

## GIŠŠA (UMM AL-AQARIB), UMMA (JOKHA), AND LAGAŠ IN THE EARLY DYNASTIC III PERIOD<sup>†</sup>

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### I. Introduction

Near the end of the last century, the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage decided to excavate the sites of the so-called Umma region in the semi-desert area of the Thi-Qar Governorate in south Iraq. The sites were then endangered seriously by intense clandestine diggings. The excavations were conducted at Umm al-Aqarib in 1999–2002 and 2008–2010, at Jokha in 1999–2002, at Schmid in 2001–2002, and at Ibzeikh in 2001–2002.

I participated in the excavations of Umm al-Aqarib directed by Dr. Donny George in the first two seasons (1999–2000)<sup>1)</sup> and then I was responsible for the excavations in the next two seasons (2001–2002). Mr. Taha Kerim led the Umm al-Aqarib excavations in the last three seasons (2008–2010), and I worked there in 2009 again.

Our excavations of Umm al-Aqarib have brought a tremendously rich amount of information on a Sumerian city which flourished in the Early Dynastic III period. We uncovered both large public buildings (Temple H, White Temple, and the palace) and dwelling quarters (Plate 1), and found numerous artifacts including about 70 cuneiform sources. The White Temple is indeed the largest among the ever-excavated temples in early Mesopotamian history. It is now beyond doubt that Umm al-Aqarib was one of the most important cities in the latter half of the 3rd millennium BC. In another article of mine titled “The monumental buildings at Umm al-Aqarib” (forthcoming), I will describe in detail our excavations of the temples and the palace at Umm al-Aqarib.

Here, another study of Umm al-Aqarib is attempted mainly by means of textual sources. A large amount of information of Umm al-Aqarib as a prosperous Sumerian city, no less valuable as results of archaeological reconnaissance, can reasonably be found in contemporary cuneiform texts. In this article, I discuss three topics: 1. Gišša as the ancient name of Umm al-Aqarib, 2. Gišša (Umm al-Aqarib) in the political history of Sumer in the late 3rd millennium BC, and 3. synchronism of the Gišša rulers with those of neighboring Lagaš.

A main source of information I depend on in this study is the cuneiform texts from the “Umma region” and the neighboring kingdom of Lagaš. The “Umma” sources are grouped into three: 1.

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† I would like to dedicate this article to the memory of the late Dr. Donny George. I worked with him at Umm al-Aqarib in the first two seasons of excavations (1999–2000). It was indeed a starting point of my study of Mesopotamian archaeology.

This is essentially a revised version of the third chapter of my unpublished PhD dissertation entitled *Umm al-Aqarib: An Architectural and Textual Study of a Sumerian City*, which I submitted to Kokushikan University in 2013. Another article of mine “The monumental buildings at Umm al-Aqarib,” which is also based on the second chapter of my PhD study, will soon appear in the journal *Iraq*.

I thank Professor Kazuya Maekawa (Kyoto University – Kokushikan University), who guided my study at the Graduate School of Globalizing Asia, Kokushikan University in 2006–2008 and 2010–2013. He taught me how to read cuneiform texts and gave me numerous fruitful suggestions and advices in my MA and PhD studies on Umm al-Aqarib. He also kindly improved and refined my English in this article. I also owe much to Dr. Daisuke Shibata, Associate Professor of the University of Tsukuba. As one of my PhD supervisors, he gave me many helpful philological commentaries.

Last but not least, I cordially thank Dr. Amira Edan, Director of the Iraqi Museum for her generous permission to study and publish several cuneiform sources which we found at our Umm al-Aqarib excavations.

1) Donny George Youkhanna and Haidar Abdul Wahed (= Almamori Haider Oraibi) 2002 which was dedicated to David Oates, is a brief report of the uncovering of Temple H at Umm al-Aqarib, performed by Donny George and me in 1999–2000. This is the only article on the Umm al-Aqarib excavations that has been written in English.

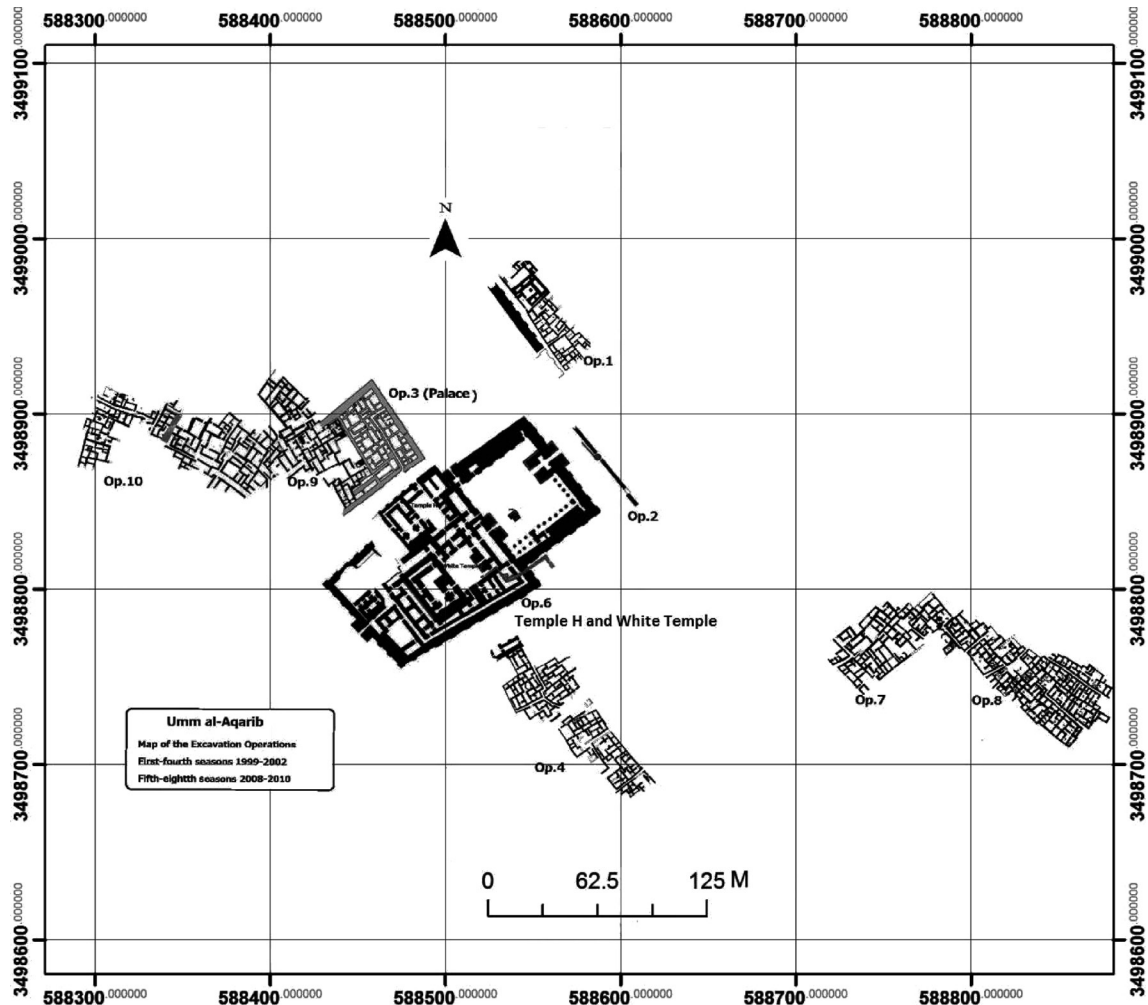


Plate 1 Plan of the excavation Operations at Umm al-Aqarib

the royal inscriptions of “Umma” published long ago, 2. the several cuneiform texts which we found in our excavations of Umm al-Aqarib, and 3. the administrative records illegally dug out from the “Umma region” in recent times.

## II. Umm al-Aqarib (Gišša) and Jokha (Umma) in the Early Dynastic III period

### II.1. Umm al-Aqarib and Jokha

Umm al-Aqarib is a site about 6 km slightly southeast of Jokha, if measured at the respective highest points of these two sites. It is the latter site that has long been identified as ancient Umma, that is, the city whose name is usually spelled GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI in textual sources. It should, however, be noticed that the southern border of Jokha is only 2–3 km distant from the northern end of Umm al-Aqarib. On the other hand, Ibzeikh, which has often been assumed to be the site of ancient Zabalam, is rather distant (15 km north-east) from Umm al-Aqarib.

According to unpublished Arabic excavation reports on Jokha, which were submitted by Dr. Al-Mutawalli and Mr. Hamza to the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage (2000, 2003), and to the Arabic report published by Dr. Al-Mutawalli (Al-Mutawalli 2009), Jokha is to be dated to the Ur III period. On the surface of the unexcavated southern area of Jokha that is quite close to the northern end of Umm al-Aqarib, however, I have actually observed the Early Dynastic remains (without any Ur III evidence there). In my present understanding, therefore, Jokha which remained a small settlement in the Early Dynastic III period became enlarged in the later periods. On the

other hand, our excavations demonstrate that Umm al-Aqarib as a city of a large size is essentially dated to the Early Dynastic III period. We safely conclude that, at least in the latter half of the Early Dynastic III period, Umm al-Aqarib was a central city to which a small settlement of Jokha was subordinate within the so-called Umma region. In other words, it is Umm al-Aqarib (not Jokha) that is referred to as GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (traditionally read as umma<sup>ki</sup>) in the late Early Dynastic III royal inscriptions. The surface survey performed by R. McC. Adams and H. Nissen in the 1960s failed to observe this, giving a misunderstanding to the readers of their publications that Jokha was always the central settlement in the region throughout the late third millennium BC (Adams–Nissen 1972: 16, Fig. 6 [Late Early Dynastic]; see also Adams 1981: 162, Fig. 30 [Late Early Dynastic, actually the map printed as Fig. 29]).<sup>2)</sup>

## II.2. History of interpretations of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI

Until quite recently, the political history of Early Dynastic III Sumer had been far from a sound reconstruction, primarily because detailed information for it had almost exclusively come from the inscriptions of Lagaš.

According to those inscriptions, the rulers of Lagaš fought a series of wars against the neighboring city-state whose name is almost always spelled as GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI. Most unfortunately, however, an extremely important role played by the latter city-state in this period has yet been poorly understood. In my view, the site to which the name GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI was given has been identified wrongly in modern scholarship, and GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI itself has been read wrongly.

A traditional interpretation, almost unanimously accepted in the 20th century, is that GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI is read as umma<sup>ki</sup>, and that it is the ancient name of Jokha, the site situated just north of Umm al-Aqarib (e.g., Edzard–Farber–Sollberger 1977: 165ff.; Foster 1982: 2, 160<sup>36–39</sup>). In the 1880s and 90s, Umm al-Aqarib was often evaluated no less important than Jokha by Western explorers.<sup>3)</sup> After the identification of Jokha as Umma by V. Scheil near the end of the 19th century, however, interest in Umm al-Aqarib seems to have rapidly faded out.<sup>4)</sup>

In 1990, W. G. Lambert noticed that later lexical texts give two different readings of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, that is, /umma/ or /umme/, and /giša/ or /kiša/,<sup>5)</sup> and he thought that the former reading was prevailing in the Early Dynastic period (W. G. Lambert 1990). It was, however, not until 2003

2) Adams–Nissen 1972: 227, Site No. 197: Jokha (Umma), “... Late Early Dynastic and Old Babylonian are dominant in surface collections, but intervening Akkadian, Ur III, and Larsa periods also are well represented. Uruk, Jemdet Nasr, and Early Dynastic I possible but unconfirmed” (Adams); cf. *ibid.* 228, No. 198: Umm al-Aqarib, “... Uruk through Early Dynastic I probable but unconfirmed. Late Early Dynastic, including plano-concave bricks ...” (Adams).

In the map first published by Jacobsen in 1960 (Jacobsen 1960: pl. xxviii; see also Jacobsen 1965: 109), Umm al-Aqarib is dotted south-east of Jokha along the canal which he identifies as Iturungal (Jacobsen 1960: 177). In his second article, written for identification of settlements and canals in the times of En-metena, however, Jacobsen does not specifically mention Umm al-Aqarib.

3) In 1881, E. de Sarzec made a preliminary investigation on the site of Umm al-Aqarib after he acquired a head of a statue (AO 32 [Parrot 1948: 79 Pl. 19g, 80]) which was said to have come from “Moulagareb,” i.e., Umm al-Aqarib (Chevalier 2001: 84). For E. de Sarzec’s survey, see also note 15 below. In 1899–1900, J. de Morgan made an excavation plan of the three sites in the “Jokha region,” i.e., Jokha, Umm al-Aqarib and Tell Hammam (Chevalier 2001: 89, see also 85 [the map drawn by J. de Morgan in 1899]). J. de Morgan’s proposal was, however, ultimately rejected by the French Ministry of Public Instruction.

Note also the following description in Peters 1897: “At 1.15 we reached Yokha. It was a large tel, but low, and I could only gallop over it while the caravan was moving. ... At 2.15 we reached Umm-el-Aqarib. This place, only an hour distant, appeared, superficially, to be more important than Yokha, although not so large. It is not so much covered with sand-drift, apparently, for Yokha requires a guide to find it, while Umm-el-Aqarib shows two considerable elevations, a few rods apart, with solid masonry of burnt bricks set in bitumen. ...” (Peters 1897: 1, 333).

4) In his book published in 1910, for example, L. W. King, following V. Scheil (“Où est situé le pays de GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI?,” *Recueil de Travaux Relatifs à la Philologie et à l’Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes* 19 [1897]: 62f. [inaccessible to me]), stated that Jokha was the site of Umma, rival of the kingdom of Lagaš (King 1910: 21–22), but he never touched on Umm al-Aqarib.

5) Diri III 074: um-ma (var. um-mi, um-me) / GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI / kisu(?) (MSL 15 140); Diri Nippur 230: um-me-en / GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI / ki-is-[ ] (MSL 15 20); Diri Sippar 4 09: um-ma / GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI / ki-[ ] (MSL 15 56).

when G. Selz discussed the enigmatic king (named AK) of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI that Lambert's article was considered seriously in Assyriological scholarship. Selz proposed a possible relationship between the writing GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (found in third millennium records) and the reading giša/kiša (referred to in later lexical texts), by assuming a change, giš(š)a > kiš(š)a, kis(s)a, and also ku/uš(š)a (Selz 2003: 508).

In his new, painstaking edition of all the Early Dynastic royal inscriptions, D. Frayne, following Selz's suggestion, interpreted that GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, the ancient name of Jokha, should be read as /giša/. According to Frayne, on the other hand, the sign ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ (actually HIXDIŠ [see Section VI.4 below]) within a royal title lugal-ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ(HIXDIŠ) "king of ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ(HIXDIŠ)" found in several inscriptions of "Umma," is to be pronounced /umma/ and that it is the ancient name of Umm al-Aqarib (Frayne 2008 [RIME 1]: 357–359; Frayne 2009: 61–62) (Table 1.1).

Table 1 Umm al-Aqarib and Joha, modern and ancient names (Frayne, Haider Oraibi)

1. Frayne 2008

Period	Jokha	Umm al-Aqarib
ED III and later	GIŠ.KUŠU <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup> (read as /giša/)	ŠAR <sub>2</sub> ×DIŠ (read as /umma/)

2. Haider Oraibi

Period	Jokha	Umm al-Aqarib
ED III, and probably also earlier times	probably called /umma/ or /umme/	GIŠ.KUŠU <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup> (read as /gišša/)
Ur III, OB	GIŠ.KUŠU <sub>2</sub> <sup>ki</sup> (read /umma/ or /umme/)	abandoned by the end of the ED IIIb period

### II.3. Recent publications of cuneiform records from Adab and the "Umma region"

In the last period of the regime of Saddam Hussain and the following years of disasters and confusions in Iraq, a large number of Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic administrative records were illegally dug out at such sites as Bismaya (ancient Adab), Umm al-Aqarib (ancient GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI in my opinion), and the site of ancient Zabalam which, on the basis of the Old Babylonian sources, scholars have unanimously thought as Ibzeikh<sup>6)</sup> (Westenholz 2010).

The main recent publications of the tablets from Adab and the "Umma region" are: *Sefarad* 65: 327–350 [Milone 2005], TCBI 1 (2006), TCBI 2 (2006), CUSAS 11 [Visicato–Westenholz 2010], CUSAS 13 (2009), CUSAS 14 [Monaco 2011], and CUSAS 19 (2012) [cf. Schrakamp 2013: 201 for detailed bibliography of the recent publications]. Among them, the administrative records published by M. E. Milone 2005 (*Sefarad* 65) and S. F. Monaco 2011 (CUSAS 14) shed new light on the disputed reading of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI and on the political history of the kingdom of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI in the late Early Dynastic III period. They substantiate that GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI was

6) For identification of Ibzeikh as ancient Zabalam, see e.g., Goetze 1955; Adams–Nissen 1972: 217; Edzard–Farber–Sollberger 1977: 191ff.; Powell 1976: 103–104; Powell 1978: 6–7. As concerns Pre-Sargonic Zabalam, however, this identification should seriously be reconsidered. Haider Ferhan, who excavated Ibzeikh in 2001–2002, did not recognize any Early Dynastic remains (Haider Ferhan 2004 [in Arabic]). Only the Old Babylonian temple of Inanna was found there with a foundation statuette of Warad-Sin. On the other hand, the first level of Schmid, which is quite near Ibzeikh, is dated to the Early Dynastic III period (information given by Muhamed Qudsyah who excavated Schmid in 2001–2002). Cf. Adams–Nissen 1972: 226, Site No. 169: Ibzaykh (Zabalam), "... Rare clay sickles suggest a beginning of occupation in Uruk or Jemdet Nasr times. A late Early Dynastic occupation indicated by widespread (although not numerous) plano-convex bricks and other diagnostic types. Surface material preponderantly Akkadian–Old Babylonian. ..." (Adams); ibid. 226, No. 168: Tell Schmid, "... Late Uruk–Early Dynastic I, with many clay sickles and cones. Surface debris preponderantly late Early Dynastic. Akkadian wares and bricks ... present in smaller quantities, later periods probably are not represented" (Adams).

not read /umma/ but /giš(š)a/, /kiš(š)a/ or the like in the Early Dynastic III period, as has been proposed by W. G. Lambert, Selz, and Frayne. We are also given much information concerning the relative order of the Pre-Sargonic rulers of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, the relationship between GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI and the neighboring kingdom of Lagaš, and the role played by Zabalam in the history of the GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI kingdom.

The two Okayama Orient Museum tablets, published by T. Ozaki in 2008 (Ozaki 2008: No. 1 [152–2745], and No. 2 [153–2746]), were stolen at Umm al-Aqarib (neither Jokha nor at the site of ancient Zabalam) sometime when it was beyond our control.<sup>7)</sup> We can say so, because a tablet fragment UA-469 [IM 163159], which we found at Umm al-Aqarib in our excavations, is now proved to have belonged to the same archival group as the two Okayama tablets (Section V.2 below). In my interpretation, these texts were written in the years when GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (Umm al-Aqarib) was under the rule of En-annatum I (less possibly, of En-metena) of Lagaš.

#### II.4. Variant writings for GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (1): UŠ.KI.EŠ<sub>2</sub>, GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>, and GIŠ.KASKAL.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (or GIŠ.KI.KASKAL.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>)

In previous studies on the reading of the toponym GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, third-millennium archival records were seldom utilized, simply because they gave a rather poor amount of information on this topic. On the other hand, the records recently unearthed from the “Umma region” can be the main sources for a new interpretation of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI.

A reading of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI as /giš(š)a/, /kiš(š)a/ or similar, first suggested by W. G. Lambert and then accepted by Selz and Frayne, presupposes that the element GIŠ in GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI is a phonetic indicator (<sup>giš</sup>KUŠU<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>).<sup>8)</sup> In my idea, several variant writings for GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, which corroborate a reading of <sup>giš</sup>giš(š)a<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> or the like for GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, are found in the recently-published administrative records.

CUSAS 14 243 [CUNES 50–08–005], dated the first year of a hitherto unknown ruler Usar-HI(to be read as du), is a large record of barley expenditures for the temple of Inanna at Zabalam. The summary description of this record reads: **rev. x 1)** gu<sub>2</sub>-an-še<sub>3</sub> 124;2.3.0 še gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub>, **2)** 50;0.0.0 la<sub>2</sub> 0;1.3.0 ziz<sub>2</sub> gur, **3)** 26;0.0.0 la<sub>2</sub> 0;0.3.0 gig gur, **4)** še-GAR, u<sub>4</sub>-10, <sup>d</sup>inanna, **xi 1)** usar<sub>x</sub>(= LAL<sub>2</sub>×TUG<sub>2</sub>)-du<sub>10</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub>-UŠ.KI.EŠ<sub>2</sub>,1(?) mu [ ] iti(!?).

Monaco 2011 [CUSAS 14]: 189 transliterates the title of Usar-du as ensi<sub>2</sub>-umma<sup>ki</sup> without any specific commentaries. According to the published photograph of the tablet, however, the title is apparently spelled ensi<sub>2</sub>-UŠ.KI.EŠ<sub>2</sub>, not ensi<sub>2</sub>-GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI. The first sign within the toponym is UŠ (= giš<sub>3</sub>), not GIŠ as is presumably understood by Monaco. The component KI does not come last as is the case of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, which means that KI is pronounced here as /ki/ (/gi/, /ke/, or /ge/). In the records dated Early Dynastic IIIb and later, a topographical determinative KI always comes last among the component signs for a toponym.<sup>9)</sup> A possible reading of UŠ.KI.EŠ<sub>2</sub> is therefore <sup>giš</sup>ki-eš<sub>2</sub>/še<sub>3</sub>, which might reasonably be interpreted as a syllabic writing for GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI.

