

Three New IriKagina “Reform” Fragments from Girsu

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Abstract

The well-known “Reform Texts” of IriKagina, king of Lagash/Girsu (24th century BCE), are a key source for reconstructing the social and economic history of Early Mesopotamia. They offer insights through the lens of royal ideology and its legislative and political embodiments. This article presents an edition of three new fragments belonging to this important composition, which were recently discovered at Girsu during surface surveys conducted by the Girsu Project on Tell H and Tell V, and in their surroundings. To assess their historical value, the paper contextualizes the fragments within their broader archaeological and historical settings. It also provides a brief overview of the previously known sources for the “Reform Texts,” highlighting relevant parallels. Despite its fragmentary nature, the new evidence adds details to the textual record, including variant spellings of known legal formulations and a reference to past conflicts with foreign enemies.

Keywords

Mesopotamia | Early Dynastic period | Sumerian | cuneiform | legislation

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1. INTRODUCTION

The so-called Reform Texts of IriKagina are of prime importance for the study of key features of early Mesopotamian history, such as legal practices, social organization, and royal ideology. These documents are also extremely valuable in terms of economic history, as they show many points of contact with the large corpus of contemporary administrative texts from late Early Dynastic Girsu (roughly 1,800 tablets),¹ with special regard to those concerning the management of the $e_2\text{-mi}_2 / e_2\text{-}^d\text{ba-bu}_{11}$ ($e_2\text{-}^d\text{ba-u}_2$)² institution.³ Given their great

¹ Textual correlations between “Reform Texts” and the administrative corpus from Lagash have already been highlighted by Daniel Foxvog, “A New Lagaš Text Bearing on Uruinimkina’s Reforms.” *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 46 (1994): 11–15. Cf. also most recently Ingo Schrakamp and Gábor Zólyomi, “Reevaluating the So-Called ‘Reforms of Urukagina’ (2). Their Actual Implementation in the Case of the Maškim Official,” *Altorientalische Forschungen* 52 (2024): 96–105; Piotr Steinkeller, “Urukagina’s Rise to Power,” in *Drought Will Drive You Even toward Your Foe*, edited by Yoram Cohen, Amir Gilan, Nathan Wasserman, Letizia Cerqueglini, and Beata Sheyhatovitch (Israel Oriental Studies Annual 23, Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2023), 21–33. Thomas E. Balke, *Das Altsumerische Onomastikon. Namengebung und Prosopografie nach den Quellen aus Lagaš* (Dubsar 1. Münster: Zaphom, 2017), 469–72 provides the figure of 1,839 texts in total. For a description of the corpus see Rosemary Prentice, *The Exchange of Goods and Services in Pre-Sargonic Lagash* (Alter Orient Und Altes Testament 368, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010), 2–5; Gebhard J. Selz, *Untersuchungen zur Götterwelt des altsumerischen Stadtstaates von Lagaš* (Occasional publications of the Samuel Noah Kramer Fund 13, Philadelphia: Samuel Noah Kramer Fund, 1995), 8–15. On the onomasticon cf. also Daniel Foxvog, “Aspects of Name-Giving in Presargonic Lagash,” in *Strings and Threads. A Celebration of the Work of Anne Draffkorn Kilmer*, edited by Wolfgang Heimpel and Gabriella Frantz-Szabó (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 59–97. For further studies see also note 4.

² On the building’s name see most recently Pascal Attinger, *Glossaire sumérien-français principalement des textes littéraires paléobabyloniens* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2021), 168 wn 280; previously Gianni Marchesi, “Goods from the Queen of Tilmun,” in *Akkade Is King. A Collection of Papers by Friends and Colleagues Presented to Aage Westenholz on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday, 15th of May 2009*, ed. by Gojko Barjamovic, Jacob Dahl, Ulla Susanne Koch, Walter Sommerfeld, and Joan Goodnick Westenholz (Publications de l’Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul 118, Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2011), 192 wn 15; Vitali Bartash, “E₂-Mi₂ – ‘Women’s Quarters’: The Earliest Written Evidence,” in *House and Household Economies in 3rd Millennium B.C.E. Syro-Mesopotamia*, edited by Federico Buccellati, Tobias Helms, and Alexander Tamm (BAR International Series 2682, Oxford: Archaeopress, 2014), 10–13; Ingo Schrakamp, “Urukagina und die Geschichte von Lagaš Am Ende Der Präsaragonischen Zeit,” in *It’s a Long Way to a Historiography of the Early Dynastic Period(s)*, ed. Reinhard Dittmann, Gebhard J. Selz, and Ellen Rehm (Altertumskunde Des Vorderen Orients 15, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2015), 334–35 wn 248. On the goddess’ name (^dba-bu₁₁ as opposed to ^dba-u₂) see Ingo Schrakamp, “Die Lesungen der Götternamen ^dba-U₂ und ^dab-U₂. Bemerkungen zu J. Keetman,” *Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie Orientale* 112 (2019): 15–22.

