Universiteit
Leiden
The Netherlands

The beginnings of ancient Kurdistan (c. 2500-1500 BC) : a historical and cultural synthesis

Ahmed, K.M.

Citation
Ahmed, K. M. (2012, June 19). *The beginnings of ancient Kurdistan (c. 2500-1500 BC) : a historical and cultural synthesis*. Retrieved from https://hdl.handle.net/1887/19095

Version:	Not Applicable (or Unknown)
License:	Licence agreement concerning inclusion of doctoral thesis in the Institutional Repository of the University of Leiden
Downloaded from:	https://hdl.handle.net/1887/19095

Note: To cite this publication please use the final published version (if applicable).

Cover Page

Universiteit Leiden

The handle http://hdl.handle.net/1887/19095 holds various files of this Leiden University dissertation.

Author: Ahmed, Kozad Mohamed
Title: The beginnings of ancient Kurdistan (c. 2500-1500 BC) : a historical and cultural synthesis
Date: 2012-06-19

CHAPTER THREE

The Gutian Period

The period following the fall of the Akkadian Empire is traditionally seen as a period of darkness and anarchy by historians. While the perceived darkness is due to the rarity of *Gutian* artefacts and text material, the anarchy is an impression formed by the historians gained from the Sumerian and Babylonian historical and literary compositions describing Gutian rule. In fact these compositions were mostly compiled later than the Gutian period itself. Later in this chapter we shall attempt to answer the question whether the Gutian period was really so dark and fruitless, and to interpret the related evidence.

The Gutian Arrival

Some historical allusions in the texts of the Akkadian period indicate that early on there was Gutian infiltration into Mesopotamian lowlands. One of these allusions is to the probable presence of Gutians as soldiers in the Akkadian army.[1] The archives of Adab from the Akkadian period mention Gutians who received rations,[2] some of them described as 'travellers'[3] and others as conveyors[4] or generals.[5] There were so many of them, perhaps long

[1] According to Kuhrt: "While there is some evidence that Gutians, who had served in the Agade armies, dominated a sector in the eastern region," cf. Kuhrt, *The Ancient Near East,* vol. I, p. 56, but unfortunately no reference is given.

[2] A 655, 3, 6, 12; A 919, 2; A 809, 12; A 970, 5. Cf.: Zhi Yang, *A Study of the Sargonic Archive from Adab* (A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Division of the Humanities, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations)*,* Chicago, 1986, vol. I, part 2; vol. 2, Appendix. 1.

[3] Probably these were royal messengers, since ordinary travellers would not receive rations. Evidence for Gutian messengers comes from Umma, where a text from the time of Šārkališarrī mentions "a Gutian messenger" beside "Gutians" on the same tablet, cf.: Zhi Yang, *A Study of the Sargonic …,* vol. I, part 1, p. 110-111 (referring to Foster, *Umma in the Sargonic Period,* p. 113).

[4] As in A 919, l. 2 g̃ìr-g̃en-na gu-ti-um-me, "conveyors to the Gutians," Zhi Yang, *Sargonic Inscriptions from Adab,* Changchun, 1989, p. 350, cf. also: Steinkeller, P., "The Old Akkadian Term for Easterner," *RA* 74 (1980), p. 7; g̃ìr-gen-na gu-ti-um A 809, l. 12, Zhi Yang, *op. cit.* In the archives a messenger of one of the *ensi*s (perhaps the *ensi* of Adab) is reported to have been killed: Zhi Yang, *op. cit.,* vol. I, part 2, p. 153; Zhi Yang, Y., *Sargonic Inscriptions…*, p. 127, but further details are not given.

term residents, that the local governor had to use a Gutian interpreter to communicate with them.[6] This early presence surely gave them access to the Mesopotamian institutions and the chance to get acquainted with Mesopotamian practices, particularly with reference to the government, the temple and the culture of the land. They would also have become acquainted with these practices as a consequence of war. The Gutian land was one of the first targeted by the south Mesopotamian rulers, especially the Akkadians, whose campaigns to these regions were noted in the previous chapter. Trade has also certainly played a prominent role. Gutian territory was close to the Mesopotamian lowlands and the Gutians certainly occupied positions close to the land of Akkad, particularly in the region of the Diyāla, where it is believed that they controlled a sector in the eastern region through their service in the Akkadian army.[7]

This acquaintance with Mesopotamian practices as well as other pertinent circumstances helped the Gutians overthrow the Akkadian Dynasty and seize power in the land. One such circumstance was the hard times the Akkadian Empire endured in its last years. Their army was exhausted by continuing revolts on various distant fronts.[8] Internal bitter conflicts between the Akkadian rulers themselves were sometimes bloody[9] and at other times chaotic[10] as they vied for the throne. These conflicts would have stimulated the descent into anarchy that weakened the Akkadian Empire. It is believed that the empire had shrunk under Dudu and Šudurul[11] to a small state confined to the region between the cities of Akkad to Ešnunna and this shows the extent of the decline. Since it is generally assumed that the end of the Akkadian dynasty "has been determined primarily by inside-grown phenomena,"[12] the disintegration and fall of the empire should no longer be wholly attributed to external factors, as cuneiform sources try to do.

There was no attempt at appeasement in Akkadian foreign policy. On the contrary it was aggressive, expansionist and severe towards its neighbours and subjects. It incited the anger

---

[5] ĝìr-nita gu-ti-um in A 959, l. 3, Zhi Yang, *Sargonic Inscriptions…,* p. 360*,* where a general of Gutium is reported to have travelled from Adab to Uruk, accompanied by a certain 'Ur-nim,' the cup-barer: *ù* ur-nim *saqi* unug^{ki}-šè ba-re$_7$-[é]š, *ibid,* l. 4-7.

[6] A 1028, 3, Zhi Yang, *op. cit.,* p. 376.

[7] Kuhrt, *ibid.* Earlier contact between the Gutians and South Mesopotamians is also pointed out by Di Ludovico: "Furthermore, some observations based on written texts lead to think that Gutians themselves were not wholly strange to urban peoples living between the Two Rivers," Di Ludovico, A., "Between Akkad and Ur III: Observations on a "Short Century" from the Point of View of Glyptic," *Proceedings of the 4th International Congress of the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East (29 March-3 April 2004, Freie Universität Berlin),* vol. 1: The Reconstruction of Environment, Wiesbaden, 2008, p. 321.

[8] For instance, the great revolt against Narām-Sîn in which numerous lands (or city-states) took part.

[9] Sargon suffered a rebellion of his subjects (or perhaps of the elders of the land) from east and west, cf. Grayson, *ABC* 19, l. 52-52b; 20, l. 22-23. Other omen texts refer to the violent death of Rīmuš, Maništūšu and Šarkališarrī: "If a weapon to the right is turned around, blunted and …. and is entangled in filaments, it is an omen. Šarkališarrī whom his servants killed with their seals." See for these omen texts Hirsch, "Die Inschriften der Könige von Agade," *AfO* 20 (1963), 1-82, especially pages 13; 16 and 30. Diakonoff considers it possible that Narām-Sîn has been killed in a battle against the Gutians: Diakonoff, *CHI,* p. 36.

[10] The SKL describes the circumstances before the accession of Dudu and Šudurul as "Who was king? Who was not king? Was I(r)gigi king? Was Nanum king? Was Imi king? Was Elulu king? Their tetrad was king?," [a-ba-àm lu]gal a-ba-àm nu lugal [Ì/Ir-gi$_4$]-gi$_4$ lugal [Na-nu-um] lugal [I-mi] lugal [E-lu-lu] lugal [4-bi] lugal, Jacobsen, *SKL,* p. 112-5; cf. also
http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/cgi-bin/etcsl.cgi?text=c.2.1.1&display=Crit&charenc=gcirc#, l. 284ff.

[11] Nissen suggests that these two were rulers of the Akkad region in the time of the Gutian rule, not independent kings of the Akkad dynasty, cf. Nissen, H., *The Early History of the Ancient Near East, 9000-2000 BC,* Chicago, 1988, p. 185. The absence of bombastic titles like "king of the four quarters of the world" and "king of the universe" from their titles (they use only "the mighty king of Agade") may support this suggestion. In fact, some others consider that "breaks" have to be inserted between the reign of Šarkališarri and the reigns of Dudu and Šudurul; cf. Di Ludovico, *op. cit.,* p. 325.

[12] Di Ludovico, *op. cit.,* p. 321.

and enmity of those peoples, which resulted in their continual search for the right moment to hit back. It is quite possible that the "national awakening" among the surrounding peoples in this period[13] was a result of this policy, particularly the discrimination exercised by Sargon in using only Akkadians, not natives, to rule foreign lands and cities.[14]

Among the enemies of Akkad the Gutians appear to have been in the best position to step on to the stage and invade Mesopotamia, and the prevailing circumstances paved the way for them to do so. Their relative closeness to Akkadian centres of power, their previous infiltration into Mesopotamian society and their familiarity with the land and its culture were clear advantages, and their probable organizational and military readiness was an essential for a successful attack. The wide-open plain was totally different from the Gutian undulating and mountainous landscape, and more troops and better organization were required. Confronting the experienced Akkadian standing army was a challenge that required a well-planned attack.

The Rule of the South

The Gutians may have infiltrated the land gradually or there may have been a sudden invasion. Archaeologically, there are no data for this phase to suggest any violent subjugation or destruction in the main cities of south Mesopotamia.[15] However, there is evidence that from time to time some Gutians attacked Akkadian domains and pillaged the possessions, as can be seen from the Akkadian letter quoted in the previous chapter. It was sent by a certain Iškun-Dagan to his servant Lugal-ra to encourage him to plough the field and not to pay attention to the nearby Gutians. He was to bring the cattle inside the city should the Gutians attack. This Iškun-Dagan was obviously somehow in charge of Gutian affairs just at this time, for a seal impression was found bearing his name and title as 'Chief administrator of Gutium (?).'[16]

Whatever the background, the Gutians finally dominated the land of Akkad and "carried off the kingship of Sumer to the mountains/foreign land."[17] This metaphor clearly implies that the fate of the land and its sovereignty passed into the hands of a foreigner, specifically the great Gutian king.[18] The Gutians were probably supported by other peoples and groups in the

---

[13] Elam, for instance, developed a script of its own (Linear Elamite), which was used for a short period of time for official monuments and dedicatory gifts, cf. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam,* p. 85 and 125-6. The Hurrian princes in the north and northwest also titled themselves *endan*, as in the inscription of Tišatal of Urkeš (for the inscription see chapter four). Finally there was the Sumerian renaissance in the Ur III period; cf. Westenholz, Mesopotamien, Akkade-Zeit und Ur III Zeit, *OBO*, p. 59.

[14] According to Westenholz, this awakening was the result of the sudden collapse of the Akkadian Empire. However, in my opinion, it was the result of the Akkadian oppression and harsh policy, especially when Sargon installed "sons of Agade" to rule foreign lands and cities, excluding the sons of their own lands and cities: 79) *íš-tum-ma* 80) *ti-a-am-tim* 81) *ša-ʳpilʾ-tim* 82) DUMU. DUMU 83) *a-ʳkà-dèʾ*^{ki} 84) ÉNSI-*ku$_8$-a-tim* 85) [*u*]-*kà-lú,* "So that from the Lower Sea <to the Upper Sea> the citizens (lit. sons) of Agade [h]eld the governorships (of the land)," Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 11-12 (text E2.1.1.1).

[15] For this cf. Di Ludovico, *op. cit.,* p. 321 with detailed bibliography in note 5; and p. 326.

[16] The seal impression, although unfortunately damaged where the name of Gutium was probably written, reads i 1) ^{d}*Šar-kà-li-šàr-ri* 2) LUGAL 3) *ba$_{11}$-u-la-ti* 4) ^{d}EN.LÍL 5) *tu-tá-šar-li-bi-iš* ii 6) NIN 7) *Iš-ku-un-*^{d}*Da-*[*gan*] 8) DUB.[SAR] 9) ŠABRA [*Gu*]-*ti*-[*um*^{ki} ??] 10) ÌR.[ZU], "Šarkališarrī, king of the subjects (or dominions) of Enlil (and) Tuta-šar-libbiš the queen- Iškun-Dagan the scribe, 'steward' of Gutium(?), your servant," Buchanan, B., *Early Near Eastern Seals in the Yale Babylonian Collection,* Introduction and Seal Impression by W. W. Hallo, New Haven and London, 1981, p. 445, no. 429.

[17] 4) lú nam-lugal- 5) ki-en-gi-rá 6) kur-šè ba-DU-a. Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 284 (text E2.13.6.4); cf. also Römer, W. H. Ph., "Zur Siegesinschrift des Königs Utuḫegal von Unug (± 2116-2110 v. Chr.)." *Orientalia NS,* 54 (1985), p. 276. It is noteworthy that the SKL inserts a dynasty of Uruk between the Akkadian and the Gutian Dynasties.

[18] The exact meaning of the metaphor was unclear to Potts, Potts, *Mesopotamia and the East*, p. 119. This was understandable when one thought that the Gutian kings of Sumer and Akkad were also the kings of all the

region, perhaps even the Sumerians,[19] who looked for liberation from the Akkadian yoke. The neighbouring peoples had together formed an alliance against Narām-Sîn years before, and so it would have been natural to do the same this time. Among the probable allies one may expect the Elamites who were always ready to benefit from any weakness of their western neighbour, the Lullubians, the Hurrians and other mountain peoples and groups who had raided Akkadian territories earlier or who had suffered from campaigns of the kings of Agade.[20] It appears that the Gutians did not (or perhaps they were not able to) spread their hegemony over the whole land of Sumer and Akkad. This is suggested by the presence of the influential Second Lagaš Dynasty and the Uruk Dynasty at the end of the period of Gutian rule. The inscriptions of Ur-Namma refer to at least three independent political entities in Sumer at that period: the Uruk city-state with its ruler Utuḫeg̃al, Lagaš, and the region under the Gutians. There is a suggestion that the two royal names Dudu and Šudurul, mentioned in the SKL as kings of Agade, were in fact rulers of the region centred on the city of Agade[21] during the Gutian rule. The suggestion is based on the fact that the two of them are separated from the earlier rulers of the dynasty by a one-year hiatus, even though they are descended from the same family.[22] It is also pointed out that their royal titles did not include "King of the four quarters of the world" and "King of the universe." According to the available source material, we know that the regions of Umma, Kiš and Adab were certainly under (direct) Gutian rule. Textual evidence indicates that Umma was ruled by *ensi*s on behalf of Gutian kings, as in the inscriptions of Namaḫ(a)ni[23] and Lugalannatum[24] and the seal of Elulu that mentions Si'um/Siam,[25] king of Gutium.[26] In this connection, it was in the environs of Adab that the decisive battle that brought the Gutian hegemony to an end took place, according to the text of Utuḫeg̃al.[27] If we can rely on the literary text 'Lament over Sumer and Ur,' the Gutian control over the Kiš and Adab region appears to have been firm and most probably lasted until the Ur III period. The text says:

Gutians. But if our suggestion about the 'king of kings' of the Gutians in the foothills of the Zagros is accepted, the meaning is clearer; see further below "The Gutian Organization, the Greater king."

[19] Potts, *Mesopotamia and the East,* p. 119.

[20] The campaigns of the kings of Akkad to the regions north, northeast and northwest of Mesopotamia, and the revolts of the peoples of these regions against the Akkadian rule, both touched upon in the previous chapter, are good examples. The metal objects found in Western Iran, mainly in the Luristan and Kirmashan regions bearing inscriptions of the Akkadian kings, can be considered the booty of war, pillaged by the peoples of these regions as they attacked Akkad. For these objects and the inscriptions on them, cf. Calmeyer, P., *Datierbare Bronzen aus Luristan und Kirmanshah,* Berlin, 1969, p. 161ff.

[21] Westenholz adds Kiš and Apiak to this small kingdom, cf. Westenholz, *OBO,* p. 57.

[22] Nissen, *A History of the Ancient Near East,* p. 185.

[23] 1) ^{d}Nin-ur$_4$-ra 2) ama GIŠ.ÙḪ^{ki}-ra 3) Nam-maḫ-ni 4) énsi 5) GIŠ.ÙḪ^{ki} 6) É-ù-la-ni 7) mu-na-dù 8) ki-bé mu-na-gi$_4$ 9) u$_4$-ba Ì-ar-la-ga-an 10) lugal-Gu-ti-um-kam, "For Ninurra, the mother of Umma, Nammaḫni, the ensi of Umma, built (and) renovated her E-ul. At that time, Jarlagan was king of Gutium," Gelb, I. J. and B. Kienast, Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausend v. Chr., *FAOS*, Band 7, Stuttgart, 1990, Gutium 2, p. 296.

[24] 1) Lugal-an-na-túm 2) énsi 3) GIŠ.ÙḪ^{ki} 4) GIŠ.ÙḪ^{ki} 5) ba-ba-a 6) 35 mu 7) zal-la-ba 8) É-PA-GIŠ.ÙḪ^{ki} 9) ì-dù (!) 10) temen-bi 11) ki-a ì-si-si 12) me-bi šà-ba 13) si ba-ni-sá 14) u$_4$-ba Si-ù-um 15) lugal-Gu-ti-um-kam, "Lugalannatum the *ensi* of Umma, (after) 35 years had passed since (the territory of) Umma was reduced (or divided up), (he) (re)built the É-PA (=gidru?) of Umma (and) put this deposit document in the foundation-peg, (and) looked after corresponding rituals therein. At that time, Si'um was king of Gutium," Gelb and Kienast, *op. cit.,* Gutium 3, p. 296-7; cf. also Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 268 (text E2.11.13).

[25] This name is identical to the 20th reconstructed name of the SKL (see *FAOS,* p. 293). However, Hallo had earlier declared it did not occur on the list; he compared it with forms such as *Si-um-mi* and *Si-a-um*, both attested in texts from the Diyāla Region and Gasur; Hallo, *RlA*, p. 712 and bibliography.

[26] Potts, *op. cit.,* p. 120. The legend of the seal reads *I-lu-lu* ÌR *Si-a-um,* "Ilulu, the servant of Siaum," cf. Moortgat, A., *Vorderasiatische Rollsiegel, Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst,* Berlin, 1940, no. 186.

[27] See further below.

> Adab, which stretches out along the river, was deprived of water. The serpent of the mountains made his bed there (i.e. in Adab), the rebellious land it is (now). The Gutians multiplied there and brought forth their seed there.[28]

Based on collation, Hallo has suggested to read Ḫabil-kîn, the 12th royal name of the Gutian Dynasty in the SKL as Apil-kîn, and consequently suggested a relationship with the dynasties of Mari and Ur.[29] In his new article about the Gutians, he cited new information about this Apil-kîn, who was once *šakkannak* of Mari, actually the seventh in the line,[30] and who was father of Tarām-Ur(i)am, the é-gi$_4$-a (daughter-in-law) of Ur-Namma.[31] Hallo does not entirely exclude that he functioned for a brief time also as king of Gutium.[32] If this is true, it means on the one hand that the Gutian sway had extended to Ur, and perhaps also to Mari. On the other hand it supports our suggestion about the assumed Gutian Great king installing Gutian as well as non-Gutian governors[33] to rule Sumer and Akkad.[34]

The discovery of the mace head of Lā'arāb in Sippar raises questions about whether the Gutians actually ruled the city. Hallo pointed out that the provenance of the piece need not imply that this king had ruled the city.[35] At the same time he refers to the late tradition according to which the Gutians removed the statue of Annunitum from Sippar.[36] One might suggest that the mace head was brought to the city as a gift to one of the deities there, spoil of some battle against the Gutian dynasty.[37] However, Sippar was an important cultural centre of Mesopotamia and many significant artifacts were kept there, such as the pieces taken by Šutruk-Naḫunte as booty to Susa, including the Stele of Hammurabi. So it would not have been impossible for this mace head to have been kept there with the other pieces. Nevertheless, one should not exclude the possibility that the city was under Gutian control, for it was an important station for peoples coming from the north, northwest and northeast.

