

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA

Los Angeles

The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma
a prosopographical analysis of a provincial elite family
in southern Iraq ca. 2100 - 2000 BC

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

by

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2003

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The dissertation of Jacob Lebovitch Dahl is approved.

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To Sasha

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Acknowledgments

Many remarkable people have helped me achieve this milestone in my academic career. I wish to thank, firstly, my former advisor at the University of Copenhagen (KU), Bendt Alster, and my current advisor Robert Englund at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA). I can never repay the support both have offered me over the years!

I wish to thank all of my former teachers, both at KU and UCLA, and I mention here, briefly, Aa. Westenholz, M. Trolle Larsen, and I. Thuesen in Copenhagen, and E. Carter, and G. Buccellati in Los Angeles. Among the many students at the KU and UCLA who have offered their help to me over the years I wish to thank here, in particular, C. Johnson at UCLA and G. Barjamovich at KU.

No study such as this appears in a vacuum, and I wish to thank all my colleagues, above all: N. Vanderoot, M. Widell, N. Koslova, B. Lafont, R. Mayr, R. de Maier, M. Molina, and M. Sigrist. I wish to thank, in particular, M. Molina and M. Sigrist for allowing me to include large amounts of unpublished material in this study.

This study would never have materialized had it not been for the economic support which has been given to me through the years. Firstly, this study is the result of a research stipend from Forskerakademiet (the Danish Research Academy, now under Forskeruddannelsesrådet). My thanks to the Danish state are sincere! Secondly, during my years at UCLA, I have received substantial financial aid, in particular during the final period of study during which I received the Chancellors Dissertation Year Fellowship.

Finally, it is necessary for me to mention that this study would not have been possible without the framework of the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI) and without the support of our German partners at the Max Planck Institute for the History of Science, Berlin. All the associates of the CDLI, and all of the UCLA staff of the CDLI shall here be rightfully thanked.

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma
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Doctor of Philosophy in Near Eastern Languages and Cultures

University of California, Los Angeles, 2003

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In the present study, an analysis of the ruling family of Ur III Umma is used to answer questions about patterns of succession and the extent of royal influence on provincial customs as well an attempt to broaden the understanding of the private sphere in opposition to the non-private sphere during the same period. The Ur III period (ca. 2100 - 2000 BC) brought an

end to the era when Sumerian culture was a significant component of Southern Mesopotamian social make-up.

It is often presupposed that the Sumerians adhered to a system of primogeniture when choosing an heir; however, no systematic study, aimed at verifying this suspicion, has ever been conducted.

The Ur III period is among the best documented periods in the early history of mankind, counting at present more than 50,000 published administrative documents, yet scholars have failed to reach any agreement on the simple question of succession within the royal family. Documents from the city of Umma, on the other hand, have yielded sufficient data for a discussion of patterns of office inheritance; thus, the ruling family of this city has been chosen as a case for studying late 3rd millennium succession. The theoretical framework implemented in this study, based on anthropological as well as sociological studies, and aided by an appended excursus covering succession in the royal family of Saudi Arabia, has proven helpful in suggesting that succession in Umma followed patrilineal descent, but proceeded along fratrilineal lines at some times, and patrilineal lines at others. An appended excursus targeting the use of fratrilineal kinship-terms supports the results. The conclusion suggests several reasons for this situation, without claiming the existence of a commonly accepted law of succession.

Conventions

This study is based on the more than 15,000 primary documents recovered from the ancient city of Umma, as well as the tens of thousands of texts from other sites.

Approximately 90% of all published texts along with several thousand unpublished texts have been available to me in transliteration (in addition to easily accessible scanned-images of the hand-copies of ca. 25,000 Ur III texts, and a limited number of images of original tablets) through the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI).¹

The transliteration conventions applied in this study rely largely on the standards of the CDLI project, and the Pennsylvanian Sumerian Dictionary (PSD). Sign-readings have, as far as possible, been based on the Borger / Ellermeier legacy.² The dates of administrative records, abbreviations, and text ID's are given here according to CDLI recommendations.

Dates are entered in the form **R(uler) N(ame) Y(ear)#(=number) M(onth)# D(ay)#**, with "XX" for lost information, "00" when information was not given by the scribe, "?" where uncertain and "*min*" or "*diri*" where appropriate. Roman numerals are used for months

Examples:

AS 5 v 12?

Amar-Suen, year 5, month 5, possibly day 12

1. See <http://www.ucla.edu>

2. R. Borger, *Assyrisch-babylonische Zeichenliste* (= AOAT 33-33A; Neukirchen-Vluyn 1981) (abbreviated ABZ), and F. Ellermeier, *Sumerisches Glossar 1/1/1-2* (Nörten-Hardenberg 1979-1980).

Š 5? - ivdirī 12 Šulgi, possibly his year 5, extra month 4, day 12

ŠS? 5? xiiidiri 12 Possibly reign of Šu-Suen, possibly his year 5,
extra month 13, day 12

IS XX ixmin 00 Ibbi-Suen, year name lost, second month 9, no day given

Metrological conventions are adapted from R. Englund, *Organisation und Verwaltung der Ur III-Fischerei* (= BBVO 10; Berlin 1990) xiii - xvii, whereby notations have been revised according to the conventions of the CDLI.³

Sexagesimal system (used when counting discrete objects, as well as for capacity notations larger than one gur):

$$1(\text{šar}_2/\text{guru}_7) = 6 (\text{geš}'\text{u}) = 3600$$

$$1(\text{geš}'\text{u}) = 10 (\text{geš}2) = 600$$

$$1(\text{geš}2) = 6(\text{u}) = 60$$

$$1(\text{u}) = 10(\text{diš}/\text{aš})$$

Fractions of are expressed either by using the “gin₂” system and divide the 1 into fractions of 60, or by applying the “igi-*n*-gal₂” system.

$$\text{igi-6-gal} = 1/6$$

$$\text{igi-4-gal} = 1/4$$

etc.

Capacity system (sila - gur system):

$$1(\text{aš}) \text{ gur} = 5(\text{barig}) = 300 \text{ sila}_3$$

3. <http://cdli.ucla.edu/methods/de/conventions.html>

$$1(\text{barig}) = 6(\text{ban}_2) = 60 \text{ sila}_3$$

$$1(\text{ban}_2) = 10(\text{diš}) \text{ sila}_3$$

The sila_3 can be subdivided in fractions of 60 by using the “gin₂” system:

$$1(\text{sila}_3) = 60 \text{ gin}_2$$

etc.

Weights (shekel system):

$$1 \text{ gu}_2 = 60 \text{ ma-na}$$

$$1 \text{ ma-na} = 60 \text{ gin}_2$$

$$1 \text{ gin}_2 \text{ (shekel)} = 180 \text{ še}$$

Area:

$$1(\text{šar}_2) = 6(\text{bur}_3)$$

$$1(\text{bur}'\text{u}) = 10 (\text{bur}_3)$$

$$1(\text{bur}_3) = 3(\text{eše}_3)$$

$$1(\text{eše}_3) = 6(\text{iku})$$

$$1(\text{iku}) = 100 (\text{sar})$$

Approximate conversions to metric system:

$$1 \text{ sila}_3 = 1 \text{ liter}$$

$$1 \text{ gur} = 300 \text{ liter}$$

$$1 \text{ gin}_2 = 8 \frac{1}{2} \text{ gram}$$

$$1 \text{ ma-na} = \frac{1}{2} \text{ kilogram}$$

$$1 \text{ sar} = 36 \text{ square meter}$$

$$1 \text{ bur}_3 = 6, 48 \text{ hectare}$$

Bibliographical abbreviations follow the CDLI recommendations (<http://cdli.ucla.edu/Tools/abbrev.html>).

Chapter 1. Introduction

Tens of thousands of administrative documents have survived from the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur, making it one of the best documented periods in the early history of man. In brief, the Ur III empire underwent four stages of development. During the consolidation period, the local ruler of Ur managed to unite the city-states of Sumer and to conquer the Akkadian area. Subsequently, during the expansion period, the king was able—by way of political alliances and military raids—to subjugate neighboring areas to the east and northeast. The empire flourished for but some few years, during which the administrative machinery produced thousands and thousands of records. Shortly after the empire had reached its zenith, it collapsed, and, following a period of territorial losses, the capital city, Ur, was taken by invading troops from the neighboring, former vassal, Elam.⁴

In spite of the extraordinarily rich documentation describing, in detail, many aspects of the social history of the period, sources are not clear on the issue of succession. Consequently, it has been impossible to establish, beyond doubt, a genealogy of the royal family, the clan of Ur-Nammu. Succession within the elite families in the provincial centers such as Umma—the topic of the current study—are, however, far better documented.

4. I divide the period as follows: the reign of Ur-Nammu and the first 20 years of Šulgi's rule, until his deification, are considered a period of consolidation. Šulgi's expansions, recorded in the year-dates from his 20th year till around his 40th year, and the construction of the administrative center Drehem, characterize the next period. The final years of Šulgi and the reign of Amar-Suen, with numerous administrative records, but fewer military achievements, were the apex of the Ur III Empire. From the middle of Šu-Suen's reign and during the early years of Ibbi-Suen we find the first signs of weakness, while the last 20 years of Ibbi-Suen's reign are considered a period of decline.

In consequence, this study seeks to use the daily records of the Umma provincial court to reconstruct the genealogy, the line of succession for the important offices, as well as the careers and offices of the members of the ruling family of Umma. This study proposes a model for understanding other, less well-known, Ur III elite families. This analysis is the first detailed description of patterns of succession concerning ancient Mesopotamia, references to previous studies of the same topic are not surprisingly few.⁵ The present study takes as its starting point the prevailing understanding in the field that restricted primogeniture was, by far, the most successful pattern of succession in ancient Mesopotamia.⁶ Since this has never been systematically questioned it has become something of a dogma in the field. This study seeks to challenge that dogma.

-
5. The only study which, to my knowledge, mentions the possibility of fratrilial succession in non-royal circles, during the Ur III period is P. Steinkeller, "The Foresters of Umma: Toward a Definition of Ur III Labor," AOS 68 (=M. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East*; 1987) 73 - 115. Steinkeller did not discuss the sociographical implications of this, and the issue has remained almost entirely untouched. Since it has long been suggested that Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen were brothers following each other on the throne, some studies have described this as fratrilial succession; however, there has never been any discussion of the consequences of having one system of succession for the royal family and another for the rest of society, if this was in fact the case. Edzard briefly mentioned, but ultimately discarded the theories of fratrilial succession in ancient Mesopotamia (see fn. 228 on p. 92 in this study). This sentiment was captured by D. Snell, *Life in the Ancient Near East* (New Haven 1997) 20. See also N. Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia, Society and Economy at the Dawn of History* (London 1992) 148 and 270, and N. Postgate, "Royal Ideology and State administration in Sumer and Akkad" in J. Sasson (ed.) *Civilization of the Ancient Near East* (New York 1995) 397: "...strict primogeniture is not universal: Sumerian rulers were sometimes succeeded by their brother, and among sons it was not always the eldest."
6. See for example A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia; Portrait of a Dead civilization* (Chicago 1964) 77 and 79.

The founder of the dynasty, Ur-Nammu, ruled for eighteen years, his son and successor Šulgi for forty-eight years; Šulgi was followed first by Amar-Suen who ruled 9 years, then by Šu-Suen who likewise ruled 9 years, and lastly by Ibbi-Suen who ruled 24 years. The latter three rulers were all, perhaps, sons of Šulgi.

According to the now contested middle chronology⁷ the first year of Ur-Nammu fell around 2112 BC, and the last year of Ibbi-Suen around 2004 BC. The extent of overlap of the Ur III period with the preceding period, the Second Lagaš Dynasty (the dynasty of Ur-Baba), is unclear at best. The two dynasties are believed, however, to have substantially coexisted.⁸ Chronological correlation between the Ur III period and the following Isin-Larsa period is, on the other hand, relatively clear: the Isin dynasty was founded by Išbi-Erra, a former ally of Ur, already in the eighth year of Ibbi-Suen.

The reconstruction of the social history of the Ur III period relies heavily on the analysis of administrative documents. Historical inscriptions of the period contain very little information about social phenomena. The year names used by administrators to date the economic records, however, are a useful source for the history of the period. The years were named according to important events, and the year formulae of the administrative records recount these names. The historical inscriptions are found on buildings (or rather on building materials such as bricks and door sockets, etc.), on commemorative objects (including stelae, statues, etc.), and on objects dedicated to the rulers, primarily seal

7. J. Reade, "Assyrian King-Lists, the Royal Tombs of Ur, and Indus Origins," JNES 60 (2001) 1 – 29.

Further see P. Huber, "Astronomical Dating of Ur III and Akkad," AfO 46 – 47 (1999/2000) 50 – 79.

8. See fn. 237 on p. 98.

inscriptions and miscellaneous cultic objects.⁹ The literary texts as well as the majority of the pseudo-historical inscriptions can only be used with great caution to investigate the social history of the third millennium BC due to their obvious political or literary biases.¹⁰ Early Assyriologists placed great hope in the Sumerian King List (SKL)—an Isin-Larsa pseudo-historical account of all previous kings of Sumer—as a source of the history of the Ancient Near East.¹¹ In later times scholars often discarded the text entirely, deeming it a fictitious political manifesto of the Isin rulers.¹² However, since the information given by the SKL regarding the last hundred years of the third millennium BC is basically correct, we must interrogate the sources available to the Isin scribe who composed this list.

-
9. For the historical inscriptions of the Ur III period see D. Frayne, *Ur III period (2112 - 2004 BC)* (= RIME 3/2; Toronto 1997).
 10. For the pseudo-historical inscriptions, or the intertextuality between historical inscriptions and the literary texts see W. Hallo, "The Cultic Setting of Sumerian Poetry," in A. Finet (ed.), *Actes de la XVIIe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale* (= Rencontre 17; Brussels 1969) 117 - 122.
 11. The 1939 edition by Th. Jacobsen remains the standard Assyriological work of reference [published as AS 11]. Among later, significant, studies are C. Wilcke, "Die sumerische Königsliste und erzählte Vergangenheit," in J. Von Ungern-Sternberg (ed.), *Vergangenheit in mündlicher Überlieferung* (Stuttgart 1988) 113 - 140, and P. Michalowski, "History as Charter," *JAOS* 103 (1983) 237 - 248. See F. Hrozny, "Die ältesten Dynastien Babyloniens," *WZKM* 26 (1912) 1 - 20, for an introduction to the early debate on the use of the SKL. See also A. Schneider, *Die Anfänge der Kulturwirtschaft. Die Sumerische Tempelstadt* (Essen 1920) 3.
 12. See for example P. Michalowski, *JAOS* 103 (1983) 237 - 248, and C. Wilcke "Genealogical and Geographical Thought in the Sumerian King List," in H. Behrens et al. (eds.), *DUMU-É-DUB-BA-A* (= Sjöberg Fs.; Philadelphia 1989) 557 - 571.

The SKL recounts the third dynasty of Ur as follows:¹³

unug ^{ki} geš ³ tukul ba-an-sag ₃	Uruk was slain with weapons,
nam-lugal-bi ʾuri ₂ ʾ[^{ki} -še ₃] ba-DU	and its kingship was carried to Ur;
uri ₂ ^{ki} -ma ur -[^d nammu] lugal	in Ur, Ur-Nammu was king,
mu 1(u) 8(diš) [i ₃ -ak]	(he) ruled 18 years.
^d šul-gi dumu ^d ur-nammu-ke ₄	Šulgi, the son of Ur-Nammu,
mu 4(u) 8(diš) i ₃ -ʾak ʾ	ruled 48 ¹⁴ years.
^d amar- ^d suen dumu ^d šul-gi-ke ₄	Amar-Suen the son of Šulgi,
mu 9(diš) i ₃ -ak	ruled nine years.
šu- ^d suen dumu ^d amar- ^d suen	Šu-Suen, the son of Amar-Suen,
mu 9(diš) i ₃ -ak	ruled nine years.
i-bi ₂ - ^d suen dumu šu- ^d suen-ke ₄	Ibbi-Suen, the son of Šu-Suen,
mu 2(u) 4(diš) i ₃ -ak	ruled 24 years.
5(diš) ¹⁵ lugal	(They were) five kings
mu-bi 1(geš ₂) 4(u) 8(diš) ib ₂ -ak	who ruled 108 years.
uri ₂ ^{ki} -ma geš ³ tukul ba-an-sag ₃	Ur was slain with weapons,
nam-lugal-bi i ₃ -si-in ^{ki} -še ₃ ba-DU	and its kingship was carried to Isin.
i ₃ -si-in ^{ki} -na iš-bi-er ₃ -ra lugal	In Isin, Išbi-Erra was king.

The accuracy of this excerpt suggests that the Isin-scribe who wrote the SKL had access to lists of year-formulae—some such lists have been recovered.¹⁶ However, it is likely

13. Col. viii 7 - 23 following Th. Jacobsen, AS 11, 1939, and addendum by C.-A. Vincente, “The Tall Leilan recension of the Sumerian King List,” ZA 85 (1995) 234 - 270.
14. See C.-A. Vincente, ZA 85, 266.
15. See C.-A. Vincente, ZA 85, 266.
16. Perhaps the commemorative stela preserved at Nippur, copied and compiled into literary compositions, served as the sources for the SKL (W. Hallo, Rencontre 17 (1969) 118ff.). See also P. Michalowski, “The Bride of Simanum,” JAOS 95 (1975) 716.

that the author of the SKL, knowingly or unknowingly, replaced the original Sumerian hereditary system of seniority and lateral succession with a system of primogeniture and lineal succession that the rulers of his own time and culture aimed at implementing, resulting in a simple, repetitive, pattern [PN son of PN son of PN] in our text.¹⁷

Some historical as well as quasi-historical sources are available for the study of the ruling family of Ur, but no sources other than the administrative corpus exist which document the lives, careers and offices of the members of the rural elites. These sources offer a unique opportunity to use exclusively the primary contemporary records describing social phenomena. As a result some of the dangers inherent in relying on sources meant as displays of idealism, faith, and propaganda are eliminated. Although a few of the historical and quasi-historical documents may indeed hold some historical truth these documents contains little information on issues such as ethnicity, tribal affiliations, or other vital sociographical questions. Further, the information in these documents is weak evidence at best without the support of reliable historical sources, such as the contemporary administrative documents. The administrative records, on the other hand, represents true reliable first-hand documentation of the daily lives of the members of Ur III society. These texts have, however, traditionally been used for the reconstruction of the Sumerian vocabulary rather than for uncovering sociological information, such as the patterns of succession.

17. For a critique of the historicity of the SKL see C. Wilcke, "Zum Königtum in der Ur III-Zeit," in P. Garelli ed., *Le palais et la royauté* (= *Rencontre 19*: Paris 1971/75) 180 + fn. 66. See also E. Sollberger, "Sur la chronologie des rois d'Ur et quelques problèmes connexes" *AfO* 17 (1954-1956) 10-48.

Early in the Ur III period, the formerly independent city-states of Sumer were subjugated and made provinces of the Ur III empire. Military presence ensured permanent control over these areas. There is no indication that the supporters of the crown in the old cities were awarded estates; rather, the local elite families remained the chief administrators.¹⁸ The Ur III state was therefore not feudal and there was no landed “knight-hood;” instead, the king relied on a sophisticated administrative system aimed at exploiting the agricultural production of the core of the state.¹⁹ The political center of the Ur III state was the city of Ur, presumably the main residence of the court and a religious center as well, but Nippur retained a great deal of its former influence as the religious capital of Sumer and Akkad. During the reign of Šulgi an administrative center was erected close to Nippur, known to us by its modern name Drehem, and its ancient name Puzriš-Dagān. It is uncertain whether

18. We only know of one Ur III governor who was relocated, the governor of Assur, Zariqum. He is speculated to have been identical with Zariqum, the later governor of Susa. His case, which was first discussed by W. Hallo in 1956 (W. Hallo, “Zariqum,” JNES 15 (1956) 220 - 225.); for a more recent treatment, see B. Foster, “Management and Administration in the Sargonic Period,” in M. Liverani (ed.), *Akkad, the First World Empire. Structure, Ideology, Traditions* (= HANE/S - V; Padua 1993) 28 + fn. 27, and P. Steinkeller, “The Administration and Economic Organization of the Ur III State: The Core and the Periphery,” in McG. Gibson & R. Biggs (eds.), *The Organization of Power*, (= SAOC 46: Chicago 1987) 32, citing the same literature as B. Foster. It is likely that the case of Zariqum was both unique and indicative of the state of affairs in the periphery, and that the ruling families of the old Sumerian cities, in most cases, were very capable of adapting to changes, and thus remained in office even through difficult times. The old elite family of Nippur may have been ousted by Amar-Suen as part of a succession-struggle during his reign; however, that family was perhaps reinstated by Šu-Suen, this was suggested already by W. Hallo, “The House of Ur-Meme,” JNES 31 (1972) 94. New evidence from the so-called Garšana archive (kept at Cornell University, to be published by D. Owen, et. al.) may yet change our views, since it seems as if Garšana, located in Sumer, was indeed a (semi)-private estate (D. Owen, RAI 47, paper (2001)).

there were more such administrative centers. The peripheral areas, which were conquered by the military, were subject to tribute, presumably organized through the military presence.²⁰ In addition, the king of Ur spun a web of political alliances that covered the entire Syro-Mesopotamian area and reached well into Iran. Numerous references to the presence of foreign envoys in the Sumerian heartlands, coupled with the extensive use of dynastic or political marriages, suggests that a developed diplomatic machinery existed. The king of Ur also bestowed titles on his semi-independent vassals; as is not uncommon in history, such a title could later become the title of royalty after that vassal-state had regained its independence.

The relations between provincial elite families and the royal clan is poorly understood. The original thesis of this study, that the ruling family mimicked the royal family, and that they perhaps belonged to an old elite family centered for generations at Umma, is only partly supported by the data. Certain features of the succession to the highest offices of the Umma administration suggests an entirely different scenario, namely one in

-
19. The system of exploitation referred to here is the so-called bala system. Classically, bala is translated as a term of office, and this might also be an acceptable interpretation in this case. Each province was said to be in the period of the bala every year for a specific period of time. Presumably this meant being responsible for the maintenance of the collective fund of the state, through deliveries to Drehem and other administrative centers for later redistribution. The periphery paid what was called gun mada, "tribute of the land," a kind of tribute or tax delivered by the military stationed there, undoubtedly calculated on a basis of how much they could collect from the land they controlled. See P. Steinkeller, "The Core and the Periphery" (1987), which deals extensively with the system of redistribution and taxation in the periphery during Ur III.
20. P. Steinkeller, "The Core and the Periphery" (1987) 25 - 26.

which Šulgi may have instrumented a “take-over” by a powerful clan of imperial administrators in his 33rd year.

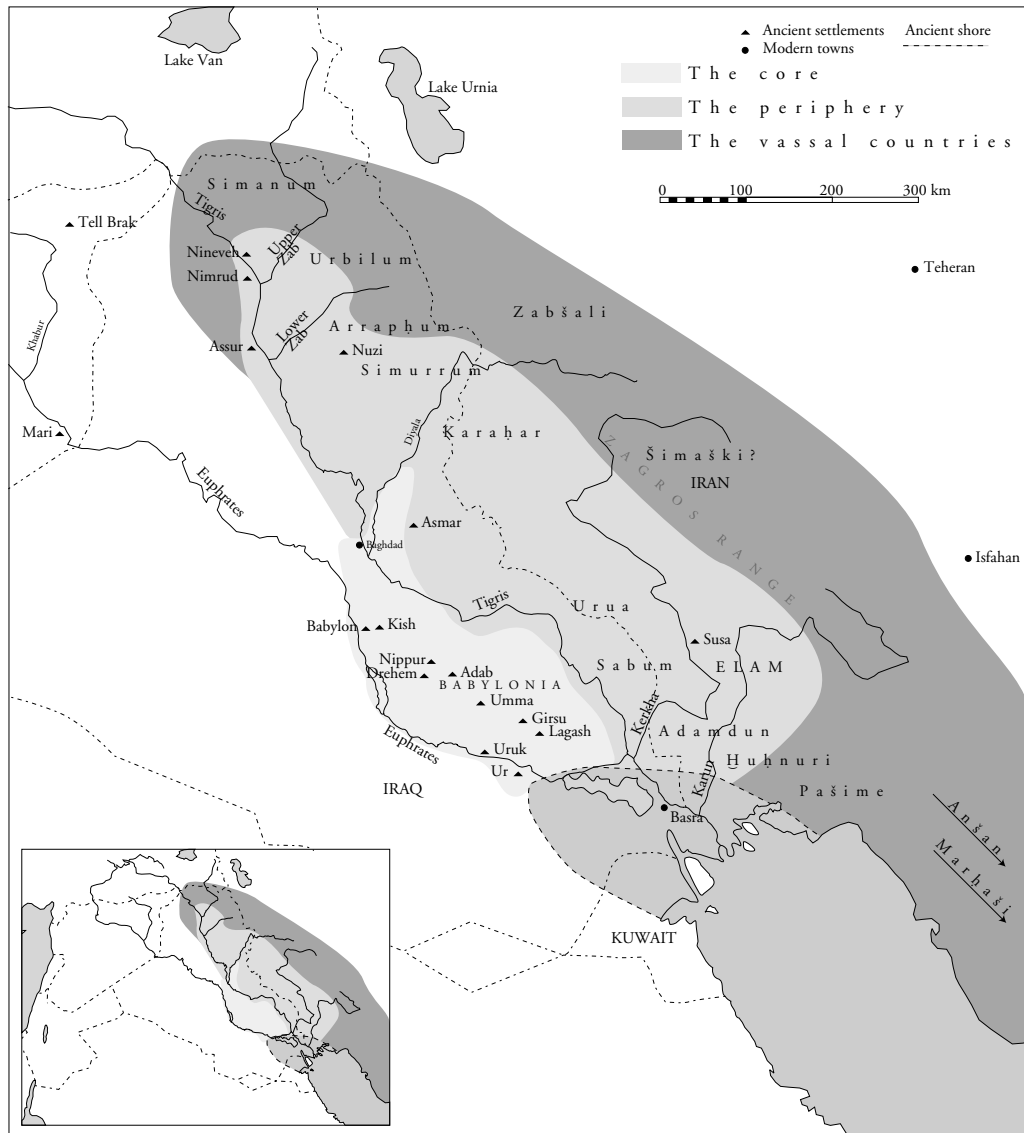


Figure 1: The extent of the Ur III empire.²¹

21. Based in part, on P. Steinkeller, “the Core and the Periphery” (1987) 38 figure 6.

Chapter 2. The sources, the technical terms and the structure of the documents

Neo-Sumerian administrative documents, which understandably contain a rich array of technical terminology, can be read only when their inner structure is understood. In other words, the technical terms will often seem meaningless when the structure of the documents is unclear. It is deceptive to translate such loaded terms literally, as is most often the case when translating any ancient language.

In essence, there is no structural difference between a document recording a specific transaction in the agricultural sector or in the manufacturing sector of the economy, but there may exist types of documents within one sector that are not mirrored in the other. Likewise, documents from any level of the administrative hierarchy appear to conform to the same format and to use the same terminology. In this section I will try to establish the internal hierarchy of the texts, using that information to better understand the technical terminology of the documents.

Essentially, all goods were recorded at least twice, encoded as either “debits” or as “credits” in the accounts of a person or an institution. On another level, this can be described as the documentation of the *expectations* and the documentation of the *rate of fulfillment* of obligations within a “planned” economy.

The Sumerian word for goods, *nig₂-gur₁₁*, is perhaps derived from Akkadian, *makkūru*.²² The distinction between private and public property in 3rd millennium BC

Mesopotamia is not always clear; *nig₂-gur₁₁* could be used to describe private as well as public property.²³ Work was thought to be commensurable with movable property, and it could be translated into movable goods by means of standardized equivalencies. Unparalleled in ancient history, work in itself was treated as a commodity which could be transferred, accumulated, or dissipated. The accountants of the Ur III administration were the first in recorded history to implement a system of man-days tied in to a set of fixed equivalencies. The work-load of a labourer had by then been standardized and made into a commodity which could be divided and transferred.

A sophisticated system of equivalences was used throughout the administration. Some scholars have erroneously equated this system with a monetary system.²⁴ However, since the equivalences were used in a “planned” economy, centrally organized, in a system lacking most elements of a market economy,²⁵ it seems justified to explain the fixed rates, used by the administrators to estimate the value of a product or a work, as equivalences.

In the following analysis of the Ur III administrative documents—and in particular while attempting to decode the internal hierarchy of the documents—it seems appropriate to

22. MSL 17, 190: *nig₂-gur₁₁* | *ma-ak-ku-ru*.

23. W. Heimpel, “Disposition of Households in Ur III and Mari,” ASJ 19 (1997) 63 - 82.

24. W. Hallo and J. B. Curtis, “Money and Merchants in Ur III,” HUCA 30 (1959) 103-139.

25. For a discussion of Mesopotamian societies without a market(-place) in the classical sense (-agora) and the subsequent social and historical implications, see, above all, K. Polanyi, “Marketless Trading in Hammurabi’s Time,” in K. Polanyi et. al.: *Trade and Market in the Early Empires, Economies in History and Theory* (Illinois 1957) 12 - 27. See also the discussion in R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 14 - 18.

begin with the documents that summarized all the others: the accounts. The accounts, or the year-end accounts, have been called balanced accounts by some because they can contain a remainder, positive as well as negative. These accounts were not, however, balanced, but rather actual records of the “credits” and the “debits” of individuals and institutions. The negative or positive remainder can be compared to the modern accounting term “operating balance” which describes a (positive) “remainder” carried forward in a sequence of running accounts.

Outline of the account:

An account was called *nig₂-ka₉* (“things counted”) in Sumerian.²⁶ References to accounts occur with some frequency in the economic records documenting different administrative activities (e.g., *nig₂-ka₉ PN-ta*, “from the account concerning PN”).²⁷ To “draw up an account” and subsequently the technical term “account concerning PN”, is expressed using the verb *ak*, “to do,” in its finite state /*nig.kā(s) ak-a*/ > *nig₂-ka₉-ak*.²⁸ This term appears as an explicit, or implied subscript in all accounts.²⁹ A product or an administrative function can take the place of the personal name in this formula. Such non-

26. Earlier read *nig₂-ŠID* or *nig₂-kas₇*. *nig₂-kas₇* might be preferred over the short reading *nig₂-ka₉*, since the Akkadian borrowing reads *nikkassu*. *ka₉* is based on a late Babylonian entry in MSL 14 (Ea A = *nāqu*, Aa A = *nāqu*) Ea Tablet 7 line 6' (p. 451): *ka₉^{ka-a} | ŠID | ša NIG₂.ŠID ni-ka-as-su*, and Reciprocal Ea line 123 (p. 526): *MIN(= ka-a) | ŠID | ni-ka-as-su*. See also R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 26 + fn. 93.

27. NATN 805 (from AS 7), rev. 21: *ugu₂ nig₂-ka₉ dam-gar₃ ʿ ga₂ ʿ- ga₂-dam* “It is to be placed on the “debits” (*ugu* = “front-side” see below for an explanation of this term) of the account concerning the trade agents”. OrSP 47-49, 411 (from ŠS 3), obv. 1 - 6: *1(geš₂) 1(aš) 3(barig) 1(ban₂) še gur / sa₁₀-am₃ urudu / ugu₂ lu₂-kal-la / ba-a-gar / nig₂-ka₉ KA-guru₇-ka / ba-an-zi*, “61 gur and 190 sila of barley, exchange for copper, has been transferred to the debit of Lukala, it has been booked out of the account concerning the chief of the granary.” TCL 5, 6037 (from ŠS 6), obv. i 4: *nig₂-ka₉ siki-ta* “from the account of wool”. SNAT 504 (from ŠS 5 and ŠS 6), obv. 2: *nig₂-ka₉ ku₃-ta* “from the account concerning silver” the colophon of the same text reads, rev. 29: *nig₂-ka₉-ak dam-gar₃ lu₂-d^ha-ia₃* “damgar account concerning Lu-Ḥaya” See also the parallel text SNAT 518 (from ŠS 7), an “account concerning Lu-Ḥaya” (colophon, rev. 6: *nig₂-ka₉-ak lu₂-d^ha-ia₃*), see below on Lu-Ḥaya (Chapter 5: Section 9).

personal accounts may have a colophon reading “silver-account concerning the governor” (nig₂-ka₉-ak ku₃-babbar ensi₂-ka),³⁰ “wool-account” (nig₂-ka₉-ak siki).³¹ Several texts can be quoted that refer to the process of drawing up an account.³² It was presumably the job of the accountant (ša13-dub-ba) to “draw up” the account. The subscripts on all accounts, the

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28. See also MSL 5 (HAR-ra = ħubullu I-IV), tablet 2, line 167 (p. 64): nig₂-ka₉-ak-a | nik-kas₂-[su], and line 168: nig₂-ka₉-ak-a | MIN(= nik-kas₂-su) ep-[šu]. For the sake of convention, nig₂-ka₉-ak is in this study treated as one word when it appears as the subscript of an account. Subsequently nig-ka₉ is understood as “an account”, and nig₂-ka₉-ak as a “a finished account”.
29. Accounts kept in (archival) tablet containers (pisan dub-ba) were mostly called nig₂-ka₉-ak. This suggests that applying the infinite form of the verb AK to the word nig₂-ka₉ refers to a complete account. See, for example, BRM 3, 166, a tablet container holding the account of Abbagina from the year AS 6, and MVN 16, 709, a tablet container holding the accounts of Ir(mu), the chief of the granary (KA-guru₇) in Umma from four years (Š 43 to Š 46). SAT 3, 1368, is a tag that hung on a container which held 10 accounts; all of the people named therein seem to have been agricultural overseers. Compare the reference to non-finalized accounts in SANTAG 6, 20 (see below, p. 27).
30. Ledgers pl. 23, 13 (from ŠS 1 to ŠS 5).
31. AnOr 7, 262 (from ŠS 2 iii). See also AAICAB 1, 1924-666 (from AS 3), an “account concerning the wool of the governor” (rev. viii 4 - 5: nig₂-ka₉-ak siki ensi₂-ka), discussed below on pp. 201 - 203.
32. See, for example, BM 105354 (unpubl.) (from ŠS 2), rev. 13: nig₂-ka₉-bi nu-ak kišib ur-kalam, “its account has not been made, seal of Ur-Kalam”, or Ledgers pl. 13, 8 (from AS 6), obv. 39: ur-dnun-gal u3 ur-^dgu₂-nu₂-a-ke₄ nig₂-ka₉-bi ib₂-ak, “Ur-Nungal and Ur-Gunu’a made the account”, and, finally, the inscription on the left edge of the account MVN 10, 102 (from ŠS 2 i to ŠS 2 xii): [nig₂]-ka₉-bi ur-e₂-maḥ-ke₄ in-ak “Ur-Emaḥ has made its account”. See also OrSP 47-49, 264 (from Š 44 to Š 46): “Its account has to be completed, from(?) Kaku” (rev. 2 - 3: nig₂-ka₉-bi ak-dam / ki ka-ku₃-ka). See also CT 10, 44 (= BM 018962) (from Š 43), an “account concerning Ur-Lamma, son of Nammaḥ” (rev. 22: nig₂-ka₉-ak ur-^dlamma dumu nam-maḥ), the last line read, “Kamu completed the account” (rev. 24: ka₅-a-mu nig₂-ka₉-bi in-na [note: /i-n-ak/ > in-na]). See also CT 9, 20 (= BM 019031) (from Š 47), a document with the post-script, “silver gathered from the account(s)” (rev. iv 1: ku₃ nig₂-ka₉-ta šu su-ba).

colophon, holds the vital calendrical information, and information concerning the person or institution whose activities were being recorded.³³ The date recorded on an account is believed to be the terminal date of the accounting period. When the date is only a year-name it is believed to be an account covering that entire year, completed at the very end of the year, or even during the beginning of the next. Sometimes the period of accounting is explicitly recorded, and sometimes the duration of the accounting period was also computed and entered into the colophon.³⁴

The accountability of the Ur III state pertained to all levels of the social hierarchy. Anyone entrusted with valuables, whether labor (in form of a work-crew) or property (in form of the yield of a field or a herd of animals, etc.), were held accountable by the state administration for an equivalence value of the goods or services entrusted to them. This can be proven by studying the accounts which cover all levels of society. The king and the innermost circles of the imperial court were presumably excluded from this system. Some accounts concerning members of the royal clan have been found, and more will undoubtedly be recovered after an extensive search in Ur.³⁵ The people at the bottom of the social pyramid were people who with some right can be described as state-owned slaves. These

33. It is important to note that since the colophon was recorded on the upper left corner of the reverse of the tablet (according to the tablet orientation of the ancients) it has often been damaged, presumably because it rested on the lower edge when archived, allowing for easy access to the information in the colophon.

34. Some accounts state the duration of the accounting period, see, for example, SNAT 375 (covering AS 6 and AS 7), rev. iv 6: mu 2(diš)-kam; and JAOS 90, 268, an account spanning 12 years (covering Š 43 through AS 6) (see rev. iv 6: mu 1(u) 2(diš)-kam).

people were treated as property, comparable to cattle. The Ur III system was unique in that neither cattle nor humans could be alienated.

The following list of Ur III accounts are by no means exhaustive, but serves to exemplify the breadth of Ur III accounting, and above all, to demonstrate that all levels of society were held accountable for the valuables entrusted to them.

At the top of a local administrative hierarchy we find the city governor. Several accounts have been published that record transactions of the city governor of Umma. Among these we find MVN 21, 334 (from ŠS 8), an account concerning the subsistence barley of the governor;³⁶ Ledgers pl. 23, 13 (from ŠS 1 to ŠS 5); an silver-account concerning the governor; and³⁷ AAICAB 1, 1924-666 (from AS 3), a wool-account concerning the governor.³⁸

35. Two texts, quoted below; fn. 256, on p. 104, hint at the existence of accounts concerning the members of the royal family: ASJ 2, 31 87 (from Š 42), and CT 7, 27 (= BM 018376) (from Š 42). See also the “account of the overseers of the textile factory and of the fullers of the household of Šulgi-simtī in Ur,” Orient 16, 107 174 (from Š 43): $nig_2-ka_9-ak / ugula uš-bar-ra u_3^{lu2}azlag_2-e-ne / e_2^dšul-gi-zi-im-ti / ša_3 urim_5^{ki}-ma$. Our knowledge of the households of the members of the royal family will presumably greatly improve with the pending publication of the newly discovered archives of the provincial city Garšana, which seems to have been the (semi)-private estate of a daughter of Šulgi.

36. Rev. 6: $nig_2-ka_9-ak še šuku-ra ensi_2$. See also J. Dahl, “Land Allotments During the Third Dynasty of Ur, Some Observations,” AoF 29 (2002) 337 - 338.

37. Rev. 9: $nig_2-ka_9-ak ku_3 ensi_2-ka$. The silver account of the governor will be mentioned again below.

Among the high-level administrators, we find some who were only rarely identified by title. Accounts concerning these people follow the same outline as the documents described here except that reference to the institution and title of the person is lacking.³⁹ Several accounts relating to the chief of the granary (Sumerian KA-guru₇) have been published.⁴⁰ The person who held this position in Umma, Ir(mu), was so famous that he was either referred to as the KA-guru₇ or simply by his name.⁴¹ MVN 16, 709, a tablet container, can be used to show that a number of accounts were drawn up concerning Ir(mu), the chief of the Umma granary. The text records the archiving of the accounts concerning Ir(mu) covering the years Š 43 to Š 46.⁴²

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38. Rev. viii 4 - 5: nig₂-ka₉-ak siki / ensi₂-ka. Another example of a high-level account involving the provincial governor is the account of the bala of Ur-Lamma, the governor of Girsu; RTC 305 (from Š 44 xii to Š 44 xii): rev. iv 9 - 10: nig₂-ka₉-ak / bala ur-^dlamma ensi₂ gir₂-su^{ki}. It was not uncommon for a person to be mentioned together with his relationship to his superior in the colophon of an account. See for example the account concerning Ur-gigir, the cow-herder of the governor, in the *E'amar*; SANTAG 6, 254 (from ŠS 3 iii): rev. 15 - 16: nig₂-ka₉-ak ur-^{geš}gigir unu₃ ensi₂-ka / ša₃ e₂-^r amar ^rka.
39. See for example the “silver-account concerning Ur-E'e,” TCL 5, 6045 (from AS 8 xii) (rev. iv 4 - 5: nig₂-ka₉-ak ku₃-ga / ur-e₁₁-e). See also the work-accounts concerning Lukala, for example, the large six column account MVN 21, 200 (from AS 2), an “account of work of the female workers concerning Lukala,” (Rev. vi 6 - 7: nig₂-ka₉-ak a₂ geme₂ / lu₂-kal-la.), and the parallel text MVN 21, 201 (from AS 5)—both texts are discussed briefly below on pp. 231 - 232.
40. See, for example, MVN 5, 142 (from Š 37 ix), an account concerning Ayakala, the chief of the granary of Ningal in Ur, rev. 13 - 14: nig₂-ka₉-ak a-kal-la KA-guru₇ ^dnin-gal / ša₃ urim₅^{ki}-ma, and ASJ 2, 19 56 (from Š 32), an account concerning Ur-Lamma, chief of the granary of Gu'abba, rev. 17 - 18: nig₂-ka₉-ak / ^r ur ^rlamma KA-guru₇ gu₂-ab-ba^{ki}.
41. See, for example, RA 80, 15 12, a barley-account from Š 42, rev. ii 20: nig₂-ka₉-ak ir₁₁-mu.

The chief cattle administrator (Sumerian *šuš₃*) was another high-level administrator. The accounts concerning his activities were rather complicated, combining accounts concerning the large herds of the great institutions (as well as sub-accounts of shepherds), with records concerning the products of animal husbandry. The colophon of these accounts conform, however, to the outline proposed here, see for example MVN 15, 108 (from AS 3); an “oil and ghee account concerning Atu, chief cattle administrator.”⁴³ As was the case with the chief of the granary, several chief cattle administrators belonged to an exclusive group of people rarely identified by title. Their accounts can still be grouped with those clearly related to the office of the chief cattle administrators by means of the prosopographical and structural composition of these accounts. See, for example, SET 130 (from AS 4), an account of oil and wool,⁴⁴ which can be attributed to the office of the chief cattle administrator, due to the fact that Ur-E’e was a well known chief cattle administrator and that the account corresponds to other accounts explicitly related to that office.⁴⁵

42. MVN 16, 709 (from Š 43 to Š 46): *pisan dub-ba / nig₂-ka₉-ak / ir₁₁ KA-guru₇ / mu 4(diš)-kam / i₃-
 𒄠 gal₂ 𒄠 // mu en ^dnanna / [maš₂]-e i₃-pa₃-ta / mu ki-maš^{ki} ba-ḥul-še₃. “Tablet container holding the
 accounts(s) of 4 years, concerning Ir(mu), the chief of the (Umma) granary. From the year: “the En-
 priest of Nanna was installed”, to the year: “Kimaš was destroyed”.”*

43. Rev. iv 14 - 15: *nig₂-ka₉-𒄠 ak 𒄠 [i₃]-nun ga-ar₃ / a-tu šuš₃*. See also R. Englund, "Regulating Dairy
 Productivity in the Ur III Period," *OrNS* 64 (1995) 377-429.

44. Rev. xiv 1 - 2: **nig₂-*ka₉ ak udu i₃ siki / ur-e₁₁-e*.

45. See also SANTAG 6, 269 (from ŠS 3), rev. ii 18: *nig₂-ka₉-ak siki ur-e₁₁-e*. Compare with MCS 8, 93,
 BM 105390 (from ŠS 2 vi), rev. 6 - 7: *nig₂-ka₉-ak siki mu en ga-eš^{ki} ba-ḥun / KAS₄ šuš₃*; MVN 15,
 108 (from AS 3), rev. iv 14 - 15: *nig₂-ka₉ 𒄠 ak 𒄠 [i₃] nun ga-ar₃ / a-tu šuš₃*; and SET 273 (from AS 3),
 rev. iv 14 - 15: *nig₂-ka₉-ak siki / ur-e₁₁-e šuš₃*.

Accounts with the colophon “account concerning PN, trade-agent” (nig₂-ka₉-ak PN dam-gar₃) have been extensively dealt with in the secondary literature. When the colophon is missing, or even if the colophon fails to mention the title “trade-agent” it is still possible to classify the account as one concerning a trade-agent based on prosopographical evidence. In addition, if the account uses silver as a medium of equivalency, it is likely to be an account concerning a trade-agent.

The agricultural work-force was managed (in Umma) by foremen (Sumerian ugula) and captains of the (plow-)oxen (Sumerian nu-banda₃ gu₄).⁴⁶ The accounts concerning the overseers of the agricultural work-force regularly referred to either of the two officials. See for example ASJ 9, 242 19 (from Š 47 i to xii), an erin₂-account concerning Lugal-kuzu, the captain of the (plow-)oxen,⁴⁷ and the two famous accounts concerning Lugal-gu’e, the captain of the (plow-)oxen: BIN 5, 272 (from AS 3)⁴⁸ and TCL 5, 5675 (from AS 4 i to xii),⁴⁹ first discussed by V. Struve in 1949.⁵⁰ Erlenmeyer 152 (from ŠS 2 i to xii),⁵¹ is an erin₂-account⁵² according to which a foreman seemingly takes the place of a captain of the (plow-)oxen,⁵³ suggesting that the title foreman was not limited to one strata of the administration.⁵⁴

46. K. Maekawa, "The Management of Domain Land in Ur III Umma: A Study of BM 110116," *Zinbun* 22 (1987) 36, translates nu-banda₃ gu₄ with “inspector of plow oxen”. K. Maekawa also recognized the fluid nature of the title ugula, *ibid* 39.

47. Rev. viii 1' - 2': nig₂-ka₉-ak erin₂-na / lugal-ku₃-zu nu-banda₃ gu₄.

48. Rev. x 3 - 4: [nig₂]-ka₉-ak / [lugal]-gu₄-e nu-banda₃ gu₄.

49. Rev. xi 4 - 5: nig₂-ka₉-ak / lugal-gu₄-e [nu]-banda₃ gu₄.

Numerous accounts record the activities of work-crews active in the Ur III workshops producing household utensils and fabrics as well as processing grain. The grain processing workshop, in the following referred to as the mill, was of great importance for the economy, and several accounts concerning the work of the females⁵⁵ employed there have survived.⁵⁶

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50. V. Struve, “Some new data on the organization of Labour and on Social structure in Sumer during the reign of the third dynasty of Ur,” (originally written in Russian in 1949), in I. Diakonoff, ed., *Ancient Mesopotamia: Socio-Economic History, A Collection of Studies by Soviet Scholars* (Moscow 1969) 129 and 156. See also V. Struve, “The Accounts of Work-Team Overseers on a Royal Estate under the Third Dynasty of Ur,” in: *Papers presented by the Soviet Delegation of the 23rd International congress of Orientalists* (Cambridge 1954) 43 - 51.
51. Rev. x 4 - 5: *nig₂-ka₉-ak a₂ erin₂-na-ka / lu₂-^dšara₂ ugula dumu lugal-inim-gi-na.*
52. R. Englund described this account as an “account of the production of the *erin₂* workers,” (CDLJ 2003:1, §15) although no *erin₂* workers (as a distinct social group) appear in that text. I believe that *erin₂*, in these texts, refer to an agricultural function, rather than to a group of people.
53. It is likely, that Lu-Šara, son of Lugal-inimgina, the responsible person mentioned in the colophon of this account operated at an administrative level above that of a foreman. A seal of the same person (with the title *dub-sar*) is recorded on several tablets relating to reeds and other agricultural matters. In addition MVN 14, 367 (from ŠS 4), gives two titles for Lu-Šara, captain of the (plow-)oxen, and foreman (obv. 4: *ugula lu₂-^dšara₂ nu-banda₃ gu₄*). It is likely that Lu-Šara’s title was captain of the (plow-)oxen, and that the use of the title foreman referred only to his administrative function in those instances.
54. For a different interpretation see N. Koslova, “(Selbst) ein freier Mann ist nicht gegen die Fronarbeit gefeit...” (forthcoming) 6
55. However, see the account of the work of female and *male* workers of the mill concerning Ur-Engaldudu; RA 47, 141 (from Š 47 x 5 to Š 48 vi 15), rev. viii 1 - 2: *nig₂-ka₉-ak a₂ geme₂ guruš kikken₂ / ur-engal-du-du.*
56. See, for example, the account concerning Dingira, regarding the work of the female workers; TCL 5, 5668 (from Š 48 iv to xii), rev. iv 10 - 12: *nig₂-ka₉-ak / dingir-ra-ka / a₂ geme₂-ka;* and the barley-account, sealed by the foremen of the mill; SET 241 (from Š 25), l.e. 1: *nig₂-^Γka₉-ak^Γ še kišib ugula kikken₂-ke₄-ne.*

See, for example, STA 2 (from AS 4) an account of female workers concerning Lu-dingira, the scribe of flour.⁵⁷ It is possible that the title “scribe of flour” was equivalent to the title “foreman of the mill”, conforming with neo-Sumerian system of horizontal terminology.⁵⁸

Other accounts relate to more specific areas of the economy, such as, SNAT 375 (from AS 6 to AS 7), an account concerning an individual shepherd,⁵⁹ or, BM 106061 (unpubl.) (from ŠS 6), an account concerning groups of shepherds.⁶⁰ The textile account concerning Lugal-nesage, SAT 2, 240 (from Š 40),⁶¹ and the wool-account of the Emblem of Šara of Kian concerning Lugal-azida, a gudu₄-priest; SAT 2, 542 (from Š 47),⁶² must be studied together with the other wool-accounts, the accounts concerning the shepherds, and

57. Rev. vi 4 - 5: nig₂-ka₉-ak a₂ geme₂ / lu₂-dingir-ra dub-sar zi₃-da.

58. See also the “account concerning Urnig, foreman of the mill,” HSS 4, 24 (from Š 37 to Š 43), rev. 15: nig₂-ka₉-ak ur-nig₂ ugula kikken₂. The “account concerning Ur-Šara, foreman of the mill,” TCL 5, 5670 (from Š 48 iii to AS 1 ii), rev. iv 15: nig₂-ka₉-ak ur-^dšara₂ ugula kikken(=HAR)-na. The “account of work of the female workers of the mill concerning Lugal-inimgina,” TCL 5, 5669 (from Š 48 i to xii), rev. iv 4 - 5: nig₂-ka₉-ak a₂ geme₂ kikken₂-na / lugal-inim-gi-na. The “account of the work of the females in the mill,” CT 7, 12 (= BM 012932) (from Š 48 x 20), rev. iv 7 - 8: nig₂-ka₉-ak / a₂ geme₂ kikken₂. The “account of the work of grinding flour concerning Ur-Lamma and the man of the storehouse (or a PN Lumarsa?),” TIM 6 4 (from Š 48 vi 15 to x), rev. viii 4 - 5: nig₂-ka₉-ak a₂ zi₃ ar₃-ra / ur-^dlamma u₃ lu₂-mar-sa.

59. Rev. iv 5: nig₂-ka₉-ak lu₂-eb-gal sipa udu kur-ra-ka, “account concerning Lu-Ebgal shepherd of forign sheep.”

60. Rev. v 13 - 14: nig₂-ka₉-ak / sipa-de₃-ne, “account concerning the shepherds.”

61. Rev. 14: nig₂-ka₉-ak tug₂ lugal-nesag-e, “textile account concerning Lugal-nesag’e.”

62. Rev. 6 - 8: nig₂-ka₉-ak siki šu-nir-ra / ^dšara₂ ki-an^{ki} / lugal-a₂-zi-da gudu₄, “wool account of the emblem of Šara of KIAN, concerning Lugal-azida the gudu-priest.”

the administrative records of the office of the chief cattle administrator. Wool was often reused, so old wool appeared together with new in the large wool-accounts. See, for example, the large wool-account of the governor discussed on pp. 201 - 203 below.⁶³ Other animal-products such as hides or dairy-products were accounted for in a similar fashion.⁶⁴ The state also kept records concerning another mid-level administrator, “the fattener,” see MVN 13, 568 (from AS 8 viii), an “account concerning Ušmu, the fattener.”⁶⁵

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63. The accounts of wool-rations were related to the accounts of the flocks. See, for example, the wool-rations account concerning Šeškala son of Ur-Iškur; TCTI 2, 3513 (from SS 9), rev. 5 - 6: *nig₂-ka₉-ak siki-ba šeš-kal-la / dumu ur-^diškur*, and the wool-rations account concerning Lu-Baba, son of Ezimu; ITT 2, 848 (no date), rev. 3: *nig₂-ka₉-ak siki-ba lu₂-^dba-ba₆ dumu e₂-zi-mu*.
64. See the treatment of the dairy production by R. Englund, OrNS 64 (1995) 377-429, and his discussion of the other products from large cattle in R. Englund, “Worcester Slaughterhouse Account,” CDLB 2003:1.
65. Rev. 14: *nig₂-ka₉-ak uš-mu kurušda*. See also the “account concerning Allamu the fattener;” (MVN 6, 287 [from Š 43 ii to viii], rev. vi 9- 10: *nig₂-ka₉-ak / al-la-mu kurušda*); the “account concerning Lugal-*ezem* shepherd of the fattening house;” (RA 10, 209 [= BM 103423] [from AS 7 xii], rev. 26: [*nig₂*]-*ka₉ ak lugal-*ezem* sipa e₂ kurušda*), and the “account of the shepherd (and) fatteners concerning the foreman Urnigar;” (PDT 2, 802 [from Š 47 v], l.e. 1: *nig₂-ka₉-ak sipa kurušda ugula ur-nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar}*). Accounts concerning the fodder for the animals were also kept, see for example TSU 85 (from Š 45 i to iii- 15), an “account concerning the fodder for the sheep in the new sheep house, via Katar-Baba, and Ur-Bagara” (rev. vi 2 - 6: *nig₂-ka₉-ak / še udu gu₇-a / ša₃ e₂ udu gibil / giri₃ ka-tar-^dba-ba₆ / u₃ ur-ba-gara₂*). For a discussion of the disbursements of fodder for the animals, and the fatteners see under Ir(mu): Chapter 5: Section 11, below.

Many accounts record more domestic activities, such as brewing,⁶⁶ cooking,⁶⁷ baking,⁶⁸ oil making,⁶⁹ among others.⁷⁰ All these documents are further examples demonstrating the hypothesis that all members of the society who partook in the state-administration, above the level of the dependent worker, were subject to accountability.

Accounts concerning the goods and the staff of the temple households appear frequently in the published record, with most originating from Girsu. At the top-level we find SNAT 273 (from Š 32 i to xiii), an account concerning the temple of Šulgi.⁷¹ Several accounts record the activities of the staff of the temple household.⁷² Others record the activities of lower level officials.⁷³ CT 7, 46 (= BM 017772) (from Š 48), an account

66. See the beer-account concerning Ur-Baba, son of Šešturtur; CT 3, 48 (= BM 021340) (from Š 46 iv to v), rev. vi 15 - 16: nig₂-ka₉-ak kaš / ur-^dba-ba₆ dumu šeš-tur-tur.
67. The account concerning Ur-Igimaše, the cook; TUT 104 (from Š 47), rev. 7 - 8; nig₂-ka₉-ak / ur-^digi-ma-še₃ muḫaldim.
68. The bread-account concerning Urtur, son of Anana the cook; TUT 116 (from Š 44 xi to xii), rev. vi 1 - 2: [nig₂]-ka₉-ak ninda / [ur]-^rtur ^rdumu a₂-[na]-na muḫaldim.
69. The oil-account concerning Ur-abba son of Bazi, Ur-Lamma is governor; HSS 4, 3 (from AS 1 i to xii), rev. xii 6 - 10: nig₂-ka₉-ak i₃ / ur-ab-ba / dumu ba-zi / ur-^dlamma / ensi₂.
70. See, for example, the account concerning Lu-Ningirsu, the singer; TMH NF 1-2, 123 (from ŠS 9), rev. 8 - 9: nig₂-ka₉-ak / ^rlu₂ ^rdⁿⁱⁿ-gir₂-su nar; or the account concerning Urmes, the fuller; ASJ 3, 160 128 (from Š 44 i to xiii), rev. iv 4 - 5: nig₂-ka₉-ak / ur-mes ^{lu}lunga. The last text states explicitly that the period of accounting included one inter-calendrical month (rev. iv 6 - 10: iti GAN₂-maš-ta / iti še-il₂-la-še₃ / iti 13-kam / iti diri 1-am₃ ša₃-ba i₃-gal₂ / mu si-mu-ur^{ki} lu-lu-bu^{ki} a-ra₂ 10 la₂ 1-kam-aš ba-ḫul, “From the month “GANmaš” to the month “Carrying barley”, one inter-calendrical month exists therein, the year: “the 9th time Simurum (and) Lulubu was destroyed”)
71. Obv. ii 11 - 12: nig₂-ka₉-ak / e₂ ^dšul-gi.

concerning bartered copper, via the sanga-priest of Ninmar,⁷⁴ suggests that the temple-households partook in the bartering activities of the trade-agents.⁷⁵ In a similar way, ASJ 15, 123 94 (from Š 42), can be used to demonstrate that temple households (at least in Lagaš) engaged in agricultural activities.⁷⁶

Numerous accounts concerning land such as the “account concerning the *New-Field*” (MVN 6, 415 [from AS 1])⁷⁷, or the “account concerning the *Mangi field*” (ASJ 11, 137 64 [from AS 1]),⁷⁸ and the “account concerning the field next to the *Mangi field*” (ASJ 11, 137 65 [from AS 1]),⁷⁹ implies that land was counted on equal terms as other valuables. The

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72. See, for example, the account concerning Ur-Nigar, the sanga-priest of Nindara, (drawn up) when Alla was governor; CT 9, 38 (= BM 013657) (from Š 40 iv), rev. iv 8 - 9: nig₂-ka₉-ak / ur-nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar} sanga^dnin-dar-a / al-la / ensi₂;
73. See, for example, the account concerning the gudu-priest Ur-sasa; SNAT 284 (from Š 40 to Š 43), rev. 10: nig₂-ka₉-ak ur-sa₆-sa₆ gudu₄. See also the “account concerning Lugal-ezem, gudu-priest of (the god) Lugaluda” (ASJ 2, 17 47 [from IS 3], rev. 3: nig₂-ka₉-ak lugal-ezem^Γ gudu₄^Γ d^Γ lugal-u₄<-da>).
74. Another possible translation is “the sanga priest Ninmar(ka)”, see below, fn. 148 for a discussion of this personal name.
75. Rev. 13 - 14: nig₂-ka₉-ak urudu sa₁₀-a / giri₃ sanga^dnin-mar^{ki}.
76. Account of the cultivators concerning the foremen Alla and Ur-Šugalama of the temple household of Šulgi dated to the time when Ur-Lamma was governor: rev. xii 13 - 19: nig₂-ka₉-ak / engar-re-ne / ugula al-la / ^Γu₃^Γur-šu-ga-lam-ma / [e₂]^d ^Γšul^Γ-^Γgi^Γ / ^Γur-^dlamma / ensi₂. The subscript PN ensi₂, often found in accounts from the Lagaš province is a good indicator to determine the provenience of an account.
77. Rev. 6 - 7: nig₂-ka₉-ak / a-ša₃ gibil.
78. Rev. 15': nig₂-ka₉-ak a-ša₃ ma-an-gi.
79. Rev. 7 - 8: nig₂-ka₉-ak / gaba a-ša₃ ma-an-gi.

account concerning the field of the governor of Girsu (TUT 4) was mentioned above as was the account concerning the subsistence barley of the governor of Umma. Fields allotted to members of the ruling elite were also recorded in the books, but no private fields have ever been found in the published record of Ur III Umma texts.⁸⁰

The neo-Sumerian account had three sections.⁸¹ The first section can be described as the “debits” of the person whose transactions were recorded and evaluated, i.e., “the accounted,” and the second as his “credits”. Between the “credits” section and the colophon, recording the date and the account information, the “operating balance” would be recorded. The “credits” and the “debits” sections were further sub-divided. Both sections were summaries of the primary documents recording the transactions of “the accounted” during the period of accounting. During this period the receipts were kept in tablet containers (Sumerian *pisan dub-ba*). The following text records the delivery of a number of tablet containers. Since this text names several different types of tablet containers, it may help us to understand how the ancients archived their documents; a piece of information otherwise lost due to the inadequate excavation methods and the perishable organic materials used for the tablet containers. The text is as follows:

80. See also J. Dahl, *AoF* 29 (2002) 333. The land-allotments given to the staff of the Inanna temple at Nippur hardly represents privately owned fields. See R. Zettler, “Field Plands from the Ur III Temple of Inanna at Nippur,” *ASJ* 11 (1989) 305 - 313.

81. R. Englund, “The Year: “Nissen returns joyous from a distant island,” *CDLJ* 2003:1 §8 figure 2. See also H. Neumann, “Ur-Dumuzida and Ur-Dun,” in J. G. Derckssen (ed.), *Trade and Finance in Ancient Mesopotamia*, Leiden 1997 (Istanbul, 1999) 45 - 46.

SANTAG 6, 20 (from Š 33 to Š 45):

Obverse.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. 1(diš) ⁸ⁱ pisan dub la ₂ -ia ₃ | One reed-container for deficit tablets, |
| 2. 1(diš) ⁸ⁱ pisan dub nig ₂ -ka ₉ nu-ak | One reed-container for
non-finalized account-documents, |
| 3. 1(diš) ⁸ⁱ pisan dub ensi ₂ ma-da | One reed-container for tablets of
the governor of the district, ⁸² |

Reverse.

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 1. 1(diš) ⁸ⁱ pisan dub ugu ₂ -a ga ₂ -ra | One reed-container for tablets |
|---|--------------------------------|

-
82. The term ma-da is thought to refer to areas outside of the core, the old provinces; however, a number of texts from both Umma, as well as Ur, mention an area called ma-da umma^{ki}. Although it cannot be ruled out that a copying error has resulted in this peculiar writing for <<ma>> da-umma^{ki}, it is plausible that the agricultural area of Umma was designated ma-da umma^{ki}. The examples are:

From Umma:

BRM 3, 174 (no date) (bullae): pisan dub-ba / dub lu₂ ensi₂ ma-da-ke₄-ne / i₃-gal₂, “tablet container; the documents concerning the men of the governor of the rural area’s are present.”

