; pl. II). Ur. Collated.

U<sub>2</sub> = U 16860 (*UET* 6, 77; pl. III). Ur. Collated.

N<sub>1</sub> = UM 29-16-93 (pl. IV). Nippur. One column tablet, left edge not preserved. Collated.

N<sub>2</sub> = CBS 8037 + N 1703 iii 25’–iv 6’ (pl. V). Nippur. 2 column tablet with edges and center missing. Other compositions on tablet include

Dumuzi-Inanna C, Dumuzi-Inanna N, and Dumuzi-Inanna V. Collated.

||<sub>1</sub> = HS 1513 (*TuMNF* 4 7). Nippur. Collated.

||<sub>2</sub> = VAT 414+ (*SBH* 38). Babylon. Not included in synoptic edition. Collated.

\*1. N 1: a-ba-a mu-u[n-ba-a]l-e a-ba-a mu-un-ba-al-e

N<sub>1</sub>: [...] a]l-<sup>r</sup>e<sup>1</sup> a-ba-a mu-un-ba-al-e

N<sub>2</sub>: a-ba-a mu-u[n ...]

U<sub>1</sub>: [...] <sup>r</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...] // [...] mu-un-ba-[...]

Y 1: [a-ba-a mu-un-b]a-al-e a-<sup>r</sup>ba-a mu<sup>1</sup>-[un-ba-al-e íd] a-ba-a mu-u[n-ba-al-e]