---

[28] 144) Adab^{ki}-bu é íd-dè lá-a-ri a-e ba-da-ab-bu$_x$(PI) 145) muš kur-ra-ke$_4$ ki-nú ba-ni-ib-gar ki-bala-šè ba-ab-dug$_4$ 146) Gu-ti-um^{ki} šà ba-ni-ib-bal-bal numun ba-ni-ib-i, Michalowski, P., *The Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur,* Winona Lake, 1989, p. 44; 45, cf. also for the translation: Kramer, S. N., Sumerian Lamentation, in *Ancient Near Eastern Text Relating to the Old Testament*, Princeton, 1978, p. 614.

[29] Hallo, "New Light on the Gutians," *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia, RAI* 48, Leiden, 2005, p. 150.

[30] In Hallo, "New Light…," p. 150, he is dated to 2126-2091 BC by Durand, who suggests he has reigned 35 years and was evidently a contemporary of Ur-Namma; see Durand, J.-M., "La situation historique des Šakkanakku: nouvelle approche," *MARI* 4, Paris, 1985, p. 153; 156.

[31] vii 7) *Tá-ra-am*-ŠEŠ.AB /^{ki}-am 8) dumu-munus *A-pil-ki-in* 9) lugal Ma-urí^{ki}-ka 10) é-gi$_4$-a 11) Ur-^{d}Namma 12) lugal Urí^{ki}-ma, Civil, M., "On Some Texts Mentioning Ur-Namma," *Orientalia* 54 (1985), p. 41. For the meaning of é-gi$_4$-a, cf. Boses, J. and W. Sallaberger, "Apil-Kîn von Mari und die Könige der III. Dynastie von Ur," *AoF* 23/1 (1996), p. 24-25, note 6 and the figure on page 38 that shows the relationship between Ur-Namma and Apil-Kîn.

[32] Hallo, "New Light …," p. 150.

[33] This is perhaps why some non-Gutian names occur in the list of the Gutian dynasty of the SKL. They were considered by some as a sign of Gutian integration in the Mesopotamian society, concerning this integration see for instance Veenhof, *Geschichte des Alten Orients bis zur Zeit Alexanders des Großen,* Grundriss zum Alten Testament 11, Göttingen, 2001, p. 72.

[34] About this suggestion, see below 'The Gutian Organization, The Great King.'

[35] Hallo, "New Light..," p. 151.

[36] Hallo, *ibid*.

[37] Presenting gifts to the deities from the booty of war was a Mesopotamian tradition, practised, for instance, by the kings of Ur III and the kings of Assyria. For Ur III examples cf. Sallaberger, Ur III Zeit, *OBO,* p. 164 with bibliography, concerning offerings to Nanna and Enlil, and deliveries of cattle, said to have been provided from the booty of the lands Šašru and Šuruṯum. The Šulgi hymn D also, speaks of the booty from Gutium, and how Šulgi brought home lapis-lazuli packed in bags, "the property of the land," together with cattle and donkeys, and how he offered them to Enlil and Ninlil; cf. Klein, J., *The Royal Hymns of Shulgi King of Ur: Man's Quest for Immortal Fame,* Philadelphia, 1981, p. 13, see also Sallaberger, Ur III Zeit, *OBO,* p. 165.

Later it became an important centre of the Kassites, who built their capital Dūr-Kurigalzu not too far away, and it was targeted by the Elamites in some of their campaigns.

That the Gutian rulers are listed in the SKL might imply that their control also reached the sacred city of Nippur. The discovery of copies of inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir in the city further supports this idea, but without direct proof this remains far from certain.

The Utuḫeg̃al allusion to Tirigan's control of both banks of the Tigris[38] has been understood to mean that Gutian control was restricted to the region of the Tigris, rather than as far as the Euphrates. However far Gutian control extended in the western parts of the alluvium this allusion can be explained as propaganda by Uruk against Tirigan rather than a historical statement about the core area of the Gutian power. The idea rests on the fact that the statement occurs in the same narrative of cutting off the ways in the north and depriving the people of the use of the river as a means of transport. So it is in this context that the information should be understood.[39]

The Gutians were thought to have used power and terror to control the land under their sway through widespread raids.[40] As long as the Gutian overlords were smaller in number than the native Sumerians and Akkadians such a policy would have been the best way to keep their rule firm in their hands and it could have been expected, but in fact it conflicts with the archaeological data mentioned above. These impressions arise perhaps from the circumstances described in the literary compositions that speak of the bad conditions under the Gutians. By contrast the stability of the city-state of Lagaš could be attributed not only to the fact that rule was in native hands, for other factors seem also to have been in play. Gudea enjoyed remarkably easy access to mines in Gutian territory or territory under Gutian control, such as the copper mines in mount Kimaš,[41] and this may well indicate some mutual cooperation between the two dynasties.

Outside Sumer and Akkad

In relation to those lands of the Transtigris and Northern Mesopotamia (the names of some of which are known, such as Niqqum, Simurrum, Madga, Assur, Urbilum) and the Habur region, there is no evidence yet of a direct Gutian rule in the area as a whole,[42] except for a few presumed traces in Assur and Nineveh.[43] The situation is more complicated in Brak, ancient Nagar. While some speak of a supposed Gutian destruction of the Akkadian

[38] Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 284 (text E2.13.6.4). For the Sumerian text, see below.

[39] The river Tigris was not used for irrigation in ancient times since its level was lower than the surrounding land. The only useful river for agriculture was the Euphrates with its tributaries and canals. This situation lasted until the Seleucid Period, when hydraulic machines were introduced and first used for irrigation. This is why all important Sumerian cities are located on the Euphrates and its tributaries, not on the Tigris.

[40] Nissen, *A History of the Ancient Near East,* p. 186. However, Potts suggests that this manner of "swift, mobile marauders preying on a richer sedentary population" happened outside the Kiš-Adab region; Potts, *Mesopotamia and …,* p. 121.

[41] For the text of Gudea, cf. Chapter Four.

[42] Potts, *Mesopotamia and… ,* p. 119.

[43] The level that followed the Akkadian in Assur, especially in the temple of Ištar, that yielded nothing other than hovels, could be, according to Gadd, remnants of the huts of the Gutians who dwelled there; Gadd, "The Dynasty of Agade and the Gutian Invasion," *CAH* I, part 2, p. 457-8. However, it is too difficult to link these remnants of houses or other finds with the Gutians or any other ethnicity as discussed by Bär: Bär, J., "Sumerians, Gutians and Hurrians at Ashur? A Re-Examination of Ishtar Temples G and F," *Iraq* 65 (2003), p. 148 and 158. According to R. Adams, the larger towns of the Diyāla plains have presumably suffered badly from the invaders: Adams, R., *Land Behind Baghdad,* p. 45 (after: Hallo, *RlA* p. 710) and the claim of Nabonidus of restoring a temple in Sippar that had been destroyed by the Gutians: Hallo, *RlA* p. 717. Yet the damage inflicted on the bronze head of Sargon (or Narām-Sîn) found in Nineveh was seen as a sign of a Gutian presence and violent revenge. However, it is not impossible that the non-Gutian natives also rejoiced at the fall of Akkad and could have taken such revenge.

occupation in the city[44] resulting in a 300 year gap in the occupation of North Mesopotamia (but slightly later than the Gutian invasion),[45] D. Oates and J. Oates stressed that there is no break found between the Akkadian and post-Akkadian occupations there.[46]

Whatever the case may be, the northern lands mentioned above obviously reverted to local rule immediately after the fall of Akkad if not earlier. However, the discovery of the inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir of Gutium has slightly enriched our knowledge of the situation. Thanks to these inscriptions we know now of campaigns carried out by this king to subdue Simurrum, Urbilum, Lullubum, Madga and several other as yet unidentified GNs. This means that these lands were politically independent or at least had tried to gain independence. It is quite possible that some of them enjoyed some time of independence before the Gutian attempts to annexe them. According to Erridu-Pizir himself, he was successful in his campaigns, but for the moment we cannot be sure for how long he was able to maintain his control over these unruly lands and peoples. If in fact these areas were firmly in Gutian hands, then the Gutian state had become a kind of empire that extended to Sumer and Akkad in the south and at least to Erbil in the north.

The Gutian Organization: the Great King

It appears that the socio-political organization of the Gutians was different from that of Mesopotamia. The Gutian organization seems to have been tribal, centred on the head of the tribe, or probably a tribal committee composed of the elders and *sheikh*s of the tribe.[47] It is usual in modern tribal organizations, about which much information is known, to be founded on absolute loyalty to the head of the tribe, and he in turn acts as a father for his great family. In such organizations loyalty to one's own family counts for less than loyalty to the tribe.[48] The absence of allusions to Gutian cities or centres, at least in this early period,[49] could imply they had a non-sedentary lifestyle.[50]

Until a couple of decades ago the head of the *Babān* and *Jāf* tribes, in the regions of Shahrazūr and Garmiyān (partly covered by the Diyāla basin) were called 'kings.'[51] Similarly, the Gutian and also the Lullubian rulers in that same region were referred to as 'kings' by Mesopotamians.[52] In fact they were most probably more like tribal chieftains leading tribal federations that consisted of petty tribes or clans headed by smaller *sheikh*s.

In tribal organization leadership succession is usually hereditary. But it has been suggested that the Gutian tribal head was elected because of the short terms of the reigns of the Gutian

---

[44] Hallo, "New Light …, p. 149.

[45] Weiss, H. *et al,* "The Genesis and Collapse of Third Millennium North Mesopotamian Civilization," *Science*, 261 (August 20, 1993), p. 995-1004. Weiss speaks of the gap that began in almost 2200 and lasted till 1900 BC, while the gap in south Mesopotamia began in *ca.* 2350 till 2050 BC.

[46] Oates, D., J. Oates and H. McDonald, *Excavations at Tell Brak,* vol. 2: Nagar in the Third Millennium BC, London, 2001, p. 392-4, *apud* Hallo, p. 150.

[47] According to Diakonoff, the Gutians were tribesmen with elected chieftains, cf. Diakonoff, "Media," *CHI,* p. 37.

[48] For this and more details, cf. Van der Steen, E., Tribal Societies in the Ninteenth Century: A Model, in: J. Szuchman (ed.), *Nomads, Tribes, and the State in the Ancient Near East,* Chicago, 2009, p. 105-6.

[49] There is in fact an allusion to "cities" of Gutians in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I (MA period) during his campaign on the land of Uqumanu, which he describes as a Gutian kingdom, cf. Grayson, *RIMA* I, p. 234 (text A.0.78.1); a fact earlier noted in Saggs, H. W. F., *The Might that was Assyria,* London, 1984, p. 51.

[50] The word 'horde' to describe the Gutians or their army (as in the SKL, p. 116 and 117, l. 26) is not the precise equivalent of the Sumerian word KI.SU.LU.UB_4<.GAR>= uḫnim "army," "troops," see also below.

[51] Called *pa(d)sha* in Kurdish, *padishah* in Persian.

[52] In the letters of Shemshāra and Mari numerous instances of "king of the Gutians" and "(numerous) kings of the Lullubeans" (using the Sumerian logogram LUGAL) are recorded; for details and examples cf. Chapters Six and Seven.

kings and the repetition of some of their names in the Sumerian King List (SKL).[53] Diakonoff concluded that in the Gutian regnal system there were no kings, but instead elected tribal chieftains to rule the land periodically for short terms, and they could be re-elected more than once.[54] He found support in the sentence "The Guti horde had no king"[55] in the beginning of version L_1 of the SKL. But Jacobsen says this is a secondary variant in a single text of the B branch of texts that all say "a king without a name."[56] Because the suggestion of Diakonoff is based on one occurrence in a secondary version it is difficult to accept.

Our suggestion is that there was a Great king, a king of kings, of the Gutians, who ruled all the Gutian tribes and resided in the land of Gutium, not in lowland Mesopotamia. The names of such Great kings are not documented[57] because they did not rule Mesopotamia personally. They entrusted rulership to Gutian governors who were sent by the king from his capital. It is the names of these governors that are recorded in the SKL. We should not expect the king of the widespread Gutian tribes to leave his royal seat in the hills to come to lowland Mesopotamia to rule that part of his realm. Instead the land of Sumer and Akkad was ruled by the governors, and it is their names which are recorded in the SKL. These governors, who were not always themselves Gutians, ruled in the name of this putative Great king.

Abdication, substitution and restoration is reflected in the SKL, as in the case of Iarla(an)gab, who was both the ninth and the eleventh king. Such a practice would reflect that of the *ensi*s sent by the Mesopotamian kings to rule the conquered foreign lands while they themselves stayed in their capitals.[58] The Gutians must surely have seen and could easily have imitated the Akkadian example of installing Akkadian citizens to rule foreign lands. Such a system was also in operation in the region under study in the first half of the second millennium. Then Kuwāri, ruler of Šušarrā, ruled the city and its province on behalf of the Great Turukkean King Pišendēn, whose capital was Kunšum in the nearby mountains. King Erridu-Pizir,[59] whose inscriptions will be discussed later in this chapter, could very probably have been one of those Great kings, for he was not mentioned in the SKL,[60] while the city of Agade was under his direct (or indirect) rule when he campaigned against KA-Nišba of Simurrum.[61] Another criterion is that the arena of his operations according to his inscriptions was outside Sumer and Akkad, closer to the upper Diyāla and the Transtigris (see his inscription in this chapter). Beecause few inscriptions attributable to the Gutian kings have been found we must reserve judgement. But the use of the title "king of Gutium, king of the four quarters (of the world)" in the inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir implies that he was Great king

---

[53] Diakonoff, "Media," *CHI*, vol. 2, p. 37.

[54] Diakonoff, *ibid.*; and دياكونوف، ل. ١٤٨ . The new version of the SKL found in Tell Leylān, adds unfortunately nothing new to our information about the Gutian Dynasty, cf.: Vincente, C.-A., "The Tell Leilan Recension of the Sumerian King List," *ZA* 85 (1995), p. 243; 265; Hallo, "New Light on the Gutians," p. 150.

[55] Diakonoff, *ibid.*; Hallo, "New Light…," p. 150.

[56] Jacobsen, *SKL,* p. 117, note 285.

[57] Except for two, Erridu-Pizir and his father Enrida-Pizir.

[58] For instance, the *ensi*s of the Ur III period.

[59] Presumably a Gutian name. The second part of the name occurs also in the name of his father, Enrida-Pizir. A similar form was found in an Ur III text from Umma as *Pi-zi-ir*: Zadok, R., "Hurrians, as well as Individuals Bearing Hurrian and Strange Names in Sumerian Sources," in *kinattūtu ša dārâti-* Raphael Kutscher Memorial Volume, ed. A. F. Rainey, Tel Aviv, 1993, p. 235. The first sign can also be read WA or WI.

[60] The interpretation presented by Michalowski of why this king was not mentioned in the SKL is that the textual tradition of this section of the SKL was the most garbled in the entire composition: Michalowski, P., "History as Charter, Some Observations on the Sumerian King List," *JAOS* 103 (1983), *apud,* Frayne, *BiOr*, p. 404.

[61] The inscription E2.2.1.2 mentions that the army (?) of Erridu-Pizir offered large male goats to the gods in Agade before its march against KA-Nišba: l4) *in A-kà-dè*^{ki} l5) *u-ra-ṣi* l6) *ra-bí-ù-tim* l7) *<a-na> ì-lí* l8) *ʿú-qá-ra-ab,* (col. V, l. 14-18), and that the goddess Ištar had stationed troops (probably belonging to him or for him) in Agade: 2) ^{d}INANNA 3) *in A-kà-dè*^{ki} 4) ERÍN-*am* 5) *íš-ku-un* (E2.2.1.2, col. V, l. 2-5). This refers to some military contribution/ assistance to Erridu-Pizir from his subordinate, the Gutian governor.

of the Gutians in addition to Sumer and Akkad, greater than the kings of Sumer and Akkad who he himself had installed.

The actual title of such a Great king is as yet unknown, but the text KUB 27, 38 (CTH 775), although a historical-mythological text, may give a hint, when it says that the Lullubians once had a "king of kings."[62] Additional evidence comes later from the time of Tukulti-Ninurta I of Assyria who, in the course of his first military action conducted against the Gutians in Uquma/enu, mentioned "the hordes of princes of Abulê, king of the land of Uqumenu."[63] Although the Akkadian word *malku* means a 'king' or 'foreign ruler,'[64] this text still points to rulers or minor kings under the leadership of a major king. It is a clear indication that the Gutians in this period were ruled by princes subordinate to a Great king.

If this is true, two questions arise. One is why the SKL calls the Gutian governor of Sumer and Akkad 'king', and the other why the name of the Great king is omitted from the list. The answer to the first question is that these governors might have had the same rank as the 'kings' of Gutian tribes under the leadership of the 'Great king,' and so were called kings. In addition to this, king is the obvious term to denote the ruler of several cities in Sumer and Akkad. As to the second question, the answer may lie in the fact that the Gutian governor known as a king ruled the holy Sumerian and Akkadian cities under the assumed patronage of the deities of those cities and performed their religious duties, for he was the ruler in charge of the land. Thus, it was this governor who was the significant figure for the SKL, not the foreign Great king outside the land. The example given by Ḫat/daniš of Ḫamazi, supports this suggestion. The name of Ḫat/daniš is the only Ḫamazite royal name mentioned in the SKL, as the conqueror of Kiš and probably Nippur, but it neglects other rulers such as Zizi, the contemporary of Irkab-Damu of Ebla, because they did not rule Sumer and Akkad.

Some attempts have been made to identify the "King without name" of the SKL.[65] It is thought that a break in the old manuscript had occurred from which the list of Gutian kings was copied and hence a king without a name is recorded. It remains difficult to accept the identification of Erridu-Pizir as the "King without name." The difficulty stems from the fact that also the father of Erridu-Pizir, Enrida-Pizir, was a king of Gutium and there is also no mention of his name in the list. If Erridu-Pizir is to be identified with the "King without name," then his father should also be another "King without name," but there is only one such epithet on the list. It could be that his father reigned before the Gutian invasion, and hence was not listed in the SKL, but this does not seem to be the case. The Assyrian king list mentions 17 kings who had never been in Assur, but lived in tents. Even so they are included in the Assyrian King List.[66] Of the Kassites, who ruled Babylonia after the fall of the First Dynasty of Babylon, former kings like Gandaš are similarly mentioned in the lists.[67]

---

[62] *Ib-ri e-we$_6$-er-ne* [^{uru}]*Lu-ul-lu-e-ne-we$_e$,* cf. Klengel, "Lullu(bum)," *RlA* 7 (1987-1990), p. 166. Note that 'king of kings' later became a prominent royal title under the Achaemenid kings.