BM 106076 (unpubl.) (no date), rev. ii 30; šuku dab₅-ba sipa unu₃ ma-da umma^{ki}-ke₄-ne

MCS 5, 59 (= HSM 7970) (from Š 48 x), rev. 3: a-ša₃ ma-da umma^{ki}

Princeton 2, 111 (unpubl.) (from AS 4), rev. 1: ma-da umma^{ki}

UTI 4, 2887 (from AS 7), rev. 15-16: a-ša₃ eš₃ didli ma-da / giri₃ ur-gi₆-par₄ dub-sar

ArchBibel 1 (from AS 6 iv), rev. vi 6: a-ša₃ ma-da umma^{ki}

From Ur:

MVN 3, 316 (from IS 2), obv. 10: ʾ ša₃ ʾ e₂ dšara₂ ma-da umma^{ki}

UET 3, 1349 (from AS 9), obv. 4: ma-da umma^{ki}

UET 3, 1357 (from ŠS 9), rev. 16: ʾ 5(bur₃) ʾ a-ša₃ ma-da umma^{ki}

UET 3, 1385 (no date), rev. 4: ma-da umma^{ki}

UET 3, 1441 (from IS 3), obv. 7: ša₃ ma-da umma^{ki}

It should be noted that the Umma records differentiated between potters and ma-da potters.

	transferred to the debits.
2. kišib da-da-ga	Sealed by Dadaga,
3. kišib ša ₁₃ -dub-ba	Sealed by the accountant,
4. mu-us ₂ -sa a-ra ₂ 3-kam si-mu-ru-um	from the year: “after the third time
ba-ḥul-ta	Simurum was destroyed.”
5. mu ur-bi ₂ -lum ^{ki} -še ₃	to the year: “Urbilum (was destroyed)”.
6. 1(diš) ḡ ⁱ pisan dub en ₈ -tar	One reed-container for the documents
	of the diviner. ⁸³
7. 1(diš) ḡ ⁱ ma-ad-li ₂ -um kišib	One reed-madlûm, ⁸⁴ sealed by Lu-dingira.
lu ₂ -dingir-ra	

The first section of the neo-Sumerian account is called the sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra-kam. This term appears after the total of the first section, conforming to the overall textual structure of the account, placing the “header” at the end of the section it describes. A literal translation of the term sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra-kam, “it is the head of the goods”, is not very useful for decoding the administrative meaning of the term. A possible translation “it is the goods that are in the first section of the account,” based on the Sumerian names for the different sections of a cuneiform tablet is certainly much more correct.⁸⁵ To transfer goods to the first

83. According to N. Koslova, SANTAG 6 (notes to the text) read en₈(ŠA)-tar for en₃(LI)-tar.

84. Possibly a reed stand or hanger for the baskets. See MSL 6, line 102: ḡ^{eš}gur₂-ba-an-du₈ | MIN(= kip-pa-tum) mad-li-e, line 103: ḡ^{eš}gur₂-ba-an-du₈-du₈ | MIN(= kip-pa-tum) MIN(= mad-li-e). See also A. Salonen, *Die Hausgeräte der alten Mesopotamier nach sumerisch-akkadischen Quellen 1-2* (=AASF B 139, 144; Helsinki 1965-1966) 263: ḡ^{eš}gur₂-ba-an-du₈ = kippatu ša napāti “Bügel des napātu-Eimers”. And compare with CAD M (I). p. 19: madlû. According to N. Koslova, SANTAG 6, (notes to the text): “zu ḡⁱma-ad-li₂-um s. MVN 3:231 (ḡⁱma-ad-li₂-um pu₂-še₃), MVN 21:210, auch hier Text Nr.89 (ḡⁱma-di₃-li₂-um).”

section of an account is in Sumerian called to “place it on the ‘*ugu*₂’ of the person” (expressed in either the “imperfect” (*marû*) state (+ copula) /*ugu-a PN ġa.ġa-ed-am/ > ugu*₂-(a) PN *ga*₂-*ga*₂-dam,⁸⁶ or in the “perfect” (*hamṭu*) state /*ugu-a PN.ak-ak ba-a²-ġar/ > ugu*₂-(a) PN-(ka) *ba-a-gar*,⁸⁷ depending on the administrative activity recorded).⁸⁸ “*ugu*” is the equivalent of Akkadian *pānu(m)*, which in addition to “face,” etc., translates as the “front-side” of a tablet.⁸⁹ Likewise, *sag* is another word for the “head” of a tablet or the first part of the front side of a tablet. It is used as such in an independent context.⁹⁰ The reason for calling the “debits” by one word (*ugu*₂) when describing the act of transferring valuables to that section, while naming that same section another (*sag(-nig*₂-*gur*₁₁-*ra-kam*)) in the account is obscure to me; however, a solution might be found that is analogous to the juxtaposing of *la-ia*₃ with *si-i*₃-*tum* described below. It is worthwhile to note that among the

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85. *sag-dub* “head of the tablet.” See also AhW p. 975 *rēš*_{u(m)} meaning C (*Vorderseite*), and especially under meaning D (*Beginn, Anfang*): *i-na re-eš*₁₅ *nikkassē*, etc. see also R. Englund, CDLB 2003:1 §11 and fn. 15 (edition of Erlenmeyer 152), where *sag-ba* is understood as an abbreviation of *sag-nig*₂-*gur*₁₁-*ra-kam* (/sag-<nig₂-gur₁₁-ak-am>-bi-ak/).
86. See for example YOS 18, 123 (from AS 9), rev. viii 33: *ugu*₂ *a-kal-la ga*₂-*ga*₂-dam, and Princeton 1, 126 (no date), without enclitic copula (*am*₃), reverse line 2: *ugu*₂-*a ga*₂-*ga*₂-*de*₃, and finally Princeton 1, 404 (from AS 5 viii), obv. 4: *ugu*₂ *lugal-e*₂-*mah-e ga*₂-*ga*₂-dam.
87. See for example AUCT 1, 324 (from Š 43), obv. 3: *ugu*₂ *KAS*₄ *ba-a-gar*, BIN 5, 322 (from Š 32? xii), rev. 8: *ugu*₂ *šeš-a-ni-ka ba-a-gar*, L'uomo 47 (from IS 3), obv. 14: *ugu*₂ *nu-banda*₃-*gu*₄ *GAN*₂ *gibil ba-a-gar*.
88. See also MVN 16, 843 (from AS 8), “it shall not be placed on the ‘*ugu*’” (rev. 1: *ugu*₂-*a nu-ga*₂-*ga*₂).
89. See AHW p. 820 *pānu(m)* meaning C 2.
90. See fn. 82 above.

boxes in the text quoted above (SANTAG 6, 20, reverse line 1) we find a particular box destined for the texts termed “tablets transferred to the debits” (dub ugu₂-a ga₂-ra).

The sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra-kam can begin with a remainder from the previous account (mostly from the previous year), if such a remainder exists.⁹¹ A remainder is called si-i₃-tum. si-i₃-tum is an Akkadian loan-word in Sumerian, presumably borrowed during the Old Akkadian period.⁹² The “remainder” (si-i₃-tum) is always expressed in the medium of equivalence of the particular type of account in which it appears.⁹³

The “remainder” (si-i₃-tum) is the “deficit” (Sumerian la₂-ia₃) from a previous account carried forward to the next. It has proven possible to demonstrate that the “remainder” (si-i₃-tum) is the “deficit” (la₂-ia₃) carried forward, using the many cases where accounts can be strung together forming a sequence of running accounts.⁹⁴ If a “remainder” (si-i₃-tum) is present, it will always occupy the first slot of the sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra-kam. A

91. The accounting period was normally one year; irregularities could appear either due to a change of power in Ur (an external reason), or due to the early settlement of a deficit, either in the case of the death of “the accounted”, or (presumably) following his wish or ability to settle a large deficit (an internal reason). Several examples of accounts running for several years, constantly carrying forward a negative remainder can be found from the Umma sources; see in that regard D. Snell, *Ledgers and Prices* (= YNER 8; Yale 1982) 103 - 108.

92. See I. Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian* (= MAD 3; Chicago 1957) 262.

93. An exception is for example TCL 5, 6036, where no equivalence was used for raw-materials such as wood-beams that also make up the “remainder”.

94. See R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 33 - 48, Englund speaks about “hard” and “soft” evidence for the si-i₃-tum being the la₂-ia₃ carried forward; as “hard” evidence he counts the sequence of damgar accounts established by D. Snell, *Ledgers* (1982) 34.

number of documents further specify the “remainder” (si-i₃-tum) by calling it the “remainder (of the account) of the Y(ear) N(ame)” (si-i₃-tum (nig₂-ka₉-ak) mu YN),⁹⁵ thus further clarifying the administrative nature of the si-i₃-tum, as the remainder of the account (from the previous accounting period). The first basket in the receipt quoted above (SANTAG 6, 20) was destined to hold the “deficit” (la₂-ia₃) tablets, presumably so that these could be entered into the accounts of the following accounting period. We know that a “la₃-ia₃” had to be fulfilled (la₃-ia₃ su-ga), and it is therefore hard to understand it as other than an arrear.

The sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra-kam was typically made up of stock goods or the work-days of a regular work crew. In the case of an account concerning the trade agents, or any other account concerned with staple goods, such as the barley accounts, the first section consists mostly of durable goods. These goods were transferred to that section by officials of central households or workshops. In the accounts concerning work, the first section commonly consisted of the work-days of a permanent work-crew with various additions. Equivalences

95. See for example the wool-account of the governor, mentioned on pp. 201 - 203: AAICAB 1, 1924-666 (from AS 3), obv. i 2: si-i₃-tum mu ^damar-^dsuen lugal-e ur-bi₂-lum^{ki} mu-^hul. See also Erlenmeyer 152, obv. i 2: si-i₃-tum mu ^dsu-^dsuen lugal, and finally the “damgar”-account concerning Ur-Dumuzida from AS 4, Ledgers pl. 4, 3, obv. i 2: si-i₃-tum mu gu-za ^den-lil₂-la₂ ba-dim₂. An account recording a substantial deficit (more than 11 mana of silver) of Ur-Dumuzida, the trade-agent, from the year AS 3 has recently been published (SANTAG 6, 119 [from AS 3 x]). Since the “remainder” recorded in Ledgers pl. 4, 3, is less than one-third of a mana, we can speculate that Ur-Dumuzida in the meanwhile had dealt with his deficit. This is in part proven by the account concerning Ur-Dumuzida from AS 4 i, STA 22, which reduces a deficit of 2 1/3 mana to the same deficit later entered into the year-end account Ledgers pl. 4, 3. Several other records deal with the activities of Ur-Dumuzida around this year. See also H. Neumann, “Ur-Dumuzida and Ur-Dun,” (Istanbul 1999) 48 - 50.

were used throughout the neo-Sumerian accounting system in order to compute totals. We find the total immediately preceding the header, sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra-kam. No media of equivalence was used when the account included very distinct materials such as wood.⁹⁶

Since the sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra-kam section consisted of the “remainder” (si-i₃-tum) carried forward from the previous account, and the staple goods or work-days of a permanent work-crew transferred to the account (ugu₂-a ba-a-gar) by state officials, it is justified to propose that the sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra-kam represented the “debits” of “the accounted”.⁹⁷

96. TCL 5, 6036 (AS 4), treated below pp. 83 - 86, see also AAS 135 (AS 3 i to xii), where wool of varying qualities are listed separately.

97. B. Foster wrote (dealing with the Old Akkadian accounts) (B. Foster, *Umma in the Sargonic Period* (= *Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Science*, Vol. 20; Connecticut 1982)11): “In its fullest form, a balanced account (nig-kas₇-ak) consisted of an amount on hand (sag nig-GA-ra), disbursements (zi-ga), and amounts due or carried over(là(l)u).” See for example the texts MCS 9, 236; Nik 2, 76 and SP 22, 55, for examples of balanced accounts from the Old Akkadian period. D. Snell believed that the first section of the large accounts (which he called balanced) was the credit, or as he writes “capital,” of “the accounted”. He translated the term sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra-kam as “the head of what has been deposited”, and based on the similarity of this translation, and the Latin root for capital, he gave another translation: “It is the capital.” (D. Snell, *Ledgers* (1982) 25). M. Powell, understood the sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra-kam as being the property of the merchant, and translated the term as “that which is over and above the basic makkūru.” (M. Powell, “Sumerian Merchants and the Problem of Profit,” *IRAQ* 39 (= *Rencontre* 23 Birmingham) (1977) 23-29, especially 27). In favor of the viewpoint expressed in this study see R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 16-17.

In this connection it may be advantageous to consider the following short account BIN 5, 114 (from Š 47), in which the remainder is not called the “deficit” (la₂-ia₃) but rather the “remainder” (si-i₃-tum) of “the accounted”:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. 4(geš'u) 6(geš ₂) 2(u) 9(aš) 4(barig)
še gur | 2,789 gur and 4 barig of barley,
(is the “debits”), |
| 2. ša ₃ -bi-ta | Therefrom, |
| 3) 1(geš'u) 9(geš ₂) 1(ban ₂)
5(diš) sila ₃ še-ba gur | 1,140 gur 1 ban 5 sila barley rations, |
| 4) 2(geš ₂) zi ₃ -ba-[ba] gur | 120 gur flour rations, |
| 5) mu en ^d nanna maš-e i ₃ -pad ₃ | (in the) year: “the En-priest of
Nanna was chosen”. |
| 7. 1(geš'u) 4(geš ₂) 3(u) 3(aš) 3(barig)
2(ban ₂) še-ba gur | 873 gur 3 barig 2 ban of barley rations, |
| 8. mu si-mu-ru-um ^{ki} lu-lu-bu-um ^{ki}
a-ra ₂ 1(u) la ₂ 1(diš)-kam ba-ḥul | (in the) year: “Simurum and Lulubum
were destroyed for the 9 th time”. |
| 9. 2(geš ₂) 6(aš) 3(barig) še gur | 126 gur and 3 barig of barley, |
| Reverse. | |
| 1. kišib lugal-ušur _x (LAL ₂ .TUG ₂)-ra | Sealed by Lugal-ušura, |
| 2. mu ki-maš ^{ki} ba-ḥul | (in the) year: “Kimaš was destroyed”. |
| 3. ŠU+ ^Γ NIGIN ₂ ^Γ [3(geš'u)] ^Γ 5(geš ₂) ^Γ 4(u)
1(barig) 1(ban ₂) 5(diš) sila ₃ še gur | Total: 2,140 gur 1 barig 1 ban
5 sila of barley. |
| 4. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 2(geš ₂) dabin gur | Total: 120 gur flour. |
| 5. zi-ga-am ₃ | is torn out. |
| 6. 8(geš ₂) 4(u) 9(aš) 2(barig) 2!(ban ₂)
5(diš) sila ₃ še gur | 529 gur 2 barig, 4 ban and 5 sila barley, |
| 7. si-i ₃ -tum | (is the) “remainder” |
| 8. lu ₂ -dingir-ra šabra | (of the account concerning) Lu-dingira, |

the chief administrator.

9. mu-us₂-sa ki-maš^{ki} ba-ḥul

Year: “after Kimaš was destroyed”.

In this text the negative balance is called the “remainder”, and not the “arrear” (la₂-ia₃), again reinforcing the position that the first section of the account represented the “debits” of “the accounted”, and, subsequently that the second section represented his “credits.”⁹⁸

The second section of an account was called ša₃-bi-ta ... zi-ga-am₃ (literally “... is torn out from its middle”). It represented the “credits” of the account. ša-bi-ta introduced the section and zi-ga-am₃ terminated it, following immediately upon the total of the section. zi(g)-a is understood as “to book out”, its Akkadian equivalent elû, “to raise,” has in CAD the meaning “to debit” said particularly about accounts. Numerous Drehem texts have the subscript ki PN-ta zi-ga-am₃, which is interpreted as “booked out from the account of PN.” However, zi.g can also be equivalent to Akkadian nasāḥu, “to tear out” which may, indeed make better sense in this respect, since we see, literally, that the goods are torn out of the middle of the “debits”

98. The calculations are:

$$\begin{array}{r} \underline{46.29;4,0} \quad .. \\ -19.00;0,1 \ 5 \ sila_3 \\ (-> \ zi_3 \ summarized \ as \ dabin) \ -02.00;0,0 \quad .. \\ -14.33;3,2 \quad .. \\ \underline{-02.06;3,0} \quad .. \\ = \underline{\underline{08.49;2,2 \ 5 \ sila_3}} \end{array}$$

The copy has 8(geš₂) 4(u) 9(aš) 2(barig) 4(ban₂) 5(diš) sila₃, this is probably an error for 2(ban₂).

SNAT 395 (from AS 8) is an example of a text recording only the “credits” of an account. The colophon reads (rev. 13): nig₂-ka₉-bi nu-ak zi-ga-aš ba-DU, “its account has not (yet) been made, it has been brought to the ‘credits’.” However, the text is like any other credit section of a large account; I have even been able to locate one of the receipts used to draw up the account, MVN 14, 369, (from AS 8 v), which relates to obverse lines 3 and 6 of SNAT 395.

The “credits” section recorded the actual deliveries, or work-performance of the work-crew, as these were recorded in the primary documents.⁹⁹ The section was split in two when the transactions recorded involved a complex production. The second half of the “split-credits” was used to calculate the equivalencies of the manufactured products. The first half recounted only the individual receipts. By “booking out” and meeting his requirements, the agent of the state took part in a “planned” economy. Most deliveries and work-tasks followed “standing orders.”¹⁰⁰

99. V. V. Struve, who was the first to realize that the primary documents were summarized in the large accounts (V. Struve, “Some new data” [1969] 156 - 157, showing the relationship between BIN 5, 262 and BIN 5, 272, obv. vi 17-22), was among the few scholars during the first three quarters of the 20th century who understood the “planned economy” nature of neo-Sumerian accounts. I draw attention in particular to the treatment of the account TCL 5, 6036 by B. Landsberger, *The Date Palm and its By-products according to the Cuneiform Sources* (= Archiv für Orientforschung 6; 1967) 7 - 10, as an example of the misunderstanding by even the leading Sumerologists of the structure of the neo-Sumerian account.

100. See also D. Snell, *Ledgers* (1982) 96 - 99 + Appendix 2 (270 - 278).

The third and last section of the account, which has already been mentioned in our discussion of the typology of the accounts, may hold the “operating balance” of the account. An “operating balance” occurred if the total value of the first and the second section of the account were not of equal size. If the total value of the first section, the *sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra-kam*, or the “debits” of “the accounted”, exceeded the total value of the second section, the *ša₃-bi-ta ... zi-ga*, or the “credits” of “the accounted”, a negative “operating balance” would be recorded. A negative “operating balance”, or a deficit (Sumerian *la₂-ia₃*) could as we have seen be transferred to the “debits” section of the following account. Eventually, “deficits” could be collected by the state, and we have abundant evidence for the fulfillment, or redemption, of “deficits” (*la₂-ia₃ si-ga* or *su(-ga)*). If the total value of the second section of the account, on the other hand, exceeded the total value of the first section, then a positive “operating balance” would be recorded. A positive “operating balance”, or a surplus, (Sumerian *diri(g)*) could be transferred to the “credits” section of the following account. More often than not, however, “the accounted” would presumably treat this surplus as his private property and it would not appear in any written records. If “the accounted” met the requirements of the “debits” section, and the total value of each of the two sections were of equal size, no “operating balance” would be recorded. Since the primary documents testify to the production related nature of the accounts, there is little evidence to favor a classification of the neo-Sumerian account as a balanced account. There was simply no attempt made to balance the accounts; instead only the “debits” and the “credits” tablets kept in different baskets during the period of accounting were recorded. At the end of the accounting period the tablet containers were emptied and their contents arranged chronologically (when dealing

with agricultural accounts), or hierarchically (when dealing with all other accounts), recording the largest, most important receipts first. By working in this way the accountant would instantly know the format of the account and the job of drawing it up would be reduced to copying the receipts, re-formulating the wording slightly and adding up the totals. Often the scribes would use edges or blank spaces to scribble numerical notations used for the computation of the totals.

Ample evidence exists that suggests that the state vigorously collected outstanding debts and any unsettled “operating balance”, even claiming these assets from the households of deceased agents.¹⁰¹

101. See, firstly, the evidence presented by R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 38 - 43 and 46 - 48, and compare with BE 3-1, 13 (from ŠS 8 ii), a short text from North Mesopotamia suggesting the hard penalties befalling an agent who failed to make good on his deficit (in this case documented in clauses of a legal record). SANTAG 7, 172, a silver / barley loan seemingly with a 100% interest rate also presents evidence of this.

The equivalencies:

Equivalencies—the general term used in ethno-economics as well as historical economics for sets of (fixed) conversion rates—were widely employed in ancient Mesopotamia, where they are perhaps best known from the “damgar”-accounts.¹⁰² The equivalencies, however, were not restricted to the “damgar”-accounts; rather, they were applied throughout the Ur III administration. The implementation of the equivalencies seems to be the result of a “planned” economy, and can be studied as a characteristic of state control. As long as the Ur III state was a well functioning administrative machine, the equivalency rates remained almost completely fixed. Coinciding with the economic recession early in the reign of Ibbi-Suen, following the breakaway of the provinces, a serious inflation in the equivalence rates can be observed.¹⁰³

The fractional relationship between products (including work) and the medium of equivalence was expressed in the following terms: “product: its equivalence is x units of y,” (e.g., 1(aš) še gur / ku₃-bi 1(diš) gin₂). The rate at which the product was converted into its equivalence value is easily computed: following the calculations of the Ur III administrators we shall express this rate as “how much of the product one unit of the medium of equivalence can fetch.”¹⁰⁴

102. See R. Halperin, “The Concept of Equivalencies in Economic Anthropology,” *Research in Economic Anthropology*, Volume 14 (1993) 255 - 298. See also K. Polanyi, “Marketless Trading” (1957) 20 - 22.

103. See Th. Jacobsen, “The Reign of Ibbisin,” *JCS* 7 (1953) 36-47, and T. Gomi, “On the Critical Economic Situation at Ur Early in the Reign of Ibbisin,” *JCS* 36 (1984) 211-242.

The main reason for hypothesizing that the equivalencies were state-imposed—acknowledging that there exists no hard evidence in the form of conversion tables¹⁰⁵—lies in the fact that most of the equivalencies represented a nearly perfect fractional relationship between product and equivalence. The fact that these fixed conversion rates were employed by the administrators with a certain rigidity is thought to be good confirmation of this. The best known neo-Sumerian medium of equivalence, silver, has from time to time been understood as money.¹⁰⁶ Subsequently, it has been suggested that the silver equivalencies recorded the amounts of silver used to purchase the products listed in the accounts concerning the “trade agents.” Silver was only one among many products, that together with the concept of man-days, could function as a medium of equivalence. These equivalencies were applied to the counted objects of the account with a double purpose. First of all, the

104. Note, therefore, that the way D. Snell presented the equivalency rates is misleading (D. Snell, *Ledgers* [1982]). In Snell’s system the equivalency rates become prices, since he translated them into the amount the basic unit of the good equates to, e.g., one unit of product x, equals y units of the medium of equivalence (in Snell’s analysis mostly silver). D. Snell discussed what he called the two options faced by the ancient when trying to express what Snell termed “prices” (p. 116). The “a” option conforming with the one expressed in this study was rejected by Snell as a viable way of presenting the equivalences, and the “b” option giving the number of units one “unit” of the product/work could fetch. Snell’s argument for this solution is hard to follow; he seems to base it on the few instances where equivalence does not represent a nice fraction, and the few cases where the “product” was equated with more than one unit of the media of equivalence. Such an argument is hardly viable when considered in light of the many instances of explicitly stated equivalencies in the texts themselves, all of which were expressed as “how much one unit of the media of equivalence can fetch.” D. Snell’s terminology implies supply and demand in a price-making market system, which is without foundation in the extant record.

105. It may be possible to consider the first 11 paragraphs of, e.g., the Laws of Eshnunna such a codified list of equivalencies (See M. Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor* (Atlanta 1997) 59 - 60.

106. W. Hallo and J. B. Curtis, *HUCA* 30 (1959) 105, 108 and 112.

equivalencies were introduced to ease the computation of the valuables recorded in the account. When adding numerous discrete objects, the equivalencies made the calculation of the total an easy task. Secondly, supplying each product with a set conversion rate, which presumably resembled an expected value, the administrators hoped to maximize the production.

Sometimes the equivalencies were explicitly stated in the text, as for example in BM 106050 (unpubl.), rev. vii 5 - 6: 4(diš) gin₂ ku₃-sig₁₇ huš-a 1(u) 5(diš)-ta / ku₃-bi 1(diš) ma-na “4 shekel of red gold, at a rate of 15 (shekel silver for each shekel gold) / its silver is 1 mana”. The text Fs. Jones 216 (from AS 3 i), provides a clue to why the accountants would specify the equivalence rate of gold; we read, obv. ii 7 - 8: 1(diš) gin₂ ku₃-sig₁₇ 7(diš)-ta / ku₃-bi 7(diš) gin₂ “1 shekel of gold, at a rate of 7 (shekels silver for each shekel gold), its silver is 7 shekels.” The rates for gold varied greatly, corresponding to the quality of the gold, and the specific quality of the gold could be described by its equivalence value.¹⁰⁷ Another way to translate the previous example is thus “1 shekel of *seven-shekel* gold”, and to treat this explicit equivalence as a quality marker, comparable to the modern unit karat.

107. When the equivalence value was not specified, gold was normally exchanged at a rate of seven shekels of silver, or less, to each shekel of gold. See AUCT 2, 173 (from Š 40 v), where one shekel of gold is equivalent to 6 2/3 shekels of silver; MVN 4, 147 (from Š 45), where the rate is at 6 1/2 shekels of silver for one shekel gold; and MVN 11, 165 (from Š 39), where the rate is at 7 shekels of silver for one shekel of gold. This text mentions a wrist-band (HAR) weighing 1 mana (Rev. l, 1) with an equivalence value of a little more than 7 mana of silver. AAICAB 1, 1911-483 (from ŠS 6 x), (lines 1 and 2) has a very high exchange rate of more than 30 shekels of silver for one shekel of gold. Finally, note that in SACT 2, 119 (from AS 5), the exchange rate is 8. See line 1 - 2: igi-4(diš)-gal₂ ku₃-sig₁₇ / ku₃-bi 2(diš) gin “1/4 (shekel) gold, its silver is 2 shekels.”

The accountant who wrote MVN 11, 101, an account concerning Ur-Šulpa'e the trade-agent (dam-gar₃), from Š 43 xii to Š 44 i, applied a set of explicit conversion rates to calculate the equivalencies of all the products in the text.¹⁰⁸

It begins with a “debits” section as follows:

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. 3(u) 9(aš) 3(ban ₂) še gur lugal | 39 gur 3 ban of barley, |
| | according to the royal gur, |
| 2. ku ₃ 1(diš) gin ₂ -a 1(aš) še gur lugal | in 1 shekel of silver, 1 royal gur of barley, |
| 3. ku ₃ -bi 1/2(diš) ma-na 9(diš) gin ₂ | its silver is 1/2 mana 9 shekel, |
| 1(u) 8(diš) še | 18 grains. |

The first entry in the “credits” section is:

- | | |
|---|--|
| 7. 3(aš) esir e ₂ -a gur | 3 gur of e'a bitumen, |
| 8. ku ₃ 1(diš) gin ₂ -a 1(barig) | in 1 shekel of silver, 1 barig e'a bitumen |
| esir e ₂ -a lugal-ta | each, according to the royal measure, |
| 9. 1 (gur) 4(barig) 2(ban ₂) 8(diš) sila ₃ | 1 gur 4 barig 2 ban 8 sila of e'a bitumen, |
| esir e ₂ -a gur 1(barig) 3(ban ₂)-ta | 1 barig 3 ban each, |
| 10. ku ₃ -bi 1/3 ^{ša1} (diš) 1(diš) 1/3(diš) gin ₂ | its silver is 1/3 (mana) 1 1/3 shekel, |
| la ₂ 4(diš) še | minus 4 grains. |

That is, in other words, 3 gur of e'a bitumen, at a rate of 1 shekel silver for each 60 sila e'a bitumen, and 1 gur and 268 sila of e'a bitumen, (at a rate of 1 shekel of silver) for

108. R. Englund already cited the text OrSP 47-49, 196 (from Š 37 xi), R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 52 + fn. 177. Several other examples are found in the Girsu text TUT 122 (from Š 39 to Š 40), see for example iv 4' - 7': 8(diš) sila₃ šim gig 8(diš) sila₃-ta / ku₃-bi 1(diš) gin₂ / 1(ban₂) 5(diš) sila₃ i₃ ṣah₂ 1(ban₂) 5(diš) sila₃-ta / ku₃-bi 1(diš) gin₂, “8 sila of šim gig, at a rate of 8 sila each (shekel), its silver is 1 shekel. 15 sila lard, at a rate of 15 sila each (shekel), its silver is 1 shekel.”

each 90 sila (of e'a bitumen).¹⁰⁹ It is interesting here to note how the full equivalency rate is written in the first case, but the second time only an abbreviated statement is written down. The entire text (MVN 11, 101) states the equivalence rates in a similar fashion.

In some of the texts published in UET 3, the equivalence rates were stated explicitly. This may be explained by the fact that all of these texts originate from Ur during the reign of Ibbi-Suen, and therefore fall within the period of time when we expect to find an inflation in the equivalency rates. The phenomenon of explicitly stated equivalency rates may well be a symptom of a degrading economic system.¹¹⁰

All goods could be furnished with equivalencies like the ones described above. These rates were, however, as a rule not explicitly stated in the texts. The fact that equivalencies were almost never written in the primary documents suggests that the equivalencies were not

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109. Note that this is written /ku(g) diš gin-a(loc.) aš še gur lugal/, literally “in one shekel (is) one gur barley.” Compare to MVN 11, 102 (from AS 3), where the equivalency rate of e'a bitumen is expressed in a similar fashion. Further TUT 121 (from AS 9), where 5 shekels of silver fetch 1 gur of e'a bitumen (see reverse, column 3, lines 5'-6'); that text also uses explicitly stated equivalency rates throughout. See also HLC 398 (pl. 152) (no date), where equivalency rates are used, and the value of e'a bitumen and dry(?) bitumen is computed together, rev. iii 2-4: 3(aš) 2(barig) 3(ban₂) esir₂ e₂-a^Γ x^Γ 1(barig) 2(ban₂)-ta / 4(u) 9(diš) gu₂ esir₂ had₂ 1(u)-ta / ku₃-bi 1(u) 9!(diš) gin₂ 4(u)! 1/2(diš) še, “3 gur and 210 sila₃ of e'a bitumen, at a rate of 80 sila₃, 49 talents of dry(?) bitumen, at a rate of 10 talents, its silver is 19 shekel and 4 1/2 grains” (1150 sila e'a bitumen divided by 80, equals 14 3/8. 49 talents of dry(?) bitumen divided by 10 equals 4 9/10. The total is 14 3/8 + 4 9/10 or 19 11/40; the total recorded in the text is off by 0.05 shekel). In MVN 17, 62 (no date), column 2, lines 6' to 9', and reverse 4 lines 1 to 4, e'a bitumen and dry(?) bitumen is calculated using explicit equivalence rates, but not computed together.
110. The texts are UET 3, 1165 (from IS 7 xi), 1198 (from IS 3), 1207 (no date), 1309 (from IS 8 vii), 1377 (from IS 6 viii), 1422 (from IS 8 xi), and 1514 (from IS 3).

prices, but rather state-imposed conversion rates, applied with the sole purpose of aiding the computation of the rate of fulfilment of the obligations, as expressed when subtracting the “credits” from the “debits.”

Barley could function as a medium of equivalence, and could also be transferred into workdays. In the accounts concerning overseers of the mill, barley would be converted into the work-days of female workers.¹¹¹ The work-days of “hirelings” who were added to almost all work-teams concerned with agricultural work were recorded in the books as an amount of barley—the conversion was always specified according to the category of the “hireling,” who normally worked at a rate of 6-7 liters per day.¹¹²

Work-days could function as a medium of equivalence, applied in a very similar fashion to barley or silver equivalencies. The amount of work required as a satisfactory equivalence of one man-day seems to have been rigorously established. Departures from the standard equivalences were based on extraneous circumstances such as the condition of the soil.¹¹³ The complex equivalencies used to calculate the teams who harrowed and plowed the fields, as well as the complex equivalencies used to compute the work-days used in manufacturing of goods will be described below.

Equivalencies were also used in the administration of animal husbandry. The herders were responsible for delivering a certain amount of the products from their flocks each year,

111. See R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 81 - 90.

112. K. Maekawa, “Rations, Wages and Economic Trends in the Ur III Period,” *AoF* 16 (1989) 47 - 48, See also J. Dahl, *AoF* 29 (2002) 333.

calculated according to the size of the herd. The products of sheep and goats were wool and meat, while the products from large cattle were primarily dairy products, meat, horns, hides, and tendons, not to mention the increase in the herd.

Typically, the administrative records bundled all the animals of a shepherd together and calculated the amount of wool that he was obliged to produce according to the entire herd. Accordingly it has been impossible to establish whether the accountants used a specific set of equivalencies when computing the amounts listed in these texts. The products from cattle, in particular the dairy production and the increase in the herds, is well understood. The administration used a set of equivalencies, resembling estimates, when planning the production and growth of each herd of cattle.¹¹⁴ Other products from cattle, such as hides, meat, horns, and tendons, also entered the economy, but no equivalency rates between the herds and these products have been found.¹¹⁵

113. A man-day was the equivalent of, e.g., a volume of earth to be excavated of the approximate size of 3 m³. See, for example, Aegyptus 8, 264 11 (from AS 3), obv. 4 - 7: 5(u) 4(diš) sar kin saḥar / guruš 10 gin₂-ta / a₂-bi u₄ 5(geš₂) 2(u) 4(diš) / i₇ a-du₁₀-ga ba-al-la “an area of 54 (cubic) sar (ca. 972 m³) to be excavated, each worker (each day) 1/6 (unit of 36 cubic sar, ca. 3 m³), its work is 324 days, excavating the *Sweet-water-canal*”. The man-day equivalence rate of hoeing was between 72 and 288 m² It seems as if the area an unskilled state-dependent worker was required to hoe was between 144 and 180 square-meters. The hirelings (lu₂-ḥun-ga₂), on the other hand, were apparently required to hoe an area considerably larger, perhaps corresponding to their larger daily provisions (whereas the guruš generally received 2 sila of barley each day, the hireling could receive approximately 6).

114. See R. Englund, OrNS 64 (1995) 377-429.

115. See R. Englund, CDLB 2003:1 §18 - §21.

Silver was furnished with an equivalency in rare cases.¹¹⁶ In these cases silver is likely to have existed as a commodity with a set value. An explanation should probably be sought in the system of obligations and deficits and their replacement or fulfillment. It is likely that an obligation expressed in any specific product could be redeemed by an equivalence of silver.¹¹⁷

The equivalencies of the Ur III administration were an efficient means of exploiting the producing population and the land. It seems that the equivalencies mostly corresponded to a rate of production which the producers could not achieve, accumulating deficits each year.¹¹⁸ R. Englund has described this process, as well as the liability of the debtor in some detail. It is most likely that the state employee mentioned in the colophon of an account was liable for the “operating balance”, in extreme cases threatening his own life as well as that of his family.¹¹⁹ The text BE 3-1, 13, cited above, serves to support that observation.

The examples of explicit equivalency rates shown here represent only a sample of exceptional references.¹²⁰ The majority of the equivalencies were simply calculated and

116. See, for example, CHEU 51 (no date), obv. 5: 7(diš) gin₂ ku₃-babbar siki-bi 1(diš) gu₂ 1(u) ma-na “7 shekel of silver, its wool is 1 talent and 10 mana.”

117. See, for example, CHEU 51, obv. 6: ħe₂-sa₆-ge na-gada ... etc. ..., rev. 17 - 19: la₂-ia₃-ta su-ga / sipa-de₃-ne / mu-DU, “Hesaga, shepherd, etc., replaced from the deficit, the shepherds brought in.”

118. D. Snell, on the other hand, is of the conviction that “From comparison of prices for different volumes of the same commodity, one can see that the agency was not interested in maximizing return on the money spent; it was interested only in making sure that the bureau were properly supplied.” (D. Snell, “The Activities of some Merchants of Umma,” Iraq 39 (= Rencontre 23, Birmingham) (1977) 50)

119. See R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 38-48.

written in the books, almost always applying the same rates for the same products. No lists of such rates have ever been recovered from Mesopotamia, but they most certainly existed, although it is, of course possible that the accountants would memorize the many rates.

120. Sometimes the equivalency rate and medium are stated, but not the actual equivalency, as in BSA 3, 40 1 (from AS 2 xi), rev. iii 1: 1(u) 5(diš) sa sum sikil 8(diš) gin₂-ta, “15 bundles of onions, at a rate of 8 shekels each.” Compare to TUT 121 (from AS 9), where the equivalence rate for “crushed” (gaz) onions is stated to be 6 shekels each. No equivalency value is recorded there either.

The structure of the primary documents:

Whereas the accounts were top-level administrative texts, summarizing all other documents,¹²¹ the primary documents, the receipts, were the building-blocks of the administrative machinery. These documents were, of course, the most numerous of all neo-Sumerian cuneiform tablets. All of the primary documents were summarized in either the “debits” or the “credits” of the accounts. The format of the receipts, or the primary documents, can be defined according to their position and function within in the administrative system.

Primary documents relating to the “damgar” accounts, and any other account using silver as the equivalency, or concerned with the transfer of raw materials, generally conform to the format of the so-called “šu ti-a” documents.

The typical “šu ti-a” document takes the following form:

<u>Standard form:</u>	<u>AAS 72 (from Š 46):</u>	<u>Translation:</u>
<i>Product</i>	5(diš) 5/6(diš) gin ₂ ku ₃ -babbar	5 5/6 shekel of silver,
ki PN ₁ -ta	ki a-kal-la ašgab-ta	from Ayakala the leather
worker,		
PN ₂	da-da-ga	Dadaga,
šu ba-ti	šu ba-ti	received.
	(blank space)	
<i>Date</i>	mu ki-maš ^{ki} ba-ḫul	Year: “Kimaš was destroyed”.

121. Except for texts such as the “tablet container” tags (pisan-dub-ba), and other inventory texts.

Evidently this simple format could not always be followed.¹²² Sealed “š u ti-a” documents mostly carried the seal-impression of the person who received the goods,¹²³ but sometimes another party was introduced in the text, specifically being named as the sealing party. As a rule, the party who it is said in the document sealed the transaction also did so.¹²⁴ Notable deviations to this rule, involving members of the ruling family of Umma, are discussed below. A few texts mention explicitly that a seal other than that of the receiving party had been used.¹²⁵

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122. Grammatical variations were rare. Only a few texts use the ergative case-marker on the agent, and the 3rd person marker in the verbal prefix chain (/PN-e š u ba-n-ti/ ; the ergative is predominantly expressed following the genitive case-maker ak /ak-e/ > -ke₄, since most personal names were genitive constructions), see, for example, AUCT 3, 248/249 (from AS 7 xii), rev. 1-2; MVN 21, 162 (from Š 48 ii), obv. 5 - 6; and YOS 4, 39 (from ŠS 9 ix), obv. 6-7.
123. Exceptions are, for example, Aleppo 61 (from Š 34 vii), obv. 5: a-nu-u₂-a š u ba-ti, the document is sealed with the seal of Ur-Šara the son of Lugal-usur, the captain of the (plow-)oxen of Šara. AnOr 1, 256 (from AS 6), obv. 4 - 5: lu₂-^den-lil₂-la₂ š u ba-ti, the document is sealed with the seal of Lugal-si-NE-[e] son of Lugalsaga. CHEU 86 (from Š 39 xi), obv. 5: lu₂-i₃-zu š u ba-ti, the document is sealed with the seal of Ur-ama, the išib-priest of Nin-da-Lagaš. In a few cases the delivering party is also the sealing party, for example, Aleppo 119 (from Š 33 vii), obv. 3-4: ki ur-^dšara₂-ta / ur-zu š u ba-ti, the document is sealed with the seal of Ur-Šara, and Aleppo 126 (no date), obv. 2-4: ki lugal-ezem-ta / lugal-a₂-zi-da / š u ba-ti, the document is sealed with the seal of Lugal-ezem (Lugal-ezem, scribe, son of Lugal-Emaḫe, chief administrator).
124. See, for example, AAICAB 1, 1911-489 (from Š 45 xii), rev. 5 - 7: ki lugal-ezem-ta / lu₂-eb-gal š u ba-ti / kišib bi₂-du₁₁-ga, the document is sealed with the seal of Biduga.
125. In DC 283 (from ŠS 6 iii), it is directly said that PN sealed instead of PN who received, obv. 5 to rev. 9: ki KA-guru₇-ta / ad-da-kal-la / š u ba-ti / mu ad-da-kal-la-še₃ / kišib ur-kin-na-ke₄, the document is sealed with the seal of Ur-kinake, the son of Ḫamati. See also the parallel text ASJ 19, 220 58 (from ŠS 5 xi), where another (?) son of Ḫamati, Ur-balanga, rolled his seal. See also the similar text AUCT 3, 279 (from AS 7 i).

In the accounts, the “šu-ti-a” documents were entered in the format “kišib PN” (sealed tablet of PN).¹²⁶ The equivalencies were applied to the valuables only when the receipts were being quoted in the accounts. The one-to-one correspondence between the primary documents and the accounts, together with the absence of equivalencies from the primary documents, is the main argument behind the classification of the large accounts as records of the central organization.

Primary records concerning work traditionally conform to the following format:

<u>Standard form:</u>	<u>MVN 3, 265 (from ŠS 4):</u>	<u>Translation:</u>
<i>n workers</i> u ₄ n-še ₃	2(u) 7(diš) guruš ša ₃ -gu ₄ u ₄ 1(diš)-še ₃	27 workers, ox-drivers, to one day, (= 27 man-days of ox-drivers)
<i>work task</i>	ki-su ₇ saḥar-u ₂ -u ₂ -ka gub-ba	placed at the threshing-floor of the Saḥaru-u field.
<i>ugula PN</i>	ugula ur- ^d nin-su	Foreman: Ur-Ninsu,
<i>kišib PN</i>	kišib e ₂ -gal-e-si	Sealed by Egalesi.
<i>Date</i>	mu bad ₃ mar-tu ba-du ₃	Year: “the wall was built”.
<i>Seal</i>	e ₂ -gal-e-si dub-sar dumu lu ₂ - ^d šara ₂ sag-du ₅ -ka	Egalesi, scribe, son of Lu-Šara, land-surveyor.

126. See for example R. Englund, “The Year: “Nissen returns joyous from a distant island”,” CDLJ 2003:1, §14 + figure 4 (edition of Erlenmeyer 152).

The same terminology was used when transferring dead animals¹²⁷ and products of animal-husbandry.¹²⁸ A slightly different type of document was used to record the fodder for animals,¹²⁹ rations for humans,¹³⁰ as well as offerings for the gods.¹³¹

See for example the short text Aleppo 299 (from ŠS 4 vi):

Obv.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. 1(barig) še-ba lugal | 1 barig of barley rations
(according to the) royal (gur). |
| 2. [...] | [...] ¹³² |
| 3. nu-banda ₃ gu ₄ | the captain of the (plow-)oxen, |
| 4. guru ₇ e ₂ -amar-ra-ta | From the granary of the E'amar, |
| 5. ki gu-du-du-ta | From Gududu, |
| 6. kišib lugal-ḫe ₂ -gal ¹³³ | Sealed by Lugal-ḫegal. |

Rev.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 1. kišib lu ₂ - ^d šara ₂ u ₃ -de ₆ | When Lu-Šara's seal has been brought, |
|---|---------------------------------------|

-
127. See for example MVN 4, 81 (from AS 6 vii), one of the many receipts of dead sheep and goats, sealed by Lukala during his tenure as chief administrator of the household of the governor (see below: Chapter 5: Section 10).
128. See for example MVN 3, 374 (from Š 38), recording 60 liters of lard from Pada, sealed by Lugal-ezem. Further, see also JCS 26, 99 1 (from ŠS 1), recording 2 mana of wool from Ur-Dumuzida, sealed by Ninḫeliya, the wife of Ayakala.
129. See below concerning Ir(mu).
130. See, for example, MVN 4, 47 (from AS 8 x), monthly barley rations from Lu-Šulgi(ra), sealed by Damu (reverse line 2 - 4: še-ba iti-da / ki lu₂-^dšul-gi-ta / kišib da-^Γ mu^Γ).
131. MVN 3, 337 (no date).
132. This line presumably originally gave the name of the captain of the (plow-)oxen who received the rations.
133. Here and in line 2 on the reverse, presumably a copying error for gal₂

- | | |
|--|--|
| 2. kišib lugal- h_2 -gal zi-re-dam | the sealing of Lugal- h_2 gal shall be removed. |
| 3. iti šu-numun-na | Month “Seeding”. |
| 4. mu-us $_2$ -sa si-ma-num $_2^{\text{ki}}$ ba- h_2 ul | Year: “after Simanum was destroyed”. |
- (Seal not given)

Also the documents recording the provisions for the household of the governor used a similar format.¹³⁴

Another group of primary documents, most frequently found in the Drehem archive are the “ i_3 -dab $_5$ ” texts. The administrative term i_3 -dab $_5$, “seized”, seems to be related almost exclusively to live animals, although it was sometimes also used for workers.

See for example SAT 2, 1163¹³⁵ (from AS 4 viii):

Obverse.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. 1(ge_2) 5(u) 3(di_2) g_2 -me $_2$ sag-dub | 113 “Head-of-Tablet” ¹³⁶ female slaves |
| 2. 3(u) 1(di_2) dumu mi $_2$ aš | 31 female children 1 ¹³⁷ |
| 3. 1(u) 3(di_2) dumu nita $_2$ | 13 male children |

134. See for example MVN 4, 257 (from ŠS 1 viii 4 to 5), one of the many texts recording the daily deliveries of beer, and sometimes flour, sealed by the governor.

135. A new duplicate to ASJ 7, 191 / RA 15 61 = RA 24 (1927) 44-45 / Ligabue 33 / YOS 4, 67 previously discussed by M. Yoshikawa, “A New duplicate of YOS IV, No. 67 // V. Scheil, RA 24/1, No.8c” ASJ 7 (1985) 191 - 192. The texts are almost identical, but the line-numbering varies.

136. See the discussion by M. Yoshikawa, ASJ 7 (1985) 191 - 192. This category of females was presumably a designation valid only within the administrative machinery, it can be interpreted as “the females mentioned in the beginning of the document” = the most valuable workers.

137. A translation of dumu-mi $_2$ 1(aš) as “one year old girls”, is highly unlikely due to the fact that these appear before the dumu-nita $_2$. Should that translation be correct this text would fail to be in good accord with the hierarchical structure of Mesopotamian administrative documents which always list the most important “objects” first; in the case of humans, high out-put workers first.

4. 1(u) 5(diš) dumu mi ₂	15 female children
5. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 2(geš ₂) 5(u) 2(diš) sag-ḥi!-a! ¹³⁸	Total: 172 “various” slaves.
Reverse.	
1. nam-ra ak [a-ru-a] d[šara ₂ -še ₃] ¹³⁹	Booty (destined) for the “aru” of Šara,
2. uru ša-ri ₂ -ip! ¹⁴⁰ -ḥu-um-ma ^{ki}	(of the) city of Šariphumma.
3. ur-dli ₉ -si ₄ ensi ₂ umma ^{ki} i ₃ -dab ₅	Ur-Lisi, governor of Umma, took administrative control of.
4. iti šu-eš-ša	Month Šuešša.
5. mu en ^d nanna ba-ḥun	Year: “the En-priest of Nanna was installed”.

Quite a few documents have the subscript gaba-ri dub-ba, or “duplicate of the document.” The text just quoted above is one of the relatively few texts, with one or more duplicates, that have been recovered from Ur III archives.¹⁴¹ Neither this text, nor any of the other known texts with duplicates,¹⁴² use the term “duplicate tablet” (Sumerian gaba-ri dub-ba). Although I have been able to find only one example of a sealed document and its copy with the sub-script gaba-ri dub-ba, this pair does prove the theory that gaba-ri dub-ba was a

138. SAT 2: DUB; YOS 4, 67: sag ḥi-a; Ligabue 33: sag ḥi-[a]; ASJ 7, 191: sag ḥi-a; RA 15, 61: sag ḥi!-a!

139. YOS 4, 67: no breaks; Ligabue 33: no breaks; ASJ 7, 191: no breaks; RA 15, 61: no breaks.

140. SAT 2: IT; YOS 4, 67: ša-ri₂-ḥi^ḫ-um-ma^{ki}; Ligabue 33: ša-ri₂-ip-ḥu-um-ma^{ki}; ASJ 7, 191: ša-ri₂-ḥi^ḫ-um-ma^{ki}; RA 15, 61: ša-ri₂-ḥi^ḫ-um-ma^{ki}.

141. Discounting of course the relatively few examples of “fakes” made from a “mold”; see M. Hilgert, “Notes and Observations on the Ur III Tablets from the Oriental Institute” JCS 49 (1997) 45 - 50.

142. The 1985 duplicate list of T. Maeda, published by M. Yoshikawa, ASJ 7 (1985) 191 - 192 can now be expanded with several new examples.

copy of a sealed document. Both texts are housed in the British Museum. The sealed document was published by T. Fish as MCS 8, 97, BM 113102, the other text remains unpublished (BM 108081).¹⁴³ Both texts are dated to AS 9 month 3:

<u>MCS 8, 97, BM 113102</u>	<u>BM 108081</u>	<u>Translation</u>
Obverse.	Obverse.	
1. 1(diš) gu ₂ 2(u) 3(diš) ma-na siki gir ₂ -gul	1(diš) gu ₂ 2(u) 3(diš) ma-na siki gir ₂ -gul	1 talent and 23 mana of girgul wool,
2. udu-bi 4(u) 5(diš)!?	udu-bi 4(u) 6(diš)?!	its sheep are 46?!
3. udu ba-ur ₄		sheared sheep.
4. ki an-na-ḫi-li-bi-ta	ki An-na-ḫi-li-bi-ta	From Anaḫilibi.
Reverse.		
1. kišib ensi ₂		Sealed by the governor /
	gaba-ri dub ensi ₂	copy of the governor's tablet
(blank space)	(blank space)	
2. iti še-kar-ra-gal ₂ -la*	iti še-kar-ra-gal ₂ -la	Month "Having barley at the harbour"
3. mu en ^d nanna* kar*-zi*-da	mu en ^d nanna kar-zi-da	Year: "the En-priest of Nanna of Karzida (was choosen)".
Seal		
Column 1		
1. ^d amar- ^d suen		Amar-Suen,
2. lugal kala-ga		The strong king,
3. lugal uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma		The king of Ur,
4. lugal an-ub-da limmu ₂ -ba		The king of the four corners:
Column 2		
1. a-kal-la		Ayakala,

143. The text is included here with the kind permission of M. Molina. It will be published in the near future by M. Molina together with M. Such-Gutierrez, in the Nisaba series.

2. ensi₂

3. umma^{ki}

4. ir₁₁-zu

The governor

of Umma,

is your slave.

Administration of work

Labor was, together with livestock, a very valuable resource of the Ur III state. The administration of both cattle and workers did not differ substantially. The terminology was largely the same whether describing rations for persons or fodder for animals, and the same terminology was used to “seize” live animals as well as humans. Still, there is no consensus among scholars concerning the social status of the dependent workers of late 3rd millennium Babylonia.¹⁴⁴ The following groups of people were recorded in the Umma documents:

The most populous group, according to state records, were the *guruš* and the *geme₂*, the male and female dependent workers. Next to these we find the “porters” (*ug₃-IL₂*), the “*dumu-gi₇*,” and the “hirelings” (*lu₂-h₃un-ga₂*).

It is possible that the people called *guruš* formed a distinct social group. Persons holding different occupations, skilled as well as unskilled workers, could be summarized as *guruš*.¹⁴⁵ In the bookkeeping system the word *guruš* served as a term for a work-day when

144. The discussion on the status of the lower strata of the Ur III society ground to a halt after I. Diakonoff defined the term slave as it was used by Soviet scholars as being fundamentally different from the use of the same term by Western scholars (I. Diakonoff, “Slave-Labour vs. Non-Slave Labour: The Problem of Definition,” AOS 68 (= M. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East*; 1987) 1 - 3). The term “slave” is avoided in this discussion, and “dependent worker” is used to cover all categories of workers who received some, or all, of their subsistence from the state in return for their work. Chattle slavery was of very limited importance to the economies of 3rd millennium BC Mesopotamia, and we will not be concerned with that here.

used in the phrase “n guruš u₄ 1(diš)-še₃ (or -kam),” or “n workers for one day,” which is equivalent to “n work-days.”¹⁴⁶ In the primary documents the real amount of time used to perform a work-task was often recorded.¹⁴⁷ Most of the people called guruš had either Sumerian or Akkadian names, suggesting that they did not make up a distinct ethnolinguistic group.¹⁴⁸ There is no reason to believe that a major component of the guruš workforce consisted of prisoners of war.

The female counterpart of the guruš was the geme₂. A few texts explicitly refer to female captives (geme₂ nam-ra-ak)¹⁴⁹ brought to work in the great institutions of southern Mesopotamia. Coupled with the numerous examples of female workers with non-Mesopotamian names, it makes sense to suggest that female prisoners of war did enter and represented an important contribution to the Mesopotamian work-force.¹⁵⁰

145. The term guruš could be used to describe people with different occupations ranking from the simple unskilled worker, doing manual labor on the fields, to the skilled workers such as “potters” (see, e.g. VO 8/1, 3 [from Š 39 x], obv. 1: 4(u) 9(diš) guruš baḥar₃), “carpenters” (see, for example, Aleppo 148 [Š 42 viii], obv. 2: 1(diš) guruš nagar u₄ 2(diš)-še₃), as well as “cultivators” and other agricultural staff (see, for example, MVN 21, 187 [from AS 2 ii], obv. 1 - 4: 1(u) guruš engar dumuni(*) / 6(diš) guruš ša₃-gu₄ še KIN-a(*) / 2(diš) guruš gu₄-e-us₂-sa / ugula lugal-gu₄-e).

146. See already V. Struve, “Some new data” (1969) 127 - 171.

147. See already V. Struve, “Some new data” (1969) 149. See, for example, MVN 15, 20 which was the primary receipt used to draw the account Erlenmeyer 152 rev. i 9-11 (see now also the edition in R. Englund, “The Year: “Nissen returns joyous from a distant island,” CDLJ 2003:1).

148. Abstaining from the debate on ethnicity and language, I claim that naming habits among non-elite groups in pre-modern societies largely followed ethnic lines.

The following text example from MVN 14, 569 (from ŠS 3 vi), can when compared with SAT 2, 1163, cited above, and Nik 2, 329, cited below, help to visualize the influx of captive females in the economic system of the core institutions. The text is a list of provisions for persons travelling to and from the eastern provinces (see Excursus 2 for more examples of such texts). The fourth person, Ninmar(ka) the cup-bearer,¹⁵¹ is instructed to escort the captives:

Obverse

...

13. *4(ban₂) 2(diš) sila₃ kaš DU 4 ban, 2 sila of regular beer,¹⁵²

Reverse

1. 4(ban₂) 2(diš) sila₃ ninda 4 ban, 2 sila of bread,

2. 1/2(diš) sila₃ sum 1/2 sila garlic,

149. nam-ra ak is a verbal noun that might translate as “booty”. See MSL 16 p. 235 (SIG₇.ALAN = Nabnītu, Tablet xxvii (=M) lines 148 - 149): [nam-r]a | šal-la-tum / [nam-ra ak]-^Γa ^Γ| MIN ša₂-la-lum. šallatu(m) “plunder, booty, captives, prisoners of war” from šalālu(m) “to take people, animals or possessions as booty”.

See for example the first 4 lines of BIN 3, 532 (from AS 5 i 20):

1. 3(u) la₂ 1(diš) gu₄ 29 oxen,

2. 3(u) 1(diš) ab₂ 31 cows,

3. nam-ra ak uru ^dnergal^{ki} (is the) booty of the city of Nergal(?)

4. giri₃ ib-ni-^diškur šagina via Ibni-Addu, general.

150. I. Gelb, “Prisoners of War in Early Mesopotamia,” JNES 32 (1973) 70-98.

151. The personal name Ninmar does not immediately agree with Sumerian naming practice. The cup-bearer Ninmar of our text is perhaps identical with the cup-bearer Ninmarka. Ninmarka, however, is a typical Sumerian personal name. Ninmarka’s office in Umma is not clear to me, although his connection with the administration of the governor during the reign of Šu-Suen is clear.

152. The translation “regular beer” for kaš DU is chosen from an analogy with kaš sag₁₀, the two often occur together, kaš sag₁₀ always being mentioned first of the two.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 3. 1/3(diš) sila ₃ 6(diš) gin ₂ naga | 1/3 sila 6 shekels alkali; |
| 4. ^d nin-mar ^{ki} sagi | (for) Ninmar(ka), cup-bearer. |
| 5. e ₂ ^d šara ₂ -še ₃ sag nam-ra ak-da gen-na | having gone with the slaves taken as booty,
to the temple household of Šara. |

The text continues with one more entry, a total, and the date.

Nik 2, 329 (from AS 5 vii), lists the rations, in this text called fodder (ša₃-gal),¹⁵³ for 39 captive female workers. All the names are non-Sumerian; some are perhaps Akkadian, others are definitely neither Akkadian or Sumerian.¹⁵⁴ The last entries named ten children (8 “daughters” (dumu-mi₂), and 2 “sons” (dumu-nita₂)), receiving half-size rations. Only a short excerpt of the four-column text is given here:

obverse column 1

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. 4(ban ₂) zi ₃ 2(ban ₂) kaš ga-na-na | 4 ban of flour and 2 ban of beer: Ganana. |
| 2. 4(ban ₂) zi ₃ 2(ban ₂) kaš kur-ni-tum | 4 ban of flour and 2 ban of beer: Kurnitum. |
| 3. 4(ban ₂) zi ₃ 2(ban ₂) kaš nu-ba-an | 4 ban of flour and 2 ban of beer: Nuban. |
| 4. 4(ban ₂) zi ₃ 2(ban ₂) kaš an-na | 4 ban of flour and 2 ban of beer: Ana. |

....

etc.

....

Reverse column 3

- | | |
|--|--|
| 7) 2(ban ₂) zi ₃ 1(ban ₂) kaš a-ḥu-še-ni | 2 ban of flour, 1 ban of beer: Aḥušeni. |
| 8) 2(ban ₂) zi ₃ 1(ban ₂) kaš
er ₃ -eb-URU-ba-tal | 2 ban of flour, 1 ban of beer:
Ereb-URU-atal. |

153. Compare with OrSP 47-49, 342 (from AS 5 iv to viii), a short text computing some barley summarized as ša₃-gal nam-ra-ak.

154. See also TCL 5, 6039 cited below, p. 77.

(blank space)

Column 4

(blank space)

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 4(u) la ₂ 1(diš) geme ₂
4(ban ₂) zi ₃ 2(ban ₂) kaš-ta | Total: 39 female dependent workers
each: 4 ban flour, 2 ban beer. |
| 2. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 8(diš) dumu-mi ₂
2(ban ₂) zi ₃ 1(ban ₂) kaš-ta | Total: 8 “daughters”
each: 2 ban flour and 1 ban beer. |
| 3. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 2(diš) dumu-nita ₂
2(ban ₂) zi ₃ 1(ban ₂) kaš-ta | Total: 2 “sons”
each: 2 ban flour, 1 ban beer. |
| 4. zi ₃ -bi 5(aš) 4(barig) 2(ban ₂) gur | Its flour is 5 gur 4 barig 2 ban. |
| 5. kaš-bi 2(aš) 4(barig) 4(ban ₂) gur | Its beer is 2 gur 4 barig 4 ban. |
| 6. ša ₃ -gal geme ₂ nam-ra-a ak | It is the fodder for the captive
female dependent workers |
| (blank space) | |
| 7. iti min-eš ₃ | Month minesš |
| 8. mu en-unu ₆ -gal ^d inanna ba-ḥun | Year; “Enunugal-Inanna was installed”. |
| (blank line) | |

In short, we have documentation for the escort of captives from the eastern provinces (MVN 14, 569), we have records documenting the transfer of female captives to the great institutions (SAT 2, 1163), and we find them listed in the fodder texts, as staff in these institutions (Nik 2, 329).

The female dependent workers mainly worked in the mill and the textile factory, but they could at any time be transferred to perform seasonal agricultural work.

The “porters” (ug₃-IL₂) were full time workers, sometimes summarized as guruš in the accounts.¹⁵⁵ Whether they made up an independent social group is uncertain, but it is

unlikely that they made up a distinct ethno-linguistic group.¹⁵⁶ The “porters” worked primarily in the agricultural sector of the economy, but their work did not otherwise seem to differ from that of the regular unskilled workers.¹⁵⁷ The “porters” seem to be classified below the regular guruš-worker, however, when calculating both work-output and the size of rations¹⁵⁸—they were as a rule mentioned after the guruš whenever the two appeared together.

The “hirelings” (lu₂-ḫun-ga₂) presumably did not belong to a distinct ethno-linguistic group either, but they may have made up a distinct social group.¹⁵⁹ The “hirelings” were classified according to the size of the “wages” they were “paid”. The texts speak of 6 sila “hirelings,” 5 sila “hirelings,” etc. A “wage” of 6 sila per day for each “hireling” seems to be

-
155. For the reading of UN.II₂ as ug₃-ga₆ see for example R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 29 + fn. 103. There is no clear correlation between the “porters” and the work of carrying. MVN 1, 87 (from AS 1), is a rare example of such an association; see lines 1 and 2: 1(u) 3(diš) dusu (ḡ^{es}IL₂) / ug₃-ga₆ šu ba-ab-ti, “the porters received 13 panniers.” As a rule the “porters” were qualified as full-output workers, although examples of 1/3, 1/2, and 2/3 output “porters” exists.
156. Personal names of “porters” are not different from personal names of other workers within the state economy. See also R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 29 + fn. 103.
157. Among the hundreds of references to guruš workers doing the work of ox-drivers (ox-drivers were perhaps guruš in Umma), we find a few references to “porters” working as ox-drivers (see ASJ 9, 242 19 cited below), as well as “porters” working as reed-workers (for example, AAICAB 1, 1911-178 (from ŠS 4 v5 ?), obv. 2: ug₃-ga₆ ad-gub₅).
158. MCS 3, 89, BM 111774 (from AS 8 iv), obv. 1 - 2: 3(diš) guruš 1(barig) / 9(diš) ug₃-ga₆ 4(ban₂), “3 guruš receiving a (standard) 1 barig ration (each month), 9 “porters” receiving a 4 ban ration (each month.”
159. The personal names of “hirelings” are not different from the personal names of other workers within the state economy, but their work-task seems to be distinct from other groups.

the average.¹⁶⁰ The work of the “hirelings” is differentiated from the work of other categories of workers.¹⁶¹ The “hirelings” were normally employed in the agricultural sector.

The “dumu-gi₇” were, as a rule, recorded as half output workers, that is, they were workers from whom only the half work-load was being recorded.¹⁶² Based on the name of this group, “dumu-gi₇,”¹⁶³ it has been speculated that they were an ethnically distinct group, specifically, that they were natives, in contrast to the guruš. This theory rests solely on the grapheme gi₇ which in other connections may indicate a territorial affiliation with the Sumerian core area.¹⁶⁴ However, any judgement of the social standing of the dumu-gi₇ must

160. See K. Maekawa, *AoF* 16 (1989) 47-48.

161. See for example, *AnOr* 7, 300 (no date), where the work of hirelings is contrasted with the work of ox-drivers. Compare to *ArOr* 62, 233 I 865 (no date). The ox-drivers (presumably guruš workers) carried a higher workload than the “hirelings” (the “hirelings” hoed a maximum area of 24 m² (4 sar) each day, whereas the ox-drivers could manage to hoe 30 m² (5 sar) each day). See, however, AAICAB 1, 1911-205 (from ŠS 5), obv. 1: 6(diš) guruš ħun-ga₂ u₄ 1(diš)-še₃, “6 work-days of hired guruš,” and 3: a₂ lu₂-ħun-ga₂, “work of hirelings.”

162. It is unclear whether the dumu-gi₇ worked half time, or whether their work was worth only one half of a regular worker. See also R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 75 - 76 + fn. 250, 252 & 253.

