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THE BRITISH SCHOOL OF ARCHAEOLOGY IN IRAQ

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Journal

IRAQ is devoted to studies of the history, art, archaeology, religion, economic and social life of Iraq, and to a lesser degree of the neighbouring countries where they relate to it, from the earliest times down to about A.D. 1700. Texts concerning these subjects, with translations and comments, will be considered; exclusively philological articles will not be accepted.

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Abbreviations follow those currently accepted in the journals *Orientalia* and *Archiv für Orientforschung*.

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LAGASH

By VAUGHN E. CRAWFORD

Each season of excavations at Tell al-Hiba confirms Jacobsen's proposed identification first made in 1953 that Tell al-Hiba rather than Telloh, as formerly believed, is the site of ancient Lagash.

During the first two seasons of the excavations in 1968-69 and in 1970-71, no less than fourteen foundation stones identifying the temple oval in which they were found as the Ibgal of Inanna were unearthed. Nine of the stones were accompanied by inscribed copper foundation figurines,¹ figurines which represented Šulutula, the personal deity of Enannatum I, the builder of at least Level I of the Ibgal. As Hansen has indicated, however, in a wadi a mile to the north of the Ibgal fragmentary cones stating that Enannatum was the builder of the Ibgal have been recovered.² In addition it may be well to say that no such cones have been found within the extensive area of the Ibgal which has been excavated. Why this is the case is not yet known. The foundation stones and the companion figurines found *in situ* are, however, solid evidence that the physical location of one of the temples mentioned in the texts as being located in Lagash has been ascertained.³

During the third campaign at Al-Hiba in 1972-73, the temple named the Bagara, a temple dedicated to the deity Ningirsu, was discovered. It will be recalled that Jacobsen's original proposal was made as the result of finding an inscribed brick of Gudea,⁴ known until that time only in its incomplete form, on the main eminence of Al-Hiba. The text gave *lugal ba-gará*, "king of Bagara," as an epithet of Ningirsu, the foremost god of Lagash and the last two lines recorded the building of a temple, the *é ba-gará*.⁵ From his knowledge of the literary text "Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur" ⁶ Jacobsen knew that the Bagara was located in *uru-kù*, the "Holy City." Another inscribed brick discovered on Tell al-Hiba by Dougherty in 1926, the inscription on which gave *ama lagaša^{ki}*, the "mother of Lagash," as an attribution of the goddess Gatumdu, recorded the building of her temple in Uruku.⁷ What, therefore, was the identity of Uruku? Jacobsen suggested that Uruku, meaning as it does, the "Holy City," was the name of the temple quarter on Tell

¹ Although none of the figurines has been cleaned, it is assumed that the inscriptions on the stones and the figurines are the same.

² Cf. Donald P. Hansen, "Al-Hiba, 1968-69, A Preliminary Report," *Artibus Asiae* 32 (1970), 243-250, and Figs. 1-18. In this particular instance, cf. p. 248.

³ A. Falkenstein, *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš (An Or 30)*; Rome, 1966), 160-161.

⁴ Thorkild Jacobsen, *Archaeological Newsletter* 6 (1953-54), The American Schools of Oriental Research, Jerusalem and Baghdad, datelined Nippur,

November 25, 1953, pp. 1-5. The letter is reprinted in *RA* 52 (1958), 127-129.

⁵ Cf. below, p. 32 and Fig. 5.

⁶ S. N. Kramer, *Lamentation over the Destruction of Ur (AS 12)*, The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago), 19, l. 22 ff.

⁷ The text is said by Dougherty to be that of *SAK*, p. 140q which is based on an unpublished brick inscription in the Louvre. Unfortunately the reproduction of Dougherty's photograph on p. 87, Fig. 44, *AASOR* 7 (1927), is virtually illegible.

al-Hiba and that the name of the whole city was no less than Lagash itself in view of the fact that Gatumdu was the "mother of Lagash."

Falkenstein completely accepted Jacobsen's proposal and proceeded to show on the basis of offering lists that Uruku and Lagash are indeed either one and the same place or that Uruku is at least the temple precinct of Lagash as Jacobsen had suggested.⁸ In either case the mound bearing the modern name Tell al-Hiba is according to Sumerian texts the site of ancient Lagash.