³ Ingo Schrakamp and Gábor Zólyomi, “Reevaluating the So-Called ‘Reforms of Urukagina’ (1) Social Justice, Vertical Solidarity and Reciprocity,” *Zeitschrift für altorientalische und biblische Rechtsgeschichte* 30 (2024): 1–2; Ingo Schrakamp, “Die ‘sumerische Tempelstadt’ heute – Die soziökonomische Rolle eines Tempels in frühdynastischer Zeit,” in *Tempel im Alten Orient*, ed.

historical significance, any contribution that provides further insight into this matter seems worthwhile. The present article aims to offer the scholarly audience an edition of three new fragments, in the hope that they may be useful in reconstructing the textual history of the “Reforms.” With this in mind, the following discussion is limited to selected topics most intimately related to the content of the new fragments. Of course, IriKagina’s “Reforms” have been extensively studied in the past.⁴ Most recently, I. Schrakamp and G. Zólyomi have

Kai Kaniuth, Anne Löhnert, Jared L. Miller, Adelheid Otto, Michael Roaf, and Walther Sallaberger (Colloquien der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 7, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 445–66; Gebhard J. Selz, “Reconstructing the Old Sumerian Administrative Archives of the é-mí – é-⁴ba-ba₆-Institution,” in *Akkade Is King. A Collection of Papers by Friends and Colleagues Presented to Aage Westenholz on the Occasion of His 70th Birthday, 15th of May 2009*, ed. Gojko Barjamovic, Jacob Dahl, Ulla Susanne Koch, Walter Sommerfeld, and Joan Goodnick Westenholz (Publications de l’Institut Historique-Archéologique Néerlandais de Stamboul 118, Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2011), 273–286; Prentice, *The Exchange of Goods*, 205–214; Glenn Magid, “Micromanagement in the é-mí/⁴Ba-ú: Notes on the Organization of Labor at Early Dynastic Lagash,” in *Proceedings of the 45th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale. Part 1: Historiography in the Cuneiform World*, ed. Tzvi Abusch, Paul-Alain Beaulieu, John Huehnergard, Peter Machinist, Piotr Steinkeller (Bethesda: CDL Press), 313–328. For a broader discussion on the temple economy in general, see further Eva Cancik-Kirschbaum, “‘The Sumerian Tempelstadt’: The Modern Making of an Ancient Urban Concept,” in *Religious Pluralism and the City. Inquiries into Postsecular Urbanism*, ed. Helmuth Berking, Silke Steets, and Jochen Schwenk (Bloomsbury Studies in Religion, Space and Place, London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2018), 185–91, with previous references. The only other Early Dynastic archive that allows similar comparison between legal practices and administration is that of Ebla, via the so-called chancery texts alongside a possible law collection that was recently identified; see Massimo Maiocchi, “Legal Regulations at Ebla – Part II: Abduction of an Unmarried Girl (ARET XVI 1 Obv. VII 9–IX 13),” *Kaskal* 20 (2023): 1–14. There, however, this topic remains largely unexplored.