163. It was originally the theory of F. Kraus, *Sumerer und Akkader. Ein Problem der altmesopotamischen Geschichte*. Mededelingen der Koninklijke Nederlandse Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afd. Letterdunde, Nieuwe Reeks, Deel 33, No. 8. (Amsterdam/London 1970) 47 - 60, that dumu-gi₇ may be translated as “citizen of gi₇”, semantically based on an analogy with, e.g., dumu nibru^{ki}, “citizen of Nippur.” Kraus concluded that the dumu-gi₇ could well be native Sumerians as he suggested that the gi₇ in dumu-gi₇ was the same as the gi₇ in ki-en-gi, as well as in “Sumerian” eme-gi₇, etc. See also C. Wilcke, “Zum Königtum in der Ur III-Zeit,” in P. Garelli ed., *Le palais et la royauté* (= *Rencontre* 19: Paris 1971/75), 220 - 230.

be made on the basis of his socio-economic status, coupled with an analysis of the personal names of the different groups of workers. Such a study is not yet available. The short text MVN 3, 370 (no date), is a list of workers summarized as either *guruš dumu-gi₇* or *guruš ug₃-ga₆*. The *ug₃-ga₆*-workers are clearly marked in the body of text as 1(diš) *ug₃*, whereas the *dumu-gi₇* are marked as 1(diš) only. This in itself is peculiar since most references to *dumu-gi₇* label them as half output workers. Another oddity is that the first person mentioned in this text, a *dumu-gi₇*, is identical with the foreman mentioned at the very end of the text.¹⁶⁵ The text lists seven *guruš dumu-gi₇*, all with names that we understand to be Sumerian.¹⁶⁶ The text lists ten *guruš ug₃-ga₆*, all but two, possibly three, with names which can be demonstrated to be Sumerian.¹⁶⁷ This argues against an interpretation of either group as being a unique ethno-linguistic group.

A much larger investigation is needed to clarify whether the different categories of workers derived from different social or ethno-linguistic groups. Such a study is planned within the framework of the CDLI.

164. See now N. Koslova, “(Selbst) ein freier Mann ist nicht gegen die Fronarbeit gefeit...” (forthcoming). Koslova is of the opinion that *dumu-gi₇* were freed former slaves, with a special status.

165. It is not unlikely that a *dumu-gi₇* member of a work-crew also acted as foreman of the crew; see for example the forester work-crews which were made up of small family units, where the oldest member of the family also held the title foreman. P. Steinkeller, “The Foresters of Umma: Toward a Definition of Ur III Labor,” AOS 68 (= M. Powell (ed.), *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, 1987) 80.

166. The names of these are *in-sa₆-sa₆*, *lugal-ba-ta-e₃*, *ur-^dma-mi*, *lu₂-ulu₃*, *ba-zi*, *lugal-KA*, and *gur₄-za-an*.

167. Their names are *lugal-ma₂-gur₈-re*, *a-da-lal₃*, *ir₁₁*, *ku-li*, *ur-^dšara₂*, *ur-^dnin-su*, and *ḥa-ni-sag₁₀*. The following three personal names cannot positively be asserted to be Sumerian: *bu₃-uz-gir*, *mu-dah₃*, *e-la-ni*.

I would suggest that the *guruš* were a social group of people entirely dependent on the favors of the state. These laborers could fulfill various duties within the state economy. At the same time the word “*guruš*” was used as a technical term for labor projects in texts that were not necessarily concerned with the work completed the *guruš*.

In the following text, ASJ 9, 242 19, *guruš* is used as a generic term for worker or work-day; whether this was always the case is unclear. The “debits” section of ASJ 9, 242 19, a document which can be classified as an *erin*₂-account covering all of the year Š 47 and concerning Lugal-kuzu, the captain of (plow-)oxen, lists workers from four categories:

Obverse column 1

1. 1(u) <i>guruš engar dumu-ni</i>	10 cultivators, and their sons, ¹⁶⁸
2. 6(diš) <i>ug</i> ₃ <i>guruš</i>	6 “porters,”
3. 4 <i>guruš dumu-gi</i> ₇	4 <i>dumu-gi</i> ₇ , ¹⁶⁹
4. <i>iti</i> 1(u) 3(diš)-še ₃	For 13 month,
5. <i>a</i> ₂ - <i>bi</i> <i>u</i> ₄ 1(šar ₂) 1(geš’u) <i>guruš</i> <i>u</i> ₄ 1(diš)-še ₃	Its work is 7,800 work-days. ¹⁷⁰
6. <i>iti</i> še-KIN- <i>ku</i> ₅ - <i>ta</i>	From the month “Harvest”,
7. <i>iti</i> <i>diri</i> -še ₃	To the “extra” month.
8. 2(u) 4(aš) 1(<i>barig</i>) 4(<i>ban</i> ₂) <i>la</i> ₂ 1(diš) <i>sil</i> ₃ še <i>gur</i>	24 gur 1 <i>barig</i> 4 <i>ban</i> minus 1 <i>sil</i> ₃ barley,

168. See also TCL 5, 5676 (from ŠS 2), line 2.

169. Note that in the final section of the “credits,” when listing the “free-days” of the disabled workers, four *dumu-gi*₇ workers were recorded as half-out-put. That leads us to believe that line 3 actually covered 8 half-output *dumu-gi*₇ workers.

170. $((10+6+4) \times 30) \times 13 = 7,800$. Note that the calculation only works if the *dumu-gi*₇ workers were workers from whom a full-output was expected.

9. a ₂ 6(diš) sila ₃ -ta	“wage” of each (hireling) 6 sila,
10. a ₂ -bi 2(geš’u) 1(u) 6(diš) 2/3(diš)-kam	Its work (equivalence) is 1,216 2/3 work-days. ¹⁷¹
11. 7(aš) 1(barig) 5(ban ₂) 4(diš) sila ₃ še gur	7 gur 1 barig 5 ban 4 sila barley,
12. a ₂ 5(diš) sila ₃ -ta	“wage” of each (hireling) 5 sila,
13. a ₂ -bi u4 7(geš ₂) 2(u) 2(diš) 5/6(diš)-kam	442 5/6 work-days. ¹⁷²
...	
23. ki ir ₁₁ -ta	From Ir(mu). ¹⁷³
...	
26. ʀ 2(šar) 5(geš’u)! 1(u)! ʀ la ₂ 1/2(diš) ʀ guruš u4 1(diš)-še ₃	Total: 10,209 1/2 work-days.
column 2.	
1. sag-nig ₂ -gur ₁₁ -ra-kam	It is the “debits”
...	

The “credits” section recorded the primary documents and calculated a work-day equivalency for each assignment. The section concerned with harrowing applied the term erin₂ as a technical term for team-work:

8. 1(bur’u) 1(bur ₃) 1(eše ₃) GAN ₂ [geš]-ur ₃ -ra a-ra ₂ [n-kam] 2(iku) 1/2(iku) GAN ₂ -[ta]	11 bur and 1 eše of land, harrowed n times, 2 1/2 iku each day;
---	---

171. $(24 \times 300) + (1 \times 60) + (4 \times 10) - 1 = 7,299 \div 6 = 1,216 \frac{1}{2}$. Note that D. Snell copied 2/3(diš), which is also necessary to make the total in line 26.

172. $(7 \times 300) + (1 \times 60) + (5 \times 10) = 2,214 \div 5 = 442 \frac{4}{5}$ The notation 5/6 was an approximation of 4/5.

173. Ir(mu) (see Chapter 5: Section 11) is the most frequent supplier of “barley for wages” in the Umma accounts.

9. a ₂ erin ₂ -bi u ₄ [...]	Its erin ₂ -work is n work-days. ¹⁷⁴
10. 1(bur'u) 5(bur ₃) 2(eše ₃) 3(iku) 1/2(iku) 「GAN ₂ 」 [geš]-ur ₃ -ra a-ra ₂ 1+[n-kam x x x] GAN ₂ [...]	15 bur, 2 eše, and 3 1/2 iku of land, harrowed 1+n days, n iku each time;
11. a ₂ erin ₂ ?-bi u ₄ 2(geš ₂)?+ 1/3(diš)? [...]	Its erin ₂ -work is 120? 1/3? [work]-days. ¹⁷⁵
....	

As was explained by T. Maeda in 1995,¹⁷⁶ the calculations of the work involved in harrowing and plowing assumes that three laborers worked together. A suitable translation of erin₂ in this context might therefore be “team.”

The last entries immediately preceding the total of the “credits” recorded the “free-days” for the workers who were unable to perform their prescribed work:¹⁷⁷

10'. 1/2(diš) uru-bar-re	1/2 output: Urubare
11'. 1/2(diš) ur- ^d suen	1/2 output: Ur-Suen,
12'. 1/2(diš) a-kal-la	1/2 output: Ayakala,

174. Compare with AnOr 1, 166 (from ŠS 3):

Obverse.

5. 4(bur ₃) GAN ₂ geš-ur ₃ -ra	4 bur land harrowed
6. a-ra ₂ 3(diš) 4(iku) 1/2(iku) GAN ₂ -ta	3 times, 4 1/2 iku each day,
7. a ₂ erin ₂ -na-bi u ₄ 2(geš ₂) 2(u) 4(diš)-kam	its erin ₂ -work is 144 days.

4 bur or 72 iku, harrowed three times, at a rate of 4 1/2 iku each time is equal to 48 days. When three workers worked together as a team, that is 144 work-days.

175. The total work-time of the team might have been as high as 1,026 work-days if they harrowed an area of the same size as the first plot, three times, each day.

176. T. Maeda, “Three Men of a Gang for Ploughing and four Men for Sowing,” ASJ 17 (1995) 333ff.

177. See also V. Struve, “Some new data” (1969) 138 - 139.

13'. 1/2(diš) nimgir-di-de ₃	1/2 output: Nimgirdide,
14'. iti 4(diš)-še ₃	For 4 months,
15'. a ₂ -bi u ₄ 4(geš ₂)-kam	Its work is 240 work-days
16'. a ₂ u ₄ -du ₈ -a dumu-gi ₇ ? ša ₃ -gu ₄ 𒀭 x 𒀭	(it is) the “free-days” of the dumu-gi ₇ ox-drivers.
17'. 6(u) 6(diš) guruš u ₄ 1(diš)-še ₃	66 work-days,
18'. a ₂ u ₄ -du ₈ -a ug ₃ -ga ₆ ša ₃ -gu ₄	(it is) the “free-days” of the “porter” ox-drivers.
...	

The output of the dumu-gi₇ workers was not recorded in the “debits”, although it is recorded here.¹⁷⁸

Finally the total production in man-days is calculated and the deficit entered in the books:

1'. 𒀭 ŠU 𒀭 + NIGIN ₂ 𒀭 2(šar) 4(geš'u) 𒀭	Total: 10,079 5/6 work-days
[9(geš ₂) 3(u)] 𒀭 9(diš) 5/6(diš)	
guruš u ₄ 1(diš)-še ₃ 𒀭	
2'. zi-ga-am ₃	has been booked out
3'. la ₂ -ia ₃ 2(u) 9(diš) 2/3(diš) guruš	(resulting in a) deficit of 29 2/3 work-days.
u ₄ 1(diš)-še ₃	
Reverse, column 8.	
(blank space)	
1'. nig ₂ -ka ₉ -ak a ₂ erin ₂ -na	erin ₂ -account concerning
2'. lugal-ku ₃ -zu nu-banda ₃ gu ₄	Lugal-kuzu,
3'. mu-us ₂ -sa ki-maš ^{ki} ba-hul	Year: “after Kimaš was destroyed”.

178. For the “free-days” of the dumu-gi₇ see now N. Koslova, “(Selbst) ein freier Mann ist nicht gegen die Fronarbeit gefeit...” (forthcoming).

It is very likely that the only use of the term *guruš* in this text was as a technical term for work. However, summarizing the cultivators, the ox-drivers, the “porters,” and the *dumu-gi₇*-workers as *guruš* may have the sociological implication that they all belonged to the same social class, namely that of dependent workers.¹⁷⁹ Note that no *erin₂*-workers as a distinct group appear in the text.

The group of workers called *erin₂* is perhaps best known from sources from Girsu.¹⁸⁰ However, this class of workers is also attested in Umma. In Umma the *erin₂* seem to be “soldiers”, levied by the state for multiple purposes.¹⁸¹ In addition, the word *erin₂* was widely applied as a technical term calculating the man-days involved in the team-work of harrowing and plowing.¹⁸²

179. See J. Dahl, *AoF* 29 (2002) 334, for an attempt to show that the value of the prebend allotments given to the (semi-)independent workers such as potters or cultivators did little to affect their social status or mobility.

180. See, for example, K. Maekawa, “New Texts on the Collective Labor Service of the Erin-People of Ur III Girsu,” *ASJ* 10 (1988) 37 - 94. According to Maekawa the *erin₂*-people “formed the core of the population in Ur III Girsu” (p. 37).

181. *MVN* 4, 25 (from AS 7), rev. 11: *erin₂ bala-še₃ e₃-a-me*. *OrSP* 47-49, 466 (no date), rev. 10: *ŠU+NIGIN₂ <x> egir erin₂*, a text mentioning policemen and *egir erin₂* together with captains(?). *TCL* 5, 6166 (no date), rev. iv 6-7: *ŠU+NIGIN₂ 1(diš) 1/3(diš) ma-na 1/3(diš) gin₂ ku₃-babbar / erin₂ umma^{ki}-ke₄ su-su-dam*, a text that calculates the wages for the Umma *erin₂*, each receiving 4 grains (*še*) of silver per day. See also *TCL* 5, 6038 (from AS 7), mentioned below (pp. 75 - 76).

182. Note that *SAT* 2, 77 (from Š 33 vi), discussed elsewhere in this study mentions as many *erin₂*-workers as “regular” agricultural workers. The purpose and social make-up of this addition is unclear to me.

Only a few Umma references can be cited in favor of the Umma erin₂-people being a distinct social group working primarily on the land. AnOr 7, 234 (from ŠS 3), mentions the erin₂-troops of Ipa'e, a well known captain of (plow-)oxen, bundling and carrying reed.¹⁸³ BCT 2, 29, a possible Umma text (from Š 46 i), mentions 18 workers receiving 1 barig each (per month; qualified as the fodder for hired erin₂-troops), having gone to the *canal of the king*.¹⁸⁴ OrSP 5, 64 26 Wengler 36 (from AS 2), is a field plan where half of the area is described as the field of the erin₂ of Umma.¹⁸⁵ Although no conclusive evidence exists, from the Umma province, indicating that the erin₂-people were a distinct social group.¹⁸⁶ Such evidence would amount to, for example, a substantial number of references to personal names followed by the designation “erin₂”.¹⁸⁷

183. Obv. 1 - 3: 𒀭 +3(geš₂) 𒀭 sa gi / gu-kilib-ba 1(u) 3(diš) sa-ta / erin₂ i₇-pa-e₃-ke₄ / ga₆-ga₂.

184. Obv. 1 -2: 2(u) la₂ 2(diš) guruš 1(barig) še lugal-ta / ša₃-gal erin₂ 𒄩un-ga₂ i₇-lugal-še₃? gen-na. See also MVN 15, 131 (from ŠS 2 ix 3), rev. 21: ŠU+NIGIN₂ 1(u) 2(diš) guruš erin₂ diri-me.

185. Obv. x: 6(bur'u) 1(bur₃) 1(eše₃) 3(iku) GAN₂ erin₂ umma^{ki}. See also SNAT 502 (from ŠS 5 viii), obv. ii 12 - 13: 8(geš₂) 5(u) 1(diš) 𒀭 guruš 𒀭 / erin₂ umma^{ki}, and rev. iv 7 - 8: 9(geš₂) 8(diš) 1/2 (diš) / erin₂ a-pi₄-sal₄-la^{ki}. TCL 5, 6041 (from AS 2), obv. i 15 - 16: 4(geš'u) 3(geš₂) 2(u) erin₂ umma^{ki} / ugula e₂-a-i₃-li₂, and rev. vi 1 - 3: ŠU+NIGIN₂ 6(šar) 3(geš₂) 2(u) la₂ 1(diš) erin₂ / erin₂ gur_x-me / ugula lu₂-dingir-ra. YOS 4, 39 (from SS 9 ix), obv. 5: mu erin₂-na-še₃. YOS 4, 170 (from AS 6 xii to AS 7), rev. 1: erin₂-še₃ šu bar-𒀭 re 𒀭. YOS 4, 211 (no date), rev. iv 4 - 6: 1(aš-tenû) GAN₂ guruš engar erin₂-na / 1c GAN₂ guruš šeš-tab-ba / engar erin₂-na-me. Amherst 84 (from IS 5 iv), rev. 14: ŠU+NIGIN₂ 1(u) 1(aš-tenû) guruš erin₂ a₂ 1/2(diš) 1(barig) še-ta.

186. SACT 2, 272 (no date), suggests that the erin₂ were a social group, but that the members fulfilled various duties as state-laborers. Rev. 3: 6(diš) guruš ša₃-gu₄ erin₂-me.

The guruš were given rations from the state, on average two liter of barley each day (one barig each month). Additionally, they were given allotments of wool and fish, among other things, on special occasions. The dependent female workers, *geme₂*, were generally given rations half the size of their male counterparts, children even less.¹⁸⁸ The non-skilled worker was apparently socially immobile, whereas the skilled workers could climb the social ladder to the level of foreman (*ugula*). Such unexpected social mobility is, however, likely to be restricted to a few cases.¹⁸⁹

The sources suggest that the guruš worked all year¹⁹⁰ with only a limited number of free-days each year. In the accounts concerning work, the foremen would be credited with 1/10 of the work-time of a guruš, and 1/6 of the work-time of a *geme₂*, as free-days called “a₂

187. NYPL 388 (from AS 2), obv. 4: 1(aš-tenû) a-kal-la erin₂ diri-še₃. AAICAB 1, pl. 36-37, 1911-228

(from ŠS 5 vii ?), obv. i 15: 1(aš-tenû) GAN₂ lugal-maš-zu erin₂ diri ki dšara₂-a-mu ugula-ta. Torino 2, 703 (from Š 48 vi), obv. 14': 1(aš-tenû) lu₂-dšara₂ dumu lu₂-du₁₀-ga erin₂ diri-še₃.

See N. Koslova, “(Selbst) ein freier Mann ist nicht gegen die Fronarbeit gefeit...” (forthcoming), for the suggestion that all workers in the lists who received 1(aš-c) of land as allotment were erin₂-troops.

188. See I. Gelb, “The Ancient Mesopotamian Ration System,” JNES 24 (1965) 230-243.

189. P. Steinkeller, AOS 68 (1987) 73-115, represents one of the few published attempts at understanding a particular sector of the economy through the familial structures of the people occupied there. The results, that each unit (forest) seems to have been managed by one small family group (p. 78) is likely to be mirrored in the agricultural administration; see for example SAT 2, 77 (from Š 33 vi), described elsewhere in this study.

190. See for example the sequence of accounts: MVN 1, 232 (from AS 7), and MVN 21, 203 (from AS 8), concerning the work of potters, controlled by Lukala (see Chapter 5: Section 10, below). The dependency of the guruš was first described by V. Struve, see references to earlier works (in Russian) in V. Struve, “Some new data” (1969) 129.

u₄-du₈-a.” Whether these numbers really represented the free-time of the workers is not certain. Even when the worker was unable to work, the overseer would still be credited for the full work-time of worker but his “free-days” would be deducted and entered into the “debits” of the account.

It seems reasonable to divide the documents concerning the administration of work into four groups, the first group being the inventories and other lists. These texts served a dual purpose; first, as state inventory records tracking which institution or team a worker belonged to, and secondly, the texts were used for the calculations of rations and other allotments. The second group of texts specifically calculated the output of a work-crew. Receipts make up the third group. The fourth were the accounts.

§1. Lists which group workers according to category and institution or team are classified as inventories. These lists can record the production-rate of the workers or his or her rations or allotments. The most famous such text is HSS 4, 4, which lists the “rations” for all the high-ranking members of an institution as well as the agricultural workers, but no non-skilled workers or craftsmen.¹⁹¹ A term associated with a group of workers in their relation to an institution is giri₃-se₃-ga. This term is always used in connection with either a

191. See R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 60 - 63. It is worth noting that the office of the land surveyor (sa₁₂-sug₅) who appears as number three in rank above the chief of the granary (KA-guru₇) was not in the hands of the ruling family in Umma. Whether this office was important on a city level, or only within the temple household is unclear. The office of Umma surveyor belonged at all times to the family of Inim-Šara, the majority of Inim-Šara’s sons seem to have been occupied as mid-level agricultural administrators (with the title nu-banda₃ gu₄, or ugula).

divine name alone, a name of a temple household, the palace or an associated institution.¹⁹²

It is likely that gir₃-se₃-ga represented the permanent staff of a household. The following text example, TUT 154 (from AS 2 iii), lists the barley rations for the staff of the *New Mill*. Only the totals are transliterated and translated here.¹⁹³

Reverse, column 8

(blank space)

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 2(diš) dub-sar 1(barig)-ta | Total: 2 scribes, 1 barig (of barley) each, |
| 2. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 5(diš) guruš 5(ban ₂)-ta | Total: 5 workers, 5 ban (of barley) each, |
| 3. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 2(diš) dumu 2(ban ₂)-ta | Total: 2 assistants, ¹⁹⁴ 2 ban (of barley) each, |
| 4. i ₃ -du ₈ -me | They are doorkeepers. |
| 5. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 2 guruš 1(barig)-ta | Total: 2 workers, 1 barig (of barley) each, |
| 6. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(diš) guruš 5(ban ₂) | Total: 1 worker 5 ban (of barley), |
| 7. ad-gub ₅ -me | They are basketry workers. |
| 8. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(diš) nagar 1(barig) | Total: 1 carpenter, 1 barig (of barley), |
| 9. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 4(diš) baḥar ₂ 1(barig)-ta | Total: 4 potters, 1 barig (of barley) each, |
| 10. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 2(diš) ^{na₄} ḤAR-gul-gul
1(barig)-ta | Total: 2 millstone operators, ¹⁹⁵
1 barig (of barley) each, |
| 11. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 4(diš) gi-ze ₂ 1(barig)-ta | Total: 4 reed-cutters(?) ¹⁹⁶ ,
1 barig (of barley) each, |

192. For a discussion of the other cultural institution the area see I. Gelb, "The area Institution," RA 66 (1972) 1 - 32.

193. Compare to a group of texts studied by A. Uchitel, "Daily work at the Sagdana Millhouse," ASJ 6 (1984) 75 - 98, However, A. Uchitel did not discuss this text, nor does it belong to the same archive.

194. The assistants were probably children.

195. See A. Uchitel, ASJ 6 (1984) 78. Reads perhaps /nargulgul/.

196. See M. Civil, *The Farmer's Instructions. A Sumerian Agricultural Manual* (= Aula Orientalis Supplementa 5; Barcelona 1994) 122.

12. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 3(diš) guruš 1(barig)-ta	Total: 3 workers, 1 barig (of barley) each,
13. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(diš) dumu 1(ban ₂) 5(diš)	Total: 1 assistant, 1 ban 5 sila (of barley),
14. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(diš) dumu 1(ban ₂)	Total: 1 assistant, 1 ban (of barley),
15. gu-za-la ₂ -me	They are the guzala.
16. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 8(diš) ma ₂ -lah ₅ 1(barig)-ta	Total: 8 boatmen, 1 barig (of barley) each,
17. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(u) guruš 1(barig)-ta	Total: 10 workers, 1 barig (of barley) each,
18. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 2(diš) guruš 1/2(diš) 4(ban ₂)-ta	Total: 2 workers, half out-put, 4 ban (of barley) each,
19. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(diš) dumu 2(ban ₂)	Total: 1 assistant, 2 ban (of barley),
20. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(diš) dumu 1(ban ₂) 5(diš)	Total: 1 assistant, 1 ban 5 sila (of barley),
21. ma ₂ -gid ₂ -me	They are boat-pullers.
22. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(diš) šu dumu 5(ban ₂)	Total: 1 “old child”, 5 ban (of barley),
23. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(diš) šidim 1(barig)	Total: 1 bricklayer, 1 barig (of barley),
24. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 2(aš) guruš 3(ban ₂)-ta	Total: 2 workers, 3 ban (of barley) each,
25. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(diš) guruš šu-gi ₄ 4(ban ₂)	Total: 1 worker, an old man 4 ban (of barley),
26. še-bi 9(aš) 2(barig) 3(ban ₂) gur	Its barley is 9 gur 2 barig and 3 ban.
27. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1 munu ₄ -mu ₂ nu- ^Γ x ^Γ (blank line)	Total: 1 malster, not receiving?
29. še-ba giri ₃ -se ₃ -ga e ₂ kikken ₂ gibil	The barley rations of the staff of the new mill,
31. iti ezem ^d li ₉ -si ₄	In the month “Festival of Lisi”.
32. mu-us ₂ -sa ^d amar- ^d suen lugal	Year after: “Amar-Suen (became) king”.

Each institution, or household, here the mill, was essentially a self-sufficient unit.

The large institutions, such as the households of the major gods or the king, presumably had

much larger staffs. The gir₃-se₃-ga was not the only source of man-power available to the institutions; rather, it represented only the permanent staff concerned with maintaining the basic functions of the household. The Girsu text ASJ 20, 108 7 (from Š 48), listed approximately 10,000 men and women who were categorized as the female textile workers (geme₂ uš-bar), the fullers (lu₂-azlag₂), and the staff of the textile factory (gir₃-se₃-ga e₂ uš-bar). By far the largest of these three groups were the female textile workers, who were not part of the gir₃-se₃-ga. The fragmentary Girsu text TUT 147 recorded the staff of the governors household; of the household of the “chief administrator” of the governor; of the local section of the royal household; as well as the staff of the various Girsu temple households.¹⁹⁷ Although no parallel texts from Umma have been found, we should not contemplate that such texts did not exist. The tablet container BRM 3, 179, might imply that the same structure recorded in TUT 147 also applied to the household of the Umma governor.¹⁹⁸

TCL 5, 6038, is a good example of an inventory of workers. It lists large numbers of workers grouped according to temple households,¹⁹⁹ and further divides them according to profession. The colophon states that the text is a record of the erin₂-troops levied (e₃-e₃) for

197. It is likely that the beginning of (obverse) column 2, should be reconstructed (lines 2' to 5'): “n workers, (of the) household of the nin-dingir priestess, (which is the) household of Baba, and the various other households.”

198. BRM 3, 179, is a tablet container holding the “inspection” tablets (gurum₂ ak) for the staff of the palace (the Umma branch), the staff of the governor(’s household), and inspection tablets concerning shepherds, cowherds and various other persons.

the bala service (bala-še₃), in Apisal, in the year AS 7.²⁰⁰ The personal names are overwhelmingly Sumerian. The persons listed in the individual entries are, however, not the names of the persons who were to go out from Apisal to do corvée labor. Rather, these were the names of the foremen responsible for sending one or two workers for the bala duty of the province. The reason behind this conclusion is two-fold. First, the fact that some personal names are preceded by more than one number (diš) indicates that the numbers do not qualify the persons alone or their work-category. Second, many of the persons in this text are known Apisal foremen and herders.²⁰¹

199. The sequence of households in TCL 5, 6038, is similar to the sequence of temple households in Apisal otherwise known from the documents. The persons mentioned until obv. iv 12, are called giri₃-se₃-ga dšara₂ a-pi₄-sal₄^{ki}-me; until rev. vi 21: e₂ dⁿⁱⁿ-ur₄-ra; until rev. vi 24: e₂ dšul-gi-ra; until rev. vi 26: e₂ d^{inanna} zabal₃^{ki}; until rev. vii 6: giri₃-se₃-ga e₂ amar-sag; until rev. viii 2: giri₃-se₃-ga e₂-kas₄ a-pi₄-sal₄^{ki}-me; until rev. viii 33: giri₃-se₃-ga e₂-kas₄ gaba ba-šim-e^{ki}-me.
200. Compare to AnOr 1, 88 (from AS 6 iv), a parallel text listing approximately 1,000 guruš workers for the bala service. See also AnOr 1, 88 (from AS 5), another list of the staff of the major Umma households sent to the bala service (rev. vii 18' - 19': 𒄩 u₄? 𒄩 bala? 𒄩-šġ e₃-e₃ / ša₃ umma^{ki})
201. The cow-herders listed in column 5 and 6 are known from many other texts; they were always listed in the same sequence, and they were always associated with the households in Apisal. Some of the cow-herders associated with the household of Ninura (obv. v 17 - 30) were, however, in several other texts associated with the household of Šara of Apisal. On the other hand, the three cow-herders also serving the household of Ninura (obv. vi 3 - 6) were generally known to have been in this relationship. See R. Englund, CDLB 2003:1 §9. Is it possible that the herders normally mentioned in relation to the household of Šara could suddenly have been moved to the household of Ninura, or were they added to the list of the staff of the household of Šara, but mistakenly placed with the staff of the household of Ninura? Two of the persons called na-gada (rev. vii 9 - 10) sent two “conscripts” for the bala-duty each. An almost identical list of of shepherds can be found in MVN 1, 80 (from AS 9). In that text, all the shepherds are associated with Ur-E'e, a high-ranking member of the Umma ruling clan, and a chief cattle administrator.

The last text to be mentioned in this discussion of the administrative texts of the lowest level is the inventory TCL 5, 6039 (from AS 5 ii). It records captured dependent female workers (*geme₂ nam-ra ak*) and some male children. The women, who for the most part have foreign names, were grouped according to their foremen, and their rations were calculated. The foremen Lugal-Emah_e, Lu-balasag, Šara-zame, Ur-Šulpa'e²⁰², Adu, and Ur-Nintu, are all known Umma officials who were in charge of either the grain mill or the textile factory.²⁰³

The function of this text is clear: it was used to calculate the amount of barley that was, or had to be, distributed to the individuals mentioned in the text. It is likely that the text was related to the household of the governor, since the overseers mentioned in the text all seem to be connected with that institution.

§2. The texts that calculated the development of a work-crew over time seem to form one of the building blocks of the administration of labor. Although no exact match has yet been found of a work-crew list and the permanent work-crew in the “debits” of an account, it is beyond doubt that the former was used to calculate the latter.

The first entry of AAICAB 1, 1912-1141,²⁰⁴ recorded the size of the work-crew during the first month of the year. Two categories of female workers were involved, full-time

-
202. CST 628 (from Š 46) suggests a title *ugula kikken(?)* for Ur-Šulpa'e, the son of Lu(gal)-kuga(ni). Nakahara 25 (from ŠS 2) records the same Ur-Šulpa'e as in charge of women milling grain. The same Ur-Šulpa'e also appears in charge of male dependent workers and in charge of production of reed products and delivering reeds.
203. See also under Ir(mu), Chapter 5: Section 11.

workers receiving 3 ban of barley each month (ca. 1 liter per day), and half-time workers also receiving 3 ban of barley each month:

Obverse.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. 2(geš ₂) 3(u) 3(diš) 𒀭 geme ₂ 𒀭 [3(ban ₂)] | 153 female workers, 3 ban (each), |
| 2. 9 geme ₂ 𒀭 a ₂ 𒀭 [1/2 3(ban ₂)] | 9 female workers, half (out-put), 3 ban, |
| 3. iti še-KIN-𒀭 ku ₅ 𒀭 | Month “Harvest”. |

The following eleven entries recorded the size of the crew through each of the following eleven months. The size of the team decreased somewhat during the year, making it necessary to calculate an average monthly work-crew for the “debits” of the account of the team.

Reverse.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 8. ŠU-NIGIN ₂ 3(geš'u) 1(u)
6(diš) geme ₂ 3(ban ₂) | Total: 1,816 female workers, 3 ban. |
| 9. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 4(u) 8(diš) geme ₂
a ₂ 1/2(diš) 3(ban ₂) | Total: 48 female workers, half, 3 ban. |
| 10. geme ₂ 3(ban ₂) igi-1(u) 2(diš)-gal ₂ -bi
2(geš ₂) 3(u) 1(diš) 1/3(diš) | A 12 th of the 3 ban female workers is:
151 1/3. |
| 11. geme ₂ a ₂ 1/2(diš) | A 12 th of the half(-time) |

204. See the parallel texts UTI 3, 2282 (from ŠS 3 i to xi), recording the “debits” of the work of females concerning Ur-Nintu, the foreman of the textile factory (rev. 23: sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra a₂ geme₂ ur-^dnin-tu ugula uš-bar), MVN 21, 212 (from Š 42 i to xiii or AS 6 i to xiii) the “debits” of Ur-Nintu, Nebraska 42 (from AS 7 i to xii) the “debits” of the foreman Ur-Nintu, AAS 35 (from IS 1 i to xii) (name of the foreman is lost), PSBA 35, 47 (=AAICAB 1, 1912-1141) (from the 1st to the 12th month, year lost) (name of foreman lost). OrSP 47-49, 401 (from ŠS 1 i to xiii) contains the “debits” of Adu, another known textile worker foreman (rev. 20: sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra a-du 𒀭 šabra 𒀭 (PA. 𒀭 AL 𒀭 collated from photo)), and lastly AnOr 7, 302 (AS 1 i to vi), very fragmentary.

igi-1(u) 2(diš)-gal ₂ -bi 9(diš)	female workers is: 9.
12. iti 1(u) 2(diš)- [┘] še ₃ [┘]	For 12 months,
13. a ₂ -bi u ₄ 1(šar'u) 5(šar ₂)	its work is 56,100 (work-)days.
3(geš'u) [┘] 5(geš ₂) [┘]	
14. sag-nig ₂ -gur ₁₁ -ra a ₂ [┘] geme ₂ [┘]	(It is the) debits (of the account concerning) the work of female workers
15. lu ₂ -kal-[la]	(concerning) Lukala ²⁰⁵
15. mu [...]	The year:

The total can be compared to the first entry of the “debits” of, for example, Aegyptus 21, 159 (from AS 8 i to xi):

Obverse, column 1.

1) [1(geš ₂) 4(u)+] [┘] 1(u) [┘] 6(diš)	116 and 49/180 ²⁰⁶ female workers
1/3(diš) gin ₂ [┘] geme ₂ [┘] 3(ban ₂)	(category) 3 ban per month
2) 5(diš) 1(u) 6(diš) 1/3(diš) gin ₂	5 16 1/3 shekel female workers
geme ₂ a ₂ 1/2(diš)	(category) half work,
3) [┘] iti [┘] 1(u) 1(diš)-še ₃	for 11 months,
4) [a ₂]-bi u ₄ 9(šar) 5(geš'u) 9(geš ₂)	its work is 35,940. ²⁰⁷

The decrease in the work-force recorded in this text, presumably caused by the harsh work-conditions of the mill or the textile-factories, can be easily compared with the

205. See below pp. 231 - 233.

206. $16 \frac{1}{3} \text{ gin}_2$ divided by 60 = 49/180, since the gin_2 is 1/60 of one in the sexagesimal numerical system.

207. $106 \frac{49}{180} \times 30 \times 11 = 35,069 \frac{5}{6}$

$5 \frac{49}{180} \div 2 = 2 \frac{229}{36} (2 \frac{229}{360}) \times 30 \times 11 = 869 \frac{11}{12}$

$35,069 \frac{5}{6}$

$+869 \frac{11}{12}$

$= 35,939 \frac{3}{4}$ approximated to 35,940

information provided by our next text example UTI 3, 1916. This text recorded the work-capacity of one male worker, named Atu, during the seventh year of Amar-Suen.

Obverse.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. tu-ra a-tu | Sick: Atu |
| 2. iti 8(diš)-še ₃ iti še-KIN-ku ₅ -ta | For 8 months: from the month “Harvest”, |
| 3. iti e ₂ -iti-6(diš) mu hu-hu-nu-ri ^{ki} -še ₃ | to the Month e-iti-6, in the year: “Huḥnuri”. |
| 5. uš ₂ a-tu | Dead: Atu |

Reverse.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. iti e ₂ -iti-6(diš) mu hu-hu-nu-ri ^{ki} -ta | From Month e-iti-6, the year: “Huḥnuri”. |
| 2. ugula da-du-mu | Foreman: Dadumu |
| 3. kišib lugal-e ₂ -maḥ-e | Sealed by Lugal-Emaḥe |

Seal

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. lugal-e ₂ -maḥ-e | Lugal-Emaḥe, |
| 2. dub-sar | scribe, |
| 3. dumu lugal-ku ₃ -ga-ni | son of Lugal-kugani |

The reason for recording this development is also connected to the accounting procedures of the “free-days”: an overseer who possessed such a document would be ascribed full credit for the workdays of that particular worker. The standard “free-days” of the missing worker would, however, be subtracted, hence it was recorded in the “debits” of the accounts.²⁰⁸ We lack evidence for any punishment of a foreman losing large numbers of his

208. R. Englund, “Administrative Timekeeping in Ancient Mesopotamia,” JESHO 31 (1988) 172 + fn. 46. See also R. Englund, “Hard Work - Where will it get you? Labor Management in Ur III Mesopotamia,” JNES 50 (1991) 278. V. Struve, “Some new data” (1969) 138 - 143. V. Struve, who had calculated the monthly time off for the female dependent workers (the *geme*) as 5 days a month, or 1/6 of their time, gave as a reason for these “days of detachment”, as he called them, that they “correspond to the days of the women’s usual indisposition when, in accordance with the notions of the Sumerians, women were impure and could not be admitted to any work” (p. 140).

crew, but we are in possession of a substantial number of texts testifying to the many escapees from the Ur III state, occasionally brought back to the state and enrolled in the production anew.²⁰⁹

MVN 14, 2 (from AS 1) is a rare example of an administrative record where the information is substantiated by a legal formulae:

Obverse.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. uš ₂ 1(ban ₂) ur-ama-na | Dead: One-ban category worker Ur-amana, |
| 2. iti e ₂ -iti-6(diš) | from the Month e-iti-6. |
| 3. uš ₂ 1(ban ₂) ur-si-gar | Dead: One-ban category worker Ur-Sigar, |
| 4. iti še-KIN-ku ₅ -ta | from the month “Harvest”. |

Reverse.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. ugula ur- ^d da-ni-ke ₄ | Foreman: Ur-Dani, |
| 2. zi lugal in-pa ₃ | He swore by the life of the king. |
| 3. kišib lugal-ku ₃ -zu | Sealed by Lugal-kuzu. |
| 4. mu ^d amar- ^d suen lugal | Year: “Amar-Suen (became) king”. |

Seal

209. See for example AnOr 7, 286 (from ŠS 6 viii 21): 5 workers are called seized fugitives (lu₂ zah₃ dab₅-ba), living in the “prison” (en-nu-ga₂ 𒀭til-la 𒀭). See also MVN 14, 120 (from Š 46 iii 11), a parallel text. MVN 6, 267 (from XX XX xii 22), is an inventory of 12 females described as seized fugitive females of the mill (geme₂ kikken₂ zah₃ dab₅-ba-me). TCTI 2, 3591 (from ŠS 2 i), speaks about a “knight” (lu₂ geš^štukul) of the king dispatched to seize fugitives (lu₂ zah₃-a dab₅-de₃ >/lu zah-a dab-ed-e/, i₃-im-gen-na > /î-b-ġen-a/, literally “to seize men who have fled, they went there”). The text is similar to MVN 14, 569 cited above, and the texts treated in Excursus 2. See also RTC 355; Rochester 152; DAS 199; TCTI 2, 4185; DAS 197; RTC 397; TCTI 2, 4161; and RTC 354 (XX XX xii), where it is specifically said that the “officer” (u₃-kul) shall go to GN (saḫar:^{ki}-ḪAR-geš^ššinig^{ki}-ka-še₃) to seize the fugitive females.

- | | |
|--|-----------------------------------|
| 1. lugal-ku ₃ -zu | Lugal-kuzu, |
| 2. dub-sar | scribe, |
| 3. dumu * Γ ur Γ -[nigar _x]- Γ *gar Γ [šuš ₃]
administrator. ²¹⁰ | son of Ur-Nigar, the chief cattle |

§3. The actual receipts recording the work have been described above. Receipts concerning the production of household utensils as well as tools and other manufactured products document the transfer of products from one institution to another, conforming with the standards for primary documents outlined above (pp. 49 - 56). These primary documents did not include the labor that went into the products.

§4. The account. Most of the large accounts concerning labor followed the same outline described above, with the sole exception being that work was used as an equivalency. Accounts concerning manufacturing, however, had a split “credits” section. The reason for this is the way in which the value of the production was calculated. Where as the first part of the “credits,” as expected, listed the individual receipts, the second part bundled the products together. Further, each product was split into its smallest component, which could then be added together to form a grand total. The production time for each product was calculated in a similar way.

210. See pp. 250 - 255 below for a discussion of the activities of Lugal-kuzu.

TCL 5, 6036, a 20-column tablet among the largest Ur III texts ever uncovered, will serve as an example of a complex account concerning the manufacturing of utensils for use in both agriculture and household production.²¹¹ The “debits” section lists the stock of raw-materials and work-days available to the foreman of the workshop, Agu.²¹² The first part of the “debits” section records a “remainder” from the previous year (obv. i 1 - 22). The “remainder” consists of large numbers of raw-materials of the kind normally used in carpentry and basketry workshops.²¹³ Following the “remainder” the text lists the regular work-crew of the work shop. Each member of the crew is mentioned with his work capacity. The crew was made up by two kinds of workers, “porters” and *dumu-gi*₇. Following the work-crew we find minor deliveries of bitumen and reed, among other things. Immediately preceding the total of the debit section, we find the “free-days” deducted, corresponding to the sick and disabled workers recorded in the “credits”.

The total of the raw materials was computed without using equivalencies. Timber was usually qualified according to its length, indicating that the scarcity of long pieces of lumber was very real (there would be no reason to record individual pieces of timber according to length if it was of no value). The first entry of the “credits” section lists the

211. Collated by the author.

212. Agu’s title in this text is “scribe of the artisans” (*dub-sar gašam*) See also ITT 3, 4906 (from AS 8), obv. 1 - 4: *pisan dub-ba / nig₂-ka₉-ak / a₂ gašam-e-ne / i₃-gal₂ /* ; and MVN 6, 303 (no date), rev. iv 3’ - 5’: *nig₂-ka₉-ak / gašam-ke₄-ne / ugula a-a-mu šabra*.

213. Note that this might be an account fulfilling a deficit, since all the timber is recorded in the remainder from the previous year.

“free-days” of the workers. Following these we find the individual entries corresponding to the receipts recording the real production of the workshop.²¹⁴

A good example of the production of the workshop can be found on obv. iv 22 - 26, which recorded the delivery of two doors sealed by the governor:²¹⁵

22. 4 ^{geš} ig e ₂ <esir ₂ su-ba>	Four bitumen-coated doors for a house.
23. gid ₂ -bi 6(diš) kuš ₃ -ta	their length is 6 cubit each,
24. dagal-bi 3(diš) kuš ₃ -ta	their width is 3 cubit each,
25. e ₂ ^d nin-ur ₄ -ra-ka ba-a-de ₆	They have been brought to the household of Ninura.
26. kišib ensi ₂ -ka	Sealed by the governor.

As expected this entry was recounted in the second part of the credit section (reverse, column 2, lines 7 - 15):²¹⁶

-
214. Several of the primary documents have been found in the published record: The first entry in the “credits” was recorded on BIN 5, 273 = TCL 5, 6036, obv. iv 10 - 26. JCS 2, 187 (NBC 3500) = TCL 5, 6036, obv. v 25-29 and 32-38. JCS 2, 187 (YBC 767) = TCL 5, 6036, obv. vi 15-16. MVN 14, 87 = TCL 5, 6036, obv. vii 23-29. SAKF 5 line 2 = TCL 5, 6036, obv. v 35. UTI, 2770 = TCL 5, 6036, obv. vii 11 -19. JCS 28, 121 15 = TCL 5, 6036, obv. vi 12 - 14.
215. Compare to UTI 4, 2870 (from AS 8^{sic}), a receipt recording the delivery of one door for a good house, among other products 1(diš) ^{geš}ig e₂ sig₁₀ (obverse line 1), received by Dingira from Agu. See also BIN 5, 274, a similar text from ŠS 1, and JCS 2, 186 (= UIOM 712) (from ŠS 3 xii), a parallel text.
216. The work shop produced also two “regular” doors (obv. v 28 - 31 // total: rev. ii 16 - 24), and one special “bitumen coated *Kagaltum* door for a good house” (obv. v 20 - 26 // total: rev. i 39 - rev. ii 6). Compare with the primary document Princeton 2, 392 (unpubl.) (no date), a receipt of 4 different doors, one of which is described as ^{geš}ig kid sig₁₀ esir₂ su-ba ka-gal-la-tum (obv. 8-9), which is to be transferred to the mill of Ur-Šulpa’e (e₂ ar₃ ur-^dšul-pa-e₃ ba-a-de₆), sealed with the nam-ša₃-tam seal of Ur-Šulpa’e, from Agu.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 7. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 2 geš ⁱ ig e ₂ esir ₂ su-ba | Altogether: four bitumen-coated doors
for a good house, |
| 8. gid ₂ -bi 6(diš) kuš ₃ -ta | their length is 6 cubit each, |
| 9. dagal-bi 3!(diš) kuš ₃ -ta | their width is 3 cubit each, |

The final task of the accountant was to credit the foreman of the workshop with the equivalence, calculated in raw materials and work-days, of the 4 doors (reverse, column 2, lines 8 - 15):

- | | |
|---|--|
| 10. esir ₂ -bi 4(ban ₂) | its bitumen is 40 liters. |
| 11. geš ^u ₃ -sub ₅ 7(diš) kuš ₃ -ta-bi 8(diš) | The number of 7 cubit fir-poles is eight |
| 12. geš ^{ša} ₃ -si 2(diš) kuš ₃ -ta-bi 2(u) 4(diš) | The number of 2 cubit “cross-beams” is 24, |
| 13. gi-bi 1(geš ₂) 2(u) sa | its reed is eighty bundles, |
| 14. peš-bi 1(geš ₂) 2(u) murgu ₂ | its murgu of peš is 12, |
| 15. a ₂ -bi 3(u) 2(diš) | its work is 32 (days) |

This unique reference allows us to reconstruct a door that otherwise would be completely unknown to us, since it would leave no traces in the archaeological record.

The accountant who drew up the record concerning Agu used a set of equivalencies specific to the production of baskets and mats to calculate the value of the production. The equivalencies for reed mats were tied to the surface metrology, and based on the use of reed and work-days. A worker was expected to weave 1/6 of a šar (ca. 6m²) of reed mat (gešⁱkid) each day, using 6 bundles of reed (sa gi) per 1/6 šar.²¹⁷ The other products, such as baskets,

217. See also R. Englund, JESHO 31 (1988) 121-185, in particular fn. 43, and A. Goetze, “Umma texts Concerning Reed Mats,” JCS 2 (1948) 165 - 202.

were equated to workdays as well, but no clear standard numerical relationship between the products, the labor and the raw-materials has been discovered.

Another branch of the Umma industry, well documented in the extant sources, is the pottery workshop. This workshop, perhaps connected to the governor's household (see below), produced large quantities of pottery. The format of the accounts concerning the pottery production is similar to those of the reed and basketry workshop; however, the second part of the "credits" in the accounts concerning the overseer of the pottery workshop calculated only the work-day equivalencies of the products, since the raw-materials that were used in the production of pottery had no economic value.

Chapter 3. Patterns of Succession

Mesopotamian systems of succession have never been dealt with systematically. It has become a dogmatic statement that strictly enforced patrilineal primogeniture was the prevailing Mesopotamian system of succession. This is apparent in the way in which the succession pattern described in the Sumerian King List has been readily adopted by Assyriologists. The obvious problem, posed by the fact that we have no written evidence that any rule of succession was formulated by the ancients, paired with the fact that, for example, the sequence of the Ur III rulers cannot easily be established using the extant administrative records, should arouse our attention. As soon as an investigation concerning succession patterns is broadened to cover not only the royal family of Ur III, it becomes apparent that no obvious pattern exists. In this chapter, I will attempt to outline a theory of succession applicable for the ruling family of Ur as well as for the provincial elite family in Umma, which presumably mimicked the royal court. As an excursus, a study of the royal family of Saudi Arabia has also been appended to this study.

In hereditary succession, power passes from one ruler to another according to a specific set of rules within that social group. Hereditary succession can be lineal or non-lineal, that is, it can pass from generation to generation, or it can stay within the same generations and skip generations more or less randomly.²¹⁸ Lineal succession can be either matrilineal or patrilineal. In a matrilineal system, it is not necessarily that women rule; rather,

218. Lineal succession is by far the most successful of the two, securing a smooth transfer of power.

power passes through the matrilineal line. Patrilineal succession, which is by far the most common system, can find its expression either in primogeniture or seniority. Primogeniture is when the oldest son, by virtue of being the oldest son, succeeds his father. Seniority on the other hand is a system in which senior (male) members of the ruling clan (group) feel that they have a place in the line of succession. Whether they eventually will be asked to rule is another issue. Seniority is not always equal to lateral succession, since lateral succession implies that succession will stay within one generation as long as possible, whereas seniority only implies that the oldest descendant has a quasi-legal claim to succession.

If a ruler nominates an heir, he naturally propagates rivals as well. This problem is inherent in any system of succession and can be observed in most cultures.²¹⁹ There have been as many attempts to deal with this schism as there have been cultures adhering to hereditary succession. How can the ruler secure succession if he can't trust his nominated successor?

The aging ruler can approach this problem from three angles. He can choose to wait and nominate his heir at the last minute, or even make it a posthumous decision, that is, to have the decision sealed until his death. Delayed appointment has the disadvantage of complicating succession, since the claim of the heir is more likely to be contested, and he lacks the relations that years as "heir apparent" would secure.²²⁰ Another possibility is to indoctrinate the offspring to such a degree that they become completely enervated — this

219. The following owes much to theoretical work of R. Burling, *The Passage of Power, Studies in Political Succession* (New York & London 1974).

method is also referred to as “caging the heirs”; the disadvantages of this system are obvious: it leaves the successor at the whim of courtiers and palace staff. Yet another option is to transfer the responsibilities for the election of the heir to either a particular group within the ruling house or a group outside of the ruling family. Delegating power to groups other than the innermost circles of the ruling family is, of course, very dangerous, since it easily becomes a catalyst for usurpation.²²¹ As we shall see below, at each succession, power is necessarily delegated away from the ruler and those closest to him.

Clearly, fraternal rivalries have the strength of promoting “succession of the fittest” [J. Kechichian (2001) 11], whereas strictly enforced primogeniture has the danger of bringing utterly incompetent persons to the throne. The designated heir himself has many choices to make before he can sit calmly on the throne. Will he have to kill all his brothers, or can he get around this quandary by confining them to imprisonment for life? Can his brothers keep their positions in the hierarchy? Can they be bypassed in succession? Even more distant relatives such as uncles, cousins, and widows can become powerful adversaries that have to be reckoned with when securing succession.²²²

220. The choice of an heir could be issued as a will, sealed and only opened after the death of the ruler. In the Saudi system where seniority prevails, the exact age of a contestant for the throne is often surrounded with secrecy.

221. Already Hobbes discussed this problem in his typology of the different forms of commonwealth—Hobbes term for a society. Hobbes claimed that the ruler who did not control succession was not sovereign, but that the person or institution who controlled succession also was the real sovereign of that society. (See Th. Hobbes, *Leviathan, or the Matter, Forme and Power of a Commonwealth, Ecclesiastical and Civil* (Basil Blackwell, Oxford: 1957) 125 - 129.)

It is likely that the empire-builder, the strong man who accumulates almost divine status by virtue of his own dynamism on the battle field, and at court, can enforce his choice for succession by means of his charisma alone, and that his wishes will be adhered to for some time after his death. Such powers are not likely to be inherited, however, and the subsequent generations will have to deal with the problems of succession on their own.²²³

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222. Although men have restricted the privileges of rulership for themselves in the majority of cultures, women, sometimes, have been able to rule through their juvenile sons, essentially bidding for power by promoting their own offspring.
223. M. Weber wrote extensively on the topic of charisma and control; see M. Weber, *On Charisma and Institution Building, Selected Papers, Edited and with an Introduction by S. N. Eisenstadt* (Chicago & London 1968) for an introduction to Weber's writings on the topic. Weber wrote much less on succession, and remarkably little on hereditary succession; see pp. 54 - 57 in *Selected Papers* 1968 (= M. Weber, "The Routinization of Charisma" from *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*), where his views are summarized. Following Weber, it would be possible to argue that the nature of the rule of Šulgi or even that of the first king of Saudi Arabia, Ibn Saud, was neither charismatic nor bureaucratic, since both rulers forged their "empires" from a tribal (or in the case of Ur III, clan-like) composition. However, it is precisely the fact that they were able to rise above petty tribal issues and create a social unit larger than their own tribe or clan, by means of their own personality and virility, that is in good agreement with the system of Weber. M. Weber described charisma as "a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities." (p. 48 in *Selected Papers* 1968, originally from p. 329 of M. Weber *Theory of Social and Economic Organization*). The "routinization" of charisma, and the subsequent vesting of power in the head of the clan rather than in a single charismatic person as described by Weber, see, e.g., p. 50 and pp. 194 - 197 in *Selected Papers* 1968, applies to our data-set as well. There is nothing to suggest that the Ur III state ever evolved into a true bureaucratic state, as this has been formulated by Weber (pp. 66 - 69 in *Selected Papers* 1968). For more on this particular problem see Chapter 5 below. See also p. 11 in J. Kechichian (2001), and R. Burling (1974) 87-88.

Since no Mesopotamian text concerning rules of succession has ever been recovered,²²⁴ and whereas it would appear that, although this has never been proven, primogeniture was the rule, I suggest that the ancient Mesopotamian ruling families used a system of seniority when dealing with succession within the ruling families.²²⁵

It is very likely, indeed, that the ruler and his clan would project back in time the system of succession they favored in order to add legitimacy to their legal claims to the throne. Thus the SKL may be nothing more than a piece of political rhetoric; although fraternal succession is not altogether eliminated from this text, it tends to suggest an eternity of patrilineal succession.²²⁶

224. The ancient Indian Hindu text Arthashastra (attributed to the 4th century BC, although the oldest extant copy dates to c. 150 AD) can be viewed as such a theoretic work, although it is mostly concerned with the techniques of rulership, and less with the problems of succession. Much later is Machiavelli's *The Prince*, and *Discourses*, both devoted primarily to instructing a ruler in the techniques of rulership, and only to a lesser degree with succession. Machiavelli in great detail pointed out the dangers of hereditary succession and the possibility of bringing an incompetent heir to the throne.

225. P. Moorey, while working on the Kish excavation reports (P. Moorey, *Kish Excavations 1923-1933* (Oxford 1978) 165), suggested, in line with I. Gelb, "Sumerians and Akkadians in their Ethno-Linguistic Relationship," *Genava NS 8* 241ff. (= *Rencontre 9: Geneva, 1960*) 265-67, that regional differences between the Akkadian North and the Sumerian South existed. Moorey went further than Gelb and suggested that the "the precocious emergence there [in the North] of a powerful secular kingship may have derived more immediately from the exploitation of a tribal system by singularly forceful individuals in the ruling family or group; a political pattern familiar in more recent Arab history". P. Steinkeller, "Early Political Development in Mesopotamia, and the Origins of the Sargonic Empire," in M. Liverani (ed.), *Akkad. The First World Empire. Structure, Ideology, Traditions* (= *HANE/S V; Padua 1993*) 121, and fn. 37, later quoted P. Moorey, although he disagreed with Moorey's statement on the "immediate" tribal background of the rulers of Kish, and suggested a city-based oligarchy as the source of Kishite kingship.

Although treaties from the first millennium BC Mesopotamia concerning succession exist such as the so-called Vassal Treaties of Esarhadon,²²⁷ it is nowhere stated that succession was limited to the oldest son, rather the choice of an heir seems to be somewhat *ad hoc*. The patterns of succession in the dynasty immediately prior to the Ur III, the second Dynasty of Lagaš, is very difficult to understand, and its use as a comparative source must be excluded.²²⁸ The dynasties following the fall of Ur III, the Amorites of Babylonia, all seem to

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226. Compare with J. Le Patourel, "The Norman Succession, 996-1135," *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 86, No. 339. (1971) 225-250, and in particular 226, and fn. 1, where Le Patourel discusses a quote from Orderic [*Ecclesiastical History*, iii. 242.] which has been taken as a proof of the existence of primogeniture at the time of William, Duke of Normandy. Le Patourel argues "that Orderic is very apt to explain events of the eleventh century according to ideas of the twelfth, particularly in matters of inheritance." See also p. 230, J. Le Patourel suggests that the Norman Duke was not bound by any tradition, or popular "law of inheritance", and further, that it is very difficult, due to the absence of written contemporary sources, to find any such rules. R. H. C. Davis, "William of Jumieges, Robert Curthose and the Norman Succession," *The English Historical Review*, Vol. 95, Issue 376 (1980), 597-606, especially p. 599 for an assessment that Orderic's account of the same events actually can be used to unravel the facts.
227. See S. Parpola and K. Watanabe, *Neo-Assyrian Treaties and Loyalty Oaths* (= SSA II: Helsinki 1988), with publication history. See M. Liverani, "The Medes at Esarhaddon's Court," *JCS* 47(1995) 57-62, for an alternate view on the nature and purpose of the treaties; the author suggested that the main purpose of the treaties was to serve as a loyalty oath of the Median mercenaries at the court of Esarhaddon. The Assyrian title for an heir to the throne was *mār šar rabu ša bit redūti*, which translates as "the great son of the king, the one of the house of succession".
228. Lateral succession might also have prevailed in Girsu during the days of the second Lagash Dynasty; see especially J. Renger, "The Daughters of Urbaba: Some thoughts on the Succession to the Throne during the 2. Dynasty of Lagash," *Fs. Kramer* (= AOAT; 1976), 367 - 369, and in particular fn. 17, with reference to D. Edzard, "Sumerer und Semiten in der Frühen Geschichte Mesopotamiens," *Genava NS* 8 241ff. (= *Rencontre* 9; Geneva 1960) 255 and fn. 107. Edzard believed fraternal succession to be subordinated primogeniture, however, without eliminating an element of fraternal succession ("Fratriarchat") from the history of Sumerian hereditary systems altogether.

favor lineal succession with restricted primogeniture, which might be a peculiarity adopted from the specific Amorite tribe making up the ruling elites of those dynasties. All through the 3rd millennium, the brothers of a ruler seem to have had a bid at succession, verifying my suspicion.²²⁹

The problems of any prosopographical analysis rests on the degree to which we trust the data contained in the sources. Whereas early Assyriological scholarship readily accepted any information written on a cuneiform tablet, modern studies have, advisedly, improved their historiography and learned the dangers of relying on court poetry as sources of history. Whether the administrative records are truly reliable historical documents seems to be the

229. The founder of the the Old Akkadian Empire, Sargon, was followed on the throne by two sons; first Rimuš, then Maništusu. It is possible that the two struggled against each other for the throne (see Aa. Westenholz, *The Old Akkadian Period, History and Culture*, in P. Attinger et al. (eds.), *Mesopotamien, Akkade-Zeit und Ur III Zeit* (= OBO 160/3; Freiburg 1999) 41). Eventually, Maništusu was able to name his own son as successor (i.e. favor his own line), and lineal succession prevailed in the last generations of the Old Akkadian Empire (note that the SKL agrees on this point, column 6, lines 39 - 41; ma-ni-iš-ti-iš-šu / šeš gal ri₂-mu-^Γ <<uš>> ^Γ-uš / dumu šar-~~u~~-ki-in, “Maništusu, big-brother of Rimuš, son of Sargon“). The predominant succession pattern in Old Sumerian Lagaš was not primogeniture, but rather, again, seniority. Ur-Nanše, the founder of the Lagash I Dynasty was followed by his son Akurgal, who again was followed by his son, Eanatum, who was succeeded by his own brother, En-anatum (I). En-anatum (I) was followed by a son, En-metena, who in turn was followed by a son, En-anatum (II). The next ruler, En-entarzid, was perhaps a brother of En-anatum (II). The dynasty ended with En-entarzid; his successor, Lugalandu, was presumably not related to Ur-Nanše (see J. Bauer, *Der vorsargonische Abschnitt der mesopotamischen Geschichte*, in P. Attinger et al. (eds.), *Mesopotamien, Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit* (= OBO 160/1; Freiburg 1998), for the most recent treatment of Old Sumerian history). For the few pre-Lagash I examples of fraternal succession known to us see D. Edzard, *Genava NS* 8, 255 + fn. 107; these are in Kiš: Melamkiši and BAR-SAL-NUN-NA, and in Ur: A’annepada and Meskianganunna.

present-day controversy within Assyriology. Are we capable of uncovering fictitious transactions in the documents? Can we trust our data?

It seems clear that the basic prosopographical information such as familial relationships as expressed in the seal-inscriptions can be trusted.²³⁰ The perception that the term *dumu* (Sumerian for child, but in an Ur III context almost exclusively meaning son) can refer to a business associate is borrowed from later Assyrian and Babylonian sources,²³¹ whereas all third millennium BC Sumerian sources point in the direction that this was a genealogical term for son. Although adhering to such basic rules, Ur III prosopography remains complex due to the restricted information provided by the sources. Only the information necessary for the identification of a person was ever recorded in the administrative documents of the Ur III bureaucracy. It is therefore always necessary to keep the familial as well as the official standing of any person in sight when disentangling the many references to his activities. The use of personal names was not restricted on the basis of social standing or grouping — static social groups based on ethnicity or self-perceived tribal/clan affiliation, such as those known from, e.g., India, did not exist, as far as we can see, in

230. Basic familial relations frequently expressed in the Ur III administrative record are *dumu* (“son,” although *dumu* is gender neutral and has the meaning “child,” it is in Ur III administrative documents normally contrasted to *dumu-mi₂* “female child”), *šeš* (“brother”), *ama* (“mother”), and *dumu-mi₂* (“daughter”). Of these only the first two are attested with very high frequency. Father (Sumerian *ad-da*, *ab-ba*, *a* or *a-a*, presumably vocalized **/aya/*) was rarely used to describe a familial relation, as was the case with the more exotic terms such as *e-gi₄-a*, “daughter in law,” etc.

231. M. Larsen, *The Old Assyrian City-State and its Colonies* (= Mesopotamia 4: Copenhagen 1976) 92 - 102, seems to be of the opinion that familial affiliation was of paramount importance to the the Old Assyrian trading companies, allowing for the interpretation of kinship terms as both familial and official.

late 3rd millennium BC Mesopotamia. Obviously, Akkadian persons bore Akkadian names, but this was apparently without any relevance for their hierarchical standing. Some personal names were used very frequently, requiring increased use of titles and familial affiliation as identifiers in the administrative documents. When fewer people had the same name, and no two persons with the same name were active at the same administrative level, titles and patronymics were rarely used.

Chapter 4. The House of Ur-Nammu

The Ur III dynasty lasted three, perhaps four, generations, with five rulers: Ur-Nammu and his son Šulgi belonged to the first and second generation, respectively. Most likely three sons of Šulgi — following each other on the throne — made up the third generation, they were, Amar-Suen, Šu-Suen, and possibly Ibbi-Suen.²³²

Ur-Nammu,²³³ founder of the Ur III dynasty, is not well known, since few administrative documents from his time have survived. The primary sources for his reign are so scarce that even the sequence of year-dates for his reign remains to be finalized.²³⁴ According to the Sumerian King List, Ur-Nammu reigned 18 years. Six years are still unaccounted for in the administrative record, and it remains impossible to place two known year-formulae within the sequence. The year-name formulae record peaceful activities only, such as the excavation of canals.

232. Whereas it is likely that Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen were brothers, we have no contemporary information about the ancestry of Ibbi-Suen. The almost purely hypothetical statement that Ibbi-Suen too was a son of Šulgi is spun on a theoretical framework generated, in part, from anthropological and sociological evidence, and supported by comparative evidence from the Ur III provincial elite families (described below). New evidence from the Garšana archive (D. Owen, RAI 47, paper (2001)), seems to prove this theory.

233. For the reading of the theophoric element of Ur-Nammu's name see D. Frayne, RIME 3/2 (1997) 9, which references to the literature suggesting a reading *namma* instead of *nammu*. Lately E. Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition*, (= OBO 166; Freiburg 1999) 8 - 9, again promoted a reading *Namma*. However, following D. Frayne, RIME 3/2 (1997), *nammu* is retained in this study, albeit only for the sake of convention.