- \*2. N 2: íd asilal kù a-ba mu-un-ba-al-e  
 N<sub>1</sub>: [...] a-b]a mu-un-ba-al-e  
 N<sub>2</sub>: íd asilal kù [...] ]  
 U<sub>1</sub>: [...] // [...] ]  
 Y 2: [íd-kéš-kù] a-ba-a mu-un-ba-[al-e] 'íd'  
 a-ba-a mu-un-ba-al-e
- \*3. N 3: íd pa<sub>5</sub>-bi [luḥ a]-ba mu-un-ba-al-e  
 N<sub>1</sub>: [...] a]-'ba' mu-un-ba-al-e  
 N<sub>2</sub>: íd pa<sub>5</sub>-bi [...] ]  
 U<sub>1</sub>: [...] -luḥ-ḥa a-ba 'mu'-u[n-...] // 'íd a-  
 ba' mu-un-ba-al-[...] ]  
 Y 3: [íd-pa<sub>5</sub>-bi]-luḥ a-ba-a mu-un-ba-al-e  
 'íd' a-ba-a mu-un-ba-al-e
- \*4. U<sub>1</sub>: íd-giš-gisal-a-gar-'ra a-ba mu'-[...] //  
 íd a-ba mu-un-ba-a[l.] ]
- \*5. N 4: [(x)]'ur<sup>2-d</sup>[namma kù tu]ku mu-un-  
 ba-al-e  
 N<sub>1</sub>: [...] tu]ku mu-un-ba-al-e  
 N<sub>2</sub>: [x] 'x AN' [...] ]  
 U<sub>1</sub>: ur<sup>d</sup>namma kù tuku mu-un-ba-[x x x]  
 // íd a-ba mu-un-ba-al-e  
 Y 4: <sup>d</sup>ur<sup>d</sup>namma kù tuku mu-un-ba-al-e
- \*6. N 5: [šul zi níg tu]ku mu-un-ba-al-e  
 N<sub>1</sub>: [...] tu]ku mu-un-ba-al-e  
 N<sub>2</sub>: [...] ]  
 U<sub>1</sub>: <sup>d</sup>šul-gi níg tuku mu-un-ba-al-e // íd a-  
 ba mu-un-ba-al-e  
 Y 5: šul zi 'níg tuku' mu-un-ba-al-'e'
- \*7. N 6: [lugal-mu bára]-za <sup>d</sup>en-l[íl]-le [en] <sup>d</sup>dil-  
 ím-babbar  
 N<sub>1</sub>: [lugal-mu bára]-za 'den'-l[íl]-le / [en]  
<sup>d</sup>dil-ím-babbar  
 N<sub>2</sub>: [...] ]  
 Y 6: lugal-mu bára-za <sup>d</sup>en-líl-le en <sup>d</sup>dil-  
 ím-babbar
- \*8. Y 7: šul <sup>d</sup>suen bára-za <sup>d</sup>en-líl-le en <sup>d</sup>dil-  
 ím-babbar
- \*9. U 13: lugal šà zi-da nam-tar-ra nam-nir-ra  
 sag-íl  
 U<sub>1</sub>: lugal šà zi-da nam-tar-ra nam-nir-ra  
 sag-íl  
 Y 8: lugal šà zi-ta nam-tar-ra nam-nir-ra  
 sag-íl
- \*10. U 14: ur<sup>d</sup>namma šul igi íl-la kur-gal ud  
<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá-ke<sub>4</sub>  
 U<sub>1</sub>: ur<sup>d</sup>namma šul igi íl-la kur-gal ud  
<sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá-ke<sub>4</sub>
- Y 9: <sup>d</sup>ur<sup>d</sup>namma šul igi íl-la kur 'gal' <sup>d</sup>en-líl-le
- \*11. U 15: <sup>d</sup>nun-nam-nir ki-en-gi ki-uri-e me-àm  
 mu-un-suḥ-e  
 U<sub>1</sub>: <sup>d</sup>nun-nam-nir ki-en-gi ki-uri-e me-àm  
 mu-un-suḥ-e  
 U<sub>2</sub>: 'dun'-n[am...] / [...] ]  
 Y 10: <sup>d</sup>nu-nam-nir-re ki-en-gi 'ki-uri-a' gá-e  
 mu-un-suḥ-en
- \*12. U 16: nibru<sup>ki</sup>-e ḥur-sag nam-ti-la-ka nam-  
 mi-im-mi-in-tar  
 U<sub>1</sub>: nibru<sup>ki</sup>-e ḥur-sag nam-ti-la-ka nam-  
 mi-im-mi-in-tar  
 U<sub>2</sub>: nibru<sup>ki</sup>-e' [...] 'nam' [...] / 'nam' [...] ]  
 Y 11: nibru<sup>ki</sup>-a ḥur-sag nam-ti-'la-ka' nam-  
 mu im-mi-in-tar
- \*13. Y 12: sag-ki zalag-ga-ni mu-un-ši-in-bar  
 'nam'-lugal 'ba'-an-'šúm'
- \*14. U 17: uri<sup>5</sup>-e é-mud-kur-ra-kam  
 U<sub>1</sub>: uri<sup>5</sup>-e é-mud-kur-ra-kam  
 U<sub>2</sub>: 'úri<sup>ki</sup>-e é' [...] ]  
 Y 13: úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma é-mud-kur-ra-ka
- \*15. U 18: <sup>giš</sup>gu-za-a-ni suḥuš-bi im-mi-in-gi  
 U<sub>1</sub>: <sup>giš</sup>gu-za-a-ni suḥuš-bi im-mi-in-gi  
 U<sub>2</sub>: 'giš'g[u-za-(a)]-ni suḥuš [...] -'in-gi'  
 Y 14: <sup>giš</sup>gu-za-a-gá suḥuš-[bi im-mi-in- g]i-en
- \*16. U 19: aga me-lám me-téš nam-lugal-la sag-  
 gá im-mi-gál  
 U<sub>1</sub>: aga me-lám me-téš nam-lugal-la sag-  
 gá im-mi-gál  
 U<sub>2</sub>: a[ga me-lám] 'me'-téš 'nam-lugal'-  
 [la] 'sag-gá im'-mi-gál
- \*17. U 20: <sup>giš</sup>gidru kù un šár si-si-e-sá šu-gá im-  
 mi-in-sá  
 U<sub>1</sub>: <sup>giš</sup>gidru kù un šár si-si-'e'-sá šu-gá im-  
 mi-in-sá  
 U<sub>2</sub>: <sup>giš</sup>gidru' kù un šár si-si [x] 'x' šu-gá  
 im-m[i-x-x]
- Y 15: gidri kù un šár 'si sá-sá-e? šu'-[gá im-  
 mi-in-sá]
- \*18. U 21: enkara šibir eš-kìri zi-gál laḥ<sub>6</sub>-laḥ<sub>6</sub>-e  
 'šu-mu'-uš im-ma-an-'šúm'  
 U<sub>1</sub>: enkara 'šibir eš-kìri zi gál DU'.DU-e  
 [...]x  
 U<sub>2</sub>: [...] 'eš'-kìri zi-gál DU.DU-e / 'šu-  
 mu'-uš im-ma-an-'šúm'
- Y 16: šibir enkara un dagal lu-a 'x ḥé'-  
 e[m<sup>2</sup>-mi-laḥ<sub>4</sub>-laḥ<sub>4</sub>-e]