⁴ The bibliography is vast and can’t be described here in detail. Classic studies in the century-long debate on these difficult texts include: Anton Deimel, “Die Reformtexte Urukaginas.” *Orientalia Series Prior* 2 (1920): 3–31; Igor M. Diakonoff, “Some Remarks on the ‘Reforms’ of Urukagina.” *Revue d’assyriologie et d’archéologie orientale* 52 (1958): 1–15; Blahoslav Hruška, “Die Reformtexte Urukaginas. Der verspätete Versuch einer Konsolidierung des Stadtstaates von Lagaš,” in *Le Palais et la Royauté (Archéologie et Civilisation). XIXe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale organisée par le Groupe François Thureau-Dangin, Paris, 29 Juin – 2 Juillet 1971*, ed. by P. Garelli (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1974), 151–61; Kazuya Maekawa, “The Development of the E₂-MI₂ in Lagash during the Early Dynastic III,” *Mesopotamia* 8–9 (1973): 77–144; Benjamin R. Foster, “A New Look at the Sumerian Temple State,” *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 24 (1981): 225–41; Manuel Molina, “Las ‘reformas de Urukagina,’” in *Lingua e historia: Homenaje al Profesor Dr. D. Antonio Yelo Templado al cumplir 60 años*, ed. by Antonio González Blanco, Elena Conde Guerri, Manuel Molina Martos, and Rafael González Fernández (Antigüedad e cristianismo 12 / Scripta Fulgentina V/9–10, Murcia: S.L. Compobell, 1995): 47–80; Josef Bauer, “Der vorsargonische Abschnitt der mesopotamischen Geschichte,” in *Mesopotamien: Späturuk-Zeit und frühdynastische Zeit*, ed. Pascal Attinger and Markus Wäfler (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160/1, Fribourg: University Press, 1998), 431–585; Jerrold S. Cooper, *Reconstructing History from Ancient Inscriptions: The Lagash-Umma Border Conflict* (Sources of the Ancient Near East 2, Malibu: Undena Publications, 1983); Gebhard J. Selz,

carried out an in-depth reassessment of the text, providing extensive philological discussion on the terms that have the most impact on our understanding of its content.⁵ As for the label “Reforms,” the authors of the present article acknowledge that it is clearly a misnomer. However, it has become entrenched in scholarly debate and is therefore retained here for convenience. The overall goal of the “Reforms” is to portray the king as the rightful authority meant to fix former abuses and restore order, in accordance with the will of the gods. As it stands, the content therefore seems to fit the genre of royal decrees, providing ad hoc measures to ensure the correct functioning of society. These measures have implications for economic management, most notably taxation. In turn, taxation is related to problematic social changes, such as individuals losing their free status due to debt. In this regard, the term “readjustment” has recently been proposed to describe the text(s).⁶

2. ARCHAEOLOGICAL CONTEXT OF THE NEW FRAGMENTS

Fieldwork at Tello/Girsu was resumed in 2015 after an 83-year hiatus and has since provided compelling evidence confirming that IriKagina (ca. 2316–2307 BCE),⁷ the last ruler of Lagash during the Early Dynastic IIIb period, was a prolific builder whose contributions significantly shaped the religious topography of Girsu. Numerous architectural remains, archaeological features, and inscribed objects, recovered through excavation trenches, soundings, spoil heaps, sur-

“„Streit herrscht, Gewalt droht“ – Zu Konfliktregelung und Recht in der frühdynastischen und altakkadischen Zeit,” *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 92 (2002): 155–203; Scott G. Beld, *The Queen of Lagash. Ritual Economy in a Sumerian State* (PhD diss., University of Michigan, 2002); Hans Neumann, “Recht im antiken Mesopotamien,” in *Die Rechtskulturen der Antike. Vom Alten Orient bis zum Römischen Reich*, ed. Ulrich Manthe, (München: C. H. Beck, 2003), 55–122; Claus Wilcke, *Early Ancient Near Eastern Law: A History of Its Beginnings: The Early Dynastic and Sargonic Periods* (Second edition, Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2007). For more up-to-date views see further Steinkeller, “Urukagina’s Rise,” 12–18; Ingo Schrakamp “Urukagina. Herrscher Der 1. Dyn. von Lagaš,” *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 14 (2015–2016): 494–97; Stefano Seminara, “Die Rede des Königs. Die sogenannten ‚Reformen‘ Urukaginas zwischen Politik und Theologie,” in *It’s a Long Way to a Historiography of the Early Dynastic Period(s)*, ed. R. Dittmann, Gebhard J. Selz, and Ellen Rehm (Altertumskunde des Vorderen Orients 15, Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2015), 406–31.

⁵ Schrakamp and Zólyomi, “Untersuchungen” in press; Schrakamp and Zólyomi “Reevaluating the So-Called ‘Reforms of Urukagina’ (1)”; Schrakamp and Zólyomi “Reevaluating the So-Called ‘Reforms of Urukagina’ (2).”