The field name a-ša<sub>3</sub> SI (<sup>d</sup>dumu-zi GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>)<sup>10)</sup> occurs in the small tablets copied and published by M. E. Milone: Milone 2005: No. 1 (rev. iii 3-iv 1), No. 3 (iii 4-iv 1), No. 4 (iii 3-iv 1), No. 9 (iii 1), No. 10 (iii 4-iv 1); No. 11 (iv 1). All of them record different figures for the

7) Ozaki states that “according to the dealer who supplied them to the museum, these texts were purchased in Israel many years ago” (Ozaki 2008: 55).

8) Therefore, the expression KUŠU<sub>2</sub>(=LAK 304).KI found in a Fara tablet (TSŠ 302 rev. i 5) can hardly be dismissed as a scribal error. On the other hand, En-akalle, mentioned as the “ruler of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI” in the royal inscriptions of Lagaš, is titled ensi<sub>2</sub>-GIŠ in a record of land purchase contracts (Bauer 2012: 59, Nr. 1, rev. vii 1: u<sub>4</sub>-ba kal-le:en-a<sub>2</sub>, ensi<sub>2</sub>-GIŠ, 8 mu iti 10 la<sub>2</sub>-1). I am tempted to read it as ensi<sub>2</sub>-giš, interpreting GIŠ to be a syllabic writing of the toponym.

9) This principle is already established in the Abu-Salabikh Geographical Lists (e.g., IAS No. 91, see IAS [Biggs 1974]: 72–78).

10) It still remains difficult to find out the correct reading of the field name from among the three candidates: 1. a-ša<sub>3</sub> SI(= ma<sub>x</sub>?), 2. a-ša<sub>3</sub> SI <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi, 3. a-ša<sub>3</sub> SI <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.



amount of cereals which were threshed by three persons (Ma-gursi, Ba'a and Kini-muzu), and for the area of the plots within the field a-ša<sub>3</sub> SI (<sup>d</sup>dumu-zi GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>) where the cereals were reaped, with additional information of a date (Nos. 3, 4, 9, 10, 11), a topographical(?) name (UD.MUD.NUN: Nos. 10, 11), and sometimes a year denotation (the 7th year: Nos. 9, 10, 11(?)); e.g., **Milone 2005: No. 11, obv. i 1** 4;0.0.0 še gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub>, **2** 7;0.0.0 ziz<sub>2</sub>, **3** ma<sub>2</sub>-gur<sub>8</sub>-si, **4** 5;0.0.0 še, **ii 1** 4;0.0.0 ziz<sub>2</sub>, **2** ba-a, **3** 2;0.0.0 še, **4** 4;0.0.0 ziz<sub>2</sub>, **5** ki-ni-[mu]-zu, **rev. iii 1** gu<sub>2</sub>-an-še<sub>3</sub> 11;0.0.0 (še) gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub>, **2** 15;0.0.0 ziz<sub>2</sub> gur, **3** 5 iku, **4** še giš ra, u<sub>4</sub>-10, **iv 1** a-ša<sub>3</sub> SI <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>, **2** usar<sub>x</sub>(LAL<sub>2</sub>xTUG<sub>2</sub>)-du<sub>10</sub>, UD.MUD.NUN, [3]+4 mu.

The expression a-ša<sub>3</sub> SI <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub> also appears in the two records published by Monaco; CUSAS 14 005 [CUNES 50–08–058] (rev. iii 4-iv 1) and CUSAS 14 099 [CUNES 50–10–008] (rev. iv 1).

The toponym GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub> which comes after a-ša<sub>3</sub> SI <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi is transliterated by Milone and Monaco as umma<sup>ki</sup> (cf. Milone 2005: 340). Since the writing order of the three components GIŠ, KI, and KUŠU<sub>2</sub> is consistently fixed to GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub> in those records, KI cannot be a topographical determinative. GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>, which is safely interpreted as a variant of the standard writing GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, must be <sup>giš</sup>ki-KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.<sup>11)</sup> In the limestone inscription of Ur-Nanše ruler of Lagaš (Cooper 1980: 104–108; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 89–93, E1.9.1.6b; Crawford 1977: 211–214 [copy, photograph]) also, the toponym that undoubtedly refers to “Umma” is spelled as GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub> three times (rev. i 5, ii 10, iv 7), with one possible exception (rev. vi 1).<sup>12)</sup>

I propose here reading <sup>giš</sup>ki-eš<sub>x</sub>/še<sub>x</sub> for <sup>giš</sup>ki-KUŠU<sub>2</sub>, by comparing it with <sup>giš</sup>3ki-eš<sub>2</sub>/še<sub>3</sub> (UŠ.KI.EŠ<sub>2</sub>) which appears in CUSAS 14 243 [CUNES 49–14–005].

A year denotation, mu GIŠ.KASKAL.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>(=LAK 304).KI hul-am<sub>3</sub>, is found in an early Sargonic record (TCBI 1 47 [BI 29], obv. ii 6-rev. iii 1). This is safely translated as “(in) the year when GIŠ.KASKAL.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI was destroyed,” and it is to be compared with the expression mu gir<sub>2</sub>-su<sup>ki</sup> hul-am<sub>3</sub>, ensi<sub>2</sub> a-ga-de<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup> i<sub>3</sub>-DU-am<sub>3</sub> (“(in) the year when Girsu was destroyed and (when) the ruler went to Agade”), which occurs in CUSAS 11 234 [CUNES 49–14–005] (obv. ii 4–5). As has already been assumed by Visicato(–Pomponio) (Visicato 2010; Visicato–Pomponio 2010 [CUSAS 11]: 9), these denotations must refer to the year(s) when Sargon of Akkad plundered and destroyed the southern cities. As against reading umma<sub>(x)</sub><sup>ki</sup> (GIŠ.UH<sub>x</sub>[UH<sub>3</sub>+KASKAL].KI) proposed in the commentary of the text (TCBI 1: 116), I understand that KASKAL(= eš<sub>8</sub>) within GIŠ.KASKAL.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>(=LAK 304).KI functions as a phonetic indicator of KUŠU<sub>2</sub>(= LAK 304). Thus the writing is <sup>giš</sup>-eš<sup>8</sup>KUŠU<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>, which points to a reading rather similar to <sup>giš</sup>3ki-eš<sub>2</sub>/še<sub>3</sub> (UŠ.KI.EŠ<sub>2</sub>) and <sup>giš</sup>ki-eš<sub>x</sub> (GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>).

Alternatively, the writing in question might be GIŠ.KI.KASKAL.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>(=LAK 304), since the sign KI is incised just below the signs MU and GIŠ, not next to an integration of KASKAL.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>. If so, it might be understood to be <sup>giš</sup>ki-eš<sup>8</sup>KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.<sup>13)</sup>

11) The term in the reverse of Milone 2005: No. 19 can safely be restored as GIŠ.KI.[KUŠU<sub>2</sub>] also.

Marchesi–Marchetti 2011:171<sup>96</sup> quotes a transliteration GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub> for a toponym found in CUNES 52–10–005 (unpublished). According to Monaco (2011 [CUSAS 14]: 7, Table 3; 2013: 748), this record is dated to the 5th year of II.

12) On the other hand, neither lagaš(= ŠIR.BUR.LA) nor gir<sub>2</sub>-su accompanies KI in this inscription (obv. iv 2, v 9, rev. i 3). This principle is consistently observed in the other Ur-Nanše inscriptions also.

See also Martin et al., *Fara Tablets* No. 78 [F 600], rev. ii 3: lu<sub>2</sub>-GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>(= LAK 304). Note that lu<sub>2</sub>-adab<sup>ki</sup>(UD.NUN.KI) occurs in the same text (rev. ii 1). In the other Fara records, the writing is fixed to GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI with one possible exception (TSŠ 150, obv. iii 9).

13) The editors of this text interpret the writing as GIŠ.UH<sub>3</sub>+KASKAL.KI (TCBI 1: 116).

GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KASKAL seems to appear in Speleers Recueil No. 42 (early Sarg.?), **obv.(?), i 1** [ ] engar, **2** [G]IŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>(?).KASKAL, **3** [ ]-e<sub>3</sub>-a, ... If we credit Speleers's copy, there is no room to restore KI in line i 2.

## II.5. Variant writings for GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (2): GIŠ.SU<sub>7</sub>.KI

The toponym that occurs in obv. ii 4 of BIN 8 67 (early Sargonic(?) record of distribution of beer and bread (to messengers<sup>14</sup>) to different cities and dignitaries) is listed as umma<sup>ki</sup> in the index of BIN 8 (: 54).<sup>14)</sup> However, the copied signs look like GIŠ.SU<sub>7</sub>.KI rather than GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>(=LAK 304).KI.

GIŠ.SU<sub>7</sub>.KI is found again in UA-4530 [IM 183768] (Photo 1a, b), which came from room 121 in Operation 8 (eastern mound) in our Umm al-Aqarib excavations. In my interpretation, this text records that a large number of garments (bar-sig<sub>2</sub>(-udu)) were distributed to the ruler, his son, his wife, and the personnel of the palace household at GIŠ.SU<sub>7</sub>.KI. The clearly-inscribed sign SU<sub>7</sub> within the toponym is undoubted, and so GIŠ.SU<sub>7</sub>.KI must be giš-su<sub>7</sub>ki' to be understood as another syllabic writing for GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI.



Photo 1a-b UA-4530 (IM 183768), obv. and rev.

### UA-4530 [IM 183768]

**obv. i 1)** 40 la<sub>2</sub>-2 bar-sig<sub>2</sub>-udu, **2)** uš, **3)** 40 la<sub>2</sub>-1 bar-sig<sub>2</sub>, **4)** ugula-e<sub>2</sub> GIŠ.SU<sub>7</sub>.KI, **ii 1)** uš, **2)** 30 la<sub>2</sub>-1 bar-sig<sub>2</sub>, **3)** dumu-ni e<sub>2</sub>, **4)** 5 bar-sig<sub>2</sub>-udu, **5)** lugal-an-zag-še<sub>3</sub>, **6)** 11 e-gal-gal, **iii 1)** 10 [ ], **2)** x.[ ], **3)** 10 [lu]gal-inim-zi-da ugula, **4)** ama-e<sub>2</sub>, **5)** 40 la<sub>2</sub>-2 uš, **6)** 40 la<sub>2</sub>-1 lu<sub>2</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>, **rev. iv 1)** 30 e<sub>2</sub>-uš ki ugula-simug(?), **2)** 25 unu<sub>3</sub>, **3)** 25 ig-nun, **4)** 5 A.NE.[ ], **5)** [ ], **v 1)** 4 ama-abzu-da-ak, **2)** 3 lu<sub>2</sub> ugula-[e<sub>2</sub>], **3)** 5 X.UN(?).X.X.X, **4)** [ ], **vi 1)** tur-mah-še<sub>3</sub>, **2)** 20 e<sub>2</sub>-LAK 218(ZU:ZU.SAR), **3)** 3 ak-nun-še<sub>3</sub>, **4)** 10 ama-X.ki(?), **5)** 2 [ ], **6)** 2 [ ], **vii** (blank), **1)** šu-nigin<sub>2</sub>(?) 365.

I translate the first two sections of this tablet as follows:

**1. obv. i 1-ii 1:** “38 *barsig*-garments to Uš, 39 *barsig*-garments to the major-domo of GIŠ.SU<sub>7</sub>.KI, (they are in charge of) Uš”;

**2. obv. ii 2-iii 4:** “29 *barsig*-garments to his (Uš’s [younger]) son (still living in) the (mother’s) household, ... 10 *barsig*-garments to Lugal-inimzida “foreman,” (they are in charge of) Ama-e.”

According to the first section, Uš and the “major-domo” (ugula-e<sub>2</sub> [lit., “leader of the (palace) household”]) of GIŠ.SU<sub>7</sub>.KI received garments respectively (i 2, i 4).

Uš in UA-4530 [IM 183768], col. i 2 (and also in col. ii 1 and iii 5) seems to be identical to the ruler of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, who appears as a formidable enemy of Lagaš in a Lagaš inscription called En-metena Cone A-B, and a brick inscription UA-4743 [IM 191931] which is a complete duplicate of the first sections of Cone A-B (see below below IV.1); **UA-4743 [IM 191931], ii 4)** [= **En-metena Cone A i 13**] [uš], **5)** [ensi<sub>2</sub>]-, **6)** GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI-ke<sub>4</sub>, **7)** nam-inim-ma diri-diri-še<sub>3</sub>, **8)** e-ak, **9)** na-

14) It is also quoted as umma<sup>ki</sup> by Edzard–Farber–Sollberger 1977: 165.

du<sub>3</sub>-a-bi i<sub>3</sub>-PAD, **10**) edin-lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-še<sub>3</sub>, **iii 1**) [= Cone A i 21] [i<sub>3</sub>-DU], ...: “Uš, ruler of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, acted arrogantly: he smashed that monument and marched on the plain of Lagaš” (translation: Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 54).<sup>15)</sup>

I assume that the post of “major-domo” (UA-4530 [IM 183768], i 4) was held by a son of Uš, because we already know that a man named Gišša-kidu once worked as “major-domo” at Zabalam. Il, Gišša-kidu’s father, is mentioned by En-metena Cone A-B as the man who came from Zabalam so as to take power at GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI by a *coup-d’état* (Section V.1 and 8 below). Gišša-kidu would later succeed his father in the ensi-ship of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI.<sup>16)</sup>

The expression ama-e<sub>2</sub> (literally, “mother of the household”), found in the second section of UA-4530 [IM 183768] (col. iii 4), might be interpreted to be a personal name, rather than a title or an epithet.<sup>17)</sup> I am tempted to see Ama-e wife of Uš, and if so, the second section (ii 2-iii 4) records the distribution of garments to the staffs of the ruler’s wife.

Uš’s reign seems to have been contemporary to the years of E-annatum’s father (i.e., Akurgal) or the very first years of E-annatum himself in the Lagaš chronology (Cooper 1983 [SANE 2/1]: 24, 60 [Chart 1]; Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 14) because, according to En-metena Cone A-B, Uš’s arrogant behavior against Lagaš and the subsequent Lagaš–GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI war were followed by the reconciliation of E-annatum with En-akalle (ruler of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI). The building in Umm al-Aqarib Operation 8 at which UA-4530 [IM 183768] was found, therefore, can be dated to the middle

- 15) A certain Uš occurs in the inscription on a half-cut bowl (UA 6–5612 [IM 214730]), which we found on the floor of room 36 in Operation 9 at Umm al-Aqarib. **UA 6–5612 [IM 214730], 1)** <sup>d</sup>lum-ma, **2)** uš, **3)** lum<sub>x</sub> (LAK 218)-da-na, **4)** a mu-na-ru. I am tempted to identify him to be the (future?) ruler of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, who is mentioned in En-metena Cone A-B, i 13 (= UA-4743 [IM 191931], ii 4), and UA-4530 [IM 183768], i 2, ii 1, iii 5.

For the deity <sup>d</sup>lum-ma mentioned in the first line of this inscription, see Bauer 1989–90 and Marchesi 2006. The expression LAK 218-da-na (line 3) might refer to the home town of Uš (or his epithet?). For a reading of LAK 218 as lum<sub>x</sub>, see Pomponio 1984: 10ff.

A scribe incised the sentences on an already-cut half of a bowl. The other half, not yet discovered, may also have been used for a similar purpose. For the Early Dynastic practice of writing dedicatory inscriptions on stone “fragments,” see Cooper 1980.

- 16) In the first two lines of CUSAS 14 280 [CUNES 52–18–068] (undated), plausibly found at the site of ancient Zabalam, appears the name of a man called Gišša-kidu with the title “major-domo” (ugula-e<sub>2</sub> [obv. i 1–2, also rev. iii 4]). He is presumably identical to a son of Il who, as ruler of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (= Gišša), will in future stand against En-metena of neighboring Lagaš (En-metena Cone A-B); cf. CUSAS 14 077 [CUNES 53–01–007], obv. 2–4: giš-ša<sub>3</sub>-ki-du<sub>10</sub> dumu-ensi<sub>2</sub>, 12 mu 6 iti.

According to the information given by Monaco (2011 [CUSAS 14]: 3<sup>23</sup>), Gišša-kidu entitled major-domo (ugula-e<sub>2</sub>) appears again in CUNES 47–12–025, dated the 28th year. It is extremely doubtful that this record was written in the reign of Il (Gišša-kidu’s father) since the latest date that is safely attributed to Il’s reign is the 12th year (CUSAS 14 077). It might rather belong to a group of tablets written when Me-annedu controlled GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (see my discussion in Section V). CUSAS 14 280 (quoted above) may also be dated to a year of Me-annedu. We can say that Gišša-kidu had already managed the household of his father before the latter took power at GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (Section V.5–7). [Therefore, CUNES 47–10–025 supports my interpretation that Me-annedu (and Usar-du) ruled GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI earlier than Il and Gišša-kidu.]

In contemporary Adab also, the royal household was managed by the major-domo (ugula-e<sub>2</sub>). The major-domo (ugula-e<sub>2</sub>) weighed silver and measured barley in place for the ruler of Adab who purchased fields; **Foxvog 1980: 68–69 UCLM 9–1798** (= ELTS Text: 99–103, Appendix to No. 32), **rev. viii 1)** e<sub>2</sub>-igi-nim-pa-e<sub>3</sub>, **2)** GAR.ensi<sub>2</sub>-, **3)** adab<sup>ki</sup>, **4)** lu<sub>2</sub> nig<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>11</sub>-ak, **5)** lugal-mu-da-kuš<sub>2</sub>, **6)** ugula-e<sub>2</sub>, **7)** lu<sub>2</sub> ku<sub>3</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-a, **8)** lu<sub>2</sub> še-ag<sub>2</sub>.

As is suggested by Visicato–Westenholz 2010 [CUSAS 11]: 28, A-dingirmu entitled “major-domo” (ugula-e<sub>2</sub>) in CUSAS 11 69 [CUNES 50–04–065] (obv. ii 4-rev. iii 1 [Pre-Sargonic Adab]) seems to be identical to the man of the same name called “chief scribe” (dub-sar-mah) by another record (CUSAS 11 68 [CUNES 48–09–121], rev. iv 1–2). It is not as yet certain whether the “major-domo” would later succeed his father in the ensi-ship of Adab.

In the Sargonic palace household, the šabra(PA.AL)-e<sub>2</sub> (also to be translated as “major-domo”) occupied the highest administrative position under the king (and the queen) (Foster 1993: 23). See e.g. **RTC 135, obv. 1)** [x ] lugal, **2)** 3 nin, **3)** 2 šabra-e<sub>2</sub>, ...; **CUSAS 19 150** [CUNES 49–07–005], **obv. 6’)** 1 [x ša]bra-e<sub>2</sub>, ... **8’)** 1 ur<sub>2</sub>-[ ] šabra-nin, .... Cf. **OSP 2 129, rev. iii 1)** 300(?) s[um sa], **2)** [en]si<sub>2</sub> a-ga-d[e<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>], ..., **7)** 420(?) sum-sa, **8)** [ ] x [n]a<sub>2</sub> ugula-e<sub>2</sub>-še<sub>3</sub>; **OSP 2 139, obv. 4)** ensi<sub>2</sub> a-ga-de<sub>3</sub><sup>ki</sup>, ... **rev. 2’)** aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub> ugula-[e<sub>2</sub>].

- 17) For ama-e<sub>2</sub> as a personal name, see e.g. CUSAS 11 52 [CUNES 48–08–110], obv. iii 10’ (ED III); CUSAS 19 180 [CUNES 48–12–080], obv. 3 (Sarg.); MAD 2 17 [AO 11255], obv. 2 et passim (Sarg.); cf. CUSAS 19 114 [CUNES 50–04–087] (Sarg. Adab, rev. 1–2: ama-e<sub>2</sub>, ama-gal). On the other hand, ama-e<sub>2</sub> and ama-e<sub>2</sub>-a occur as an epithet (“mother of the temple”) and as a demon in later literary and lexical texts. Cf. PSD A/III: 202 s.v. ama A 1.5.2 and ibid.: 210 s.v. ama-e<sub>2</sub>-a.



of the 25th century BC, if we follow the “middle chronology.”

## II.6. Variant writings for GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (3): giš.gi-sa

The writing GIŠ.GI.S[A], which appears in Milone 2005: No. 18 (transliterated as giš-gi-KI[D<sup>2</sup>] by the editor), is read as <sup>giš</sup>gi-s[a], i.e., another phonetic writing for GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, since it is reasonably compared to GIŠ.KI.[KUŠU<sub>2</sub>] in Milone 2005: No. 19.

**Milone 2005: No. 18, obv. i 1)** 40;0.0.0 še gur-[sag]-gal<sub>2</sub>, **2)** ur-<sup>d</sup>ildu<sub>3</sub>, **3)** ur-<sup>d</sup>šahan<sub>2</sub>(MUŠ), **ii 1)** sum-ma, **2)** u<sub>4</sub>-4, **3)** giš.gi-s[a].

**Milone 2005: No. 19, obv. i 1)** 60(?);0.0.0<sup>18)</sup> še gur, **2)** ur-<sup>d</sup>nin-ildu<sub>3</sub> sum-ma, **ii 1)** u<sub>4</sub>-5, **rev. iii 1)** GIŠ.KI.[KUŠU<sub>2</sub>].