- \*19. Y 17: en <sup>d</sup>dil-ím-babbar-<sup>l</sup>ke<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> zi u<sub>4</sub> sù-  
s[ù ...]
- \*20. Y 18: <sup>d</sup>en-líl-<sup>l</sup>le<sup>1</sup> ub-da-limmu-ba <sup>x</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]
- \*21. U 22: [...] x [...] u<sub>6</sub> di-da-bi [si] <sup>l</sup>im<sup>1</sup>-mi-in-  
sá-a  
U<sub>2</sub>: [...] x [...] u<sub>6</sub> di-da-bi / [si] <sup>l</sup>im<sup>1</sup>-mi-in-  
sá-a
- \*22. U 23: [...] <sup>x</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...] <sup>l</sup>igi<sup>?</sup> il<sup>?</sup>-la<sup>?</sup>  
U<sub>2</sub>: [...] <sup>x</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...] <sup>l</sup>igi<sup>?</sup> il<sup>?</sup>-la<sup>?</sup>
- \*23. U 24: [...]  
U<sub>2</sub>: [...] <sup>x</sup>x<sup>1</sup> [...]
- \*24. U 25: [...]
- \*25. U 26: [x (x)] x gál sag kun gál-l[a<sup>?</sup>]  
U<sub>1</sub>: [x (x)] <sup>x</sup>x<sup>1</sup> gál sag kun gál-l[a<sup>?</sup>]
- \*26. U 27: [x x (x)] g]ùr-ru ki-tuš šà húl-<sup>l</sup>la<sup>1</sup>  
U<sub>1</sub>: [x x (x)] g]ùr-ru ki-tuš šà húl-<sup>l</sup>la<sup>1</sup>
- \*27. U 28: [x (x)] x-da úr-bi im-mi-in-gi  
U<sub>1</sub>: [x (x)] <sup>x</sup>x<sup>1</sup>-da úr-bi im-mi-in-gi
- \*28. U 29: [x x (x)]-na-kam gú-da am-bi šú  
U<sub>1</sub>: [x x (x)]-na-kam gú-da am-bi šú
- \*29. U 30: [x (x)] gi zi kù-babbar-ra gub-ba-àm  
im-mi-ir-mi-ri  
U<sub>1</sub>: [x (x)] <sup>x</sup>x<sup>1</sup> zi kù-babbar-ra gub-ba-àm  
/ im-mi-ir-mi-ri  
U<sub>2</sub>: [x] <sup>l</sup>gi zi<sup>1</sup> [...]
- \*30. Y 20: <sup>d</sup>en-ki-<sup>l</sup>ke<sub>4</sub><sup>1</sup> géštug dag[al]-<sup>l</sup>la-mu<sup>1</sup>  
[s]ag-e-eš m[u-rig<sub>7</sub>]
- \*31. U 31: na-ri-mu u<sub>4</sub> hé-gál-la bal ub-ba íd-  
kéš-kù mu-še  
U<sub>1</sub>: [...] u<sub>4</sub> hé-gál-la bal ub-ba / íd-kéš-kù  
mu-še  
U<sub>2</sub>: na-ri-mu u<sub>4</sub> hé-gal-l[a ...] / íd-kéš-kù  
mu-še  
Y 21: <sup>l</sup>gá<sup>1</sup>-e uru<sup>ki</sup>-gá <sup>l</sup>íd hé-gál-la mu<sup>1</sup>-ba-al  
íd-kéš-kù mu-sa<sub>4</sub>
- \*32. Y 22: úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma <sup>l</sup>íd hé-gál<sup>1</sup>-la mu-ba-al <sup>l</sup>íd-  
kéš<sup>1</sup>-kù mu-sa<sub>4</sub>
- \*33. U 32: mu da-ri ka-ke du-a-ba íd-pa<sub>5</sub>-bi-lu<sub>h</sub>-  
ha mu-še  
U<sub>1</sub>: [...] da-ri ka-ke du-a-ba íd-pa<sub>5</sub>-bi-lu<sub>h</sub>-  
ha / mu-še  
U<sub>2</sub>: [m]u da-ri ka-ke du-a-ba íd-p[a<sub>5</sub>-  
...]  
Y 19: mu da-rí mu ka-ge <sup>l</sup>ba-ab-du<sub>7</sub><sup>1</sup>-[àm  
íd-pa<sub>5</sub>-bi-lu<sub>h</sub> mušen-àm<sup>?</sup>]
- \*34. Y 23: mu da-rí ka-ge ba-ab-du<sub>7</sub>-àm íd-pa<sub>5</sub>-  
bi-lu<sub>h</sub> mušen-àm