[63] III 2) ^{m}*A-bu-le-e* MAN KUR *Ú-qu-me-ni gu-un-ni ma-li-ki-šu,* Grayson, *RIMA* 1, p. 235 (text A.0.78.1). Noteworthy is the translation of the word *gu-un-ni* in this text as "hordes," while *CAD* gives "elite troops". Even Jacobsen in *SKL* translates ki-su-lu-ub$_4$<-gar> =uḫnim as "horde," though it also means "army," "troops". The influence the old Mesopotamian propaganda regarding the Gutians (see below) on modern scholars is clear.

[64] Cf. *CAD,* vol. M 1, p. 166 ff.

[65] Jacobsen, Th., *The Sumerian King List,* p. 117, n. 285; Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 219; Veenhof, *Geschichte des Alten Orients*…., p. 72. He is listed with other Gutian kings in the chronological table in Glassner, J.-J., *La chute d'Akkadé,* Berlin, 1986, on p. 96.

[66] About this cf. Poebel, A., "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad," *JNES* 1 (1942), p. 251-2; Kraus, F. R., *Könige, die in Zelten wohnten,* Amsterdam, 1965.

[67] Cf. The Babylonian King List A in Grayson, A. K., "Königslisten und Chroniken- B. Akkadisch," *RlA* 6 (1980-83), p. 91; cf. also Brinkman, J. A., "Kassiten," *RlA* 5 (1976-1980), p. 467.

The Gutian Dynasty

We know very little of the Gutian Dynasty from Sumero-Akkadian texts. They are silent on the subject, except for the kings' names listed in the SKL and a few royal inscriptions by Gutian kings or by their officials.[68] The four versions of the SKL show discrepancies in their lists of Gutian kings,[69] and these discrepancies pose more problems than solutions. The generally accepted list gives 21 or 23 kings[70] including the "king without name."

1) NN
2) Imtâ (3 years). *Im-ta-a* (P_1), Read by Hallo in *RlA* 3, 711: ní-bi-a[71]
3) Inkišuš (6/7 years). *In-ki-šú/šúš*[72] (WB), *In-gi$_4$-šú* (L_1)
4) S/Zarlagab (6 years). Zà^{ar}-la-ga-ba (L_1)/ Jà(NI)-lagab$^{la\text{-}gab}$ (WB VII 31).[73]
5) Šulmê (6 years). *Šul-me-e* (WB VII 32)/ Iarlagaš (3 [+n] years). *Ia-ar-la-ga-aš* (L_1)
6) Silulumeš (6/7 years). *Si-lu-lu-me-eš*
7) Inimabakeš (5 years). *I-ni-ma-ba-ke-eš*
8) Igeš'a'uš (6 years). *I-ge$_4$-eš-a-uš*
9) Iarlagab (15 years). *Ia-ar-la-gab* (WB), […]-*gáb* (L_1)
10) Ibate (3 years). *I-ba-te* (WB), [*I-b*]*a-ti* (L_1)
11) Iarlangab (3 years). *Ja-ar-la* (WB); var. [x-x]-x-*an-gab* (L_1)
12) Ku-ru-um (1 year). *Ku-ru-um* (WB), […]-ib (L_1).[74]
13) Ḫa-bil-ki(?)-in/ Apil-kîn (3 years). *A-píl-ki-in*
14) La-erabum (2 years). [*La-e*]-*ra-bu-um.*[75]
15) Irarum (2 years). *I-ra-ru-um*
16) Ibranum (1 year). *Ib-ra-nu-um*
17) Ḫablum (2 years). *Ḫa-ab-lum*
18) Puzur-Sîn (7 years). *Puzur$_4$-*^{d}*Sîn*
19) Iarlaganda (7 years). [*A?*]-*ar-la-ga-an-da*
20) Si'u (7 years). [Si (?) (-x)]-u_4
21) Tirigan (40 days). [*Ti-ri-g*]*a* (Only WB VII 49)[76]

---

[68] Cf.: Hallo, "Gutium," *RlA,* p. 117.
[69] Michalowski, P., "History as Charter, Some Observations on the Sumerian King List," *JAOS* 103 (1983), p. 240. The Leylān text excavated in 1987 should be added to the sources.
[70] Cf. Hallo, *RlA*, p. 711. As already pointed out, some regard Erridu-Pizir as the king without a name (see above). Their names of some other Gutians, called kings in other texts, were added to the SKL; see for instance Jacobsen, *SKL*, p. 120, note 308.
[71] Jacobsen's note to this name is that a break in the last part of the sign TA has resulted in the reading BA, which is the second sign of the name; i.e. im-ta-a has become im-ba-a, cf. Jacobsen, *SKL,* p. 118, note 286.
[72] Von Soden gives only the reading šú: Von Soden, W. and W. Röllig, *Das Akkadische Syllabar,* Roma, 1991, no. 296, p. 58, while Labat gives the value šúš as well: Labat, R., *Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne,* Paris, 1988*,* no. 545.
[73] The first sign of the name is in fact NA_4 which has the values ia_4 and zà, so the first element of the name is ambiguous. The sign NI of exemplar WB, can also be either ià$^{?}$, or zal.
[74] Possibly Semitic according to Gelb, I. J., *Glossary of Old Akkadian,* Chicago, 1957, p. 149.
[75] Possibly Old Akkadian according to Gelb, *op. cit,* p. 61.
[76] Cf. Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS*, p. 293; Edzard, D. O., "Königslisten und Chroniken- A. Sumerisch," *RlA* 6 (1980-83), p. 82-84. UM 29-15-199 adds two otherwise unattested Gutian kings to the list, Du_{10}-ga and *i-lu*-DINGIR (iii´ 3-4); cf. Michalowski, "History as Charter," p. 246. The name Irarum (the 15th name on the list, WB exemplar) has been attested in a text from Gasur without mimation as *Ì-ra-ra*, cf. Meek, *Excavations at Nuzi,* vol. III, Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi, Harvard, 1935, 31: 3; 153 IV 17. As pointed out already, there was a well- known GN in the Transtigris called Irar. Hallo had already called attention to a similar name to Si-u_4 (the 21st on the list), presumably attested in the text of Lugalannatum of Umma, in the form Si-ù-um. This name is also attested several times in the texts of Gasur in the form *Si-a-um*; cf. Meek, *op. cit.,* 107: 8; 155 IV 6; 155 III 8; 146: 13; 153 II 6; 197: 8; 72 I 3. The sixth name was e-lu-lu-me-eš in Jacobsen,

Inscriptions or seals of officials recording the names of some of the kings listed in the SKL have been found, thus confirming the credibility of the SKL. Among these names are the 19th king Jarlagan,[77] the 14th Lā'arāb and the 20th Si/a'u(m). Edzard had removed the first king from the list but inserted another king between Šulme (his no. 4) and Silulumeš (his no. 6) to become the fifth king on the list, but without giving his name.[78] According to Hallo, those kings have ruled 40-50 years only[79] from the end of Šarkališarrī to Ur-Namma.[80] But according to the SKL itself the 21 kings have ruled 125 (var. 124) years and 40 days, or 99 years under 23 kings.[81] The version published by Jacobsen gives 91 years and 40 days for 21 kings.[82]

The Gutian names at the beginning of the list tend to become Akkadianized towards the end, like the names Ibranum, Ḫablum and Puzur-Sîn. As already pointed out, this can be the result of the installation of Akkadians or Akkadian-named individuals to govern the land on behalf of the Gutians, among whom was Apil-Kîn mentioned above.

A Dark Age?

This period has been described as a Dark Age, since the Gutians did not leave any discernible impact on Mesopotamian culture. We cannot distinguish any typically Gutian literature or works of art.[83] All that we possess are a few inscriptions that bear explicit Gutian royal names and titles. This lack of a Gutian material and spiritual culture and the absence of any Gutian version of events contribute to the idea of a Gutian 'Dark Age.' This image, based on the presence of strong Sumero-Akkadian propaganda opposed to Gutian silence, though may well have to be changed, but can hardly be changed without further evidence coming to light.

It is hard to understand how so few traces remain of the Gutian period, which lasted at least 91 years in southern Mesopotamia. We have found no sculpture, no architecture, no official or unofficial inscription, none of the basic elements for running a state. What appears to have happened is that the Sumerians, and probably the Akkadians too, have later destroyed everything and anything which evoked any memory of the invaders after the Gutians were

---

but according to the collation of Hallo it must now be read as Si-lu-lu-me-eš, cf. Michalowski, "History as Charter," p. 248, note 66.

[77] This name is identified with Jarlaganda of the SKL, cf. Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS*, p. 293, note to line 19, and with Arlagan, as found on the stone bowl published a few years ago by Hallo, see below.

[78] Edzard, Königslisten und Chroniken- A. Sumerisch," *RlA* 6, p. 82-84.

[79] Or even 36 years according to Huber: Huber, P., "Astronomical Dating of Ur III and Akkad," *AfO* 46-47 (1999-2000), p. 71, after Hallo, "New Light…," p. 153.

[80] Hallo, "New light…, p. 153; *RlA*, p. 714. This estimation is based on the overlapping between the dynasties of Lagaš II and Ur III. He suggests that Gudea was a late contemporary of Ur-Namma, who was in turn a contemporary of the Elamite Kutik-Inšušinak, cf. Hallo, "New Light…," p. 153. He bases himself on a text of Ur-Namma that records the hostilities of the Elamites under their king, Kutik-Inšišinak, towards the cities "Awal, Kismar, Maškan-šarrim, the region of Ešnunna, the region of Tutub, the region of Zimudar, the region of Akkad…;" for this text cf. Wilcke, C., "Die Inshriftenfunde der 7. und 8. Kampagne (1983 und 1984)," in B. Hrouda, ed., *Isin- Išān Bahrīyāt,* 3, Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen 1983-1984, München, 1987, p. 110.

[81] Hallo, *RlA*, p. 711.

[82] Jacobsen, *SKL*, p. 116-21. Some find it possible that the Gutian rule in central and southern Mesopotamia could have begun with the death of Narām-Sîn, and also that the last two kings of Akkad ruled the core of the land of Akkad only, centred round the capital Akkad, cf. Veenhof, *Geschichte des Alten Orients,* p. 72; cf. also the suggestion of Nissen above, that these two kings were rulers of the Akkad region during the Gutian Period.

[83] According to Potts, there is no influx of Gutian personal names: Potts, *op. cit.,* p. 121. However, the typical Gutian names listed in the SKL and other relative names in the texts of Nuzi and Diyāla, although few, indicate the contrary. For the discussion of some of these names cf. Hallo, "Gutium," *RlA,* p. 712; Speiser, *Mesopotamian Origins,* p. 97.

expelled. They tried to delete the Gutian interlude from their history.[84] They apparently felt humiliated and scorned when they themselves and their holy cities were ruled by mountainous tribes, tribes that had been a regular source for their slaves in the times before the invasion. This hatred is well reflected in several texts describing the conditions under Gutian rule. The Utuḫeg̃al inscription is a good example in this respect:

> Gu[tium], the *fanged* serpent of the mountain, who acted with violence against the gods, who carried the kingship of the land of Sumer to the mountain land, who fi[ll]ed the land of Sumer with wickedness, who took away the wife from the one who had a wife, who took away the child from the one who had a child, who put wickedness and evil in the land (of Sumer).[85]

It continues:

> Tiri[gan], the king of Gutium, …….. He had seized on both banks of the Tigris River. In the south, in Sumer, he had blocked (water from) the fields. In the north, he had closed off the roads (and) caused tall grass to grow up along the highway(s) of the land.[86]

The Weidner Chronicle shows the disrespectful behaviour of the Gutians towards the gods, the Mesopotamian gods in particular:

> Utuḫeg̃al, the *fisherman,*caught a fish as tribute at the edge of the sea; until that fish was offered to the great lord, Marduk, it was not offered to any other god. The Guti, took the cooked fish away from him before it was offered […].[87]

The well-known 'Curse of Agade' includes a detailed passage concerning the Gutians, which could well be called the "Scorn Chapter". It depicts life under their rule as stagnated, backward and intolerable, an attitude permeating the whole section. It begins with the description of the Gutians themselves, who looked like humans but were not. They were ugly creatures, cunning with evil intent, and more importantly, they were not part of the civilized world of Mesopotamia, but aliens:

> Not classed among people, not reckoned as part of the land/country, Gutium, a people not to bridle, with human instincts, but canine intelligence, and monkeys' features.[88]

---

[84] Similar cases in the history of the Near East are not unprecedented. In more recent history all works of art and everything bearing symbols of royalty in Egypt after the overthrow of the monarchy in 1952 were destroyed. Similarly, some scholars ascribe the rarity of relics from the Parthian Period in Iran to the hatred of the Sassanian kings towards them expressed by destroying anything bearing their memory.

[85] 1) ˹*Gu*˺-[*ti-um*^{ki}] 2) muš-GÍR-ḫur-sag-[gá] 3) lú-á-zi-ga-dingir-˹re!-e-ne˺ 4) lú nam-lugal 5) Ki-en-gi-rá 6) kur-šè-ba-de$_6$-a 7) Ki-en-gi-rá 8) nì-a-ne-ru (=erim) bí-i[n-s]i-a 9) dam-tuku dam-ni 10) ba-an-da-kar-ra 11) dumu-tuk dumu-ni 12) ba-an-da-kar-ra 13) nì-a-ne-ru nì-a-zi 14) kalam-ma mi-ni-in-gar-ra, cf. Frayne, D., *RIME* 2, p. 284 (text E2.13.6.4).

[86] 35) *Ti-rí-*[*ga-a-an*] 36) ˹lugal˺- *Gu-ti-um*$^{<ki>}$-ke$_4$ …. 39) I$_7$.idigna gú-min-a-ba 40) bí-in-dib 41) sig-šè Ki-en-gi-rá 42) gána bí-kešda 43) IGI.NIM-šè g̃iri-ì-kešda 44) kaskal-kalam-ma-ke$_4$ 45) ú-gíd-da bí-in-mú, cf. Frayne, *op.cit.*

[87] 58) ^{d}*Utu-ḫé-gál šu-ḫa-da-ku ina paṭ i-rat tam-tim nu-na ta-mar-ti i-bar-ma* 59) *nu-un šu-a-ti a-di a-na be-lí rabê* ^{d}*Marduk ṭe-ḫu-ú ana ili šá-nim-ma ul uṭ-ṭaḫ-ḫu* 60) *Qu-tu-ú nu-na ba-áš-la la ṭuḫ-ḫa-a ina qāti-šú e-ki-mu-š*[*u…*], Grayson, *ABC,* Chronicle 19, p. 150; cf. also the version of the Sippar library published in Al-Rawi, F. N. H., "Tablets from the Sippar Library, I. 'The Weidner Chronicle:' A Suppositious Royal Letter Concerning a Vision," *Iraq* 52 (1990), p. 10, l. 22-25.

[88] 154) ùg̃-g̃á nu-sì-ga kalam-ma nu-šid-da 155) *gu-ti-um*^{ki} ùg̃ kéš-da nu-zu 156) dím-ma lú-ulu$_3$^{lu} galga ur-ra SIG$_7$.ALAN ^{ugu}ugu$_4$-bi, Cooper, *The Curse of Agade,* p. 26; 57.

In order to show the greatness of the sin committed by Narām-Sîn, the image depicted of the invasion and its consequences is horrible. The Gutians are described as hordes intent on destroying any sign of life:

> Enlil brought them out of the mountains. Like hordes of locusts they lie over the land; their arms are stretched over the plain for him (Enlil) like a snare for animals; nothing leaves their arms; no one escapes their arms.[89]

As a result, all aspects of life stagnated. There was civic collapse as administrative work and economic activity ceased:

> Messengers no longer travel the highways; the courier's boat no longer takes to the rivers.[90]

The invaders feared no gods and they dared to plunder temple possessions:

> They (the Gutians) drive the trusty goats of Enlil from the fold, and make their herdsmen follow; they drive the cows from the pens, and make their cowherds follow.[91]

These uncivilised invaders, as the text wants to show, were the worst administrators the land had ever known. These corrupt criminals left the cities, the homes of the gods and residents, open to ruin by dislodging the gates. The land experienced such devastation that even foreign lands mourned bitterly:

> The shackled manned the watch; the brigand occupied the highways; the doors of all the city-gates of the land lay dislodged in the dirt; and all the foreign lands uttered bitter cries from the walls of their cities.[92]

The crude uncivilized conquerors apparently could not distinguish a city from a village. They abandoned the fields but planted gardens, probably for their own use, in the midst of the cities. Drought, the failure of agriculture and the growth of everything sweet and delicious was due to their policy and their presence:

> In the midst of the cities, though not in the widespread exterior plains, they planted gardens (for the first time) since cities were built and founded; the great agricultural tracts produced no grain; the inundated tracts produced no fish; the irrigated orchards produced neither syrup nor juice; the gathered clouds did not rain; the *mašgurum* did not grow.[93]

On the individual level the consequences of rising prices were catastrophic:

---

[89] 157) ^{d}En-líl-le kur-ta nam-ta-an-è 158) ŠID.ŠID buru$_5$ ^{mušen}-gim ki àm-ú-ús 159) á-bi gu máš-anše-gim eden-na mu-un-na-an-lá 160) níg-na-me á-bi la-ba-ra-è 161) lú-na-me á-bi la-ba-an-tag$_4$-tag$_4$, *op. cit.,* p. 56-58; 57-9.

[90] 162) lú-kin-gi$_4$-a ḫar-ra-an-na nu-mu-un-g̃ín 163) ^{giš}má ra-gaba íd-da nu-mu-un-dab$_5$-bé, *op. cit.* 58; 59.

[91] 164) ùz gi ^{d}En-líl-lá amaš-ta ba-ra-ra-aš na-gada-bi bí-in-ús-ú-ús 165) šilam tùr-bi-ta ba-ra-ra-aš unù-bi bí-in-ús-ú-ús, *ibid.*

[92] 166) g̃iš-gú-ka en-nu-ùg̃ ba-e-dù 167) ḫar-ra-an-na lú-sa-gaz ba-e-tuš 168) abul kalam-ma-ka ^{giš}ig im-ma ba-e-gub 169) kur-kur-ra bàd uru^{ki}-ne-ne-ka gù gig mi-ni-ib-bé-ne, *ibid.*

[93] 170) iri^{ki} šà eden bar dagal nu-me-a mú-sar mu-un-dè-gál 171) u$_4$ uru^{ki} ba-dím-dím-ma-ba ba-sì-sì-ga-ba 172) a-gàr gal-gal-e še nu-um-túm 173) a-gàr sù-sù-ge ku$_6$ nu-um-túm 174) pú-^{giš}kiri$_6$ làl geštin nu-um-túm 175) IM.UD sír-da la-ba-šèg ^{giš}maš-gurum la-ba-mú, *ibid*.

