

**Šulgi C: A Self-Laudatory Royal Hymn from
the Ur III Period:
A Revised Edition**

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Abstract

The current research focuses on the Neo-Sumerian royal hymn 'Šulgi C'. Šulgi (Shulgi) was the second king of the Ur III dynasty, who reigned over Mesopotamia for 48 years during the 21st century BCE. Šulgi C is one of 23 hymns which were composed in his honor during Šulgi's reign.

The royal hymns of Šulgi are considered a unique genre within Sumerian hymnology. They are characterized by an archaic vocabulary and orthographical forms, a complicated syntactic structure, and by their variety of topics. Some scholars have pointed to the possible historical contexts of the composition of these hymns, and the historical events poetically alluded to within them, from a historical perspective (Frayne 1981; 1997). Jacob Klein, the supervisor of this project, has made an in-depth study of this unique corpus. Many Šulgi hymns were edited by Klein (Šulgi A, D, G, K, O, P, R and V; the self-laudatory hymn Šulgi E is in preparation). Klein's editions of Šulgi hymns influenced the ongoing study of this genre, and formed the basis for the preparation of the editions of other hymns that have not yet been published. K. Lämmerhirt (Universität Heidelberg, Germany) edited the self-laudatory hymn Šulgi F. Another important self-laudatory hymn without recent edition is Šulgi B, the edition of which is still in preparation by L. Vacín (Westfälische Wilhelms Universität, Münster, Germany).

Šulgi C is one of the longest self-laudatory hymns of the king. Originally, the hymn likely contained about 450 poetic lines, of which about 350 lines have been preserved. Throughout the hymn Šulgi boasts about being the perfect king and man. The long hymn is divided into stanzas by a three-line-refrain, in which Šulgi calls on the audience to acknowledge his great leadership by prayers, songs, and praising hymns. The refrain is repeated at least 10 times throughout the reconstructed hymn, dividing it into 11 stanzas. The stanzas differ from each other in length and literary structure, as each of which is dedicated to describing a different attribute of the king.

Unfortunately the hymn has not been preserved in its entirety. The first seven stanzas were reconstructed consecutively, though not completely, and they stand together as Segment A of the hymn. Individual signs from the opening lines of the eighth stanza were preserved and edited following the seventh stanza. The last three stanzas (9-11) were also reconstructed in sequence and constitute Segment B of the

hymn. The end of the eleventh stanza is badly damaged. Segment C, which includes about twenty lines of the hymn, possibly comes from the end of the eleventh stanza.

The principal aim of this study is, therefore, to present a revised edition of Segment A of this hymn, on the basis of all its currently known duplicates. A second, important aim of this study is to provide a literary analysis of the composition on the basis of the new edition. Accordingly, this study consists of two main parts: The first part contains a survey of the Sumerian royal hymnology and the composing of Šulgi hymns in general, and a literary analysis of Šulgi C in particular. The second part of this study presents a full edition of Šulgi C Segment A. The edition includes a transliteration of the Sumerian source, an English translation, a philological commentary and a full score of the variant readings. The edition is preceded by a literary introduction to each of the stanzas of Segment A (1-8). The introduction contains a literary discussion of the content and structure of the stanzas, a cultic and historical background, a description of their relation to the other Šulgi hymns and an analysis of its peculiar orthography and grammar, with special attention to the archaic writings and grammatical forms. The edition is based on all the sources of the hymn (from high quality photographs and from the original), including newly identified duplicates that were not included in previous studies of the hymn. In particular, the study includes the following themes and topics:

1. Introduction to Šulgi C

The introduction describes the genre of the Sumerian Royal Hymns from several aspects: their literary genres and typology; and the reflection of the idea of 'Divine Kingship' in them. This general discussion of the royal hymnology is followed by a discussion of the typology of the royal hymns of Šulgi and their 'Sitz im Leben', including an extended discussion of: Šulgi hymns with political or cultic Narratives; the self-laudatory hymns of Šulgi; and the questions of historicity, authorship and function in the self-laudatory. A specific discussion of the present hymn of Šulgi C will be presented afterwards, with a detailed literary analysis of its general description; the refrain and other repetitive motifs; its content and structure and the division into stanzas; the characteristics of the current edition of Šulgi C Segment A; the topics about to be discussed during the future part of the study regarding Segments B and C: the historical context of the hymn, the relationship between the stanzas and

the presentation of the Sumerian pantheon in this hymn. This part of the present study ends with a description of the process of the reconstruction of the text: the state of the research until today; the duplicates of the composition; their typology and the relationship between them.

2. Revised edition of Šulgi C Segment A

The edition of Šulgi C Segment A is preceded by an introduction which includes: a literary analysis of each of the stanzas 1-8, regarding their cultic and historical background; a special discussion is devoted to the syntactic and literary structure of the refrain. The introduction also refers to the implications of this analysis on broader issues relating to Sumerian royal hymns in general and to Šulgi hymns in particular, and takes into account new evidence from later studies of Šulgi and his royalty. Observations as to the archaic language and the unique orthography and spelling of Šulgi C Segment A follow the literary introductions. The revised edition contains the following major parts: (a) a list of duplicates of Šulgi C - Segment A; (b) a composite transliteration accompanied by a new English translation; (c) running philological commentary of the hymn; (d) a full score of the different variants.

1. Šulgi C

1.1. Sumerian Royal Hymns - Literary Background

1.1.1. Genres and Typology

The Sumerian hymnal corpus is divided by scholars into three major categories: Divine Hymns, i.e. hymns dedicated to gods; Royal Hymns, i.e. hymns dedicated to kings; and Temple Hymns, i.e. hymns dedicated to temples.¹ The earliest royal hymns appear in the time of Gudea of Lagaš. This literary genre flourished during the Ur III, Isin-Larsa, and the late Old-Babylonian periods (between the 21st–17th centuries BCE). The emergence of royal hymnology may be related to the ideology of divine kingship (see discussion below).²

Approximately 130 Sumerian royal hymns are currently known to us. The majority of these hymns are dedicated to the praise of kings from four major dynasties. About 45 hymns belong to the time of the third dynasty of Ur, including all the kings of this dynasty. 45 hymns belong to kings of Isin, 14 hymns belong to kings of Larsa, and 17 hymns belong to the first dynasty of Babylon.³

In general, there are two major types of royal hymns. Type A, the genuine royal hymns which are primarily dedicated to the king, in which the king is the central object of the praise; and Type B, the hymns which are dedicated to a god with a prayer for the king.⁴ Therefore, it is generally assumed that the royal hymns with

¹ See conclusion by Brisch 2007, 9ff.; Kramer 1963, 205–207; Klein 1981a, 21–22.

² Klein 1981a, 21–28; Ludwig 1990, 27–40.

³ See further Klein 1981a, 24 n. 16; Cohen 2005, 73ff.; Sjöberg 2005, 291ff.; Brisch 2007, 19ff.

⁴ For discussions of the generic classification of the royal hymns, see Kramer 1963, 205–207; Falkenstein–von Soden 1953, 85–114 nn.16–23; see Falkenstein 1952, 61–62. Cf. as well Römer 1965, 5–6; Klein 1981a, 25–28. It should be pointed out that a literary and generic classification of the Sumerian royal hymns is a very complicated task that is hampered by great difficulties. Although the ancient scribes provided a great part of the hymns with generic subscripts and cultic rubrics, the meanings of these notations are not always clear. In addition, not all of the hymnal genres and types are represented by significant examples. Moreover, there are great differences in form and content in royal hymns of different periods and kingdoms between Sumer and Babylonia. Finally, there are many

prayers to a god (Type B) were used in worship and recited in the temple, whereas the genuine royal hymns (Type A) were used in royal ceremonies that took place in the palace.⁵

As a rule, the royal hymns of Type B are provided with liturgical notations and generic subscripts naming the deity to whom the particular hymn is dedicated. The most popular royal prayer is the *adab* (written: a-da-ab), whose basic structure consists of three parts: *sagida* (sa-gíd-da), *saġara* (sa-ġar-ra) and a short *urubi* (u₁₈-ru₁₂-bi-im). Occasionally the *tigi*-hymn, which is normally a divine hymn, can serve as a royal prayer. On the other hand, the royal hymns of Type A lack such notations. These hymns commonly end with the doxology *zà-mí* and can be dedicated to Nisaba, the scribe goddess, or to another deity, and occasionally to the king himself.⁶

In genuine royal hymns, the poet praises the king and speaks to him in the second person or about him in the third person. However, another unique sub-type of these hymns is the self-laudatory royal hymns, i.e. hymns in which the king praises himself in the first person.

The typical content and structure of the genuine royal hymns are as follows: 1. A prologue describing in general terms the king's genealogy, royal titles, and power; 2. Several short psalms, each glorifying the king from a different aspect; and 3. An epilogue which summarizes the major qualities of the king. Occasionally, the hymn concludes with a call to praise the king and his dynasty forever. The second major part of these genuine royal hymns usually praises the greatness of the king in every aspect of his life, private or public. These praises often include themes such as wisdom, justice, religious piety, providing for the temples, military strength, and other extraordinary qualities.⁷

hymns which exhibit mixture of different genres. Therefore, the following classification of Sumerian royal hymns in general, and the Šulgi hymns in particular, is preliminary and presented here with due reservation.

⁵ This hypothesis was first suggested by Falkenstein (1950, 83ff.); see also Wilcke 1975, 543–544. According to Reisman (1970, 39–40), even the genuine royal hymns without liturgical notations could have their setting in the cult. For a summary of the various opinions see Klein 1981a, 25–26 n. 20; idem 1981a, 18 n.71; Brisch 2007, 10f.

⁶ Especially the concluding lines of the following Šulgi hymns: Šulgi B ll. 384–385; Šulgi F, l. e.70 (cf. Lämmerhirt 2012, 54; Šulgi X ll. 159–160; Šulgi E l. 257.

⁷ See e.g. Römer 1965, 5–57; Klein 1981b, 28; Brisch 2007, 27ff.

1.1.2. Sumerian Royal Hymns and Divine Kingship

Royal hymns, along with other Sumerian texts of different genres, often reflect the concept of divine kingship and attribute godly status to the king. The most important indication of the king's deification is the appearance of a divine determinative before his personal name. The kings of the Akkadian dynasty were already using this practice, in their hymns, royal inscriptions, lists of year names, etc.⁸ Of the Ur III kings, Šulgi was the first to use this practice. However, a survey of his inscriptions shows that he only adopted this practice from the middle of his reign.⁹ Šulgi's successors followed the same practice from their ascension to the throne. Among the Ur III kings, Šulgi may therefore be considered the founder of the institution of divine kingship.

Another manifestation of the idea of divine kingship is the royal claim of divine parentage. Royal inscriptions and hymns sometimes refer to a mythical birth of the king by a divine parent. At the same time, these kings did not deny their human parentage.¹⁰

A further aspect of divine kingship is the worship of kings in their own temples. This practice is documented in royal inscriptions and economic texts from the times of the Ur III dynasty. The texts testify to the worship of these kings in temples dedicated to them both throughout their lifetime and posthumously.¹¹ King Šulgi, the focus of the current study, erected temples for himself in Lagaš, Umma, and Drehem, but not in Ur itself, where the temple of the tutelary god, Nanna-Šîn, was located. This indicates that despite his self-deification, Šulgi considered himself inferior to the genuine gods.

The emergence of the genre of royal hymns seems to attest to the divine status of the Sumerian kings. The addressing of the hymns to the king himself, as well as

⁸ Klein 1981a, 30 with n. 42.

⁹ Note, however, that in the royal hymns of both Ur-Namma, Šulgi's father and Šulgi himself, which were copied in the OB period, as a rule, the names of these kings is provided with the divine determinative. Only in some duplicates of hymns with archaic Ur III orthography we find his name written without the divine determinative (cf. Klein, *ibid*; idem 1981b, 29).

¹⁰ Note, however, that this notion originated in the Early Dynastic period. The very first king to claim divine parentage was Mesilim, king of Kiš, who presented himself as the son of Ninhursaĝ. In later times, different deities were mentioned as divine parents of kings, including An, Enlil, Enki, Šamaš, Nanna, Ninsun, Šara, Dagan, Iškur, Nergal, and Marduk (cf. Sjöberg 1972).

¹¹ Cf. Klein 1981a, 31 n.43.

him being praised as a god and given divine attributes, seems to be an application of a literary genre to the kings, otherwise limited to the gods.¹²

¹² Cf. Klein 1981a, 29; idem 2006, 119ff.

1.2. The Royal Hymns of Šulgi

Šulgi of Ur was the second king of the third dynasty of Ur (Ur III), a new dynasty which brought with it a political and religious renaissance for Sumer. Since his father, Ur-Namma, was killed in a war with the Guteans, he ascended the throne in a very young age and ruled over Sumer for 48 years. During his reign, Šulgi expanded and consolidated the Ur III empire, and strengthened the centralized administration of his father Ur-Namma. He did this with a series of political, economic and religious reforms, one of which was his self-deification. Under Šulgi's reign, the Ur III state reached unprecedented heights in the sphere of political and economic organization, as well as religious, cultural, and literary activities. It is generally assumed that a great part of Sumerian literature, including the classical epics of the kings of the first dynasty of Uruk (Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, and Gilgameš), was composed at the time of Šulgi.¹³

As befitting his greatness and fame, Šulgi was the most celebrated Neo-Sumerian king in hymns and prayers of all kinds. His hymnal corpus contains over 20 hymns, which are the longest and finest examples of this literary genre.¹⁴ Išme-Dagan of the Isin dynasty is the only king with a comparable number of hymns dedicated to him.¹⁵

The most unique feature of the Šulgi hymns relates to their numerous copies, all of which come from the Old Babylonian (OB) period. It has been observed that some of these copies exhibit orthographical and grammatical peculiarities, as well as peculiar phonetic writings, which are archaic survivals from the Ur III period. These archaic features, as attested in duplicates which were not modernized by OB scribes, indicate that the Šulgi hymns were transmitted by a relatively accurate written tradition.¹⁶

¹³ See Klein 2013, 11ff. Note, however, that most of the Sumerian literature composed in the Third Millennium BCE, including the Šulgi hymns, survived only in copies from the OB period.

¹⁴ For a first comprehensive bibliography of the Šulgi hymns, see Klein, 1981b, 38–43; 222–224 ("Classification of the Šulgi Hymns"). Klein's bibliography was updated in the following lists: Frayne 1997, 92ff. (discussion of Šulgi's year-names); Sallaberger 2012, 276–278. See further Peterson 2011, 147–177 (additional duplicates to the following Šulgi hymns: A, B, C, E, F, H, N, O, P, X).

¹⁵ The hymnal corpus of Išme-Dagan contains ca. 28 hymns. For a full bibliography, see Ludwig 1990, 2–26; ETCSL 2.5.4.01–2.5.4.b.

¹⁶ These archaic features were discussed by Klein in his numerous publications. See Klein 1981a, 64–70; 131–134; idem 1989b, 291; 1990, 96–100; 2005, 135–152.

1.2.1. 'Sitz im Leben'

In all, the Šulgi hymns, like all subsequent examples of this genre, contain both types: genuine royal hymns and royal prayers.¹⁷ However, there is one unique feature which makes the Šulgi hymns different from the royal hymns of subsequent generations. A great many of these hymns contain interesting religious and historical narratives, inserted in a hymnal framework. These narratives are usually placed between a hymnal prologue and a hymnal epilogue.

It has been suggested that some of the royal hymns in general were composed during particular historical or cultic events. Such events were also commemorated in corresponding year names and royal inscriptions.¹⁸ This observation is also true for a number of the Šulgi hymns.¹⁹ The following two hymns of Šulgi demonstrate this idea:

Šulgi T (a *tigi*-hymn for the god Ninurta) exhibits the following structure: A praise of Ninurta (*sagida*) followed by the election of Šulgi for kingship by Ninurta (*sağara*). This is followed by a wish that Ninurta should bless Šulgi with longevity and prosperous years (*ğišgiğal*). According to Frayne, this hymn was composed for the dedication of Ninurta's temple, which took place in Šulgi's 5th regnal year, named: mu uš é^dnin-urta ki ba-a-ğar "The year the foundations of the temple of Ninurta were laid".²⁰

Similarly, Šulgi U,²¹ which seems to be an *adab* of Nergal, could have been composed for the dedication of a temple for Nergal. This is mentioned in the year name of Šulgi's 37th regnal year: mu é^dnergall ba-dù "The year the temple of Nergal was built".²²

The following incomplete survey of this corpus will first describe the Šulgi hymns which contain religious or political narratives. The "self-laudatory" hymns will

¹⁷ The following 12 Šulgi hymns may be considered cultic royal prayers: G (adab of Enlil), H (adab of Nīnlīl), L (tigi of Šulgi), M (adab of Ninšubur), Q (adab[?] of Utu), R (tigi of Nīnlīl), S (šīr-nam-erim₂-ma of the Anuna), T (tigi of Ninurta), U[?] (adab of Nergal), Z (balbale[?] of Inana), NES 48-07-118 (Cohen 2005, 73-84 – tigi of Enki) and UET 6/3, 522 (unknown type).

¹⁸ Frayne 1981.

¹⁹ We can find such correlations in the following eight Šulgi hymns: A, B, C, D, F, R, T and U. Cf. Frayne 1997, 91–110.

²⁰ Frayne 1997, 94.

²¹ The fragmentary hymnal text Ash 1911 236 (BL 195A).

²² Frayne, *ibid.*, 106.

then be summarized, following with the unique hymns which deal with the purpose and composition of Šulgi's royal hymns.

1.2.1.1. Hymns with Political or Cultic Narratives

The Šulgi hymns with unique political or cultic narratives contain both royal prayers and genuine royal hymns. Most of these hymns describe the special and intimate relationship of the king with one of the major deities of Sumer. There are at least four short "royal prayers". These contain unique religious narratives, which tell of Šulgi's pious deeds in relation to Nippur and its patron deities Enlil and Ninlil.

Šulgi G (an *adab* of Enlil) recounts the miraculous birth of Šulgi in the Ekur temple to his father and a priestess. It also tells of his providing of the temple with regular rich meal offerings as a king, and his blessing by Enlil with a firm and prosperous reign.²³

Šulgi R (an *adab* of Ninlil) commemorates the construction of a cultic procession boat by Šulgi for Ninlil and its dedication ceremony, including the sailing of the boat to the Tummal during a festive banquet. This hymn concludes with the blessings that the great gods heaped upon the king as a reward for his deed.²⁴

Šulgi P is a genuine royal hymn, in which only the narrative part was preserved. This hymn recounts how Ninsun, Šulgi's divine mother, intercedes to An for Šulgi and requests him to approve Šulgi's kingship. An accepted her prayer and Šulgi is crowned in Uruk's divine assembly.²⁵

Šulgi O is a longer but fragmentary genuine royal hymn. This hymn was likely composed for the occasion of installing a statue of Gilgameš, Šulgi's divine "brother", in the Ekišnugal, the temple of the moon-god in Ur. After the installation of the statue, the two "brother-peers" praise the heroic deeds of one another.²⁶

The annual sacred marriage between Šulgi and the love and fertility goddess Inana is the subject of Šulgi Z. This hymn is a dialogue between Šulgi and the

²³ Cf. Klein 1991.

²⁴ Cf. Klein 1990, 100–136. This hymn commemorates a cultic event mentioned in the name of Šulgi's 8th regnal year: mu má ^dnin-líl-lá ba-du₈ "The year the boat of Ninlil was caulked."

²⁵ Klein 1981b, 21–42.

²⁶ Klein 1976.

goddess. The hymn invites her to Šulgi's fields, gardens, and orchards, to fructify them by means of various cultic rites.²⁷

The hymnal repertoire of Šulgi also contains two longer genuine royal hymns, dedicated to Nanna, the patron deity of Ur. These hymns, which may be compared in length and literary beauty to the great epics of Sumerian literature, are dedicated to the ancient heroes of Uruk, Enmerkar and Gilgameš.

Šulgi F is a hymnal-epic of about 300 lines which describes Šulgi's coronation in Ur following his election by Nanna and Enlil's approval.²⁸ The hymn ends with Šulgi's self-praise and boasts that he provides Sumer with prosperity and defeats all its enemies.²⁹

Šulgi D+X³⁰ is a hymnal epic of over 600 lines. Its complex structure and poetic sophistication can be compared to the great classical epics of Enmerkar, Lugalbanda, and Gilgameš. The narrative part of this hymn describes Šulgi's war against Gutium, avenging the destruction of Sumer, and the death of his father by the Gutians. It also tells of his victorious return to Ur and his passing through Nippur and other major cities.³¹

1.2.1.2. Self-Laudatory Hymns

In the self-laudatory hymns, Šulgi is represented as praising himself in the first person and boasting of his achievements in all areas of private and public life. In these hymns, the king's personality as an ideal type of human being is brought to the forefront.

Two short self-laudatory hymns containing cultic events are Šulgi A and Šulgi Y. In Šulgi A, the king reports of having constructed a road connecting Nippur to Ur

²⁷ Cf. Kramer 1969a.

²⁸ Accordingly, Frayne assumes that this hymn corresponds to the name of the first regnal year of Šulgi: *mu Šulgi lugal* (Frayne 1997, 92–93).

²⁹ Lämmerhirt 2012, 37–61.

³⁰ For the hypothesis that Šulgi X is probably the end of Šulgi D, see Klein 1981b, 124.

³¹ Klein, 1981b, 72–88. This composition ends with a *zà-mí* doxology for both the moon god and the goddess Nisaba. According to Wilcke (1974, 197 n. 84), this hymn was composed in the first year of Šulgi's reign; according to Frayne (1997, 92–93), the end of this hymns describes Šulgi's coronation in Ur.

with caravan stations. Šulgi tells us that he dedicated it by running back and forth between the two cities amidst a rain-storm and celebrating the *èš-èš* in both cities on the same day.³²

In Šulgi Y, Šulgi tells us that he installed a golden statue of himself in the courtyard of Ninlil's temple in Nippur. In addition, he collected all sorts of treasures for the goddess and provided her with copious offerings.³³

The longest and most representative of these hymns is Šulgi B, which contains close to 385 lines.³⁴ In this hymn, Šulgi portrays himself as the ideal ruler and a combination of sage, soldier, sportsman, diviner, diplomat, patron of learning, and provider of all good things for his land and people. The different themes of self-praise in this hymn are separated by the following refrain (ll. 52–55):

níĝ ak-a-ĝá ní-bi ga-buluĝ₅
kala-ga-ĝá mu-bi á bí-sù-ud
ĝeštu₂-ĝu₁₀ níĝ galam-ma sù-ga-àm
a-na-ĝu₁₀ níĝ ka-ge dib-ba nu
"Let me extol my achievements!
The fame of my power is spread far and wide,
My wisdom is full of subtleties,
My achievements surpass all qualifications!"³⁵

Another, rather long, self-laudatory hymn is Šulgi C, in which Šulgi praises himself in similar terms.³⁶

³² Falkenstein 1952, 61–91; Kramer 1969b, 584–586; revised edition: Klein 1981a, 182–217. The events commemorated in this hymn correspond to the names of Šulgi's 7th regnal year: mu ĝir nibru^{ki} si bí-sá-a "The year, the Nippur road was put in order"; and mu lugal-e uri₂^{ki}-ta nibru^{ki}-šè šu in-niĝin₂ "The year the king made a round-trip between Ur and Nippur".

³³ Falkenstein 1960, 139–150; Klein 1981a, 43 n. 83.

³⁴ A private, unpublished edition of this hymn, prepared by G. Haayer, is in possession of Prof. Klein. For the time being see ETCSL 2.4.2.02.

³⁵ Note that in ll. 377–379 Šulgi refers to his palace, the Eĥursaĝ. Accordingly, it is generally assumed that this hymn was composed on the occasion of the building of the Eĥursaĝ, commemorated in the 10th regnal year of Šulgi: mu é-hur-saĝ lugal ba-dù "The year the king built the Eĥursaĝ" (cf. Frayne 1997, 98–99). Another historical event, possibly mentioned in ll. 98–99 of this hymn, is the conscription of lancers in Šulgi's army, which is the subject of Šulgi Year 20.

³⁶ For this hymn, the subject of the present research, see below.

1.2.1.3. Historicity, Authorship and Function in the Self-Laudatory Šulgi Hymns

One of the topics receiving a unique reference in the self-laudatory hymns of Šulgi is the purpose of composing the hymns and the occasions on which the hymns were performed. This theme develops in a special way in the three long self-laudatory hymns: Šulgi B (discussed above), Šulgi C, which is the subject of the current work, and Šulgi E (discussed below). In these three hymns, Šulgi repeatedly mentions three different genres of poetic compositions that were composed and performed in his honor: *šudu*₃ "prayer"; *zà-mí* "praise"; and *šir* "song". All three are mentioned in the three-line refrain rhyming Šulgi C, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

Toward the end of Šulgi B, Šulgi tells us that he established two academies in Ur and Nippur. It is in these academies that his hymns should be copied and transmitted to future generations. He then expresses a wish that any future king should respect his hymns and prayers and should have them recited in the cult and in his palace.³⁷

One of the most interesting self-laudatory hymn in the corpus under discussion is Šulgi E, a poetic composition relating to the historicity, authorship, and purpose of Šulgi's hymns.³⁸ In this composition, Šulgi praises both his genuine royal hymns and royal prayers, and informs us of their purpose and function. In the introduction to this hymn, Šulgi tells us that he commissioned his master poets to compose for him all types of hymns in order to commemorate his extraordinary achievements. He also declares that everything written in his hymns is true to the very last word. After having stressed the uniqueness of his hymns, he then declares their function. The hymns were composed so that his wisdom and greatness would properly be praised both in his lifetime and after his death, in the Ekur temple and at the monthly festivals of Enlil and Ninlil by the cultic singers (lines 1–62). In the second part of the hymn, Šulgi urges any future king to take care that his hymns be performed regularly in the Ekur after his death. He then curses any king who will neglect his songs or remove his name from them (ll. 74–55), and blesses any king who will preserve his hymns and

³⁷ Šulgi B ll. 305ff.

³⁸ An edition of this hymn by J. Klein is forthcoming. For the time being, cf. ETCSL 2.4.2.05. See also Klein 1981b, 18–21; idem 2006a.

who will have them sung in the cult (ll. 159–190). In the long epilogue of the hymn, Šulgi says that in order for his songs to never pass from memory, he supported the scribal schools (eduba) where his hymns were copied and saved for all posterity. Consequently, the scribe should read out the hymns before the illiterate singer who in turn will chant them in the cult-places (ll. 236–257).

Finally, Šulgi requests that he shine through prayers and songs "like the heavenly stars" (mul-an-gen₇), as seen in Šulgi B (l. 364) and in the refrain which repeats throughout and Šulgi C. In Šulgi E, he clarifies his wish that through his praises, songs and prayers, both oral and written, Šulgi's name will be remembered for generations, like the stars that shine forever (ll. 240–241, 246):

èn-du-ĝu₁₀ ka-ga₁₄ hé-ĝál

šìr-ĝu₁₀ ĝeštu₂-ge na-an-dib-bé

é-ĝeštu₂-^dnisaba níĝ-umun₂-a gal-gal mu-bi-šè mul-an kù-gen₇ bí-sar

"Let my poems stay on every mouth,

Let my song not pass from every ear ...

Let them be written like the heavenly stars".³⁹

³⁹ A similar idea appears in the epilogue of Šulgi V (ll. 30–33), which also describes like Šulgi A, the cultic run that the king performed between the two cities of Nippur and Ur (see above). Šulgi V was apparently composed as a dedication inscription for a statue of Šulgi that was placed in the Ekur, the temple of the god Enlil in Nippur (Klein 1985; Frayne 1997, 3.1.2.54; Ludwig 1990, 75ff).

1.3. Šulgi C - Literary Background

1.3.1. General Description

Šulgi C is a self-laudatory *zà-mí* hymn. The speaker in this hymn is king Šulgi himself. He lists his extraordinary qualities and his achievements in the private and public spheres and portrays himself as a perfect person and an ideal king.⁴⁰

Šulgi C is one of the longest hymns of Šulgi. It contains at least 360 poetic lines (similar to Šulgi B, which is 385 lines long; only Šulgi D+X is longer, having over 600 poetic lines long). As part of the review of the king's multiple talents, the hymn deals with many aspects related to the conduct of the ancient Sumerian kingdom. Therefore, this hymn is of paramount importance in its contribution to our understanding of the conduct of the government institutions under Šulgi's reign. This includes the variety of fields and events in which the king participated and through which he revealed his extraordinary qualities.

As already mentioned above, the discussion of Šulgi C is connected to the discussion of two other self-laudatory hymns of Šulgi, Šulgi B and Šulgi E.⁴¹ Like Šulgi C, these two hymns review a wide selection of events and institutions associated with the administration of the Sumerian kingdom under Šulgi's dominion, as well as the various roles of the king within these institutions. Therefore, the events in which the king takes part and the royal and civil institutions that receive reference in these hymns should be examined within the framework of a comparative discussion between these three important hymns.

⁴⁰ A preliminary survey was already presented by Klein 1981b, pp. 15–16 nn. 59–65.

⁴¹ For a literary and thematic comparison between Šulgi B and Šulgi C, see Klein, *ibid.*

1.3.2. Refrain and other Repetitive Motifs

Šulgi C includes several types of refrain. The first type is what Claus Wilcke called Type A, a poetic line or a phrase that repeats throughout the composition in different contexts.⁴² Compare the two poetic lines: "I am Šulgi the right shepherd of Sumer!" (ll. 104; 140; 170; b10); and: "(Like) my brother and friend Gilgameš" (ll. 105; c10).

These two poetic phrases allude to the primordial divine qualities that Šulgi ascribes to himself, such as being a divine king by birth and a member of a family of divine heroes who reigned over Sumer in ancient times. Due to such qualities, he is the source of all wisdom and skills. It is noteworthy that these two poetic lines appear only in the hymns of Šulgi: they are not used to praise any other Sumerian king.

Two other phrases repeating throughout Šulgi C are: in-ga-me-(en)-na-ta "since I am also", or "since I am both", meaning: "since I am talented in both fields detailed below"; and: á-bi-šè in-ga-zu "I know them (both) to their limit" meaning: "I am well-versed in both of these areas of knowledge".

These two poetic phrases are interlinked within more complex syntactic structures, and they characterize Šulgi's efforts to enumerate his many unique qualities and talents in the first person. Accordingly, these two phrases are especially characteristic of Šulgi C and are not present in his other hymns.

Yet the most central poetic trait of Šulgi C is the type of refrain that Wilcke denoted as Type B: a sequence of several lines that repeats throughout the entire composition. The refrain of Šulgi C includes three long poetic lines with a complex structure in which Šulgi calls on the audience to reveal his great royalty and leadership by prayers, songs, and praising hymns:

ur-saĝ-me-èn mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-éš hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne
sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne
zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šir-re-éš hé-em-e-ne

"I am a hero! Let them invoke my name faithfully!

I am a shepherd! Let them make me sparkle in prayers like the heavenly stars!

Let them sing my great hymns that are most appropriate to the mouth!"⁴³

⁴² Wilcke 1976, 214–217 sub. 2.3. Refrain.

⁴³ Lines 18–20, 32–34, 49–51, 81–83, 111–113, 141–143, 181–183, b17–19, b71–73, c20–22.

The refrain repeats at least 10 times throughout the reconstructed hymn, dividing it into stanzas of varying lengths, and consolidating it under one central idea. In addition, some of the literary elements that appear in the refrain connect it with the hymn itself.

For example, the first two lines of the refrain open with a two-part statement: "I am a hero // I am a shepherd", referring to the two-part statement with which the hymn opens: "I am a king // I am Šulgi". These declarations recur throughout the hymn, as do the epithets 'king', 'shepherd', and 'hero'. These epithets express a wide selection of meanings, revealed in their varied literary contexts. Moreover, each of Šulgi's skills and virtues, which are associated with being the king of Sumer, the shepherd of the land, and the hero of its people, takes on a dual meaning throughout the hymn: inward toward the land of Sumer, and outward toward the kingdom's enemies.

Another feature that connects the refrain with the rest of the hymn is the use of the first person enclitic copula *-men*, "I am". This copula appears dozens of times throughout the hymn. In the first stanza, it appears at the end of all lines, while later it occurs at the end of the opening and closing lines, framing each stanza as well as smaller literary units.

Furthermore, in the refrain Šulgi asks to shine in prayers and songs "like the heavenly stars". This phrase describes, among other things, the literary compositions authored in honor of the king as royal-divine attributes. These attributes appear in temples, palaces, and schools, alongside other royal attributes of Šulgi such as his glamor and radiance that declare him as destined for royalty. This was already the case at birth with the characteristics of his body: "I am of lustrous head and body" (l. 4); then in the royal palace: "I am dressed in a shining *ba*-garment, adorned with a staff" (l. 7); "radiating in the *men*-diadem" (l. 24); and on the battlefield: "a lapis-lazuli *šita*-mace... (and) the serrated sword of heaven" (ll. 12–13). Finally, 'shining like heavenly stars' may be viewed Šulgi as a star already during his lifetime, or at least as a prefiguration of him as a star after his death.⁴⁴

⁴⁴ For which see conclusion by Steinkeller, 2013, 459f. with n. 1.

In addition to the refrain's role as a consolidating factor of the hymn, it also has the role of dividing it into stanzas, the literary units from which the hymn is formed; which will be the subject of the discussion below.

1.3.3. Content and Structure - Division into Stanzas

Šulgi C consists of at least eleven stanzas, differing from each other in length and literary structure, with each stanza dedicated to describing a different attribute of the king. Each of the stanzas stands as an independent literary unit according to its content and structure, followed by the lines of the refrain. The refrain typically shares some literary motifs with the stanza to which it is linked. The stanzas may be described as separate poems, arranged from the shortest to the longest, and joined into one hymn by the repetitive refrain.⁴⁵ Each stanza has a particular theme, as follows:⁴⁶

1. Šulgi King of Abundance and War:
In this stanza, Šulgi points out his divine origin and depicts his awesome and majestic appearance as a king and warrior (ll. 1–20).
2. Šulgi the High *išib*-Priest:
Šulgi describes his royal and priestly apparel and prerogatives (ll. 21–34).
3. Šulgi the Supreme Architect:
Šulgi's scribal education and competence in field surveying and architecture (ll. 35–51).
4. Šulgi Head of the Assembly:
Šulgi stresses his leadership in the general assembly (*puḫrum*), and boasts of his justice in acting as a judge in the court (ll. 52–83).
5. Šulgi Diviner and Magician:
Šulgi claims that he was thoroughly familiar with all kinds of divinations. Thus, he was able to make the right decisions in matters of warfare, distinguish the righteous from the evil, and dispel all sorts of magic and sorcery (ll. 84–113).
6. Šulgi Diplomat and Invincible Athlete:
Šulgi points out that as a skilled statesman, he learned Elamite and the language of the Marḫu nomads, just like Sumerian. He also claims of having

⁴⁵ There are some exceptions to this statement: The first stanza has 17 relatively short lines, while the second stanza has 11 slightly longer lines; also, the first stanza in Segment B (which was probably the ninth stanza in the original hymn) precedes the two longest and most important stanzas in the hymn with only 16 lines. By this, the length of the following stanzas is significantly emphasized: the 10th stanza with 51 lines, and the following one which apparently closed the hymn with no less than 60 poetic lines.

⁴⁶ The line numbering below includes the three lines of the refrain at the end of each stanza.

been the greatest hero of the Land and the strongest athlete in Sumer and in the foreign lands (ll. 114–143).

7. Šulgi Inaugurator of the Road:

Šulgi boasts of being a runner, who ran the road back and forth between the two cities of Ur and Nippur in one day and celebrated the *ešeš* festival in the temples of both cities (ll. 144–183).

8. (Broken; ll. 184–?).⁴⁷

9. Šulgi Hunter of the Beast:

Šulgi boasts of being an able hunter who once killed a lion whose roar terrorized the land and carried its carcass to his city to the admiration of the people (ll. b1–19).

10. Šulgi Conqueror of Distant Lands and Expander of Borders:

In the first part of this long stanza, Šulgi boasts about his fierce and successful military activities. After, he reports a specific military campaign against a distant foreign land. The section concludes with the general peace that ensued as a result of the military expedition (ll. b20–73).

11. Šulgi Musician, Player, and Poet in Celebration of the Divine Pantheon:

In this stanza Šulgi boasts of his talents as a musician and singer. He is a man who loves songs and knows how to play all the known musical instruments. With his music, he would entertain the gods of the Sumerian pantheon and particularly his divine family: his divine mother Ninsun and her other son, Šulgi's divine brother, Gilgameš (ll. b74–c23?).⁴⁸

⁴⁷ The stanza has not been preserved except for a few signs at the end of the first three lines.

⁴⁸ Segment B was preserved until line b134, and we estimate that the short Segment C (23 lines) also belonged to this stanza, and was somehow integrated between its closing lines.

1.3.4. The Current Edition - Segment A

The first eight stanzas of the hymn have been preserved continuously over 186 lines (in varying states of preservation) and are denoted as Segment A. The last three stanzas which have been preserved continuously over 134 lines are denoted as Segment B. Segment C contains 23 lines, which, according to our (uncertain) understanding, may belong to the end of the third stanza of Segment B.

Šulgi C is a significantly long literary composition which has unique characteristics with complex literary structures, a special vocabulary, and a multiplicity of archaic forms of spelling. Due to these facts, adequate research of this text in its entirety requires time and resources that were beyond the academic framework of this work. Hence, the current critical edition is devoted to the first and main part of the text. A complete edition, which also includes Segments B and C, will be published in the second phase of this research project.

The academic work below includes two main chapters, the first deals with the complete hymn of Šulgi C. This includes a literary introduction to Šulgi C (in the current unit), and a review and analysis of all 17 manuscripts of the hymn (in the second part of this chapter). The second chapter of this work focuses on Segment A only. The first part of the second chapter includes literary introductions to stanzas 1–8. The introduction contains a literary analysis of the stanza, a discussion of its cultic and historical background, and a description of its relation to the other Šulgi hymns. The second part of the second chapter is dedicated to the revised edition of Segment A as the first part of Šulgi C. This unit includes a transliteration of the Sumerian source, an English translation, a philological commentary, and a full score of the variant readings relating to the first 186 lines of the text. The philological commentary also refers to an analysis of the peculiar orthography and grammar, with special attention paid to the archaic writings and grammatical forms. This is alongside a discussion of a variety of grammatical and literary challenges that arise when reading each of the poetic lines of Segment A.

1.3.5. Future Edition - Segments B and C

The second and future part of the edition will contain the revised edition of Segments B and C, including: literary introduction to each stanza; transliteration; translation; commentary; and score. This second part will eventually be added to the edition of Segment A presented in the current work.

Upon completion, the full edition of the text will allow the discussion of the literary introduction of Šulgi C to be expanded to issues not discussed in the introduction presented here. In this context, a discussion will be added of a general comparison to the other hymns of Šulgi, primarily to hymns Šulgi B and Šulgi E. This discussion will look at the length of the different stanzas and the relationship between them, the order of the topics discussed in the stanzas, and similar issues. Another discussion will be devoted to the relationship between the segments and specifically to the (presumed) integration of Segment C at the end of the reconstructed text. A comprehensive analysis of all peculiar orthography and grammar, with special attention to the archaic writings and grammatical forms, will also find its place in the full edition.

The short comments below concern the historical, literary, and theological background of the hymn, which can only be analyzed in depth after the completion of the edition with the three segments. The following discussions should therefore be considered preliminary. A full examination of the hymn's background and context will be included in the final edition.

1.3.5.1. Historical Context

According to Frayne, ll. b27-34 of the 10th stanza, which is the second longest stanza of the hymn, refers to the destruction the city of Dēr. Accordingly, he reads l. b34 as follows:

BÀD.AN.KI gú-erim₂-ĝál nam-ba-d[a-x-ta]g₄

"Dēr – all the enemy (troops) – I did indeed leave abandoned."

The destruction of Dēr is also the subject of the name of Šulgi's 21th regnal year:

[mu BÀ]D.AN.KI ba-hul "The year Dēr was destroyed".

From this Frayne concludes that Šulgi C was composed on the occasion of the proclamation of the above year-name.⁴⁹ This topic will be discussed in detail in the introduction to the 10th stanza.

1.3.5.2. Relationship between the Stanzas

Since the 10th stanza of the hymn (the second stanza of Segment B) has been preserved in its entirety and contains the most lines compared to the other stanzas, it has been assumed that this stanza was the central and most important in the hymn, and that the other stanzas revolved around it. Moreover, due to the historical event described throughout the stanza, the war campaign to conquer the city of Dēr, which took place in the 21st year of Šulgi's reign, it is further assumed that the hymn was composed as part of Šulgi's victory celebrations following the successful campaign.

However, it should be noted that there were attempts to reconstruct the original structure of the hymn based on partially preserved lines, damaged stanzas, and fragments of tablets. In addition, estimates of the original sizes of tablets that were not preserved well (see below in the description of the manuscripts) raise the alternative possibility that the 11th stanza (the third stanza of Segment B), which has been partially preserved, was the longest stanza in the hymn and originally included at least 60–70 poetic lines. If this assumption is correct, it is likely that the 10th stanza, central as it may be, was used as a prelude to the longer and more central stanza of the hymn. Unfortunately, the 11th stanza has been only partially preserved. A comparative discussion of the relationship between the stanzas, and of their length and content, will find its place in the final edition.

1.3.5.3. Šulgi C and the Sumerian Pantheon

One of the fascinating features of the hymn not addressed in the literary analysis above, is the fact that throughout the entire hymn, with the exception of the 11th

⁴⁹ See Frayne 1997, 103.

stanza, there is no mention of gods from the Sumerian pantheon.⁵⁰ This characteristic is particularly noticeable in the literary units discussing themes that are common to the hymns of Šulgi in general. While other Šulgi hymns regularly mention deities when elaborating on these topics, Šulgi C refrains from it. Significantly, the same is true for literary units referring to Šulgi with divine attributes which are used as distinct attributes of a certain god.

The examples below demonstrate some notable absences of mention of a deity, in contexts where we would expect that mention.⁵¹

In the first stanza there is a description of Šulgi's divine birth by the white cow and the breeding bull, which of course allude to the gods Ninsun and Lugalbanda, Šulgi's divine parents. The shining appearance of the king is reminiscent of the literary descriptions of the rise of the goddess Inana. Later in the same stanza, Šulgi is described as the ultimate warrior, and is attributed all the titles of heroism and fighting that are regularly attributed in Sumerian literature to the war god Ninurta.

In the second stanza Šulgi tells of how he brought the purification water and wisdom from the city of Eridu to the Etemeniguru temple in the city of Ur. In this context he refrains from mentioning the god Enki, the patron of Eridu and the source of wisdom and purity in the city.

In the third stanza, Šulgi boasts of his mastery of the skills associated with the institutions of the Sumerian professional school, which were under the exclusive patronage of the goddess Nisaba. These skills include measuring land, drawing plans, erecting buildings, and writing royal inscriptions. In this literary unit, Šulgi even attributes to himself descriptions that were originally composed in honor of the goddess Nisaba in earlier Sumerian compositions (e.g. the Temple Hymns, see the introduction to the third stanza), all without mentioning her name.

In the fourth stanza, Šulgi reveals himself as a public representative with the strongest authority to make decisions in the elected assembly, while other hymns of Šulgi clearly describe how this authority was granted to him by the gods Enlil and

⁵⁰ An exception is Gilgameš, Šulgi's divine brother, who appear in the 5th stanza (in l. 105). The sun god Utu is mentioned several times among Sumerian literary idioms or proverbs (see ll. 25, 172, b24, b44), and has been translated everywhere as 'the Sun' and not 'Utu'. Similarly 'an' was translated as 'heaven' or 'sky' in several places.

⁵¹ For explicit references to the original and secondary literature, see the literary introductions of each of the stanzas.

Ninlil, the heads of the divine assembly in heaven. With his enormous authority Šulgi leads his country to a military victory over enemy countries, an advantage that is attributed in other sources to the god Nergal. As leader of the assembly, Šulgi decrees the fate of the kingdom's enemies, an authority attributed in Sumerian literature to the gods Enlil and An. The divine action of decreeing fate is carried out by Šulgi in additional contexts throughout the hymn.

In the fifth stanza, Šulgi is described as a diviner who reads animal entrails before making vital decisions for his land's fate. Šulgi does not refrain from pointing out that the divine signs that are written on the entrails are also written on his own heart, the beating heart within the Sumerian kingdom. However, he does not mention the role of the sun god Utu, whose rising is the source of receiving the divine decision in any other Sumerian or divination source.

The sixth and seventh stanzas are damaged and have not been preserved in full. However, they both describe ritual-sportive activities (athletics competitions and running) or ritual activities (celebration of the *ešeš*-festival in the temples of Nippur and Ur, including sacrifices and music) in which Šulgi excelled. Despite the descriptions of the ritual activity, no name of a deity has been preserved among the lines of the stanzas.

Surprisingly, many of the Sumerian gods appear in close proximity to each other in the last, rather damaged lines of Segment B, at the end of the 11th stanza, as well as in Segment C.⁵²

The literary introduction of the 11th stanza will contain a reference to the ritual, literary, and theological contexts in which the gods of the Sumerian pantheon are mentioned in the stanza. A general discussion will then follow regarding Šulgi's relationship with the Sumerian gods throughout the entire hymn. This includes his divine titles, divine functions that he enjoined himself to fulfill in the institutions of the Sumerian kingdom, his position in the gods' company, and so on.

⁵² See the following references: Ĝeštinanna (b96), Ninsun (b97, c18), 'Nisaba' (b98), Enlil and Ninlil (b111), Ninurta (b111, b112); Nanna (b112); Inana (b113, b117); Gilgameš (c10, c14).

1.4. Šulgi C - Reconstruction of the Text

1.4.1. State of Research

Šulgi C was first edited by G.R. Castellino over fifty years ago.⁵³ This edition was based on nine duplicates and includes 217 reconstructed lines.⁵⁴ Since then, numerous new duplicates were identified which then allowed for the reconstruction of many additional lines. A combined private manuscript of the hymn, prepared by J. Klein and S. Tinney (noted by Åke Sjöberg), is based on 14 duplicates, and contains 293 reconstructed lines.⁵⁵ Another combined manuscript of the hymn was prepared by K. Lämmerhirt.⁵⁶ J. Peterson has published three additional small fragments of Šulgi C.⁵⁷ During the last days of the proofreading of this work, Zsombor Földi identified another fragment of a tablet which records remnants of the first lines of the hymn.⁵⁸ The current edition of the hymn includes all 17 duplicates of Šulgi C known to us today, including those published by Castellino,⁵⁹ Klein+Tinney⁶⁰, Peterson and Földi.⁶¹

⁵³ Castellino 1972, 243–294.

⁵⁴ The following duplicates are included in Castellino's edition: N 3386; CBS 13907; CBS 7079; Ni 2473; CBS 13906; CBS 8549; Ni 4260; CBS 14086; N 2568.

⁵⁵ This unpublished manuscript was kindly provided to me by Klein with Tinney's approval. Tinney estimated the length of the original composition to be 345–391 lines.

⁵⁶ I am thankful to K. Lämmerhirt, who kindly provided me with his private list of Šulgi C duplicates.

⁵⁷ See Peterson 2011, 157–162.

⁵⁸ I am thankful to my friend Zs. Földi, who kindly provided me with his collation to HS 2632.

⁵⁹ Castellino 1972, 247.

⁶⁰ Klein 1981a, 39; Tinney 1995, col. 13 n. 31.

⁶¹ <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/HS.2632> (16/05/2023).

1.4.2. The Duplicates

The text of Šulgi C has been reconstructed from the following tablets and fragments, all of which originate from Nippur:⁶²

	Catalogue Number	Dimensions (cm.)	Copy or Photograph	Correspondence
A:	CBS 7079	12.8×11×1.5	Castellino 1972, ff. 19–20	i = 1–13 ii = 19–40 iii = 42–64 iv = 73–88 v = 98–111 vi = 120–123
B:	Ni 2473		SRT 14	i = 1–28 ii = 29–52
Ba:	HS 2632	1.7×4×1.8	Földi, private (photo) ⁶³	i = 1–3
C:	N 993	6.3×4.5×?	CDLI P276141	i = 9–15 ii = 21–31
D:	CBS 15114	3.5×4.5×5	CDLI P269670	i = 31–39
E:	N 3233 + N 2568 + CBS 8312 + N 3215 + CBS 15301 + UM w/n ⁶⁴	9×10.5×3	Peterson 2011, p. 160; ibid., pl. 25 Peterson, private (copy of N 3215) ⁶⁵ CDLI P269842	i = 38–53 ii = 84–104 iii = 116–127 iv = 164–184
F:	CBS 13906	12.5×6.5×1.5	STVC 51 CDLI P268916	i = 76–95 ii = 96–114
G:	CBS 8549	11.5×6.2×1.5	STVC 50 CDLI P263348	i = 84–112 ii = 127–144
H:	Ni 4260		SLTNi 77	i = 109–116
I:	CBS 13668	4×4.8	CDLI P268684	i = 115–122
J:	UM 29-16-485	6×6.7×2.5	CDLI P256975	i = 131–140 ii = 176–186
K:	CBS 14080 + N 2555 + N 2643 + UM w/n + N 5996	13.6×11.5×2.8	Peterson 2011, pp. 161–162 ibid., pl. 26–27 CDLI P269093	i = b1–3 ii = b17–32 iii = b38–51 iv = b52–61 v = b66–81 vi = b85–98 vii = b106–118 viii = b132–134

⁶² The lines of Segments B and C are indicated by adding a (lower-case) b or c before the (first) line number (b1–2, c1–2).

Text Ba was identified by Zs. Földi in the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities in Jena, during the last days of the proofreading of this work. For this reason its symbol does not match the continuous sigla of the other texts.

Following the identification of texts J and N, the symbols of the tablets from J onwards in the current edition does not correspond to the traditional symbols of the tablets in Klein's manuscript.

⁶³ See <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/HS.2632> (16/05/2023) (text and dimensions). I thank my friend Zsombor Földi who kindly sent me his photo of this fragment.

⁶⁴ University Museum (tablet) without number.

⁶⁵ A copy of N 3215 (with col. ii 13–21; iii 1–7) was generously provided by J. Peterson.

L:	N 3394 + N 1768 + N 1806 + N 3386	15.5×6.5×3.2	CDLI P278430	i = b1-37	ii = b38-74
M:	CBS 13907	10.5×7×3.4	Castellino 1972, Pls. XXII-XXIII; CDLI P268917	i = b5-19	ii = b20-36
N:	N 3244	5×3.8	CDLI P278186	i = b25-34	
O:	UM 29-15-710 + UM w/n + N 6275	13×7×3	CDLI P256428	i = b36-57	ii = b58-78
P:	N 14086	7.6×6.8	STVC 59 CDLI P269098	i = c1-13	ii = c14-23

1.4.3. Description of Manuscripts

The current reconstruction of Šulgi C does not follow one sequence and is divided into three segments, the gaps among which cannot be determined with certainty. The first continuous part of the hymn, Segment A, is reconstructed on the basis of manuscripts A–J. Segment A preserves a sequence of 186 lines in various states of preservation, which represents the first eight stanzas of the hymn. However, the seventh stanza has only been partially preserved, and the eighth stanza is only represented by a few isolated signs from the ends of its three opening lines (184–186). Based on this partial data, I assume that this part of the hymn originally contained ca. 220–240 lines.

The second sequence of lines, Segment B, is based on the text of manuscripts K–O. Segment B preserves a sequence of approximately 120 lines (and a few more individual signs that should be located later, somewhere between lines b132–134). Finally, Segment C contains the text of manuscript P, including approximately 23 lines. Together, Segments B and C represent three additional stanzas (presumably stanzas 9–11) that span about 140 poetic lines.⁶⁶

Šulgi C was copied on two types of tablets (according to Civil's typology): Type I, that is, multi-column tablets; and Type III, namely, single-column tablets (*im-gí-da*).⁶⁷ The manuscripts are classified below into four groups, according to dimensions, handwriting, spelling and the distribution of the hymn across the tablets.⁶⁸

1.4.3.1. Group 1:

Multi-column tablets written by a highly trained scribe (Texts A, K)

Texts A and K share common features regarding their orthography, handwriting, and method of coping. These shared traits may imply that these two tablets could have

⁶⁶ The placement of Segment C after Segment B rather than between Segments A and B is based on textual and content considerations that are not detailed here. A more extended discussion of the relationship between Segment C and the entire hymn will be included in the second part of the edition.

⁶⁷ See Delnero 2010, 53–69; idem 2012, 18ff. with n. 2; cf. Tinney 1999, 159–172.

⁶⁸ For spelling and orthographic peculiarities typical of the Šulgi hymns in general, and of the present hymn in particular, see chapter 2.2. (Šulgi C - Segment A: Orthography and Spelling Exchanges). While the descriptions below refer to all known manuscripts, information regarding texts A–J is more precise and detailed, as these texts serve as the basis for the current edition. My future edition of Šulgi C will include fuller descriptions of all manuscripts.

been the first and third of a multi-column tablet series that originally contained the entire hymn.⁶⁹ Text A included the first five stanzas of the hymn and the beginning of the stanza 6. Assuming that the currently missing second tablet was similar in dimensions to text A, it may have contained the rest of stanza 6, stanza 7, and a great portion of stanza 8, while the third tablet of the series (text K) may have included the last lines of stanza 8, and stanzas 9–11.⁷⁰

It seems that compared to the other manuscripts of the hymn, these two tablets are the most faithful representatives of the archaic orthography and spelling forms unique to the Šulgi hymns. While archaic words and phonetic writings appear in all manuscripts, texts A and K display more of these; in addition, they are also unique in preserving archaic paleography that seems to go back to Šulgi's days.

Text A is a three-column tablet. Its upper third is mostly intact and the lower two thirds are heavily damaged (only two lines are missing from column ii). The tablet was written by a highly trained scribe. Most of the poetic lines are written in *Kurzzeilen*, namely, each poetic line is divided into two sub-lines (rarely three or four) due to the columns' narrowness. The poetic lines themselves are separated by rulings. In cols. iii and iv, the lines frequently run over the right edge. In column vi, only about two-thirds of the column are inscribed, while the lower third is left blank. Originally, the tablet contained the first 123 lines of the hymn, that is, the first five stanzas and ten additional lines from the sixth stanza. These are followed by two signs representing l. 124, which served as a catch line. The refrain that separates between the stanzas was only copied in full the first time (ll. [18]–21). Afterwards, only the first sign of each line of the refrain was copied, leaving an empty space for the rest (cf. ll. 32–34; 49–51; 81–83; 111–113).⁷¹

Text K seems to be part of a five-column tablet. Currently it includes four columns, and its left edge is broken. The preserved parts include a great portion of the upper right edge of the tablet (col. iv); a small part of the upper left edge (col. i–ii = N 5996); and a very small portion of the center of the lower edge (col. iii).⁷² As in text

⁶⁹ The similarities between tablets A and K was already noted by Klein 1993, 124 with n. 5.

⁷⁰ Alternatively, though less likely, text K may have contained only four columns on each side, and the series included an additional fourth tablet. In such case, the total length of Šulgi C was significantly longer than my current estimation.

⁷¹ This characteristic is unique to the two texts of this group. In all other manuscripts the refrain is copied in full at the end of each stanza.

⁷² The fragments N 2555 + N 2643 + UM w/n were identified and joined by S. Tinney (1990, 13 n. 31); N 5996 was joined by J. Peterson.

A, the columns of this tablet are narrow and most of the lines are written in *Kurzzeilen*. In columns iv and v, the lines frequently run over the right edge. The last two columns of the reverse run over the upper edge.⁷³ Col. i (of which only 3 lines remain) seems to begin with the opening lines of the ninth stanza of the hymn. The rest of the tablet contained the tenth and eleventh stanzas.⁷⁴ The refrain (ll. b17–19; b71–73) is abbreviated like in text A.⁷⁵

1.4.3.2. Group 2:

Other multi-column tablets (Texts D, E, J)

and unrecognized fragments (Texts Ba, H, I)

Text D is a fragment representing the bottom-left portion of what was probably a multi-column tablet with 35–40 poetic lines per column.⁷⁶ The fragment contains 9 lines from the beginning of the hymn (ll. 31–39), none of which includes an indented part. Illegible traces of ca. 10 lines are visible on the reverse. The refrain is written in full (ll. 32–34). Some archaic spellings are recognizable.⁷⁷ The handwriting is delicate, small and dense.

Text E currently includes the lower left part of a two-column tablet, joined together from six fragments. The preserved text altogether contains 70 lines from Segment A of the hymn.⁷⁸ The original tablet initially included four columns, each of

⁷³ The fact that the last preserved column of the tablet (rev. iv) continues to the upper edge confirms the existence of another unpreserved column.

⁷⁴ However, if the original tablet contained an additional column on the left, as we hypothesize, then this column would have contained lines from the last part of the stanza that preceded Segment B (the eighth stanza), ending with a citation of the refrain.

⁷⁵ It is unknown whether the refrain was copied in full on its first appearance in each of the tablets, or only on the first tablet of the series.

⁷⁶ In case that the original was a three-column tablet, it then contained the first eight stanzas of the hymn (ca. 230 lines). In that case, the dimensions of the original tablet were approximately 13.70 × 15 cm.

⁷⁷ These include the enclitic copula -me-èn (D i [1], 2, 3), and ġeštu₃ (ĜEŠ.TÚG.PI; D i 5), as opposed the younger OB ġeštu₂ (ĜEŠ.TÚG.PI) which appeared in other manuscripts.

⁷⁸ Castellino's edition of the hymn only contains the fragment N 2568. The join N 2568 (obverse) + N 3233 (obverse + reverse) is listed in M. Civil's unpublished Catalogue of Sumerian Literary Texts (sub No. 2.4203). The join CBS 8312 (obverse) + N 3215 (obverse + reverse) was made by J. Peterson (2011, 157–158). CBS 15301 was joined to CBS 8312 + N 3215 also by Peterson (2011, 160–161). The assumed gap between the last line of text A (A vi 4 = l. 123) and G rev. 1 was of three lines, estimated according to the join of CBS 8312 with CBS 15301. One more unnumbered fragment, joined to the right edge of the reverse (probably by Peterson), carried the ends of about four lines from the third column (ll. 124–127). The fragment was not glued, as of February 2018. However, the identification of this fragment, from the right edge of the tablet, overcomes the preliminary assumption

53–56 poetic lines. Accordingly, the entire tablet contained the first 220–240 lines of the hymn, i.e., stanzas 1–8 (Segment A).⁷⁹ The refrain here is written in full (ll. 49–51; 181–183). Poetic lines usually occupy a single physical line (with some exceptions),⁸⁰ and are not separated by rulings. The text preserves the archaic spelling of the enclitic copula *-me-èn* and some rare words. Other archaic spellings occur sporadically next to younger ones.⁸¹ The text presents more variants that deviate from the standard version than any other Šulgi C text.⁸²

Text J is a fragment from the middle part of the reverse of a multi-column tablet.⁸³ Judging from a lacuna of 35 lines between the two preserved columns, and from the fact that the last extant line of the second preserved column corresponds to l. 186 of the hymn, it may be assumed that the original was a three-column tablet. The entire tablet may have contained the first 220–240 lines of the hymn (stanzas 1–8), with 38–40 lines per column. If this is the case, the preserved lines belonged to columns iv–v of the original tablet.⁸⁴ Alternatively, the fragment may come from a two-column tablet with 50–55 lines per column, the preserved lines belonging to cols. iii–iv.⁸⁵ The refrain is written in full (ll. 181–183). The text preserves the archaic spelling *-me-èn* alongside additional peculiarities of the hymn.⁸⁶

Text Ba is a fragment representing the upper-left portion of a tablet.⁸⁷ The fragment attests the 3 first lines of the hymn, none of which includes an indented part. The poetic lines are not separated by rulings. Illegible traces of ca. 2 lines are visible

that the original tablet was of two-column (on each side). The present edition is based on the collection of all of the fragments described above.

⁷⁹ The dimensions of the original tablet were approximately 20×10 cm.

⁸⁰ E.g., ll. 40, 120, 122; and perhaps also l. 127 and 169.

⁸¹ E.g., using *ĝe₂₆-e* (E ii 17) rather than *ĝe₂₆* for the 1sg. independent pronoun. Note however that other variants that regard *plene* or defective spellings are not necessarily relevant for the diachronic-paleographic discussion. Archaic phonetic spellings have also been preserved throughout the text, with some exceptions (e.g. E ii 12, which presents the OB form *ĝar-ra* rather than *ĝá-ra* that dominates all other manuscripts; and E iv 15, which presents the younger spelling of the pronominal prefix *-b-* (*-ib-*): *ma-ni-ib-ša-an*).

⁸² See ll. 41 (E i 4), 44 (E i 7), 118 (E iii 3), and 119 (E iii 4).

⁸³ Col. ii was partly transliterated by Peterson (2011), p. 160–161 (ii 1–8 = E vi 13–20), and it corresponds to ll. 176–183 of the reconstructed hymn.

⁸⁴ The dimensions of the original tablet can be estimated as ca. 24×20 cm. It can be further suggested that Text D was a fragment from the lower left edge (the bottom of col. i) of the same tablet.

⁸⁵ In such case, the dimension would have been approximately 33×14 cm.

⁸⁶ A distinct example was preserved in l. 178 where Text E (iv 15) presents the young spelling of the pronominal prefix *-b-* (*-ib-*): *ma-ni-ib-ša-an*, while Text J (ii 3) presents the Ur III spelling (*-ib*): *mja²-ni-ib-ša-an*.

⁸⁷ The fragment was collated by Zs. Földi in the Frau Professor Hilprecht Collection of Babylonian Antiquities in Jena; see <https://www.ebl.lmu.de/fragmentarium/HS.2632> (16/05/2023). It is assumed that the length of one column from the original tablet was about 6.5 cm.

on the bottom part of the reverse, and hence the text was copied on the reverse of the tablet all the way to the edge, without leaving any empty space. The archaic spelling of the 1sg. enclitic copula is recognizable.⁸⁸ The handwriting is delicate, small and dense.

Text H is a small fragment from the middle of a tablet obverse, containing eight damaged lines (ll. 109–116).⁸⁹ The refrain is written in full (ll. 111–113).⁹⁰ Two cases of younger spellings can be recognized.⁹¹

Text I is a fragment from the middle of a tablet. Only one side of the fragment (probably the obverse) is legible, containing approximately eight damaged lines.⁹² It is difficult to determine whether the tablet originates from a single-column or multi-column tablet.⁹³ A single instance of an archaic spelling is discernible (Ur III 3pl. suffix *-eš* for the OB *-eš*).⁹⁴

1.4.3.3. Group 3:

One-column tablets containing whole stanzas (Texts B, G, L, N)

The three first texts in this group are characterized by an increased tendency to preserve archaic spellings.⁹⁵ In addition, they share the convention of containing 2–3 whole stanzas each, including refrains and catch-lines, and to reserve an empty space of 2–3 lines at the end of the reverse. These shared traits may indicate that texts B, G

⁸⁸ Ba i 1–2.

⁸⁹ The fragment was collated by Klein during his visit in the Istanbul Museum in 1970.

⁹⁰ Note that the fifth line of the copy is most likely an indented line. If this is correct, the dividing line preceding it in the copy did not exist on the original.

⁹¹ These include the plene spelling of the verbal chain in [hu-mu-ni]-**in**-gú-un-gú-n[e] (H i' 4), and the common OB form [ḡešt]u₂ ([ḡEŠ.TÚG].PI), (H i' 6).

⁹² The other side of the fragment has illegible traces of ca. five lines.

In the photo of this fragment in CDLI, it appears as the lower part of a join, the upper part being CBS 13689, which is illegible in this photo. However, in my visit to the University of Pennsylvania Museum (February 2018), I examined CBS 13689 again and concluded that it does not belong to Šulgi C. Note that the fragment's current position in the CDLI photograph is erroneously vertical.

⁹³ The two bottom lines of text H overlap the first two lines of text I (ll. 115–116 in the reconstructed hymn). Since text H is stored in Istanbul and text I is in Philadelphia, it is difficult to determine the relationship between the two duplicates which may indeed be two fragments of one tablet. However, in both texts the reconstruction of these lines is rather damaged and uncertain. It should also be noted that the reconstruction of these two lines is quite possible and may be based on the supposed gap between cols. ii and iii of text E, but nevertheless remains fragile.

⁹⁴ I i' 7 (l. 121): [ha-m]a-né-éš.

⁹⁵ The few younger spellings found in these texts (usually plene spellings, e.g. B ii 3: nu-mu-un-¹ta¹-dag¹-**ge**¹-ne) represent the exception rather than the rule. Examples of these exceptionally younger spellings in text G are: hu-mu-ni-**i**[n-g]ú-un-gú-ne (ii 16, alongside the defective spelling hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne in i 29); hé-em-**me**-ne (ii 17); šir-re-**eš** (ii 17), zi-dè-**eš** (ii 15), mu-ge₄-**eš** (ii 11).

and L originally belonged to a series of 6–7 Type III tablets covering the entire hymn.⁹⁶ In such case, these texts represent the first, third, and fifth (or sixth) texts in the series respectively. Alternatively, they may have belonged to different series with similar characteristics, or inscribed separately.

Text B is a single-column tablet (Type III) inscribed with the first 52 lines of the hymn, that is, stanzas 1–3 and a catch-line. The tablet is preserved in its entirety with only a few lines and signs damaged.⁹⁷ The refrain is written in full at the end of each of the three stanzas (ll. 18–20; 32–34; 49–51). An empty space of ca. three lines appears after the last line of the reverse.

Text G is a single-column tablet, joined from several fragments glued together. The lower part of the tablet is broken.⁹⁸ The entire tablet originally contained ll. 84–144 of the hymn,⁹⁹ constituting stanzas 5–6 plus a catch-line. The refrain is written in full at the ends of both stanzas (ll. 111–[113]; 141–143). Some lines in the reverse run over the right edge. An empty space of ca. two lines remains after the last line of the reverse. Note that Chiera's copy does not indicate the location of the cracks where the fragments are joined. In addition, this copy fails to indicate the convex shape of the obverse and the reverse, the slight flexion of the lines, and some illegible traces of signs.

Text L is a fragment of a single-column tablet joined from four or five smaller fragments.¹⁰⁰ The fragment consists of the upper left third of the original, of which only the lower left side is legible. The tablet originally contained the first 74 lines of Segment B of the hymn (ll. b1–74), namely, stanzas 9–10 plus a catch-line. The

⁹⁶ Accordingly, the dimensions of the tablets and the number of lines contained varies between the tablets and are affected by the length of the stanzas copied on the tablet. In general, it can be said that the length of the stanzas gets longer throughout the hymn, and it is possible that the last tablet (or tablets) in this series contained one particularly long stanza.

⁹⁶ The lines attested in the text (b25–34) overlap text L, hence it is unlikely that these two tablets belonged to one series.

⁹⁷ This tablet was collated by Klein during his 1970 visit to the Istanbul Museum (see his textual notes). It is likely that the tablet was covered in crustation when Chiera copied it, while Klein's collations were made from the tablet (or the photo) after it was cleaned and/or baked.

⁹⁸ The broken lower part of the tablet is currently estimated at ca. 2.5 cm.

⁹⁹ The estimated gap between the last line of text A (A vi 4 = Segment A 123) and G rev. 1 is only 3 or 4 lines. This is assuming that text G originally contained a total of about 61 lines, and therefore the gap between the obverse and reverse of the tablet is only 14 lines (i.e., ll. 113–126).

¹⁰⁰ Note that the composite text of ETCSL is based on Klein's transliteration, which does not include all the joined parts.

refrain is written in full at the end of the two stanzas (ll. b17–19; b71–73).¹⁰¹ An empty space of 1-2 lines remains after the last line of the reverse.

Text N is a 10-line fragment, probably from the middle part of the obverse of a tablet, which, judging from the mid-line spacing system and the spacious handwriting, seems to have been a one-column tablet. The tablet appears to have been written by a skilled scribe. The clean and clear handwriting is somewhat similar to that of texts B, G, and L.

1.4.3.4. Group 4:

One-column tablets containing arbitrary units (Texts C, F, M, P, O)

The following texts are all one-column tablets (or fragments thereof), having the general form of thick, short rectangular tablets. The general form of the tablets is not-elongated rectangular and the handwriting is quite big and sloppy. Long lines include indented parts; lines on the reverse are sometimes wider than on the obverse. In addition, they all include arbitrary units rather than full stanzas, and are characterized by big and sloppy handwriting; wider lines on the reverse; fully-written refrains; and the use of the younger spelling *-me-en* for the 1sg. enclitic copula (rather than the archaic spelling *-me-èn* appearing in other tablets),¹⁰² beside some other OB standard spellings.¹⁰³ At the same time, these tablets tend to preserve other archaic spellings and rare words.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰¹ L. b21 was skipped by the scribe and then completed on the left edge; l. b24 is omitted.

¹⁰² *-me-en* is attested in texts F and P, and hence we assume that it also characterized text C, although it is not attested in the preserved lines.