234. See D. Frayne, RIME 3/2 (1997) 9.

Supported by both indirect as well as direct evidence, Ur-Nammu is considered a member of the ruling family of Uruk. This seems confirmed by the fact that Ur-Nammu served as a commander in the Urukite army. The exact nature of Ur-Nammu's familial ties with the ruling family of Uruk, and its *paterfamilias*, Utu-ḫegal, is unfortunately uncertain.²³⁵ Ur-Nammu brought with him the royal ideology of the kings of Uruk when he founded his dynasty in Ur. The rulers of Ur would claim to have roles in the classical Gilgameš mythology by being siblings of Gilgameš and, to some extent, by taking over his role altogether. During the formative period of the empire, the clan of Ur-Nammu, legitimized through both pseudo-historical as well as theological claims of supremacy, managed to monopolize power, and exclude all other families and cadet branches from succession. A cadet branch is defined as a distinct branch of the ruling family, related by marriage or through an uncle to the ruling line. We see the result of this policy in the later years of the empire when one family alone held all the important offices in the imperial administration, co-opting all other important clans in their own rule (see, e.g., the discussion about the *sukkalmaḫ* below, pp. 113 - 116).

235. One, fragmentary, historical inscription records the familial relationship between Utu-ḫegal and Ur-Nammu: Utu-ḫegal 6 can be used as evidence that the two were brothers (see C. Wilcke, "Zum Königtum in der Ur III-Zeit," (1971/75) 180 + fn. 67). M. Sigrist, *Drehem* (Bethesda 1992) 4, suggests that Ur-Nammu was the son of Utu-ḫegal of Uruk. Although more Ur III princes may have served in the army as military commanders (*šagina*), this cannot be documented for more than a few. The kings for whom evidence is at hand (Šulgi and Amar-Suen) seem to have installed "foreigners" as commanders of the army just as frequently as their sons held these powerful positions. Whether this was out of fear for the creation of powerful factions inside the royal family is unknown. Ur-Nammu's relation to the royal house of Uruk can therefore not be proven by his involvement with the military of that city. He could have been a blood relative as well as a favored allied married into the royal house of Uruk.

The historical sources pertaining to the reign of Ur-Nammu mostly refer to his building activities, and to his refurbishing of the canal system. The sources are, on the other hand, silent concerning any military activities.²³⁶ It is possible that Ur-Nammu only ruled a small territorial state in the southwestern part of Sumer. Further, it is even likely that his rule was contemporary with the Second Lagash dynasty.²³⁷

Ur-Nammu was well remembered in later literary tradition. Two very famous texts have come down to us, “The Coronation of Ur-Nammu” and “The Death of Ur-Nammu.” The latter suggests that Ur-Nammu died on the battlefield, and that his corpse was not recovered.²³⁸

236. See W. Sallaberger, *Ur III-Zeit*, in P. Attinger et al. (eds.), *Mesopotamien, Akkade-Zeit und Ur III Zeit* (= OBO 160/3; Freiburg 1999) 135 - 136, for a summary of the canal constructions of Ur-Nammu, and 137 - 139 for a summary of the building activities of Ur-Nammu. See also E. Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma*, 1999, 28 - 40 for a survey of the activities of Ur-Nammu and the sources to his reign. Old Babylonian copies of Ur-Nammu's historical inscriptions record military campaigns against the Elamites and the Gutians (see, for example, RIME 3/2 1.1.28 and 29).

237. So far no study has conclusively sorted out the chronology of late third millennium BC. The second Lagash dynasty, also called The Dynasty of Ur-Baba, has traditionally been considered an intermediate period between the Old Akkadian dynasty and Ur III, but it is now commonly believed to overlap with Ur III. Our understanding of the internal chronology of Lagaš II is limited because we have failed even to establish beyond doubt the sequence of rulers. The external chronology of Lagaš II is not well understood either, since the foreign relations of the Girsu court are known only from the royal inscriptions. The expressions of Gudea: “He opened the road from the upper to the lower sea,” are standardized epithets at most, see Gudea Statue B, column v, lines 25-27, and compare to examples from literature, for example, A song of Inanna and Dumuzid line 44 (Dumuzid-Inanna D1, see <http://www-etcsl.orient.ox.ac.uk/section4/c40830.htm>). For a recent discussion of the Lagash II chronology see C. Suter, *Gudea's Temple Building* (Groningen 2000) 15 - 28, and E. Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma* (1999) 2 - 5, with references to the debate.

Whereas Ur-Nammu was the founder of the Ur III dynasty his son, Šulgi, was the builder of the Ur III Empire.²³⁹ He ruled 48 years, and was the most important Ur III ruler. He was succeeded on the throne by two, or possibly three of his sons. As seen throughout history, a powerful, long-lived founder of an empire would often be ascribed super-human powers. Šulgi was no exception. He was deified by the middle of his reign, and there is nothing that suggests that anyone dared contest his rule or his plans for succession while he was alive.²⁴⁰ We do not know the names of any siblings of Šulgi. If there were any, they had been successfully excluded from the line of succession.

With the elevation in Š18 Liwwir-Mittašu, his daughter, to queenship of Marhaši, a political entity to the east of Mesopotamia,²⁴¹ the expansionist policy of Šulgi had begun. This policy, which from around Š 20 included military campaigns, coincided with the first attestation of the divine title used by Šulgi.²⁴² During Šulgi's 21st year, certain social reforms were formulated which seem to have eased the conversion of the population at large

238. The theological implications of a burial without a corpse are thought to have been sinister; however, they lie beyond the scope of the present study, and will not be dealt with here, see D. Frayne, RIME 3/2 (1997) 20, with references. Note that E. Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma*, 1999, see for example p. 7, and 94, understands the text differently; according to her, Ur-Nammu is brought back to Ur where he was buried.

239. Šulgi's early years might have been contemporary with at least the latter part of the semi-independent Lagaš II dynasty. See fn. 234 above, and in particular P. Steinkeller, "The date of Gudea and his dynasty," JCS 40 (1988) 51-52.

240. The smooth transfer of power between Šulgi and Amar-Suen suggests that Šulgi had appointed Amar-Suen "heir apparent" at some point.

241. See P. Michalowski, JAOS 95 (1975) 716-719.

242. D. Frayne, RIME 3/2 (1997) 91.

into a state of dependence on the crown. It is from that point in time that we, with reason, can call Ur III a well-functioning administrative machine. Thus, the beginning of the bureaucratic age of Ur III is introduced by the following year-formula:

mu ^dnin-urta ensi₂-gal ^den-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ e₂ ^den-lil₂ ^dnin-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ eš-bar-kin ba-an-
du₁₁-ga ^dšul-gi lugal uri₅^{ki}-ma- ke₄ GAN₂ nig₂-ka₉ ša₃ e₂ ^den-lil₂ ^dnin-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ si
bi₂-sa₂-a

“Year: Ninurta, the Ensi-gal of Enlil, having taken an omen for the house of Enlil and Ninlil, Šulgi, the king of Ur, set straight the fields and the accounts for the house of Enlil and Ninlil.”²⁴³

The exact nature of the so-called “Reforms of Šulgi” is not well understood.²⁴⁴ There exists no conclusive evidence that Šulgi ever wrote a set of social reforms; rather it seems plausible that Šulgi, by virtue of his unparalleled reign, was able to usurp a large portion of the power and possessions previously held by temple households and local elite families. Bookkeeping in the years following Šulgi 21 seems to have aimed, increasingly, at embracing all aspects of society; whether ownership of the entire state had been transferred to Šulgi is not clear, but possible.

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243. See also K. Maekawa, “The “Temples” and the “Temple Personnel” of Ur III Girsu-Lagash”, in K. Watanabe (ed.), *Papers of the Second Colloquium on the Ancient Near East - The City and its Life held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan (Mitaka, Tokyo)*, Sonderdruck (Heidelberg 1999) 66 and 68. Th. Jacobsen translates: “Year when Ninurta, ensi-gal of Enlil ordered an audit for the temples of Enlil and Ninlil, and Šulgi, king of Ur, straightened out the fields (forming) the core of the accounting for the temples of Enlil and Ninlil.” Th. Jacobsen, “The Term Ensi,” *AulaOr* 9 (1991) 115 (see also fn. 16).
244. See, for example, M. Sigrist, *Drehem* (1992) 9, W. Sallaberger, *Ur III-Zeit* (1999) 148, and K. Maekawa, “The “Temples” and the “Temple Personnel” (Heidelberg 1999) 66 - 68.

During the second half of Šulgi's reign, numerous military campaigns were directed towards the eastern and north-eastern regions bordering the Mesopotamian plain. The lands to the north and north-west are likely to have been kept under control more through alliances than through war.²⁴⁵

In Šulgi's 39th year a building of some significance was constructed at Puzriš-Dagān. The building was so important that the year was named after this event:²⁴⁶

mu d^yšul-gi lugal uri^{ki}₅-ma-ke₄ lugal d^{ub}-da limmu₂-ba-ke₄ e₂ puzur₄ i^š-d^{da}-gan^{ki} mu-du₃

“Year: Šulgi, the King of Ur, King of the four corners, built the house Puzriš-Dagān.”²⁴⁷

Whether that building activity alluded to the whole city of Puzriš-Dagān or only to a particular temple or building within it is unknown. Drehem (Puzriš-Dagān's modern

245. See W. Sallaberger, *Ur III-Zeit* (1999) 156-161.

246. The 39th year of Šulgi was also called the Year after the year after: “the wall of the land was built” (Sumerian mu-us₂-sa bad₃ ma-da ba-du₃ mu-us₂-sa-bi). M. Sigris believes that the house of Drehem was constructed in Š 38, so that the next year (Š 39) could be named after the event (M. Sigris, *Drehem* (1992) 13). I doubt this interpretation, and suggest that the years were named only some months after the new-year, when an important event had taken place, as is implied by the fact that many years had two names, one “the year after” and one new. Chronological evidence from the data set corroborates this hypothesis only to some extent. Texts dated with the year-formula mu e₂ puzur₄-dagan ba-du₃ occur only from month 4 (except for some Umma texts with the month name iti šeKINku, a possible Drehem date in Umma documents?), whereas texts dated according to the year-formula mu-us₂-sa BAD₃ ba-du₃ mu-us₂-sa-a-bi are attested only from the 3 first months of the year, suggesting a naming of the year Š 39 to have taken place at the end of month 3.

247. See also D. Edzard, *ZA* 63, 1973, 202

Arabic name is Drehem, a name which for the sake of convention will be used in the following) has been termed the great animal-pen of the Ur III Empire,²⁴⁸ suggesting its redistributive character, but its exact function is still not entirely clear.

The officials in the local administrations of the Ur III provinces had their seal-inscriptions altered some time after the year when the “House at Puzriš-Dagān” was built, suggesting that the power of the king was being strengthened. Instead of carrying a dedication to the local governor, the seal-inscriptions now contained either a dedication to the king, or nothing but the title and perhaps the patronymic of the seal-owner. The exact date of this change is difficult to pinpoint, but it seems to coincide with the establishment of Drehem.²⁴⁹

Šulgi had at least one, but possibly as many as three, wives, and several concubines (Sumerian *lukur*).²⁵⁰ The kings of Ur used dynastic marriages extensively as a political tool, by sending their daughters off to foreign places, and also by marrying daughters from neighboring chiefdoms and states. The clan of Ur-Nammu secured its supremacy by marrying daughters of the kings to high-ranking officials of the empire, co-opting these

248. F. Thureau-Dangin, RA 7 (1910), 186.

249. See, for example, the peculiar history of the seal of Gudea, the son of Ur-Nigar, chief cattle administrator (šuš₃). The same seal which prior to Š 43 had had a dedication to Ur-Lisi, the governor of Umma, was recarved to conform with the simple format of a patronymic inscription in style after Š 40+/- 2. Another example suggesting the same evolution is the seal of Lugal-inimgina, the scribe, son of Lugal-nesag'e, which had a destiny similar to the seal of Gudea. This preliminary survey owes much to the unpublished dissertation of R. Mayr, *Seal Impressions* (1997). See also fn. 402, p. 158 below.

important families in the reign of the kings of Ur.²⁵¹ The majority of the known royal women of the Ur III period had Akkadian names.

It is possible that Abī-simtī was the wife of Šulgi, rather than the wife of Amar-Suen (see fn. 273 below). She was from northern Mesopotamia as indicated by the seal-inscription of her brother Babati. A fragmentary genealogy of the family of Babati is presented below. That family has been included among the cadet branches of the royal family of Ur (see Figure 2). Based in part on Old Babylonian sources, it has been suggested that Šulgi married Tarām-Uram, a daughter of the ruler of Mari, Apil-Kīn.²⁵² Amat-Suen, also read GEME₂-Suen, is the only person we can say for certain was a wife (Sumerian dam) of Šulgi.²⁵³ The names of Šulgi's concubines were Ea-niša,²⁵⁴ Simat-Ea, Suqurtum, Ninkala,

250. The Old-Babylonian Proto-LU (MSL 12) gives three Akkadian readings of lukur (SAL.ME): lines 263-265 (p.42): lukur^{na-di-tum}, lukur^{qa₂-di-iš-tum}, lukur^{ba-tu-ul-tum}. The second of these, qadištum, translates as a woman of special status; it is also written nin-dingir. batultu is an adolescent girl, also written ki-sikil in Sumerian. The more traditional Akkadian translation of lukur, nadītu, is also of little help understanding the Sumerian title; we read in the CAD (N₁ p. 63) that a naditu is “a woman dedicated to a god, usually unmarried, not allowed to have children, usually living in a *gagú*,” a translation contrary to the Ur III meaning of the term. See also Excursus 2.

251. In the end, the Ur III kings had perhaps become ensnared in a web of familial ties which facilitated the fall of the dynasty. The case of Išbi-Erra, a general of the Ur III army, and a possible blood relative of the ruling family of Ur who aided the downfall of the Ur empire, exemplifies the dangers of an over extensive use of political marriages.

252. J. Boese and W. Sallaberger, “Apil-Kin von Mari und die Könige der III. Dynastie von Ur,” AoF 23 (1996) 24-39.

253. See RIME 3/2 1.2.67. RIME 3/2 1.2.68, which has the unusual spelling a-ma-at instead of GEME₂.

Geme-Ninlila, and Šulgi-simtī. Šulgi-simtī was perhaps elevated to queenship around Š 30.²⁵⁵ Ninkala is also called queen (nin) in a few texts.²⁵⁶

All of these women, except Tarām-Uram and Abī-simtī, were recorded with their personal relationship to Šulgi in various inscriptions on seals and votive objects. Ea-niša, for example, is called “his concubine” (Sumerian lukur-ra-ni), “beloved concubine” (lukur ki-

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254. A person called i-TI-e₂-a (presumably /idin-ea/) is mentioned as a brother of Ea-niša, see RA 73, 191 (= AAICAB 1, 1971-351) (from Š 48 viii), and OIP 115, 199 (= A 2949) (from Š 46 iii 19). A person by the same name is also mentioned as a man of Šulgi (lu₂ d^šul-gi) in RA 59, 111 S 1 (no year), as a chief administrator (šabra), in JEOL 33, 114 5 (from Š 47 xi), and TCND 400 (from Š 48), as chief cattle administrator (šuš₃) in PDT 1, 550 (no date). He is also mentioned as the father of Šū-Ea in JCS 32, 171 1 (from Š 47 viii). Note that all references are from the reign of Šulgi.
255. See MVN 8, 97 (from Š 32 v); NYPL 235 (from Š 38 vii); MVN 3, 162 (from Š 39 iii); AUCT 1, 952 (from Š 39 iv 6); Princeton 1, 55 (from Š 35 xii); RT 37, 129 ab. 1 (from Š 35 ix); TCS 145 (from Š 47 iv); and TCS 170 (from Š 37 ii), all imply a relationship between Šulgi-simtī and Tezen-mama (te-ze₂-en₆-ma-ma), who according to D. Frayne, RIME 3/2 (1997) 267, was counted among the daughters of Amar-Suen. The texts cited here could perhaps aid future studies targeted at disentangling the maternal descent of the princes and princesses: Tezen-mama is never mentioned together with another royal spouse; she was perhaps the daughter of Šulgi-simtī.
256. See ASJ 11, 129 59 (= BM 29874) (from Š 48); CT 7, 27 (= BM 18376) (from Š 42), and MVN 17, 8 (= BM 12237 = ASJ 2, 31 87) (from Š 42), suggest that Ninkala held the city ^{u₂}urua^aki (or ^{u₂}urua_x(U₂.URUxGU)^{ki}) as her private estate (see also the house of Simat-Ištaran documented in the Garšana archive). The three texts all have the similar colophon nig₂-ka₉-ak še ^{u₂}urua^aki / nin₉-kal-la nin (account of the grain of GN, Ninkala the queen). Only the latter text has been collated; it is the only one of the two to give Ninkala the title queen (nin). For the fields of various high-ranking members of the Ur elite including Ninkala see also ASJ 9, 126f 57 (= BM 29860) (no date), and TIM 6, 3 (from AS 1). In TMHC NF 1/2, 204 (from ŠS 1 iv), Ninkala received 5 mana of wool; the tablet was sealed with the servant seal of Ummī-ṭāb, the slave-woman of Šāt-[Suen], the daughter of the king. Šāt-Suen is known as a daughter of Šulgi, but her relationship to Šulgi’s concubine Ninkala is unknown.

ag₂-a), “beloved concubine of the king” (lukur ki-ag₂-lugal), “his campaign consort” (lukur kaskal-la-ka-ni), and “campaign consort, his bellowed concubine” (lukur kaskal-la lukur ki-ag₂-ga₂-ni).²⁵⁷ Geme-Ninlila is called “his beloved” (ki-ag₂-ga₂-ni).²⁵⁸ Ninkala is called “his beloved citizen of Nippur” (dumu nibru^{ki} ki-ag₂-ga₂-ni).²⁵⁹ Suqurtum is called “his beloved concubine” (lukur ki-ag₂-ga₂-ni).²⁶⁰ It is unknown, at present whether these “titles” were of any consequence for the standing of the concubine; we would expect the king to favor some women over others, allowing the formation of factions within the harem.²⁶¹ The nature of Ur III concubinage is, however, not altogether clear. It was not limited to the king. The governor of Umma, the sukkalmaḥ and governor of Girsu, as well as several generals, all may have cohabited with a concubine alongside their wife/wives.

The consorts of Šulgi were involved in the economy, to which the Drehem administration testifies.²⁶² Contemporary evidence from the provincial capital of Umma, where the wife of the governor seems to have had her own resources, suggests that the queen may also have been in charge of a household of her own.²⁶³

257. See RIME 3/2 1.2.71 to 1.2.81 for the titles of Ea-niša.

258. See RIME 3/2 1.2.82 for the title of Geme-Ninlila.

259. See RIME 3/2 1.2.83 to 84 for the title of Ninkala.

260. See RIME 3/2 1.2.85 for the title of Šuqurtum.

261. It is also possible that the king divorced himself from the women over the years, or that they perished, leaving Šulgi with only one wife at a time. Harem is here used strictly to refer to the group of women with some sort of marital tie to the king, concubines as well as wives. It is unknown whether these women dwelled in the same house, or whether they otherwise can be said to constitute what can be compared to the classical Ottoman harem.

262. W. Sallaberger, *Ur III-Zeit* (1999) 253 - 260.

Šulgi had more than 20 children, some of whom held important positions in the civil administration or the military.²⁶⁴ No information has survived as to who the mothers of the different children of Šulgi were, but we may hope that future prosopographical work will give some clues as to the possible existence of royal factions based on maternal lineage.

Due to the particular nature of the sources—naming royal progeny “son of the king” rather than “son of PN the king”, and often providing no title at all—it is not possible to specify a title for more than a few of Šulgi’s sons. A handful served in the military, others were only mentioned a few times in the texts from Drehem. These sons of Šulgi were Amar-Suen (the future king, see below), Šu-Suen (the future king, see below), possibly Ibbi-Suen (the future king, see below), Eštar-ilšu, perhaps the same as the general (Sumerian *šagina*) mentioned in SAT 3, 2143 (no date), Luduga, who seems to have been active in the Umma province, Lu-Sunzida, who, albeit never mentioned with a title, figures among high-ranking officials of the empire, Lu-Nanna, the general of Nagsu and Zimudar,²⁶⁵ whose son Ennam-

263. The references to a chief administrator of Ea-niša (*šabra e₂-a-ni-ša*) corroborate this. See, for example, CT 32, 36 (= BM103403) (from ŠS 2 to 3) (tenure of Šulgi-bāni), PDT 1, 99 (from Š 47 iii 4), and SACT 1, 131 (from Š 46 xii 13) (tenure of Luduga). For references to a household of Šulgi-simtī, see, for example, Orient 16, 107 174 (from Š 43), and M. Sigirist, *Drehem* (1992) 222 - 246. The newly discovered archive of the household of Simat-Ištaran from Garšana, supports this hypothesis. The archive includes references to the chief household administrator (*šabra e₂*) and the scribe of the chief household administrator.

264. See figure 4, below, for a complete list of the members of the royal family, in parts adapted from D. Frayne, RIME 3/2 (1997) (pp. 166 - 170, Šulgi, pp. 266 - 268, Amar-Suen, pp. 336 - 337, Šu-Suen, and pp. 375 - 376, Ibbi-Suen). Figure 2 represents an attempt to sort out some of the cadet branches of the House of Ur-Nammu.

265. UET 3, 75 (from ŠS 1 i).

Šulgi is also known, Puzur-Eštar, another general, Šū-Enlil, who served as general of Uruk and BADAN,²⁶⁶ Ur-Suen, who served as general of Uruk²⁶⁷ and of BADAN, and Ur-Nigar, who also served as general of Uruk. One could point to the pattern that several royal sons held the position of governor of Uruk as an important discovery relating to both the self-understanding of the royal family of Ur, and the mechanics of succession. However, the sources are too meager to further advance this theory.²⁶⁸ Several of Šulgi's daughters are also known. They were, among others, En-nirzi-ana, Nin-TUR.TUR-mu, En-uburzi-ana, Peš₂-TUR.TUR, Dadagu (?), Tarām-Šulgi, and Liwwir-Mittašu, who became queen of Marharši in Š18. Apart from Liwwir-Mittašu, it is not know if any of these princesses were married to high-ranking officials of the empire.²⁶⁹

266. See below, fn. 270.

267. For example, RIME 3/2 1.2.96 (= NBC 1934), and RA 13, 21 7 (from Š 48).

268. The possibility of Uruk as an Ur III *Dauphinage* was discussed by P. Michalowski in "Durum and Uruk during the Ur III Period," *Mesopotamia* 12 (1977) 83 - 96.

269. Note that D. Owen recently suggested that Simat-Ištaran was a daughter of Šulgi, and married to Šū-Kabta, a high-ranking official of the empire (D. Owen, RAI 47, paper (2001)). Note also the daughter of Šulgi who was married to the ruler of Anšan in Š 30. Šulgi destroyed this city in Š 34.

Šulgi died on the first or the second day of the eleventh month of his 48th regnal year.²⁷⁰ He was well remembered in the literary tradition, with more than 20 hymns composed in his honor, some of them even said to be self-laudatory.²⁷¹

Amar-Suen became king after his father, and ruled for nine years. All the year-dates of Amar-Suen are known. Whether or not Amar-Suen was the oldest son or his father's favorite is unknown. Some form of administrative training is believed to have been a prerequisite for any royal heir prior to his elevation to kingship; surprisingly, Amar-Suen is never mentioned before his ascension to the throne. There are three possible answers to this peculiar problem: 1) Amar-Suen never held any important office before he became king. A very unlikely scenario, except if he were too young to have had the possibility of the vital training an administrative or military position would have given him. 2) The name Amar-Suen is only a throne-name. Throne names are only rarely attested during the third

270. See D. Frayne, *RIME 3/2* (1997) 110, for a summary of the evidence, with references to previous literature.

271. There exists, as of today, no conclusive evidence that any of the Šulgi hymns were composed during the time of Šulgi. That some of the neo-Sumerian royal hymns contain an "historical kernel" is no evidence for their historicity (so W. Hallo, "The Coronation of Ur-Nammu," *JCS* 20 (1966) 135 - 139, followed by J. Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns* (Ramat-Gan 1981) 58 and fn. 139). Whether the literary texts contained an historical kernel or not is of no consequence for their possible use in reconstructing the history of Ur III. Such an historical kernel can be found among all the legends, myths, and other incorporated folkloristic material, after the historical events have been sorted out using the primary sources. The royal hymns are therefore not historical sources; they are primarily literary texts collected by scribes, for use within the cult and schools of the Old Babylonian cities. The majority of the Ur III royal hymns were presumably composed long after the fall of Ur to the Elamites, and are perhaps based on Akkadian proto-types translated into Sumerian.

millennium, but they are not unknown. 3) Amar-Suen served his father outside Sumer, and references to his office remain in the royal archives of Ur, still to be unearthed. In all three cases, we are looking for a scenario that would present Amar-Suen with the ability to build a power base that would ensure his place in succession.

Amar-Suen is described in the historical tradition as a weak ruler. Perhaps this is done only to create a literary antithesis to the strong ruler Šulgi.²⁷² According to the historical sources, Amar-Suen's rule was a period of few conflicts, a condition that can be seen as both a weakening and a strengthening of the empire. Following the example of his father, Amar-Suen had several concubines, including [x]-natum, ZagaANbi, Udad-zenat, and Puzur-uša. It is possible, but not certain, that Abī-simtī was the wife of Amar-Suen.²⁷³ The brother of Abī-simtī, Babati, was an important figure from Northern Mesopotamia. Judging from the impressive array of titles listed in his seal-inscription, it seems justified to claim that Babati and his "gens" were an influential clan, whom the rulers of Ur co-opted during their reign.²⁷⁴ Like his father, Amar-Suen had many children. Establishing a genealogy of the Ur III royal family is hampered by the administrative preference for referring to the title rather than to the name of a person. For the royal family in particular, reference to royal descent is almost exclusively expressed in impersonal terms: very few texts name a royal father. Rather the expression "son of the king" (*dumu lugal*) was used. This has resulted in difficulties when attempting to connect an individual prince with either Amar-Suen or Šulgi; the family tree

272. P. Michalowski, "Amar-Su'ena and the Historical Tradition," in: M. de J. Ellis (ed.), *EANEF* (= *Fs Finkelstein; Hamden 1977*) 155-157.

of the royal family presented at the end of this chapter is drawn primarily from the information in RIME 3/2, joined with the new evidence suggesting that Amar-Suen, Šu-

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273. It is paramount to the whole question of neo-Sumerian royal succession to establish whether Abī-simtī was the wife of Amar-Suen or Šulgi. No conclusive evidence exists favoring either Šulgi or Amar-Suen as the husband of Abī-simtī. She is called queen (Sumerian *nin*) in a text dating to the final year of the reign of Amar-Suen (UTI 3, 2003 [from AS 9]) as well as in texts from throughout the reign of Šu-Suen (for example, MVN 16, 713 [from ŠS 4], and MVN 16, 916 [from ŠS 3]), whereas she is not mentioned during Šulgi's reign. Abī-simtī is not the only person with the title queen during Šu-Suen's reign, she is mentioned together with Kubātum (the wife of Šu-Suen) in two texts (MVN 9, 165 [from ŠS 5], and MVN 16, 960 [from ŠS 3]; in both texts, both women are called "queen" (*nin*). However "queen" (*nin*) is perhaps used as an honorary title: "queen-dowager", when referring to Abī-simtī. She is mentioned without title during the reign of Amar-Suen, save for the single text cited above. D. Frayne claimed in RIME 3/2 (1997) (p. 285 - 286) that Abī-simtī was the wife of Amar-Suen, based in part on an Old Babylonian copy of the seal of Babati the brother of Abī-simtī (RIME 3/2 1.4.33). The original Ur III inscription of that same seal (RIME 3/2 1.4.32) can only be used to prove that Abī-simtī was the mother of Šu-Suen (see PDT 2, 1200 [from ŠS 7 iii], which fills the lacuna in the first line of RIME 3/2 1.4.32). The Old Babylonian copy, which substitutes *ama* (the Sumerian word for mother) for *dam* (wife), also names Šu-Suen as the benefactor of the dedication. The original Ur III inscription can thus not be used to determine whose wife she was. Recently, D. Owen published a text with the interesting personal name "Šu-Suen born of Šulgi" (^dš^u-^ds^{uen}-^walid-^dš^{ul}gi), which he argues might be the full name of Šu-Suen (NABU 2001/17). No other contemporary evidence links Šu-Suen with either Šulgi or Amar-Suen (the name of the son of Šulgi in the seal inscription on BRM 3, 52, reads šu-^dEN.[], is not necessarily Šu-Suen, but just as likely Šū-Enlil another known son of Šulgi, see already J. Boese and W. Sallaberger, *AoF* 23 (1996) 36 - 37). D. Owen has suggested that Simat-Ištaran, amply attested in the Garšana archive about to be published, was a daughter of Šulgi (D. Owen, *RAI* 47, paper (2001)). This has implications for the genealogy of the royal house, since she claims to be the sister (*nin*₉) of Šu-Suen and later Ibbi-Suen (after he followed Šu-Suen on the throne). T. Gomi, "Šulgi-Simti and her Libation Place (*ki-a-nag*)," *Orient* 12 (1976) 1- 14, rules out the possibility that Abī-simtī was the same person as Šulgi-simtī, an otherwise attractive solution to the problem.
274. See RIME 3/2 1.4.32. See also R. Whiting, "Tiš-Atal of Nineveh and Babati, Uncle of Šu-Sin," *JCS* 28 (1976) 173 - 182.

Suen and Ibbi-Suen, with some likelihood, were brothers.²⁷⁵ Amar-Suen's sons, like the majority of his brothers, are each known only from a few references in the Drehem corpus. Most of the generals known from Ur III sources were not direct descendants of the royal house of Ur; some of them had married into the royal family, and most of them had non-Sumerian names.²⁷⁶ Akkadian names dominate among the generals (*šagina*) of the Ur III Empire, but it is important to note the shift in naming-practice that took place within the royal court itself and to not exclude any persons with an Akkadian name from the potential list of members of the royal family. A few of the generals had names that are neither Sumerian nor Akkadian, such as *Ḫašib-Atal* (presumably a Hurrian name), and *Ḫun-Šulgi*.

Among Amar-Suen's sons were Dada, the general of Zabala, a city in the eastern province of Umma,²⁷⁷ and *Šū-Šulgi* (perhaps a captain).²⁷⁸ Several other sons are known only by name and affiliation with the royal clan.²⁷⁹ Among his daughters we find Taddin-Eštar, Ninlil-tukulti, Geme-Nanna, Pakinana, Šāt-Mami, Nin-hedu, Geme-Eana, Tezenmama,²⁸⁰ the unnamed wife of Lugal-magure, Simat-Ištaran,²⁸¹ the unnamed wife of Šarrum-bāni, and the unnamed wife of Lu-Nanna the son of Ur-Nigar.²⁸² Several of his

275. This evidence is above all contained in the Garšana archive kindly made available to me by D. Owen (through the CDLI project), and including personal communications from D. Owen (see also D. Owen, RAI 47, paper (2001)).

276. However, see P. Steinkeller, "The Core and the Periphery" (1987) 25 - 26.

277. See, for example, AUCT 1, 26 (AS 3 xii).

278. See RA 49, 86 2 (from ŠS 2 x), a text from Drehem, where *Šū-Šulgi* is mentioned together with other members of the royal family, and MVN 5, 116 (from AS 7 iii), another Drehem text, where *Šū-Šulgi* is mentioned as a son of the king.

daughters were married to high-ranking officials of the empire, a practice begun by his father Šulgi.²⁸³

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279. Ibbi-Ištaran, for example, SAT 2, 774 (= NBC11644) (from AS 4 ix). Ur-Ištaran, for example, SACT 1, 153 (from AS 4 viii). Ur-Ninsuna, for example, ITT 3, 5001 (from AS 8 iii). Taddin-Eštar (da-din-eš₄-tar) is mentioned together with Ur-Ištaran and Abī-simtī in DAS 51 (from AS 8); see also the parallel text DAS 53 (from AS 8). Amir-Šulgi, for example, OrSP 47-49, 23 (from AS 3 i), and AUCT 1, 418 (from AS 2). Ur-Baba, for example, MVN 3, 232 (from AS 6), which mentions the dowry of Ur-Baba, to be entered into the house of Lu-Ninšubur the chief administrator of An. Aḫuni, for example, TCS 336 (= Aegyptus 10, 274 37) (from AS 2 iv), which mentions the dowry of Aḫuni, to be entered into the e₂ zabar-dab₅, and UET 3, 1369 (from IS 1), which mentions the e₂-du₆-la of Aḫuni. Inim-Nanna, for example, TCL 2, 5563 (from AS 1 i), which mentions the dowry of Inim-Nanna, to be entered into the e₂ ḫu-ba-^Γ a ^Γ (House of Ḫubaya?), and MVN 5, 122 (from ŠS 1 ix), which records the delivery of animals to Inim-Nanna, as well as to the throne of Ur-Nammu, Šulgi, and Amar-Suen. Lu-Šulgi, for example, TCL 2, 5508 (AS 4 i), and TLB 3, 98 (AS 4 iv). Nābi-Šulgi, for example, STA 8 (from AS 5 ii to x), and Zinbun 18, 102 7 (= BM 20262 = MTBM 81) (no year). Šulgi-rāma, for example, TrDr 88 (from AS 7 iv). References to Mansum and Nanna-manba are very scarce. Mansum, HLC 75 (pl. 36) (from AS 1), rev. 2 (according to RIME 3/2 268). Nanna-manba, see JANES 9, 21 3 (from AS 5 ii 17), obv. 4 (according to RIME 3/2 268).
280. See fn. 255 p. 104 above. Tezen-mama was perhaps a daughter of Šulgi rather than Amar-Suen.
281. See fn. 256 p. 104 above.
282. Such is the order of daughters of the king as they are listed in CTMMA I, 17 (from AS 4 vii), a text recording regular deliveries for the cult. The first entry records a delivery for the throne of Šulgi, the following entries recorded the deliveries to the daughters of the king, followed by the deliveries to the two wet-nurses (Sumerian ummeda) of the king, and a number of persons called mar-tu, and finally, a number of high-ranking officials from the north. We know the names of other daughters of the king mentioned during the reign of Amar-Suen; these were Ninlilemanag, see, for example, AUCT 2, 367 (from AS 6 i), Šelepputum, see J. Klein, “Shelepputum a Hitherto Unknown Ur III Princess,” ZA 80 (1990) 20-39, and En-maḫgalanna, known from the formula of Amar-Suen’s fourth year.
283. Ḫulibar the general (šagina) of Umma (?) was married to a daughter (called dumu lugal) of the king (see MVN 13, 735 [no date], from Girsu).

The highest official of the empire, second to the king, was the *sukkalmaḥ*; his responsibilities were closely associated with the eastern provinces of the empire. During the tenure of Ir(-Nanna/mu), the office of the *sukkalmaḥ* was conjoined with the office of the governor of Girsu. In this brief survey, I will concentrate only on this latter best known *sukkalmaḥ*.

Ir(-Nanna/mu), whose name was sometimes written *ir₁₁*, sometimes, *ir₁₁-^dnanna*, and sometimes *ir₁₁-mu*, held the office of *sukkalmaḥ* from the time of Amar-Suen through the early years of Ibbi-Suen. He was married to a daughter of Amar-Suen, *Šāt-Mami*.²⁸⁴ One of his sons was married to another daughter of Amar-Suen, Geme-Eana. It is uncertain how many wives Ir(-Nanna/mu) had, and whether he himself was a descendant of the House of Ur-Nammu.²⁸⁵ This is in part due to the fact that references were often made to the office rather than the person in the administrative records of the Ur III empire, making identifications rather difficult. Several women besides *Šāt-Mami* were called wife of the *sukkalmaḥ* (Sumerian *dam sukkaḥ-maḥ*). *Šuba-dua* is called wife of the *sukkalmaḥ* (*dam sukkaḥ-maḥ*) in ITT 5, 6997 (from AS 9 x), a text that carries the seal of a person called Ur-Lamma the son of *ir₁₁-mu*, perhaps identical with the son of Ir(-Nanna/mu) the

284. For reference to the dowry (Sumerian *nig₂-mi₂-us₂-sa*) of *Šāt-Mami* see, for example, MVN 11, 192 (=MCS 3 (1953) 25) (from AS 2).

285. According to D. Frayne, RIME 3/2 (1997) 268, Amar-Suen had a son called *ir₁₁-^dnanna*, who the author of RIME 3/2 suggests is identical with Ir(-Nanna/mu) the *sukkalmaḥ*. The only reference cited in RIME 3/2 is AnOr 1, 111 (dated to AS 7, however the abbreviated date formula in that text, *mu bi₂-tum*, is ambiguous).

sukkalmah. In a text mentioning Ninkala as queen (nin), we find a woman called Nin-hedu as the wife of the sukkalmah (dam sukkal mah).²⁸⁶ Baba-Ea is mentioned as both wife of the sukkalmah and wife of the governor (of Girsu). A semi-precious stone bears the sole reference to Aman-ilī, wife of Ir(-Nanna/mu), the governor of Lagaš.²⁸⁷ Of all of these women, Baba-Ea is perhaps the most important, and perhaps Ir(-Nanna/mu)'s wife in his capacity as the governor of Girsu. Baba-Ea is also referred to as a nin-dingir-priestess.²⁸⁸

Several seal-impressions testify that Ir(-Nanna/mu) was the son of Ur-Šulpa'e, who held the office of sukkalmah prior to Ir(-Nanna/mu).²⁸⁹ The sons of the sukkalmah were Ur-Nanna, Ahuni (also called brother (šeš) of the sukkalmah),²⁹⁰ Šū-Šulgi, Šū-ilī (also called brother (šeš) of the sukkalmah),²⁹¹ Nanna-mansum, and Ur-Baba.²⁹² In figure 2 I have tried to suggest a genealogy of the family of the sukkalmah, describing it as one of the cadet branches of the House of Ur-Nammu.

286. See ASJ 9, 126f 57 (= BM 29860), also cited above, fn. 256 p. 104.

287. See RIME 3/2 1.5.2004.

288. See fn. 247.

289. Seal of Ur-Šulpa'e see, for example, NFT p.185 (= AO 4198) (=DynChal 16 V) (no date), and NATN 388 (no date). See also ITT 5, 8220 (=TCS 1, 183) (from ŠS 6).

290. See TCTI 2, 3711 (no year).

291. See TCTI 2, 4161 (no year).

292. Lu-Šara is called brother (šeš) of the sukkalmah in MVN 17, 12; he is otherwise unknown. Ahuni and Šū-ilī could have been brothers of Ir(-Nanna/mu), or his uncles. It is unknown whether Ir(-Nanna/mu)'s son inherited his office. The last sukkalmah was Libur-Suen. His familial relations are unknown to me (UET 3, 826 [from IS 22 vi]). See the illustration figure 2, describing the cadet branches of the ruling family.

Unlike Umma and Nippur where the same families seems to have remained in power throughout the years of the Ur III kings,²⁹³ the seat of the governor of the most important province, Lagaš, appears to have been controlled more centrally. Eventually, Ir(-Nanna/mu) who was married into the royal family, and presumably a close ally to the clan of Ur-Nammu, was able to add governorship of the province of Lagaš to his impressive array of titles.²⁹⁴ Ur-Lamma, the first well attested Ur III governor of Girsu (the main city in the province of Lagaš during the neo-Sumerian period),²⁹⁵ ruled from as early as Š 41 to AS 3, when Nanna-zišagal succeeded him. Nanna-zišagal governed Lagaš for only two years; he was succeeded by Šarakam, who governed Lagaš from AS 4 (perhaps contemporary with Nanna-zišagal) to AS 6. Following the four years when Lagaš was ruled by Nanna-zišagal and Šarakam, the sukkalmaḥ Ir(-Nanna/mu) added governor of the province of Lagaš to his

293. Except, perhaps, for the brief intermediate period of Amar-Suen's reign when the old elite family of Nippur was replaced by bureaucrats from Drehem, see also below, pp. 117 - 118 + fn. 299.

294. See RIME 3/2 1.4.13, Ir(-Nanna/mu) is here mentioned as sukkalmaḥ governor of Lagaš, sanga priest of Enki, general of Ušar-Garšana, general of Ašime, governor of Sabum and the land of Gutebum, general of Dimat-Enlila, governor of Al-Šu-Suen (the city of Šu-Suen), governor of Ḥamzi and Karaḥar, general of NI.HI, and general of Šimaški and the land of Karda, in that order.

295. The title "governor of Lagaš" is only used in Ir(-Nanna/mu)'s official seal-inscription (see below), rather the commonly used title of the governor of the province of Lagaš was "governor of Girsu".

titles.²⁹⁶ He governed Lagaš until the end of Ur domination over Lagaš in Ibbi-Suen's 6th year.

The family of the *sukkalmah* seems to be the most important among the cadet-branches of the clan of Ur-Nammu. A cadet branch, as mentioned above, is defined as a distinct family with only secondary familial ties to the ruling clan, which excludes them from the line of succession but places them close to the center of power. It is likely, but impossible to prove, that the ruling house of Mari was even more closely related to the House of Ur than the family of the *sukkalmah*.²⁹⁷ Due to the lack of contemporary sources the Mari ruling family has not been included in this study.

296. According to K. Maekawa, "Confiscation of Private Properties in the Ur III period: A study of *é-dul-la* and *níg-GA*," ASJ 18 (1996) 121 - 122, the sequence of Girsu governors following Ur-Lamma exemplifies the social unrest erupting in AS 2, and ultimately culminating with the elimination of the line of Ur-Lamma, and the positioning of two *ad-hoc* administrators from the central bureaucracy as governor until the final solution to the Lagaš problem was reached: the appointment of Ir(-Nanna/mu) as governor of that province in AS 6.

297. Any reconstruction of the ties between the Mari ruling family and the clan of Ur-Nammu is based largely on quasi-historical documents.

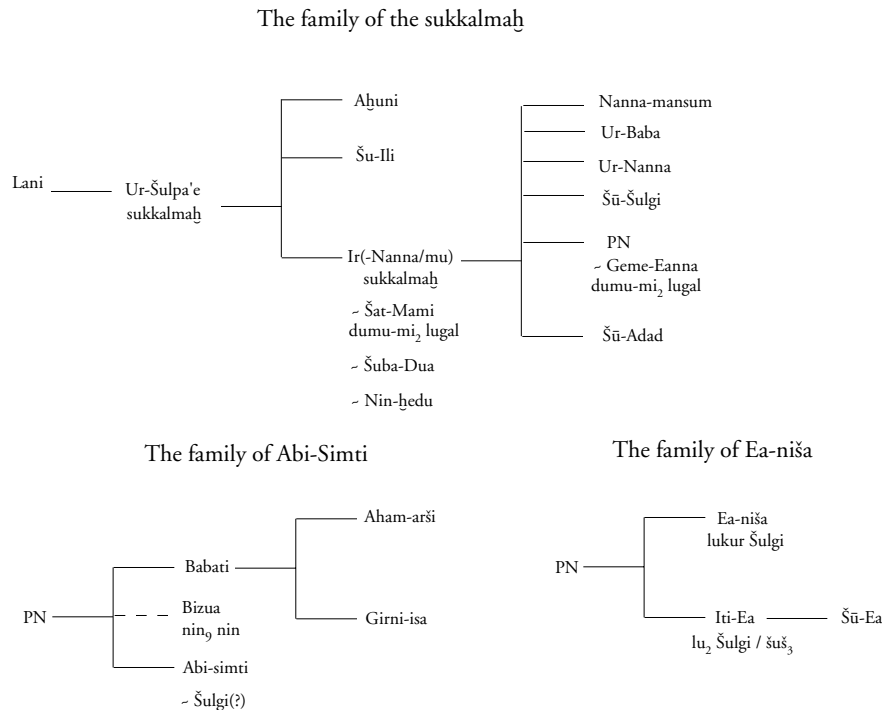


Figure 2: The cadet branches of the royal family of Ur.

It is likely that Šulgi's two sons and successors, Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen, struggled for the throne. This is deduced from information from the provinces, since documentation from the capital is lacking. For instance, texts from Nippur are instructive. A provisional survey of the terms of office for three of the highest officials in the Nippur administration, the “foreman of the household of Inanna” ($ugula\ e_2\ d^i inanna$), the “chief administrator of Inanna₃ ($šabra\ d^i inanna$), and the “governor of Nippur” ($ensi_2\ nibru^{ki}$), suggests that all three offices were controlled by the family of Ur-Meme (perhaps an old Nippur family, tracing its origins back to the time before the Ur III empire),²⁹⁸ until the reign of Amar-Suen. During the reign of Amar-Suen the three offices were in the hands of persons not

related to the old elite family of Nippur (perhaps members of the central (Drehem based?) bureaucracy). However, following the death of Amar-Suen, and the ascension of Šu-Suen, the offices were once again in the hands of the family of Urmeme.²⁹⁹ This change might have taken place while Amar-Suen was still, at least nominally, in charge at Ur.

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298. R. Zettler, "Administration of the Temple of Inanna at Nippur under the Third Dynasty of Ur," in McG. Gibson & R. Biggs (eds.), *The Organization of Power* (= SAOC 46; Chicago 1987) 113 - 114.
299. W. Hallo, JNES 31 (1972) 87-95. Hallo established a genealogy of the ruling family of Nippur, and did discuss the inheritance of office to some extent, he suggested that the clan of Ur-Meme lost its influence with the ascension of Amar-Suen (p. 94) but found no evidence of their reinstatement by Šu-Suen. Another possible reason for the change in the line of succession may be connected to the legal suit brought against each other by members of this family during the reign of Amar-Suen; see, for example, R. Zettler, "Administration of the Temple of Inanna at Nippur under the Third Dynasty of Ur: Archaeological and Documentary Evidence," in McG. Gibson & R. Biggs (eds.), *The Organization of Power* (= SAOC 46; Chicago 1987) 128 - 130.

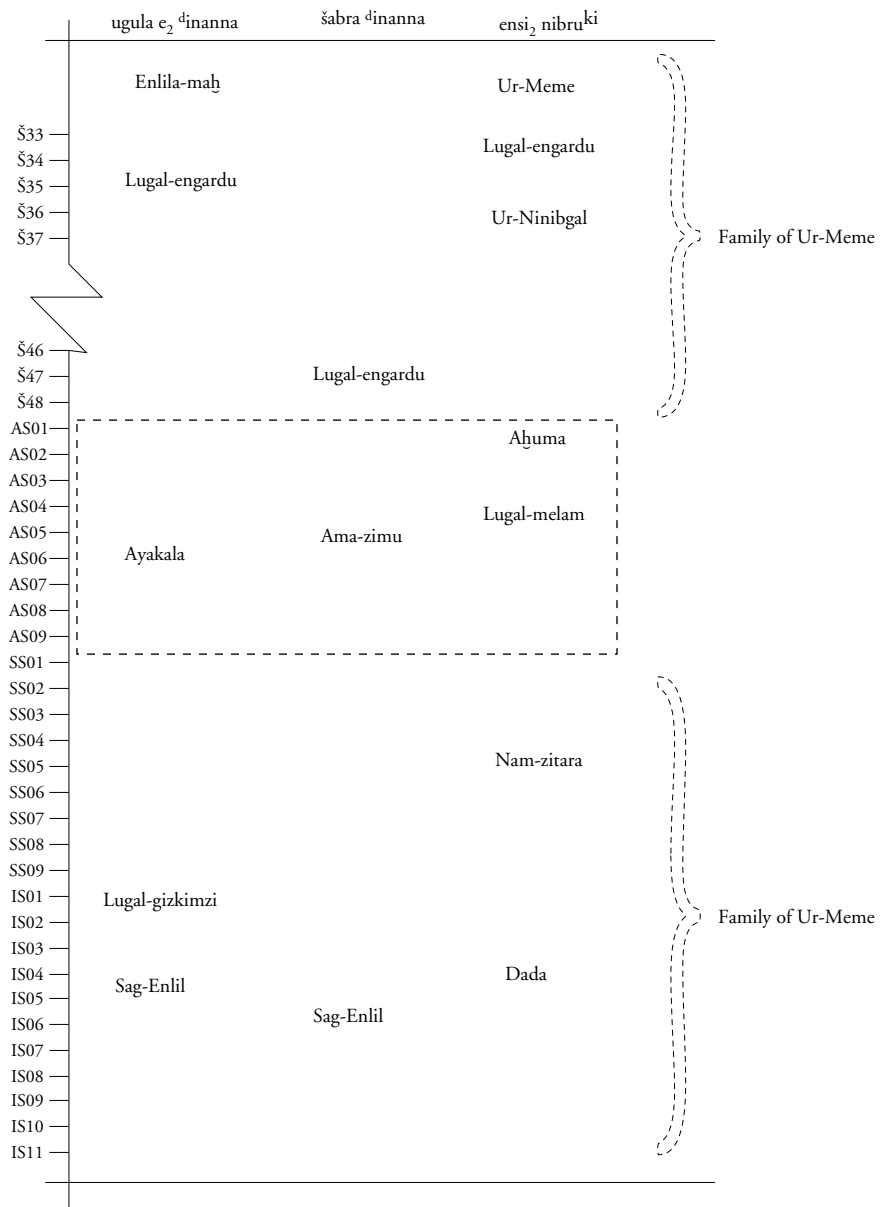


Figure 3: Succession of office in Nippur (preliminary survey).

Already from the sixth year of Amar-Suen, certain officials in the Umma province began to use a seal with a dedicatory inscription naming Šu-Suen as the king of Ur. Nothing

suggests that Amar-Suen died before late in his 8th or early in his 9th year.³⁰⁰ Both years were named throughout the empire according to Amar-Suen year-names.³⁰¹ Another interpretation of the Umma evidence is to suggest that Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen ruled together for some time.³⁰²

When a king died, it was customary to settle accounts and measure the arable land of the entire kingdom.³⁰³ Perhaps the circumstances surrounding the transfer of power from one king to the next also prompted the removal of any official whose loyalty lay with a rival branch of the ruling clan. Any royal grants to these subjects would also likely have been confiscated.³⁰⁴

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300. No extant text discloses the time of death of Amar-Suen. See D. Frayne, *RIME 3/2* (1997) 242, citing SET 66, with reference to the offerings for the throne of Amar-Suen, which according to W. Sallaberger, *Der Kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit, Teil 1 & 2*, (= UAVA 7/1 & 7/2; Berlin/New York 1993) 147, occurred only posthumously, suggesting that Amar-Suen was dead before AS 9 xi 26.
301. MVN 13, 739, can be used to calculate the correct sequence of years following the death of Amar-Suen early in his 9th year (see forthcoming note by the author).
302. See W. Sallaberger, *Ur III-Zeit* (1999) 166 + fn. 154, for references to the debate.
303. This is above all documented in the land-survey texts (for example, the text MCS 6, 83 [=BM 105334]).
304. The so-called e₂-du₆-la texts suggest that the favors which the king bestowed upon his subjects, were reversible at any time. Ur-Lisi, one of the well-known Umma governors, lost all his possessions and possibly his life in the eighth year of Amar-Suen, perhaps, as claimed by K. Maekawa, in connection with the struggle for power at the court (K. Maekawa, *ASJ* 18 (1996) 127). However, see the discussion concerning the nature of this property in W. Heimpel, *ASJ* 19 (1997) 63 - 82.

Šu-Suen followed his brother (or father?) on the throne and ruled the empire for 9 years. Šu-Suen may have held the position of military governor/general (Sumerian *šagina*) of Uruk and BADAN during his father Šulgi's reign.³⁰⁵ As a prince, Šu-Suen is only known from texts dated to the reign of Amar-Suen, perhaps an indication that he was preparing himself for his natural place in the line of succession.³⁰⁶ As we have seen, it is possible to argue that Šu-Suen was either a son of Šulgi, or a son of Amar-Suen, but the parallel scenario provided by evidence from the provincial court of Umma, combined with the

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305. Šu-Suen held the title “general of BAD₃.AN^{ki}” at some point in his career. This can be inferred from the dedicatory seal on Mesopotamia 12, 93A (from AS 9 iii). Following Michalowski (Mesopotamia 12 (1977) 83 - 96), it seems reasonable to argue that the general of Uruk was also the general of BAD₃.AN^{ki}. See above for the seal-inscription RIME 3/2 1.2.94 (= BRM 3, 52 = MLC 2357), believed by D. Frayne, RIME 3/2 (1997) 188, following J. Boese and W. Sallaberger, AoF 23 (1996) 36, to be an inscription of Šū-Enlil. It is likely, as Michalowski suggested (P. Michalowski, Mesopotamia 12 (1977) 84) that BAD₃.AN of the Ur III period was a locality close to Uruk.
306. The earliest clear reference to the prince Šu-Suen is CTM 1, 10 (from Š 43). There exist numerous references to a person named Šu-Suen with the occupation “runner” or “messenger” (*sukkal / lu₂ kas₄*), he was perhaps son of a captain (see, e.g. MVN 13, 689). During the late years of Šulgi and the early years of Amar-Suen, numerous references to contributions to (or from) the Drehem livestock, made by a person called Šu-Suen, may, in fact, refer to Šu-Suen the prince. Compare MVN 13, 113 (from Š 47), to RA 62, 8 11 (from AS 1 i). The title prince is only preserved in the example from AS 1, but could have been present in the first text too. RA 62, 8 11 (from AS 1 i), is therefore the earliest certain attestation of the title prince (*dumu lugal*) for Šu-Suen. Šu-Suen, called “great knight” (*lu₂ geš^{es}tukul gu-la*) in Amherst 68 (from AS 3 xi), might be the prince, but this is not certain at all. An analysis of the hierarchical standing of the military command is necessary to determine whether a prince could serve as a “knight,” but that is beyond the scope of this study. Some texts recorded a Šu-Suen delivering bear-cubs to the Drehem pen (see, for example, MVN 11, 140 [from AS 5]); the majority of these deliveries were sheep and goats, indicating his special position.

anthropological evidence presented in Excursus 1 and outlined in Chapter 3, both weigh in favor of the former solution.

Although the sources were still abundant at the time of Šu-Suen's ascension, they only mention one wife of the king, Kubātum, and one concubine, Ti'amat-bašti. Accordingly, we know of only three children of Šu-Suen, ignoring Ibbi-Suen who I believe could have been another son of Šulgi. These were the daughters Tabūr-Ḫaṭṭum, Šāt-Erra, and Geme-Enlila.

Tabūr-Ḫaṭṭum and Šāt-Erra are not attested directly as daughters of Šu-Suen, but circumstantial evidence suggests this relationship.³⁰⁷ Geme-Enlila was perhaps identical with the wife of Ibbi-Suen by the same name;³⁰⁸ however, her title, daughter of the king (*dumu-mi₂ lugal*), need not refer to Amar-Suen, Šu-Suen or Ibbi-Suen. The sole reason for her identification as a daughter of Šu-Suen is her attestation as a daughter of the king in documents dated to the reign of Šu-Suen.

By the time of Šu-Suen, the empire began to experience serious hardship. Judging by the year-date formulae, the south was threatened by a migration from the north, and in the middle of Šu-Suen's reign, the protective wall called Muriq-Tidnim ("Holding back the Tidānum") was constructed. Šu-Suen conducted only two campaigns worthy of year names.³⁰⁹ Still, Šu-Suen was, and is, considered a strong leader and a supporter of the arts.

307. See D. Frayne, RIME 3/2 (1997) 337 for their identification.

308. As suggested by D. Frayne, RIME 3/2 (1997) 337. See p. 132 + fn. 314 below for a description of this seemingly incestuous relationship.

Several self-laudatory hymns concerning Šu-Suen, aimed at magnifying his memory, have survived. These texts have probably been instrumental in creating the image of Šu-Suen as a successful ruler, both in the minds of the ancients as well as the modern reader.

Šu-Suen died no later than the fourth day of the tenth month of his ninth year.

From that day on he received funerary offerings.³¹⁰

Ibbi-Suen, perhaps yet another son of Šulgi, followed Šu-Suen on the throne. Ibbi-Suen ruled 24 years.³¹¹ It is very likely that Ibbi-Suen never ruled an empire, but only Sumer during his first five years, and perhaps only the capital Ur from then on.³¹²

The year-formula from Ibbi-Suen's sixth year mentions the construction of city-walls surrounding Ur and Nippur. This is believed to indicate fear of an imminent invasion. When paired with the break-away of the provinces, it seems reasonable to interpret this year as the beginning of the end of the Ur III state.

mu ^di-bi₂-^dsuen lugal uri₂^{ki}-ma-ke₄ nibru^{ki} uri₂^{ki}-ma-ke₄ bad₃ gal-bi mu-du₃

“Year: Ibbi-Suen the king of Ur built great walls of Nippur and Ur.”

309. ŠS 3: Year: “Simanum was destroyed”, and ŠS 7: Year: “Zabšali was destroyed”.

310. W. Sallaberger, *Ur III-Zeit* (1999) 171

311. The last administrative documents from the Ur III period date to the 12th months of IS 23 (UET 3, 711 and UET 3, 712). SKL gives Ibbi-Suen 24 years on the throne.

312. Umma texts cease from the fourth year of Ibbi-Suen following a rapid decline in the numbers during Ibbi-Suen's first three years. The last Ur III text from Girsu was written in IS 5 (?), from Drehem IS 8, and from Nippur in IS 8.

The destruction of the Ur III Empire was not only visited on Ur by outside forces—internal problems also facilitated the decline. A shortage of grain and a resulting collapse of the system of stable equivalencies can be seen as a result of unrest in the northern provinces as well as an inner problem fueled by that conflict.³¹³ The collapse of the system of stable equivalencies began during Ibbi-Suen's 5th year, and accelerated during the following three years.

By the time of Ibbi-Suen's reign, information about the royal family had begun to decrease dramatically. Only two royal children can be ascribed to Ibbi-Suen: Mammertum and Šulgi-simtī, and Ibbi-Suen is mentioned in connection with only one wife, Geme-Enlila (see also above p. 122), and no concubines. It is not unthinkable that the union of Ibbi-Suen and Geme-Enlila was incestuous. Whether she was a sister-queen or a niece-queen is uncertain. Incestuous relationships, inbreeding, is a well known phenomenon in history; it is usually restricted to stratified societies, and, in particular, well-known from the uppermost social levels of society, in patrilineal clans, and in royal households where the king had access to a large harem (polygamy naturally reduces the risks associated with inbreeding).³¹⁴

Ibbi-Suen was confined to Ur during the approximately 20 years following the break-away of the provinces, and the year-names stemming from these years tell the tale of increasing paranoia, as illustrated in the year-formula from Ibbi-Suen's 23rd year:

mu ^d_i-bi₂-^d_{suen} lugal uri₂^{ki}-ma-ra ugu-dul₅-bi dugud kur-be₂ mu-na-e-ra

313. See Th. Jacobsen, JCS 7 (1953) 36-47, and T. Gomi, JCS 36 (1984) 211-242.

“Year: the stupid monkey in the foreign land struck against Ibbi-Suen, the king of Ur.”

Just a couple of years earlier, Ibbi-Suen’s year formula was:

mu^di-bi₂-^dsuen lugal uri₂^{ki}-ma-ra mar-tu a₂^{im}u₁₈-ul-ta uru^{ki} nu zu gu₂ im-ma-an-ga₂-
ar

“Year: the Amorites, the powerful south wind who, from the remote past, have not known cities, submitted to Ibbi-Suen the king of Ur.”

The large account from Ur, UET 3, 1498, dating to IS 15 (from the first to the last month), is a good example of the desperate economic situation in Ur after the empire had deteriorated. The text, an account of the workshops of the royal household, is mainly concerned with the recycling of precious materials. As in all Ur III accounts, care is taken to

314. Incestuous relationships have a higher sterility rate than non-incestuous relationships. See P. Van Den Berghe and G. Mesher, “Royal Incest and Inclusive Fitness,” *American Ethnologist*, Volume 7, Issue 2 (1980) 300 - 317. According to Van Den Berghe and Mesher, royal incest is a “high-risk, but also an extremely high-gain, strategy” (p. 304) for the female participant. A royal daughter is left with few alternatives other than to mate with her own brother or father pursuing her goal of producing a successful heir. This is, according to the authors, due to the tendency to hypergyny (hypergamy) among most females in stratified societies. For the king the gains are obvious: he may produce an heir with 3/4 of his own genes. The consequences of incest becomes tremendous when analyzed over time, “after just eight generations of full-sibling matings, father and son have an r [relatedness coefficient] = .95.” In other words, the heir is a regular clone of the father (see p. 305). However, incestuous mating is not to be encouraged “under monogamy, [when] the risk of not producing a fit heir with a sister or a daughter would be too high.” (p. 304). See also fn. 4, in cases of absolute hegemony interdynastic marriages are not seen as an attractive strategy for the royal daughter, who will be more inclined to mate within her clan. Note, finally, that brother-sister unions are the most common form of incestuous mating, second is father-daughter unions, whereas mother - son relations are almost unknown (see. p. 305).

record even very small quantities. In this text, however, it seems as if this principle is followed with a special rigidness, as if resources were in short supply.³¹⁵

Approximately a century after Ur-Nammu's first year as an independent ruler, the capital, Ur, was sacked, and its last king, Ibbi-Suen, taken as prisoner to Elam.³¹⁶

315. M. van de Mieroop, "An Accountant's Nightmare: the Drafting of a Year's Summary," *AfO* 46-47 (1999/2000) 111-129. See also W. Sallaberger, *Ur III-Zeit* (1999) 276 - 283

316. That Ibbi-Suen died in Iran, or rather in Anšan, is suggested by several later texts: see D. Edzard, *Die "Zweiten Zwischenzeit" Babyloniens* (Wiesbaden 1957) 51.

The Royal Family of Ur

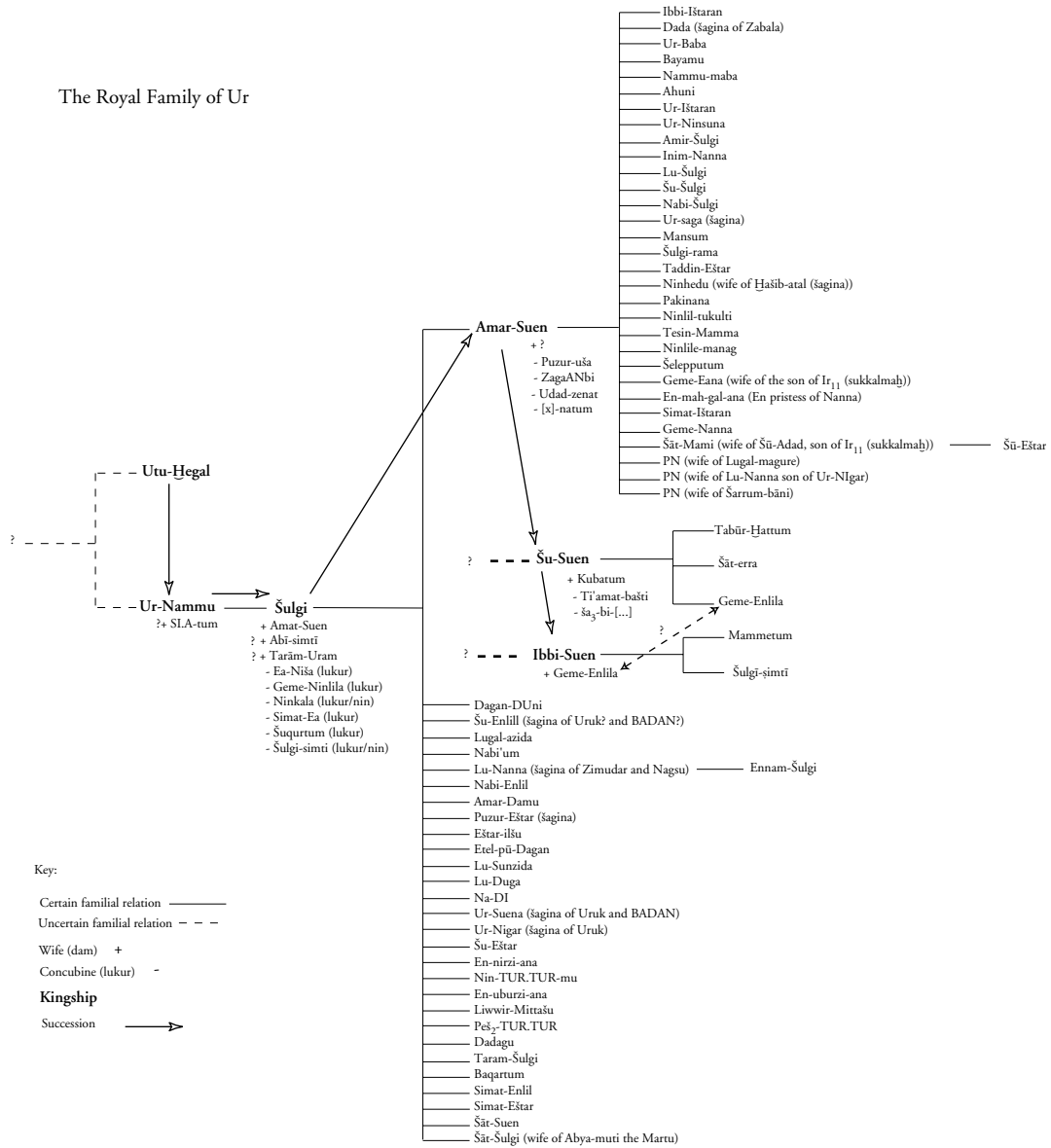


Figure 4: The royal family of Ur.