We now know that, in the Early Dynastic III (and early Sargonic) period(s), there existed several different variants for GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (previously read as /umma/): that is, <sup>giš</sup>ki-eš<sub>2</sub>/še<sub>3</sub> (UŠ.KI.EŠ<sub>2</sub>) [CUSAS 14 243], <sup>giš</sup>ki-eš<sub>x</sub> (GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>) [e.g., Milone 2005: No. 1], <sup>giš</sup>ki-eš<sub>8</sub> <sup>giš</sup>ki (GIŠ.KASKAL.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI) or <sup>giš</sup>ki-eš<sub>8</sub> (GIŠ.KI.KASKAL.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>) [TCBI 1 47: BI 29], <sup>giš</sup>su<sub>7</sub><sup>ki</sup> (GIŠ.SU<sub>7</sub>.KI) [UA-4530: IM 183768], and <sup>giš</sup>gi-sa [Milone 2005: No. 18]. Although they apparently support the recent interpretation that GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI should be read differently from /umma/, the accurate pronunciation of the toponym is still left undetermined. In this study, I tentatively adopt the reading gišša<sub>x</sub> for GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI as the ancient name of Umm al-Aqarib. The reason for this is presented below in Section III.

One of the reasons for the variant writings is that those who were rather unfamiliar to the standard writing of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI because of their scribal training at settlements other than GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (Gišša [= Umm al-Aqarib]) wrote archival records for administration of the entire kingdom. This is suggested by the fact that the rulership of the kingdom was not always held by the local families of Gišša. As will be discussed later, a ruler named II came from Zabalam, a town maintaining a different scribal tradition from that of Gišša.

## III. GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (= Gišša [Umm al-Aqarib]) in the Early Dynastic III period and GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (= Umma [Jokha]) in later periods

In the Ur III period (ca. 2100–2000 BC), GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, regardless of its pronunciation, certainly referred to the settlement of Jokha, because numerous Ur III archival records mentioning GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI came from this site. This identification, however, cannot arbitrarily be applied to the earlier periods. Since we do not have any reliable evidence for discovery of the Early Dynastic III textual sources at Jokha, we are seriously required to consider the possibility that any Early Dynastic text that has been claimed to have come from Jokha was actually unearthed either at Umm al-Aqarib or at the site of ancient Zabalam. Already at the end of the 19th century, E. de Sarzec thought that a royal inscription of a certain E-abzu (titled king of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI) was found at Umm al-Aqarib.<sup>19)</sup> A silver foundation tablet of Ur-lumma, called “ruler of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI” in some royal inscriptions of Lagaš, undoubtedly came from this site in the middle of the 20th century (Braun 1980).<sup>20)</sup>

18) Milone 2005: 338 transliterates it as 1;0.0.0 (še gur).

19) A fragment of a stone statuette has an inscription of E-abzu, king of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI; SARI 1 [Cooper 1986]: 92, Um 3; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 365, E1.12.3; Marchesi–Marchetti 2011: 170, Fig. 4; 338, Pl. 29 1–2, 4 left. E. de Sarzec first published this royal inscription with a commentary that it came from “Moulagareb” (i.e., Umm al-Aqarib) (E. de Sarzec, *Découvertes en Chaldée*, Tome 1 [1884–1912], not accessible to me; information Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 92). Marchesi–Marchetti 2011: 132–133, however, points out that E. de Sarzec’s statement of its provenance as Umm al-Aqarib is erroneous and that it actually came from Telloh (ancient Girsu). According to Marchesi–Marchetti, it was a head of an Early Dynastic statue that E. de Sarzec acquired. See above note 3.

20) Jan Braun published a silver foundation tablet (IM 62510), which commemorates the temple construction of Ur-lumma (titled lugal-ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ(HIXDIŠ)), son of En-akalle (also called lugal-ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ(HIXDIŠ)); Braun 1980: 13–14 with Fig. 1; SARI 1 [Cooper 1986]: 93, Um 4.2; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 367–368, E1.12.4.2. According to Braun, this inscription, found at Umm al-Aqarib, went into the possession of the Iraq Museum on June 11, 1960. He was apparently informed of the date and provenance

Umm al-Aqarib, apparently much more extensive than Jokha in the Early Dynastic III period, must have been the cardinal settlement within the kingdom of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI. I conclude that the name of this settlement, pronounced /giš(š)a/, /kiš(š)a/ or the like by local people, was usually spelled as GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, and that this writing also stood for the appellation of the whole kingdom. A badly damaged administrative tablet (UA 6–6039 [IM 214716]) found in the central area of Umm al-Aqarib certainly refers to GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI.<sup>21)</sup>

I would like to adopt Gišša for GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (<sup>giš</sup>gišša<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>) here, because the syllabic spelling giš-ša<sub>3</sub> seems to have been regarded as most suitable by local scribes. Certainly, the name of a local ruler was spelled giš-ša<sub>3</sub>-ki-du<sub>10</sub>, and this personal name, often shortened as giš-ša<sub>3</sub>, became quite popular among the inhabitants. Giš-ša<sub>3</sub> must denote a toponym since giš-ša<sub>3</sub>-ki-du<sub>10</sub> is safely translated as “Gišša is a good place.”<sup>22)</sup>

Umm al-Aqarib was, with an exception of a very small area, uninhabited at the very end of the Early Dynastic IIIb period and after. We can say that the settlement was abandoned because there is no evidence for any large-scale destruction or plundering within the site (Almamori Haider Oraibi forthcoming).

The inscription of Sargon of Akkad (Sargon 1), which commemorates his victory over Lugal-zagesi king of Uruk, also touches on the battle against “Umma.” Here, the inscription adopts the writing UB.ME.KI in the Akkadian version, corresponding to GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI in the Sumerian version. The writing UB.ME.KI is consistent in the other inscriptions of Sargon and those of his son Rimuš. This now implies that GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI could have been read as /ubme/ or /umme/ already in the late years of Sargon, though it is rather unlikely that a traditional reading /giš(š)a/ or the like was already completely obsolete.<sup>23)</sup>

**1. RIME 2** [Frayne 1993]: **11, E2.1.1.1 [Sargon 1], Sum. 53** [= FAOS 7: 158, Sargon C 1 59 (PBS IV-V 34, i 61)] lu<sub>2</sub>-GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI-da, **54** [<sup>giš</sup>tukul], **55** [e-da-sig<sub>3</sub>], ... / **Akk. 59** [= PBS

of the inscription concretely by the Iraq Museum staff. Frayne quotes Braun 1980 so as to corroborate his interpretation that ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ(HIXDIŠ) is the ancient name of Umm al-Aqarib (Frayne 2008 [RIME 1]: 358).

The silver tablet in question is, in its writing formality, extremely similar to a lapis-lazuli foundation inscription of the same ruler, now housed at the Louvre Museum; IRSA [Sollberger-Kupper 1971] (translation): 83, ID3a; FAOS 5/2 [Steible 1982]: 267, Url.1; SARI 1 [Cooper 1986] (translation): 93, Um 4.1; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 367, E1.12.4.1. Unfortunately, no information is given regarding the provenance of the latter.

- 21) **UA 6–6039 [IM 214716], obv. i 1)** 2;2.0.0 zid<sub>2</sub> gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub>, **2)** GAL(?).[ ], **3)** 20;[x.x.x ], **4)** [ k]u<sub>3</sub>(?), **ii 1)** <sup>giš</sup>gišša<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>(GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI) [ ].GAR, **2)** 20;[x.x.x] e<sub>2</sub>-gal-še<sub>3</sub>, **3)** 3;0.0.0 ki-sanga, **4)** 5;0.0.0 zid<sub>2</sub>-sig<sub>15</sub>(KAL) ku<sub>2</sub>, **rev.** (not inscribed). This record was found at room 38 in Operation 9 at Umm al-Aqarib.
- 22) W. G. Lambert already interpreted the element giš-ša<sub>3</sub> within giš-ša<sub>3</sub>-ki-du<sub>10</sub> as a topographical name (W. G. Lambert 1990: 79; also Frayne 2008 [RIME 1]: 357 [Frayne’s reading: gi<sub>x</sub>(GIŠ)-ša<sub>3</sub>]). In my idea, it was not until the reigns of Il and his son Gišša-kidu that the personal name Gišša(-kidu) became popular in the kingdom. See e.g. Powell 1978: No. 18 where different persons named Gišša occur at least seven times (obv. ii 2, rev. iii 6, 7, 12, iv 1, 2, 6). Concerning GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>-ki-du<sub>10</sub>, which is found only once among Pre-Sargonic–Sargonic archival records (Nik 2 84, rev. 3: Sargonic), I prefer the reading <sup>giš</sup>gišša<sub>x</sub>-ki-du<sub>10</sub> to umma-ki-du<sub>10</sub> (contra W. G. Lambert 1990: 8).

DP 230, a Lagaš list of barley rations which is dated to the latter half of Lugal-anda’s reign (Maekawa 1973–1974: 108<sup>42</sup>) mentions a man named Gišša-kidu with a specific commentary that he came from Gišša (GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI); DP 230, rev. xv 5’-11’: 0;0.4.0 <sup>4</sup>nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su-UR-mu ... elam(NIM)-me, 0;0.4.0 giš-ša<sub>3</sub>-ki-du<sub>10</sub> GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI-kam, I<sub>3</sub>-li<sub>2</sub>-be<sub>6</sub>-li<sub>2</sub> e-da-se<sub>12</sub>. Other men of Gišša, at least two in number, are also registered in the same list (xvi 5’-9’, 10’-14’). [See also note 61 below.] Cf. **Nik 1 3** [Urukagina lugal 5], **obv. i 12)** 1 giš-ša<sub>3</sub>-[ki-du<sub>10</sub>](?) (a Lagaš record of manpower conscription. [This man, entitled RI-mušen (bird trapper), may have lived at a rural settlement outside Girsu.]

Marchesi–Marchetti 2011: 170 stands against a reading of <sup>giš</sup>gišša<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> for GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI by reason that GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI sometimes occurs side by side with giš-ša<sub>3</sub>-(ki-du<sub>10</sub>) in one and the same record. This is unconvincing, however, because the scribes who had been educated at Gišša were as a rule quite eager to preserve the traditional writing GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI for the name of the kingdom. Variant writings were adopted by those who had been brought up in a different scribal tradition at other settlements, especially at Zabalam. Note that the ruler with a name Gišša-kidu was a son of Il who held the basis of support at Zabalam (not at Gišša).

- 23) The writings that would by nature refer to Gišša (Umm al-Aqarib) could sometimes occur in local administrative records, even after Umma (Jokha) became the center in the region in place of Gišša (Umm al-Aqarib). The expression GIŠ.KASKAL.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (or GIŠ.KI.KASAL.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>) (TCBI 1 47 [BI 29]) is an example of this (Section II.4).

IV-V 34, ii 60] UB.ME.KI, **60**) in REC 169, **61**) [*iš<sub>11</sub>-ar*], ...; **RIME 2: 12, E2.1.1.1 Caption 2'** [FAOS 7: 160, C 1, Beischrift f] (PBS IV-V 34, iv δ), **1**) mes-e<sub>2</sub>, **2**) ENSI<sub>2</sub>-, **3**) UB.ME.KI.

**2. RIME 2: 14, E2.1.1.2 [Sargon 2], 62**) [= PBS IV-V 34, viii 17'] UB.ME.KI, **63**) in REC 169, **64**) *iš<sub>11</sub>-ar*, **65**) *u<sub>3</sub>*, **66**) URU.KI, **67**) SAG.GIŠ.RA, **68**) *u<sub>3</sub>*, **69**) BAD<sub>3</sub>-š<sub>u</sub>, **70**) I<sub>3</sub>.GU[L.GUL]: "He (= Sargon) was victorious over Umma in battle, conquered the city, and destroy[ed] its walls" (translation: Frayne 1993 [RIME 2]).

**3. RIME 2: 17, E2.1.1.3** [= FAOS 7:169, **Sargon C, 3**], **33**) UB.ME.KI, **34**) in REC 169, **35**) *iš<sub>11</sub>-ar*, **36**) *u<sub>3</sub>*, **37**) URU.KI, **38**) SAG.GIŠ.RA.

**4. RIME 2: 31, E2.1.1.12 [Sargon 12], Caption 7, 1**) mes-[e<sub>2</sub>], **2**) EN[SI<sub>2</sub>]-, **3**) UB.M[E.KI].

**5. RIME 2: 43, E2.1.2.2 [Rimuš 2], 5**) UB.ME.KI, **6**) *u<sub>3</sub>*, **7**) KI.AN.KI, **8**) *iš<sub>11</sub>-[a]r*, **9**) *u<sub>3</sub>*, **10**) 8,900 GURUŠ.GURUŠ, **11**) [*u*]-š<sub>a</sub>-am-qi<sub>2</sub>-it, **12**) 3,540 LU<sub>2</sub>xKAR<sub>2</sub>, **13**) [ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A], **14**) *u<sub>3</sub>*, **15**) en-x, **16**) ENSI<sub>2</sub>-UB.ME.KI, **17**) ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A, **18**) *u<sub>3</sub>*, **19**) lugal-KA, **20**) ENSI<sub>2</sub>-, **21**) KI.AN.KI, **22**) ŠU.DU<sub>8</sub>.A, ...: "(Rimuš) was victo[r]ious over Umma and KI.AN in battle and struck down 8,900 men. He [took] 3,540 captives. Further, he captured En-x, governor of Umma, and Lugal-KA, governor of KI.AN. ..." (translation: Frayne 1993).

**6. RIME 2: 50, E2.1.2.4 [Rimuš 4], Caption 1', 1**) e[n- ...], **2**) E[NSI<sub>2</sub>]-, **3**) UB.ME.KI.<sup>24)</sup>

Therefore, my second interpretation is that, after the abandonment of Umm al-Aqarib at the very end of the Early Dynastic IIIb period, the name GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI could have become applied to Jokha, a nearby settlement of a rather small size, whose ancient name seems to have been Umma (or Umme). The abandonment of Umm al-Aqarib may have triggered immigration of its inhabitants to Jokha, and this might indeed have marked the beginning of the latter settlement's enlargement.

In conclusion, I understand that GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI had two different readings in two different periods: <sup>giš</sup>gišša<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup> in the Early Dynastic III period and before, and umma<sup>ki</sup> (or umme<sup>ki</sup>) after the Early Dynastic III period (Table 1.2). As is demonstrated by W. G. Lambert 1990, this is reflected by the two different readings (/giš(š)a/, /kiš(š)a/ and /umma/, /umme/) found in later lexical texts.

#### IV. Conflict between Lagaš and Gišša, described by the rulers of Lagaš

##### IV.1. UA-4743 [IM 191931], foundation brick of En-metena of Lagaš

In the 2002 season of our excavations, we discovered a foundation brick (UA-4743, now catalogued as IM 191931) (Photo 2) north of the White Temple (temple of Šara, city-god of Gišša [GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI]), approximately 50 cm below the surface. This brick is proved to be a complete duplicate of the first four sections of the famous Lagaš royal inscription called En-metena Cone A-B (CIRPL [Sollberger 1956]: 37–39, Ent. 28–29; Kramer 1963 (translation): 313–315; IRSA [Sollberger–Kupper 1971] (translation): 71–75, IC7i; FAOS 5/1 [Steible 1982]: 230–245, Ent. 28–29; SANE 2/1 [Cooper 1983] (translation): 49–52; SARI 1 [Cooper 1986] (translation): 54–57, La5.1; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 194–199, E1.9.5.1).



Photo 2 UA-4743 (IM 191931)

24) On the other hand, the two inscriptions of Naram-Sin, the fourth king of Akkad, adopt the traditional writing GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI; Foster 1990, 25ff., **Naram-Sin 2** (HS 1954+...) [= RIME 2 (Frayne 1993), 90f., E.2.1.4.2], iv 7') <sup>u</sup>lugal-nu-zu(?))-ŠA.GAN.DU, 8') NU.BANDA<sub>3</sub>, 9') GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI; v 23) GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI-*u<sub>3</sub>*; Frayne RIME 2 107, E2.1.4.6, **Naram-Sin 6** [= FAOS 7 232, *Narāmsin C 1, 247*, v 13') I GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI.

References to GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI and UB.ME.KI in Sargonic royal inscriptions are collected by Gelb–Kienast 1994 [FAOS 8]: 103–104. UB.ME.KI is also found in BIN 8 159 (rev. vi 2).

**UA-4743 [IM 191931]****Transliteration**

**i 1) [= En-metena Cone A i 1]** [<sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>], **2)** [lugal-kur-kur-ra], **3)** [ab-ba-dingir-dingir-re<sub>2</sub>-ne-ke<sub>4</sub>], **4)** [inim-gi-na-ni-ta], **5)** <sup>d</sup>nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su, **6)** <sup>d</sup>šara<sub>2</sub>-bi, **7)** [ki] e-ne-sur, **8)** me-silim, **9)** lugal-kiš<sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub>, **ii 1) [= Cone A i 10]** [inim-<sup>d</sup>ištaran-na-ta], **2)** [eš<sub>2</sub>-gan<sub>2</sub> be<sub>2</sub>-ra], **3)** [ki-ba na bi<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>3</sub>], **4)** [uš], **5)** [ensi<sub>2</sub>]-, **6)** <sup>giš</sup>gišša<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>(= GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI)-ke<sub>4</sub>, **7)** nam-inim-ma diri-diri-še<sub>3</sub>, **8)** e-ak, **9)** na-du<sub>3</sub>-a-bi, **10)** i<sub>3</sub>-PAD, **11)** edin-lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-še<sub>3</sub>, **iii 1) [= Cone A i 21]** [i<sub>3</sub>-DU], **2)** [<sup>d</sup>nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su], **3)** [ur-sag-<sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ke<sub>4</sub>], **4)** [inim-si-sa<sub>2</sub>-ni-ta], **5)** <sup>giš</sup>gišša<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>-da, **6)** dam-ha-ra, **7)** e-da-ak, **8)** inim-<sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>-ta, **9)** sa-sus-gal bi<sub>2</sub>-sus, **10)** SAHAR.DU<sub>6</sub>.TAG<sub>4</sub>-bi, **iv 1) [= Cone A i 31]** [edin-na ki ba-ni-us<sub>2</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>], **2)** [e<sub>2</sub>-an-na-tum<sub>2</sub>], **3)** [ensi<sub>2</sub>]-, **4)** [lagaš<sup>ki</sup>], **5)** [pa-bil<sub>3</sub>-ga], **6)** en-mete-na, **7)** ensi<sub>2</sub>-, **8)** lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-ka-ke<sub>4</sub>, **9)** en-a<sub>2</sub>-kal-le, **10)** en[si<sub>2</sub>]-, **11)** <sup>giš</sup>gišša<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>-da, **v 1) [= Cone A i 42]** [ki e-da-sur], **2)** [e-bi id<sub>2</sub>-nun-ta], **3)** [gu<sub>2</sub>-edin]-na-[še<sub>3</sub>], **4) [= Cone A ii 3, B ii 14]** ib<sub>2</sub>-[ta]-ni-e<sub>3</sub>(= U<sub>4</sub>.D[U]), **5)** [GAN<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka], **6)** [210 ½ eš<sub>2</sub> <sup>ninda</sup>nindan<sub>x</sub>(= GAR.DU)], **7)** [a<sub>2</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>gišša<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>-še<sub>3</sub>], **8)** [mu-tag<sub>4</sub>], **9)** [GAN<sub>2</sub> lugal-nu-tuk], **10) [= Cone B ii 20]** [i<sub>3</sub>-gub].

**Translation**

Enlil, king of all lands, father of all the gods, by his authoritative command, demarcated the border between Ningirsu and Šara. Mesilim, king of Kiš, at the command of Ištaran, measured it off, and erected a monument there (i 1-ii 3).

Uš, ruler of Gišša (Umma [Cooper 1986]), acted arrogantly: he smashed that monument and marched on the plain of Lagaš (ii 4-iii 1).

Ningirsu, warrior of Enlil, at his (Enlil's) just command, did battle with Gišša. At Enlil's command, he cast the great battle-net upon it, and set up burial mounds for it on the plain (iii 2-iv 1).

E-annatum, ruler of Lagaš (and) uncle of En-metena ruler of Lagaš, demarcated the border with En-akalle, ruler of Gišša. He extended the (boundary-)channel from the Nun-canal to the Gu'edinna, leaving 210.5 nindan (1,263 m) (strip) of Ningirsu's land under Gišša's control and establishing a no-man's land there (iv 2-v 10). (Translation follows Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 54–55, while several personal names, figures and topographical names are read differently.)

**IV.2. War between Lagaš and Gišša (1), as described by En-metena**

The first half of En-metena Cone A-B describes the history of disputes and wars between Lagaš and the neighboring kingdom of Gišša (capital: Gišša [GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI] = Umm al-Aqarib; previously interpreted to be Umma [present Jokha]), which presumably continued for more than one hundred years down to the times of En-metena in the Early Dynastic III period.<sup>25)</sup> According to Lagaš royal inscriptions, the rulers of Lagaš made wars against Gišša because of the latter's wrongful claims on the land situated between the two kingdoms. The very fact that a Lagaš inscription telling the early history of the Lagaš–Gišša conflict was unearthed at the center of Umm al-Aqarib strongly suggests that Gišša (Umm al-Aqarib) was temporarily occupied by Lagašite soldiers.<sup>26)</sup> The brick

25) In his war against Gišša, Ur-Nanše (founder of the Ur-Nanše dynasty) captured the ruler of Gišša and his dignitaries; Cooper 1980: 104–108; FAOS 5/1 [Steible 1982]: 112–116, Urn. 51; SANE 2/1 [Cooper 1983] (translation): 44–45; SARI 1 [Cooper 1986] (translation): 24–25, La 1.6; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 89–93, E.1.9.1.6b. Quite possibly, one of the captives (named Hursagše-mah, chief commercial agent) would later work for the king of Lagaš. A man of the same name, bearing a pole and a balance for weighing, is drawn on a bas-relief of Ur-Nanše. He stands facing Ur-Nanše, alongside Ur-Nanše's sons; Parrot 1948: Pl.V, a; Boese 1971: Tf. XXX, 2: T 7; Moortgat 1069: Pl. 110; cf. CIRPL 2: Urn. 22; FAOS 5/1 [Steible 1982]: 85–86, Urn. 22. We probably see here an example of frequent interchanges of people between Lagaš and Gišša. Cf. DP 230 quote above in note 22. See also note 61 below.