¹⁰³ See the following examples: OB *ĝeštu₂* (C ii 10; F ii 19) contrary to the Ur III *ĝeštu₃*; *mas-su* (F i 9) contrary to the Ur III *mas-sú*; the common OB *en-nu-ùĝ* (F ii 3) contrary to the Ur III *en-nu*. Text M presents the common OB verb *te* (*tèĝ*) (M ii 7) contrary to the phonetic writing *ti* attested in the variants (L i 25; N 2). Text O (ii 21) has *gal-an-zu* contrary to the phonetic writing *ga-la-an-zu* (K v 13). The use of phonetic complement in the verbal form *in-ga-me-en-na-ta* (for *in-ga-me-na-ta*) is attested twice in text F (ii 1, 19); text M (ii 11) has: *ù-um-ma-ti-^ra¹-ta*, contrary to the variant *ù-ma-[ti-a-ta]* (K i 29, N 6); and so in text O (70 ii 13): *hé-em-mi-ge₄* for the var. *hé-mi-ge₄* (L ii 33). The young spelling of the 1sg. independent pronoun *ĝe₂₆-e* is attested to in text F (ii 15) alongside the archaic Ur III spelling *ĝe₂₆* (ii 5); text P also presents the archaic form *ĝe₂₆* (ii 3, 6).

¹⁰⁴ Text O, however, tends to preserve more archaisms, comparing to the other texts in this group. Some archaic plene writings are only attested in text M: *lulim^r* (M ii 3) contrary to *lulim-e* (K ii 6); *ki bala* (M ii 11) contrary to *ki bala-e* (L i 29; N 6). A singular, unique occurrence in which the name *Šulgi* is preceded by a divine determinative is attested to in M i 6.

The texts in this group may have belonged to a series of ten tablets that covered the entire hymn, each of the tablets containing ca. 35–40 poetic lines. If so, then texts C and F were the first and third in the series. Continuing this theory, text M could have been the seventh in this series, or in a closely related characteristics series, and text P the tenth, and possibly the last of the series. One may also wonder whether the scribe's notes on the left side of texts C and P link the two tablets (possibly as the first and last of the series), and whether the two notes should be interpreted as two parts of a singular note.¹⁰⁵

Text C is a large fragment from the lower left part of a single-column tablet. Originally, it probably contained ca. 38 lines from the beginning of the hymn. Presently, the beginnings of 18 damaged lines (ll. 9–15; 21–31) are preserved. The obverse is written on the convex side rather than on the flat one, and it lacks dividing lines. Some lines seem to be written over erasures. An illegible scribal note appears on the left margin opposite to ll. 12–13: x [] / x [] / x []. Another note opposite to l. 22 reads ú-ru.

Text F is a single-column tablet with damaged upper right and lower right corners. The lines frequently run over the right edge. The complete tablet originally contained 39 lines of the hymn, covering part of the fourth stanza, the entire fifth stanza, and the first line of the sixth stanza. Due to the tendency of tablets in this group to include arbitrary poetic units, we cannot determine whether the first line of the sixth stanza, which concludes the tablet, is intended to serve as a catch-line. Some of the poetic lines are indented, and the refrain is written in full (ll. 81–83; 111–113).

Text M is a single-column tablet similar in shape and traits to texts C and F. The tablet is almost complete apart from a slight damage at the lower right edge. The surface of the reverse is considerably eroded and not fully legible. The tablet contains only 32 lines of the hymn (ll. b5–36), covering 12 lines from the ninth stanza and 17 lines from the tenth stanza.¹⁰⁶ Approximately half of the poetic lines include indented parts. The refrain is written in full (ll. b17–19).

¹⁰⁵ See text C, left edge: x [] / x [] / x [] / ú-ru; text P, left edge: u₁₉-ru / x / ʾnam¹²-ra / ba-MU. Note, that the Sumerian term u₁₉-ru (u₁₈-ru) is associated with the end of the hymn; accordingly, a full discussion of these comments will be included in the second part of the edition, at the end of the philological commentary.

¹⁰⁶ Note that this tablet ends with the first line of text O (l. b36).

Text P is a one-column tablet preserving ca. 23 lines that do not overlap with any other part of the hymn, and are therefore marked as Segment C. The upper part of the tablet is damaged, and it is difficult to determine how many lines are missing from it. However, considering its shape and its similarity to texts C, F, and L, it is assumed that the original tablet contained about 35–40 poetic lines. The refrain is written in full (ll. c20–22), followed by scratches, about which it is difficult to determine whether they originate from the breaking of the tablet or they represent another poetic line (and maybe even the beginning of a new stanza). Some of the lines run over the right edge, while other lines include indented parts. Two scribal notes on the left edge read: u₁₉-ru (opposite to l. c2); and x / ʾnam¹⁷-ra / ba-MU (opposite to ll. c7–8).¹⁰⁷

Text O is a damaged one-column tablet joined from three fragments, with numerous lacunae.¹⁰⁸ The tablet contains 44 lines of the hymn (ll. b36–78), and the refrain is written in full (ll. b71–73). In general, this text shares distinct characteristics with the fourth group of tablets, including the square-like design and the sloppy handwriting. Additionally, the tablet includes an arbitrary unit rather than full stanzas. At the same time, it is worth noting that unlike texts C, F, M, and P, text O does preserve the archaic spelling of the enclitic copula -me-èn.¹⁰⁹ Furthermore, it opens with the last line of text M (l. b36). Hence, if these two tablets (M and O) were written by the same scribe, then the last line of text M may have been a catch-line pointing to the first line of text O.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Some other signs may have been written on the lower edge.

¹⁰⁸ UM w/n was identified by Sjöberg and joined to UM 29-15-710 by Tinney (N 6275 was identified by Tinney).

¹⁰⁹ Some other plene writings characteristic to the archaic orthography are attested to in text O: zi-du₆-a (ii 6); du-ù (ii 11); zi-zi-i (ii 20); i-lu-lam-ma-a (ii 17) while the variants present i-lu-lam-ma (K v 9; L ii 37). In one case, the text omits a determinative attested to in other variants: da-úš-sa (O i 21), contrary to ^{kuš}da-úš-sa (K iv 5; L ii 19: [x d]a-úš-sa).

¹¹⁰ In this case, text O maybe was the eighth in the current series of texts.

2. Šulgi C - Segment A

2.1. Šulgi C - Segment A: Literary Introductions

2.1.1. First Stanza: Šulgi King of Abundance and War

The first Stanza of Šulgi C (ll. 1–17), followed by the three-line refrain (ll. 18–20), contains 20 nominal sentences, all of them ending with the 1sg. copula **-men** "I am!". The extensive repetition of the copula imparts to the stanza, which constitutes the prologue of the hymn, a compact vocalic and stylistic unity.

In the beginning of the first two lines of the hymn, Šulgi introduces himself by his most important royal title **lugal** and his personal name: **lugal-me-èn** // **šul-gi-me-èn** "I am a king" // "I am Šulgi", i.e. "I am king Šulgi".¹¹¹ In the two other sentences in these lines, which are exact verbal parallels, Šulgi likens himself to two robust animals which symbolize kingship in the animal world: a mighty wild-bull (**am**) and a raging lion (**piriĝ**).

Following the first part of the title of the stanza in ll. 1–2 ("I am a wild bull!"), in the first half of the stanza the five images taken from the world of cattle are recalled: **am** "wild bull" (ll. 1–2); **gud-ninda₂** "breed-bull" (4); **áb-šilam₂** "mother cow" (5); **amar** (calf); **áb babbar₂** "white cow" (6); representing the divine abundance that Šulgi brings with him into the land of Sumer.

In the second half of the stanza, following the second part of the title in ll. 1–2 ("I am a lion!"), Šulgi appears as a warrior of superhuman strength, who has no rival, and terrorizes the enemy outside the land of Sumer, likens himself to various wild lions and dragons: **piriĝ huš** "fierce lion" (l. 10); **piriĝ šu zi-ga** "rampant lion" (11);

¹¹¹ This pattern has been discussed by K. Lämmerhirt, 2012, 4 with n. 27.

The very same parallel declaration opens ll. 1–2 of Šulgi A: **lugal-me-en** // ^d**šul-gi-me-en**. Šulgi D also opens with two parallel lines, differing from each other only by the extension of these two key words an attribute: **lugal-ĝu₁₀** "my king" // **sipa šul-gi** "shepherd Šulgi"; see also Šulgi X ll. 105–106: **lugal** (// **šul-gi**) **en inim šudu₃-da** "O king (// Šulgi), the lord of prayers...". The parallelism of the type EPITHET // PN is otherwise quite common in Sumerian literature. See e.g. Ur-Namma A 33–34: **lugal** // **ur-^dnamma**; the refrain in Šulgi F 4–5 (=18–19; 28–29): **ur-saĝ** // **šul-gi**; Nanna's Journey to Nippur 1–2: **ur-saĝ-e** // ^d**nanna ^dsuen-e** (for this type of parallelism see Wilcke 1976, 214 sub R-1).

alim¹-huš "fierce bison" (14); **muš-huš** "raging serpent" (16); **ušumgal** "great lion-dragon" (17).

In the center of this stanza (ll. 8–9) Šulgi depicts himself as an ideal human king, who fulfills two of the major duties of an appropriate kingship: he maintains justice in his kingdom as a righteous shepherd; and provides protection for his land by fighting and terrorizing the foreign lands. All this in a particularly long poetic line that ends with the formula unique to Šulgi: **ĝe₂₆ in-ga-me-èn** "both of them are me indeed!".

As mentioned above, the 1sg. copula -men that rhymes the entire hymn, appears 6 times in the two opening lines of the stanza, 12 more times throughout the stanza, and twice more in the refrain lines. The intensity of Šulgi's self-praise in this stanza is increased also by the relatively great number of reduplicated verbal roots, adjectives and nouns: sù-sù (l. 3), gùn-gùn (4), babbar₂ (6), kún-kún, sù-sù, KA-KA (7), sa₆-sa₆ (11), gíd-gíd, bad-bad (13), šen-šen, sù-sù (15), -pà-pà- (18), -gú-un-gú-ne (19), gal-gal (20).

- Šulgi's Divine Appearance

In this stanza, Šulgi has a radiating splendor (l. 3), otherwise possessed by gods. His glow and illumination characterize his body, face and limbs (4, 6, 11), his clothing (7), his weapons (12–13), and finally in the refrain also his praise hymns, which shine like the stars of the sky (19).

Next, Šulgi stresses his divinity by referring to his birth in literary figures borrowed from the animal world: the famous 'breed-bull' and his wife, the 'mother-cow' (ll. 4–6).¹¹² Accordingly he is likened to a fat healthy 'calf', raised in the cow-pen amid milk and cream (5).¹¹³ The poetic depiction of Šulgi as a young, sturdy bull or calf, born to his divine mother-cow and raised in a pen full of abundance, is a recurrent motif in his royal hymns, taken over by some other deified kings of the OB

¹¹² For references to this motif in the Šulgi Hymns see Šulgi P b22–23; Šulgi B 6; Šulgi D 40–42 and refrain of Šulgi F; for a general discussion see Klein 1981b, 25ff. The same divine pair is mentioned in Sumerian literature as the parents of his own father Ur-Namma (cf. Ur-Namma C 112–113; UN I c1), and his 'brother and friend' Gilgameš (cf. refrain of Ĥuwawa ver.B; Death of Gilgameš c18–19; Enkidu in the Nether World).

¹¹³ The possibility cannot be excluded that the image of a robust and fat-necked calf, born to a breed-bull and a white mother cow (ll. 4–6) alludes to the abundance and fertility which Šulgi brought to his land.

period. See especially Šulgi D 3: amar tūr hé-ĝál-la tu-da gú mar-mar-re di-dè "Calf born in an abundant stall, thriving there".¹¹⁴

Although he does not name his divine parents, Šulgi implies here that he was born to an important divine pair from Uruk, specifically mentioned elsewhere in his hymns: his divine mother as Ninsun, and his divine father Lugalbanda.¹¹⁵ The deified king Lugalbanda is only secondary in importance to Ninsun, nevertheless conventionally Šulgi refers first to him as his divine father. Since Ninsun, the divine mother is depicted in Sumerian mythology as a wild-cow, he introduces his divine father, Lugalbanda as a "breed-bull", and himself as the "true seed engendered by a breed-bull".¹¹⁶ An important source to the discussion of the divine birth of Šulgi is Gudea, CylB xxiii:19–21, where Gudea, just like Šulgi, is said to have been borne by the goddess Ninsun:

diĝir-ama-zu ^dnin-sún-na ama gan **numun zi-da**

numun-e ki áĝ-àm

áb zi-dè mí ba-tu-da-me

"Your divine mother is Ninsun, the bearing mother of right offspring,
who loves her offspring.

You are whom the right cow has given birth to".

- Šulgi as a Divine Warrior

With the figure of the lion-dragon, which he attributes to himself in the second part of the stanza, Šulgi presents himself as a god-like warrior.¹¹⁷ Although most of the major gods and goddesses of the pantheon are honored by this epithet, it is especially applied to the gods Ninurta and Inana, to visualize their role as mythological war

¹¹⁴ Cf. comment by Klein, 1981a, 90.

¹¹⁵ After Šulgi P b22–23. For this topic in the Šulgi hymns see already Klein 1981a, 49, 94, 112 (for hymn Šulgi D); idem, 1981b, 10 and 23 nn. 109-110, 26 (for Šulgi P). See also commentary below.

¹¹⁶ See already Sjöberg 1969, 82; 124. For this epithet referring to gods see the following few parallels: Temple Hymns 398 (Numušda); Lipit-Eštar C 4 (said of An); Išme-Dagan W a72-74 (Nunamnir). Klein has also shown that the goddess Ninsun, as the mother of the royal dynasties that originated in Uruk, is referred to in the Sumerian literature by the epithet **munus áb zi** "the women, the good/faithful cow" (Klein, 1981b 26 with n. 135).

¹¹⁷ The likening of a hero to a lion figure is common on Sumerian literature. See e.g. the following references: Martu A 33: saĝ piriĝ ur-saĝ-ĝá-àm mē-a á-tah 'lugal'-[la...] "He is a lion-headed hero, the king's helper in battle..."; šu/usu mah saĝ piriĝ-ĝá ^den-líl-lá "(I am) the exceedingly mighty lion-headed one of Enlil" (Angim 162). For a mythical divine weapon heaving a lion's head see Gudea: mitum tukul-nir saĝ-piriĝ "the lion-headed weapon of *hulālu*-stone" (CylB xiii 23); Lugale 109: ^ētukul saĝ piriĝ₃-ĝá-ni-a šà mu-un-na-ab-zalag-ge "When he let (his) heart to shine at his lion-headed weapon". See also the following secondary literature: Heimpel 1987/90a, 80; idem 1986, 136f; Klein 1997, 102–103; Colbow 1997, 22ff; Wiggermann 1997; idem 1993, 227; Strawn 2005, 178ff., 206ff.

heroes.¹¹⁸ The image of an invincible dragon that has no rival in the battlefield is above all borrowed from the descriptions of Ninurta, whose character as the ultimate divine warrior is depicted in the myths Angim and Lugale.¹¹⁹

Finally, the appearance of Šulgi in bright clothing, holding a scepter, and ready for battle (l. 7), refers to his divine brotherhood with Gilgameš, whose heroism also originates in the city of Uruk:¹²⁰

ì-a lum-lum **ù-luh-ha sù-sù**
dumu-gir₁₅ giri₁₇-zal diĝir-re-ne
gud lipiš-tuku mè-a gub-ba
en banda₂ ^dgilgameš₃ unu^{ki}-ta mí du₁₁-ga
"O, oil-glistening one! Adorned with a staff!
Noble son! Delight of the gods!
Furious bull! Standing ready for battle!
Young lord Gilgameš! Cherished from Uruk!"

¹¹⁸ See the following literary descriptions of the deities Inana (Temple Hymns 206; 322; Inana E 2; 45; Iddin-Dagan D 5; Inana B 9) and Ninurta (Angim 133; Ninurta G 180; Šulgi T 10).

¹¹⁹ Note that Šulgi, just like Ninurta in the above myths, is equipped with the mythological weapons *šita*-mace, *aga-silig*-axe and *ĝiri*-sword (ll. 12–13).

¹²⁰ *Huwawa* ver.A 130f.; 164f.; B 1f.; Bull of Heaven b91f.; d39f. Translation according to Marchesi 2000, 679. See further in the commentary to l. 7 below.

2.1.2. The Refrain

Šulgi C has a three-line refrain:

ur-saĝ-me-èn mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-éš hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne
sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne
zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šir-re-éš hé-em-e-ne

I am a hero! Let them invoke my name faithfully!

I am a shepherd! Let them make me sparkle in prayers like the heavenly stars!

Let them sing my great hymns that are most appropriate for the mouth!

According to C. Wilcke's classification, this refrain is of Type B: i.e. a number of lines, repeated verbally throughout the composition,¹²¹ consolidating it under one central motif. In long hymns the additional function of the refrain is to separate between the literary units of the composition ("stanzas"). Among the royal hymns of Šulgi, hymns B, C, D, F, K¹²² and O have a refrain.¹²³ The refrain of Šulgi C is repeated ten times in the reconstructed text, separating the stanzas of the hymn.¹²⁴ The stanzas differ from each other in length and structure, and each one is devoted to the description of one unique quality of Šulgi as a perfect king and person. Thus each stanza is a separate literary unit as to its content and structure.

The multi-column Šulgi C texts A and J were apparently the first and third tablets of a three-tablet 'recension' of the entire composition, copied by one highly experienced scribe. The refrain in this 'recension' was copied in full only in its first appearance in ll. 18–20 (text A col. i:[18]–ii:2); afterwards only the first sign in each line of the refrain is written, leaving an empty space for the rest. Four one-column tablets (texts B, F, G and K) contain 2-3 full stanzas of the hymn. In these tablets the refrain is always copied in full, each one of them ending with the refrain followed by a catch-line of the next stanza.¹²⁵

The refrain of Šulgi C includes three long lines that exhibit a sophisticated literary structure. The first two lines closely parallel in their beginning: both open with a declaration, expressed by a nominal sentence with the 1st p. enclitic

¹²¹ Wilcke 1976, 214–217, sub. 2.3. Refrain.

¹²² Klein 1981a, 40 n. 73a.

¹²³ See already Klein 1981b, 14–15; Lämmerhirt 2012, 46. The hymn Šulgi Z is strung by an antiphon, but is classified as a fertility/love song.

¹²⁴ Cf. ll. 18–20; 32–34; 49–51; 81–83; 111–113; 141–143; 181–183; b17–19; b71–73; c20–22.

¹²⁵ See "Kurzzeilen" in Delnero 2018, 305.

copula -me-èn as its predicate, in which Šulgi stresses his excellency as a warrior and as a political leader: **ur-saĝ-me-èn // sipa-me-èn** "I am a hero // I am a shepherd". These recall the two declarations with which the hymn opens: **lugal-me-èn // Šulgi-me-èn** "I am a king // I am Šulgi";¹²⁶ as well as the entire first stanza, in which all the lines end with the enclitic copula -me-èn. The third line of the refrain, which does not open with such a declaration, is an extended verbal clause which parallels the verbal clause in the second part of the first line, as follows: both sentences begin with direct object qualified by the 1st person sing. possessive pronoun -ĝu₁₀: mu-ĝu₁₀ "my name" // zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ "my great hymns that are most appropriate to the mouth"; both follow with a precative verbal chain, in which the verb is modified by an adverb: zi-dè-éš pà "to invoke faithfully" // šir-re-éš e "to recite as songs";¹²⁷ and both verbal chains end with the assonant cluster of syllables /e-ne/: hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne "let them invoke" // hé-em-e-ne "let them recite".¹²⁸

- The Poetic Adverbial Structure

The literary-syntactical structure of the main independent sentences in the first and third lines of the refrain closely parallel:

ur-saĝ-me-èn	mu-ĝu ₁₀	zi-dè-éš	hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne
(sipa-me-en)	zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du ₇ -ĝu ₁₀	šir-re-éš	hé-em-e-ne

This literary-syntactical pattern is attested in many Sumerian divine and royal hymns, all of which contain an adverbial phrase marked by an adverb with the terminative suffix -éš, and exhibit the following syntactical structure:

¹²⁶ The parallelism king // shepherd Šulgi opens hymn Šulgi D (ll. 1–2): lugal-ĝu₁₀ g[ud-gal] á gú-nu muš-huš [igi] piriĝ-ĝá // sipa šul-gi gu₄-gal... "My king is a great bull (of) shining horns, a fierce snake, (of) lion eyes // Shepherd Šulgi is a great bull..."; cf. Šulgi X 105–106: [luga] en inim šudu₃-da-rá-zu-ke₄... // sipa šul-gi en šudu₃-da-rá-zu-ke₄... "[Kin]g, the lord of the words of prayers... // Shepherd Šulgi, the lord of prayers...", passim. Note also that the combination **lugal sipa** ("king (and) shepherd") in royal hymns is quite common; see e.g. Išbi-Erra C 26; Ninisina A 85; Ur-Zababa 6, passim.

¹²⁷ The adverbial phrase was already discussed by Römer (1965) who had difficulty defining its syntactic structure, see p. 103; for the phrase ár-re-eš du₁₁/pà see Sjöberg, PSD A/4 516 sub ár; see also Klein's discussion of the term. case (-eš/éš) an "adverbial terminative suffix", while discussing its orthography in the hymns of Šulgi (Klein 1985, *17, n. 50).

¹²⁸ Although the verbal clause in the second line of the refrain has generally the same syntactical structure, its components greatly differ from those of the first and third line: the direct object is not qualified by -ĝu₁₀, its adverb is expressed by the loc. case suffix -a, and its precative verbal chain is dominated by the syllable /u/: šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne.

1. They usually open with a direct vocative address of the god or the king, calling him by his personal name or his epithet.¹²⁹
2. This is followed by a distinguished quality of the god or the king, related to him by a possessive pronoun (-ĝu₁₀/-zu/-a-ni).
3. This is continued by an adverb marked by the suffix -eš (e.g. zi-dè-eš, ár-re-eš etc.).
4. The line ends with a verb of praise, whose direct object is the god's or king's distinguished quality (no. 2 above).

See e.g. the following parallels:

en^d nin-ĝeš-zi-da zà-mí-zu du₁₀-ga šir-re-eš àm-mi-ni-in-ne

"Lord Ningišzida, they recite as a song your hymn, which is sweet" (Ningišzida C refrain);¹³⁰

^dnin-urta nam-mah dugud-da-zu a-re-eš du₁₁-ge-éš

"Ninurta, to recite as a praise-song your imposing greatness" (Ur-Ninurta C 28);

^dašnan-gen₇ mu-zu ka kalam-ma ka kur-kur-ra-ka du₁₀-ge-éš hé-'eb'¹-ĝál'²

"Like Ašnan, may your name be sweetly set in the Land's mouth and the foreign lands' mouth" (Šulgi X 138).¹³¹

- Worthy of Hymns as a Royal Epithet

The three lines of the refrain mention three different types of poetry, in which Šulgi wishes his heroism and kingship to be praised: prayers (šudu₃), hymns (zà-mí) and songs (šir). It is interesting to note that these three poetic types are also mentioned in his two other long self-laudatory hymns:

Šulgi B 285–288:

tukum-bi ĝe₂₆-e-gen₇ nam-lugal si sá-àm

mí šudu₃ šir nam-kù-zu-ĝu₁₀ / á nam-ur-saĝ-ĝá ki-ĝiri₃-ĝen-na-ĝu₁₀

lugal-bi-ir é-gal du₁₀-ga-na hé-na-an-ús

¹²⁹ In a self-laudatory hymn like the present, the king introduces himself with the enclitic copula PN-me-en "I am PN". In the third line of the refrain, this self-introduction is only implied.

¹³⁰ See further Ningišzida C ll. 5, 13, 22, 29, 38; cf. Sjöberg 1975, 305–308.

¹³¹ See also: ^dšul-gi-ra na[m]-mah gal-gal-la-ni a-re-éš pà-dé-dè "Šulgi, to invoke as a praise-song his great loftiness" (Šulgi V 31); nibru^{ki} šir kù-zu níĝ-kal-kal a-re-eš-šè dib'-àm "Nippur, your holy song is a precious thing, surpassing all praise" (Išme-Dagan W c17; hymn to Ninurta [ETCSL 2.5.4.29] b3; hymn to Enki [ETCSL 2.5.4.b] 11); (nin-ĝu₁₀...) mu-zu du₁₀-ge-eš-e im-pà-dè "(My lady...), I invoke your name sweetly" (Ninisina A 60); (mè-ba...) kur-kur-re i-lu-lam-ma-bi du₁₀-ge-eš im-mi-íb-bé "(In the battle...) the lands recite its song sweetly" (Inana-Ebih 21).

"If he is a just king like me,
 then let my praises, prayers and songs, my heroic power and expeditions,
 to be laid for that king in his good palace";
 and Šulgi E 14-15:

lugal **mu šir-ra** hé-du₇-me-en
^dšul-gi-me-en **šudu₃ zà-mí-gá** silim-éš ga-du₁₁
 "I am the king whose name is very suitable for song,
 I am Šulgi; let me be praised in my prayers and hymns!"

Furthermore, the praises, hymns and prayers in honor of Šulgi are intended to be preserved for generations: **mul-an-gen₇** "like the heavenly stars" (see below in the philological commentary to l. 19). So also in the other long self-laudatory in Šulgi B l. 364:

šir-gá **mul-an-gen₇** gù im-dé-e-ne
 "They will recite my songs like the heavenly stars".

However, although the lines of the refrain of Šulgi C are dedicated to the recitation of the hymns as oral poetry, from what emerges from Šulgi's other hymns, the king's praise songs are also preserved in writing, studied and copied, as part of the curriculum of the Sumerian professional schools, so in Šulgi E 240–241, 246:

èn-du-gu₁₀ ka-ka hé-gál / šir-gu₁₀ gēštu₂-ge na-an-dib-bé...
 é-gēštu₂ ^dnisaba ní-g-umun₂-a gal-gal mu-bi-šè **mul-an kù-gen₇** bì-sar
 "Let my poems be set in every mouth, let my songs not pass from the ear...
 to that end they are written down as a great scholarship in Nisaba's House of Wisdom, and like the pure heavenly stars".

Note also the concluding lines of Šulgi V (ll. 30–33), where this poetic simile is applied to a praise song of Šulgi, written on a statue of the king:

u₄ ti-la-šè ur-sa-gê-e-ne-e / ^dšul-gi-ra na[m]-mah gal-gal-la-ni **a-re-éš pà-dé-dè**
 x-alan u₄ sù-rá mu da-rí-ka-na / **mul-an-né-éš[?] bí-in-gùn[?]**
 "In order that forever the heroes shall praise the exalted greatness of Šulgi -
 he made his... enduring statue of everlasting fame sparkle like the heavenly stars".

In Šulgi C however, Šulgi wishes that he himself would be shining in his prayers and hymns as a star, implying his divine status represented by a star in the heaven.¹³²

¹³² See above in the literary introduction (1.3.2. Refrain and other Repetitive Motifs), and Steinkeller 2013, 459 n. 1.

2.1.3. Second Stanza: Šulgi the High *išib*-Priest

In the second stanza (ll. 21–31, followed by the refrain in ll. 32–34) Šulgi seems to describe his accession to the priesthood in a ceremony, which took place in the temple amidst proper purification rites. Since he "rose to adulthood" (l. 21), i.e. at a very young age, he "wore the crown" (l. 24), following the untimely death of his father, Ur-Namma. During or after his coronation, he played the role of the purification-priesthood (*nam-išib*), purifying himself, clad in the *ba*-garment and wearing a *hili*-wig (ll. 30–31).¹³³ However, unlike the previous stanza, in which Šulgi appears glamorously in the land of Sumer and in foreign lands, the content of the second stanza seems to refer to the king's appearance within his royal city Ur.

Throughout the stanza Šulgi boasts of the variety of statuses and roles he has been dedicated to fulfilling: **nam-lú** "adulthood" (l. 21), **nam-nun** "princeship" (27), **nam-lugal** "kingship" (28) and **nam-išib** "priesthood" (29).

This literary unit is divided, according to its content and syntactic structure, into five units, each of which represents a different stage in the process of consecrating Šulgi to the priesthood, according to chronological order:

1. The exposition of the stanza (ll. 21–23), presenting a nominal sentence of an ablative structure: "Since I am the one who rose to manhood (l. 21) - I am a bull-calf born in a year of abundance, fed with true milk in a day of sweet prosperity" (ll. 22–23), seems to constitute a parenthetical clause, referring to Šulgi's birth in the past, which, like in the former stanza (ll. 4–6), is likened here to the birth of a divine bull-calf.

Following the nominal exposition, the stanza presents four verbal sentences, each of two poetic lines:

¹³³ Abundance arriving with Šulgi's birth or during his lifetime represents in the hymns of Šulgi the divine choice (cf. e.g. Šulgi E 18–19; Šulgi Y 3–4). In other occasions Šulgi himself serves the Sumerian gods by filling their temples with abundance (cf. Šulgi A 51; Šulgi Y 25–26), reflecting both liabilities of the king: providing the Land as well as the temples. In the next, circular, stage, abundance is sent back to the Land following the service in the temples; cf. Šulgi V 25–26: ^ananna unu₂ kiĝ-nim bur nun su₈-ga-ni sà-ul nam-mi-in-du₁₁ / u₄ ne-[x]-a [na]m-he nam im-mi-in-tar "He provided the princely bowls of Nanna, set up in the morning-meal hall. On that day prosperity was decreed for him"; Šulgi R 67–68: šul-gi sipa nidba gal-gal-la-ni mu-ne-ši-ib-dib-dib-bé / u₄ nam-he-a mi-ni-ib-zal-zal-ne ĝe₆ i-im-i-i-ne "Šulgi the shepherd transfers to them (Enlil and Ninlil) his great food-offerings. They pass the day with abundance, they praise the night".

2. Once he became a king (ll. 24–25), Šulgi shines in his crown, just like the sun rising over the earth, he stood at the center of his city and people.
3. Following his coronation, he inlaid the Etemeniguru, the terrace of Nanna's ziqqurra in Ur, with abundant carnelian (ll. 26–27), probably to make it fitting for the next stage:
4. Šulgi purifies himself with the royal purification rite (šu-luh nam-lugal-lá) and the priesthood purification rite (a nam-išib-ba), like those of the Abzu, Enki's temple in Eridu (ll. 28–29).
5. From that day on Šulgi is staying to serve in the temple as a priest, clad in the *ba*-garment and wearing a *hili*-wig, supported by the seven divine wisdoms who accompany the ritual performance in the temple (ll. 30–31).

The 1st p. copula -me-èn, which rhymes the entire first stanza of the hymn, appears in this stanza twice, framing it at the beginning and at the end. The copula delimits the exposition of the stanza (l. 23), and appears again in the last line of the stanza (31) in a nominal phrase, which is syntactically identical to the first two lines of refrain of the hymn following it (ll. 32–33): it opens with a nominal sentence formed by 1st p. copula -me-èn, and closes with a verbal sentence of pl.-imperf. form, having the verbal suffix -ene:

Line 31: šá¹-tu₉-ba₁₃-lá hi-li gùr-gùr-**me-èn** gá-la nu-mu-un-ta-dag-ge¹-**ne**
Refrain a-b: ur-saĝ-**me-èn** mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-éš hé-em-pà-pà-dè-**ne**
 sipa-**me-èn** šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-**ne**

- Šulgi and the *išib*-Priesthood

The motif of Šulgi's functioning as a priest, in addition to his major role as a king, has been already discussed by J. Klein in his edition of other Šulgi hymns. In Šulgi G (ll. 44–53),¹³⁴ Šulgi serves in Enlil's temple in Nippur as an *išib*-priest and an *en*-priest, dressed in a *ba*-garment, apparently on the day of his elevation to kingship; Šulgi X (ll. 8–15) describes the sacred marriage between Šulgi and the goddess Inana in her temple in Uruk. After he enters the temple, wearing a *ba*-garment and a *hili*-wig,

¹³⁴ Klein 1991, 298–299. The relationship between these two roles of the Sumerian king has been much discussed in the scholarly literature; in particular cf. *ibid.* n. 31; Wilcke 1974, 180f.; Heimpe 2009, 15ff.

Inana utters for him a song, praising him as a king and an *en*-priest;¹³⁵ in Šulgi B (ll. 131–135) Šulgi boasts of performing various ritual acts, including the hand-washing and *išib* purification rites, mentioned in our hymn.¹³⁶ The stanza before us is dedicated to the performance of that ritual in the *é-temen-ní-guru₃* (lit. "House, Foundation Platform Clad in Terror"), the terrace of Nanna's ziqqurrat in Ur.¹³⁷

While the origin of the *en*-priesthood was in Uruk, the *išib*-priesthood originated in Eridu.¹³⁸ Hence, the rites that Šulgi performs in this stanza originate in Eridu, the residence of the god Enki, whose name is not mentioned at all in the literary unit before us.¹³⁹ According to the Sumerian King-List (ll. 1–2), kingship (*nam-lugal*) has been initially given from heaven to the city of Eridu and from there transferred to other cities of Sumer.¹⁴⁰ Enki himself, whose abode is in the Abzu, is also the patron of the water purification ritual and its priesthood (*nam-išib*).¹⁴¹

After having the temple inlaid with carnelian, rendering it fit for purification rites like the temple of Eridu, Šulgi institutes perfect purification rites, and cleanses

¹³⁵ Klein 1981a, 90–91:8–10.

¹³⁶ For other Sumerian kings that fulfilled the role of an *išib*-priest see Wilcke, *ibid.* 184; 199–201 n. 119 and 122. Interestingly, in Gudea CylA x:7–14 the god Ningirsu also claims to perform the incantation rite before his lord the god An, as a king and *išib*-priest: an *lugal diĝir-re-ne-ke₄ / ^dnin-^rĝir¹-su lugal išib an-na / mu-šè mu-sa₄ "An, king of the gods, called me by name: "Ningirsu king and *išib*-priest of Heaven"" (12–14).*

¹³⁷ The building of the *é-temen-ní-guru₃* was initiated by Ur-Namma and completed by Šulgi (see Zettler–Hafford 2015 370f.; George 1993, 149; Schaudig 2001, 351–353). Cf. Šulgi hymns X ll. 127–133 and V ll. 23–26 where Nanna decrees the fate of Šulgi, blessing him with prosperity upon entering the Etemenniguru, and presenting their lavish offerings (see already Klein 1981a, 162; *idem* 1985, *30).

¹³⁸ Wilcke, *ibid.* 180f. The origin of the *išib*-priesthood in Eridu under the patronage of the god Enki was already discussed in detail (see Ebeling 1938, 376; Falkenstein 1959, 99; Sjöberg 1969, 61; Green 1975, 223–224).

¹³⁹ Enmetena of Lagaš built in Eridu the *É-apsû* (lit. ocean temple), named also *É-Engurra* or *É-^dEnki*: the temple of Enki, which was rebuilt in the Neo-Sumerian period by Ur-Namma, Šulgi's father (Unger 1938, 469). As will be seen in the commentary below, in this hymn Šulgi seems to renovate the temple of Nanna in Ur in a style reminiscent of Enki's temple in Eridu.

¹⁴⁰ Sumerian King-List 1–2: [nam]-lugal an-ta e₁₁-dè-a-ba / [eri]du^{ki} nam-lugal-la "When the kingship descended from heaven - the kingship was in Eridu"; see further Lipit-Eštar A 35–36.

¹⁴¹ Cf. Inana-Šukaletuda 51–52 (= 60–61); Enki and the World Order (= EWO) 142–145; Nanna E 38. See Sjöberg 1969, 61. See also the following bilingual reference (5R 51 ii 71f.): ^dnun-ur₄-ra lugal nam-išib-ba-[ke₄] : ^dEa bēl išippū[ti] "Ea(-Enki), the patron of the priesthood".

In a private conversation at the Institution of Assyriology in Heidelberg, Prof. K. Lämmerhirt drew my attention to the mythological feature of the motif of transferring the purification-water from its source in the city of Eridu to the city of Ur, the capital of the Neo-Sumerian kingdom. This motif corresponds to the transferring of other royal and priestly symbols from the city of Eridu to some other central Sumerian cities. In the composition Ninurta's Journey to Eridu (Ninurta B) Ninurta crosses the road from Nippur to Eridu and back, transferring the kingship and *me* divine powers from Eridu to Enlil in Nippur; so also in Inana-Enki, Inana carries from Eridu to Uruk the divine powers and a variety of royal elements and priesthood positions. The transfer of the *me* divine powers and *en*-priesthood from the city of Eridu to the city of Uruk in ancient times is also mentioned in the composition about Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta (ll. 57ff., 88ff.).

himself in holy purification waters (probably brought) from Eridu. The lines of the stanza may refer to a specific ritual on the day of Šulgi's coronation, or to periodical ceremonies during the major yearly festivals.¹⁴² Compare the parallel lines from hymn Šulgi G (ll. 46, 49–50):

[na]m-išib du₁₀-ga-kam **šu-luh dadag-ga**-kam...

sipa **nam-lugal-la** bara₂ mah-ha túm-ma

šul-gi **nam-en-na** tu₉-ba₁₃ sù-sù-àm

"(The city of Ur) is of a sweet priesthood, is of a pure purification-rite...

shepherd of kingship who fits the lofty throne-dais,

Šulgi of the *en*-priesthood, adorned with a *ba*-garment".

¹⁴² Similarly, Ḫammu-rāpi is still praised for practicing the purification rite of the kingship, see Ḫammu-rāpi C 2. That the 'hand-washing' purification rite was also the privilege of deities of major importance, we learn from praise addressed to Ninurta, Ninurta's Journey to Eridu (Ninurta B) c6; for similar praises of other deities see comment to l. 31 below.

2.1.4. Third Stanza: Šulgi the Supreme Architect

In the third stanza (ll. 35–48, refrain: ll. 49–51) Šulgi boasts of having scientific and practical training in land-related professions – land measurement, agricultural cultivation, architecture and calculations related to areas and volumes. Although in this stanza there are some lines that are not completely clear, it can be determined that the stanza presents a chiastic structure, according to the following structure:

- Lines 35–36 and 47–48 delimit the stanza by introduction and summary, and carry some statements by which Šulgi boasts of having the talents of a king and a scholar who heads the school of sciences relevant to the land: mathematical calculation and drawing of plans. The 1sg. enclitic copula *-men* is repeated twice in the opening statement of the stanza (l. 35). The phrase **igi-ġál kalam-ma** (translated here: "the science of the Land") that appears in the opening line, repeats chiastically in the two last lines ("of the Land - its ...science").
- Lines 37 and 46 form together a secondary poetic framework. Both lines are short and end with a conjugated ergative verb, and are the only conjugated-verbal sentences throughout the stanza.¹⁴³ Both verbs are compound and contain a nominal particle, as well as the locative preposition. The parallel words **kù.g** "pure" (37) and **za-ġin** "lapis-lazuli" (46) are repeated in relative proximity in line 41, which stands right in the center of the stanza.¹⁴⁴ Line 37 opens with the ergative particle: **šū-ġu₁₀-ù** ("my hand"), and it is not impossible that the same ergative is also used in the sentence in line 46 ("My hand straightened the pure reed... [my hand] wrote [*the above words*] on the lapis-lazuli tablet"), it is also possible however that in line 46 the ergative is the first person - Šulgi himself ("I wrote on the lapis-lazuli tablet").
- According to our understanding, the framed lines 38–45 are the text of the inscription that Šulgi wrote on the lapis-lazuli tablet; a long statement that is

¹⁴³ Note that the two verbal sentences, the one in l. 37 and that in l. 46, are both preceded by a statement that ends with the 1sg. enclitic copula *-men*; as saying: "I am the most talented at (*so and so...*), (*therefore*) I did (*so and so...*)!".

¹⁴⁴ Line 41 is also presented as parallels to ll. 37+46 according to its content, as follows: In ll. 37+46 Šulgi holds the pure reed with which he inscribes on the lapis-lazuli tablet, in the same way, in l. 41 Šulgi holds the lapis-lazuli rope with which he draws the pure field. This literary design reflects Šulgi's unique ability to be entrusted with the divine work of the land plan, both in the planning phase and in the execution phase.

styled as self-praise, ends with the 1sg. enclitic copula -men. The ending formula of the inscription: (...) **a šu gal du₇-a-me-èn** "I am greatly perfected in..." (l. 45) presumably concludes the entire literary unit, following ten nominal sentences that enumerate Šulgi's greatness in the field in question. This unit discusses three subtopics: Šulgi is an expert in measuring fields and borders, and therefore he threatens the borders of the hostile lands and their property (ll. 38–40); however, Šulgi brings to the fields of his own land an agricultural prosperity, making them thereby grow choice crop and produce rich harvest (41–43); Šulgi is an able architecture, expert in drawing plans and laying foundations of state buildings and inscribing monuments with royal inscriptions (44–45).

- Šulgi as a Divine Architect

The skills and crafts that Šulgi attributes to himself throughout this stanza, are all ascribed in Sumerian literature to the goddess Nisaba, who is also the patroness of the scribes and scribal arts, head of the Eduba, the Sumerian school, and the Eĝeštu, the high educational institution. By virtue of her role as patron of the scribal arts, Nisaba is responsible for recording various measurements and calculations, including calculations of the quantities of grain or planning and bordering of agricultural areas, and hence she is also the patron of the agricultural lands and produce.¹⁴⁵

Moreover, Nisaba herself is also called "the scribe of the Land" who holds the measuring rod and engraves the boundaries of the Land on a clay tablet.¹⁴⁶ Another image of Nisaba in Sumerian literature describes her as one who "holds the lapis-lazuli tablet", which alludes to the heavenly stars 'engraved' on the sky as on a blue

¹⁴⁵ For a diachronic description of Nisaba's roles and representations see Michalowski 2001, 575f.; Bauer 1998, 502 (etymology). For suggestions explaining the relationship between Nisaba's various roles see Selz 1989, 491–197; especially see scheme in p. 496.

¹⁴⁶ See EWO 412–417, quoted in our comment on line 41 below; and see further Enlil and Sud 157–161: lú dam sì-ga-ĝu₁₀ mu-un-ù-tu kù^dnisaba-ke₄ / ^dezina₂ ^dezina₂ mú zi ki-en-gi-ra hé-em / ab-sín-na ki-sikil sag₉-ga-gin₇ ní pa è ak-za / ^diškur kù-ĝál ú-a-zu hé-em a ki-ta mi-ri-in-dé / zà-mu-a **gu saĝ** gibil-gibil-za **še saĝ** gibil-gibil-za "May my beautiful wife, who was born by holy Nisaba, be Ezina who is growing grain, the life of Sumer! When you appear in the furrows like a beautiful young girl, may Iškur, the canal inspector, be your provider, supplying you with water from the ground. The height of the year is marked with your new prime flax and your new prime grain! In the new year - in your new **elite flax**, in your new **elite barley**..." (cf. l. 43).

lapis-lazuli tablet.¹⁴⁷ Šulgi presents himself throughout this stanza, as having been endowed with all of Nisaba's attributes implicitly, without mentioning her name.

Since Šulgi attributes to himself in this stanza three important aspects of the goddess Nisaba, we find here three developed motifs, borrowed almost verbatim from divine hymns referring to this goddess. The first motif is borrowed from the Nisaba Temple Hymn (ll. 529–542), which presents Nisaba as the divine measurer of heaven and earth, the goddess who brought down from heaven divine counsel to all lands (cf. ll. 38–39 in our stanza). The second motif is the function of Nisaba, as the surveyor of the cultivated lands of Sumer, in charge of the crops and the allocation of the gods' meals, borrowed from Enki and the World Order (= EWO) ll. 412–417 (cf. lines 41–43 of our stanza).¹⁴⁸ The third motif is borrowed from the myth Enlil and Sud (ll. 156f.), where Nisaba's daughter becomes Ezina the grain, source of life to the land of Sumer, bringing with her elite flax and barley. Moreover, Nisaba is also entrusted with all the scientific skills belonging to the art of the scribe, such as mathematics, including calculation, accounting and measurements of areas and volumes.

Another god who is depicted in Sumerian literature in terms of a scholar is Nisaba's spouse - the god Ħaia. In the Hymn Rīm-Sîn B (ll. 1–6), he is praised as a divine scholar, a scribe, head of the 'Wisdom House of Nisaba', who holds the tablets of fate, as well as an advisor who makes decisions concerning heaven and earth. Similarly, according to our stanza, Šulgi is the head of a parallel institution: 'House of Wisdom and Knowledge of the Land'.¹⁴⁹

- Highly Poetic Characteristics

Stylistically, the stanza is strung together by a number of highly poetic expressions, which recur throughout it in pairs:

The expression *igi-ĝál kalam-ma* 'Knowledge of the Land' (l. 35) is repeated inversely in the last two lines: *ĝeš-hur kalam-ma-ka igi-ĝál šúm-mu-bi* (47-48). The compound *ĝeš hur* is repeated, once as a verbal compound "drawing plans" (44) and once as a noun "planning" (47). The 1st person cop. *-me-èn* is repeated twice in the

¹⁴⁷ Alster 1976, 117f.; see also Sjöberg 1969, 148; Hallo 1970, 130 and commentary to l. 46 below.

¹⁴⁸ The same divine measuring instruments given in the hands of Nisaba, are the ones also given in the hands of Šulgi, the holy reed and lapis-lazuli rope, and he is responsible for the agricultural prosperity of the land of Sumer. The collection of talents listed in our stanza is attributed in two more compositions to the relatives of Nisaba.

¹⁴⁹ For the 'House - Wisdom of Nisaba' see Falkenstein 1950, 143; Green 1978, 151f.; see also commentary to l. 35 below.

opening (l. 36) and once more in the end of the central unit (45). Finally, the unique phrase of our hymn, which recurs throughout it five times: á-bi-šè in-ga-zu "I know them to their limits!", appears in this stanza for the first time (48).

Some pairs of parallel idioms: ge kù-ga (si sá) "(to straighten) the holy reed" (37) // éš za-gìn (ra) "(to throw) the lapis-lazuli rope" (41); an-ga-lam "elevated heaven" (40) // ki-ga-lum "elevated? (earth) place" (45); ki tag "to set down to the ground" (44) // saĝ tag "to set up high?" (45).

Note further the two idioms in the long poetic line 40, borrowed from proverbial literature, which may turn out to refer to the foreign rebellious lands: gu-gen₇ si-il "to split like threads", and níĝ-gur₁₁ an ga-lam-ma-šè dal-la "possessions which fly towards the high heavens" (see commentary to this line below). Note finally the long poetic line referring to the writing of cuneiform inscriptions on pedestals (45), which apparently contains three loanwords borrowed from Akkadian: maš-dara₃ (<maštaru) "inscription", ki-gal-lum-ma (<kigallu) "pedestal" and saĝ-tag-ga (<santakku) "writing" (see commentary below).

2.1.5. Fourth Stanza: Šulgi Head of the Assembly

The fourth stanza of the hymn (ll. 52–80, refrain: ll. 81–83) is devoted to the office that Šulgi holds as a leader of the general assembly of the 'black headed' (i.e. the people).¹⁵⁰ According to this literary passage, the assembly, led by Šulgi, was composed of citizens of the country: *ùĝ saĝ ĝi₆* "the black headed" (l. 57), representatives of foreign countries *kur-kur* (l. 58) and possibly even foreign subjects *e-re-bu-um* "newcomers" (l. 63) who had recently arrived in the country. The forum of the assembly is represented throughout the stanza by at least five different Sumerian words: *muš* "plenum" (l. 54); *pu-hu-ru-um^{ki}* "parliament" (56); *gú si-a* "gathering" (57); *unken* "assembly" (59, [74]); *saĝ-ki* "forum" (60).

In the assembly, Šulgi is the most outstanding speaker, and has a witty response to any counter-opinion. Hence, Šulgi's opinion has the highest authority and thus is the decisive voice in the decisions made at the assembly. Moreover, Šulgi's authority to decree the decisions made at the assembly has a direct impact on the fate of the land of Sumer as well as on the fate of neighboring countries, be they friendly or hostile.¹⁵¹

According to what emerges from this literary unit, the assembly was a noisy and competitive forum where delegates wrestled with each other and made their claims. The confrontation between the representatives of the assembly is compared along the lines to an arena where bulls wrestle with each other, growling in their voices, while above all the other bulls rises a single authoritative bull, whose voice silences the groans of all the others. However, according to what is reflected in the preserved parts of the stanza, Šulgi's authority in the assembly does not stem from being a king who imposes his absolute power on his subjects, but from his extraordinary ability to make an honest argument, convince his colleagues of his justice, overcome his ideological

¹⁵⁰ For the civil institution of the assembly in ancient Mesopotamia see Jacobsen 1943; idem, 1957, 99f.; especially see 165f.; Wilcke 1974, 182–3. For the assembly under the kings of the third dynasty of Ur, cf. Wilcke 1973.

The assembly in the Sumerian literature is commonly described as a divine institution, place in which the *Anunna*-gods determine fates of kings and countries, led by the gods Enlil and An; see van Dijk 1960, 122f.; Falkenstein 1965. According to Jacobsen (1957, 106), marking Enlil as the leader of the divine assembly reflects the fact that the city of Nippur, the patronage city of Enlil, was the center where human assembly used to gather, composed of representatives of all the Sumerian cities (see also Falkenstein 1965, 130f).

¹⁵¹ For the role of the Assembly in making a decision regarding the declaration of war, see Jacobsen 1957, 116f.

opponents by his persuasive talent and authority, and administrate justice by his legal integrity.¹⁵²

However, while as the head of the general assembly Šulgi hears the claims of representatives from both the land of Sumer and the neighboring countries, as a supreme court judge Šulgi leads his Land (kalam) justly, but shows a cruel attitude towards the enemies of the country (ki-bala; 76), a duality that repeats throughout our hymn.¹⁵³

The stanza is very fragmentary. Only five lines have been fully preserved in the first part of the stanza, and two lines in the second part. Eight lines from the second part of the stanza are completely missing, while in some others only single words have been preserved. However, completion of some of the defective lines, as well as restoration of the general structure of the stanza, is possible in some cases.

We may assume that the first two lines of the stanza (ll. 52–53) indicate the two issues discussed in the two parts of the stanza following them: Šulgi's excellence and leadership in the assembly is the subject that occupies the first part of the stanza (56–[?]), while in the second part of the stanza Šulgi boasts of his wise military and political decisions, which enabled him to fortify Sumer while weakening the Land's enemies ([?]-80). It is also possible that the second pair of lines in the stanza (54–55) also lists these two skills of Šulgi; accordingly, lines 52 and 54 stand as a title to the first unit in the stanza, while lines 53 and 55 stand as a title to the second unit.¹⁵⁴ This analysis may be supported by the fact that the keyword **inim**, which appears twice in ll. 52+54, repeats five times throughout the first unit, having a spectrum of meanings: "word" (52), "counsel" (54), "claim" (58), "speech" (59), and "argument" (61). The keyword **di** ("verdict") that appears in l. 55, repeats at least once more in the second unit of the stanza (75); the words šà "heart" (53, 73²), kalam "Land" ([53], 76) and lú "man, people" (55, 79, 80), possibly also characterize the second unit.

Following the four-line foreword, we read lines 56–62 as one syntactic and literary unit, representing the first part of the stanza. Syntactically, this unit is a long nominal sentence of anticipatory-genitive, when ll. 56–57 represent the possessor

¹⁵² See already Wilcke 1973, 51.

¹⁵³ For the role of the assembly as a judicial court, even executing judgments, see Jacobsen, *ibid.* 162f.

¹⁵⁴ This interlaced structure repeats at least twice more in the preserved lines of the stanza: in addition to ll. 52–55, we also find it in lines 59–62, as well as 77–80, as will be seen below.

(*puhrum*, "assembly"), followed by a genitive postposition -a[k]; l. 58 represents the possessed (*sukkal*, "minister"), followed by a possessive suffix -bi; and ll. 59–62 present a description of Šulgi himself as the syntactic subject of the sentence, which according to the reconstruction ends with the 1st p. copula [-me-èn] "I am!". See the following simplified translation:

"Of the assembly (ll. 56-57) - its minister (58), (who is so and so...) [is me!] (59-62)".

The structure of ll. 59–62 is also interlaced, when lines 59+61 complement each other to the description of Šulgi when he triumphs over the assembly of the electors, while lines 58+62 complement each other to the image of Šulgi among the other representatives in the assembly as an alpha bull that without difficulty surpasses the other bulls in the arena.

Lines 63–74 from the middle of the stanza have scarcely been preserved: two words have been preserved from ll. 63–64, followed by an eight-line lacuna, and two more words have been preserved from ll. 73–74. It is possible that this unit discussed the content of the decisions made in the general assembly, and especially those that led the Sumerian kingdom into a military confrontation with its hostile neighbors.

The six-line unit that closes the stanza (ll. 75–80) has been well enough preserved. The duality, already discussed above, according to which Šulgi's qualities bring blessing to his own land, yet terror and destruction to the enemies of Sumer, is at the center of this unit: In l. 75 the judgmental supremacy of Šulgi is revealed as a judge of justice for his people on the one hand, and on the other hand as a curser for his enemies. Therefore, in l. 76, the verdict is revealed respectively by strengthening of the land of Sumer or by destruction of the enemy land. In ll. 77–80, Šulgi's attitude to justice and righteous (lines 77 and 79 respectively), and alternately towards the evil and wicked (78, 80), appears again, accompanied by images from the animal world, which compare Šulgi to a bull and a snake, linking these lines with the opening lines and the first stanza of the hymn. This interlaced structure reminds the approximate structure of the opening lines of the stanza, as well as ll. 59–62, mentioned above. Note however, that syntactically, lines 77–78 present an (almost) identical structure, as do lines 79–80. However, lines 77+79 complement each other syntactically, as do lines 78+80; for which see in the philological commentary below.

Finally, a chiasmic structure can be identified in the opening and conclusion of the stanza: According to the reconstruction, the 1st p. copula me-èn closes each of the

two first and two last lines of the stanza (and may be some of the literary units throughout the stanza; see ll. [62], 75). The four-line unit that opens the stanza is closed by a unique literary formula discussed above in the introduction to the former stanza: **á-bi-šè in-ga-zu** "I know them (these skills) to their limit!". This highly poetic formula repeats at the end of the stanza, preceding the four-line unit that closes the stanza, constituting a framework for the whole central part of the stanza (between lines 55 and 76).¹⁵⁵

- Authority of Divine Origin

The royal authority of Šulgi to lead the assembly in the Land is derived from a divine authority, granted to him by the gods, as we can learn from some other Šulgi hymns. Those hymns tell us how the gods of the destinies, Enlil and Ninlil, decree the fate of the king to be a source of life and happiness to the land of Sumer by leading the earthly assembly. However, as in the other stanzas of our hymn, this stanza also does not mention Sumerian gods by name, and so Šulgi stands at the center of this stanza carrying this divine authority about which we learn from other sources; compare the following Šulgi hymns:

Šulgi D 393–394:

šà-za šà húl-la hé-in-ĝál nam-ba-kúš-u-dè-èn / lugal zi-šà-ĝál unken-za hé-me-en
 "(Enlil:) "May there be a joyful heart inside you, may you never be weary! May you be a life-giving king of your assembly!"";

Šulgi Y 7–8:

^dnin-líl kalam-ma ĝù húl-la ma-ni-dé-a-ke₄-éš / unken-na ĝizzal ma-ni-ak-ke₄-éš
 "Ninlil had blessed me with joyful in the Land, made me to be heard in the assembly".

In another hymn of Šulgi, leading the assembly of the people is attributed to the warrior god Nergal, in Šulgi U 8, 12:

ulu₃-ĝin₇-nam ki-bal šub-šub-bu-[me-èn]... / ùĝ-e gú ši-im-si ĝiri₃-zu-šè
 "You ruffle the rebel lands like the south wind... At your feet the people assemble".¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁵ This formula also rhymes our stanza with the previous stanza (see l. 48), and with the following one (see l. 101).

¹⁵⁶ This authority of the god Nergal came from the power of his father Enlil, comp. also Nergal C 12–13: h[ur-sa]ĝ ki-a ùĝ gú si-a / [a-a-zu] ^den-líl-le saĝ-e-eš mu-ri-in-rig₇ "(Nergal,) [your father] Enlil

And like Nergal, Šulgi also leads the assembly, as well as the army to war against rebellious lands:¹⁵⁷

Šulgi X 49-51:

mè-a igi-šè ĝen-zu ĝe₂₆-me-èn / šen-šen-na kuš₇-gin₇ tukul lá-zu-me-èn

unken-na ka-mud-ĝál-zu-me-èn

"(Inana to Šulgi:) I pass before you in battle! I, like a servant, am your weapon carrier in every combat!

I am your advocate in the assembly";¹⁵⁸

Šulgi O 18-19:

unken ĝar-ra ùĝ ša-ra-ba^{kuš} gur₂₁^{úr} ki ús-sa

ki-en-gi-ir-a ki-tuš ĝá-ra-bi ní gal ki ús-sa

"The convened assembly of its numerous people, a shield - and well established!

The occupied settlements of Sumer, a great awe - and well established!".

Finally, as remarked already by J. Klein,¹⁵⁹ the closest parallel to our unit is found in the self-laudatory hymn Šulgi B 221ff. in which Šulgi boasts of being the most eloquent speaker of the assembly, which also functions as a court; Šulgi B 221-227:

di-til-la-ĝá šà uš im-gu₇ / gal-zu nam-lugal an-ta-ĝál-bi-me-en

unken ĝar-ra-ĝu₁₀ ùĝ saĝ si-ga-gen₇ / niĝir gal si gù sa gù-bi-a ní šà-ga šub-bu-dè / ad gi₄-gi₄-da inim šár-šár-dam

pu-úh-ru-um^{ki} nam tar-tar-re-dè / šagina-ĝu₁₀-ne-er ad gi₄-gi₄ mu-un-zu inim šár-šár mu-zu

"By my judgement - I am the omniscient who soothes heart and exalts kingship!

bestowed you the mountain of the land and the people assembling"; A Hymn to Nergal CBS 7972 + N 3718 3'-4': a-a-zu^d en-líl-lá á mi-ri-[šúm[?]] / lugal gú si-'a' en mes-'lam' "Your father Enlil [gave] you strength, king of assemble people, lord of *meslam*-(temple)".

¹⁵⁷ The image here may be implies that the governor of the assembly leads all the people of Sumer and the lands like a shepherd leading his flock: ní saĝ-ki-ĝu₁₀ a-ba-da-ab-ĝál-la-àm / kur-kur^{ĝes} kab-gen₇ a-ba-da-ab-ĝál-en-na / ní me-lem₄^{ĝes} kár si-si šu-ĝá / ^{ĝes} ráb-gen₇ kalam-ma a-ba-da-ĝál-le-na "The fright, that convened together my forum; that convened together all the lands like with a nose-rope. The *melammu*-fright, the fashioned weapon in my hand; with it I convene together the Land like with a neck-stock" (Šulgi B 200–203); [e]šgiri-šibir₂ á-na mu-ni-lá sipa kur-kur-ra-kam "The nose-rope and crook hang on his arm, he is the shepherd of all the lands!" (Šulgi G 25); comp. also Išme-Dagan H 10: [...] x^d a-nun-na-ke₄-ne^{ĝes} ráb mah kur-kur-ra "...his *anunna*-gods, the massive neck-stock of all the lands".

¹⁵⁸ Comp. also Ur-Namma A 33//34: ur-^dnamma ka-mud-ĝál ki-en-gi-r[a me-t]e[?] unken-na "Ur-Namma, the advocate of Sumer, the ornament? of the assembly"); See Jacobsen 1957, 105 n. 23; Wilcke 1974, 199 n. 104–105; *ibid.* 1973, 50.

¹⁵⁹ See Klein 1981b, 16 with n. 64.

My convened assembly, like taking care of the people, functions as a great-herald, throws fear into the hearts by the sound of horn and *sinew?*, to increase advises and decisions!

I have taught my governors how to give advice and decision so the parliament would decree fates".

2.1.6. Fifth Stansa: Šulgi Diviner and Magician

In the fifth stanza of the hymn (ll. 84–110, refrain: ll. 111–113) Šulgi presents himself as the ultimate diviner and judge. As such, he is familiar with all the omens and portents, expert in extispicy and all other sorts of divination, and therefore he is absolutely self-sufficient, relying only on himself.

This long stanza can be divided into four units, in each of which Šulgi boasts of his mastering of a different kind of omen craft: (a) ll. 84–95; (b) ll. 96–98; (c) ll. 99–101; (d) 102–110.¹⁶⁰ In all these four units Šulgi likens himself to a wise and omnipotent divine entity, whereby he is equipped with all necessary knowledge and divinatory capacities.

However, despite the differences between the units as to their length and syntactic structure, they are united under several salient literary features. Each unit opens with a sentence (or sentences) ending with the 1.sg. cop. -me-èn, and concludes with the verb **zu** "to know". In each of its appearances the verb **zu** concludes a long ablative sentence. The syntactic structure reflects the recurring literary motif: in each unit Šulgi exposes also the source of his wisdom and the reason for his superiority in each of his divinatory skills. The syntactic structure of each ablative sentence varies in a highly diverse ways. Accordingly, the core of each of the units can be exhausted by the following four sentences, in a free translation:

- a) "I am the *mas-sú* sage who lives in Sumer... I know the omen **from** my dwelling palace!"¹⁶¹
- b) "**Since** I am the *Nintur* **from** the womb... I know the omen of entrails!"¹⁶²
- c) "I am the *en-mùš*-priest, I know the omen of lecanomancy and libanomancy **from** my own heart!"¹⁶³
- d) "I am an *ensi*-clairvoyant and *Ištaran*-judge, shepherd of Sumer... I know what is hidden **from** my own eyes!"¹⁶⁴

¹⁶⁰ In a chiasitic form, the first and fourth units are quite long while the two middle ones are shorter, each of three lines.

¹⁶¹ Ll. 84–95: **mas-sú** ki-en-gi-ra ti-la-me-'èn' / ġeš-hur sá ak-a kíġ-ġá-me-èn / ... **é ki-tuš ki ġá-ra-ġu₁₀-ta mu-zu.**

¹⁶² Ll. 96–98: **ša-ta** ^dnin-tur₅ gal-zu níġ-nam-ma in-ga-me-en-na-ta / uzu-ga ki dadag-ga-ba ġiškim **mu-ni-zu.**

¹⁶³ 99–101: **en muš** níġ-nam-ma bur_x(PÚ)-bur_x(PÚ)-re-me-èn / **ša dab-ba-ġu₁₀-ta**... / ì-ġíd níġ-na ri-ga kur₇-re á-bi-šè **in-ga-zu.**

¹⁶⁴ 102–110: **igi-ġu₁₀-ta ensi** kalam-ma-me-èn / ša-ġu₁₀ ^dištaran kur-kur-ra-me-èn / **šul-gi** sipa zi ki-en-gi-ra-me-èn / ... zi-du **mu-zu** erim₂-du **mu-zu** / ... a-ba-a ġe₂₆-gen₇ búr-búr-bi **mu-zu.**

- Unit a: Šulgi as *mas-sú* sage

Unit a (ll. 84–95) presents Šulgi as the ultimate sage (*mas-sú*) of Sumer, able to perform extispicy and making decisions concerning the battlefield from his seat in his own palace. According to the sequence of events, after a messenger reaches Šulgi bringing news about an uprising from the borders of the Land, Šulgi carries out an extispicy from his place in the palace. It is hard to decide whether the messenger was sent to Ur from the battle field in order to tell Šulgi about the uprising, or perhaps the messenger reached Šulgi already on the battle field, carrying an unclear message, which led Šulgi to return to the palace and perform a new divination himself. Either way, the location of the performance of the omen plays a major role in this unit. According to the lines, Šulgi may stand at the battlefield on the borders of the land, or wander within the territory of his country (ll. 86–89). However, he cannot get a definite answer as long as he does not sit in his palace. As a sage who lives in the land, the definite answer comes to Šulgi only when he is sitting his place, in the *Egalmah*-palace, in the chamber of determining destiny (*ki-nam-tar*). Only while sitting on his throne (^{ĝes}gu-za mah) resting in his place of residence (*é ki-tuš ki ĝá-ra*), the answer concerning the battlefield far away can reach the king (ll. 90–95).

According to other literary sources we know that extispicy used to be performed at dawn, under the open sky, when the priest was standing with his face to the Sun god at sunrise, accompanied with a prayer that would reconcile the Sun god to determine a good fate for the owner of the sacrifice.¹⁶⁵ The extispicy was usually performed on a pure lamb (*silá₄ dadag-ga*; l. 91), and after it is taken to the king, its right and left always yields him a positive omen (*zi-da á gáb-bé-e níĝ-sa₆-ga ma-^rab²₁-de₆*; l. 92). Although it is not explicitly mentioned, we can assume that the extispicy was performed by Šulgi in the *dublamaĝ*, the sacred courtyard adjacent to the southeast corner of the *egalmah*, Nanna's temple in Ur. Both locations, referred to as *ki-nam-tar* (l. 90) and *ki-sá* (l. 98), were mentioned in a closely parallel context in Ur-Namma EF (ll. 15–16; 21–22):

ĝál da₁₃-da₁₃-ga^dutu an-úr-ta u₄ mi-ni-in-ĝar-ra

gi-^rsá¹(var.:šà)-zu ki nam tar-ra diĝir-re-e-ne di si sá ku₅-ru-dè...

¹⁶⁵ See already Polonsky 2002, 284ff. for the equivalents *ki-utu-è-a* = *ki-nam-tar-ra* ("place of Sunrise" = "place of determining fate") see Maul 2018, 20f.

dub-lá-mah ki nam tar-re-za / diĝir gal-gal-e-ne nam mi-ni-(ib)-tar-re-ne

"The Sun god illuminates from the horizon in the opening; in your platform, place of destiny decreeing, the gods are about to judge justly...

In the *dublamaĥ* where you decree destiny, the great gods decree destinies".¹⁶⁶

On the location of the lofty throne (^{ĝeš}gu-za mah) in the 'ki nam tar' sanctuary, next to the eastern gate (dub-lá-mah), we learn also from some Sumerian literary references; see especially the Sumer-Ur Lament 438–439:

dub-lá-mah ki nam tar-re-dè ka-inim-ma nu-ĝál

^{ĝeš}gu-za ki di ku₅-ru-bi nu-mu-un-gub

"The omen decision has not been given to the *dublamaĥ*, place of fate-decreeing; and the throne has not been stood in its judgment place".¹⁶⁷

From a paragraph in Šulgi B corresponding to our stanza, we learn that the question whether to go into battle or not was one of the questions that were decided through consulting the gods by means of divination (ll. 133–140):

šu-luh-ha nam-išib šu du₇-dè

en-ra zà-mí <di>-dè ĝi₆-par₄-šè huĝ-e

lú-mah nin-diĝir šà kù-ge pà-da

sig-šè saĝ ĝá-ĝá nim-šè aga₃-kár sì-ge

é šu-nir-ra-ke₄ ĝál da₁₃-da₁₃-[x]

ĝeš-gíd-da a mè tu₅-tu₅-[x]

ki-bal-a-šè sá galam-ma ĝá-ĝá-[x]

inim diĝir-re-e-ne níĝ kal-kal-la-àm

"To perfect the *išib*-priesthood by the handwashing rite;

to recite hymns for the highpriest; to install the gipar;

to the holy hearted choice of priest and priestess;

to attack the south, to defeat the north;

to keep opening the emblem-house;

to keep washing the lances in the "water of battle";

¹⁶⁶ For the dub-lá-mah as a place dedicated to determining destinies (ki-nam-tar) see Polonsky 2002, 822ff. For ki nam-tar, attributed to the deities An and Enlil, or the Anuna Gods, cf. Isin Temple Hymn ll. 383–386; Ensuhkešdana 226, 252; Ibbi-Sîn B b10; Lipit-Eštar C 17–18; Ur-Ninurta E 17–19. The role of the *Dublamaĥ* as a "place of judgment" was already discussed Steinkeller 1985, 39 n. 1; see also Lambert 1985, 193.

¹⁶⁷ See also Šulgi P b56–62; Gudea CylB vi:15; and Michalowski 1989, 103.

The act of sitting on a throne refers to the final stage of the ceremony: to announce the answer to the question already asked earlier while the lamb is being slaughtered, which is equivalent to the stage of sentencing by the judge, also while sitting on his throne; see Maul 2018, 31, 42ff. with n. 166.

to keep having the sensible counsel concerning the rebel lands;

- the words of the gods are most precious!"¹⁶⁸

Note however, that the involvement of the gods in the process of divination is completely absent from our stanza.

- Unit b: Šulgi as *Nintur*

In unit b (ll. 96–98) Šulgi as omniscient (Nintur) is displaying his familiarity with the craft of reading the entrails of an animal. In this short unit Šulgi boasts of being an all-knowing wise (gal-zu níĝ-nam-ma), mastering the craft of reading all omen signs in the entrails of an animal.¹⁶⁹ As a careful diviner he is able to observe and interpret all *the visible and invisible* ominous signs.¹⁷⁰ The sanctuary (or the courtyard) in which the ritual of the reading of signs from the entrails of a sacrificial lamb was performed is referred to here as a 'pure space' (ki dadag-ga) and a '*placement*', or a dedicated platform (ki-sá). Apparently, it was under the careful watching of Šulgi himself. Hence, in line 98 Šulgi seems to claim that he is the guardian and overseer of the *unmarked place* of the **saĝ bulu_x(BUL)-e**, literally "the 'shaking of head(s)'"', a still obscure expression. We can make some tentative hypotheses regarding this phrase, but, we do not have the philological evidence for verifying them:

- 1) The line can refer to Šulgi's skill in selecting the lamb whose entrails will be most worthy of performing the ritual, even before it is slaughtered, assuming that even the stage of selecting the lamb requires divine approval. In this case saĝ bulu_x(BUL)-e may refer to the chosen lamb while ki-sá marks the place of selection.¹⁷¹

¹⁶⁸ Before King Šulgi it was Gudea of Lagaš who reported about sacrificing a white lamb in close proximity to a dream he received from the goddess Ningirsu, and before building her temple; also, the decision to build the temple was accompanied by a variety of oracles, involving a kid, barley, dream ect. (see CylA xii 12–19, xx 1ff. quoted below); see Maul, *ibid.* 151 with n. 27.