Why did the succession proceed as it did? What determined that Amar-Suen ascended to the throne, although he was apparently not a strong candidate? A prince who did not enjoy the support of a large segment of both the royal family, as well as the provincial

governors and other important members of society, is unlikely to be successful, according to the simple rules of succession outlined above. His claim to succession would be contested, and another prince whose career had allowed for the formation of connections and the building of alliances would prevail. It is likely that some sort of principle existed dictating that the next in seniority was supposed to follow Šulgi, and it is possible that it was precisely the circumstances of Šulgi's long rule that had resulted in this system.³¹⁷ It is likely that Šulgi outlived any brothers he might have had, thereby eliminating the threat from the senior generation. Babati's supposed distinctive position in the social hierarchy can thus be explained as deriving from his position as a senior member of the royal family exercising his influence through his sister's sons.

The genealogy that has been suggested for the royal family of Ur divides most of the male princes between Šulgi and Amar-Suen.³¹⁸ This is done according to the earliest attestation of the title *dumu lugal* or "son of the king" for each of these persons. It is therefore safe to say that the progeny of Šu-Suen and Ibbi-Suen was restricted, and that Šulgi, and probably Amar-Suen too, had multiple male heirs. This might have been a conclusive factor in determining the succession, since Amar-Suen, perhaps himself weak, had the support of many sons, themselves holding important offices and hoping for a place in the line of succession, as well as the support of important allies married to his daughters.³¹⁹

317. Compare with R. Burling (1974) 7 - 8.

318. This division is based largely on the information given in RIME 3/2.

319. See also Excursus 1.

It is remarkable that a term equivalent to “heir apparent”, or crown prince, is unknown from the Ur III documents.³²⁰ However, if we choose to follow R. Burling (1974) and see the absence of such a title as a conscious choice of the ruler aimed at preventing patricide, this makes sense. The existence of an unwritten system of succession in the ruling family of Ur, resembling that of the House of Saud as it was formulated by Abd al-Aziz, seems likely.³²¹

320. The Sumerian word *ibila*, which is the closest Sumerian equivalent to English “heir” (German “Erbsohn”) is a loanword from Akkadian (see D. Edzard, *Genava NS* 8, 256). *ibila* presumably refers to property rights rather than to (royal) succession (see J. Renger, (1976) p. 368).

321. See Excursus 1.

Chapter 5. The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma³²²

Chapter 5: Section 1: Introduction

Umma, located north of Girsu, and north-east of Ur, on the *Umma-canal* (i7-umma^{ki})—an outlet from the Tigris³²³—was already an ancient city during the Ur III period four thousand years ago. Umma has been identified with Tell Djokha, one of the largest sites

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322. Some recent prosopographical studies have achieved the reconstruction of extended genealogies for several important Ur III families. For Umma: T. Jones & J. Snyder, *Sumerian Economic Texts from the Third Ur Dynasty* (= SET; Minneapolis 1961) 322-344, briefly discussed the ruling family of Ur III Umma. The first study to be entirely devoted to this family was D. McGuiness, "The Family of Giritzal," RA 76 (1982) 17-25. That study was based in part on his unpublished dissertation (D. McGuiness, *Studies in Neo-Sumerian Administrative Machinery* (unpublished dissertation; UMI 1981)). D. Snell, *Ledgers* (1982) 77-81, Snell only briefly discussed the ruling family; he introduced the term the "Umma Fiscal Office". P. Steinkeller, JESHO (1981) 116 - 121, suggested that the office of Lukala—in this study called the chief household administrator of the governor—was the (Umma) "irrigation office" (p. 121). Steinkeller later adopted the term the Umma "fiscal office", in P. Steinkeller, AOS 68 (1987) 76. In 1990, T. Maeda described in detail the duration of the tenures of some members of the ruling family of Umma (T. Maeda, "Father of Akala and Dadaga, governors of Umma," ASJ 12 (1990) 71-78). A recent study by W. Yuhong aimed at decoding the career patterns for the members of the ruling family of Umma: W. Yuhong, "High-ranking "Scribes" and Intellectual Governors during the Akkadian and Ur III Periods," JAC 10 (1995). See also T. Maeda for the most recent study devoted to our topic (T. Maeda, "Ruler's Family of Umma and Control over the Circulation of Silver," ASJ 18 (1996) 254-260). For Nippur: W. Hallo, JNES 31 (1972) 87-95. R. L. Zettler, "The Genealogy of the House of Ur-Me-me: a Second Look," AfO 31 (1984) 1-9. For Girsu: K. Maekawa, "The Governor's family and the 'temple households' in Ur III Girsu," in K. Veenhof (ed.), *Houses and Households in Ancient Mesopotamia* (= CRRAI 40; Leiden 1996) 171-1. For Gudua: D. Owen, "The Ensis of Gudua," ASJ 15 (1993) 131-152.
323. Earlier believed to be the "Eastern Euphrates" or the Iturungal canal, the recent study by P. Steinkeller, "New Light on the Hydrology and Topography of Southern Babylonia in the Third Millennium," ZA 91 (2001) 22 - 84, is used here as a reference to the geography of the Umma province.

in Mesopotamia, although it has never been scientifically excavated.³²⁴ Umma's location in close proximity to the important cult center Zabala, and controlling the junction of the Tigris ("Eastern Euphrates") and the Iturungal, is likely to have been a cause for its importance in both pre-Sargonic as well as Ur III times.

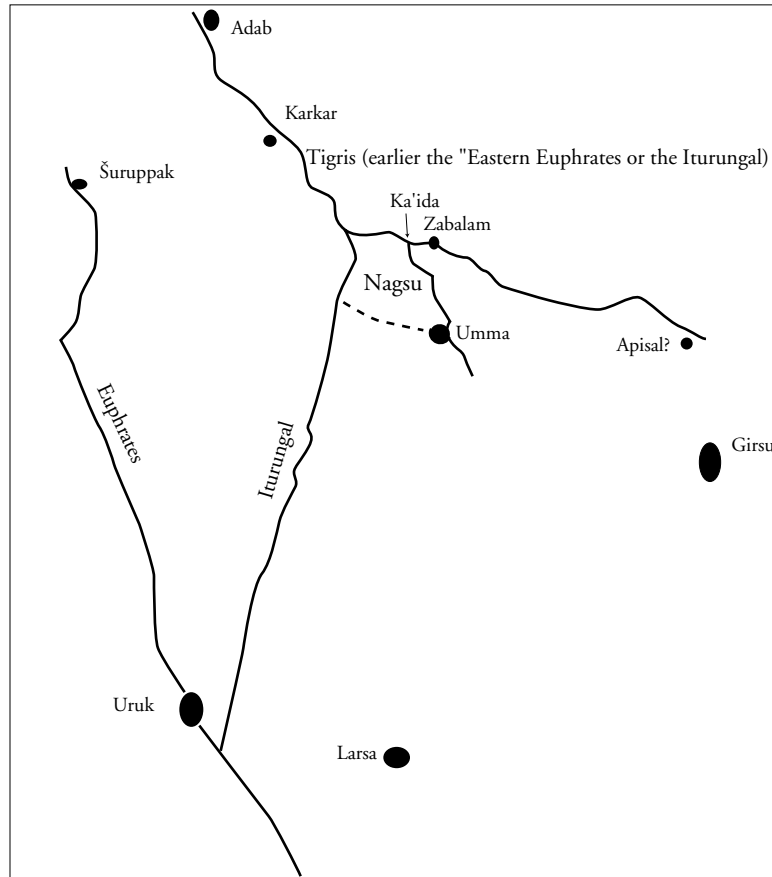


Figure 5: Map of the Umma province, adapted from P. Steinkeller ZA 91 (2001) 50.

324. For a concise and contemporary account from the times of the massive plunder of Umma, see G. Contenau, *Contribution a l'histoire économique d'Umma* (Paris 1915). For an eyewitness account of the tell at the time of the lootings, see W. Andrae, "Aus einem Berichte W. Andrae's über seine Exkursion von Fara nach den südbabylonischen Ruinenstätten," MDOG 16 (1902-03) 20 - 22.

Only very few Umma texts from the pre-Sargonic period have been published; and the abundant historical inscriptions from the neighboring city-state of Lagaš has been almost the only source when attempting to reconstruct the history of that area of Sumer.³²⁵ Umma texts from the period immediately prior to the Ur III period, the Old Akkadian period, have long since been known; albeit poorly understood they are an important source for the history of Umma.³²⁶ All of the thousands of Ur III documents from Umma were excavated during the early years of the 20th century by the local population, they quickly found their way to the markets in Europe and North America. Recent illicit excavations at Umma are said to have produced an abundant record of texts from all periods, even texts from the earliest periods of Mesopotamian civilization, the Late Uruk period.

Since the archaeological record of Umma does not provide any understandable description of the site, I will not venture into any discussion of the geographical setting of that city; rather I will limit this introduction to a description of the administrative layout of the province as recorded in the cuneiform record, with a particular focus on the ruling elite. A much broader study of the geography and history of Umma is planned within the

325. The CDLI project counts 17 stone objects from Umma (thanks are due to Klaudia Englund for making her Umma files available to me) dating primarily to the pre-Ur III period (two Ur III inscriptions). Based on these few fragmentary historical inscriptions, and the Lagaš historical record, D. Edzard published a genealogy of the pre-Sargonic rulers of Umma (D. Edzard, "Königsinschriften des Iraq Museums II" Sumer 15 (1959) 22).

326. B. Foster published a genealogy of the rulers of Umma during the Sargonic period (B. Foster, *Umma in the Sargonic Period* (1982) 154-156). A web-presentation of the Old Akkadian material is planned within the frame-work of the CDLI project. Note that Umma may have been a stronghold of the Gutian rulers of the post-Akkadian period; see P. Steinkeller, ZA 91 (2001) 31.

framework of the CDLI; see in that regard also the projected study by P. Steinkeller on the topography and hydrology of the Umma province.³²⁷

The city of Umma was the capital of the province of the same name, and consequently the only city with a governor. The only other economically important city in the province of Umma was Apisal. The cities Zabala and KIAN, although frequently mentioned in the records, were presumably cities of minor economic relevance that held some religious significance. The districts of Gu'dena³²⁸ and Mušbiana, often grouped together, were perhaps without any large permanent settlements.

The province of Umma was divided into three agricultural territories: aša Da-Umma, aša Apisal, and aša Gu'dena and Mušbiana. Da-Umma, often simply called Umma or aša Umma, was the most important of these three districts, and the one which by far generated the largest yield of economic documentation as well as the largest cereal production.³²⁹ The fact that whenever the districts were listed together Da-Umma was always mentioned first, and Apisal second, followed by Gu'dena and Mušbiana, support this

327. For an outline of Steinkeller's projected study, "Population Density, Settlement Patterns and Rural Landscape in Southern Babylonia under the Ur III Dynasty: The Case of the Province of Umma," see P. Steinkeller, ZA 91 (2001) 23.

328. Gu'dena of Ur III Umma is perhaps identical with the famous Gu'dena mentioned numerous times in the historical inscriptions of the pre-Sargonic Lagaš-rulers. In Ur III Umma sources, the area Gu'dena is written primarily gu₂-de₃-na, but occasionally gu₂-eden-na; it is possible that the former writing is a phonological variant of the later.

329. See for example BM 110116 (cf. K. Maekawa, Zinbun 22, 25-82), a record of the yield from Da-Umma. The total area of Da-Umma recorded in that text was 339 bur and 1 iku (2,197 hectares). See also K. Maekawa, AoF 16 (1989) 49-50 and table 2.

observation. The tablet container record Aleppo 433, archiving documents from the two years Š 45 and Š 46, is useful in that it illuminates the structure of the agricultural territories of Umma:

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. pisan dub-ba | Tablet container; |
| 2. [kišib] nam-ša ₃ -tam | tablets of the šatam-administrators of |
| 3. ugula nam-1(u)-ke ₄ -ne | “foremen of 10” ³³⁰ |
| 4. da-umma ^{ki} | (concerning the districts of) Da-Umma, |
| 5. a-pi ₄ -sal ₄ ^{ki} | Apisal, |
| Reverse. | |
| 1. gu ₂ -eden-na | Gu’edena |
| 2. u ₃ muš-bi-an | and Mušbiana, |
| 3. i ₃ -gal ₂ | are present, |
| 4. mu 2(diš)-kam | from two years. |
| 5. mu ur-bi ₂ -lum | Year: “Urbilum (was destroyed)”, |
| 6. u ₃ mu ki-maš ^{ki} | and Year: “Kimaš (was destroyed)”. |

MCS 6, 83, BM 105334 (from AS 2), which is likely to have been a survey of all the lands of the province of Umma, divided it into three areas of almost equal size. The first third recorded the domain land, divided into 100 units of 6 bur, each managed by a “cultivator” (engar). With some additional prebend-lands, this was the core of the Umma state lands. An area of the exact same size was said to be left fallow.³³¹ The last section computed another

330. For the use of interchangeable titles in the agricultural sector (ugula >> nu-banda₃ gu₄ >> šabra gu₄) see fn. 503 p. 206, below.

331. AnOr 1, 303 (no date), supports this interpretation; the first entry in that text is an area of 1200 bur called the domain land (GAN₂ gu₄). Unfortunately, the size of the fallow lands is not discernible due to the fragmentary state of this text.

third of the total lands, designating it as cultivated prebend-land for allotment holders.³³²

The total amount of agricultural land in Umma as recorded in this text comes to more than 2000 bur, making Umma about 1/4 the size of Lagaš insofar as cereal agricultural is concerned.³³³

The expected yield from 600 domain units—using a 20 gur per bur ratio³³⁴—is matched in AAICAB 1, 1912-1143 (from Š 28), recording an expected yield of 15,000 gur from the domain units of Umma; this product was controlled centrally by the imperial court.³³⁵ Unfortunately these key texts, so important to the reconstruction of the Ur III Umma geographical layout, do not inform us about the fraction of Umma domain units located in any of the main districts, Da-Umma, Apisal, and Gu'dena and Mušbiana.

The traditional Mesopotamian pantheon of the late 3rd millennium was honored in the city of Umma, and we find references to temples dedicated to local deities as well as gods from other provinces, and perhaps even to deities from outside Sumer.³³⁶ The chief deity of

332. See K. Maekawa, *Zinbun* 22 (1987) 38-39, and table 7.

333. K. Maekawa, "Agricultural Production in Ancient Sumer," *Zinbun* 13 (1974) 11, estimated that the Girsu area to be harvested (domain units and the allotments for the cultivators) was ca. 3,664 bur₃. This area produced ca. 24 guru₇, 2,691 gur and a few sila₃, or more than 22 millions of liter of barley. The yield of Girsu domain land, therefore, was perhaps 6 times the yield harvested from Umma domain land.

334. In comparison, the yield in Girsu during the latter half of Šulgi's reign and the first half of Amar-Suen's reign averaged 30 gur per bur. See for instance K. Maekawa, *Zinbun* 13 (1974) 11. However, K. Maekawa, *AoF* 16 (1989) 49, seems to suggest a 30 to 24 gur per bur yield in Umma.

335. AAICAB 1, 1912-1143 (from Š 28), reverse, line 8, reads "copy of sealed tablet exists in the palace," gaba-ri kišib e₂-gal gal₂-am₃.

the Umma pantheon, Šara, held a pivotal position in Umma, together with his spouse Nin-ura,³³⁷ and Inanna, Šara’s mother.³³⁸ The main temple of Šara was the Emah.³³⁹ The Emah appears as an element in some Ur III Umma personal names; names formed with the theophoric element Šara are among the most common in Umma. In the 9th year of Šu-Suen’s reign, the central administration constructed (anew?) the main sanctuary of Šara in Umma.³⁴⁰

Students of Ur III history have traditionally assumed that the entire body of Umma texts were from the city of Umma, and, in particular, from the household of the governor. The first numerous Ur III Umma texts appear in Š 26, the last texts were written in IS 4. More than 16,000 tablets has so far been published dating to the approximately 45 years between those two dates.

336. See for example the reference to Nanše of Umma in NABU 1989, 95 9 (from IS 4). See M. Cohen, *The Gods of Suburban Umma*, Fs. Limet (*Tablettes et images aus pays de Sumer et d'Akkad: Melanges offert a Monsieur H. Limet*) (Liege 1996) 27 - 35, for a study of the province of Umma from the point of view of regionalism in the cult.

337. See A. Cavigneaux and M. Krebernik, “Nin-ura,” RLA 9, 510.

338. See for example “A balbale to Šara” (Šara A, see <http://www-etcs1.orient.ox.ac.uk/section4/c4301.htm>)

339. Nin-ura’s main temple was the E-ul(a). It is likely that the many references to the e₂^dšara (“house of Šara) alluded to the e₂-mah. Likewise, the e₂^dnin-ur₄-ra (“house of Nin-ura) may be a reference to the (scarcely mentioned) e₂-u₃-la. See A. George, *House Most High, The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Winona Lake, Indiana 1993) 152.

340. Year: “Šu-Suen, the king of Ur, built the temple of Šara in Umma” (mu^dš_u-^dsuen lugal uri₂^{ki}-ma-ke₄ e₂^dšara₂ umma^{ki}-ka mu-du₃).

The city of Apisal,³⁴¹ perhaps identical with the site known as Muhallaqiya, located downstream from the outlet of the Umma-canal on the Tigris river (“Eastern Euphrates”), was the second most important city in the Umma province.³⁴² The substantial tell at Muhallaqiya has never been excavated. A large number of Umma tablets refers to activities that take place in Apisal, suggesting that this city was governed entirely from Umma.³⁴³ The pantheon of Apisal seems to have been a local variant of that from Umma; its main deities were the Apisalite Šara, and the Apisalite Ninura, among others. Apisal is thought to have been an important center for herding activities.

The city of Zabala,³⁴⁴ which seems to have been of minor economic importance,³⁴⁵ was an important cultic center, in particular in the period after ŠS 1,³⁴⁶ during which the “queen-dowager” Abī-simtī visited the city four times in five years.³⁴⁷ Zabala was the city of Inanna of Zabala, and the oldest Ur III sources from Zabala (the records were presumably kept in Umma) mention a temple of Inanna at Zabala.³⁴⁸ Prior to the coronation of Šu-Suen, references to Zabala primarily recorded minor deliveries for the cult of Inanna of Zabala.³⁴⁹

341. For the reading Apisal see (with reference) P. Steinkeller, ZA 91 (2001) 54 + fn. 127.

342. See P. Steinkeller, ZA 91 (2001) 54-55.

343. See T. Jones & J. Snyder, SET (1961) 337-338, suggesting that Ur-E'e held a position connected with the rule of Apisal.

The only travelers to Zabala mentioned before Abī-simtī were a number of gods

344. For a possible identification of Zabala with Ibzaykh see now P. Steinkeller, ZA 91 (2001) 54, + fn 124. There seems to be some confusion concerning the writing of Zabala. Following Ellermeier (F. Ellermeier, *Sumerisches Glossar* [1979 - 1980]), the following values are accepted:

<u>Ellermeier</u>	<u>Borger AbZ</u>	<u># of attestations in Ur III sources</u>
zabala ZA.MUŠ ₂ .UNUG	zabala (586)	0
zabala ₂ ZA.MUŠ ₃ .UNUG	zabala ₂ (586)	0
zabala ₃ MUŠ ₃ .UNUG	zabala ₃ (103)	62
zabala ₄ MUŠ ₃ .ZA.UNUG	zabala ₄ (103)	9
zabala ₅ MUŠ ₃ .AB	zabala ₅ (103)	8 (9?)
zabala ₆ AB.MUŠ ₃	zabala ₆ (128)	4
zabala _x MUŠ ₃ .UNUG.ZA		1 (ITT 3, 4954)
zabala _x MUŠ ₃ .TE.UNUG		0
zabala _x MUŠ ₃ .ZA.AB		0
zabala _x ZA.AB		0
zabala _x ZA.MUŠ ₂ .AB		0
UNUG.MUŠ.ZA		1 (AUCT 1, 805)

For this survey, 86 attestations from the published record have been checked against published photograph or autograph (when no such record was available to me, the attestation in question was left out), zabala₃ is by far the most frequent writing of the city-name.

345. For a possible reference to a mayor of Zabala see AUCT 1, 225 (from Š 25 vi), rev. 8 -9: 𒌆 x 𒌆
x(=2(diš)?) 𒄩a-za-an-num₂ / zabala₄^{ki}. AUCT 1, 26 (from AS 3 viii to xii), mentions a general of Zabala by the name of Dada, obv. 2 - 3: mu da-da 𒌆 šagina 𒌆 zabala₃^{ki}-ka-[še₃] / kišib šu-i₃-li₂ 𒌆 x-x 𒌆. MVN 16, 683 (from AS 7), mentions a galamaḥ-priest of Zabala, rev. 3: gala-maḥ zabala₃^{ki}.
346. One reference from AS 9 suggests that Abī-simtī visited Zabala during that year too; see UTI 3, 2003.
347. See fn. 273 on p. 110 above for a discussion of Abī-simtī, the wife of either Šulgi or Amar-Suen. Here she is called “queen-dowager” in opposition to Kubātum who is called “queen.”
348. The household had a small permanent staff; see, for example, AAICAB 1, 1911-229 (from Š 28 viii). See also AnOr 1, 88 (from AS 5), which mentions conscriptions for bala service from among the staff of Inanna of Zabala (the structure of the text is similar to TCL 5, 6038, mentioned above on pp. 75 - 76).

who received rations during their journey there:³⁵⁰

TCS 346 (from AS 6 i):

Obverse.

- | | |
|--|------------------------|
| 1. 2(diš) udu 1(diš) maš ₂ | 2 sheep, and 1 goat, |
| 2. ^d nin-nun-gal | Nin-nungal, |
| 3. zabalax ³⁵¹ (MUŠ ₃ .TE.UNUG) ^{ki} -še ₃ | having gone to Zabala. |
| gen-na | |
| 4. 1(diš) gukkal | 1 fat-tail sheep, |
| 5. ^d igi-zi-bar-ra | Igizi-bara, |
| 6. zabalax ^{ki} -še ₃ gen-na | having gone to Zabala. |

Reverse.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. ki a-lu ₅ -lu ₅ -ta | From Alulu |
| 2. zi-ga iti še-KIN-ku ₅ | booked out. Month “Harvest”. |
| 3. mu-us ₂ -sa en unu ₆ -gal ^d inanna | Year after: “Enunugal-Inanna (was installed)”. |

The first reference to the “queen-dowager” Abī-simtī’s yearly visits to Zabala comes from the account concerning Lu-kirizal, the pig-herder, SNAT 436 (from ŠS 1):

-
349. See for example BIN 5, 19 (from Š 33), a text describing the wool meant for the “lofty garment” of Inanna of Zabala, from Ur-E’e (for ^{tu}g₂maḥ see H. Waetzoldt, *Untersuchungen zur Neusumerischen Textilindustrie* (= UNT; Rome 1972) xxi (“Prachtgewand”), and see xxiii fn. 77 for a possible reading of ^{tu}g₂maḥ, šutur).
350. See also UTI 4, 2563 (from AS 8), a list of minor food-stuff offerings designated for (obverse line 11) “Nin-gipar having ascended to Usag(?),” (^dnin-gi₆-par₄ u₂-sag-še₃ e₃-a), and (rev 8) “Igizid-bara having gone to Zabala” (^digi-zi-bar-ra zabalax^{ki}-še₃ gen-na). The delivery was made by Ur-Šulpa’e, and sealed by the governor (of Umma, Ur-Lisi).
351. This reading could not be checked against any graphic representation of the signs; it has not been included in the previous analysis (fn. 344 on p. 138), and Boson’s reading has been retained here.

Reverse.

...

- | | |
|---|---|
| 5. 4(diš) šah ₂ nita ₂ | Four male pigs, |
| 6. 2(diš) šah ₂ gur ₄ nita ₂ | Two male “gur” pigs, |
| 7. igi-kar ₂ nin zabala-še ₃ gen-na | provisions ³⁵² for the “queen-dowager”
having gone to Zabala. |
| 8. kišib nu-ra-a ensi ₂ -ka | Unrolled seal of the governor. |

...

The vast majority of texts mentioning Zabala from the following five years were concerned with the annual visits by the “queen-dowager.” Although no royal visitor was mentioned in Šu-Suen’s second year, it is still possible to suggest that Abī-simtī paid a visit to Zabala that year as well. The fragmentary text MVN 18, 508 (from ŠS 1?), even alludes to a house of the queen in Zabala.³⁵³ The deliveries for the cult of Inanna of Zabala as well as the provisions for the “queen-dowager’s” visits were mostly sealed by the governor of Umma or members of his administration; one of these, Ur-Šulpa’e was perhaps a royal representative at the governors court.³⁵⁴

Twelve or thirteen texts from ŠS 1 mention Zabala; the majority of these texts were not dated by month, but the five that have a month-name were dated to either month three, four, or five.³⁵⁵ Seven of the texts from ŠS 1 mention the “queen-dowager” by title, or

352. See P. Steinkeller, “On the Reading and Meaning of igi-kár and gúrum (IGI.GAR),” ASJ 4 (1982) 149-151.

353. See also MVN 16, 796 (from ŠS 4 vii), obv. 9, which mentions a house of the queen, although the location of this house is not specified.

354. See, for example, MVN 18, 463 (from ŠS 1). For the role of Ur-Šulpa’e, see also in fn. 495 on p. 199 in this study.

specifically Abī-simtī by name. All other texts from the same year seem in some way to be related to the “queen-dowager’s” visit to Zabala;³⁵⁶ it is likely that the governor of Umma went to Zabala at the same time.³⁵⁷ The texts from ŠS 1 which do mention the “queen-dowager” were all related to basic household functions.³⁵⁸

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355. SNAT 436; MVN 18, 508 (from ŠS 1 ?); YOS 18, 93; UTI 4, 2602; MVN 18, 463; Torino 2, 524; Princeton 1, 243; BM 105353 (unpubl.); ITT 5, 6983 (from month 3); MCS 3, 43 12 (= BM 105502) (from month 4); SET 288 (from month 4); UTI 4, 2321 (from month 4); and Ontario 2, 38 (unpubl.) (from month 5).
356. One text (Torino 2, 524) records the oil-rations for two members of the imperial staff (Ennum(mi)-ilī, the equestrian, and and Šū-Mamītum, the door-keeper) and a nin-dingir priestess of Inanna of Zabala from the sukkalmaḥ; another text (BM 105353 (unpubl.)) records the royal offerings for Inanna of Zabala via Ninmar(ka), the cup-bearer (For Ninmarka (the cup-bearer) see fn 151, p. 59 in this study). A Girsu text from month three (ITT 5, 6983) record the man-power for shipping flour to Zabala from Girsu; another text recorded the delivery of baskets from Ur-Šulpa’e received by a person named Gurzan in Zabala. A text recorded the dispatch of three NIG₂ (perhaps an error for ^{tug₂}ni₃-lam₂?) garments to Zabala (YOS 18, 93) (sealed by Gurzan son of x-layabi, the cook of the governor), the last text from ŠS 1 not to mention Abī-simtī (Ontario 2, 38 (unpubl.)) mentioned the beer rations for Urra-il(?), the general, sealed by the governor (Ayakala), in Zabala.
357. Ontario 2, 38 (unpubl.) (from ŠS 1 v), is a simple receipt for an allotment of ten sila of good beer for the general, from Alli, Ayakala’s chief brewer, sealed by Ayakala the governor in Zabala.
358. Apart from the pigs mentioned in SNAT 436, one text mentions the work-days of a team of workers under Lu-balasag concerned with the “queen-dowager’s” journey to Zabala (UTI 4, 2602); another text records a delivery of sesame(?) oil (i₃ geš) for Abī-simtī going to Zabala, sealed by Ur-Šulpa’e; one text records pottery booked out (from the account of the “queen-dowager”) while on the way to Zabala (zi-ga nin zabala₃^{ki}-še₃ gen-na-aš) (Princeton 1, 243). One text mentions 17 hal-baskets for messengers, filled with leather (eight skins) (1(u) 7(diš) ḡi^ḡhal kin-gi₄-a kuš si-ga / kuš-bi 8(diš)-am₃) for the “queen-dowager,” while in Zabala (SET 288 [from ŠS 1 iv]); another text records the same bags booked out of Zabala via the “queen-dowager” (UTI 4, 2321 [from ŠS 1 iv]).

Since the only text with a month-name concerned with the “queen-dowager’s” visit to Zabala dates to month four, it seems likely that Abī-simtī visited Zabala during the fourth month of that year. Three texts from ŠS 1 mention Ennum(mi)-ilī, the equestrian; he may have been the queen’s personal commissary.³⁵⁹

Only two texts from ŠS 2 mentioning Zabala have been published; neither of these mention the queen,³⁶⁰ but both record deliveries for the siskur-offerings³⁶¹ of the king to the cult in Zabala.³⁶²

Eight of the eleven texts from ŠS 3 that mention Zabala also mention the “queen-dowager” Abī-simtī.³⁶³ Two texts (MVN 16, 837, and SNAT 481) record the provisions for the “queen-dowager” going to Zabala: the first listed gold, the second baskets and garlic. Both deliveries were made by Lukala, the chief household administrator of the governor; the first was sealed by the governor (Ayakala), the second by Šarakam.³⁶⁴ MVN 16, 960, recorded the garment provisions for Abī-simtī on the way to Zabala, following a smaller provision for the child born to the queen, Kubātum,³⁶⁵ and in turn followed by several entries recording provisions for gods and imperial officers, from Ikala, sealed by the governor.

359. Ennum(mi)-ilī is known to have been an officer in the imperial administration; see, for example, MVN 13, 549 (from AS 9 vi); Ontario 1, 115 (from AS 9 *ximin* 14). He is perhaps identical with the well-known officer responsible for multiple deliveries to the Drehem administration (see, for example, PDT 2, 1135 [from Š 43 i]; PDT 2, 1184 [from Š 45 xii 24 to 29]).

360. AnOr 7, 377 (from ŠS 2 to 4), however, does mention a journey by an unknown person (text is broken) to Zabala.

361. Following W. Sallaberger, UAVA 7/1 & 7/2 (1993) 41-42.

362. MVN 16, 877 (no month name), and MVN 4, 174 (from the first month).

While traveling to Zabala, in ŠS 3, the queen received animals from Ušmu (the chief fattener in Umma, see pp. 239 + fn 591, below)—the animals were termed maš-da-ri-a³⁶⁶—the transaction was sealed by the governor (MVN 16, 916). Abī-simtī transferred some animals as siskur-offerings for Inanna of Zabala (BIN 5, 31).³⁶⁷ The queen herself received siskur-offerings while in Zabala.³⁶⁸

The last text from ŠS 3 to be mentioned here recorded the transfer of beer and bread to Zabala while the queen was traveling there:

363. MVN 16, 960; MVN 16, 916; MVN 16, 837; SNAT 481; BIN 5, 31; Princeton 1, 238; MVN 16, 1092 (from month 2); and AnOr 7, 235 (from month 2). Three texts do not mention the “queen dowager” but Zabala dating to ŠS 2: One text (JCS 39, 125 13 [month 2]) record the provisions for (the divine?) Zabala, Enlil, Ninḫursag, and the (divine?) kab₂-ku₅ of en-gaba-ra₂, from Šarakam—one of Ayakala’s provisioners—sealed by the governor (Ayakala). It is, of course, not uncommon to find geographical names among the deities receiving offerings in Ur III text. The kab₂-ku₅ of en-gaba-ra₂, is, however, never again attested in this context. For the geographical name kab₂-ku₅ of en-gaba-ra₂ see, for example, Princeton 1, 477 (from Š 36), recording work done there, obv. 4: kab₂^{ab}-ku₅ en-gaba-ra₂ A.DUN gub-ba. The “the field across from the lord” (a-ša₃ en-gaba-ra₂) is well attested in Ur III Umma sources. Another similar text (Nik 2, 326 [month 9]) recorded provisions for miscellaneous deities. SNAT 487 (from month 9) recorded the garment rations for the permanent staff of Zabala (rev. 10: tug₂-ba giri₃-se₃-ga zabala₃^{ki}).
364. Šarakam, Alli, among others, functioned as supply officers of the governor, several hundred tablets sealed by Ayakala confirms this, the documents all relate to minor deliveries of beer, flour and other basic commodities.
365. Obv. 3; igi-kar₂ ku-ba-tum nin-e dumu tu-da.
366. Following W. Sallaberger, UAVA 7/1 & 7/2 (1993) 160 - 170, mašdaria is understood as a sort of regular delivery for the imperial court and not an offering, although it was destined for the religious festivals in the capital and Nippur, and sometimes diverted to cult-offerings.
367. Although both MVN 16, 916, and BIN 5, 31, recorded different kinds of livestock there is no direct indication that the same animals recorded in the one text were the same as in the other.

AnOr 7, 235 (from ŠS 3 ii):

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. 2(u) 2(diš) guruš u ₄ 2(diš)-še ₃ | 22 workers for two days, |
| 2. kaš ninda zabala ₃ ^{ki} -še ₃ | having brought beer and bread to Zabala, |
| 3. de ₆ -a u ₃ zabala ₃ ^{ki} -a gub-ba | and having stayed in Zabala, |
| 4. a-bi ₂ -si ₂ -im-ti nin i ₃ -im-gen-na-a | while Abī-simtī the queen, was travelling. |

Reverse.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. [...] -x | x x |
| 2. 𒀭 kišib 𒀭 [lu ₂] -kal-la | Sealed by Lukala. |
| 3. iti sig ₄ - ^{geš} i ₃ -šub-ga ₂ -ra | Month “placing the brick
in the mold”. |

(seal)

- | | |
|--|---------------------------------|
| 4. mu-us ₂ -sa ma ₂ ^d en-ki | Year after: “the boat of Enki”. |
|--|---------------------------------|

Seal

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. lu ₂ -kal-la | Lukala, |
| 2. dub-sar | scribe, |
| 3. dumu ur-e ₁₁ -e šuš ₃ | son of Ur-E’e, chief cattle administrator. |

Abī-simtī perhaps visited Zabala during month 2 of ŠS 3, the only month attested in several texts relating to her visit.

Five of the eight texts from ŠS 4 mentioning Zabala also mention the “queen-dowager”. Three of these texts record provisions for the queen.³⁶⁹ One text recorded siskur-

368. See Princeton 1, 238, obv: 7(diš) ^{gi}pa₄-ti-um 5(diš) sila₃ esir₂ su-ub-ba / siskur₂ nin / ša₃ zabala₃^{ki} / ki a-gu-ta, “Seven Patium 5 sila baskets, coated with bitumen, siskur-offering of the “queen-dowager” (while) in Zabala, from Agu,” and MVN 16, 1092 (from ŠS 3ii) (not specified as siskur): 1(u) 5(diš) ku₆ ^{gi}kaskal / kun-zi 3(u)-ta / ki nin-še₃ / ša₃ zabala₃^{ki} // ki ur-^dba-ba₆-ta / kišib ensi₂ ..., “15 travel-baskets for fish, 30 kun-zi fish each, for the “queen-dowager” (while) in Zabala, from Ur-Baba, sealed by the governor ...”.

offerings for Inanna of Zabala transferred by the queen.³⁷⁰ The last text from ŠS 4 to mention Abī-simtī was MVN 16, 796, from month seven, recording household items booked out (for) the “queen-dowager” while traveling to Zabala from Ayakala (the chief of the leather workers), once again sealed by Lukala.

Two of the three texts from ŠS 4 which mention Zabala, but which do not mention the “queen-dowager,” were concerned with textile offerings to Inanna of Zabala.³⁷¹ The textiles of these texts were termed *su-si dⁱinanna zabala^{ki}-še*.³⁷² The last text from that year (UTI 4, 2705) documented field work. Since the only month-name on tablets from Zabala during ŠS 4 mentioning the “queen-dowager” was the seventh, there is reason to believe that this was the month she visited Zabala that year.

SAT 3, 1568 (from ŠS 5), is the only extant text following ŠS 4 which recorded the “queen-dowager’s” presence in Zabala (reverse line 1; *nin zabala^{ki} gub-ba*). That text recorded the labor involved in bringing certain products to Zabala from Umma and back

369. MVN 16, 1330; MVN 16, 713; and BM 106073 (unpubl.) (from month 7).

370. AnOr 7, 241 (from month 7).

371. MCS 8, 90 (=BM 105544), and MCS 2, 76 (=BM 113031).

372. The term *su-si* occurs a mere nine times in the published Ur III record, and always in connection with a divine name. It appears to be a term used to describe different fabrics given to gods, such as regular ^{tu}g²uš-bar or ^{tu}g²uš-bar with various qualifications. The texts are: MCS 2, 76, BM 113031 (from ŠS 4): Inanna of Zabala; MCS 8, 90, BM 105544 (from ŠS 4): Inanna of Zabala; MVN 14, 244 (from AS 7 to 8): Gula; Rochester 145 (no year, month 9): Gula; TJAMC FM 51 (pl. 47) (from ŠS 5): Inanna of Zabala; BM 108269 (from Š 47): Nin-Egal; UTI 3, 2018 (from ŠS 1): Gula of Umma; UTI 3, 2069 (from ŠS 1): Ninsun; SACT 2, 280 (from ŠS 2): for several gods; and MVN 18, 626 (no date): Nin-x.

again; the document was sealed by the provisions officer of the Umma governor,

Šarakam.³⁷³

There is no indication that Abī-simtī visited Zabala at a certain time of ŠS 4. In ŠS 1 she presumably went there during month 4, in ŠS 3 during month 2, and in ŠS 4 during month 7.

The last text to mention the city of Zabala is AAICAB 1, 1911-206 (from ŠS 9), recording the delivery of a few hides (of sheep?) for Inanna of Zabala. Based on the relatively low number of texts mentioning Zabala altogether, this text cannot be used as a terminal date for Ur control over Zabala.

Numerous records mention the city KIAN, and in particular deliveries for the cult of Šara there.³⁷⁴ The names of shrines for many other deities as well as many cultic activities are recorded in the extant record. Little evidence exists, however, that links the city of KIAN with either the royal family of Ur, or the gubernatorial court of Umma in any other way than basic administrative activities.

In the following, I devote several pages to the earliest generations of the ruling family of Umma, including Ur-Nigar, who is considered the actual *paterfamilias*, and to GIRINI,

373. Abī-simtī must have died prior to ŠS 9 xii 17, when her first ki-a-nag is recorded (see ASJ 3, 92 3).

374. See for example the account of deliveries for Šara of KIAN, concerning Dada (perhaps identical with the sanga-priest called Dada?) BCT 2, 143 (from Š 48), rev. iv 20: [nig₂]-[⌈]ka₉[⌋] ak mu-DU^{⌈d}šara₂[⌋]
[⌈]KI[⌋].AN^{ki}.

who is here considered a (semi-)legendary ancestor of the Umma ruling family. The next section will deal with the governors of Umma, mentioning first of all the paucity of data recording any governor prior to Ur-Lisi, followed by a discussion of Ur-Lisi and his two brothers and successors, Ayakala and Dadaga. This section also includes all the known female members of the ruling family. We shall then look at the role of the children of the governor and address the vital question of succession within the clan of Ur-Nigar. Hereafter a lengthy section is devoted to Ur-E'e and the office of the chief cattle administrator. Following Ur-E'e are two sections: the first deals with Lu-Haya, one of Ur-E'e's sons who presumably followed Ur-E'e in the office as chief cattle administrator, while the second is about Lukala, Ur-E'e's other son. Lukala is, following Ayakala, the second best documented person from Umma. The discussion of Lukala and his office will also deal with Ayakala, Dadaga and Gududu, who seems to have held the same office as Lukala at some point in time. After our discussion of Ur-E'e, his office and the careers of his sons we will investigate another member of the ruling family whose career in some ways resembled that of Ur-E'e: Ir(mu). This section also discusses the office of the Umma chief of the granary, as well as the administration of agricultural production in Umma. The final section discusses, and lists, the other less well-known sons of Ur-Nigar.

Figure 6 below is a graphic representation of the genealogy of the ruling family of Ur

III Umma:

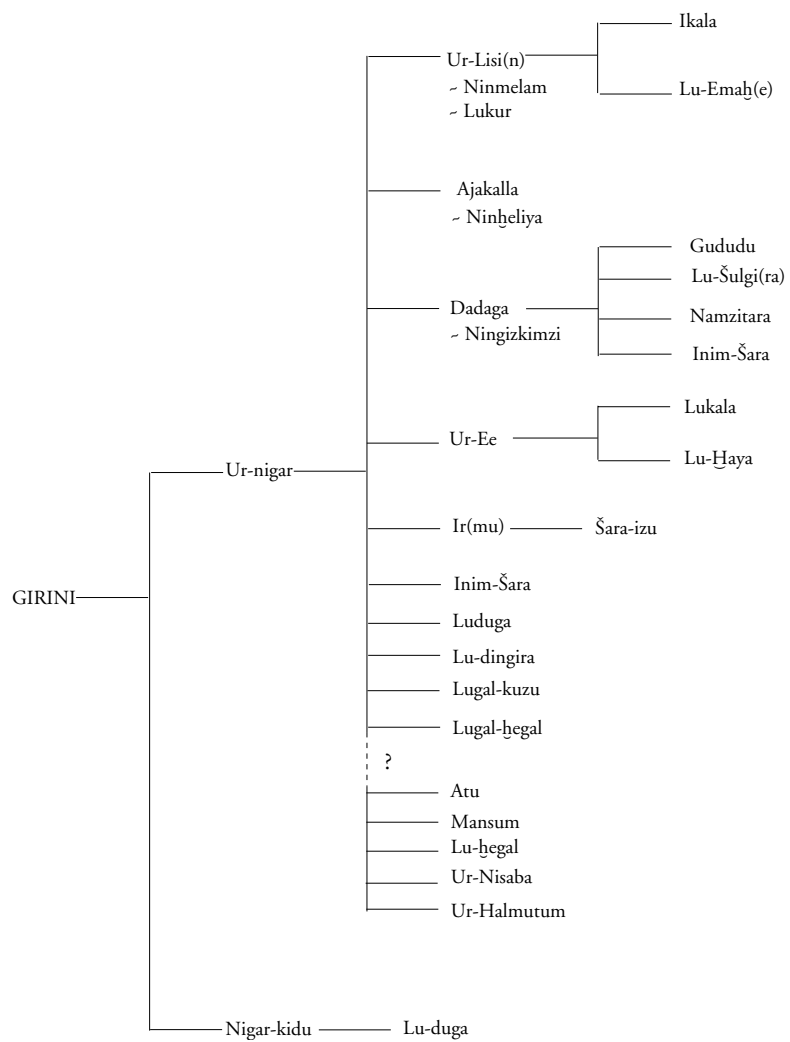


Figure 6: The ruling family of Ur III Umma.

Chapter 5: Section 2: The earliest generations

In their seal-inscriptions both Nigar-kidu ($\text{nigar}_x(\text{NIGIN}_3)^{\text{gar}}\text{-ki-du}_{10}$)³⁷⁵ and Ur-Nigar ($\text{ur-nigar}_x(\text{NIGIN}_3)^{\text{gar}}$) claimed to be sons of GIRINI ($\text{GIRI}_3\text{-NI}$).³⁷⁶ According to these seal-legends,³⁷⁷ GIRINI held two titles, chief of the galla ($\text{gal}_5\text{-la gal}$),³⁷⁸ and chief cattle administrator (\u0161u\u0161_3),³⁷⁹ titles which were to be divided between his two sons; Nigar-kidu became chief of the galla ($\text{gal}_5\text{-la gal}$), and Ur-Nigar became chief cattle administrator (\u0161u\u0161_3). GIRINI had another son named Basag³⁸⁰ whose title is still unknown.³⁸¹ Few

-
375. U.UD.KID = KWU 512 (ABZ 447a). In Ur III administrative texts, NIGIN_3 primarily occurs together with the phonetic compliment GAR. The exceptions, seem mainly to be the consequence of copying or scribal errors. Following H. Waetzoldt (Bi.Or. 32, 1975, 383), and lately M. Krebernik (Die Beschwörungen aus Fara und Ebla (Hildesheim 1984) 197 and note 119) a reading nigar_x is accepted here. The word nigar_x was used almost exclusively in the personal names $\text{geme}_2\text{-nigar}_x(\text{NIGIN}_3)^{\text{gar}}$, $\text{nigar}_x(\text{NIGIN}_3)^{\text{gar}}\text{-ki-du}_{10}$, and $\text{ur-nigar}_x(\text{NIGIN}_3)^{\text{gar}}$, except for a few references to an $e_2\text{ nigar}_x$ (Nik 2, 290 [from ŠS 6 viii 6 to 7]; SAT 3, 2145 [XX XX iv 12]; and BE 3-1, 165 [no date]).
376. Also read $\text{kiri}_x\text{-zal}$ by some, presumably seen as a phonetic variant of $\text{kiri}_4\text{-zal}$. A reading $\text{GIRI}_3\text{-NI}$ is preferred to leave open any interpretation. My suggestion is that the name is an abbreviation of $\text{Giri}_3\text{-ni-i}_3\text{-sa}_6$, a common Ur III name.
377. The seal of Nigar-kidu was rolled on MVN 1, 182 (from Š 26), together with the seal of Lu-Nin-x the “grand scribe of the king” ($\text{dub-sar ma}\text{ḫ lugal-ka}$). The document recorded the transfer of a large amount of barley from Ur-Nigar to the palace.
378. The title $\text{gal}_5\text{-la}_2\text{ gal}$ is problematic. Obviously the gal makes for an interpretation as “chief of the $\text{gal}_5\text{-la}_2$ ”, leaving us with the $\text{gal}_5\text{-la}_2$. An equation with Akkadian $\text{gall}\dot{u}(\text{m})$ —a word for an evil demon—must be abandoned for obvious reasons; rather, “police chief, gendarme, deputy, or bailif;” is more reasonable, although the etymology remains obscure.

documents are available from the time when we expect GIRINI to have been active, making it difficult for us to say anything about him. No impression of his own seal has been recovered, and no text can be ascribed to him with certainty. I therefore find it advisable to describe GIRINI as a semi-legendary ancestor of the Umma clan rather than as an administrative figure with his own place in the administration.

Ur-Nigar, one of GIRINI's two sons, became father of the most powerful generation of administrators governing Umma, counting among others three well-known governors. Ur-Nigar's title, chief cattle administrator ($\text{\textcircled{š}}\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{š}}_3$), is almost exclusively known from the seals of his sons.

NYPL 318 (from Š 24(?)),³⁸² an early text dealing with barley, is the only certain attestation of Ur-Nigar, chief cattle administrator ($\text{\textcircled{š}}\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{š}}_3$), and thereby the only certain

379. Ur-Nigar's seal inscription has not been preserved on any tablet (strike MVN 1, 136, cf. already R. Mayr; *The Seal Impressions of Ur III Umma* (unpublished dissertation; Leiden 1997) catalogue no. 807).

However, an actual seal of Ur-Nigar, son of GIRINI, the chief of the galla, has been preserved; see L. Speleers, *Catalogue des intailles et empreintes orientales des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*, (Bruxelles 1917) 106-107, seal no. 625 (L. Speleers noted that the title of GIRINI was also found in the Obelisk of Maništusu, column 12, line 2, and column 13, line 11 (both times in the phrase $\text{\textcircled{š}}\text{\textcircled{i}}\text{\textcircled{g}}_5\text{\textcircled{-}}\text{\textcircled{l}}_2\text{\textcircled{-}}\text{\textcircled{g}}_2$, "the one of the chief of the galla"). See R. Mayr, *Seal Impressions* (1997) 149 + fn. 582 for a brief discussion of the seal of Ur-Nigar. The text FAOS 17, 88, independently supports the point that Ur-Nigar was son of GIRINI.

380. Spelled $\text{\textcircled{b}}_2\text{\textcircled{-}}\text{\textcircled{s}}_6\text{\textcircled{-}}\text{\textcircled{g}}_2$ in his seal, and sometimes $\text{\textcircled{b}}_2\text{\textcircled{-}}\text{\textcircled{s}}_5$ in the texts, clearly supporting a reading $\text{\textcircled{s}}_5$ (= SIG₅).

381. A possible further son of GIRINI is Lugal-niglagar'e mentioned in SACT 2, 98 (from Š 34 vi).

382. The year information reads $\text{\textcircled{m}}_2\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{3}}(\text{\textcircled{d}}_1\text{\textcircled{š}})\text{\textcircled{-}}\text{\textcircled{k}}_2\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{m}}\text{\textcircled{u}}_2\text{\textcircled{-}}\text{\textcircled{b}}_2$, this is perhaps an abbreviated writing of $\text{\textcircled{n}}_2\text{\textcircled{g}}_2\text{\textcircled{-}}\text{\textcircled{k}}_2\text{\textcircled{a}}_9\text{\textcircled{-}}\text{\textcircled{a}}_2\text{\textcircled{-}}\text{\textcircled{l}}_2\text{\textcircled{-}}\text{\textcircled{k}}_2\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{m}}\text{\textcircled{u}}\text{\textcircled{3}}(\text{\textcircled{d}}_1\text{\textcircled{š}})\text{\textcircled{-}}\text{\textcircled{k}}_2\text{\textcircled{a}}\text{\textcircled{m}}\text{\textcircled{u}}_2\text{\textcircled{-}}\text{\textcircled{s}}_2\text{\textcircled{-}}\text{\textcircled{a}}_2\text{\textcircled{-}}\text{\textcircled{b}}_2$ = Š 24 (compare with MVN 21, 272 [from Š 24 xi])

attestation of Ur-Nigar the father of three governors altogether. It is possible to speculate that a prospering private economic sphere existed, parallel to the centralized economy of the empire, and that even members of the ruling family of Umma were involved not with state-affairs but rather dealings of their own, leaving no traces in the records of the central households. It is also plausible that the administration of the early years of Ur hegemony had yet to experience the excessive bureaucracy of the late years of Šulgi and the reign of his two sons Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen, and that Ur-Nigar and his predecessors were state-employees functioning in an administrative machinery based less on written records and more on personal charisma and will.

Nigar-kidu is an even more elusive figure, partly because several people in Umma were called Nigar-kidu, and partly because Nigar-kidu's son Luduga primarily sealed documents described as sealed by either his brother Dadaga, or his cousin, Dadaga's son, Gududu, and finally, because Nigar-kidu's brother Ur-Nigar also had a son named Luduga.

Nigar-kidu is only attested in MVN 1, 182 (from Š 26), in which he certifies the transfer of a large amount of barley from his brother Ur-Nigar to the palace. The document is sealed with his seal along with the seal of a "grand scribe" of the king.

Luduga the son of Nigar-kidu never appears in any text sealed with his own seal; he is, nevertheless, attested independently in a few texts;³⁸³ it seems possible to claim that he

383. SA 76 (from AS 4): obv. ii 3; MVN 11, 162 (from Š 38 xii): rev. 3; CHEU 30 (from Š 46): obv. 7; BM 106050 (unpubl.) (no date): mentions the wife of Luduga, the son of Nigar-kidu (rev. v 12: dam lu₂-du₁₀-ga dumu nigin₃-gar-ki-du₁₀).

did not partake in the state-run administration,³⁸⁴ and that his cousin Dadaga used his seal to seal certain transactions, for whatever reason. Likewise Nigar-kidu's brother had a son named Luduga, who, in a similar fashion, either sealed transactions for his cousin, or simply deposited a seal with him.

384. Luduga's brother Atu (see, for example, AnOr 7, 286 [from ŠS 6 viii 21], for the seal of Atu) is also scarcely attested in the extant records

Chapter 5: Section 3: The governor

When describing the ruling family of Umma it seems reasonable to begin with its most prominent members, the governors. The office of the governor (Sumerian *ensi*₂) of Umma belonged throughout the entire duration of our documentation to the ruling family of Umma. When we research the earliest generations of the Ur III society we are constrained by the paucity of the sources, and it is speculative to comment on either the lineage or the administrative activities of any Umma governor prior to Ur-Lisi. One text has survived documenting the involvement of the ruling family of Umma in the administration of Umma during the early days of Ur hegemony: DC 236, presumably from Š 28.³⁸⁵

Obv.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. 1(geš ³ u) 2(geš ₂) 3(u) 𒀭3(aš) ² 𒀭1(barig) ² 𒀭še gur lugal | 753 gur and 1 barig of barley
according to the royal measure, |
| 2. 𒀭ki ab 𒀭-ba-mu 𒀭ensi ₂ 𒀭-ka-ta | From Abbamu the governor, ³⁸⁶ |
| 3. ur-d ^r li ₉ -si ₄ KA-guru ₇ -ke ₄ 𒀭 | Ur-Lisi, the chief of the granary, |

Rev.

- | | |
|--|-----------|
| 1. šu ba-ti | received. |
| 2. x-gi-na-𒀭tum 𒀭[...] 𒀭d ^y sara ₂ 𒀭 | |

-
385. The full formula of this year is: mu en nam-šita₄ d^šul-gi-ra-ke₄ ba-gub-ba(-še₃ šud₃-sag) en d^den-ki eridu^{ki}-ga dumu šul-gi nita kalag-ga lugal uri₂^{ki}-ma lugal an ub-da limmu-ba-ke₄ ba-a-ḥun, “Year: Ennamšita-Šulgirake-bagubaše-šusag, the son of Šulgi, the strong man, the king of Ur, the king of the four quarters, was installed as en-priest of Enki in Eridu.”
386. One of the many problems with this text is the possibility to read /Abba muḥaldim ensi/ instead of /Abbamu ensi/ (Abba the cook of the governor, instead of Abbamu governor).

- | | |
|--|---|
| 3. giri ₃ a-kal- ^Γ la ^Γ [...] | Via Ayakala [... of ²] Abbamu |
| ab-ba-mu ^Γ ensi ₂ ^Γ | the governor ³⁸⁷ |
| 4. iti e ₂ -iti-6(diš) | Month e-iti-6. |
| 5. mu en ^d en-ki ^Γ x ba ^Γ -[hun?] | Year: “the En-priest of Enki
x x was installed in office”. |

From the same year (Š 28) another very important document has come down to us (AAICAB 1, 1912-1143, mentioned above). It is a text computing a large amount of grain (mainly barley, Sumerian še), totaling more than 15,000 gur, or more than four and a half million liters. The first entry of that text, 12,066 gur, 3 barig, 2 ban and 9 sila according to the Šulgi-measurement,³⁸⁸ is the exact yield-estimate corresponding to the 100 domain units recorded in MCS 6, 83, BM 105334 (from AS 2) (see above).³⁸⁹ The total is said to be controlled by Ur-Lisi.³⁹⁰ Since this document is dated to Š 28, it is my belief that Ur-Lisi operated in his capacity as chief of the granary (KA-guru₇).

387. The break in the text could give either the official or the familial relationship between Ayakala and Abbamu. A reading [šeš] would conform with our knowledge of the familial structures of the Umma ruling family, but it is obscured by the lack of any reliable genealogy of Abbamu. The kinship term “brother” was used only in a limited number of relations, see Excursus 2.

388. AAICAB 1, 1912-1143, obv. 1: 3(guru₇) 2(geš^u) 1(geš₂) 6(aš) 3(barig) 2(ban₂) 9(diš) sila₃ 1(u) 5(diš) gin₂ še gur^d šul-gi

389. 12,066 gur, 3 barig, 2 ban and 9 sila divided by 20 is approximately 603 1/3. However, these two text still present some problems, and the reconstruction here is only tentative. The texts mentioned here were first discussed by K. Maekawa, however for slightly different purposes; see K. Maekawa, Zinbun 13 (1974) 1 - 60.

390. AAICAB 1, 1912-1143, rev. 11: ur-^dli₉-si₄ i₃- dab₅.

Abbamu has been mentioned in the preceding as the earliest Ur III governor of Umma, but he remains an almost legendary figure.³⁹¹ He is attested in very few documents and no seal-impression of his has survived to our time. Essentially, all of the texts that have been used as evidence for Abbamu as an early governor of Umma are ambiguous.³⁹² Other possible early governors of Umma are A_hua,³⁹³ Kuli,³⁹⁴ and perhaps Malakum.³⁹⁵

391. T. Maeda, "Father of Akala and Dadaga, governors of Umma," ASJ 12 (1990) 71, table 1.

392. Abbamu, the governor of Umma, is only mentioned in two texts, these are, NYPL 37 (from Š 33), and DC 236 (Š 28?), mentioned above. NYPL 37 mentions the e₂ šu sum-ma ab-ba-mu ensi₂-ka, perhaps a reference to the left-over account of the deceased governor. In CHEU 94 (from Š 28 viii), the house of Ur-saga the "slave" (ir₁₁) of Abbamu is mentioned, also Ayakala is present in this short text.

393. See FAOS 17, 88* (dating to before Š 33), obv. 26: u₄-ba a-_hu-a ensi₂ umma^{ki}, "on the day A_hua (was/became) governor of Umma." This is the only extant text which mentions A_hua as governor of Umma. The text is very interesting in that it mentions the purchase of a house by Ur-Nigar, the son of GIRINI, the chief of the galla. There are no other Umma texts mentioning A_hua dated to the early years of Šulgi. Some Umma texts without date mention A_hua; however, these did not mention any title of A_hua. See for example the undated text TSU 92 (= RIAA 188) which has as a concluding line inim a-_hu-a-ta, "on the command of A_hua", suggesting a high office for this person. On the terminology, inim PN-ta, see p. 160 below.

394. Only two references to Kuli, the governor of Umma, exists; Nebraska 44 (from Š 39 to AS 3), obv. iv 32: giri₃ ku-li ʾ ensi₂ ʾ, and Ontario 2, 425 (unpubl.).

395. Only one questionable reference to a person named Malakum serving as governor of Umma exists; BM 108029 (no date).

Chapter 5: Section 4: Ur-Lisi

Ur-Lisi is recorded as governor of Umma for the first time in the 33rd year of Šulgi, seven years after numerous sources appear for the first time at Umma.³⁹⁶ Ur-Lisi is attested in a number of texts before Š 33, when he perhaps held the position as the chief of the granary (KA-guru₇) of Umma.³⁹⁷ This is not only inferred from the text given above (DC 236) but also from the administrative activities of Ur-Lisi before Š 33.³⁹⁸ Since Ur-Lisi is mentioned as the son of Ur-Nigar, the chief cattle administrator (šuš₃),³⁹⁹ and since both Ir(mu),⁴⁰⁰ and Ayakala,⁴⁰¹ well-known members of the ruling family, claimed to be

396. See the seal of Ur-Lisi, the governor (BMC Roma 8, 10 3 [from Š 33 viii]); the seal of Ur-E'e dedicated to Ur-Lisi, the governor (Aleppo 147 [from Š 33]); the seal of Lugalebansa(g), dedicated to Ur-Lisi, the governor (MVN 14, 133 [from Š 33 xi]); the seal of Ḫabaluke, dedicated to Ur-Lisi, the governor (Syracuse 485 [from Š 33 vii]); the seal of Atu, dedicated to Ur-Lisi, the governor (YOS 4, 151 [from Š 32 ix to Š 33 i]).

397. See also T. Maeda, "Ruler's Family of Umma and Control over the Circulation of Silver," ASJ 18 (1996) 255.

398. Ur-Lisi is mentioned in several texts from the early days of Ur III, delivering barley for the cult, for example, delivering small quantities of barley for the regular offerings for Šara in Hirose 341 (from Š 32 i to vi); for rations, for example, delivering large quantities of barley as rations for the ox-drivers and the engineer-troops (ša₃-gu₄ ša₃-saḫar-ra: the šasaḫara, male workers mainly specializing in excavating, were often grouped together with the ox-drivers) in CHEU 2 (from Š 31 iv to xi); and receiving barley from various persons, for example, receiving large quantities of barley from the governor of Adab, on the order of the governor of Umma in SANTAG 6, 16 (copy of Umma 92 = ICP 422) (from Š 31 ix), (sealed by Ir(mu) instead of Ur-Lisi, obv. 3 - 4: ki ensi₂ adab^{ki}-ta / inim ensi₂ umma^{ki}-ta, rev. 1 - 4: ur-^dli₉-si₄ / šu ba-ti / mu ur-^dli₉-si₄-še₃ / kišib ir₁₁ i₃-gal₂). Compare these examples with the responsibilities of Ir(mu) described below Chapter 5: Section 11.

“brothers of the governor” (šeš ensi₂) at the same time as Ur-Lisi held office, Ur-Lisi must have been a member of the ruling family and a son of Ur-Nigar, the chief cattle administrator (šuš₃).

399. See the seal of Ur-Lisi (ur-^dli₉-si₄ / dub-sar / dumu ur-nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar}); AUCT 3, 286 (from Š 31 xi); AUCT 3, 427 (from Š 31 xii); and MVN 21, 272 (from Š 24 xi):

Obverse.

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| 1. 6(geš ₂) še gur lugal | 360 gur of barley, |
| 2. uri ₂ ^[ki] -še ₃ | to Ur, |
| 3. giri ₃ ur- ^d li ₉ -si ₄ | via Ur-Lisi |

Reverse.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. dumu ur-nigar _x (NIGIN ₃) ^{gar} šuš ₃ -ka | the son of Ur-Nigar, chief cattle administrator. |
| 2. iti pa ₅ -u ₂ -e | Month Pau'e |
| 3. mu nig ₂ -ka ₉ -ak al-la-ka | Year: |
| mu 3(diš)-kam us ₂ -bi | |

Only very few seal-impressions of the simple seal of Ur-Lisi are known since he ruled Umma almost from the time when the first numerous archives appear. He came to be known primarily as “the governor.”

400. See BM 105554 (unpubl.) (from Š 34 ii), obv. 3: ir₁₁ šeš ensi₂ umma^{ki}, “Ir(mu), the brother of the governor”.

401. OrSP 47-49, 500 (no date), obv. ii 15: a-kal-la šeš ensi₂, “Ayakala, brother of the governor”, The text also mentions Ir(mu) with the title “chief of the granary”, indicating that Ur-Lisi had already taken office as governor, and Nigar-kidu (the uncle of Ur-Lisi) as “chief of the galla” (rev. iv 4: nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar}-ki-du₁₀ ugula gal₅-la₂-gal). See also JCS 28, 215 26 (from Š 43): 3(u) guruš u₄ 1(diš)-še₃ / ku₆ ga₆?-ga₂? / a-ša₃ en-gaba-ra₂ / giri₃ a-kal-la / šeš ensi₂ // kišib a-kal-la / dumu lugal-nesag₂-e / ugula da-da / (blank line) / mu en^dnanna maš-e i₃-pa₃, “30 work-days, carrying? fish to the field engabara, via Ayakala brother of the governor, sealed by Ayakala son of Lugal-nesag'e, foreman: Dada. Year: “the Enpriest of Nanna was chosen”.” The obvious reason for the sudden need of an otherwise rare kinship term was to clearly exclude any ambiguity in a text mentioning two persons, both named Ayakala.