⁶ Schrakamp and Zólyomi, “Reevaluating the So-Called ‘Reforms of Urukagina’ (1),” 13.

⁷ See Sébastien Rey, *The Temple of Ningirsu: The Culture of the Sacred in Mesopotamia* (University Park, PA / London: Eisenbrauns & The British Museum, 2024), 46–47.

face finds, and extensive field surveys, can be securely attributed to his reign. Collectively, these findings attest to his transformative role in redefining the politico-religious infrastructure that was integral to daily life in the city.⁸

IriKagina’s construction initiatives focused primarily on the restoration and rebuilding of religious structures. These included the sanctuary of Ningirsu on Tell K, the shrines of Shulshaga(na) and Igalim within the Sacred Precinct (Iri-kug/iri.ku, area), and the sanctuary of Bau (or Babu) on Tell A (the so-called Grey Platform). Additional temples dedicated to deities such as Ninshar and Lammashaga were also renovated under his direction. Beyond religious architecture, IriKagina was responsible for the reconstruction of Girsu’s city wall and oversaw the final renovation of the state archives on Tell V prior to the Akkadian conquest.

The violent conclusion of IriKagina’s reign, marked by the destruction of Girsu at the hands of forces led by Lugalzagesi, resulted in widespread devastation. A particular target was the temple of Ningirsu on Tell K, which was deliberately razed and its sacred objects defaced. Consequently, fragments of artifacts associated with IriKagina are frequently encountered across the site, especially in and around the Sacred Precinct and Tablet Hill, which constituted the combined religious and administrative core of the city.

Among the most significant surface finds from recent seasons are three fragments of the so-called Reform Texts. These were discovered during the project’s routine and systematic surface inspections, conducted in parallel with

excavation, training, and conservation efforts. Two clay cone fragments, TG 6032 (IM 247131) and TG 6123 (IM 247175), were found during the autumn 2023 season—the former on a spoil heap at Tablet Hill (Tell V), just north of Area L3, and the latter in the large excavation pit at the so-called Necropolis Mound (Tell H), southeast of the Sacred Precinct.

The third clay cone fragment, TG 6633 (IM Study Collection), was

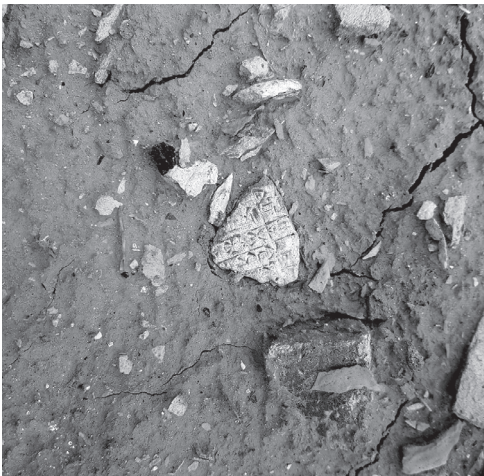


Figure 1. TG 6123.

⁸ See Rey, *The Temple of Ningirsu*, 291–93.

recovered during the spring 2025 season approximately 100 meters north of Tablet Hill, in the area between the city's main mounds and the eastern tells. All finds from these investigations were conserved, photographed, and documented at the dig house and subsequently transferred to the Iraq Museum in Baghdad for permanent curation.

3. PREVIOUS SOURCES OF THE “REFORM TEXTS”

Presently, fourteen fragmentary exemplars of the “Reform Texts,” belonging to at least five recensions, are known.⁹ This number includes one fragment (A27909), which is currently held in the Institute for the Study of Ancient Cultures, West Asia & North Africa (ISAC), formerly known as the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, and is as yet unpublished,¹⁰ as well as the three fragments published here.¹¹ The inscriptions are written on clay cones and a stone tablet.¹² The earliest version is fully preserved, and it is dated to the year when IriKagina became lugal (Ukg L 1). It is written on three clay cones (RIME 1.9.9.1 ex.1–3 = FAOS 5/1 Ukg. 4/5, 60). Two other fragmentary versions (Ukg. 63 and Ukg. 64) are more difficult to place in a relative chronological sequence. On the basis of parallels, they may be dated to Ukg. L 1; however, a later date is not excluded. A third version, again fragmentary, has the king titled as lugal gir₂-su^{ki} (as opposed to lugal lagaš^{ki} in the earliest text). This version is datable to Ukg. L 7, or shortly thereafter—that is, in a period of increasing instability in territorial control, due to military pressure imposed by Umma. This version is written on four fragments (RIME 1.9.9.2 ex. 1,¹³ RIME 1.9.9.2 ex. 2–4 = FAOS 5/1

⁹ Filip Vukosavić, *Reforms of Urukagina* (PhD diss., Hebrew University Jerusalem, 2009), 9; Schrakamp “Urukagina. Herrscher,” 496.

