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Edited by
Barry L. Eichler
with the assistance of
Jane W. Heimerdinger
Åke W. Sjöberg

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Enannatum I of Lagash and Ur-Lumma of Umma — A New Text*

Robert D. Biggs, Chicago

The border dispute between Lagash and Umma, which lasted for generations, has long attracted the interest of cuneiformists and historians of the ancient Near East.¹ Even though a great deal of effort has been expended in an attempt to identify the various canals and agricultural areas which figured in the conflict, no consensus has yet been reached. A major handicap has been the fact that for many years Tello was identified as the city of Lagash, but now that the site of al-Hiba has been securely identified as Lagash, with Tello being Girsu, some elements of the conflict may become clearer.²

It is not my intention here to reopen the discussion of the geographical and historical problems, but rather to make available a new text dealing with the dispute. It is perhaps appropriate to honor Professor Kramer with publication of a text dealing with a subject he has himself studied.³

The text, inscribed on an unbaked clay tablet, was found in the 1970-71 season of excavations at al-Hiba by an expedition sponsored by the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, in Area C, Room 4 in Level IB fill in a building tentatively identified as administrative. The tablet measures 12 × 12 × 3 cm.⁴ The field number of the tablet is 2H-T21 and has been accessioned in the Iraq Museum as IM 76644.

* I have had occasion to discuss this text with several colleagues, Miguel Civil, Jean-Pierre Grégoire, Thorkild Jacobsen, and Aaron Shaffer, to whom I express my thanks here. I have particularly benefited from insights and suggestions of Thorkild Jacobsen. I also wish to thank Abdul-Hadi al-Fouadi of the Directorate General of Antiquities of Iraq for collating the text for me.

Lagash texts are cited according to E. Sollberger, *Corpus des inscriptions "royales" présargoniques de Lagaš* (Geneva, 1956).

¹ Among the most significant studies are the following: A. Poebel, "Der Konflikt zwischen Lagaš und Umma zur Zeit Enannatums I. und Enetemenas," *Oriental Studies . . .* Paul Haupt (Baltimore and Leipzig, 1926), pp. 220-267; M. Lambert, "Une histoire du conflit entre Lagash et Umma," *RA* 50 (1956), 141-146; and G. Pettinato, "L₇-IDIGNA-TA L₇-NUN-ŠÈ: Il conflitto tra Lagaš ed Umma per la 'Frontiera Divina' et la sua soluzione durante la terza dinastia di Ur," *Mesopotamia* 5-6 (1970-71), 281-320.

² For the identification of al-Hiba as Lagash, see Falkenstein, *An.Or.* 30, pp. 17f. with reference to earlier evidence. See also Donald P. Hansen, *Artibus Asiae* 32 (1970), 244.

³ Samuel Noah Kramer, "Civil War in Sumer: the First Historian," *History Begins at Sumer* (Indian Hills, Colorado, 1956), pp. 32-40. See also his translations of the Vulture Stele and other Lagash inscriptions in *The Sumerians* (Chicago, 1963), pp. 310ff.

⁴ The tablet is published here with the permission of Dr. Vaughn E. Crawford and Dr. Donald P. Hansen, who are happy to associate themselves in a tribute to Professor Kramer.