During the early years of Ur-Lisi's tenure it was the custom for office-holders in the administration to have seals dedicated to the governor rather than to the king, as was common in later years. More than 40 people held seals dedicated to Ur-Lisi.⁴⁰² Although most of these dedicatory seals were used from the accession of Ur-Lisi in Š 33 until around the time of Šulgi's 40th year, it is not possible to say when, exactly, this custom was abandoned. Some of the problems faced when using the seals of the Ur III administrators to describe the social system of the state can be seen from the following few examples. Ayakala had a seal dedicated to Ur-Lisi while he at the same time had a seal with no dedication; Kugani had a seal dedicated to Ur-Lisi before the latter became governor, and a different seal dedicated to Ur-Lisi after he had become governor.⁴⁰³ Some seals dedicated to Ur-Lisi remained in use long after Ur-Lisi's death, when Ayakala had become governor. Nevertheless,

402. See for example the seal of Adaga (ur-^dli₉-si₄ / ensi₂ / umma^{ki} // a-da-ga / dub-sar / ir₁₁-zu) in use from Š 42 iv (MVN 2, 343) to Š 43 xi (MVN 14, 9) (with one possible attestation from ŠS 2); the seal of Ayakala (ur-^dli₉-si₄ / ensi₂ / umma^{ki} a-kal-la // dub-[sar] / dumu ^rur ^l[nigar_x] ^rgar ^l[šuš(?)] / ir₁₁-[zu]) in use from Š 39 i (MVN 14, 3) to Š 41 (ArOr 62, 238 I 867)), Ayakala also had a regular seal without dedication in use from Š 33 until he became governor himself; the seal of Atu, son of Lugalsaga (ur-^dli₉-si₄ / ensi₂ umma^{ki} / a-tu dub-sar / dumu lugal-sa₆-ga / ir₁₁-zu), in use from Š 33 (Nik 2, 189) to Š 43 (MVN 18, 425)), and the seal of Atu, son of Šeškala (ur-^dli₉-si₄ / ensi₂ umma^{ki} / a-tu dub-[sar] / dumu šeš?-kal-la), in use in Š 40 (JCS 28, 220 42)), and so forth. Several other examples can be cited, a full study within the framework of the CDLI is in preparation by the author. See also R. Mayr, *Seal Impressions* (1997) 117 - 120 and fn. 492.

403. Kugani son of Ur-Šulgi (ur-^dli₉-si₄ / ensi₂ umma^{ki} / ku₃-ga-ni / dumu ur-^dšul-gi / ir₁₁-zu) in use from Š 34 vii (Aleppo 83) to Š 38 viii (Aleppo 89). Rochester 206 (ur-^dli₉-si₄ / ku₃-ga-ni / dub-sar / dumu ur-^dšul-gi / ir₁₁-zu) from Š 32 ix.

it is seen as an attempt by the king to strengthen his influence in the provinces that officials in the local administration had seals carved with a dedicatory inscription mentioning the king rather than the local governor around year Š 41.⁴⁰⁴

As mentioned above, it is likely that Ur-Lisi was chief of the granary before he became governor. At that time this office passed to his brother Ir(mu), who held that office at least until the end of Amar-Suen's reign, and presumably several years longer before his son Šara-izu succeeded him.⁴⁰⁵

It is very difficult to demonstrate any direct administrative contact between the crown and the provincial administration. Only two letters to Ur-Lisi, the governor of Umma, from the king have survived; the first (Scheil RA 24, 44)⁴⁰⁶ is an order from the king to give the Lamahhum-priest of Inanna of Girsu 60 gur (ca. 18,000 liter) of barley—it is written in Akkadian.⁴⁰⁷ The other letter (YOS 4, 117)⁴⁰⁸ is an order to Ur-Lisi to give the messengers of the king various objects; this letter is written in Sumerian.⁴⁰⁹ It is possible that the first letter should be dated prior to Ur-Lisi's tenure as governor when he was chief of the Umma

404. H. Waetzoldt, "Änderung von Siegellegenden als Reflex der 'großen Politik,'" in U. Finkbeiner (ed.), *Boehmer Fs* (Mainz: 1995) 659-64.

405. For a discussion of Ir(mu)'s tenure see below, Chapter 5: Section 11.

406. Edition by E. Sollberger: TCS 1, 369, see also P. Michalowski, *Letters from Early Mesopotamia* (Atlanta 1993) 55 (text 74).

407. The letter uses the normal Akkadian letter-formula and introduces the most important person first; obv. 1 - 3: um-ma šar-ru-um-ma / a-na ur-d¹li₉-si₄-na / qi₂-bi₂-ma. A full presentation of the Ur III letters in under-way within the framework of the CDLI.

408. Edition by E. Sollberger: TCS 1, 1, see also P. Michalowski, *Letters* (1993) 54 (text 73).

granary, however this question cannot be solved at present. The presence of messengers of the king, and “followers of the crown” (aga₃-us₂) at the local court in Umma strongly suggests a very real royal presence in Umma.⁴¹⁰

The direct involvement of the governor in the daily management of the province is seen, explicitly in the references to “the command of the governor” (inim ensi₂-ta). Such a terminology resembles a practice known from many contemporary middle-eastern societies where “the order of the king”, or the like, is analogous to a legally binding and written order. The same phrase could easily be used with the title governor exchanged with the title of another high-ranking official, however, primarily naming the person rather than the office.⁴¹¹ The phrase, “on the command of the governor” was sometimes used in inter-city relations,⁴¹² and its usage was not restricted to the Umma province.⁴¹³ SANTAG 6, 16, is an instructive text, making use of the phrase “on the command of the governor” applied in an inter-city operation. It dates to Š 31 month 9, that is, two years before Ur-Lisi became governor; hence, the governor referred is likely to have been Abbamu. Ur-Lisi was chief of the granary already at this time, and apparently Ir(mu) was already his “apprentice.” The text relates how Ur-Lisi received a large amount of barley and wheat from the governor of Adab;

409. The letter uses the normal third person voice throughout, except for the phrase (reverse line 4 - 5) lu₂ kin-gi₄-a-ga₂ / ħe₂-na-ab-sum-mu > /lu kiġ.gi-a-mu-ak ħe-na-b-sum-e/ “he shall give it to my messengers ...”

410. See for example Nik 2, 287 (from ŠS 4 viii 21 to 25); Nik 2, 290 (from ŠS 6 viii 6 to 7); and Nik 2, 340 (from IS 3 i), all concerned with the provisions for royal messengers and emissaries at Umma (on their way to the east or on mission to Umma).

the transaction was sealed by Ir(mu) rather than Ur-Lisi, and it was part of the formal exchange between the provinces otherwise known as the “bala”.

SANTAG 6, 16 (from Š 31 ix):

Obverse.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. 1(u) 8(aš) 3(barig) 4(diš)
2/3(diš) sila ₃ gig gur lugal | 18 gur 3 barig 4 2/3 sila of wheat,
according to the royal measure. |
| 2. 1(u) 9(aš) 1(barig) 5(ban ₂)
4(diš) 2/3(diš) sila ₃ ziz ₂ gur lugal | 19 gur 1 barig 5 ban 4 2/3 sila
of emmer according to the royal measure |
| 3. ki ensi ₂ adab ^{ki} -ta | from the governor of Adab, |

411. See, for example, AAS 92 (from Š 39), rev. 3: inim a-kal-la-ta, and compare with BIN 5, 117 (from Š 48), rev. 3: inim a-kal-la nu-banda₃-ta. Other examples include AnOr 1, 75 (from AS 1), rev. 3: inim ur-e₁₁-e-ta; AR RIM 4, 22 (from AS 8 xii), rev. 1: inim ur-^dnun-gal; and BIN 3, 549 (from AS 9 viii), rev. 2: inim lu₂-kal-la. For examples of the same term used with another official than the governor, but without mentioning the name of the person, see, for example, MVN 1, 173 (no date), obv. 2: inim ᵀšagina ᵀta; NYPL 258 (from AS 6 xii), obv. 3: inim sukkal-mah₃-ta; SAT 2, 753 (from AS 3), obv. 6: inim ša₁₃-dub-ba-ta; and TCL 5, 6047 (no date), obv. i 3: inim lu₂-kin-gi₄-a lugal-ka-ta.

See also the letter: MVN 4, 182 (no date):

Obverse.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. ur-ᵀnigar _x ᵀ(NIGIN ₃) ^{gar} -ra | To Ur-Nigar |
| 2. u ₃ -na-du ₁₁ | speak: |
| 3. udu lugal- ^{geš} gigir-re min-a-ba | “The sheep of Lugal-Gigir, both of them |
| 4. šu he ₂ -na-a-du ₈ -e | you shall release them to him! |

Reverse.

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. inim ensi ₂ -ka-ta-am ₃ | On the command of the governor.” |
|--|----------------------------------|

412. See for example SANTAG 6, 16 (from Š 31 ix), obv. 4: inim ensi₂ umma^{ki}-ta; TCS 1, 130 (no date), rev. 5: inim e₂-gal-kam; and UTI 4, 2972 (from ŠS 2), obv. 3: inim ba-ba-ti-še₃.
413. See for example TUT 168 (from Š 44 ix), rev. 1: inim ur-^dba-ba₆ dumu ensi₂-ka-ta; and TBM 1, 308 (from Š 44 x), rev. 3: inim sanga^dnin-gir₂-su.

4. inim ensi ₂ umma ^{ki} -ta	on the order of the governor of Umma.
Reverse.	
1. ur- ^d li ₉ -si ₄	Ur-Lisi
2. šu ba-ti	received.
3. mu ur- ^d li ₉ -si ₄ -še ₃	Instead of Ur-Lisi,
4. kišib ir ₁₁ i ₃ -gal ₂	the seal of Ir(mu) is present.
5. iti ezem- ^d li ₉ -si ₄	Month “Festival of Lisi”.
6. ša ₃ bala-a	In the period of the bala.
7. mu a-ra ₂ 2(diš)-kam-aš	Year: “the second time
kara ₂ -ḫar ^{ki} ba-ḫul	Karaḫar was destroyed”.

When Ur-Lisi became governor he also became the head of a large household, and from that time on he is almost exclusively referred to as the governor, or the governor of Umma, and only very rarely with his own name. From the same time we also begin to learn about the family of the governor.

Ur-Lisi’s wife was named Nin-melam. Ur-Lisi had a son, Lu-Emaḫ, with Nin-melam; however, she was not his only consort. Ur-Lisi also had a concubine (lukur)⁴¹⁴ who bore him another son, Ikala, as well as a daughter, Nin-Ekuta. Nin-melam is not attested prior to Ur-Lisi’s tenure.

414. Three ration lists concerning the “concubines” of Šara have been published; AAICAB 1, 1924-0668 (from ŠS 2), rev. iv 7: i₃-ba lukur ^dšara₂, “oil-rations for the concubines of Šara,” (see also the parallel text AAICAB 1, 1911-480 [from Š 42]), AnOr 7, 296 (no date), rev. iv 9: [še-ba] ʾlukur ʾ^dšara₂, “barley rations for the concubines of Šara.” Each text lists approximately 55 women; their position in society remains obscure. See also Excursus 2.

ASJ 18, 163 nr. 6 (= BM 110263) (from ŠS 4), given here in excerpt, might throw some light on the situation of women in Umma:

Obv.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 4. 1(bur'u) 4(bur ₃) 3 (iku) GAN ₂ | 14 bur 3 iku of land, |
| 5. 2(eše ₃) 3(iku) GAN ₂ kiši ₁₇ (UDgunû) u ₂ | 2 eše 3 iku of land with weed and grass, |
| 6. 1(bur ₃) GAN ₂ mur ₇ (LAK 193) | 1 bur of land of, |
| 7. 1(iku) 1/2(iku) GAN ₂ e | 1 1/2 iku of land is dikes, |
| 8. a-ša ₃ gid ₂ -da | In the long field; |
| 9. nin-me-lam ₂ dam ensi ₂ -ka | Nin-melam, wife of the governor. |
| 10. 6(bur ₃) GAN ₂ | 6 bur iku of land, |
| 11. 1 1/2 (iku) GAN ₂ du ₆ | 1 1/2 iku of ruin hill land, |
| 12. 1 (iku) GAN ₂ a-muš-DU | 1 iku of, |
| 13. 1 (eše ₃) 1/4 (iku) GAN ₂ a nu-e ₁₁ | 1 eše 1/4 iku of land where
the water does not come down, |
| 14. [a]-ša ₃ du ₆ -d ^v šara ₂ | In the field Du-Šara; |
| 15. 𒀭 nin ² -e ₂ -ku ₃ -ta dumu lukur ensi ₂ -ka | Nin-Ekuta, daughter of the
concubine of the governor. |

The text is a calculation of the size of six plots in the province of Umma distributed to high-ranking members of the local court.⁴¹⁵ The size of Nin-melam's field is around fifty times larger than the average field allotments to workers in Umma.⁴¹⁶ The field of Nin-Ekuta, the daughter of Ur-Lisi's concubine, is less than half that size.⁴¹⁷ Evidence exists that Nin-melam also owned a date-palm plantation,⁴¹⁸ and that she continued to possess this property even after her husband had fallen from power in AS 8.

The parentage of Nin-melam is not known. Ur-Lisi's concubine is not named in the extant records, nor is it certain that Ur-Lisi had only one concubine. However, the texts mentioning Nin-melam, the wife of Ur-Lisi, suggest that she headed some kind of independent household.⁴¹⁹ Nin-melam was not an uncommon name during the Ur III period. One or more female workers in Umma bore that name, and at least one woman in Nippur.⁴²⁰

Ur-Lisi, the head of a large household, was heavily involved in the agricultural production of the province. It is conceivable that all of the arable land within the province of Umma was under the direct jurisdiction of Ur-Lisi. The same can be postulated for Abbamu

415. The total and the colophon of ASJ 18, 163 6 reads:

Reverse.

...

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 7. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(bur'u) 6(bur ₃) 1(eše ₃) GAN ₂ | Total: 16 bur 1 eše of land, |
| 8. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 2(bur ₃) 1(eše ₃) 2(iku) | Total: 2 bur 1 eše 2 |
| 1/4(iku) GAN ₂ murgu ₂ | 1/4 iku of murgu land, |
| 9. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(iku) 1/2(iku) GAN ₂ e | Total: 1 1/2 iku of land is dikes. |
| 10. nig ₂ -gal ₂ -la | "things present" |
| 11. lu ₂ -sa ₆ -ga in-gid ₂ | Lusaga measured |
| (blank space) | |
| 12. mu-us ₂ -sa si-ma-num ₂ ^{ki} ba-ḥul | Year after: "Simanum was destroyed". |

416. See also J. Dahl, AoF 29 (2002) 334.

417. Compare that to the field of the governor, which in one text (AnOr 1, 303) is recorded as more than 60 bur₃. Compare with MCS 6, 83, BM 105334.

418. See MVN 16, 742. This text is among the documents reviewed by K. Maekawa, ASJ 18 (1996) 129.

419. YBC 3681 (from Š 38), suggests that Nin-melam had access to means of her own, and was able to contribute to the economy. YOS 18, 123 (from AS 9), testifies that she was able to continue these activities even after the dethronement of her husband.

on the basis of AAICAB 1, 1912-1143. For understanding Ur-Lisi's control of Umma agricultural production we rely on MCS 6, 83, BM 105334, mentioned above. The text is a survey of Umma land conducted in AS 2; the colophon reads, "account of the measured field, concerning Ur-Lisi, governor of Umma." It also mentions the prebend field of the governor, which measured 60 bur, an area capable of yielding up to 1,800 gur of barley.⁴²¹ From other documents we know that the prebend field of the governor was made up of smaller lots in many different fields.⁴²²

Ur-Lisi ruled Umma from Šulgi 33 until the death of Amar-Suen sometime during AS 8, in total 23 years. The exact date of Ur-Lisi's fall from power cannot be established, but it seems to coincide with the downfall of Amar-Suen.⁴²³ We have already mentioned the time of the death of Amar-Suen, the evidence of which is closely linked to the political situation in Umma: from the sixth year of Amar-Suen, texts appear that label Ayakala as the governor of Umma, and Ayakala used a seal which mentions Šu-Suen as the king of Ur in a

420. See, for example, NATN 530 (from AS 9 x 17), with the seal $nin-me-lam_2 / g_eme_2^d nin-e_2-gal$. It is, of course, intriguing to see the texts as evidence that Nin-melam, the widow of Ur-Lisi, went to Nippur shortly after the death of her husband. This cannot, of course, be confirmed although another governor's wife (Ninheliya) is known to have traveled (see p. 174 below). Six out of the seven Nippur texts mentioning Nin-melam date to between AS 9 vii and xii. Only one text is without year, that text (TMH NF 1-2, 212) is, however, dated to month 11, day 7. All seven texts were concerned with the delivery or receipt of wool and garments, and all transactions included a certain Lugal-magure. The texts are (in chronological order): NATN 542 (from AS 9 vii 7); TMH NF 1-2, 195 (from AS 9 ix); NATN 530 (from AS 9 x 17); TMH NF 1-2, 197 (from AS 9 xi 22); and TMH NF 1-2, 229 (from AS 9 xii 7).

421. See also MVN 16, 934 (from ŠS 3 iii); UTI 3, 1687 (from ŠS 3); and MVN 21, 334 (from ŠS 8), three texts that all record the subsistence (šuku) grain of the governor (see J. Dahl, *AoF* 29 (2002) 337 - 338).

dedicatory inscription.⁴²⁴ Ayakala also has a seal dedicated to Amar-Suen, but he used it only occasionally from AS 8 ix to ŠS 5 vii, that is, after Amar-Suen had already died.⁴²⁵ The seal-inscriptions of Ayakala from these years show no simple development; rather, the inscription freely alternates between mentioning Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen and using the correct spelling a-a-kal-la instead of the reduced form a-kal-la, both presumably nominalized /ayakala/.⁴²⁶

During the six years following Ur-Lisi's fall from power, and possible death, a group of texts were written dealing with his possessions.⁴²⁷ These texts all have the critical subscript

“the covered house of Ur-Lisi, the governor of Umma” (e₂-du₆- la ur-^dli₉-si₄ ensi₂ umma^{ki}-

422. The evidence for Ur-Lisi's prebend fields is fairly limited, whereas there is abundant evidence for the plots making up Ayakala's and Dadaga's allotment. See, for example, BIN 5, 276 (from ŠS 9):

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. 1(bur ₃) 1(eše ₃) 2(iku) 1/2(iku) GAN ₂ 1 bur, 1 eše, and 2 1/2 iku of field, | |
| 1(u) la ₂ 1/2(diš)-ta | with 9 1/2 furrows per ninda. |
| 2. še-bi 3(u) 1(aš) gur | its barley is 31 gur |
| | (equal to a yield ratio of ca. 21 gur per bur) |
| 3. šuku ensi ₂ | (is the) subsistence of the governor, |
| 4. a-ša ₃ igi e ₂ -maḥ-še ₃ | (in the) field “in-front-of-the-Emaḥ,” |
| 5. ʾ a-ša ₃ ʾ gid ₂ -da buru ₁₄ | measured field, to be harvested. |
| 6. mu e ₂ ^d šara ₂ ba-du ₃ | Year: “the house of Šara was built”. |

423. The seal of Ur-Lisi dedicated to Amar-Suen was used until the 10th month of AS 8 (MVN 4, 74). See also K. Maekawa, ASJ 18 (1996) 126ff.

424. A survey of the seal-impressions of Ayakala during the final years of Amar-Suen's reign suggest that Ayakala used two seals during this period both dedicated to Šu-Suen, but with a different writing of his own name (either /a/ or /a-a/). Note also Hirose 365 (from AS 7), with a possible attestation of a seal of Ur-Lisi dedicated to Šu-Suen.

425. A survey of the seal-impressions of Ayakala's seal dedicated to Amar-Suen shows that these date between AS 8 month 9 and ŠS 5 month 7, and the Ayakala, almost without exception is written a-a-kal-la.

426. K. Maekawa, ASJ 18 (1996) 128.

ka).⁴²⁸ Several texts from AS 9 suggest, together with the document AAS 81, an account concerning the confiscated properties following Ur-Lisi's fall from power, running several years from the 12th month of AS 8 to the second year of Šu-Suen's reign, that Ur-Lisi had died some time during Amar-Suen 8. Based on MVN 16, 627 (see below), we may suggest that Ur-Lisi's tenure ended in AS 8 month 10 or 11.

427. The sequence of e₂-du₆-la texts concerning Ur-Lisi runs from AS 8 (AAS 81 is an account of the e₂-du₆-la of Ur-Lisi the governor from the 12th month of Amar-Suen 8 till Šu-Suen 2) to ŠS 5 (MCS 6, 10, BM 106041, and MCAS 1, 54, BM 106045), and perhaps even until ŠS 7 (YOS 4, 237). See pp. 207 - 209 + fn. 511 below.

428. See K. Maekawa, ASJ 18 (1996) 103-168. According to Maekawa the e₂-du₆-la was the formerly private property of an official later confiscated due to political misunderstandings. Whereas I agree that the e₂-du₆-la was indeed confiscated property, I disagree on the nature of this property which I see as an allotment to an office rather than the private possessions of the officeholder.

Chapter 5: Section 5: Ayakala

Ayakala followed his brother as governor of Umma late in the year AS 8. He ruled until ŠS 7 ii. The earliest credible mention of Ayakala as acting governor of Umma is from the 11th month of AS 8. The first certain attestation of the transfer of the office of governor from Ur-Lisi to Ayakala is MVN 16, 627.

MVN 16, 627 (from AS 8 xi):⁴²⁹

Obverse.

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------|
| 1. 5(geš ₂) 3(barig) še gur | 300 gur 3 barig of barley, |
| 2. 2(u) 7(aš) 4(barig) ziz ₂ gur | 27 gur 4 barig of emmer, |
| 3. še geš e ₃ -a | levied(?) barley, |
| 4. e ₂ šu sum-ma | of the remainder ⁴³⁰ |
| 5. ša ₃ e ₂ -gal gu ₂ -eden-na | in the palace of Gu'dena |

Reverse.

- | | |
|---|-------------------|
| 1. a-a-kal-la | Ayakala, |
| 2. ensi ₂ umma ^{ki} | governor of Umma. |
| (blank line) | |
| 3. iti pa ₄ -u ₂ -e | Month Pau'e. |

429. See also the parallel text MVN 16, 621 (from AS 8 xi).

430. The use of the technical term e₂ šu sum-ma is in Umma sources restricted to three chronological periods, early, middle and late. The majority of the texts from the middle group are from AS 8, some running from AS 8 to ŠS 2, most texts from AS 8 are dated to month 11. The texts from the early period form no coherent block, the late texts seem to concentrate around ŠS 7 month 2. Since the texts mentioning an e₂ šu sum-ma, with few exceptions, were restricted to these times of leadership change, I find it likely that the term referred exclusively to property transferred from one person to another.

4. mu en eridu^{ki} ba-hun

Year: “the En-priest of Eridu was installed”.

Ayakala’s career prior to his tenure as governor is well known.⁴³¹ Although Ayakala is only attested with the titles scribe (dub-sar), captain (nu-banda₃), and finally governor (ensi₂), there is evidence to suggest that Ayakala held the office of chief household administrator of the governor (šabra e₂) during some part of the tenure of his brother, Ur-Lisi.

The personal name Ayakala is rather frequently attested in the Umma records; Ayakala, the chief of the leather workers was, apart from Ayakala, the son of Ur-Nigar, the best known Ayakala in Umma. Since the chief of the leather workers and the son of Ur-Nigar operated on entirely different levels of the economy, the two are rather easily distinguished.

Ayakala, the son of Ur-Nigar, is attested from Š 33⁴³² until ŠS 7—in total 32 years. Texts from Š 33 suggest that Ayakala may already have been the chief household administrator from the year his brother, Ur-Lisi, took office as governor. Several texts testify to the fact that Ayakala received the “field interest” from agricultural administrators as early as Š 33.⁴³³ This function is understood as an important part of the office of the chief household administrator.⁴³⁴ It was only after Š 36 month 10, however, that Ayakala came to seal multiple tablets, each recording the delivery of a few dead sheep and goats, texts that has been used in this study to build the sequence of holders of the office of chief household administrator of the governor. Ayakala held that office until Š 39 month 2, when he was

431. See also W. Yuhong, JAC 10 (1995) 130 - 134.

432. See for example MVN 14, 34 (from Š 33 viii); and MVN 14, 100 (from Š 33 viii).

succeeded by his brother Dadaga. The sequence of people holding the title chief administrator of the governor's household will be described below (pp. 226 - 229 + figure 9). Ayakala used the title "captain" (Sumerian *nu-banda₃*) from Š 40⁴³⁵ until AS 8, when he became governor of Umma. He used that title primarily in documents concerning work⁴³⁶ and the administration of fields.⁴³⁷ While operating as chief household administrator of the governor, Ayakala used the title captain only once.⁴³⁸ I suggest, therefore, that while holding the title captain, Ayakala effectively held the position as a provincial administrator.⁴³⁹

433. MVN 14, 188 (from Š 33 xi), obv. 2-4: *maš a-ša₃-ga / a-ša₃ ka-ma-ri₂ / giri₃ ur-^dnin-su*; MVN 14, 190 (from Š 33), obv. 2-4: *maš a-ša₃-ga / ki lugal-e₂-maḥ-e šeš a-ab-ba-ta*; OrSP 47-49, 163 (from Š 33), obv. 2-3: *maš a-ša₃-ga a-ša₃ ^dšara₂ / ki lugal-e₂-maḥ-e-ta*; SAKF 58 (from Š 33 v), obv. 2-3: *maš a-ša₃ lugal-ka / ki ur-^dnin-su-ta*; BM 108004 (from Š 33), obv. 2-3: *maš a-ša₃-ga a-pi₄-sal₄^{ki} / ki Ur-e11-e-ta*; and Aleppo 448 (from Š 33), obv. 2-3: *ku₃ maš <a-ša₃>-ga a-ša₃ muš-bi-an-na / ki lugal-geš^{ki}kiri₆-ta*.

434. Compare with P. Steinkeller, "The Renting of Fields in Early Mesopotamia and the development of the concept of "Interest" in Sumerian," JESHO 24 (1981) 113-145, in particular 116 - 119.

435. Two texts date to Š 34 (MVN 18, 395 [from Š 34 x]; and Syracuse 17 [from Š 34 v]), and one text dates to Š 38 (JCS 40, 112 3 [from Š 38 vii]).

436. See, for example, Aleppo 187 (from Š 48 v); MVN 4, 11 (from AS 5); and MVN 16, 818 (from AS 8 iii).

437. See, for example, OrSP 47-49, 467 (from AS 1 i to ii); TCS 333 (from AS 5 v); and Syracuse 384 (from AS 7 iii).

438. JCS 40, 112 3 (from Š 38 vii).

One of the main theses of this study is that members of the ruling family and other high-ranking administrators in Umma acted as supervisors of larger units of agricultural lands; that is units larger than those administrated by either the captain of (plow-)oxen or the scribe of ten oxen. That office is tentatively here referred to as the office of a provincial administrator, since all of the people postulated to have held this office occasionally were said to seal transactions relating to the agricultural administration with a particular seal of šatamship, a nam-šatam seal (kišib nam-ša₃-tam).⁴⁴⁰

As governor Ayakala sealed transactions regarding the Umma bala contribution,⁴⁴¹ including Umma contributions to the feasts and festivals of the empire, in both the Umma province and abroad.⁴⁴² As a natural consequence, the governor would appear in numerous records receiving goods, and contributing to the exchange and the production of the province. There is also evidence to suggest that the governor was the official responsible for the major temples of the Umma province,⁴⁴³ and less evidence in support of a vivid temple-

439. This is in part supported by the unpublished document Princeton 2, 497 (from Š 47). Ayakala is attested frequently as the supervisor of agricultural lands. In BIN 5, 117 (from Š 48), Ayakala gave the order (inim a-kal-la nu-banda₃-ta) that Lugina should seal a document regarding field-work as a provincial administrator. Lugina was member of the family of Dada discussed below, suggesting that Ayakala was directly involved in the administration of a specific area of the agriculture. Ayakala was the conveyer of the produce of a number of different tracts of land (CHEU 10 [from AS 1 xii]; OrSP 47-49, 467 [from AS 1 i to ii]; and BRM 3, 80 [from AS 7 x]), and he interacted with the chief household administrator (first Dadaga, then Lukala) as the administrator of one or more large agricultural units (BIN 5, 146 [from Š 44]; and TCS 333 [from AS 5 v]).

household economy as seems to have been the case in Ur III Girsu.⁴⁴⁴ In a great number of texts recording deliveries from the governor's household to members of the imperial court or to deities, a certain Ur-Šulpa'e was involved.⁴⁴⁵ These documents were often sealed by the

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440. Based on an analysis of the documents sealed with a *nam-šatam* seal, it is my belief that that term referred to the seal rolled on documents relating to a larger agricultural unit. Groups of 5 - 10 agricultural foremen, variably called *nu-banda₃ gu₄* or *ugula*, often worked closely together. See, for example the texts: UTI 4, 2399 (from ŠS 2), a record of work-days weeding plots in Gu'dena and Mušbiana; MVN 11, 164 (from ŠS 4), a record of levied? barley from Gu'dena; AnOr 7, 313 (no date), an account of total output of grain from Gudena and Mušbiana; UTI 4, 2864 (from ŠS 2), a record of disbursements of wool and hides for the cultivators of Gudena and Mušbiana; UTI 3, 2126 (from ŠS 4 v), a record of fallen oxen and their fodder. All these texts mention some (or all) of the members of the following group of agricultural foremen: Ur-Abzu, Ur-Enun(a), Lu-dingira, GuTAR, Ur-Ninsu, Dada, Ur-Enlila, Ipa'e. These foremen are all attested with the titles foreman (*ugula*) (in relation to the cultivators under their command), captain of (plow-)oxen (*nu-banda₃ gu₄*) (when relating to the plow-oxen), and administrator (of domain units) (*šabra(gu₄)*) (when relating to the yield). Often the same person from within the group, or a member of the ruling family sealed the transactions with his *nam-šatam* seal, forming the basis of my suggestion. Certain texts clearly relate the ruling family to these groups (for instance MVN 16, 751 (no date), treated below), others only suggest such a relationship. In the following, the title provincial administrator is used to describe the title of an administrator of a larger unit of land covering 25 - 50 domain units. There is no consensus as to a translation of the term *šatam* (or *kišib nam-šatam*), but it may relate to the physical seal or the act of using another person's seal.
441. See for example BIN 5, 82 (from ŠS 2), recording deliveries of butter-oil (*i₃ nun*) and "gazi-cheese" (*ga gazi*) from the chief cattle administrator, Atu, destined for the palace, as part of the *bala*, sealed by Ayakala, the governor. See also, for example , Aleppo 421 (from ŠS 2); AnOr 1, 199 (from ŠS 4 vi); and Babyl. 8 Pupil 13 (from ŠS 5).
442. See, for example, BM 105508 (unpubl.) (from ŠS 2 iii), recording provisions for the *sukkalmah*, and JCS 40, 113 5 (from ŠS 4), recording deliveries for Babati. See also, for example, AnOr 7, 221 (from ŠS 1); BRM 3, 44 (from AS 8 iv).
443. See for example BIN 5, 2 (from ŠS 4 iv).

governor.⁴⁴⁶ The governor seems to have sealed tablets relating to both the management of the empire as well as the cult, and the Umma contributions to both, whereas the chief household administrator of the governor sealed documents relating to the daily business of the province.

Ayakala's wife was named Ninḥeliya.⁴⁴⁷ It is likely that Ninḥeliya headed her own office, just as Nin-melam, her predecessor as primary consort of the governor had done. Ninḥeliya is never attested before her husband became governor, and when she is mentioned in the official records it is often together with him.⁴⁴⁸

444. As noted elsewhere in this study, the archives of the central administration of Umma seem to suggest that the major temple-households of Umma were all run from the household of the governor. For example, the flocks of the temple-households were all managed by a restricted number of chief cattle administrators directly subordinate to the governor, and not to the chief administrators of any of the temple households to which these flocks presumably belonged.

445. In transactions involving food-stuffs, the cup-bearer Ninmarka is often mentioned (CST 784 [from ŠS 3]). Ur-Šulpa'e was active prior to Ayakala's tenure (DC 257 [from AS 6 i]).

446. See, for example, CST 715 (from ŠS 2 vii).

447. According to P. A. Parr, "Ninḥilia: Wife of Ayakala, Governor of Umma," JCS 26 (1974) 90, Ninḥeliya used two different seals with two different othographies. The first (used on the majority of the tablets) reads: nin₉-ḥi-li₂-a / dam a-a-kal-la / ensi₂ umma^{ki}-ka, the second (according to P. A. Parr rolled only on JCS 26, 99 1 [from ŠS 1 viii]). See now also MVN 18, 467 [from ŠS 1 viii]) reads: nin₉-ḥi-li₂-a / dam a-a-kal-la / dumu ur^d-da-mu. The line layout of this seal does not, however, conform with what we would expect, and it may refer to the wife of a person other than the governor named Ayakala (see also R. Mayr, *The Seal Impressions of Ur III Umma* (unpublished dissertation: Leiden 1997) 106 + fn. 446).

One text suggests that Ninḥeliya went to Nippur, and since we have witnessed the “queen-dowager” making multiple cultic voyages, it is equally possible that the wife of the governor traveled to Nippur for a similar purpose.

AnOr 1, 304 (from ŠS 4(?) ix):

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. [...] ᵏ x ᵏ | x |
| 2. ša-ad-da | Šadda. |
| 3. 5(diš) gin ₂ gur ₄ -za-an muḥaldim | 5 shekels x , Gurzan, the cook, |
| 4. zi-ga nin ₉ -ḥi-li ₂ -a nibru ^{ki} -še ₃ gen-na | booked out for Ninḥeliya,
having gone to Nippur |

Reverse.

(blank space)

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------------|
| 1. iti ᵏli ₉ -si ₄ | Month “Lisi”. |
| 2. [mu bad ₃ mar]-tu [ba-du ₃] | Year: “the Amurite wall was built”. |

448. Ninḥeliya received wool from Ur-Dumuzida (JCS 26, 99 1 [from ŠS 1 viii]; and JCS 26, 101 3 [from ŠS 2 viii]), as well as raisins and spices from Ur-Dumuzida (JCS 26, 102 4 [from ŠS 2]; and JCS 26, 106 8 [from ŠS 4]). She received leather products from Ayakala, the chief of the leather workers (ašgab gal) (JCS 26, 103 5 [from ŠS 3 iv]; JCS 26, 104 6 [from ŠS 3]; JCS 26, 105 7 [from ŠS 4 xi]; JCS 26, 107 9 [from ŠS 4]; and JCS 26, 110 12 [from ŠS 5]). She received livestock for the cult from Alulu, the fattener (JCS 26, 108 10 [from ŠS 5 xii]; and JCS 26, 109 11 [from ŠS 5 xii]).

Chapter 5: Section 6: Dadaga

The next governor of Umma was also a brother of Ur-Lisi named Dadaga. Dadaga ruled Umma from ŠS 7, month 2, to at least IS 3, when sources become so scarce that is uncertain who was governor.

The end of Ayakala's tenure as governor of Umma in ŠS 7 seems not to have been related to any dramatic events outside of Umma, and it is therefore likely that Ayakala died of old age, judging also from his long career in public service. Accepting that the e₂-du₆-la of Ur-Lisi was related to his misfortunate fall from power it is likely that exactly the fact that Ayakala's end was not related to any crisis explains why no e₂-du₆-la concerning him was recorded.

Among the documents registering the transfer of office between Ayakala and Dadaga we find one that records the transfer of household objects from the former governor to the new.

Nik 2, 528 (from ŠS 7 ii):

Obverse.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------------|
| 1. 3(diš) gal zabar | 3 large bronze(-something?) |
| 2. 3(diš) za-ḫum zabar | 3 zaḫum of bronze |
| 3. 1(diš) šen a ₂ -la ₂ zabar | 1 bronze ala drum |
| 4. 1(diš) gi-gid ₂ zabar | 1 bronze measure stick |
| 5. ki-la ₂ -bi 5(diš) ma-na | its (combined) weight: 5 mana |

Reverse.

1. 1(diš) urudu šen	1 copper drum
2. ki-la ₂ -bi 2(u) ma-na	its weight: 20 mana.
3. 1(diš) urudu šen-šu ₂	1 šu-drum of copper,
4. ki-la ₂ -bi 5(diš) 2/3(diš)	its weight: 5 2/3
5. e ₂ 𒀭 šu!(KI) 𒀭 sum-ma	Of the e ₂ -šu-suma
6. ki a-a-kal-la ensi ₂ -ta	From Ayakala, the governor,
7. da-da-ga ensi ₂	Dadaga, the governor,
8. šu ba-ti	received.
9. iti maš-da ₃ gu ₇	Month “Eating the gazelle”.
10. mu ma-da za-ab-ša-li ba-ḫul	Year: “the district of Zabšali was destroyed”.

Another set of records related to the transfer of office from Ayakala to his brother Dadaga were subscribed as /sila/. These /sila/-texts were exclusively concerned with livestock and its products, but they were written at all times and not only coinciding with rulership changes, although they could be part thereof.⁴⁴⁹

One of these texts concerned the transfer of livestock from the old governor, Ayakala, to the new governor, Dadaga.

YOS 4, 237 (from ŠS 7 ii):

Reverse, column 8.

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1. ŠU+NIGIN 1(šar ₂) 1(geš'u)	Grand total: 4,378 assorted sheep,
2(geš ₂) 5(u) 8(diš) udu ḫi-a	
2. ŠU+NIGIN 2(geš'u) 4(geš ₂)	Grand total: 1,488 assorted goats,

449. /sila/ (mostly written si-ilg-la) is perhaps related to sila.a = on the road. See R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 41 + fn. 142 quoting K. Butz. The Umma texts mentioning the term /sila/ are few and do not form any meaningful sequence.

4(u) 8(diš) ud ₅ maš ₂ ħi-a	
3. 1(šar ₂) 3(geš'u) 7(geš ₂) 4(u)	5,866 assorted sheep and goats.
6(diš) udu maš ₂ ħi-a	
(blank line)	
4. udu si-il ₈ (ILxKAR ₂)-la	“sila” sheep,
5. ki a-a-kal-la ensi ₂ -ta	From Ayakala the governor,
6. da-da-ga ensi ₂ -ke ₄ i ₃ -dab ₅	Dadaga the governor seized.
7. ša ₃ ʾumma ʾ [ki ...]- ^d ba-ba ₆ u ₃ šu-ur ₂ -zi	In Umma x-Baba and Šurzi
8. iti maš-da ₃ gu ₇	Month “Eating the gazelle”.
9. mu ^d šu- ^d suen lugal uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma-ke ₄	Year: “Šu-Suen, the king of Ur
ma-da za-ab-ša-li ^{ki} mu-ħul	destroyed the district of Zabšali”.

When a new governor took office, perhaps in the middle of a year, it is likely that the entire “estate” of the governor was inventoried. At the time of a peaceful change of office, it is likely that the estate was simply transferred to the debits of the new governor. At the time of a hostile takeover, when the old governor was ousted it is possible that the estate was taken apart and the “operating balance” of the province settled, through the administrative means of an e₂-du₆-la, the confiscated property of the old governor.

The two documents quoted above help us to establish the time of the transfer of governorship from Ayakala to Dadaga at around the first or the second month of ŠS 7.

Dadaga’s career mirrored that of his brothers, he too held the office of chief household administrator. And although he is only attested once with the title captain, it is still likely that he too acted as a provincial administrator.⁴⁵⁰ Since Dadaga was the only high-

ranking person in the Umma province with that name, it is unlikely that we will ever find any substantial documentation of Dadaga using any title other than scribe, and eventually governor, after ŠS 7.

Dadaga is attested often from Š 30 until Š 39, month 9,⁴⁵¹ when he became chief household administrator of the governor, following Ayakala; however, no seal-inscription mentioning Dadaga is known prior to AS 9 (perhaps AS 8)⁴⁵² All of the texts said to be sealed by Dadaga prior to Š 43 were sealed with the seal of Luduga, the son of Nigar-kidu.⁴⁵³ Texts said to be sealed by Dadaga between Š 43 and AS 9 were all sealed with the seal of Luduga, the son of Ur-Nigar.⁴⁵⁴ Although it may seem likely that the two people called Luduga were identical, it still remain pure speculation.⁴⁵⁵

Dadaga sealed documents relating to the agricultural administration prior to becoming chief household administrator, and we should probably include him among the

450. RA 10, 210, BM 103413 (from AS 4 i to xii).

451. See MVN 14, 66 (from Š 39 ix).

452. Dadaga's simple patronymic seal reads da-da-ga / dub-sar / dumu ur-nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar} šuš₃. See for example UTI 4, 2424 (from AS 9); OrSP 47-49, 395 (from ŠS 1); and UTI 4, 2909 (AS 8).

453. For the seal of Luduga, the son of Nigar-kidu, see, for example, MVN 14, 10 (from Š 42 i): ur-^dli₉-si₄ / ensi₂ / umma^{ki} / lu₂-du₁₀-ga // dub-sar / dumu nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar}-^r ki ^l[du₁₀] / gal₅-la₂-gal / ir₁₁-zu.

454. For the seal of Luduga, the son of Ur-Nigar, see, for example, MVN 10, 201 (from Š 48 vii): lu₂-du₁₀-ga / dub-sar / dumu ur-nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar}

455. Note in this regard that the seal of Luduga, the son of Nigar-kidu was dedicated to Ur-Lisi, and that it seems to have been rolled for the last time in Š 42 month 1 (see MVN 14, 10), corresponding well with the change in seal-inscriptions noted above.

members of the ruling family holding office as a provincial administrator. It is possible that Dadaga became provincial administrator once again after leaving office as chief household administrator of the governor at the end of the reign of Šulgi.⁴⁵⁶

The wife of Dadaga, Nin-gizkimzi, is attested in very few texts, and never prior to her marriage to Dadaga. Nin-gizkimzi was a common Umma female name; two concubines of Šara were also named Nin-gizkimzi.⁴⁵⁷

The seal of Nin-gizkimzi is preserved on only one tablet, UTI 4, 2898 (from ŠS 7 to 8), a receipt of a number of containers (^{gi}pisan) received from Zugali, and entered into the house of the governor.⁴⁵⁸ The seal reads:⁴⁵⁹

Seal.

- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| 1. nin-gizkim-zi | Nin-gizkimzi, |
| 2. dumu ur-gi ₆ -par ₄ | child of Ur-Gipar, |
| 3. dam da-da-ga | wife of Dadaga. |

The last two texts that mention Dadaga as governor were both from IS 3. One, AUCT 1, 304 (from IS 3), is a text dealing with large amounts of barley, presumably the

456. Last text concerning the delivery of dead animals said to be sealed by Dadaga is Aleppo 395 (from Š 48 xii).

457. AAICAB 1, 1924-668 (from ŠS 2): obv. i 12 and 24; and AnOr 7, 296 (no date): obv.i 15' and rev.iii 1. Since we do not know anything about the social status of either the “concubines of Šara”, or the wives of the governors prior to the tenure of these men, it is improper to exclude the possibility that Nin-gizkimzi, the “concubine of Šara”, was identical with the wife of Dadaga.

458. Rev. 4: e₂ ʾ ensi₂ ʾ ku₄(KWU 636)-ra.

459. Since it is not likely that Ur-Gipar (a man) was the wife of Dadaga (another man), we need to reconsider our rigid interpretation of the structure of the seal-inscriptions and also reconsider our rejection of the seal of Ninḫeliya (cited above), dismissed by R. Mayr, as the seal of the wife of Ayakala the governor.

produce of some or all of the prebend fields of the governor. An other, NABU 1996, 131 (from IS 3 ii 27), is a record of the bala of Dadaga, the governor of Umma, consisting mainly of livestock. During that same year Dadaga was still identified as governor of Umma in the seal-inscription of his son Gududu.⁴⁶⁰ The final reference to the governor of Umma, MVN 16, 792 (from IS 3 v), does not give his name.⁴⁶¹

Ibbi-Suen's third year is the last year with substantial numbers of Umma texts. None of the 20 published Umma texts dating to IS 4 mention the governor. His son, Gududu, is mentioned in a few of these texts, but never with his seal or other form of identification.⁴⁶²

460. Seal of Gududu; see, for example, MVN 16, 855 (from IS 3); and MVN 16, 1043 (from IS 3).

461. It is a receipt of wood from the governor of Umma received by Ur-Enlila, the general. The text is sealed with the seal of Ur-Emah, the son of Lugal-kugani.

462. UCP 9-2-1, 43 (from IS 4 i), obv. 4: ki gu-du-du-ta; SAT 3, 2006 (from IS 4), obv. 5: ki gu-du-du-ta; CST 677 (from IS 4 i), obv. 4: ki gu-du-du-ta; and MVN 13, 883 (from IS 4 xii), obv. 2: ki gu-du-du-ta).

Chapter 5: Section 7: The children of the governors: Lu-Emah, Ikala, Nin-Ekuta, Namzitara, Gududu, and Lu-Šulgi(ra)

The persons discussed in this section are of great importance for understanding neo-Sumerian rules of succession. Having reviewed the succession of the office of the governor of Umma we may ask, “why did the brother of the governor, and not his own son succeed him?” To answer this question it seems reasonable first to limit our question to, in particular, the cases where the governor had not yielded to political misunderstandings, i.e., supposedly the cases of Ur-Lamma in Girsu and Ur-Lisi in Umma. In other words, taking into consideration Maekawa’s interpretation that the fall of Ur-Lamma, governor of Girsu, affected the social standing of his entire family,⁴⁶³ it makes sense to suggest that the office of the dismissed governor, would not be handed on to his sons, but rather passed on to his brother or even out of the hands of the ruling family of that city altogether. In Nippur, it seems that the ruling family lost its influence early in the reign of Amar-Suen and regained its former positions only with the accession of Šu-Suen. The majority of successions to high-office in Nippur happened not at the times of leadership changes in Ur. In Umma, as we have seen, the office of the governor remained at all times within one family. Succession passed from brother to brother regardless of whether each individual case can be viewed as independent or in relation to succession conflicts at the royal court. The question posed in

463. K. Maekawa, ASJ 18 (1996) 121 - 122.

the beginning of this section is therefore justified by the conditions. To answer that question we will now describe the careers of the sons of the governors of Umma.

It is the thesis of this study that the sons of the governor faced two challenges, first of all, that the system of succession during the neo-Sumerian period did not, in particular, favor primogeniture, and secondly, that the private sphere of the economy as well as the state administration could offer valuable opportunities for a high-ranking member of society. Should the prospective heir decide to withdraw from the line of succession, he might also very well have disappeared from the official records of the state. It is equally likely that each member of the ruling family (and other privileged families), even after venturing into the private sphere of the economy, could (or were obliged to) re-surface in the state administration on special occasions to partake in official transactions for whatever purpose.

The extant documents have only revealed the names of three of Ur-Lisi's children—whether he had more remains speculation. He fathered these three children with two women. His wife Nin-melam was the mother of Lu-Emah, his concubine was the mother of Ikala and Nin-Ekuta.

Lu-Emah, the son of Ur-Lisi and Nin-melam, had his own seal with an inscription calling him the son of Ur-Lisi, governor of Umma. The seal lacks a dedication.⁴⁶⁴ This seal

464. See for example, AAICAB 1, 1911-190 (from ŠS 1 vi), or MVN 4, 92 (from AS 7 vii). In this seal-inscription, Ur-Lisi is sometimes spelled ur-^dli₉-si₄-na and sometimes only ur-^dli₉-si₄. Likewise Lu-Emah is sometimes spelled Lu-Emah-e. It is impossible to say whether he had more seals, if the inscription had been recarved, or whether this is the result of inaccurate transliteration until adequate photo documentation of Ur-III texts is available.

was, however, never used in any transactions where Lu-Emah_h was mentioned as the sealing party in the texts; in fact, Lu-Emah_h is never attested in any text outside of his seal-inscription. Lu-Emah_h's seal was used exclusively on tablets said to be sealed by Lu-Šulgi(ra) or Luduga. The majority of these seal-impressions are found on tablets mentioning Lu-Šulgi(ra); only three texts from the 8th month of AS 7 were said to be sealed by Luduga, but rolled with the seal of Lu-Emah_h.⁴⁶⁵ Texts sealed with Lu-Emah_h's seal were dated to the years AS 7, AS 8 and ŠS 1. No texts from AS 9 have been recovered. All these documents recorded minor transactions.⁴⁶⁶

Both Luduga and Lu-Šulgi(ra) can be identified as members of the ruling family of Umma. Both were probably Lu-Emah_h's uncles, although Lu-Šulgi(ra) might have been his cousin (for a discussion of Luduga and Lu-Šulgi see below).⁴⁶⁷ Lu-Emah_h is nowhere attested outside of his seal-inscription, and he remains a difficult character to understand.

465. MVN 1, 128; NYPL 301; and SACT 2, 229.

466. For example, the delivery of one ewe with fleece (1(diš) u₈ bar gal₂), and one male sheep with fleece (1(diš) udu nita bar gal₂ from Urru) (see SACT 2, 229 [from AS 7 viii]); or ten work-days (1(u) guruš u₄ 1(diš)-še₃) to punt a boat (that is, pushing the boat up-stream with a punting-pole, Sumerian; ma₂ gid₂-da) from ka-i₇-da (literally “the mouth of the river”) to Umma, and to unload the barley (še ba-al-la, literary “excavate the barley”), credited to the overseer Nigdupa'e (see MVN 16, 1526 [from AS 7]).

467. The seal on AAI CAB 1, 1924-698, a document certainly dated to AS 8 viii (and not Š 28 as suggested by J.-P. Grégoire in his notes to the text), has the sole attestation of a seal of Lu-Šulgi(ra), son of Ur-Lisi, the governor of Umma. This reference is excluded from this investigation since the reading of the seal inscription is doubtful. A person named Lu-Šulgi(ra) is attested as son of both Dadaga and Ur-Nigar.

The whereabouts of Ikala,⁴⁶⁸ Ur-Lisi's son by a concubine, is even more obscure. Ikala the foreman of the Umma textile factory was the highest ranking person by that name in Umma.⁴⁶⁹ His familial relations are not well understood. This Ikala should not be confused with the agricultural administrator by the same name. Ikala, the chief of the weaving-mill, seems to have been a high-ranking member of society, fulfilling some of the duties also carried out by other members of the ruling family such as weighing out wool and garments (PN in-la₂),⁴⁷⁰ but the sources are silent about his familial relations.

It remains speculation at this point to assert whether Ikala, the son of Ur-Lisi and a concubine, is identical to Ikala the high ranking Umma textile official, or whether he remained entirely outside the sphere of the state administration.

468. In both UTI 3, 2139 (no date), and SANTAG 6, 192 (from AS 8 vii), we read: i₃-kal-la dumu lukur ensi₂. Note SAT 3, 1765 (from ŠS 6), obv. 3: i₃-kal-la <dumu> lukur!

469. According to H. Waetzoldt, UNT (1972) 101, Ikala held the title dub-sar tug₂ gada, a title translated by Waetzoldt as "Schreiber für Stoffe und Leinen."

470. The term PN in-la₂ was used exclusively about garments and metal-wares. It is likely that the official who weighed these objects was responsible for the accuracy of the weights. A limited number of administrators weighed garments and metals, for garments these were: the governor (14 texts from Š 46 iii to AS 9 vi); Dadaga (2 texts from Š 47 x to Š 48 vi) (both texts together with Ikala); Ikala (8 texts from Š 47 x to ŠS 2 iii); Ur-E'e from (15 texts from AS 2 viii to ŠS 5 iv); Lukala (7 texts from AS 7 vi to ŠS 3 vi); Dingira (one text in AS 7viii); Gududu (2 texts from ŠS 9 to IS 1 i). For metal wares these were: Ur-Šara (72 texts from Š 36 ix to AS 7 vii); the governor (10 texts from Š 45 xii to AS 1 v); Ir(mu) (3 texts from Š 46 vi to AS 1 vii); Lukala (with Ur-Šara) (2 texts from AS 4 xii to AS 5 i); Lukala (alone) (9 texts from AS 7 xii to ŠS 7 i); Ur-Nungal (the son of Ur-Šara) (3 texts from AS 5 vi to IS 2 vi); Dingira (2 texts from AS 7 v to ŠS 1 vii); and Ea-šār (1 text in ŠS 7 viii). The ruling family of Umma did not entirely control weights and measures in Umma; rather, members of the archivist family of Ur-Šara partook in this important administrative activity.

Nin-Ekuta, the daughter of Ur-Lisi by a concubine, is known only from the text quoted above and remains otherwise completely unknown.

The extant documents from Umma mention no important children of Ayakala, the following governor of Umma.⁴⁷¹ Three people in Umma had seals claiming to be sons of Ayakala, but these three can be neither excluded, nor can it be positively asserted that they were the sons of the governor Ayakala.⁴⁷²

The last governor of Umma, Dadaga, had one son who is particularly well known. This son, named Gududu, figures among the most active Umma administrators at any time. He held an important office in the administration of Umma, an office also held by his father, Dadaga, his uncle Ayakala, as well as by his cousin, Lukala. It is possible that he was designated as his father's successor to the governorship of Umma. Gududu will be discussed at the end of this section.

Another son of Dadaga, Namzitarā—known only from two fragmentary seal impressions naming Dadaga, the governor of Umma, as his father⁴⁷³—is scarcely present in the administrative records. Among the other sons of Dadaga, we find Lu-Šulgi(ra), who like

471. Lu-dingira mentioned by W. Yuhong, *JAC* 10 (1995) 134, cannot, for certain be included as a son of Ayakala.

472. Ur-Gipar (see, for example, *MVN* 1, 85 [from Š 48]; and *MVN* 9, 202 [from ŠS 4 i]). Lu-sa'izu (see, for example, *BIN* 5, 138 [from ŠS 1]; and *MVN* 16, 1287 [from ŠS 3]). Abba (see, for example, *MVN* 21, 158 [from Š 47 vi]). Abba is only attested in 5 texts from Š 46 and Š 47.

473. See *SACT* 1, 122 (from ŠS 8 x), and *SACT* 1, 124 (from ŠS 9 i). Another similar seal inscription which does not include Dadaga's title is known from *SACT* 2, 241 (from ŠS 9 iv), a text dealing with the same commodities as the two previous ones: sheep hides as regular offerings for Šara of Apisal.

Gududu had a seal dedicated to the king. Since the inscription of Lu-Šulgi(ra) is from the time before Dadaga became governor, calling Dadaga scribe, it lacks the second piece of evidence necessary to rule out entirely any confusion regarding the identity of the seal-holder.

In this study we have already encountered a person called Lu-Šulgi(ra) more than once, and we can now distinguish three different persons with that name: a son of Dadaga was called Lu-Šulgi(ra), someone who used the seal of Lu-Emah, the son of Ur-Lisi, was named Lu-Šulgi(ra), and finally Ur-Nigar the chief cattle administrator had a son called Lu-Šulgi(ra). Therefore, Lu-Šulgi(ra) might hold the key to understanding the practice—well-known from Ur III sources, and a continuous source of confusion—of people supposedly altering their lineage/parentage.

All the texts in which Lu-Šulgi(ra) sealed with his own seal or used the seal of Lu-Emah, produce, when arranged according to date, a very intriguing sequence. Namely, Lu-Šulgi(ra) is shown to have used the seal of Lu-Emah, his cousin, from AS 7 to ŠS 1. In the following two years, ŠS 2 and ŠS 3, he used a seal in which Ur-Nigar is named as his father, and finally from ŠS 5 to ŠS 8 Lu-Šulgi(ra) sealed with a simple patronymic seal claiming to be the son of Dadaga. From IS 1 to IS 3 he used a dedicatory seal mentioning the king at Ur, still claiming Dadaga to be his father.

The transactions sealed by Lu-Šulgi(ra) do not form a perfect continuum; for example, it was only when he sealed receipts of dead sheep and goats that he used the seal of Lu-Emah. However, if we compare MVN 16, 1526 (from AS 7), UTI 3, 2217 (from ŠS 3),

and SNAT 522 (from ŠS 8), three primary receipts concerning work, such a continuum may become apparent.

MVN 16, 1526 (from AS 7) ⁴⁷⁴ Obverse.	UTI 3, 2217 (from SS 3 iv) ⁴⁷⁵ Obverse.	SNAT 522 (from ŠS 8) ⁴⁷⁶ Obverse.
1. 1(u) guruš u ₄ 1(diš)-še ₃	1. +3(u) 2(diš) guruš u ₄ [n-še ₃]	1. 3(u) 2(diš) guruš u ₄ 1(diš)-še ₃
2. ka i ₇ -da-ta	2. ki-su ₇ i ₇ lugal ┌ gub ─ [ba]	2. kab ₂ -ku ₅ i ₇ sal ₄ -la ^{ki} -ka gub-ba
3. umma ^{ki} -še ₃		
4. ma ₂ gid ₂ -da		
5. še ba-al-la		
Reverse.		
1. ugula nig ₂ -du ₇ -pa-e ₃	3. ugula lugal-ku ₃ -zu	3. ugula a-gu
2. kišib lu ₂ - ^d šul-gi (seal)	4. kišib lu ₂ - ^d šul-gi-ra Reverse.	4. kišib lu ₂ - ^d šul-gi-ra
	5. iti nesag ₂ (Seal)	Reverse.
3. mu ḥu-ḥu-nu-ri ^[ki] ba-ḥul	6. mu si-ma-num ₂ ^{ki} ba-ḥul	1. mu ^d šu- ^d suen lugal uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma ma ₂ -gur ₈ maḥ

474. Translation: Ten work-days, punting a boat from Ka-id'a to Umma, emptying the barley (from the boat). Foreman: Nigdupa'e. Sealed by Lu-Šulgi(ra). Year: "Ḥuḥnuri was destroyed". Seal: Lu-Emah, scribe, son of Ur-Lisi, governor of Umma.

475. Translation: Thirty-two (+?) work-days(?), spent at the treshing-floor of the "royal-canal." Foreman: Lugal-kuzu. Sealed by Lu-Šulgira. Month "First fruits". Year: "Simanum was destroyed". Seal: Lu-Šulgi, scribe, son of Ur-Nigar, chief cattle administrator.

476. Translation: Thirty-two work-days, spent at the pond of the Salla-canal. Foreman: Agu. Sealed by Lu-Šulgira. Year: "Šu-Suen, the king of Ur, fashioned the lofty barge of Enlil". Seal: Lu-Šulgi(ra?), scribe, son of Dadaga.

		^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂ -ra mu-na-dim ₂
Seal.	Seal.	Seal.
1. lu ₂ -e ₂ -mah	1. lu ₂ - ^d šul-gi	1. lu ₂ - ^d šul-gi-[ra]
2. dub-sar	2. dub-sar	2. dub-sar
3. dumu ur- ^d li ₉ -si ₄	3. dumu	3. dumu [da-da]- ^r ga ^r
4. ensi ₂ umma ^{ki}	ur-nigar _x (NIGIN ₃) ^{gar} šuš ₃	

It is, of course, possible to hypothesize that only one Lu-Šulgi(ra) was behind the four seals, as can be suggested from the three texts just quoted. Indeed, some of the tablets witnessing Lu-Šulgi(ra)'s involvement in the administration of labor do increase in complexity, suggesting the prosperous career of a single person.⁴⁷⁷

A final investigation concerning the identity of Lu-Šulgi(ra) concerns the spelling of his name. Is the spelling of the name Lu-Šulgi(ra)—with or without final -ra—dependent on the person sealing? Is it a result of the language reform which is supposed to have been implemented with the coronation of Šu-Suen, or is it perhaps completely random and an expression of the character of neo-Sumerian archival orthographic practice? It does seem that the spelling with a final -ra is more prevalent in the later texts, when Lu-Šulgi(ra) used a seal naming Dadaga as his father. In the earliest texts, however, as well as in the texts giving the patronym Ur-Nigar, the chief cattle administrator, in the seal-inscriptions, the writings with affixed -ra prevail. This spelling is the most correct, according to our understanding of Sumerian grammar, and conforms with our suggestion that reforms took place around the

477. See, for example, SNAT 516 (from ŠS 7); and BM 105340 (unpubl.) (from IS 1).

coronation of Šu-Suen, which would enforce a more correct orthography, such as “a-a” over “a”, supposedly for /aya/.

The evidence is not conclusive, but does advocate, a more complex scenario than previously considered. It is possible to speculate that Lu-Šulgi(ra), a son of Dadaga, worked with his younger cousin, the son of the governor, and used his seal. When Ur-Lisi lost power, Lu-Šulgi(ra) might have had a seal claiming to be the son of Ur-Nigar, the chief cattle administrator, a seal which would have granted him some immunity and detached him from the fallen governor. After the clarification of succession, he would at last have been able to acknowledge his relations and allegiance to Dadaga, the later governor. But it is equally possible to suggest that two different persons were called Lu-Šulgi(ra): one the son of Ur-Nigar and the other a son of Dadaga.

Lu-Emah’s seal was rolled exclusively on tablets commonly sealed by other members of the ruling family, that is, receipts of a few dead animals—belonging to the same group of texts mentioned before and treated below—or rather simple primary receipts from the administration of the agricultural work.⁴⁷⁸ In sum, it appears that Lu-Emah was obliged to roll his seal on a number of documents, but otherwise did not partake in the affairs of the state-run administration. The reason behind this practice is unknown, but we might propose two solutions. First, that Lu-Emah was a minor whose responsibilities were taken care of by his uncles, and that he died before he came of age and was able to conduct his own affairs, or, secondly, that Lu-Emah was primarily occupied in the private sphere of the economy, but

478. These documents were of the same sort often sealed with a nam-šatam seal.

maintained certain privileges or obligations for which he made available his seal to his uncles. Under either scenario, Lu-Emah had to seal certain administrative activities, mainly the regular receipts of (a few) dead animals from shepherds, and the records of the same type as the documents sealed by the provincial administrator, that is, documents relating to a particular group of agricultural overseers.

R. Mayr has argued for a different solution and has streamlined the genealogies of a number of families by introducing the possibility of the use of pseudonyms in the Ur III onomasticon.⁴⁷⁹ Mayr's prime example was the very large and complex family of agricultural overseers, in this study referred to as the family of Dada. However, the interpretation offered here eliminates the need for streamlining any genealogies. Attention should be paid to the system of familial involvement in the state-economy, and especially the system of apprenticeships amply attested in the administrative sources, and explicitly described in the key text SAT 2, 77 (from Š 33 vi), concerning the family of Dada.⁴⁸⁰ Also, the possibility that people would readily vacate their official positions, letting family members take over their responsibilities, must be further studied in order to understand the complex lineages of neo-Sumerian families.

The most famous, and certainly the most important among all the sons of the three governors of Umma was Gududu, the son of Dadaga. Gududu, who is first attested in AS

479. R. Mayr, *Seal Impressions* (1997) for example pp. 140, 147, 149, and 150 - 152.

5,⁴⁸¹ operated as a high-ranking state administrator until the end of Ur domination over Umma. He is mentioned several times in the last 20 texts of Umma documentation dating to IS 4. In his early years, Gududu used the seal of Inim-Šara, his uncle. Gududu's own seal was dedicated first to Šu-Suen, then to Ibbi-Suen, in both cases naming him a son of Dadaga—in the latter seal Dadaga is mentioned as the governor of Umma.