¹⁰ The fragment is to be published by Colton Siegmund. It was identified as belonging to the “Reform Texts” by Susanne Paulus; see comments by Schrakamp and Zólyomi, “Reevaluating the So-Called ‘Reforms of Urukagina’ (1),” 3 wn 15.

¹¹ Major editions in RIME 1.9.9.1 ff.; CIRPL, 48 ff.; FAOS 5/1 Ukg. 1 ff.; ETCsRI (online); and CDLI (online).

¹² According to Douglas R. Frayne, *Presargonic Period (2700–2350 BC)* (The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia - Early Periods 1. Toronto / Buffalo / London: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 265, the “Reform Texts” were also inscribed on jar fragments. However, all such fragments appear to be from clay cones, not jars.

¹³ The artifact stems from Tell H; see Ernest de Sarzec and François Thureau-Dangin, *Découvertes en Chaldée par Ernest de Sarzec, ouvrage accompagné de planches, publié par les soins de Léon Heuzey, avec le concours de Arthur Amiaud et François Thureau-Dangin pour la partie épigraphique. Second Volume: Partie Épigraphique [II/1] et Planches [II/2]* (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1884), 61; 110–11. It is possible, albeit not provable, that the other exemplars of this version also stem from Tell H (cf. also below §5, commentary ad i'1'–5'). The original settings of the other versions remain uncertain.

Ukg. 1–3, Ukg. 62). The text apparently contains the same legal provisions as the earliest version. Yet another version (RIME 1.9.9.3 = FAOS 5/1 Ukg. 6) mentions the king without any title. This text differs from previous versions in that it is written on an oval stone tablet, it contains extra provisions, and it provides some details on previous conflicts with Umma, from the time of Enanatum I against Urukagina. While its precise dating is unknown, the academic consensus is that it should be framed after Ukg. L 4, which is when the conflict with Umma escalated.¹⁴

4. TG 6032 (IM 247131)

A major obstacle to the reconstruction of the fragments published here is their fragmentary nature. A precise determination of the number of columns that are currently absent, both before and after the surviving portion of the inscriptions, is challenging. Furthermore, it is hard to estimate how many textual boxes the individual columns originally had. As for TG 6032, only 1/3 of the column(s) length might survive, but this remains speculative. Evidence that most of the content is missing is provided by the expression 5-kam-ṛma^ṛ-k[a^ṛ] “for the fifth time,” in obv. ii’ 3. It is probable that the preceding four iterations of similarly structured formulaic textual blocks, each starting with N-kam-ma-ka, are also absent. These blocks contain the description of how the king of Lagash/Girsu defeated the foreign enemies. Due to the breaks in the text, the identities of the opponents remain unknown. However, Uruk and/or Umma are obvious candidates. The resulting narrative must have been extensive and detailed, albeit in a repetitive manner—a sort of compendium of previous military events up to the late IriKagina’s reign, after his 8th year, when he apparently

¹⁴ See most recently Schrakamp, “Urukagina und die Geschichte von Lagaš,” 336; Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 248; Wilcke, *Early Ancient Near Eastern Law*, 21–22 wn 16. See further Edmond Sollberger, “Urukagina, roi de Girsu,” in *Twenty-Second Congress of Orientalists Held in Istanbul September 15th to 22nd, 1951*, ed. Zeki V. Togan (Leiden: Brill, 1957), 32–33; Cooper, *Reconstructing History*, 35–36; Jerrold S. Cooper, *Presargonic Inscriptions* (Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions 1, New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1986), 75 wn 3; Gebhard J. Selz, *Altsumerische Verwaltungstexte aus Lagaš, Teil I: Die altsumerischen wirtschaftsurkunden der Ermitage zu Leningrad* (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 15/1, Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989), 279; Bauer “Der vorsargonische Abschnitt,” 478; Gebhard J. Selz “Wirtschaftskrise – Legitimationskrise – Staatskrise: Zur Genese mesopotamischer Rechtsvorstellungen zwischen Planwirtschaft und Eigentumsverfassung,” *Archiv für Orientforschung* 46–47 (1999–2000), 18; Yuhong Wu, “Food and Drink for the King, Queen, Officials and Ancestors in the House of the Lady in Girsu. Studies on Archives from Girsu Part 3,” *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum* 20 (2005): 1–29.