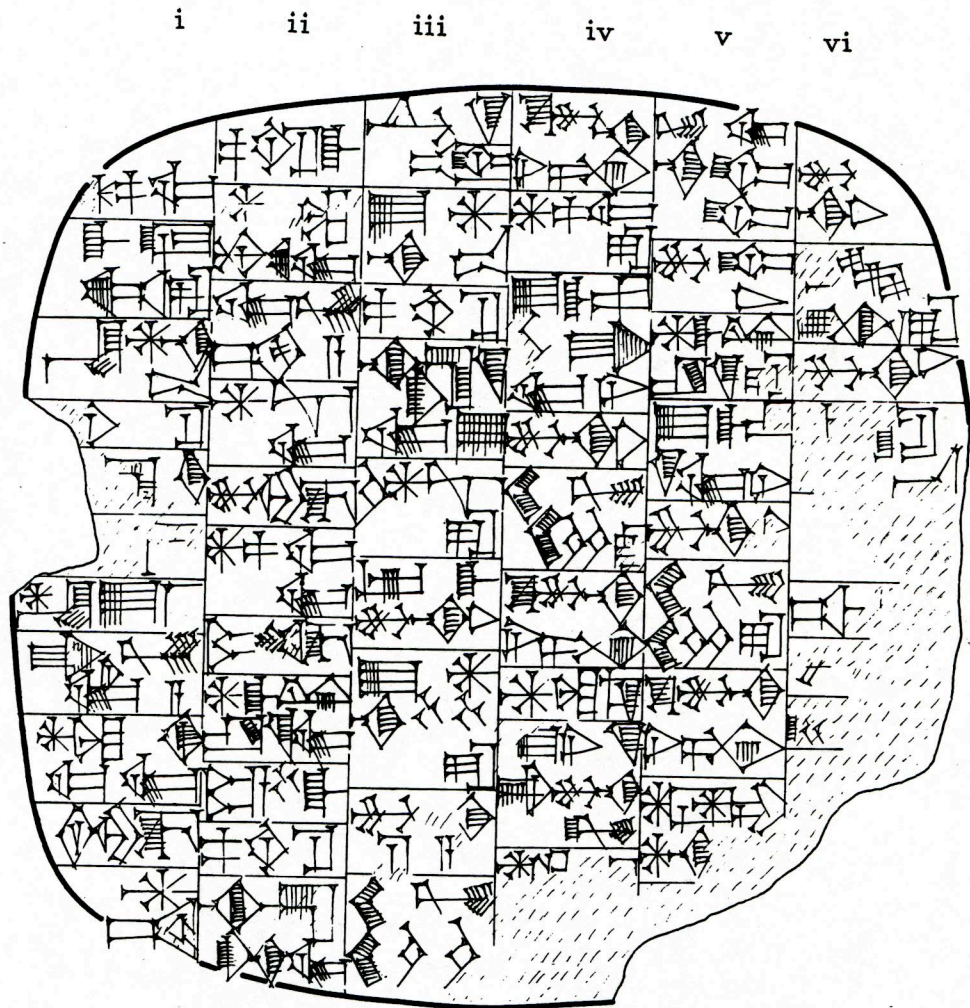


Fig. 1

Inscription of Enannatum I. Obverse

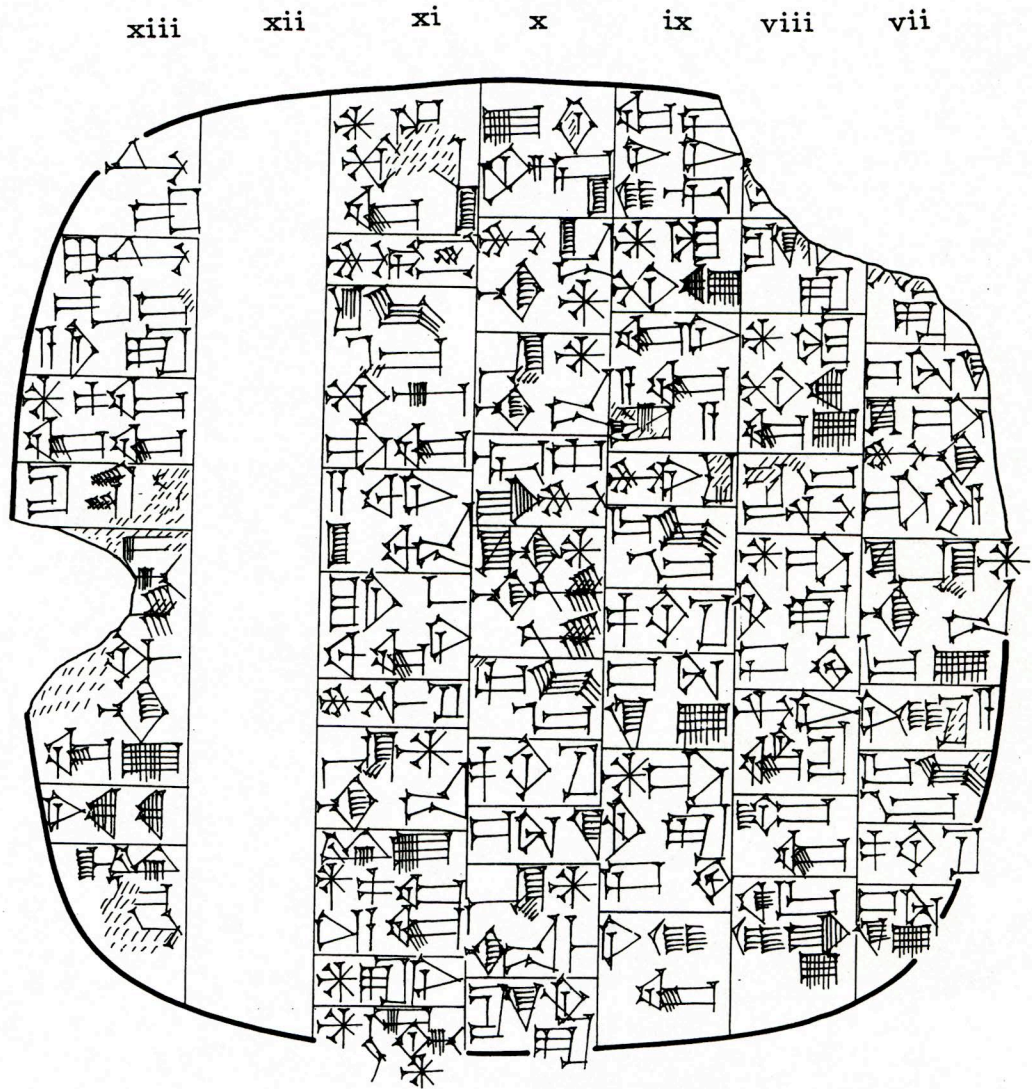


Fig.2

Inscription of Enannatum I. Reverse

The new text, dedicating a copper emblem or standard to the god *Ĥendursaga* by *Enannatum I* after a victorious encounter with *Ur-Lumma* of *Umma*, provides some details of the dispute, as well as recounting some pious deeds of *Enannatum*, most of which are known from other texts. It is likely that the text dates from toward the end of his reign when *Entemena* may have taken over some of the responsibilities of his father.

It seems probable that this tablet is a copy made for the scribe or engraver who inscribed the text on the copper standards, which ends in column xi with the statement that *Šulutula* is *Enannatum's* personal god, a statement often found when the object which bears the inscription is itself a votive object. Column xii is blank and column xiii seems to be an addition by the scribe describing the circumstances — not entirely clear because of uncertainties of interpretation — of utilizing the inscription.

Transliteration	Translation	
col. i		
1. <i>dĤendur-sag</i>	(1) For <i>Ĥendur-saga</i> , the chief sheriff of the abzu, <i>Enannatum</i> , ensi of [<i>Lagash</i>], [nominated] by <i>Enlil</i> , fed on the pure milk of <i>Ninĥursaga</i> ,	