So far three of the Bagara bricks of Gudea plus a small fragment of another have been recovered. The first was reported to have been found "unterhalb der grossen Terrasse"⁹ by Koldewey's expedition which dug at Al-Hiba from March 29 to May 5, 1887. This text, due to damage, contains only the sign *ka* of the final two lines of the complete text, namely, *é ba-gará-ka-ni / mu-na-dù*. For the purposes of this discussion these two lines are most important. The second brick was that discovered by Jacobsen and Safar's survey party on November 18, 1953. Its text is virtually complete with only four signs being missing from the ends of the last three lines.¹⁰ The third such brick with an inscription was recovered in the course of excavation by the Al-Hiba Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Institute of Fine Arts of New York University on November 15, 1972 in Area B, N 550-560, W 100-110 in the Old Babylonian level and Level I (Early Dynastic III) debris. So none of the three bricks came from the context in which it was originally employed, namely, a Gudea construction. Since this is the case, one might argue that inscribed bricks are portable and that surface or displaced finds such as these are not reliable indicators either for the names of the spot where they were found or even for any place on the same mound. The mere fact that bricks of this size (32 × 32 × 8 cm.) weigh about ten kilos each, however, militates against their wide distribution far from any single point of manufacture.¹¹

Jacobsen was, nevertheless, quite right in assuming that the brick found by his party did indeed locate the *é ba-gará* of Ningirsu. In the excavations of our third season (1972-73) a portion of the Bagara itself was unearthed and a part of it measuring approximately 20 × 30 m. was dug through Level III. Inscriptions on stone and metal objects found *in situ*, objects dedicated to Ningirsu of the Bagara, prove that the temple was located near the high place where the second of three bricks was found. The third brick from the Old Babylonian level and Level I came from a spot on the western slope of the eminence just mentioned. Since what has been dug is most probably only one unit of the complete Bagara, it is very likely that when more excavating is done it will reveal that another portion of the Bagara lies directly beneath where the second brick was discovered.

⁸ Falkenstein, *op. cit.*, 17-20.

⁹ *VŠ I*, 18. Cf. catalogue on no. 18.

¹⁰ This text was never published.

¹¹ During the course of a survey conducted in 1956-57 by Robert McC. Adams with the assistance of the writer, a survey reported in *Sumer* 14 (1958), 101-103, and Figs. 1-6, bricks of Nebuchadnezzar bearing the standard inscription for Babylon were found as far as thirty miles from Babylon on a

number of smaller mounds. It seems likely that these bricks were stamped where they were made, probably on each site, with the stamp commonly employed in Nebuchadnezzar's capital. For further comment on "Brick Inscriptions" from surface collections, cf. Robert McC. Adams and Hans J. Nissen, *The Uruk Countryside* (The University of Chicago Press, 1972), 217.

The inscriptions of importance for identifying the building uncovered in the 1972-73 season as a part of the Bagara of Ningirsu are these:

3H T1 (3H 59),¹² Fig. 1.

Rectangular stone bowl with inscription on side, Area B.¹³

^d nin-gír-sú	(To) Ningirsu
ba-gár-ra	of the Bagara,
u ₄ -bi-kur-ra	Ubikurra,
sukkal	the minister,
a-mu-na-ru	has dedicated (this) to him.

3H T2 (3H 64), Fig. 2.

Fragment of stone bowl, Area B.

[^d n]in-gír-sú	(To) Ningirsu
[ba]-[g]ár-ra	of the Bagara
[x]-nir-ki-du- ₁₀ -gi	x-nirkidugi
a-mu- ^r na-ru ⁷	has dedicated (this) to him.

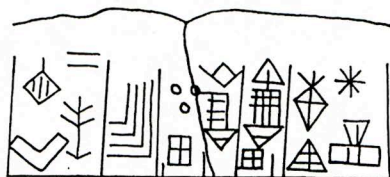


Fig. 1. 3H T1.

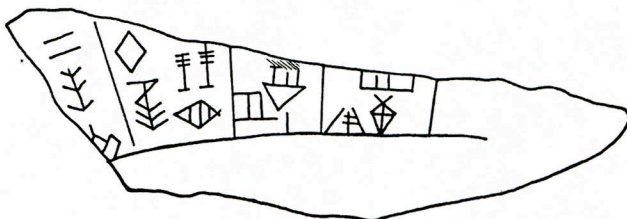


Fig. 2. 3H T2.