> At that time, one shekel's worth of oil was only one-half quart, one shekel's worth of grain was only one-half quart, one shekel's worth of wool was only one-half mina, one shekel's worth of fish filled only one *ban*-measure- these sold at such (prices) in the markets of all the cities. He who slept on the roof, died on the roof; he who slept in the house, had no burial; people were flailing at themselves from hunger.[94]

This resulted in the decay of the social texture and the destruction of the moral hierarchy created through centuries of social and cultural evolution:

> The honest was changed to a liar; young men lay upon young men; the blood of liars ran upon the blood of honest men.[95]

It culminated with the gods making their sanctuaries and stores smaller and simpler:

> At that time Enlil remodelled his great sanctuaries into tiny reed sanctuaries, and from east to west he reduced their stores.[96]

Anyone who did not die of hunger or was not killed could only cry out in despair:

> The old women who survived those days, the old men who survived those days, the chief lamentation singer who survived those years, for seven days and seven nights put in place seven *balag*-instruments,[97] as if they stood at heaven's base, and played *ub*, *meze,* and *lilis*-drums for him (Enlil) among them (the *balags*). The old women did not restrain (the cry) "Alas my city!", the old men did not restrain (the cry) "Alas its people!", the lamentation singer did not restrain (the cry) "Alas the Ekur!", its young women did not restrain from tearing their hair, its young men did not restrain their sharp knives.[98]

All these insults, vilifications, and the dark age described here and in other texts reflect the bitter hatred for the Gutians. Such hatred would have given every encouragement for any remnant of any memory of them to be completely destroyed, leaving only these scathing comments.[99] The hatred lived on long afterwards. The Babylonians sustained bitter memories of the Gutian age, as recorded in their literary and historical compositions, and the demonic image they gave to the Gutians became a standard term in their language for the description of any evildoer or invader from the east. When the Persians under Cyrus the Great conquered

---

[94] 176) u_4-ba ì diš gín-e ba_7 $sila_3$-àm 177) še diš gín-e ba_7 $sila_3$-àm 178) síg diš gín-e ba_7 ma-na-àm 179) ku_6 diš gín-e ^{giš}ba-an-e íb-si 180) ganba uru^{ki}-ba-ka ur_5-gim íb-sa_{10}-sa_{10} 181) ùr-ra nú-a ùr-ra ba-ug_7 182) é-a nú-a kin u-um-túm 183) un šà-gar-bi-ta ní-bi-a šu im-dúb-dúb-ne, *ibid.*

[95] 190) saḡ zi sag lul-la šu-bal ba-ni-ib-ak 191) mèš mèš-e an-ta i-im-nú 192) úš lú lul-e úš lú zi-da-ke_4 an-ta namu-un-DU, *ibid.*

[96] 193) u_4-ba ^{d}en-líl-le èš gal-gal-la-ni-ta 194) èš gi TUR. TUR im-ma-ra-an-dù 195) utu è-ta utu šú-uš $erim_3$-bi ba-tur, *ibid*.

[97] According to T.J.H. Krispijn, balags were string instruments, not drums.

[98] 196) um-ma u_4-ta ba-ra-ab-tag_4-a 197) ab-ba u_4-ta ba-ra-ab-tag_4-a 198) gala-maḫ mu-ta ba-ra-ab-tag_4-a 199) u_4 imin gi_6 imin-šè 200) balag imin-e an-úr gub-ba-gim ki mu-un-ši-ib-ús 201) ùb me-zé li-li-ìs iškur-gim šà-ba mu-na-an-tuk 202) um-ma a uru_2-mu nu-gá-gá 203) ab-ba a lú-bi nu-gá-gá 204) gala-e a é-kur nu-gá-gá 205) ki-sikil-bé SÍG. ŠAB-bi nu-gá-gá 206) guruš-bé gír-kin nu-gá-gá, *op. cit.,* p. 58-60; 59-61.

[99] The badly damaged mace head of Lā'arāb is evidence of this assumed campaign of destruction. The tablet on which the Erridu-Pizir inscriptions are written, although a later copy, was restored from almost 20 pieces. However, the tablets were seemingly teaching material for scribes. The question arises of whether they had no problem referring to this king, or whether they let pupils study his inscription to get acquainted with the enemy.

Babylon in 539 BC Babylonian inscriptions called them Gutians, and the army of Alexander was similarly called the "army of the Gutians" in Chronicle 10.[100]

Gutian Relics

Although not rich in content, a few surviving inscriptions prove that the Gutians realised the significance of writing and tokens of authority (such as the mace head below). They also made offerings and dedications to the gods whom they worshipped.[101]

The mace head of Lā'erāb or Lā'arāb[102] (BM 90852) (Fig. 1), is supposed to have been found by H. Rassam in Sippar, since its registration number bears the initials AH (= Abu Habba).[103] The mace head is artistically and orthographically classified as belonging to the early or middle Akkadian Period and bears a lengthy curse formula like those of the Old Akkadian royal inscriptions.[104] Due to its fragmentary state, the expected historical information is lost; even the name of its owner was restored by Jacobsen with the help of Old Akkadian texts from Diyāla. The extant part of the text reads:

> Lā'ar[ā]b, the mig[hty, ki]ng of [Gutium, (lacuna)… fash[ioned] and dedicated (this mace). As for the one who removes this inscription and writes his own name (instead), may the god of Gutium, Aštar and Sîn, tear out his foundations and destroy his progeny. Further, may his campaign not succeed.[105]

Another Gutian royal inscription (Fig. 2) was published late in 2002 by Hallo.[106] The inscription, written on a stone bowl, is quite short:

> Arlagan, the mighty, king of Gutium.[107]

Since the bowl bears two inscriptions, one of Šudurul and the other of Arlagan, based on internal evidence Hallo proposed that the Gutian inscription was added at a later date,

---

[100] Diakonoff saw that this was due to the fact that the Babylonians in the Neo-Babylonian period were calling new peoples by old names: Diakonoff, I. M., "Last Years of the Urartian Empire," *VDI* 36/2 (1951), p. 29-39, after Hallo, "New Light…," p. 155; Chronicle 10 that concerns episodes from the Seleucid Period states: ^{lú}*ummāni* ^{kur}*Gu-ti-i ù* ^{lú}*ummāni*^{meš} […], "The army of the Guti and the armies of..[…]:" Grayson, *ABC,* p. 117. However, in my view this was purely a political usage of the name in that period. An exact parallel of this phenomenon can be found in the Iraqi political propaganda during the first Gulf war, when the Iranians were called during 8 years of war *al-Furs al-Majūs*, "The Magi Persians," while the Iranians actually abandoned the Magi religion more than 15 centuries ago. The terms were simply pejorative and provocative.

[101] The Weidner Chronicle is negative in this respect, when it states 56) *Qu-tu*(!)*-ú šá ta-zi-im-te ila pa-la-ḫa la kul-lu-mu* 57) *par-ṣi uṣurāti*(giš.ḫur)^{meš} *šu-te-šu-ra la i-du-ú,* "The Guti were oppressive people, without instruction in divine worship, they did not know how to properly perform divine rites (and) ordinances," Grayson, *ABC,* Chronicle 19, p. 149-150.

[102] Gelb pointed to the frequent occurrence of the name Lā'arāb in the Old Akkadian tablets from Tell Asmar and has published an Old Akkadian tablet in the Chicago Natural History Museum listing the names of nine persons. One of them is a certain *la-á-ra-ab* (rev., l. 8), cf. Gelb, I. J., *Old Akkadian Inscriptions in Chicago Natural History Museum, Texts of Legal and Business Interest,* Chicago, 1955, No. 28 and p. 261.

[103] Hallo, *RlA,* p. 711-2; more recently Hallo, "New Light…," p. 151.

[104] Hallo, *RlA,* p. 711-12.

[105] 1) *La-*^{r}*à*^{1}*-r*[*a-a*]*b* 2) ^{r}*da*^{1}-[*núm*] 3) [LU]GAL 4) [*G*]*u-ti-im* (lacuna of about 7 lines) 1′) […] 2′) *ib*-[*ni-m*]*a* 3′) A.MU.RU 4′) *ša* DUB 5′) *šu*$_4$*-a* 6′) *u-śa-às-ku-ni* 7′) *ù(*) šum*$_6$*-šu* 8′) *i-śa-ṭa-ru* 9′) DINGIR *Gu-ti-im* 10′) ^{d}INANNA 11′) *ù* 12′) ^{d}EN.ZU 13′) SUḪUŠ(*)*-šu* 14′) *li-sú-ḫa* 15′) *ù* 16′) ŠE.NUMUN-*šú* 17′) *li-il-qù-tá* 18′) *ù* 19′) KASKAL(*).KI-(x)-*šú* 20′) *a i-śi-ir*, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 229 (text E2.2.14.1); cf. also: *FAOS,* p. 294-5.

[106] Hallo, "New Light …," p. 147-161.

[107] 1) *Ar-la-ga-an* 2) *da-núm* 3) LUGAL *Gu-ti-um*^{ki}, Hallo, "New Light…," p. 147.

implying that the bowl was re-used.[108] It is interesting that the royal name occurring here is most probably to be identified with Iarlagan(da), the 19th Gutian ruler in the SKL.

Two cylinder seals which could be in 'Gutian style' from the post-Akkadian period were found in Brak.[109] One shows a row of animals, probably ibexes, together with what seem to be human figures (Fig. 3). According to Diakonoff, the Metropolitan bronze head, that is said to have been found near Hamadan, represents one of the Gutian kings.[110] However, neither the provenance nor the attribution seem to be certain.

The long inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir (Fig. 4) are the exception to what has hitherto been known as meagre survivals of the Gutian kings (see below).

The End of the Gutians in the South

The Gutian domination of Sumer and Akkad was brought to an end by the king of Uruk, Utuḫeg̃al. He ruled the city for seven years[111] and used the title "king of the four quarters of the world," one that had been used before only by Narām-Sîn and Erridu-Pizir. Utuḫeg̃al appears to have been a mighty ruler who extended his control to the Lagaš region and probably received a commission from the god Enlil in Nippur to move against Tirigan, the last Gutian king of Sumer and Akkad.

The Urukian movement against the Gutians was recorded in a relatively long literary-historical text which is preserved in an OB copy.[112] It begins with enumerating the evil deeds of the Gutians in the land of Sumer, but without mentioning Akkad. This enumeration is a logical beginning with which to justify the war, for this is what had instigated the people's wrath. It is followed by the commission given by the god Enlil, king of the lands, to rise against the Gutians and restore the kingship to the land of Sumer, not to Akkad. Surprisingly Utuḫeg̃al is called, even before the liberation of the land, king of the four quarters of the world. Then Utuḫeg̃al went to Inanna to request her to be his ally in this war. At this point the text reverts to the atrocities of the Gutians, particularly those of the wicked Tirigan, and how no one had risen against him before this king of Uruk. He then went to the temple of Iškur in his home city Uruk and called out to the people, who followed him as one man.[113] He departed towards the city of Nagsu on the Iturungal Canal, which he reached after a four day march. On the fifth day he captured two Gutian generals, the first with the Sumerian name Ninazu and the second with the Akkadian name Nabi-Enlil, who had been sent by Tirigan as envoys to Sumer. This implies that the Gutians were aware of his advance and were attempting to solve the rebellion peacefully, because these two generals had met Utuḫeg̃al half way or less on his march.[114] From the text it appears that King Tirigan himself was about one or two days away from Nagsu, since the battle took place upstream from Adab after he

---

[108] For this discussion cf. Hallo, "New Light …," p. 147-8.

[109] Oates, D., "Excavations at Tell Brak, 1983-84," *Iraq* 47 (1985), P. 173.

[110] دیاکونوف، ل. ۱۷۸. cf. also Chapter Two

[111] Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 280.

[112] Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 284. The text was published for the first time by Thureau-Dangin in *RA* 9 (1912), p. 111-20 and *RA* 10 (1913), p. 98-100. Since the copies are OB, some consider the inscription a late propaganda text composed for the kings of Uruk. Even so, the text remains in our opinion significant, consisting for the major part of historical facts and real GNs, cf. also Glassner, J. J., *Mesopotamian Chronicles,* Atlanta, 2004, p. 99, note 8. Scepticism about the reliability of ancient inscriptions has now even reached Sumerian royal correspondence, as in Huber, F., "La correspondance royale d'Ur, un corpus apocryphe," *ZA* 91 (2001), p. 169ff.

[113] 68) lú-aš-gin$_7$, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 286 (text E2.13.6.4).

[114] According to the text, Utuḫeg̃al had marched four days when he met the envoys. After two more days marching he reached Karkar and he fought Tirigan upstream from Adab. Another possibility is that the Sumerian army was not on the move on the fifth day, so it was in total a five day march. The meeting with the envoys would have been closer to the battlefield, probably also close to the centre of the Gutian power in the region of Adab.

arrived at Karkar on the sixth day. Nagsu, Muru and Dabrum, mentioned in the inscription, are also mentioned in the economic texts of Umma from the Ur III period and indicate their locations in the province of Umma.[115] Utuḫeg̃al was triumphant in that battle. He defeated the Gutian generals and "Tirigan, king of Gutium, fled alone on foot"[116] to the city of Dabrum. The citizens of that city did not let him go when they knew Utuḫeg̃al was the king of Uruk approved by Enlil. The envoys of Utuḫeg̃al captured Tirigan with his wife and children. They brought him back to the victorious king of Uruk, who smote him to the ground in front of the god Utu and put his foot on his neck, clearly symbolising his submission. An OB omen text alludes to the death of Tirigan on the battlefield: "If a ……. is thrown, it is an omen of Tirigan, who died amidst his army."[117] But there is no mention of killing the Gutian king in the Utuḫeg̃al text, as might have been expected.[118] Probably sparing his life, if true, was a reciprocation for the Gutians sparing the lives of the Akkadian royal family, if the interpretation of the list of gifts from the late mu-iti archive is correct. A tablet from the archive lists gifts presented to the Akkadian royal family during a journey they made to Sumer, to the king, the queen and the prince, who almost certainly constituted the Akkadian and not the Gutian royal family.[119] This list belongs, according to Foster, to the late mu-iti archive and hence very probably comes from the Gutian period.[120] However that may be, the Utuḫeg̃al text ends with the restoration of the kingship to Sumer, again with no reference to Akkad.

It is true that it was the Sumerians who freed the land from the Gutians. The complete omission from the text of the Akkadians, on whose land Gutian control had been concentrated, might be interpreted as the Sumerians subconsciously placing blame for the occupation on the Akkadians. The Akkadians assumed the kingship from the Sumerians under Sargon but could not hold on to it because of their harsh policy towards the peoples and the sins they committed against the gods, according to the Mesopotamian tradition. This had consequently led to the invasion and the loss of kingship to foreign lands, and only then did the Sumerians take action by themselves to restore the Mesopotamian kingship to the land of Sumer, but not to Akkad. The SKL supports this suggestion by stating that Uruk, not Akkad, was smitten with weapons, and that its kingship, not that of Akkad, was carried off by the Gutian horde invading the south.[121]

---

[115] Sauren, H., "Der Feldzug Utuḫegals von Urukgegen Tirigan und das Siedlungsgebiet der Gutäer," Brève Communications, *RA* 61 (1967), p. 76. According to him, Nagsu was located to the south of Umma on the Iturungal Canal, while Dabrum was on the northern border of Umma Province, two-days journey by ship from the city Umma itself towards Nippur: Sauren, *ibid;* see also the map on p. 77.

[116] 103) *Ti-rí-ga-a-an* 104) lugal-*Gu-ti-um*^{ki} 105) aš-a-ni gìr ba-da-an-kar, Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 286-7 (text E2.13.6.4).

[117] *šumma x-x-ti i-na-di a-mu-ut Ti-ri-ka ša i-na libbi um-ma-ni-šu i-mu-tu,* (YBT X 9 31f.), cf. Goetze, A., "Historical Allusions in Old Babylonian Omen Texts," *JCS* 1 (1947), p. 259.

[118] Considering that this text was composed for political propaganda in the first place, one must expect some bias in the narration of what happened. It is not impossible that Utuḫeg̃al wanted to create a perfect image of the powerful and pious hero, who was able to arrest the enemy of the gods and bring him with his own hands to the presence of the god, under whose auspices he fought. This would be more honourable than killing him, probably by the hands of one of his soldiers. This may mean that the true story is the one in the omen.

[119] Hallo, "New Light…," p. 153. Interestingly, an omen text from the Seleucid Period states that Tirigan was killed in battle: EŠ.BÀR *ti-riq-qa-an šarri ša ina qabal umma(n)-ni-šu* ḪA.A-*iq* (=*iḫ(ta)liq*), "Omen of Tirigan, the king who perished in the midst of his troops," cf. Poebel, A., *Historical Texts,* PBS, vol. IV, No. 1, Philadelphia, 1914, p. 135.

[120] Hallo, "New Light…," p. 153. For this and the discussion of the date of these documents see Foster, B., "Notes on Sargonic Royal Progress," *JANES* 12 (1980), p. 32.

[121] Unug^{ki} giš$^{}$tukul ba-an-sìg nam-lugal-bi ki-su-lu-ub$_4$ <-gar> Gu-tu-um<^{ki}-šè> ba-túm, Jacobsen, *SKL*, p. 116. According to Kraus, the terms Sumerians and Akkadians were linguistic designations, rather than ethnic, and our criterion for their existence is the language: Kraus, F. R., *Sumerer und Akkader, ein Problem der altmesopotamischen Geschichte,* Amsterdam, 1970, p. 15. He further says that the old Mesopotamian historical

But this was not the end of the Gutian presence and their incursions into Sumer and Akkad. Ur-Namma went on purging the land from what may have been Gutian pockets of resistance. The adversary he mentioned in a royal inscription was Gutarla, who was "[like] a …dog(?), after he lay at his feet,"[122] who had attempted to gain kingship with the help of troops from Gutium and Zimudar.[123] Šulgi too claimed victories over the Gutians in his hymn E.[124] He seems to have attacked the Gutians because of their collaboration with the Elamites when some of their cities changed their loyalty from Šulgi to the Elamite.[125] Later Ibbi-Sîn confronted Gutian attacks from their mountainous bulwark in the east, according to the lamentation over Sumer and Ur.[126]

The Erridu-Pizir Inscriptions

As previously mentioned, these are the longest Gutian royal inscriptions known to date. They are written on a clay tablet from the OB Period, found in Nippur. Their content and their colophons indicate they were copied from texts inscribed on three statues of Erridu-Pizir. The tablet was found at 'Tablet Hill' in Nippur during the excavations of Pennsylvania University-fourth season.[127] The discovery of the tablet was first announced by Hilprecht,[128] and had to

---

traditions hardly mention Sumerians and Akkadians, and there is no distinctive art of each of the two peoples, *ibid*. The Sumerians and Akkadians were no longer a reality or, at least, no longer an interesting reality in the Ur III period: *op. cit.,* p. 90. He did not even succeed to find an indisputable identification of Sumerians and Akkadians, *op. cit.,* p. 99. However, for Sumer as a people cf. Wilcke, C., "Zum Königtum in der Ur III-Zeit," *Le palais et la royauté, RAI* 19, Paris, 29 june-2 July, ed. P. Garelli, Paris, 1974, p. 225-226. To reply to the extreme opinions of Kraus, which need detailed discussion, we must ask what are the criteria for the existence of a certain ethnicity. The most important are, indisputably, language and culture. While Kraus did not deny these two he grossly underestimated them. Pertinent comparisons can be made with the circumstances of the Aramaic population of Southern Mesopotamia after the Arab Muslim invasion in 637 A. D. This Aramaic speaking population, known as '*Anbāṭ*', was soon compelled by the new Arab masters to write, and perhaps even speak, in Arabic. No document now attests the existence of the *Anbaṭ* in Southern Mesopotamia after the Arab invasion, except for a few scattered allusions. But they did certainly exist. The only Aramaic survivals from that territory are the religious writings of the *Sabi'a* and *Mandaean* sects, whose books have survived thanks to the power of religion. That one cannot find an explicit hostile or discriminating passage in the Sumerian records towards the Akkadians is comparable with the situation of the *Anbaṭ*s, who were certainly not happy with the engulfing of their country with fresh immigrant Arab tribesmen, but not a single hostile passage against the Arabs can be found in the writings of that time. One should not therefore consider only what was written, because written documents were tightly bound to the elite and to the authority of the new masters, and so did not reflect the land's real ethnic and cultural image.