- \*35. N 7: [gá-e uru-gá a-r]á-bi ku<sub>6</sub><a> ri-bi  
mušen-a  
N<sub>1</sub>: [... r]á-<sup>l</sup>bi<sup>1</sup> ku<sub>6</sub> ri-bi<sup>1</sup> mušen-a  
N<sub>2</sub>: [...]  
U 33: gá uru<sup>ki</sup>-gá a-rá-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-ab te-li-bi mu-  
še-na  
U<sub>1</sub>: <sup>l</sup>gá<sup>1</sup> uru<sup>ki</sup>-gá a-rá-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-ab / te-li-bi  
mu-še-na  
U<sub>2</sub>: [u]ru<sup>ki</sup>-gá a-rá-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-ab te-<sup>l</sup>li<sup>1</sup>-bi [...]  
Y 24: gá-e uru-gá a-rá-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-àm diri-bi  
mušen-àm  
||<sub>1</sub> 22: [a-rá-b]i ku<sub>6</sub>-àm diri-bi mušen-àm
- \*36. N 8: [uri<sup>ki</sup>-ma] a-du<sub>10</sub>-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-a [ri]-bi  
mušen-a  
N<sub>1</sub>: [...] <sup>l</sup>a-du<sub>10</sub><sup>1</sup>-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-a / [ri]-<sup>l</sup>bi<sup>1</sup>  
mušen-a  
N<sub>2</sub>: [...]  
U 34: íd-kéš-kù uru<sup>ki</sup>-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-ab te-li-bi mu-  
še-na  
U<sub>1</sub>: íd-kéš-kù uru<sup>ki</sup>-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-ab / te-li-bi mu-  
še-na  
U<sub>2</sub>: [...] <sup>l</sup>kù<sup>1</sup> uru-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-ab te-li-bi mu-ši-  
n[a]  
Y 25: úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma a-rá-a-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-àm diri-bi  
mušen-àm  
||<sub>1</sub> 23: [... a-rá-a-b]i ku<sub>6</sub>-<sup>l</sup>àm<sup>1</sup> diri-bi mušen-  
àm
- \*37. U 35: íd-pa<sub>5</sub>-bi-lu<sub>h</sub> a-rá-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-ab te-li-bi  
mu-še-na  
U<sub>1</sub>: íd-pa<sub>5</sub>-bi-lu<sub>h</sub> a-rá-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-ab / te-li-bi  
mu-še-na  
U<sub>2</sub>: [íd-pa<sub>5</sub>-bi-lu<sub>h</sub>] a-rá-bi ku<sub>6</sub>-ab te-li-bi  
mu-ši-<sup>l</sup>na<sup>1</sup>
- \*38. U 36: hé-gál-bi ku<sub>6</sub> ha-ma-ra-ab-túm é-kiš-  
nu-gál-šè  
U<sub>1</sub>: hé-gál-bi ku<sub>6</sub> ha-ma-ra-ab-túm / é-kiš-  
nu-gál-šè  
U<sub>2</sub>: [...] <sup>l</sup>ku<sub>6</sub><sup>1</sup> hu-ma-ra-ab-túm é-kiš-nu-  
gál-šè
- \*39. U 37: gú-gú-bi ú-munzur lú-a ú-làl-e gu<sub>7</sub>-e  
U<sub>1</sub>: gú-gú-bi ú UD <sup>d</sup>nanna lú-a ú-làl-e /  
gu<sub>7</sub>-e  
U<sub>2</sub>: [x x] <sup>x</sup>x<sup>1</sup> gú mu-zu-ur lú-ú ú-làl / gu<sub>7</sub>-e
- \*40. U 38: a-gàr-gal-bi še gu-nu mú-mú <sup>gi</sup>tir-  
gin<sub>7</sub> su-su-[e]  
U<sub>1</sub>: a-gàr-gal-bi še gu-nu mú-mú <sup>gi</sup>tir-  
gin<sub>7</sub><sup>1</sup> / su-su-[x]