3H T6 (3H 63), Fig. 3.

Fragments of white stone macehead, Area B.

[^d n]in-	[(To) N]in ¹⁴
[gír-sú]	[girsu]
[ba-gár-ra]	[of the Bagara]
[]	[a personal]
[]	[name]
zadim	the stone cutter
dumu ama-zu:ab-si	son of Amaabzusi
zadim-ke ₄	the stone cutter
a-mu-na-ru	has dedicated (this) to him.

¹² 3H refers to the third season (1972-73) of excavations at Al-Hiba. T1 indicates the first text of a particular season. The number 39 after 3H indicates the number of that piece in the expedition's object catalogue. The copies are reduced to half size.

¹³ So far the Al-Hiba Expedition has dug in Area A, the Ibgal of Inanna; Area B, the Bagara of Ningirsu; Area C, an Early Dynastic administrative building; and Area G where a brief test was made in the

1972-73 season. Areas A, B, and C are widely separated. Since these areas have already been referred to in publications, *Artibus Asiae* 32 (1970), 243-250 and *Expedition* 14 (Winter, 1972), 12-20, the same letter designations have been used on the new contour map of the site to locate these areas.

¹⁴ Although only a part of the *nin* sign remains, the restoration is almost certainly correct.

3H T7 (3H 70),¹⁵ Fig. 4.

Copper/bronze knife blade, Area B.

Obv.: nin-gír-sú ba-gár-ra x x

(To) Ningirsu of the Bagara (a personal name?)

Rev.: nam-ti lugal-ni é-an-na-túm x NA ? ?

for the life of his king, Eannatum, (has dedicated
this to him, or some similar phrase)

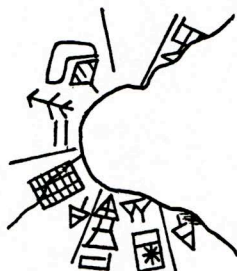


Fig. 3. 3H T6.

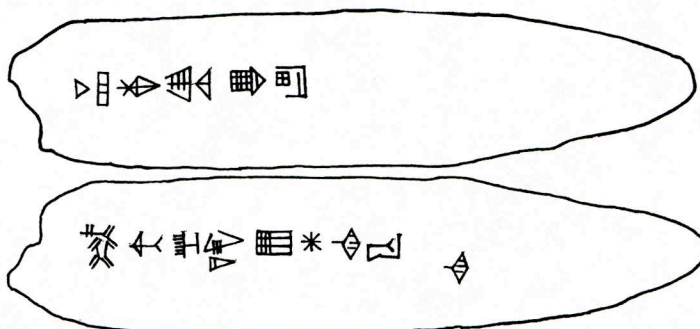


Fig. 4. 3H T7.

3H T11,¹⁶ Fig. 5.

Baked brick, Area B.

^anin-gír-su

ur-sag kala-ga

^aen-líl-lá

lugal ba-gará

lugal-a-ni

gù-dé-a

en_x-si

lagaša^{kl}-ke₄

é ba-gará-ka-ni

mu-na-dù

(To) Ningirsu
the mighty hero

of Enlil,
king of Bagara,

his king,

Gudea,

governor

of Lagash,

his temple of Bagara

has built for him.

¹⁵ When the blade was excavated, no writing at all was visible. It is due to the skill of our conservator, Miss Ann Searight, that as much is visible as appears in the copy. It may be that special photography or the use of X-ray will bring out more signs, such as the anticipated *dingir* sign before Ningirsu, and may perhaps make clearer those marked by *x* which cannot now be identified by me. Perhaps such treatment would even reveal signs where I can now see nothing but where I have put question marks.

¹⁶ Since *VS* I, 18 was incomplete and since the brick from Jacobsen's survey was never published, a copy of the Bagara brick from the third season at Al-Hiba is included. While I know that the *gár/gará* sign should have horizontal as well as vertical strokes in the fore portion of the sign, I did not put them in because I could not see them on this particular example of the inscription.

3H T12, Fig. 6.

Fragment of baked brick, Area B.