Mesilim “king of Kiš,” who appears in En-metena Cones A-B as a mediator of the conflicts between Lagaš and Gišša, is naturally dated earlier than Ur-Nanše. Marchesi–Marchetti 2011 places Mesilim and Ur-Nanše to the near end of the Early Dynastic IIIa period and the beginning of ED IIIb respectively (Marchesi–Marchetti 2011: 39ff., 49, 102).

26) It is even plausible that En-metena Cone A and B were not found at Telloh (= Girsu) but “between that site and Jokha” (Nies's



UA 4743 [IM 191931] was certainly brought to Gišša in the reign of En-metena because it explicitly calls En-metena ruler of Lagaš (UA 4743, iv 6–8 [= En-metena Cone A, i 36–38]). In my idea, Gišša had already been under the control of Lagaš for about 15 years or more before the brick was carried to Gišša probably in the very beginning of En-metena's reign (Section V.7–8 below).

The first four sections of En-metena Cone A-B (Cone A, B i 1–Cone B ii 20; duplicate: UA-4743 [IM 191931]) record what happened between Lagaš and Gišša prior to E-annatum's reconciliation with En-akalle, ruler of Gišša. The continuing sections within the first half part of Cone A-B, which are not duplicated any more in UA-4743 [IM 191931], describe the following events:

- 1. Cone A, ii 4–18:** E-annatum's erection of his own boundary-stela and restoration of Mesilim's stela, and E-annatum's construction of the chapels for the major gods on the levee of the boundary channel.
- 2. Cone A, ii 19–iii 4:** Lagašite request to Gišša to pay a huge amount of barley tax/tribute (or loan?) every year, the latter's ultimate refusal of payment, Ur-lumma's diversion of water in favor of Gišša, and his destruction of the chapels constructed by E-annatum.
- 3. Cone A, iii 5–27:** the war between En-annatum I of Lagaš and Ur-lumma of Gišša, the victory of Lagaš, and the death of Ur-lumma.

The events, summarized as 1 and 2 above, must have happened over a long duration. Indeed, it has often been assumed that Gišša had an obligation to pay barley for as many as consecutive 40 years (e.g., M. Lambert 1956: 142–143; M. Lambert 1965: 81; Cooper 1983 [SANE 2/1]: 28; Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 56; cf. Steiner 1986: 239ff.).

What actually happened after process 2 is described as follows in the last section of the first part of Cone A-B; **Cone A iii 5)** en-an-na-tum<sub>2</sub>, **6)** ensi<sub>2</sub>-, **7)** lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-ke<sub>4</sub>, **8)** GAN<sub>2</sub> u<sub>3</sub>-gig-ga, **9)** a-ša<sup>3</sup> GAN<sub>2</sub>-nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka-ka, **10)** giš UR.UR-še<sub>3</sub> e-da-la<sub>2</sub>, **11)** en-mete-na, **12)** dumu ki-ag<sub>2</sub>, **13)** en-an-na-tum<sub>2</sub>-ma-ke<sub>4</sub>, **14)** GIN<sub>2</sub>.ŠE<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-ni-se<sub>3</sub>, **15)** ur-lum-ma, **16)** ba-da-kar, **17)** ša<sub>3</sub> giš<sup>giš</sup>gišša<sup>ki</sup>-še<sub>3</sub>, **18)** e-gaz, **19)** anše-ni ERIN<sub>2</sub>-60-am<sub>6</sub>, **20)** gu<sub>2</sub>-<sup>id2</sup>lum-ma-gir<sub>2</sub>-nun-ta-ka, **21)** e-še<sub>3</sub>-tag<sub>4</sub>, ... **25)** SAHAR.DU<sub>6</sub>.TAG<sub>4</sub>-bi, **26)** ki 5-a, **27)** i<sub>3</sub>-mi-dub: “En-annatum, ruler of Lagaš, fought with him (Ur-lumma) in the Ugigga-field, the field of Ningirsu. En-metena, beloved son of En-annatum, defeated him. Ur-lumma escaped, but was killed in Gišša itself. He had abandoned sixty teams of asses at the bank of the Lumma-girunnta canal, ... He (En-metena) made burial mounds in five places there for them” (translation: Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 55).

En-annatum I, (younger) brother of E-annatum, began a war against Ur-lumma (son of En-akalle) within the territory of Lagaš, and En-metena (son of En-annatum I) also participated in the war. En-metena defeated the army of Ur-lumma, and ultimately killed him in the city of Gišša.

Among the four main settlements within the “Umma region” (Umm al-Aqarib [= Gišša], Jokha [= Umma], Ibzeikh [traditionally identified as ancient Zabalam], and Schmid [= ancient KIAN?]), Umm al-Aqarib is nearest to Telloh (ancient Girsu, capital of the Lagaš kingdom), and so it was quite easy for the Lagašite army to be stationed there. Since there is no archaeological evidence of a large-scale destruction in the site, however, the occupation of Gišša (GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI [= Umm al-Aqarib]) seems to have been achieved by the soldiers of Lagaš without any serious resistance of the inhabitants.

### IV.3. War between Lagaš and Gišša (2), as described by En-annatum I

Another royal inscription of Lagaš also states that En-annatum I gained victory in the war against Ur-lumma of Gišša (Biggs 1976; SANE 2/1 [Cooper 1983] (translation): 49; SARI 1 [Cooper 1986] (translation): 47–48, La 4.2); RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 170–173, E1.9.4.2; **x 6)** ur-lum-ma, **7)** ensi<sub>2</sub>-, **8)** giš<sup>giš</sup>gišša<sup>ki</sup>, **9)** en-an-na-tum<sub>2</sub>-me, **10)** e-ki-sur-ra-, **xi 1)** nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka-še<sub>3</sub>, **2)** mu-gaz, **3)** TAG<sub>4</sub> lum-ma-gir<sub>2</sub>-nun-ta-ka, **4)** a-ba-ni-še<sub>3</sub> ba-DU, **5)** <sup>tug2</sup>nig<sub>2</sub>-bar-ba ka-ni, **6)** mu-ši-si: “En-annatum beat

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commentary on NBC 2501 [“Cone B”] in BIN 2: 1, quoted by Frayne 2008 [RIME 1]: 194).

back Ur-lumma, ruler of Gišša, to the boundary-channel of Ningirsu. He went after him at the ... of the Lumma-girnunta(-canal), and ... his ... garment.” (translation: Cooper 1986: 48) / “En-annatum crushed Ur-lumma, ruler of Gišša, as far as E-kisurra (“Boundary Channel”) of the god Ningirsu. He pursued him (Ur-lumma) into the ... of (the town) Lumma-girnunta. (En-annatum) gagged (Ur-lumma) (against future claims)” (translation: Frayne 2008 [RIME 1]: 172–173).

The above-quoted section undoubtedly refers to the same war of En-annatum I (– En-metena) against Ur-lumma that is described in En-metena Cone A iii 1ff. A serious difference, however, is that the text now labelled En. I No. 2 states that En-annatum I himself crushed the Gišša army under Ur-lumma, without touching on En-metena’s killing of Ur-lumma.

A reference to Šul-utula as the personal god of En-metena is found in col. xiii of this text, rather independently from the main part; **xiii 1)** uri<sub>3</sub><sup>uruda</sup>, **2)** udu-uri<sub>3</sub><sup>uruda</sup> giš-a-gar-ra, **3)** <sup>d</sup>hendur-sag-ka-ka, **4)** e-sar-s[ar], **5)** [<sup>d</sup>šu]l-[utu]la [dingir(?)-z]i [en]-mete-na-ke<sub>4</sub>, **6)** i<sub>3</sub>-su-su, ...: “He (En-annatum I<sup>9</sup>) had it inscribed on the copper standard and the ... of the copper standard fixed on (a pole<sup>2</sup> of) wood belonging to Hendursag. [Š]ul-[ut]ula, the [loy]al [personal god] of [En]-metena has checked it<sup>2</sup>...” (translation: Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 48; cp. Selz 1995: 143, and Frayne 2008 [RIME 1]: 173).

This text, inscribed on a clay tablet, seems to be a later copy. Possibly, a scribe under En-metena copied word by word onto a clay tablet the master text that had already been composed sometime in the years of his father En-annatum I. The scribe did not paste on this any new phrases regarding En-metena’s role in the war, while adding col. xiii, that is, a reference to En-metena and his personal god Hendursag (see Biggs 1976: 36; cf. Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 48).

#### IV.4. War between Lagaš and Gišša (3), as described by Urukagina

The war of En-annatum I against Ur-lumma was also retrospectively by Urukagina, last ruler of the city-state of Lagaš; CIRPL [Sollberger 1956]: 53–55, Ukg. 6; FAOS 5/1 [Steible 1982]: 313–324, Ukg. 6; SANE 2/1 [Cooper 1983] (translation): 51; SARI 1 [Cooper 1986] (translation): 76–78, La 9.3; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 269–275, E1.9.9.3; **iv 1’)** bar-še-ba-ka, **2’)** lu<sub>2</sub> he<sub>2</sub>-ši-gi<sub>4</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-a-ka, ... **13’)** GAN<sub>2</sub> u<sub>3</sub>-gig-ga, **14’)** GAN<sub>2</sub> ki-ag<sub>2</sub>-, **15’)** <sup>d</sup>nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka-ka, **16’)** <sup>d</sup>nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su-ke<sub>4</sub>, **17’)** <sup>giš</sup>gišša<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>, **18’)** zi-ga-bi, **19’)** i<sub>3</sub>-ha-lam, **20’)** ur-lum-ma, **21’)** ensi<sub>2</sub>-, **22’)** <sup>giš</sup>gišša<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>-a, **23’)** gar<sub>3</sub>-dar-ra-ni, **24’)** SUHUŠ-*gunû*-<sup>id2</sup>lum-ma-gir<sub>2</sub>-nun-ta-ka, **25’)** gaba-ni-še<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-DU, **26’)** anše-ni ERIN<sub>2</sub>-60-am<sub>6</sub>, **27’)** e-še<sub>3</sub>-tag<sub>4</sub>, ...: “Because of that barley, he (En-annatum I) sent envoys to him (Ur-lumma), ... At the Ugigga-field, the beloved field of Ningirsu, Ningirsu destroyed the (troops) levied by Gišša. He overthrew Ur-lumma, city ruler of Gišša, at the ... of the Lumma-girnunta canal and came right up against him. (Ur-lumma’s) asses – there were sixty teams(?) of them – he abandoned. ...” (translation: Frayne 2008 [RIME 1]: 274)

According to this inscription of Urukagina, the city-god Ningirsu carried out the war at the Ugigga-field, while En-metena Cone A-B (iii 5–10) explicitly states that En-annatum I fought against the soldiers of Gišša at that field. The grammatical subject of the sentence “(he) overthrew Ur-lumma ..., at the ... of the Lumma-girnunta canal” (Ukg. 6 iv 20’-24’) (translation: Frayne) must be the god Ningirsu (neither En-annatum I nor En-metena), while Cone A describes that En-metena actually defeated Ur-lumma at the canal of Lumma-girnunta (iii 19–21). If we leave out Urukagina’s emphasis on the divine act, however, Urukagina’s description of the war essentially follows the inscription of En-annatum I (treated above in Section IV.3), not of En-metena.

The scribes under En-annatum I and Urukagina were quite reluctant to touch the topic of the role played by the prince En-metena in En-annatum I’s war against Gišša, which is in a sharp contrast with En-metena Cone A-B. Therefore, two relevant questions are now to be answered, that is, what happened at Gišša after En-metena’s killing of Ur-lumma, and when En-annatum I died (that is, when En-metena succeeded En-annatum I).

## V. Me-annedu's control of Gišša

### V.1. From Ur-lumma to Il? (at Gišša)

Following the description of En-metena's victory over Gišša (GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI) under Ur-lumma, En-metena Cone A-B states that the highest administrator (sanga) of Zabalam, named Il, came to Gišša and that he took power there.

**Cone A iii 28)** u<sub>4</sub>-ba il<sub>2</sub>, **29)** sanga-zabalam<sup>ki</sup>-kam, **30)** gir<sub>2</sub>-su<sup>ki</sup>-ta **31)** <sup>giš</sup>gišša<sup>ki</sup> (= GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI)-še<sub>3</sub>, **32)** gar<sub>3</sub>-dar-ra-a, **3)** e-DU, **34)** il<sub>2</sub>-le, **35)** nam-ensi<sub>2</sub>, **36)** <sup>giš</sup>gišša<sup>ki</sup> (= GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI)-a, **37)** šu e-ma-ti: "At that time, Il, who was the temple-estate administrator at Zabalam, had marched in retreat from Girsu to Gišša. Il took the rulership of Gišša for himself" (translation: Cooper 1983 [SANE 2/1]: 32; Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 55; Frayne 2008 [RIME 1]: 197).

Scholars have almost unanimously interpreted that there was not a long break between Ur-lumma and Il in the rulership succession of Gišša (GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI [= Umma-Jokha, Cooper and others; = Giš(š)a-Jokha, Frayne]). We must be cautious, however, since such a translation as "(Il) had marched in retreat from Girsu to Umma (actually Gišša)" for Cone A iii 30–33 is still open to serious discussion. This translation is based on a rather weak hypothesis that Il, who had helped Ur-lumma on the battlefield near Girsu within the territory of the Lagaš kingdom, went back to "Umma" and took power in a political vacuum caused by En-metena's killing of Ur-lumma.<sup>27)</sup>

The above interpretation also presupposes that the phrase u<sub>4</sub>-ba (literally, "on that day / at that time"), found at the top of this section, either indicates the simultaneity or the immediate succession of the two events that are described just before and after the term u<sub>4</sub>-ba, in this case, En-metena's victory over Ur-lumma and Il's holding of power. This is not always valid, however.<sup>28)</sup>

27) If the phrase gar<sub>3</sub>-dar-ra-a (Cone A iii 32) cannot be translated as "in (his) retreat" or the like, Cooper's interpretation of all the sentences would be rather unsustainable. See Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 57<sup>14</sup> "Understanding gar<sub>3</sub>-dar-ra as Akkadian *sakpu* 'thrown back, toppled' as in La 9.3 iv [CIRPL Ukg. 16: Haider] ... When his uncle [Ur-lumma: Haider] was killed after their retreat to Umma, Il succeeded him as ruler there." See also Cooper 1983 [SANE 2/1]: 32; M. Lambert 1960: 144; id. 1965: 83 "(Il) went in retreat(?) from Girsu to Umma" (in French). [Lambert even supposed that after Gišša's victory over Lagaš, the army of Gišša led by Il had been stationed at Girsu. M. Lambert 1965: 83.] For other previous interpretations, see Steiner 1986: 291<sup>366</sup>, 292–293<sup>375</sup>. Cf. Sollberger-Kupper 1971 [IRSA]: 72: "(Il) marched victoriously from Girsu to Umma" (in French).

For *sakpu* (adj.) quoted by Cooper, see CAD S: 81 *sakpu* A adj. "rejected." The related Akkadian verb *sakāpu* means "1. to thrust, push away, to overturn, to reject, to set aside (kingship), depose (a king), 2. to drive back, repulse, defeat, drive out, evict, 3. to dispatch a boat, to send by boat, to drive cattle, ..." (CAD S: 70ff. *sakāpu* A). However, it is quite dubious that gar<sub>3</sub>-dar-ra-a is used in a passive meaning in En-metena Cone A iii 32, as is suggested by Cooper's translation. Kramer's translation "(... Il) ravaged(?) (the land) from Girsu to Umma" for Cone A iii 28–33 is much sounder (Kramer 1963: 314). The expression gir<sub>2</sub>-su<sup>ki</sup>-ta GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI-še<sub>3</sub> (Cone A iii 30–31) should be interpreted to mean "the (whole region) from Girsu to Umma [actually Gišša: Haider]," as is suggested by Kramer's translation. Cf. "from Girsu to Gu-abba," a phrase found in several Ur III archival records of Girsu; e.g., la<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub> si-i<sub>3</sub>-tum, nig<sub>2</sub>-gal<sub>2</sub>-la, gir<sub>2</sub>-su<sup>ki</sup>-ta gu<sub>2</sub>-ab-ba<sup>ki</sup>-še<sub>3</sub> (TuT 117, rev. ix' 1–4); pisan-dub-ba, kilib<sub>3</sub>-ba še-ba u<sub>3</sub> gur<sub>7</sub>-a tag<sub>4</sub>-a, gir<sub>2</sub>-su<sup>ki</sup>-ta gu<sub>2</sub>-ab-ba<sup>ki</sup>-še<sub>3</sub>, i<sub>3</sub>-gal<sub>2</sub> (MVN 13 723).

The compound verb gar<sub>3</sub> — dar is found again in an inscription of Urukagina (CIRPL Ukg. 16), in relevance to the war between En-annatum I and Ur-lumma: **iv 20')** ur-lum-ma, **21')** ensi<sub>2</sub>-, **22')** <sup>giš</sup>gišša<sup>ki</sup> (= GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI)-a, **23')** gar<sub>3</sub>-dar-ra-ni, **24')** SUHUŠ-gum<sup>id2</sup>-lum-ma-gir<sub>2</sub>-nun-ta-ka, **25')** gaba-ni-še<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-DU. Cooper translates gar<sub>3</sub>-dar(-ra-ni) in col. iv 23' as "retreating"; Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 77, La 9.3: "He confronted the retreating Ur-lumma, ruler of Umma, at the base of the Lummagirnunta-canal." However, Frayne gives a completely different translation "to overthrow" to gar<sub>3</sub> — dar. According to Frayne, therefore, the 3rd person possessive pronoun -(ra)-ni (in the meaning of "his") which occurs after gar<sub>3</sub> — dar denotes Ningirsu (or En-annatum I), not Ur-lumma as is assumed by Cooper; Frayne 2008 [RIME 1]: 274, E1.9.9.3: "He (Ningirsu or En-annatum I) overthrew Ur-lumma, city-ruler of Gišša, at the ... of the LUMma-girnunta canal and came right up against him."

For gar<sub>3</sub> — dar, see also an Old Babylonian example: **Sin-iddinam 11, 10)** <sup>giš</sup>tukul-ta gu<sub>2</sub>-erim<sub>2</sub>-bi, **11)** gar<sub>3</sub> bi<sub>2</sub>-in-dar-ra-a, "(Sin-iddinam, king of Larsa) had defeated all (his) enemies with weapons (translation: Frayne 1990 [RIME 4]: 172).

28) One of the royal inscriptions of E-annatum is composed of five sections; **1:** i 1–ii 3, **2:** ii 4–11, **3:** ii 12–iii 4, **4:** iii 5–6, **5:** iii 5–6; CIRPL [Sollberger 1956]: 24, Ean. 22(-45); IRSA [Sollberger-Kupper 1971] (translation): 61, IC5c; FAOS 5/1 [Steible 1982]: 168–169, Ean. 22; SARI 1 [Cooper 1986] (translation): 94, La 3.9; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 157–158, E1.9.3.9.

**1:** "E-annatum, ruler of Lagaš ... (enumeration of E-annatum's epithets); **2:** "(E-annatum) defeated the mountain land of Elam, ..." (descriptions of E-annatum's wars against foreign cities including Gišša); **3:** "At that time (u<sub>4</sub>-ba) he built a well of fired bricks for the god Ningirsu ..." (description of his construction of a well); **4:** "His personal god is Šul-utula;" **5:** "Then (u<sub>4</sub>-

I understand that En-metena Cone A-B is an integration of the two parts that were independently composed at different times and that the  $u_4$ -ba section is indeed the very beginning of the second part. In his composition of the first part of Cone A-B, the scribe of En-metena borrowed the basic framework of the existing master story with several modifications and additions. On writing about En-annatum I's war against Ur-lumma, he utilized this original source, adding to it a description of En-metena's participation in the battle and his killing of Ur-lumma. The inscriptions of both En-annatum I and of Urukagina which ignore En-metena's role in the war, strongly suggest the existence of the master story for Cone A-B. On the other hand, the scribe of En-metena certainly created the second part of Cone A-B, which is centered on II's expansion policies into Lagaš's territory and on En-metena's construction activities. This implies that there was a large lag in time between the events described in the first part of Cone A-B and those of the second part.

In those intermediate years that are left untouched by En-metena Cone A-B, in my assumption, Me-annedu son of En-annatum I controlled Gišša, and he was probably followed by a ruler named Usar-du. The  $u_4$ -ba section, that is, the first section of the second part of Cone A-B, refers to II's holding power at Gišša after Me-annedu and probably Usar-du.

## V.2. Me-annedu's rule over Gišša: CDLI P271237, Ozaki 2008: No. 1 [152–2745], No. 2 [153–2746], and UA-469 [IM 163159]

It is not until the beginning of the 21st century that we publicly encountered Me-annedu, an enigmatic person with the title *ensi* (prevailingly translated as “(city) ruler”). In 2006, the photograph of an administrative tablet (labeled as CDLI P271237) mentioning Me-annedu *ensi*, appeared in CDLI internet together with its transliteration. This is an inspection record of the sheep and goats that were in the possession of goddess Inanna at Zabalam.