According to the Curse of Akkad (ll. 94–99), the construction of Enlil's temple was delayed as the extispicy, performed on a kid by king Naram-Sîn, remained unanswered, see Cooper 1983, 28; Falkenstein 1966 49ff., 58f.

¹⁶⁹ Note that the craft of reading omens in the animal entrails, explicitly mentioned in this unit, has already been implied in the first unit in lines 92 and 94 which refers to the polar question, asked during the performance of the divination.

¹⁷⁰ Due to the obscure phrase saĝ bulu_x(BUL)-e ki-sá nu-sì-ge-bé-e the meaning of line 98 is not entirely clear.

¹⁷¹ For a short discussion of the process of selecting the lamb, see Maul 1918, 18. Oracle documents show that in some cases the movements of the lamb predicted the result of the oracle even before the slaughter, including the oscillations of its head; see *ibid.*, 34.

- 2) Alternatively, the line may say that Šulgi is able to read from the entrails of the lamb even signs that are not clearly marked, or have already changed. According to this assumption *ki-sá* refers to a zone within the entrails, and *saĝ bulu_x(BUL)-e* expresses the signs expected to be read from the entrails.
- 3) Finally, the line may refer to the clarity of the night sky before sunrise and before the slaughter of the lamb and the reading of its entrails. The ritual was performed in the open air, and required the priest to stay awake during the night and watch over the celestial bodies that change throughout the night and precede the sunrise. For this reason the ritual could be performed almost exclusively after clear nights without rain and clouds.¹⁷² In that case, Šulgi may hint here at his ability to identify the location of celestial bodies and to determine the time of performing the ritual, even in cases when the sky is not clear enough. However, for strengthening this explanation it must be shown that the phrase *saĝ bulu_x(BUL)-e* is associated with the celestial bodies, and *ki-sá* represents a celestial position.

Šulgi embodies Nintur in this stanza, as well as in his other two long self-laudatory hymns Šulgi B and E. Šulgi E briefly describes how hymns and prayers are recited in honor of the king by virtue of his being an omniscient *Nintur*, the one who is always standing before the gods to serve them, and for whom they utter oracles:

lugal mu šir-ra hé-du₇-me-en
^dšul-gi-me-en šudu₃ zà-mí-ĝá silim-éš ga-du₁₁
^dnin-tur₅ níĝ-nam-ma ì-me-en-na-ĝá
 diĝir-re-ne-er gub-bu gal-zu-ĝá
 diĝir šà-ne-ša₄-a inim ma-ab-ĝar-ra

"I am a king (whose) name is most suitable for the song!

I am Šulgi! Honorably praised by my prayers and hymns.

About me, that I am a Nintur for everything;

about me, omniscient, standing before the gods;

about how the gods uttered to me the oracle in supplication..." (14–18).

In the abovementioned passage from Šulgi B, Šulgi presents himself as a brilliant diviner who supersedes his professional diviner. His diviner is left stunned by his superiority as he does all the work alone:

¹⁷² See Maul 1918, 26f.

In Šulgi B, ll. 131–132:

máš-šu-gíd-gíd dadag-ga-me-en

ĝiri₃-ĝen-na inim uzu-ga-ka ^dnin-tur₅-bi ĝe₂₆-e-me-en

"I am a brilliant diviner, I am a conveyor, and the entrails omen - its Nintur is me!"

And later in ll. 141–145:

sil₄ babbar udu kíĝ-ge₄-a-ka inim-ĝar ù-bí-ĝar-ĝar

ki mu pà-da-ba a eša ba-ni-dé

inim sizkur₂-ra-ka udu sa àm-mi-ni-í_b-ge₄-ge₄-in

máš-šu-gíd-gíd-ĝu₁₀ na-ĝá-ah-gen₇ u₆ mu-e / udu sa ĝi₄-a šu-ĝá ma-an-dab

"After a white lamb of extispicy sheep was claimed by omen,

water and flour were libated in an explicit location.

After I was devoting the sheep by words of prayer,

my diviner is staring like one ignorant, entrusted to me the devoted sheep".

These lines reveal the order of actions that make up the ceremony of reading the entrails: choosing a pure lamb; choosing an appropriate right place for the extispicy; libation (of water and flour); devoting the sheep by prayer; submitting the sheep to the diviner, before reading the omen signs and drawing answers. Accordingly, Maul describes this extispicy as a ritual that included the serving of a meal of food and drink to the gods, accompanied by a prayer and fragrant smoke incense; all intended to appease the gods before the moment of judgment, in order to decree a good judgment for the owner of the offering.¹⁷³

- Unit c: Šulgi as *en-mùš*-priest

Unit c (ll. 99–101) is devoted to Šulgi as an all-knowing priest (*en muš níĝ-namma*). As such, he is practicing by himself divinations performed by a censer: lecanomancy and libanomancy. Contrary to what is described in the passage from Šulgi B quoted above, this unit describes divination, performed by pouring oil on water or burning of incense, rather than examining the entails of a lamb.

¹⁷³ Maul, *ibid.* 29f. For the place of prayer during the performance of the extispicy see *ibid.* 20; for the hands-washing ritual required as preparation to the extispicy see *ibid.* 23f. For libation accompanying the sacrifice, see Heimpel 1987/90b, 1f.; in particular see *ibid.* sub §5.1b. L. neben dem "Häufen von Mehl" and §5.2. L. und Räucherung (p. 4).

The two skills of divination mentioned in this unit were discussed by S. Maul in his book, in relation to sources dated inter alia to the Old Babylonian period.¹⁷⁴ From these sources we learn that a divination based on incense (i.e. libanomancy), is carried out by smoking charcoal or burning flour, while the sacrifice of flour is the main component of this sacrifice. In this ritual, the god's intentions as to the planned actions of the owner of the sacrifice are manifested in the form of smoke rising from the censer, and in the direction in which it flows. In an oil-based divination, the oil (usually sesame oil) would be poured into a bowl of water and the diviner would reveal the divine answer to the relevant question according to the form of the oil on the water's surface. The diviner would stand facing east at sunrise, while the forms of oil, represent the sacrificial offering, as opposed to the water, changing before the diviner's eyes, represent the course of the gods and their relation to the owner of the sacrifice. This type of divination has been associated with extispicy already in the Sumerian literature, and was carried out in close proximity to the sacrifice of the lamb, just before the examination of its entrails.¹⁷⁵

Šulgi, in our hymn, not only presents himself as a seer-priest (*bārû*) who practices by himself these types of divination without any external guidance, but he also claims that by interpreting the hidden meanings of the divinations he follows his own internal intuition, exposes his own interiors. This idea too is described at the end of the abovementioned paragraph in Šulgi B (ll. 146–149):

sa₆-ga hul-da la-ba-an-da-ha-zé-en

šà zalag ní-ĝá-me-en igi-ĝu₁₀-ta ì-du-un

lugal-me-en šà udu 1-a-kam / á áĝ-ĝá níĝ ki-šár-ra-ka igi mu-na-ni-du₈

"I do not share the favour with an unfavourable (one?).

I am of a bright interior myself! I am led by my own eyes!

I am a king! The interior of a single sheep showed me the directive of the entire cosmos".

In this final statement Šulgi clarifies what is only implied in our stanza: by being a king and a pure diviner, the solution of the omen has already been recorded on his own pure heart, his own interiors, but is revealed to him from the interiors of the pure

¹⁷⁴ 2018, 129–143.

¹⁷⁵ See *ibid.* 134–135.

lamb. Therefore, none is more appropriate than Šulgi to reveal the hidden divine plan.¹⁷⁶

- Unit d: Šulgi as *ensi* and *Ištaran*

In unit d (ll. 102–110) Šulgi presents himself as a clairvoyant (*ensi*) and judge (^d*ištaran*). Following only his own eyes, he is capable of interpreting the hidden nature of every person, whether righteous or wicked, penetrating their mind and judging them accordingly. The authority to judge the Land of Sumer as well as the foreign lands, Šulgi shares with his divine brother Gilgameš, king and judge of the netherworld.¹⁷⁷

A look at the role of the dream interpreter in the royal palace we get from Gudea CylA, where the goddess Nanše herself is referred to as a divine clairvoyant (*ensi*) of the king:¹⁷⁸

nin₉-zu dumu eridu^{ki}-ge tu-da
nir-ĝál me-te-na nin **ensi**₃ diĝir-re-ne-ke₄
^dnanše nin₉ diĝir sirara₆-ta-ĝu₁₀
"Your sister, the child born at Eridu,
an authority on her own, lady, clairvoyant among the gods,
Nanše, my divine sister from Sirara" (ii:16-18).

Later in the composition, Gudea informs us about a divine-ritual procedure, in which the king's most important decisions are made:

maš-a šu ì-gíd maš-a-ni ì-sa₆
a-MIR-e še ba-šúm igi-bi si ìb-sá

¹⁷⁶ See also Maul 2018, 152.

¹⁷⁷ Cf. the Death of Gilgameš, Nippur ver. e12, 14: kur gal ^den-líl-le a-a diĝir-re-e-ne-ke₄... ^dgilgameš₂ nam-zu nam-lugal-šè mu-de₆ "The Great Mountain Enlil, the gods' father, brought your destiny as kingship"; Me-Turan ver. 80–81; 170–171: ^dgilgameš₂ gidim-bi-ta ki-ta ug₅-ga / šagina kur-ra hé-ak-^re¹ palil gidim hé-nam / di-da mu-un-ku₅-da ka-aš bar-[šè² b]ar-re "Gilgameš, dead from the land among the ghosts, becomes the governor of the earth (=nether world), he is indeed a pre-eminent for the ghosts; to make an absolute decision when he decrees judgment"; e-ne-^réš²¹ ^da-nun-na ^rmurub₄²¹-ta mu-da-ši-da / tab-ús ^rdiĝir¹ [gal]-^rgal¹-e-ne mu-un-da-an-šid / ^ršagina¹ kur-ra mu-na-^rab¹-[x] x KA / ^rdi-da¹ mu-^run-ku₅-dè ka-[aš bar]-šè bar-re "Now, when he is considered among the Anuna gods, he is considered as a companion of the great gods, the governor of the earth...; to make an absolute decision when he decrees judgment". Ur-Namma A 95: ^dgilgameš₃ lugal kur-ra-ke₄ "To Gilgameš, the king of the earth"; 143–144: šeš ki áĝ-ĝá-ni ^dgilgameš₃-ra / e-ne di kur-ra ì-ku₅-dè ka-aš kur-ra ^ri-bar¹-re "with his beloved brother Gilgameš, he will decree a judgments for the earth, will make a decision for the earth".

¹⁷⁸ A comprehensive discussion of visions and divinatory dreams throughout Sumerian literature is found in the second part of Römer's abovementioned article, (Römer 1986) 23ff.; see also Falkenstein 1966, 56ff.

gù-dé-a saĝ-šè nú / mu-nú inim mu-na-ta-è

"He performed an (omen)-kid and his (omen) was favorable.

He cast barley on... and straightened his face.

Gudea laid his head down, and when he slept a message was sent to him" (xx:5-8)

^dnanše dumu eridu^{ki}-ke₄ eš-bar-kíĝ-ĝá mí ba-ni-du₁₁

"Nanše, the daughter of Eridu, took care of the oracular decisions" (xx:16).

However, in our hymn Šulgi boasts that he himself carries out this divine role, and has no need for a messenger to explain to him the divine message or to mediate between him and the divine decisions.

The role of Ištaran as a supreme judge, overlapping that of the god Utu, is explicitly stated in all references to him in the hymns of Šulgi, except in the case before us.¹⁷⁹ See e.g. Šulgi X (ll. 141–144) where Šulgi appears as Ištaran, sitting to judge his Land in the Egalmaḥ sanctuary:

é-gal-mah ^dnin-é-gal-¹la²-kam bara₂ kù-ga-a dūr ba-a-ĝar

^dištaran ki-en-gi-ra šà-ta níĝ-nam zu-ù

di kalam-ma ki-bi-šè ì-ku₅-re₆

ga-eš₈ «sar» kalam-ma ki-bi-šè ì-ba-re

"The Egalmaḥ, it is of Ninegala, where I placed a seat on the holy dais

The Ištaran of Sumer who knows everything from the womb -

decrees judgment in due order of the Land,

(and) makes decisions in due order of the Land".

The two roles of judging the case of a person and decreeing one's fate while performing extispicy, are within the authority of the Sun god Utu, and performed at sunrise, when the sun illuminates the dark world and reveals the hidden.¹⁸⁰

As to the special stylistic features of our stanza, we should further point out the following selected observations: The verbal base me-en ("to be") repeats seven times

¹⁷⁹ See Lämmerhirt 2012, 73 n.82; and Delnero 2018, 302. For literary references from some Šulgi hymns see the commentary to ll. 102–104 below.

¹⁸⁰ See Maul 2018, 20, 25f., 42f. These functions are apparently close to those of the god Ištaran, so in the Dēr Temple Hymn the divine mas-su is the god Ištaran himself, the counselor of his city (ll. 419–422): (BĀD.AN^{ki}) nun-zu mas-su diĝir-re-e-ne / sá pà-dè mah di-dè hé-du₇ / ... gal-zu / ^dištaran "(O Dēr) Your prince, the sage of the gods, fits for available advice and great decision... wise, Ištaran..."; see also Nanše A (236–237): sipa mas-su kalam-ma [igi[?]]-ĝál kur-kur-ra / ^dištaran [d]i si sá-a [k]alam-a ti-la-àm "The shepherd, the sage of the Land, the [wis]e of the lands, he is the honest deed of the Land, the reviver Ištaran".

throughout the stanza and so does the verb *zu*.¹⁸¹ Similarly to the former stanzas, our stanza opens with two lines ending with the 1.sg. cop. *-me-èn*, and ends with the verb *zu* "to know". Compare the openings of both stanzas:

inim sa₆ nundum-ma-na ti-la-me-èn

šà-ĝu₁₀ dub gal-gal ĝeš-h[ur kalam-ma zu-me-èn] (ll. 52–53),¹⁸²

mas-sú ki-en-gi-ra ti-la-me-’èn’

ĝeš-hur sá ak-a kíĝ-ĝá-me-èn (84–85).¹⁸³

The closures of the two stanzas (the fourth (ll. 77–80) and fifth (106–108)), are closely parallel to each other, as in both we find *Šulgi*, appearing as a judge with supreme authority, justifying the righteous and convicting the wicked.

The unique poetic phrase of this hymn: *á-bi-šè in-ga-zu* (translated here "I know them to their limit"), appears in our stanza for the fourth time, after closing the third stanza and framing the fourth stanza at the beginning and end. The unique phrase *šul-gi sipa zi ki-en-gi-ra-me-èn* "I am *Šulgi* the right shepherd of Sumer!", which is attested three times in *Šulgi C*, appears in our stanza for the first time (l. 104). It is attested again in the following stanza (140), and once more in the ninth stanza (l. b10, at the beginning of segment B). Another poetic line which is unique to the hymns of *Šulgi* and appears in our stanza is *šeš gu₅-li-ĝu₁₀ d^dgilgameš₂-(gen₇)* "(Like) *Gilgameš* my brother and friend" (105), which is attested also at the end of the hymn (l. c10, in segment C). Finally, this stanza is also characterized with a relatively large amount of orthographic peculiarities and irregular spelling forms and phonetic writings.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ Taking into account only the finite forms of this verbal base, excluding the nominal form *gal-zu* (l. 96).

¹⁸² Translated: "I am the one who the favorable word lives on his lips! / [I am the one who,] (by) my own heart, [knows] the extra-large tablet, the plan [of the Land]!".

¹⁸³ Translated: "I am the expert who lives in Sumer! / I am the executor of an arrayed plan!".

The term *ĝeš-hur* ("plan"), embedded in Sumerian culture, takes on alternating meanings in its performances throughout the third, fourth, and fifth stanzas. In the third stanza, which deals with the qualifications required in the school of architecture, the "plan" refers to architectural drawings of construction enterprises. The Fourth Stanza, the "plan" refers to the system of policy decisions that are expected to take place in the Land of Sumer among the assembly of the elected officials of the Land. The "plan" in our stanza is the fate observed while performing divination.

¹⁸⁴ Phonetic writings: *lú ge* for *lú ge₄* (l. 88); *inim ge-en* for *inim gen₆*; *-NE-NE* for *-ni₁₀-ni₁₀(NĠIN₂-NĠIN₂)* (89); *ĝá-ra* for *ĝar-ra* (95, 109); *en muš* for *en mùš*; *bur_x(PÚ)-bur_x(PÚ)-* for *bür-bür* (99).

Plene writing: *a-ba-a* for *a-ba* (110).

Defective writing: *en-nu ak* for *en-nu-ùĝ ak* (98).

Some unique and obscure forms: *uzu-ga* for *uzu.d* (97); *saĝ bulu_x(BUL)*, probably stands for *saĝ bal/bala* (98); *ì-SUD'* (or *ì-gíd*) (101); *kur₇-re*, commonly read: *kurum₇* (101); *NE-ma-* (108).

- Divination in Sumer

In contrast to Babylonian divinatory activity, which is extensively documented by sources written in Akkadian from the middle of the third millennium BCE on, we do not have a single oracle text written originally in the Sumerian language.¹⁸⁵ Whereas the Akkadian sources pertaining to divination were written down while practicing the ritual by priestly apprentices, and were collected in extensive scientific series, no comparative literature dealing with actual practice of divination was found in Sumerian. Nevertheless, we can assume that the divinatory activity was extensive in the ancient Sumerian states from the third millennium BCE, both because of its massive prevalence in nearby cultures, and because of its reflection in poetic Sumerian literature. Accordingly, the question of the practice of divination by the ancient Sumerians can be inferred only from indirect sources, such as literary references to the performance of divinations, references to diviner-priests in poetic and lexical Sumerian literature, or indirect reporting of divination in literary letters.¹⁸⁶ For this reason our stanza is a valuable source for further examination of the question of the practice of divination in the period of the third dynasty of Ur, alongside the few other literary sources dealing with this subject, including, as we have seen above, the self-laudatory hymn Šulgi B, ll. 131–149.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸⁵ For this problem see Michalowski 2006; in particular see p. 247 with n. 2. See also Veldhuis 2000, 74, for the earliest Sumerian omen text known to us from the Kassite period, probably translated from the Akkadian; cf. Sallaberger 2012, 278, for the mentions of Šulgi in Akkadian omens.

For an overview of the earliest roots of oracle practicing in the ancient world, see the seventh chapter in Maul 2018 (English edition): "From Meat Inspection to "Science", the Flourishing of the Babylonian Art of Extispicy", p. 145ff.; Michalowski, *ibid.* 249.

¹⁸⁶ A. Falkenstein reviewed the various Sumerian terms for diviner (Akk.: *bārû*, *šā'ilu*), and analyzed their occurrences in Sumerian literature; see Falkenstein 1966. Following Falkenstein, W. Römer reviewed the use of omen and oracle reflected in the Sumerian literature: in royal hymnology, lamentations and epics; see Römer 1986.

¹⁸⁷ This passage from Šulgi B was discussed at length by Michalowski in his abovementioned article, as well as by Maul, 2018, 150ff. However, also in relation to the relevant lines from our hymn, it was already mentioned by Falkenstein, *ibid.* 48f. 53; Römer, *ibid.* 19-21; Klein 1981b, 16 n. 62.

2.1.7. Sixth Stanza: Šulgi Diplomat and Invincible Athlete

The sixth stanza of the hymn (ll. 114–140, refrain: ll. 141–143) focuses on the relationship of Šulgi, the king of Sumer, with the representatives of the foreign lands subjected to him. The stanza falls into two parts, each of which expresses a different aspect of Šulgi's diplomatic superiority. In the first part, Šulgi's superiority is revealed in his verbal abilities within the land of Sumer and his city Ur. In addition Šulgi has also an ability to communicate with representatives of foreign countries in their own language when they come to his place and bring him tribute from their countries. The second part depicts Šulgi's physical superiority as the sole winner of the athletic and wrestling competitions held in his country.

The first part of the stanza is heavily damaged, and could be only incompletely reconstructed on the basis of six different fragments and fragmentary tablets (texts A, E, F, G, H, I). Five lines in the middle of the stanza (124–128) were hardly preserved, and their reconstruction is uncertain. The reconstruction of the second part is based mainly on text G, some of whose lines overlap with fragmentary lines in text J. Thus, while the first part of the stanza seems to contain fifteen lines (114–128), the second part seems to contain only about twelve lines (129–140). We admit that there is no absolute certainty in this division due to the poor preservation of ll. 124–128. It is also possible that the fragmentary lines in the center of the stanza form a kind of connecting unit between the description of the diplomatic visits that Šulgi hosted in his capital, and the description of the sport competitions that Šulgi held in the arena.

Due to the difficult state of preservation of the first part of the stanza, its content and literary structure cannot be determined with certainty; yet two literary-structural elements can be pointed out in both parts of the stanza: The first is a multiplicity of pairs of parallel adjacent lines; it can even be said that these pairs of lines are joined by a third line sometimes as a preliminary title and sometimes as a subsequent summary. The second element is the multiplicity of appearances of the verb **me** "to be" (at least eleven times and twice more in the refrain), in both forms conjugated and nominal (as an enclitic copula). Both elements combined form the logical structure of the stanza.

The first part of the stanza opens with an ablative statement, including the 1sg. copula **men**, referring to two qualities of Šulgi manifested throughout the first part: "Since **I am** the trained one and (of) broad understanding". The line opens up a long syntactic structure consisting of pairs of poetic lines, most of them end with the verb me "to be". The little remnants of ll. 115–116 reflect two verbal sentences, which reflect the qualities of Šulgi mentioned in the opening line. The parallelism in lines 117–118 is striking, containing a double statement regarding the intensive authority of Šulgi in his land. The ends of the lines: the 1sg. copula **hé-me-èn** ("I am the one who..."), complement the ablative verse in the opening line; saying, in a free translation:

"[**Since**] **I am** both talented and wise (114):
 [my opinion] is available (**and**) [my say] is authoritative (115–116);
 (**that after all**) **I am the one who** expresses a decisive mind (**and**) destiny concerning [the...] of Sumer (**and**) Ur! (117–118)".

After Šulgi's intelligence and understanding reach his own country, they also spread to the neighboring countries, in lines 119–123. These lines deal with foreign diplomats and representatives. According to our interpretation of l. 119, the line indicates the idea of Šulgi's multilingualism, which makes him an outstanding diplomat, who has no need of a translator. This idea is demonstrated twice in the two parallel units in ll. 120–121 and 122–123. The parallel lines 120 and 122 are extremely long; lengthen twice as long as a regular, including a statement with the 3sg. copula -am, following a verbal form of zu "to know": **hé-èn-ga-zu-àm** "this is what I know well!". The five-line unit 119–123 also refers syntactically and literarily to the opening line 114; saying as follows, in the following free translation:

"[**Since**] **I am** both talented and wise (114):
 [a translator position] would not be supported (by me) (119);
 (**that after all,**) the Martu (**and**) the Elamite tongues - I know them as well as Sumerian (120, 122).
 (**As evidence,**) when the Martu (**or**) the Elamite men, who arrived to honor me, greeted me - I answered them with the Martu (**or**) Elamite tongue (120–123)".

Lines 124–128 are very fragmentary and nearly illegible; however, the few signs preserved indicate about five or six verbal sentences.¹⁸⁸ The word **eme** "tongue" was preserved twice, and **ge₄** "to answer" once. Note, that **eme** was preserved at least four times in the first part of the stanza, and **ge₄** ("turn, return"; Akk. *târu*) was preserved at least five times throughout the stanza.¹⁸⁹ Furthermore, two unknown verbs have been preserved in this unit: **bu** (l. 125) and **sur₈**(LAGAB×Û.Û.Û) (l. 126),¹⁹⁰ which probably reflect phonetic writings unfamiliar to us (see discussion below in the philological commentary); In the long line 127 the two question words **a-ba-a** "who?" and **a-na-a** "what?" (plene writing) appear, and the verb **gu₇** "to eat" appears twice; Line 128 has a rare record of the word **am-si-har-ra-an-na** "camel" (lit. the road elephant).

It is not inconceivable that this unit included evidence of other languages that Šulgi knew in addition to those of Martu and Elam, e.g. the languages of Meluhḫa and Subir (see extended discussion below).¹⁹¹ It is also possible that the unit contained a mention of a royal banquet in which the foreign diplomats took part and even brought to it tribute from their countries, or a description of the Sumerian festival during which the international wrestling competitions were held (see below).

The overall literary structure of the second part of the stanza is a carefully designed masterpiece, calling for a special analysis. It consists of an outer frame, an inner frame and a central unit, fully displayed below:

The outer frame consists of two units of 3 lines (opening lines: 129–130, and closing lines: 138–140). Each unit includes mention of the central topic: **ḡešpu₂ lirum₃** "athletics and wrestling" (in chiasmic order), and two nominal sentences ending with the 1sg. copula **-me-èn**: one sentence expresses Šulgi's superiority in the athletic

¹⁸⁸ In the first reconstruction of segment A of the hymn Klein assumed that there is here a gap of about two lines, between the last line of text A and the first line of G reverse. However, a reassessment of the gap, and the reconstruction of some of the missing lines, were made possible after Peterson joined to text E the fragment CBS 15301 (which he was the first to identify as E rev iii and iv; see Peterson 2011 160f.) which contains the beginnings of ll. 123–127, and presumably was also the one who attached the unnumbered fragment to the box of text E in the museum, which belongs to the right edge of E iii (ll. 124–127). According to this last reconstruction, the gap after 123 (A iv 4) was at least 5 lines.

¹⁸⁹ In keeping with the topic of the first unit, in which Šulgi speaks the languages of the foreign representatives, the verb (inim) **ge₄** means "to answer". However, in keeping with the theme of the second unit of the stanza, the "answer" is not by speech but by "fighting back" against Šulgi's competitors or physically "repulsing" attackers as on the battlefield.

¹⁹⁰ See also the difficult verb **bu₅.r**(LAGAB×SUM) in l. 122.

¹⁹¹ This idea should not be excluded even if the literary formula of the lines does not correspond to that of ll. 120–123.

competitions and another repeats on his common epithet **sipa (zi ki-en-gi-ra)** "the (right) shepherd (of Sumer)", also in chiasmic order:

ll. 129-130:

ĝešpu₂ lirum₃-ma [nita kala]-'ga'¹-m[e]-èn... sipa-me-èn

ll. 138-140:

lirum₃... ĝešpu₂... sipa zi ...-me-èn lú nu-mu-'da'-sá-me-èn

In a free translation the outer frame of this part intends to say:

"As a leader (=shepherd) I am the mighty one who has no competitor in all athletic competitions!".

The inner frame (ll. 130–131 and 136–137) consists of four verbal sentences, devoted to a graphic description of the wrestling competitions. It includes a mention of the body parts that Šulgi uses during the wrestling, and a description of his stunning performance as an athlete and ultimate fighter. Each of the frame-units includes: a locative phrase, an equative phrase, and a conjugated form of the verb *ge₄* "to respond" or, in this case, "to push away":

130–131:

šū-si gíd-gíd-da-[ĝu₁₀]	kisal mah-a	ki mē-gen₇	a-[ĝu₁₀ b]a'²-ni-ge₄
x á in-dar			
(in the...) my long fingers	in the broad	as like as in the	my flood
(and arms) grip tightly;	courtyard -	battle field	pushes away:

136–137:

kišib-lá-ĝu₁₀-'ù'¹ káb mu-da-[an]-du₁₁	gud dù-gen₇	mu-ge₄-eš
	dúr-bi-ta	
by my gripping wrist I competed with	like a goring bull	I
them all together;	from its hind leg	pushed them away!

One may also speculate that ll. 130–131 describe capture and grip of the competing wrestler, while ll. 136–137 describe the pushing and repulsing of the opposing boxer.

The central unit of this part (ll. 132–135) is a four-line long direct object of both verbal sentences of the inner frame. This unit contains four nominal phrases describing the magnitude of the warriors who take part in the athletics competitions, against whom Šulgi competes. These four lines are stringed with the plural nominal (animate) suffix **-(e)-ne** at the end of each of them. The epithets of these warriors are usually used in Šulgi hymns to glorify Šulgi himself as an ultimate warrior. In this unit however the same epithets are attributed to the contestants facing Šulgi in the competition, as if they were on the battlefield, to demonstrate that Šulgi's power exceeds theirs. Šulgi's confrontation in the wrestling arena, which is compared to a battlefield, is reminiscent of the description of Šulgi's confrontation at the forum of

the general assembly in the fourth stanza of the hymn, which also included representatives of the land of Sumer: (l. 57: *ùĝ saĝ gi₆* "the black-headed people"), representatives of foreign lands (58: *kur-kur*) and perhaps even individual refugees without affiliation (63: *e-re-bu-^rum¹* "newcomers"). There too, as here, Šulgi's power alone surpasses the power of the rest of the forum, and his voice is the most authoritative of them all, like a single bull overpowering alone anyone who confronts him in the arena.

The parallel lines 138–139 include a double statement regarding Šulgi's superiority in all types of athletic competitions, each of the statements ending with the verb **me** "to be", conjugated in the 1sg. (*me-en*), followed by the 3sg. nominal form of the same verb (*am*): **i-me-nam** "this one is me!".

The last line of the stanza (140) consists of two statements: the first statement is Šulgi's characteristic formula: **šul-gi sipa zi ki-en-gi-ra-me-èn** "I am Šulgi the right shepherd of Sumer!".¹⁹² The second statement characterizes the genre of contests and disputations, which usually end with the announcement of the winner (see below). Both statements end with the 1sg. copula *-men* ("I am the one who... (and) I am (also) the one who..."), followed by the lines of the refrain, in which the copula *-men* is repeated twice more (141–142: "I am a hero!... I am a shepherd!...").

Our stanza contains several topics that have been previously discussed in Sumerological research. Among others we find the statement about Šulgi's multilingualism, the diplomatic relations of the Sumerian kingdom with its neighboring countries during Šulgi's reign, and the ancient Sumerian tradition concerning sport competitions and tournaments. The discussions below address these issues, trying to add to the previous research some new insights emerging from the analysis of the literary unit before us.

- Šulgi as Polyglot:

The discussion about Šulgi's being a multilingual king is based on two literary passages: Šulgi B ll. 206–220, in which Šulgi lists in the first person five languages that he speaks fluently: Elamite, Sumerian, Meluhhan (the language of the people of the Black Mountains), Amorite (the language of the people of the Land of Martu) and

¹⁹² See introduction to the fifth stanza above, and commentary to l. 104 below.

Subartean; and Šulgi C ll. 119–123, in which Šulgi tells us, also in the first person, that he speaks the languages of the men of Martu and Elam, as fluently as Sumerian, his own language. The lines following line 123 have been so poorly preserved that it is impossible to determine whether any additional languages were mentioned here.¹⁹³

According to Gonzalo Rubio,¹⁹⁴ Šulgi's mother tongue was Akkadian. He bases his argument on historical evidences according to which Akkadian was the dominant language in Sumer during the time of the Ur III dynasty.¹⁹⁵ In Rubio's opinion, it cannot be assumed that Šulgi did not control Akkadian, and the reason that Akkadian is not mentioned in the passage in question (from Šulgi B) is that Akkadian was Šulgi's mother tongue and its knowledge was so obvious that there was no need to mention it, just as no man boasts of his mastery over his mother tongue. However, Rubio's theory was rejected in a review article by Luděk Vacín.¹⁹⁶ Vacín pointed out the Sumerian origins that Šulgi was determined to adopt in many aspects: genealogical, mythological, royal, literary and even linguistic. Vacín then calls attention to the fact that in Šulgi C Šulgi compares all his skills in foreign languages to his natural mastery of Sumerian. According to Vacín, Šulgi refrains from attributing to himself any Akkadian origin, including a linguistic one, in order to emphasize his being a genuine Sumerian.

The passage under discussion from our stanza is related to Šulgi's diplomatic skills, and especially his distinction regarding foreign relations. The languages mentioned here are of the peoples adjacent to the land of Sumer. Akkadian, as well as Sumerian, were used within the land of Sumer, and therefore one should not expect Šulgi to boast of knowing them in the present literary context.

In the passage from Šulgi B, Šulgi boasts that he is able to subdue all lands surrounding Sumer, and the foreigners within Sumer, like his military forces, just with a single word.¹⁹⁷ According to this poetic passage, after the subjugation of the lands

¹⁹³ The relevant passage from hymn Šulgi B was published with the addition of an English translation and a philological commentary (according to Haayer's temporary manuscript for the entire hymn) by Gonzalo Rubio, 2006, 169–174. The first to compare these two units was Jacob Klein in his review of the Šulgi hymns and the topics discussed in them, see Klein 1981b, 16 with n. 64.

¹⁹⁴ *ibid.*

¹⁹⁵ For the relevant bibliography see n. 14 there.

¹⁹⁶ Vacín 2009.

¹⁹⁷ This idea is expressed exactly in the lines that precede the unit from Šulgi B, which enumerates the five languages used by Šulgi to express his authoritative words; see ll. 200–205: ní saĝ-ki-ĝu₁₀ a-ba-da-ab-ĝál-la-àm / kur-kur ^{ĝes}kab-gen₇ a-ba-da-ab-ĝál-en-na / ní me-lem₄ ^{ĝes}kár sî-sî šu-ĝá / ^{ĝes}ràb-gen₇ kalam-ma a-ba-da-ĝál-le-na / nam-tag-ga saĝ-ge du₈-ù-bi mu-zu / inim-ma gal-gal-la silim-éš¹ [r'ĝál¹-[la-me-en] "With that fearsomeness, which is within my forehead placed, that is placed like reins within

under the rule of Sumer, Šulgi applies to the occupied lands his legal judgement and authority by speaking in their languages.¹⁹⁸ It is quite clear that according to the testimony of Šulgi himself, Akkadian was not one of the official languages within the Sumerian court when conducting legal proceedings.¹⁹⁹

Finally, the assertions of the two scholars mentioned above do not take into account that the Akkadian language is actually mentioned in Šulgi B. As we would expect, Šulgi's skills regarding the Akkadian language are not mentioned in literary passages dealing with the relations of Sumer with foreign countries, but rather in passages relevant to the Sumerian institutions of high education: the Eduba, the Sumerian school. The beginning of Šulgi B tells us about Šulgi's excellence in both languages in which tablets are written, as well as in his proficiency in reading and copying bilingual tablets.²⁰⁰ According to Šulgi B, the status of the Akkadian was preserved rather in the Sumerian school by copying and learning it alongside Sumerian.²⁰¹

the foreign lands - with that fearsomeness and awesomeness, the available tool in my hand, that is placed like a neck-stock within the Land - [I am the one who] know their effect that beats misbehaviour! (or) places? peacefully great matters by a word!".

¹⁹⁸ See the lines that follow the very same unit in Šulgi B, ll. 218–222: di ki-en-gi^{ki}-ke₄ si sá-da-ĝu₁₀-ne / 5-bi eme-bi ba-ni-ib-ge₄-ge₄-in / é-gal-ĝá kaš₄ inim bal-e eme-e li-bí-dù-e / di-til-la-ĝá šà uš im-gu₇ / gal-zu nam-lugal an-ta-ĝál-bi-me-en "When I provide justice in the Sumerian lawsuits, I am using these all five languages to give answers. In my palace no one translates simultaneously (so) fluently! My final judgement soothes the heart; I am the omniscient, in kingship exalted!".

¹⁹⁹ In this context, it is described later in the same hymn that the legal authority of Šulgi is applied to all his subjects, may they be Sumerians, Akkadians or foreign nationals, ll. 264–269: ^dištaran-gen₇ di ku₅-ru gal-zu-ĝu₁₀-uš / ^den-líl-le á ùĝ lu-a-na mu-da-an-áĝ-ĝá-ta / uri hé-em dumu ki-en-gi-ra hé-em / ki gu-ti-um^{ki} lú i^d-utu hé-em / lugal u₄ ul-le-a 1-ra / šà-ĝu₁₀ níĝ-á-zi ba-ra-mu-un-na-ta-ab-de₆ "Since the time that Enlil entrusted me the command over his numerous people, to judge by my expert like Ištaran, regarding anyone: be he an Akkadian, be he a son of Sumer, or be he a Gutian oppressor, against any of the (surviving) ancient kings, my heart has never brought injustice against any of them!".

See also ll. 49–51. Accordingly, Šulgi does not ignore the existence of Akkadian citizens in his kingdom, and also, he did not refrain from mentioning in the same hymn the Akkadian areas included in the territories of his country.

²⁰⁰ Ll. 13–15: tur-ra-ĝu₁₀-ne é-dub-ba-a-a-àm / dub ki-en-gi ki-uri-ka nam-dub-sar-ra mi-ni-zu / nam-dumu-gir₁₅ ĝe₂₆-e-gen₇-nam im nu-mu-un-sar "My youth is in school, I am familiar with the tablets of Sumer and Akkad and with the craft of scribing. None in the Sumerian youths is, like me, able to scribe on clay!".

This is contrary to the hypothesis raised by Vacín (mentioned above), that the Akkadian language is absent from the list of languages that Šulgi spoke in order to emphasize his Sumerian origins, bring him closer to the educated elite of the Land and distance him from the Akkadian-speaking masses. It is clear that Šulgi did not ignore the presence of Akkadian citizens in his kingdom or the definition of geographical areas known as 'Akkadian land' under his rule. He also did not ignore the presence of the Akkadian language and even boasted of his familiarity with it. But, certainly in the literary context (if not also in the historical one) Šulgi himself excludes Akkadian language from formal use in his palace and court.

²⁰¹ See already Cooper 2012, 293f. For a historical discussion of the use of these two languages side by side in the written language during the Ur III period, see Cooper 1973, 239–246; Wilcke 1974, 225f.

- Foreign Relations During the Kingship of Šulgi

The current stanza mentions a diplomatic meeting between Šulgi and representatives of two neighboring nations of Sumer: the Amorites (ll. 120–121) and the Elamites (122–123). The state of preservation of the passage in question does not allow us to determine the exact circumstances of the encounter between the parties. Did Šulgi invite them to his palace? Were they sent to Šulgi as representatives of their countries? Did the foreigners bring gifts or merchandise to the land of Sumer? However, whatever the circumstances of the meeting were, a relationship of peace between Šulgi and the foreign representatives is reflected, while Šulgi's superiority is evident: the Amorites and Elamites come to his place, to greet him, and perhaps even bring with them goods from their land, while Šulgi, in return, greets them within his place. Furthermore, were it not Šulgi's special ability to speak their foreign language, an interpreter would have needed to link the parties.

The people of Martu, called 'Amorites' in Akkadian, were tribes of western Semites, nomads, who came to Sumer from the north of Mesopotamia. Both administrative documents and literary compositions indicate that the Amorites were not farmers but nomadic shepherds.²⁰² Alongside a constant strategic threat, trade relations between the Sumerian kingdom and the Amorites were preserved, which began in the periods preceding the Ur III dynasty and continued during it. The Amorites imported from their land into Sumer many species of animals as well as gems.²⁰³ It further emerges from administrative documents that many Amorite nationals resided within the borders of Sumer, either in the status of citizens or as foreign nationals.

Unlike the Amorite nomads, the Elamite farmers carried with them offerings from the yield of their land, to honor Šulgi with them. Here too, Šulgi greets the

²⁰² The Amorites were nomads who wandered in the mountainous land north and northwest of the Sumerian kingdom (known today as Jebel Bišri in Syria). Administrative documents from the Ur III period indicate that the Amorites constituted a constant challenge for the Sumerian dynasty beginning in the later years of Šulgi's reign. In order to regulate the penetration of nomadic tribes into the territories of the Sumerian kingdom, from the days of Šulgi the Sumerian kingdom was also busy with the pretentious project of building the Amorite wall whose construction was completed in the days of Šu-Sîn. For the Amorites in Sumer in the Ur III period see the following selected bibliography: Sallaberger 2007, 444ff.; idem, 1999, 158–159; Buccellati 1966; Potts 1994, 133–136; Edzard 1957, 30f.; idem, 1987/90. For Ur III royal letters concerning the land of Martu see Michalowski 1980/83, 53–55; Wilcke 1969a; Lieberman 1968.

²⁰³ For importing gemstones from the land of Martu see Edzard 1987/90, 439.

foreign guests in their own language.²⁰⁴ In contrast to the diplomatic stability between Šulgi and the Elamites reflected in Šulgi C, Šulgi B presents a more complicated picture, which is also developing throughout the hymn. The beginning of the hymn reflects communication between two enemies.²⁰⁵ Only later in Šulgi B do we see that the linguistic advantage that Šulgi had over the nationals of foreign lands applies also to nationals who have already been integrated within the land of Sumer and were under Šulgi's authority.²⁰⁶ In view of the fact that the relationship between Elam and Sumer included open diplomatic channels alongside military campaigns, it cannot be inferred that Šulgi C reflects a later reality in the Sumer-Elam relations to what is reflected in Šulgi B.²⁰⁷ Either way, the picture obtained from the two hymns together

²⁰⁴ The land of Elam (later known as the Persian kingdom) extended over the eastern border of the Sumerian kingdom, i.e. the lands of Sumer and Akkad, and to the Persian Gulf, in the lowland of Susiana and northeast of it in the highland of the Anshan mountain-chains. See Potts 1994, 124–142; Potts 2016, 130–139.

The relationship between the Sumerian empire and Elam should be considered from three, although are not interdependent, aspects: commercial, political and military. Throughout the Ur III period, and especially during Šulgi's reign, the Sumerian-Elamite trade channels were kept open and included increased imports of grain, timber, stone, horses and precious metals to the land of Sumer. At the same time, and in order to secure the trading convoys on their way west, Šulgi strengthened his presence hold in Elam by conquering of major Elamite cities, appointing local governors on his behalf and marrying off his daughters to Elamite governors. In addition to those military campaigns, an ongoing military force secured the eastern border of the land of Sumer from Elamite invasions and the trading convoys from attacks by hostile Elamites originating in the Anshan Mountains. For some selected historical overviews of the Elamite kingdom and its relations with the Sumerian kingdom in the Ur III period, see: Hinz 1973, 81–84; Carter-Stolper 1984, 16–23; König 1938, 327 sub Elam §8. *Zeit des B.A.ŠÁ-Inšušinak*.

²⁰⁵ Šulgi B ll. 47–51: ^{ĝeš}tukul igi-nim-ma dūb-ĝá bí-tar / sig-šè elam^{ki}-ma gù-ba ĝeš ma-ab-ús / ki-bal ^{ĝeš}tukul-ĝá a-na ba-zi-zi-ga / nam-lú-ulu₃-bi še sahar-ra-gen₇ / ki-en-gi ki-uri ha-ba-ni-du₈ "I broke the weapon of the north over my knee, and in the south, over Elam, I placed a yoke on their neck. How among the rebel lands would resist my weapon? - and their population - I verily scatter like barley seeds over Sumer and Akkad!"

It is possible that this literary episode from Šulgi B is what Šulgi E (ll. 23–30) refers to, as a song depicting the disintegration of the Elamite Kingdom as a result of the blow that was brought on them by Šulgi: si₁₁-šè[!] ^{ĝeš}tukul ab-e bal-e-ĝá / kur elam^{ki} ú abula-gen₇ dab₅-bé ma-ĝíd-da / igi-nim-ta ùĝ še-gen₇ dul-le-ĝá / kur-zà til-la-aš mè-a du-ĝá / anše šu-ge₄ kaskal x nu-kúš kur[?] nim-ta kaš₄[?]-ĝá / šu tuku₄-a ki-ĝiri₃-ĝen-na-ĝá / šir-ĝíd-da ár nam-lugal-la / šumun-ša₄ kun-ĝar bal-bal-e-bi mu-ši-in-ĝar-ĝar-re-eš "About me - how I am armed, cross the sea to the south; about me - how I smuggle the mountain of Elam like hay in the gateway, (and) how I fling the people from the north like grain; about me - how I limit the mountains in battle completely; about me - how I run indefatigably from the north land like a trained donkey on the road; about me - how I lead on the way 'trembling-hands'(?); - they have composed all those (poetry compositions): *šir-gida*, royal praise, *šumunša*, *kunĝar*, *balbale*".

²⁰⁶ Šulgi B ll. 207–208 and 218–220:

hi-il-zum^{ki} dab₅-bé elam um-ši-[x] / á-ĝál inim-ma-bi-ir gaba-ri-ni mu-zu ... di ki-en-gi^{ki}-ke₄ si sá-da-ĝu₁₀-ne / 5-bi eme-bi ba-ni-ib-ge₄-ge₄-in / é-gal-ĝá kaš₄ inim bal-e eme-e li-bí-dù-e "When the Elamite [...] to capture the fortress(?)... I understood the contestant representing them firmly in their words! ... When I provide justice in the Sumerian lawsuits, I am using these all five languages to give answers. In my palace no official translates language simultaneously (as I do)!".

²⁰⁷ Douglas Frayne (Frayne 1981, 167f.) raised the possibility that Šulgi B refers to the 10th year of Šulgi, as it mentions the campaign to the land of Gutium attributed to this year. This is in spite of the fact that most of the military campaigns that Šulgi led over Elam took place in his later regnal years. At

emphasizes that Šulgi's multilingualism gave him a diplomatic advantage over both his enemies and his allies.²⁰⁸

- The Sumerian Athletic and Wrestling Competitions

The Sumerian wrestling and athletic competitions are documented in administrative texts from the third millennium BCE as well as Sumerian mythical and epic literature, and are associated with the earliest Sumerian folk culture.²⁰⁹ The competitions were held during festivals in an arena in the temple's courtyard (*kisal-mah*), in the presence of the king, and were dedicated to a particular deity, usually the goddess Inana-Ištar, but not exclusively.²¹⁰ Gilgameš the ancient king of the city of Uruk is depicted in the

the same time Frayne dated the compositing of Šulgi C to the 21th year of Šulgi in which the city of Dēr was conquered.

²⁰⁸ Interestingly, the division of the land into different peoples speaking different languages is associated in the Sumerian mythology with the development of wars and rivalries between different peoples. According to the narrative imbedded 'Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta' (ll. 136–155), in a utopian ancient period when there was global peace and universal unity between humans and animals, and between the people of different nations, all peoples were speaking one language - Sumerian, and worshiped one god - Enlil. In a later stage of the mankind's development, according to the epos, the gods began to disagree with each other when the god Enki, the wisest, speaker of all languages, threatened the absolute authority of Enlil. At that point multilingualism appeared and the peoples also began to threaten each other as a reflection of the divine controversy. For a full discussion of this episode see Mittermayer 2009, 57f. It is interesting to note the implied analogy between the above narrative in the Lord of Aratta and motive of multilingualism in the hymns Šulgi B and C. When Šulgi describes himself as controlling many languages, uniting many peoples under his rule and his authoritative single word, he recalls the situation in the past, when mankind was still unilingual, and the god Enki, challenging the god Enlil, confused their language and created multilingualism.

²⁰⁹ The same is true for other sports such as athletics, running, ball games, bulls and horses competitions and even debates. For a selected bibliography see Rollinger 1994; idem, 2011; Weiler, 1981. While throughout his royal hymns Šulgi boasts of a variety of athletic abilities, the review below will specifically address Šulgi's appearance in the wrestling arena, rather than his other athletic activities (for which see a review by Vermaak, 1993). Nevertheless, Šulgi's extraordinary abilities as a sprinter will be discussed in the introduction to the seventh stanza below.

²¹⁰ Two special dates in the Sumerian calendar are explicitly associated with wrestling competitions: the New Year Festival (*akītu*) and the ninth day of the month of *Abu*, the month of (the death) of Gilgameš, which was held in memory of the competitions Gilgameš held with the dead heroes of the underworld. Administrative texts from the Ur III period well document the *akītu*-competitions, which Sallaberger characterized as "fröhliche Volksfeste", as well as the supplies that were sent to the *é* *ĝešba*₂^{ba} *lirum*₃-*ma* ("House of Athletics and Wrestling Competitions"); see Sallaberger 1993, 178 with n. 838; Rollinger 2011, 8f. sub §3. Sport und Fest; idem, 1994, 7 28f.

The holding of competitions in memory of Gilgameš during the Torchers-Festival of the month of *Abu* is documented in administrative documents beginning in the second millennium BCE; however, it is already addressed in the epic literature of the third millennium BCE; see George 1999, 125f.; Rollinger 2011, 10 sub §4. Sport und Begräbnisfeierlichkeiten; idem, 1994, 36f.; Cavigneaux–Al-Rawi 2000a 19; and the following literary discussion.

In addition to these two calendar festivals, two literary compositions mention wrestling competitions that took place during marriage celebrations held in a royal presence: the Akkadian epic of Gilgameš (in the last part of the first tablet) and the Sumerian myth about the Marriage of Martu. For a discussion of a possible connection between wrestling competitions and (sacred) marriage ceremonies see Tigay 1982, 188–189; Klein 2002; Rollinger 1994, 33.

epic literature as the ultimate Sumerian warrior, who dominated also the wrestling competitions during his lifetime and even after his death.²¹¹

In the Akkadian version of the epic of Gilgameš, the strong friendship between Gilgameš and his barbarian friend Enkidu is formed following a wrestling competition between the two, representing the ultimate human heroes: the people of the inhabited land and the wild nomads.²¹² The physical description of the wrestling between the two competitors was preserved on the fourth column of a single tablet from the OB period (Pennsylvania tablet CBS 7771),²¹³ where the two warriors are compared in their movements to two bulls fighting each other. This description is reminiscent of the physical description of Šulgi during the wrestling in our hymn, ll. 136–137.²¹⁴

Finally, the image of the bull in the Akkadian epic is also linked to the divine genealogy of Gilgameš, who, like Šulgi himself, was believed to be the son of the goddess Ninsun, "The Cow Lady"; see the lines following the wrestling competition, in which Enkidu declares the supremacy of Gilgameš as a warrior (George 1999, 180–181: ll. 231–238):

*iš-tu i-ra-sú i-ni-'u₅ /^d en-ki-du₁₀ a-na ša-ši-im / is-sà-qar-am a-na^d GIŠ /
ki-ma iš-te-en-ma um-ma-ka / ú-li-id-ka / ri-im-tum ša sú-pu-ru /^d nin-sún-na /
ul-le e-li mu-ti re-eš-ka*

"After he had broken off (from the fight), Enkidu said to him, to Gilgameš:

'As one unique, your mother bore you: the wild cow of the fold, Ninsunna.

You are exalted over warriors...".

Thus, although the goddess Ninsun, like other gods, is not mentioned in our stanza, one should not ignore the fact that the description of Šulgi fighting his opponents like a bull in the wrestling arena connects him with his divine family, with his brother Gilgameš the ancient warrior, and with the mother of these two divine brothers the goddess Ninsun, the 'Cow Lady'.

²¹¹ For the discussion whether a victory in the wrestling competition represents a divine or human supremacy, see already George 1999, 168–170 with notes.

²¹² George 1999, 455f.; Rollinger 1994, 16f.

²¹³ George, *ibid.* 166f.

²¹⁴ See especially ll. 218–221//222–226 (George, *ibid.*, 180–181): *iš-ša-ab-tu-ma ki-ma le-i-im / i-lu-du / si-ip-pa-am i'-bu-tu / i-ga-rum ir-tu-ut* "They grappled each other, bending their backs like a bull, they smashed the door jamb, the wall quaked". For further discussion see Rollinger 1994, 16f.; George, *ibid.*, 168f. and the commentary to ll. 136–137 below. On artistic and literary documentation of the fights, see Offner 1962; Goerge, *ibid.* 100f.

Gilgameš's appearance in the wrestling arena is also described in the epic *Gilgameš and the Bull of Heaven*, which takes place during a festival, accompanied by drinking and playing music (ll. 64f.). In the presence of the goddess Inana who watches the wrestling from her podium (ll. 84f.)²¹⁵ Gilgameš and Enkidu struggle and defeat the heavenly bull sent by Inana, whereupon a hymn of praise is sung in honor of Gilgameš (l. 6):

ĝešpu₂ lirum [x] x [... šul mè-ka en-du-ni ga-an-du₁₁]

"[I will sing the song of the youth of battle... in] athletics and wrestling".

In the composition about the Death of Gilgameš (ll. e1–11) Gilgameš takes part in the competitions held during the festival of the dead in the netherworld; and so his victory is commemorated with a lament over his death (l. a7):

'ĝešpu₂' lirum š[u d]u₇-a ba-n[ú hur nu-mu-e-da-an-zi-zi]

"He who is perfect in athletics and wrestling has lain down. [He is never to rise again]".

Following Gilgameš, Šulgi is the next Sumerian king whose royal hymns depict him as an invincible hero in athletics and wrestling competitions. In addition to Šulgi C (ll. 129–140), Šulgi's Praise Poem N3130+N3131 refers to the same theme as in our stanza (in l. ii:8'):

ĝešpu₂ lirum₃-ta á ha-ma[?]-dar mí-bi-im hu-mu-du₁₁

"Let praise be sung for me, for how I take hold (wrestlers) among the athletics and wrestling (competition)!"²¹⁶

It seems, then, that Gilgameš and Šulgi were the only Sumerian kings who were credited with supremacy in wrestling competitions, as part of their royal attributes.

Unlike royal hymnology, wrestling competitions, as well as other international competitions, occupy a central place in some Sumerian epics, constituting a

²¹⁵ Some Sumerian divine hymns depict the divine wrestling competitions that took place in the divine assembly during their festival, also accompanied by drinking beer and liqueur; see *Enki's Journey to Nippur* ll. 104–116; *Inana and Enki* c27–30.

²¹⁶ With the exception of these two sources there is no further reference to this theme in other hymns of Šulgi. Hence, it is not inconceivable that the literary unit of Šulgi C ll. 129–140 is itself the song of praise to which N3130+N3131 l. ii:8' refers. Otherwise, this theme is not documented in any other Sumerian royal hymn, except for a single reference in *Lipit-Eštar* A 4. Note in this context also the liturgical text CT 15 14 (BM 22741) which has not yet been properly studied. We would nevertheless expect to find a mention of this theme in Šulgi O, which also deals with Šulgi and his divine brother Gilgameš. Hence, the parallelism between the (rather damaged) Šulgi O ll. d12–13 and Šulgi C ll. 136–137 (discussed in the philological commentary below) suggests that this topic was discussed by Šulgi O in one of its unpreserved units.

significant element in their plots. In the epic literature, like in our stanza, this theme is linked with the issue of the foreign relations of the Sumerian kingdom with its two neighbors Martu and Elam. In the composition 'The Marriage of Martu', for example, the god Martu appears as a nomadic stranger whose status does not equal that of his urban friends. Nonetheless he makes his way to marriage with the house of the city ruler after subduing all the heroes alone and being declared the undisputed winner of the competitions.²¹⁷ The motif of wrestling competitions represents an informal, yet popular, opportunity for barbarian nomads to integrate into the Sumerian heroic society also in the case of Enkidu, in the Gilgameš epic cycle. It is possible that when Šulgi mentions the presence of nomadic representatives in his country in the sphere of the contests, his aim is to compare himself to former mythological Sumerian kings who were known to have to overcome barbaric heroes.

The epics cycle of Enmerkar and Lugalbanda, the rulers of ancient Uruk, tell us about the establishment of diplomatic and commercial relations of the Sumerian kingdom with the Elamite city of Aratta in ancient times. The ongoing competitions between the two kingdoms include duels and single combats, debating, and magic and riddles competitions. According to these epics, the choice of the goddess Inana in the city of Uruk ultimately leads the king of Aratta to surrender to the ruler of Uruk and admit his superiority. Thereupon, the Sumerian ruler establishes Sumerian-Elamite relations on the basis of peaceful cooperation. These epics then determine the nature of (hierarchical) relations between the two states in future generations. This literary motif is commonly expressed by the Sumerian word for "competition" **a-da-mìn**.²¹⁸ The most common genre of a-da-mìn literature is the debate songs, however we identify similar topics also within epic literature, such as e.g. Enmerkar and Gilgameš.²¹⁹ However, although the texts relating competitions between the ancient

²¹⁷ An entire unit in the composition is devoted to the realistic description of the competitions (ll. 53–75): during the festival the ruler of the city was seated on elevated grandstands from which he could watch the competitions. The young fighters gathered in ale-houses for drinking, after that they gathered at the arena and opened the wrestling tournament, during which the winners compete against each other until it becomes clear who the fighter is who was not defeated in any battle. The ruler of the city watches the whole process of choosing the ultimate warrior who will henceforth be at his service. For a theological, literary and social analysis of the composition, see Klein 1997, 99–116. See further Kramer 1990a, 11–27; Edzard 1987/90, 437f. (sub Martu A §4. Der Martu Mythos).

²¹⁸ See also Berlin 1979, 3f.; Mittermayer 2009, 50f.; idem, 2019, 14f.; Sjöberg, PSD A/1 54f.

²¹⁹ See Berlin, *ibid.*

The term a-da-mìn unfortunately has not been preserved (in this spelling) in our stanza. However, it is not inconceivable that this important word did appear in one of the damaged lines in the original. See further discussion of the word **inbir** in the commentary to l. 135 below.

kingdoms do not explicitly refer to 'athletics' or 'wrestling', they reflect the rationale of the competition model, which aims to characterize the competitors and accordingly the cities or countries they represent.²²⁰

Moreover, the literary description of the competitions includes three main components: the presentation of the competitors, the course of the confrontation itself, and the pronouncement of the winner of the competition.²²¹ Accordingly, the structure of the second part of this stanza can be presented as follows: ll. 129–131: introducing Šulgi as an elite warrior; 132–135: introducing Šulgi's competitors; 136–137: the course of the battle; 138–140: announcement of Šulgi as the winner. In this self-laodatory hymn, Šulgi declares himself, in the first person, as the winner of the competitions:

"Among the wrestling (contest) - the one who has power is me!

Among the athletics (contest) - the strong one is me!

I am Šulgi the right shepherd of Sumer! I am the one that none rivals!"

²²⁰ In the long epic about Enmerkar and the Lord of Aratta, Enmerkar, king of the Sumerian city of Uruk, sends a messenger to the king of Aratta, politely offering him to submit to his authority. From then on, the king of Aratta sends riddles to Enmerkar, and all of them are solved by Enmerkar with the help of the wisdom of the gods of the Sumerian pantheon standing by his side. At the height of the conflict, the king of Aratta summons Enmerkar to a duel between the two heroes of the cities.

The epic about Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdana king of Aratta, presents an ongoing conflict between the two capitals, the Sumerian and the Elamite, which opens with pretentious provocation on the part of the Elamite capital. Ensuhkešdana claims to be the chosen son of the goddess Inana, but receives proofs of the intimate relationship between Inana and Enmerkar. Later in the confrontation, the two kingdoms hold a magic contest, with the Sumerian representative defeating the Elamite magician again and again. Both compositions are closed by the king of Elam's acknowledgment of his inferiority towards the Sumerian king.

²²¹ See Ensuhkešdana ll. 277–279: sig-ta igi-nim-šè en gal-bi za-e-me-en ġe₂₆-e ús-sa-zu-me-en / a ru-a-ta gaba-ri-zu nu-me-en šeš-gal za-e-me-en / ġe₂₆-e nu-mu-da-sá-e-en u₄ da-rí-šè "From the south to the north you are the great lord! I am your subject! From the insemination I am not a rival to you! You are the older brother! I cannot rival you! Forever!". See also Mittermayer 2019, 14.

2.1.8. Seventh Stanza: Šulgi Inaugurator of the Road

The seventh stanza of the hymn (ll. 144–180, refrain: ll. 181–183) is highly damaged; the opening line of the stanza was preserved as a 'catchline' at the end of text G; followed by a lacuna of 20 lines. The lines from the second part of the stanza were partially preserved on texts E (col. iv) and J (col. ii).²²² Yet, in spite of the lacunas in the text we can determine that the stanza dealt with a theme familiar from other hymns of Šulgi: Šulgi as a sprinter, who celebrates the *ešeš*-festival in one day in the two cities of Nippur and Ur.

As to the content and structure of the original text, we can only speculate on the basis of the opening line of the stanza and its vocabulary that the stanza focused on the description of Šulgi's running between Nippur and Ur; and that the second part of the stanza was devoted to the description of the festivities of the *ešeš*-festival in the temples of Ur and Nippur, accompanied musical performance during the same day.²²³

The enclitic copula *-me-èn* that has been preserved twice, at the ends of the opening line and the closing line of the stanza (ll. 144 and 180), was reconstructed at the end of two more lines (168, 171). The poetic line **šul-gi sipa zi ki-en-gi-ra-me-èn** "I am Šulgi the right shepherd of Sumer", discussed above, is probably to be restored also in l. 170. The word **du₁₀** "knee" and the word **kaskal** "road" have been preserved throughout the stanza twice each (ll. 144, 175 (*du₁₀*); 165, 173 (*kaskal*)). Finally, the ending lines of the stanza, which refer to a musical celebration that was held in the temple in Šulgi's honor, may also refer to the lines of the refrain following them, where Šulgi invites the people to praise him with song.²²⁴

- Šulgi's Cultic Running

Following the sixth stanza that dealt with Šulgi as the ultimate wrestler, our stanza presents another athletic aspect of Šulgi: that of a runner.²²⁵ At the same time, as has

²²² Text J (CBS 15301) was identified and published by J. Peterson in: Peterson 2011, 160–161.

²²³ Lines 168–169 which mention the blessing of abundance descending from heaven to the fields may be considered general self-praise not connected directly to the major theme of the stanza.

²²⁴ See already Klein 1985, 31*:32–33.

²²⁵ For the running in the Mesopotamian sports competitions see Rollinger 2011, 7 (sub 2.2 *Laufwettbewerb*). For running events in a cultic context see *ibid.* 8f. sub 3. Sport und Fest; see also *idem*, 1994, 22ff. However, the few remnants of the current stanza, as well as the other literary evidence for this topic (see below), do not mention the existence of running competitions but only Šulgi as a single runner; see however Klein 1985, 28*:16.

already been pointed out by several scholars, other sources also describe Šulgi as a sprinter who never gets tired.²²⁶

In other Šulgi hymns the king's extraordinary running ability reflects two ideal images of the ancient Sumerian kingship: that of a warrior in the battlefield and that of a divine elect who brings joy to the temples of the gods.²²⁷ The cultic aspect of Šulgi's running ability is well expressed in Šulgi D (l. 31) in which Šulgi marching to Enlil's residence in Nippur:

anše ni-is-ku-gen₇ kaš₄ ne-ĝál-la-zu-ú^d en-líl húl-le-me-èn

"By your mighty running, which is like a noble ass, you let Enlil rejoice".²²⁸

Accordingly, two Šulgi hymns demonstrate how the king's phenomenal cultic-running became one of the central themes in his royal hymns; see Šulgi E l. 27:

anše šu-ge₄ kaskal x nu-kúš kur⁷ nim-ta kaš₄[?]-ĝá

"For how I run the mountain uplands (like) an experienced ass that never gets tired";

and later in Šulgi E ll. 37–38:

du₁₀-tuku nu-kúš-ù kaš₄-ta è-a-ĝá / gi-gíd za-am-za-am-bi mu-ši-in-ĝar-ĝar-re-eš

²²⁶ Klein, *ibid.* 27*; Vermaak 1993, 11ff.; Rollinger 2011, 11f. sub 6. Sport als Königsattribut; *idem.* 1994, 46ff.; Frayne 1997, p. 97; Vacín 2011, 166f.

It is not excluded, that Šulgi considered his phenomenal running talent as inherited from his divine father Lugalbanda. Lugalbanda himself, as described in the epic of Lugalbanda and the Anzu Bird, was granted running ability like those of the celestial deities Utu and Inana, and it was Anzu the one who granted it to him (the Anzu Bird ll. 167–200; see also below in the discussion of the ritual and agricultural context of the stanza). This hypothesis can explain the numerous metaphors that liken Šulgi in race, not only to animals galloping on the ground, but also to the soaring of celestial bodies crossing cosmic distances. Another episode from the Sumerian early epic literature mentions the unlimited running ability, also in the context of a running between two cities (of Uruk and Aratta), as a gift given to Enmerkar lord of Uruk, in the epos of Enmerkar and Ensuhkešdanna; see Rollinger 1994, 26ff., and 46 nn. 203–204.

²²⁷ For the cultic aspects of the running see Rollinger, *ibid.* 50ff.; Vacín, *ibid.* As was pointed out by Rollinger (*ibid.* p. 27), the power for running that Anzu gives to Lugalbanda serves him as the leader of the army in a hostile land (ll. 185–202), but also allows him to return home to serve the goddess Inana in Uruk (ll. 340–346). In light of this episode compare also the speech of Inana to Šulgi in Šulgi X ll. 63 and 67–68: "You are worthy of the weapon by a swift running! ... You are worthy of the holy shoes for your feet; You are a sprinter! You are worthy to the road for performing the run!". And see further in Šulgi B 21–24: "For my leap, as muscular as a cheetah, and my strong run, as perfect as an equid - An's heart brought me joy and Enlil spoke to me faithfully, to my delight"; and later in the same hymn in ll. 102–103: "I am an expert for casting the throw-stick! For running as quick as light released from the sky".

²²⁸ To which compare the closing phrase in our stanza (l. 180): [x x x x x x x] 'šà¹-šà húl-la sù-¹ù¹-me-èn "I am the ..., who loads every heart with joy!". As a patron of the city of Nippur, Enlil was explicitly mentioned in the two parallel hymns Šulgi A and V. Nevertheless we do not expect to find a mention of him in our stanza as Šulgi has so far refrained from mentioning names of gods throughout the hymn. For this reason the divine names An and Utu (who appear in ll. 169 and 172 respectively) have been translated here as natural elements 'the sky' and 'the Sun' (respectively).

"For how I emerge from the run as a sprinter who never gets tired - they composed those *gigid-* and *zamzam-*compositions".

See also the closing lines of the Praise Poem for Šulgi (N3130+N3131), which may also refer to our stanza (ll. ii:10'–11'):²²⁹

èš nibru^{ki}-šè ġiri₃ uri₂^{ki}-ma-šè šu niġin₂-niġin₂-na-ġá
kaskal da-na 30 ġen-na-ġá ġá-ra mí zi-bi-im hu-mu-¹du₁₁

"How I made a round trip between the shrine Nippur and the highway of Ur;

How I traversed a 30-*danna*-way - Let praise be sung for me!";

for which compare l. 173 of our stanza:

kaskal da-na 30 ì-kaš₄-še-[en x x x x x x]

"I run a 30-*danna*-way".²³⁰

The topic of our stanza, however, is central in two other Šulgi hymns: Šulgi A and Šulgi V,²³¹ which commemorate a historic event during which Šulgi claims that he performed a cultic running between the two Sumerian cities Nippur and Ur, back and forth, a distance of about 320 km in total.²³² In that occasion the king even celebrated the *ešeš*-festival in the temples of both cities, all in one day. The celebrations at the temples included offering of sacrifices and performance of hymns in honor of Šulgi in singing and playing.²³³

²²⁹ As mentioned above in the introduction to the former stanza, ll. ii 7–8 in the present hymn address the same issues discussed in the sixth stanza, and so respectively ll. ii 9–11 refer to the subjects discussed in our stanza. However, l. i 9 is difficult to read, and has only been partially deciphered by J. Klein in his edition (Klein 1993):

a-la ^den-líl-da[?] ma[?]-ab[?]-bé kalam[?]-ma ge₄-a[?] x x x x NA HI NIM dar[?]-ra[?]-ġá[?].

A more complete reading, though still unsure, is suggested here:

a-la ^den-líl (or: ¹ulu₃) dar-ra (or: da-ra) bìl(ĜEŠ.BÍL)-lá-ġin₇ / x x x sar-sar¹ x ¹tùm[?] / anše-sí-¹sí¹ / du₁₀ nim ¹ulu₃^{1u}-ġá.

Either way we assume that (N3130+N3131) l. ii:9' refers to matters that have been discussed in our stanza, preserved in part or not preserved at all.

²³⁰ The total score of the road that Šulgi passed that day, 30 *danna*, sets our stanza apart from the other literary episodes dedicated to this topic; comp. however hymn Šulgi A which noted the real length of the road leading from Nippur to Ur (l. 76):

kaskal 15 *danna*-àm šu hu-mu-niġin "It is 15-*danna*-way, that I traversed, back and forth".

Thus the Ur III phonetic spelling da-na (N3130+N3131 ii:11') seems to refer to our stanza (l. 173); see commentary below.

²³¹ As we mentioned, this event is also recorded in Šulgi N3130+N3131 ii:7'–9' quoted above.

²³² The distance between Nippur and Ur is about 160 km. For a discussion of the Sumerian distance unit *danna* in this context see Powell 1987/90, 467; Rollinger 1994, 47 n. 210.