2. <i>nimgir-gal-abzu-ra</i>		
3. <i>En-an-na-túm</i>		
4. [PA].TE.SI		
5. [ŠIR.BUR].LA ^{ki}		
6. [mu-pàd-d]a		
7. <i>dEn-líl-lá</i>		
8. <i>ga-zi-kú-a</i>		
9. <i>dNin-ĥur-sag-ka</i>		
10. <i>Šà-pàd-da</i>		(10) chosen in the heart of <i>Nanše</i> , the chief ensi of <i>Ningirsu</i> , duly summoned (to office) by <i>Inanna</i> , nominated by <i>Ĥendur-saga</i> , son of <i>Lugal-Uruba</i> ,
11. <i>dNanše</i>		
col. ii		
12. PA.TE.SI-gal	(20) son of <i>Akurgal</i> , ruler of <i>Lagash</i> , beloved brother of <i>Enannatum</i> , ruler of <i>Lagash</i> —	
13. <i>dNin-gír-su-ka</i>		
14. <i>gù-zi-dé-a</i>		
15. <i>dInanna-ka</i>		
16. <i>mu-pàd-da</i>		
17. <i>dĤendur-sag-ka</i>		
18. <i>dumu-tu-da</i>		
19. <i>dLugal-URUXKÁR^{ki}.ka</i>		
20. <i>dumu A-kur-gal</i>		
21. PA.TE.SI		
22. ŠIR.BUR.LA ^{ki} .ka		
col. iii		
23. <i>šeš ki-agá</i>		(27) when for <i>Inanna</i> he had built the <i>Ibgal</i> , made the temple <i>Eanna</i> surpass (any other temple) in all lands,
24. <i>É-an-na-túm</i>		
25. PA.TE.SI		
26. ŠIR.BUR.LA ^{ki} .ka-ke ₄		
27. <i>u₄ dInanna-ra</i>		
28. <i>Ib-gal mu-na-dù</i>		
29. <i>É-an-na kur-kur-ra</i>		
30. <i>mu-na-diri</i>		