[eight lines missing]

[é ba-ga]rá-ka-ni

mu-na-d[ù]

Presumably the same text as
3H T11 but with the signs
placed slightly differently.

3H T15 (3H 79), Fig. 7.

Fragment of stone bowl, Area B.

The faint *an* and part of *nin* represent a false start by the stone-
cutter/scribe.

^anin-gír-[sú]

ba-gár-[ra]

[x lines missing]

(To) Ningirsu
of the Bagara

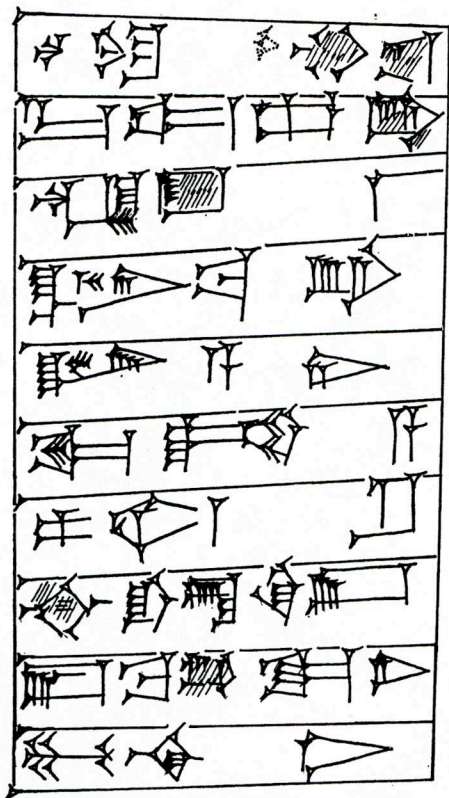


Fig. 5. 3H T11.

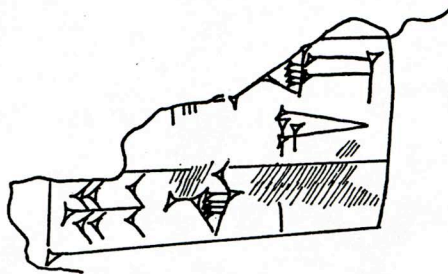


Fig. 6. 3H T12.

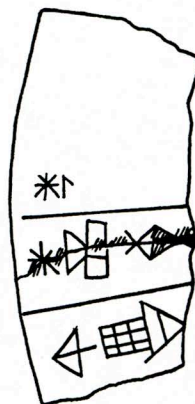


Fig. 7. 3H T15.

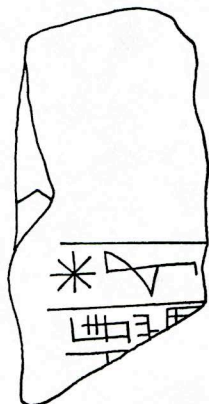


Fig. 8. 3H T3.



Fig. 9. 3H T4.



Fig. 11. 3H T8.

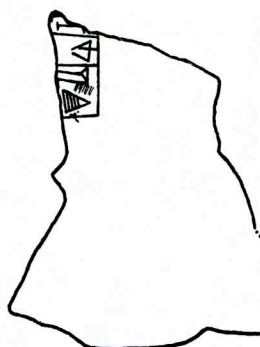


Fig. 10. 3H T5.



Fig. 12. 3H T9..

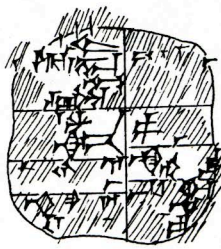
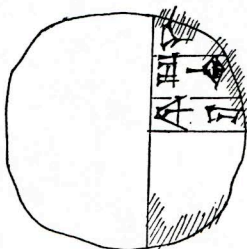