**1. CDLI P271237, rev. v 1)**  $gu_2$ -an-še<sub>3</sub> 520  $u_8$ , 270  $la_2$ -2 LAK 777, 2  $kir_{11}$   $ur_4$ , **2)** 4  $sil_4$ -nita, 7  $kir_{11}$   $bar$ -gal<sub>2</sub>, **3)** 282  $udu$ -nita, 14(cuneiform)  $u_8$ , **vi 1)**  $šu$ -nigin<sub>2</sub> 1083<sup>29)</sup>  $u_8$   $udu$ -nita  $igi$ -du<sub>8</sub>, **2)**  $dub$   $si$ -sa<sub>2</sub>-a  $udu$   $ur_4$ , <sup>d</sup>inanna  $zabalam_6$ , 30  $la_2$ -2  $mu$ ,  $iti$  8, **vii 1)**  $me$ -an-n[ $e_2$ -du<sub>10</sub>]  $ens[i_2]$ , 13  $ud_5$   $maš_2$ - $gu$   $udu$ ,  $ab$ -sum-ma  $ki$ - $ensi_2$ .

Although CDLI gives a transliteration ME-<sup>d</sup>[ ... ] for a personal name written before  $ens[i_2]$  (rev. vii 1), we safely restore it as  $me$ -an-n[ $e_2$ -du<sub>10</sub>]. The photograph shows that the left part of

ba), Ningirsu loved E-annatum.” (translation: Frayne 2008 [RIME 1]: 157–158)

In this inscription, the phrases beginning with  $u_4$ -ba are found two times (Sections 3, 5). It is quite unlikely that  $u_4$ -ba in the first line of Section 3 indicates the contemporaneity of En-metena's well construction to his different wars described in Section 2. In my idea,  $u_4$ -ba occurs here simply as an introductory term, and it seems to be the case with regard to  $u_4$ -ba in En-metena Cone A-B also.

Another example is the  $u_4$ -ba section found in the “freedom” declaration text of En-metena; FAOS 5/1 [Steible 1982]: 267–270, Ent. 79; SARI 1 [Cooper 1986] (translation): 58–59, La 5.4; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 202–204, E1.9.5.4; **1.** i 1–10: “For Lugal-emuš — En-metena, ruler of Lagaš, ...” (enumeration of En-metena's epithets); **2.** ii 1–iii 9: “He built the Ešdugru for Ningirsu, ...” (enumeration of his construction activities); **3.** iii 10–iv 5: “He cancelled obligations for Lagaš, ...” (declaration of “freedom” for the citizens of Lagaš); **4.** iv 6–v 3: “At that time, En-metena built for Lugal-emuš the E-muš of Bad-tibira, ...” (temple construction at Bad-tibira); **5.** v 4–vi 6: “He cancelled obligations for the citizens of Uruk, Larsa and Bad-tibira, ...” (declaration of “freedom” for Uruk, Larsa and Bad-tibira); **6.** vi 7–11: “En-metena, who is commissioned by the goddess Inanna, ...” (epilogue) (translation: Frayne 2008 [RIME 1]: 204).

Here, the expression “at that time / on that day” ( $u_4$ -ba, found at the beginning of Section 4) does not denote that En-metena's construction of the E-muš temple at Bad-tibira immediately followed his declaration of “freedom” at Lagaš (Section 3). A possible interpretation is that En-metena declared “freedom” for the citizens of Lagaš soon after his enthronement, as exemplified by Urukagina (Maekawa 1973–1974).

Except for the cases in which it denotes the term of office of an administrator (e.g., RTC 16, rev. vi 3–vii 3:  $u_4$ -ba  $en$ -metena  $ensi_2$ -lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-kam,  $en$ -en<sub>3</sub>-tar-zi sanga-<sup>d</sup>nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka-kam, 20  $la_2$ -1), The term  $u_4$ -ba might vaguely refer to the time when an event that is the main topic of an inscription happened (in the inscription of En-metena quoted above, En-metena's construction of E-muš and his declaration of “freedom” for the peoples of Uruk, Larsa and Bad-Tibira [Sections 4 and 5]). We might also say that  $u_4$ -ba simply indicates the time of text composition.

29)  $520+268+2+4+7+282 = 1083$ .



the sign NI(= ne<sub>2</sub>) remains undamaged on the tablet.

In 2008, T. Ozaki published the three Early Dynastic III purchase contracts of real estates that went into the possession of the Okayama Orient Museum.<sup>30)</sup> Two of them mention Me-annedu as ensi with numerals for years.

**2. Ozaki 2008: No. 1 [152–2745]**

**obv. i 1)** 1 sar iku e<sub>2</sub>, **2)** 60 uruda ma-na, **3)** sa<sub>10</sub>-bi, **4)** 10 X<sup>2</sup> uruda ma-na, **5)** nig<sub>2</sub>-ba, **ii 1)** 1 sal-u<sub>4</sub>-ba, ... **5)** e<sub>2</sub> e-še<sub>3</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>, inim-bi til, ... **rev. vi 1)** 23<sup>31)</sup> mu, me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>10</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub>.

**3. Ozaki 2008: No. 2 [153–2746]**

**obv. i 1)** 4 sar e<sub>2</sub>, **2)** 280 uruda ma-na, **3)** sa<sub>10</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>, **4)** 10 sig<sub>2</sub> ma-na, **5)** 1;0.0.0 še gur-sag-gal<sub>2</sub>, **6)** nig<sub>2</sub>-ba, **7)** [1 sal]-[u<sub>4</sub>]-ba, ... **ii 4)** e<sub>2</sub> e-še<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>, **5)** inim-bi še<sub>3</sub>-til, ... **rev. vi 1)** me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>10</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub>, 30 la<sub>2</sub>-3 mu.

To the three Me-annedu records quoted above, I now add a small fragment (UA-469 [IM 163159]) (Photo 3a, b) that we found at the administrative quarter of Umm al-Aqarib. This tablet is also a record of the house purchase that happened in the “17th regnal year.”

**4. UA-469 [IM 163159]**

**obv. i 1)** [X sar e<sub>2</sub>], **2)** [X uruda ma-na], **3)** [sa<sub>10</sub>-bi(?)], **4)** [ ] .x.x.x, **5)** 1 tug<sub>2</sub>.sal-nig<sub>2</sub>-sag, **6)** 0;2.0.0 še gur, **7)** nig<sub>2</sub>-ba, **ii 1)** [ ], **2)** [ ], **3)** [ ], **4)** [ ].SAL(?).[ ], **5)** e<sub>2</sub> e-[še<sub>3</sub>]-sa<sub>10</sub>, **6)** inim-bi til, **7)** 1 mes-u<sub>4</sub>-ba, **iii 1)** [ ], **2)** [ ], **3)** [ ], **4)** [ ], **5)** [ ], **6)** [ ].GAN<sub>2</sub> [ ], **7)** 1 ur-pu<sub>2</sub>-sa[g], **iv** (completely missing), **rev. v 1)** mu 20 la<sub>2</sub>-3, me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>10</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub>.



Photo 3a-b UA-469 (IM 163159), obv. and rev.

I conclude that all of these four records, i.e., the administrative record and three purchase contracts, belong to one and the same archive of Me-annedu. The three contracts at least certainly came from Gišša (Umm al-Aqarib), as is substantiated by our discovery of UA-469 [IM 163159] in our excavations. They are extremely similar with each other in ways of writing.

These four Me-annedu records have the descriptions of “regnal years”: 17th year (UA-469 [IM 163159], rev. v 1), 23rd (Ozaki 2008: No. 1, rev. vi 1) [not 5th as was thought by Ozaki 2008: 56], 27th (Ozaki 2008: No. 2, rev. vi 1), 28th (CDLI P271237, rev. vi 2). If the numerals in question stand for the regnal years of Me-annedu himself, Me-annedu would have governed Gišša for as long as almost 30 years.

The following administrative records without references to Me-annedu, said to have come from

30) See note 7 above.

31) Ozaki interprets the numeral as denoting the 5th regnal year (Ozaki 2008: 56). However, the two oblique strokes, written slightly left above the three strokes, undoubtedly represent two tens, not two as is interpreted by Ozaki. The denotation “five,” as proposed by Ozaki, would require three oblique strokes with two strokes written below. Thus the numeral in question is actually 23, not 5. Compare it with those for the “23rd (year)” and “24th (year),” which occur in CUSAS 14 039 [CUNES 52–04–149] and TCBI 2 I-48 (BI 35) respectively. The three records seem to belong to the same archive.

“Umma”–Zabalam of ED III, have the year denotations between the 17th and the 32nd: CUSAS 14 047 (17th year), CUSAS 14 168 (17th), CUSAS 14 006 (18th), CUSAS 14 231 (18th), CUSAS 14 253 (18th), CUSAS 14 089 (19th), CUSAS 14 125 (19th), CUSAS 14 086 (19th[?]), CUSAS 14 126 (20th), CUSAS 14 127 (20th), CUSAS 14 160 (20th[?]), CUSAS 14 208 (20th[?]), CUSAS 14 039 (23rd), TCBI 2 I-48 (BI 35) (24th), CDLI P252822 [MS 3791/28] (unpublished) (26th),<sup>32)</sup> IBK 7 3 (28th), CUSAS 14 226 (28th), CUNES 47–12–025 (unpublished) (28th),<sup>33)</sup> Powell 1978 No. 6 (29th), BIN 8 63 (30th), CUSAS 14 225 (31st), and CUNES 51–07–032 (unpublished) (32nd).<sup>34)</sup>

A part of them at least, particularly the records dated between the 26th and the 32nd years, seem to belong to the archive of Me-annedu.<sup>35)</sup> An example of evidence comes from IBK 7 3 dated the “28th year,” which seems to be an inspection record of prebend plots at Zabalam. Several of those that occur in this record can certainly be found again in CDLI P271237 which has a summary description of “tablet of the finished<sup>9</sup> (inspection<sup>9</sup> of) plucked sheep for Inanna at Zabalam, the 28th year, the 8th month, Me-ann[edu], ens[i]” (rev. vi 2–vii 1): e.g., A-zuzu (IBK 7 3, obv. ii 8; CDLI P271237, obv. i 2),<sup>36)</sup> Amar-kiku (IBK 7 3, iv 2; CDLI P271237, ii 1), Uš (IBK 7 3, iii 1; CDLI P271237, iii 2), E-gissubi-du (IBK 7 3, iv 6; CDLI P271237, ii 4). The fact that both records refer to the town of Zabalam cannot be a proof of their provenance of Zabalam. As will be discussed later, these records do not follow the Zabalam tradition in the writing of cuneiform signs. They rather seem to belong to the Me-annedu archive at Gišša (Umm al-Aqarib). It implies that Me-annedu lived at Gišša and controlled as far as the town of Zabalam.

### V.3. Purchase contracts

The three purchase records with references to Me-annedu (UA-469 [IM 163159], Ozaki 2008: No. 1 [152–2745], and No. 2 [153–2746]) are compared here with Ozaki 2008: No. 3 [154–2747] and TCBI 2 I-1 (D 45) published by Visicato–Westenholz.

1. **UA-469 [IM 163159], obv. i ... 3)** sa<sub>10</sub>-bi(?), ... **ii 5)** e<sub>2</sub> e-[še<sub>3</sub>]-sa<sub>10</sub>, **6)** inim-bi til, ... **rev. iv 1)** 17 mu, me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>10</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub>.
2. **Ozaki 2008: No. 1 [152–2745], obv. i ... 3)** sa<sub>10</sub>-bi, ... **ii 5)** e<sub>2</sub> e-še<sub>3</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>, inim-bi til, **rev. vi 1)** 23 (not 5) mu, me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>10</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub>.
3. **Ozaki 2008: No. 2 [153–2746], obv. i ... 3)** sa<sub>10</sub> e<sub>2</sub>, ... **ii 4)** e<sub>2</sub> e-še<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>, **5)** inim-bi še<sub>3</sub>-til, ... **rev. v 4)** lu<sub>2</sub> ki-inim-ma, ... **vi 1)** me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>10</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub>, 30 la<sub>2</sub>-3 mu.
4. **TCBI 2 I-1 (D 45)** (= Wilcke 2007: 193–194), **obv. i ... 4)** sa<sub>10</sub> e<sub>2</sub>, ... **7)** e<sub>2</sub> e-še<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>, inim-bi e-til, ... **rev. iii 7)** lu<sub>2</sub> ki-inim-ma, ... **iv 1)** u<sub>4</sub>-ba il<sub>2</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>gišša<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>(= GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI), mes-du<sub>7</sub>-na<sub>2</sub> sanga-zabalam<sub>5</sub> (= MUŠ<sub>3</sub>.AB), **2)** šeš-pa<sub>3</sub> maškim-bi.
5. **Ozaki 2008: No. 3 [154–2747], obv. i ... 5)** sa<sub>10</sub> x, ... **ii 3)** a-ša<sub>3</sub> e-še<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>, **4)** inim-bi e-til, ... **rev. v 7)** lu<sub>2</sub> ki-inim-ma-me, **vi 1)** u<sub>4</sub>-ba TE.UŠ.GIM ensi<sub>2</sub>-<sup>giš</sup>gišša<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>(= GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI), e<sub>2</sub>-gal-e-si sanga-zabalam(= AB.MUŠ<sub>3</sub>)<sup>ki</sup>, ... 3 mu.

UA-469 [IM 163159], Ozaki: 2008: No. 1 [152–2745], and No. 2 [153–2746], which mention Me-annedu, certainly came from Gišša (Umm al-Aqarib). TCBI 2 I-1 (D-45) and Ozaki 2008: No.

32) The photograph of the tablet is published by the CDLI internet. Information is given by Monaco 2011 [CUSAS 14]: 7, Table 3; Monaco 2013: 748.

33) Information: Monaco 2011 [CUSAS 14]: 3<sup>23</sup>. For this record, see note 16 above.

34) Information: Monaco 2011 [CUSAS 14]: 7<sup>48</sup>; Monaco 2013: 748, 749.

35) UA-1441 [IM 163476], which was written in the “19th year,” might also belong to the Me-annedu archive. The tablet was found in room 44 of the palace (Operation 3) at Umm al-Aqarib. UA-1441 [IM 163476], obv. i 1) 20 sila3 i3-nun, 2) e2-gal(GAL.E2) [t]ir, 3) [d]a(?) -da, 4) [ ] , ii 1) 1 NINA<sup>ki</sup>, 2) X.X.NLE3.SI, 3) [ ] (?) ensi2 ki-za, rev. 1) 20 la2-1 mu.

It remains unclear whether or not a personal name was written before ensi<sub>2</sub> ki-za in obv. ii 2. The phrase ki-za might be interpreted in two ways: 1. the “place of prostration,” 2. one of the variant writings for Gišša.

36) According to Monaco (2011 [CUSAS 14]: 7<sup>48</sup>; 2013: 748), the same Azuzu occurs again in a record of workers dated the 32nd year (CUNES 51–07–032, unpublished).

3 [154–2747] with reference to the highest administrator (sanga) of Zabalam, on the other hand, were probably found at the site of ancient Zabalam. They are possibly dated later than the first three texts of Gišša because the formalities in writing adopted by them are more advanced than those of the first three. This conclusion stands against S. F. Monaco’s recent proposal that II reigned earlier than Me-annedu at “Umma” (Section VI below).

#### V.4. “Regnal years” of Me-annedu

Me-annedu is simply titled *ensi* both in the three contracts (UA-469 [IM 163159], Ozaki 2008: No. 1 [152–2745] and No. 2 [153–2746]) and in CDLI P271237 which was written in the “28th regnal year” for distribution of sheep and goats for Inanna at Zabalam (see Section V.2 above). The first sentence in CDLI P271237 rev. ii reads: *me-an-n[e<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>] ens[i<sub>2</sub>] (= PA.TE.S[I])*. In the broken part after PA.TE.S[I], there would have been not enough room to inscribe signs for a toponym.<sup>37)</sup> This also seems to be the case for UA-469 [IM 163159], fragment we found at Umm al-Aqarib. CDLI P251871 [MS 2824], whose photograph is now published by the CDLI internet, is an inspection record of allotment plots, and in the very last of the reverse of this tablet we also find the expression “Me-annedu *ensi*.”<sup>38)</sup>

The fact that Me-annedu is always called *ensi*, never “ruler (*ensi*) of Gišša” as attested to for II and TE.UŠ.GIM (TCBI 2 I-1 [D-45], and Ozaki 2008: No. 3 [154–2747], quoted above in Section V.3), might connote that Me-annedu was not regarded as an independent city-ruler. Indeed, his name never appears in any royal inscription of “Umma.” No archival records of “Umma” inform us of this man’s career before he was called “*ensi*.”<sup>39)</sup>

S. F. Monaco thinks that Me-annedu in question was one of the local rulers of “Umma.” According to him, Me-annedu reigned at “Umma” for at least 32 years after Gišša-kidu (and Edin?) (Monaco 2011 [CUSAS 14]: 6–7; Monaco 2013: 748–750, see also Marchesi–Marchetti 2011: 123, Table 15b). As will be discussed below in Section VI, however, Monaco’s assertion makes the entire years of ED IIIb “Umma” too long to be in agreement with the information that is given by the contemporary royal inscriptions of Lagaš.

It is extremely important that all of the five records with explicit references to Me-annedu *ensi* were written in the “17th year” and after. Four of them have year denotations: UA-469 (the 17th year), Ozaki 2008: No. 1 (23rd), Ozaki 2008: No. 2 (27th), CDLI P271237 (28th). The numeral, which is missing from CDLP P251871 [MS 2824], is also almost certainly a year denotation near the end of “20s.”

The problem of length in Monaco’s chronology is almost cleared if the *ensi*-ship of Me-annedu began in around the “17th year” as mentioned in UA-469, in other words, if the “17th year” actually refers to the regnal year of the one who ordered Me-annedu to govern Gišša. In my view, Me-annedu *ensi* was one of the three sons of En-annatum I, ruler of Lagaš.

#### V.5. Me-annedu, son of En-annatum I of Lagaš

The name of the son of En-annatum I called Me-annedu appears in an inscription on a statue now housed at the Iraq Museum (IM 51145); Basmachi–Edzard 1958; IRSA [Sollberger–Kupper 1971] (translation): 65, IC6f; FAOS 5/1 [Steible 1982]: 195–196, En. I 26; SARI 1 [Cooper 1986] (translation): 52–53, La 4.15; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 187–188, E1.9.4.15.

37) CDLI also interprets that no sign is inscribed after *en[si<sub>2</sub>]*.

38) Information: Monaco 2011 [CUSAS 14]: 7, Table 3; Monaco 2013: 748.

39) With the exception of Me-annedu *ensi*, the personal name *me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>* is never found in any “Umma” administrative records. Cp. Monaco 2011 [CUSAS 14]: 6. He assumes that a personal name spelled *me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>*, which occurs in CUSAS 14 252 [CUNES 52–18–063] (i 6) and TCBI 2 I-36 [D 21] (i 9), respectively dated the 4th year of Gišša-kidu and the 14th year of an unknown ruler (= II? [Monaco]), is an abbreviation of *me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>*, name of the future ruler.



This inscription states that, in commemoration of the temple construction ordered by his father (En-annatum I of Lagaš), Me-annedu dedicated a statue in praying for the long lives of his parents and for his own life; **i 1**) [<sup>d</sup>lugal-URU×KAR<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>], **2**) [<sup>d</sup>ama-ušumgal]-an-na-ra, **3**) [m]e-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-d[u<sub>10</sub>], **4**) [dumu e]n-an-[na-tum<sub>2</sub>], **5**) [ensi<sub>2</sub>]-, **6**) [lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-ka-ke<sub>4</sub>], ... **ii 6**) [ala]n-ni mu-tu, **7**) <sup>d</sup>lugal-URU×KAR<sub>2</sub><sup>ki</sup>-ra, **8**) e<sub>2</sub>-a mu-na-ni-DU, **9**) nam-ti ab-ba-ni, **10**) en-an-na-tum<sub>2</sub>-ma-še<sub>3</sub>, **11**) nam-ti ama-ni, **12**) a-<sup>[š]</sup>u-me<sup>z</sup>surmen<sub>x</sub>-še<sub>3</sub>, **13**) nam-t[i]-la-ni-š[e<sub>3</sub>] ...: “For Lugal-urub–Ama-ušumgal-anna, [M]e-annedu, [son of E]n-ann[atum, ruler of Lagaš], ... he (Me-annedu) fashioned his statue and set it up before Lugal-urub in his temple. [May it pray to] Lugal-urub [in the “palace” of Urub] for the life of his father En-annatum, for the life of his mother Ašurmen, and for his own life!” (translation: Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 52–53)

The last sign for the name of En-annatum I’s son is unfortunately damaged on the statue (col. i 3). Basmachi–Edzard suggested restoring it as SI though rather awkwardly ([m]e-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-[si(?)]), see Basmachi–Edzard 1958: 111), and since then its restoration has been accepted with the sole exception of Selz 1995: 165<sup>707</sup> (Me-annesi or Me-annedu).<sup>40)</sup> In the summer of 2012, I had an occasion to study the original inscription at the Iraq Museum (Baghdad), and now I am confident that the last sign inscribed in col. i 3 is actually DU<sub>10</sub>, definitely not SI (Photo 4a-c). Thus the personal name in question is not me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-si but me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>.