[122] 2′) ur ˹šu˺-s[i? gin$_7$(?)] 3′) gìr a-ba-[x]-ná 4′) Gú-tar-lá dumu gu-tim-um-ma-ra, Civil, "On some Texts Mentioning …," *Orientalia* 54 (1985), p. 28. Although the name Gutarla is written gú-TAR-lá in the OB lexical text Níg.ga=*makkūru* (cf. Civil, M., *MSL* XIII, Roma, 1071, p. 108), the element *–arla* in the name is remarkable as a typical element of Gutian names. Zadok called attention to the PN *Ì-ar-li-bu* in a text from Lagaš from Ur III period that can be attributed to this type of Gutian names, cf. Zadok, R., "Hurrians as well as Individuals …," p. 234.

[123] 9′) n[a]m-lugal-šè 10′) [a] im-ma-˹tu$_5$˺ 11′) [a]gab a-an-˹x-x˺-né-éš-[a], "For the kingship he (Gutarla?) took a ritual bath. The crown which they had […]," Civil, "On Some Texts…," p. 28.

[124] 234) ma-da Gu-ti-um^{ki}-ma ^{giš}mu-bu-um-gin$_7$ mu-GAM, "I prostrated Gutium like a *mubum* tree," Frayne, D., *The Historical Correlations of the Sumerian Royal Hymns (2400-1900 BC),* Yale University, 1981, 168. The Hymn B also mentions the Gutians besides the Sumerians and Akkadians whom Enlil assigned to him for their safe-keeping: uri ḫé-im dumu-ki-en-gi-ra ḫé-im 267) ki-gu-ti-um^{ki} ki-lú-i-^{d}utu ḫé-im, "Whether they be Akkadians, Sumerians, (or) the land of Guti, the brigands," Frayne, *op. cit.,* p. 167.

[125] In the letter to Šulgi, sent presumably by Aḫušina, he reports the event; cf. Frayne, *The Historical Correlations of...,* p. 171-2.

[126] Römer, *JCS* 34 (1982), p. 105 f. (after: Hallo, "New Light…," p. 154).

[127] Frayne, *RIME* 2, p. 220.

[128] Cf.: Hilprecht, H. V., *The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania , Series D*, *Researches and Treatises* vol. 5/1, Philadelphia, 1910, p. 1-3 and 20-24.

be first restored from 20 fragments; later a few smaller fragments were added, as Hilprecht had expected.[129] Once it had been restored by Hilprecht it measured 20 by 13.6 cm and consisted of 500 lines in 12 columns on both obverse and reverse. The restored portion constituted almost one-tenth of the original text. The script is "exceptionally sharp and beautiful"[130] and, although it is basically Old Akkadian, some Ur III and OB sign forms occur.[131] Stylistically and linguistically the inscription shows similarities with the inscriptions of the kings of Akkad and lists the same combinations of gods, the same verbal forms and sibilants,[132] besides some Ur III usages.[133]

Shortly after the tablet had been deposited in the museum it was lost.[134] Subsequently it was found and published by Raphael Kutscher.[135] But it appeared that by then some fragments had been lost. The tablet consists now of three fragments glued together (BT 2) with an additional fragment (BT 3) that physically cannot be joined with the rest of the tablet.[136] However, a comparison between the dimensions given by Hilprecht with those of the current tablet, which measures 11.8 by 13.5 cm (BT 2) and 7.2 by 8.2 cm (BT 3), shows that almost two lines between the two parts are lost.[137] Unfortunately, the missing lines appear to have been quite significant, since the context shows they contained the historical sections and important names. The extant parts are "extremely difficult"[138] and much room has been taken by the name and titles of the king that have been repeated 11 times, as well as three curse formulae and three colophons.

According to their content and context, the inscriptions were perhaps dedicated to the god Enlil and were intended to be read in sequence.[139]

The Text:

The following transliteration and translation of the three texts is based on the standard edition of Frayne,[140] with consideration for the editions of Kutscher[141] and Gelb-Kienast.[142] I have also added some extra comments with reference to the transcription (Fig. 4) of the texts.[143]

---

[129] Hilprecht, *The Babylonian… ,* p. 20.
[130] Hilprecht, *The Babylonian …,* p. 20.
[131] Kutscher, R., *The Brockmon Tablets at the University of Haifa: Royal Inscriptions,* Wiesbaden, 1989, p. 51.
[132] Hilprecht, *The Babylonian…,* p. 20.
[133] Kutscher, *The Brockmon …*, p. 51. For the Akkadian of the Ur III period and its characteristics and position between the Sargonic and OB Akkadian, cf. Hilgert, M., *Akkadisch in der Ur III-Zeit,* Münster, 2002, p. 168-170. As for Sargonic Akkadian, cf. Hasselbach, R., *Sargonic Akkadian, A Historical and Comparative Study of the Syllabic Texts,* Wiesbaden, 2005. For the style and structure of the OAkk. royal inscriptions, cf. Franke, S., *Königsinschriften und Königsideologie, Die Könige von Akkade Zwischen Tradition und Neuerung,* Hamburg, 1995, p. 244-248.
[134] Kutscher, *The Brockmon Tablets*…, p. 49. The evidence for this, as Kutscher says, is that when Poebel stayed in Philadelphia between 1912 and 1914, he could not find the tablet, only two years after Hilprecht's publication.
[135] The tablet is now part of the Brockmon Collection in Haifa.
[136] Kutscher, *The Brockmon…,* p. 49.
[137] Kutscher, *The Brockmon…,* p. 49.
[138] Kutscher, *The Brockmon…,* p. 50.
[139] Kutscher, *The Brockmon…,* p. 51. He concludes that the dedication is inferred from the fact that only Statue I contains an invocation to the gods.
[140] In *RIME* 2, p. 220-228 (text E2.2.1-3).
[141] Kutscher, *The Brockmon…,* p. 49-70.
[142] Gelb and Kienast, *FAOS*, vol. 7, p. 293-316.
[143] In certain places the numbering of the lines varies from one editor to another.

Statue 1

Col. i

1) [...-*i*]*m*[144]
2) [...] ⌜x⌝
3) [...] ⌜x⌝
4) [...] ⌜x⌝
5) [^{d}INANN]A
6) [*an-nu-ni-t*]*um*[145]
7) [x] x x ⌜*id*⌝-*śu*[146]
8) *ù*
9) *Ìl-a-ba$_4$*[147]
10) KALAG *ì-li*
11) *il-la-at-śu*
12) *E-er-ri-du-pi-zi-ir*
13) *da-núm*
14) LUGAL
15) *Gu-ti-im*[148]
16) *ù*
17) *ki-ib-ra-tim*
18) *ar-ba-*⌜*im*⌝
19) *a*-[x][149]
20) ^{m}*Ù*[150]-[x x]
21) GÌR.[NÍTA-*ś*]*u*[151]
22) ⌜*Ma*(?)⌝-[*a*]*d*-[*ga*]^{ki}
23) […]-BI
24) […]-*im*
25) [...] x

Lacuna of 2 lines

1′) [*E-er-ri-du*]-*Pi-zi-i*[*r*]
2′) *da-núm*
3′) LUGAL
4′) *Gu-ti-im*
5′) *ù*
6′) *ki-ib-ra-tim*
7′) *ar-ba-im*
8′) DA-*ís-su*
9′) *ig-ru-úś*

---

[144] Jacobsen's restoration for this section is [*ilā Gu-ti-i*]*m,* "the two gods of Gutium," to be compared with the inscription of Lā'arāb; cf. Kutscher, p. 62.
[145] Not read by Gelb-Kienast.
[146] T.J.H. Krispijn suggests [*re-ṣi*]-⌜*it*⌝-*śu* "his helper/ supporter/ally." For the meaning of *rêṣu,* cf. *CAD,* vol. R, p. 268f.
[147] Read ^{d}A-ba$_4$ by Gelb-Kienast.
[148] Written without any determinative throughout the three inscriptions.
[149] Jacobsen restored a-[wu] "speak!," cf. Kutscher, p. 62; but this seems unlikely, particularly in that Madga was not a Semitic territory.
[150] *u* in Kutscher.
[151] This *śu* is omitted in Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast.

10′) *ip-la-aḫ-šú-*⌜*ma*⌝
11′) *e-tá-ra-ab*
12′) *ša-dú-šum*[152]
13′) *e-ṣú-ud-šú-*⌜*ma*⌝
14′) *ik-mi-šu*
15′) LUGAL
16′) ⌜*ù*⌝*-ru-a-šu-ma*
17′) ⌜*tub*⌝*-qin-ni-šu*[153]
18′) ⌜*E*⌝*-er-ri-du-*[*Pi*]*-zi-ir*

Col. ii

1) *da-*[*núm*]
2) ⌜LUGAL⌝
3) *Gu-ti-im*
4) *ù*
5) *ki-ib-ra-tim*
6) *ar-ba-im*
7) *in* KÁ
8) DINGIR *Gu-ti-im*
9) *im-si*$_4$[154]
10) *il-pu-ut-su-ma*
11) SAG.GIŠ.RA-*šu*
12) [LU]GAL (?)
13) *en-ma*
14) *E-er-ri-du-Pi-zi-ir*
15) *da-núm*
16) LUGAL
17) *Gu-ti-*⌜*im*⌝
18) [*ù*]
19) [*ki*]-⌜*ib-ra*⌝*-tim*
20) [*a*]*r-ba-im*
21) *in u-mi-šu*
22) DÙL-*mì*
23) *ab-ni-ma*
24) *in na-pá-áš-ti-šu*
25) *sa-ab-šu*
26) ⌜*íš*⌝*-ku-un*
27) […] ⌜x x⌝ […]

[152] This sign is read *šu*$_{14}$ by Gelb-Kienast and *šum*$_6$ by Kutscher, but this should be either *šum* or *sum*$_6$, cf. Von Soden and Röllig, *Das Akkadische Syllabar,* no. 90, p. 17 and Labat, *Manuel…,* no. 126.
[153] The word is read by Frayne as *um-ma*(?)*-ni-šu*. T.J.H. Krispijn suggests *um-ba-ni-šu* and proposes a PN –an army general and the like- or "his army," as Frayne does. This is possible if we understand the verb *ù-ru-a-šu-ma* as a corrupt D-form of the infinitive *râšu* "to smash, crush," attested also in a text of Narām-Sîn: *nišī šāt* DN GIBIL-*iš iqīšušum u-ra-iš-ma*, "he crushed the people whom Dagan newly(?) gave him," *CAD,* vol. R, p. 183 (referring to *AfO* 20, 74 ii 19). If this is correct, the meaning of the sentence would be "he crushed his army." The weak point in the reading *tub-qin-ni-šu* is that the reading q/kin does not occur in this period.
[154] Frayne and Kutscher propose a form of the verb *mašā'um* "to drag," cf. Frayne, D., "Historical Texts in Haifa: Notes on R. Kutscher's 'Brockmon Tablets,' *Bibliotheca Orientalis,* XLVIII (1991), 403. According to Kutscher, Jacobsen has suggested IM.ÙLU "southern [gate of the temple of the gods of Gutium]" or IM.SI$_4$ or IM.SU$_4$ *ilputsuma,* "he smeared red clay on him," cf. Kutscher, p. 64.

Lacuna of 3 lines

1′) […]ʳ
2′) ʳ*aś*ˀ[155]-[…]
3′) *lu-ub-ś*[*a*(?)-*am*(?)][156]
4′) ZA.GÌN *ša* […]
5′) *la áś-ku-*ʳ*nu*ˀ[157]
6′) *a-na*
7′) ^{d}*En-líl*
8′) *in* NIBRU^{ki}
9′) DÙL-*śu*
10′) A.MU.RU
11′) *ša* DUB
12′) *śu*$_4$-*a*
13′) *u-śa-sà-ku-ni*
14′) ^{d}UTU
15′) ^{d}INANNA

Col. iii

1) [*ù*]
2) *Ìl-a-*[*ba*$_4$]
3) ʳSUḪUŠˀ-*śu*
4) *li-sú-ḫu*
5) *ù*
6) Š[E].NUMUN-*śu*
7) *li-il-qú-tu*

Colophon 1

8) mu-sar-ra ki-gal-ba

Caption 1

9) *E-er-ri-du-Pi-zi-ir*
10) *da-núm*
11) LUGAL
12) *G*[*u*]-*ti-im*
13) *ù*
14) ʳ*kí*ˀ-*ib-ra-tim*
15) [*a*]*r-*ʳ*ba*ˀ-*i*[*m*]
16) [*a-na*]
17) [^{d}*E*]*n-*[*líl*
18) *in* N[IBRU^{ki}]

[155] Not read by Frayne, but it is clearly visible on the copy.
[156] The last two signs are not read by Kutscher.
[157] The *nu* is omitted by both Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast, apparently because only a small portion of the sign is preserved, but the traces on the copy reveal its similarity to the sign NU that occurs in col. iv, 1.

19) A.MU.[RU]

Colophon 2

20) mu-sar-ra x [x x]
21) alam-bi x [x x] i[m-x x]

Caption 2

22) ^{m}*Ù*-[…]
23) GÌR.[NÍTA]
24) *M*[*a-ad-ga*^{ki}]

Lacuna of about 7 lines

Translation

i 1-11) [The god … is his (personal) god], [the goddess Išta]r-[Annunī]tum (is) his …, (and) the god Ilaba, the mightiest one of the gods, is his clan (god).
i 12-19) Erridu-Pizir, the mighty, king of Gutium and of the four quarters…
i 20-25) U-[…], his gen[eral], *Madga* ...[rebelled?].
lacuna
i 1′-9′) [Erridu]-Pizi[r], the mighty, king of Gutium and the four quarters, hastened (to confront) him.
i 10′-17′) (Since the ruler of Madga) feared him, he entered (his own) mountain (land), and (Erridu-Pizir) hunted him down, captured him (and) he, the king, led him to his refuse dump (or 'smashed his army,' see the note to i, 17′).
i 18′-ii 6) Erridu-[Pi]zir, the migh[ty], king of Gutium and the four quarters
ii 7-12) took (him) away by force through the gate of the god of Gutium, struck him, and killed him, the king (of Madga).
ii 13-20) Thus (says) Erridu-Pizir, the mighty, king of Gutium [and] of the [f]our [qua]rters:
ii 21-27) 'At that time I fashioned a statue of myself and set a red stone (?) on its neck…
lacuna
ii 1′-10′) …*a garment*... lapis lazuli, *which I did not set,* and dedicated a statue of himself[158] to the god Enlil in Nippur.
ii 11′- iii 15′) As for the one who removes this inscription, may the gods Šamaš, Aštar,
iii 1-3) [and] Ila[ba] tear out his foundations and destroy his [p]rogeny.

Colophon 1
iii 8) Inscription on the base.

Caption 1
Iii 9-19) Erridu-Pizir, the mighty, king of Gutium and the four quarters, dedicate[ed] (this statue) [to the god E]n[lil] in N[ippur].

Colophon 2
iii 20-21) Inscription … its image…

[158] Frayne: "myself:" p. 222.

Caption 2
iii 22-24) U-[…], gen[eral] of M[adga].
Lacuna

Statue 2

Col. iii

1′) ˹*E*˺-[*er-ri-du*]-*Pi*-[*zi-ir*]
2′) *da*-[*núm*]
3′) ˹LUGAL˺
4′) *Gu-ti-im*
5′) *ù*
6′) *ki-ib-ra-tim*
7′) *ar-ba-im*
8′) *in u-mi*
9′) ^{m}KA-*ni-iš-ba*
10′) *ni-ku-ur-tám*

Col. iv

1) [*íś*]-*ku-nu*
2) [*a*]-*bi*
3) [*E*]*n-ri-da-Pi-zi-ir*
4) *da-nim*
5) LUGAL
6) *Gu-ti-im*
7) *ù*
8) *ki-ib-ra-tim*
9) *ar-ba-im*
10) ˹*è*˺-*zi-bu*
11) ŚA.DÚ-*e*
12) *ù*
13) URU.KI.˹URU˺.KI[159]
14) *u-úś-ba-al-ki-tu*
15) *ù*
16) *a-dì-ma*
17) KALAM
18) [*Lu*]-*l*[*u*]-*bi-im*^{ki}
19) [x]-NI^{ki}
20) ˹x˺-*ku*^{ki}[160]
21) [x].$^{˹ki˺}$
22) [(x)] $^{˹ki˺}$

[159] This line is read by Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast as *e*-˹*ul?*˺^{ki}, more like the hand copy, but there are traces of another sign after the supposed UL. However, the collations of Westenholz and Steinkeller support the reading of Frayne in both his review in *BiOr* and *RIME* 2. The latter reading may fit better with the context as the text enumerates several GNs following this sentence.
[160] This clear KU sign on the hand copy is neglected by Frayne.

Lacuna of about 17 lines

1′) x […]
2′) DA-[*ís-su*]
3′) *ig*-[*ru-úś*]
4′) ÍL-[…]
5′) GIŠ […][161]
6′) *ti*-[...]