Fig. 13. 3H T10

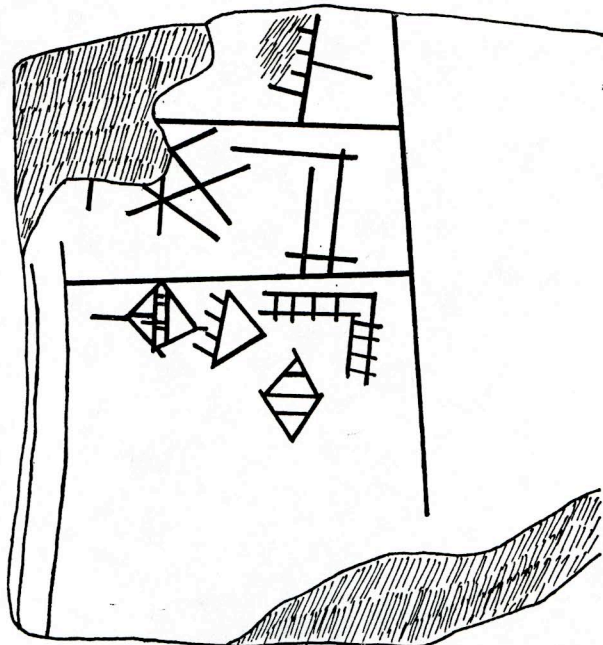
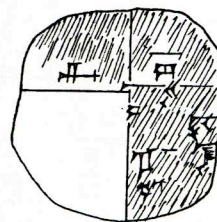


Fig. 14. 3H T13.



Fig. 15. 3H T14.

The Bagara of Ningirsu and the Ibgal of Inanna have, thus, been physically located on Tell al-Hiba by our expedition. If the excavations continue long enough, the temple of Gatumdu, the mother of Lagash, will surely be discovered also.¹⁷

It is quite clear, therefore, that Tell al-Hiba is the site of the ancient city of Lagash. The proper noun "Lagash" can qualify as the name of an area larger than Tell al-Hiba with two other important centres like Girsu (Telloh) and Nina (Surghul) only if Tell al-Hiba/ Uruku/Lagash is Lagash City of the State of Lagash comparable to New York City of the State of New York.

¹⁷ Since the inscriptions from the third season (1972-73) at Tell al-Hiba were only fifteen in number, it may be well to give the remainder of the lot with a minimum of comment. In this manner all of the inscriptions for the third season will appear in one single location.

3H T3, Fig. 8.

Fragment of rectangular stone, Area B.

This is a stray piece dedicated to Inanna. Note, however, in footnote 2 the remark about cones concerning the Ibgal of Inanna being found in a wadi near Area B while Area A itself is at least a mile away.

3H T4 (3H 69), Fig. 9.

Stone macehead with a small lower part missing, Area B.

The only signs preserved, and almost certainly the only signs there were, are the three shown in the copy.

Dudu is a very common name appearing both much earlier and much later than the time of Eannatum, Enannatum or Entemena when this macehead was probably made. Sollberger has given a selected list of men bearing the name Dudu in *Sumer* 13 (1957), 62-64. To Du-du-a, however, there is no satisfactory explanation, that is, if one takes -a as a grammatical element.

I was so engrossed with the name Du-du that I had so far overlooked another more satisfactory possibility suggested to me by R. D. Biggs, namely, that A-du is a name in his Abu Salabikh texts, e.g., *JCS* 20 (1966) 86, Fig. 4B. Why not A-du-du? Indeed, there are a number of references to A-du-du, e.g., *BRM* III

94:7, *YBT* IV 20:6 and seal; 208:95, 232:71, 264:63; *BLN* V 8:6, 277:133. These references are from Ur III texts.

3H T5, Fig. 10.

Fragment of stone macehead, Area B surface.

3H T8, Fig. 11.

Clay tablet inscribed on the obverse only, Area B.

3H T9, Fig. 12.

Clay tablet with obverse almost completely destroyed and the reverse almost completely blank, Area B.

3H T10, Fig. 13.

Clay tablet, badly vitrified, from Area C surface. Portions of an administrative building dug in this area in 1970-71 were badly burned. The name of Eannatum and his title as ensi of Lagash are clear in the left hand column of the obverse. Traces of the names and same titles of Enannatum I and Entemena appear in the right hand column. The reverse is a complete loss unless one knows what it is supposed to say.

3H T13, Fig. 14.

Fragment of baked brick, Area B surface. So far this is the only definite sign of the governor, Akurgal.

3H T14, Fig. 15.

Fragment of baked clay cylinder, Area B surface. The complete name of the wife of Enannatum I, a-ŠU.ME.EREN, has been supplied to me by the kindness of E. Sollberger. Cf. *Sumer* 14 (1958), 109-112.