Although no other royal inscriptions of Lagaš record the career of En-annatum I’s son named Me-annedu, a personal name Me-annedu (me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>) is certainly found in the Lagaš onomasticon in the years of En-annatum I and En-metena. For example, Me-annedu, son of a certain En-abzusi, appears as one of the witnesses in a purchase contract concluded by En-entarzi (administrator of Ningirsu).<sup>41)</sup>



Photo 4a IM 51145 (Statue of Me-annedu)



Photo 4b IM 51145 (Statue of Me-annedu), inscription



Photo 4c IM 51145 (Statue of Me-annedu), reference to Me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>10</sub> (i 3)

40) Sollberger–Kupper 1971 [IRSA]: 65, Me-ane-[si] (translation); Steible 1982 [FAOS 5/1]: 195, [m]e-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-[si(?)] (In support of this reading, Steible states that the personal name me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-si often occurs in contemporary records; Steible 1982 [FAOS 5/2]: 93, En. I 26<sup>1</sup>); Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 52, Meane[si] (translation); Frayne 2008 [RIME 1]: 187 [m]e-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-[si(?)].

41) **DP 31, iii 17**) 10 ninda 2 tu<sub>7</sub> sila<sub>3</sub> en-abzu-si, **18**) sukkal-ensi<sub>2</sub>, **19**) 1 me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>, dumu en-abzu-si. This contract is dated to a year either in the latter half of En-metena or in the reign of En-annatum II. See also **M. Lambert 1971: No. 2, obv. v 5**)



### V.6. Lagaš tradition of writing

For my identification of Me-annedu in the three Gišša contracts (UA-469 [IM 16315], Ozaki 2008: No. 1 [152–2745], and No. 2 [153–2746]) to be the son of En-annatum I, I demonstrate that the scribe(s) strongly influenced by the Lagaš tradition of writing, if not educated at Lagaš, wrote these records. For example, LUGAL inscribed there is quite similar to the signs found in the contemporary texts of Lagaš (both administrative and royal), while it is clearly distinguished from LUGAL in the two Zabalam records (TCBI 2 I-1 [D-45], Ozaki 2008: No. 3 [154–2747]) (Table 2). The sign LUGAL found in the other two documents of Me-annedu (e.g., CDLI P271237, obv. iv 2; IBK 7 3, obv. ii 5) is also clearly distinguished from LUGAL in the Zabalam tradition.<sup>42)</sup>

A difference in the writing of KA is also observed between the three Me-annedu tablets and the two Zabalam records (Table 2).<sup>43)</sup>

### V.7. En-annatum I of Lagaš and his sons

Depending on En-metena Cone A-B (treated above in Section IV.2), scholars have assumed that En-metena, almost at the same time as his killing of Ur-lumma, succeeded his father En-annatum I in the ensi-ship of Lagaš, for the latter was seriously wounded or killed on the battlefield (e.g., M. Lambert 1956: 143; Steiner 1986: 242; Cooper 1983 [SANE 2/1]: 30; Cooper 1986 [RISA 1]: 48<sup>10)</sup>). Another inscription first studied by Biggs in 1976 (already discussed in Section IV.3), however, strongly suggests that En-annatum I successfully led his army in the war against Ur-lumma, even though his son (En-metena) played a decisive role in battle so as to kill Ur-lumma as stated by En-metena Cone A-B. Therefore, a more plausible explanation, though not explicitly evidenced by any Lagaš document, is that En-annatum I lived for about 32 years in all, as suggested by the “regnal years” of the Gišša records. Following En-metena’s killing of Ur-lumma in the Lagaš–Gišša war, in my assumption, En-annatum I entrusted Me-annedu to govern Gišša as his “deputy” (ensi) in his 17th year or a little earlier, and that after that En-annatum I survived approximately for another 15 years. The figures for dating, which occur in the Gišša records of Me-annedu’s administration, refer to the regnal years of his father En-annatum I. Me-annedu remained ensi at Gišša as long as En-annatum I was alive, and probably he was replaced by a certain Usar-du in the very beginning of En-metena’s reign.

It is well-known that En-annatum I had another son named Lumma-tur. Lumma-tur’s acquisitions of a number of tracts of land are recorded in the contracts (at least two in number) (ELTS 22, 23 with an appendix [Gelb–Whiting–Steinkeller 1991, Text: 74–88]). When his father En-annatum I was still alive, this son produced clay-nails for Innana at Uruk; CIRPL [Sollberger 1956]: 28, En. I 10(-15); IRSA [Sollberger–Kupper 1971: translation]: 63, IC6b; SARI 1 52 [Cooper 1986: translation]: 52, La 4.14; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 186–187, E1.9.4.14.

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1 me-an-ne<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>, 6) nu-kiri<sub>6</sub> (a “Fara-type” sale document, provenance unknown). Me-annedu is also found among the local people of Pasirra, a small settlement in the Lagaš region (Nik 1 3, xv 3 [dated to Urukagina lugal 5]). Cp. me-an(?) -du<sub>10</sub>(?) (CUSAS 11 3, iii 4’ [ED IIIa]).

42) The standard writing of LUGAL in Lagaš is a composition of the two complete signs GAL and LU<sub>2</sub> integrated together, while the Zabalam style represents a composite sign of “non-complete” GAL and “non-complete” LU<sub>2</sub>. Here, the GAL sign is without a horizontal stroke, and the first small stroke, to be found for the standard LU<sub>2</sub>, is completely absent in the Zabalam style.

LUGAL written two times on a silver tablet of Ur-lumma (J. Braun 1980 [see note 16 above]) belongs to the Lagaš type, while LUGAL within the gold plate of the wife of Gišša-kidu (see Section VI.5) follows the Zabalam style. Note that the former text undoubtedly came from Umm al-Aqarib, while Gišša-kidu’s father II had lived at Zabalam before he held the title “ruler of Gišša.”

43) According to the photographs of the two Me-annedu records (Ozaki 2008: No. 1 [152–2745] and No. 2 [153–2746]), some oblique strokes are added to KA of a common type as found in the documents of Lagaš and other cities. [The copies given by Ozaki fail to show these strokes.] On the other hand, many small strokes are horizontally incised within a triangle part of the sign KA found in the administrative records of Zabalam. Note that the latter type of KA appears in the two royal inscriptions also (“Frontier of Šara” of Gišša-kidu and the gold plate of Gišša-kidu’s wife).

Table 2 Different writings of the signs LUGAL and KA

Provenance	Gišša (Umm al-Aqarib)	Girsu (Telloh)	Zabalam (Ibzeikh?)	Zabalam (Ibzeikh?)	Adab (Bismaya)	Nippur (Nuffar)
Text	Ozaki 2008, No.1 and 2	HSS 3, 12	TCVPBI I-1 (D-45)	Powell 1978, No.1	CUSAS 11 186	OSP I 46
Ruler	Me'annedu	Urukagina	Il2	Lugal-zagesi	(Mes-kigalla)	?
LUGAL	(No. 1 iii 2)  (No. 1 iii 4)  (No. 1 iii 6)  (No. 2 iii 7) 	(i 6)  (iv 8)  (vi 1)  (rev. vi 7) 	(i 5)  (ii 2)  (rev. i 1)  (rev. i 2)  (rev. i 4)  (rev. i 8) 	(ii 1)  (ii 6)  (ii 15)  (iii 4)  (iv 6)  (v 4)  (v 13)  (rev. iii 5) 	(iii 5)  (iii 11)  (iv 9)  (v 9)  (v 11)  (v 12)  (v 13)  (v 14) 	(ii 7)  (ii 13)  (iii 14)  (iv 4)  (iv 6) 
KA	(No. 1 ii 3)  (No. 2 ii 5) 	(i 5)  (iii 1)  (iv 4)  (iv 13)  (v 5)  (vi 4)  (rev. vi 8) 	(i 7)  (ii 2)  (rev. i 7) 	(i 4)  (rev. i 2) 	(ii 19)  (ii 19)  (v 17)  (v17) 	(i 11)  (iii 10)  (iv 2) 

Both En-metena and Lumma-tur worked very actively when En-annatum I governed Lagaš. Not strangely enough, En-annatum I entrusted another son Me-annedu to manage the nearby city which he conquered.

An alternative explanation would be that the “regal years” of the Me-annedu records denote the reign of En-metena (not of En-annatum I), but it is most unlikely. It would require the following scenario, rather unrealistic to accept; after his enthronement at Lagaš that followed his killing of Ur-lumma, En-metena managed Gišša by himself in the first 16 years of his reign, and after that he dispatched his brother (Me-annedu) to Gišša as his “deputy” in the second half of his reign. This reconstruction, however, would bring about another difficult hypothesis that more than 30 years after En-metena’s enthronement, Il came from Zabalam so as to free Gišša.

ITT 5 9236, Early Dynastic administrative tablet of Lagaš, is a record of wool rations to a remarkably large number of household slaves. It is dated to the 27th (or less likely 17th) year (rev. iii 2); **ITT 5 9236, obv. 1**) 720 3 (ma-na) lukur, **2**) 1,320 1 (ma-na) ša<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>, **3**) 420 1/2 (ma-na) ša<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>, **ii 1**) lukur-kam, **2**) 600+[ ] 4 (ma-na) lu<sub>2</sub>, **rev. iii 1**) 180+<sup>10</sup>(?) igi-nu-du<sub>8</sub>, **2**)<sup>30</sup>la<sub>2</sub>-3, .... Although the name of the ruler is not explicitly stated here, I am tempted to interpret the numeral found in rev. iii 2 as a reference to the 27th year of En-annatum I, not that of En-metena as has often been proposed (e.g., Maekawa 1973–74: 138; Bauer 1998: 472; Marchesi–Marchetti 2011: 125<sup>261</sup>).

#### V.8. Me-annedu, Usar-du and Il (of Gišša)

UA 4743 [IM 191931], a duplicate of the first sections of En-metena Cone A-B, was certainly produced and brought to Gišša in a year of En-metena, because it explicitly mentions En-metena as the ruler of Lagaš. At that time, Gišša must have been under the control of Lagaš. So, Me-annedu’s rule over Gišša seems to have continued up to a certain year of En-metena, probably up to one of the first years.

According to S. Monaco, a certain DIUD (read by Monaco as Sa<sub>2</sub>-lah) occupied the post of highest administrator of Zabalam (sanga-zabalam<sup>ki</sup>) in the 4th year of Usar-du (spelled [LAL<sub>2</sub>xTUG<sub>2</sub>-HI] (CUNES 48–09–111, unpublished).<sup>44)</sup> Since the same man of the same title worked under Me-annedu in the 26th year (CDLI P252822: MS 3791/28 [photograph, CDLI internet]),<sup>45)</sup> we must accept Monaco’s interpretation that the years of Me-annedu and those of Usar-du are continuous. At present, I would like to posit the following political developments that happened after En-annatum I’s appointment of Me-annedu as “deputy” (ensi) to govern Gišša; Me-annedu managed Gišša for about 15 years in the latter half of En-annatum I’s reign. Soon after En-metena succeeded his father in the ensi-ship of Lagaš, Me-annedu seems to have been followed by a certain Usar-du whose earlier career still remains unknown to us. About four years later (or, less possibly, about ten years later), Il, who had once held the title of the administrator of Zabalam, took power from Usar-du. The above reconstruction also connotes that Il came to the throne of the kingdom of Gišša approximately 20 years (or 25 years) after he had held the post of the highest administrator of Zabalam under Ur-lumma (CUNES 52–04–001, unpublished).<sup>46)</sup>

The buildings we uncovered at Umm al-Aqarib do not reveal any evidence of a large-scale destruction throughout the city. Instead, we did find traces of burning at several storage rooms (room 41 [Operations 1], rooms 7 and 9 [Operation 4], room 67, 70–71 [Operation 9], and 80–81 [Operation 10]) as well as room 35 (probably to be interpreted as the “throne room”) of Operation 3, where both the walls and the floor were fired (Almamori Haider Oraibi forthcoming).

I do not believe that the fire happened by accident, because it was undoubtedly limited to the

44) Information: Monaco 2011 [CUSAS 14]: 5, Table 1; Monaco 2013: 746, 748.

45) Information: Monaco 2011 [CUSAS 14]: 7, Table 3; Monaco 2013: 748.

46) Information: Monaco 2011 [CUSAS 14]: 7, Table 3; Monaco 2013: 748. For Usar-du, see note 50 below.

storage rooms and the throne room within the palace. I consider that such fire was set either by the soldiers of Usar-du when they attacked Me-annedu who resided at the administrative quarter of Gišša, or by the Zabalam soldiers under Il when he took power from Usar-du. Whichever solution could be accepted, the soldiers were probably successful in doing this. I do not think that the fire was set by the Lagašite soldiers, because it did not aim to destroy the whole city of Gišša.

## VI. Relative chronology of the rulers of Gišša (= GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI) and of Lagaš

### VI.1. Relative chronology, old and new

By utilizing the new sources from the “Umma region,” S. F. Monaco has recently reconstructed a chronology of the rulers and administrators of the kingdom of “Umma” (Monaco 2011 [CUSAS 14]: 5–9; Monaco 2013) (Table 3). [He follows the traditional interpretation that GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, read as umma<sup>ki</sup>, is the ancient name of Jokha.]

In the new chronology proposed by Monaco, the following rulers reigned GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI successively in (the latter half of) the Early Dynastic III period: **1.** En-akalle, **2.** Ur-lumma, **3.** Il, **4.** Gišša-kidu, **5.** Edin?, **6.** Me-annedu, **7.** Usar-du, **8.** U’u(?), **9.** Lugal-zagesi. This chronology reserves a total of approximately 90 years for their reigns, at least 32 years for Me-annedu alone.

Monaco’s reconstruction is quite different from the traditional chronology which mainly depends on information from the royal inscriptions of both Lagaš and “Umma” (e.g., Cooper 1983 [SANE 2/1]: 60; Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 14) (Table 4). Monaco’s work is indeed an extremely important achievement in research of the political history of Early Dynastic III Sumer, and it is now followed by Marchesi–Marchetti 2011: 123, Table 15b.<sup>47)</sup> However, I believe that Monaco is weak in his discussion of a “ruler” named Me-annedu.

Presumably, Monaco found it difficult to insert the long reign of Me-annedu (at least 32 years, according to Monaco) somewhere in-between the years of the four rulers En-akalle, Ur-lumma, Il, and Gišša-kidu for the following reasons. **1.** Successions from En-akalle to his son Ur-lumma and from Il to his son Gišša-kidu are now beyond any doubt. **2.** An interpretation that Il took power at “Umma” immediately after Ur-lumma was killed by the Lagašite soldiers has hitherto been accepted

Table 3 Synchronism between the Lagaš rulers and those of “Umma” (Monaco 2008: Table 5)

LAGAŠ	UMMA	
Eannatum (?)	Enakalle(?)	90
	Ur-Lumma (= 12)	80
Enannatum I (?)	Il (= 12)	70
	Giššakidu (= 4)	60
Enmetena (> 27)	Edin? (= 6)	50
	Meannedu (32?)	40
Enannatum II (> 10)		30
Enlitarzi (6)	Usar-HI (= 7)	20
Lugalanda (7)	U’u (?)	10
Urukagina (10)	Lugalzagesi (> 7)	0

47) In reconstructing the comprehensive chronology of third-millennium Babylonia and Syria, Marchesi–Marchetti 2011: 123 (Table 15b) follows Monaco’s relative order of the “Umma” rulers. The traditional interpretation of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI as umma<sup>ki</sup> (more precisely, pronounced as /ubmay/) is maintained here (Marchesi 2006: 22<sup>86</sup>; Marchesi–Marchetti 2011: 170–171).

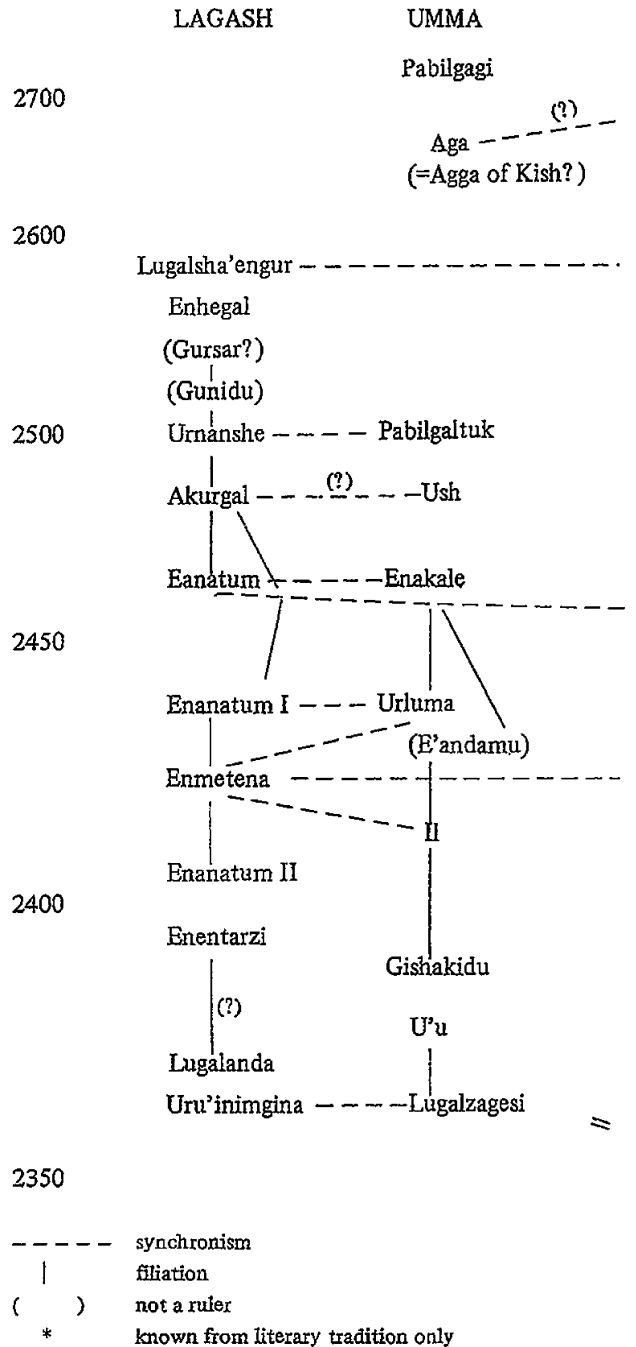


unanimously, and Monaco followed this. 3. According to an unpublished administrative record (CUNES 52–04–001), Il already occupied the post of “administrator of Zabalam” (sanga-zabalam<sup>ki</sup>) in the 12th regnal year of his uncle Ur-lumma.<sup>48)</sup> So, En-metena Cone A-B’s statement that “Il, who was the administrator of Zabalam, ... took the rulership of Gišša” (Cone A iii 28–37) might point to the successive reigns of Ur-lumma and Il. 4. The fact that Gišša-kidu (Il’s son) was married to a daughter of Ur-lumma might be regarded as a support of this (see Section VI.5 below).

F. Pomponio personally expressed his opinion to Monaco that “at least one of the newly discovered *ensis* could have been a governor of Zabalam ...,” and that “under such a hypothesis there would be no need for the long reign of En-metena and En-annatum II” (Monaco 2011: 8<sup>51</sup>; Monaco 2013: 750<sup>24</sup>). Pomponio presented his first suggestion, apparently because he thought Monaco’s chronology of “Umma” is too long to reconcile it with the years of the Lagaš rulers. He touched on an alternative hypothesis to evaluate the reigns of En-metena and of En-annatum II much longer than ever thought. Indeed, Marchesi–Marchetti 2011, supporting Monaco’s relative chronology, calculates En-metena’s reign to be 40 years at least.<sup>49)</sup>

Pomponio’s first proposal is unjustified simply because, in the Early Dynastic III period, the highest administrator (sanga) substantially managed Zabalam in place for the “ruler” (of the Gišša kingdom). His alternative hypothesis for the long reigns of the two Lagaš rulers is not acceptable (Section VI.2 below). Instead, I understand that Me-annedu of Lagaš and then Usar-du ruled Gišša for about 20 years (or less possibly, about 25 years) in all between the reigns of Ur-lumma and Il.<sup>50)</sup>

Table 4 Synchronism between the Lagaš rulers and those of “Umma” (Cooper 1986)



48) Information: Monaco 2011 [CUSAS 14]: 7, Table 9; Monaco 2013: 748.

49) Marchesi–Marchetti 2011: 125<sup>261</sup> assumes that En-metena’s reign covered all the years of Il (12[+x] years), Gišša-kidu (4[+x] years), and Edin (7[+x] years), and “a good part of the long reign” of Me-annedu (32[+x] years).

50) My conclusion that Il became ruler of Gišša by *coup d’état*, after approximately 20 years (or 25 years at the latest) of Me-annedu and of Usar-du, leads to the following explanation concerning the political background in the years up to Il’s enthronement. The sanga-ship of Zabalam, which Il had held at least in the 12th year of Ur-lumma, was taken by a certain DI.UTU (= Salah) in the last years of Me-annedu and the years of Usar-du, and Il was quite displeased about the situation.

CUNES 47–12–025 (unpublished), which refers to Gišša-kidu (son of Il) as “major-domo” (ugula-e<sub>2</sub>), was written in the

“28th year” when M-annedu governed Gišša (Section V.2). [For this record, see also note 16 above.] This connotes that II somehow succeeded in maintaining his extensive household (e<sub>2</sub>) at Zabalam under the rule of Me-annedu.

Information on Usar-du comes from three different groups of texts.