ruled from Girsu (i.e., not from Lagash) after the defeat by Lugalzagesi (see also below, Commentary *ad* i'.4-5).



Figure 2. TG 6032-01.

i'. (unknown number of columns missing)

1. [x]-r¹x-x¹
 2. [...]-KU
 3. [iri]-KA-[g]i-na
 4. lugal
 5. ĝir₂-su^{ki}-ke₄
 6. x [...]
- (end of column missing)

- ii'. 1. tukul e-da-sag₃
2. uru-ni-š[e₃ ba-ĝen]
 3. 5-kam-r¹ma¹-k[a[?]]
 4. [im[?]]-DU
 5. [...]-r¹x¹-GAR
 6. [...]-DUN₃[?]-ke₄
- (end of column missing)

- iii'. 1. azla[g_x[?]](GIŠ.TUG₂.[X])-/ga-[x[?]]
2. nu-b[a]-[...]
 3. [...]-r¹x¹
 4. nu-b[a]-[...]
 5. r¹x¹[...]
- (rest missing, reverse uninscribed)

i'.1-2 r¹...¹ . i'.3-6 IriKAgina, king of Girsu, [...] ii'.1-2 (IriKAgina) battled with him,

(and) he (=king of Uruk/Umma?) [went back t]o his city. ^{ii'.3-4} (But then) for a fifth time, he (=king of Uruk/Umma?) [came for]th[?] ^{ii'.5-6} r ...[?] [...]. ^{iii'.1-2} [The ...] no longer [...] of the fuller[?], ^{iii'.3-4} (and also he/she) no longer [...]. ^{iii'.5} r ...[?] [...]

Commentary

i'.1–2: The final KU in line i'.2 is possibly part of a verbal form, for which one could restore either [e]-dab₅ or [ba]-dab₅. Another possibility is tuš, as in DP 545 rev. i 3–4: lu₂ unug^{ki}-ga iri-da / i₃-da-tuš-a “when the man of Uruk besieged (lit. sat by) the city.”¹⁵ Regardless of the restoration in i'.2, the traces in the preceding line (i'.1) are difficult to reconcile with known examples of the “Reform Texts.”

i'.4–5: The use of the title lugal gir₂-su^{ki}, as opposed to lugal lagaš^{ki}, suggests that this fragment belongs in a late recension of the “Reform Texts.” It was most likely written after IriKagina had already lost Lagash to Lugalzagesi; see §3 above.

ii'.1–3: The closest parallel to these lines (with variations) is in RIME 1.9.9.4 (= FAOS 5/1 Ukg. 14):¹⁶ ġir₂-su^{ki} / [e]-ma-dab₆ / iri-KA-gen₆-na-ke₄ / tukul e-da-sag₃ / bad₃-bi i₃-ni-mu₂ / ur-ni i₃-ti / iri-ni-še₃ ba-ġen / 2-kam-ma-ka / [im-ġ]en “(Urni) encircled Girsu, (but) IriKagina battled with him and made its (= Girsu’s) wall grow up before him. (However,) Urni was (still) alive, he went back to his city, (but then) [he ca]me a second time.” To the best of the authors’ knowledge, within the Early Dynastic Lagash/Girsu corpus the highest number in the N-kam-ma construction is found on a vessel fragment, namely RIME 1.9.10.2, lines 7’–11’: 10-kam-ma-am₆ / lugal-sila / ensi₂ / unug^{ki}-ga-ke₄ / eren₂ šu i₃-mi-us₂ “A tenth time Lugal-silâ(si), ruler of Uruk, dispatched troops.”¹⁷ As already noted by Marchesi, “Toward a Chronology,” 147 wn 64, the latter inscription is almost certainly to be attributed to IriKagina based on its paleography and phraseology. Further collations are required to determine if the fragment under present inquiry actually joins RIME 1.9.10.2.