Col. v

1) *ù*
2) ^{d}INANNA
3) *in A-kà-dè*^{ki}
4) ÉRIN-*am*
5) *íś-ku-un*
6) *ip-ḫur-śum*$_{6}$
7) *um-ma-núm*
8) *kà-lu*$_{5}$*-śa*
9) *a-na*
10) *Śi-mu-ur*$_{4}$*-rí-im*^{ki}
11) *è-ru-úś*
12) ŠITA LAM$_{x}$KUR[162]
13) *è-ru-ub*
14) *in A-kà-dè*^{ki}
15) *u-ra-ṣi*
16) *ra-bí-ù-tim*
17) <*a-na*> *ì-lí*
18) ⌜*ú*⌝*-qá-ra-ab*

Lacuna of about 25 lines until the lower end of the obverse

Col. vi

1) *u-śa-a*[*m*]*-qi*$_{4}$*-it*
2) *a-ar-*⌜*bu?*⌝*-śu-nu*][163]
3) ⌜*ù*⌝
4) *ba-al-ṭù-*<*ti*>*-śú-nu*
5) NIDBA-*śu-nu*[164]
6) *íl-qá-ù-ni*[*m*][165]
7) ANŠE.*sí-s*[*í*][166]

[161] Jacobsen restored these two lines as *íl*-[*e-ma*] *iṣ*-[*ba-sú*], "he overpowered and seized him," Kutscher, p. 65.
[162] The line is not read by Kutscher; only the KUR is read by Gelb-Kienast, and Kutscher has pointed to the KUR in his textual commentary, p. 65.
[163] This restoration of Gelb-Kienast fits the context better than the reading of Frayne, *a-ar-*⌜NAM⌝, based on the collation of Steinkeller.
[164] These last two signs are read by Kutscher as *ka?-am?*. He thinks the sentence has something to do with cereal offerings (*nindabû*) and animal offerings which are mentioned in the next lines, Kutscher, p. 65.
[165] *ni-i*[*m*] by Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast.

8) GU_4-*e*[167]
9) *ù*
10) UDU-*śu-nu*[168]
11) *sa-bi*[169]
12) DINGIR *Gu-ti-im*
13) *ù*
14) *En-ri-da-Pi-zi-ir*
15) *è-ḫu-zu*
16) *be-al* NI-*me*
17) *li-*[…][170]

Lacuna of about 25 lines until the lower end of the obverse
Lacuna of about 25 lines from the beginning of the reverse

Col. vii

1′) […] ⌜*ù*⌝[171]
2′) *śar-ru-tám*
3′) *a-na*
4′) ^{d}*En-líl*
5′) GIDRU
6′) *a-na*
7′) ^{d}INANNA
8′) *a u-ki-il*
9′) ^{d}*Nin-ḫur-sag*
10′) *ù*
11′) ^{d}*Nin-tu*
12′) ŠE.NUMUN-*śu*
13′) *a-na*
14′) *<śi>-tar-qí-śu*[172]
15′) *li-il-*⌜*qù-tá*⌝
16′) DINGIR[173] […]
17′) ⌜x⌝-[…]

Col. viii

---

[166] The sign ANŠE is treated as a determinative by Frayne, which is quite possible.
[167] Frayne reads *-śu-*⌜*nu*⌝ instead of *–e*. However, there is hardly room for two signs in both this and the following line.
[168] Read as UDU.KA.BAD by Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast, without a translation of the last two signs.
[169] This word is not understandable and it is left without translation by other authors too, cf. also Frayne, p. 225; Gelb-Kienast, p. 309; Kutscher, p. 61. However, its occurrence twice directly before DINGIR *gu-ti-im,* here and in col. ix 1, may refer to its being a title of the god of Gutium. The absence of the divine determinative clearly shows it is not the god's name.
[170] Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast read the last two lines as one sentence: *be-al né-me-li-*[*śu-nu (?)*] but without giving a translation. Kutscher points in his comments to Jacobsen's translation "Their rich"?, Kutscher, p. 66.
[171] This sign is not read by Kutscher or Gelb-Kienast and is not visible on the hand copy.
[172] The word occurs in curse formulae from Ur III Mari meaning 'disappearance(?):' *zēršu lilqutu adi si-dar-qí-šu*, "may (the gods) gather his seed until his disappearance (?)," cf. *CAD* Š III, p. 129; for bibliographical references cf. Kienast, B. and W. Sommerfeld, Glossar zu den altakkadischen Königsinschriften, *FAOS* 8, Stuttgart, 1994, p. 297; Von Soden, W., *AHw,* 1251. For the text cf. Nassouhi, E., "Statue d'un dieu de Mari, vers 2225 av. J.-C.," *AfO* 3 (1926), p. 112, l. 22, read by Nassouhi as *a-ti si-*DIR *irṣit-šú, op. cit.,* p. 114.
[173] This sign is not read either by Kutscher or Gelb-Kienast.

Lacuna of about 22 lines from the beginning of column viii
The following seven lines are restored by Gelb-Kienast:[174]

17) [*E-er-ri-du-Pi-zi-ir*]
18) [*da-núm*]
19) [LUGAL]
20) [*Gu-ti-im*]
21) [*ù*]
22) [*ki-ib-ra-tim*]

1′) *a*[*r!-ba-im*][175]
2′) DUL-ʳ*śu*ˀ
3′) *a-na*
4′) ^{d}*En-líl*
5′) A.MU.RU

Colophon

6′) mu-sar-ra zà-ga-na
7′) alam-bi ugu-kišib-ba gìr-an-ús[176]

Translation

iii 1′-7′) E[rridu]-Pi[zir], the migh[ty], king of Gutium and the four quarters.
iii 8′- iv 1) When KA-Nišba (king of Simurrum) [in]itiated hostilities,
iv 2-10) ignored (the orders of) my [fa]ther, Enrida-Pizir, the mighty, king of Gutium and the four quarters,
iv 11-14) caused the mountain lands and cities to revolt,
iv 15-22) as far as the land of [Lu]llubum (and the lands) …
Lacuna
iv 1′-6′) … he has[tened] (to confront) [him]…
v 1′-6′) Further, the goddess Ištar had stationed troops in Agade.
v 6-11) The whole army assembled for him (= Erridu-Pizir) (and) desired (to go) to Simurrum.
v 12-18) He (= Erridu-Pizir) entered … (= ŠITA LAMxKUR), (while) it (= the army?) was making offerings of large male goats <to> the gods in Agade.
Lacuna
vi 1) He struck down.
vi 2-6) As for fugitives (?) and their *survivors,* their offerings/ gifts they took,
vi 7-10) their hors[es], their oxen, and their sheep…
vi 11-16) … the god of Gutium and Enrida-Pizir took hold of (them)…
Lacuna

[174] Gelb-Kienast, *FAOS.*
[175] This line has been left unread by Frayne and Kutscher, but it is read by Gelb-Kienast, p. 310.
[176] This line of the colophon is read by Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast as alan-bi sag.dub.ba gìri an.ús, but its translation is incomplete.

vii 1′-8′) … and may he (who shall remove this inscription) not hold the kingship for the god Enlil or the sceptre for the goddess Ištar.
vii 9′-17′) May the goddesses Ninḫursag and Nintu destroy his progeny (lit. ‘gather his seed until his disappearance’) …
Lacuna
viii 1′-5′) … He (= Erridu-Pizir) dedicated a statue of himself to the god Enlil.

Colophon
viii 6′- 7′) Inscription on its shoulder. Its image: (his) foot treading on the…

Statue 3

Col. viii
The following 8 lines are restored by Gelb-Kienast: [177]

1) [*E-er-ri-du-Pi-zi-ir*]
2) [*da-núm*]
3) [LUGAL[
4) [*Gu-ti-im*]
5) [*ù*]
6) [*ki-ib-ra-tim*]
7) [*ar-ba-im*]
8) [*in u-mi*]

Lacuna of unknown length

8′) KA-*ni-iš-ba*
9′) LUGAL
10′) *Śi-mu-ur$_4$-rí-im*^{ki}
11′) ÙG̃
12′) *Śi-mu-ur$_4$-rí-im*^{ki}
13′) *ù*
14′) *Lu-lu-bi-im*^{ki}
15′) <<*tu*>>-*uś-ba-al-ki-*ʳ*it*ˀ-*ma*

Col. ix

1) ʳ*sa*ˀ-[*bi*] [178]
2) DINGIR *Gu*-[*ti-im*]
3) *da*-[...]
4) ^{m}ʳxˀ-[…]

Lacuna of about 20 lines

1′) x […]
2′) x […]
3′) *ì-n*[*u*] [179]

[177] Gelb-Kienast, *FAOS*.
[178] Gelb-Kienast read nothing here; Kutscher reads *ib*-[…].

4′) $^{mr}Am^{\urcorner}$-[NI]-*li*
5′) [GÌR].NÍTA
6′) *Še*[180]-$^{\ulcorner}$*ru*(?)$^{\urcorner}$[181]-[x]-*im*
7′) $^{\ulcorner}$x$^{\urcorner}$-[…]-ZÉ[182]
8′) […] $^{\ulcorner}$x$^{\urcorner}$. KUR[183]
9′) *u*-[*na*]-*ak*-[*ki*]-$^{\ulcorner}$*ru*(?)$^{\urcorner}$-*ma*[184]
10′) *ù*
11′) *śar*-$^{\ulcorner}$x$^{\urcorner}$-[(x)]-*ma*
12′) *e*-*ḫu*(?)$^{\urcorner}$-(x)-*śu*[185]
13′) *E-er*-[*r*]*i-du*-[*Pi-zi*]-*ir*
14′) [*da-n*]*úm*
15′) [LUGAL]
16′) [*Gu-ti-im*]
17′) [*ù*]
18′) [*ki-ib-ra-tim*]
19′) [*ar-ba-im*]

Col. x

1) DA-*íś-śu*
2) *ig-ru-úś*
3) *è-ku-uš-ma*[186]
4) ŚA.DÚ-*e*
5) *Ni-iš-ba*^{kur}
6) *in* 6 UD
7) *Ḫa-me-me*-x-*pi*-[*ir*^{kur}]
8) *na*-[*ra-ab-tám*(?)]
9) [SAG.GIŠ.RA]

Lacuna of about 15 lines

1′) $^{\ulcorner}$x$^{\urcorner}$ […]
2′) *na-r*[*a*]-*a*[*b*]-*ti-śu*
3′) *è-ru-ub*
4′) $^{\ulcorner}$*E-er-ri*$^{\urcorner}$*-du*-[*Pi-z*]*i-ir*
5′) *d*[*a*]-*ním*
6′) *ìr-da-śu*$_4$-*ma*
7′) *Nu-úḫ-pi-ir*^{kur}

---

[179] Kutscher reads this line as *N*[*i-iš-ba*^{ku}]$^{r(?)}$; however, the reading *ì-nu* seems more appropriate to begin a narrative.
[180] Kutscher sees the sign ŠU as also possible.
[181] Frayne suggests RU; the hand copy shows clearly the beginning of this sign.
[182] Both Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast see a personal name determinative at the beginning of the sentence. This is visible on the hand copy, but it is not sure whether it is a determinative or the beginning of a different sign. The sign ZÉ is read by them as AT/D.
[183] This line is considered by Kutscher and by Gelb-Kienast as part of the preceding sentence in line 7′.
[184] The numbering of the lines in *RIME* is mistakenly repeated here, with this line also numbered 8′. Kutscher reads the word as *u-ger-ru-ma,* while Gelb-Kienast read it $^{\ulcorner}$*ù*$^{\urcorner}$-*ger*-[*ri*]-$^{\ulcorner}$*ù*$^{\urcorner}$-*ma*. The sign RU is clearly visible on the copy.
[185] ḪU is restored by Frayne.
[186] Kutscher tentatively derives it from *akāśum* "to go," Kutscher, p. 67.

8′) *na-ra-ab-tám*
9′) SAG.GIŠ.RA-*am*
10′) *ù*
11′) ^{m}*Am*-NI-*li*
12′) ḪUR-*nam*
13′) *in ra-śi-śu*
14′) *u*-[*śa-a*]*m*-[*qi*$_4$-*it*]
15′) x […]

Lacuna of 4 lines

Col. xi

1) *in* 1 UD
2) *u-śu-rí-id*
3) *ù*
4) *Mu-ma-am*^{kur}
5) *na-ra-ba-at*
6) *Ur-bi-lum*^{ki}
7) SAG.GIŠ.RA
8) *ù*
9) ^{m}*Ni-ri-iš-ḫu-ḫa*
10) EN[SÍ]
11) *Ur-bi*-[*lum*^{ki}]

Lacuna of about 13 lines

0′) [DÙL-*śu*][187]
1′) [*a-na*]
2′) [^{d}*En-líl*]
3′) [*in* NIB]RU^{ki}
4′) [A].MU.RU
5′) *ša* DUB
6′) *śu*$_4$-*a*
7′) *u-śa-sà-ku-*<*ni*>
8′) rd*En-líl*
9′) *ù*
10′) ^{d}UTU
11′) SUḪUŠ-*śu*
12′) *li-sú-ḫa*

Colophon

13′) mu-sar-ra ki-gal-ba

Caption 1

[187] This line is restored by Gelb-Kienast and does not appear in Frayne; however, the restoration seems quite possible.

14′) *E-er-ri-du-Pi-zi-ir*
15′) *da-núm*
16′) LUGAL
17′) *Gu-ti-im*
18′) *ù*
19′) *ki-ib-ra-tim*
20′) *ar-ba-im*
21′) *a-na*

Col. xii

1) [^{d}*En*]-*líl*
2) [*in* NI]BRU^{ki}
3) ⌜A⌝.MU.RU

Colophon 2

4) mu-sar-ra
5) zà-ga-na

Space
Summary colophon (refers to the entire tablet containing the text of E2.2.1.1-3)

6) dub mu-sar-ra
7) 3 alam
8) *E-er-ri-du-Pi-zi-ir*

Translation

viii 8′-15′) KA-Nišba, king of Simurrum, instigated the people of Simurrum and Lullubum to revolt and
ix 1-4) the … (of?) the god of Gu[tium]…
Lacuna
ix 1′-11′) …whe[n] *Amnili*, the [gen]eral of … made the land … rebel and…
ix 12′-18′) Er[r]idu-[Piz]ir, [the migh]ty, [king of Gutium and the four quarters]
x 1-2) hastened (to confront) him.
x 3-5) He proceeded (through) the peaks of Mount Nišba.
x 6-9) In six days [he conquered] the *p*[*ass*] at [Mount] Ḫameme-x-pi[r].
Lacuna
x 1′-3′) … en[te]red its pass.
x 4′-6′) Erridu-[Pizi]r, the m[i]ghty, pursued him and
x 7′-9′) conquered the pass at Mount Nuḫpir.
x 10′-15′) Further, he t[hr]e[w] down [*A*]*mnili,* the …, from its summit …
Lacuna
xi 1-7) In a single day he brought … down and conquered the pass of Urbilum at Mount Mumum.
xi 8-11) Further, he [*captured*] Nirišḫuḫa, the gover[nor] of Urbi[llum].
Lacuna
xi 1′-4′) He [ded]icated (this statue) [to the god Enlil in Nipp]ur.

xi 5′-12′) As for the one who removes this inscription, may the gods Enlil and Šamaš tear out his foundations.

Colophon 1
xi 13′) Inscription on the base

Caption 1
xi 14′- xii 3) Erridu-Pizir, the mighty, king of Gutium and of the four quarters, dedicated (this statue) to the god [En]lil [in Nip]pur.

Colophon 2
xii 4-5) Inscriptions on its [sh]oulder.

Summary colophon
xii 6-8) Inscribed tablet with three statue (inscriptions) of Erridu-Pizir.

Comments and Analysis

Statue 1:

The first land against which Erridu-Pizir advanced was Madga (i, 22), which name Jacobsen restored.[188] According to the text, the governor of Madga had abandoned his headquarters and fled to *śadu* when the troops of Erridu-Pizir approached (i, 8′-12′). The word *śadu* means mountains, meaning that Madga was located in a plain close to mountains. This fits well with the identification of Madga presented by Frayne, in the region of Kifri, or probably close to the village of Matika near Daqūq.[189] It is also not impossible that the word KUR indicates a hiding place or a refuge. The expression is often used later in the Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions.[190] Another possibility is the east,[191] as the mountains and the best places in which to hide and which to defend lay to the east and north of the supposed location of Madga. The Qaradagh and Sagirma Mountains in particular become more and more sheer when going to the east, close to the Sirwān River.[192]

Frayne's reading *um-ma*(?)-*ni-śu* (i, 17′) is supported by Westenholz and by collation from a photo of the tablet[193] but its position in the sentence leaves the meaning unclear. It could mean that the governor of Madga was led away together with his "army (generals)." Or

[188] Kutscher, *The Brockmon…,* p. 62-3.
[189] Frayne, "The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena," *SCCNH* 10, 1999, p. 157-8. Note his older identification with modern Kifrī; bitumen is found nearby in Mount Kumar, as it was concerning Madga in antiquity: Frayne, *EDGN,* Ancient Oriental Series, vol. 74, New Haven, 1992, p. 54 and 57. Most probably ancient Madga was located in the general area between Daqūq and Kifri. It can be identified with Matk/qa in Nuzi texts and Matqia in the annals of Tiglath-Pileser I, cf. Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 57. Matka in Nuzi texts is located in the same general region of Kifri, Tūz Ḫurmātu and Daqūq; for details cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 176. Heimpel's recent identification of Madga at Hīt (proposing that Madga was another name of Hīt) fails to refer to Frayne's work on the subject and totally neglects the information provided by him, such as the availability of bitumen near Kifri and the closeness of the Sirwān-Diyāla river and its tributaries flowing down from these bitumen sources: Heimpel, W., "The Location of Madga," *JCS* 61 (2009), p. 25-61.
[190] One of the uses of the word *šadû* is a place of hiding or refuge, cf. *CAD* Š I, p. 55, under j. This meaning stems from the fact that refugees seeking hiding places have mostly found their ways to the mountains.
[191] Cf.: *CAD* Š I, p. 59.
[192] Speiser pointed to the sheer slopes of the eastern part of the range when he made a flight over the region in the early 1920s: Speiser, E. A., "Southern Kurdistan in the Annals of Assurnasirpal and Today," *AASOR* 8 (1926-27), p. 31.
[193] Frayne, D., *BiOr*, 403.

perhaps a word or words in the original inscription was mistakenly omitted when copying the text on to the clay tablet. It is worth mentioning that the sign *ma* is improperly written and looks more like *ba*. However, the readings of both Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast fit the context better. They read the word as *tubqinniśu* "his hole, or his hollow," indicating an unpleasant place. The meaning given for *tubkinnu* in *CAD* is "refuse heap," which occurs in MB and SB texts.[194] On the assumption that an older use of the word meant "fate" it would fit the context very well to translate "the king led him to his fate" (cf. the footnote to the pertinent cuneiform text).

Apparently, the king of Gutium has offered the captured governor of Madga to the god of Gutium, for the text states that he took him away by force through the gate of the god of Gutium, struck him, and killed him (ii, 7-11). After this a word similar to LUGAL occurs, but it neither fits the context nor the grammar. This implies that mistakes occurred when the ancient scribe was copying, or perhaps his exemplar was not free from linguistic mistakes. One possible explanation would be to read *en-ma* LUGAL, "When the king …" but this remains uncertain.

Then the king, according to the text, fashioned a statue of himself (ii, 22-26) and put something on its neck: *in na-pá-áś* (written *śu*)*-ti-śu sa-ab-śu íś-ku-un.* The word *sa-ab-śu* is not translated by Frayne, but *sābu* occurs in Standard Babylonian as the name of a red coloured stone,[195] hence it is quite fitting to follow Kutscher's translation "a red stone" or that of Gelb-Kienast "its precious stone."[196] The first person verbal form *ab-ni-ma* (ii, 23) switches to a third person form *íś-ku-un* (ii, 26).