²³³ For an in-depth discussion of this subject, see the introduction by J. Klein to hymn Šulgi A in Klein 1981a, 178–181; idem, 1981b, 17f. with n. 68; see also Frayne 1983b; idem, 1997, 96–97; Rollinger 1994, 46ff.; and a conclusion in Vacín 2011, 74f., 163ff. The compact discussion here about the historical context of the stanza is based on all the above studies. L. Vacín in his dissertation (ibid.) expanded the discussion about the realistic feasibility of this fantastic event from the historical point of

- Šulgi's Historic Running

As was pointed out by Douglas Frayne, these literary sources refer to a historical event documented in two formulas of the 7th year of Šulgi's reign:

7a) mu ĝir nibru^{ki} [si bí-sá-a]

"The year the Nippur road [was put in order]"

7b) mu lugal-e uri^{ki}-ta nibru^{ki}-šè 'in'-niĝin₂

"The year the king made a round trip between Ur and Nippur".²³⁴

According to Frayne, the cultic run between Nippur and Ur was aimed at inaugurating the new road paved by Šulgi between the two cities. This idea is of course based on the fact that the connection between the two events, the paving of the road between the cities and the king's run on the road, is revealed not only in the names of the year, but also in hymn Šulgi A itself, in which eight lines from the first part of the hymn (ll. 28–35) are devoted to describe the reparational work on the road for the comfort and safety of the people who pass through it.

As mentioned, Šulgi A and Šulgi V constitute the hymnic background for the stanza before us.²³⁵ Šulgi A is a self-laudatory hymn which is exclusively dedicated to the rapid run that Šulgi made between the two Sumerian cities of Nippur and Ur in one single day. According to this narrational hymn, on that day Šulgi leaves the city of Nippur to inaugurate the royal road to the city of Ur by running between the two cities; after arriving at Ur he celebrated in the temple of the city the *ešeš*-festival; then he set out running back to Nippur during a terrible rainstorm. Interestingly, the hymn contains exactly 100 poetic lines, with the first half of the hymn being devoted to describing the first half of that day, and the second half of the hymn being devoted to the second half of the day; ll. 49–50 describe the moment of midday, just as Šulgi enters the temple in Ur:

view, suggesting some realistic solutions to the problem (pp. 164f.). We however are focusing on the symbolic and ideological meanings of this literary episode.

²³⁴ Translated by Frayne, 1997, 97. The general translation "between Ur and Nippur" (and not literally: "from Ur to Nippur") is derived from Šulgi A, where it is clear that Šulgi first run from Nippur to Ur, and then returned to Nippur; see Klein 1981a, 181. For a semantic discussion of the verb niĝin₂ "to go back and forth", "to do a round trip", see Falkenstein 1952, 82f.

²³⁵ See already Vacín, *ibid.* 163ff. The hymn was edited by Klein, 1981a, 167ff.

Further attestation of a ceremonial traverse of the road between Nippur and Ur is the journey of the Moon-god Nanna-Sîn the patron of the city of Ur, from his temple in Ur to Enlil's temple in Nippur, to which the Sumerian composition of Nanna's Journey to Nippur is dedicated. This journey is also referred to in hymn Šulgi F ll. 69–72, 89–91, for which see discussion and commentary by Lämmerhirt, 2012, 4ff. and p. 82 with n. 141; see also Klein 2001, 282ff.

^dutu á-dam-ma u₄ daġal-la / é-kiš-nu-ġál ha-ba-ku₄-re-en

"When Utu flooded the countryside with light - I entered into the Ekišnuġal".²³⁶

The hymn ends dramatically with a direct quote from the hymn of praise sung in honor of Šulgi during the *ešēš* celebrations in Nippur, ll. 93–100:²³⁷

šir kù-ġá hu-mu-un-e-ne / nam-mah-ġu₁₀ hu-mu-ni-pà-dè-ne

á mah lugal-la-kam mí du₁₁-ga

^dsuen-e é-kiš-nu-ġál-ta / nam-ur-saġ nam-kalag-ga nam-ti níġ-du₁₀ saġ-e-eš rig₇-ga

á mah šúm-ma ^dnu-nam-nir-ra

^dšul-gi kur gul-gul kalam ge-en-ge-en / išib an ki-a gaba-ri nu-tuku

"Let them recite the holy song in my honor, let them reveal my greatness:

"This is the great power of the king, bestowed upon him!

The one who was bestowed by Sîn from the Ekišnuġal with heroism, power, life and pleasantness! Who was given a great power by Nunamnir!

Šulgi! Destroyer of lands! The fortifier of the Land! The purification priest of heaven and earth who has no rival!"

Accordingly, we can only speculate that in a similar way our stanza also ended with a quote of the praise hymn sung to Šulgi on that day (ll. 177–180):

[BALAG.LU]L[?] a-da-ab m[a[?]-al-ga-tum] x x-éš

[x x x] x ṛa-da-ab[?] ad¹ ma-ni-ib-ša-an

[x x x x x gu]-ul-gu-ul-gu-ul / [x x x x x x] ṛša¹-ša húl-la sù-ṛù¹-me-èn

"[the *tigi*?], *adab*, [and *malgatum*?]...

I let them resonate as *adab*-songs in my honor...

"I am the one ..., who (causes) total destruction of who loads every heart with joy!"²³⁸

Šulgi V is also a narrational hymn dedicated to the cultic running of the king between the cities Nippur and Ur.²³⁹ Apparently, this hymn was composed as a votive

²³⁶ For u₄ daġal-la meaning "noon" (Akk. *ūm mašil*) see Klein 1981a, 211. In contrast to Falkenstein (1952, 84) who understood the mention of the Sun-god here as an entity to which the Sumerian king is compared, we understand it in this context as referring to the sun in the day sky marking the time during the day; see the extensive discussion on this subject below in the introduction, and in the commentary to ll. 172–173.

²³⁷ This episode was already discussed by Klein, 1981a, 179 and Wilcke 1976, 247.

²³⁸ See further parallels below in the philological commentary for ll. 179–180.

²³⁹ Šulgi V was preserved on the obverse of a one-column tablet, when the reverse of the same tablet carries a royal hymn dedicated to Išme-Dagan of Isin (Išme-Dagan S). The entire tablet was edited by

inscription to a statue in the king's figure, which was placed in the Ekur temple in Nippur. Both, the statue and the hymn, were dedicated to Enlil.²⁴⁰ Based on this hypothesis Klein suggested reading the closing lines of Šulgi V (ll. 30–33) as a dedication formula of Šulgi's glowing statue, which represents the eternal glory and fame of the king:

u₄ ti-la-šè ur-saĝ-e-ne-e / ^dšul-gi-ra na[m]-mah gal-gal-la-ni a-re-ěš pà-dé-dè
x-alan[?] u₄ sù-rá mu-da-rí-ka-na / mul-an-né-ěš[?] bí-in-gùn

"In order that *forever* the heroes may sing the praise of Šulgi's great exaltedness, his ...*statue of long days and everlasting fame he made brilliant like the heavenly stars*".²⁴¹

We further assume that this formula in Šulgi V is the equivalent of the closing formula of Šulgi A, quoting the hymn of praise sung to Šulgi. Accordingly, just as Šulgi A (and probably our stanza as well) ends with a quote of the song that aims to reveal the greatness of Šulgi's kingship for distance days, so Šulgi V ends with a dedication formula addressed to the statue of Šulgi's figure that also aims to reveal the greatness of Šulgi's kingship forever.²⁴²

- The *ešeš*-festival and other Ritual Celebrations: Some Lunar and Solar Elements

Our stanza seems to end with reference to a musical celebration that took place on that day in the temple, presumably in honor of Šulgi. The fragmentary ll. 176–178 seem to allude to a long and more detailed episode from Šulgi E (ll. 53f.) where

Klein, 1985, pp. 7*–38*; see also Frayne 1997, 3/2.1.2.54 and 1990, 4.1.4.8; Ludwig 1990: Kapitel 6 (pp. 75–91).

²⁴⁰ This assumption also applies to the other side of the tablet, which is inscribed with a hymn to Išme-Dagan (Išme-Dagan S). For a critical editions of both hymns see Klein, *ibid.* 8*ff.; Ludwig, *ibid.* 75ff.

²⁴¹ Klein, *ibid.* 10*, 22*–23*; Ludwig, *ibid.* 77ff.

²⁴² Compare the parallel formulations in the two compositions:

šir kù-ĝá hu-mu-un-e-ne / **nam-mah-ĝu₁₀ hu-mu-ni-pà-dè-ne** / á mah lugal-la-kam mí du₁₁-ga

"Let them recite **holy song** in my honor, **let them reveal my greatness (saying):**

"This is the lofty power of the king, sung (or: bestowed) to honor him!..." (Šulgi A ll. 93–95);

u₄ ti-la-šè ur-saĝ-e-ne-e / ^dšul-gi-ra na[m]-mah gal-gal-la-ni a-re-ěš pà-dé-dè /

x-alan[?] u₄ sù-rá mu-da-rí-ka-na / mul-an-né-ěš[?] bí-in-gùn

In order that *forever* the heroes **may reveal the praise of Šulgi's great exaltedness (by this statue):**

his ...*statue of long days and everlasting fame he made brilliant like the heavenly stars*" (Šulgi V ll. 30–33).

multiplicity of musical instruments is mentioned in connection with the *ešeš*-festival celebrations before Enlil in the Ekur, on the first day of the month.²⁴³

The *ešeš*-festival celebrations in the temples of the cities of Nippur and Ur were the ritual context of the event.²⁴⁴ While the *ešeš*-festival is related to the lunar calendar of the Sumerian temples, some elements in the narrativial hymns, as well as in the stanza before us, connect the ritual celebrations to an agricultural solar context. The first is the abundance that is accompanying the running, the entering into the temples and the worshipping before the gods. Šulgi is presented throughout the narrativial hymns as the divine chosen of Sumer, who brings abundance from the Land into the temples and at the same time leads the divine abundance back to the Land.²⁴⁵ Hence it is most likely that the very same concept is implied in the defective lines 168–169 in our stanza:

engar-mah gana₂ zi-[dè ... / an-né hé-ĝál ᵀgiri₁₇^{1?}-[zal[?] ...

²⁴³ Šulgi E 53–62: èn-du-ĝu₁₀ a-da-ab hé-em tigi ma-al-ga-tum hé-em / šir-gíd-da ár nam-lugal-la / šumun-ša₄ kun-ĝar bal-bal-e hé-em / gi-gíd za-am-za-am hé-em / ĝeštu₂-ge nu-dib-bé ka-ta nu-šub-bu-dè / ki-šu-ke₄ lú nam-bí-ib-da₁₃-da₁₃-a / é-kur za-gìn-na muš nam-ba-an-túm-mu / ^den-líl-ra èš u₄-sakar-ra-ka-na hé-na-du₁₂ / èš-èš kaš gi-rin a-gen₇ sù-sù-ù-da-bi / ^den-líl ^dnin-líl-da tuš-a-ra hé-en-ne-ĝá-ĝá-ĝá "My praise music - whether it is *adab*, whether it is *tigi* or *malgatum*, whether it is širgida, the kingship praise, šumunša, kungar or balbale, whether it is gigida or zamzam, in order that it shall never be removed from the ear and never fall out of the mouth - may no one neglect it in the cultic place and in the lapis-lazuli Ekur; (its) performing shall never stop. Let it be played before Enlil in his New-Moon-Shrine. Let it be continuously offered before Enlil as he sits with Ninlil while pouring out refined *ešeš* beer like water".

See further the concluding formula of Šulgi E 253–255: ki-šu-ki-šu-ke₄ hé-em-ma-an-du₁₂ / èš u₄-sakar-ra na-me na-an-tak₄-tak₄ / ĝá tigi ^den-líl ^dnin-líl-lá-ke₄ "Let (my songs) be performed in all the cultic-places, and let them never be neglected in the New-Moon-Shrine; in the music-chamber of Enlil and Ninlil".

A musical performance of praise songs in honor of Šulgi, in front of Enlil, is also mentioned in Šulgi D ll. 366–370. For the performance of *adab*-songs in the Ekišnuĝal see the Ur Temple Hymn l. 107.

Note further, that all the three long self-laudatory hymns of Šulgi mention, among his many talents, also his control of musical instruments (cf. Šulgi B 154–174, 270–280; Šulgi E 14–38, 155–163; Šulgi C b75ff.). A long literary unit is devoted to this subject also in our hymn, in the opening of the third stanza of segment B (ll. b75ff.), which is the longest and supposedly the most important stanza of this hymn. This topic will be discussed in the introduction to the 11th, in the future second part of the edition.

²⁴⁴ The *ešeš*-festival is associated with the 1st, 7th and 15th days of each month; see Sallaberger 1993, 56ff., 103ff. Note also the description of the *ešeš*-celebration in Šulgi E mentioned above, that took place in the "New-Moon-Shrine" (èš u₄-sakar-ra) of Enlil.

²⁴⁵ While entering into the temple in Ur Šulgi brings with him an abundance (in Šulgi A ll. 50–52): é-kiš-nu-ĝál-šè ha-ba-ku₄-re-en / é ^dsuen-na tūr ì gal-gal-la hé-ĝál-la hé-bí-du₈ / gud ha-ba-ni-gaz udu ha-ba-ni-šár "I entered into the Ekišnuĝal, the temple of Šin, stall of overflowing fat, I filled with abundance: I slaughtered there oxen, I generously multiplied sheep".

In response, an abundance of blessing rains was sent to the land of Sumer, represented by a rainstorm that sweeps the Land in the second half of the day following the worship at Ur; an idea developed in Šulgi V (ll. 22, 26–27): u₄ giri₁₇-zal-a-aš è-a dungu(IM.DIRI) šeĝ_x(IM.A)-ka ĝar-ra ... u₄ ne-[x]-a [na]m-he nam im-mi-in-tar / IM.GÁN.[U]H.[ME.U I].M.dal-ha-mu šu ba-ra-àm "On a day that appears as abundance, which destined for rain-clouds ... on that day prosperity was decreed; it was a violent storm, a blowing whirlwind!". See already Klein 1985, 29*:22; Rollinger 1994, 53 with n. 239 and Sallaberger, *ibid.* 312f.

"the supreme farmer ... the true arable land abundance and flourishing [*that have been sent to me*] by heaven".

The royal epithet of Šulgi **engar-mah** "the supreme farmer" is, according to literary parallels, related to the service of Enlil in the Ekur in Nippur.²⁴⁶ The mention of abundance originating in the sky (**an-né hé-ĝál**) in the following line might imply that the rains were sent to the earth in response to the ritual activity. The reference to Šulgi as "the right shepherd of Sumer" in the following line (170) emphasizes that Šulgi, as a deified king, is the source of the prosperity for the fields of the land. Yet the uniqueness of the proximity of the two royal epithets 'farmer' and 'shepherd' side by side cannot be ignored.²⁴⁷

Another solar element is the Sun-god himself, whose presence accompanies all three narrational hymns.²⁴⁸ The most significant unit in our defective stanza is lines 172–173, in which the historical running event is explicitly stated. As we would expect, the Sun's role in the events is not omitted from these central lines:

^dutu é-^ra¹-ni-ta UD[?]. [DU x x x x x] / kaskal da-na 30 ì-kaš₄-še-[en x x x x x]

"The Sun [broke forth] from his home ... I run a 30-*danna*-way".

The Sun also appears in the closing of Šulgi V (ll. 28–29), followed by the dedication formula of Šulgi's statue (see above). Although the reading of these lines is not entirely certain, we assume that according to the hymns Šulgi's run was done in a single day, and that he reached the finish line of the race at the temple of Ur before sunset:²⁴⁹

^dutu-e [sig[?]]-ge-éš nam-ši-x / a-ne é-kur za-gin-šè na-gur[?]

²⁴⁶ See philological commentary below. In some Sumerian literary episodes the 'supreme farmer' (engar-mah) or the 'right farmer' (engar-zi) refers to the chosen leader who is in charge of cultivation of the fields of Enlil; cf. Hoe-Plough 21ff.; Summer-Winter 317; The Farmer's Instructions 109. In Ur-Namma G ll. 16–20 the 'right farmer' (engar zi) is Ur-Namma how fulfills his role by cultivating Enlil's field, while reciprocally Enlil fulfills his part by directing the rain from the sky to the fields; and see also Enlil in the Ekur ll. 60–64, where the farmer, as a divine leader, is in charge of bringing the rich agricultural products into Enlil's temple in the Ekur.

²⁴⁷ See Sefati 1998, 127 (referring to Dumuzi, Dumuzi-Inana A ll. 53–54).

²⁴⁸ For the Sun-god as the guard of the roads in the land of Sumer compare the description of the gods' abandonment of the land of Sumer in Sumer-Ur Lament: ^dutu har-ra-an kaskal-e nam ba-an-ku₅-da-a-ba "After Utu had decreed the fate against the highway and road" (l. 26); kaskal-la ĝiri₃ nu-ĝá-ĝá-dè har-ra-an nu-kíĝ-kíĝ-dè "that no foot should step on the road, and no highway should be visited" (l. 39). For the effort of the Sumerian kings to bring peace to the Land by paving safe roads, see in detail Frayne 1983b, 739ff. Particularly noteworthy is an inscription of Lugalzagesi (see p. 740) which tells of the paving of waterways all over the country, from north to south, and from east to west; literally: "from sunrise to sunset" (u₄-è-ta u-šú-šè).

²⁴⁹ see Klein 1985, 31*.

"The Sun-god has not yet... over the... [*while*] he (Šulgi) returned to the lustrous Ekur".

However, the fully preserved Šulgi A presents the complete picture according to which the Sun serves as a partner for the king during the race, accompanying him at each turn of the course: after a one-way running Šulgi arrives at Ur, exactly in midday, when the Sun shines in his heavenly climax. This event is placed right in the middle of the one hundred-line hymn (in lines 49–50):

^dutu á-dam-ma u₄ daġal-la / é-kiš-nu-ġál-šè ha-ba-ku₄-re-en

"I entered into the Ekišnuġal while the Sun-god flooded the countryside with light";

Šulgi turns back to Nippur, which he left in the morning, while the Sun is facing towards his residence in the west, during the second half of that day (75–76):

^dutu é-a-ni-šè igi ì-ġá-ġá-dè / kaskal 15 danna-àm šu hu-mu-ni₁₀-ni₁₀

"I traversed a 15-*danna*-way while the Sun-god turned his eyes toward his home";

Šulgi arrives at Ur and enters the temple accompanied by his 'brother and friend', the Sun, his running partner (ll. 78–80):

u₄-aš-a nibru^{ki} uri^{ki}-ma èš-èš-bi hu-mu-ak

šeš gu₅-li-ġu₁₀ šul ^dutu-àm / é-gal an-né ki ġar-ra-àm kaš hu-mu-un-di-ni-naġ

"In one day I celebrated the ešeš-festival in both cities in Nippur and Ur!

In the palace, founded by An, I drank beer with my brother and friend - the youth Utu!"²⁵⁰

The Sun's race in the sky in parallel to Šulgi's race on earth explains another geographical fact regarding Šulgi's run track that day. On a single day (across the northern hemisphere) the sun shines in the northeast, while throughout the day 'runs' across the sky facing to the south. At noon, the sun is located at the southernmost point of its daily orbit. From this moment on, the sun turns back towards the northwest, and sets in the west at the point parallel to where it shone in the east. Like the sun so is Šulgi - at dawn he runs from the northern city of Nippur to the southern city of Ur, and turns toward north back to Nippur at midday. Thus, although Šulgi's

²⁵⁰ Compare also the parallel passage in Šulgi B ll. 123–127: šeš gu₅-li-ġu₁₀ šul ^dutu-gen₇ / zà-šè piriġ-gen₇ su₈-su₈-ge-ġá / anše sahar lá ug-gen₇ šeg₁₁ ge₄-a-ġá kuš₇ sa₆-ga-bi-me-en / dūr^{ur}-gen₇ kaš₄-a nè-ġu₁₀ nu-silig-ge / kaš₄-ta è-a-me-en du₁₀ nu-kúš-ù-me-en "Like my brother and friend the youth Utu, I am spectacular in my run: which is like that of a lion when I leap aside; which is like that of an ass raises dust, when I roar like a *lion*?. Like a stallion, my strength is unwavering during the race; I am the one who emerges from the race! I am (of) a knee that does not get tired!".

permanent residence is in the city of Ur, he sets out to race in the morning from the city of Nippur towards Ur and returns back to Nippur in the evening, parallel to the solar orbit in the sky.²⁵¹ By running in two parallel orbits Šulgi shows that the only runner that equals him in his abilities is the Sun-god himself, his 'brother and friend'.²⁵²

²⁵¹ Based on the assumption that a celestial body traverses a distance of 12 *danna* in one day (day and night), in later periods *danna* was borrowed to use as a time unit of double hours, which are twelfth part of a day (and hence also the geometric angle of 30° - twelfth part of the circle). Accordingly, by running on the land Šulgi traversed 5 times the distance that the sun crosses on an average day (6 *danna* = 12 hours; 30 *danna* = 60 hours). See Powell 1987/90, 467f.; CAD B 210f.

However, this is not the only literary reference that measures the movement of a celestial body by the unit of *danna*. Klein has already pointed out the parallelism between Šulgi A 76 and Ensuĥkešdanna 88 that supported the reconstruction of the epos line (see Klein 1981a, 215; Berlin 1979, 74); cf. Ensuĥkešdanna ll. 87–90: u₄ nu-um-zal ġi₆ [ù-na] nu-ru-gú / ġe₂₆-e^d inana-da kaskal danna [15-à]m šu hu-mu-un-da-[ni₁₀-ni₁₀] / ^dutu múš kù-ġá igi nu-mu-un-[bar] / ġi₆-par₄ kù-ġá ba-e-ši-in-[ku₄-ku₄] "The day didn't pass, the night didn't vanish (while) I traversed with Inana a [15]-*danna*-way back and forth; yet Utu cannot see my holy gaze (when) she enters my holy ġipar".

For a celestial running compared to that of the Sun-god and of Inana in the Anzu Bird (ll. 168–171, 185–188), see already Wilcke 1969b, 181.

One might suggest that, in contrast to the measurement method established in Mesopotamia in later periods, Sumerian literature attributes to the Sun god and his companions (Inana and Šulgi) a speed of crossing a distance of 30 *danna* during their celestial apparition, 15 *danna* from rise to the south, and other 15 *danna* from the south to set in the west. If this hypothesis is correct, then Šulgi is also attributed here with the speed of one of the Sun companions during one average day.

²⁵² If Šulgi's day of running parallel to the Sun was held on a day of average length, that is, on one of the days of the equinox, so one can further propose the hypothesis that that day was the equinox of autumn, after which winter begins and prosperity and abundance of rains arrive to the fields, as described in the hymns. If so, then the hymn describes this day as the day of transition between summer and winter, when from the middle of the day, exactly from noon, winter appeared in the form of rainstorm flooding the Land in the second part of that day (the astronomical position of the sun during the equinoxes has changed in the last 4000 years, and in the 21st century BCE it probably took place in early October).

2.1.9. Eighth Stanza

Only three signs have been preserved from the beginning of the eighth stanza, from the ends of its first three lines. These lines have been preserved in texts E and J.²⁵³ Accordingly we can only present a few technical comments about it.

The approximate reconstruction of the entire hymn was discussed in detail above, in chapter 1.4. (Reconstruction of the Text). We estimated there that the original eighth stanza consisted of about 40–60 poetic lines. We further estimated that each of the texts D, E and J originally contained the entire segment A of the hymn (stanzas 1-8), and accordingly, the eighth stanza was the last stanza copied on any of these three multi-column tablets. We additionally estimated regarding text K that it originally was a five-column tablet (although only four columns were preserved on each side of it), and therefore the second part of the eighth stanza must have been copied at the beginning of text K, when the first part of the stanza was copied on the tablet that preceded it in the series, and which was not preserved. However, these are only hypotheses which cannot be verified.

Regarding the content and structure of the stanza, we can only surmise that the three opening lines of the stanza constituted a long compound sentence, cast in the first person singular. Judging from -gen₇ at the end of the first line (l. 184), and 1sg. copula -'me-èn' at the end of the third line (l. 186), this stanza must have been a self-praise in which Šulgi likened himself, to a powerful animal or some other stunning natural element.

Another source in which we would expect to find a clue to the subject of this stanza is the Praise Poem of Šulgi N3130+N3131.²⁵⁴ This composition reviews the topics discussed in other Šulgi hymns, and especially in his three long self-laudatory hymns Šulgi B, Šulgi C and Šulgi E.²⁵⁵ As we suggested in the introductions to the previous two stanzas, N3130+N3131 ll. ii:7'–8' probably refer to the two parts of the

²⁵³ The signs have been preserved in text J ii 9–1; a few illegible scratches from l. 184 have been preserved in text E iv 21, following the seventh refrain. It is not impossible that these are halves of 1–2 indented lines, and not three poetic lines.

²⁵⁴ Edited by J. Klein, 1993. This composition is a short literary episode, divided into seven units of 2–3 poetic lines, each of which ends with a variation of the formula: mí-bi-im hu-mu-du₁₁ "Let that praise be sung!".

²⁵⁵ We offer here the possibility that this composition is a kind of poetic catalog, with each of its short units referring to a certain longer poem, composed in honor of Šulgi. Accordingly, each of the stanzas of Šulgi C may be considered a separate, compact, hymn of praise in its own right. However, this hypothesis should be examined in a separate study.

sixth stanza of Šulgi C, while ll. ii:9'–11' refer to the two parts of the seventh stanza.²⁵⁶ Accordingly, we would have expected to find a clue to the content of the eighth stanza of Šulgi C in the following lines of N3130+N3131, had the text of the composition not ended abruptly in the middle of the second column of the obvers.²⁵⁷

²⁵⁶ It is also not excluded that N3130+N3131 ll. ii:9'–11' refer to the fifth stanza of Šulgi C.

²⁵⁷ See Klein, *ibid.* 125.

2.2. Šulgi C - Segment A: Orthography and Spelling Exchanges

The text of Šulgi C contains a significant amount of orthographical and phonological archaisms unique to the Šulgi hymns. Among the preserved manuscripts of the hymn, all of which came from Nippur and were copied in the OB period, some preserve all the archaic orthographical and phonological peculiarities of the other Šulgi hymns, and some preserve a significant amount of these archaisms.²⁵⁸ Hence it seems that the manuscripts of our hymn belong to that group of Šulgi hymns whose texts have not been fully modernized.²⁵⁹

The orthographic and phonetic peculiarities that characterize the hymns of Šulgi were classified by Jacob Klein in some of his previous editions of Šulgi hymns;²⁶⁰ the classification below follows that of Klein:

1. Plene writing of vowels²⁶¹

Plene writing of vowels with *a* preceding the verbal root is attested in l. 119: la-ba-a-è-dè;²⁶² Lengthening of final *a* vowel in nominalized verbal bases with locative suffix is attested in ll. 85: AK-a; 108: NE-ma-a; 109: ġá-ra-a. It appears also in the interrogative particles a-ba-a (ll. 110, 127) and a-na-a (127); and see also the puzzling writing gara_o(GA)-a (l. 5).

Plene writing of vowels with *ù* marks a nominalizing element followed by a copula in l. 180: sù-ù-me-èn²⁶³; and seems to represent the ergative case -e in l. 37:

²⁵⁸ On the manuscripts and their spelling characteristics see above in chapter 1.4.3. (Description of Manuscripts).

²⁵⁹ The preservation of archaic spellings in the manuscripts of the Šulgi hymns, and its implications regarding the understanding of the composition and copying process of the hymns, was discussed by Jacob Klein in a series of studies, see e.g. Klein 1979 151 n. 10; *ibid.*, 1981b, 27ff.; 1989, 289ff.; 2005, 135ff. See further Falkenstein 1949, 7; Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 22 with n. 65; Rubio 2005.

²⁶⁰ For some reviews of orthographic archaisms in printed editions of Šulgi hymns by J. Klein see: Klein 1981a, 64–70 (Šulgi D), 131–134 (Šulgi X); 1981b, 27–32 (Šulgi P); 1985, 14*–18* (Šulgi V); 1990, 96–100 (Šulgi R); 1990, 299–301 (Šulgi G); for some other reviews by the above-mentioned author, see above (n. 2). Following Klein's classification see also Lämmerhirt 2012, 22–24 (Šulgi F); and Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 22–27 (Ur-Namma hymns).

²⁶¹ According to Klein the lengthening of vowels is a phenomenon which is not always justified by grammatical analysis, and unique to the hymns of Šulgi, see Klein 1981a, 65–67, 131–132 with n. 225; 1981b, 28 with nn. 142–143; *idem.*, 1985, 16* with n. 44.

²⁶² Klein 1981a, 65; 1981b, 28 n. 142.

²⁶³ So E; J: sù-me-èn.

šu-ĝu₁₀-ù; the locative case -a, like in l. 93: mah-ĝu₁₀-ù²⁶⁴, and in the verbal form in l. 100: im-ta-DU.DU-ú (var.: im-ta-DU.DU-ù)²⁶⁵.

Plene writing of vowels with *e* represents the ergative case in ll. 75: ku₅-rá-né-e; and 92: gáb-bé-e; in l. 98 it may mark the locative-terminative case: nu-sì-ge-bé-e²⁶⁶; and in l. 99 it follows the verbal root, followed by the 1sg. suffix (-en), in: im-ma-ak-e-èn.

2. Omission of the morphemes *e* and *i* in interconsonantal position²⁶⁷

In the recurrent verbal form repeated in the refrain, the vowel *e* is omitted following the verbal root and followed by the 3pl. suffix (-ene): hu-mu-ni-(in)-gú-un-gú-ne for *hu-mu-ni-(in)-gú-un-gú(n)-(e)ne (ll. 19, 33, 50, 82, 112, 142, 182); and in l. 31: nu-mu-ta-dag-ne²⁶⁸. -èn in nu-um-ši-íb-èn (l. 87) stands for the verbal root *e* and the 1sg. suffix -en. íl-íl-da²⁶⁹ (l. 42) stands for *íl-íl-i-da (with the *i* omitted following the verbal root).

3. Phonetic (or syllabic) writings

Archaic and Ur III orthography: l. 5 šilam₂ (TÙR×MAS)²⁷⁰; l. 17: gú kúr di (for: l. 23: nam-he (for nam-hé)²⁷¹; gù(KA) kúr di); ll. 30, 35: ĝeštu₃ (for ĝeštu₂)²⁷²; l. 39: kúr-kúr (for kur-kur); l. 40: ga-lam (for galam); l. 45: ki-gal-lum-ma (for ki-galam); ll. 54, 78, 99: muš (for mùš)²⁷³; l. 58: ĝeš la (for ĝeš lá); ll. 59, 133: igi saĝ (for igi saĝ₅); 74: [ĝizz]al_x[?] ([ĜEŠ.TU₉.PI.ŠIR].[?]SAL[?] for ĜEŠ.TU₉.PI.ŠIR.SILA₃)²⁷⁴; 84: mas-sú (for mas-su)²⁷⁵; 88: lú ge (for lú ge₄)²⁷⁶; 89: ma-NE-NE (for -ni₁₀-ni₁₀); 95, 109: ĝá-ra (for ĝar-

²⁶⁴ So Texts G, F; E: mah-ĝu₁₀.

²⁶⁵ A, G: im-ta-DU.DU-ú; F: im-ta-DU.DU-ù.

²⁶⁶ So A, G, F; E: nu-sì-ge-bé.

²⁶⁷ Klein 1981b, 28 with n. 144; idem, 1985, II 15* with nn. 47–48.

²⁶⁸ So A; B: nu-mu-un-[?]ta[?]-dag[?]-ge[?]-ne.

²⁶⁹ So A, B; E: [?]íl-íl-[?]l[í[?].

²⁷⁰ Rubio 2005, 208f. with n. 22.

²⁷¹ Klein 1981b, 32 n. 169; idem, 1985, 30*; 1990, 99 n. 204; 2005, 136 n. 9; Lämmerhirt 2012, 23.

²⁷² So A, B, D; C, H, F: ĝeštu₂.

Klein 1990, 98 n. 200; idem, 2005, 137 n. 10.

²⁷³ Klein 1981b, 28f. n. 152.

²⁷⁴ Rubio 2005, 207 with n. 16.

²⁷⁵ So A, G; F: mas-su

²⁷⁶ Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 25: ad ge for ad ge₄.

ra)²⁷⁷; 98: en-nu (for en-nu-ùĝ)²⁷⁸; 100: šà dab (for šà dab₅)²⁷⁹; 117: dim₄-ma (for dím-ma); 129, 138: lirim₃ (for lirim)²⁸⁰; (131: a ge₄ (for á ge₄)); 133: lipiš_x(ŠÀ.Á[B]) for (lipiš(ÁB.ŠÀ¹))²⁸¹; 135: šu gaba-ri (for šul gaba-ri); 137: gud dù (for gud du₇); 173: da-na (for danna (KAS.GÍD)); 179: -gu-ul- (for gul)²⁸².

Other peculiarities unique to the hymns of Šulgi:²⁸³ for the refrain (ll. 19, 33, 50, 82, 112, 142, 182): for ll. 19ff. gú-un-gú-ne for ġun-ġun-(ene) see above²⁸⁴; 28: nam-lugal-lá (for -la); 40: ʿsi¹-il-si-lí (for si-il-si-il-e); 45: maš-dara₃¹ (MAŠ.ŠE.DARA₃)²⁸⁵; 77: níĝ-ge-ge-na (for níĝ-ge-na; see also the reduplicated verbal form commonly appears as: ge-en-ge-en, or: ge-en-ge-na); 97: uzu-ga (uzu.g for uzu.d); 138: ù-su-tuku (for usu-tuku)²⁸⁶.

Note further the threefold of the verbal root: ll. 39, 75 ĝá-ĝá-ĝá; 179: (gu]-ul-gu-ul-gu-ul).²⁸⁷

The following spelling peculiarities are also attested in the two pre-Ur III compositions, the Gudea cylinder²⁸⁸ and the Temple Hymns, which had the greatest literary influence on the Šulgi hymns: šu ba-ra (for šu bar-ra)²⁸⁹ in l. 3; ad ša (for ad ša₄) in lines 39 and 178²⁹⁰; and ní-ĝar (for ní-ĝál) in l. 38.

The following words represent unique or rare spellings of Sumerian words derived from Akkadian lexemes: l. 56: pu-hu-ru-um^{ki} ("assembly", elsewhere attested as pu-úh-ru-um); 63: e-re-bu-um (translated here: "newcomers"); 128: am-si-har-ra-an-na ("elephant").

²⁷⁷ So A, G, F; E: ĝar.

Klein 1981a, 133; idem, 1981b, 28 n. 150; 1990, 98 n. 199; 2005, 136 n. 9.

²⁷⁸ So A, G; E, F: en-nu-ùĝ

²⁷⁹ So A, E, F; G: dab₅.

²⁸⁰ Klein 1979, 151 n. 10; Rubio 2005, 206f.

²⁸¹ So G; J: lipiš(ÁB.ŠÀ¹).

²⁸² Klein 1981a, 67; Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 24.

²⁸³ The following words are attested in Šulgi C either as Hapax legomena or phonetic writings that are not attested in other hymns and their meaning has not yet been interpreted: l. 31: šà^{tu9}ba₁₃-lá; 98: saĝ bulu_x(BUL); 99: PÚ-PÚ-re; 101: i-SÜD¹; 101: kur₇-re; 122: m]a²-bu₅-bu₅-re-éš; 125: mu-ni-bu; 126: ù-bí-sur₈-sur₈-ù (for: sur?). For a more in-depth discussion of these forms see the philological interpretation of the line.

²⁸⁴ Klein 1981a, 67; idem, 1990, 98f. n. 203; 1991, 300 n. 42.

²⁸⁵ So A, B; E: maš-dara₃.

²⁸⁶ Klein 1985, 15* with n. 40; idem, 2005, 136 n. 9; Lämmerhirt 2012, 24.

²⁸⁷ This irregularity is considered unique to the Šulgi hymns, but not necessarily characteristic the Ur III orthography, see Klein 1985, 17*f.; idem, 1990, 100; Lämmerhirt 2012, 23 n. 147.

²⁸⁸ Klein 1981b, 27 n. 139.

²⁸⁹ Klein 1981a, 133; idem, 1985, 15* with n. 41

²⁹⁰ Klein 1990, 99 n. 214.

4. Archaic and phonetic writings of grammatical morphemes

One of the distinct features of the manuscripts of the Šulgi hymns that have not been modernized, is the archaic spelling of the 1sg. enclitic copula (-men): **-me-èn**, instead of the younger OB spelling: -me-en.²⁹¹ This feature is particularly prominent in a self-laudatory hymn such as ours, since it is an essential part of the literary structure of the hymn: it rhymes all the lines of first stanza, the refrain and the opening and closing lines of each literary unit throughout the hymn²⁹². Accordingly the 1sg. verbal suffix is also written with -èn; see ll. 87: nu-um-ši-íb-èn; and 98: im-ma-ak-e-èn.

Another archaism is the writing -ěš for the postposition -eš, in its both roles as an adverbial case and 3pl. verbal suffix.²⁹³ Compare the adverbs in the refrain: zi-dè-ěš (ll. 18, 32, 49, [81], 111, 181); and šir-re-ěš (ll. 20, 34, 51, 83, 113, 143, 183); and the verbal chains in ll. 30: mu-da-su₈-su₈-ge-ěš; 74: hé-em-ga-àm-ši-in-ak-ak-ěš; 121, 123: [h]a-ma-né-ěš; and 122: [m]a[?]-bu₅-bu₅-re-ěš.²⁹⁴

The verbal inanimate infix -b- following the vowel *i* is written in archaic texts with -íb- (as compared to the modernized texts written with -ib-).²⁹⁵ ll. 37: mi-ni-íb-sá; 87: nu-um-ši-íb-èn; and 178: ma-ni-íb-ša-an²⁹⁶.

The irregular writing of the verbal postposition -ù with -ú in l. 100: im-ta-DU.DU-ú²⁹⁷ has not been attested before.

5. Grammatical irregularities and defective writings of grammatical morphemes

Note further the following irregularities and defective or compact writings of grammatical morphemes:

The short form of the 1sg. independent pronoun $\hat{g}e_{26}$ for $\hat{g}e_{26}$ -e in ll. 9, 100²⁹⁸.

²⁹¹ Klein 1981a, 64 n. 168; idem, 1981b, 29f. 165; 1990, 97; 2005, 136f. nn. 9–10, 142 with notes; Lämmerhirt 2012, 23. For a discussion regarding the classification of this variant either as a phonological or linguistic phenomenon, see Klein 2005, 143ff.

²⁹² Regarding Šulgi C segment A, the archaic spelling appears in texts A, B, Ba, D, E, G and J, compared to Texts C and F where the younger spelling has been preserved. See above in chapter 1.4.3. about the relationship between the duplicates.

²⁹³ Klein 1985, 17* n. 50; idem, 1990, 97; 1991, 300; 2005, 137 n. 10.

²⁹⁴ Interestingly, all texts (A, B, D, E, F, H and J) consistently attest -ěš, while Text G is the only text that attests the suffix -eš: in the first line of the refrain (141): zi-dè-eš followed by šir-re-^rěš¹ in the third line of the refrain (143); and in the conjugated verb mu-[g]e₄-eš (137).

²⁹⁵ Klein 1981b, 29 .164; idem, 1990, 97 n. 185; 1991, 300; 2005, 136f. nn. 9–10; Lämmerhirt 2012, 23 n. 148; Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 23 n. 70.

²⁹⁶ So J; E: ma-ni-ib-ša-an

²⁹⁷ So A, G; F: im-ta-DU.DU-ù.

The archaic writing of the verb *me* ("to be") in 1sg. (men): *in-ga-me-na-ta* (ll. 75, 96, 114)²⁹⁹; *ì-me-nam* (138, 139).³⁰⁰

Compact writing of the verb *e* (3p. "to speak"): *hé-em-e-ne* (20, 34, 51, 83, 113, 183).³⁰¹

Defective writing of 3p. suffix *-ene*: *hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne* (for *hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú.n-e-ne*, or *hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-un-e-ne*) (ll. 19, 33, 50, 82, 142, 182); *hé-em-e-ne* (for *hé-em-e-e-ne*) (ll. 20, 34, 51, 83, 113, (143), 183).

Inconsistency in the sequence of 1sg. poss. pronoun + locative suffix (*-ĝu₁₀-a*), which appears as *-ĝá* (in ll. 57, 90, (126?)), and as *-ĝu₁₀-ù* (in ll. 37, 93, 136³⁰²).³⁰³

Inconsistency in the marking of ergative prefix in the verbal chain characterizes our hymn.³⁰⁴ Most interesting is the variation in the orthography of the verbal form of the second line in the refrain, which presents: *hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne* (ll. 19, 33, 50, 82, 112, 182), with the variation *hu-mu-ni-in-gú-un-gú-ne* (ll. 50, 112, 142, 182).³⁰⁵

6. Inconsistency in the marking of determinatives³⁰⁶

The determinative *GEŠ* (instruments) was omitted in: *al* (l. 44); *KUŠ* (leather objects) was omitted in *usan₃* (l. 9); and *NA₄* (stones) in *gug* (l. 27).³⁰⁷

The determinatives *ĜEŠ* is attested in: *ĝeš³⁰⁸tukul* (ll. 11, 94); *šita₂(ĜÁ.ĜEŠ)*, *ĝeš-silig* (l. 12); *ĝeš³⁰⁹-ù-šub* (44); *ĝeš³¹⁰gu-za* (93). *DIĜIR* (gods and deities) is attested in: *utu* (ll.

²⁹⁸ Texts A, B, F (ii 15) and G preserve *ĝe₂₆*, while *ĝe₂₆-e* is attested in E, F (ii 5).

Klein 1981b, 32 with n. 174; idem, 2005, 138–139 with nn. 20–23, see further discussion regarding the readings of the sign *ĜÁ* in p. 144ff. Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 23.

²⁹⁹ So A, G, H; F: *in-ga-me-en-n[a-x]*.

³⁰⁰ Klein 1979, 151 n. 10; idem, 2005, 140–141 with notes; Lämmerhirt 2012, 24 with n. 161.

³⁰¹ So A, B, F, J; only Text G has *hé-em-me-ne* (143).

³⁰² So A, B, D, G, F; E: *-ĝu₁₀*.

³⁰³ For the variants *-ĝu₁₀-a* and *-ĝá* see Klein 1981b, 32 with n. 178; and idem, 1981a, 68 n. 191 for the variants *-bi-a* and *-ba*.

³⁰⁴ See Klein 1991, 301; idem, 2005, 137 n. 10.

According to Šulgi C, the following attestations present conjugated verbs in which the ergative prefixes was omitted: (refrain: *hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne* (ll. 18, 32, 49, 81, 111, 141, 181); *hé-em-e-ne* (ll. 20, 34, 51, 83, 113, 143, 183)); ll. 24: *im-ma-ni-è*; 25: *bí-lá*; 28: *mu-ni-du₇*; 29: *mi-ni-dadag*; 30: *nu-mu-ta-dag-ne*; 46: *mu-ni-è*; 77: *im-ši-ni-dab₅-ba-àm*; 91: *ù-mu-ni-¹ti¹*; 97: *mu-ni-zu*; 98: *im-ma-ak-e-èn*; 117, 118: *hé-me-è[n]*; 119: *la-ba-a-è-d[è]*; [120], 122: *hé-èn-ga-zu-àm*; 121, 123: *hu-mu-ne-ni-g[e₄]*; 124: *ù-mu-¹ge₄*; (125: *mu-ni-bu*); 126: *ù-bí-sur₈-sur₈-¹ù¹*; 131: *b]a-ni-ge₄*.

The following attestations present conjugated verbs in which the ergative prefixes are noted: ll. 27: *mu-ni-íb-si-nam*; 37: *si mi-ni-íb-sá*; 74: *hé-em-ga-àm-ši-in-ak-ak-és*; 79: *la-ba-ta-an-ul₄-u[l₄-e-me-èn]*; 87: *ság nu-um-ši-íb-èn*; 92: *ma-a[b²-d]e₆*; 93: *a-ba-da-ab-niĝin₂-né-[èn]*; 107: *in-dib-e*; 108: *bí-in-túm-mu*; 130: *in-dar*; 178: *ad ma-ni-íb-ša-an*.

³⁰⁵ A, B, F, G (i 29), J: *hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne*; E, G (ii 16), H: *hu-mu-ni-in-gú-un-gú-ne*.

³⁰⁶ Klein 1981a, 64f. n. 168; idem, 1981b, 29; 1985, 18* n. 55; 1990, 98; Rubio 2005, 214f.

³⁰⁷ For the writing of Šulgi's name in the hymns of Šulgi without the divine determinative see Klein 1981b, 29 nn. 159–161.

25, 172); ^dnin-tur₅ (96); ^dištaran (103); ^dgilgameš₂ (105). The determinative KI appears in the geographical names: eridu^{ki} (l. 29); ŠEŠ].UNUG^{ki} (118); elam^{ki} (122); as well as in pu-hu-ru-um^{ki} (l. 56).

Similarly, inconsistency in the marking of phonetic complements is attested in the writing ġešpu₂ (l. 129), followed by ġešpu₂^{pú!} (139)³⁰⁸.

³⁰⁸ Both in Text G.

See Klein 1981a, 64f. n. 168; idem, 1990, 98; 2005, 136 n. 9; Lämmerhirt 2012, 22ff.

2.3. Revised Edition of Šulgi C - Segment A

2.3.1. List of Duplicates

The text of Šulgi C - segment A has been reconstructed from the following tablets and fragments:³⁰⁹

	Catalogue Number	Plates	Correspondence	
A:	CBS 7079	I	i = 1–13	iv = 73–88
			ii = 19–40	v = 98–111
			iii = 42–64	vi = 120–123
B:	Ni 2473		i = 1–28	ii = 29–52
Ba:	HS 2632		i = 1–3	
C:	N 993	II	i = 9–15	ii = 21–31
D:	CBS 15114	II	i = 31–39	
E:	N 3233 + N 2568 + CBS 8312 + N 3215 + CBS 15301 + UM	III, IV, V, VI	i = 38–53	iii = 116–127
			ii = 84–104	iv = 164–184
F:	CBS 13906	VII	i = 76–95	ii = 96–114
G:	CBS 8549	VIII	i = 84–112	ii = 127–144
H:	Ni 4260		i = 109–116	
I:	CBS 13668	IX	i = 115–122	
J:	UM 29-16-485	IX		i = 131–140
				ii = 176–186

³⁰⁹ Dimensions of the tablets, and references to previous publications (photo and copy), are presented in detail above, in the introduction to the reconstruction of the text of Šulgi C (1.4.2. The Duplicates).

2.3.2. Composite Transliteration and Translation

First Stanza - Transliteration:

1. lugal-me-èn am á pà-da-me-èn piriĝ ka du₈-ha-me-èn
2. šul-gi-me-èn am á pà-da-me-èn piriĝ ka du₈-ha-me-èn
3. u₄ gal an-ta šu ba-ra-gen₇ me-lem₄ sù-sù-me-èn
4. a zi gud-ninda₂ a ru-a-gen₇ saĝ bar gùn-gùn-me-èn
5. lugal áb-šilam₂³¹⁰-e tu-da ì gara₉(GA)-a ne-ha-me-èn
6. amar áb babbar₂-ra gú peš-ša tùr-ra buluĝ₃-ĝá-me-èn
7. tu₉-ba₁₃ kún-kún mu₄ ù-luh-ha sù-sù KA-KA-e du₇-me-èn
8. sipa zi níĝ-si-sá-da húl-la
9. níĝ-erim₂-ma usan₃ bar-ús-bi ĝe₂₆ in-ga-me-èn³¹¹
10. á piriĝ huš ur-saĝ mè-a gaba-ri nu-tuku-me-èn
11. zà sa₆-sa₆ piriĝ šu zi-ga ĝeš_rtukul¹-e²³¹² hé-du₇-me-èn
12. šita₂ za-gìn ĝeš-silig-ga šu du₈
13. šu-si gíd-gíd níĝ-kéš bad-bad ĝiri₂ an-na ʾù-sar¹-AK¹-me-èn
14. alim¹-huš mè gaba-ĝál-ʾbi³¹³
15. šen-šen-na eme¹ sù-sù-e-me-èn
16. muš-huš kur-re eme¹ è-dè-me-èn
17. ušumgal lú-ʾšè²¹ gú kúr di-me-èn

18. ur-saĝ-me-èn mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-éš hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne
19. sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne
20. zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀³¹⁴ šir-re-éš hé-em-e-ne

³¹⁰ šilam- (TÙR×MAŠ).

³¹¹ So B; A ʾin¹-ga-me-na[m].

³¹² ĝeš_rtukul¹-la²¹ is not excluded.

³¹³ Copy: -l[a] or -b[i] or the like. Klein collated from the source: -bi¹.

³¹⁴ A du₇-me-èn.

First Stanza - Translation:

1. I am a King! I am a wild-bull (of) a revealed horn! I am a lion (of) wide-open jaws!
2. I am Šulgi! I am a wild-bull (of) a revealed horn! I am a lion (of) wide-open jaws!
3. I am laden with splendor like a great storm released from the sky!
4. I am of lustrous head and body like the true seed engendered by a breed-bull!
5. I am a king, born by a mother-cow, resting peaceful amid fat and cream!
6. I am a calf of a white cow, (having) a stout neck, raised in the cow-pen!
7. I am dressed in a shining *ba*-garment, adorned with a staff, appropriate for all praise!
8. I am a true shepherd who delights in justice,
9. (but) for the evil - its whip and goad is also me!
10. I am (of) the strength of a fierce lion, the hero of the battle who has no rival!
11. I am (of) fine limbs, a rampant lion, most appropriate for the weapon!
12. I am the one who holds in (his) hand a lapis-lazuli *šita*-mace and a *silig*-axe,
13. (having) very long fingers untying all knots, the serrated sword of heaven!
14. I am a fierce bison, the forceful one *for* the battle,
15. sticking out the tongue in every combat!
16. I am a fierce serpent darting out its tongue at a (foreign) land!
17. I am a great lion-dragon, roaring maliciously at a man!

18. I am a hero! Let them invoke my name faithfully!
19. I am a shepherd! Let them make me sparkle in prayers like the heavenly stars!
20. Let them sing my great hymns that are most appropriate to the mouth!

Second Stanza - Transliteration:

21. nam-lú-a mu-e₁₁-dè-na-ta
22. amar gud mu hé-ĝál-la-ka tu-da³¹⁵
23. u₄ nam-he du₁₀-ga ga zi gu₇-a-me-èn
24. saĝ-ĝu₁₀ men-na dalla im-ma-ni-è
25. uru-ĝu₁₀ ^dutu-gen₇ ba-ta-è-èn šà-ba ki bí-lá
26. é-temen-ní-guru₃³¹⁶ me ki ús-sa
27. gug-a nam-nun-né mu-ni-í-b-si-nam
28. saĝ-ĝu₁₀ sub₆(TAG) šu-luh nam-lugal-lá-ka šu gal mu-ni-du₇
29. eridu^{ki}-ta a nam-išib-ba-ka ní-ĝu₁₀ mi-ni-dadag
30. ĝeštu₃³¹⁷ imin-bi mu-da-su₈-su₈-ge-éš³¹⁸
31. šà¹-tu₉-ba₁₃-lá hi-li gùr-gùr-me-èn ĝá-la nu-mu-un-ta-dag-ne³¹⁹

32. ur-saĝ-me-èn mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-éš hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne
33. sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne
34. zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šir-re-éš hé-em-e-ne

³¹⁵ B ù-tu.

³¹⁶ So A, B; C -gùr-^rru²¹.

³¹⁷ So A, B; C: ĝeštu₂.

³¹⁸ A has mu-da-LAH₄-LAH₄-LAH₄-LAH₄-ge-éš.

³¹⁹ So A; B nu-mu-un-^rta¹-dag¹-ge¹-ne.

Second Stanza - Translation:

21. Since I rose to adulthood -
22. I am a bull-calf born in a year of abundance,
23. fed with true milk in a day of sweet prosperity -
24. My head has been radiating in the *men*-diadem.
25. I have been risen like the Sun over my city, I examine its heart.
26. The Etemenniguru - founded according to the divine *me* -
27. I made it inlaid with carnelian according to the princehood (fashion)!
28. I greatly perfected the cleansing (of) my head, (and) the hand-washing, of the kingship;
29. I purified myself from Eridu with the water of *išib*-priesthood.
30. All the 'seven wisdoms' constantly stay with me,
31. and will never forsake me, (that) I am a *ba*-garment-clad priest, wearing a *hili*-wig!

32. I am a hero! Let them invoke my name faithfully!
33. I am a shepherd! Let them make me sparkle in prayers like the heavenly stars!
34. Let them sing my great hymns that are most appropriate for the mouth!

Third Stanza - Transliteration:

35. é gēštu₃ igi-gấal kalam-ma-ka
36. šul-gi lugal ki-en-gi-ra-me-èn umun₂ zi ak-me-èn
37. šu-gu₁₀-ù ge kù-ga si mi-ni-íḅ-sá
38. ní-gar se₁₁(SIG)-a-da³²⁰ gù di-di³²¹
39. kúr-kúr-ra ad ša gấ-gấ-gấ
40. ṛmu₇[?]-mu₇¹³²² sá ak gu-gen₇ ṛsi¹-il-si-lí-bi
 níḡ-gur₁₁ an ga-lam-ma-šè dal-la-bi³²³
41. [du₆] kù gana₂ kù-ga éš za-gìn a-šà-ge ra-ra-da
42. buru₁₄ hé-gấal-la šu íl-íl³²⁴-da
43. gu saḡ še saḡ-gấ káb¹ di-bi
44. al^{ḡeš} ū-šub á-ba³²⁵ ḡeš ḡá-gấ ḡeš-hur uš ki tag
45. maš-dara₃³²⁶ ki-gal-lum-ma³²⁷ saḡ-tag-ga šu gal du₇-a-me-èn
46. dub za-gìn-na pa mu-ni-è
47. ŠID níḡ-šed ḡeš-hur kalam-ma-ka
48. igi-gấal šúm-mu-bi á-bi-šè in-ga-zu

49. ur-saḡ-me-èn mu-gu₁₀ zi-dè-éš hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne
50. sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni³²⁸-gú-un-gú-ne
51. zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-gu₁₀ šir-re-éš hé-em-e-ne

³²⁰ So B, D; A se₁₁(SIG)-da.

³²¹ This line was erroneously omitted by Chiera in his copy of text B (SRT 14), and restored in Klein's transliteration of the source, upon collation of the tablet. Following Chiera's copy, Castellino (1972) omitted the line from his composite text, but indicated it in a foot note, as an a half line addition of text A (cf. p. 252, n. 9). In Klein's (private) edition the number of this line is 38, and thus from here there the line counting in our edition deviated from that of Castellino.

³²² B has (according to Klein) ṛKA×?-KA×?¹. See however Lugale 118 (inim du₄-ga).

³²³ This line was considered by Klein as two lines 40–41, and thus from here there the line counting in our edition deviated from that of Klein. Considering the unusual length of this poetic line it was probably copied in text A into three 'Kurzzeilen'; hence, text E seems to copy it as an indented line, and so also text B according to Chiera's copy (SRT 14). Note however, that Klein collated text B from the source.

³²⁴ So A, B; E ṛíl-íl¹-l[í-x], or ṛíl-íl-i¹-[x].

³²⁵ So A, B; E á-bi.

³²⁶ A, B MAŠ.ŠE.DARA₃; E MAŠ.DARA₃.

³²⁷ So A, B; E -ma x[?] saḡ-.

³²⁸ So B; E ṛhu¹-mu-ni-in-gú-u[n-x-x].

Third Stanza - Translation:

35. In the 'House, Wisdom and Science of the Land'
36. I am Šulgi king of Sumer! I am truly practicing scholarship!
37. My hand straightened the pure reed:³²⁹
 I am greatly perfected:³³⁰
38. to inspire awe, roar until *freezing*,
39. to echo in an authoritative voice in the foreign lands;
40. until their *incantation* is plotting against (them), unfolding like threads,
 (and) until their possessions fly towards the elevated heavens;
41. While throwing the lapis-lazuli rope upon the field, on the pure [*hills*] (and) pure arable lands;
42. while making an abundant crop grow,
43. until their elite flax and elite barley is gauged;
44. To assign the work of pickaxe and brick-mold, to draw plans, to lay foundations to the ground,
45. to set up an engraved inscription on a pedestal!
46. I made it³³¹ shine on the lapis-lazuli tablet!
47. Counting, accounting and planning of the Land -
48. (and) also their given science - I know them to their limit!
49. I am a hero! Let them invoke my name faithfully!
50. I am a shepherd! Let them make me sparkle in prayers like the heavenly stars!
51. Let them sing my great hymns that are most appropriate for the mouth!

³²⁹ (In order to write the following praise-hymn:).

³³⁰ See l. 45.

³³¹ (= all the above).

Fourth Stanza - Transliteration:

52. inim sa₆ nundum-ma-na ti-la-me-èn
53. šà-ĝu₁₀ dub gal-gal ĝeš-h[ur kalam-ma zu-me-èn]
54. inim-ma muš-bi dù-¹a[?] [x x x]
55. di á-ĝál-la-ta ¹lú[?] [nu-kar] á-bi-šè in-ga-¹zu¹
56. ¹pu¹-hu-ru-um^{ki} ad mah ge₄-ge₄-da
57. ùĝ saĝ gi₆ gú si-a-¹ĝá¹
58. sukkal-e inim kur-kur-ra ĝeš¹ la-la-da-bi
59. ¹inim¹ zu unken-ta igi saĝ-ĝá
60. gud saĝ-ki g[ù[?]] du₁₁ téš-šè tag-¹tag-ga[?]¹-[da-gen₇]
61. gaba-ri inim-ma ¹i¹-[pà-dè]
62. gud-gen₇ gù nun [di-da-me-èn]
63. e-re-bu-¹um¹ x [x x x]
64. ka-làl¹ x [x x x x x]

(lacuna of ca. 8 lines)

73. [x x x] x x x ¹šà-ĝu₁₀¹ x x
74. [unken-na ĝizz]al_x[?] hé-em-ga-àm-ši-in-ak-ak-éš
75. [nam]-sipa nam ku₅-rá-né-e ¹di[?] zi ĝá-ĝá-ĝá in-ga-me-na-ta
76. ì-sì kalam ge-né é ki-bala tùm-tùm á-bi-šè in-ga-zu
77. níĝ-ge-ge-na-aš gud gal-gal-gen₇ á im-ši-ni-dab₅-ba-àm
78. níĝ-erim₂-šè muš ki súr-ra-gen₇ eme ¹im[?]-ši¹-U[D.DU-da-àm]
79. lú si sá-ra la-ba-ta-an-ul₄-u[l₄-e-me-èn]
80. lú á zi-ga-ra la-ba-ta-ni₁₀-n[i₁₀-me-èn]

81. ur-saĝ-me-<èn>³³² ¹mu¹-ĝ[u₁₀ z]i-dè-[éš] hé-em-pà-pà-dè-[ne]
82. sipa-me-<èn>³³³ ¹šudu₃¹-da mul-an-g[en₇] hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-[ne]
83. ¹zà¹-mí gal-gal ¹ka¹-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šir-re-éš hé-em-e-[n]e

³³² According to A: ur < >; F everywhere -me-en.

³³³ According to A: sipa < >; F everywhere -me-en.

Fourth Stanza - Translation:

52. I am the one who the favorable word lives on his lips!
53. [I am the one who,] (by) my own heart, [knows] the extra-large tablet, the plan [of the Land]!
54. Established council (in) its plenum, ...
55. (as well as) an absolute verdict, from which [no] one [escapes] - I know them to their limit!
[I am the one who is]³³⁴
56-57. - for the parliament - when I gather the people, the black-headed,
 to discuss the major deliberation -
58. - its minister - to restrain the claim of all the lands;
59. - the eloquent, selected from the assembly,
60. - [like] bulls in the forum, each bellowing, wrestling with the other;
61. - [provides] response of an argument,
62. - [bellowing] like a bull with authoritative voice.
63. The newcomers
64. The mellifluous-mouth
- (lacuna of ca. 8 lines)
73. ... my heart
74. They definitely *listened* to me [in the assembly].
75. Since I am the one whose shepherd[ship] (and) cursing constantly set true judgment,
76. also the executions: fortify the Land (and) smite the houses of the rebellious land - I know them
to their limit!
77. (I turn) towards the justice as if it was great bulls being pulled with (their) horns;
78. (I turn) towards the evil as if it was a snake of terrible place, darting out (its) tongue;
79. [I am the one who] will not drive a man of justice away!
80. [I am the one who] will not let a quarrel man to return!
81. I am a hero! Let them invoke my name faithful[ly]!
82. I am a shepherd! Let them make me sparkle in prayers like the heavenly stars!
83. Let them sing my great hymns that are most appropriate for the mouth!

³³⁴ See l. 62.

Fifth Stanza - Transliteration:

84. mas-sú³³⁵ ki-en-gi-ra ti-la-me-ʾèn¹
 85. ġeš-hur sá ak-a kíġ-ġá-me-èn
 86. iri ma-da ki-bal gú-erim₂-ma mu-da-gub-ba-ġu₁₀-šè
 87. mè-ġu₁₀ a-ma-ru-kam ság nu-um-ši-ʾib-èn
 88. zi-zi-ga sig-ta niġin₂-na-ġu₁₀ lú ù-ma-ši-ge³³⁶
 89. inim ge-en en-na ma-NE-NE
 90. é-gal mah ki nam tar-re-ġá
 91. sila₄ dadag-ga šu ù-mu³³⁷-ni-ʾti¹
 92. zi-da á gáb-bé-e níġ-sa₆-ga ma-ʾab^{ʾ1}-de₆³³⁸
 93. ġeš^{ġeš}gu-za mah-ġu₁₀-ù³³⁹ a-ba-da-ab-niġin₂-né-[èn]
 94. ġeš^{ġeš}tukul sàg-ga ġeš^{ġeš}tukul nu-sàg-ga-ba
 95. é ki-tuš ki ġá³⁴⁰-ra-ġu₁₀-ta mu-zu
 96. šà-ta^d nin-tur₅ gal-zu níġ-nam-ma in-ga-me³⁴¹-na-ta
 97. uzu-ga ki dadag-ga-ba ġiškim mu-ni-zu
 98. saġ bulu_x(BUL)-e ki-sá nu-sì-ge-bé-e³⁴² en-nu³⁴³ im-ma-ak-e-èn
 99. en muš níġ-nam³⁴⁴ bur_x(PÚ)-bur_x(PÚ)-re-me-èn
 100. šà dab³⁴⁵-ba-ġu₁₀-ta ġe₂₆³⁴⁶ im-ta-DU.DU-ʾú¹³⁴⁷
 101. ì-SUD¹ níġ-na ri-ga kur₇¹-re á-bi-šè in-ga-zu
 102. iġi-ġu₁₀-ta ensi kalam-ma-me-èn
 103. šà-ġu₁₀^d ištaran kur-kur-ra-me-èn
 104. šul-gi sipa zi ki-en-gi-ra-me-èn
 105. šeš gu₅-li-ġu₁₀^d gilgameš₂³⁴⁸-gen₇

³³⁵ So A, G; F mas-su.

³³⁶ So A; F ù¹-um-ta-ge.

³³⁷ So E, G; F ù-ma-ni-ʾti¹.

³³⁸ Or ma-ʾDU¹-DU.

³³⁹ S F, G; E mah-ġu₁₀.

³⁴⁰ So F, G; E ġar-ra-.

³⁴¹ So G; F -me-en-n[a-.

³⁴² So F (A x-[x-x-x]-ʾe¹); G nu-sì-bé-e; E n[u^ʾ-s]i^ʾ-ge-bé.

³⁴³ So A, G; F en-nu-ùġ (E en-nu-x).

³⁴⁴ So A, G; E, F níġ-nam-ma.

³⁴⁵ So F, E, F; G dab₅-.

³⁴⁶ So A, G; E, F: ġe₂₆-e.

³⁴⁷ So A, G; F im-ta-DU.DU-ù.

³⁴⁸ Ġiš.BİL.GA.MÈŠ (cf. Borger 2003, p. 485, sub gilgameš).

106. zi-du mu-zu erim₂-du mu-zu
 107. zi-du si sá-àm igi-ĝu₁₀-šè in-dib-e
 108. erim₂-du lú hul-ĝál NE-ma-a bí-in-túm-mu
 109. šà-ge du₁₁-ga eme-a ĝá-ra-a
 110. a-ba-a ĝe₂₆-gen₇ búr-búr-bi mu-zu
111. ur-saĝ-me-<èn>³⁴⁹ mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-éš hé-em-pà-pà-d[è-ne]
 112. sipa-[me-èn]³⁵⁰ šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇³⁵¹ hu-mu-ni³⁵²-gú-un-gú-n[e]
 113. zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šir-re-éš hé-em-e-ne

³⁴⁹ According to A: ur < >; F everywhere -me-en.

³⁵⁰ F sipa (omitted -me-en).

³⁵¹ H mul-an-gen₇ šudu₃-da.

Collated by Klein, based on collation from the original (copy has šudu₃-[]).

³⁵² So F, G; H [x-x-x]-in-gú-un-gú-n[e].

Fifth Stanza - Translation:

84. I am the expert who lives in Sumer!
85. I am the executor of an arrayed plan!
86. While I was standing against cities and settlements of hostile rebellious lands,
87. my battle was a hurricane, they would not repulse me;
88. 'Uprising!' (while) my surrounding from below (over my standing), and back,
after a messenger has been sent to me,
89. (and) before the absolute omen-answer surrounded me.
90. In the *Egalmah*-palace, my place of determining destiny,
91. after which I took a pure lamb -
92. its right and left brought me a positive omen,
93. after surrounding me in my lofty throne.
94. (Either) 'the weapon strikes' (or) 'the weapon does not strike' -
95. I know it from my residence - (my) dwelling-place, (my) resting-place!
96. Since I am, from the womb, an omniscient *Nintur* as well as wise for everything -
97. I know the omen signs on the entrails, in their pure places,
98. (and) oversee for the 'shaking heads' their placement (even if) *it is not marked!*
99. I am an *en-mùš*-priest who *penetrates* the (meaning) of everything!
100. From my own intuitive heart - I follow (only) myself;
101. sprinkling oil (and) also smoking (incense) at *refined* censer - I know them to their limit!
102. From my own eyes - I am the clairvoyant of the Land!
103. I am the *Ištaran* of all the lands (by) my own heart!
104. I am Šulgi the true shepherd of Sumer!
105. Like Gilgameš my brother and friend -

106. I knew the righteous, I knew the wicked:
107. I let the righteous walk into my presence, he is justified;
108. I *viciously* carry away the wicked, the evil person.
109. What is said into the heart (or) placed onto the tongue -
110. who like me knows their solutions?
-
111. I am a hero! Let them invoke my name faithfully!
112. [I am] a shepherd! Let them make me sparkle in prayers like the heavenly stars!
113. Let them sing my great hymns that are most appropriate for the mouth!

Sixth Stanza - Transliteration:

114. ʾkù-zu¹ ġeštu₃¹³⁵³ daġal in-ga-me³⁵⁴-na-[ta]
 115. [ġalga-ġu₁₀ níġ-sa₆-ga-gen₇] ka-ga hé-ni-ġál-[ġá]
 116. [níġ-du₁₁-ga-ġu₁₀] ʾim[?]-ma[?]-gen₇¹ téš-bi ʾi¹-[gu₇-ù]
 117. [x x ki]-en-gi-ʾra¹ dim₄-ʾma¹ hé-me-è[n]
 118. [x x èš ŠEŠ].UNUG^{ki}-ma³⁵⁵ nam tar-ra hé-me-è[n]
 119. [sukkal eme-bal] á la-ba-a-è-d[è]³⁵⁶
 120. [eme ma]r-dú níġ eme gi-ra-gen₇ hé-èn-g[a-zu-àm]
 [x x] x lú kur-ra hur-saġ-ta DU-DU-ʾa¹ x-x
 121. [silim h]a-ma-né-éš eme mar-dú-a inim hu-mu-ne-ni-g[e₄]
 122. [em]e elam níġ eme gi-ra-gen₇ hé-èn-ga-zu-àm
 [x x lú] ʾelam^{ki}-ma ʾnidba[?] ENGUR[?] ma[?]¹-bu₅-bu₅-re-éš
 123. silim ha-ma-né-éš eme elam-ma inim hu-mu-ni-ne³⁵⁷-ge₄
 124. em[e x x x x x inim] ù-mu-ʾge₄[?]³⁵⁸
 125. ù-ur₅-[re x x x x x] mu-ni-bu
 126. eme-ġ[á[?] x x x x x] ù-bí-sur₈-sur₈-ʾù¹
 127. a-ba-a [ġe₂₆-gen₇ x x x] ʾa¹-na-a ì-gu₇-ʾe¹
 x x [x x x x x] x ʾgu₇¹-ù
 128. am-si-ʾhar-ra[?]-an[?]-na[?]¹ [x x šu bal ba-ni-íb]-ak
 129. ġešpu₂ lirim₃-ma [nita kala]-ʾga[?]¹-m[e]-èn
 130. sipa-me-èn šu-si ġíd-ġíd-da-[ġu₁₀] x ʾá¹ in-dar

³⁵³ H ĠEŠ.TÚĠ.PI; F ġeštu₂.

³⁵⁴ So H; F in-ga-me-e[n-x-x].

³⁵⁵ So E; I ^{ki}en-gi-ra.

³⁵⁶ So E; I seems to present [x x] x ʾENGUR[?] á[?](or: ġù[?]) téš-ba a¹-UD¹.D[U-x] : "?... and force (or: voices?) are? coming out altogether".

³⁵⁷ So A.

³⁵⁸ In the first reconstruction of segment A, Klein assumed that there is here a gap of about two lines, between the last line of text A and the first line of G reverse. However, a reassessment of the gap, and the reconstruction of some of the missing lines, were made possible after Peterson joined to text E the fragment CBS 15301 (which he was the first to identify as E rev iii and iv; see Peterson 2011, 160f.) which contains the beginnings of ll. 123–127, and presumably was also the one who attached the unnumbered fragment to the box of text E in the museum, which belongs to the right edge of E iii (ll. 124–127). According to this last reconstruction, the gap after l. 123 (A iv 4) was at least 5 lines.