¹⁵ See Gianni Marchesi, “Toward a Chronology of Early Dynastic Rulers in Mesopotamia,” in *History & Philology*, ed. Walther Sallaberger and Ingo Schrakamp (Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean 3, Turnhout: Brepols, 2015), 146 wn 58.

¹⁶ See Marchesi, “Toward a Chronology,” 146.

¹⁷ On the royal name Lugal-silâ(si), often transliterated also lugal-TAR, see Gianni Marchesi, “Historical Framework,” in *Royal Statuary of Early Dynastic Mesopotamia*, ed. Nicolò Marchetti and Gianni Marchesi (Mesopotamian Civilizations 14, Winona Lake, Indiana: Eisenbrauns, 2011), 124 wn 248.

iii'.1: As an alternative restoration, one may consider $\hat{g}ešt[ug_2]-ga-[ni^?]$ “his wisdom” (or the like) here, but the following lines, albeit fragmentary, suggest something else. As it stands, the provision mentioned here has no parallels in the other “Reform Texts.”

5. TG 6123 (IM 247175)

The second fragment published here is also in a poor state of preservation. An unknown number of columns are missing from both the beginning and end of the extant part of the text. Furthermore, the original length of the individual columns is difficult to ascertain (see, however, comments below).



Figure 3. TG 6123-01 and TG 6123-02.

- i'. (unknown number of columns missing)
- 1'. $[e_2 \text{ ensi}_2 -ke_4]$
 - 2'. $[a\check{s}ag^? \text{ ensi}_2 -ke_4]$
 - 3'. $[en-n]a \text{ tuku-a}$
 - 4'. $^d\text{nin-}\hat{g}ir_2 -su$
 - 5'. $[lu]gal -bi$
 - 6'. $[e_2 \text{ e}_2] -rmi_2 -e^{\neg}$
 - 7'. $[a\check{s}ag^? \text{ e}_2 -mi_2 -e]$
 - 8'. $[en-na \text{ tuku-a}]$
 - 9'. $[^d\text{ba-bu}_{11}]$
 - 10'. $[nin-bi]$

- 11'. [e₂ nam-dumu]
 12'. [ašag⁷ nam-dumu]
 13'. [en-na tuku-a]
 14'. [d⁴šul-ša₃-ga-na]
 15'. [lugal-bi]
 (rest broken away)
- ii'. (beginning of column missing)
- 1'. [ġeš-kiġ₂-ti]
 2'. ninda š[u-il₂]-la-[ba]
 3'. ini[m i₃-gi₄]
 4'. 1 [...]
 5'. 2⁷ [...]
 6'. 1⁷ [...]
 (rest missing, reverse broken away)

[...] ^{i'.1'-5'} Ningirsu [be]came [the ow]ner [of all households (and) fields of the governor]. ^{i'.6'-10'} [Babu became the owner of all household]s [(and) properties of the female members of the governor's family. Shulshagana became the owner of all households (and) fields of the governor's children]. [...] [...] ^{ii'.1'} The [craftsmen's] bread for the sh[u'il]a prayer is re[voke]d. ^{ii'.4'-6'} 1 [...] 2⁷ [...] 1⁷ [...]

Commentary

i'.1'–15': Parallels in Ukg. 63 and Ukg. 64, as follows:

	Ukg. 63		Ukg. 64
ii'.	(beginning of column missing)	iii'.	(beginning of column missing)
1'.	[e ₂ ensi ₂ -ke ₄]	1'.	ᵛe ₂ ¹ [ens] _{i₂} -ke ₄
2'.	[ašag ensi ₂ -ke ₄]	2'.	niġ ₂ ensi ₂ -ke ₄
3'.	[en-na tuku-a]	3'.	en-na tuku-a
4'.	[^d nin-ġir ₂ -su]	4'.	^d nin-ġir ₂ -su
5'.	[lugal-bi]	5'.	lugal-bi
6'.	[e ₂ e ₂ -mi ₂ -e]	6'.	ᵛe ₂ ¹ e ₂ -mi ₂ -ᵛe ¹
7'.	[ašag e ₂]-mi ₂ -e]	7'.	[niġ ₂ e ₂ -mi ₂ -e]
8'.	en-na tuku-a	8'.	[en-na tuku-a]
9'.	^d ba-u ₂	9'.	[^d ba-u ₂]
10'.	nin-bi	10'.	[nin-bi]
11'.	e ₂ nam-dumu	11'.	[e ₂ nam-dumu]
12'.	ašag nam-dumu	12'.	[niġ ₂ nam-dumu]
13'.	en-na ᵛtuku-a ¹	13'.	[en-na tuku-a]
14'.	[^d šul-ša ₃ -ga-na]	14'.	[^d šul-ša ₃ -ga-na]
15'.	[lugal-bi]	15'.	[lugal-bi]