- U<sub>2</sub>: [a-gàr-gal-b]i še 'gu-nu' mú-mú <sup>giš</sup>tir-gin<sub>7</sub> su-su-ú-e<sup>1</sup>
- \*41. N 9: [gá-e íd-gá ú]-lál-a mu-un-du [su<sub>h</sub>u]r<sup>ku</sup><sub>6</sub> àm-gur-gur  
N<sub>1</sub>: [...]lál-a mu-un-du / [su<sub>h</sub>u]r<sup>ku</sup><sub>6</sub> àm-gur-gur  
N<sub>2</sub>: [...]  
Y 26: gá-e íd-gá ú-lál-e mu-un-dù su<sub>h</sub>ur<sup>ku</sup><sub>6</sub>-e àm-gur-gur-e  
||<sub>1</sub> 24: [ú-lál-e m]u-un-dù su<sub>h</sub>ur<sup>ku</sup><sub>6</sub>-e àm-gur<sub>4</sub>-gur<sub>4</sub>
- \*41a.||<sub>1</sub> 25: [ú-lál-e mu-u]n-dù amar-e ha-ma-an-gu<sub>7</sub>-e  
\*41b.||<sub>1</sub> 26: [ú-lál-e mu-u]n-[dù] áb-e ha-ma-gu<sub>7</sub>-e  
\*42. N 10: [uri<sup>ki</sup><sub>5</sub>-ma ú]-lál-a mu-un-du [su=<sub>h</sub>ur<sup>k</sup>]<sup>u</sup><sub>6</sub> àm-gur-gur  
N<sub>1</sub>: [...] lál-a mu-un-du / [...]k<sub>u</sub><sub>6</sub> àm-gur-gur  
N<sub>2</sub>: [...]  
Y 27: úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma ú-lál-e mu-un-dù su<sub>h</sub>ur<sup>ku</sup><sub>6</sub>-e [àm-gu]r-gur-e
- \*43. N 11: [gá-e uru-gá gi]-zi-bi lál-àm ku<sub>6</sub> ha-ma-gu<sub>7</sub>-e  
N<sub>1</sub>: [...] zi-bi lál-àm / [x (x) h]a-ma-gu<sub>7</sub>-e  
N<sub>2</sub>: [...] 'ku<sub>6</sub> ha<sup>1</sup>-ma-g[u<sub>7</sub>-e]  
Y 28: gá-e uru-gá gi-zi-bi lál-àm áb-e ha-ma-gu<sub>7</sub>-e
- \*44. N 12: [uri<sup>ki</sup><sub>5</sub>-ma] gi-zi-bi lál-àm ku<sub>6</sub> ha-ma-gu<sub>7</sub>-e  
N<sub>1</sub>: [...] gi-zi-bi lál-àm / [x (x)] 'x<sup>1</sup> ha-ma-gu<sub>7</sub>-e  
N<sub>2</sub>: [...]x ku<sub>6</sub> ha-ma-g[u<sub>7</sub>-e]  
Y 29: úr<sup>ki</sup>-ma gi-zi-bi lál-àm áb-e ha-ma-gu<sub>7</sub>-e
- \*45. N 13: [gá-e íd-m]u ki-gar-ra-bi-ta ku<sub>6</sub> mušen sù-ga-àm  
N<sub>1</sub>: [...]m]u ki-gar-ra-bi-ta / [x] mušen sù-ga-àm  
N<sub>2</sub>: [...]t]a ku<sub>6</sub> mušen s[ù-ga-àm]  
Y 30: gá-e [íd-mu ki-gar-ra-bi-t]a ku<sub>6</sub> mušen [sù-ga-àm]  
||<sub>1</sub> 20: [íd<sup>2</sup> ki-gar-ra-b]i-t[a] ku<sub>6</sub> mušen sù-ga-àm
- \*46. N 14: [uri<sup>ki</sup><sub>5</sub>-ma] x ki-gar-ra-bi-ta ku<sub>6</sub> mušen sù-ga-àm  
N<sub>1</sub>: [...] 'x<sup>1</sup> ki-gar-ra-bi-ta / [x] mušen sù-ga-àm
- N<sub>2</sub>: [...]x ku<sub>6</sub> mušen 'sù-ga<sup>1</sup>-[àm]  
Y 31: úri<sup>k</sup>[i-ma ki-gar-ra-bi-ta ku<sub>6</sub> mušen sù-ga-àm]  