131. kisal mah-a ki mèn-gen₇ ʔa¹-[ġu₁₀ b]aʔ-ni-ge₄
132. ur-saġ ga[l]-gal kala[m-m]a-ke₄-ne
133. kala-ga lipiš³⁵⁹-tuku kur-kur-ta [i]gi saġ-ġá-ne
134. lú-kar ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄-ne
135. šu gaba-ri inbir nu-ʔtuku¹-ne
136. kišib-lá-ġu₁₀-ʔù¹ káb mu-da-[an]-ʔdu₁₁¹
137. gud dù-gen₇ dúr-bi-ta mu-[g]e₄-eš³⁶⁰
138. lirim₃-ta ù-su¹-tuku ì-me-nam
139. ġešpu₂^{pú¹}-ta á-ġál ì-me-nam
140. šul-gi ʔsipa zi¹ ki-en-gi-ra-me-èn lú nu-mu-ʔda¹-sá-me-èn
141. ʔur-saġ¹-me-èn mu-ġu₁₀ zi-dè-eš³⁶¹ hé-[em-pà-pà-dè-ne]
142. sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-i[n^{ʔ362}-g]ú^ʔ-un-gú-ne
143. zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ġu₁₀ šir¹-re-ʔés^{ʔ1363} hé-em-me³⁶⁴-ne

³⁵⁹ G ŠÀ.Á[B]-; J ŠÀ.ÁB-.

³⁶⁰ So G.

³⁶¹ So G.

³⁶² So G.

³⁶³ So G.

³⁶⁴ So G.

Sixth Stanza - Translation:

114. [Since] I am the trained one and (of) broad understanding,
115. [my judgement is, like a good thing,] placed on the mouth;
116. [(and) my utterance] like a rainstorm [devours] at once;
117. I am the one who expresses (his) mind decisively concerning the ... of Sumer!;
118. I am the one who expresses (his) destiny decisively concerning the ... of [the shrine] Ur!
119. I am not supported by [a translator-minister]:
120. The Mar[tu tongue] - I [know it] as well as I do the tongue of Sumer:
 [When]... the mountain men who are coming from the hills wander...,
121. they greeted me [in peace] - I answered them with the Martu tongue.
122. The Elamite [ton]gue - I know it as well as I do the tongue of Sumer:
 When... the Elamite [men] send me bread-offering and flour,
123. they greeted me in peace - I answered them with the Elamite tongue.
124. The [?] tongue after I answer?
125. All these surrounded in the ...
126. After dripping on my? tongue ...
127. Who is [like me] what (he) eats
365 eating ...
128. The camels [imported ...]
129. I am the [mighty man] in athletics and wrestling!
130. I am a shepherd! [My] very long fingers grip tight the [...]

³⁶⁵ The overlap between E iii 13 and G ii 1 is not binding; it is not impossible that there was another line between the last preserved line of E iii and the first one of G ii. In that case l. 128 will be numbered as l. 129, and so on.

131. In the broad courtyard - as like as in the battle field [my] flood pushes away:
132. The greatest heroes of the Land;
133. the mighty ones, the athletes selected from foreign lands;
134. the sprinters of Sumer;
135. the youths who have no rival in the competition;
136. I competed with them all together by my gripping wrist;
137. pushed them away like a goring bull by its hind leg!
138. In wrestling (contest) - the powerful one is me!
139. In athletics (contest) - the strong one is me!
140. I am Šulgi the true shepherd of Sumer! I am a man whom none rivals!
141. I am a hero! Let them [invoke] my name faithfully!
142. I am a shepherd! Let them make me sparkle in prayers like the heavenly stars!
143. Let them sing my great hymns that are most appropriate for the mouth!

Seventh Stanza - Transliteration:

144. du₁₀ ba₉-ba₉ ki [ĝi]ri₃ ʿgub²¹ [s]a₆-me-en

(lacuna of ca. 19 lines)

164. [x x x] x x [x x x x x x x x]

165. [x] x ʿkaskal LAH₄²¹ x [x x x x x x x]

166. [x] kíĝ-kíĝ-da ʿsi¹ x [x x x x x x x]

167. en kur DU.DU NE² [x x x x x x x]

168. engar-mah gana₂ zi-[dè x x x x-me-èn]

169. an-né hé-ĝál ʿgiri₁₇²¹-[zal x x x x] KA lú ʿnu²¹ [x x x x x x]

170. šul-gi sipa zi k[i²-en-gi-ra-me-èn]

171. ʿur¹-saĝ šu ra-ĝu₁₀ ʿá²¹³⁶⁶ x [x x x x-me-èn]

172. ^dutu é-ʿa¹-ni-ta UD². [DU x x x x x x]

173. kaskal da-na 30 ì-kaš₄-še-[èn x x x x x x]

174. [kal]am-ma ʿèš²¹ é-ki[š-nu-ĝál-la x x x-šè]

175. x du₁₀ im-mi-dúb¹ x [x x x x x x]

176. x ge²³⁶⁷ si-EZEN x [x x x x x]-ʿMU¹

177. [BALAG.LU]L² a-da-ab m[a²-al-ga-tum] x x-éš

178. [x x x] x ʿa-da-ab² ad¹ ma-ni-íb³⁶⁸-ša-an

179. [x x x x x níĝ gu]-ul-gu-ul-gu-ul

180. [x x x x x x x] ʿšà¹-šà húl-la sù³⁶⁹-me-èn

181. [ur-saĝ-me-èn mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-d]è²-éš hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne

182. [sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul an-ge]n₇ hu-mu-ni³⁷⁰-gú-un-ʿgú¹-ne³⁷¹

183. [zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šì]r-re-éš hé-em-ʿe-ne¹

³⁶⁶ ĝál or ur₄ are not excluded.

³⁶⁷ or AŠ GAM.

³⁶⁸ So J; E -ib-.

³⁶⁹ So J; E sù-ù-me-ʿèn¹.

³⁷⁰ So J; E -ni-in-.

³⁷¹ So J; E -gú-un-gú-ʿun¹.

Seventh Stanza - Translation:

144. I am embellished with wide open knees (and) a stable foothold!

(lacuna of ca. 19 lines)

164.

165. way ...

166. searching ...

167. [I am?] ... the lord who crosses the mountain ...

168. the supreme farmer ... the true arable land ...

169. ... abundance and flourishing [*that have been sent to me*] by heaven *none...*

170. [I am] Šulgi the true shepherd of Su[mer]

171. [I am] a hero, my beating *arm...* ...power...

172. The Sun [broke forth] from his home ...

173. [I] run a 30-*danna*-way

174. [into? the *Ekišnu*]ġal shrine within the Land

175. ... the knees surround [*the round trip*] ...

176. *my* ... *si-EZEN*-lute

177. [the *tigi*], *adab*, [and *malgatum*]...

178. I let them resonate as *adab*-songs in my honor within the...

179. I am the one ..., who is constantly enriching ...

180. who loads every heart with joy!

181. [I am a hero!] Let them invoke [my name faith]fully!

182. [I am a shepherd!] Let them make me sparkle [in prayers] like [the heavenly stars!]

183. Let them sing [my great hymns that are most appropriate for the mouth!]

Eighth Stanza - Transliteration:

184. [] x x x-gen₇
185. [] x x-e
186. [] x-「me-èn」

(lacuna of ca. 40 lines)

Eighth Stanza - Translation:

I am ...³⁷²

184. ... like

185.

186.

(lacuna of ca. 40 lines)

³⁷² See l. 186.

2.3.3. Commentary

1–2: The hymn opens with the unique literary phrase **am á pà-da** (translated here: "a wild-bull (of) a revealed horn!"), attested elsewhere only in Ningîrsu's temple hymn (l. 256), where also *am* parallels *piriĝ*: *lugal-zu am huš á pà-da piriĝ huš saĝ dúb-dúb-bu* "your lord is a fierce wild-bull, (of) revealed horns, a terrifying lion which smashes heads".

á in this rare phrase is translated either "forelegs" (cf. Falkenstein 1949/50, 27, n. 2) or "strength", equated with Akk. *emūqu*. For the latter translation of our line, cf. Sjöberg 1969, 103:256: "a wild ox who reveals his strength"; see also PSD A/2, p. 12, sub 6.9. However, it is preferable to translate **á** in this context (after Heimpel 1968, 96f.) with "horn". **á** "horn" (Akk. *qarnu*) is well documented in the lexical lists and the bilingual literature (cf. CAD Q 134f. sub *qarnu*). The occasional Akk. rendering of **á** with *emūqu* "strength", related to a bull (cf. CAD E 157, s.v), seems to be a free poetic translation, as pointed out by Heimpel himself (Heimpel 1968, 93).

For the meaning of **á** as "horn" in connection with *am* "wild-bull", in parallelism to **si**, see Heimpel 1968, (87–89; 93–96). Note also the expression **am/gud á gur₍₄₎-ra**, which is commonly translated as "(wild) bull with thick horns"; see e.g. Inana-Ebiĥ 161; Šulgi U 6; Martu A 16; Nuska A d9 passim (cf. Heimpel 1968, 94ff.; Sjöberg PSD A/2, p. 7, sub 2.4).

For **ka-du₈-ha** (literally "opened mouth") see especially Šulgi A 14: *piriĝ ka du₈-a d¹utu-ù-me-en* "I am the raging lion of Utu" (cf. Klein 1981a, 205); note this epithet applied to a god: *d¹lugal-kur-dúb ka-du₈-ha* "Lugal-kur-dub of the open mouth (i.e. snarling)" (Lambert 1987/90, 147). See also the Akk. loan word *kaduhhû* (CAD K 35 s.v.); Akk. *nā'iru* 'roaring' (CAD N 150f. s.v.); *kaduhhû* = *nā'iru* (*malku=šarru* I 77), discussed in Hrůša 2010, 201.

3: The phrase **u₄ gal** in Sumerian literature has been given two different translations: "great light" (e.g. Falkenstein 1962, 54; Römer 1989, 665), and "great storm" (ibid. 1965, 16:37. See also Sjöberg 1973, 33ff.; idem, 1969, pp. 33, 43, considering both options). Note here the two close literary expressions: **u₄ huš** "furious storm" or "red light" (see ibid., 100-101), and **u₄-dagal**: "spread storm / light" (Klein 1981a, 211).

The divine epithet 'great light' applies elsewhere to the moon god Nanna-Sîn and to his daughter Inana (Venus); comp. Ninegalla 1–2: u₄-gal piriĝ an-na, translated by Behrens (1998, 62–63): "grosses Licht, Löwin des Himmels". However, the translation 'great storm' adopted here is attested in the lexical list An-ta-ĝál (N ii 10): u₄-gal = *mehû*: storm. Two additional Akk. values equivalent to Sum. u₄-gal: the loan word *ugallu* "storm demon" (cf. CAD U/W 26f.) and the literal translation *ūmu rabû* "mighty weather-beast" (cf. CAD U/W 153f., sub *ūmu* 2); and comp. also Šulgi B 206: a è-a-gin₇ ĝù gal u₄-gal "roar of a great storm, like a torrent".

šu ba-ra as a phonetic writing for šu bar-ra is attested also in Gudea, CylB xv:7 and Šulgi V 27 (see Klein 1985, 15*, n. 41); contrary to the common spelling **šu bar-ra**, attested in other Šulgi hymns (ŠB 103, 108, 188; ŠE 214; ŠT a13; ŠV 27; ŠW 3, 5; ŠX 125).

Interestingly, the phrase under discussion **UD gal an-ta šu ba-ra** alliterates with the episode of the bringing down from heaven of the bull by Inana in the myth about Inana and the Bull of Heaven: after Inana requests the Great Bull (gud gal) from An, he is reluctant to "let it loose" against Gilgameš: **gud gal šu bar-ra** (Nippur ver. b39–40); after he is forced to give her the bull, Inana "brought it down from heaven": **an-ta im-ta-an-e₁₁** (ibid. 56).

sù-sù: The sign SUD has three different values: **sù** (Akk. *zânu, zarāqu, salāhu, elēhu*) "to overlay, endow", "to sprinkle, adorn, decorate"; **sù.d/sud** (Akk. *nesû, rêqu*) "to be distant"; and **sù.g/sug₄** (Akk. *erû, urrû, riāqu*) "to be empty, naked". However, according to Attinger (2019a, 181 sub su₃-g), sù.g/sug₄ can also mean "to be full". Accordingly, it is very difficult to determine the meaning of this verb in the present context.

When the phrase me-lem₄ sù-sù takes an indirect object (locative), sù-sù is usually interpreted as meaning "to cover," "to fill", "to adorn". Thus in Šulgi Q 39, Utu is praised as: lugal en an-na me-lem₄ su₁₃-^rsu₁₃^{?1}(BU-BU) "King and lord, **covers/fills** the heaven with splendor"; likewise Nanna is praised as ^dnanna si-ùn-na mùš me-lem₄ sù-sù, "Nanna, revelation who covers/fills/adorns the high heavens with splendor" (Nanna J 2). However, even though the verb sù-sù does not take here an indirect object, it is suggested here to translate me-lem₄ sù-sù-me-èn tentatively "I am *laden/adorned* with splendor" or the like, and not after the verbal base sud ("to be distant").

Note also, that *me-lem₄* with an indirect object is frequently construed with the verb **dul** "to cover" (cf. e.g. Ur-Namma F 25; Šulgi Q 4; Išme-Dagan A+V 110; Angim 146; Nungal A 27; Dunuzi-Inana P c50 passim). Another verb of similar meaning construed with *me-lem₄* is **gùr** "to bear, be clothed with" (s. e.g. Šulgi D 359; Inana A 2; Inana B 2; Temple Hymns 49; Rīm-Sîn E 36 passim). Comp. also the parallelism referring to the temple of Ninhursaĝ in Adab: *igi-zu ní gal gùr-ru // šà-zu me-lem₄ sù* "your sight carries great awesomeness // your interior is filled with radiance" (Temple Hymns 368).

Note further that the verb *sù-sù*, and its Akk. equivalents *zarāqu*, *salāhu*: "sprinkle", *zānu* "overlay, endow" are frequently used to describe various demonic creatures, such as e.g. *mušhuššu*, *bašmu* as covered with threatening appearance such as *pulhātu*, *melammū*, *šalummatu*, *rašubbatu* and the like (cf. CAD Z 47-48 sub *zānu*; Oppenheim 1943). See also the Eninnu Temple Hymn l. 243: *u₄-huš lú-ra sù-sù* "a raging storm which envelops man" (Sjöberg 1969). Here *u₄-huš* (Akk. *ūmu ezzu*) "furious storm" parallels our *u₄-gal* "great storm" (Akk. *ugallu*), and the verb *sù.d* is also interpreted in the semantic area of: "to wear, be wrapped, loaded" (Sjöberg 1969, 31, 99–101; idem, 1973b (commentary to Nungal A 40); Wiggermann 1993, 225–226).

4: For the divine birth of Šulgi, to which ll. 4–6 are dedicated, see above in the introduction to the stanza.

a zi "the true seed/seed" is a typical divine epithet, usually applied to a 'young' god, as the first-born of a major god or goddess (see Enki and the World Order (= EWO) 68; Temple Hymns 444; Ninurta F 1–2). See already Lämmerhirt (2010, 48) who understands this phrase as an expression of legitimacy to rule. Just as the adjective **zi** may qualify the progeny of a god, it may also qualify the milk of a goddess. Many deified kings claim in their inscriptions and hymns "to have been fed at the breast of goddesses with "true milk" (*ga zi*)" (see Stol, 1993, 190 with references). For the epithet divine connotation of (**gud-**)**ninda₂** "breed bull" see above in the introduction.

a ru-a "engendered" seems to be a variant form of *a ri* (Akk. *reĥû*; cf. CAD R 252 sub *reĥû* lex. sect.) "to impregnate" (literally "to pour the semen"). This verb is applied exclusively to male progenitors, corresponding to the parallel passive

participle **dú-da** "born", derived from the common verb **dú.d** "to give birth", usually applied to birth-giving females, which appears in the following line. For this poetic parallelism see especially Ludwig 1990, 99, 136ff. For another form of this verb see Klein 1997, 103 n. 49.

saĝ bar, whose literal meaning is probably 'head and body', seems to be a hendiadys, referring to the entire body of a person; and comp. the literary parallels Šulgi P b29 (said of Ninsun) and EWO 330 (Ezina); see also Šulgi X 59–60 for the occurrence of saĝ // bar as a parallel pair.

Although the verbal adjective **gùn/gùn-gùn** is very common in Sumerian poetry, its exact meaning is somewhat elusive. Its major Akk. equivalent is *šit'āru* (*tit'āru*), commonly translated "iridescent" (CAD Š/3 129 s.v.) and "buntfarbig schillernd" (AHw 1251 s.v.; see also Falkenstein 1938, 4–7: "weiß, schwarz, rot, grün, mehrfarbig"; Attinger 2021, 447ff.). Another, less common Akk. equivalent is *tiqqû* (cf. CAD T 423; AHw 1361). The Sumerian word and its Akk. equivalents usually qualify eyes (see e.g. Temple Hymns 399; Lipit-Eštar A 10; see also Nabnitu J 198 (MSL XVI 160) *igi gùn-gùn-nu = ši-it-ĜA-ru[m]*). Note further the free translation of this phrase in CT 25, 26, 21: *igi gùn-gùn-nu = ša panī banû*, "of beautiful face" (cf. Klein 1981a, 155). For the present context, however see especially Sag A ii 15–7 (MSL SSI 20), where Sum. **saĝ-bar-gùn** and saĝ-gùn-gùn are equated with *šit'āru*, and saĝ-igi-gùn is equated with *tiqqû*. On the basis of the above lexical evidence, it is generally assumed that the basic meaning of gùn-gùn is "multicolored" or "iridescent" and the like. For the Akk. equivalent of gùn = *barāmu*, *burrumu*, see below in the commentary to l. 19.

5: For **áb-šilam₂** (*šilam* is written in texts A and B with TÜR×MAŠ) see Heimpel (1968, 198–209, sub 8): "milchgebende Mutterkuh"; and Veldhuis (2002, 71ff), according to him in OB literary texts this is an exclusively poetic expression, meaning (domesticated) mother-cow (former translation: "wild cow"). Hence, **áb-šilam-e tu-da**, a cow giving birth to a noble 'calf', is a common epithet in Sumerian literature for a major goddess who gives birth to minor god or a deified king, refers in this line to Ninsun (parallels the more common epithet **áb zi**, see above in the introduction to this stanza).

For **gara₉** of the sign GA, see Borger 2003, 491. As Stol (1993, 189–190, sub Milch(Produkte) A §2) points out, this word is usually written in the Third Millennium BCE with the sign *GAGunû*, to be read *gár/gara₂* (Borger 2003, 492; Mittermayer 2006, 202), but in the OB period, it is frequently written with GA (to be read *gar₉/gara₉*). In the late lexical lists this sign is written variably as GA+NI (=gar₁₀), GA+A (=ga₁₁) and GA+DIŠ (=ga₁₂) (cf. CAD L 215 sub *lišdu*, lex. sect.). See, however, the comprehensive discussion of the meanings and literary attestations of the milk products *ì* and **gara₂**, by Stol, *ibid.* He correctly points out that these two terms *ì* **gara₂** (Akk. *šamnu u lišdu*) refer to the products of a cow, corroborated by the bilingual texts (see e.g. Nisaba A 52 (Halla 1970, 128); Cohen 1976, 138:44–45; Bau A 30).

The function of **-a** in **gara_{2/9}-a** in this context is somewhat obscure. It may represent the locative suffix "in", "amidst" required by the verbal noun *ne-ha*. Or else, we may have here a variant writing for "cream", which seems to be attested in the late syllabaries; cf. GA.A = ga-ar = lil-du (Ea IV:32; reciprocal A:59), which is given the value gar₁₁.

For **ne-ha** "rest" (first identified by Pöbel 1933/34, 277–278), an Akk. loanword, attested in Sumerian literature both as a verb and a verbal noun, see Landsberger, MSL IX 119 (sub 614a); CAD N/2 150 sub *nēhtu*. As a verb see e.g. the Farmer's Instructions 1.96; as a verbal noun, see e.g. the bilingual royal inscription of Ḥammu-rāpi (Frayne 1990, 349: 29–31//33–35); Copper-Silver d84.

For *ne-ha* as an adjective see the expression **a ne-ha** "peaceful water" in the following bilingual incantation: *udu ú ne-ha im-mi-in-gu₇¹-ra¹ / a ne-ha im-mi-in-naĝ-a* (CT 44 27:9–10) "That sheep that eats peaceful-grass and drinks peaceful-water". Based on this evidence, Klein assumed that **a** in the present context means "water", and he rendered the compound *ì gara₂ a ne-ha-me-èn*: "I am (raised) on peaceful cream, milk and water!" (cf. Psalms 23:2: "בנאות דשא ירביצני על מי מְנַחֵת ינהלני"). This rendering is excluded on grammatical grounds when the required verbal noun "raised" is missing in the line, unless we may alternatively translate **ne-ha** as a verb: "I am resting amid (peaceful) water, cream and milk!". Despite this, the literary style uses *ì gara₂* commonly as a formulaic poetic expression, referring to two milk products, symbolizing raising child and abundance.

6: The expression **áb babbar₂** "white cow", which alludes here to Ninsun, Šulgi's divine mother, is very rare in Sumerian literature, and is not attested elsewhere in reference to any other divine goddess of bovine character. However, when it refers to domestic cows, these are always choice cows, used in the cult (e.g. Šulgi X 127–129).

The various concrete translations of the phrase **gú peš** are "to grow a fat neck", "to grow fat"; comp. Klein 1981a, 90; Attinger 2021, 839: "engraisser, devenir robuste, vigoureux, fort, arriver dans la force de l'âge, arriver à maturité". This epithet most probably refers to the male calf and not the female cow, as the following parallels show: nita usu-tuku lirum-ma-me-en / nam-šul-la **gú gal peš-a-me-en** "I have been a man who possesses strength in athletic pursuits. As a young man I possess a thick fat neck" (Lipit-Eštar A 4–5); am gal-gen₇ temen-na hur-saĝ-ĝá-ka ú sikil mu-un-gu₇-e / šà-túm-šá-túm hur-saĝ-ĝá-ka **gú mu-un-peš-peš-e** "Like a great bull fed them pure plants on the hills' terrace, let them grow a fat neck in the hills' pastures" (Sumer-Winter 17–18).

Although the phrase, as it is implied from here, reflects the fattening and growth of the calf in abundance and fertility, the fact cannot be ignored that its meaning in other contexts in Sumerian literature reflects physical or political strength, authority and pride, rather than fertility, as the following references indicate: ^dur-^dnin-urta nam-nir nam-šul-la am-gen₇ **gú hé-ni-peš** "Ur-Ninurta, in authority and youthfulness may your neck be as fat as that of a wild bull!" (Ur-Ninurta A 59); ki unug^{ki}-ga am-gen₇ **gú peš-ĝá** "(Inana uttered her word...) for my neck to become thick in Unug like that of a wild bull" (Išme-Dagan A+V 109); and comp. also Šulgi B 246: ^dšul-gi nam-nun-na **gú gal peš₁₁-a-me-en** "I am Šulgi, whose thick neck becomes fat in majesty".

7: For **tu₉-ba₁₃**(TÚG-ME) (Akk. *nalbašu*, CAD N/1 200), see the following lexical entries: tu-ba ME = *na-al-ba-šum* (Secondary Proto-Ea No. 10 i 23 [MSL 14 128]); ba-a (var. ma-a, tu-ba) ME = *šá* TÚG.ME *na-al-ba-šú* (Ea I 240 [MSL 14, 188]); see also Cohen 1981, 77 (no. 97):11, where text A has tu₉-ba, and text B has tu₉-ba₁₃.

Sum, tu₉-ba₁₃ seems to designate a fine, luxurious ceremonial robe, worn by gods and goddesses, (deified) kings and certain types of high-priests. tu₉-ba₁₃ as a divine garment worn especially by the goddesses Inana (Dumuzi-Ĝeštin-ana 7–8), Bau (cf. Išme-Dagan B 20), Ninlil (Enlil in the Ekur 15; Šulgi R 90) and Ninsun who grants her divine garment to her son Šulgi (ŠP b31–32).

However, as Falkenstein has already pointed out (1949, 225), occasionally **tu₉-ba₁₃** may also signify kingship (see especially Samsu-iluna C 13; Ur-Ninurta A 38–39). Accordingly, the coupling the *ba*-garment with the scepter (**ù-luh-ha**), may indicate that **tu₉-ba₁₃** in the present context does not signify priesthood but kingship (for which see Rīm-Sîn G 28; A Hymn to Inana [ETCSL 4.07a] 5–6).

For the verbal adjective **kún**(PA), "shining" (first discussed by van Dijk 1960, 101–102), see now CAD N/1 22 sub *nabātu* lex sect. The reading **kún** is based on Ea I:300: ku-un PA = *na-ba-a-tu* (MSL 14 191), confirmed by Ur-Namma C 9: ^{ĝeš}nu₁₁-šub-bi nim ĝír-ĝír-e-gen₇ ab-šà-ga **kum_x(PA)-kum_x(PA)-mu** "Its alabaster *flooring* is like the lightning flash shining in the midst of the sea"; Šulgi D 356: si kù sù-sù udu-tua₂ kù-sig₁₇-bi an-šà-ga **kún-kún** "Adorned with pure horns, its golden ram is shining in the midst of the sky" (said of Šulgi's boat).

It should be noted that the adjective **kún** is applied to **tu₉-ba₁₃** in Sum. literature very rarely, and is limited to the royal hymns of Ur-Nammu and Šulgi. Otherwise **tu₉-ba₁₃** is qualified by the more common adjective **kù.g** "pure, holy" but also "shining". Interestingly, in Nisaba A the *ba*-garment is mentioned twice, qualified by both adjectives respectively (**tu₉-ba₁₃ kù** in l. 20, and **tu₉-ba₁₃ kún-kún** in l. 49). Note further the unique attestation **igi kún-kún** (the Lord of Aratta 555), which probably parallels the common expression **igi ĝùn-ĝùn** "sparkling eyes".

The royal scepter **ù-luh** (see CAD U/W 89-90 sub *uluḥḥu* A) is usually held by the king in his hand whereby he leads his people in justice (cf. Enlil-bāni A 165–167; Rīm-Sîn C 20; E 65). As such, it parallels the more common word ^{ĝeš}ĝidri; see e.g.: **sukkal mah ù-luh ĝi₄-rin šu du₇** (RIME 4.2.14.13:4) // **sukkal zi é-an-na ĝidri [kù šu] du₇-e** (Temple Hymns l. 226; cf. Sjöberg 1969, 30, 97).

The poetic phrase **ù-luh-ha sù-sù** "adorned with a staff" seems to be borrowed from the Gilgameš epic cycle (see above in the introduction to the stanza); and comp. also Šulgi O 82: ^{ĝeš}silig-ga sù-sù "adorned/laden with a battle axe". This phrase has already been discussed at length by Marchesi (2000, 677ff.). For the translation of **sù-sù** in a locative phrase: "to be adorned/laden with" (after the verbal root **sù**), but not "to be long / distant" (after **sù.d**), see Marchesi *ibid.* and above in the commentary of l. 3.

The reading and translation of the hapax complex **KA-KA-e** is assumed here to be read **du₁₁-du₁₁-e** "(appropriate) to recite", or **enim-enim-e** "(appropriate) to the

speech". Alternatively, the reading ka.g-ka.g-e "to every mouth" (with the nominal sentence **ka-ka-e du₇-me-en**, i.e. "I am appropriate *to be praised by all*", is not excluded. For which see e.g. Falkenstein 1950, 144–145; Klein 1981b, 40; Römer 1988, 46–47; Krecher 1979, 3; Sjöberg 1974, 163, 170; and Vanstiphout 1978, 46.

This idiom was particularly cherished by the scribes of the Ur-Namma and Šulgi hymns, adopted also by the scribes of the hymns of Išme-Dagan and Lipit-Eštar (cf. Ur-Namma D 20; Šulgi P c35; Išme-Dagan C 11; Lipit-Eštar B 15; and finally the refrain of our hymn, see l. 20 below). Note, however the irregular spelling ka-e for ka-g (ka.g + loc.-term. suffix) in the following attestations: Šulgi P c4; Proverb 3.161; Man and His God 131. On the other hand, the spelling ka-ga (<kag-a) is attested only twice in Sumerian literary texts (cf. N3130+N3131 ii:7; Išme-Dagan W b12–13).

8–9: From syntactic and literary point of view, lines 8–9 constitute one poetic line, containing a contrast parallel, describing Šulgi's relationship to **níg-si-sá** "justice" versus **níg-erim₂** "evil", for which see already Lämmerhirt 2010, 441. For the motive of the 'king of justice' who loves the just and hates the evil, see already Falkenstein 1952, 78–80; Klein 1971, 118ff.

However, thematically, l. 8 closes the first theme of our stanza: 'Šulgi, the righteous king in his own land', while l. 9 opens the next theme: 'Šulgi, the warrior in the rebellious lands' (see further above in the introduction to this stanza).

sipa zi "true/good/faithful shepherd", is a poetic expression, refers in Sumerian literature in general and royal inscriptions in particular, to the ideal (divine) king, who rules his people properly, takes care of their prosperity and protects them from all enemies. For a review of the usage of this phrase, and its Akk. equivalent *rē'û kīnu*, see Goodnick Westenholz 2007, 307f. The first Sumerian ruler in whose hymns and inscriptions we find this epithet is Gudea of Lagaš (cf. CylA vii:9; B ii:7); afterward it was adopted by Ur-Nammu (B 4), Šulgi, and several kings of the OB period, both in their royal hymns and inscriptions. Šulgi refers to himself with this epithet at least four more times in this hymn (see below 104, 140, 170, b10), and it appears ca. 20 more times in his other hymns.

Since the king is likened here to a "true shepherd", he is depicted as flogging and punishing the evil with the tools of the shepherds for spurring the flock: **usan₃** (Akk. *qinnazu*) "whip" and **bar-ús** (Akk. *paruššu*) "goad" (see Waetzoldt 2003/5,

384ff.). On the other hand, the weapons of major deities with which they punish and destroy their hostile enemies can be likened to a whip or a goad. Thus it is said of Ninurta that: *mè-ni kur-ra bar-ús b[a-n]i-íb-[ra]* "His battle [spurred] the mountain with a goad" (Lugale 252). Likewise we read about Utu that: *^dutu níg-erim₂ ^{kuš}usan₃-gen₇ im-ma-ra-an-gurud-ta* "Utu – evil will be flogged for you as if with a whip" (OECT 6 53 37–38).

For the juxtaposition of **usan₃** and **bar-ús** in Sum. literature see Gudea CylA xiii:1; StatB 10–11); Angim 99. For the equivalent parallelism in Akk. literature *qinnazu // paruššu* see e.g. Ludlul II 100–101.

The writing of **usan₃** without the determinative (in both texts A and B) is standard in the Third Millennium (including Ur III) administrative and other documents; in OB literary texts it is always written with the determinative KUŠ (with one exception: Išme-Dagan I 32).

ĝe₂₆ in-ga-me-èn (lit. "I – I am also/both") is a unique usage, in which the verb /men/ "to be" in a conjugated verbal form is preceded by the 1st person sing. independent pronoun **ĝe₂₆** for emphasis. Since the conjugation prefix *in-ga-* is only used to connect between two sentences, it must be related to both parts of the long poetic line ll. 8–9 (meaning: "I am a true shepherd who delights in justice, and also, I am whip and goad for the evil!"), and therefore we propose to understand *in-ga-me-èn* as saying: "I am both".

Note that **ĝe₂₆** is the standard Old Sumerian writing of the 1st person independent pronoun (instead of the later **ĝe₂₆-e**), characteristic of those Šulgi hymns which exhibit traces of archaic orthography (cf. Klein 2005, 138f. with n. 20; 144ff.).

10: ur-saĝ mè-a "battle hero" is attested in administrative texts from Šuruppak, as a professional name, written **ur-saĝ-^{me}mè** (cf. Pomponio–Visicato 1994, 298, 416). Accordingly, we interpreted the postposition *-a* as part of the genitive morpheme *-a(k)*, and translated *ur-saĝ mè-a*: "the hero of the battle"; although the spelling *mè-ka* (for *mè.k-ak*) would have been expected here. Alternatively the morpheme *-a* can stand for a locative case, with *mè-a* to be translated: "in battle"; in that case, our line will be translated: "I am (of) the strength of a fierce lion, a hero, who has no rival in battle".

To depict himself as an unrivalled hero in battle Šulgi uses here metaphors borrowed from other poetic texts that praise warlike deities, such as Inana (cf. the Lord of Aratta 288–289), Ningišzida (A 30–31) and Martu (A 33). But more than any other, the god Ninurta is described as a fierce lion, a warrior who has no rival in the battle field. See the following parallels: [ur]-saĝ á zi-da^den-líl-lá šul **gaba-ri nu-tuku** ...^dnin-urta **piriĝ sumur huš** erim₂-ma ka an-ša-ša "A hero, Enlil's right hand, the youth who has no rival ...Ninurta, fierce furious lion, overpowering the enemy" (Ninurta C 66–70); **mè-ĝu**₁₀ a mah è-a-gen₇ kur-re ba-ra-ab-[è] / **su piriĝ sa piriĝ-ĝá** ki-bal-a zi-zi-i "My battle penetrates the mountains like a great flowing stream, rises in the rebellious lands with lion's flesh and lion's muscles" (Angim 119–120); en kur gul-gul **gaba-ri nu-tuku-a** / mè mah-bé sumur-bi du₇-du₇ / ur-saĝ gal á-na-ta è-a "Lord destroying the mountain, who has no rival, whirling angrily in that magnificent battle, great hero who goes forth in his might" (ibid. 204–206; see also Lugale II. 4, 76, 162).

11: piriĝ šu zi-ga – literally: "a lion (with) raised hand". For the Akk. equivalent *labbu nadru* "raging lion" see CT 16 pl. 19 21–22: 5-kám-ma piriĝ šu zi-ga = *hašša labbu nadru* "the fifth is a raging lion" (Geller 2016, 504:9). For this epithet applied to Nergal as a warlike god, see RIME 4.2.14.2005:3–4: šita₂ huš-a zà-kešda₂ / piriĝ šu zi-ga ù-na gub-ba "(Nergal) is strapped with a furious lance / a raging lion, angrily poised". See also MSL 8/2 12 77–78: ur-šu-zi-ga, ur-ka-duh-a = *nadru*; ibid. 16 130: piriĝ-šu-zi-ga = *nadri*. Note further the parallel expression in this stanza (ll. 1–2) piriĝ ka-duh-ha "lion (of) wide open jaws" (likewise equated with Akk. *nadri* in MSL 8/2 16 126).

According to CAD (ibid.), Akk. *nadru* is said of lions and wild bulls, as well as gods and demons; see also Held 1970, 51f. Respectively, Sum. **šu zi-ga** (literally: "(of) raised hand") is also applied in Sumerian literature to other wild beasts. Thus we find elsewhere nemur_x(PIRIĜ.TUR) šu zi-ga "raging tiger" (Šulgi B 340); ušum šu zi-zi-ga (gloss: *bašmu nadir*) "raging snake" (Frank 1928, 3:5; said of Ningirsu). Note finally Ur-Ninurta C 2, where the demonic warlike Ninurta is likened to "a raging hurricane" (**mar-uru**₅ **šu zi-ga**).

hé-du₇ is a noun (actually a fossilized verbal form) denoting "(fitting) ornament" or the like. Its Akk. equivalent is *usmu* "something fitting"; see CAD U/W

279f.; AHW 1497 sub (*w*)*usmu(m)*. For the verbal base **du**₇ (Akk. *asāmu*) "to be fitting, suitable" see CAD A/2 329 sub *asāmu*; (Sjöberg, PSD B 137–138; Falkenstein 1957a, 67). The poetic idiom 'NOUN-e hé-du₇' in context of royal praising commonly points to the royal symbols, see e.g.: lugal mu šir-ra hé-du₇-me-en "I am a king whose name is very suitable for songs" (Šulgi E 14); dumu nam-lugal bara₂-ge₄ hé-du₇ "(Šulgi is) a royal child, one who is perfectly fitted for the throne-dais" (Šulgi G 20), (cf. Klein 1991, 302f.); nam-lugal-la hé-du₇-bi-me-en "I am the perfection of kingship" (Lipit-Eštar A 41); ṛaga^ṛ za-gìn-na hé-du₇-me-e[n^ṛ] "You are perfectly suited to the lapis-lazuli crown(?)" (Nin-imma A 15), *passim*.

Note that according to a collation of the original by J. Klein, the damaged sign following ḡeš^rtukul¹ in text B, read here as -'e¹ (directive suffix) could alternatively be read as -'la¹ (locative suffix).

12–13: The sign ŠITA₂, normally read as **šita**₂, could also be read udug₂ (for this reading see discussion by Sjöberg 1969, 136; Attinger 1998, 183 with n. 68). It denotes a type of mace used as weapon (Akk. *kakku*). For **šita**₂ **za-gìn** see further Inanna E 33; 37. This word, which is quite common in Sumerian poetry, uniquely parallels here the rarely attested ḡeš-silig-ga (lit. "fortified wood"), which is a short form of ḡeš/urudu^uaga-silig(-ga) "fortified axe", loaned into Akk. as *agasalakku* (CAD A/1 148–149; PSD A/3 42). The cultural-material context of this type of axe was discussed by Salonen (1965, 13f.) and Mayer 2003, 372–373 (3/4: *ḡaššinnum* und *agasilikkum*). Otherwise, **šita**₂ occurs in parallelism with mi-tum, another more common poetic expression for battle-mace (cf. Šulgi E 196; Šulgi R 50; Inana E10; 12).

In view of a ḡiri₂ an-na "heavenly sword", mentioned among Ninurta's divine weapons in his war against the mountains also in the Akk. variant as *paṭar*^d *anūtiya* (Angim 140), paralleled by a mi-tum an-na "heavenly *mitum*-mace", Akk. *miṭṭi*^d *anutia* (ibid. l. 131) and a šita₂ an-na "heavenly šita₂-mace", *kakku ša*^d *anim* (ibid. l. 134), the possibility cannot be excluded that the term under discussion should be read here ḡiri₂ nagga "metal sword" as well, see CAD A/2 127ff. sub *annaku*; Klein 1981a, 98. Since the logogram for this word is AN.NA, Landsberger (1965, 291 n. 25) and Wilcke (1969b, 58 n. 110) assumed that this term referred originally to meteoric iron ("Meteoreisen").

Lines 12–13 constitute one poetic line ending with the 1st person copula -me-èn. After mentioning weapon in general (^{ĝi}tukul) in l. 11, this poetic line lists three specific types of weapon: *šita*-mace, *silig*-axe and *ĝiri*-sword, which are frequently associated with deities and divine warriors in Sumerian literature. The *šita*-mace is commonly associated with the war goddess Inana (see especially hymns Inana E 12; Temple Hymns 514; Inana-Ebiḥ 18, 56); and with the warrior god Ninurta (Angim 140, 150; and Lugale 63, 123, 695). It is also associated with some divine heroes (cf. Gudea CylB 971, 1103; Inana D 33; the Hoe Song 66). Otherwise, the two deified kings, who claim in their hymns to have possessed this prestigious weapon are Šulgi (cf. also Šulgi E 196; R 50), and his follower Išme-Dagan (cf. Išme-Dagan Vb 9; P 23). The *silig*-axe is also associated with An or Inana (Inana-Ebiḥ 67), the deified hero Gilgameš (Šulgi O 82) but especially with Ninurta who boasts of bearing his numerous irresistible heavenly weapons (Angim 133). For the *ĝiri*₂-sword see e.g. Inana-Ebiḥ 140.

The king's long fingers (**šū-si gíd-gíd**) are referred to once more below in a passage dealing with Šulgi's excelling in athletic contests, as like as in the battle-field (ll. 135–137). The meaning of "knots" (**níĝ-keše₂-da**) could refer in this context to untying fetters. Alternatively, it could mean untying a rope trap in a battle, compare EWO 279–280: ¹sa-pàr₄-ra-ni¹ ku₆ nu-è / níĝ-keše₂-ni ù-tud nu-è "no fish escapes from his net, no living thing escapes from his trap".

ù-sar ak is a poetic verbal compound attested only in Sumerian literature (cf. Sjöberg 1966, 293; idem, 1968, 233; and Cooper 1983, 245-246). In parallelism with *dé* ("to cast, melt") it means "to sharpen the blade" of a metal weapon (Joannès 1993, 107; cf. also Ḫuwawa A 55); see especially Curse of Agade 113–114: ^{urudu}ha-zi-in gal-gal **ba-ši-in-dé-dé** / ^{urudu}aga-silig-ga á min-na-bi-da **u₄-sar ba-an-ak** "He (Naram-Sîn) had large axes cast, he had double-bladed *agasilig* axes sharpened (to be used) against it". However, occasionally this act is performed by a warrior during the battle against the enemy, and it seems to mean: "brandishing/flashng" a weapon; similarly Wilcke 1969b, 192 n. 471: "das Schwingen der Äxte". See Sumer-Ur Lament 381–382: u₄ šú-uš-e ^{ĝeš}tukul-e igi-bi-šè saĝ ì-sàg-sàg-ge / uri₅^{ki}-ma ^{urudu}ha-zi-in gal-gal-e igi-bi-šè ù-sar ì-ak-e "The weapon is slaughtering it under the sun, the large axes are flashing in front of Ur"; Lipit-Eštar A 73–74: ĝiri₂-ùr-ra ù-sar aka-me-en / mé-a nim-gen₇ ĝír-ĝír-re-me-en "I am who flashes with the dagger, dazzling like lightning in the battle".

14–15: The reading **alim-huš** follows the copy of B in SRT 14, Klein read this compound huš-huš "supremely furious"/"turbulent", while Römer read it piriĝ-huš "furious lion" (1965, 30, 67 n. 240). However, text C seems to read rather alim-huš. For **alim** "bison" (Akk. *kusarikku*; cf. also Akk. *ditānu* "aurochs", Heb. דִּישׁוֹן), see Heimpel 1968, 75–76; for alim as epithet of deities see Sjöberg PSD A/3 173 sub alim A 6–7. Note, however, that this reading is not absolutely sure, and the epithet alim-huš is unattested elsewhere in Sumerian literature. On the other hand, occasionally we can find the adjective huš with other bovine, butting animals, such as the wild ox and the bull. Thus, e.g., the epithet **am-huš** "terrifying wild ox" is applied to the deities Ninĝirsu (Temple Hymns 256) and Kusu (Kusu A 1); and the epithet **gud huš** "terrifying bull" is applied to Utu (Nippur Catalogue N4:11). However, the epithet most frequently applied to warlike deities or deified kings, always symbolizing physical and warlike strength, is **piriĝ huš** "fierce lion"; see e.g. Inana-Ebiĥ 9; Ninurta C 7–8; Ur III Yale Catalogue Y1:40; Martu A 3; Temple Hymns 256 (referring to Ninĝirsu); Išme-Dagan S 15 passim.

The epithet **gaba-ĝál** "forceful" (lit.: one who has a (broad/strong) chest) is said of a person who is able to oppose the enemy in battle (see already Falkenstein 1964, 49); cf. gaba-ĝál = *napāššu ša emūqi* "to be broad, of strength" (CT 18 50 iii:1; Sjöberg 1960, 90, 93); lú-gaba-ĝál = *rapšam irtim, ša irtam malû* (MSL XII 181: 37–38). In this line **mè gaba-ĝál-b[i]** must be an anticipatory genitive: "the forceful one of battle". For a thematic parallel see especially Šulgi X 134, where Nanna addresses the victorious Šulgi coming back from the battle, as follows: ur-saĝ en **gaba-ĝál kur-kur-ra** "Hero, lord, forceful one of the foreign lands". See further Šu-Sîn D 1–2, where: gaba-ĝál zà piriĝ ul sig₇-ga "forceful one, the lion's outstretched limb" is paralleled by: ug gal šen-šen-na ru-ru-gú "great lion, fierce opponent in every combat!". Note further piriĝ **gaba-ĝál** "The forceful lion", said of the warrior god Ninurta (Šulgi T 13).

The idiom **eme sù-sù** "to send/stick out the tongue" is attested only once more in Copper-Silver d15, but in a different context. For the parallel and more common idiom **eme è-dè**, see l. 16 with comment below. This idiom describes a wild beast, which is ready to bite and whets its tongue before it attacks its prey, so Lugale 11: zà piriĝ-e muš-e-eš eme è-dè "Strength of a lion hissing tongue over a snake".

16: muš-huš appears consistently in Akkadian as a loan-word in the form of *mušhuššu*. The Akk. word may in some omen literature denote a type of serpent, but in myths and epics it always refers to a monstrous creature, a dragon (cf. CAD M/2 270 s.v.), just like its synonymic nouns *mušgallu* "a mythical serpent" (CAD M/2 269) and *mušmahhu* "a mythical snake" (CAD M/2 270). Hence, it is not clear if the Sumerian term refers to an actual type of snake (such as e.g. the monitor lizard; cf. Landsberger 1960, 48ff), or to a mythical serpent. However, rendering it by *mušhuš*, following Klein we opted for the literal translation "raging serpent". Šulgi is likened to a muš-huš also in the opening of Šulgi D: lugal-ĝu₁₀ (/sipa šul-gi) gud gal á gú-nu **muš-huš** igi piriĝ-ĝá "O my king/ (/Shepherd Šulgi), great bull with sparkling horns, raging serpent with a lion's eyes!" (Šulgi D 1–2).

For the idiom **eme è-dè**, which depicts a snake sticking out its tongue ready to bite its enemy, referring to the bolts of the Eninnu, which were decorated with reliefs of various mythological snakes: si-ĝar-bi-ta **muš-šà-tùr muš-huš** / am-šè **eme è-dè** "Horned vipers and raging serpents are hissing from its bolts at wild bulls" (CylA xxvi:24–25). Note, however, that the same idiom is used elsewhere inversely to depict fierce lions attacking snakes. Thus Gudea presents the restored Eninnu, among others: é-mar-uru₅ ug piriĝ muš-huš-šè **eme èd-dè-da-ni** "His quiver, *ug-* and *piriĝ-*lions, hissing at a raging serpent" (CylB xiv:6-7).

17: ušumgal, lit. "great snake/dragon", seems to refer to a monstrous mythological beast, frequently epithet of gods and kings. However, just like its loanword in Akkadian *ušumgallu*, it usually means "lion-dragon" (cf. CAD U-W 330–331; Landsberger 1960, 57–58; Michalowski 2011, 309).

The obscure hapax idiom **lú-'šè' gú kúr di**, which refers to the menacing action of this dragon, generated different conjectural readings and translations. Sjöberg suggested reading the damaged sign as **'ru'**¹ (for **'šè'**) and the whole compound as **lú 'ru'**¹-**gú kúr di**, translating: "der gegen den Widerspenstigen feindselig ist" (Sjöberg 1961, 58). However, although ru-gú (Akk. *maḥāru*) means "to oppose" (see CAD M/1 51 s.v.), **lú ru-gú** always denotes "one who opposes a man", and is never attested in the meaning "opponent" ("Widerspenstigen"); cf. Samsu-Iluna E 32, where the heroic Ninurta is called **gaba-ĝál lú-u ru-gú** "forceful, opposing another one" (Sjöberg

1973d, 547); and the term for the "river ordeal" **i₇-lú-ru-gu** (lit. the river which opposes a man). Moreover, in his collation of this line from the original (Ni 2473), Klein read the damaged sign as 'šè', and noted: "'ru¹ or 'ra¹ less likely". Based on his reading **lú-'šè' gú kúr di**, he translated on the basis of the context alone: "*which attacks a man maliciously*". The reading lú 'ru¹-gú kúr di is also very unlikely in view of the well-known expressions **níĝ-kúr di** and **gù kúr di** (for the latter see below). Therefore, the above reading and interpretation are extremely doubtful.

Our reading and interpretation of this line is based on the assumption that **gú** is used here as a phonetic writing for **gù** "voice/shout/roar", and the underlying compound verb is **gù kúr di** "to emit an inimical roar". For this phonetic writing see Attinger 2021, 430 (including ŠA 63 X₁₃!). For this expression see Nanna J 25: piriĝ lú-erim₂-e **gù kúr di-dè** "the lion (Nanna) that roars inimically at the evil man"; and ušumgal lú [x x]-šè **gù kúr di** "the lion-dragon (Inana) that roars inimically at the ...man" (Temple Hymns l. 322), referring to the common literary motif of a "roaring lion" in Sumerian literature (see especially Temple Hymns 434; Šulgi B 59–61; Lipit-Eštar A 7; Ninĝišzida B 6).

Sjöberg, the editor of the above texts, read inim (for gù), and translated **inim kúr di** "to speak maliciously" (cf. Sjöberg 1960, 70; idem, 1969, 36, 114); and Attinger referred to Akk. *qāb šanīti* (Erimhuš II:2), *tuššu* (Erimhuš I:282), as possible equivalents to this expression (cf. Attinger 1993, 590–593; see also Sjöberg 1970, 79; Lambert 1959/60, 63, n. 64). However, Sjöberg himself already considered the reading **gù kúr di** in Temple Hymns l. 322 (1969, 114), on the basis of the phonetic variant ku ku-[úr di] (in text Ur₁); and since a lion, and especially a lion-dragon, is not expected to "speak" but to "roar", Heimpel too preferred the reading **gù** "voice", assuming that it refers to the threatening roar of the animal (Heimpel 1968, 293, sub 36.19).

18: The idiom **mu pà.d** ("to call by name, invoke"), refers frequently in Sumerian divine and royal hymns to the long lasting fame and deeds, standing as their eternal legacy. While here Šulgi addresses his wish, that his name and fame will keep being praised by his royal hymns, to the present people in general, in Šulgi E he addresses it to any future king who will succeed him: [x x] x èn-du-ĝu₁₀ [x L]ÍL.BALAG[?]-ĝá igi hu-mu-ni-na-an-bar-e [é-kur[?]] ki áĝ-ĝá **mu-ĝu₁₀ hu-mu-pàd-dè** "Let him cast his eyes

[*Upon my prayers*], my songs and my *tigi*-hymns! Let him invoke my name in [*the Ekur*], my beloved place!" (Šulgi E 65–67); and on the other hand, he curses the future king who will not invoke his name, saying: tuk[um]-bi èn-du-ĝu₁₀ mu-[ĝu₁₀ um]-ta-ĝá-ar mu-ni AŠ-šè ba-ni-ib-x šeg₁₂ é-kur-ra-ka **mu-ĝu₁₀ nu-pàd-dè**? "If he removes [my] name from my hymns, [*saving*] only his own name, without preserving my name on the Ekur brick..." (Šulgi E 74–76). See also Išme-Dagan A+V 402: Ludwig 1990, 218–219.

However, following the first stanza of our hymn, this compound may be also referring to the long lasting name given to the god Ninurta, as an ultimate war hero, after killing the hostile warriors: ^{ĝeš}tukul sìg-ga ur-saĝ ug₅-ga-zu **mu-zu ha-ra-an-pà-da** "Let me invoke your name for your weapon that strikes the heroes to death" (Lugale 494 (late version); see also ll. 128, 521); see also the refrain of hymn Ninurta F 5–21: ĝe₂₆-e mu-zu ga-àm-pàd-da-dè "I shall invoke your name!".

For the adverb **zi-dè-éš** (Akk. *kīniš*) "faithfully", "truly", in this context, see CAD K 385f. sub *kīniš*; Falkenstein 1962, 51; Sjöberg 1960, 28. Note further the following Akk. parallels: *ana rē'ût šalmāt qaqqadi šumšu kīniš imbû* "faithfully invoked his name to the shepherdship of the black-headed" (Paulus 2014, 695–696: VS 1 37 ii:54–iii:1); *šumšu kīniš izkuru ana šarrūti* "faithfully called by name to the kingship" (RINBE 2.16 i:15).

Note the writing of the adverbial suffix /-eš/ with éš (instead of eš), an orthography characteristic of the archaic manuscripts of the Šulgi hymns (cf. Klein 1985, *17, with n. 50).

19: For the reading **šudu₃.d** (KA×ŠU) see Bergmann 1964, 27. The common verbal predicates used with šudu₃ "prayer" as a direct object, are e "speak", ša₄ "call", ĝeš tuku "hear" (Falkenstein 1957b, 156); the poetic expression **šudu₃-da ĝùn** "to sparkle in the prayer" is unique in Sumerian hymnology. The intransitive meaning of the verb ĝùn "to shine, be lustrous", is already discussed in l. 4 above. However, the Akk. equivalent of ĝùn = *barāmu*, *burrumu*, may imply that the paryers and hymns that were honoring Šulgi shined and sparkled not only when being sang and performed but also by being written on tablet; comp. the dual meaning of this Akkadian verb: "to seal a tablet", "to engrave" (CAD B 101f., sub *barāmu* A), and "to be multicolored", "to color" (CAD B 103, sub *barāmu* B).

The phonetic writing **-gú-un-gú-ne** (for -gùn-gùn-) is attested only in the Šulgi hymns; see Klein 1981a, (sub Šulgi D 1–2, 29: gú-nu); idem, 1990, 98–99, with n. 203 (sub Šulgi R 72: -gú-un-gú). Since the present context requires here a pl. *marû* form with the suffix -ene, we tentatively assume that gún-gún is a freely reduplicated regular verb, and that hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne stands for *hu-mu-ni-gun-gun-ene. Attinger however analyzes the form GUNU₃-GUNU₃ as sg. *marû* and GUNU₃-GUNU₃-gú as pl. *marû* (Attinger 2021, 447), while elsewhere he analyzes the unique spelling in front of us as following: -gú.(n)^{un}-gú.(n)-(e)ne, when both -gú- are short writing of -gùn-, UN represents a phonetic complement, and -ne is a short writing of -e-ne (idem, 2019b, 6).

For **mul-an-gen₇** (Akk. *kīma kakkab šamê*) "like the heavenly stars", see Sjöberg 1969, 138. The simile mul-an-gen₇ gùn "to (make) sparkle like heavenly stars", seems to have multiple meanings: On the one hand, it expresses the wish that the hymns should be eternal, never to cease, like the stars of heaven. On the other hand it refers to the heavenly beauty of the hymns. It may also refer to the external shape of the hymns, written in cuneiform writing, which resembles the heavenly stars. Finally, it implies to the divine nature of the king described in these hymns, who is about to shine like a god as a star in heaven also after his death. Compare Šulgi hymns ŠB 364; ŠE 240–241, 246; ŠV 30–33; and in the introductions to the hymn and to the refrain above.

20: For the idiom **ka-ge du₇** "appropriate to the mouth", i.e. "appropriate to praise", see l. 7 above.

For **šir-re-éš e** (šir-re-eš du₁₁.g) "to sing" (literally "to recite as a song"), see Kilmer 1995/97, 468; cf. Attinger 1993, 692; Falkenstein 1952, 89–90; van Dijk 1960, 150; see also above in the introduction to the refrain. For this expression in other Šulgi hymns see Šulgi A 81: nar-ĝu₁₀ tigi imin-e **šir-re-eš ha-ma-an-ne-eš** "My singers sang for me, accompanied by the seven *tigi*-instruments?"; Šulgi D 366–367: si-im á-lá-e šeg₁₂ mu-na-ab-ge₄ tigi **šir-[re-éš] mu-na-ab-[du₁₁]** "The *sim*-instruments and *ala*-drums resounded for him, and the *tigi*-instruments? played music for him" (see further Iddin-Dagan A 16; Nuska B 6; Lugale 464, 652). Interestingly, the same expression is used also in the context of the intonation of laments; see e.g. Nippur Lament 43: a uru₂ hul-a-me **šir-re-eš ba-ab-bé-ne** "(The bereaved men) were singing:

"Oh our destroyed city!" (see further: Death of Nawirtum 20; Ningizzida's Journey 10).

21: The idiom **nam-lú** represents in administrative texts a professional role. Clarifying the concrete meaning of this idiom in a literary context requires further research (cf.: Enlil-Ninlil 87; Hymn to Nanaya (CUSAS 38 no. 14) 12; Diatribe A [5.4.10] a11, a14). The literal translation here "adulthood" corresponds to the current context, and the possibility cannot be ruled out that there is also a connection here to the longer idiom **nam-lú-mah** as a type of priesthood.

22–23: The phrase **mu hé-ĝál-la** "year of abundance" in l. 22 is being paralleled by **u₄ nam-he** "day of prosperity" in the following l. 23. **nam-he** is a phonetic writing here for nam-hé (Akk. *tuḥdu*; see CAD T 122 sub *tuḥdu* lex. sect.). This rather common phonetic writing is attested elsewhere in the hymns of Šulgi (cf. F 46; R 68; V 26; see Klein 1985, 30*; idem, 1990, 99 n. 204) and some more literary texts (cf. Gudea CylA xxix:9; Temple Hymns l. 42 [text F₁:4]; Enlil in the Ekur 73 [text D:5]; Šu-Sîn hymn (BM 100042) 1; CUSAS 38 16 r.8). According to Krecher (1978, 402f. with n. 22) the modal prefix hé in nam-hé is connected with the fossilized verbal-form hé-ĝál; for the exchanges of HI/HÉ in other nominal verbal-forms, see Lämmerhirt 2012, 75–6 with references in n. 93.

The likening of Šulgi to a "bull-calf" (**amar-gud**), born and thrived in prosperity, is attested elsewhere in the Šulgi hymns. Thus, hymn Šulgi D opens by likening Šulgi to a calf, born in a rich enclosure, and fed with true milk: **amar tūr hé-ĝál-la tu-da** gú mar-mar-re di-dè "Young bull, born in the rich enclosure, thriving there" (l. 3); piriĝ-tur bàn-da **ga zi gu₇-a** gud á gur₈ piriĝ gal-šè tu-da "Fierce panther, fed with true milk, rampant bull, born to be a great beast!" (l. 6).

The phrase **ga zi gu₇-a** "fed with true milk" is otherwise used only with reference to the raising of gods in their hymns (cf. Nisaba A 3; Ningišzida A 5; Bau A c6; Asarluḫi A 12; and Pabilsaĝ's Journey to Nippur a9). Indeed, a bilingual source defines the 'true milk' as divine food: *ga-zi in-naĝ-naĝ me-te nam-diĝir-ra túm-ma = šizbi kīnim īniqu šūluk ana simat ilūti* "(The sacrificial bull) sucked the true milk which is fitting the majesty of the gods" (Shibata 2021, 273:13; Mayer 1978, 433:26; cf. also Stol 1993, 190 and l. 6 above).

24: The *men*-diadem is considered to be the most ancient type of crown, attributed to Sumerian gods or worn by the *en*-priest at the time of his serving in the temple (see Asher-Greve 1995/96, 184ff.; Mittermayer 2009, 224).

The poetic image of "radiating (in the) diadem/crown" **men(-na)/aga(-a) dalla è** appears first in the Šulgi hymns and then adopted by the hymns of other Ur III and Isin kings; comp. also Šulgi D 390: *aga nam-lugal-lá-zu-ù dalla hé-em-è* "May your royal crown radiate!". In some royal hymns the king has been chosen to the *men*-diadem by the god Nanna-Sîn (Ibbi-Sîn A 10; Išme-Dagan A+V 75), in other the choice is attributed to the gods Enlil (Išme-Dagan M b6), and An (Iddin-Dagan B 2).

We interpreted **saĝ-ĝu₁₀** "my head" as ergative, being the subject of the verb *dalla è*; for the same syntactical structure see Šulgi X 118: ^dutu-gen₇ ní-zu-ù (erg.) *mè-a dalla im-ma-ni-è* "Your terror, like Utu, radiates in battle".

25: The literary idiom "rising like the Sun (^dutu-gen₇ è) over the land/city", with reference to kings, seems to express accession to the throne, which is also expressed in the shining crown that appears on the king's head like a rising sun, and also lasting royal supremacy and authority over the kingdom. Just like the sun rises every day over the earth, so the king rises over his people and governs them for a long period. So in the speech Ninsun, in Šulgi P (59–60): *šul-gi si sá diĝir-ra-[na[?]-ke₄[?]] / kalam-ma ^dutu-gen₇ ma[?]-ni-in-è-[x]* "(The Anuna-gods) made Šulgi, the righteous one of his god, rise over the land like the Sun-god for me"; and in the self-laudatory Ur-Namma C (l. 46): ^den-líl-le ^dutu-gen₇ **kalam-ma è-dè** mu du₁₀ mu-un-^rše₂₁¹ "Enlil called me by an auspicious name, to rise over the Land like the Sun-god"; see further Ur-Zababa 6-7; Ur-Ninurta A 28.

The second half of this line **šà-ba ki bí-lá** is obscure. According to our present tentative translation, Šulgi, like Utu, executes the role of the supreme judge of his land. For **ki-lá** "to examine/control" see CAD S 133, sub *sanāqu* A 4. Comp. the following Akk. literary equivalents: *ša kīma ^dšamši nūr ilī ibarrū kibrāti* "Who examines the world like the Sun-god, the gods' light" (RIMA 0.103.1 i:11–12); (Šamaš) *bāri māti* "the Land examiner" (VAT 8786 [KAR 55]:6).

Examining the interior of the city or land which signify judicial authority is reflected also in Inana-Šukaletuda (ll. 5–7), in which the parallel expression **igi kár**

"to inspect" fills a similar idea: kù^d inana-ke₄ kur-ra ba-e-a-èd / níĝ-erim₂ níĝ-si-sá zu-zu-^rdè¹ / šà **kalam-ma-ka igi kár-'kár-dè'** "At the time when Holy Inana went up into the mountains, while detecting evil and justice, **inspecting the heart of the Land**".

26–27: The inlaying (lit."filling") of the **é-temen-ní-guru₃**, Nanna's ziqurrat in Ur, with carnelian in order to make it pure and holy, is fitting for the proper purification rites like those of the Abzu, Enki's temple in Eridu (see ll. 28–29 below). Cf. especially Enki's Journey 35–36: ^den-ki lugal abzu-ke₄ / temen-zu ^{na⁴}**gug im-ma-da-an-sá** "Enki, the lord of the Abzu, paved your terrace with carnelian". See also the OB purification oath formula referring to Enki in Eridu OIM A 7479 ii 17; iii:1'–5': **gug** mu-sig₅ **nam-nun-šè** mu-un-^rgi¹ "I mended the carnelian, returned it to the princesship"; ^rtu₆-tu₆ kù **eridu**^{2[ki?]} a-gúb-ba ^den-ki-ke₄ **gug sikil-la** "The holy oath of Eridu, the cultic vessel of Enki and the pure carnelian..." (Farber (G.-W.) 2003, 103–105).

For **ki ús-sa** "founded" (Akk. *šuršudu*) see especially the prologue to Šulgi O (ll. 1–24), which praises the foundation of the Ekišnugal, Nanna's central temple in Ur (cf. Klein 1976, 285; Sjöberg 1960, 110).

The writing of **gug** ("carnelian") without the determinative NA₄ ("stone"), reflects the archaic Ur III orthography. In literary texts it is attested only in the Gudea cylinders (cf. CylA xvi:22; B iii:13; xiv:13). A survey of third millennium documents in CDLI yields the following data: there is one single reference to this term in the ED IIIb and the Old Akkadian periods without the determinative (cf. DP 75 obv. iv 4; and Goetze 1968, 56ff 6 N-T 112, obv 3); and out of about 80 references from the Ur III period, ca. 25 are still written without the determinative.

For the unexplained pronominal prefix -b- in the verbal form mu-ni-^rb-si-nam, see already Falkenstein 1950, 126; Sjöberg 1960, 121f.; Edzard 2003, 99f. sub 12.8.1.23 [bi]; and recently Attinger 2019a, 163.

28–29: The phrase **SAĜ MU TAG** in the beginning of l. 28 is hard to read, and was read above: **saĝ-ĝu₁₀ sub₆** "the cleansing (of) my head"; alternatively, reading it as a sentence **saĝ mu-sub₆** "I cleansed (my) head", cannot be excluded. However, the first reading allows us to understand saĝ-ĝu₁₀ sub₆ as part of a long genitive phrase, as a

possessed of *nam-lugal-lá* "kingship", beside *šu-luh*. For *sub*₆(TAG) "to clean, rub, polish", "coat" (with bitumen, rags etc.) see Hallo 1970, 131:19–20; van Dijk-Geller 2003, 17:9; Copper-Silver d19; Farmer's Instructions 99.

For this verb in the context of purification rituals see e.g. the incantation from Larsa (texts TCD 4687/9 and TCD 4687/7, published by Geller, 2001): *ĝeš im-sub₆ ĝeš im-sikil gi im-sub₆ gi im-sikil* (ll. 20–21) "He polished the wood, he purified the wood; he polished the reed, he purified the reed"; *ì an im-sub₆ an im-sikil ì ki im-sub₆ ki im-sikil* (ll. 48–50) "The oil has polished heaven and purified heaven; the oil has polished earth and purified earth". During another incantation practice, the head of king Amar-Sîn is about to be rubbed with water and oil, like that of Šulgi in our line, according to Enki's order: *saĝ^d amar-^dsuen-ke₄ a sikil hé-ma-sub₆-e / ì-bi hé-ma-ùr-e* "Let one rub the pure water on Amar-Sîn's head, let him splatter on him that oil" (van Dijk-Geller 2003, no. 1, ll.17–18).

On the basis of the above parallels, we assume that before cleansing himself in a purification rite, Šulgi rubs his head with water or oil. We may further assume that while the king performs the purification rite, he wears the priestly *ma*-garment (see l. 31 below; Nisaba A 19–20).

For *šu-luh nam-lugal-lá* "the purification-rite of the kingship" see van Dijk, 1967, 246–247 (for the more common idiom *šu-luh nam-išib-a*, implied in the term **nam-išib-ba** "water of purification-priesthood", see some incantation texts: Cavigneaux–Al-Rawi 1995, 45 (UET 6/2 149:9"–10"); Geller 2001, 232:62). That a certain type of 'hand-washing' purification rite was the privilege of the Ur III kings, we learn from the complaint of Aradĝu to Šulgi against the governor Apillaša l. 21. Elsewhere in his hymns, Šulgi himself boasts of performing the purification-rite in both cities Ur and Nippur, fulfilling the function of the *en*-priest (see Klein 1991, 298–9 with n. 31–33; Šulgi B 132–133, 140; Šulgi G ll. 46, 49–50).

Mentioning **Eridu** in line 29 stands also for line 28, since according to Sumerian literature, the city of Eridu is the source of both the *išib*-priesthood (*nam-išib*) and kingship (*nam-lugal*). For the origin of the *išib*-priesthood in Eridu under the patronage of the god Enki see above in the introduction to the stanza.

Even though the translation above represents the common ablative meaning of the postposition **-ta** (**eridu^{ki}-ta**), it is also not excluded that *-ta* here is having a

locative meaning, for which see: Sjöberg 1969, 98; Nanna-Sîn I 58; Falkenstein 1949/50, (II) 144–145: "Der Ablativ-Instrumental", see in particular p. 145 n. 3.

30: For the archaic writing **ĝeštu₃**(ĜEŠ.PI.TÚG) (so text A, B) for **ĝeštu₂**(ĜEŠ.TÚG.PI) (text C) see Klein 1979, 155 n. 34; idem, 1990, 98. In addition to Šulgi hymns (F c28; C 35; R 5), **ĝeštu₃** is attested in some Old- and Neo-Sumerian royal inscriptions (see e.g. Gudea, CylA i:12 passim). See also Lämmerhirt 2012, 87, and n. 171 (comment to Šulgi F c28).

For **imin-bi** (lit. "those seven") in the meaning "all of them", "all kind of", see Falkenstein 1939, 187; idem, 1959, 103; Sjöberg 1960, 129; Römer 1965, 181. The pl. verbal suffixes -éš and -e-ne in ll. 30 and 31 indicate that **ĝeštu₃ imin-bi**, "the seven wisdoms", are personified here as divine or spiritual beings, i.e. as muses (see already Falkenstein 1952, 83f. "etwa in der Art von Musen").

Alternatively one may understand **ĝeštu₃ imin-bi** as: **ĝeštu.ak imin-bi**, i.e., "those seven wise ones" (lit. 'ones of wisdom'). Accordingly, they seem to be equivalent to the 'seven sages' (**abgal-imin**) who are described as the companions of Enki in ritual texts (cf. Kuar Temple Hymn ll. 135ff.; see Fechner 2016, 48ff., sub §3. The Seven Sages). According to Fechner, *ibid.*, only in compositions that are late to the Old Babylonian period, the 'seven sages' are represented in a mythological form as protecting spirits and the like. It is not impossible however, that the current mention of the 'seven wisdoms' accompanying Šulgi during the ritual (like the god Enki), are an early mythological representation of the 'seven sages'.

However, the direct relation of these 'seven wisdoms' with the god Enki is reflected in some Sumerian literary compositions (cf. a hymn to Ninurta for Išme-Dagan [2.5.4.29] l. 3; IšD A+V 68–71). And like the 'seven wisdoms' so also "the seven divine *me*-powers" (**me imin-bi**) are related to Enki, bestowed by him to Inana (Inana-Šukaletuda 118–119; Inana B 4–5; Inana's Descent 14,102; cf. Volk 1995, 185–187; Hallo-van Dijk 1968, 48).

