71) The bilingual Gudea inscription CUSAS 17, 22: New readings and interpretations — The following suggestions are based on U. Gabbay’s readings in lines ii 5 and 7b of the unorthographically written divine names Gatumdu.g (um-ma-du-tu.g), mother of Lagašš,2) and Nindara (āIn’dá-ar), Nanše’s spouse in the pantheon of Lagaš, who is equated with the moon god Su’en in An-Anum III:65,3) and on the discussions of other difficulties in the text between the two authors.

Column ii is similar to Nanše Hymn4) 223-227:

\[
\text{in-dub-ba KA ţi-na-ka/kā, ga-lu-zi KA ţi-sā-a-bi, nīn um-ma Lagašš[-ra/da’]/ ki ţa-ra-[a],}
\]

\[
\text{Ča-túm-dú-ja [...] / KA bi [...] , ţànše(-er) KA ţi-sā-bi ka-[ga] mu-na-ab-[ģi-ne]}
\]

“The wise (Hendursāga5) who has firmly established these just judgments [fort(?)/together with(?)] the Lady, the Old Woman of Lagaš as (on) the boundary stone of law, has together with Gatumdu [...] these words, while con[firming(?)] these just judgments for Nanše.”

and to Hendursāga-Hymn6) 13-14:

\[\text{[...] ţi-Sīra, ţi(t’UD.MÁ.TAG.UN Ki) ni-ţa-da-gal-la-ba ţi-ra-du-bi za-e-me-en, [nam’-si]pa’ ģaṅg}
\]

\[\text{maḥ ţänše ţu-sa im-ma-gu[b], [bx] in-ni-ţin, ama ţanše ţa mu-di-nil-i-ku-su-ú}[u]
\]

\[\text{[...]] Lord of Sīra, you are the caretaker of the wide earth. [The office’ of she]pherd’ and august housekeeper of Nanše is put into your hands, so that the [...]Lady, mother Nanše consults you.”\]

We now transliterate ii 7’-9’:

\[\text{nīf ţu-ūr-sa-šē le un-ma ģi(?) In-dá-ar l zi’-du,1(I) KA-gi-na l inim-ma ţa-ğar}
\]

\[\text{i-na ma-śt-á-ti-im 1a la-bi-ra-tim l ša 4Su’en l k-i-ta-am l i-na pi-šu l [i]š-šu-nu 4Su’en l k-i-ta-am [...],}
\]

and translate ii 2’-9’:

ii 3’ The (words of) the boundary stone of law — whose boundary stones are firm

ii 4’-6’ the august housekeeper9) of Nanše and of the mother of Lagašš, Ummadutu.g10)

ii 7’ has phrased for harmony11) the wisdom12) of Nindara, righteous words of law13) —

ii 8’-9’: In vested tradition,14) by which Su’en has formulated law, Su’en [has let him promulgate(?)...]

law. [...]15)

We now render iii 6’-9’:

(When Nin-ģirsu)

\[\text{e-la}<\text{at> ma-qa-az(?) ţe le ţi-ba-ni-ț̣a-gar l e-la-ta-am l is-pu-nu-ма}
\]

\[\text{ii 8’-9’ kur e-HUL ju-ba-bi-ț̣a-gar l ma-śa-sú-nu l ú-{X}’-pár-ri-dam’}
\]

put the enemy troops on the slaughtering block l smote the enemy troops

and frightened the foreign land, l and frightened their land.18)

For iv 3c-4c, we now propose to read:

\[\text{gu-ug’šigš 1 hē’-em-t[a]-e11’ 10’ ma-ar-qı-a-am ú-[e]-ri-dam ma}
\]

I brought down green carnelian l I brought down green Marhaši carnelian.20)


3) For the connection of Sin to marshes and fishing, and his relation to Nanše, see N. Wasserman, *NABU* 1995/71 (with previous literature). Note also the myth Enki and the World Order, line 283, where Nanna may be restored in a context of marshes, before the episode with Nanše.


5) Hendursāga had rendered judgments in the previous section of the hymn.

6) P. Attinger and M. Krebernik, *’L.Hymne à Hendursāga, Hessuaga A’*, in R. Röllinger (ed.), *Von Sumer bis Homer*, AOAT 325 (Münster, Ugarit Verlag, 2005) 21-104 (the editors read and interpret differently).

7) Um-ma-du-tu- is written without the determinative for gods. It therefore could be absent before In’dá-ar, too. But i-st-a-am in iv 2b; 6a and ma-ar-qı-a-am in iv 4c speak against an [i+a>u] contraction (*ummu*).