1. Administrative records which mention Usar-du as the “ruler of Gišša”:

1a. CUSAS 14 243 [CUNES 50–08–005], rev. xi 1:  $\text{usar}_x\text{-du}_{10} \text{ ensi}_2^{\text{gis3}}\text{ki-cš}_2/\text{še}_3(\text{UŠ.KI.EŠ}_2)$ , 1 mu

1b. CUNES 48–09–111:  $\text{u}_4\text{-ba usar}_x\text{-HI ensi}_2\text{-umma}^{\text{ki}}$  salah sanga-zabala<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>, 4 mu [ ] iti.

1c. CUNES 48–10–043:  $\text{u}_4\text{-ba usar}_x\text{-HI ensi}_2\text{-umma}^{\text{ki}}$  ama-bara<sub>2</sub>-si sanga-zabala<sub>6</sub><sup>ki</sup>, 4 mu.

The summary descriptions of the two unpublished records (1b, 1c) are transliterated as above by Monaco (2011 [CUSAS 14]: 5 Table 1, 7 Table 3; 2013: 746, 748). [We are not informed of the actual writing for umma<sup>ki</sup> in these tablets.] An important point is that Usar-du, unlike his predecessor Me-annedu, called himself “(independent) city-ruler of Gišša” in his first four years.

2. Records of cereal threshing on the field a-ša<sub>3</sub> SI <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi (Milone 2005: No. 10, No. 11, and CUSAS 14 005), all dated the “7th year” [They are studied in Section II.4]:

2a: Milone 2005: No. 11, iv 1) a-ša<sub>3</sub> SI <sup>d</sup>dumu-zi GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>, 2)  $\text{usar}_x\text{-du}_{10}$  UD.MUD.NUN (transliteration: iti mud-nun), [3]+4 mu.

3. Two records of land purchase contracts, dated the “8th year” and the “9th year” respectively (Foster 1994: 450–452: YBC 4719; Bauer 2012: 61, Nr. 3).

3a. Foster 1994: YBC 4719, obv. i 1) 2 iku KI.UŠ, 2) 20 uruda ma-na, 3) sa<sub>10</sub>-bi, 4) 1 munus-u<sub>4</sub>-ba, ... 6) e-še<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>, 7) inim-bi še<sub>3</sub>-til, 8) 1 DI.UTU, ... iii 3) lu<sub>2</sub>-ki-inim-ma, 4) 5 iku KI.UŠ, 5) [x] u[ruda ma-n]a, 6) sa<sub>10</sub>-bi, 7) 1 munus-u<sub>4</sub>-ba, ... 9) e-še<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>, iv 1) [inim-bi š]e<sub>3</sub>-t[il], 2) amar-[ ... ]-tum sipa, ... rev. v 7) lu<sub>2</sub>-k[i-inim-ma], vi 1) u<sub>4</sub>-ba usar<sub>x</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>, U<sub>4</sub>.MUD.NUN, 8 mu.

3b. Bauer 2012: Nr. 3, obv. i 1) 2 iku LAK 352, 2) 15 uruda ma-na, 3) sa<sub>10</sub>-bi, 4) 1 munus-u<sub>4</sub>-ba, ... 6) a-ša<sub>3</sub> e-še<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>11</sub>, 7) inim-bi še<sub>3</sub>-til, 8) 1 e<sub>2</sub>-an-tum<sub>2</sub>, ... ii 1) 1 bara<sub>2</sub>-ga-ni-du<sub>10</sub>, 2) dub-sar, 3) lu<sub>2</sub>-ki-inim-ma, 4) 4 1/8 iku, 5) 36 uruda ma-na, 6) sa<sub>10</sub>-bi, 7) 1 munus-u<sub>4</sub>-ba, ... 10) e-še<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>, iii 1) inim-bi še<sub>3</sub>-til, 2) 1 ama-bara<sub>2</sub>-si, ... iv 2) lu<sub>2</sub>-ki-inim-ma, 3) usar<sub>x</sub>-du<sub>10</sub>, 4) PA.KAR.SI, 5) 10 la<sub>2</sub>-1 mu, a-ša<sub>3</sub> LAK 352.

The same Usar-du, as mentioned in Group 2 records (e.g., Milone No. 11, iv 2), appears again in the two land purchase records (Group 3). Although the term which occurs after PN usar<sub>x</sub>-du<sub>10</sub> in Group 2 texts is transliterated as iti mud-nun by the editors, the first component sign within the term rather looks like U<sub>4</sub>. The expression U<sub>4</sub>.MUD.NUN is found again in a Group 3 record (Foster 1994: YBC 4719). [\*iti mud-nun is not attested to in any hitherto known Early Dynastic calendar.] Foster interprets this as a variant writing for Adab. Cp. Marchesi–Marchetti 2011: 126<sup>278</sup>, who interprets that U<sub>4</sub>.MUD.NUN may be a political title.

I am inclined to regard that Usar-du of Group 2 and 3 records is identical to the man of the same name that held the title of “ruler of Gišša” at least for four years (Group 1 records). The phrase after PN usar<sub>x</sub>-du<sub>10</sub> is spelled PA.KAR.SI in text 3b (Bauer 2012: Nr. 3, iv 4). Bauer transliterates this as ugula kar-si, taking into consideration the personal name lugal-kar-si found in the same record (obv. i 5, iii 10) (Bauer 2012: 57, 61, 70), while an alternative reading of ensi<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup> (a scribal error for PA.TE.SI) still seems to be possible (Schrakamp 2012: 202<sup>9</sup>).

Usar-du, mentioned in the texts of Group 2 and 3 (Milone 2005: No. 10, No. 11, CUSAS 14 005, and Foster 1994: YBC 4719), may have controlled the settlement named U<sub>4</sub>.MUD.NUN in the “7th and 8th years.” It is probable that he was the “deputy” of the ruler in those years (Bauer 2012: Nr. 3). An interpretation is that Usar-du lost the rulership of Gišša in his fourth or fifth year as a result of the *coup d’état* of II. [In the 4th year of Usar-du or by the end of his 5th year at the latest, the post of the highest administrator of Zabalam was successively held by three different men, that is, DI.UTU (= Salah) first, then Ama-barasi, and finally Mes-duna (cf. Monao 2011 [CUSAS 11]: 5, Table 1). This suggests that there happened a very serious political crisis in the kingdom of Gišša in the 4th year of Usar-du. I assume that II held power in that year. Usar-du could somehow survive, and he was permitted to work as a deputy until the 9th year in the reign of II (Group 2 and 3 records).

The above interpretation depends on the fact that no text hitherto known to us refers to Usar-du as the “ensi of Gišša (GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI/ GIŠ.KI.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>/ or GIŠ<sub>3</sub>.KLEŠ<sub>2</sub>)” after his 4th year. If the passage PA.KAR.SI in Bauer 2012: Nr. 3 could be interpreted as Usar-du’s title as “ensi (of Gišša),” on the other hand, we would be required to interpret that II took power after Me-annedu and Usar-du ruled Gišša for approximately 25 years (15 years: Me-annedu, 10 years: Usar-du).

A certain Munus-uba (SAL.UD.BA) always appears as the purchaser of parcels in the four contracts concluded in the two Group 3 tablets (dated the 8th and 9th years respectively); Foster 1994: YBC 4719, i 4, iii 7; Bauer 2012: Nr. 3, i 2, ii 7. According to the two Okayama tablets published by Ozaki with their photographs (see Section V.2), the very same person already purchased the real estates when Me-annedu ruled Gišša; Ozaki 2008: No. 1 [152–2745], obv. ii 1: 1 sal-u<sub>4</sub>-ba (transliterated as N-x<sup>7</sup> by the editor) [dated the 23rd year]; Ozaki 2008: No. 2 [153–2746], obv. i 7: [1 sal]-[u<sub>4</sub>]-ba (transliterated by [ ]-ba) [the 27th year]. This strongly suggests that the period between the 23rd year (of En-annatum I of Lagaš [Ozaki 2008; No. 1]) and the 9th year (of II? [Bauer 2012: Nr. 3]) cannot be evaluated as a long duration of time.

The phrase inim-bi še<sub>3</sub>-til is used in the meaning “to conclude the contract” in Ozaki 2008: No. 2 and the two Group 3 records (Foster 1994: YBC 4714 and Bauer 2012: Nr. 3). [We safely say that, in the writing tradition of contracts, the two Group 3 texts succeed Ozaki 2008: No. 2, written late in the years of Me-annedu.] The expression inim-bi še<sub>3</sub>-til should be compared to inim-bi til (UA-469 [IM 163159] [Me-annedu, Umm al-Aqarib], Ozaki 2008: No. 1 [Me-annedu, Umm al-Aqarib]) and to inim-bi e-til (Bauer 2012: No. 1 [En-akalle]; Bauer 2012 No. 2 [Ur-lumma], TCBI 1 I-1(D 45) [II, Zabalam]). On the other hand, inim – til is not used in any contract of contemporary Lagaš (see e.g., Hallo 1973: 236 [Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum tablet, dated to the first half of the reign of En-metena] and BIN 8 352 [En-metena 17]).

## VI.2. En-metena and his successors (at Lagaš)

The order of the rulers of the Ur-Nanše dynasty of Lagaš seems to be established as follows: (Gunidu), **1.** Ur-Nanše, **2.** Akurgal, **3.** E-annatum, **4.** En-annatum I, **5.** En-metena, **6.** En-annatum II. En-annatum II was followed by three successive rulers: **7.** En-entarzi, **8.** Lugal-anda, and **9.** Urukagina.<sup>51)</sup> Urukagina was defeated by Lugal-zagesi ruler of “Umma”. The latter became king of Uruk but was later captured by Sargon founder of the Akkad dynasty.

By studying the administrative records from Pre-Sargonic Lagaš (more than 1600 in number now available) (Maekawa 1973–74; Selz 1995; Bauer 1998), we safely see a duration of about 20 years or a little longer for the last three rulers: **7.** En-entarzi (5 years), **8.** Lugal-anda (6 or 7 years), **9.** Urukagina (11 years at longest; cf. Bauer 1998: 477–478, 489–493). Most unfortunately, however, the years of the six earlier rulers remain rather conjectural.

I have already proposed that the the year denotations of the Me-annedu records of Gišša refer to the regnal years of his father En-annatum I, 4th ruler of the Ur-Nanše dynasty. This connotes that the latter governed Lagaš for 32 years at least.<sup>52)</sup>

For calculation of the regnal years of En-metena (5th) and his son En-annatum II (6th), I quote here two administrative records of Lagaš written in the 19th year of En-metena (RTC 16 and NFT 121: AO 4156) and a letter which is dated the 5th year of an unknown ruler (CIRPL [Sollberger 1956]: 46: Enz. 1; IRSA [Sollberger–Kupper 1971] (translation): 75–77, IC9a; Michalowski 1993: 11–12, No. 1; FAOS 19 [Kienast–Volk 1995]: 25–29, asGir 1).

**1. RTC 16, obv. i 1)** 1 sag-munus, ... **5)** dim<sub>3</sub>-tur, **6)** dam sanga-, **ii 1)** <sup>d</sup>nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka-ke<sub>4</sub>, **2)** e-še<sub>3</sub>-sa<sub>10</sub>, ... **rev. vi 3)** u<sub>4</sub>-ba en-mete-na, **4)** ensi<sub>2</sub>-, **5)** lagaš<sup>ki</sup>-kam, **vii 1)** en-en<sub>3</sub>-tar-zi, **2)** sanga-<sup>d</sup>nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka-kam, **3)** 20 la<sub>2</sub>-1.

**2. NFT 121 [AO 4156], obv. i 1)** 600 <sup>giš</sup>ma-nu, ... **ii 1)** šu e-tag<sub>4</sub>, **2)** en-mete-na, **3)** ensi<sub>2</sub>-, **4)** lagaš<sup>ki</sup>, **rev. iii 1)** e[n-an]-na-t[um<sub>2</sub>]-sipa-z[i], **2)** agrig, 20 la<sub>2</sub>-1.

**3. CIRPL [Sollberger 1956]: 46, Enz. 1, i 1)** lu<sub>2</sub>-en-na, **2)** sanga-<sup>d</sup>nin-mar<sup>ki</sup>-ka-ke<sub>4</sub>, **3)** na-e-a, **4)** [e]n-e-tar-zi, **5)** [sang]a-<sup>d</sup>nin-[gir<sub>2</sub>]-su-ra, **6)** [du<sub>11</sub>]-ga-na, ... **vii 2)** ensi<sub>2</sub>-lagaš<sup>ki</sup>, **3)** ti-la-na, **4)** en-an-na-tum<sub>2</sub>-sipa-zi, **5)** agrig, **6)** ti-[la]-n[a], **7)** [...], **8)** n[ig<sub>2</sub>]-du<sub>7</sub>-na-bi, **9)** <sup>d</sup>nin-mar<sup>ki</sup>-ra, **10)** ha-mu-na-tum<sub>3</sub>, **5).**

The correspondence quoted above (3) was sent by the administrator of Ninmar (southern district within the kingdom of Lagaš) to the administrator of Ningirsu named En-entarzi (spelled [e]n-e-tar-zi). The addressee must be identical to En-entarzi (en-en<sub>3</sub>-tar-zi) who had already been the highest administrator of Ningirsu in the 19th year of En-metena (1. RTC 16, vii 1–2), and he would succeed En-annatum II in the ensi-ship for another 5 years (contemporary administrative records). There is evidence that En-entarzi was already the administrator of Ningirsu in the 17th year of En-metena (BIN 8 352, rev. iii 11–12: en-en<sub>3</sub>-tar-zi sanga, 20 la<sub>2</sub>-3 [purchase contract of En-entarzi’s wife]). In spite of the recent scepticism (Michalowski 1993: 11; Kienast–Volk 1995: 29), therefore, I follow the traditional dating of Lu-enna’s letter to the 5th year of En-annatum II (e.g., Sollberger–Kupper 1971 [IRSA]: 76–77<sup>4</sup>; cf. Frayne 2008 [RIME 1]: 237).

Lines vii 2–6 of this letter read: ensi<sub>2</sub>-lagaš<sup>ki</sup> ti-la-na, en-an-na-tum<sub>2</sub>-sipa-zi agrig ti-[la]-n[a], for which Michalowski 1993: 12 gives a translation “as long as the ruler of Lagaš is alive, as long

51) Cf. Powell 1996: 32, who assumes that En-gilsa (father of Urukagina) held the ensi-ship of Lagaš prior to En-entarzi. For En-gilsa, see ELTS 40: 124 (Obelisk of Maništušu, Side A), xiv 7–10: 1 uru-ka-gi-na, DUMU en-gil-sa ensi<sub>2</sub>-lagaš<sup>ki</sup>.

52) It has often been assumed that after En-akalle’s surrender to E-annatum, Gišša had to pay a large amount of barley to Lagaš for about 40 years until war broke out between Gišša under Ur-lumma and Lagaš under En-annatum I (Section IV.2). This may allow us to suppose En-annatum I’s long reign, though no Lagaš source explicitly mentions his regnal years (with a probable exception of ITT 5 9236 dated the 27th year). According to M. Lambert, En-annatum I’s long reign (no less than 15 years) is well suggested by the fact that a remarkably large number of public buildings were constructed by his order (M. Lambert 1956: 142<sup>7</sup>). Cf. Marchesi–Marchetti 2011: 125<sup>257</sup>: “We may reasonably assume that the reign of En’annābtum I [= En-annatum I: Haider] was quite short, especially considering that he seems to have died in violent circumstances during a conflict with Umma.”

as En-annatum-sipazi, the steward, is alive.” Since En-annatum-sipazi “steward” is mentioned together with En-metena already in an administrative record dated En-metena’s 19th year (2. NFT 121: AO 4156, iii 1–2), En-metena (rather than En-annatum II) may be referred to as the “ruler of Lagaš” in this correspondence. Lines vii 2–6 may be interpreted to be a retrospect of the years of the former ruler.

A period between the 19th year of En-metena (1. RTC 16; 2. NFT 121: AO 4156) and the 5th of En-annatum II (3. CIRPL Enz. 1) cannot be long because En-e(n)tarzi continued to occupy the post of the highest administrator of Ningirsu in this period and because he survived for another 5 years as the ruler of Lagaš (administrative records). The letter’s allusion to both En-metena and his intimate servant (named En-annatum-sipazi) may also suggest that the letter in question was written not long after the 19th year of En-metena when these two were still alive.

Thus, we might tentatively regard the time from En-metena 20 to En-annatum II 4 to have been about 10 or 15 years at most.

In conclusion, the total length of years from the beginning of En-metena’s reign till the attack of Lugal-zagesi against Urukagina is tentatively calculated to be 54 years at most (19 years: En-metena 1–19; 15 years: from En-metena 20 to En-annatum II 5; 20 years: from En-entarzi 1 to Urukagina 8). This of course requires the two other presuppositions that En-annatum II did not survive long after his 5th year and that Urukagina was attacked by Lugal-zagesi in his 8th year.

### VI.3. II and his successors (at Gišša)

In his new “Umma” chronology, Monaco presents the following order of the rulers from Ur-lumma and their respective minimum regnal years; **1.** Ur-lumma ( $\geq 12$ ), **2.** Il ( $\geq 12$ ), **3.** Gišša-kidu ( $\geq 4$ ), **4.** Edin? ( $\geq 6$ ), **5.** Me-annedu ( $\geq 32/33$ ), **6.** Usar-du ( $\geq 4$  [or 7]), **7.** U’u (?), **8.** Lugal-zagesi (?) (Monaco 2011 [CUSAS 14]: 8, 9, Table 4, 5; Monaco 2013: 750, table). The minimum total duration is thus calculated to be 58 (or 63) years, with the unknown years of U’u and his son Lugal-zagesi being out of consideration.

Instead, I present the following succession order: **1.** Ur-lumma, **2.** Me-annedu (son of En-annatum I), **3.** Usar-du, **4.** Il, **5.** Gišša-kidu, **6.** Edin(?), **7.** U’u, **8.** Lugal-zagesi. In my idea, the numerals found in the records of Me-annedu refer to the regnal years of En-annatum I of Lagaš, and En-metena’s enthronement at Lagaš happened a few years prior to the change from Me-annedu to Usar-du at Gišša. If we add the figures presented by Monaco for Usar-du, Il, Gišša-kidu, and Edin(?), the total is only 26 (or 30) years with the years of U’u and Lugal-zagesi left uncalculated.

At a cursory glance, my reconstruction seems to cause a serious discrepancy between the total regnal years of the contemporary rulers of Lagaš and Gišša, that is, 54 years (from En-metena to Urukagina 8), and 26+X years (for Il, Gišša-kidu, and Edin(?)) with unknown additional years of U’u and Lugal-zagesi). Since the figures presented by Monaco are for the minimum length of reigns of the “Umma” rulers, however, we can almost safely add years (not as yet known to us) to my reconstruction made above. Particularly, I think the reign of Gišša-kidu was much longer than 4 years. Indeed, Gišša seems to have been most prosperous in his reign. If we adopt an alternate assumption that the reign of En-metena of Lagaš was much shorter than 30 years, the total length of years from En-metena till the defeat of Urukagina is calculated to be much shorter than 54 years. Since Il might have held power at Gišša some years later than En-metena of Lagaš, the years of the Lagaš rulers might further be reduced. So, a seeming discrepancy in my reconstruction of the regnal years between Gišša and Lagaš might almost be cleared.

### VI.4. Recovery of Gišša and decline of Lagaš

Soon after his enthronement, Il seems to have succeeded in recovering the land of the “Edge of the Plain” (Gu-edin(-na)). According to En-metena Cone A-B, En-metena protested Il’s aggressive



policies against Lagaš, but II claimed that “the boundary-channel of Ningirsu and the boundary-channel of Nanše are mine! I will shift the boundary-levee from Antasurra to Edimgal-abzu” (e-ki-sur-ra <sup>d</sup>nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka e-ki-sur-ra <sup>d</sup>nanše ga<sub>2</sub>-kam i<sub>3</sub>-mi-du<sub>11</sub>, an-ta-sur-ra-ta e<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>dimgal-abzu-ka-še<sub>3</sub> im ba-ni-e<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-mi-du<sub>11</sub> [Cone A iv, 24–33], translation: Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 55). A passage which comes next in the text (“(but) Enlil and Ninhursag did not allow him (to do) this”: <sup>d</sup>en-lil<sub>2</sub>-le <sup>d</sup>nin-hur-sag-ke<sub>4</sub> nu-na-sum [Cone A, iv 34–36]) seems no more than a bluff of En-metena.<sup>53)</sup> Because of the pressure afflicted by II, En-metena was now obliged to concentrate his effort to maintain/expand his territory toward south of the Lagaš region.<sup>54)</sup>

The sole inscription of En-annatum II (En-metena’s son) only states that he restored a small building for god Ningirsu; CIRPL [Sollberger 1956]: 45, En. II 1; RISA [Sollberger–Kupper 1971] (translation): 75, IC8a; FAOS 5/1 [Steible 1982]: 273–274, En. II 1; SARI 1 [Cooper 1986] (translation): 68, La 6.1; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 237–238, E1.9.6.1. Under the threat of foreign enemies, Lagaš seems to have been in a critical situation in his reign. This is substantiated by a letter which the administrator of Ninmar sent to En-e(n)tarzi (administrator of Ningirsu) in the 5th year of En-annatum II (Section VI.2 above). In his letter, the administrator of Ninmar reports that 600 Elamites invaded and plundered the kingdom of Lagaš and that he eventually defeated the Elamite army. An important point is that he sent this letter to the administrator of Ningirsu, not to En-annatum II who might almost have lost his political power.

#### VI.5. Gišša under the “kings of HixDIŠ”

Gišša-kidu succeeded to maintain or even expand the territory of Gišša which his father II had secured. Defensive policies of Lagaš adopted by En-metena and his successor(s) indeed reflect the territorial recovery and expansion of Gišša under II and Gišša-kidu.