31. kù-gi kù.UD.UD-<ra>

(31) with gold and silver he decorated it for her, for H̄endur-saga he built his palace in Uru-kug, with gold and silver he decorated it for him,

col. iv

32. šu mu-na-ni-tag

33. d̄H̄endur-sag-ra

34. É-gal-uru-ʿkù¹-ga-ka-ni

35. mu-na-dù

36. kù-gi kù.UD.UD-ra

37. šu mu-na-ni-tag

38. d̄Nin-DAR

(38) for Nin-DAR he restored his temple, he built the giguna of Nin[girsu(?) and Bau(?)], for Lugal-Uruba he built his palace in Urub, decorated it it with gold and silver for him,

39. é-ni ki-bi mu-na-gi₄

40. d̄N[in-gír-su d̄Ba-ú-bi(?)]

col. v

41. gi-gù-na-ne-ne

42. mu-ne-dù

43. d̄Lugal-URUXKÁR^{ki}-ra44. É-gal-URUX[KÁR]^{ki}-ka-ni

45. mu-na-dù

46. kù-gi kù.UD.UD-ra

47. šu mu-na-ni-tag

48. d̄Ama-geštin-an-na-[ra]

(48) for Ama-geštin-an-na he built [her temple É-sag-UG₅], he built the baked brick well for her, a . . . he put in place,49. [É-sag-UG₅-ka-ni]

col. vi

50. mu-na-dù

51. [p]ú sig₄-bahar-ra

52. mu-na-dù

53. x x e-gub

54. [d̄Nin-gír-su-ra]

(54) [for Ningirsu] he built the temple Èš-D[UG-RU]

55. Èš-D[UG-RU]

56. m[u-na-dù]

57. traces

(57-59) . . .

58-59. destroyed

col. vii

60. [u₄ d̄Šara]

(60) [When Šara] had flung Umma from (his) hand to Ningirsu and had placed it in Enannatum's hand,

61. [d̄Nin]ʿgír¹-[su]-ra62. GIŠ.ÙĤ^{ki}

63. šu-ta mu-na-ta-šub-a

64. šu En-an-na-túm-ma-ke₄

65. ì-mi-si-a

66. Ur-lum-ma

(66) Ur-Lumma, ruler of Umma,

67. PA.TE.SI

68. GIŠ.ÙĤ^{ki}-ke₄

col. viii

69. [kur-kur e]-m[a-ḫun]
 70. e-ki-[su]r-ra
 71. ^dNin-gír-su-ka-ke₄
 72. e-ma-bal
 73. An-ta-sur-ra gá-kam
 74. bala ì-kú-e
 75. bí-dug₄
 76. du₆-ur-gi₆-ga-ke₄

col. ix

77. sag-gá-ni ì-mi-ús
 78. ^dNin-gír-su-ke₄
 79. KA-ni-a ka-RÉC 107-a
 80. mu-ni-tak₄
 81. Ur-lum-ma
 82. PA.TE.SI
 83. GIŠ.Ùḫ^{ki}-ke₄
 84. An-ta-sur-ra gá-kam
 85. ì-mi-dug₄