8) A reading ģIn’dá-ar’=i-ka for Hendur-saŋ-ka (perhaps contaminated with ġNin-ģir-zı-dı; cf. Nanše hymn 238) seems less likely.
9) Ḫendur-saḫa-Hymn 14 (see above) suggests that this is the god Ḫendur-saḫa rather than Gudea, who is “mighty” (agrig kala-qa: Cyl. B xi11; Stat. D i 13-14) or “faithful (agrig zi: Frgm. 8+ ii’ 2’) housekeeper” of (mother) Nanke.

10) du-tu-ga (in i 5’-6’ clearly stands for -tūm-du-uru-ga; ur-um- and (Akkadian) ur-a-ma- may render ḠĀ. A haplograph for ur-um(a-ma) ḠĀ-tūm-du-ư seems possible. The somewhat enigmatic goddess was discussed by A. Falkenstein, Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagáš (AnOr 30, 1966) 72-73 and G. Selz, Untersuchungen zur Göterwelt des altsumerischen Städtestaates von Lagáš, OPSNF 13 (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Museum, 1995) 134-136. Her temple and cult personnel occur in Ur III economic documents (see, e.g., the indexes of TCTI 1-2) where offerings to her, which were scarce in ED times, seemingly go unmentioned.

11) nīg ma-ūr-sa-šē for nīg mur-sa₄-sa₄-še or: nīg-procs-ūr-sa₄-sa₄-še for nīg ur₃-sa₄-sa₄-še, lit.: “towards pleasant matters.”

12) Assuming that ur-ma stands here for ūmun = mummu, urmuṣqa, since “old woman” does not seem to fit this context as all (although ur-ma-du-tu-ga of i 5b may have triggered it); the Akkadian translation seems to regard this as an attribute to nīg(-)MU-ūr-sa₄ in spite of its terminative suffix. Legislation in its broader sense of creating harmony is reminiscent of Gudea’s care for social balance and the laws (nīg-gi-na) of Nanše and Nin-ĝirsu (Stat B vii 26-48) as well as of Nanše’s concern for cultic, social and lawful correctness in the Nanše hymn where the unfortunately fragmentary lines (223-231) stress Nanše’s and Gatumdu.g’s joint efforts to this end.

13) Or: gū ma-ni-ĝar “the wise Nindara demanded from me.”

14) Lit: “in ancient adequate (ways).” In accordance with the new understanding of i 7’a i-na ma-Zl-a-ti-im (i 8’a) should be a (hitherto unattested) fem. plural verbal substantive derived from maṣṣu: “in what is sufficient/adequate.”

15) Or; “let him speak truth.”

16) The half brackets in the edition should be pointed ones (signs not on the tablet).

17) The photograph allows the reading AZ; the tablet does not differentiate the signs AZ and UG. – ma-ga-az is a loan from malkaṣu.

18) HUL(HUL (with one vertical in the end instead of the broken one) is unorthographical for LUḪ LUḪ and LUḪ, to be read ḠULUL, and agrees with parāda; see CAD P, 142. ḠUL for LUḪ looks like an intentional palindrome; see M. Krebernik, “Zur Entwicklung des Sprachbewusstseins im Alten Orient,” in: C. Wilcke (ed.), Das geistige Erfassen der Welt im Alten Orient (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2007) 48. It is interesting to observe that this palindromic works on the level of logograms, not on those of phonemes or syllograms.

19) Or: ḫē-em-[t[a-A]. A’t (cf. iii 12’b)? The sign tentatively read “zā” in the edition is similar to the GAN in iii 12’a. Reading ḫē- is possible. This would then be the only precative/affirmative prefix written ḫē- in our text (ḫa- iii 6’b; ḫi- iii 12’b; ḫu- iv 5’).

20) See above, fn. 12 (UG also in lines v 12, 20) and the note to the line in the edition p. 46. The sign read SIG, is not absolutely certain. The series Abnu-šikinšu, line 9, mentions green (speckled) carnelian from Marḫaššī; see A. Schuster-Brandis, Steine als Schutz- und Heilmittel: Untersuchung zu ihrer Verwendung in der Beschworungskunst Mesopotamiens, AOAT 46 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2008) 26-9): NA₃,UG SIG; tak-pat NAₓ,UG Mar-[ḫa]-šu MU.NL. The Akkadian form ma-ar-GI-a-am looks like a contamination of warq’am and Marḫaššam, but a sculpture of a bear? (see CAD MI, 278b) cannot be ruled out.