For other spiritual beings or nature elements that appear in groups of seven, see e.g. **abgal imin** "seven sages" (Temple Hymns 139), **niĝir imin** "seven heralds" (Hendursaĝa A 49), **diĝir imin** "seven gods" (*ibid.* l. 85; Enlil-Ninlil 57), **ur-saĝ imin** "seven heroes" (Ĥuwawa A 36; Šulgi O 57), **ní/im imin** "seven terrors/winds" (*ibid.* 82, 96; Šulgi A 64), **izi-ĝar mè imin** "seven battle-torches" (Lugalbanda in the

Cave 471); see further Klein 1976, 290–291; Zimmern 1930, 256 n. 1; Green (A.) 1997, 140.

The presence of the wisdoms by Šulgi's side while performing the ritual is indicated by the verb **su₈.g** (pl. form of **gub** "to stand"). Interestingly, in the incantation ritual mentioned above (Geller 2001, 225ff.) each unit ends with a fixed formula inviting the *ala*-demon and the *lamma*-genius to be present during the ritual: a-lá sig₅ ^dlamma sig₅ **hé-em-da-an-su₈-su₈-ge-eš** "May the good *ala*-demon and good *lamma*-genius be present".

Moreover, the *lamma*-genius in some other Sumerian compositions is requested "to stand by" (**gub**), as well as "never forsake" (**ĝá-la nu-dag**), the divine or human protagonist, just as Šulgi declares in ll.30–31 here (see Nungal A 115–116; Martu A 56). For the parallelism **gub** // **ĝá-la nu-dag** in this context see inter alia Šulgi P 45–47 (see already Falkenstein 1959, 100f.; and Wilcke 1969b, 130f.).

31: tu₉-ba₁₃ is worn by gods and human priests, especially while performing purification rites. Šulgi himself is daid to be serving as a high-priest (*en*), and is described several times in his hymns as wearing the tu₉-ba₁₃ garment while performing purification and hand-washing rites, cf. Šulgi X 9–10: sipa zi šul-gi-re šà ki áĝ **tu₉-ba₁₃** túg mu-mu₄ / **hi-li** men-šè saĝ-ĝá mi-ni-ĝál "The righteous shepherd, Šulgi, dressed himself in the *ba*-garment and put a *hili*-wig on his head as a crown". Note also Šulgi G 49–50, where again the ***ba*-garment** signifies high-priesthood, while kingship is signified by the dais: sipa **nam-lugal-la** bara₂ mah-ha túm-ma / šul-gi **nam-en-na tu₉-ba₁₃** sù-sù-àm "He is a shepherd, suitable to the lofty dais in kingship, Šulgi, adorned with the *ba*-garment in *en*-priesthood!" (cf. Renger 1967, 127; Charpin 1986, 348–349).

This motif in the Sumerian hymnology is usually construed with the verbs **mu₄** "to wear", **dul** "to cover (onself)", **sù** "to be adorned" and **lá** "to hang (on oneself)". For the present, more rare idiom **šà(-ge) lá** "to hang on the chest", cf. Nanše B 6; Nisaba A 19–20 (preceded by a cleansing ritual!). Another Sumerian priestly title with similar structure is the **šà-gada-lá** "one of linen hanging on (his) chest" (see Falkenstein 1959, 99; Klein 1981a, 116; Michalowski 1989, 105). This priest also was in charge of the šu-luh purification-rite and wore the *ba*-garment while performing it

(cf. Rīm-Sîn B 9, 18; Nuska B 69; and ll. 28–29 above). Šulgi himself is told serving as a šà-gada-lá priest also in hymn Šulgi D l. 320.

Interestingly, OB Proto-Lu lists the two officials: **šà-gada-lá** and **šà-tu₉-ba₁₃-lá** adjacently (cf. ll. 555–556; MSL XII p. 53). Apparently, šà-tu₉-ba₁₃-lá "ba-garment-clad priest" is an alternative, unusual, term for the more common priestly title šà-gada-lá, performing the purification-rite as well.

For **hi-li** (usually "joy", "luxuriance") in its original literal meaning "ritual wig", worn by goddesses or by the *gudu*-priest, see Falkenstein 1941/44, 115–116:18; Renger 1969, 161–162; Klein 1981a, 147. See especially Šulgi D 8–10 and Šulgi X 9–10: sipa zi šul-gi-re šà ki áĝ **tu₉-ba₁₃ tu₉ mu-mu₄ / hi-li men-šè** saĝ-ĝá mi-ni-ĝál "The right shepherd Šulgi, the loving heart, **dressed in the ba-garment** and put on (his) head the *hili-wig as a crown*".

For the common poetic phrase **hi-li guru₃/gùr-ru** "(to be) full of charm", said (among others) of gods and deified kings, see Sjöberg 1960, 31:57; Sefati 1998, 126:5. Note that this phrase is attested elsewhere in Sumerian literary texts ca. 25 times, always with the single nominal verbal base gùr-ru/guru₃. Similarly, note also the parallel, equally common, phrase ul gùr-ru/guru₃ "(to be) full of joy". The only exception to this grammatical form is the reduplicated verbal base **gùr-gùr** in our line.

For **ĝá-la nu-mu-un-ta-dag-ge¹-ne** see comment to l. 30 above.

35: é-ĝeštu₂(-ga) "House (of) Wisdom" is an initial component in the name of several sanctuaries, mainly of the gods Enki and Nisaba, in Sumerian and Babylonian cities. Apparently, the full and more popular form of the name of this institution was é-ĜEŠTU₂.^dNISABA "House, Wisdom of Nisaba" (the reading of ĜEŠTUG₂.^dNISABA in this compound is uncertain). Thus e.g. about the Eninnu temple of Lagaš we read that: ^dnisaba-ke₄ é **ĝeštu₂-ke₄** ĝál mu-na-taka₄ é-a ^den-ki-ke₄ ĝeš-hur-bi si mu-na-sá "Nisaba opened the 'House of Wisdom' and Enki put right the design of that house" (Gudea CylA xvii:15–17). The exact nature and function of this institution, and its relationship to the é-dub-ba "house of tablets", "school", is not entirely clear. Probably, while the é-dub-ba was a private or royal school for the training of scribes, the é-ĝeštu_{2/3}(-ga) was a sacred, religious professional school within the precinct of a temple, under the patronage of the goddess Nisaba (see Falkenstein 1950, 143; Green 1978, 151f.; George 1993, 91).

In two other hymns of him, Šulgi tells us that he founded a 'House of Wisdom' in Ur, and another one in Nippur, for the composition and cultivation of his royal hymns under the patronage of the goddess Nisaba (Šulgi B ll. 308f.; Šulgi E ll. 246–251). However, in this stanza Šulgi may be telling us about his training in a different institution: **é-ĝeštu₂ igi kalam-ma** "school of science related to the land" where he learned and practiced more practical arts, such as planning construction of buildings, measuring fields, administrative accounting, and writing royal inscriptions.

The verbal noun **igi-ĝál** "wisdom, insight, knowledge" (also in line 48 below), seems to be a synonym of *ĝeštu₂* (so also in Nanna C 6, where *igi-ĝál* is glossed by Akk *tašīmtu* "wisdom"). This is contrary to the more common meaning of *igi-ĝál* as an adjective: "wise". Accordingly, elsewhere, the phrase **igi-ĝál kalam-ma**, denotes "the **wise one** of the Land"; see e.g. the Lord of Aratta 151–152: *en ĝeštu₂-ga igi-ĝál kalam-ma-ke₄ / mas-su diĝir-re-e-ne-ke₄* "(Enki) lord of wisdom, the wise one of the Land, the expert of the gods". See further the parallel phrases *igi-ĝál kur-kur-ra* "the wisest of all lands" (Ur-Namma A 44 *passim*); and *igi-ĝál ki-šár-ra* "the wise one of the whole world" (Nuska A d1). Note also, that the Sumerian loanword in Akk. *igigallu* likewise has the double meaning "wise (person)" and "wisdom" (cf. CAD I 39f.).

36: For the verbal compound **umun₂ ak** (lit. "to do scholarship", "to practice knowledge") see Kramer 1949, 211; van Dijk 1960, 115f. This compound verb occurs very rarely (cf. Išme-Dagan B 4) and is more common as an adjective or noun "scholar" (see Sjöberg 1973e, 122; van Dijk 1960, 118f.; Kramer 1990b, 31f.); see e.g. Nuska A 5 and Enlil-bāni A 178–181, in relation to the academic institution. For the synonyms *ki-umun₂(-ma)* "place of learning" and *é-dub-ba* "school" see especially Šulgi B 314–315.

37: It is assumed here that **ge kù** "pure reed", which Šulgi directs in his hand, refers to a reed-stylus for boundary demarcation (comp. l. 41), as well as writing (in this case engraving on a lapis lazuli tablet, comp. l. 46), which in Sumerian literary texts is usually called **ge-dub-ba**, Akk. *qan tuppi* "tablet-reed" (CAD Q 79f.); see also above in the introduction to this stanza. For a close parallel to the scribal skills enumerated in our stanza, see UET 6/2 350 9 and Lipit-Eštar B 18–24, where the poet enumerates

the scribal skills granted to this king by the goddess Nisaba. Comp. ll. 21–22 there: **ge-dub-ba kù-sig₁₇-ka** šu mu-ni-in-gùn / **ge-1-ninda** éš-gana₂ za-gìn "She adorned (the clay) with a golden stylus-reed / **measuring rod**, lapis-lazuli surveyor's rope..."; see also Rīm-Sîn B 5, in which the god Ḫaya makes the tablets twinkle with stars (=writing): **ge kù-ga** šu ġál-le im nam-tar gal-gal mul-mul "He holds the pure reed to mark the great tablets of destiny" (see already Sjöberg 1969, 148).

38–39: These lines have a close parallel in the Nisaba Temple Hymn, ll. 536–539:

munus zi ġeštu₂ diri tuku-e
ní-ġar sed₄-da gù du₈-ù
dub za-gìn-ta ad ge₄-ge₄-ge₄
kur-kur-ra ad ša₄ ġá-ġá-ġá

"The true woman who possesses broad wisdom -
- freezing inspiring-awe roars loudly -
she echoes on from the lapis-lazuli tablet, resounding it in all lands".

There too, as the in lines before us, the quotation of what was written on the lapis-lazuli tablet is given, this in order to frighten the inhabitants of distant lands (see above in the introduction to the stanza). And although l. 538 of the Temple Hymns was omitted from the parallel unit here, it is echoed in l. 46 below. Likely, Šulgi's hostile attitude towards the foreign lands is clearly expressed in the following l. 40. However, it is already hinted at in l. 39, where the version kúr-kúr ("hostiles") is read for kúr-kúr ("hostiles") instead of kur-kur ("lands") in the original line in the Temple Hymns (see commentary below).

The reading **ní-ġar** is offered here (for l. 38, as well as the Temple Hymns l. 537) as a form of the more common verbal compound ní-ġál "awe-inspiring" or "to frighten" (Akk. *namrurrū*; see Sjöberg 1973c, 319). Another similar verbal phrase is (níġ)-me-ġar/ġá-ġá "silence", "paralyzing"; Akk. *qālu* (see Sjöberg 1969, 134f.; Cooper 1978, 118f.; cf. Sumer-Ur Lament 59 // Ur Lament 200; Šulgi D 250 // Šulgi L 8–9). For the rare parallel compound **me ġál** see hymn Inana C 83; for the exchanging of **me** and **ní** in Sumerian poetic phrases see Farber 1978/90, 612; Cavigneaux 1978, 184 and Klein 2005, 137 n. 10.

For **ní-ĝar... ĝù di-di** comp. Šulgi B 304: **nì(NÍĜ)-me-ĝar ĝù ì-dé** "roaring paralyzing awe" and Curse of Agade 57: **inim(ĝù) é-kur-ra me-gen₇ ba-an-ĝar** "the speech from the Ekur was inspiring like awe".

We read the sign SIG=se₁₁ (**se₁₁(SIG)-a-da**) as a phonetic writing of **sed₄-da** following the parallel Temple Hymns I. 537.

It is difficult to determine whether **kúr-kúr** is a phonetic writing for kur-kur or whether the substitution is made because of the closeness in the meaning of the expression. For **kúr-kúr** in similar exchanges for kur-kur, see especially Curse of Agade 48–49: **me-luh-ha^{ki} lú kur ge₆-ga-ke₄ / níĝ-šu kúr-kúr-ra** (var. kur-kur-ra) **mu-un-na-ra-ab-e₁₁-dè** "The Meluhans, people of the black land, brought her wares from all (foreign) countries". See also Ur-Namma I 2,4, b5; Šu-ilīšu A 1 where **kúr-kúr** most probably stands for kur-kur, as a parallel of the land of Sumer.

The possibility however cannot be excluded that kur-kur in Temple Hymns represents a phonetic writing of **kúr-kúr** "foreigners", while the text of Šulgi C preserves the common OB writing (cf. Sjöberg 1969, 148; Wilcke 2000, 72 for the phonetic writing kur for kúr).

For the phonetic writing **ad ša** for **ad ša₄** see already Klein 1990, 99 n. 214. For the threefold reduplication of the verbal root **ĝar (ĝá-ĝá-ĝá)**, cf. Klein 1985, 18* with n. 58. The usual meaning of **ad ša₄** (Akk. *nasāsu*) is "to resound, lament". In accordance with the above, it is also likely, that in the present context it would have a negative meaning, such as "to roar, threaten" or "to let (the hostile lands) whine" and the like. Note, that Sjöberg translated **kúr-kúr-ra ad ša ĝá-ĝá-ĝá** in our line tentatively: "(I am able) to pronounce foreign (words)" (cf. PSD A III 24f.).

40: The present reading **ṛmu₇[?]-mu₇** (KA×LI²-KA×LI) is not entirely certain; it is based on a tentative collation by Klein to text B (Ni 2473) and some scratches from the second sign in text E. **mu₇-mu₇** usually means "incantation" (Akk. *šiptu*), and it always appears in healing and favorable rituals. However, it is not unreasonable to restore here a reading which is derived from the compound KA-KA such as **ka-inim-(ma)** or **inim-du₁₁-(ga)**: "incantation", "omen answer"; cf. the parallel line Lugale 118: **inim du₁₁-ga á-sàg-a gu-gen₇ ì-si-il-le**, discussed below.

For **sá ak** "to plot against" see Sjöberg, PSD AIII 103 and Attinger 2005b, 245: "faire / élaborer un plan, comploter". Reading **ki mè** ("(in) the battle-field") would be less expected here.

The poetic expression **gu-gen₇ si-il** (Akk. *kīma qê parā'u*; cf. CAD P 181 sub *parā'u* A), which means "to split / unravel like a thread", seems to be connected with an unclear omen the solution of which is vague or splits into multiple different answers like untied threads. An Akkadian version of the very same expression is attested in the texts CTN IV 71 (which belongs to the medical omen series SA.GIG) related to the *ummānu* ("sage") Esagil-kīn-apli (see Heeßel 2011, 193f.; Finkel 1988, 146f.; see also George 1999 (I), 30). In this text Esagil-kīn-apli describes his editorial craft and the necessity of determining an authoritative text (Finkel, *ibid.* p. 148: A51–52, B obv. 18'): *ša ul-tu ul-la zarâ*(SUR.G[IBIL]) *'la' šab-tu₄ / ù kīma*(GIM) *qê*(GU)^{meš} *parkū/egrū*(GIB)^{meš} *-ma gabarâ*(GABA.RI) *là tšû*(TUKU) "Due to the fact that from distant time an (authorized) edition has not received, and like twisted threads - no (parallel) duplicates were available...".

Likely, since Šulgi himself is an **umun₂ zi ak** (Akk. *mummu, paššū*) an expert scholar, the true advice is clear for him and beneficial for his land, while the foreign lands remain confused, not receiving any clear signal. Compare the parallel episode that appears in Lugale (ll. 116–118), in which the clear advice is given to Ninurta while his enemy Asag remains confused: *ad ge₄-a kur-ra šu im-mi-ib-ge₄-ge₄ / en^dnin-urta-ra sè-ke ak mu-na-būr-būr-re / inim du₁₁-ga á-sàg-a gu-gen₇ ì-si-il-le* "He reports the (omen)-advice of the mountains, *arranges* secrecy to lord Ninurta, (while) the incantation of Asag splits like threads". The same expression is associated with a destiny of grief and sorrow also in the literary composition Man and his God ll. 2–3, 59, 68. Note that the irregular spelling **si-il-si-il-le** stands for the regular reduplicated root **si-il-si-il-le** (= *sil-sil-e*).

The phonetic writing **ga-lam** for *galam* "towering, rising", "skillful" (see further *ur ga-lam* in l. b13 below) characterizes the archaic orthography; it is dominant in administrative Ur III texts as well as royal inscriptions of Gudea (Cyl.Frag. 8+3+5+4 iii:6') and Ibbi-Sîn (5.2:18); cf. also the temple name *šu-ga-lam* in Gudea (CylA viii:6; xxii:21; xxiii:25; xxiv:1).

The second part of our long line seems to refer to a situation of a city's destruction and the spoilage of its treasures by the enemy. See the following parallel

from the Ur Lament l. 275: mu-un-gur₁₁-ĝu₁₀ buru₄^{mušen} dugud zi-ga-gen₇ dal-dal-bi ha-ba-in-zi mu-un-gur₁₁-ĝu₁₀ ga-àm-du₁₁ "My possessions are flying away like a flock of crows rising up; I shall cry: "My possessions!"". In the Lord of Aratta ll. 115–118 there is a detailed description of a ruined and abandoned city, likened to flocks of birds, flying away, leaving behind them an empty nest. See also the Death of Nannaya l. 84, and the following Proverb (SP 1.18; Alster 1997, 10): níĝ-gur₁₁ buru₅^{mušen} dal-dal ki-tuš nu-pà-dè-dam "Wealth (like) migratory birds - never finds a place to settle". Compare also the Biblical Proverb (23, 4–5): אל תיגע להעשיר מבינתך הדל. התעִיף עיניך בו. ואיננו כי עשה יעשה לו כנפים כנשר יעוף השמים "Do not toil to be rich, avoid being smart. You set eyes upon it and it is already gone, suddenly makes itself wings, like an eagle, flies towards the sky".

41: In lines 41–43 Šulgi tells that he throws the measuring rope upon the land of Sumer and brings agricultural prosperity to its fields. Measuring the soil and marking its boundaries are the first stage in the preparation of cultivated land; cf. EWO 370–373: in mu-un-dub bulug-ga mu-un-si-si ...a-šà-ga gán-né ša-mu-un-dè-ni-in-ĝar "He demarcated border and fixed boundary... then he allocated agricultural land in the fields". The skills of measuring agricultural land, as well as calculating the amount of produce of the land, were also under the patronage of the goddess Nisaba. She herself was authorized to be the 'scribe of the Land' who marks borders with reed like a scribe on a clay tablet; see especially EWO 412–416: nin₉ e-ĝu₁₀ kù^d nisaba-ke₄ / gi-diš-ninda šu hé-em-ma-an-ti / éš za-gìn á-na ha-ba-an-lá / me gal-gal-e ĝu ha-ba-an-dè¹-e / **in hé-dub-e ki hé-sur-re / dub-sar kalam-ma hé-em** "Let my princely sister, holy Nisaba, grasp the measuring-reed; let her hang on her arm the lapis-lazuli measuring rope; let her proclaim all the great divine powers; let her demarcate boundaries, mark the borders, let her be the scribe of the Land!". See also Temple Hymns 540–542 where this craft is applied to the measurement of the heavens, as well as of the earth: munus zi naĝa kù-ga gi dù-e tu-da / an-né kùš ra-ra ki éš ra-ra / ^dnisaba zà-mí "The true woman, holy potash plant, born of the *reed-stylus*?, throws the measuring-strip on heaven, throws the measuring-rope on earth. Praise to Nisaba!"

The reconstruction [**du₆**] ("hills") in the beginning of the line is very uncertain, and is based also on the fact that there is room left for a single sign. This word occasionally designates a mound of ruin, totally barren and not fertile, the opposite of

gana₂ (cf. EWO 312: du₆-du₆ gana₂-šè [...] ì-ĝá-ĝá "He (=Enki) turned the mounds... into fields"). Or else, it may designate "the luxuriant vegetation, the wondrously fresh green pastures of the foot-hills, contrasting so markedly with the barren Mesopotamian plain" (cf. Jacobsen 1946, 141). In addition, **du₆-kù** ("holy hills") in Sumerian literature usually designates a mythical "holy mound", where the gods were dwelling from times immemorial (see e.g. Grain-Sheep 37–39; Curse of Agade 208; Lugale 710 passim; and cf. van Dijk 1960, 134f.; Tsukimoto 1985, 212f.; Sjöberg 1969, 50f.).

Another possible reconstruction could have been considered here is [**a-ĝar₃**] kù "holy arable tracts". For a-ĝar juxtaposed with gana₂, see Summer-Winter 22, 180.

For gana₂ kù "pure field" see also the Song of the Ploughing Oxen 121: gana₂ kù ri-ri-dè "to harrow the holy field". For éš za-ĝìn, "lapis lazuli (measuring)-rope" associated with Nisaba, see above Enlil-Sud 166; EWO 414. For the longer form éš-gana₂ za-ĝìn, see Lipit-Eštar B 23. For éš-(gana₂) za-ĝìn as an attribute of the goddess Inana in the netherworld see Inana's Descent 25 passim; Inanna-Šukelatuda 80; Ur-Namma A 125 (cf. Focke 1998, 208f.).

42–43: buru₁₄ hé-ĝál-la šu íl-íl-da means literally: "to make abundant harvest raise the hand", i.e. to make an abundant crop grow. For šu íl in similar contexts see Gudea CylA xi:12: gana₂ gal-gal-e šu ma-ra-ab-íl-e "the great fields will grow (abundant harvest) for you" (see also ibid. CylB xi:15). Interestingly, **šu íl** in some references seems to represent some agricultural work, followed by the work of heaping up piles of grain, preparing them to measurement: **buru₁₄ šu íl ... guru₇ gur-gur** "(to let) the crop grow up (or: be harvested?) ... to heap up grain piles" (cf. Lugale 363–364; Summer-Winter 64; Lipit-Eštar A 43–44); see Civil 1994, 96f.; van Dijk 1983, 97: "il fit récolter".

For **gu saĝ še saĝ**, lit. "head flax head barley", i.e. the best produce at the beginning of the year, cf. Enlil-Sud 161: zà-mu-a **gu saĝ** gibil-gibil-za **še saĝ** gibil-gibil-za "In the new year - in your new prime flax, in your new prime barley".

For **káb di/du₁₁** (Akk. *latāku*) "to measure, verify the capacity" in reference to agricultural tools and products, see Civil 1994, 74, 154f. According to this composition, measurement of grain volume was done by baskets (^{gi}ba-an-du₃) of exact size (l. 21), or by a measuring stick (ĝidru) showing the height of the grain pile

(l. 105). For *káb du₁₁* in context of athletic contests, referring to the testing physical strength, see l. 136 below, and Šulgi A 39.

44–45: These two lines form one long sentence, listing the crafts required for an architect, whose task is to plan and supervise the construction of state buildings.

The writing of **al** "hoe" without the determinative GEŠ is characteristic of the Ur III orthography, albeit it is attested also in later periods. For the two major tools of the builder, (^{geš})**al** ^{geš}**ù-šub**, see also EWO 335; Hoe-Plough 55 (for detailed discussion cf. Civil 1994, 149f.). Note also ^{geš}al ù-šub-ba (Akk. *šelliptu*) "hoe of the brick-mold", which appears in some OB literary and lexical texts, designating a special type of hoe (see e.g. the Hoe Song 96).

For the compound **á-ba geš gá-gá** "assigning with their work" (related to á-geš-gar-ra = *iškaru* "work assignment"), see already Klein 1986, 2 n. 5. For **á** in the meaning "work performance", see PSD A/2 17f. sub **á** B (referring to Stol 1982, 154 n. 93). For some literary parallels see E-dub-ba-a C 4, 7; Proverbs coll. 3.89.

For **geš hur** as a compound verb ("to plan, draw"), see also Gudea CylA xiii:20: pisaĝ ù-šub-ba **geš bí-hur-ra-ni** "After making a drawing on *the basket* and the brick-mold" (see further Šulgi B 160; Edubba C 9; 34).

For **uš ki tag** "to lay a foundation on the ground" see Falkenstein 1959, 45 n. 46, 55. In construction of buildings, this is usually followed by laying the bricks; cf. EWO 343: nun gal-e **uš ki nam-mi-in-tag** šeg₁₂ ki nam-mi-in-ús "The great prince laid the foundation and set down the bricks"; see further Gudea CylA xx:26–27.

Line 45 has been discussed and interpreted at length by J. Klein, in his paper "On Writing Monumental Inscriptions in Ur III Scribal Curriculum" (1986); the interpretation given below is based on that article:

For the Akk. loanword **maš-dara₃** < *maštaru* "inscription, text" (commonly engraved on stone or metal, frequently written on pedestals), see Klein, *ibid.* 3; for **maš-dara₃ ki-gal-lum-ma** see the Akk. term *maltaru kigalli* "(writing) inscription on a pedestal" in CAD M\1 396 sub *maštaru*. This term is also listed twice in Ur III documents (UET 3 770:10; 1498:17). Note that texts A and B preserve an archaic form of the sign DARA₃, one whose beginning is the sign ŠE, after its Ur III form.

ki-gal-lum-ma, as suggested by Klein, is apparently a loanword from the Akk. *kigallum*, with the locative suffix -a; while the Akk. *kigallum* itself was loaned from

the Sumerian idiom *ki-gal* ("great place"). Alternatively, it is not excluded that the spelling here is an archaic form of the OB *ki-galam* (*ki-gal-lam_x*) "elevated platform", "pedestal", parallels the poetic idiom *an-ga-lam* "elevated heavens" above (l. 40). For *ki-galam* in literary context cf. hymn to *Ħaia*, *Nisaba's* spouse (*Rīm-Sîn B*) 21 and hymn *Išme-Dagan A+V b16*; see also the lexical list *Proto-Kagal*, *Civil 2012*, 35 3:25'–24'.

According to Klein (*ibid.* pp. 3ff.), **saĝ-tag-ga** in our line is a unique syllabic-logographic writing of a compound verbal noun consisting of the nominal particle *saĝ* ("head"), which refers to the cuneiform impression of the stylus, and a verbal base *tag*, denoting "to touch, impress" (Akk. *lapātu*), supplemented by the nominalising suffix *-a*. Accordingly, the rare Sumerian compound *saĝ-tag-ga* means "writing" / "inscribing with cuneiform", and it must be the origin of the Akk. loanword *santakku* "cuneiform wedge". Klein's hypothesis receives strong corroboration from two administrative lists of objects made of ivory, from the Ur III period, dated to the 15th year of *Ibbi-Sîn*: UET 3 770 and UET 3 1498. These lists include three objects representing concrete realizations of the three scribal acts related to the work of the architect, which appear in lines 45–46 of *Šulgi C*: 1 *ĝeš-hur* / 1 *saĝ-tag* / 3 *maš-dara₃* (cf. UET 3 770 ob.:8–re.:2; *ibid.* 1498 ob.:15–17). M. Yoshikawa, who discussed these documents, interprets the above items as follows: *ĝeš-hur* (Akk. *uṣurtu*) "(a plate for) drawing (design)", *saĝ-tag* "a stylus" to write cuneiform, and *maš-dara₃* "a plate for writing inscriptions" (cf. Yoshikawa 1989, 353ff.). These three items may have been objects of art, or else models for educating scribes.

However, from a poetic point of view, the line seems to detail the steps of placing an inscribed pedestal from the bottom to top, when the compound **ki tag** refers to the former stage of laying the foundations to the ground, while the (opposite)-parallel compound **saĝ tag** refers to the later stage of setting an inscribed pedestal, means "to set up high", "set up the top" or the like.

We analyzed the morpheme *-a* (in: *saĝ tag-ga*) as framing the entire literary unit of ll. 38–45 under a locative clause, that refers eventually to the final verbal phrase **šugal du₇-a-me-èn** "I am greatly perfected with (all those skills listed above...)"; see above in the introduction to the third stanza.

46: This line, which similarly to l. 37, contains a conjugated verbal sentence, forms with line 37 a poetic inclusio. According to the translation here the verb conjugates in the 1st person. Alternatively, as mentioned in the introduction above, the ergative of l. 37 (**šu-ĝu₁₀-ù** "my hand") should be considered as the argative of the current line as well. Also, it is possible that lines 38–45 are the object of the conjugated verb in line 46 (even if not syntactically, since the verb is compound), as a citation of the text written on the lapis lazuli tablet. For which see above in the introduction to this stanza.

dub za-ĝin "lapis-lazuli tablet" represents a divine source, used by the goddess Nisaba as a tool for giving advice and wisdom; see Sjöberg 1969, 148:538; Hallo 1970, 130:1. Alster (1976, 117f.) shows that the 'lapis-lazuli tablet' is also a metaphor for the blue sky on which the stars reveal a divine advise. Accordingly, elsewhere Šulgi likens his written hymns to stars that radiate from a lapis-lazuli tablet, cf. Šulgi E 246, 249–251: *é-ĝeštu₂-^dnisaba níĝ-umun₂-a gal-gal mu-bi-šè mul-an kù-ĝin₇ bí-sar ... nar-e dub-sar hé-en-ši-túm igi hé-en-ni-in-bar-re / ĝeštu₂ ĝizzal ^dnisaba-ka-kam / **dub za-ĝin-ĝin₇** ĝù hé-na[?]-ta[?]-dé-e* "I have had written them down in the 'House, Wisdom of Nisaba' as great works of scholarship like the holy heavenly stars... Let the scribe bring them to the singer, let him look at them, and with the wisdom and intelligence of Nisaba, let him read them to him **as if from a lapis-lazuli tablet**".

Based on extensive archaeological evidence, Klein proposed that our line reflects the habit of Mesopotamian kings from the 3rd and 2nd millenniums to lay in the foundations of their buildings a metal or stone tablet, including lapis-lazuli, inscribed with an inscription that reports to future generations about their building activity. Hence, the lapis-lazuli tablet mentioned in our passage may refer to a foundation deposit, and this would explain why is it associated here with architecture and the engraving of monumental inscriptions (see Klein 1986, 2 n. 6; Ellis 1968, 62ff.).

47–48: The idiom **ŠID níĝ-šed** "counting (and) accounting" is attested only in literary texts, and its reading is somewhat problematic. It has been discussed at length by Ludwig 1990, 179f; we present here some relevant conclusions:

Although **ŠID** may be read **šudum** (Akk. *minûtu*) as a noun in the meaning "number, counting" (cf. Proto-Izi I 250 [MSL 13, 25] passim), as a verb in the

meaning "to count" (Akk. *manû*) the reading **šid** cannot be excluded due to the final consonant -d (see below quotations from literature). Similarly, although níĝ-ŠID may be read as níĝ-ka₉/kas_x, based on the Akk. loanword *nikkassu* "accounting" (cf. MSL 13 25: ^{ka}šID ^{ni-ka-sí}; MSL 14 451: ka-a šID = ša níĝ-šID *ni-ka-as-s[u]*; CAD N/2 223, sub *nikkassu* A), the reading **níĝ-šed** is also possible, due to the occasional writing níĝ-šed-dè (see below).

Counting and accounting, were among the important subjects taught in the Sumerian school, for they included such skills as calculating the volume of agricultural produce, land and construction measurements, and even astronomical calculations. Naturally Šulgi boasts also in his two other major self-laudatory hymns of having learned them. In Šulgi B 16–17 he declares: **nam-dub-sar-ra** ki nam-kù-zu-ba lú im-mi-re₆-re₆ / zi-zi-i ĝá-ĝá **šID níĝ-šed-dè** zà im-mi-til-til "In the place where people are going for tutelage in the scribal art, I was qualified fully in subtraction, addition, counting and accounting". Similarly in Šulgi E 31–32: **nam-dub-sar-ra** níĝ-galam-galam-ma-ba šu tam-tam-ma-ĝá / u₄-sakar mú-mú **šID níĝ-šed-dè** ĝál ba-ab-taka₄-a-ĝá "That I was reliable for the finest skill of the scribal art; that I figured out the calculating of the waxing of the new moon, counting and accounting". Following him, also Išme-Dagan boasts of having the same skills (see Išme-Dagan A+V ll. 359–361) and see also Enlil-Sud ll. 165–167.

The common meaning of **ĝeš-hur kalam-ma** 'Plan(s) of the Land' could refer to the divine destiny or political structure of the land, however, in view of the theme of our stanza, we would expect **ĝeš-hur** to refer in the concrete sense to architectural plans, drawing boundaries, or the like, and **kalam** refers to the ground. See also CAD U 291 sub *uṣurtu* A 1a) *plan of a building*.

For **igi-ĝál** "wisdom, intelligence" see l. 35 above. For the common expression **igi-ĝál šúm** "to grant wisdom" (synonymous with to **ĝeštu₂ šúm**), see Sjöberg 1976b, 174 n. 53. It was considered one of the most prestigious gifts bestowed upon the kings by the gods: *uzun igigallim ša ilum iddinušum* "wise understanding that the god gave him" (RIME 4.2.13a.2:8–9); *ina igigallūti ša Aššur ušatlimanni* "with the wisdom that Aššur endowed me" (Luckenbill 1924, 145:11). Note the following parallels from Sumerian literature: gi-diš-ninda éš-gana₂ za-gìn / ĝeš-as₄-lum le-um **igi-ĝál šúm-mu** ^dnisaba-ke₄ šu daĝal ma-ra-an-du₁₁ "Nisaba generously bestowed wisdom upon you:

the measuring rod and the lapis-lazuli rope, yardstick and a writing board" (Lipit-Eštar B 23–24); cf. Išbi-Erra C 4; Šîn-iddinam E 41–42.

For the adverbial expression **á-bi-šè** "completely" (lit. "to its limit/end"), see PSD A/2 p. 9f., sub a₂ A 4. "border", "limit", "end". This translation is based on the more common parallel adverb with the same meaning: zà-bi-šè (lit. "to its limit, end"), likewise used in some Šulgi hymns; see especially Šulgi E 35. However, á here could also mean "work", "labor", "performance" (PSD A/2 p. 17 sub a₂ B; see l. 44 above), meaning: "I am familiar with those wisdoms as well as with their practical performance".

The poetic phrase **á-bi-šè in-ga-zu** (translated here: "I know them to their limits!") is unique to our hymn, not attested elsewhere in Sumerian literature. It is attested twice more in the next stanza (ll. 55, 76), once in the stanza that after that (101), and lastly in the eleventh stanza of (in segment B) (b88). We can generally argue, that the literary uses of the phrase throughout the hymn show that each time it refers to two separate, though related, skills of Šulgi, and so we tend to understand the modal prefix -ga- to mean: 'both'. Accordingly, a free translation of lines 47–48 would be: "(the craft of) counting & accounting, (and the craft of) planning the Land – I am familiar with both of them!".

52: inim sa₆ (Akk. *awat damiqtim*, "eloquence", lit. "the sweet word") may allude to the authority of Šulgi as speaker-leader in his Land; see Enlil-bāni A 28–31: ^den-líl-ba-ni / nir hu-mu-un-ĝál-e-en / ka du₁₀-ga / **nundum inim-ma sa₆** "Enlil-bāni, you are the one with authority, sweet mouth, eloquent words' lips"; comp. also Išbi-Erra C 14; and see Falkenstein 1959, 136; Hallo 1982, 108f. However, similarly to the context here, in some other references this idiom also implies for a divine authority of decreeing fine fate; comp. Samsu-iluna B 18 and Nungal A 72.

For **ti** "to live", "to dwell" ("leben", "wohnen") compare already Gudea Aiii:1; the Instructions of Šuruppak 4–5: *inim zu-a kalam-ma ti-la* "(Šuruppak) who knows the words, who lives in the Land".

53: In this line Šulgi seems to liken his heart to an 'extra-large tablet', probably inscribed with the divine rules (ĝeš-hur), whereby the gods rule Sumer or the entire world. It is also possible that the 'large tablet' represents the Land, and the plan written

on it represents the divine destiny planned for the Land, or for the lands, comp. Rīm-Sîn B 17: **ša** daġal sur-ra **ġeš-hur** kù-ga é eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄ šu dab-bé "(Ḥaya) is holding in his hand the *inscribed* broad heart, the holy plan of the temple of Eridu". For **ġeš-hur** that means "decreed fate" see Enūma Eliš I 79: *ina ki-iš-ši šīmāti*^{meš} *at-ma-an ušurāti*(*giš-hur*)^{meš} "In the chamber of the destinies, the room of the archetypes" (Lambert 2013, 54–55); comp. also Ninurta and the Turtle 3–4 for the parallelism **ġeš-hur** // **dub nam-tar-ra** "divine plan" // "tablet of destiny".

The "extra-large tablet" (or: "large tablets") is usually attributed to Nisaba, and her husband Ḥaya, symbolizing their broad wisdom; cf. the following parallels: the Instructions of Šuruppak 289: **nin dub gal-gal-la šu du₇-a** "(Nisaba) Lady who perfects the extra-large tablet"; Rīm-Sîn B 2: ^dha-iá **dub gal-gal** ha-ha-za **ġeštu₂-ġeštu₂-ga peš-peš** "Ḥaya is holding the extra-large tablet, mostly wide wisdoms".

For the possible reconstruction **ġeš-h[ur kalam-ma]**, see l. 47 above, and Ur-Namma A 210: **ġiš-hur kalam-ma** hé-me-a-gub-ba "When the plan is standing for the Land...". Compare also the parallel idioms **ġeš-hur uġ** "the divine plan of the people"; **ġeš-hur kur-kur** "the divine plan of all the lands"; and **ġeš-hur an-ki** "the divine plan of heaven and earth".

The reconstruction of the verb **zu** "to know" is offered here after the Lord of Aratta 525: **ša inim-ma ù-bí-zu** "while your heart knows the (advising)-word". Parallel syntactic structure is reflected from l. 103 below: **ša-ġu₁₀ dīštaran kur-kur-ra-me-èn** "I, by my heart, am the Ištaran of all the lands!" (1stp. poss.-suffix: **ša-ġu₁₀** precedes the copula **-me-èn**).

54–55: This obscure line has a parallel in Šulgi O l. 62, obscure as well: MI x GI UL **inim-ma múš-bi. muš** must represent here a phonetic writing for **múš** or **mùš** "face" (Akk. *zīmu*) or "flat space, holy area" (Akk. *mātu, tušaru*); cf. Sjöberg 1969, 55–56; idem, 1973b, 39; Heimpel 1972, 286–287. This archaic orthography is attested in a royal inscription of the Ur III king Amar-Sîn (RIME 3/2.1.3.9:45); as well as in all of the Ur duplicates of the Sumerian Temple Hymns (UET VI/1 111; UET VI/1 112; UET VI/1 113; U 07782; UET 6 739:7'), in the recurring refrain **mùš/muš-za é bí-in-gub** "(DN) has erected a house in your precinct" (see Temple Hymns, ll. 75, 85, 99, 270, 313, 326, 377, 394, 405, 423, 455).

inim-ma mûš-bi seems to be an anticipatory genitive: "the **mûš** of the **inim**", which may be translated "the platform of the decision" or the like. For a similar phrase **é-a mûš-bi** in parallel context see Nungal A 28–30: ^dnun-gal bara₂ gal mah-bi-a zà-ge mu-un-dí-ni-ib-si / **é-a mûš-bi** dúr im-mi-in-ĝar kalam im-ta-gen₆-né / lugal-ra šà unken-na-ka igi mu-na-ni-ĝál "Nungal placed *herself* in that great lofty dais, she took place **in the house, (in) its position**, controlling the Land from there. Among the assembly she set (her) eyes upon the king"; see also Ibbi-Sîn A a4: diĝir mûš-a-ni¹ ûĝ kalam unken kur-kur-ra gen-[x] "The god, (in) his position is *stable* among the people, the Land and the assembly of the foreign lands". See also Ur-Namma A 8–9 for inim dù-a // nam-tar dù-a "established/fixed pronouncement" // "established fate".

For **á-bi-šè in-ga-zu** at the end of this poetic sentence (ll. 54–55), introduces the main theme of the present stanza, see commentary to l. 48 above and in the introduction of this stanza.

56–57: Note the unique orthography '**pu¹-hu-ru-um** of the Akkadian loanword for "assembly", otherwise spelled pu-**úh/uh**-ru-um. This form may be a Sumerian orthographic variant, or a form based on the Akkadian D stem *puhḫurum*.

We read here KI as a determinative, after Haayer's unpublished manuscript of Šulgi B 226: pu-úh-ru-um^{ki} nam tar-tar-re-dè "The parliament - to decree the fates"; comp. Falkenstein 1950, 69.

For the definition of the assembly as **(ki) ad mah ge₄-ge₄-da**, lit. "(the place of) grand deliberation", see the following literary parallels: Šulgi B 226–227; Ur-Namma F 16–17; Death of Gilgameš d101; etc.).

For **gú si-a** "to gather, assemble" (Akk. *pahāru*), usually said on the people of Sumer (ûĝ), see especially Temple Hymns ll. 180–181; Šulgi P 55; Šulgi U 12. This compound can also refer to the foreign lands (kur-kur), see i.a. Gudea CylA ix:18; Iddin-Dagan A 114, and to the divine assembly (^da-nun-na), cf. Lipit-Eštar C 18–19; Nanše A 232–233.

58: The compound **geš la** is probably a phonetic writing of **ĝeš lá**, lit. "to hang/throw the wood" (differing from ĝeš ĝeš-e lá "to battle"). Apparently, the traditional translation of this idiom "to be silent", "to pay attention", was based on its Akkadian equivalent in some bilingual sources, s. CAD Q 302 sub *qūltu* "silence"; see also

Heimpel 1968, 157; Attinger 2019a, 120. However, from an independent observation of the Sumerian literature itself, it is possible to suggest that the origin of the phrase is in an image from the animal world: "to block, capture", or closer to its literal meaning: "to put a bridle"; and hence its common meaning: "to proclaim a silence like a bull under the bridle" (comp. the compound *sa-pàr lá* "to hang/throw the net"). A similar image repeats in Edubba C (ll. 31, 67–68): **gud-gen**₇ i-lu (ver. šìr) du₁₀-ga-šè **ĝeš lá** "to bridle/silence the sweet song like a bull (under its bridle)"; and see also Ur-Namma A 183–187.

59: For a comprehensive discussion of the compound verb **igi saĝ** (Akk. *nasāqu*) "to choose", "select", see Waetzoldt 2010, 245–255 (see especially p. 246, 253). This is a partially phonetic writing for **igi saĝ₅**, occasionally attested in the Šulgi hymns and other literary texts. For some syntactically similar ablative phrases see especially: *kur-kur-ta igi saĝ-ĝá* "selected among all the lands" (l. 133 below) and *ùĝ-ta igi saĝ₅-ĝá* "selected among the people" (Šulgi V 16).

60: It is assumed here that **gud** may denote "bulls" (plural), referring to the participants in the assembly, who 'wrestle with each other' like bulls in the arena. For **saĝ-ki** as an equivalent of *puĥru* "assembly" in lexical evidence see Saĝ B [MSL SS1] i:38. See also the literary expression **pu-uh-rum^{ki} saĝ-ki** (or: *pu-uh-rum ki-saĝ-ki*): Death of Gilgameš m49//140; Ur Lament ll. 152–153; Proverbs coll. 28.7 (Cavigneaux and Al-Rawi 2000a, pp. 27, 30, 39; Samet 2014, 94). Alternatively, we cannot exclude the meaning of **ki-saĝ** "front", "forehead" (Akk. *zīmu; pānu; pūtu*); see Saĝ A [MSL SS1] i:26-30; ii:44–45. Accordingly, the translation of the line will be: "[like] horned bulls, *bellowing*, jostling each other".

For **téš-šè tag-tag**, which seems to be here a variant form for **téš-bi tag-tag** "to wrestle with each other", denotes animals in Sumerian literature, see the Curse of Agade 21–22: ^ugu₄-bi am-si mah áb-za-za ú-ma-am ki ba₉-rá / šà sila daĝal-la-ke₄ **téš-bi tag-tag-ge-dè** "Those monkeys, mighty elephants, water buffalo, exotic animals, would **wrestle with each other** in the center of the wide street"; the Anzu Bird 265: ušumgal **téš-bi mu-un-tag-tag-ge** "Serpents were **wrestling with each other**". A variant synonymous expression is *téš-bi du₇-du₇* "to jostle/hit each other"

(cf. Išme-Dagan I 35; Išme-Dagan K 10; the Anzu Bird 87). Alternatively see Šulgi D 349–350 (//379–380) for the loc.-ter. compound **těš-e tag-tag** "to collect together".

61–62: For the reconstruction of these lines see the literary episode from the Lord of Aratta II. 236–241, and especially 239–241: **gaba-ri** í-pà-dè / **gaba-ri** in-pà gù im-ta-an-è / kíĝ-ge₄-a inim-ma gaba-ri-bi / **gud-gen**₇ **gù nun mu-un-di-ni-ib-bé** "He found the answer as following: he found the answer, he called out loud; the answer of the message - the messenger bellowed it like a bull with authoritative voice".

For **gaba-ri inim-ma** "an answer to the message", see further Šulgi B 208; Inana-Ebih 66. For the idiom **gù nun du₁₁/e** "to bellow/roar", borrowed from the animal world and referring to speaking with authoritative voice, see especially Šulgi D 289–290 (cf. Klein 1981a, 111f.); Gudea CylA xxvi:21; Keš Temple Hymn 28.

63: **e-re-bu-um**¹ (like ʾpu¹-hu-ru-um in l. 56) is apparently a loanword from Akkadian: *errebu* "newcomer", "intruder" (cf. CAD E 304), not attested elsewhere in Sumerian literature. For late Akk. loanwords preserving the Akkadian nominative case suffix -um see Falkenstein 1951, 13. After describing his attitude at the assembly towards the Sumerian citizens (l. 57: **ùĝ saĝ gi**₆ "the people, black-headed"), and towards the people of the foreign lands (l. 58: **kur-kur**), Šulgi may have described in this line his attitude towards the refugees, the newcomers who intruded into Sumer.

64: For **ka-làl** "eloquent speaker" (lit. "honey-mouth" or "mellifluous mouth") see Kagal D Section 4:9: *pû* ʾdišpi¹. Note that ka-làl similarly to the synonymous **inim sa**₆ "favorable word" (l. 52 above) is mentioned in literature as necessary for the counselor who is expert in giving advice **ad ge**₄ (l. 56); see especially Lugal-nesaĝe to Enlil-massu 1: ^den-líl-mas-su dimma(INIM.DU₁₀) **ad-ge**₄ **sa**₆ **KA-làl** KA gùn-gùn-nu-ra ù-na-a-du₁₁ "Say to Enlil-massu the sweet speech, favorable advice, mellifluous speech, sparkling speech". See further the Instructions of Šuruppak 103–106.

74: Traces before he- point to SAL, ŠIR or the like, may indicate an irregular writing for ĝizzal(ĜEŠ.TU₉.PI.ŠIR/NU₁₁.SILA₃), or ĝizzal₂(ŠIR/NU₁₁.SILA₃), with the omission of the last sign SILA₃.

For the compound verb **ĝizzal ak** "to listen, obey", in connection with both the human and divine assembly, see the following literary parallels: Šulgi Y 8 (Falkenstein 1961, 144): **unken-na ĝizzal ma-ni-ak-ke₄-éš** "After (Ninlil) let them hear me in the assembly"; Išme-Dagan H 7–8: **^da-nun-na¹** diĝir gal-gal-bi igi-zu-uš si mu-^rsá¹-e-eš / [^d]en¹-líl inim kù du₁₁-ga mah-zu-šè **ĝizzal im-ši-ma-an-ak-eš** "The great gods of the Anuna lined up before you. Enlil, they paid attention to your holy word and august speech"; Ur-Ninurta E 18–19: diĝir an-na ba-su₈-ge-eš-a / **^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne ĝizzal ba-an-ak-eš** "When the gods of heaven stood up, (and) the Anuna payed attention".

75–76: Similar to ll. 54–55 above, ll. 75–76 presents one idea within a complete syntactic structure, ending with the poetic phrase **á-bi-šè in-ga-zu** (discussed in l. 48 above). In these two lines Šulgi seems to stress his wise military and political decisions, which enabled him to fortify Sumer while weakening its enemies. In the following lines 77–80, he stresses his righteous rule over the Land, maintaining justice, and suppressing evil.

According to the same duality, the reconstructed **[nam]-sipa** "shepherdship" in l. 75, refers to **kalam** "the Land of Sumer" in l. 76; while **nam ku₅-rá** "cursing" (Akk. *arāru*) in l. 75, refers to **é ki-bala** "the houses of the rebellious land" in l. 76. Both lines also end with the modal prefix **-in-ga-** "also", "as well", in order to emphasize the conceptual repetition.

For **nam-sipa kalam-ma** "the shepherdship of Sumer" in other hymns of Šulgi, see the following references: Šulgi D 60: **kalam-[ma]** ^den-líl lugal kur-kur-[ra-ke₄] **nam-sipa-bi** ma-ra-[an-šúm] "Enlil, the king of the lands, let you get the shepherdship of the Land"; and Šulgi E 65: **[nam]-'sipa'** **kalam-ma-šè** gù mu-na-dé-e-a "who was appointed to the shepherdship of the Land". Note also the parallel phrase **na-âĝ-sipa kur-kur-ra** "the shepherdship of the lands" (Šulgi X 40), and its Akk. equivalent *rē'ût mātīm* (CAD R 312f. sub *rē'ūtu*). For **nam-ku₅-rá ki-bala** "the course of the rebellious land", see the parallel line in Šulgi X 136: **ki-bala nam ba-da-ku₅-rá-ĝá é-bi** du₆-du₆-rá m[i]-ni-ĝar-ĝar "(Nanna speaks:) When I cursed rebel land you set their houses into ruins" (see Römer 1965, 100f.; Klein 1981a, 163), and the Akk. equivalent *bīt nakri ištālal* (CAD Š1 196f. sub *šalālu*).

For the rare idiom *di ĝar/ĝá-ĝá* "to make a decision" or "to establish justice", see Šulgi V 21: *saĝ-gi₆-ga-a lugal na-me saĝ nu-sì di [gal]-šè na-an-ĝar* "No king ever cared the black-headed, that he established great justice (for them)"; see also Išme-Dagan S 12. For the threefold reduplication **ĝá-ĝá-ĝá** see l. 39 above.

For **in-ga-me-na-ta** (a short variant spelling for the regular *in-ga-me-en-na-ta*) "since I am also...", see Klein 2005, 141. This poetic verbal expression is unique to the present hymn (ll. 96, 114, b50, b74), mostly followed by a poetic line ending with a conjugated form of the verb **zu** "to know".

For **ì-sì** (NI.SUM) "execution" or "plan of omen", see the following literary parallels: the Curse of Agade 98: **ì-sì-ga-na** *šu-a bal-e-dè* "to change his (=Enlil's) execution (in omen)"; Martu A 28: [šà] *kúš-ù a-a inim-ma ì-sì-ga-ni* "After consultation, the father (made) the implement of the decision". See a single attestation in the lexical list Nabnītu (VII 140): NI-sè = *epištu*, NI-sè-sè-ga = *epšētu* ("act, activity", "omen plan"), equivalent to *níĝ-dím-dím-ma* and *níĝ-kìd-kìd-da* "magical procedure" (CAD E 241 sub. *epištu*). Note that NI.SUM is attested in Šulgi hymns also as a phonetic writing of *i-zi* "flood" (Šulgi F 48; Šulgi O 24), for which see Sjöberg 1969, 106f.

For **é ki-bala tùm-tùm** "smite the houses (or: temples) of the rebellious land", compare Angim 142: *é ki-bala tum₄-tum₄* (Akk. *ĥatû É KUR nukurti*); see also CAD H 151f. sub *ĥatû* A.

77–78: The description of Šulgi's attitude toward justice as opposed to evil which is given in ll. 75–76, is expended in ll. 77–80 into two pairs of (opposing) parallel lines (77–78; 79–80). At this time the description is embellished by literary metaphors from nature, whereby Šulgi is likens himself to a large bull and to a venomous snake (77 and 79).

For **á**(loc.) **dab₅** "to harness, "capture by horns" (Heimpel 1968, 114), see Gudea StB ix 8–9: *am-gen₇ á-huš-na hé-dab₅* "let him be seized by his fierce horns like a wild bull"; See also this expression with an Akk. gloss: *á dab₅-ba-e-ĝá^{a-na} ša-ba-ti-ya* (Lugale 585). For a similar, synonymous, expression see Inana-Ebiĥ 160–162: *am-si-gen₇ si-za mi-ni-[í]b-dab₅-bé* "I seize you from your tusks as if it was an elephant". The image of the captured bull by its horns is most developed in the same mythological passage from Inana-Ebiĥ (ll. 160–163). However, we interpreted here **á**

dab₅ in the positive sense "to harness", assuming that it refers to protection, rather than to subjugation.

For the terminative case of **dab₅** ("to capture at", "to pull into") comp. Dumuzi's Dream 182//217: ^dĝeštin-an-na-ke₄ amaš tūr-šè mu-ni-in-dab₅-bé-ne "They seized Ĝeštin-ana at (= into) sheepfold and stall".

For the common antonymous parallelism **níĝ-ge-ge-na** // **níĝ-erim₂**, see Lämmerhirt 2010, 152ff., 442. Comp. also the antonymic divine names ^dNin-níĝ-ge-na = ^dNin-níĝ-erim (An=*Anum* text A 237).

79–80: For **ul₄** "frighten" (Akk. *arāhu*, *uruhhu*) see CAD A/2 221 sub *arāhu* A, lex. sect.; cf. Sjöberg 1973b, 33, 44; Attinger 2019a, 207. See also the Course of Agade 267 // the Mountain Cave 361: muš ul₄ kur-ra lú na-an-ni-ib-dib-bé "the swift snakes of the mountains allow no one to pass".

For the ablative verbal prefix **-ta-** in both verbal chains, which stands for the dative case, see Thomsen 1984, 232–233; Falkenstein 1939, 194.

Even though the sentence lacks a direct object, the pronominal prefix **-n-** seems to indicate the transitivity of **ul₄**. For which compare also Nungal A 75: arhuš šà-ne-š₄ ĝá-a-kam **lú la-ba-ra-an-ul₄-le-dè-en** "Mercy and compassion are mine, we frightened no one". For the transitivity of the verbal form in l. 80, compare the following references: Bird-Fish 114: mušen-e ku₆-ra **mu-un-ni₁₀-ni₁₀** "The bird (lets herself) surround the fish"; Hoe-Plough 99: é nam-gašam-ke₄ **ma-ra-ab-ni₁₀-ni₁₀-e** "Artisans workshop surrounds you". Furthermore, we do not rule out the possibility that ll. 79–80 refer to ll. 77–78 above also syntactically, saying: "I will never attack the righteous like I did to the evil as a snake; I will never let the quarrel man return like I did to the justice as a bull".

The restored 1sg copula in these lines completes also the poetic phrase **á-bi-šè in-ga-zu** (ll. 75–76), saying: "I am the one who is trained in the crafts of herding the Land and cursing the rebellious lands, hence I turn to justice and move away from evil".

84: For **mas-sú** (Akk. *massû* (*maššû*), "expert", "wise leader"), as an epithet of gods and leaders see already Tallqvist 1974, 130; Sjöberg 1969, 130; Römer 1965, 243-

244. The writing **mas-sú** (MAŠ.ZU, so A, G) is used alongside the common writing **mas-su** (so text F).

Von Soden, AHW II 619, distinguishes between two different values of Akk. *massû* I: "anführer"; II: "sachkundiger"; CAD (M/1 327–328) also differentiates between the noun "leader" and adjective "expert". The common translation in most of the Sumerian literary editions is 'leader', probably because of its occasional proximity to the epithet *sipa* "shepherd". However, we find the Sumerian *mas-su* also equated with *emqu* (CUSAS 12, 2.1.3 appendix o ii 16') and *rapša uzni* (Malku I 61f.), which indicates that he was the wise one among his company, and as such he was the leader of his people in the right path: en ^{ĝeš-tu⁹}ĝeštu-ga igi-^rĝál¹ kalam-ma-ke₄ / **mas-su diĝir-^rre¹-e-ne-ke₄** "The lord of wisdom, the wise of the Land, the sage of the gods" (Lord of Aratta 151–152); níĝ-nam zu / ^den-ki ĝeštu₂ daĝal **mas-su mah ^da-nun-na-ke₄-ne** / gal-an-zu "Who knows everything, Enki, the broad wisdom, the august sage of the Anuna, the wise" (Ur-Ninurta B 1–3); é ĝeštu₂-ga nam-gal-an-zu diri-šè niĝin ĝál-la-za / ĝál ù-bí-in-taka₄ saĝ gi₆-ga mas-su gal-bi hé-em "After you opened up your wisdom house of all sciences in which you have gathered knowledge in plenty, for the black-headed – be their great sage!" (Ur-Ninurta B 37–38). It seems then, that the Sumerian *mas-su* was a sage, while his role as a leader was a secondary one.

The epithet **mas-sú ki-en-gi-ra** "the sage of Sumer" had already been applied to Šulgi's father Ur-Namma (A 34–35); see the parallel idiom **mas-su kalam-ma** "the sage of the Land" (Išme-Dagan I 4; Nanna F 44; Nanše A 236) and the Akk. epithet for rulers *massê māti* (CAD M/1 328 sub. *massû* b). Interestingly, the bilingual version of the Hoe Song 28 (4R 27 No. 4:17f.) presents another parallel: am ši ka-naĝ ĝá **mas-su^{sù} ki-in-gi-ra**: *bēlum napišti māti massû šamê u eršeti* "The lord, the Land's life, **the sage of Sumer** (Sum.) // The lord, the Land's life, **the sage of heaven and earth**" (Akk.).

For the intransitive form **ti-la** "to live, dwell" see l. 52 above. Like other ancient sages, Šulgi is a native of Sumer "living in the Land" as the leader of his people, having deep insight and understanding. According to Alster (2005, 103), we have here a "honorific reference to the very ancient times... to connect the father from whom the counsels were transmitted". Compare the opening of the Instructions of Šuruppak ll. 4–5, the Hymn to the Ekur 59 (Metcalf 2021, 4); Išbi-Erra C 11; Nanše A 236–237.

85: The verbal phrase **ĝeš-hur(dir.)... kíg-ĝá** "to execute/invest the plan" is also attested in Šulgi R 7: *igi-ĝál tuku ĝeš-hur-re kíg-ĝá kù-zu níĝ-nam-ma-k[e₄]* "He who has wisdom, executes the plan, skillful in everything". For the possibility that **ĝeš-hur** here is a professional term, refers to the sheep entrails (comp. the Akk. term *uṣurtu* "drawing"), see Jeyes 1978, 222 n. 86, 228.

For **sá ak** see Attinger 2005b, 245: "faire / élaborer un plan, comploter"; see already l. 40 above. The PSD's rendering of *sá ak-ak* "to plot (against)" (PSD AIII 103) seems to be less suitable here.

86–87: Ll. 86–95 depict a picture in which Šulgi leaves his city Ur towards the battle field (*gub-ba-ĝu₁₀-šè*), but apparently, after a messenger informs him of an uprising or resistance that has broken out, he returns to the temple in Ur (*niĝin₂-na-ĝu₁₀*), where he performs the extispicy. The decision whether to go into battle or not, is taken within his palace. Šulgi may be surrounding in his land, or standing in the battle field, but he is making his decision only while sitting on his throne within his palace in Ur (see further discussion in the introduction to the stanza).

For the compound **ság e/du₁₁** see Attinger 2019a, 42–43; idem, 1993, 658–659; in particular see the Akk. equivalent *sakāpu* "to drive back, repulse, defeat enemies in battle" (CAD S 70-72 sub. *sakāpu* A 2.a). The same compound refers also to a devastating flood in Gudea CylB x:21; Lugale 291.

The terminative verbal case **-šè** (l. 86) is referred to by three different following verbs: once in l. 87 in the final verbal compound **ság e** "repulse me while standing", the terminative verbal prefix **-ši-**; and twice in l. 88: the nominal verb **niĝin₂** "surrounding over there (and back)", and the final verbal compound **lú ge** "a messenger has been sent to me there", which is also denoted by the terminative case **-ši-**.

88–89: For **zi-zi-ga** meaning "military uprising" see a Letter from Sîn-illat to Iddin-Dagan l. 5. In close context see especially Šulgi B 47–49: *ĝeš^{es}tukul igi-nim-ma du₁₀-ĝá bí-tar / sig-šè elam^{ki}-ma ĝù-ba ĝeš ma-ab-ús / ki-bal ĝeš^{es}tukul-ĝá a-na ba-zi-zi-ga* "I broke the weapon of the north by my knee, and set the yoke on Elam's neck over the south. How would the rebel lands uprising against my weapon?".

The 'lower land(s)' (**sig**, lit. "below") in the lines quoted above from Šulgi B points out to a southern battlefield, but not to the land of Sumer. However, in some other references the idiom **sig-ta** ("from below") refers to the Sumerian southern city of Ur, in contrast to the northern city of Nippur (IGI.NIM-šè "to above"); see Frayne 1997, 96f. For l. 88 compare the parallel line of Šulgi 7th year name, also describes a round trip: **mu lugal-e uri^{ki}-ta nibru^{ki}-šè 'in¹-niĝin₂** "The year the king made a round trip between Ur and Nippur".

For the compound verb **lú ge** (phonetic writing of lú ge₄) "to send a messenger", see Falkenstein 1950, 66. For a close parallel see also the Letter of Inim-Inana to Lugal-ibila 9–10 (Ali 1964, 153f.): **en-na ĝiškim ĝá-e ù za-e inim ì-bal-en-da-na / lú ù-mu-e-ši-in-ge₄-ge₄-a** "Until I and you exchange the omen-word (and) after a messenger will be sent".

inim ge-en may mean "firm / reliable (omen) answer" (lit. "the right word") comp. Šulgi B 263–264; Šulgi A 22; Nanše A 235.

For -NE-NE, apparently a phonetic writing for -ni₁₀-ni₁₀(NIĜIN₂-NIĜIN₂), in a parallel context, see van Dijk 1963, 28 n. 72; Sjöberg 1973b, 42:54 (ĝiškim NE-NE); it is attested also in two administrative Ur III texts (CUSAS 3 1016 r6; ANM 4186 r1).

90–91: The *egalmah* (lit. "the lofty palace") was a sanctuary in the Ekišnuĝal, Nanna's temple in Ur, adjacent to the *ĝipar* sanctuary and the *dubla*-eastern-gate; see Zettler–Hafford 2015, 373f. (3.1.3b. *Edublamah*).

Like here, the *egalmah* in the hymns of Ur-Namma is also described as a place to decree fates (ki nam-tar-ra): **é-gal mah-zu¹ é-kiš-nu-ĝál šà-ga nam tar-ra** "your *egalmah*, the Ekišnugal's midst (where) the destiny is decreed" (Ur-Namma C 6). However, in this and other occasions, the reference is not to the king, but to decreeing fates by the great gods. In some attestations the gods An and Enlil are described sitting in front of the Anuna gods, decreeing fates (Ur-Namma B 31–33 and C 5–7). In other Šulgi hymns, it is not only Šulgi, but also the gods An and Ninegalla, who are sitting on a lofty dais (bara₂ mah) to judge or to determine fates (Šulgi A 56–57; Šulgi P b13–16; Šulgi X 141–143).

For **ki nam tar** "place of decreeing destiny" see the introduction to the stanza above. See also the other Šulgi hymns P 56–58; D 59–60; and O 7–8.

For **sil₄ dadag-ga** "pure lamb" in the same context see Šulgi B 141; and Išme-Dagan B 35, where a **sil₄ babbar**(UD.UD) "white lamb" is examined for the omen in front of Enlil in his temple. See van Soldt 2003/5, 128: dadag-ga "to win, acquit", referring to an ordeal.

The verbal form in text F (šu ù-ma-ni-¹ti) enables the alternative translation: "after a pure lamb was taken to me". For the cultic context of the verbal compound **šu ti** (Akk. *leqû, maḥāru* "to take", "to receive") see Mayer-Sallaberger 2003/5, 100.

92–93: 'Right' and 'left' (**zi-da á' gáb-bé**) refer to both sides of the lamb's liver, on which the extispicy is performed. The right side of the liver, the southern side when the priest faces east, is in charge of the signs relevant to the owner of the offering, while the left, the northern side, contains the signs relevant to the enemy. For this Sumerian professional term, and its Akkadian equivalent, see Michalowski 2006, 252 f.; Maul 2018, 42f.

'Right' and 'left' also reflects the divine support that surrounds the owner of the offering on all sides; comp. also the fragmentary lines in Nippur Temple Hymn, II. 25–29, referring to the god Enlil. On the other hand, a negative destiny is expressed by abandonment the right and left of a ruined city, cf. the Sumer-Ur Lament 163–165.

In a formula that reoccurs in the hymns of Rīm-Sîn we find the good (omen)-signs **níg-sa₆-ga** and **ġiškim sa₆-ga** standing on guard to the right and left of the king while performing omen rituals, see especially Rīm-Sîn D 42–47: **zi-da gáb-bu-zu** nam nam-tìl-le-šè / u₄ sù-rá-šè hé-em-da-súb-súb-bé-eš... **ġiškim sa₆-ga** da-za-a muš nu-túm-mu-dè / s[aġ-saġ **níg-s]a₆-ga-zu** hé-eb-tuku-tuku-ne "Let (the gods) be standing for distant days at your right and left to assure (you) a destiny of life!... Let them have (you) a positive omen... that the positive sign will not stop from your side". See further Rīm-Sîn G 40–43; F 42–43.

The verbal form **ma-'ab²-de₆** (brought to me) is inanimate agentive perfective (*ḥamtū*) verb, which may also be preceded by a prospective modal prefix a- (Thomsen 1984, 208). For the prefix chain ba-da- see *ibid.*, 226–227.

94–95: According to the translation above, l. 94 presents the two possible answers while performing an omen. Alternatively, the line may also present a polar question,

being asked during the omen: "Whether the weapon strikes or the weapon does not strike?".

^{ĝeš}**tukul** "weapon" may imply a professional Sumerian term for one part within the liver of the animal (Akkadian *kakku*), and its function was to mark the direction of the concrete weapon, whether towards the omen's owner, or towards the enemy; see Michalowski 2006, 251, 253.

The doubled phrase "**ki-tuš ki ĝar-ra**", "dwelling place, resting place", refers to Šulgi's seat while performing the omen, referring elsewhere to Enlil's (and An's) dwelling place in the *gipāru*, the judicial chamber in the Ekišnugal or the Ekur (cf. hymns Ur-Namma C 5; Šulgi O 98–99; Ur-Ninurta A 11–15). Alternatively, the translation "the founded (set up) dwelling place" is also not excluded.

The decision whether to go to war or not, taken here by Šulgi himself, is described elsewhere in Sumerian literature as made by the warrior at the convening of the assembly; either human assembly, cf. *Ĝilgameš-Aka* 8–10: *é kiš^{ki}-šè gú nam-ba-an-ĝá-ĝá-an-dè-en* ^{ĝeš}**tukul ga-àm-ma-sèg-ge-en-dè-en** / **unken** ĝar-ra ab-ba iri-na-ka / ^d*gilgameš₂-ra mu-na-ni-ib-ge₄-ge₄* "At the convening of the meeting the elders of his city answered Gilgameš: "Let us not submit to the house of Kiš, let us strike the weapon"; or divine assembly, cf. *Lugale* 678–679: *ur-saĝ* ^{ĝeš}**tukul sàg-ge silim-ma-ni-šè** [...] / ^d**a-nun-na-ke₄-ne** *é-a x-bi gaba mu-un-ri-[x]* "To confront the Anuna gods in the house [*whether*] to greet the hero for striking weapon [*or not*]".

The Ur III phonetic writing **ĝá-ra** (texts G and probably F) for ĝar-ra (text E) is commonly attested in Šulgi hymns: C 109; O 17, 19, 83, 114, 136, d3; P c6, c15; X 152; R 26 (see also the Temple Hymns l. 306).

96: ^d**nin-tur₅** is in Sumerian literature a mother and birth goddess. As such, she is considered to be a creator and life giver, who knows and decrees the new born's fate at the moment of his birth and the cutting of his umbilical cord; cf. *Nungal* A 71–72: ^d*nin-tur₅-e ki nam-dumu-zi-ka mu-da-an-gub-bé / gi-dur ku₅-da nam tar-re-da inim sa₆-ge-bi mu-zu* "I stand (to assist) Nintur at the place of child-delivery! Cutting the umbilical cord and cutting the fate - I know its positive omen". However, in the long Šulgi hymns (Šulgi B, C and E), Šulgi introduces himself as *Nintur*, referring to his role as a wise omen interpreter, well familiar with everything (*níĝ-nam-ma*); see the following references: *máš-šu-gíd-gíd dadag-ga-me-en / ĝiri₃-ĝen-na* **inim uzu-ga-ka**

^d**nin-tur₅-bi** $\hat{g}e_{26}$ -e-me-en "I am a pure diviner! I am I am the *Nintur* of the entrails omen" (Šulgi B 131–132); ^d**nin-tur₅ níĝ-nam-ma** \grave{i} -me-en-na- $\hat{g}á$ / diĝir-re-ne-er gub-bu gal-zu- $\hat{g}á$ "That I am a *Nintur* of everything; that I am the wise one who stands before the gods" (Šulgi E 16–17).

The phrase **šà-ta gal-zu níĝ-nam-ma** "from the womb, wise for everything", appears relates to deity Ištaran; see l. 103 below; and Šulgi B 221–222, 264; Šulgi X 142–143.