||<sub>1</sub> 21: [...]íd<sup>2</sup> ki-gar-ra]-bi-t[a] kù mušen sù-ga-àm
- \*47. N 15: [lugal-b]i lugal eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga pa-a-zu sù-ga-àm  
N<sub>1</sub>: [lugal-b]i lugal eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga / 'pa-a<sup>1</sup>-zu sù-ga-àm  
N<sub>2</sub>: [...] 'pa<sup>1</sup>-a-zu sù-ga-à[m]  
Y 34: lugal-bi lugal eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga pa-a-zu sù-àm
- \*48. N 16: [<sup>d</sup>nu-dim]-mud lugal eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga pa-a-zu sù-ga-àm  
N<sub>1</sub>: [<sup>d</sup>nu-dim]-mud lugal eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga / 'pa-a<sup>1</sup>-zu sù-ga-àm  
N<sub>2</sub>: [...] 'pa-a<sup>1</sup>-zu sù-ga-àm  
Y 35: <sup>d</sup>nu-dim-mud lugal eridu<sup>ki</sup>-ga pa-a-zu sù-àm
- \*49. N 17: [gá-e íd-gá] a dùg hu-mu-un-túm-mu [<sup>giš</sup>]dubsig-e ha-ma-lá-e  
N<sub>1</sub>: [x x x]-'x a dùg<sup>1</sup> hu-mu-un-túm-mu / [<sup>giš</sup>]'dubsig<sup>2</sup>-e<sup>1</sup> ha-ma-lá-e  
N<sub>2</sub>: [...] 'x<sup>1</sup> ha-ma-lá-e-dè  
Y 32: gá-e íd-gá a-[rá-a hu-m]u-un-[tùm] <sup>giš</sup>dubsig-e hu-mu-un-na-lá-e
- \*50. N 18: [úri<sup>ki</sup>-m]a a dùg hu-mu-un-túm-mu [<sup>giš</sup>]dubsig-e ha-ma-lá-e  
N<sub>1</sub>: [x x x]-'x<sup>1</sup> a dùg hu-mu-un-túm-mu / [<sup>giš</sup>]'dubsig<sup>2</sup>-e<sup>1</sup> ha-ma-lá-e  
N<sub>2</sub>: [...] 'x x x<sup>1</sup> [(x) h]a-ma-lá-dè  
Y 33: úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma íd-gá a-rá-a hu-mu-un-tùm <sup>giš</sup>dubsig-e hu-mu-un-na-lá-e
- \*51. U 39: lugal an-ub-[da-limmu]-bi še-ga <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá  
U<sub>1</sub>: lugal an-'ub<sup>1</sup>-[...]bi še-ga x[...]  
U<sub>2</sub>: [x x u]b-da-limmu-bi še-ga <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá  
Y 36: lugal an-ub-da-limmu-ba šà <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá du<sub>10</sub>-ge-en
- \*52. U 40: ur-<sup>d</sup>namma sipa ú-a ki-en-gi ki-uri-e ki-ág <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá  
U<sub>1</sub>: 'ur-<sup>d</sup>namma [...]k]i-en-gi 'ki<sup>1</sup>-[uri<sup>2</sup> ...]  
U<sub>2</sub>: [x si]pa ú-a ki-en-gi ki-uri-e ki-ág <sup>d</sup>en-líl-lá  
Y 37: <sup>d</sup>ur-<sup>d</sup>namma ú-a nibru<sup>ki</sup> sag-ús úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma

\*53. U 41: bala-na níg úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma-ke<sub>4</sub> sil-àm u<sub>4</sub> mi-  
ni-in-za-e-en-za-e-le za-e-me-en

U<sub>1</sub>: [...] 'x' [...] / [...]

U<sub>2</sub>: 'bala<sup>1</sup>-na níg úri-ma-ke<sub>4</sub> sil-àm u<sub>4</sub> mi-  
ni-in-'x<sup>1</sup>-/za-e-en-za-e-le za-e-me-en

Y 38-39: iti<sub>6</sub>-šè kalam úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma-šè // asilal<sup>?</sup>  
(EZEN×LÁL<sup>?</sup>)-a u<sub>4</sub> mi-ni-ib-zal-zal-  
le-ne

\*54. U 42: ur-<sup>d</sup>namma lugal mu da-a-ri zà-mí-zu  
du<sub>10</sub>-ga

U<sub>1</sub>: [...]

U<sub>2</sub>: ur-<sup>d</sup>namma lugal mu da-a-ri zà-mí-zu  
du<sub>10</sub>-ga

Y 40: <sup>d</sup>ur-<sup>d</sup>namma lugal úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma zà-mí-zu  
du<sub>10</sub>-ga-àm

PLATE I

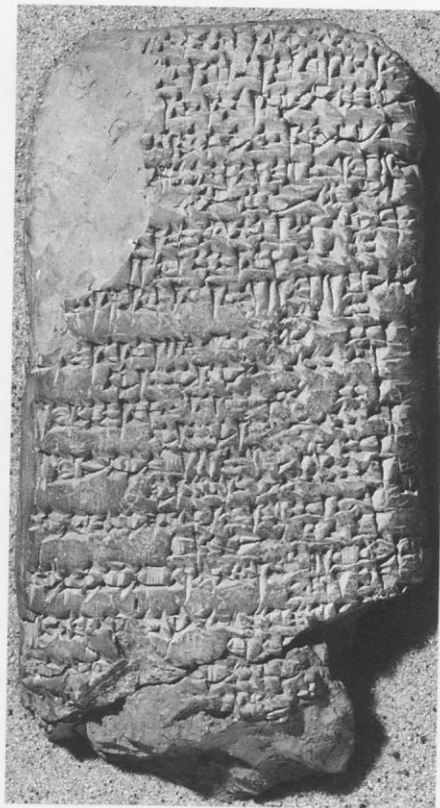
YBC 4617



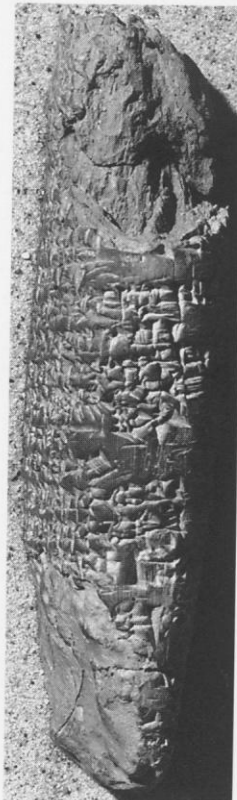
U 16895



obverse



reverse



edge

PLATE III

U 16860



obverse



right edge



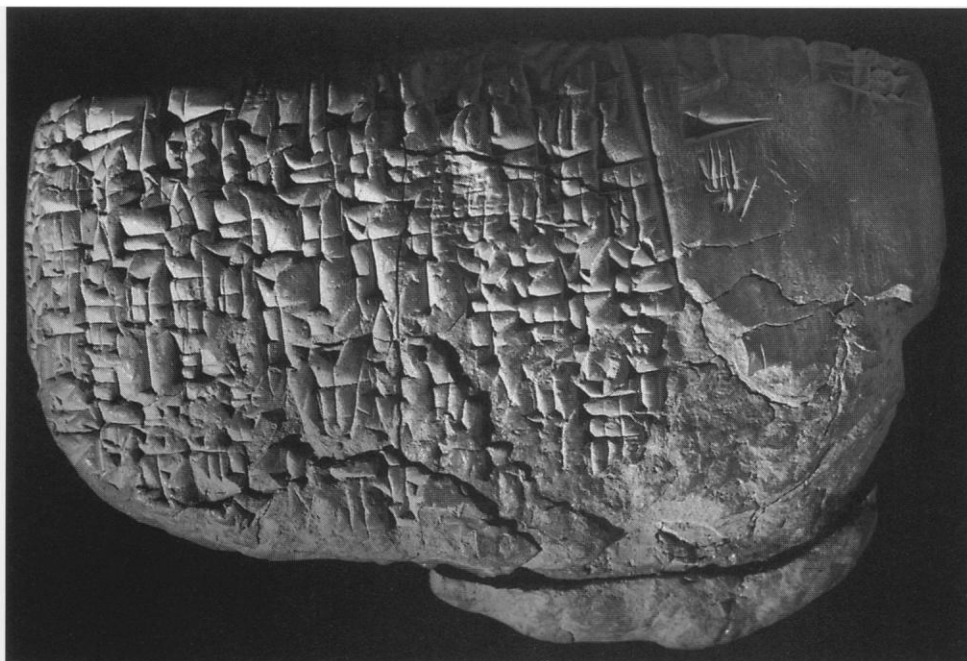
reverse



left edge

UM 29-16-93

reverse



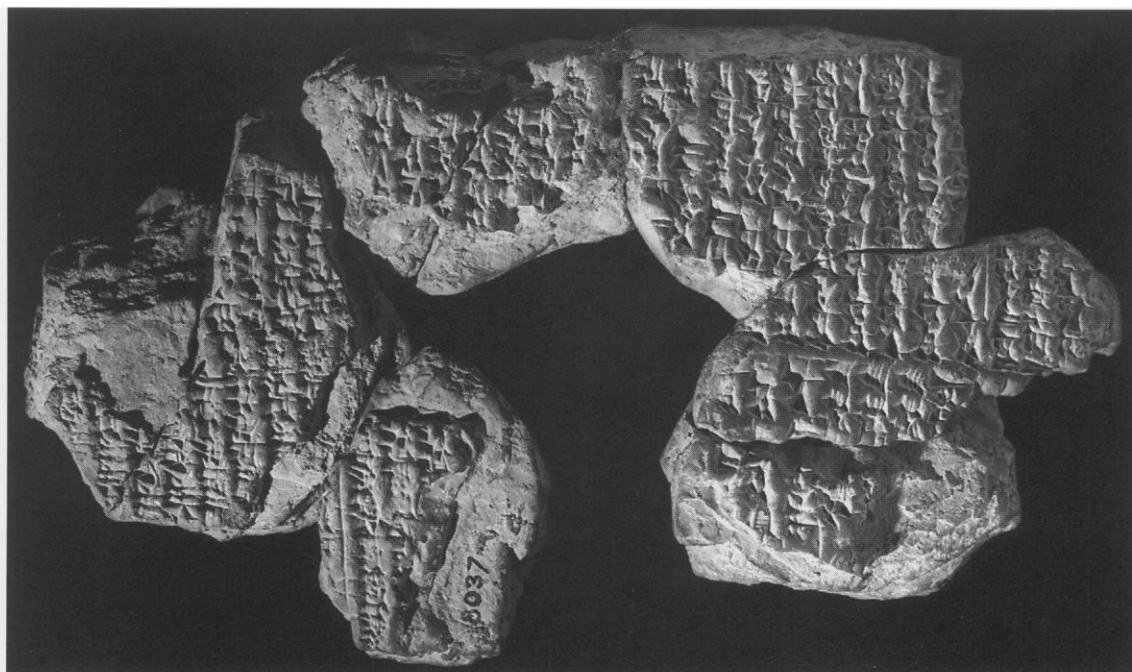
obverse



PLATE V

CBS 8037 +

reverse



obverse