col. x

86. é-ša-ní-gá-šè
 87. mu-šè-gin-na-am₅
 88. En-an-na-túm
 89. nita-kala-ga-mu
 90. šu na-an-na-zi-zi
 91. Ur-lum-ma
 92. PA.TE.SI
 93. GIŠ.Ùḫ^{ki}
 94. En-an-na-túm-me
 95. e-ki-sur-ra

col. xi

96. ^dNin-gír-šul-ka-šè
 97. mu-gaz
 98. KÍD Lum-ma-gír-nun-ta-ka
 99. a-ba-ni-šè ba-gin
 100. túg^{nig}-bar-ba ka-né
 101. mu-ši-si
 102. En-an-na-túm
 103. lú-é-^dḫendur-sag-dù-a-ka
 104. dingir-ra-ni
 105. ^dšul-utula-am₆

- (69) [hired mercenaries (from other lands)] and came across the border canal of Ningirsu. "The Antasurra is mine; I will have the benefit of the prebends," he said. At the Hill of the Black Dog he put his . . .

- (78) At his (Ur-Lumma's) assertion, Ningirsu opened (his) mouth in (the temple) RÉC 107 (saying:) "Ur-Lumma, ensi of Umma, has said 'The Antasurra is mine,' (and now) he is coming against me to my own sanctum, (but) he will not prevail against my strong man Enannatum."

- (91) Enannatum pommeled Ur-Lumma, ruler of Umma, (back) to the border canal of Ningirsu and went after him even to the . . . of the canal Lum-ma-gír-nun-ta.

- (100) He stuffed an outer(?) garment in his mouth.

- (102) Enannatum, the one who built the temple of ḫendur-saga — his god is Šulutula.

- col. xiii
106. ur¹urudu (106) I (i.e., the scribe) inscribed the copper standard
107. udu-ur¹urudu-gi²a-gar-ra and the sheep (?) of the copper standard set on
108. d³Hendur-sag-ka-ka wood(en posts) of (the temple of) Hendursaga.
109. e-sar-s[ar] Šulutula, the able [personal god] of [En]temena
110. [d⁴Šu]l-[utu]la [dingir(?) z]i [En]-te-me-na-ka-ke₄ will replace the . . .
111. ì-su-su
112. lugal ma [m]u

Commentary

19. For the sake of convenience, the reading ^dLugal-Uruba for ^dLugal-URUXKÁR^{ki} is adopted, though it remains uncertain. See Sollberger, ZA 54 (1961), 9.

28. For the proposal that the Ib-gal is the temple oval at al-Hiba, see Donald P. Hansen, "Al-Hiba, 1968-1969, A Preliminary Report," *Artibus Asiae* 32 (1970), 248.

Passages in En. I 20 i 9-iii 1, which provide briefer statements about the building and restoration work carried out under Enannatum have -a following each verb, whereas out text does not. I assume that -a is to be restored after the final verb in the sequence, perhaps in line 59.

31. There does not appear to be space enough to restore -r a in the small broken area in this line, so I assume it was inadvertently omitted by the scribe.

40. The traces are uncertain, but a restoration such as ^dN[in-gír-su ^dBa-ú-bi] is probable and would account for the plural suffix in line 41.

41. See CAD s.v. *gigunû* for discussion of g i - g ù - n a.

49. The name of the temple is restored from En. I 9 iv 10 and En. I 20 ii 10. Sollberger (IRSA, p. 63) reads u g a₅ (rather than b à d) in the temple name. He is certainly correct that the sign is not BÀD (see my *Inscriptions from Tell Abū Šalābīkh* [OIP 99], comment to lines 196-197 of the Zà-mì hymn collection). However, since u g₅ "dead person" gives poor sense in the name of a temple, I believe another reading is probable. I therefore transliterate the sign as UG₅ (with unknown reading).