For the verbal sequence **in-ga-me-na-ta ...zu** ("Since I am also... - I know how to...") see ll. 75–76 above. As mentioned, we understand in-ga- "both"; accordingly, we may offer that l. 97 below clarifies the epithet ^d**nin-tur₅**, while l. 98 clarifies the epithet **gal-zu níĝ-nam-ma**, respectively.

Text F here preserves the younger, plene, spelling of the 1sg. copula (in-ga-me-en-n[a-x]), see Klein 2005, 141.

97: The unique lemma **uzu-ga**, "entrails" or "omen", is apparently identical to the word uzu.d "flesh" (CAD Š/3 121ff., sub *šīru* A 4). This form with a final /g/ is attested once more in an identical context in Šulgi B 132 (quoted above), also as an anticipatory-genitive phrase (inim uzu-ga-ka ^dnin-tur₅-bi). For the Akk. professional term *šīru* see Durand 1988, I 15f.

For the verbal compound **ĝiškim zu** "to decipher an omen" (lit. "to know the sign") see already Volk 1995, 179, with n. 841. Note particularly Kramer's translation to this locative phrase (Inana-Šualetuda l. 104 // 152 // 274): "**learned the omens from the...**" (Kramer 1956, 112).

98: This obscure line may refer to actions taken in preparation for the act of the divination (nam-tar), just before the lamb is slaughtered at sunrise. Alternatively, it may refer to the reading of the signs from the various parts of the lamb's entrails by the priest. See in detail in the introduction to this stanza, in the discussion relating to the second unit.

The rare expression saĝ bulu_x(BUL), commonly followed by the postpositions -e/-a, was read by Attinger (2019a, 198) 'saĝ tuku₄', means literally "to shake/toss the head" (see also Peterson 2011, 158). However, referring to animals, the compound saĝ bal/bala is more common (cf. Šulgi B 84–85; Šulgi E 227; Gudea CylA xix:16), and

therefore the reading here is preferable. Attinger (*ibid.*) understands it as a gesture that represents an oath. In some sources the gesture symbolizes opposition / hostility / reproach. See especially *Ḫuwawa* ver.A 123; *Lugale* 453. The meaning of the gesture in the present context is obscure.

For the architectural term **ki-sá** (Akk. *kisû*) see Falkenstein 1966b, 231 n.2; Suter 1997, 6ff.; CAD K 429f.: "supporting wall along a building, a terrace or a city wall". Referring to the temple in Ur, *ki-sá* seems to refer to a sacred platform on which the royal throne stood, and which may be attested in the astela of Ur-Namma (UE 6 pl. 43a), parallel to the structure *dub-lá-mah*; see commentary to l. 90 above and Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 287. This term is attested in Sumerian hymnology in a variety of writings: **ki-sá-a** (Temple Hymns 450; Inana D 50); **ki-sa₅** (=ki-SIA; Rīm-Sîn F 16); **gi-sá** (Ur-Namma EF b16); and **gi-šà** (Ur-Namma EF a11'; Šulgi Y 13).

The archaic writing **en-nu** for **en-nu-ùĝ** (texts A, G) is attested in other literary texts from the Uruk (cf. *Gudea B* xii:20) and Ur III (Ur-Namma A 184; a Letter from Puzur-Šulgi to Šulgi 14) period.

99: For the phonetic writing **muš** for *mùš*, "face" or "flat space", see l. 54 above. The *en-mùš*-priest (or *lú-mùš*) appears in the Sumerian hymnology in parallel context, performing the *šu-luh* purification rite (cf. *Nisaba A* 39; Rīm-Sîn B 27). Compare also the officials **lú šu-luh** (*Ur Lament* 350; Rīm-Sîn B 18; etc.) and **en šu-luh** (*Gudea B* vii:9; *Ibbi-Sîn E* 12; etc.). See also the following lexical evidence: OB Lu A [MSL XII] 417: **lú-múš-lá** = *be-el zi-mi* ("person of (bright) face"); and CAD Z 122: "person wearing an 'appearance'".

For **níĝ-nam-ma** (lit. "everything") indicating in this context "the entire area of expertise" see l. 96 above. See also the thematic parallel **en níĝ-nam** "lord (for) everything" which refers to the role of the gods An and Enlil as fate determiners (Rīm-Sîn C 7–8; Ur-Ninurta B 1, 14).

The phonetic writing **bur_x(PÚ)** for *buru₃.d(U)* "to perforate, to be deep" (Akk. *palāšu, šapālu*) is attested in Codex Ur-Namma (Wilcke 2002: §§ B4, C5: text X vi 12; vii 12). For the transferred meaning "to understand deeply" see CAD P 61f. sub *palāšu* e: *awâtim šināti upalliš-ma* "I have penetrated the meaning of these matters" (Durand 1988, 373:37) etc.; for some other literary references see *Asarluḫi A* 17: *igi-ĝál-tuku níĝ-nam buru₃-buru₃-e* "The wise one who penetrates the entire thing";

Nuska A d1: [ĝešt]u₂ daĝal **niĝ-na[m-m]a²** **buru₃-da** igi-ĝál ki-šár-ra "(Having) wide wisdom, examination of everything, comprehensive knowledge".

100: The idiom **ša dab₅-ba** (lit. "to grasp (in) the heart"), meaning "to understand, understanding", is attested elsewhere in the Sumerian hymnology as an adjective; cf. the following references: Proverbs coll. 2.56: dub-sar ša dab₅-ba "understanding scribe"; Dumuzi-Inana B1 51: ša nu-dab₅-ba "do not understand"; and Anam A 11–12: **gal-zu niĝ-nam-ma-kam / ša dab₅-ba** du₇-a "the wise in everything // suitable to understand". ša dab₅-ba appears as a nominal phrase (meaning: "the one who understands") in a parallel context, in Lugale 464–465: ša dab₅-ba ṛinim²₁ gen₆-né-eš zu²-ba šir-re-eš im-mi-ib-bé / ^dnin-urta dumu ^den-líl-lá-ke₄ nam àm-mi-íb-tar-re "He who understands expresses poetically the word that he knows favorably: Ninurta Enlil's son determines the fate". Cf. also the Akkadian equivalent *ina libbi šabātu* "to think, to conceive an idea" (CAD § 24 sub *šabātu* 7c). The other meaning of the verbal compound ša dab₅, associated with emotions ("to be angry / pleased") seems to be irrelevant here (see Jaques 2006, 93f.).

While texts A and G present the short (archaic) form of the 1sg. independent pronoun (subject case) **ĝe₂₆(ĜÁ)**, texts E and F present the long (late) form **ĝe₂₆-e**. For a detailed discussion of this orthographic variation see Klein 2005, 136ff.; for the 1p sing. case see *ibid.*, 138f. with n. 20.

101: This line describes the training of Šulgi in two types of divination: oil-related divination and incense-related divination. Therefore, the literary translation of Klein to the line is most appropriate: "I also learned perfectly the art of lecanomancy and libanomancy". Nevertheless, the translation above purports to follow the syntactic structure of the line. For the practicing of these two types of divination see Maul 2018, 129ff., and in the introduction above, in relation to the third unit of the stanza.

In his article "Some Rare Sumerian Words Gleaned from the Royal Hymns of Šulgi" (Klein 1980), J. Klein discusses in detail the two divination-related expressions **ì-gíd(SUD-)** and **niĝ-na de₅(RI)-ga kur₇-re**, referring to a lexical source corresponding our line: Lu II col. ii ll. 21'–24' (MSL XII p. 120); see Klein there, pp. XIV–XXII with references to previous studies.

Klein's translation **ì-gíd**: "lecanomancy" (oil divination) is based on the general Akkadian translation of **ì-gíd-gíd** with *bārûtu* "the diviner's craft" (cf. Lu (II ii 21') Lu (II ii 21')): as well as the assumption that **ì** in this term corresponds to Akk. *šamnu*, "oil". The reading of BU as **gíd**, on the other hand, is based on the technical term *maš-šu-gíd-gíd* (Akk. *bārû*) "diviner", also attested as *máš-šu-gi₄-gi₄* (see Falkenstein 1966a, 45ff.). Another possible reading of **ì-BU** could be **ì-sù** "sprinkling of oil", cf. the phrase **ì li sù** "to sprinkle fine oil" that recurs many times in Ninisina B; as well as van Dijk's accompanying discussion about the meaning of an oil-related ritual, (van Dijk 1975, 76ff.; see also UET 6 45 r i 11). See furthermore the parallel ritual-related expressions **a (sed) sù** "sprinkling of (cold) water"; **urin/úš sù** "sprinkling of blood"; and **kaš sù** "sprinkling of beer". For parallelism between a "water" and **ì** "oil" in ritual-related expressions see Klein, *ibid.* XVI; Civil 1964, 81.

The translation of **níg-na de₅-ga kur₇-re** by **libanomancy** (divination by burning of incense) is based on the lexical equation *níg-na-de₅-[ga]-kur₇-ra = bārû ša qutrīni* ("diviner in smoke"). Accordingly Klein assumes that the Sumerian verb **RI.g** refers to the preparation of the censer before or while performing the divination; alternatively it may refer to the incense, which is heaped up in the censer, or to the act of smoking (for the full discussion see p. XII with n. 34–35).

As another possibility, we offer here to understand the phrase **níg-na de₅-ga** as a variant of **na de₅-ga** "refined / smoked / piled up incense", i.e. censer in which the incense is refined (or the like); compare also the two variant terms **na kù** "pure incense", and **níg-na kù** "pure censer" (or "censer of a pure incense"). For a close parallel see the incantation YOS XI 49 ll. 15–16: *níg-na kù-ga na kù na de₅-ga / šà-bé mu-un-ús* "he put **pure incense, refined incense**, the ones inside the pure censer" (see van Dijk's translation (van Dijk–Goetze–Hussey 1985), p. 37).

In this context see also a full discussion about the verbal compound **na ri/de₅.g** (inter alia Akk. *elēlu* "to purify, cleanse") and its relation to a ritual performed with a censer; Klein, *ibid.* XVIIIff. with footnotes; see also Sallaberger 2005, 229ff., where he understands the basic meaning of the verb *na de₅.g* "to organize, put in order" (p. 239f.); for a short discussion of the nominal component *na* (perhaps "smoke") see p. 252 there.

For the reading **kur**₇(SIG₅) see Klein, *ibid.* XVII; Peterson 2011, 158. Note also the phonetic writing *kur* for Akk. *napāhu*, "to burn", "to light a fire", which is attested in lexical texts (CAD N/1 263).

For **á-bi-še in-ga-zu** see the commentary to l. 48 above.

102–104: The three-line unit presents a unity of syntax and structure. The 1sg. copula *-me-èn* ends each of the lines. The last line (104) is a kind of refrain recurring in the Šulgi hymns (see further below).

For the professional term **ensi** "seer" in this context see Falkenstein 1966a, 52ff.; Renger 1969, 217f.; Charpin 1986, 382–387; Maul 2003/5, 68. The performance of the divination by the *ensi* (or his Akk. equivalent *šā'ilu*) is also associated with smoking of incense in a censer (see Oppenheim 1956, 221f.; Sallaberger–Vulliet 2003/5, 632f.). The adjacency of l. 102 to the former line 101 is also reflected in the lexical list *Lu* (ll. 19'–24'), discussed by Klein in his mentioned above article.

In addition to his function as the divine patron of the city of Dēr (Temple Hymns ll. 416–424), **Ištaran** is considered to be in Sumerian literature the divine supreme judge of Sumer (*kalam / ki-en-gi*) or all the lands (*kur-kur*), entrusted with doing justice similarly to the Sun god *Utu*; see already Klein 1971, 119 n. 10 and Lämmerhirt 2012, 72f. with nn. 80–82. However, Šulgi is the only human leader to whom this role is attributed (cf. Šulgi hymns B 264; F 25–26; X 142–143; O 138–142).

The well known epithet of Šulgi in l. 104, which recurs in our hymn at least three more times (ll. 145, 177, b10), repeatedly appears throughout the hymns of Šulgi (attested in the following Šulgi hymns D, X; O; F; K; Y; Praise Poem N3130+N3131). Although a variation of this formula already appears in *Ur-Namma A 39* (*sipa zi lug[al] ġiri₂ gal ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄* "The true shepherd, the king, the great sword of Sumer"), it appears as the above fixed formula only in the hymns of Šulgi. To the various contexts in which this line appears within the Šulgi hymns see Klein 1993, 127.

For the three parallel GNs **kalam // kur kur // ki-en-gi**, cf. ll. 137–139 below; Šulgi X 133–134; *Lipit-Eštar A 91–92*. For a literary-geographical analysis of this parallelism see Wilcke 1990, 470f.

105: This line, which expresses the closest relationship of Šulgi with his divine brother Gilgameš, is also documented only in the Šulgi hymns; see l. c10 below; and Šulgi F d14. For the slight variation **šeš gu₅-li-ni en^dgilgameš₂** "lord Gilgameš his brother and friend" see Šulgi D 292 and the refrain of hymn Šulgi O (ll. 50, 86, 139, d6).

Note, that in this case too the formula has an earlier source in the hymns of Ur-Namma. In hymn Ur-Namma A, which describes the death of Ur-Namma and his descent to the nether world, Gilgameš himself is referred to as the ruler of the nether world (l. 95), and the beloved brother for the nether world deity Ereškigala (l. 143): **šeš ki áĝ-ĝá-ni^dgilgameš₃-ra** "For his beloved brother Gilgameš". Note also, that the self-praise hymn Ur-Namma C ends with the justification for Ur-Namma's kingship over Sumer, based on his divine genealogy (ll. 112–114): **šeš^dgilgameš₂ gu-la-me-en** / [dumu] ʾtud¹-da^dnin-sumun₂-ka-me-en numun nam-en-na-me-en / [an]-ta nam-lugal ma-ra-e₁₁¹ "I am the older brother of Gilgameš! I am the son born to Ninsun! I am the seed of the *en*-priesthood! Kingship shone up to me from heaven!". Note further, that Gilgameš is mentioned in the Sumerian royal hymnology only in the hymns of the first two kings of the dynasty, Ur-Namma and Šulgi, as documented here. For the brotherhood relationship between the kings of the Ur III dynasty and Gilgameš see Klein 1976, 271ff.

The phrase **šeš gu₅-li** "brother and friend", which expresses excessive closeness and equality of status, is documented in the Šulgi hymns also in relation to the Sun god Utu; see Šulgi A 79 and B 40, 123 (cf. Klein 1981a, 112). Note finally the phrase: **šeš-a-ne-ne gu₅-li-ne-ne** "his brothers and his friends" in the epics of Lugalbanda - the Mountain Cave and the Anzu Bird. It is interesting to note that the phrase under discussion is parallel to the Akk. *aḫī u ebri*; and the Biblical "אָחֵי וְעֵבְרֵי" (Psalms 122:8).

Finally, the comparison between Šulgi and Gilgameš in this line may be understood both according to its proximity to the preceding ll. 103–104, and also according to its proximity to the following ll. 106–107. In correspondence to ll. 103–105 here, see the following literary unit Šulgi O 138–142: **šul-[gi si]pa zi ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄** / **šeš g[u₅-l]i-ni en^dgilgameš** / ... **dⁱštaran di-ku₅ kalam-ma ti-la** "Šulgi, the right shepherd of Sumer, his brother and friend is the lord Gilgameš, ... Ištaran, judge who lives in the Land". However, in correspondence to ll. 105–108 here, see the following

parallel Šulgi's praise poem N3130+N3131 ii:9': šul-gi sipa zi ki-en-gi-ra-me-èn níĝ-zi ki-bi-šè hu-mu-ĝar-ĝá-ar "I am Šulgi the right shepherd of Sumer, I have always established justice".

106–108: For the contrasting pair **zi-du** and **erim₂-du**, "righteous" and "wicked", see Lämmerhirt 2010, 46f. The phrases **zi-du zu** and **erim₂-du zu** ("to know the righteous" / "to know the wicked") refer to an ideal king as a judge, who is able to distinguish between his just and wicked citizens, and judge them according to their true nature. Additionally, the phrases may also refer to the role of Šulgi to decree true fates (cf. Ur-Namma C 36; Iddin-Dagan A 117–119; Nungal A 78; Proverbs 3.176 etc.).

The idiom **igi-šè dib₍₂₎** ("to pass in front of") was discussed by Sjöberg 1974, 171. Compare the Akk. *italluku* (*alāku* Gt): CAD A/1 324f. sub *alāku* 6 a) to live, act. In similar context cf. Ur-Namma E+F 32: níĝ-erim₂ igi-ni-šè nu-díḫ-bé "Wickedness will not stay/exist in front of him"; and the biblical "התהלך לפני והיה תמים" (Gen. 17 1).

For **hul-ĝál túm/tùm** "to bring misfortune" or "carry off in a bad way" cf. the Akkadian equivalent *lemutta abālu* (CAD L 127), and the lexical reference from MSL IV XI iv 7: *hul.túm* = 'le¹-em-nu-um. Compare also the following references which characterize the lament genre; Ur-Namma A 6: 'uri₅^{1ki}-ma **hul-ĝál im-ši-de₆** "Disaster came upon Urim"; Ur Lament 201: u₄ níĝ ú-gu dé-dé **hul-ĝál-e ba-e-de₆** "The storm that makes anything vanish arrived carried them off in a bad way"; Ninurta C 71: u₄ **hul-ĝál** du-a-gen₇ ki-bal-a ma-da **túm** "(Ninurta) carries off rebel lands and countries like a malicious moving storm".

For the obscure word **NE-ma-a** see already Klein 1981a, 58 n. 140. In parallel context particularly noteworthy is Šulgi D ll. 229, 345: **kur NE-ma** a-ĝi₆ ì-huluh-ha-ta "after he terrified the ...-land by a flood"; for **NE-ma-a túm** comp. the fragmentary text TMH nF 4 (Bernhardt 1961/67), 59 obv. 3'. It seems that NE-ma is an adjective (or adverbial) referring to a negative trait of the noun it qualifies, parallels the idiom hul-(ĝál).

109–110: The parallelism in l. 109 denotes understanding and internalizing alongside an outward expression. In the present context, it is possible to understand the parallelism as complementary (meaning: 'I understand the true nature of a man: what

he thinks and what he says'), while in other contexts the parallelism is contrasting, denoting hidden thoughts as against outward expression (cf. Enlil in the Ekur 20; Ur-Zababa b4, 50, 52; the Curse of Akkad 87, 93a). Interestingly, in Rīm-Sîn G l. 4, which refers to our line, we find the same expression in context of ritual, referring to some gestures of the king towards the gods including directing his intention (his heart) and reciting prayers (his words).

For the phonetic writing *ĝá-ra* (for *ĝar-a*) see l. 95 above. **a-ba-a** is a long form of a-ba "who?" (see Attinger 2021, 106).

búr-búr-bi "their solutions / interpretation" (Akk. *pašāru*), refers to the thoughts and words mentioned in l. 109. Compare the multivalent phrase **inim búr** ("interpreting / expressing words"), referring to various contexts: solving omen (Proverbs from Ur UET 6/2 350 3); interpretation of speech (Rīm-Sîn B 15); expression of words (Bird-Fish 84; the Lord of Aratta 174, [377], 513); revealing of a vision (the Lord of Aratta 368; Inana B 119); and also in a negative context (Enlil in the Ekur 24).

Alternatively, it is not excluded that in this line Šulgi boasts of his ability to dispel spells, just as he is able to perform them. In that case **búr-búr-bi mu-zu** is to be translated: "I know their dispelling"; cf. CAD P 243 sub *pašāru* 12: "to dispel".

114: The two parallel attributes **kù-zu** "wise" and **ĝeštu₂ (daĝal)** "(of broad) understanding" are attested elsewhere several times in reverse order (cf. UET 6/2 310:1; RIME 4.2.13 [20:48], 21:105). However, for **(nam)-kù-zu** meaning "training, guidance" see Šulgi B l. 16: *nam-dub-sar-ra ki nam-kù-zu-ba* "the training place of the scribal art"; and l. 286: *mí šudu₃ šir nam-kù-zu-ĝu₁₀* "my training in hymns, prayers and songs"; see also Šulgi O 8.

For the variant spelling in-ga-me-na-[x] (G) and in-ga-me-e[n- (F) see l. 96 above.

115–116: The tentative reconstruction of l. 115 is based on our reading of Šulgi hymn N3130+N3131 ii:7' as follows: **ĝalga dīm₄ níĝ-sa₆-ge-ra-gen₇ / ka-ga mi-ni-ĝál-ĝá / ĝá-ra mí zi-bi-im hu-mu-du₁₁** "Let praise be sung for me, how my judgement and understanding are placed on the mouth like a *good* thing". The reconstruction of **ĝalga** in l. 115 is based on its parallelism with **dīm₄** (for *dím-ma*) in l. 117 below.

The idiom **ka-ga ĝál** "placed on the mouth/lips" appears frequently in the royal hymns of Šulgi and the kings of Isin, usually refers to *zà-mí, mí* "song of praise" (Šulgi B 130; Iddin-Dagan B 52; Išme-Dagan A+V 383; C 11) or to **níĝ-gen₆-na** "proper speech" (Šulgi B 130; Lipit-Eštar A 88; B 58); or alternatively to *níĝ-lul-la* "false speech" (Šulgi B 187). For other readings of the compound **KA-ga ĝál** see Civil AOAT 25 90f.

Some other possible reconstructions of the beginning of l. 115 could be: *níĝ-gen₆-na* (or: *níĝ-ge-en-na*) "proper matters" or: *inim gen₆-gen₆ (ge-en-gen₆)* "appropriate speech". Alternatively consider also *eme bal-bal-la* "languages and translations"; or *eme kúr-kúr* "the different languages", for which see the Lord of Arrata 153–154: *ĝeštu₂-ge pà-da en eridu^{ki}-ga-ke₄ / ka-ba eme ì-kúr en-na mi-ni-in-ĝar-ra* "(Enki) chosen for understanding, lord of Eridu, placed on their mouth as many various languages as possible".

For the reconstruction of l. 116 compare Sumer-Ur Lament 2, 113: *u₄-dè mar-uru₅-gen₇ téš-bi í-gu₇-e* "The storm devours at once like a tempest"; see also Ninurta D 6. For **UR gu₇** (Akk. *mithāriš akālum*) see Green 1978, 153f.; Michalowski 1989, 70. Note, however, that the reconstruction offered here for line 116 is very uncertain.

117–118: According to Peterson, 2011 159, these parallel lines are related to the role of Šulgi as a spokesman within his kingdom. However, due to their fragmentary state their concrete meaning cannot be sufficiently clarified.

dim₄-ma can be a phonetic writing of *dím-ma* "thought, mind, plan" (Akk. *tēmu*), as in N3130+N3131 ii:7' cited above; compare also Šulgi B 9–10: *á-ni šir-ra silim-éš mu-un-e / dí-ma níĝ sa₆-ga šà-ta DU-a-ni ní-bi ì-buluĝ₅-e* "His own power - he well expresses it in song! His own insight, a good thing from his birth - he boasts in it!".

For the parallelism **dím-ma** (l. 117) // **nam-tar-ra** (118) compare also the variant phrases: *nam-tar (nu)-kúr* and *dím-ma (nu)-kúr* "(do not) change the fate / plan"; see also *Ĥuwawa ver.A 170–171*.

Note, that the reading of l. 118 is based on text E (iii 3), while text I (i' 3) reads **[x x x] x ki-en-gi-ra nam tar-r[a x x x]**; reflecting a closer parallelism between lines 117 and 118 (see Peterson, *ibid*). However, determining fates in the shrine of Ur is

usually attributed to the deities An (Ur-Namma C 19; Sumer-Ur Lament 469; Šu-Sîn E b7); Enlil (Nanna L 40) and Ningal (Nanna E 56).

119: The reconstruction of this line is very uncertain, especially in light of the differences between the two fragmentary variants E iii:4 and I i':3. If our hypothetical reconstruction is right, Šulgi seems to stress in this line that when he receives foreign messengers there is no need for a translator, because he controls several languages. For a structural analysis of this line in the context of the literary unit see above in the introduction to the stanza.

The compound **á è** "to rear, take care of" (Akk. *rubbû*) may also refer to the support and employment of royal officials; cf. the Mountain Cave 63; Hoe-Plough 178.

For the "translator" official (**sukkal**) **eme-bal** see Rubio 2006, 173f.

120–123: In this four-line passage Šulgi boasts of speaking both the language of the Amorite mountaineers and the Elamites just like Sumerian. The phonetic writing **eme-gi** "Sumerian", which is common in texts from the Ur III period, is attested only three times in OB texts, twice here (ll. 120, 122) and in a fragment of proverbs (MS 3370 i:2). The standard writing **eme-gi₇**(ÉŠ) (originated in the Old Akkadian period) characterizes the OB period. Interestingly, text I i 5' (l. 120) reads **eme gi** while I i 7' (122) has **eme gi₇**.

The reading of the compound **silim(DI) du₁₁** was discussed by Rubio, 2006, 168.

The meaning of the unique verb **bu₅.r** (LAGAB×U.U.U) here is obscure; its tentative translation is a guess based on the context. It may represent an unknown phonetic writing of **bu** "take out, send, expel, launch", "to be persecuted, roam around" or the like.

In light of the correspondence between ll. 120 and 122 it could be suggested that the fragmentary part of l. 120 mentioned the tribute brought by the Martu men to Šulgi. The tribute of the Martu, nomadic shepherds, could have been brought from the flock rather than from the grain; cf. the Curse of Agade 46–47. Note also the mention of Martu and Elam together in that order, in the Letter from Šulgi to Išbi-Erra l. 19.

Note that the verbal form in l. 123 was preserved fully only in text A, which reads hu-mu-ni-ne-g[e₄], apparently an error for hu-mu-ne-ni-ge₄ (see l. 121 above).

In the parallel unit passage Šulgi B (ll. 213–215), where Šulgi boasts of having spoken five different languages, the first language which he mentions is Elamite, followed by Sumerian, Meluḥḥan, the Martu tongue (=Amorite) and Subartean. But the reference to the pair Elam and Subir, in this order, is especially common in Sumerian poetry, particularly in the myths and hymns associated with the goddess Inana. It is not inconceivable however that the expected order of these three countries within a literary episode will be as follows: Martu > Elam > Subir (see Edzard 1987/90, 438). If so, we would expect that the following fragmentary passage of our hymn (ll. 125ff.) dealt with Šulgi's knowledge of the language of Subir. It is also possible that in the parallel episode in Šulgi B Elam was "pulled out" of this order and mentioned first because of the reference to Šulgi's war with Elam.

For a comparative reading of these two hymnal passages, as well as the political relationship between the above countries and the Sumerian kingdom at the time of Šulgi, see the discussions in the introduction to the sixth stanza above.

124: Judging from the repeated word *eme* in the beginning of lines 124 and 126, in this heavily damaged passage Šulgi maybe boasts of having controlled two more languages, possibly those of Meluha and Subir or Magan and Meluha.

125: For *ù-ur₅-re* "all this", see Michalowski 1989, l. 462; cf. also Šulgi B 87; the Mountain Cave 303, 315.

For the verb *bu* see l. 122 above. Alternatively see Mittermayer 2019, 276:11.

126: *sur₈* may be a phonetic writing of *sur* "press, drip", said of grains, crops and beverages; see e.g. Šulgi Y 29–30; Dumuzi-Inana B1 32–34 (in context of importing treasures into temples). Alternatively, Römer (1965, 115) connected *sur₈* with the more common reading *zar*, Akk. *šarāru* ("to bundle"). However, reading the sign here as *bu₅.r* (LAGAB×U.U.U) instead of *ZAR* (LAGAB×SUM) is not excluded (cf. l. 122 above). However, the reading and meaning of the line remain obscure.

127: For the plene writings *a-ba-a* ("who") and *a-na-a* ("what") cf. l. 110 above.

128: am-si-har-ra-an-na "camel" (lit. "the elephant of the roads") is mostly attested in the lexical lists (alongside the synonym *am-si-kur-ra* "the elephant of the mountains"); see Horowitz 2008. In Sumerian literature it is attested only twice more in the following fragmentary and obscure passages: In *Dumuzi-Inana P iii:24–25* the shepherd appears also as a camel shepherd, who brings to Inana camel milk, among other things; and in the incantation text *OECT 5* (Gurney–Kramer 1976) 23:14 the priest is instructed to cure the patient by an unknown product (milk or a plant), associated with a camel or named after it. For the identification and etymology of types of camels in ancient Sumer, see already Horowitz 2014; for early evidence for the arrival of camels to Mesopotamia in the third millennium BCE, probably from Iran, see Heimpel 1976/80, 330. In the present context, camels can also hint at the bringing of camel milk to Šulgi from the foreign lands, as a valuable product; or else, the camels mentioned here may refer to convoys of nomads bringing to Šulgi gifts from distant lands.

129–130: For the linguistic and semantic analysis of the compound **ĝešpu₂ lirim₃** Akk. *umāšu u abāru* (translated here as: "athletics and wrestling") see Rollinger 1994, 8f. and 33f.; Vermaak 1993, 65f.; Sallaberger 1993, 178 with n. 838.

The writing *lirim₃(KIB)* for *lirim(ŠU.KAL)* is characteristic of the Ur III orthography (see Klein 1979, 151 n. 10). In the OB literary texts *lirim₃* is attested only four times: twice in our stanza (cf. l. 138 below); once in Šulgi N3130+N3131 ii:8' (mentioned above); and in the *Curse of Akkad* l. 104, where the Ur III version presents *lirim₃* for *lirim* in the main version.

The sign GA preceding *-me-èn* is hardly visible on the original; for the restoration **nita kala-ga** see Klein 1981a, 204. Consider also the alternative restoration **ĝešpu₂ lirim₃-ma x[-bi in]-'ga'²-m[e]-èn** "I am the [...] of both - athletics and wrestling!".

For **šu-si gíd-gíd-da** "very long fingers" see already l. 13 above and Rollinger 1994, 45. Just as Šulgi's fingers hold a weapon in the battlefield in l. 13 above, so they grasp Šulgi's competitors in the wrestling arena; this idea is explicitly expressed in the following line.

For **á dar** see Falkenstein 1956, III 90: "beschlagnahmen", "zurückhalten"; PSD A/2 50f. The phrase is commonly used in legal documents from the Ur III period, and usually refers to grain or slaves. It is attested twice more in OB literary texts, both referring to Šulgi, parallel to our lines. See Šulgi N3130+N3131 ii:8': **ĝešpu₂ lirum₃-ta á ha-ma²-dar²** mí-bi-im hu-mu-du₁₁ "Let praise be sung for me, for how I take hold among the athletics and wrestling!"; See also Letter from Ur-dun to Šulgi 18 (Michalowski 2011, 344f.): ¹usu¹ nu-tuku á dar-ra-bi nu-mu-¹da-ĝar² "Lacking of strength, (that) its grip has not been fixed".

The verbal prefix **in-** is to be analyzed here as a loc. case, referring either to a non-personal object which was presumably indicated in the broken signs of this line (see Sjöberg 1997/98, 285), or to the former line: **ĝešpu₂ lirum₃-ma** "in athletics and wrestling".

131: The **kisal mah** "broad courtyard" refers to the arena near the main gate of the city, or in the temple, where wrestling and competitions were held in festival days; cf. the Marriage of Martu l. 57ff.; the Bull of Heaven (kisal mah/daĝal-la) Na 7', Nb 10, Meturan 15f.; Sumer-Winter. 286–287; and see also l. 136 below. See further discussion by Klein 1997, 107; Cooper 1983, 245; Sallaberger 1993, 178 with n. 838; and in the introduction of the stanza above.

The "broad courtyard" is also the gathering place of the representatives of the foreign lands, near or far from the land of Sumer, who bring to the Sumerian king their precious gifts; compare inter alia Išme-Dagan B 52–53; Enlil in the Ekur 87–91.

For the compound **a ge₄** "to flood", "to wash away" see Waetzoldt 1972, 109 n. 259; Sjöberg, PSD A/1 83 sub **a-gi₄-a** 2. "waterlogged (land)", "swamp". Some versions of the idiom in Sumerian literature mean also "to wash away intensely" or "to repulse, push away", "to resist"; see e.g. Ur Lament 317: še-eb uri₂^{ki}-ma a du₁₁-ga-ĝu₁₀ **a bí-ge₄-a-ĝu₁₀** "O, may brickwork of Ur, irrigated by me, that had been washed away"; Proverbs 11.68: hul-zu **a-ĝi₆ a-ĝi₆** / ¹i₇¹-da-gen₇ / [u]ru-ni-šè **ha-ba-ge₄** "Let your evildoer be washed back into his city as from the flooding of the river"; Lambert 1960, 265:8–9: u[r-saĝ k]ala-ga **a-gi₆-a** gaba **ge₄-ge₄-a** [x us]u-tuku ^dĝeš-bar-ra al-hun-ĝá-e-še = *qar-ra-du-ú da[n-nu-tu . . .] u be-el e-m[u-qí . . .]* "Can strong warriors resist a flood? and mighty men quieten the *fire god*"; Sumer-Ur Lament 76: DU-bi **a-ma-ru** ^den-líl-lá gaba **ge₄ nu-tuku-àm** "Their running is Enlil's flood that cannot be

withstood". For the comparison between the intensity of a battle and flood sweeping see l. 87 above; see also Samet 2014, 116:317. Alternatively, a *ge*₄ may represent a phonetic writing of *á ge*₄ "to resist"; comp. Šulgi G 58, with Klein 1991, 299 n. 38.

132: The parallelism *kalam // kur kur // ki-en-gi* (ll. 132–134) was discussed above in the commentary of ll. 102–104.

133: For **lipiš-tuku** "furious", "desperate one" see Klein 1981a, 91. Note, text G an unusual writing of *lipiš šà.á[B]* (for *áb.šà*; see Mittermayer 2006, 353). *lipiš-tuku* appears in the lexical list OB Nippur Izi (II:415–418) in close proximity to **a-da-mìn** "contest" (see discussion in l. 135 below regarding the word **inbir**). In other Šulgi hymns *lipiš-tuku* refers to Šulgi himself (cf. Šulgi D 20; X 85; C l. c6). Note also the praising formula devoted to Gilgameš (attested the Bull of Heaven 122; *Ḫuwawa* ver.A 132, 166; ver.B 2): *gud lipiš-tuku mē-a gub-ba* "furious bull standing firm in battle".

The poetic ablative phrase **...-ta igi saĝ-ĝá** "selected among the..." was discussed sub l. 59 above.

134: The unique idiom **lú-kar** has usually been interpreted by previous translators of this line, and subsequently also here, as a synonym of the much more common term **lú-kaš₄** "runner, sprinter"; see Rollinger 1994, 44, basing his interpretation on the lexical equation *KAŠ, KAR = lasāmu* (AHw 539). Note however that *lú-kar* is attested once more in Ur-Namma C 37 where it is interpreted as a short form of *lú-kar-ra* "fugitive, runaway".

If this line indeed refers to Šulgi's competition with runners, then this element connects our stanza with the following, in which the theme of 'Šulgi as a sprinter' is developed (cf. the introduction to the seventh stanza). In the context of our stanza, however, Šulgi competes in the wrestling arena against warriors who perform their duty on the battlefield, and therefore they specialize first and foremost as scouts and military messengers; see CAD L 106 sub *lāsīmu* "express messenger, (military) scout".

135: We suggest to understand **š**u here as a defective writing of **šul** "youth"; although there is no other attestation for this reading, it is reinforced by the common literary phrase **šul gaba-ri nu-tuku** "youth who has no rival" (cf. Gudea CylA viii:17; Letter from Nanna-manšum 4; Ninurta C 66–67; Būr-Sîn A 32).

The sign GIGAM(LÚ.^z𒌦) (read here as **inbir**) is clearly visible in text G ii:9 (cf. Mittermayer 2006, 255: Inana C 74 text L). For **inbir** "struggle, contest" (Akk. *ippīru*), beside other readings of the sign, see CAD I/J 164f. sub *ippīru*. See also Al-Fouadi 1976, 8 (VI:10) for the reading LÚ.LÚ = adamin. In a literary context compare the following references: **lú-ù lú-ra** igi mu-un-suh-re **inbir** igi bí-in-du₈-ru "One looks upon another in anger, looking for confrontation" (Inana C 50); **inbir ... nu-tuku** "has no (*rival*) in contest" (ibid l. 74); *qablu u ippīru isinnani* "fighting and struggle are our festivals" (Tukulti-Ninurta Epic ii 4).

136–137: For **kišib-lá** "wrist" (Akk. *rittu*) in similar context see Sjöberg 1973a, 9; Cooper 1973, 129. According to this image Šulgi repulses away the other warriors, who struggle with him both front and back at the same time.

An alternative reading could be **dub-lá** "doorpost", (already suggested by George, 1999, 168), assuming that Šulgi refers here to the arena, where the wrestling events used to take place; cf. l. 131 above, where the competition is said to take place in the *kisal-mah* "the broad courtyard". In that case l. 136 should be translated: "At my doorpost (/ platform) I competed with them all together". This reading can also be confirmed from the Akkadian description of the wrestling between Gilgameš and Enkidu (in the Pennsylvania tablet ll. 218–221//222–226): *iš-ša-ab-tu-ma ki-ma le-i-im / i-lu-du / sí-ip-pa-am i'-bu-tu / i-ga-rum ir-tu-ut* "They grappled each other, bending their backs like a bull, **they smashed the door jamb**, the wall quaked" (translation by George, ibid. pp. 180–181).

For **káb du₁₁** "to test, measure" referring to an examination of physical strength cf. Šulgi A 39: **kaš₄-e kab_x di-dè** "to test the (speed of the) running" (see already Klein 1981a, 209f).

We understand the commutative prefix **-da-**: "all of them", "all together". In a case of reconstructing after **-da-** a non-personal ergative case (**káb mu-da-[ab]-du₁₁**) the line would be translated: "my wrist-gripping tested them all together".

gud dū was assumed by Klein to be a phonetic writing of **gud du₇** "unblemished bull" fit for a cultic sacrifice; or "goring bull" (usually attested: **gud du₇-du₇**), see Klein 1990, 124.

Note, that the literary phrases **gud du₇-du₇-dam/-gen₇** "it is (like) a goring bull"; **am (gal) du₇-du₇-(gen₇)** "(like) a goring (great) wild bull" are often used as an image of a massive wave of water pouring into a river to fill it. See e.g. the description of the barge pushing powerfully into the Tummal-Canal in Šulgi R 60: **gud dū-gen₇** saĝ mu-ni-īb-ī[ī]¹-īl¹ gú mi-ni-īb-mar-m[ar] "Like a goring bull, lifting its head, fattening its neck". The latter rendering can be confirmed from the fragmentary lines Šulgi O d12–13, that may be restored as follows (referring to ll. 136–137 here): **kišib-lá-zu-ù** x [...] / **am du₇-du₇-gen₇** [...] "[*You tested them...*] by your gripping wrist; [*pushed them away...*] like a goring wild bull!"

Unlike the more common literary expression **dúr-bi-šè gi₄** "returning to its lair/habitation", which likewise expresses an animal's gesture, the phrase **dúr-bi-ta ge₄** is unique, for in this case **dúr** refers to the bull's hind leg, and the verb **ge₄**, means here "**to push, repulse**", just like in l. 131 above. Accordingly, lines 136–137 depict Šulgi repelling his attackers both from front and back, like a bull in the wrestling arena using its four limbs.

If this interpretation of the line is correct, then the image of the bull in the Akkadian Gilgameš epic quoted above can also be interpreted in a slightly different way from that of George: George understood the Akkadian verb *lādum* as describing bull's kneeling forward by stretching its front legs forward in preparation for goring (ibid. p. 191); whereas in the present context, *lādum* (in the basing meaning "bending, knee folding"; see George, there) seems to describe the bull bending its front legs and leaning forward as he kicks its opponent by its hind legs.

138–140: The parallel terms **ĝešpu₂** // **lirum₃**, already discussed sub l. 129 above, are repeated here in a chiasmic order: **lirum₃** // **ĝešpu₂^{pú!}**.

According to Sallaberger (1993, 178 n. 838; so also Rollinger 1994, 9 n. 9), the common writing of **ĝešpu₂** "athletics" or the like in the Ur III period included the phonetic complement **ba** (or: **pá**): **ĝešba₂^{ba}** (ŠU.PAP.PAP.BA), which is absent from the Old Babylonian spelling. Note however that both forms **ĝešpu₂** (l. 129) and **ĝešpu₂^{pú!}** (139) are attested at the same text (text G).

The syllabic writing *ù-su* for *usu*(Á.KAL) (in: **ù-su-tuku** Akk. *bēl emûqi* "powerful, strong") is already attested in some Old Akkadian administrative texts and dominates the hymns of Šulgi; see already Klein 1985, 15* with n. 40; Lämmerhirt 2012, 81 n. 132. Similarly to **ù-su-tuku** ("the one who has power"), **á-ġál** is also used here as a noun: "the strong one"; cf. l. 55 above where the idiom is used as an adjective "strong, firm".

The conjugated verbal form **ì-me-nam** (text G ii 12–13) preserves here a defective, archaic, writing of the standard OB *ì-me-en-nam*; see Klein 2005, 141.

The self-praise declaration **lú nu-mu-da-sá** "the one that none rivals" appears three times in Šulgi D ll. 14, 36, 61, in the form of the rhetorical question: *a-ba an-ga-a-da-sá* "who rivals you?"; see Klein 1981a, 91 and above in the introduction of the stanza.

144: For the image **du₁₀ ba₉** "running" (lit. "open knee"), which is taken from the animal world, see Sjöberg, PSD B 34; idem, 1960, 51f.; Falkenstein 1959, 37f.; Veldhuis 2004, 134f. (for another reading of the compound see Rollinger 1994, 22f.). The poetic image in this context could be the likening of Šulgi to the Sun god, who leaps like a deer and a goat over the mountains (cf. Utu B 5–6; the Lord of Aratta 316), or preferably to the Anzu-bird, an eagle soaring across the sky. For the latter image see already Klein 1981a, 210 for Šulgi A l. 45: *anzu^{mušen} kur-bi-šè igi íl-la-gen₇ du₁₀-ġu₁₀ hu-mu-ba₉-ba₉* "Soaring like the Anzu-bird as it casts its gaze over the mountain". See further the following references: Uruk Lament e20; Gudea CylB i:8–9; Ur-Namma B 24; Nanše C 29; Enlil in the Ekur 27. A parallel idiom used in similar context is **á ba₉** "spread wings, hover" (PSD B 31f.; cf. Ninurta G 67–68; Gudea CylA xxvii:19; and the parallel Šulgi V 17–18).

Interestingly, this image which opens the seventh stanza, refers again to the light-footed, undefeated athlete in the arena (cf. Marriage of Martu 69, 72; Inana C 139). Hence, it may be assumed that the seventh stanza, in continuation to the previous one, further developed Šulgi's athletic skills, at this time in the running sport.

For **ki ġiri₃ gub** "foothold" cf. the OB attestations in a Hymn to Mrduk (ETCSL 2.8.5.b) ll. 13, 28; and the lexical list Nippur Nigga (MSL 13 112:577).

165–166: For the still visible signs in these two lines see the possible parallel context in Sumer-Ur Lament 39: *kaskal-la ĝiri₃ nu-ĝá-ĝá-dè har-ra-an nu-kíĝ-kíĝ-dè* "That no one would be setting foot on the road, that no one would be searching the highway" (compare also the Mountain Cave 46; Man and his God 53–54). However, regarding the preserved signs in l. 165, the reading **šubtum** (KASKAL.TÚL/TÚL) (see Mittermayer 2006, n. 272) cannot be excluded.

Further alternative readings of the sign KIN (l. 166) could be *gur₁₀* and *saga₁₁*, assuming the underlying idiom *ĝiri saga₁₁* "to trample (by the legs)" or "to move the legs"; see Šulgi A 28: *ĝiri₃ hu-mu-gur kaskal kalam-ma-ke₄ si hé-mi-sá-sá* "I carried my legs, proceeding along the land's road". In this case **ĝiri₃ gur** may be represent a phonetic writing of **ĝiri₃ gur₁₀(KIN)** (cf. Klein 1981a, 191, 207).

167–168: For the parallelism **en // engar(-mah)** ("lord" // "(supreme) farmer") as royal epithets cf. Šu-Sîn C 18–20: "You are a lord!" // "you are 'the supreme barley carrier' farmer!" (see also Shaffer 1974, 253). Note, that both epithets appear in proximity also in the fragmentary text of Šulgi Z b6–7; although it is not certain if it is referring to Šulgi himself or his worker.

For the royal epithet **engar-mah** see Falkenstein 1959, 52–53; Flückiger-Hawker 1999, 296: 19–20; and cf. l. 170 below. For the ritual aspect of this epithet relating to the cultic service in the temple in Nippur, see above in the introduction of the stanza; and note further the devine epithet of Ninurta **engar-zi^d en-líl-lá** "the right farmer of Enlil" (see Falkenstein, *ibid.* 102; Civil 1994, 98). Similarly, the expression **gana₂ zi** probably refers to lands cultivated by royal irrigation canals; see Stol 1976/80, 364; Powell 1973, 183.

It is not excluded, that **engar-mah** refers to the longer epithet (accusative) form **engar (še)-mah (de₆)** "farmer (in charge of carrying) supreme (crop)"; similarly, it is not excluded that **engar-zi** refers to the longer epithet **engar (gana₂)-zi (ú/še mú)** "Farmer (in charge of growing crop from the) true / cultivate (arable land)".

Note finally the two parallel poetic phrases from the Ur-Namma hymns **engar zi gana₂ daĝal-la** (G 19–20) and **engar gana₂ zi-dè** (A 24). Hence, the beginning of l. 168 seems to refer to a poetic phrase originating in the hymns of Ur-Namma, according to which the king, in his greatness, is revealed as a farmer carrying a

thriving grain (Ur-Namma G), but in his death he is likened to a farmer whose years of calamity have destroyed his crop (Ur-Namma A).

169: Abundance (**hé-ĝál**) sent from heaven (**an**), usually referring to the rain which enriches the earth with a crop, is attested in several Sumerian compositions (see e.g. Šulgi F e7–8; Enlil in the Ekur 144–147; EWO 90–91; Bau A b4). For **giri₁₇-zal** as parallel of **hé-ĝál**, indicating the greening of the soil and the ripening of the grain, see Sjöberg 1962, 1f.; idem, 1970/71, 169. Compare also Šulgi V ll. 22, 26–27 (quoted above) with commentary by Klein 1985, 27*:10, 29*:22. However, in one case the abundance is being delivered from heaven to enrich both the grain and the sheep (Grain-Sheep 51–54).

171: For the reconstruction of 1sg enclitic copula following 1sg poss.-suffix, see ll. 53 and 103 above.

172: This line describes the sunrise in the morning. The opposite expression **^dutu é-a-ni-šè igi ĝá** "The Sun turned his eyes toward his home", describes the sunset in the evening, and more precisely: the second half of the day when the sun is inclined to the west, from noon to evening; compare Šulgi A (ll. 75–76): **^dutu é-a-ni-šè igi ì-ĝá-ĝá-dè / kaskal 15 danna-àm šu hu-mu-ni₁₀-ni₁₀** "I traversed a 15-*danna*-way while the Sun turned his eyes toward his home".

However, since l. 173 Šulgi refers to the double way that Šulgi crossed on that day, back and forth, we accordingly assume that l. 172 also refers to a full day course of the sun, and not only of the first half of the day. If this assumption is correct, then the more accurate meaning of **^dutu é-a-ni-ta è** is not the 'sunrise', but the duration of a full day, as long as the Sun stays outside his house.

173: In this line Šulgi refers to the duration of his entire double trip (i.e. Nippur–Ur–Nippur), which covered a distance of 30 *dannas*. For the Sumerian unit of length *danna* (Akk. *bēru*) see Falkenstein 1952, 89; Powell 1978/90, 467 and in the introduction above. The syllabic writing **da-na** dominates the Ur III period, in contrast to the spelling found in the Old Babylonian period: *danna*(KAS.GÍD). The only

other OB source known to preserve da-na is the Praise Poem of Šulgi (N3130+N3131 ii:11'), probably as a paraphrase to this stanza; for which see the introduction above.

174–175: The reconstruction of these lines is uncertain; however, compare the parallel episode in the second half of Šulgi A (ll. 50 and 96) which is dedicated to the celebration of the *ešeš*-festival by Šulgi in the Ekišnuġal temple in Ur, in the second half of the day; see Klein 1981a, 212; Falkenstein 1952, 82; and the introduction above. For the shining appearance of the Ekišnuġal within the Land cf. the Ur Temple Hymn, ll. 109–111.

The reading of the traces in line 174 follows Šulgi A 58–59, which refer to the ritual performed by Šulgi in the Ekišnuġal, just before his returning to Nippur (see Klein 1981a, 212): **du₁₀ hé-ni-dúb** a zal-le hé-ni-tu₅ / du₁₀ hé-ni-gam ninda hu-mu-ni-gu₇ "(The palace) where I *bowed down* and bathed in ever-flowing water, where I kneeled down and feasted".

176–178: In these lines Šulgi describes the grand musical concert, which accompanied his entrance to the Ekišnuġal temple and his worship there. For a similar but succinct description of the same event see Šulgi A 81.

The musical instrument **si-EZEN** has been extensively discussed by Klein regarding its attestation later in the hymn (Šulgi C b77; see Klein 1980, xxvif.), alongside a discussion of its possible uses within ritual music. For its possible practical uses (while playing string instruments) see further Krispijn 1990, 4; Kilmer 1995/97, 471. Later in the hymn si-EZEN also appears in close proximity to the **a-da-ab** instrument? (maybe among other instruments), and to the verbal compound **ad ša₄** "resonate".

For the phonetic writing **ad ša** see l. 38 above. For the use of -*íb-* in the prefix chain of the verb (so text J(Ia); E presents -*ib-*), as a practice of the archaic Ur III orthography, see Klein 1985, 36*.

Note that we interpreted the terms *tigi a-da-ab* and *ma-al-ga-tum* as denoting musical elements. It cannot be excluded that these terms refer here to musical performers (Michalowski 2019), or, as more often, to literary genres, i.e. types of hymns (for the latter see e.g.: Ur-Namma A 187; Šulgi B 157; Šulgi E 22, 53; Išme-

Dagan A+V 335 and Šulgi C b76); see Lämmerhirt 2012, 11 n. 85; see also Michalowski 2019, 454ff., for "The adab and the tigi".

179–180: The phonetic writing **gu-ul** is a variant of gal "enlarge, increase, multiply". The (restored) compound **níĝ gal/gu-ul** usually describes the abundance due to the king with the divine choice (cf. Šulgi B 190, 192; Šulgi R 47; Šulgi X 124); or the bringing of abundance and grandiose gifts into the Sumerian temples (cf. Gudea CylB ii:12–13; Šulgi E 184–185). Especially interesting is the comparison to Enlil in the Ekur (ll. 51–54) which mentions the celebrations of an agricultural festival held in Enlil's temple in Nippur: ezen ì gár sù **hé-ĝál-la** du₈-a / ĝeš-hur-bi **giri₁₇-zal šà húl-la** di-bi **níĝ gal-gal-la-kam** / u₄ šú-uš ezem-ma u₄ zal-le buru₁₄ mah-àm / é^den-líl-lá kur hé-ĝál-la-kam "The festival - where fat and cream overflowed and plenty was distributed - whose organization is cheerful and heart-pleasing and whose arrangement is enriching; which is celebrated during the day and abounds in harvest until the evening; which is a mountain of abundance in Enlil's temple".

Peterson (2011, 161) restored the threefold repetition of the verbal root; for this phenomenon in general see Attinger 1993, 187f.; Klein 1985, 18* with n. 58; see also ĝá-ĝá-ĝá in lines 39 and 75 above. Note, that the threefold verbal root is generally attested in a nominal verbal form, while the verbal particle gu-ul is commonly attested in the conjugated form of the verbal compound níĝ gu-ul (with a few exceptions: Šulgi B 192: níĝ gu-ul-gu-ul-lu-ĝá; and Šulgi X 124: níĝ gu-la-àm).

Alternatively, gu-ul may also be a phonetic writing of gul "destroy"; for which see Klein 1981a, 106; Attinger 2019a, 74. For Šulgi as a destroyer of foreign lands and cities see Falkenstein 1961, 145f.

For sù "to load, to be full" see l. 3 above. Compare the following parallels: húl-húl-le **šà IGI guru₆ sù-me-èn** "You are the joyful one, (having) heart full (with) insight!" (Šulgi U 11); igi-zu ní gal ĝur-ru **šà-zu me-lem₄ sù** "Your eyes are charged with awe, your heart is charged with splendour" (Temple Hymns 368).

It may be accordingly suggested, that these two fragmentary lines included a verbatim quote of the song sung and played in honor of Šulgi during the ešeš-celebrations at the temple; compare the following reference, Šulgi D ll. 364–368: šul-g[i sipa zi] ki-en-g[i-ra-ke₄] **ĝiri₃-ni ba₉-[]** / ĝeš^šgu-za x [x] dúr ba-an-[ĝar] / **si-im á-lá-e** šeg₁₂ mu-na-^rab¹-ge₄ / **tigi šir-[re-ěš]** mu-na-ab-[du₁₁] / lugal-ĝu₁₀ x [x kur]-kur

mu-gul x [x] iri mu-DU-DU / ... "Šulgi the right shepherd of Sumer ... whose knee is wide open (in running) / (thereafter) he took seat upon the [lofty] throne / the *sim*-instrument and *ala*-drum resounded for him / the *tigi*-instrument? played a song for him: "My king, you have destroyed the foreign land, you have plundered cities". Compare also the last episode of Šulgi A ll. 93–100, quoted above in the introduction, and especially l. 99: ^dšul-gi **kur gul-gul kalam ge-en-ge-en** "Šulgi! Destroyer of the foreign lands! The fortifier of the Land!".

2.3.4. Score

- 1** **lugal-me-èn am á pà-da-me-èn piriĝ ka du₈-ha-me-èn**
 A i 1 lugal-me-èn am á pà-da-me-èn / piriĝ ka du₈-ha-me-èn
 B i 1 lugal-me-èn am á pà-da-me-èn piriĝ ka du₈-ha-me-èn
 Ba i 1 [l]ugal-me-èn am á pà-da-m[e-x x x x x x]
- 2** **šul-gi-me-èn am á pà-da-me-èn piriĝ ka du₈-ha-me-èn**
 A i 2 šul-gi-me-èn am á pà-da-me-èn / piriĝ ka du₈-ha-me-èn
 B i 2 šul-gi-me-èn am á pà-da-me-èn piriĝ ka du₈-ha-me-èn
 Ba i 2 [š]ul-gi-me-èn am á pà¹-[x-x-x x x x x x]
- 3** **u₄ gal an-ta šu ba-ra-gen₇ me-lem₄ sù-sù-me-èn**
 A i 3 u₄ gal an-ta šu ba-ra-gen₇ / me-lem₄ sù-sù-me-èn
 B i 3 u₄ gal an-ta šu ba-ra-gen₇ me-lem₄ su₁₃¹-su₁₃¹-me-èn
 Ba i 3 [x] ¹gal an-ta¹ [x x x x x x x x]
- 4** **a zi gud-ninda₂ a ru-a-gen₇ saĝ bar ġùn-ġùn-me-èn**
 A i 4 a zi gud-ninda₂ a ru-a-gen₇ / saĝ bar ġùn-ġùn-me-èn
 B i 4 a zi gud-ninda₂ a ru-a-gen₇ saĝ bar ġùn-ġùn-me-èn
- 5** **lugal áb-šilam₂³⁷³-e tu-da ì gara₉(GA)-a ne-ha-me-èn**
 A i 5 lugal áb-šilam₂-e tu-da / ì gara₉(GA)-a ne-ha-me-èn
 B i 5 lugal áb-šilam₂-e tu-da ì gara₉(GA)-a ne-ha-m[e-è]n
- 6** **amar áb babbar₂-ra ġú peš-ša tùr-ra buluĝ₃-ĝá-me-èn**
 A i 6 amar áb babbar₂-ra ġú peš-ša / tùr-ra buluĝ₃-ĝá-me-èn
 B i 6 amar áb babbar₂-ra ġú peš-ša tùr¹-ra buluĝ₃-ĝá-[x-x]
- 7** **tu₉-ba₁₃ kún-kún mu₄ ù-luh-ha sù-sù KA-KA-e du₇-me-èn**
 A i 7 ¹tu₉-ba₁₃¹ kún-kún mu₄¹ ù-luh-ha sù-s[ù] / x-KA-e du₇-me-è[n]
 B i 7 tu₉-ba₁₃ kún-kún mu₄ ù-luh-ha sù-sù KA-KA-¹e¹ du₇-me-èn
- 8** **sipa zi níĝ-si-sá-da húl-la**
 A i 8 [x z]i níĝ-si-sá-da húl-la
 B i 8 sipa zi níĝ-si-sá-da húl-la
- 9** **níĝ-erim₂-ma usan₃ bar-ús-bi ĝe₂₆ in-ga-me-èn**
 A i 9 [x-er]im₂-ma usan₃ bar-ús-b[i] / [x] ¹in¹-ga-me-na[m]
 B i 9 níĝ-erim₂-ma usan₃ bar-ús-bi ĝe₂₆ in-g[a]-me-èn

³⁷³ šilam- (TÜR×MAŠ).

- C i 1 n[íĝ-x-x x x x x x x x x]
- 10 á piriĝ huš ur-saĝ mè-a gaba-ri nu-tuku-me-èn**
- A i 10 [x x h]uš ur-saĝ mè-¹a / [x]-¹ri[?] nu-tuku-me-è[n]
- B i 10 á piriĝ huš¹ ur-saĝ mè-a gaba-ri nu-tuku-[x-x]
- C i 2 á ¹piriĝ¹ h[uš x x x x x x x x]
- 11 zà sa₆-sa₆ piriĝ šu zi-ga ^{ĝeš¹}tukul¹-e[?] hé-du₇-me-èn**
- A i 11 [x x x pir]iĝ šu zi-ga / [x x x h]é-du₇-me-èn
- B i 11 zà sa₆-sa₆ piriĝ ¹šu¹ zi-ga ^{ĝeš¹}tukul¹-e[?]¹³⁷⁴ hé¹-du₇¹-me-èn
- C i 3 zà ¹sa₆-sa₆ piriĝ[?] [x x x x x x] / hé-¹du₇¹-[x-x]
- 12 šita₂ za-gìn ĝeš-silig-ga šu du₈**
- A i 12 [x x x x-s]ilig-ga šu du₈
- B i 12 šita₂ za-gìn ĝeš-silig-ga šu du₈
- C i 4 šita₂ za-gìn [x x x x]
- 13 šu-si gíd-gíd níĝ-kéš bad-bad ĝiri₂ an-na ¹ù-sar¹-AK¹-me-èn**
- A i 13 [x x x] x-¹kéš¹ [b]ad-bad / [x x x x-x-x]-¹me¹-èn
- B i 13 šu-si gíd-gíd níĝ-kéš bad-bad ĝiri₂ an-na ¹ù¹-sar¹-AK¹-me-èn
- C i 5 šu-si gíd-gí[d x x x x x x] / ¹ù¹-x-x-[x-x]
- 14 alim¹-huš mè gaba-ĝál-¹bi¹**
- B i 14 alim¹-huš mè gaba-ĝál-¹bi¹³⁷⁵
- C i 6 alim¹-huš m[è[?] x x x]
- 15 šen-šen-na eme¹ sù-sù-e-me-èn**
- B i 15 šen-šen-na eme¹ sù-sù-e-me-èn
- C i 7 ¹šen[?]-šen[?]¹-x [x x x x x x]
- 16 muš-huš kur-re eme¹ è-dè-me-èn**
- B i 16 muš-huš kur-re eme¹ è-dè-me-èn
- 17 ušumgal lú-¹šè[?] gú kúr di-me-èn**
- B i 17 ušumgal lú-¹šè[?] gú kúr di-me-èn
- 18 ur-saĝ-me-èn mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-éš hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne**
- B i 18 ur-saĝ-me-èn mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-¹dè-éš¹ hé-¹em¹-pà-pà-dè-ne
- 19 sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne**
- A ii 1 sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ / hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne

³⁷⁴ ĝeš¹tukul¹-la[?] is not excluded.

³⁷⁵ Copy: -l[a] or -b[i] or the like. Klein collated from the source: -bi¹.

- B i 19 sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul-¹an¹-gen₇ hu-mu¹-ni-gú-un-gú-ne
20 zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šir-re-ěš hé-em-e-ne
A ii 2 [x]-¹mí¹ gal-gal ka-ge du₇-me-èn / [x-r]e-ěš hé-em-e-ne
B i 20 zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šir-re-ěš [x x x x]
- 21 nam-lú-a mu-e₁₁-dè-na-ta**
A ii 3 n[am[?]-l]ú[?]-a mu-e₁₁[!]-dè-na-ta
B i 21 nam-lú-a mu-e₁₁-dè-na-ta
C ii 1 nam-lú-¹a mu-e₁₁[?]-dè¹-[x-x]
- 22 amar gud mu hé-ĝál-la-ka tu-da**
A ii 4 a[mar x m]u hé-ĝál-la-ka tu-da
B i 22 amar gud mu hé-ĝál-la-ka ù-tu
C ii 2 amar gud mu hé-ĝá[l]-la-ka t[u-x]
- 23 u₄ nam-he du₁₀-ga ga zi gu₇-a-me-èn**
A ii 5 [x x-h]e du₁₀-ga ga zi gu₇-a-me-èn
B i 23 u₄ nam-he du₁₀-ga ga zi ¹gu₇¹-a-me-èn
C ii 3 u₄ nam-he du₁₀-ga ga z[i x x x x]
- 24 saĝ-ĝu₁₀ men-na dalla im-ma-ni-è**
A ii 6 s[aĝ[?]-ĝ]u₁₀ men-na dalla im-ma-ni-è
B i 24 saĝ-ĝu₁₀ men-na dalla im-ma-ni-è
C ii 4 saĝ-ĝu₁₀ men-na dalla i[m[?]-x-x-x]
- 25 uru-ĝu₁₀^dutu-gen₇ ba-ta-è-èn šà-ba ki bí-lá**
A ii 7 u[ru[?]-ĝ]u₁₀^{d1}utu-gen₇ ba-ta-UD.¹DU-èn¹ / [x-b]a ki bí-lá
B i 25 uru-ĝu₁₀^dutu-gen₇ ba-ta-è-èn šà-ba ki bí-lá
C ii 5 uru-ĝu₁₀^dutu-gen₇ ba-ta-UD.[DU-x x x x x x]
- 26 é-temen-ní-guru₃ me ki ús-sa**
A ii 8 [x-t]emen-ní-guru₃ me ki ús-sa
B i 26 é-temen-ní-guru₃ ¹me ki¹ ús-sa
C ii 6 é-temen-ní-gùr-¹ru^{1?} [x x x x]
- 27 gug-a nam-nun-né mu-ni-íb-si-nam**
A ii 9 [Z]A.GUL-a nam-nun-né mu-ni-íb-si-nam
B i 27 gug-a nam-nun-né mu-ni-íb-si-nam
C ii 7 gug-a nam-nun-né ¹mu[?]-[x-x-x-x]
- 28 saĝ-ĝu₁₀ sub₆(TAG) šu-luh nam-lugal-lá-ka šu gal mu-ni-du₇**

- A ii 10 saĝ-ĝu₁₀ sub₆(TAG) šu-luh nam-lugal-lá-ka / šu gal mu-ni-du₇
- B i 28 ʿsaĝ¹-ĝu₁₀ sub₆(TAG) šu-luh nam-lugal-lá-ka šu gal mu-ni-du₇
- C ii 8 saĝ-ĝu₁₀ sub₆(TAG) š[u-x x x x x] / ʿšu gal¹ [x x x]
- 29 eridu^{ki}-ta a nam-išib-ba-ka ní-ĝu₁₀ mi-ni-dadag**
- A ii 11 eridu^{ki}-ta a nam-išib-ba-ka / ní-ĝu₁₀ mi-ni-dadag
- B ii 1 ʿeridu^{1ki}-ta a nam-išib-ba-ʿka¹ ní-ĝu₁₀ mi-ni-ʿdadag¹
- C ii 9 eridu^{ki}-ta a ʿnam^{1?}-[x-x-x x x x x x]
- 30 ĝeštu₃ imin-bi mu-da-su₈-su₈-ge-éš³⁷⁶**
- A ii 12 ĝeštu₃ imin-bi mu-da-sug_x(LAH₄-LAH₄)-sug_x(LAH₄-LAH₄)-ge-éš
- B ii 2 ĝeštu₃ imin-bi mu-da-su₈-su₈-ge-éš
- C ii 10 ĝeštu₂ ʿimin¹-[x x x x x x x]
- 31 šà¹-tu₉-ba₁₃-lá hi-li ĝùr-ĝùr-me-èn ĝá-la nu-mu-un-ta-dag-ne**
- A ii 13 [x-x-b]_{a13}-lá hi-li ĝùr-ĝùr-me-èn / [x x] nu-mu-ta-dag-ne
- B ii 3 šà¹-tu₉-ba₁₃-lá hi-li ĝùr-ĝùr-me-èn ĝá-la nu-mu-un-ʿta¹-dag¹-ge¹-ne
- C ii 11 [š]à[?]-ʿtu₉[?]-ba₁₃-lá [x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]³⁷⁷
- D i 1 [x x x x x x x x]-ʿme[?]-è[n[?] x x x x x x x x x]
- 32 ur-saĝ-me-èn mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-éš hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne**
- A ii 14 ʿur¹ < >
- B ii 4 ur-saĝ-me-èn mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-éš hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne
- D i 2 [x-sa]ĝ-ʿme-èn¹ mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-éš hé-[x-x-x-x-x]
- 33 sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne**
- A ii 15 sipa < >
- B ii 5 sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne
- D i 3 [PA].LU-me-èn šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-[x-x-x-x]
- 34 zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šìr-re-éš hé-em-e-ne**
- A ii 16 zà < >
- B ii 6 zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šìr-re-éš hé-em-e-ne
- D i 4 zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šìr-re-[x x x x x]

³⁷⁶ A has mu-da-LAH₄-LAH₄-LAH₄-LAH₄-ge-éš.

³⁷⁷ The scribe wrote on the middle of the left edge of text C three damaged signs opposite to ll. 12–13, and one or two signs opposite to l. 22 (reverse):

x [] / x [] / x []

(N has: x x / ʿnam^{1?}-ra / ba[?]-mu[?])

ú-ru

(So N, ŠIM cannot be excluded. In N this gloss of two signs seem to be written to the left of the beginning of the second line of the obverse, on the same level).

- 35 **é ġeštu₃ igi-ġál kalam-ma-ka**
 A ii 17 é ġeštu₃ igi-ġál kalam-ma-ka
 B ii 7 é ĠEŠ.ʽPIʽ.ʽTÚG igi-ġál kalam-ma-ka
 D i 5 é ġeštu₃ ʽigi-ġál kalam^{ʽ1}-[x-x]
- 36 **šul-gi lugal ki-en-gi-ra-me-èn umun₂ zi ak-me-èn**
 A ii 18 šul-gi lugal ki-en-gi-ra-me¹-èn / umun₂ zi ak-me-èn
 B ii 8 šul-gi lugal ki-en-gi-ra-me-èn umun₂ zi ak-me-èn
 D i 6 [š]ul-gi lugal ki-en-[x-x-x-x x x x x x]
- 37 **šu-ġu₁₀-ù ge kù-ga si mi-ni-íb-sá**
 A ii 19 šu-ġu₁₀-ù ge kù-ga si mi-ni-íb-sá
 B ii 9 šu-ġu₁₀-ù ge kù-ga si mi-ni-íb-sá
 D i 7 [š]u-ġu₁₀-ù ge kù-ga s[i^{ʽ?} x x x x]
- 38 **ní-ġar se₁₁(SIG)-a-da gù di-di**
 A ii 20 ní-ġar se₁₁(SIG)-da gù di-di
 B ii 10 ní-ġar se₁₁(SIG)-a-da gù di-di
 D i 8 ʽní¹-ġar se₁₁(SIG)-a-da [x x x]
 E i 1 [x x x x x x] ʽdi¹-[x]
- 39 **kúr-kúr-ra ad ša ġá-ġá-ġá**
 A ii 21 [x-x-r]a ʽad ša¹ ġá-ġá-ġá
 B ii 11 kúr-kúr-ra ad ša ġá-ġá-ġá
 D i 9 [x]-kúr-ra ad [x x x x]
 E i 2 [x x x] ʽad¹ ša ġá-ʽġá¹-[x]
- 40 **ʽmu₇^{ʽ?}-mu₇¹ sá ak gu-gen₇ ʽsi¹-il-si-lí-bi**
 níġ-gur₁₁ an-ga-lam-ma-šè dal-la-bi
 A ii 22 [x] x ʽsá¹ ak / [x x x x x x x / x x x x x x x x x x]
 B ii 12 ʽKA×?-KA×?^{ʽ378} x x gu¹-ge[n₇] ʽsi¹-il-si-lí-bi
 [x x x-x-x]-ʽma-šè¹ dal-la-bi
 E i 3 [x-m]u₇ sá ak gu-gen₇ ʽsi¹-i[l-x-x-x]
 níġ-gur₁₁ an-ga-lam-ma-šè dal-[x-x]
- 41 **[du₆] kù gana₂ kù-ga éš za-gìn a-šà-ge ra-ra-da**
 B ii 13 ʽkalam^{ʽ379} gana₂¹ kù-ga ʽéš¹ za-gìn a-šà-ge ra-ra-da

³⁷⁸ Klein: ʽKA×?-KA×?^{ʽ1}. See however Lugale 118 (inim du₄-ga).