Due to the fragmentary nature of the evidence, it is not possible to establish whether the text under present scrutiny has *ašag* (as in Ukg. 63) or *niĝ₂* (Ukg. 64) in lines *i'.2'*, *7'*, and *12'*. Another variant, again with *ašag*, is found in RIME 1.9.9.1 ix 7–11: *e₂ ensi₂-ka / ašag ensi₂-ka-ka / ^dnin-ĝir₂-su / lugal-ba / ni-kur_x(DU)* “Over the ruler’s household and the ruler’s fields he installed Ningirsu as owner.”

i'.6'–10': The last sign in *i'.6* is poorly formed, due to the lack of room at the end of the line. Its identification as E is nonetheless supported by the parallels in Ukg. 63 and Ukg. 64 (see previous comment). It is assumed here that the sections concerned with the female members of the governor’s family and his children belong in the same column.

ii.1'–3': Restoration based on RIME 1.9.9.1 xi 14–16, which despite the break in our fragment appears to provide an exact parallel. As a whole, however, this fragment is not a duplicate of RIME 1.9.9.1 due to differences in phraseology (see above, Commentary *ad i'.1'–5'*).

6. TG 6633 (IM STUDY COLLECTION)



Figure 4. TG 6633-1.

The final fragment published here is also in a poor state of preservation. It seems paleographically closer to TG 6123 than to TG 6032, as the latter features a slightly more elongated *LU₂* sign. The only legible provision is already known from parallel texts (RIME 1.9.9.1 xi 17–19; RIME 1.9.9.2 v 1'–3').

- i. (unknown number of columns missing)
 i'. (beginning of column missing)
 1'. [ud]
 2'. [^dnin-ĝir₂-su-ke₄]
 3'. [ur-saĝ^den-lil₂-la₂-ke₄]
 4'. [iri-KA-gen₆-na-ra]
 5'. [nam-lugal]
 6'. [lagaš^{ki}]
 ii'. 1. mu-na-šum₂-ma-a
 2. [šag₄ l]u₂ 1(šaru)-[ta]
 3. [šu-ni e-ma-ta-dab₅-ba-a]
 (unknown number of lines missing)
 1''. [saĝĝa-GAR]
 iii'. 1. kiri₆ ama ukur₃-r[a₂]
 2. nu-kur_x(DU)-[kur_x(DU)]
 (unknown number of lines missing)
 1'. [...]^rx x^r
 (end of column missing)
 iv'. (unknown number of columns missing)

[...] ^{i'.1'-ii'.1} [When Ningirsu, hero of Enlil] gave [the kingship of Lagash to IriKA-gina], ^{ii'.2-3} [taking him by the hand from among the] multitude of pe[ople] [...].
^{ii'.1'-iii'.2} The saĝĝaGAR-official no longer enters the Poor mother(s)' garden. [...]

Commentary

ii'.1: The verbal form mu-na-šum₂-ma-a otherwise appears as e-na-šum₂-ma-a in the extant IriKAgina inscriptions (cf. RIME 1.9.9.1 viii 4).

ABBREVIATIONS

CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative: https://cdli.mpiwg-berlin.mpg.de/
CUSAS 11	Visicato and Westenholz 2010
CIRPL	Sollberger 1956
DP	Allotte de la Fuje 1912
ETCSRI	Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Royal Inscriptions: https://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/etcsri/
RIME 1.#.#.#	Frayne 2008
Ukg. 63	Filip Vukosavović "A New 'Reform Text' of Uruinimgina: Ukg 63," <i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale</i> 102 (2008): 5–8 = CUSAS 11, 352
Ukg. 64	Filip Vukosavović, <i>Reforms</i> , 17–20, 184–88

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