Kutscher quoted the suggestion proposed by Jacobsen to read and translate the passage from col. ii 24- ii 5′ as follows:[197]

24) *in na-pá-aś-ti-śu*
25) *śa-ṭap$_x$* (DUB)*-śu*
26) ˹*śu*˺*-ku-un*
27) [*śu-u*]*m-ś*[*u*]
28) [*a-bí*]
29) [*śum-ma la]*
1′) ˹ki˺-[x-x-x]
2′) *aś-k*[*u-un*] (or *aś-k*[*u-nu*])
3′) *lu-ub-*[*śa-am*]
4′) *uqnim* (ZA.GÌN) ša [x]
5′) *la aś-ku-*˹*un*˺ (or *aś-ku-*˹*nu*˺)

"I named it (the statue) 'Put the (Breath of) Life in its Throat.' (I swear) I indeed put… (and) I indeed put a garment of lapis lazuli of…"

However, the translations of both Frayne and Gelb-Kienast seem more realistic.

The first sign in ii, 2′ is clearly *áś,*[198] perhaps the beginning of a verb with *š* as initial radical*,* and *šakānu* would be a logical choice. The assumed verb has certainly something to do with the garment mentioned in the line 3′ and is also connected to the statue that is mentioned. The garment was made of lapis-lazuli and, since the text has *śa la-áś-ku-nu* (ii, 4′-5′), it appears that this lapis-lazuli was originally devoted to something or somebody else, but

[194] *CAD*, vol T, p. 446.
[195] *abnu šikinšu kīma dami alpi la bašli* NA$_4$ *sa-a-bu,* "The stone that looks like unboiled ox-blood is called *sābu,*" *CAD* S, p. 5.
[196] Hallo proposed "a Sun Disc," cf. Kutscher, p. 64.
[197] Kutscher, p. 64.
[198] Left as illegible by Frayne.

the king has put it on the statue out of love for Enlil. The colophon confirms the statue was dedicated to Enlil in Nippur and that the inscription was on its base.

In line 13′ the sign is written for *śa* in the word *u-śa-sà-ku-ni,* this implies that the same sign in the problematic line 25 can be read *śa* as well.

Statue 2:

This inscription begins with the narration of the rebellion lead by KA-Nišba of Simurrum[199] against Gutium in the time of Erridu-Pizir's father, Enrida-Pizir. KA-Nišba is called 'king' of Simurrum in the inscription and he seemingly enjoyed a great political influence, for he was able to persuade numerous people/lands of the region to join him in the rebellion. Unfortunately, among the names of these people/lands only Lullubum is preserved, though badly damaged (iv, 18: [*lu*]-*l*[*u*]-*bi-im*^{ki}). From the other names four determinatives KI are preserved followed by a large lacuna. The sign NI can be seen preceding the KI of the first name with preserved determinative. One possibility is the GN *U$_6$-ra-nu* mentioned in the LGN[200] and attested as *U-ra-ni-im* and *Wa-ra-ne, Ù-ra-ne, Wa-ra-nu* and *U$_6$-ra-na-a* in the ED and Old Akkadian Periods texts.[201] It is interesting that the GN *Ù-ra-ne* occurs in a tablet from Ebla together with the GNs Kakmium, Ḫašuwan and Irar.[202] This GN was well-known in that period. It was mentioned in a dedicatory text in Mari and had trade relations with Ebla[203] and was perhaps the same Uruna attested in the Geography of Sargon, mentioned as a border of Lullubum.[204] Another possibility, though less probable, is *Ib-la-nim,*[205] suggested to have been to the east of modern Sulaimaniya.[206] The second name probably ends with KU while the third and fourth are seemingly written with a single logogram. Elam is not impossible since it was close to Simurrum and its name was usually written with the one logogram NIM. The remaining part of the column commences with *DA-iś-śu* then *ig-ru-úś.* If we assume that this part was preceded by about seven lines of the king's name and titles, there is still room for 3-5 lines. From the transcription it appears that the line preceding *DA-iś-śu* does not begin with the expected sign *ar* of *ar-ba-im,* but with a sign looking like *śu.*

A palaeographic difference, for which the ancient copyist was responsible, appears clearly in the first sign of iv, 4′, inscribed as but this is a later form of the same sign (ÍL) which appeared in vi, 6 as .

The name KA-*ni-iš-ba* is still doubtful, because the sign KA has different readings. Among these readings we can exclude INIM because the name is not Sumerian, and QA because this sound was not familiar in the languages of the region.[207] Other readings like *du$_{11}$* and *pi* are possible, but the more likely reading seems to be *Ka* or *Ga,* assuming that the sign was used with its primary value in the Akkadian text. Since the sign KA was read in the OAkk. period as *ga*,[208] the name might have been pronounced Ga-Nišba. Nišba was the name

[199] Simurrum is not mentioned by name in this section of the inscription, but we know that KA-*nišba* was mentioned later in col. v 10 as the king of Simurrum.
[200] The Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names.
[201] Frayne, *EDGN*, p. 73.
[202] Frayne, *EDGN,* p. 74.
[203] Frayne, *EDGN,* p. 74; 76.
[204] For the passage in the Geography of Sargon cf. Grayson, "The Empire of Sargon of Akkad," *AfO* 25 (1974-77), p. 59.
[205] It occurred also as *Ì-bil-a-nim, Íb-la-nim* and *Íb-da-nim,* cf. Frayne, *EDGN,* p. 73.
[206] Frayne, *EDGN,* p. 79.
[207] Cf., for instance, the non-Akkadian personal names of Gasur in Meek, *Excavations at Nuzi,* vol. III, Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi, (index of Personal Names).
[208] For this cf. Hasselbach, *Sargonic Akkadian,* p. 33; Gelb, I. J., *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar,* Chicago, 1952, p. 68.

of the national deity of Simurrum, known from the inscriptions of Iddi(n)-Sîn (see Chapter Five). There was also a mountain with this name, mentioned by this same Erridu-Pizir in his third inscription (E2.2.1.3 x, 5). The name Nišba is reminiscent of the name of Mount Nišpi, mentioned in the inscriptions of Aššurnasirpal II during his campaigns to Zamua.[209] Identifying these names seems very possible since both were mountain names and both were located in approximately the same area.

It is important to note that the Gutian influence was as unwelcome as the Akkadian influence to the peoples of the Zagros. This can clearly be inferred from this text that speaks of a general rebellion against the Gutians, organized by at least six lands, including Simurrum itself. It might also imply that the Gutians tried to rebuild the empire of Sargon and Narām-Sîn as their own, for at the same time that they controlled the Land of Akkad and part of Sumer they subjugated the lands of the Zagros foothills as far as Erbil in the north.

The section that follows the lacuna is about the movement against the rebellion. It is noteworthy that the inscription does not mention any crushing of the rebellion by Enrida-Pizir, and even the lacuna has no room for such a passage. However, the speaker, Erridu-Pizir, was the one who accomplished it. This implies that the rebellion lasted from the reign of his father to his own. Whether this was a short period of almost a year, from the last days of his father to the first days of his own reign, or for a longer period, we cannot answer from the material currently available.

It is significant that troops to crush this 'northern' rebellion were mobilized in the 'south.' The text (v, 1-11) states that the goddess Ištar had stationed troops in Agade, and according to the next part, the (whole) army was assembled for the king and then went to Simurrum. This means that only part of the army, not all of it, was from the land of Akkad and that the Akkadian troops joined the rest of the army later.

After that, column vi tells of striking down the enemies, using the word *a-ar-* NAM[210] (vi, 2). If this reading is correct, besides "punishment," the word also means "sin" and "fault." Its occurrence with "survivors" and "offerings' is somewhat difficult to understand, unless the survivors of the rebel troops after the battle were punished. However, the restorations and translations of Kutscher and Gelb-Kienast as *a-ar-*⌜*bu*⌝-[*śu-nu*] "fugitives," seem more logical.[211] Then the list of booty follows, among which are horses (*sí-s*[*í*]-*śu-nu*), oxen[212] and sheep that the Gutian king took off to Gutium, strangely to Enrida-Pizir. Probably this implies he offered this booty to the spirit of his deceased father. As a typical tribal leader, he would have had a great respect for his father after his death. But it is not impossible that Enrida-Pizir was actually alive at this time, for he could have handed over the rule of Gutium to his son Erridu-Pizir before his death. This is interestingly the first Mesopotamian inscription to mention horses.[213]

Following the large lacuna there is the curse formula, the dedication and the colophon in the column viii.

---

[209] ii 48) TA URU.GIŠ.*tukul-ti-aš-šur*-DIB-*at at-tu-muš* GÌR KUR *Ni-ís-pi a-ṣa-bat,* "Moving on from the city Tukultī-Aššur-aṣbat I made my way to the foot of Mount Nispi," Grayson, *RIMA* 2, p. 205 (text A.0.101.1); ii 74) KUR *Ni-is-pi* KUR GIG, "Mount Nispi, a rugged mountain," *op. cit.,* p. 207 (text A.0.101.1). Mount Nišpi was identified by Speiser with the Hawramān Mountains to the northeast of Halabja, cf. Speiser, E. A., "Southern Kurdistan …," p. 28.

[210] The sign NAM follows Steinkeller's collation.

[211] Possibly the word is derived from the infinitive *erēbum*. As parallel in Arabic is the word دخيل lit. "the one who enters," from دخل with the same meaning, denoting a person who enters the house or tent (mostly of a *sheikh* or of a nobleman) asking for protection.

[212] The sign *śu* in the inscription looks like *e* more than *śu.*

[213] Cf. also Kutscher, p. 65.

Statue 3:

The text of this statue starts with an accusation of KA-Nišba of inciting the people of Simurrum and Lullubum to rebel against Gutium. Reading this makes one feel as if Erridu-Pizir distinguishes the people of Simurrum from their rulers. In other words, he seems to say that without the incitement of KA-Nišba the Simurrians would not have rebelled. This was something new in Mesopotamian inscriptions up to this time and it offered a new political vision.

After another lacuna there is a section recording the name of the governor (or the general) *Am-NI-li* who had persuaded some lands to rebel. The name of the first land (ix, 6′) is broken; only the first and last signs are preserved and the GN is not accompanied by the determinative KI. Frayne reads the name as *šè-*ʳ*ru(?)*ˀ-[*x*]-*im*[214] (without any determinative KI), but the hand-copy suggests *śu* rather than *śè*. I suggest identifying this GN with *Šu-ir-ḫu-um*[ki], a GN attested in an Ur III text.[215] Nevertheless, it is reasonable to think of the GN Šuruṯum, known from the Ur III texts, as an alternative, assuming it was written here in an abbreviated form such as **Šu/Šè-ru-hi-im*. Šuruṯum is located to the north of Simurrum according to the Ur III sources, which supports this suggestion. If correct, it poses the question of a Hurrian presence in the northern Transtigris, since Astour classified the GN Šuruṯum as Hurrian.[216] That the *ensi* of Urbilum bore the Hurrian name Niriš-ḫuḫa, mentioned in this very text, may be taken as corroborative. The second GN of the text has only ZÉ preserved, and the third has the sign preserved followed by KUR. The determinative KUR is used in these inscriptions to denote mountain names,[217] so it is assumed that the third name is a mountain name that was a centre or bulwark for one of the peoples participating in the rebellion. Erridu-Pizir says he marched to confront *Am-NI-li* through the peaks of Mount Nišba, the mountain discussed above.

Then the text says that the king could control the pass (?) at Mount *Ḫa-me-me-x-pi-*[*ir*^{kur}] after six days of fighting.

The scribal errors introduced by the ancient copyist, the numerous lacunae and the bad state of the tablet all make it more difficult to fully understand the story. Even some words or sections cannot be translated, such as col. Ix, 10′-11′.

After another lacuna, the narrative resumes with the entry into the pass (Fig. 5) and the king pursuing *Am-NI-li,* controlling the pass of Mount *Nu-úḫ-pi-ir*^{kur} (Fig. 6) and throwing down the general (ḪUR-*nam*) from the mountain top.[218]

In the following section, the text speaks of the control of the pass of Urbilum at Mount Mumum and the capture or defeat of the *ensi* of Urbilum, a certain *Niriš-ḫuḫa.*

To consider the data given here we must pause. Erridu-Pizir has confronted a tough enemy in a mountainous terrain close to his own centre of power. The mountainous terrain close to him was either to the north or to the east, in the region of modern Darband-i-Khān. Because the next place he conquered was Urbilum, and because more than one pass is mentioned in the course of this campaign, we are almost sure that the battlefield for these clashes was to the north, i.e. in the Qaradagh region. This region from ancient times even till now has been well known for its numerous passes (Fig. 7) and as a difficult area for military operations.[219] It is

---

[214] Kutscher: *Šu/Šè-*ʳxˀ-[*x*]-*im*.

[215] Sigrist, R. M., "Nouveaux noms géographiques de l'empire d'Ur III," *JCS* 31 (1979), p. 166, l. 11.

[216] Astour, M., "Semites and Hurrians in Northern Transtigris," *SCCNH,* vol. 2, Eisenbrauns, 1987, p. 36.

[217] See for instance x, 5.

[218] According to Frayne the translation is, "Further, he [st]ru[ck] down [*A*]*mnili*, the …, on its summit…," cf.: *RIME* 2, p. 227 (text E2.2.1.3), l. x, 10′-15′, suggesting that *Amnili* was struck down on the mountain peak.

[219] A clear example would be the *Anfāl* campaigns, carried out against the Kurdish countryside in the late 1980s. Afterwards all the villages surrounding Sulaimaniya were devastated and the *Peshmarga* warriors were driven

logical then to expect that an old general would organize his defence in a place most advantageous for himself and most difficult for his enemy, the Gutians, to approach. To have won victory in such a terrain and to have advanced through such a pass after six days of fighting was certainly an occasion for celebration, fitting to be immortalized with a rock relief.

In fact there is a third millennium rock relief in the Qaradagh Mountains that preserves the memory of a military victory. The well known relief of Darband-i-Gawir[220] (Fig. 8a), attributed for a long time to Narām-Sîn,[221] could easily be attributed to Erridu-Pizir. Narām-Sîn in his victory stele found at Susa wears a horned helmet, a token of divinity and he puts the deification sign before his name in the inscriptions. On the contrary, Erridu-Pizir did not deify himself in the inscriptions, and this fact is reflected in this relief. The main figure of the Darband-i-Gawir relief, the king, wears a helmet or cap without horns (Fig. 8b). It has no inscription, which is perhaps a typical Gutian trait, and so there is nothing to prove any Akkadian identity. Other details in the costume, beard, ornament and weaponry of the king show differences with those of Narām-Sîn, though it does have many OAkk. characteristics.[222] Furthermore, exactly as in the inscription of Erridu-Pizir, there are some persons depicted at the feet of the victorious king (Figs. 7c and 7d) falling on their heads. *Am*-NI-*li* must be one of them. That inscription did not mention that Erridu-Pizir put his foot on the defeated king, and we see no defeated figure trampled by the triumphant figure on the relief. One may argue that the style is Akkadian and the striking likeliness to the Susa stele favours attributing it to Narām-Sîn. But other non-Akkadian victory stelae that bear much likeliness to that of Susa must also be considered, such as the Darband-i-Bēlule relief, the Sar-i-Pul-i-Zahāb (Annubanini) relief and even the much later Darius I relief in Bēstūn (Behestun). These reliefs similarly depict the relatively large proportions of the main person, the king, with the falling enemy at or under his feet. Other defeated enemies are depicted as a row of captives in Sarpul and Bēstūn, with the divine symbols of the national gods or the gods of war,[223] with a bow in one hand and a sword or dagger in the other. Obviously the Susa stele was the model or prototype for all these reliefs. The relief of Erridu-Pizir was the closest to which in time and hence closely resembles it The question why the carving of this relief is not mentioned in the inscription can be answered by reference to the numerous lacunae; together these would add at least 193 lines of text, without counting the lacuna of unknown length.

It is interesting that the element *–pir* occurred in two of the mountain names: *Ḫa-me-me-x-pi-*[*ir*^{kur}] and *Nu-úḫ-pi-ir*^{kur} (perhaps a Gutian or Elamite type).[224] A look at the narrative of

---

out over the Iraq-Iran border. A little later, but only in very few regions like Qaradagh Region and the Pīra Magrūn Mountain, small numbers of *Peshmarga* were able to come back and carry out small-scale operations against the Iraqi troops.

[220] Meaning "the pass of the Gawir." Gawir is a Kurdish word to denote everyone and everything related to the pre-Islamic or non-Islamic worlds. The name is inspired by the carved image on the rocky mountain side.

[221] The date of the relief of Darband-i-Gawir and identifying who made it is disputed. In general it is attributed to the OAkk. period, specifically to Narām-Sîn, by many scholars; cf. Strommenger, E., "Das Felsrelief von Darband-i-Gaur," *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 2 (1963), p. 87-88; Debevoise, N., "The Rock Reliefs of Ancient Iran," *JNES* 1 (1942), p. 82. Moortgat placed it in the Post-Akkadian, Neo-Sumerian period, probably by Šulgi; cf. Moortgat, A., *Die Kunst des Alten Mesopotamien,* Köln, 1967, p. 58, note 255, and p. 74, note 347. Boese assigns dates ranging from the Akkadian to the OB period from the stylistic point of view, and chooses the Ur III period and specifically Šulgi, by combining artistic and historical data: Boese, J., "Zur Stilistischen und historischen Einordnung des Felsreliefs von Darband-i-Gaur," *Studia Iranica* 2 (1973), p. 4; 45, for a list of the publications about the relief cf. *op. cit.,* p. 5, note 1 and 2.

[222] For a detailed description and comparison of the relief cf. Boese, *op. cit.,* p. 15 ff.; Strommenger, *BaM,* p. 84 ff.

[223] The Sarpul relief depicts the goddess Ištar in person and the Bēsitūn relief shows the symbol of Ahuramazda.

[224] However, there is a broken GN from Nuzi that begins with *Nu-uḫ-*[…], apparently a city, in *JEN* 724: 5, cf. Fincke, *RGTC* 10, p. 189.