³⁷⁹ So copy.

- E i 4 x kù gana₂ kù-ge éš za-gìn a-ʽšà-ge¹ [x x x]
- 42 buru₁₄ hé-ĝál-la šu íl-íl-da**
- A iii 1 buru₁₄ [x x x x í]l-ʽíl-da¹
- B ii 14 buru₁₄ hé-ĝál-la šu íl-íl-da
- E i 5 buru₁₄ hé-ĝál-la šu ʽíl-íl¹-l[í^{ʽ380}-x]
- 43 gu saĝ še saĝ-ĝá káb¹ di-bi**
- A iii 2 gu saĝ ʽše saĝ-ĝá káb¹ di-bi
- B ii 15 gu saĝ še saĝ-ĝá káb¹ di-bi
- E i 6 gu saĝ še saĝ-ĝá káb¹ di-[x]
- 44 al^{ĝeš} ù-šub á-ba ĝeš ĝá-ĝá ĝeš-hur uš ki tag**
- A iii 3 al^{ĝeš} ù-šub á-ba ĝeš ĝá-ĝá / ĝeš-hur uš ki tag
- B ii 16 al^{ĝeš} ù-šub á-ʽba¹ ĝeš ĝá-ĝá ĝeš¹-hur uš ki tag
- E i 7 al^{ʽĝeš?} ù-šub á-bi ĝeš ĝá-ʽĝá¹ ĝeš-hur uš ki t[ag]
- 45 maš-dara₃ ki-gal-lum-ma saĝ-tag-ga šu gal du₇-a-me-èn**
- A iii 4 maš-dara₃¹(ŠE.DARA₃) ki-gal-lum-ma / saĝ-tag-ga šu gal du₇-a-me-èn
- B ii 17 maš-dara₃¹(ŠE.DARA₃) ki-gal-lum-ma saĝ-tag-ga šu gal du₇-a-me-èn
- E i 8 maš-dara₃ ki-gal-lum-ma x[?] saĝ-tag-ga šu gal du₇-a-[x-x]
- 46 dub za-gìn-na pa mu-ni-è**
- A iii 5 dub za-gìn-na pa mu-ni-è
- B ii 18 dub za-gìn-na pa mu-ni-è
- E i 9 dub za-gìn-na pa mu-ni-U[D.DU]
- 47 šID níĝ-šed ĝeš-hur kalam-ma-ka**
- A iii 6 šID níĝ-šed ĝeš-hur kalam-ma-ka
- B ii 19 šID níĝ-šed ĝeš-hur kalam-ma-ka
- E i 10 šID níĝ-šed ĝeš-hur kalam-ma-k[a]
- 48 igi-ĝál šúm-mu-bi á-bi-šè in-ga-zu**
- A iii 7 igi-ĝál šúm-mu-bi / á-bi-šè in-ga-zu
- B ii 20 igi-ĝál šúm-mu-bi á-bi-šè in-ga-zu
- E i 11 igi-ĝál šúm-mu-bi á-[b]i-šè in-ga-[x]
- 49 ur-saĝ-me-èn mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-éš hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne**
- A iii 8 ur < >
- B ii 21 ur-saĝ-me-èn mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-éš hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne

³⁸⁰ Or ʽíl-íl-i¹-[x].

- E i 12 'ur¹-saĝ-me-èn mu-ĝu₁₀ z[i-d]è-ěš hé-em-p[à-x-x-x]
- 50 sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne**
- A iii 9 sipa < >
- B ii 22 sipa-me-èn šudu₃¹-da¹ mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-ne
- E i 13 [x].¹LU-me-èn¹ šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ h[u]-mu-ni-in-gú-u[n-x-x]
- 51 zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šir-re-ěš hé-em-e-ne**
- A iii 10 zà < >
- B ii 23 zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šir-re-ěš hé-em-e-ne
- E i 14 [x x] gal-gal ka-ge¹ du₇-ĝu₁₀ ši[r]-¹re-ěš[?] hé[?]¹-e[m[?]-x-x]
- 52 inim sa₆ nundum-ma-na ti-la-me-èn**
- A iii 11 inim sa₆ nundum-ma-n[a x x x x]
- B ii 24 inim sa₆ nundum-ma-na ti-la-me-èn
- E i 15 [x s]a₆[?] ¹nundum¹-ma-na t[i-x-x-x]
- 53 šà-ĝu₁₀ dub gal-gal ĝeš-h[ur kalam-ma zu-me-èn]**
- A iii 12 šà-ĝu₁₀ dub gal-gal ĝeš-h[ur x x x x x]
- E i 16 [x-ĝ]u₁₀[?] ¹dub¹ gal-gal ĝ[eš-x x x x x x]
- 54 inim-ma muš-bi dù-¹a[?] [x x x]**
- A iii 13 inim-ma muš-bi dù³⁸¹-¹a[?] [x x x]
- 55 di á-ĝál-la-ta 'lú[?] [nu-kar] á-bi-šè in-ga-¹zu¹**
- A iii 14 di á-ĝál-la-ta 'lú[?] x [x] / á-bi-šè in-ga-¹zu¹
- 56 'pu¹-hu-ru-um^{ki} ad mah ge₄-ge₄-da**
- A iii 15 'pu¹-hu-ru-um^{ki} ad mah ge₄-ge₄-da
- 57 ùĝ saĝ gi₆ gú si-a-¹ĝá¹**
- A iii 16 ùĝ saĝ gi₆ gú si-a-¹ĝá¹
- 58 sukkal-e inim kur-kur-ra ĝeš¹ la-la-da-bi**
- A iii 17 sukkal-e inim kur-kur-ra / ĝeš¹ la-la-da-bi
- 59 'inim¹ zu unken-ta igi saĝ-ĝá**
- A iii 18 'inim¹ zu unken-ta igi saĝ-ĝá
- 60 gud saĝ-ki g[ù[?]] du₁₁ téš-šè tag-¹tag-ga[?]¹-[da-gen₇]**
- A iii 19 gud saĝ-ki g[ù[?]] du₁₁ téš-šè tag-¹tag-ga[?]¹-[x-x]
- 61 gaba-ri inim-ma 'i¹-[pà-dè]**
- A iii 20 gaba-ri inim-ma 'i¹-[x-x]

³⁸¹ Written over an erasure.

- 62** **gud-gen₇ gù nun [di-da-me-èn]**
 A iii 21 gud-gen₇ gù nun [x x x x]
- 63** **e-re-bu-¹um¹ x [x x x]**
 A iii 22 e-re-bu-¹um¹ x [x x x]
- 64** **ka-làl¹ x [x x x x x]**
 A iii 23 ka-làl¹ x [x x x x x]
 (lacuna of ca. 8 lines)
- 73** **[x x x] x x x ¹šà-ĝu₁₀¹ x x**
 A iv 1 [x x x] x x x ¹šà¹-ĝu₁₀ x x
- 74** **[unken-na ĝizz]al_x² hé-em-ga-àm-ši-in-ak-ak-ěš**
 A iv 2 [x x ĝizz]al_x² hé-em-ga-àm-ši-in-ak-ak-ěš
- 75** **[nam]-sipa nam ku₅-rá-né-e ¹di¹ zi ĝá-ĝá-ĝá in-ga-me-na-ta**
 A iv 3 [x]-sipa nam ku₅-rá-né-e / ¹di¹ zi ĝá-ĝá-ĝá in-ga-me-na-ta
- 76** **ì-sì kalam ge-né é ki-bala tùm-tùm á-bi-šè in-ga-zu**
 A iv 4 ì-sì kalam ge-né é ki-bala tùm-tùm / á-bi-šè in-ga-zu
 F i 1 ¹ì²-sì² kalam ¹ge¹-né é k[i-b]ala [x x] / á-bi-šè in-¹ga¹-[x]
- 77** **níĝ-ge-ge-na-aš gud gal-gal-gen₇ á im-ši-ni-dab₅-ba-àm**
 A iv 5 níĝ-ge-ge-na-aš gud gal-gal-gen₇ / á im-ši-ni-dab₅-ba-àm
 F i 2 níĝ-ge-ge-na-aš gud gal-gal-gen₇ ¹á¹ [x x x x x x]
- 78** **níĝ-erim₂-šè muš ki súr-ra-gen₇ eme ¹im²-šì¹-U[D.DU-da-àm]**
 A iv 6 n[íĝ-N]E.RU-šè muš ki ¹súr-ra-gen₇¹ / eme ¹im²-šì¹-U[D.DU-x-x]
 F i 3 níĝ-erim₂-šè muš ki súr-ra-gen₇ eme x [x x x x]
- 79** **lú si sá-ra la-ba-ta-an-ul₄-u[l₄-e-me-èn]**
 A iv 7 lú [x x x x x x x x x x x x]
 F i 4 lú si sá-ra la-ba-ta-an-ul₄-u[l₄-x-x-x]
- 80** **lú á zi-ga-ra la-ba-ta-ni₁₀-n[i₁₀-me-èn]**
 A iv 8 l[ú] ¹á² zi²-ga²-ra² la²¹-[x-x-x-x-x-x]
 F i 5 lú á zi-ga-ra la-ba-ta-ni₁₀-n[i₁₀-x-x]
- 81** **ur-saĝ-me-<èn> ¹mu¹-ĝ[u₁₀ z]i-dè-[ěš] hé-em-pà-pà-dè-[ne]**
 A iv 9 ur < >
 F i 6 ur-saĝ-me-en ¹mu¹-ĝ[u₁₀ z]i-dè-[x] / hé-em-pà-pà-dè-x
- 82** **sipa-me-<èn> ¹šudu₃¹-da mul-an-g[en₇] hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-[ne]**
 A iv 10 sipa < >

- Fi 7 sipa-me-en ʃsudu₃¹-da mul-an-g[en₇] / hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-[ne]
- 83** ʃzà¹-mí gal-gal ʃka¹-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šir-re-éš hé-em-e-[n]e
- A iv 11 zà < >
- Fi 8 ʃzà¹-mí gal-gal ʃka¹-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ / šir-re-éš hé-em-e-[n]e
- 84** **mas-sú ki-en-gi-ra tí-la-me-ʃèn¹**
- A iv 12 mas-sú ki-en-gi-ra tí-la-me-ʃèn¹
- E ii 1 [x x x-x-g]i²-ra² t[i²-x-x-x]
- Fi 9 mas-su ʃki¹-en-gi-ra tí-la-me-ʃen¹
- Gi 1 mas-sú ki-en-gi-r[a x x x x]
- 85** **ĝeš-hur sá ak-a kíĝ-ĝá-me-èn**
- A iv 13 ĝeš-hur sá ak-a kíĝ-ĝá-me-èn
- E ii 2 [x x x x]-a kíĝ-ĝ[á-x-x]
- Fi 10 ĝeš-hur¹ ʃsá¹ ak-a kíĝ-ĝá-me-en
- Gi 2 ĝeš-hur sá ak-a k[íĝ-x-x-x]
- 86** **iri ma-da ki-bal gú-erim₂-ma mu-da-gub-ba-ĝu₁₀-šè**
- A iv 14 iri ma-da ki-bal gú-erim₂-ma / mu-da-gub-ba-ĝu₁₀-šè
- E ii 3 [x x-d]a ki-bal ʃgú¹-NE.ʃRU-ma¹ [x x x x x x]
- Fi 11 iri ʃma¹-da ʃki-bal¹ gú-erim₂-ma mu-da¹-gub-ba-ĝu₁₀-šè
- Gi 3 iri ma-da ki-ba[l g]ú-erim₂-ma m[u-x-x-x-x-x]
- 87** **mè-ĝu₁₀ a-ma-ru-kam ság nu-um-ši-íb-èn**
- A iv 15 mè-ĝu₁₀ a-ma-ru-kam / ság nu-um-ši-íb-èn
- E ii 4 [x-ĝ]u₁₀ a-ma-ru-kam ság nu-[x-x-x-x]
- F (line omitted)
- Gi 4 mè-ĝu₁₀ a-ma-ru-ʃkam¹ ság nu-um-ʃši¹-[x-x]
- 88** **zi-zi-ga sig-ta niĝin₂-na-ĝu₁₀ lú ù-ma-ši-ge**
- A iv 16 zi-zi-ga sig-ta niĝin₂-na-ĝu₁₀ / lú ù-ma-ši-ʃge¹
- E ii 5 [x-z]i-ga sig-ta ʃniĝin₂-na¹-ĝu₁₀ l[ú x x x x]
- Fi 12 zi-ʃzi¹-ga sig-ta niĝin₂-ʃna-ĝu₁₀ lú¹382 ù¹-um-ta-ge
- Gi 5 ʃzi¹-zi-ga sig-ta niĝin₂-na-ĝu₁₀ lú IGLD[IB-x-x-x]
- 89** **inim ge-en en-na ma-NE-NE**
- E ii 6 [x g]e-en en-na ʃma²¹-NE-[x]
- Fi 13 inim ʃge-en¹ en-na ma-NE-NE

³⁸² lu₇ (ĜIŠGAL) is not excluded.

- G i 6 inim ʽge-en¹ en-na ma-NE-[N]E
- 90 é-gal mah ki nam tar-re-ĝá**
- E ii 7 [x-ga]l mah ki nam tar-re-ĝ[áʽ]
- F i 14 ʽé¹-gal mah ki nam tar-re-ĝá
- G i 7 é-ʽgal¹ mah ki ʽnam¹ tar-r[e-ĝ]áʽ
- 91 sila₄ dadag-ga šu ù-mu-ni-ʽti¹**
- E ii 8 [x] dadag-ga šu ù-mu-ni-ʽti¹ʽ
- F i 15 sila₄ dadag-ga šu ù-ma-ni-ʽti¹
- G i 8 sila₄ dadag-ga ʽšu ù-mu¹-ni-[t]i
- 92 zi-da á gáb-bé-e níĝ-sa₆-ga ma-ʽab²¹-de₆³⁸³**
- E ii 9 [x-d]aʽ ʽá¹ gáb-ʽbé²-e²¹ níĝ-sa₆-ga [x x x]
- F i 16 zi-da á¹ gáb¹-bé-e níĝ-sa₆-[x] x-ʽab²¹-de₆
- G i 9 zi-da ʽá gáb¹-bé-e níĝ-ʽsa₆¹-ga ma-a[b²-d]e₆ʽ
- 93 ĝeš^sgu-za mah-ĝu₁₀-ù a-ba-da-ab-niĝin₂-né-[èn]**
- E ii 10 ʽĝeš^sgu-za mah-ĝu₁₀ a-ba¹-da-ab-[x-x-x]
- F i 17 ʽĝeš^sgu-za mah-ĝu₁₀-ù a-ba-d[a-x-x-x]
- G i 10 ʽĝeš^sgu-za mah-ʽĝu₁₀-ù²¹ a-ba-da-ab-niĝin₂-né-[x]
- 94 ĝeš^stukul sàg-ga ĝeš^stukul nu-sàg-ga-ba**
- E ii 11 ʽĝeš^stukul sàg-ga ʽĝeš^stukul¹ nu-sàg-ga-[x]
- F i 18 ʽĝeš^stukul sàg-ga ʽĝeš^stukul nu-sàg-ʽga-ba¹
- G i 11 ʽĝeš^stukul ʽsàg-ga ʽĝeš^stukul nu-sàg-ga-ba
- 95 é ki-tuš ki ĝá-ra-ĝu₁₀-ta mu-zu**
- E ii 12 ʽé¹ ki-tuš ki ʽĝar¹-ra-ĝu₁₀-t[a x x]
- F i 19 é ki-tuš ki ĝ[á]ʽ¹-ʽra¹ʽ-[x-x x x]
- G i 12 é ki-tuš [k]i ĝá-ra-ĝu₁₀-ta mu-zu
- 96 šà-ta^dnin-tur₅ gal-zu níĝ-nam-ma in-ga-me-na-ta**
- E ii 13 [š]à-ta^dnin-tur₅¹ gal-zu níĝ-ʽnam-ma¹ [x x x x x]
- F ii 1 šà-ta^dnin-tur₅ gal-z[u x x x] / in-ga-me-en-n[a-x]
- G i 13 šà-ta^dnin¹-tur₅ gal-zu níĝ-nam-ma in-ga-me-na-ta
- 97 uzu-ga ki dadag-ga-ba ĝiškim mu-ni-zu**
- E ii 14 [u]zu-ga ʽki¹ UD.ʽUD-ga-ba¹ ĝiškim mu-n[i-x]
- F ii 2 uzu-ga ki dadag-ga-ba IGI.ʽDUB¹ [x x x]

³⁸³ Or ma-ʽDU¹-DU.

- G i 14 uzu-ga ki¹ dadag-ga-ba ģiškim mu-ni-zu
- 98 saġ bulu_x(BUL)-e ki-sá nu-sì-ge-bé-e en-nu im-ma-ak-e-èn**
- A v 1 [x x x x x] x-[x-x-x]-¹e¹ / [e]n?¹-¹nu¹? im-ma-ak-[x-è]n²
- E ii 15 ¹saġ bulu_x(BUL)¹-e ¹ki-sá¹ n[u²-s]i²?-ge-bé en-nu-x [x x x x x]
- F ii 3 saġ bulu_x(BUL)-e ki-sá nu-sì-ge-bé-¹e¹ / en-nu-ùġ im-ma-ak-e-x
- G i 15 saġ bulu_x(BUL)-e ki-sá nu-sì-bé-e en-nu im-ma-ak-¹e¹-èn
- 99 en muš níġ-nam bur_x(PÚ)-bur_x(PÚ)-re-me-èn**
- A v 2 e[n m]uš níġ-nam bur_x(PÚ)-bur_x(PÚ)-re-me-è[n]
- E ii 16 en ¹muš níġ¹-n[a]m-ma bur_x(PÚ)-bur_x(PÚ)-¹re¹-m[e-x]
- F ii 4 en muš níġ-nam-ma bur_x(PÚ)-bur_x(PÚ)-re-me-en
- G i 16 en muš níġ-nam bur_x(PÚ)-bur_x(PÚ)-re-me-èn
- 100 šà dab-ba-ġu₁₀-ta ġe₂₆ im-ta-DU.DU-¹ú¹**
- A v 3 ¹šà dab-ba¹-ġu₁₀-ta ġe₂₆ im-ta-DU.DU-¹ú¹
- E ii 17 ¹šà dab²-ba¹-ġu₁₀-ta ġe₂₆-e im-ta-[x-x-x]
- F ii 5 šà dab-ba-ġu₁₀-ta ġe₂₆-e im-ta-DU.DU-ù
- G i 17 šà dab₅-ba-ġ[u₁₀-t]a ġe₂₆ im-ta-DU.DU-ú²
- 101 ì-SUD¹ níġ-na ri-ga kur₇¹-re á-bi-šè in-ga-zu**
- A v 4 ì-¹SUD²?¹ níġ-na ri-ga kur₇¹³⁸⁴-re / á-[x-š]è in-ga-zu
- E ii 18 [x]-SUD níġ-na ri-ga kur₇¹³⁸⁵-re á-b[i-x x x x]
- F ii 6 ì-¹SUD níġ¹-na ri-ga kur₇¹³⁸⁶-re á-bi-šè in-ga-zu
- G i 18 ¹i¹-SUD níġ-¹na¹ ri-ga kur₇¹³⁸⁷-re á-bi-šè in-ga-zu
- 102 igi-ġu₁₀-ta ensi kalam-ma-me-èn**
- A v 5 igi-[x-t]a ensi kalam-ma-me-èn
- E ii 19 [i]gi-ġu₁₀-ta ensi kal[am-x-x-x]
- F ii 7 igi-ġu₁₀-ta ensi kalam-ma-me-en
- G i 19 igi-ġu₁₀-ta ensi kalam-ma-me-èn
- 103 šà-ġu₁₀^dištaran kur-kur-ra-me-èn**
- A v 6 šà-¹ġu₁₀¹ ^dištaran kur-kur-ra-me-èn
- E ii 20 x-¹ġu₁₀¹ ^drKA¹.DI kur k[ur-x-x-x]
- F ii 8 šà-ġu₁₀^dištaran kur-kur-ra-me-en

³⁸⁴ IGLPI×NU/BAD.

³⁸⁵ Traces seem to have IGLPI +an AŠ under the PI.

³⁸⁶ IGLAŠ.ERIM.

³⁸⁷ IGLPI.

- G i 20 šà-ĝu₁₀ ^dištaran kur-kur-ra-^rme-èn¹
- 104** **šul-gi sipa zi ki-en-gi-ra-me-èn**
- A v 7 šul-g[i] ^rsipa¹ zi ^rki¹-en-gi-ra-me-èn
- E ii 21 [x]-gi ^rsipa[?] zi[?] [x-x]-^rgi¹-[x-x-x]
- F ii 9 šul-gi sipa zi ki-en-gi-ra-me-en
- G i 21 šul-g[i] sipa zi ki-en-gi-ra-^rme-èn¹
- 105** **šeš gu₅-li-ĝu₁₀ ^dgilgameš₂³⁸⁸-gen₇**
- A v 8 šeš ^rgu₅¹-li-ĝu₁₀ ^dgilgameš₂[!]-gen₇
- F ii 10 šeš gu₅-li-ĝu₁₀ ^dgilgameš₂-gen₇
- G i 22 šeš ^rgu₅¹-[l]i-ĝu₁₀ ^dgilgameš₂-gen₇
- 106** **zi-du mu-zu erim₂-du mu-zu**
- A v 9 zi-^rdu¹ mu-zu erim₂-du mu-zu
- F ii 11 zi-du mu-zu erim₂-du mu-zu
- G i 23 [x x] mu-zu erim₂-du ^rmu¹-zu
- 107** **zi-du si sá-àm igi-ĝu₁₀-šè in-dib-e**
- A v 10 zi-^rdu¹ si sá-àm igi-ĝu₁₀-šè in-dib-e
- F ii 12 zi-du si sá-àm igi-ĝu₁₀-šè in-dib-e
- G i 24 [x x] ^rsi[?] sá-àm¹ igi-ĝu₁₀-šè i[n-x]-e
- 108** **erim₂-du lú hul-ĝál NE-ma-a bí-in-túm-mu**
- A v 11 erim₂-du lú hul-ĝál / NE-ma-a bí-in-túm-mu
- F ii 13 erim₂-du lú hul-ĝál NE-ma-a bí-in-túm-m[u]
- G i 25 [x] x x hul-[ĝ]ál NE-ma-a bí-i[n-x-m]u
- 109** **šà-ge du₁₁-ga eme-a ĝá-ra-a**
- A v 12 šà-ge du₁₁-ga eme-a ĝá-ra-a
- F ii 14 šà-ge du₁₁-ga ^reme¹-a ĝá-ra-a
- G i 26 [x x d]u₁₁[?]-g[a[?]] eme-a ĝá-ra-^ra¹
- H i' 1 [x x x x] ^reme[?]-a[?] [x x x]
- 110** **a-ba-a ĝe₂₆-gen₇ búr-búr-bi mu-zu**
- A v 13 a-ba-^ra¹ [ĝ]e₂₆-gen₇ búr-búr-bi mu-zu
- F ii 15 a-ba-a ĝe₂₆-gen₇ búr-búr-bi mu-^rzu¹
- G i 27 [x x x] x-^rgen₇ búr¹-búr-^rbi mu-zu¹
- H i' 2 [x x x x x bú]r-búr-bi [x-x]

³⁸⁸ ĞIŠ.BÍL.GA.MÈŠ (cf. Borger 2003, p. 485 sub gilgameš).

- 111 **ur-saĝ-me-<èn> mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-éš hé-em-pà-pà-d[è-ne]**
 A v 14 ur < >
 F ii 16 ur-saĝ-me-en mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-¹éš / hé¹-em-pà-pà-d[è-x]
 G i 28 [x x x x] x x x-[d]è²-éš hé-em-pà-IGI.¹RU¹-x-x
 H i' 3 [x x x x x x] zi-dè-éš hé-[x-x-x-x-x]
- 112 **sipa-[me-èn] šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-gú-un-gú-n[e]**
 F ii 17 sipa šudu₃-da mul-an-[x] / hu-mu-ni-gú-un-g[ú-x]
 G i 29 [x x x x x x]-x-¹gen₇ hu¹-[m]u-¹ni¹-gú-u[n-x-x]
 H i' 4 [x x x] mul-an-gen₇ šudu₃-da³⁸⁹ / [x-x-x]-in-gú-un-gú-n[e]
- 113 **zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šir-re-éš hé-em-e-ne**
 F ii 18 zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝ[u₁₀] / šir-re-éš hé-em-e-ne
 H i' 5 [x x x x x]-¹ge¹ du₇-ĝu₁₀ šir-re-éš h[é-x-x-x]
- 114 **'kù-zu' ĝeštu₃' daĝal in-ga-me-na-[ta]**
 F ii 19 'kù-zu¹ ĝeštu₂ daĝal in-ga-me-e[n-x-x]
 H i' 6 [x x ĜEŠ.TÚG].PI daĝal in-¹ga¹-me-na-[x]
- 115 **[ĝalga-ĝu₁₀ níĝ-sa₆-ga-gen₇] ka-ga hé-ni-ĝál-[ĝá]³⁹⁰**
 H i' 7 [x x x x x] x ka-ga hé-ni-ĝál-[x]
 I i' 1 [x x x x] x x [x x x x x]
- 116 **[níĝ-du₁₁-ga-ĝu₁₀] 'im²-ma²-gen₇' téš-bi 'î¹-[gu₇-ù]**
 E iii 1 [x x x x x x té]š²-¹bi¹ [x x x]
 H i' 8 [x x x x i]m²-¹ma²-gen₇' téš-bi 'î¹-[x-x]
 I i' 2 [x x x x] 'im¹²-x-[x x x x x]
- 117 **[x x ki]-en-gi-'ra' dim₄-¹ma' hé-me-è[n]**
 E iii 2 [x x x-x]-¹gi²-ra¹ dim₄-¹ma¹ hé-me-è[n]
 I i' 3 [x x] x-en-gi-¹ra¹ x x [x x x]
- 118 **[x x éš ŠEŠ].UNUG^{ki}-ma nam tar-ra hé-me-è[n]**
 E iii 3 [x x x x].UNUG^{ki}-ma nam tar-ra hé-me-è[n]
 I i' 4 [x x x] x^{ki}en-gi-ra nam tar-r[a x x x]
- 119 **[sukkal eme-bal] á la-ba-a-è-d[è]**
 E iii 4 [x x x] á la-ba-a-è-d[è]
 I i' 5 [x x] x ¹ENGUR¹? á³⁹¹ téš-ba a¹-UD¹.D[U-x]³⁹²

³⁸⁹ Collated by Klein, based on collation from the original (copy has šudu₃-[]).

³⁹⁰ It is most likely that H i' 7-8 are overlapping I i' 1-2, however the traces were too poorly preserved to be certain. Hence it is not excluded that texts H and I are two fragment of one tablet.

- 120** [eme ma]r-dú níĝ eme gi-ra-gen₇ hé-èn-g[a-zu-àm]
 [x x] x lú kur-ra hur-saĝ-ta DU-DU-¹a¹ x-x
 A vi 1 [x x x x x x x / x x x x x] /
 [x x] x ¹lú² kur¹[-x] / [x-sa]ĝ-ta DU-D[U-x x x]
 E iii 5 [x x] x níĝ eme gi-ra-¹gen₇ hé-èn-g[a-x-x] /
 [x x x] x kur-ra hur-saĝ-ta DU-DU-¹a¹ x x
 I i' 6 [x ma]r-dú níĝ eme gi-ra-gen₇ hé-[x-x-x-x] /
 [x x] x lú kur-ra hur-saĝ-ta DU-[x-x x x]
- 121** [silim h]a-ma-né-éš eme mar-dú-a inim hu-mu-ne-ni-g[e₄]
 A vi 2 [x h]a-ma-né-éš / [x] mar-dú-a inim hu-mu-ne-ni-g[e₄]
 E iii 6 [x x x x x x x]-¹dú¹-a inim hu-mu-¹ne-(x)²-ni¹-[x]
 I i' 7 [x x-m]a-né-éš eme mar-¹dú¹-a ¹inim¹ h[u²-x-x-x-x]
- 122** [em]e elam níĝ eme gi-ra-gen₇ hé-èn-ga-zu-àm
 [x x lú] ¹elam¹ki-ma ¹nidba² ENGUR² ma²¹-bu₅-bu₅-re-éš
 A vi 3 [em]e elam níĝ eme gi-ra-gen₇ / hé-èn-ga-zu-àm /
 [x x x] ¹elam¹ki-ma / PAD.¹d²INANA² ENGUR²¹ [m]a²-bu₅-bu₅-re-éš
 E iii 7 [x x x] ¹eme¹ gi-ra-gen₇ ¹hé-èn¹-[x-x-x] /
 [x x x x x x] ¹PAD.²d²INANA²¹ x ¹ma²¹-[x-x-x-x]
 I i' 8 [x el]am² ¹níĝ¹ eme gi₇-¹ra-gen₇ hé¹²-è[n²-x-x-x] /
 [x x x] ¹elam²¹-x-x x x [x x x x x x]
- 123** silim ha-ma-né-éš eme elam-ma inim hu-mu-ni-ne-ge₄
 A vi 4 silim ha-ma-né-éš / eme elam-ma inim hu-mu-ni-ne-ge₄
 E iii 8 ¹silim¹ [x x x x x x x h]u-m[u-x-x]-x
- 124** em[e x x x x x x inim] ù-mu-¹ge₄²¹
 A ¹eme¹ < >
 E iii 9 em[e x x x x x x x] ù-mu-¹ge₄²¹
- 125** ù-ur₅-[re x x x x x x] mu-ni-bu
 E iii 10 ù-ur₅-[re x x x x x x] mu-ni-bu
- 126** eme-ĝ[á² x x x x x] ù-bí-sur₈-sur₈-¹ù¹
 E iii 11 eme-ĝ[á² x x x x x] ù-bí-sur₈-sur₈-¹ù¹

³⁹¹ Or KA.

³⁹² Seems to present [x x] x ¹ENGUR¹? á?(or: ĝù?) téš-ba a¹-UD¹.D[U-x] : "??... and force (or: voices?) are? coming out altogether".

- 127³⁹³ **a-ba-a [ĝe₂₆-gen₇ x x x] 'a¹-na-a ì-gu₇-¹e¹**
 x x [x x x x x] x 'gu₇¹-ù
- E iii 12 a-ba-a [ĝe₂₆-gen₇ x x x] 'a¹-na-a ì-gu₇-¹e¹
 x [x x x x x x] x 'gu₇¹-ù
- G ii 1 [x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]
 x x³⁹⁴ [x x x x x x x x]
- 128 **am-si-'har-ra²-an²-na²'¹ [x x šu bal ba-ni-ìb]-ak**
- G ii 2 am-si-'har-ra²-an²-na²'¹ [x x x x x x]-ak
- 129 **ĝešpu₂ lirim₃-ma [nita kala]-'ga²¹-m[e]-èn**
- G ii 3 ĝešpu₂ lirim₃-ma x [x]-'ga²¹-m[e]-èn
- 130 **sipa-me-èn šu-si gíd-gíd-da-[ĝu₁₀] x 'á¹ in-dar**
- G ii 4 sipa-me-èn šu-si gíd-gíd-da-[x] x 'á¹ in-dar
- 131 **kisal mah-a ki mē-gen₇ 'a¹-[ĝu₁₀ b]a²-ni-ge₄**
- G ii 5 kisal mah-a ki mē-gen₇ 'a¹-[x b]a²-ni-ge₄
- J i 1 'kisal¹ [x x x x x x x x x]
- 132 **ur-saĝ ga[l]-gal kala[m-m]a-ke₄-ne**
- G ii 6 ur-saĝ ga[l]-gal kala[m-m]a-ke₄-ne
- J i 2 ur-saĝ 'gal²¹-[x x x x x]
- 133 **kala-ga lipiš-tuku kur-kur-ta [i]gi saĝ-ĝá-ne**
- G ii 7 kala-ga ŠÀ.Á[B]³⁹⁵-tuku kur-kur-ta [i]gi saĝ-ĝá-ne
- J i 3 kala-ga ÁB.'ŠÀ¹-[x x x x x x x]
- 134 **lú-kar ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄-ne**
- G ii 8 lú-kar ki-en-gi-ra-ke₄-ne
- J i 4 lú-kar 'ki¹-[x-x-x-x-x]
- 135 **šu gaba-ri inbir nu-'tuku¹-ne**
- G ii 9 šu gaba-ri inbir nu-'tuku¹-ne
- J i 5 šu gaba-ri [x x x x]
- 136 **kišib-lá-ĝu₁₀-¹ù¹ káb mu-da-[an]-'du₁₁¹**
- G ii 10 kišib-lá-ĝu₁₀-¹ù¹ káb mu-da-[x]-'du₁₁¹

³⁹³ The overlap between E iii 13 and G ii 1 is not binding; it is not impossible that there was another line between the last preserved line of E iii and the first one of G ii. In that case l. 128 will be numbered as l. 129, and so on.

³⁹⁴ Traces (G ii 1) may be: 'lú²¹ x.

³⁹⁵ For ŠÀ.ÁB as an unusual form of LIBIŠ(ÁB.ŠÀ) see Mittermayer 2006, 353.

- J i 6 kišib-lá-ĝ[u₁₀-x x x x x x]
- 137 gud dù-gen₇ dúr-bi-ta mu-[g]e₄-eš**
- G ii 11 gud dù-gen₇ dúr-bi-ta mu-[g]e₄-eš
- J i 7 gud d[ù][?]-x x [x x x x x]
- 138 lirim₃-ta ù-su¹-tuku ì-me-nam**
- G ii 12 lirim₃-ta ù-su¹-tuku ì-me-nam
- J i 8 lirim₃-¹ta¹ x [x x x x x]
- 139 ĝešpu₂^{pú¹}-ta á-ĝál ì-me-nam**
- G ii 13 ĝešpu₂^{pú¹}-ta á-ĝál ì-me-nam
- J i 9 ¹ŠU¹.X-x-x [x x x x x]
- 140 šul-gi 'sipa zi' ki-en-gi-ra-me-èn lú nu-mu-'da'-sá-me-èn**
- G ii 14 šul-gi ¹PA¹.LU ¹zi¹ ki-en-gi-ra-me-èn / lú nu-mu-¹da¹-sá-me-èn
- J i 10 x [x x x x x x x x x x x x x x]
- 141 'ur-saĝ¹-me-èn mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-eš hé-[em-pà-pà-dè-ne]**
- G ii 15 ¹ur-saĝ¹-me-èn mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-dè-eš hé-[x-x-x-x-x]
- 142 sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-i[n[?]-g]ú[?]-un-gú-ne**
- G ii 16 sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul-an-gen₇ hu-mu-ni-i[n[?]-g]ú[?]-un-gú-ne
- 143 zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šir¹-re-¹és[?] hé-em-me-ne**
- G ii 17 zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šir¹-re-¹és[?] hé-em-me-ne
- 144 du₁₀ ba₉-ba₉ ki [ĝi]ri₃ 'gub[?] [s]a₆-me-en**
- G ii 18 du₁₀ ba₉-ba₉ ki [ĝi]ri₃ ¹gub[?] [s]a₆-me-en
(lacuna of ca. 19 lines)
- 164 [x x x] x x [x x x x x x x x]**
- E iv 1 [x x x] x x [x x x x x x x x]
- 165 [x] x 'kaskal LAH₄[?] x [x x x x x x x]**
- E iv 2 [x] x ¹kaskal LAH₄[?] x [x x x x x x x]
- 166 [x] kíĝ-kíĝ-da 'si¹ x [x x x x x x x]**
- E iv 3 [x] kíĝ-kíĝ-da ¹si¹ x [x x x x x x x]
- 167 en kur DU.DU NE[?] [x x x x x x x]**
- E iv 4 en kur DU.DU NE[?] [x x x x x x x]
- 168 engar-mah gana₂ zi-[dè x x x x-me-èn]**
- E iv 5 engar-mah gana₂ zi-[x x x x x x x]
- 169 an-né hé-ĝál 'giri₁₇[?]-[zal x x x x] KA lú 'nu[?] [x x x x x x]**

- E iv 6 an-né hé-gál ʾgiri₁₇[?]-[x x x x x] / KA lú ʾnu[?] [x x x x x x]
- 170** šul-gi sipa zi k[i[?]-en-gi-ra-me-èn]
- E iv 7 šul-gi sipa zi k[i[?]-x-x-x-x-x]
- 171** ʾur¹-saĝ šu ra-ĝu₁₀ ʾá[?] x [x x x x-me-èn]
- E iv 8 ʾur¹-saĝ šu ra-ĝu₁₀ ʾá[?]³⁹⁶ x [x x x x x x]
- 172** ^dutu é-ʾa¹-ni-ta UD[?]. [DU x x x x x x]
- E iv 9 ^dutu é-ʾa¹-ni-ta UD[?]. [DU x x x x x x]
- 173** kaskal da-na 30 ì-kaš₄-še-[èn x x x x x x]
- E iv 10 kaskal da-na 30 ì-kaš₄-še-[x x x x x x x]
- 174** [kal]am-ma ʾèš[?] é-ki[š-nu-ĝál-la x x x-šè]
- E iv 11 [kal]am-ma ʾèš[?] é-ki[š-x-x-x x x x x]
- 175** x du₁₀ im-mi-dúb¹ x [x x x x x x]
- E iv 12 x du₁₀ im-mi-dúb¹ x [x x x x x x]
- 176** x ge[?] si-EZEN x [x x x x x]-ʾMU¹
- E iv 13 x ge[?]³⁹⁷ si-EZEN x [x x x x x]-ʾMU¹
- J ii 1 [x x x x x x x x x]-ʾMU¹
- 177** [BALAG.LU]L[?] a-da-ab m[a[?]-al-ga-tum] x x-éš
- E iv 14 [x] x a-da-ab x [x x-x]-šè
- J ii 2 [x x x x x x x] x-ʾni[?]-šè¹
- 178** [x x x] x ʾa-da-ab[?] ad¹ ma-ni-íb-ša-an
- E iv 15 [x x x] x ʾa-da-ab[?] ad¹ ma-ni¹-ib-ʾša¹-an
- J ii 3 [x x x x x x x m]a[?]-ni-íb-ša-an
- 179** [x x x x x níĝ gu]-ul-gu-ul-gu-ul
- E iv 16 [x x x x x x x]-ul-gu-ul-gu-ul
- J ii 4 [x x x x x x x]-x-gu-ul-gu-ul
- 180** [x x x x x x x] ʾšà¹-šà húl-la sù-me-èn
- E iv 17 [x x x x x x x]-ʾšà[?]¹ húl-la sù-ʾù¹-me-èn
- J ii 5 [x x x x x x x] ʾšà¹-šà húl-la sù-me-ʾèn¹
- 181** [ur-saĝ-me-èn mu-ĝu₁₀ zi-d]è[?]-éš hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne
- E iv 18 [x x x x x x x-d]è[?]-ʾéš¹ hé-em-pà-pà-dè-ne
- J ii 6 [x x x x x x x]-éš hé-em-pà-ʾpà-dè¹-ne

³⁹⁶ ĝál or ur₄ are not excluded.

³⁹⁷ or AŠ GAM.

182 [sipa-me-èn šudu₃-da mul an-ge]_{n7} hu-mu-ni-gú-un-¹gú¹-ne

E iv 19 [x x x x x x x x]-¹mu¹-ni-in-gú-un-gú-¹un¹

J ii 7 [x x x x x-x-ge]_{n7} hu-mu-ni-gú-un-¹gú¹-ne

183 [zà-mí gal-gal ka-ge du₇-ĝu₁₀ šì]_{r-re-éš} hé-em-¹e-ne¹

E iv 20 [x x x x x x x x]-x-¹és[?] hé[?]-em[?]¹-[x-x]

J ii 8 [x x x x x x x šì]_{r-re-éš} hé-em-¹e-ne¹

184 [] x x x-gen₇

E iv 21 [] x [x x]

J ii 9 [] x x x-gen₇

185 [] x x-e

J ii 10 [] x x-e

186 [] x-¹me-èn¹

J ii 11 [] x-¹me-èn¹

(lacuna of ca. 40 lines)

Abbreviations

For the bibliographical abbreviations see in general:

PSD (= Å.W. Sjöberg, *The Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary*, vol. A/3. Philadelphia 1998), ixff.; HKL II (= R. Borger, *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*, vol II. Berlin 1975.), xiff.; AHw (= W. von Soden, *Akkadisches Handwörterbuch III*, Wiesbaden 1981), ixff.; CAD (= A.L. Oppenheim et al., *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, 1956–); CDLI: wiki. A Library of Knowledge of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative. Abbreviations for Assyriology https://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/abbreviations_for_assyriology (22/02/2022).

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Appendix - Plates³⁹⁸

Plate Number	Museum Number	Sigla
I	CBS 7079 obverse	A
	CBS 7079 reverse	A
II	N 993 obverse	C
	N 993 reverse	C
	CBS 15114	D
III	N 3233 + N 2568 obverse	E
	N 3233 + N 2568 reverse	E
IV	CBS 8312 + N 3215 obverse	E
	CBS 8312 + N 3215 reverse	E
V	UM w/n (without number) reverse	E
	CBS 8312 + N 3215 + UM w/n reverse	E
	CBS 15301 reverse	E
VI	N 3233 + N 2568 N + CBS 8312 + N 3215 + CBS 15301 + UM w/n obverse	E
	N 3233 + N 2568 N + CBS 8312 + N 3215 + CBS 15301 + UM w/n reverse	E
VII	CBS 13906 obverse	F
	CBS 13906 reverse	F
VIII	CBS 8549 obverse	G
	CBS 8549 reverse	G
IX	CBS 13668	I
	UM 29-16-485	J

³⁹⁸ The photographs of the tables here given, courtesy of Penn Museum in Philadelphia, were taken by the editor of this work with the kind assistance of the staff of the Museum. I wish especially to thank Mr. Philip Jones for his kind help during my stay at the University Museum.

Plate I

CBS 7079 obverse



CBS 7079 reverse



Plate II

N 993 obverse



N 993 reverse



CBS 15114

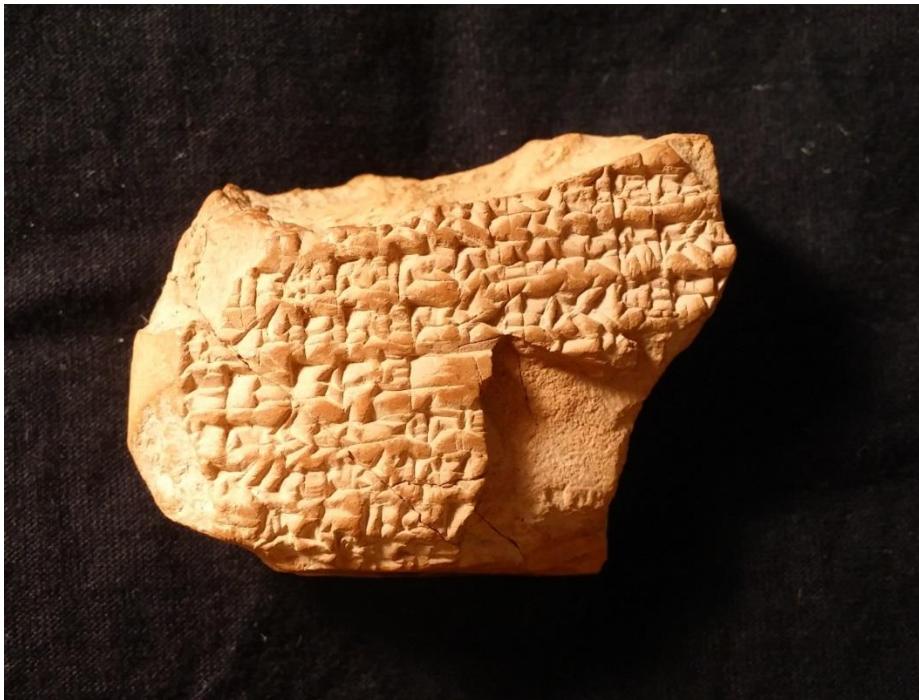
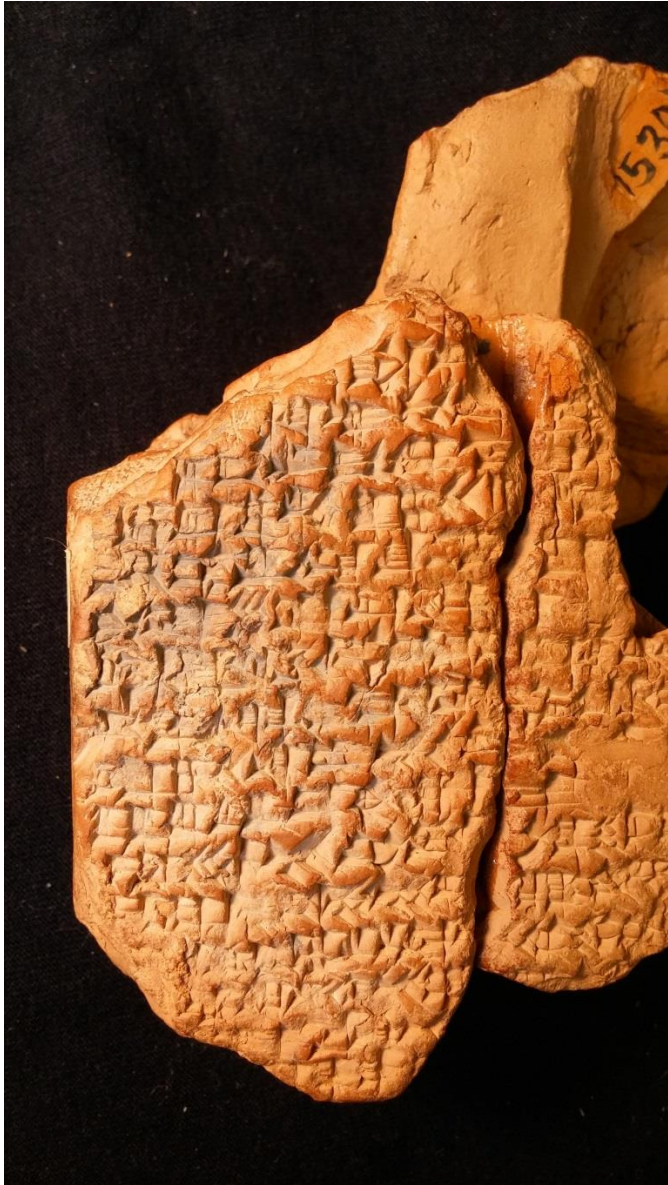


Plate III

N 3233 + N 2568 obverse



N 3233 + N 2568 reverse



Plate IV

CBS 8312 + N 3215 obverse



CBS 8312 + N 3215 reverse

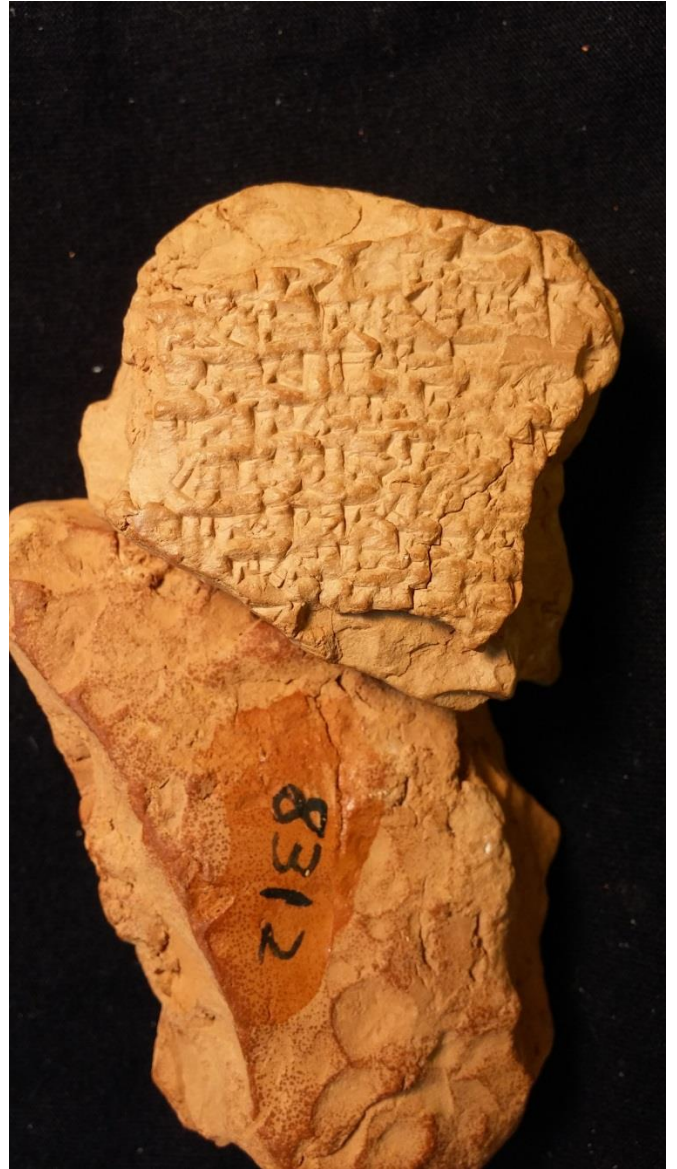


Plate V

UM w/n (without number) reverse



CBS 8312 + N 3215 + UM w/n reverse

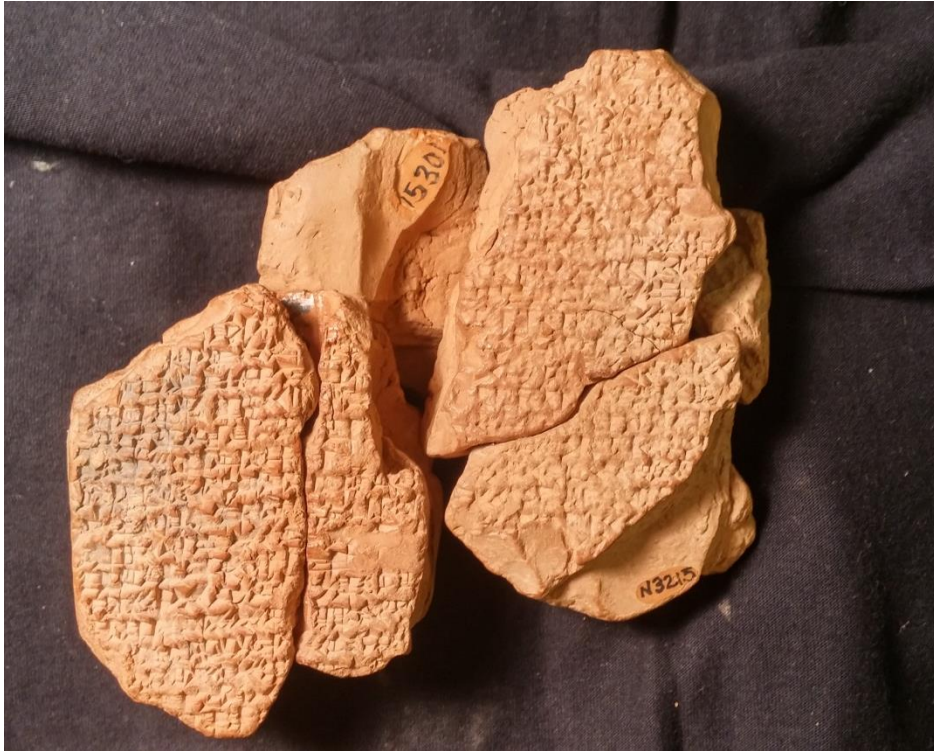


CBS 15301 reverse



Plate VI

N 3233 + N 2568 N + CBS 8312 + N 3215 + CBS 15301 + UM w/n obverse

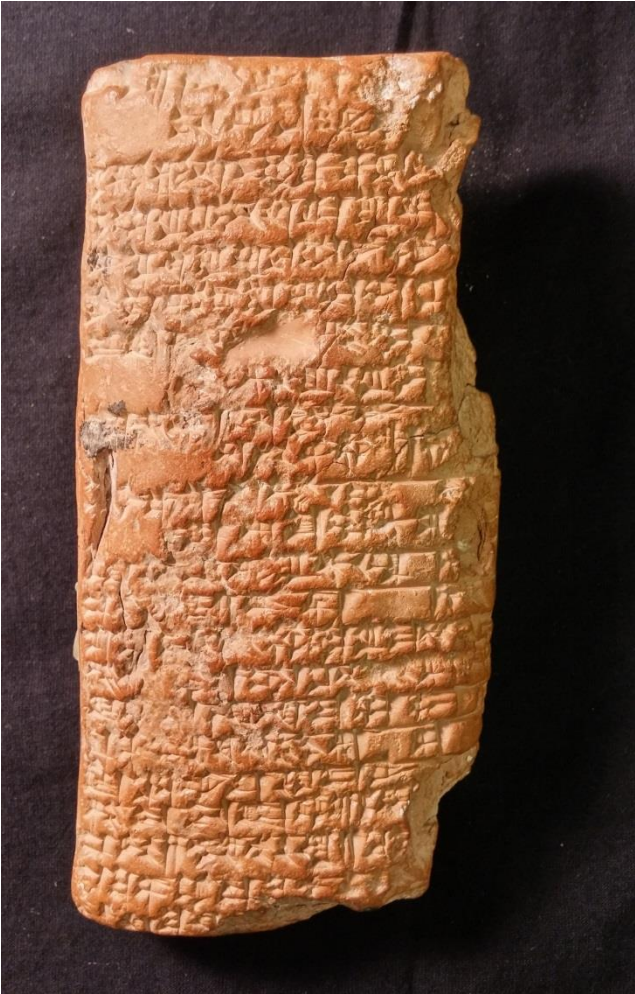


N 3233 + N 2568 N + CBS 8312 + N 3215 + CBS 15301 + UM w/n reverse



Plate VII

CBS 13906 obverse



CBS 13906 reverse

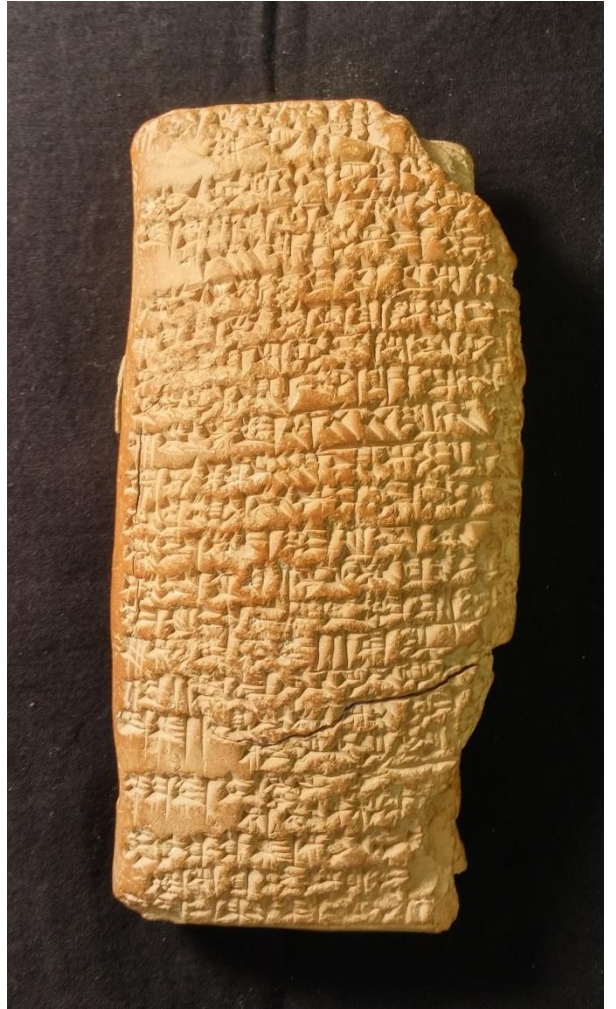


Plate VIII

CBS 8549 obverse



CBS 8549 reverse

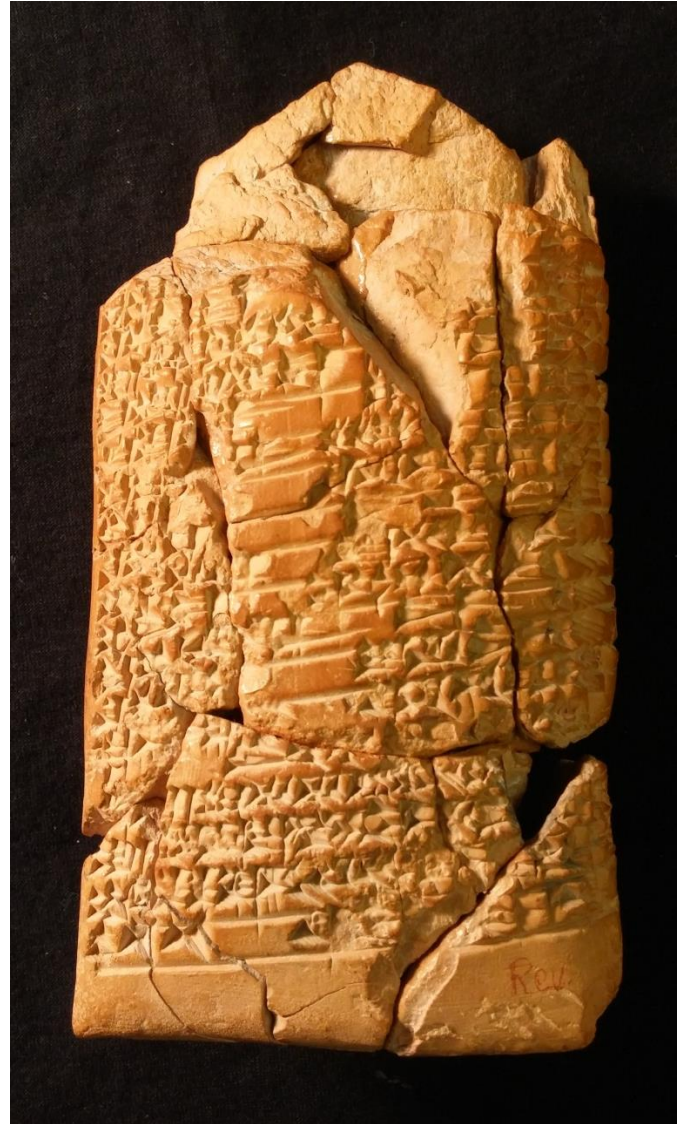
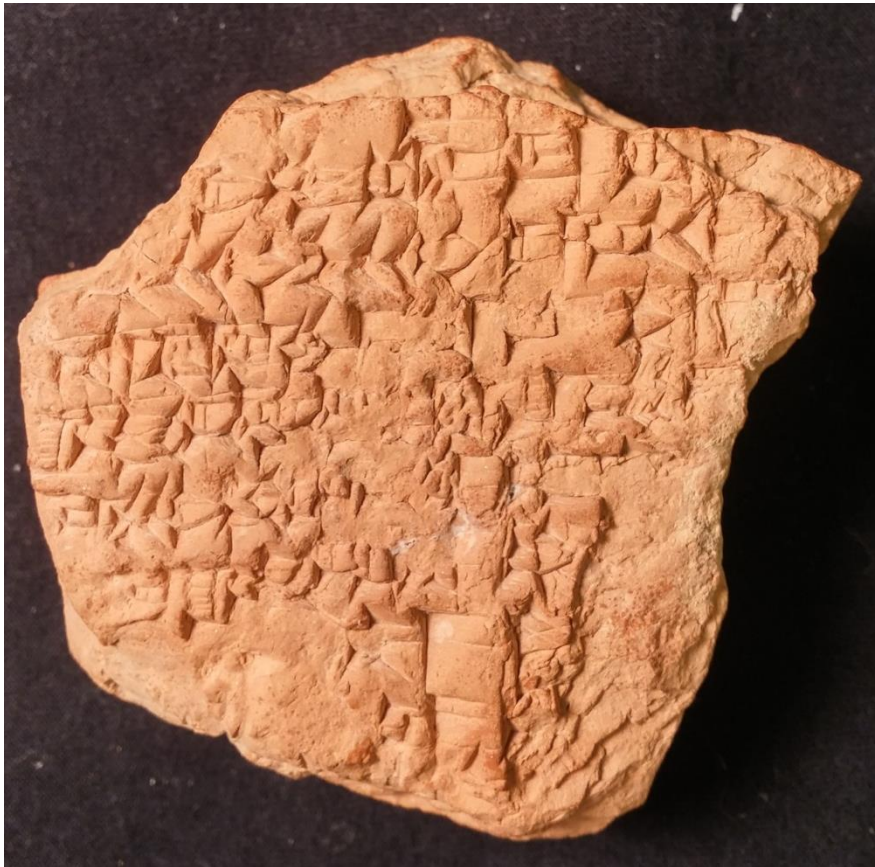


Plate IX

CBS 13668



UM 29-16-485



תקציר עברי

העבודה המחקרית להלן מתמקדת במזמור המלך הנאו-שומרי 'שולגי C'. שולגי היה המלך השני של שושלת אור III, והוא מלך על מסופוטמיה במשך 48 שנים, במאה ה-21 לפני הספירה. שולגי C הוא אחד מתוך עשרים ושלושה מזמורי הלל שחברו לכבודו של שולגי במהלך ימי מלכותו.

מזמורי המלך של שולגי נחשבים לסוגה ספרותית ייחודית בתוך שירת המזמורים השומרית. הם מתאפיינים באוצר מילים ייחודי ובצורות אורתוגרפיות ארכאיות, במבנים תחביריים מורכבים ובמגוון הנושאים הנידונים בהם. בין החוקרים היו שהצביעו על ההקשר ההיסטורי האפשרי של החיבור של מזמורי שולגי, ועל האירועים ההיסטוריים הנרמזים בהם, אמנם בסגנון ספרותי, אך מנקודת מבט היסטורית (Frayne 1981; 1997). המחקרים של יעקב קליין, ממנחי העבודה המחקרית הזו, מתמקדים במחקר מעמיק של קורפוס ייחודי זה. מזמורים רבים של שולגי הוהדרו על ידי קליין (מזמורים שולגי: A, D, G, K, O, P, R, V; מזמור ההלל העצמי שולגי E עדיין בהכנה). המהדורות של קליין למזמורי שולגי השפיעו רבות על המחקר המתמשך של סוגה ספרותית זו, והם מהווים את התשתית לעריכת המהדורות של מזמורים נוספים שטרם הוהדרו. קאי למרהירט (K. Lämmerhirt), (אוניברסיטת היידלברג, גרמניה), ההדיר את מזמור ההלל העצמי שולגי F. מזמור הלל עצמי חשוב נוסף, שטרם פורסם במהדורה ראויה, הוא מזמור שולגי B; על המהדורה של מזמור זה שוקד לודק ואצ'ין (L. Vacín), (אוניברסיטת וילהלם ווסטפאליה, מונסטר, גרמניה).

שולגי C הוא אחד ממזמורי ההלל העצמי הארוכים ביותר. המזמור המקורי הכיל ככל הנראה כ-450 שורות שיר, שמתוכם השתמרו רק כ-350 שורות. לאורך המזמור שולגי מתהלל בהיותו מלך אידיאלי ואדם מושלם. המזמור הארוך מחולק לבתים על ידי פזמון חוזר בן שלוש שורות, שבו שולגי מזמין את הקהל לגלות את גדולתו ומנהיגותו בעזרת תפילות, שירים ומזמורי הלל. הפזמון חוזר לפחות עשר פעמים לאורך המזמור המשוחזר, ומחלק אותו ל-11 בתים. בתי השיר נבדלים זה מזה באורכם ובמבנה הספרותי שלהם, וכל אחד מהם מוקדש לתיאור תכונה ייחודית אחרת המיוחסת למלך.

לצערנו המזמור לא השתמר בשלימותו. שבעת בתי השיר הראשונים השתמרו ברציפות, אם כי לא בשלימות, והם מהווים את מקטע א' של המזמור (Segment A). כמה סימנים בודדים בלבד השתמרו משורות הפתיחה של הבית השמיני של המזמור, והם הוהדרו מיד לאחר הבית השביעי, בסמוך לו. שלושת הבתים האחרונים (בתים 9-11) השתמרו גם הם ברציפות, והם מהווים את מקטע ב' של המזמור (Segment B). החלק האחרון של הבית האחד עשר השתמר בצורה גרועה ביותר. ככל הנראה, מקורו של מקטע ג' (Segment C) בסופו של הבית האחד עשר.

המטרה העיקרית של העבודה המחקרית שלהלן, אם כן, היא להעמיד מהדורה מדעית עבור מקטע א' של המזמור, שמתבססת על כל כתבי היד הידועים לנו עד היום. מטרה נוספת של העבודה היא הצגת ניתוח ספרותי מקיף עבור המזמור, אשר מתבסס על המהדורה החדשה. כך, מחקר זה מורכב משני חלקים עיקריים: החלק הראשון כולל סקירה של ספרות מזמורי המלך השומרית ושל חיבור מזמורי שולגי באופן

כללי, וכן סקירה ספרותית של מזמור שולגי C עצמו. החלק השני של מחקר זה מציג מהדורה מדעית של שולגי C מקטע א'. המהדורה כוללת תעתיק של המקור השומרי, תרגום אנגלי, פירוש פילולוגי ואפרט מלא של חילופי הנוסח. את המהדורה המדעית מקדים מבוא ספרותי לכל אחד מבתי השיר הנכללים במקטע א' (בתים 1-8). המבוא הספרותי מתייחס לתוכן ולצורה של בתי השיר, לרקע הפולחני וההיסטורי שלהם, לקשר שלהם למזמורי שולגי האחרים, ולניתוח צורות הכתיב והדקדוק הייחודיות שלו תוך מתן דגש על כתיבים ארכאיים ייחודיים. המהדורה מתבססת על כל כתבי היד של המזמור, הידועים לנו (על פי קריאה של הלווחות במקור, ושל צילומים באיכות גבוהה), בהם גם כתבי יד שזוהו לאחרונה ואשר לא נכללו במחקרים קודמים של המזמור. המחקר כולל התייחסות מיוחדת לנושאים הבאים:

1. הקדמה לשולגי C

המבוא מתאר את הסוגה הספרותית של 'מזמורי המלך השומריים' מכמה היבטים: הסוגה הספרותית והסיווג שלהם; והביטוי של 'מוסד המלוכה האלוהית' המשתקף מהם. לאחר התיאור הכללי של מזמורי המלך מגיע דיון בסיווג של מזמורי המלך של שולגי ו-'המושב בחיים' שלהם, הכולל דיון מורחב בסוגי המזמורים הבאים: מזמורי שולגי המכילים נרטיבים פוליטיים ופולחניים; מזמורי ההלל העצמי של שולגי; ושאלות של היסטוריות, עריכה ותפקיד שימושי של מזמורי ההלל העצמי. לאחר מכן יוקדש דיון מיוחד למזמור שולגי C, לצד ניתוח ספרותי מפורט של המאפיינים הכלליים שלו; הפזמון החוזר ומוטיבים חזרתיים נוספים; התוכן והמבנה שלו, והחלוקה שלו לבתים; מאפייני המהדורה הנוכחית של שולגי C מקטע א'; הנושאים שיידונו בחלק העתידי של המהדורה של המזמור, לגבי מקטעים ב' ו-ג'; ההקשר ההיסטורי של המזמור, היחס בין בתי השיר, והייצוג של הפנתיאון השומרי במזמור. חלק זה של עבודת המחקר מסתיים בתיאור של תהליך השחזור של הטקסט: מצב המחקר עד היום, כתבי היד של החיבור, הסיווג שלהם והיחס ביניהם.

2. מהדורה מדעית של שולגי C מקטע א'

את המהדורה של שולגי C מקטע א' מקדימים מבואות אשר כוללים התייחסות לנושאים הבאים: ניתוח ספרותי של כל אחד מבתי השיר 1-8, המתייחס לרקע ההיסטורי והפולחני שלהם; דיון מיוחד מוקדש למבנה התחבירי ולמבנה והספרותי של הפזמון החוזר. כמו כן מתייחסים המבואות להשלכות של ממצאי הניתוח הספרותי על נושאים רחבים יותר הנוגעים למזמורי המלך השומריים בכלל, ולמזמורי שולגי בפרט, תוך תשומת לב לממצאים חדשים של המחקרים המאוחרים יותר על שולגי ועל מלכותו. לאחר המבואות הספרותיים מגיעה סקירה של השפה הארכאית, והאורתוגרפיה והכתיב הייחודיים, של שולגי C מקטע א'. המהדורה המדעית מכילה את החלקים העיקריים הבאים: (א) רשימת כתבי היד של שולגי C - מקטע א'; (ב) תעתיק מורכב ולצדו תרגום אנגלי חדש; (ג) פירוש פילולוגי רץ למזמור; (ד) אפרט מלא של חילופי הנוסח.

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עבודה זו נכתבה בהנחייתם של:

פרופסור יעקב קליין

ופרופסור נילי סמט

המחלקה לתנ"ך, אוניברסיטת בר-אילן

שולגי C: מזמור הלל עצמי למלך מתקופת אור III:

מהדורה מדעית

חיבור לשם קבלת תואר "דוקטור לפילוסופיה"

מאת:

אביה פרנקל

המחלקה לתנ"ך

הוגש לסנט של אוניברסיטת בר-אילן

סיון תשפ"ג

רמת גן