480. Dada might have had as many as ten sons, who all, except for Šešani, functioned as mid-level administrative overseers. The fact that one, or perhaps two, of Šešani's nephews were also named Šešani, coupled with the intricate chronological distribution of the use of the seals and the complex relationship between the information in the body of the texts themselves and the inscriptions of the seals, forced R. Mayr to suggest that not only did Šešani's father—according to Mayr Lugal-niglagar'e—use the pseudonym Šeškala, but moreover, Šešani would, towards the end of his tenure, use a seal naming his grandfather as his patronymic, following a period where he had referred to either Lugal-niglagar'e or Šeškala as his father. This interpretation is entirely based on the speculation that the term *dumu* can refer to anyone but the father of the person in question, and on the possibility of the existence of pseudonyms in the Sumerian onomasticon, as well as the assumption that the same Lugal-niglagar'e, who was the son of Dada, was the father of Šešani.

The seal of Lugal-ezem and that of (his brother) Ur-Emaḥe appears on about fifty tablets from AS 7 to ŠS 6, all dealing with agricultural work. In the same tablets, a certain Agugu is named as the sealing party. This Agugu can be shown to have belonged to the same social group of persons as Lugal-ezem, Ur-Emaḥe, and the twelve other agricultural overseers mentioned in the same fifty texts. This situation is not unique to these people; actually, it can be observed frequently with regard to the same group of tablets. SAT 2, 77 (from Š 33 vi), describes the structure of one of these units, mostly organized according to family lines.

It is entirely possible that some of the sons of Dada were occupied with other (private?) business and had their group of cultivators administered by another family member. See also D. McGuiness, "Ur III Prosopography: Some Methodological Considerations," *Archív Orientální* 50 (1982) 324 - 342, who suggested that neo-Sumerian naming-practice involved naming after a paternal uncle. This can, in fact, be observed in several families; see, e.g. the family of Ur-Meme (W. Hallo, *JNES* 31 (1972) 87-95).

481. See for example SACT 2, 120 (from AS 5), sealed by Inim-Šara, scribe, son of Ur-Nigar, chief cattle administrator.

Since it is credible that Gududu, following his cousin Lukala in ŠS 9 month 3,⁴⁸² was the last person to hold the office of chief household administrator of the governor, it is the working hypothesis of this study that Gududu was aspiring to become the next governor of Umma, following his father Dadaga. Gududu is likely to have been successful since it is reasonable to believe that most of the senior members of the ruling family were dead by the end of the tenure of Dadaga. Ur-Lisi and Ayakala would certainly no longer have presented a challenge to Gududu's candidacy. Ir(mu) and Ur-E'e, two other senior members of the Umma clan, were probably also dead by the end of Šu-Suen's reign; both would have been serious contestants to the governorship, since the chief of the granry and the chief cattle administrator were both offices intimately connected with the line of succession. Most of the other sons of Ur-Nigar were presumably also dead before Ibbi-Suen's coronation, or had already, presumably, been bypassed in succession, judging from their careers (see Section 12 below). Lukala and Gududu were the most prominent members of the younger generation, and the only ones whose career resembled that of the three previous governors. Since Lukala may have died late in the reign of Šu-Suen, it seems reasonable to assume that Gududu had successfully positioned himself as the next in line for succession to the governorship of Umma. Unfortunately the sources for this interesting period of time are nowhere to be found.

Two other people in Umma held seals with the patronym Dadaga, but neither of them can be shown to have been sons of Dadaga the governor.⁴⁸³

482. MCS 2, 55, BM 112948 (from ŠS 9 iii).

Several texts mention people who claimed to be sons of Gududu.⁴⁸⁴ Only one high-ranking person called Gududu has been recognized in the extant Umma material—this person is never attested with any title save for the honorary title of his seal inscription, scribe, used by all persons from all levels of society (save for the dependent workers).⁴⁸⁵ Gududu was never given the title “captain” used by his uncle Ayakala, and perhaps by his father Dadaga. It is therefore likely, but impossible to prove, that the people in Umma claiming to be the decedents of Gududu were right.

The fact that none of the children of the three well documented Umma governors, except for Gududu, followed in the footsteps of their fathers and the fact that none of these sons were to occupy high ranking positions in the administration of Umma is puzzling. This

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483. Inim-Šara (see, for example, BCT 2, 39 [from ŠS 5]; MVN 16, 1532 [from ŠS 5]; and NYPL 364 [from ŠS 6 i to xii]), and Lu-dingira, only attested in one text (MVN 16, 1018 [from AS 8xii]). Wu Yuhong argued that Inim-Šara was a brother of Gududu who sealed with his seal in ŠS 5 and 6. See W. Yuhong, JAC 10 (1995) 140 - 142.
484. Ur-Baba is attested with patronym in only two Umma texts and is a likely candidate as a son of Gududu (see, for example, BM 105339 (unpubl.) [from AS 6], and perhaps the account SAT 2, 423 [from Š 45]). The father of a Lu-Šara mentioned in MAOG 4, 191 3 (from ŠS 9) is presumably not identical with our Gududu. He is in that text called messenger of the king (sukkal lugal), a title otherwise never attested for Gududu. Three persons are mentioned only once as the son of Gududu, neither can be positively certified to have been related to the ruling family of Umma. They are: Ur-Ninsu (MVN 16, 908 [from AS 8 iii]), Inim-Inanna, and Ur-Suen (Nik 2, 447 [from AS 3 xi]).
485. Other persons named Gududu include: Gududu, the leather worker (ašgab), see SANTAG 6, 26 (from Š 35 vi); Gududu, the cultivator (engar), see Syracuse 371 (from Š 44 ix); Gududu, the messenger (sukkal), see ASJ 19, 228 74 (no date); Gududu, the gudu-priest of Ninšubur, see Nebraska 63 (from IS 2 xii); and Gududu, the shepherd (na-gada), see SAKF 36 (from Š 46).

situation clearly warrants a reconsideration of the current prevailing understanding of neo-Sumerian rules of succession and the formulation of a new paradigm allowing for the fraternal system to be tested against the extant material. When approaching the material from a purely theoretical angle, it seems there were three possible career options available to a son of an Ur III Umma governor other than succession to the office of his father. It is possible, but highly unlikely, that a majority of the sons of the governor's died before reaching maturity, leaving only a handful of administrative records. It is also unlikely that the sons of the Umma governor were "caged"—this habit is entirely unknown from ancient Mesopotamia, excluding perhaps, the neo-Assyrian period. The most likely scenario is that seniority excluded most of the sons of the governors from the line of succession by favoring fratrilineal succession with the prospective heirs chosen from within the generation of the sons of Ur-Nigar. This is likely to have forced these sons to enter the private sphere of the economy; these people would, however, remain liable for certain duties. The backing that membership in the powerful ruler's family would have given the son of a governor might easily have made his business venture very prosperous. Although the private sector of the Umma economy remains illusive, it is likely that the sons of the governor could exit the state sphere and enter the private sector, when no career opportunities existed for them in the state administration. It is unknown, at present whether this private sphere corresponded to more than an annuity.

Chapter 5: Section 8: Ur-E'e, the chief cattle administrator

This chapter will concentrate on Ur-E'e and one of his sons, Lu-Haya, but it will also include a discussion of the office of the chief cattle administrator (Sumerian $\text{šu}\text{š}_3$).⁴⁸⁶

Ur-E'e⁴⁸⁷ is attested in the Umma records from Š 33(?) to ŠS 8. His tenure which lasted 33 years, is paralleled by few other administrators. Throughout this period, Ur-E'e functioned as a state administrator, and there appears to have been no break in his activities; the last text to mention Ur-E'e included his title, chief cattle administrator ($\text{šu}\text{š}_3$).⁴⁸⁸

Although the first certain identification of Ur-E'e comes with a seal-inscription on a document dated to Š 36, month 2,⁴⁸⁹ several documents prior to this date suggest that he had already held the office of chief cattle administrator since Š 33. A document from Š 33 recorded wool disbursements and is likely, therefore, to have constituted part of the regular

486. For the reading $\text{šu}\text{š}_3$ for SAHAR see, above all, R. H. Beal, "Is KUŠ₇ the Reading of IŠ = kizû?," NABU 1992, 48.

487. The name Ur-E'e is rare in the Ur III record, Ur-E'e, the chief cattle administrator, son of Ur-Nigar, is the only high-ranking Umma official to bear that name. The following persons in Umma were also named Ur-E'e: a cowherd (unu_3) (see, for example, MVN 3, 208 [from Š 45 vii], with broken seal of Ur-E'e the cowherd); a cultivator (engar) (see NATN 376 [from Š 33 v]); a fisherman (šu-ku_6) (see SNAT 294 [from Š 45]); a cult-singer(?) (gala) (see TCL 5, 6039 [from AS 5 ii]); and a gudu-priest (gudu_4) (see Princeton 1, 296 [from Š 30 vi]).

488. See AnOr 1, 234 (from ŠS 8 x).

489. See MCS 2, 57 (=BM113072). The dedicatory seal-inscription recorded on Aleppo 147 (from Š 33), mentioning Ur-Lisi cannot be used to identify Ur-E'e since it fails to record any official affiliation or the familial relationship of the owner.

activities of the chief cattle administrator.⁴⁹⁰ That year was also the year that Ur-Lisi took office as governor and perhaps elected his brother Ayakala as chief household administrator (and heir?).

In juxtaposition to the great frequency with which the title of Ur-E'e is given in the seal inscriptions of his two sons (Lukala and Lu-Ḫaya), it is striking to observe that he himself makes use of it a mere seven times.⁴⁹¹ These examples, running from Š 37 iii to ŠS 4, include the two key-texts SET 273, a wool-account concerning Ur-E'e from AS 3, and SET 130, a sheep, oil and wool account concerning Ur-E'e from the following year (AS 4), both texts will be dealt with below. The first attestation of a seal-impression of either of Ur-E'e's two sons recording the title of their father is from Š 42 ix.⁴⁹²

According to the published record, the vast majority of the seal-inscriptions of Ur-E'e do not mention the title of his father Ur-Nigar, also chief cattle administrator. Since the distribution of the few seal-inscriptions copied (or transliterated) with patronymic title is completely random, it seems likely that the inclusion of this patronymic title can be deemed a modern copying error. This is likely to be a result of the fact that the most frequently attested seal-inscriptions—mentioning other members of the ruling Umma family—did indeed include the title of chief cattle administrator following the name of Ur-Nigar, the

490. BIN 5, 19 (from Š 33).

491. These are Rochester 187 (no date); MVN 15, 390 (from Š 37 iii to vii); OrSP 47-49, 201 (from Š 37 to 39); SET 273 (from AS 3); Aegyptus 26, 158 6 (from AS 5); MVN 16, 668 (from AS 8 iv); and MVN 8, 202 (from ŠS 4).

492. MVN 14, 450 (from Š 42 ix), see also Aleppo 399 (from Š 42). Both texts have the seal of Lukala.

ancestor of the Umma clan. Had the occurrence of the title of chief cattle administrator, following Ur-Nigar's name, appeared in any meaningful sequence—for example after Ur-Nigar is presumed to have been dead—it would be difficult to exclude the inclusion of a this title as a copying error. According to Rudi Mayr's unpublished dissertation on the seal inscriptions from Umma, the seal of Ur-E'e never included his father's title.⁴⁹³ Since we have been unable to find any two high-level officials named Ur-Nigar operating at the same time in Umma, I find it likely that some other solution is behind the exclusion of the patronymic title than to conclude that Ur-E'e belonged to an important Umma family other than the ruling family. Ur-E'e's special position as the one who came to inherit his father's title and office might have prompted the exclusion of his father's title from his seal-inscription. A parallel scenario can be observed for at least two other members of the ruling family; neither Lu-Haya, Ur-E'e's own son, or Šara-izu, the son of Ir(mu), the chief of the granary, ever used the same title as their father's although they most certainly inherited their offices. Again, the position held by Ur-E'e's son Lukala, chief household administrator of the governor intimately connected him, and his kin, with the ruling family.

Due to the paucity of sources we must at present conclude that it is likely that Ur-Nigar was dead already during the reign of Šulgi, and that Ur-E'e operated as chief cattle administrator from at least Š 37. It is my suggestion, however, that he had already assumed that title in Š 33.

493. R. Mayr, *Seal Impressions* (1997) 150.

The title of chief cattle administrator was held not only by members of the ruling family, as was the case with other high offices; still, there is evidence to suggest that Ur-E'e ranked above the other chief cattle administrators. This will be discussed in greater detail below.

Ur-E'e is mentioned in more than 350 texts, primarily pertaining to the livestock sector of the economy: most of these texts were not sealed. The majority of his sealed texts, on the other hand, recorded activities related to basic agricultural work. Ur-E'e did not use a nam-šatam seal in witnessing these transactions, although they resembled very closely the texts that other high-ranking provincial administrators sealed with their nam-šatam seal.⁴⁹⁴

In this connection it might also be beneficial to look at two texts demonstrating that EnKAS, another Umma chief cattle administrator, operated at the same level as a provincial administrator.⁴⁹⁵ EnKAS sealed the record UTI 4, 2895⁴⁹⁶ (from AS 9), with his nam-šatam seal. That text is almost identical to MVN 1, 90 (from AS 8), sealed by Šeškala, a well-known member of the group of agricultural overseers. Šeškala did not use a nam-šatam seal to seal this transaction although he would occasionally do so on other texts. Both texts were concerned with the erin₂-work of plowing and harrowing the field Abagal-Enlila; they each included a section devoted to work performed by hirelings; and, both were sealed with the regular seals of the two administrators. This strongly suggests, that EnKAS as well as Ur-

494. Compare, for example, the two almost identical texts MVN 14, 215 (from Š 46), a receipt for the work of ox-drivers on the GANmaḥ field sealed by Ur-E'e, and AnOr 7, 199 (from AS 2), a similar receipt concerning work on the Kamari field, sealed by the šabra-administrator Ur-gigir with his nam-šatam seal.

E'e operated as provincial administrators aside from their regular activities as chief cattle administrators.

A handful of texts are said to have been sealed with the *nam-ša-tam* seal of Ur-E'e. However, most of these texts were not related to agricultural work; rather, some of these texts were records concerning metal and metal objects; three of them dealt with silver for emblems, and thereby indirectly related to the administration of the agricultural lands.⁴⁹⁷ This is in good accord with the fact that Ur-E'e functioned as an Umma metal supervisor,⁴⁹⁸

495. The name EnKAS is always written KAS₄ in the texts themselves but en-KAS₄ in his seal-inscriptions. The reason behind this practice remains obscure to me. KAS₄ has no reading implying that EN could be a phonetic complement. For the seal of EnKAS see for example MVN 16, 966 (from Š 42), a transfer of the deficits of the shepherds of the temple-household of Šara to the account of EnKAS. EnKAS was active from Š 42 (41?) to IS 2 (see, for example, L'uomo 65 [from IS 2 xii 13]). It is possible that EnKAS took office following Lugal-azida (see, for example, Princeton 1, 24 [from Š 42]; and AAS 59 [from Š 42]). According to his seal he was a son of Ur-Ištaran, perhaps identical with the fattener of the same name who was also the father of Ur-Šulpa'e. Ur-Šulpa'e claimed to be the brother of EnKAS in an independent context—approximately nine texts attest to this relationship—Ur-Šulpa'e was an agricultural overseer at the level of a captain of (plow-)oxen; see, for example, the peculiar tablet container SAT 3, 1368 (from ŠS 3). EnKAS himself seems to have operated at the level of a provincial administrator (see, for example, HUCA 29, 87 13 [from ŠS 3]), sealing documents concerning the activities of the agricultural overseers at his brother's level (only very few texts give information such as *kišib nam-ša₃-tam KAS₄*; see, for example, SACT 2, 19 [from ŠS 4]; and UTI 4, 2895 [from AS 9], with the title chief cattle administrator (*šuš₃*)). EnKAS also transferred silver as payments for outstanding deficits from individual shepherds and overseers to the chief household administrator of the governor (see, for example, BIN 5, 329 [from Š 47]). Nasa, the well-known Drehem administrator also had a son named EnKAS, but we believe this EnKAS to have been mainly active in Drehem, posing little difficulty for a proper identification (see, for example, Princeton 2, 340 (unpubl.) [from AS 3 ii]; and AUCT 3, 298 [from AS X i 27]).

496. See also SNAT 418 (from AS 9).

and with his prominent position within the administration of the eastern district of the province, Apisal.⁴⁹⁹ Through much of his tenure, Ur-E'e was known as the conveyor of the "field interest" of the entire district of Apisal.⁵⁰⁰

The collected field interest and outstanding debits of the shepherds presumably account for the existence of silver-accounts concerning Ur-E'e, and the fact that Ur-E'e appears in numerous accounts concerning the Umma colony of trade-agents. The "debits" of TCL 5, 6045 (from AS 8 xii), a silver account of Ur-E'e, suggest that the "field interest" as well as the collected debts of the shepherds administrated by Ur-E'e were the personal "debits" of Ur-E'e. The "credits" of Ur-E'e's silver account were made up of some amounts of raw-materials received by Lu-Haya, and a substantial delivery (mu-DU) of silver as well as minor transfers for specific purposes sealed by Lukala. Later, Lu-Haya, the son of Ur-E'e, had a silver-account drawn up concerning his silver "debits", testifying to the transfer of Ur-E'e's

497. The texts sealed with the nam-šatam seal of Ur-E'e are: OrSP 18 pl.14 40 (from ŠS 2), a copper ring; SAT 2, 321 (from Š 43), an emblem of Gu'dena; SAT 2, 963 (from AS 6), an emblem of Gu'dena; MVN 5, 12 (from Š 42), provisions for female workers employed in the agricultural sector; MVN 16, 1554 (from Š 37 to 45), various metal; Princeton 1, 185 (from AS 8), dogs; SAT 2, 208 (from Š 39), sesame seeds; SAT 2, 288 (from Š 41), an emblem of Gu'dena in Apisal. The emblems (šu-nir) in question were always related to agricultural districts and mostly mentioned in relation to agricultural administrators.

498. See fn. 470, p. 184 above.

499. Ur-E'e often received silver, perhaps in his capacity as a provincial administrator; the silver seems mainly to have been from shepherds and agricultural overseers, and destined for the state, suggesting that Ur-E'e conveyed field interests from the tracts of land in the district he managed.

500. See BM 108004 (from Š 33); AAS 75 (from Š 37); Princeton 1, 548 (from Š 38); BIN 5, 108 (from Š 44); and Princeton 1, 409 (from AS 2). These texts were first discussed by P. Steinkeller, JESHO 24 (1981) 116ff. See also above, p. 170+ fn. 433.

office to his son. In this text Lukala acted as the chief household administrator; the fact that the partners of the transaction were father and son, seems to have been of no importance.

The economic importance of the office of the chief cattle administrator is elucidated from a broken, but still powerful, series of accounts of sheep and goats and their products from the Umma province. These records include SET 130, SET 273, and the top-level account AAICAB 1, 1924-666, a wool-account concerning the governor. The third year of Amar-Suen is particularly well documented, since both SET 273 and AAICAB 1, 1924-666, covered that year. Therefore, it is also possible to investigate the interaction between the two texts. Both accounts dealt with wool, and both belong to the standard type having a “debits” section and a “credits” section. Further, in both accounts the value of the “debits” surpassed that of the “credits” resulting in a “deficit” recorded just prior to the colophon. One text (SET 273), was a wool account concerning Ur-E’e, the other (AAICAB 1, 1924-666) was a wool account concerning the governor. The three first entries of each account (following the “remainder” (si-i₃-tum)) are identical. The amount of wool recorded in the account of Ur-E’e is approximately one third of the amount recorded in the account of the governor. The account of the governor is likely to have recorded the entire production of the province, making Ur-E’e and his colleague (presumably EnKAS) responsible for the majority of the Umma wool-production.

wool-account concerning the governor		wool-account concerning Ur-E'e, chief cattle administrator	
Ashm. 1 1924-666 from AS 3		SET 273 from AS 3	
"Debits" section		"Debits" section	
A	Remainder: 379 talents 59 mana 1/2 shekel mixed wool	Remainder: 1) 13 talent 11 2/3 mana wool 2) 22 talent 26 2/3 mana wool	
B	From Ur-E'e 1 st entry: 48 talents 38 1/2 mana kura wool 102 talents minus 1 mana yellow(?) wool 4 talents 7 2/3 mana dark(?) wool 2 nd entry: 19 talents 22 mana mixed wool 3 rd entry: 40 talents minus 6 mana yellow(?) wool	From Ur-E'e 1 st entry: 48 talents 38 1/2 mana kura wool 102 talents minus 1 mana yellow(?) wool 4 talents 7 2/3 mana dark(?) wool 2 nd entry: 19 talents 22 mana mixed wool 3 rd entry: 40 talents minus 6 mana mixed wool	
C	From PN 1 st entry: 11 talents 6 mana kura wool 77 talents [x] mana ? wool 2 nd entry: 13 talents 35 mana 10 shekel mixed wool 3 rd entry: 1 talent yeallow(?) wool	From EnKAS 1 st entry: 21 talent 17 1/3 mana wool 3 talent 50 minus 1 mana wool From Šakuge 2 nd entry: 1 talent 5 2/3 mana wool From the governor 3 rd entry: 16 talent 17 5/6 mana wool From Ur-Šara 4 th entry: 10 mana wool 5 th entry: 1 talent 22 mana wool	
D	Emblems 1 st entry: [...] +3 1/2 mana [...] -ga 2 nd entry: [...] [...] 3 rd entry: 3 talents 55 1/2 mana (wool) 4 th entry: 53 mana wool 5 th entry: 2 mana wool 43 2/3 mana wool 6 th entry: 45 mana wool	Total: 293 talent 41 1/3 mana mixed wool	
Total (A+D): 422 talent 51 mana 10 1/2 shekel Total (B+C): 301 talent 17 mana mixed wool (its halmutum: 10 talents [2] mana 14 shekel Grand total: 734 talent 10! 1/3 mana 4 1/2 shekel mixed wool			
"Credits" section		"Credits" section	
	1 st entry: regular deliveries for the gods (sa2-du11 dingir-re-ne)	1 st entry: 48 talents 23 1/2 mana kura wool 142 talents 14 1/2 mana yellow(?) wool	Received by the governor
	2 nd entry: rations for the permanent staff	2 nd entry:	Received by Šešsag (see perhaps AAS 135)
Received by Ur-Nintu	3 rd entry: various quantities and qualities of wool for textiles	etc.	
Received by Šešsag (transferred to the "debits" of his account) (= AAS 135, column 1, line 21 to column 2 line 9)	4 th entry: various quantities and qualities of wool for textiles Reverse column 5, lines 4-17		
	etc.		

Figure 7: Accounts concerning the office of the chief cattle administrator.

The “credits” section of Ur-E'e's account again records the same amounts of wool as is recorded in the governor's account, now summarized as (received under) the seal of the governor. This clearly indicates Ur-E'e's position as a civil servant answering directly to the

governor. Figure (7) is an attempt to reconstruct parts of these two accounts in a meaningful way, showing the relationship between the two texts.

Although a crucial part of AAICAB 1, 1924-666, is broken, and although we are left with only Ur-E'e's wool-account from that year to support our interpretation, it remains reasonable, nonetheless, to reconstruct the over-all structure of the "debits" of this text as seen in figure 7. By doing so, it is clear that Ur-E'e and EnKAS shared between them the responsibility for the largest part of the Umma sheep and goat production. The "credits" section of the governor's account records first of all a long list of regular deliveries to the major temple households of the Umma province, followed by lists of the wool for the rations for the permanent staff of all the important households and groups in Umma. The next section lists the garments to be produced by the textile factories, followed finally by a list of administrative transfers. The "credits" section of the wool-account of Ur-E'e begins, as already noted, with the wool transferred to the account of the governor. This is followed by a few minor deliveries.

Our knowledge of the activities of Ur-E'e are, above all, derived from the account SET 130 (from AS 4).⁵⁰¹ The following figure (8) shows the levels of accounting and the different offices controlled by Ur-E'e according to that text.

501. This multiple level account starts out with a rather substantial "remainder" from the previous year (AS 3), followed by a "debits" section consisting of, first, the expected production of the shepherds (these were divided into shepherds of native(?) sheep, and shepherds of foreign(?) sheep (sipa udu eme-gi-ra and sipa udu kur-ra)), followed by the expected production of the goat-herders (sipa ud₅-da), the anticipated production from a number of cowherders (unu₃-de₃-ne), and finally several minor contributions to the "debits" consisting of animals delivered for the cult in either Apisal or Zabala. The rather substantial total of the "debits" section was recorded in the beginning of column six. The "credits" section, consisting of the actual production of the herders under the supervision of Ur-E'e, begins by listing the animals expended for the regular offerings for the gods (sa₂-du₁₁ dingir-re-ne), more specifically, the deliveries for Šara of Apisal, Ninura of Apisal, Lamma-Šulgira of Apisal, Nin-Zabala of Apisal, and Inanna of Zabala, as well as the dowry of Dumuzi(d). The next brief section recorded animals which had fallen (ri-ri-ga), followed by a longer section (rev. i 13 to rev. ii 4) listing the siskur-offerings for various threshing floors in the province. The sealing officials in these cases were all known agricultural overseers (GuTAR, Agugu, etc.), several of whom are mentioned elsewhere in this study. The header (i.e. last line) of this section reads "shall not be transferred to the debits" (rev. ii 4: ugu₂-a nu-ga₂-ga₂), presumably suggesting that these deliveries were meant for consumption and not for further disbursement. Following several minor transfers (some animals were transferred to the "debits" of known shepherds), we find a long list of animals transferred to various persons, both herders and administrators. A minor "surplus" from the previous year was recorded right before the complex totals. The complex "operating balance" recorded both "deficits" and "surplus". The colophon named the text as a sheep, oil and wool-account concerning Ur-E'e.

Partial reconstruction of the responsibilities of Ur-E'e based in part on YOS 4 237, MCS1, 54 / MCS 6, 10, and SET 130

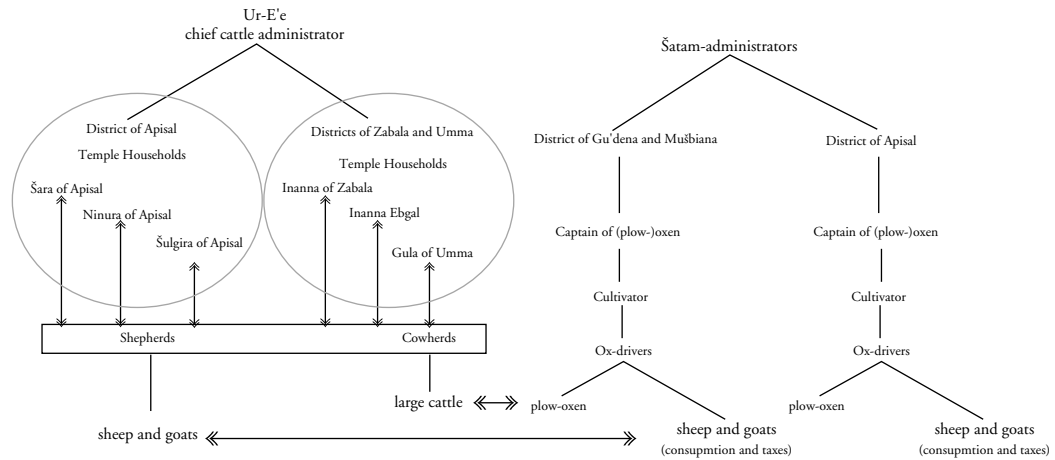


Figure 8: The organization of the office of Ur-E'e.

Ur-E'e administered the shepherds who made deliveries to the temples in the two districts Apisal, Zabala and some parts of Umma.⁵⁰² These shepherds were apparently not bound to one particular household, but rather either permanently bound to several households, or assigned *ad hoc* to a variety of households. The exchange between the shepherds and the cultivators was managed by Ur-E'e on the one hand, and a high-ranking agricultural overseer at the level of a captain of (plow-)oxen, or above, on the other.⁵⁰³ Likewise, the exchange between the shepherds and the fatteners was managed by the chief cattle administrator and the fatterer.⁵⁰⁴ However, the records of deliveries of dead animals

502. People who were called sipa(d) in one text could be referred to as na-gada in another. Whether this is due to so-called horizontal terminology, that sipa(d) was the general word for any herder, and na-gada the only specific (Ur III) word for a shepherd, is still uncertain. See MCS 1, 54, BM 106045 (from ŠS 5), for evidence that persons with the title na-gada could be summarized as either sipa ud₅ (goat herder) or sipa eme [gi₇-ra] (shepherder of native sheep).

sealed by members of the ruling family, in this study referred to as sealed by the chief household administrator of the governor, were mostly mediated directly between the shepherd and the chief administrator.

The relations between the administrators of cows and oxen, who also held the title šuš₃, and the agricultural units is documented in numerous texts. SAKF 54 (from Š 45), may be useful in illuminating this relationship since it rather clearly describes the transfer of animals:

Obverse.

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. 3(u) 6(diš) gu ₄ ab ₂ ħi-a | 36 diverse oxen and cows, |
| 2. g ^{es} apin-ta gur-ra | having returned from the plow, |
| 3. ki šabra gu ₄ -ke ₄ -ne-ta | from the administrators of oxen, ⁵⁰⁵ |

Reverse.

- | | |
|--|----------------------------------|
| 1. KAS ₄ i ₃ -dab ₅ | EnKAS seized. |
| 2. mu us ₂ -sa si-mu-ru-um ^{ki} lu-lu-bu ^{ki} | Year after: "Simurum and Lulubum |

503. As was pointed out by K. Maekawa, Zinbun 22 (1987) 39 - 40, an agricultural overseer was called by different titles according to the function he held in each particular situation. It seems as if high-ranking members of the ruling family and prominent members from the level of the captains of (plow-)oxen were sometimes mediators between groups of captains of (plow-)oxen and the other Umma bureaus. It is possible that the family structure of the agricultural overseers, as supported by SAT 2, 77 (from Š 33 vi), is indicative of the command-structure of the agricultural administration, i.e., that a "clan-leader", given the formal title dub-sar gu₄ 1(u) or the equivalent, was the overseer of the lands managed by his sons or younger brothers who held titles at the ranks of the captain of (plow-)oxen).

504. See for example SACT 2, 242 (from Š 43).

505. šabra gu₄ is believed to be the correct title of the šabra administrators mentioned in the Umma agricultural record (see K. Maekawa, Zinbun 22 (1987) 40) these people were otherwise called captains of (plow-)oxen (nu-banda₃ gu₄), or foremen (ugula).

a-ra₂ 1(u) la₂ 1(diš)-kam ba-hul were destroyed for the 9th time”.
(blank line)

Cattle management in the Umma province seems to have been managed above all by EnKAS and Atū, another chief cattle administrator.⁵⁰⁶ Ur-E'e seems to have been involved, exclusively, with the management of sheep and goats.

YOS 4, 237 (from ŠS 7 ii), is an account of the livestock transferred between the governors Ayakala and Dadaga, when Dadaga took office, following the retirement, or more likely, the death of his brother Ayakala.⁵⁰⁷ The account has no division between a “credits” section and a “debits” section; rather, it is subscribed udu si-il₈-la, perhaps suggesting that the document recorded the sheep and goats “found” with the shepherds while surveying the livestock of the province.⁵⁰⁸ The counted animals were divided into three groups according to overseer. In this text, as in other texts concerning livestock the title foreman (ugula) was used where we would expect the title chief cattle administrator (šuš₃), however, since this happens, exclusively, in connection with the calculation of the animal belonging to different

506. For a discussion of the office of Atū see, above all, R. Englund, OrNS 64 (1995) 377-429.

507. This text was briefly discussed above, see pp. 176 - 177 in this study. See also M. Stepien, *Animal Husbandry in the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda 1996) 50 - 53, and in particular the figure on pp. 51-52, for an analysis of this text.

508. See also Buffalo SNS.11-2, 134 4 (from ŠS 8 iv); SNAT 526 (from ŠS 9 ix); and TIM 6, 46 (from IS 3 viii), three texts counting the large cattle of the temple-households of Šara, Ninurra, and Šulgi (the last household mentioned only in Buffalo SNS) (see also fn. 505 below, for this sequence of Umma temple-households). In the last two text, Atū is mentioned as the overseer (no doubt instead of his regular title ‘chief cattle administrator’ following the pattern described for EnKAS and Ur-E'e) of the temple-household of Šara, and Lu-Haya (the son of Ur-E'e) as the overseer of the cattle of the temple-households of Ninurra.

temple-households, I expect it to be a context-specific terminology meaning “foreman (of the shepherds) of such-and-such temple-household”. The first overseer mentioned in YOS 4, 237, is EnKAS. In YOS 4, 237, he was in charge of the shepherds and their animals from the temple-household of Šara (e_2 $^d\check{s}ara_2$).⁵⁰⁹ The second overseer, Ur-E’e, was in charge of the shepherds and their animals from several temple-households: the household of Ninura, Šulgi, Inanna of Zabala, Gula of Umma, E’e, and of Ninḫilisu (e_2 [d nin-ur₄]-ra, e_2 $^d\check{s}ul-gi-ra$, e_2 d inanna zabala₄^{ki}, e_2 d gu-la umma^{ki}, e_2 e_{11} -e, e_2 d nin-ḫi-li-su₃). The last overseer, Ur-Nungal,⁵¹⁰ was not mentioned in connection with any household. The animals controlled by

509. EnKAS’s affiliation with the household of Šara of Umma is above all documented by the large, but fragmentary, account MVN 13, 618 (from AS 7), in which EnKAS is mentioned as the administrator responsible for the animals of the household of Šara (rev. viii 4 - 5: e_2 $^d\check{s}ara_2$ / ugula KAS₄). The colophon of that text reads:

Reverse, column 10.

10. nig₂-ka₉-ak sipa udu eme-gi-ra-ke₄-neAccount of shepherds of native sheep, concerning

- | | |
|---|--------------------------------|
| 11. e_2 $^d\check{s}ara_2$ | the household of Šara, |
| 12. e_2 d nin-ur ₄ -ra | the household of Ninura, |
| 13. e_2 $^d\check{s}ul-gi-ra$ | the household of Šulgir |
| 14. e_2 d inanna | the household of Inanna, |
| 15. u_3 e_2 d gu-la | and the household of Gula |
| 16. mu ḫu-uh ₂ -nu-ri ^{ki} ba-ḫul | Year: “Ḫuḫnuri was destroyed”. |

For the sequence of temple households, see also the label (pisan-dub-ba)—recording accounts of orchards—AAICAB 1, 1911-176 (from AS 8); compare to YOS 4, 214 (from Š 47), an actual record of the orchards of the temple-households of Šara of Ninura; and the unpublished account concerning cattle BM 105329 (from AS 7). Now, see also WAM 2000.47 (from AS 5) (edition: R. Englund, CDLB 2003:1).

Ur-Nungal may be related to the animals belonging to the e_2 - du_6 - la of Ur-Lisi. Although this “remainder” of the accounts of the household of the governor Ur-Lisi is not recorded after ŠS 5, there is strong circumstantial evidence which suggests that the animals recorded in this text belonged to a similar administrative category, and perhaps even the same group.⁵¹¹

Whereas EnKAS was the overseer of the shepherds of the temple-household of Šara of Umma, numerous texts mention Ur-E’ e in connection with the temple-household of Šara of Apisal.⁵¹² However, both were, as we have seen (figure 7), directly subservient to the governor, and not the temple-households. The individual shepherds cannot be used to determine the relationship with the temple-households, since, as already pointed out by M. Stepien,⁵¹³ the shepherds could be related to several different households at the same time.⁵¹⁴

In the large account concerning the hides of fallen animals ($kuš$ gu_4 udu $ri-ri-ga$), MCS 1, 54, BM 106045 (and the fragmentary parallel text MCS 6, 10, BM 106041) from ŠS 5, EnKAS and Ur-E’ e were again listed side by side.⁵¹⁵ The first section of this text (until column 2, line 27) recorded the ox hides from the cow-herders, described as “the hides of

510. Ur-Nungal, son of Ur-Šara, the accountant ($ša_{13}$ - $dub-ba$), was himself an accountant; see OrSP 47-49, 412 (from AS 1): $ša_{13}$ - $dub-ba$ e_2 d^y $šara_2$, “the accountant of the household of Šara”; and UTI 3, 1692 [from ŠS 2 xii]). For the seal of Ur-Nungal; see, for example, MVN 1, 185 (from AS 7 viii); MVN 5, 77 (from ŠS 6 iv); MVN 14, 372 (from ŠS 1). For the dedicatory seal of Ur-Nungal (dedicated to Šu-Suen); see, for example, BCT 2, 81 [from ŠS 8]; MVN 15, 355 [from ŠS 9]; MVN 16, 834 [from ŠS 7]). It is likely that Ur-Nungal was the accountant of the governor’s household, and in that regard perhaps directly responsible to the king rather than the governor.

oxen (?) of the pen, from the cow-herders.”⁵¹⁶ The next section listed the fallen animals of the cultivators, grouped according to captains of (plow-)oxen. The first group of captains of (plow-)oxen was directed by two overseers, Abbagina and EnKAS. Abbagina who is not known as a chief cattle administrator may have been a scribe of 10 oxen, controlling a couple of captains of (plow-)oxen.⁵¹⁷ This section (ending in obv. iv 12-13 (22-23)) is identified as

511. Ur-Nungal is never attested as an overseer of shepherds, nor as a chief cattle administrator, but rather as an accountant. Ur-Nungal’s role in YOS 4, 237 should be compared to MCS 1, 54, BM 106045 (with parallel text MCS 6, 10, BM 106041), where the last entry before the total of the shepherds was the e₂-du₆-la of Ur-Lisi. The same shepherd mentioned in YOS 4, 237, is also mentioned in MCS 1, 54, BM 106045. Ur-Nungal is attested in three other documents relating to the e₂-du₆-la of Ur-Lisi. (1) Controlling garment rations for the female dependent workers still associated with the e₂-du₆-la of Ur-Lisi, in MVN 14, 564 (from AS 9), rev. 1-3: tug₂-ba geme₂ e₂-du₆-la ur-^dli₉-si₄ ensi₂-ka / ki i₃-kal-la-ta / kišib ur-^dnun-gal, “garment rations for the dependent female workers, of the e₂-du₆-la of Ur-Lisi, the governor, from Ikala, Sealed by Ur-Nungal”. (2) Transferring oil from the e₂-du₆-la of Ur-Lisi to Ur-Šulpa’e, perhaps identical with the representative of the palace in Umma, mentioned on p. 140, in Syracuse 448 (from AS 9), obv. 2 to rev. 5: i₃ e₂-du₆-la ur-^dli₉-si₄ ensi₂-ka / ki ur-^dnun-gal-ta // ur-^dšulpa-e₃ / šu ba-ti, “Oil of the e₂-du₆-la of Ur-Lisi the governor, from Ur-Nungal, Ur-Šulpa’e received”. (3) Transferring animals from the e₂-du₆-la of Ur-Lisi to Ušmu, the Umma fattener, in UTI 3, 2275 (from ŠS 2), rev. 2-5: gu₄ udu e₂-du₆-la ur-^dli₉-si₄ ensi₂ / u₃ udu bar ku₃-ga / ki ur-^dnun-gal-[ta] / uš-mu i₃-dab₅, “Oxen and sheep of the e₂-du₆-la of Ur-Lisi, the governor, and barkuga sheep from Ur-Nungal, Ušmu seized”. The term bar ku₃-ga, “silvery fleece”, is attested in one other text (TJAMC JOS 21 (pl.54) [from Š 29 iv], obv. 7-9: 3 udu bar ku₃-ga / mu-DU / ^dšara₂ umma^{ki}), and in one, perhaps two, personal names (CT 10, 28, BM 014316 [from AS 2 iii to xii], obv. ii 11: 1(ban₂) 5(diš) <sil₃> (še) lu₂-bar-ku₃-ga dumu lu₂-bala-sa₆-ga, and AUCT 2, 333 [no date], obv. 4: 1(diš) bar-ku₃-ga-ni. This personal name is mentioned in a context that seems to exclude a reading 1(diš) bar ku₃-ga-ni, as is possible, and likely, in SNAT 487 [from ŠS 3 ix], obv. 4: 1(diš) tug₂ bar ku₃-ga-ni ma₂-lah₅, based on an analogy with the preceding and following lines, for example, line 5: 1(diš) tug₂ bar nin-za-me AH.AH).

part of the household of Gula(?),⁵¹⁸ and it was controlled by EnKAS.⁵¹⁹ The second section (until obv. v 9 (24)) recorded the overseers from (the district of) Gu'dena and Mušbiana,⁵²⁰ the third (until obv. v 18 (33)) recorded the overseers from (the field) Menkara,⁵²¹ and the

-
512. See, for example, SAT 2, 1006 (from AS 7 xii), recording wool from Šakuge, as a delivery for Šara of Apisal, transferred to the “debits” of Ur-E'e; obv. 2-4: mu-DU ^dšara₂ a-pi₄-sal₄^{ki} / ki ša₃-ku₃-ge-ta / ugu₂ ur-e₁₁-e ba-a-gar); SANTAG 6, 106 (from AS 1), recording products from Šakuge, as deliveries for Šara of Apisal, received by Ur-E'e, rev. 1-4: mu-DU ^dšara₂ a-pi₄-sal₄^{ki} / ki ša₃-ku₃-ge-ta / ur-e₁₁-e-ke₄ / šu ba-ti, compare to the identical text Syracuse 450 (from AS 4); MVN 14, 584 (from ŠS 2), recording bran as fodder for the birds of the house of Šara of Apisal, from Ur-E'e, obv. 1-5: duḥ sag₁₀ / ša₃-gal mušen / e₂ ^dšara₂ a-pi₄-sal₄^{ki}).
513. M. Stepien, *Animal Husbandry* (1996) 52.
514. See for example the shepherds mentioned in TCL 5, 6038 (from AS 7), and compare with the shepherds mentioned in the texts discussed here.
515. See also M. Stepien, *Animal Husbandry* (1996) 94 - 96.
516. The corresponding line-numbers from MCS 6, 10, BM 106041, are given in parentheses after the line-numbers from MCS 1, 54, BM 106045, whenever these are different. Obv. ii 26 - 27: kuš ab e₂ tur₃-ra / ki unu₃-de₃-ne-ta.
517. Abbagina, son of Lugal-Maguire, was also known as a provincial administrator; see for example Aaicab 1, 1911-228. This Abbagina should not be confused with the cow-herder by the same name.
518. The prominent position of the household of Gula in this text is not clear to me. Since this section is otherwise normally occupied by the household of Šara or the Da-Umma district it is possible to speculate that the household of Gula was in some way or another here a pseudonym for the household of Šara.
519. Obv. iv 12 - 13: gu₄ ^[d]gu-la / ugula KAS₄.
520. Obv. v 9: gu₄ gu₂-eden-[na] u₃ muš-[bi-an]-[┐]na [┐]. The agricultural overseers mentioned were Ur-Enun, GuTAR, Ur-Ninazu, Ipa'e, and Lu-dingira, all of whom we are by now familiar with (see above all pp. 250 - 254, in this study).
521. Obv. v 18 (33): gu₄ me-en-[kara₂]. The field Menkara was hardly a district, but perhaps an important field.

last (until obv. vi 8 (24)) recorded the overseers from (the district of) Apisal.⁵²² This entire section is designated as “the plow-oxen, from their cultivators”.⁵²³ The second main section, approximately corresponding to columns 7 and 8, record the deliveries of the shepherds.⁵²⁴ The first long list (column 7) records the shepherds under Ur-E’e,⁵²⁵ the second record the shepherds under EnKAS,⁵²⁶ and the last records the animals still coming from the e₂-du₆-la of Ur-Lisi.⁵²⁷ The last section (columns 9 and 10) records transfers of hides from Ur-E’e (until column 9, line 34 (38)), and from EnKAS (until column 10, line 4 (15)). The deliveries from Ur-E’e span the period from ŠS 3 through ŠS 5.

Assuming we understand these texts correctly, Ur-E’e was the main overseer of sheep and goats in the eastern regions of the Umma province, in particular the animals of the temple-households of Ninura, Šulgi, Inanna of Zabala, and Šara of Apisal, together with the temple-households of several other less important deities. EnKAS was the person responsible for the sheep and goats of the household of Šara of Umma, an altogether less powerful position than that of Ur-E’e. Atu, another chief cattle administrator, seems to have been in

522. Obv. vi 8 (24): gu₄ a-pi₄-sal₄^{ki}

523. Column 6 is broken, it has been reconstructed from MCS 1, 54, BM 106045, obv vi 33 - 34: gu₄ apin / [ki] engar-e-ne-<<ne>>-ta.

524. Obv. viii (ix) 28 (3): ki sipa nam-en-na-ke₄-ne-ta.

525. Obv. vii (viii) 26 (1): ugula ur-e₁₁-e.

526. Obv. viii 17 (28): ugula KAS₄.

527. Obv. viii 36: udu ʾ e₂ ʾ -du₆-la ʾ ur ʾ [d]li₉-si₄ ʾ ensi₂ ʾ .

charge of the large cattle of several households, but seems to be unrelated to the administration of sheep and goats, and its products. During the reign of Šu-Suen, Lu-Haya gradually took over more and more of the responsibilities of his father. According to M. Stepien, Lu-Haya also held the title chief cattle administrator,⁵²⁸ and was connected with the management of the large cattle of the household of Ninura.

528. M. Stepien, *Animal Husbandry* (1996) 61, concludes, after comparing Lu-Haya's activities with those of his father Ur-E'e, and the other Umma chief cattle administrators Atu (cattle), Lugal-azida (cattle), and EnKAS (called Girim by Stepien), that Lu-Haya, "must have had *per analogiam* the same title" (p. 61). Stepien divided the responsibilities of the Umma chief cattle administrators in the following way; Ur-E'e and EnKAS were in charge of sheep and goats and Atu, Lugal-azida, and Lu-Haya in charge of large cattle. As will be apparent from the preliminary investigation in this study it is likely that the organization was more complex than suggested by Stepien, and that Lu-Haya was in fact about to take over the entire responsibilities of his father, i.e., both small as well as large cattle.

Chapter 5: Section 9: Lu-Ḫaya

Lu-Ḫaya, a son of Ur-E'e, is mentioned for the first time in AS 6. He was probably younger than Lukala, the best known son of Ur-E'e, who was operating much earlier. Lu-Ḫaya was active until at least the end of Ur domination over Umma in IS 4. Lu-Ḫaya's own seal, which mentions the title of his father, chief cattle administrator, was rolled on all the tablets said to be sealed by him.⁵²⁹ Lu-Ḫaya is never himself mentioned with any title except for the regular expression in his seal, "scribe." No sons or daughters of Lu-Ḫaya are known, and we find no reference to his wife in the published record either.

Lu-Ḫaya fulfilled three obligations in his service to the state: he assisted his father and perhaps in the end acted as his successor as the chief cattle administrator of the household of Ninura in Apisal, he was a provincial administrator controlling several captains of (plow-)oxen, and he functioned as a mediator between the state (or perhaps the household of Ninura in Apisal) and the trade-agents (the damgar).

Lu-Haya's involvement in the activities of the trade-agents is above all ascertained from two accounts SNAT 504 (from ŠS 6), and SNAT 518 (from ŠS 7). SNAT 504 is a short text which is not a complete account, but it does record a number of commodities "booked out from the silver-account for the bala."⁵³⁰ This text suggests that Lu-Haya was in

529. See however the following text suggesting that administrators could deposit seals with an institution, perhaps accounting for the many different seals attested for some Umma administrators.

MVN 16, 628 (from ŠS 4 v):

Obverse.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. 1(diš) kišib ^{na4} za-gin ₃ ka-ba ku ₃ -sig ₁₇ | One lapis seal, on its mouth is set gold |
| gar gu-bi ku ₃ -babbar | its neck is silver |
| 3. lu ₂ - ^d ha-ia ₃ dumu ur-e ₁₁ -e šuš ₃ | (inscription(?):) "Lu-Haya, son of Ur-E'e, chief cattle administrator." |
| 4. 3(diš) u ₈ 1(diš) udu nita ₂ | Three ewes, one male sheep |
| 5. AG ašgab | ? of the leather worker. |
| 6. 1(diš) maš ₂ ^{geš} tukul ur- ^d ur ₃ -bar-tab | 1 goat, the weapon, Ur-Urbartab, |
| 7. 1(diš) maš ₂ ^d nin- ^h ur-sag ur- ^d a-šar ₂ | 1 goat, Ninhursag, Ur-Ašar, |

Reverse.

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(diš) kišib ^{na4} za-gin ₃ | Total: One lapis seal, on its mouth is set gold |
| ka-ba ku ₃ -sig ₁₇ gar gu-bi ku ₃ -babbar | its neck is of silver, |
| 3. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 3(diš) u ₈ | Total: three ewes, |
| 4. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(diš) udu nita ₂ | Total: one male sheep, |
| 5. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 2(diš) maš ₂ | Total: two goats. |
| 6. mu-DU ^d šara ₂ | Deliveries for Šara. |
| 7. iti RI mu ^d šu- ^d suen lugal-e bad ₃ | Month RI, Year: "Šu-Suen, the king, |
| mar-tu mu-ri-iq ti-id-ni-im mu-du ₃ | built the Amurite wall (called) Muriq-tidnim". |

530. *n* ku₃-babbar / nig₂-ka₉ ku₃-ta / / bala-še₃ / ŠU+NIGIN₂ *n* ku₃-babbar / zi-ga-am₃ / nig₂-ka₉-ak dam-gar₃ lu₂-^dha-ia₃ / *date*.

some way obliged to transfer funds to the central administration; the second text (translated here, in full) is essentially an account of the “field interest,” perhaps of the district of Apisal.

SNAT 518 (from ŠS 7), has the format of a regular dam-gar account:

“Debits:”

Obverse.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. [1(diš)] ma-na 3(diš) 1/3(diš) 𒀭 gin ₂ 𒀭 | 1 mana 3 1/3 shekels 11 1/2 grains of silver, |
| [1(u) 1(diš) 1/2(diš) še] ku ₃ -babbar | |
| 2. [ku ₃ maš ₂] a-ša ₃ -ga | (is) silver (for the) field interest, ⁵³¹ |
| 3. 3(diš) 2/3(diš) gin ₂ ku ₃ pa mušen | 3 2/3 shekels, (is) silver (for the)
bird-feather. ⁵³² |

(blank line)

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| 4. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(diš) ma-na 7(diš) gin ₂ | Total: 1 mana 7 shekels 11 1/2 grains |
| 1(u) 1(diš) 1/2(diš) še ku ₃ -babbar | of silver. |
| 5. ša ₃ -bi-ta | From that: |

“Credits”

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| 6. 1(diš) ma-na ku ₃ -babbar | 1 mana of silver, |
| 7. kišib gu-du-du | Sealed by Gududu. |
| 8. 2(diš) 5/6(diš) gin ₂ 2(u) 2(diš) | 2 5/6 shekels 22 1/2 grains silver |
| 1/2(diš) še ku ₃ maš ₂ a-ša ₃ -ga | (for the) field interest, |
| 9. gu-du-du | Gududu |
| 10. 1(diš) 1/2(diš) gin ₂ šu-nir | 1 1/2 shekels; emblem of Gu’edena |
| gu ₂ -eden-𒀭 na 𒀭 | |

Reverse

531. P. Steinkeller, JESHO 24 (1981)113-145.

532. “Silver for the bird-feather” appear mostly in a context similar to “silver for the goat-of-the-field,” but escapes all other meaningful interpretation. The texts are MVN 21, 344 (from AS 8 to ŠS 3); MVN 16, 910 (from AS 9); Nik 2, 401 (from ŠS 2); SANTAG 6, 315 (from ŠS 7 ix); SNAT 518 (from ŠS 7); TCL 5, 6045 (from AS 8 xii); and VO 8/1, 67 (from ŠS 8 xi).

(blank line)	
1. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ 1(diš) 𐎠ma 𐎠na 4(diš)	Total: 1 mana 4 1/3 shekels
1/3(diš) gin ₂ 2(u) 2(diš) 1/2(diš) še	22 1/2 grains of silver
ku ₃ -barbar ₂	
2. zi-ga-am ₃	is booked out.
<i>“Operating balance”</i>	
3. la ₂ -ia ₃ 2(diš) 2/3(diš) gin ₂	Deficit: 2 2/3 shekels minus
la ₂ 1(u) še ku ₃ -babbar	10 grains of silver,
(blank line)	
<i>“Colophon”</i>	
4. nig ₂ -ka ₉ -ak lu ₂ - ^d ḥa-ia ₃	Account concerning Lu-Ḥaya.
5. mu ^d šū- ^d suen lugal-e ma-da	Year: “Šu-Suen, the king,
za-ab-ša-li ^{ki} mu-ḥul	destroyed the district of Zabšali”.

The “debits” of SNAT 518 corresponds approximately to half the “field interest” of the district of Apisal when Ur-E’e controlled it.⁵³³ The “credits” were in fact received by Gududu, acting as a chief administrator of the governor, and called “field interest,” as well as silver for the emblem of Gu’dena.

Although Lu-Ḥaya is mentioned in the wool-accounts of both Luduga, from ŠS 3,⁵³⁴ and Ur-E’e, from ŠS 4,⁵³⁵ as well as a short account concerning Lu-Ḥaya himself written in ŠS 4,⁵³⁶ it was not before ŠS 9 that Lu-Ḥaya became intricately involved in the

533. See above (pp. 200 - 201) concerning Ur-E’e.

534. Receiving the entire “credits” in MVN 14, 234 (from ŠS 2 to 3).

535. SANTAG 6, 288 (from ŠS 4).

536. AnOr 7, 260 (from ŠS 4), an account recording less than 100 animals and their wool(-production).

administration of livestock (see SNAT 526). This coincides fairly closely with the termination of his father's tenure as chief cattle administrator, and it is possible that Lu-Ḫaya inherited his father's office. Two texts dated to the 9th month of ŠS 9, and the 8th month of IS 3, respectively, are among the clearest evidence that Lu-Ḫaya held the office chief cattle administrator. SNAT 526 (from ŠS 9 ix),⁵³⁷ perhaps related to the accounting processes connected with the death of the king, is an account of cattle, subscripted /sila/.⁵³⁸ The animals belonged to the households of Šara in Apisal and Ninura in Apisal—Atu was foreman of the first group and Lu-Ḫaya of the second. The list of herders recorded in Lu-Ḫaya's section, can be compared with a known list of herders associated with that institution.⁵³⁹ Other texts can also be cited to the effect that Lu-Ḫaya took over the office of his father around the time of ŠS 8 or 9.⁵⁴⁰

Several texts record that a transaction was sealed with the nam-šatam seal of Lu-Ḫaya (kišib nam-ša₃-tam lu₂-ḫa-ia₃),⁵⁴¹ adding Lu-Ḫaya to the group of high-level

537. See also the parallel text TIM 6, 46 (from IS 3 viii).

538. See p. 176 + fn. 449, above.

539. See R. Englund, CDLB 2003:1 §9, and M. Stepien, *Animal Husbandry* (1996) 54 - 62.

540. Several texts can be cited in favor of this theory, above all texts such as MVN 14, 525 (from IS 2), a text which lists large numbers of sheep and lambs termed ki-ba ba-a-gar, booked out from Lu-Ḫaya for the bala, and received by Ušmu, the well-known Umma fattener.

541. See, for example, MVN 13, 573 (from ŠS 9 xi 25 to xii), a text concerned with fodder for dogs (ša₃-gal ur-gi₇-ra) which has the nam-šatam seal of Lu-Ḫaya. See also Princeton 1, 185 (from AS 8), a similar text sealed by Lu-Ḫaya's father Ur-E'e.

administrators who functioned—Lu-Haya perhaps together with his cousin Lu-Šulgi(ra),⁵⁴² the son of Dadaga—as administrators of specific agricultural groupings. The following text example (MVN 16, 751), with no date, is a list of two administrative groups, one controlled by Lu-Haya, the other controlled by Lu-Šulgi(ra), both were called foremen (ugula) in this text. Each of them also figured as the first entry of their group and received the largest rations (supposing this text to be a record of rations!). The people mentioned in this text are the same as those mentioned together in several texts as captains of (plow-)oxen.

MVN 16, 751 (no date):⁵⁴³

Obverse.

1. 3(geš ₂) gur lu ₂ - ^d ha- ^Γ ia ₃ ^Γ	180 gur: Lu-Haya,
2. 1(u) ur- ^d igi ^Γ -zi-bar-ra	10 gur: Ur-Igizibara,
3. 4(u) ^Γ inim ^Γ [^d]šara ₂	40 gur: Inim-Šara,
4. 4(u) [...] -a-ga	40 gur: x-aga,
5. 4(u) [?]-mu-U ₂ .U ₂ ⁵⁴⁴	40 gur: Mu'u'u (?),
6. 1(u) a-a- ^Γ kal ^Γ -[la]	10 gur: Ayakala,
7. 4(u) lugal- ^Γ ku ₃ ^Γ -[ga-ni]	40 gur: Lugal-kugani,

542. See, for example, BIN 5, 258 (from ŠS 6), for a reference to the nam-šatam seal of Lu-Šulgi(ra), rev.

4: kišib nam-ša₃-tam lu₂-^dšul-gi-ra.

543. The text transliterated here might very well be a practice tablet since it lacks a date and does not mention any institutional information

544. See SNAT 531 (from IS 3 i), for a reference to a person Mu'u'u active in the agricultural sector of the economy:

Obverse.

7'. 4(barig) še šuku ša₃-gu₄ kišib mu-u₂-u₂ 4 barig of barley, is the subsistence of the ox-driver, sealed by Mu'u'u.

8. 6(aš) lu ₂ -dingir- [┘] ra [┘] [┘] dumu [┘] u ₃ -dag- [┘] ga [┘]	6 gur: Lu-dingira, the son of Udaga,
9. 4(u) lu ₂ -dingir-ra nu-banda ₃ gu ₄	40 gur: Lu-dingira, the captain of (plow-)oxen,
10. lu ₂ - ^d šara ₂ nu-banda ₃ gu ₄ (blank line)	- Lu-Šara, the captain of (plow-)oxen,
11) [┘] 6(geš ₂) [┘] 4(u) 6(aš) [┘] gur [┘]	Total: 406 gur,
12) [ugula lu ₂ - ^d] [┘] ha [┘] [┘] ia ₃	Foreman: Lu- <u>H</u> aya.
Reverse.	
1. 3(geš ₂) [lu ₂]- ^d šul-gi-ra	180 gur: Lu-Šulgira,
2. 3(u) [┘] al [┘] -la-palil ₂ (IGI.ŠE.DU) ⁵⁴⁵	30 gur: Alla-palil,
3. 4(u) lu ₂ -dingir-ra	40 gur: Lu-dingira,
4. 4(u) ^d šara ₂ -kam	40 gur: Šarakam,
5. 4(u) gu ₂ -TAR	40 gur: GuTAR,
6. 4(u) e ₂ - [┘] gal [┘] [┘] e-si	40 gur: Egalesi,
7. 2(u) ur-[...]-na	20 gur: Ur-[enun?]na, ⁵⁴⁶
8. 4(u) ur- ^{geš} gigir	40 gur: Ur-gigir,
9. 2(u) inim- ^d šara ₂	20 gur: Inim-Šara

545. See MVN 21, 114 (from ŠS 6), for a reference to the seal of Alla-palil, note that he himself could seal as a nam-šatam:

Reverse.

...

7. kišib nam-ša₃-tam al-la-palil₂

Seal.

1. al-la-[┘]palil₂[┘]

2. dub-sar

3. dumu ur-a-a-mu

546. The reconstruction is based on the fact that Ur-Enuna is often mentioned within the same administrative group.

10. 2(u)+[n] lu ₂ -[...] -la	20 + gur: Lu-[...]la
[(blank line)]	
11. [...]	Total: [...]
12. ugula lu ₂ - ^d šul ^ṽ -[gi-ra]	Foreman: Lu-Šulgira.

All of the persons mentioned in this text are known agricultural overseers, sometimes mentioned with the title captain of (plow-)oxen, sometimes as foremen (ugula). They each directed a number of cultivators who in turn directed a number of ox-drivers.

Based on a comparison with MCS 1, 54, BM 106045, where some of the same people were mentioned, it seems likely that the second section of MVN 16, 751, recorded the agricultural overseers of Gu'dena and Mušbiana. Perhaps the first section recorded the overseers from the Apisal district? Lu-Ḫaya may have been in control of this group of agricultural overseers for several reasons: he could have been the administrator of state or temple lands, or he could have been administrating his own (prebend) lands.

One group of texts, exclusively written on three-sided bullae, were sealed by either Ur-E'e or one of his sons, Lu-Ḫaya or Lukala, sometimes together with Ur-Nungal, the archivist.⁵⁴⁷ These bullae all recorded the regular provisions (sa₂-du₁₁)⁵⁴⁸ for the couriers stationed in Umma or at the "tower"⁵⁴⁹ (an-za-gar₃) on the Girsu-canal (i₇ gir-su^{ki}).⁵⁵⁰

547. Two texts were sealed by the governor Hermitage 3, 514 (= Erm 15302) (from AS 7 iv), and OrSP 47-49, 373 (from AS 7 ix 29).

548. Although sa₂-du₁₁ is usually translated as "regular offerings" it is certain that a translation "regular delivery" is more correct, since it applies to humans as well as gods.

BRM 3, 12 (from ŠS 4 x 30), has been chosen as a typical example of a text from this

group:⁵⁵¹

Side 1.

- | | |
|--|--|
| 1. 4(barig) 5(ban ₂) 5(diš) sila ₃ kaš sag ₁₀ | 4 barig, 5 ban and 5 sila of good beer, |
| 2. 1(aš) 4(barig) 5(ban ₂) kaš DU gur | 1 gur, 4 barig, and 5 ban
of regular quality beer, |
| 3. 1(aš) 4(barig) 1(ban ₂) ninda DU gur | 1 gur 4 barig, and 1 ban
of regular quality bread, |
| 4. 1(ban ₂) 7(diš) 1/2 sila ₃
igi-sag sum gaz | 1 ban and seven and a half sila of best
quality crushed garlic, |
| 6. 1(ban ₂) 1/2(diš) sila ₃ i ₃ -geš | 1 ban and a half sila of sesame oil, |
| 7. 7(diš) sila ₃ 4(diš) gin ₂ naga
┌ gaz _x ┐ (KUM) | 7 sila 4 shekels of crushed alkali, |
| 8. sa ₂ -du ₁₁ kaš ₄ ša ₃ umma ^{ki} | regular provisions for the couriers
while in Umma, |
| 9. ┌ giri ₃ ┐ ^{d_v} šara ₂ -za-me | via Šara-zame. |

Side 2.

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| 1. ┌ kišib ┐ lu ₂ -kal-la u ₃ | Sealed by Lukala and |
|---|----------------------|

-
549. For a location of the tower of the Girsu-canal see W. Heimpel, "Towards an Understanding of the term siKKum," RA 88 (1994) 9 and 18.
550. The first example from this group of texts is Nebraska 43 (from AS 5 ix), which was sealed with the seal of Ur-E'e. The two last texts date to IS 2 month 6, one (CST 872) sealed by Lukala, the other (CST 873) by Ur-Nungal. The last text with the seal of Ur-E'e is AR RIM 4, 28 (from ŠS 4 vi). However, Ur-E'e is mentioned as late as ŠS 5 viii, in the body of MVN 15, 96. Unfortunately the seal on that text is illegible. The first text to be sealed by Lukala was Hermitage 3, 512 (= Erm 15010) (from AS 7 i), the first to have the seal of Ur-Nungal was Hermitage 3, 515 (= Erm 15280) (from AS 8 iii). Ur-Nungal sealed some documents alone, and several together with Lukala, but never with anyone else. Lu-Ḫaya sealed only one text: OrSP 47-49, 457 (from ŠS 9 viii).
551. See F. Pomponio, "Lukalla of Umma," ZA 82 (1992) 172 - 179, for a discussion of these texts.