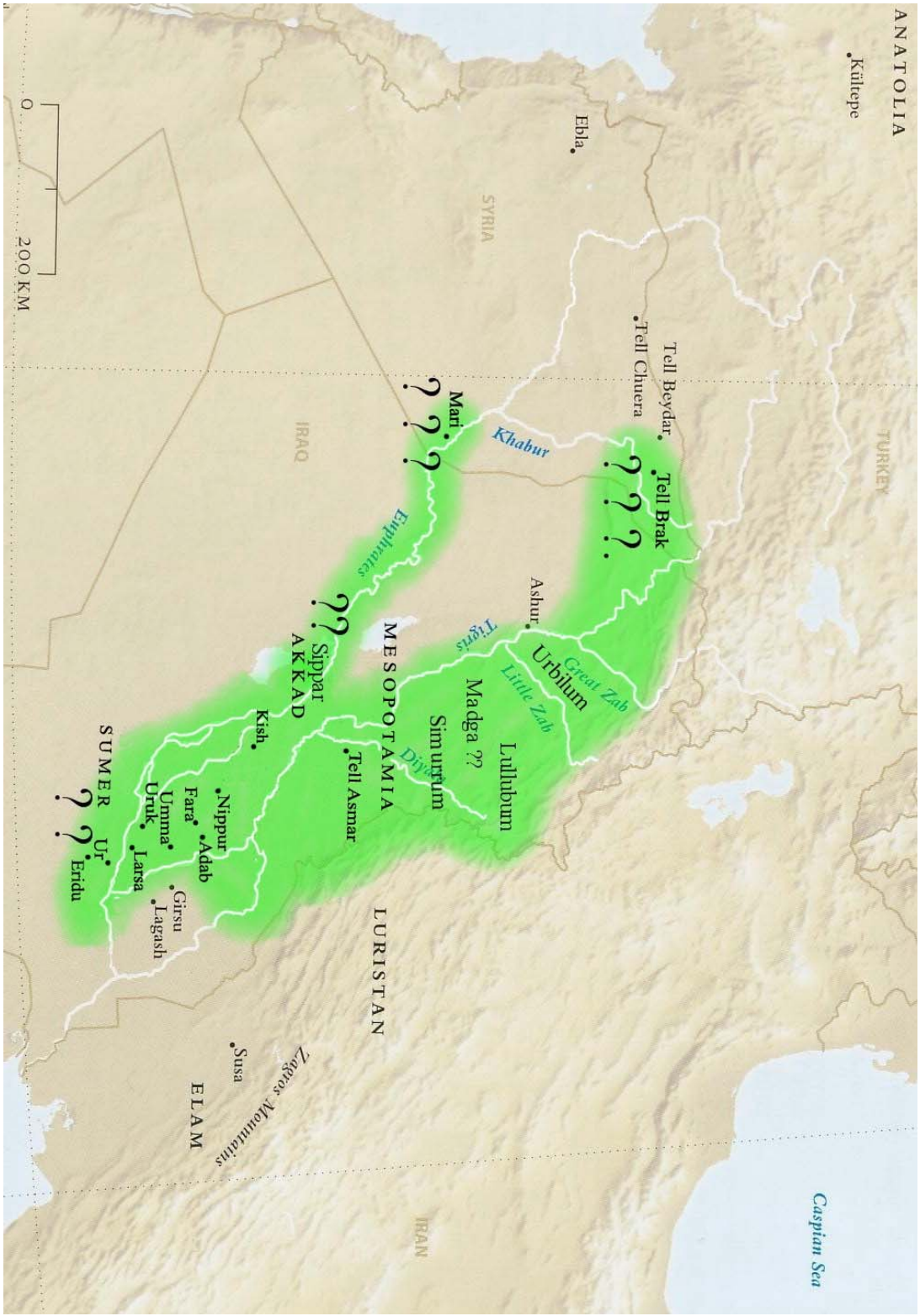
the campaign suggests that the line of the march was from the south or southeast to the northwest, towards Erbil. If this is true, Mount Nišba was located near Darband-i-Khān, modern Zimnako or Shaho, and the two mountains Ḫameme-x-pir and Nuḫpir were in the Qaradagh-Sagirma chain. The former was on the flanks of, or at, Darband-i-Gawir, and the latter on the way from Darband-i-Gawir to the Shahrazūr Plain in the direction of Mumum, before Erbil. Which mountain is identifiable with Mumum, is difficult to answer.

Another important point in the inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir is the mention of Urbilum in this period, earlier than the previous oldest known occurrence in the Ur III texts. Even if we assume that this reference comes from the end of the Gutian Period, it is still older than the first mention of Urbilum in the date-formulae of Šulgi during his Hurrian wars by at least 63 years.[225] Urbilum had, according to the inscription, an *ensi* and not a GÌR.NITA like other places, and it was located behind a mountain pass that the Gutians should go through to reach it. The text defined the pass as Mount *Mumum,* a Transtigridian reduplicative name. This GN is reminiscent of the GN *Mumum,* mentioned together with Alzu, Amadanu, Niḫanu, Alaia, Tepurzu, Purulumzu, Papḫu, Katmuḫu and Buššu in the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I (1244-1208 B.C.) in the course of his campaigns to the north and northwest.[226] However the *Mummu* of the Assyrian inscriptions seems to have been located behind Erbil to the north, or perhaps the northwest. However, Frayne proposed to identify *Mumum* of our inscription with *mu-i-um(?)-an*^{ki}, mentioned in an inscription of Kutik-Inšušinak from Susa, that commemorates his campaign on Kimaš and Ḫurtum.[227] The name of the *ensi* of Urbilum, *Niriš-ḫuḫa,* is very significant since it can be analyzed as a Hurrian personal name, a clear indication of the Hurrian presence in this region in this period.[228]

The text ends with the dedicatory section and first and second colophon, preceded by a lacuna.

[225] Ur-Namma reigned 18 years and Urbilum occurs for the first time in the 45th year of Šulgi.
[226] For the inscriptions of Tukulti-Ninurta I cf. Weidner, E., "Die Inschriften Tukulti-Ninurtas I und seiner Nachfolger," *AfO* 12 (1970); Grayson, *RIMA* I, p. 231ff. These lands were united to form an alliance against Assyria to regain Ḫanigalbat under the leadership of Eḫli-Teššup, king of Alzu (Alshe).
[227] Frayne, *BiOr*, p. 404.
[228] For the analysis of this name, cf. Chapter Four.

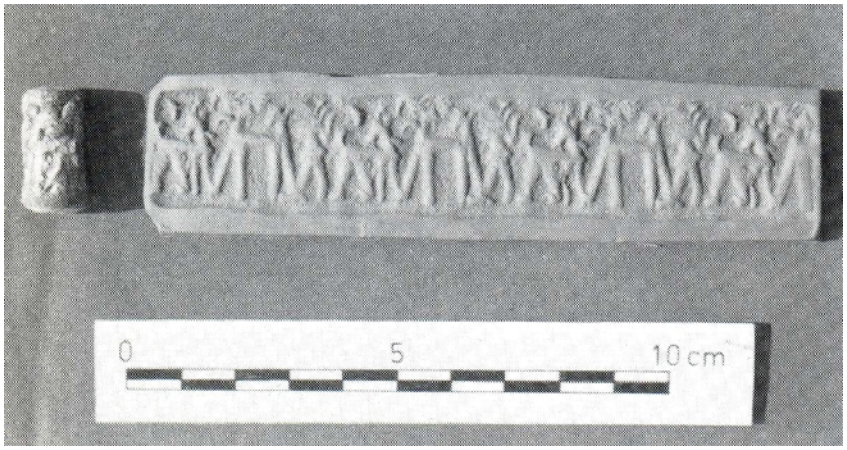
Figures of Chapter Three



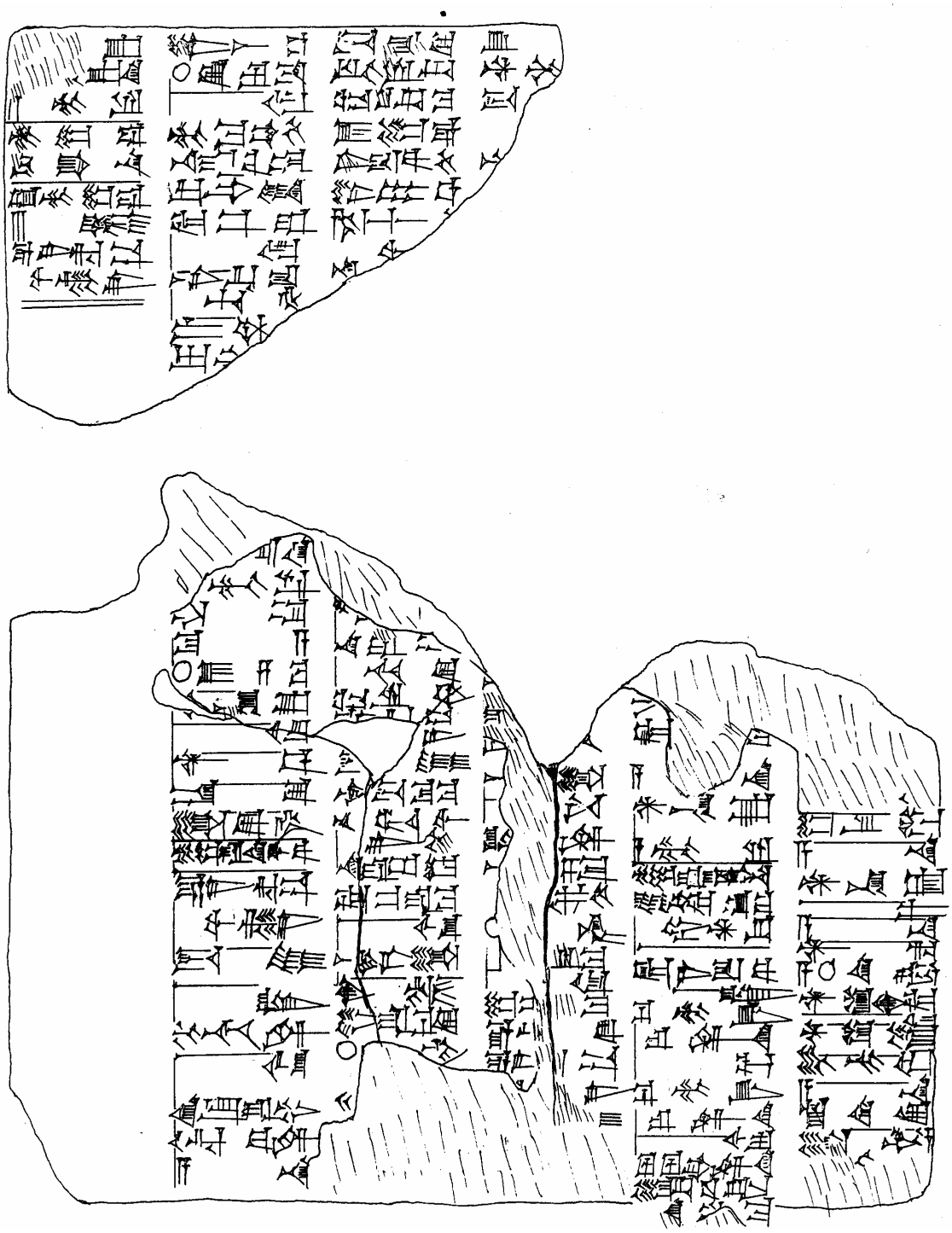
Map 1) The assumed Gutian control area under King Erridu-Pizir.

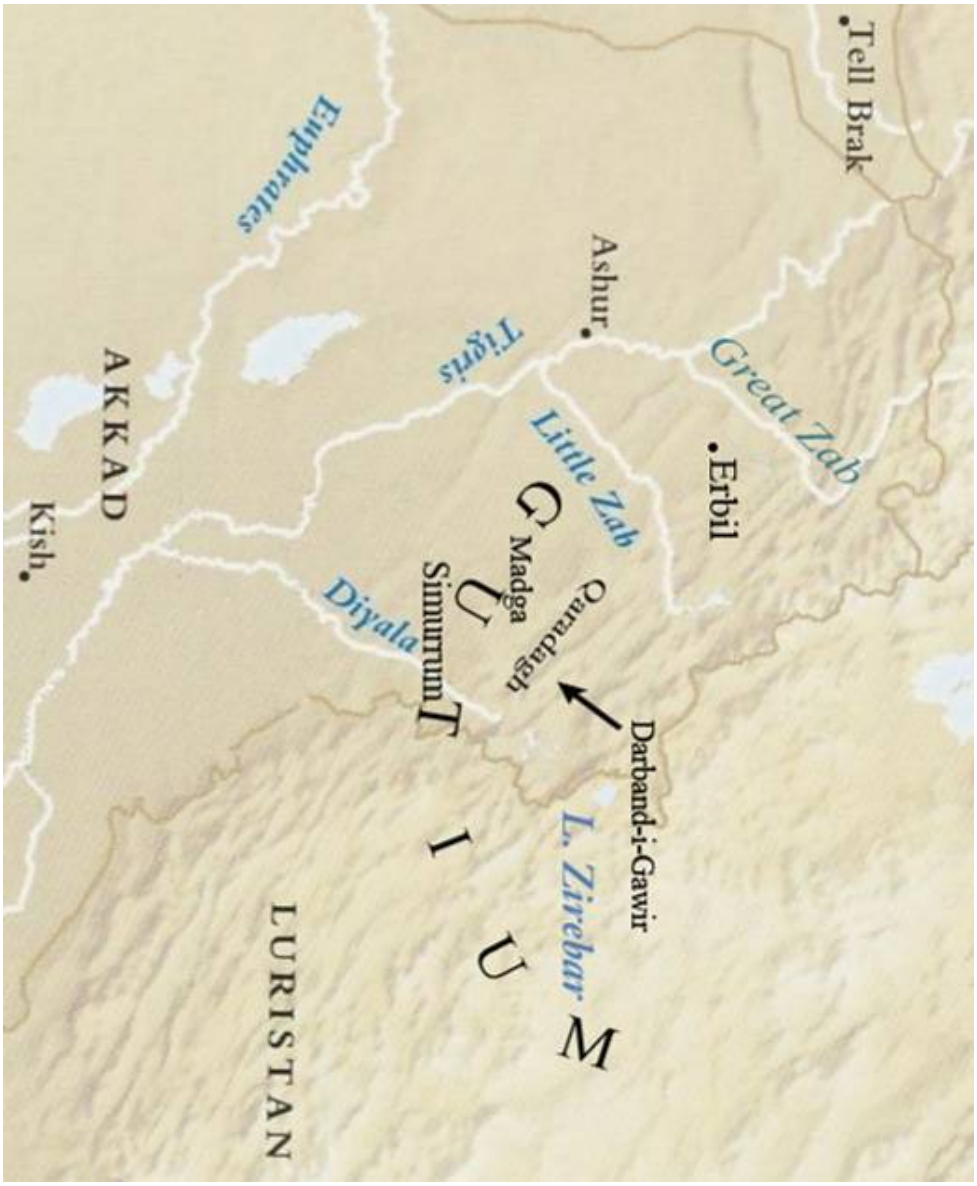
1) The mace head of Lā'arāb. After: King, *A History of Sumer and Akkad*,London, 1910, opposite p. 206.

2) The inscription of Iarlagan, king of Gutium, after: Hallo, "New Light on the Gutians," *Ethnicity in Ancient Mesopotamia...*, p. 160.



3) A seal from Post-Akkadian period from Brak, after: Oates, *Iraq* 47 (1985), pl. XXVI, e. Courtesy of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq.

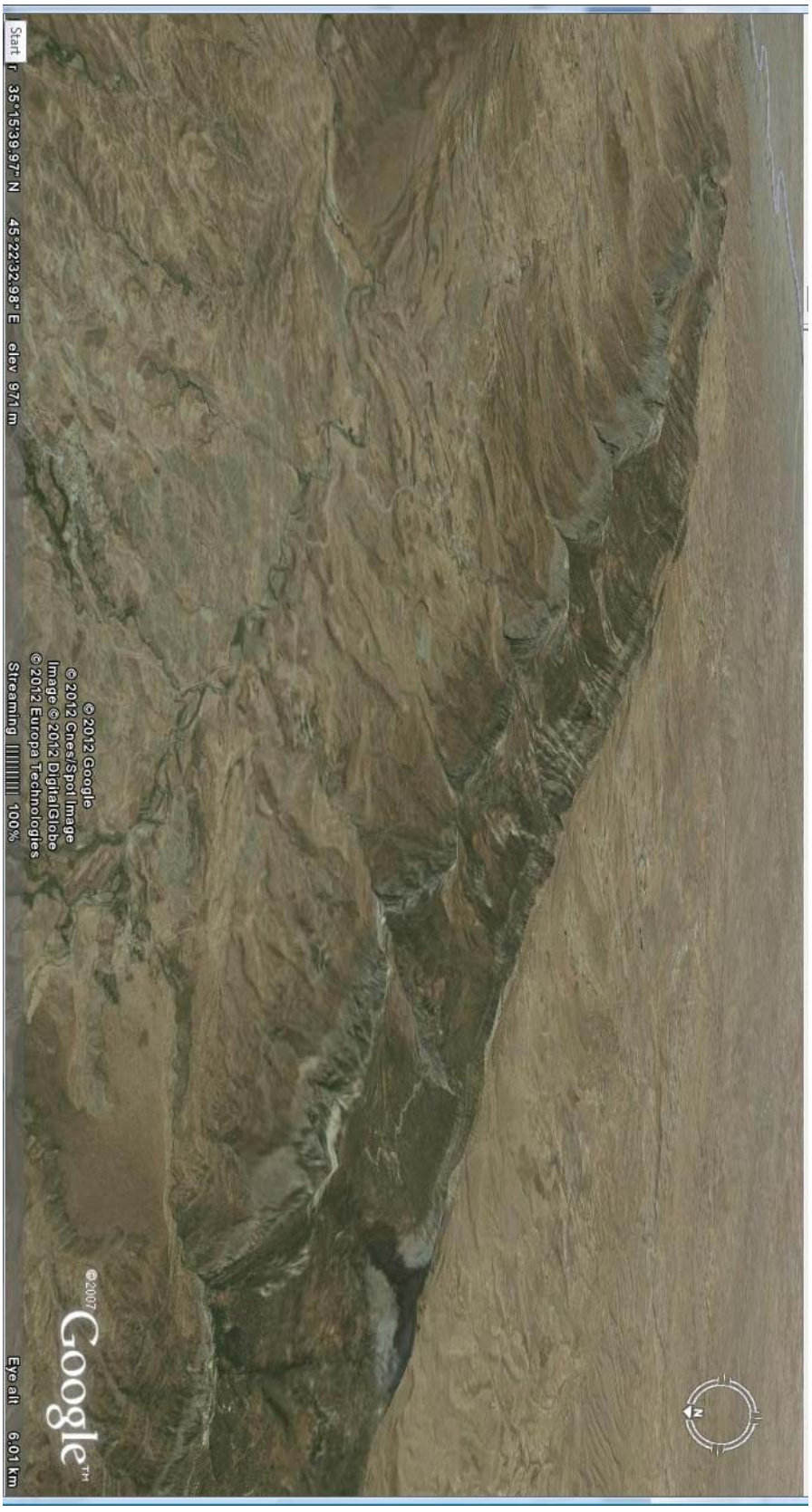
4a) A hand copy of the inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir. After: Kutscher, R., *The Brockmon Tablets at the University of Haifa- Royal Inscriptions,* Published by the Haifa University Press and the Zinman Institute of Archaeology, Haifa, 1989, p. 120.

4b) A hand copy of the inscriptions of Erridu-Pizir. After: Kutscher, R., *The Brockmon Tablets at the University of Haifa- Royal Inscriptions,* Published by the Haifa University Press and the Zinman Institute of Archaeology, Haifa, 1989,, p. 121.



Gutium, Madga and Simurrum in the time of Erridu-Pizir.

5) The pass of Darband-i-Gawir where the relief is located. Photo by the author.

6) The location of the relief at the mountain side, probably Mount *Nuḫpir*. Photo by the author.



7) The series of passes of the Qaradagh mountain range. Photo after Google Earth.

8a) The Darband-i-Gawir rock-relief. Photo by the author.

8b) Detail of the relief of Darband-i-Gawir. Photo by the author.