In commemoration of her construction of the dais for the White Temple (that is, temple of the city-god Šara) at Gišša, Bara-irnun wife of Gišša-kidu donated a gold plate to Šara. It was found somewhere in the kingdom of Gišša (most probably at Umm al-Aqarib, not at Jokha as had been claimed);<sup>55)</sup> IRSA [Sollberger–Kupper 1971] (translation): 83–84, ID5a; FAOS 5/2 [Steible 1982]: 268–269, Giš. 1; SARI 1 [Cooper 1986] (translation): 93–94, Um 6; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 371, E1.12.6.

Here, Bara-irnun’s husband Gišša-kidu, her father-in-law II, and the two earlier rulers En-akalle and Ur-lumma are all called lugal-ŠAR<sub>2</sub>xDIŠ(HixDIŠ).

The sign that comes after LUGAL within the title in question is now reasonably interpreted to be HixDIŠ (Postgate–Steinkeller 1992: 18; Krebern timer 2003: 160<sup>125</sup>; Marchesi–Marchetti 2011: 112<sup>150</sup>;

53) No royal inscription other than Cone A-B not explicitly refers to En-metena’s policies against Gišša, with two possible exceptions; **1. RIME 1** [Frayne 2008]: **231, E.1.9.5.26, vi 2** <giš->keš<sub>2</sub>-du, **3** [lu]m-ma, **4** gu<sub>2</sub>-edin-na-ka, **5** mu-na-ni-du<sub>3</sub>: “He (En-metena) built the reservoir of the Lumma(gim-du)(-canal) of the Gu-edinna district for him (Ningirsu)”; **2. RIME 1** [Frayne 2008]: **232, E.1.9.5.27, ii 8** u<sub>4</sub>-ba, **iii 1** ir<sub>11</sub>-ra-ni, **2** du-du, **3** sanga-<sup>d</sup>nin-gir<sub>2</sub>-su-ka-ke<sub>4</sub>, **4** [b]ad<sub>3</sub>-da-sa<sub>14</sub>, **5** gu<sub>2</sub>-edin-na-ka, **6** mu-du<sub>3</sub>: “At that time, his (Enmetena’s) servant Dudu, administrator of god Ningirsu, built a fortress of Dasal of the Gu-edinna district.” Remarkably, the administrator of Ningirsu named Dudu (possibly, En-entarzi’s father), not En-metena himself, was engaged in the second construction activity (and probably the first also). Dudu also laid a stone brought from an Elamite city at the temple of Ningirsu (RIME 1 233, E1.9.5.28). Dudu could sometimes behave as if he were the city-ruler. We have an impression that the weakening of En-metena’s power could not be covered up any more in 10s in his reign.

54) See e.g. En-metena’s declaration of “freedom” the inhabitants of Uruk, Larsa, and Bad-tibira (quoted above in note 28), and his conclusion of the brotherhood treaty with a ruler of Uruk (IRSA [Sollberger–Kupper 1971] (translation): 70–71, IC7h; FAOS 5/1 [Steible 1982]: 260–264, Ent. 44–73; SARI 1 [Cooper 1986] (translation): 58, La 5.3; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 200–202, E1.9.5.3).

55) In his study of Bara-irnun’s gold plate, which was published in 1937 soon after its acquisition by the Louvre Museum, F. Thureau-Dangin wrote that it was found at the site of Jokha (Thureau-Dangin 1937: 177). However, we uncovered a dais within the large courtyard of the White Temple in Umm al-Aqarib, and I believe that it is the very same dais that is described in this gold plate (Almamori Haider Oraibi forthcoming). The photograph of this plate is now re-published (Aruz 2003: 78, No. 37). For different interpretations as to how it was attached to the dais (or to a statue set on the dais), see B. André-Salvini’s commentary “Plaque dedicated by a queen of Umma” (Aruz 2003: 78, No. 37).

Steinkeller 2010: 241; Steinkeller 2011: 217–218), not ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ as has traditionally been transliterated.

A prevailing interpretation is that ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ(HIxDIŠ) within the title denotes a place name. Many scholars regard the sign as a byname of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI (e.g., Sollberger 1960: 84; Edzard–Farber–Sollberger 1977: 167–168; Krebernik 2003: 160<sup>125</sup>; Steinkeller 2010: 241; Steinkeller 2011: 217–218; cf. Borger 2004: 175, Nr. 659), while Frayne thinks ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ(HIxDIŠ) and GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI(= <sup>giš</sup>giš<sub>x</sub><sup>ki</sup>) represent two different settlements (2008 [RIME 1]: 357–358). I agree with Biggs (1971: 2) and Marchesi–Marchetti (2011: 112<sup>150</sup>) in that ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ(HIxDIŠ) cannot refer to a specific settlement simply because the sign never occurs in any geographical context.<sup>56)</sup> On the other hand, the interpretation, first presented by Edzard 1959, that this political title means “king of a multitude (of inhabitants),” cannot be accepted. It is rather dubious that a numeral for 216,000 or the like is represented by a cuneiform sign (not by a curvilinear sign) as early as in the Early Dynastic period.

Although the accurate meaning of HIxDIŠ(ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ) still escapes us, this was apparently invented at Gišša. No rulers of other kingdoms than Gišša held this title.<sup>57)</sup>

A possible assumption is that the rulers of Gišša wished to take a title as prestigious as that of “king of Kiš” (lugal-kiš<sup>ki</sup>). In the Early Dynastic III period, the latter was held by several contemporary powerful rulers of such cities as Uruk, Ur and Lagaš (never by the Gišša rulers, however). Lugal-ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ(HIxDIŠ) is indeed a representation of power and prosperity of Gišša in the Early Dynastic III period.<sup>58)</sup>

#### VI.6. “Frontier of Šara”: prosperity of Gišša

As evidence that Gišša-kidu, son of Il, expanded the territory of Gišša, we present UA-277 [IM 163156] (Photo 5), a royal inscription written on a flat brick which was unearthed in our Umm al-Aqarib excavations. Although the signs on the brick are quite seriously defaced, the text is undoubtedly a duplicate of the royal inscription traditionally called “Frontier of Šara” (Sollberger 1959; IRSA [Sollberger–Kupper 1971] (translation): 91–93, IH2a; SARI 1 [Cooper 1986] (translation): 95–97, Um. 7.2; FAOS 5/2 [Steible 1982]: 325–336, Luzag. 2; CUSAS 17: Nos. 6–7 [first section]); RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 372–374, E1.12.6.2).

Both a fragment of a limestone cone and a plano-convex brick, labelled as MS 2426 and MS 4983 respectively in the Schøyen Collection, are now identified to be the first part of the “Frontier

56) It is still left open to discussion whether ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ is used as a toponym in the Zame hymns (e.g., lines 205–206) (IAS [Biggs 1974]: 52), as assumed by Krebernik (2003: 160<sup>125</sup>) and Frayne (2008 [RIME 1]: 358; 2009: 61).

Steinkeller thinks that lugal-HIxDIŠ occurs in an “ancient *kudurru*” inscription, possibly dated to the Early Dynastic I period; CUSAS 17: 217, No. 104 [MS 2482,], viii’ 4’) PI.PI.EN, 5’) lugal Umma<sup>2</sup>(HIxDIŠ) APIN HI GUR<sup>2</sup> GU PAD<sup>2</sup>, “It is conceivable that the next line (viii’ 5’) spells out En-pi-pi’s title: lugal Umma<sup>2</sup>(HIxDIŠ). ...” (ibid.: 217). If this is accepted, we see here the sole reference to lugal-HIxDIŠ in a record distinguished from royal inscriptions. However, I still hesitate to accept this interpretation since the sign in question after LUGAL is rather different from HIxDIŠ, found within lugal-HIxDIŠ in the royal inscriptions of “Umma.”

57) It was once believed that Lugal-kigneš-dudu, king of Uruk, also held this title. This is based on a votive inscription which prays for the long life of Lugal-kigneš-dudu; Sollberger 1960: 84, No. 76, 4–6: [nam-ti] [lugal-k]i-n[i]-še<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub> lugal-umma<sup>ki</sup>-a; IRSA [Sollberger–Kupper 1971]: 84, IE1b: “[for the life of Lugal-k]iniše-dudu, king of Umma (French translation)”; FAOS 5/2 [Steible 1982]: 301, Lukin. 3, 4–6: [nam-ti] [lugal-k]i-n[e<sub>2</sub>]-eš<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub> lugal-ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ<sup>ki</sup>-a: “for the life of Lugal-kineš-dudu, king of Umma(?)” (in German).

If the reading of Sollberger 1960 is accepted, the inscription of Lugal-kigneš-dudu is the sole reference to ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ(HIxDIŠ) with a topographical determinative KI. Sollberger indeed rejected the interpretation of Edzard 1959 by reason of the presence of KI in this text. However, as a result of collation of the original inscription, scholars now understand that the sign after LUGAL is not ŠAR<sub>2</sub>×DIŠ(HIxDIŠ) but KIŠ. Cooper 1984: 92 with pl. Vb. See also RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 418–419 with commentary, E1.14.14.6, 4–6: [nam-ti] [lugal]-ki-[gin-ne<sub>2</sub>]-eš<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>7</sub>-du<sub>7</sub> lugal-kiš.KI-a.

58) The earliest reference to lugal-HIxDIŠ may go back to the title of Enlil-pagilga-gi (or Pabilga-gi) inscribed on the so-called bull-man, possibly dated to the Early Dynastic II period; Steinkeller 2010: 241; cf. RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 361–362, E1.12.1.1; Frayne 2009: 66–67; Aruz 2003: 51, No. 18 (Bull-Man, dated to ED I). Cp. Marchesi–Marchetti 2011: 100<sup>29</sup>.

of Šara” (CUSAS 17: No. 6 and 7). So, we soundly understand that the “Frontier of Šara” commemorates Gišša-kidu’s successful management of his vast territory. Before publication of the Schøyen texts, the “Frontier of Šara” had been misunderstood as one of the royal inscriptions of Lugal-zagesi (IRSA [Sollberger-Kupper 1971]: 91, IH2a; Cooper 1986 [SARI 1]: 96<sup>1</sup>) because Lugal-zagesi was the first ruler to subjugate many Sumerian cities.<sup>59)</sup>

#### UA-277 (IM 163156)

##### Transliteration

**obv. i** (almost completely defaced), **ii** (unknown number of lines missing), **1’** [= **Frontier of Šara 34**] [zag-na-du<sub>3</sub>-a-<sup>d</sup>šara<sub>2</sub>]-<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>, **2’** <sup>1</sup>e<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-X-<sup>1</sup>ta<sup>1</sup>, **3’** <sup>1</sup>HAR<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>AL<sup>1</sup>-<sup>1</sup>še<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>, **4’** 390 [<sup>ninda</sup>nindan<sub>x</sub>(=GAR.DU)], **5’** <sup>1</sup>zag<sup>1</sup>-[na-du<sub>3</sub>-a-<sup>d</sup>šara<sub>2</sub>]-<sup>1</sup>ka<sup>1</sup>m<sup>1</sup>, **6’** <sup>1</sup>HAR<sup>1</sup>.<sup>1</sup>AL<sup>1</sup>-ta, **7’** <sup>1</sup>bad<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>(=EZEM×U)-<sup>1</sup>da<sup>1</sup>(?), **8’** (missing), **iii** (unknown number of lines missing), **1’** [= **Frontier of Šara 61**] zag-na-du<sub>3</sub>-a-<sup>d</sup>š[ara<sub>2</sub>]-k[am], **2’** <sup>1</sup>mur<sup>1</sup>-[gu<sub>4</sub>]-<sup>d</sup>šara<sub>2</sub>-t[a], **3’** <sup>1</sup>e<sub>2</sub><sup>1</sup>-<sup>d</sup>iš[taran] (=KA.[DI])-<sup>1</sup>še<sub>3</sub><sup>1</sup>, **4’** 600 [<sup>ninda</sup>nindan<sub>x</sub>](= GAR.[DU]), **5’** zag-na-du<sub>3</sub>-a-<sup>d</sup>ša[ra<sub>2</sub>-kam], **6’** e<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>ištaran-[ta], **7’** an-za-gar<sub>3</sub>-š[e<sub>3</sub>], **iv** (completely missing).

According to this record, Gišša-kidu, who is the “shepherd beloved of the god Šara, born to ..., preeminent one, fearsome head of the land of Sumer, who has no rival in all the lands, ...” (Frontier of Šara 1–16) demarcated the regions which he could control. The respective lengths of the regions’ frontier lines are measured out. Each demarcation is recorded as: from A to B, N [<sup>ninda</sup>nindan<sub>x</sub>], zag-na-du<sub>3</sub>-a-<sup>d</sup>šara<sub>2</sub>-kam: “from A to B, (its length is) N nindan, (this is) the frontier of the monument of Šara.”

Gišša-kidu certainly managed a part of the former territory of Lagaš since the toponyms Dur-gara (ANŠE.du<sub>24</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-ra) and NAG-Nanše (NAG-<sup>d</sup>Nanše) are mentioned in this inscription; “from HAR.AL to the fortress of Dur-gara is 390 nindan (39–42: HAR.AL-ta ANŠE.du<sub>24</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-ra-še<sub>3</sub> 360 [<sup>ninda</sup>nindan<sub>x</sub>])” and “from the tenth(?) fortress Dur-gara to the NAG-Nanše is 636 nindan” (44–47: 10 bad<sub>3</sub>-da ANŠE.du<sub>24</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-ra-še<sub>3</sub> 636 [<sup>ninda</sup>nindan<sub>x</sub>] [1 nindan = 6 m]).<sup>60)</sup>

Gišša-kidu’s reign might possibly be contemporary to the second half of En-metena’s reign, the years of En-annatum II, and even those of their successor(s).<sup>61)</sup>



Photo 5 UA-277 (IM 163156)

59) Sollberger first thought that II (father of Gišša-kidu) was the author of the “Frontier of Šara” on the basis of the rather archaic writing style of several signs (Sollberger 1959: 337; cp. *ibid.*: 350).

I agree with Marchesi–Marchetti 2011: 111<sup>147</sup> in that Gišša-kidu already held the ideology of kingship quite similar to that of Lugal-zagesi.

60) ANŠE.du<sub>24</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-ga<sub>2</sub>-ra must be compared with a field name GAN<sub>2</sub> du<sub>24</sub>-ur<sub>3</sub>-re<sub>2</sub>/e-gar-ra, mentioned in the administrative records of Lagaš (e.g., RTC 71, obv. vi 8).

NAG-<sup>d</sup>nanše.ki occurs in the Sargonic records from Adab (OIP 14 198; TCBI 1 213 [BI-II 14]). Nanše is the chief god of NINA, one of the main settlements in the Lagaš kingdom. A marsh named ambar-<sup>d</sup>nanše was situated near the city of NINA.

61) At least three men who came from Gišša are listed in DP 230, a monthly record of barley rations to the working personnel of Lugal-anda’s wife, which is safely dated to the latter half of Lugal-anda’s reign. [One of the three men is named Gišša-kidu. See note 16 above.] In the palace household of Lugal-anda himself, we would reasonably find much more men of Gišša given barley in the same month as mentioned in DP 230.

There certainly happened a serious political crisis at Gišša several years after Lugal-anda had been enthroned at Lagaš, and this seems to have caused the influx of many people from Gišša to Girsu. Another bold hypothesis, which still waits concrete evidence, is that the dynasty created by En-akalle (and followed by Ur-lumma, II, and Gišša-kidu) finally fell at Gišša that year, that is to say, Gišša-kidu’s reign was ended, probably by force.

## VII. Abandonment of Gišša (Umm al-Aqarib)

In a series of excavations at Umm al-Aqarib, we did not come across any archaeological evidence for the post-ED IIIb periods (Akkadian, Ur III, OB, or later periods), except the Parthian and/or Sasanian occupation within a very limited area (Almamori Haider Oraibi forthcoming). It is quite unlikely that Umm al-Aqarib was destroyed in the course of wars against the neighboring kingdoms. In our excavations, we did not find any evidence of a large-scale artificial destruction, except for the traces of fire recognized within the storage rooms and the throne room (See V.8 above).

I now assume that the city was almost completely abandoned probably because the river which ran at the eastern edge of Umm al-Aqarib was suddenly flooded. The breakage of the river bed turned the whole region of Umm al-Aqarib into a marsh. It seems quite probable that the population then moved to Jokha, just north of Umm-Aqarib.

I am tempted to conclude that the abandonment of Umm al-Aqarib (Gišša) happened in a year when Lugal-zagesi had already taken the title “king of Uruk.” It is also likely that the decline of Gišša had already begun when Lugal-zagesi became king of Uruk.<sup>62)</sup>

Jokha became the central settlement in the region in place of Gišša which had already been abandoned, and the term GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI began to refer to the settlement of Jokha called Umma or Umme by the local population.

Table 5 Chronology of the rulers of Gišša (Haider Oraibi)

Uš	
⋮	
En-akalle	
Ur-lumma	
Me-annedu	(He came from Lagaš.)
Usar-HI	
II	
Gišša-kidu	(Both II and Gišša-kidu belonged to a local aristocratic family of Zabalam.)
⋮	
U'u	
Lugal-zagesi	

62) The reign of Lugal-zagesi is still to be studied. For previous literature, see e.g. Powell 1978; Powell 1996; Westenholz 1987–1990; Visicato 2010.

Lugal-zagesi probably succeeded his father U'u in the rulership of Gišša; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 435, E1.14.20.1, i 9–10: dumu u<sub>2</sub>-u<sub>2</sub> [en]si<sub>2</sub>-GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI. He, as “ruler” of Gišša, attacked and savaged almost all the settlements of Lagaš under Urukagina; RIME 1 [Frayne 2008]: 276–279, E1.9.9.5, viii 11-ix 3: lugal-za<sub>3</sub>-ge-si ensi<sub>2</sub>-GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI-ka, dingir-ra-ni <sup>d</sup>nisaba-ke<sub>4</sub>, nam-dag-bi gu<sub>2</sub>-na he<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>-il<sub>2</sub>.



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BIN 8 26 is the sole administrative record that explicitly calls Lugal-zagesi “king” (not “king of Uruk”); **BIN 8 26, rev. vi 3** mes-ki-gal-la, **4** e[n]si<sub>2</sub>, **5** adab<sup>ki</sup>, **6** lugal-zag-ge-si, **7** lugal. [Marcesì–Marchetti 2011: 111<sup>147</sup> assumes that the title lugal is used here in the meaning of “king (of the Land)” (that is, lugal-kalam-ma).]

On the other hand, Lugal-zagesi is simply called “ruler” (ensi) in the summary descriptions of several survey records of allotment lands (e.g., Powell 1978: No. 1 and BIN 8 86, both written in “the 7th year”). Undoubtedly, there lived a “king” in the “7th year” when these records were written, since the expression ki-lugal (lit., “(they are at) the place of the king”) occurs in Powell 1978: No. 1 (obv. ii 14). Certainly, administration was already beyond the border of single city-states, because the “ruler of Nippur” and the “ruler of Adab” are mentioned in these records; ensi<sub>2</sub>-nibru<sup>ki</sup>: Powell 1978: No. 1, iii 8 et passim; ensi<sub>2</sub>-nibru: BIN 8 86, i 1, ii 5; ensi<sub>2</sub>-adab<sup>ki</sup>: BIN 8 86, v 11.

I interpret that the term lugal (“king”) in ki-lugal refers to Lugal-zagesi himself (see Powell 1978: 29; Westenholz 1987–1990: 157 also). Those who are referred to by the phrase ki-lugal were most probably of the Zabalam/Gišša origin, and they were now in service for Lugal-zagesi at Uruk (not at Zabalam/Gišša). In other words, Lugal-zagesi already held the titles “king of Uruk” and “king of the Land” also, while he continued to govern Gišša as “ensi” in the “7th year.” It implies that the “7th (year),” as found in Powell 1978: No. 1 and other texts, refers to the regnal year of Lugal-zagesi as king of Uruk (not as ensi of Gišša). This reminds me of the Me-annedu records in which the regnal year denotation of En-annatum I of Lagaš (not of Me-annedu) appears. Me-annedu himself is simply called ensi there. [Note that, in Powell 1978: No. 1 and other texts, the regnal year is now written in the new way of denotation, that is, with “the year number bisected by a horizontal wedge plus two wedges meeting at a right angle” (Powell 1978: 10), which is distinguished from the mu(-iti) system adopted in the earlier and later records of the “Umma region.” In my interpretation, Lugal-zagesi adopted the Uruk system of year denotation. Cf. Powell 1978: 10, “Lugalzagesi–Zabala year notation.”]

Later, Lugal-zagesi appointed another man “ruler” of GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI. For this see e.g. **CUSAS 11 90** [CUNES 48–07–113], **rev. iii 3** mes-ki-gal-la, **4** ensi<sub>2</sub>–, **5** adab<sup>ki</sup>, **6** su-uš-GI, **7** ensi<sub>2</sub>–, **8** GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI, **iv 1** [ ]-dab<sub>5</sub>, ...; **CUSAS 11 122** [CUNES 50–06–017], **obv. i 4** 1 maš<sub>2</sub>, **5** su-uš-GI, **6** ensi<sub>2</sub>–, **7** GIŠ.KUŠU<sub>2</sub>.KI-ra, **ii 1** DI-<sup>d</sup>utu, **2** nu-banda<sub>3</sub>, **3** in-na-DU, **4** 1 maš<sub>2</sub>, **5** UR.UR, **6** lu<sub>2</sub>-lugal, ... **rev. iii 6** a-ba-sum, ...

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