51. This well is also mentioned in En. I 9 iv 6. See the comment of J. Bauer, WO 7 (1973), 10 n. 8.

55. I follow here a suggestion of T. Jacobsen that these lines recount the abandonment of Umma by its god, and the turning it over to Ningirsu, i.e., to Lagash. Cf. [t i - i d - n] u - u m l ú ŷ u - t a ŷ u b - b a - b i ^dE n - k i m a ŷ k i n - b i - i m "the Tidnum-Martus who escaped from his control - Enki is their bailiff" *Šbi-erra Lament iii 3*" (manuscript of M. Civil).

69. Comparing Ent. Cone A (Ent. 28) iii 1, T. Jacobsen suggested the restoration I have adopted.

70-73. Cf. e - k i - s u r - r a ^dN i n - g í r - s u - k a e - k i - s u r - r a ^dN a n ŷ e g á - k a m ì - m i - d u g₄ Ent. 28-29 iv 24-29 and a n - t a - s u r - r a g á - k a m k i - s u r - r a - m u b í - d u g₄ Ukg. 6 iv 7-9, both referring to the same claim of Ur-Lumma.

74. T. Jacobsen has suggested that b a l a here refers to the b a l a -offices and incomes connected with them from the Antasurra temple, a temple located some distance from Lagash in the plain. See M. Lambert, *Sumer* 8 (1952), 70.

77. Cf. *nu-mu-un-si-ke sag-zu-hu-mu-ri-ib-us: ana la agrúkama pútká tummeda* Lugale XII 39, where *sag* + pronoun *-ús* seems to mean "to make an effort against" (pronominal suffix identical with agent). It would indicate both the hostile efforts of Ur-Lumma, and the fact that they were unsuccessful.

78-90. One should probably understand these lines as referring to an appearance of Ningirsu in a dream or vision. These lines clearly resemble the passage KA-na KA-KID-a mu-ni-tak₄ Ean. 1 iii 26-27 (Vulture Stele), which is discussed elsewhere in this volume by T. Jacobsen. For discussion of the sign RÉC 107 (LAK 175) see MSL 10, p. 122, note to line B 6, and N. Schneider, An.Or. 12, pp. 288f. My understanding of this passage has been substantially improved by T. Jacobsen, whose interpretation is followed in the translation. The fact that in the passage from the Vulture Stele KID occupies the place of RÉC 107 in our text does not necessarily imply that KID may throw any light on the reading or meaning of RÉC 107. This sign occurs a number of times in the inscriptions of Ur-Nanše. Perhaps, on the basis of the passage ^dNin-èš-RÉC 107 mu-TU "he fashioned (a statue of) the lady of the temple RÉC 107" in Urn. 25 iv 1-2, we should consider RÉC 107 in our passage as referring to the chapel or temple where Ningirsu spoke out.

99. The form *a-ba-ni-šè* need not be taken as emesal in view of the alternation between *g* and *b*. See M. Civil, "From Enki's Headaches to Phonology," JNES 32 (1973), 57-61. The account in Urk. 6 iv 25 has *gabani-šè ì-gin* "went to confront him."

100-101. I follow here a suggestion of T. Jacobsen that the passage refers to the muzzling or gagging of Ur-Lumma. This interpretation is supported by a reference which I owe to M. Civil: *šuna giš m[u-ni]-gar/igi-na túg bí-si* "he handcuffed him, he blindfolded him" RA 9,113 iv 26f., restored from ISET 2 Ni 4167 (Utuhegal inscription). The garment *níg-bar-ba* also occurs in Ukg. 4-5 v 4.

102-105. From other texts (such as Ent. 2, 8, 17, and 22) it is clear that the inscription ends with these lines which imply that Enannatum gave the object upon which the inscription is written as a votive offering.

106-112. These lines appear to be a statement by the scribe and not a part of the official inscription. Interpretation of the final two lines is particularly uncertain, although it seems that the last line is the object of the verb *ì-su-su*. See Falkenstein, An.Or. 29, p. 6 for comment on placing an object after the verb.

Note that *urì* is distinguished from *šeš* here, as elsewhere in pre-Sargonic texts. See J. Bauer, *Altsumerische Wirtschaftstexte aus Lagasch* (Studia Pohl 9 [Rome, 1972]), p. 175 and references cited there.