2. ur- ^d nun-gal-ka	Ur-Nungal,
3. iti ezem ^d šul-gi u ₄ 3(u)-kam	Month “Festival of Šulgi”, on the 30 th day,
4. mu ^d š _u - ^d suen lugal uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma-ke ₄ bad ₃ mar-tu mu-ri-ig-ti-id-ni-im mu-du ₃	Year: “Šu-Suen, the king of Ur, built the Amurite wall (called) Muriq-tidnim”.
5. ur-gi ₆ -par ₄ [u ₃] lu ₂ -sukkal? ib ₂ -gi-[ne ₂]	Ur-Gipar and Lu-Sukkal made it firm.

Side 3.

Seal 1

1. ur- ^d nun-gal	Ur-Nungal,
2. dub-sar	scribe,
3. dumu ur- ^d šara ₂	son of Ur-Šara,
4. ša ₁₃ -dub-ba-ka	the archivist.

Seal 2.

1. lu ₂ -kal-la	Lukala,
2. dub-sar	scribe,
3. dumu ur-e ₁₁ -e šuš ₃	son of Ur-E’e, the chief cattle administrator.

These deliveries could also include animals. So far, no connection between these texts and any other group of texts has been observed—the fact that Ur-Nungal seals together with Lukala on several bullae reinforces our understanding of his position in society as an archivist of the governor.

Chapter 5: Section 10: Lukala, chief household administrator of the governor

The chief household administrator (šabra e₂) of the governor is an office well attested in third millennium sources.⁵⁵² However, Umma sources from the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur do not frequently report this title, nor the simpler title chief administrator (šabra).⁵⁵³ Nevertheless, it appears certain that Lukala, and along with him his predecessors, Dadaga and Ayakala, and his successor Gududu, all at some point in their careers held an office comparable to that of the chief household administrator of the governor (šabra e₂ ensi₂). This claim will be substantiated in the following section.

From the entire corpus of Umma texts, I have found only one text in which Lukala is not merely called scribe (dub-sar). In this text, MVN 16, 1294, Lukala is called chief administrator (šabra). The title chief household administrator is attested frequently in Ur III Girsu texts, where the office seems to relate to the ruling family and the household of the governor.⁵⁵⁴ Since a few Girsu texts also mention a Lukal(kal)a with the title chief administrator (šabra) (for example, TCTI 2, 4177 (no date) obverse, column 1, line 6; udu lu₂-kal-kal-la šabra) great caution must be taken when evaluating the single text which mentions Lukala, the šabra, in an Umma context.⁵⁵⁵

552. J.-P. Grégoire, *Archives Administratives Sumériennes*, (= AAS; Paris 1970) xv.

553. For the use of the title šabra in the agricultural record see K. Maekawa, *Zinbun* 22 (1987) 40.

MVN 16, 1294 (from ŠS 3 x):

Obverse

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1. 1(diš) u ₈ ba-uš ₂ | One ewe, slaughtered. |
| 2. še-ta sa ₁₀ -a | Bartered for barley, |
| 3. ki lu ₂ -kal-la sipa-ta | From Lukala, the shepherd, |

Reverse

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. kišib lu ₂ -kal-la šabra
(seal) | Sealed by Lukala, the chief administrator. |
| 2. iti ezem d ^š ul-gi | Month “Festival of Šulgi”. |
| 2. mu si-ma-num ₂ ^{ki} ba-ḫul | Year: “Simanum was destroyed”. |

Seal

- | | |
|---|---|
| 1. lu ₂ -kal-[la] | Lukala |
| 2. dub-sar | the scribe |
| 3. dumu ur-e ₁₁ -e [šuš ₃] | son of Ur-E'e [chief cattle administrator]. |

The seal rolled on this text is the standard seal of Lukala which was rolled on more than 500 texts. Had this text been a random receipt from an unknown person, its relevance would have been more restricted. This receipt from the rather well known shepherd

-
554. In Girsu the well-known system of a temple administration headed by a sanga-priest and a šabra-administrator is elucidated by texts such as HSS 4, 4 (see also R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 58 - 63). The existence of an office of chief household administrator of the governor is also amply attested in the sources, see, for example, TUT 259 (from Š 48xi), mentioning Ur-Lamma, chief household administrator. He is otherwise known primarily through his sons. See also TCTI 2, 4226 (from ŠS 1), mentioning Lu-Ningirsu the chief household administrator. The activities of the Girsu chief household administrator seem to have been primarily concerned with the daily management of the household. YOS 18, 115 (no date), rev. vii, may allude to the staff of the chief household administrator.
555. Two Umma texts mention a person Lukala with the title šabra, without any positive means of connecting this person to Lukala the son of Ur-E'e: Geogica 8.3.2 (from AS 7), obv. ii 23; and MVN 21, 343 (from ŠS 3), obv. i 18 and rev. i 1.

Lukala⁵⁵⁶ is part of a long sequence of receipts of dead animals, sealed by Lukala, son of Ur-E'e, during his tenure as the chief household administrator of the governor. The phrase “bartered for barley” appears in three texts sealed by Lukala, the son of Ur-E'e; twice the shepherd was Imani (title inferred),⁵⁵⁷ and twice the shepherd was named Lukala (title given).⁵⁵⁸ All four texts were from either month 10 or month 12 from the year ŠS 3, and three out of four of these texts recorded only one ewe. The phrase “bartered for barley” occurs with some frequency in the Umma material altogether, but only in recording reed and animals.⁵⁵⁹

When Dadaga, and before him Ayakala, sealed receipts concerning deliveries of dead animals from individual shepherds, it is credible that they too held the office as chief household administrator. However, no shepherds were called Dadaga or Ayakala, eliminating the need for ever using a title when recording these transactions. It is clear that the reason behind using the title of Lukala, son of Ur-E'e, in this particular text lies with an urge to avoid any misunderstanding of who was chief household administrator (šabra (e₂)) and who was the shepherd (sipa(d)) in a record where both were named the same. However, we must

556. See for example NYPL 330 (from Š 45), obv. 1: 3(barig) zi₃ lu₂-kal-la sipa, and MVN 15, 390 (from Š 37 iii to vii), obv. i 30: lu₂-kal-la sipa.

557. See MVN 16, 1559 (from ŠS 3 x), and MVN 14, 320 (from ŠS 3 xii); both texts record one ewe.

558. See MVN 16, 1294 (from ŠS 3 x), mentioned above, and MVN 14, 389 (from ŠS 3 xii); both texts record one ewe, MVN 14, 389 adds a male sheep and one goat.

559. “Bartered for barley” can be compared to the phrase “bartered for silver” which is attested even more rarely, and in an unqualified context. “Bartered for silver” is used in relation to all aspects of the economy, including man-days.

consider the parallel text MVN 14, 389 (from ŠS 3 xii), which also mentions Lukala, the shepherd, as the delivering agent of several dead animals, and Lukala as the sealing party. Although the text is sealed with the same seal of Lukala, the son of Ur-E'e, the text lacks any identification of Lukala as chief (household) administrator (šabra). There is other evidence, however, that suggests that Lukala held the office of chief household administrator, above all his involvement in the business of the province as described below, and the bala-contribution of the governor.

Close to 300 texts have been published recording deliveries made by several shepherds, and sealed by either Ayakala, Dadaga, Lukala, or Gududu (some other Umma administrators also sealed similar tablets from the same shepherds, but these transactions and their possible interpretation are noted under the respective persons).⁵⁶⁰ The first of these texts in chronological order was Aleppo 368 (from Š 37 iii); it recorded the delivery of one dead ewe (further classified as foreign (kur)) from Ur-Ištaran, sealed by Ayakala. Ayakala sealed approximately 16 such texts from Š 37, month 3, to Š 39, month 2,⁵⁶¹ with his regular seal (see above); all of these animals were classified as “slaughtered” (ba-uš₂), and all were delivered by either Ur-Ištaran or Urru, two well-known shepherds. Dadaga who was mentioned as the sealing party in 34 texts took over after Ayakala in Š 39 month 9.⁵⁶²

560. These texts should not be confused with other receipts for animals, see, for example, CST 781 (from ŠS 2), recording animals for siskur-offerings, received by Dadaga, and sealed with Dadaga's own seal. This document falls within the period of Dadaga's nephew Lukala's tenure as chief household administrator.

561. MVN 14, 5 (from Š 39 ii), and OrSP 47-49, 206 (from Š 39 ii).

Dadaga received the animals from the shepherds Ur-Ištaran, Urru and Lugal-azida. Dadaga is mentioned in this connection for the last time in the 12th month of Šulgi's last year.⁵⁶³ Dadaga, however, never used his own seal to seal these tablets. Rather, all of the texts that mentioned Dadaga as the sealing party had the seal of a person named Luduga rolled upon them. During the first half of the period when Dadaga held office as chief household administrator, the seal he used was that of Luduga, the son of Nigar-kidu. During the latter half he used the seal of Luduga, the son of Ur-Nigar. No texts have been found dating to the first year of Amar-Suen. From AS 2 the same sort of deliveries were sealed by Lukala.⁵⁶⁴ Lukala sealed more than 200 documents recording the delivery of one or several dead animals. Lukala was presumably followed by Gududu, in ŠS 9, as the Umma official sealing receipts of dead sheep and goats. The last text mentioning Lukala as the sealing party in this is from ŠS 6, month 13,⁵⁶⁵ the first to mention Gududu is from ŠS 9, month 10.⁵⁶⁶ I have no explanation for this break in the textual record. Only a few texts from this group sealed by Gududu have survived, perhaps due to the late date of his tenure and the corresponding decrease in records altogether. Below (figure 9) is a graphic representation of the sequence of people holding the office of governor and those holding the proposed office of chief

562. MVN 14, 66 (from Š 39 ix). One text sealed by Dadaga; Akkadica 7 pl. 1 2, falls within the sequence of Ayakala.

563. Aleppo 395 (from Š 48 xii).

564. See Ligabue 15 (from AS 2 vii). No texts have been found from AS 3, but the sequence restarts with BM 107994 (from AS 4 i).

565. SANTAG 6, 307 (from ŠS 6 xiii); see also CST 793 (from ŠS 7).

566. MVN 14, 493 (ŠS 9 x).

household administrator of the governor. The administrators who occasionally acted as chief household administrators are also listed.

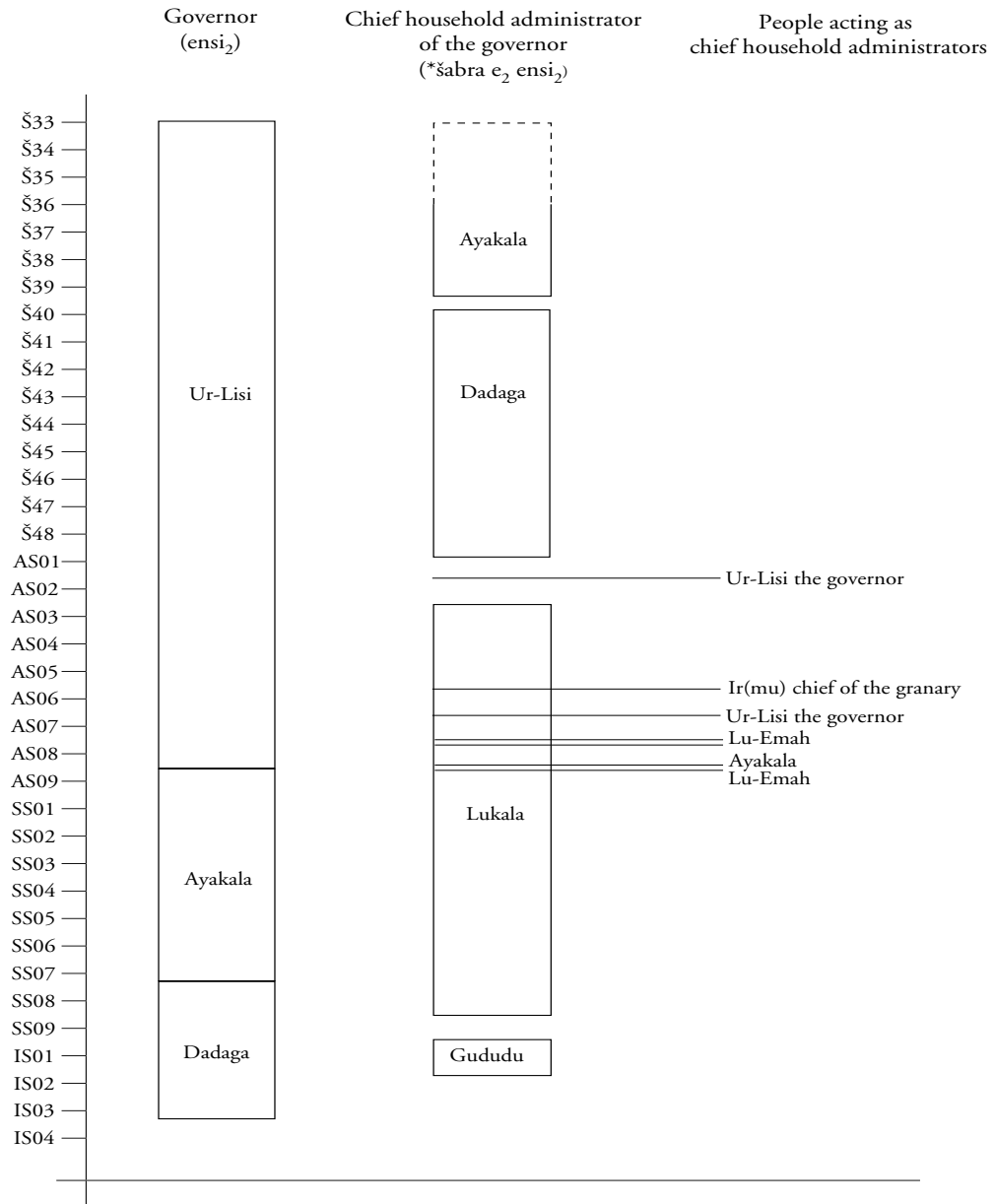


Figure 9: Sequence of persons holding the title of chief household administrator of the governor.

It cannot be proven that Lukala, the son of Ur-E'e, was active in the administration of Umma prior to Š 48. A person named Lukala with the title of overseer appears in a number of texts from before this date, but there is no reason to believe that he was identical with the son of Ur-E'e by the same name.⁵⁶⁷ Between Amar-Suen's first year and the end of Ur domination over Umma, only one person named Lukala carried a seal. Thus it is likely that all attestations of a high-ranking Lukala—a Lukala entitled scribe—referred to Lukala, son of Ur-E'e, the member of the ruling family of Umma. Nothing is known about Lukala's own family. Since he is never mentioned with a title specific to any office (save for the one example quoted here), it is impossible to ascertain whether any of the people claiming to be sons of Lukala were, indeed, sons of Lukala, the chief household administrator.⁵⁶⁸

567. Note, however, the dedicatory seal rolled on BIN 5, 232 (from Š 37): ur-^dli₉-si₄ / ensi₂ umma^{ki} / lu₂-kal-la // 𒌦 x 𒌦[x] / ir₁₁-[zu].

568. Among the other people in Umma called Lukala we find Lukala the cultivator (engar) (for example, AAS 83 [no date]). The text Aleppo 51 (no date), has a peculiar seal inscription mentioning Lukala, the son of Lugal-ezem. Compare this text to Aleppo 132 (no date), which is said to be sealed by Lukala, but carries the seal of Lugal-ezem, the well known agricultural overseer and son of Lugal-Emahe. This Lukala, son of Lugal-ezem, then, is likely to be identical with the cultivator by that name; he was perhaps a junior member of the family of Dada. See, in that regard, SAT 2, 77 (from Š 33 vi), obv. ii 9, which offers conclusive evidence in support of this reconstruction. Among the other people named Lukala, we find Lukala, the son of Lugal-Suen (see for example, Aleppo 62 [from Š 35vii], with seal inscription); Lukala, son of Uludi (ulu₃-di) (see for example, UCT 3, 334 [no year, month 11], with seal inscription); Lukala, the shepherd (see, for example, NYPL 121 [from AS 6]; MCS 1, 54, BM 106045 [from ŠS 5] (title nagada); MVN 15, 390 [from Š 37 iii to vii] (title sipa)); Lukala the oil-presser (for example, BIN 5, 277 [AS 8?]). Lukala, the forester (see, for example, BM 104774 (unpubl.)); Lukala the police-officer (see for example, MCS 7, 22 BM 105330 [from Š 43]); Lukala, the overseer (ugula) (see, for example, MVN 13, 316 [from Š 42 ii]; Rochester 173 [from Š 37 v]); Lukala, the scribe of beer (for example, Nebraska 39 [no year, month 11]).

As long as Lukala is attested in the extant sources, he also held the office of chief household administrator of the governor. Lukala very seldomly sealed documents which seem to relate to the activities of a provincial administrator, and no certain use of a nam-šatam seal can be ascertained for Lukala.⁵⁶⁹ All the activities of Lukala can, therefore, with some justification be claimed to represent those of a chief household administrator.

Lukala not only oversaw agricultural work done by workers from the teams of agricultural workers as well as workers from the workshops of the Umma households,⁵⁷⁰ he also functioned as a foreman of large work-crews himself.⁵⁷¹

Relatively few accounts of the work of female dependent workers (nig₂-ka₉-ak a₂ geme₂) have been recovered.⁵⁷² Three of these mention Lukala in the colophon: Aegyptus

569. One text concerned with labor, SNAT 495 (from ŠS 4), directly states that it has been sealed with the nam-šatam seal of Lukala; however the seal rolled on that document was published as: lu₂-kal-la / dub-sar / dumu ur-nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar} šuš₃ (see also MVN 15, 83 [from ŠS 4]). This unique reference might, however, be the result of a copying error. The text was unavailable to me, and the seal is not included in the catalogue of R. Mayr, *Seal Impressions* (1997). Note that the parallel text AAS 26 (from ŠS 6 vii to viii), which failed to use the phrase ‘kišib nam-ša₃-tam’, was sealed with a seal of Lukala where the patronym is apparently missing.

570. See MVN 16, 1047 (from ŠS 6 iii), recording workers from Agu’s basketry workshop working in the fields, sealed by Lukala, Nik 2, 103 (from ŠS 6), recording leather workers likewise doing field-work sealed by Lukala, and credited to Ayakala (presumably the chief of the leather-workers). Whereas one account concerning Agu has been found (TCL 5, 6036 [from AS 4]), no such text has ever been discovered concerning Ayakala.

571. It is possible that the work-crew of Lukala was previously managed by Dadaga when he held the office of chief household administrator; see, in particular, CHEU 49 (from Š 48 ii 1), where Dadaga is listed first among the well-known Umma milling-foremen as being responsible for a work-crew of his own.

21, 159 (from AS 8 i to xi); MVN 21, 200 (from AS 2); and MVN 21, 201 (from AS 5).⁵⁷³

The amount of work-days recorded in each of these three texts surpasses, by far, those of the other accounts of the work of female dependent workers. Only the account concerning Lu-dingira, the scribe of flour, rivals that of Lukala.

The first entry in the “debits” section of all three accounts (in MVN 21, 201 following a “remainder”) is an artificial computation of the average number of female dependent workers available each day during the period of accounting. The calculation of the work-days of the crew was presumably aided by the work-crew inventories mentioned above, pp 74 - 78. A normal work-crew of female dependent workers seems to have averaged 30 women in total, Lukala’s crew totaled more than one hundred dependent female workers.⁵⁷⁴

It seems reasonable to assume that this work-crew was the permanent staff of the mill of the governor’s household.⁵⁷⁵ Producing for the governor and his bala-obligations.

Three large accounts have survived that closely tie Lukala and the household of the governor to the production of pottery.⁵⁷⁶ Whereas the summary statement “pottery-worker-

572. JNES 50, 255-80 (from ŠS 4), the name of the responsible person is broken; MVN 21, 204 (from ŠS 7?), account concerning Lu-balasaga; STA 2 (from AS 4), account concerning Lu-dingira, scribe of flour; TCL 5, 5669 (from Š 48 i to xii), account concerning Lugal-inimgina.

573. In both texts, from MVN 21, almost the entire “credits” section is devoted to milling grain for the bala.

574. See also AnOr 7, 226 (from ŠS 6), recording a transfer of 3 female milling workers from the crew of Ur-Nintu to the crew of Ur-Suen and Dagu, sealed by Lukala (with regular seal of Lukala).

575. See, for example, YOS 18, 115 (no date), rev. i 2-3 and 14, perhaps to be understood as an inventory of the female workers of the mill of the governors household, among other staff.

576. MVN 1, 232 (from Š 43 iii); MVN 21, 203 (from AS 8); and MVN 1, 231 (from AS 4).

account concerning Lukala” is only attested in the recently published text MVN 21, 203 (from AS 8), it can be suggested that at least one of the other texts contained such a statement, namely MVN 1, 231. This text is an exact parallel from AS 4; the work-crew of the two texts is largely identical, as is the production according to standing orders.⁵⁷⁷

The pottery-workshop of the governor’s household is the only such workshop attested in Umma; however, the production figures of that workshop suggest that it had monopolized Umma pottery production. Contrary to what has been suggested in some recent studies,⁵⁷⁸ there is now evidence to suggest that the potter—like other work-groups—worked full time for the state, and with only a limited number of “days off” (a₂ u₄-du₈-a).⁵⁷⁹

Lukala did not personally manage the delivery of all the finished products (which were credited to his account); rather, a member of his work-crew (presumably an overseer) was responsible for transferring most products from Lukala’s workshop to other Umma households.⁵⁸⁰

577. D. Snell, *Ledgers* (1982) 96 - 99 + appendix 2, 270 - 278. Snell did not describe standing orders within the production of household items. Both the workshops discussed here, as well as the basketry workshop documented in the account TCL 5, 6036, produced according to standing orders.

578. P. Steinkeller, “The Organisation of Crafts in third Millennium Babylonia: The Case of Potters,” *AoF* 23 (1996) 232-253. W. Sallaberger, *Der Babylonische Töpfer* (= UHEM 3; Ghent 1996).

579. The work-crew in MVN 1, 231, and MVN 21, 203, is almost identical. In both texts the foreman is debited with the full work-time of the workers, that is, all 12 month of the year. See the forthcoming study by the author. Compare this with V. Struve, “Some new data” (1969) 139.

580. My interpretation differs here substantially from that of W. Sallaberger, UHEM 3 (1996) 35.

Since Lukala appears very frequently as the contributor, or recipient, of large (as well as small) amounts of silver, and since the silver involved in the so-called balanced trade-agent accounts have received enormous attention from historians of late third millennium economic history, the office headed by Lukala was named the fiscal office of Umma, or the “irrigation office,” and Lukala himself, the “silver comptroller” of Umma.⁵⁸¹

The amounts of silver debited or credited to the account of Lukala did not, as a rule, represent real metal, but rather obligations enumerated in terms of silver equivalencies. This can be inferred from the fact that it is impossible to trace any particular amount (representing a piece) of silver from one account to another, which would have happened had the metal been a physical commodity. The amounts of silver received by Lukala from a wide range of individuals represented mostly arrears from shepherds, cultivators or foremen. Amounts of silver were also entered into the books as payments for the so-called “field interest” the maš-ašaga. It is likely, but not certain, that Lukala was transferring this metal into the “debits” section of the accounts of the trade-agents.

Lukala was presumably also the overseer of the Umma colony of trade-agents, as suggested by TCL 5, 6037, the colophon of which is given here:

TCL 5, 6037 (from ŠS 6):

Reverse column 10.

...

581. See P. Steinkeller, *JESHO* 24 (1981) 121. P. Steinkeller, *AOS* 68 (1987) 76 + fn. 17. T. Maeda, *ASJ* 18 (1996) 254-260. Snell gave Lukala the title “Comptroller,” and devoted a section to his office, see, D. Snell, *Ledgers* (1982) 77 - 81.

- | | |
|--|--------------------------------------|
| 10. nig ₂ -ka ₉ -ak dam-gar ₃ -ne | Account of trade-agents, |
| 11. lu ₂ -kal-la | concerning Lukala. |
| 12. mu ^d su ^d -suen lugal uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma-ke ₄ | Year: “Šu-Suen, the king of Ur |
| na-ru ₂ -a maḥ [d ^{en}]-lil ₂ [d ⁿⁱⁿ]-lil ₂ -ra | erected the lofty stela of Enlil and |
| [mu-ne]-r ru ₂ | Ninli’. |

Although no such account has survived it is the hypothesis of this study that Lukala managed the flow of wealth from Umma to the imperial center, as is indicated by the tablet container Hirose 405 (from ŠS to 8):

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. pisan dub-ba | Tablet container: |
| 2. nig ₂ -ka ₉ -ak bala-a | Bala-accounts |
| 3. lu ₂ -kal-la | (concerning) Lukala, |
| 4. mu ma-da za-ab-ša-li ^{ki} | from the year: “Zabšali (was destroyed)”, |
| 5. u ₃ mu ma ₂ -r gur ₈ r ma ₂ | and the year: “the lofty barge
(was fashioned)”. |

Reverse.

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| 1. i ₃ -r gal ₂ | are present. |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|

He certainly also managed the wealth of the governor, which is above all ascertained from the colophon of the short account Ledgers pl. 23 13 (from ŠS 1 to 5):

Reverse.

...

- | | |
|--|---|
| 9. nig ₂ -ka ₉ -ak ku ₃ ensi ₂ -ka | Silver-account concerning the governor, |
| 10. giri ₃ lu ₂ -kal-la | conveyor: Lukala. |

....

As a collector of field interest and a foreman of the Umma trade-agent colony Lukala naturally transferred large amounts of silver from one account to another. The economic

importance of the production of the work-crew he oversaw by far out-weighed that of the silver business.

Finally, the phrase “on the command of Lukala” is rather well attested, certifying his high-ranking position and his close relationship with the ruling clan.⁵⁸²

582. The texts are: BIN 3, 549 (from AS 9 viii); BM 105444 (unpubl.) (from ŠS 7 ii); BM 105444 (unpubl.) (from ŠS 7 ii); MCS 3, 86 BM 105455 (from AS 9 vii); MVN 16, 1516 (from AS 8); Princeton 1, 150 (from ŠS 1 viii); UTI 4, 2924 (from AS 9 vii); and UTI 4, 2991 (from ŠS 1).

Chapter 5: Section 11: Ir(mu), chief of the granary, brother of the governor

Ir(mu),⁵⁸³ the brother of the governor, held the office “chief of the granary” (Sumerian KA-guru₇) from the middle of the reign of Šulgi (Š 33) until at least the end of Amar-Suen’s reign, and perhaps considerably longer. I have already referred to the texts concerning Ir(mu)’s accession to office when describing Ur-Lisi, Ir(mu)’s predecessor as chief of the granary (p. 156 + fn. 398). In this section I will try to describe his office in greater detail.⁵⁸⁴

Little is known about Ir(mu)’s own family; the few extant references to his wife do not reveal her name.⁵⁸⁵ We only know, for certain, the name of one of Ir(mu)’s sons, Šara-izu, although he may have had more than one.⁵⁸⁶ This Šara-izu was certainly identical with the person mentioned in the colophon of TCNU 468 (from IS 3), a text which seems to be

583. Ir(mu)’s name is almost exclusively spelled ir₁₁ in the body of the texts, but always ir₁₁-mu in his seal-inscription.

584. A guru₇ is both a very large unit of measurement in the capacity system (equal to 3,600 gur or approximately one million liters), as well as a word for the physical structure of a granary. The sign KA may refer to the opening (mouth) of the silo, analogous to the Sumerian word for the opening of a canal, ka i₇-da. Thus, the KA-guru₇ may be interpreted as the one who controls the opening of the granary.

585. See for example MVN 16, 908 (from AS 8 iii), obv. 10: dam ir₁₁ KA-guru₇, and perhaps also MVN 2, 176 (from Š 48 vii), rev. viii 9': dam ir₁₁-mu.

586. Seal of Šara-izu see, for example, MVN 2, 128 (from ŠS 7): ^dšara₂-i₃-zu/ dub-sar / dumu ir₁₁ KA-guru₇.

an almost exact parallel to an earlier account concerning Ir(mu) (ASJ 19, 226 72 (no date), see below). If that observation is correct, then there is reason to believe that towards the end of Ur domination over Umma, Ir(mu) was succeeded by his son, Šara-izu, as chief of the granary.⁵⁸⁷

From the end of Amar-Suen's reign, the name of the chief of the granary ceases to be recorded. The last explicit reference to Ir(mu), holding the title of chief of the granary, is from AS 8, in a text mentioning his wife.⁵⁸⁸ However, the absence of references to Ir(mu)'s name together with the title of chief of the granary is not sufficient evidence to show that that office was not in his hands any longer, since throughout the history of Ur III, Umma references to the name of the chief of the granary were relatively rare, whereas the title was mentioned alone very frequently. Consequently, it has proven quite difficult to reconstruct the sequence of people holding that office. Here I will tentatively suggest that Ur-Lisi was chief of the granary until Š 33, when Ir(mu) took over; he was in turn followed by his son Šara-izu some time after AS 8, and before IS 3.

It should be noted that Šara-izu is never mentioned with the title of chief of the granary—this resembles the situation at the time of the transfer of office between Ur-E'e and his son Lu-Haya, and perhaps even between Ur-E'e and his father Ur-Nigar.

587. There are other indications that Šara-izu did, indeed, follow in his father's footsteps as chief of the granary, notably the many primary documents from the time of Šu-Suen's reign until the end of Ur domination over Umma dealing with activities previously managed by Ir(mu). The earliest certain references to Šara-izu are MVN 13, 353, and SAT 3, 1734, both from ŠS 6.

588. MVN 16, 908 (from AS 8 iii), cited above.

In his capacity as the chief of the Umma central granary, Ir(mu) supplied a number of other institutions with barley for fodder and rations, hence we find him supplying the fatteners, the foremen of the mill, and foremen of other work-crews. In addition we find Ir(mu) supplying the trade-agents with barley for barter.⁵⁸⁹ As a member of the ruling family of Umma, Ir(mu) also partook in the agricultural administration and occasionally sealed documents as a provincial administrator.⁵⁹⁰ In addition, Ir(mu) sometimes sealed receipts for dead animals for the chief household administrator. Ir(mu), in his capacity as chief of the granary, supplied the animal fatteners with barley, on what seems to be a regular monthly basis. Although the structure of the Umma animal fattening institution lies beyond the scope of this study, I will briefly survey the activities of three leading Umma fatteners, Inim-Šara, Bida, and Anaḥilibi.⁵⁹¹ The fattened oxen were controlled by several people, but Ir(mu) seems to be the main supplier of fodder for these animals as well.⁵⁹² The interaction between fattener and chief cattle administrator has been dealt with above.

Anaḥilibi's herd of approximately 100 animals supplied the provincial court, and presumably also the imperial court, with fattened animals. Anaḥilibi received the barley and bran for the fattening directly from the governor and his chief household administrator. On the other hand, Inim-Šara,⁵⁹³ one of the main animal fatteners in Umma, received fodder

589. See in particular SA 76 (from AS 4), and OrSP 47-49, 411 (from ŠS 3).

590. Only one text is sealed with the nam-šatam seal of Ir(mu) (MVN 18, 543 [no date]). Some of Ir(mu)'s sealed documents (which do not mention the use of a nam-šatam seal) do, however, resemble documents otherwise normally sealed by provincial administrators, suggesting that Ir(mu) too held that position.

for his animals directly from Ir(mu).⁵⁹⁴ Inim-Šara was perhaps connected with the

591. The most important sheep-and-goat fattener during the latter part of Šulgi's reign, and presumably during the reign of Amar-Suen as well (and perhaps beyond), was Inim-Šara. See, for example, Syracuse 169 (from Š 48 v 5), where Inim-Šara figures as the most important among the three well-known fatteners Inim-Šara, Bida, and Anaḫilibi:

Obverse.

- | | |
|---|-------------------------|
| 1. 4(geš ₂) 5(u) 3(diš) sa gi zi | 293 bundles of zi reed; |
| 2. inim- ^d šara ₂ kurušda | Inim-Šara, fattener. |
| 3. 4(geš ₂) 4(u) 4(diš) sa gi zi | 284 bundles of zi reed; |
| 4. bi ₂ -da kurušda | Bida, fattener. |
| 5. 1(geš ₂) 4(u) 5(diš) sa gi zi | 105 bundles of zi reed; |
| 6. an-na-ḫi-li-bi kurušda | Anaḫilibi, fattener. |

Reverse.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. u ₄ 5(diš)-kam | On the fifth day. |
| 2. gu-kilib-ba 6(diš) sa-ta | In each sheaf there are 6 bundles. |
| 3. giri ₃ igi-peš ₂ | Via Igipeš, |
| 4. kišib ḫu-wa-wa | Sealed by Ḫuwawa. |
| 5. iti RI mu-us ₂ -sa ki-maš ^{ki} mu-us ₂ -sa-a-bi | Month RI, Year after: "Kimaš
(was destroyed), the year after (that)". |

Seal

- | | |
|--|------------------|
| 1. lu ₂ -eb-gal | Lu-Ebgal, |
| 2. dub-sar | scribe, |
| 3. dumu ur-gi ₆ -par ₄ | son of Ur-Gipar. |

Ušmu and his circle perhaps operated at a higher level of the administrative hierarchy than the three fatteners mentioned here.

592. Nigar-kidu, an important fattener of oxen in Umma, received fodder from Ir(mu) in Aleppo 302 (from Š 45 xii); note that Atu the chief cattle administrator received fodder for calves from Ur-E'e in AnOr 1, 51 (from Š 44).

593. For the seal of Inim-Šara, see for example MVN 21, 156 (from Š 46 xiii): inim-^dšara₂ / dumu ur-dingir-ra / kurušda ^dšara₂. For the seal of Inim-Šara's son and successor as fattener see CST 797 (from IS 2): a-lu₅-lu₅ / dumu inim-^dšara₂ / kurušda ^dšara₂-ka.

household of Šara, Bida—another fattener—with the Umma bala account.⁵⁹⁵

The chief of the granary also supplied the foremen of the workshops and the agricultural foremen (these are the foremen called “captains of (plow-)oxen” in some contexts and “foremen” in others) with barley rations for the dependent workers under their care and control.⁵⁹⁶ Fodder (Sumerian ša₃-gal) was also given to the draft donkeys (anše kunga₂),⁵⁹⁷ other donkeys,⁵⁹⁸ and plow oxen (Sumerian gu₄ apin), and, not to be forgotten, the gods of the Mesopotamian pantheon.⁵⁹⁹

-
594. See, for example, AnOr 7, 182 (no date); ASJ 19, 226 72 (no date), the account concerning Ir(mu) discussed below (p. 242) (see rev. vii 2'-3': 1(u) 1(aš) gur / ša₃-gal udu niga / kišib inim-^dšara₂); and CHEU 27 (from Š 39 iv).
595. See also the milling-accounts below, p. 244 + table 2, in which Bida contributes to the “debits” of three accounts.
596. Rations for humans were often called “barley-rations” (še-ba), but could be called “fodder” (ša₃-gal). See for example Orient 16, 71 96 (from ŠS 1 x), concerning rations (še-ba); AAICAB 1, 1911-170 (from ŠS 2 x to xi), concerning rations (še-ba); MVN 13, 276 (from ŠS 6 i), concerning fodder (ša₃-gal); and MVN 16, 1272 (from ŠS 3 xii), concerning fodder (ša₃-gal).
597. Delivery said to be from Ir(mu); see, for example, AnOr 7, 174 (from Š 44 xii), and AnOr 7, 179 (from Š 38 x). Delivery said to be from the chief of the granary (no mention of personal name); see, for example, ArOr 25, 561 20 (from ŠS 6 iv).
598. Delivery said to be from the chief of the granary (no mention of personal name); see, for example, ASJ 19, 220 58 (from ŠS 5 xi); and BCT 2, 256 (from ŠS 3 ix).
599. Rations for the gods were mostly called sa₂-du₁₁, which seems to be the correct term for describing “rations” for deities; see, for example, ASJ 19, 220 56 (from ŠS 5 iv): sa₂-du₁₁ for Nin-Egal; MVN 3, 269 (from ŠS 5): sa₂-du₁₁ for the divine Amar-Suen; and Orient 16, 73 103 (from ŠS 5): sa₂-du₁₁ for Šara. However, see AnOr 7, 309 (from ŠS 9), rev. 3: ša₃-gal udu niga sa₂-du₁₁ ^dšara₂ u₃ dingir-re-ne, clearly advocating a distinction between sadu and šagal.

Ir(mu) appears in numerous texts as the supplier of amounts of barley converted into work-days at fixed rates, mostly at an equivalence of between 6 and 8 sila to one day. These were the “wages” for the hirelings (Sumerian $a_2 lu_2-hun-ga_2$).⁶⁰⁰

ASJ 19, 226 72, dating to the earliest part of Ur III Umma history,⁶⁰¹ is a 10-column account (column 10 was perhaps blank), concerning Ir(mu). The “debits” section recorded the deliveries of barley to the granary by temple-household administrators; the “credits” section, on the other hand, recorded the deliveries of barley and wheat to a number of administrators and foremen working for one or more households.⁶⁰² TCNU 468 is a shorter account recording a smaller amount of barley, but otherwise an exact parallel to ASJ 19, 226

600. See, for example, the two accounts TCL 5, 5675, and TCL 5, 5676. In TCL 5, 5675 (from AS 4 i to xii), Ir(mu) delivered 5 gur, 2 barig and 4 ban of barley to be converted at a rate of 7 sila per day (= 237 work-days), and 7 gur, 4 barig, 1 ban and 8 sila of barley to be converted at a rate of 8 sila per day (= 393 work-days) to the debit section of the account of Lugal-gu'e the captain of (plow-)oxen. In TCL 5, 5676 (from ŠS 2), the chief of the granary delivered 36 gur and 80 sila of barley which was to be converted at a rate of 6 sila per day (= 1813 1/3 work-days), to the account of Ur-Ninsu the captain of (plow-)oxen. Primary documents were, as we have seen, used to draw up the accounts. However, none of the primary documents recording transfers to the “debits” of the two accounts cited above have been found. As an example of such a document see AUCT 1, 681 (from Š 45).

601. Ir(mu) is mentioned in the colophon as Ur-Lisi's brother, and Ur-Lisi is not (yet?) called governor advocating an early date for this text.

602. See, for example, rev. vii 2' - 14': 1(u) 1(aš) gur / ša₃-gal udu niga / kišib inim-^dšara₂ / 8(aš) 2(ban₂) gur / kišib uš-mu / 2(aš) gur / ša₃-gal anše / kišib ur-dingir-ra / 3(barig) ša₃-gal mušen / kišib ḥa-lu₅-lu₅ / 1(u) 4(aš) 2(barig) gur / še-ba-še₃ / kišib lugal-nig₂-lagar-e ugula uš-bar, “11 gur as fodder for the fattened sheep, sealed by Inim-Šara, 8 gur and 2 ban, sealed by Ušmu, 2 gur as fodder for the donkeys, sealed by Ur-dingira, 3 barig as fodder for the birds, sealed by Ḥalulu, 14 gur and 2 barig as rations, sealed by Lugal-niglagar'e, foreman of the weaving mill.”

72. Perhaps due to a separation of many years very few persons were still in office when TCNU 468 was written.⁶⁰³

Barley was processed in the mill (Sumerian *kikken*₂⁶⁰⁴). In the following I will briefly discuss the administration of the work and the products of the mill. One group of six foremen of the mill (*ugula kikken*₂) seems to have operated together as one unit. They were perhaps all associated with the same household. The summary document AAICAB 1, 1911-485 (from AS 1), recorded the “arrears” from the accounts of these foremen, the colophon of that text reads:

Reverse.

(blank space)

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ la ₂ -ia ₃ 5(geš'u) 1(geš ₂)
1/3(diš) geme ₂ u ₄ 1(diš)-še ₃ | Total deficits: 3060 1/3 work-days, |
| 2. ŠU+NIGIN ₂ diri 4(geš ₂) 1(u) gin ₂
geme ₂ u ₄ 1(diš)-še ₃ | Total surplus: 240 1/6 work-days, |
| 3. diri la ₂ -ia ₃ a ₂ geme ₂ -ka | (It is) the surplus and the deficits of the
work of female dependent workers, |
| 4. ugula kikken ₂ -na-ke ₄ -ne | of the foremen of the mill. |
| 5. mu ^d amar- ^d suen lugal
(blank space) | Year: “Amar-Suen (became) king”. |

603. See, for example, Ušmu: ASJ 19, 226 72, rev. vii 6' // TCNU 468, rev. ii 8.

604. A reading *kikken*₂ of HAR.HAR is supported by numerous Ur III attestations of *kikken*₁₋₂-na, a reading *ḥar-ḥar-ra*, or perhaps *ar₃-ar₃-ra* cannot be excluded for the title of the foreman of the mill; see MVN 6, 84 (from Š 46), obv. 5; *ab-ba-mu HAR-HAR-ra*, as well as for the verb “to mill, grind, etc.” *ar₃-ra* (*ḥamṭu*) *ar₃-ar₃-ra* (*marû*).

From the same text we are able to produce this table:

Table 1: Foremen of the mill (from AAICAB 1, 1911-485)^a

Foreman	Lu-sa'izu	Ur-Nintu	Ur-Šara	Lu-balasag	Dingira	Šara-zame
“remainder”	Surplus; 240 1/6 work-days	Deficit; 506 1/6 work-days	Deficit; 620 1/6 work-days	Deficit; 971 work- day	Deficit; 959 1/2 work-day	Deficit; 3 1/2 work-days

- a. Dingira, Ur-Nintu, Šara-zame, and Lu-balasag are also known from CHEU 49 (from Š 48 iii 1). Lugal-Emahe, Lu-balasag, Šara-zame, Ur-Šulpa'e, Adu, and Ur-Nintu are also attested in TCL 5, 6039 (from AS 05 ii), see p. 77 above.

Four of the same foremen are also known to us from their milling-accounts, recording a “debits” and a “credits” of both female dependent workers and grain (except for Šara-zame's account MVN 21, 204, which does not include grain).

The following table (2) suggests that the same foremen participated in a “planned” economy, where grain as well as labor was distributed to the mill-foremen centrally, and according to fixed rates:

Table 2: Foremen of the mill; the “debits”^a

Foreman	Lu-sa'izu (Erlangen 1 [from Š 48 to AS 1])	Ur- Nintu	Ur-Šara (TCL 5, 5670 ^b [from AS 1])	Lu- balasag	Dingira (TCL 5, 5668 [from Š 48])	Šara-zame (MVN 21, 204 [from ŠS 6 to 7])
From Ir(mu):	216 gur 230 sila of barley, 35 gur emmer?, 16 gur wheat,		193 gur, 25 sila of barley, 38 gur of emmer, 33 gur and 40 sila of wheat,		184 gur, 280 sila of barley 35 gur of emmer, 16 gur 110 sila of wheat,	
From Bida: ^c	3 gur of barley		3 gur of barley		3 gur of barley,	
Work- crew ^d	36 females	e	36 females		36 females	

a. The interaction between the three accounts cited above was discussed by R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 78 + fn. 263.

b. R. Englund, *Ur-III-Fischerei* (1990) 79-90.

c. Other people contributed to the “debits” as well.

d. The work-crews did not work all year, but rather between 8 and 10 months.

e. See MVN 21, 212 (from Š 42 i to xiii), a calculation of Ur-Nintu's work-crew of female dependent workers; see also Nebraska 42 (from AS 7).

It seems appropriate to interpret the data presented above as describing the mill of one administrative unit, perhaps one household. All four, and perhaps even all six, foremen mentioned in table 1 worked in close cooperation with the chief of the granary, who supplied them with the grain to be processed. Further, it seems likely that they all worked closely together with, and perhaps directly under the administrative control of the chief household administrator of the governor. Bida, who is mentioned in three of the accounts presented in

table 2, was, as we have suggested, connected with the Umma bala, and it would be interesting to see this group of millers as connected with the Umma bala as well. It is, however, also possible to see these six overseers as connected directly with the household of the governor.

Some texts indicate that Ir(mu) too, from time to time, received dead animals following the pattern defined above. Further, it can be shown that Ir(mu) sealed these documents almost exclusively when Lukala was not available to do so. That is, in particular, during the 10th month of Amar-Suen 5.⁶⁰⁵ The texts are entirely similar to the texts described above under Lukala, and the shepherds delivering the animals were the same.

605. One of these texts (Aleppo 381 [from Š 39 v]), falls right in between the tenure of Ayakala and Dadaga, the next two texts (Aleppo 391 [from Š 47 i]; and MVN 14, 62 [from Š 48 ii]), are from within the tenure of Dadaga. One text is from month 9 of AS 5 (Syracuse 85), contemporary with several documents sealed by Lukala. Six texts date to month 10 of AS 5, when Lukala sealed no records (BM 105419 [unpubl.]; MVN 5, 36; MVN 18, 471; MVN 18, 474; SNAT 361; and SNAT 362. Although Lukala began sealing these documents again in the 11th month of AS 5, Ir(mu) still sealed two more texts (MVN 4, 85, and Syracuse 86).

Chapter 5: Section 12: The other sons of Ur-Nigar

At least two high-level administrators in the Ur III empire were called Ur-Nigar: Ur-Nigar, the chief cattle administrator of Umma, and the prince Ur-Nigar, a son of Šulgi.

Early Umma texts mentions Ur-Nigar, the fattener (*kurušda*), who is also attested in the

seals of his three sons.⁶⁰⁶ The best known sons of Ur-Nigar, the Umma chief cattle

606. The seal rolled on AAICAB 1, 1912-1148 (from AS 5), probably reads: *ur-d^ddumu-zi-da / dub-sar / ur-nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar} 𒀭 kurušda 𒀭*; compare with Torino 2, 645 (from ŠS 2), and TIM 6, 55 (from IS 2 ix), rev. v 12: *ur-d^ddumu-zi-da engar dumu ur-𒀭 nigar_x 𒀭^{gar} kurušda*. Two other sons of Ur-Nigar, the fattener, are known from their seals; Lu-Suen and Ur-Halmutum. For the seal of Lu-Suen; see, for example, MVN 14, 453 (from ŠS 1). For the seal of Ur-Halmutum; see, for example, MVN 16, 1201 (from ŠS 1). The majority of the documents that mention Ur-Nigar, the fattener, date from the 10 year span between Š 34 and Š 44. Ur-Nigar seems to have been in a position with direct responsibilities to both the imperial administration (based in Drehem), as well as the local court in Umma. Two interesting documents describes his interaction with a certain Basa and the bala account of Umma: BIN 5, 80 (from Š 43): *1(geš₂) 2(u) 3(diš) udu bar su-ga / 1(geš₂) 7(diš) sila₄ bar gal₂ / 4(u) 6(diš) maš₂ / zi-ga bala-a / ša₃ nibru^{ki} // ki ba-sa₆-ta / giri₃ ur-nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar} kurušda / mu en^dnanna maš-e i₃-pa₃, “83 sheep without fleece, 67 lambs with fleece, 46 goats, booked out of the bala, in Nippur. from Basa, via Ur-Nigar the fattener. Year: “the En-priest of Nanna was installed”.” MVN 2, 301 (from Š 35 xi): *1(geš₂) 3 (u) 2(diš) [udu] bar su-𒀭 ga 𒀭 / 1(geš₂) 3(diš) maš₂ / udu didli u₃ udu a-[GAR]-ra u₃ udu bala-a / ki ur-nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar} kurušda-ta // ba-sa₆ i₃-dab₅ / iti pa₅[?]-u₂-𒀭 e 𒀭 / mu-us₂-sa an-ša^{ki} ba-hul, “92 sheep without fleece, 63 goats, they are the various sheep, and the xx sheep, and the bala sheep, from Ur-Nigar, the fattener, Basa seized. Month Pau’e. Year after: “Anšan was destroyed”.” See also Nik 2, 371 (from Š 41), and SACT 2, 242 (from Š 43), records of the “debits” (*sag-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra-kam ša₃-bi su-ga*) of Ur-Nigar, the fattener; and TLB 3, 37 (from Š 42), a record of the “debits” of Basa, in which Ur-Nigar, the fattener, figures among the people contributing to the “debits”.**

administrator, have been mentioned above; in the following I will try to list and discuss the remaining sons of Ur-Nigar.

It is important to try and understand the career of these members of the ruling family since they seem to have been by-passed in the line of succession for the four leading offices in the Umma central administration. This chapter will therefore seek to answer what became of these family members.

The following 7 persons were all called “son of Ur-Nigar, the chief cattle administrator”: Luduga, Lugal-kuzu, Inim-Šara, Lu-Šulgi(ra), Atu, Lugal-ezem, and Gudea. The following 5 persons were all called “son of Ur-Nigar” without any mention of his title: Lu-dingira, Mansum, Lu-ḫegal, Lugal-ḫegal,⁶⁰⁷ and Ur-Nisaba.

Luduga:

The seal of Luduga; lu₂-du₁₀-ga / dub-sar / dumu ur-nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar} šuš₃, was used exclusively on tablets said to be sealed by Dadaga, Luduga’s brother. This paradox is not easily resolved; the suggestion that Dadaga was another name for Luduga is not convincing.⁶⁰⁸ Although the names of Dadaga and his son Gududu are the only names of

607. Only the text MCS 3, 91, BM 112993 (from ŠS 3), is said to be sealed with a seal including the title of Ur-Nigar, the father of Lugal-ḫegal. Note in this regard also SAT 2, 315 (Š 43 iv), which has the title mu₆-sub₃ ^dšara₂ for Ur-Nigar, the father of Lugal-ḫegal!

members of the Umma ruling family which are not readily explicable according to our understanding of Sumerian, they still conform nicely with 3rd millennium naming practices. The explanation that Luduga rolled his seal on tablets for a minor brother, fails to account for why no single tablet bears both the information “sealed by Luduga” (kišib lu₂-du₁₀-ga) and the seal of Luduga.

However, after scrutinizing the approximately 34 texts that contained the seal of Luduga, the following picture emerges: 22 texts are receipts of dead animals of the type mentioned several times before. The first text is from Š 36 and the last from Š 48; a majority of the texts are from Š 48 (12). The names of the shepherds and the number of dead animals are similar to all the other texts from the same group. These texts were used above (pp. 224 - 226) in defining the time-frame for Dadaga’s tenure as chief household administrator.

Four texts, from Š 45 (1 text), 46 (2 texts), and 48 (1 text), were concerned with work and resemble other texts from the same period sealed by Dadaga. The remaining 12 texts record various minor transactions, with one exception: Ontario 2, 312 (unpubl.), which is an administrative document referring to the fulfillment of the “debits” of a silver-account concerning the trade-agents. This suggests that Luduga was not active in the state administration, but that he occasionally sealed tablets for his brother Dadaga while the latter

608. Although no conclusive evidence from the Third Dynasty of Ur in favor of this theory can be offered, it remains a topic for further investigation. The theory in question here was put forward by R. Mayr, *Seal Impressions* (1997) 141 - 143. The use of double-names is, as far as I know, only attested for Neo Babylonian Sippar (see most recently M. P. Streck, “Das Onomastikon der Beamten am neubabylonischen Ebabbar-Tempel in Sippar,” *ZA* 91 (2001) 110 - 111).

served as the chief administrator of the household of the governor (šabra-e₂ ensi₂). See pp. 151 - 152 above for a brief discussion of Luduga, the son of Nigar-kidu, whose career in many ways resembled that of his cousin and name-sake, Luduga, the son of Ur-Nigar.

Lugal-kuzu:

Lugal-kuzu was active from Š 44 to ŠS 9, exclusively sealing documents relating to the agricultural administration. He operated at the level above the captains of (plow-)oxen, perhaps with the title provincial administrator. Lugal-kuzu sealed more than 30 documents after AS 6, all relating to the district of Gu'dena and Mušbiana, a district that was managed by a number of agricultural administrators mentioned earlier in this study. It may be appropriate to compare UTI 4, 2569 (from ŠS 2), MVN 11, 164 (from ŠS 4), AnOr 7, 313 (no date), UTI 4, 2864 (from ŠS 2), and UTI 3, 2126 (ŠS 5 iv), four texts concerned with Gu'dena and Mušbiana.

UTI 4, 2399,⁶⁰⁹ is a list of work-days expended weeding (^u2kiši₁₇ ku₅-a) six different units in the Mušbiana and Gu'dena area. The fields, here termed GAN₂,⁶¹⁰ were each qualified according to a personal name; the majority of these names correspond to the

609. Compare to the parallel text UTI 4, 2569.

610. A brief investigation of the GAN₂ units worked by the individuals in this text shows that these were not static; rather, each person worked on a number of different fields with-in the greater area of Gu'dena and Mušbiana.

names in the other texts to be discussed here (see table 3, p. 253). The next text, MVN 11, 164, is a list of amounts of barley levied from the threshing floor of Gu'dena (reverse lines 6 - 7; še geš e₃-a¹ / ki-su₇ gu₂-eden-na). The personal names in MVN 11, 164, are almost identical with the ones from the first text, the same group of people were, however, in this text referred to as captains of (plow-)oxen (nu-banda₃ gu₄). MVN 11, 164, should be compared to AnOr 7, 313 (no date), a much more detailed record with the same subscript as MVN 11, 164. In AnOR 7, 313, the same persons were listed, but the amounts of grain recorded for each person was approximately 20 times larger than the amounts recorded in MVN 11, 164, which therefore might only be a partial record of the product of the fields. In AnOr 7, 313 the farmers who worked on the different units were also listed. Some of the people in this text were called (agricultural) administrators (šabra). UTI 4, 2864, records the disbursement of wool and hides for the cultivators of the same units—the same people previously called “captains of (plow-)oxen” were here called “foremen” (ugula). It is likely that the reason behind this change in titles reflected the different functions of the same persons. In UTI 4, 2864, the captains of (plow-)oxen acted as foremen in relation to the cultivators who were to receive the wool and hides. The titles given in AnOr 7, 313, might reflect the hierarchical standing of the persons.

The reason for this change of title, which seems to be determined by the function of the person, is even more confusing when studied chronologically, and inter-regionally. It appears that the original title for the same official might have been scribe of 10 oxen (dub-sar gu₄ 1(u)).⁶¹¹ The last text to be mentioned here, UTI 3, 2126, is a list of the ox-carcasses,

hides, and barley. The animals, which were referred to as “fallen” (gu₄ ri-ri-ga) were presumably the plow-oxen used on the same units as described above; the barley recorded here is likely to be the barley that these creatures had not eaten since the time of their death. The fact that the number of hides does not reflect the number of dead animals may indicate that they died an untimely death, which could have left some hides useless.⁶¹² In this text the persons are once again referred to as captains of (plow-)oxen.⁶¹³

611. See, in particular, Syracuse 356 (from Š 35 iv), a text which has the same format as UTI 3, 2126, mentioned here, and according to which the foremen were referred to as follows: “foreman: Lugal-kugani, scribe of 10 oxen” (obv. 9: ugula lugal-ku₃-ga-ni dub-sar gu₄ 1(u)); “foreman: Dada, scribe of 10 oxen” (rev. 2: ugula da-da dub-sar gu₄ 1(u)); and “foreman: Lugina, scribe of ten oxen” (rev. 11: ugula lu₂-gi-na dub-sar gu₄ 1(u)). These three foremen were all attested with the title captain of (plow-)oxen (nu-banda₃ gu₄), and it is entirely possible that the title scribe of 10 oxen went out of use during the later years of Šulgi.

612. ri-ri-ga is always contrasted to ba-uš₂, which is understood as “slaughtered”.

613. Compare this text to MCS 1, 54, BM 106045, obv. iv 14 (24) to v 9 (24), where the same units are listed. It is entirely possible that UTI 3, 2126, mentioned here was the actual receipt used when composing the account MCS 1, 54, BM 106045, however, due to minor discrepancies this cannot be proven at present.

Table 3: captains of (plow-)oxen under the command of Lugal-kuzu

UTI 4, 2399 (record of work-days weeding plots in Gu'dena and Mušbiana) (ŠS 2) ^a	MVN 11, 164 (record of levied? barley from Gu'dena) (ŠS 4)	AnOr 7, 313 (Account of total output of grain from Gu'dena and Mušbiana) (no date)	UTI 4, 2864 (disbursements of wool and hides for the cultivators of Gu'dena and Mušbiana) (ŠS 2)	UTI 3, 2126 (record of fallen oxen and their fodder) (ŠS 4 v)
Ur-Abzu	Ur-Ninsu (nu-banda ₃ gu ₄)	xx	Ipa'e (ugula)	Ur-Enun(a) (nu-banda ₃ gu ₄)
Ur-Enun(a)	Dada (nu-banda ₃ gu ₄)	Dada (nu-banda ₃ gu ₄)	Ur-Ninsu (ugula)	GuTAR (nu-banda ₃ gu ₄)
Lu-dingira	GuTAR (nu-banda ₃ gu ₄)	Luduga (šabra)	GuTAR (ugula)	Ur-Ninsu (nu-banda ₃ gu ₄)
GuTAR	Ur-Enuna (nu-banda ₃ gu ₄)	Ur-Enuna (šabra)	Ur-Enun(a) (ugula)	Ipa'e nu-banda ₃ gu ₄)
Ur-Ninsu	Lu-dingira (nu-banda ₃ gu ₄)	Ur-Enlila (šabra)		
Dada		GuTAR (ugula)		
		xx		

- a. Compare to UTI 4, 2569, a parallel text where the sequence of persons is Ur-Abzu, Lu-Utu, Ur-Enun(a), Lu-dingira, GuTAR, Ur-Ninsu.

Several of the persons in the table above may be related to one another. Egalesi a member of the family of Lu-Šara, the land-surveyor (sa₁₂-sug₅), sealed documents very similar to those sealed by Lugal-kuzu concerning the fields Gu'dena and Mušbiana.⁶¹⁴

614. Compare to P. Steinkeller, JESHO 24 (1981)116 - 119.

It seems that Lugal-kuzu operated as a provincial administrator supervising a group of approximately six captains of (plow-)oxen, perhaps making up an entire district. The following example supports this interpretation:

CHEU 46 (from Š 47 ix):

Obverse.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. 8(geš ₂) še gur lugal | 480 gur of barley, according to |
| | the royal measure, |
| 2. ma ₂ -a si-ga | loaded in the boat, |
| 3. nibru ^{ki} -še ₃ | for Nippur. |
| 4. guru ₇ i ₇ lugal-ka-ta | From the granary of “the canal of the king,” |
| 5. ki lugal-ku ₃ -zu-ta | From Lugal-kuzu |
| 6. še gu ₂ -na šabra-e-ne | (it is the) gun ⁶¹⁵ barley of the |
| | šabra-administrators |

Reverse.

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 1. kišib lugal-ušur _x (LAL ₂ .TUG ₂)-ra | Sealed by Lugal-ušur. |
| 2. iti ^d li ₉ -si ₄ | Month “Lisi”. |
| 3. mu-us ₂ -sa ki-maš ^{ki} ba-ḫul | Year after: “Kimaš was destroyed”. |
| (blank space) | |

From this text we can infer that Lugal-kuzu was supervising a large area, managed by šabra administrators, who were later called captains of (plow-)oxen.

Most of the sealed documents of Lugal-kuzu contained the phrase “sealed with the nam-šatam of Lugal-kuzu,” in the body of the text. It is uncertain whether this expression referred to a specific seal of the person, or to an act of sealing as someone else; however, the

615. The “gun” tax was paid by the agricultural overseers in both barley and livestock.

most likely option seems to be that *kišib nam-šatam* implied that the sealing party sealed in his capacity as a provincial administrator. There is no consensus as to how to translate *šatam*, nor how to understand the office of the *šatam*,⁶¹⁶ and it is still too premature to directly connect the office of Lugal-kuzu (here tentatively designated as a provincial administrator) with the title *šatam*.

Inim-•ara:

Inim-Šara is well attested in the Umma records, sealing close to one hundred tablets. The majority of these tablets were sealed with a regular “dub-sar” seal, and a smaller number were sealed with a seal with a simple two line inscription naming the holder of the seal and the name of the father of the seal-holder.⁶¹⁷ At first there seems to be only a very minor difference between texts sealed with either seal, and in fact several texts are almost identical, although they are not duplicates.⁶¹⁸ *Inim-Šara*’s regular seal was used from Š 47 to ŠS 5.

616. The corresponding Akkadian *šatammu(m)* is a loan from Sumerian, AhW (p. 1199) translates, “Verwalter; Verwaltungsdirektor.” Neither the office of the *ša₃-tam*, nor its Akkadian equivalent, the *šatammu*, has to my knowledge been discussed in the literature: M. Sigrist, *Drehem* (1992) 66, 68, and 122 does not translate the term, nor does he give any suggestions to its functions. W. Sallaberger, *Ur III-Zeit* (1999) 266, translate “Verwalter” without further comments.

617. See, for example, ASJ 19, 214 39 (from Š 48 xi), with the seal-inscription: *inim-^dšara₂ / dub-sar / dumu ur-nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar}*. And, see, for example, MVN 16, 866 (from ŠS 1), with the seal-inscription: *inim-^dšara₂ / dumu ur-nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar}*.

This seal was rolled on several tablets said to be sealed by Gududu, whereas his simple seal (used from AS 7⁶¹⁹(5?)⁶²⁰ to ŠS 1) was rolled exclusively on tablets said to be sealed by Inim-Šara himself. Eight texts were rolled with the seal of Inim-Šara, the son of Dadaga (all dated to ŠS 4 xi and ŠS 6 xii)—all were said to have been sealed by Gududu.⁶²¹ The frequency with which Inim-Šara sealed for Gududu increased over time and peaked around AS 8. The first occurrence of the second, simpler seal belonging to Inim-Šara coincides with this development.

The activities recorded in texts sealed with either seal are, as already stated, almost identical. The overwhelming majority of the texts record agricultural activities at a particular set of fields.⁶²² Six texts, all sealed with Inim-Šara's regular seal but said to have been sealed by Gududu mention the Apisal granary, and the work of bringing barley to the granary from the threshing floors of the province, etc. The rest of the 16 texts sealed by Inim-Šara rather than Gududu are also concerned with granaries or barley for the bala contribution of the province.

618. UTI 3, 2099 (from AS 7) // Princeton 1, 516 (from AS 7); UTI 3, 1785 (from AS 7 v) // UTI 4, 2912 (from AS 7).

619. UTI. 4, 2912 (from AS 7).

620. UTI 3, 2094 (from AS 5).

621. BCT 2, 39 (from ŠS 5), seal: inim-^dšara₂ / dub-sar / dumu da-da-ga. See also MVN 16, 1532 (from ŠS 5); NYPL 364 (from ŠS 6 1 to xii); OrSP 47-49, 429 (from ŠS 5); SAT 3 ,1525 (from ŠS 4 xi); SAT 3, 1718 (from ŠS 6 xi to xii); SNAT 501 (from ŠS 5); and UTI 4, 2927 (from ŠS 5).

622. For example the a-u₂-da field, the nin₁₀-nu-du₃ field, and the na-ga-ab-tum field.

There is compelling circumstantial evidence that Inim-Šara sealed, using a distinct seal, instead of Gududu only insofar as certain particular administrative functions were concerned, primarily restricted to the provincial district of Apisal. In fact Gududu rarely sealed documents relating to field-work; rather, the seal of Inim-Šara was rolled on the tablets said to have the seal of Gududu. Gududu never sealed any documents during the reign of Amar-Suen, although he was active at that time. Gududu was active during the same years as an administrator (perhaps based in Umma), receiving animals and silver (from field interest), among other things.

All of the foremen and captains of (plow-)oxen appearing in the texts sealed by Inim-Šara were known members of the same group of agricultural administrators, and there is therefore good reason to assume that also Inim-Šara, as well as perhaps Gududu, held the position of a provincial administrator, with Gududu having his uncle (and cousin?) seal the documents relating to his office,.

Lu-Šulgi(ra):

Lu-Šulgi(ra) has been mentioned several times above; two members of the ruling family of Umma were named Lu-Šulgi(ra), the son of Dadaga, and Lu-Šulgi(ra), the son of Ur-Nigar. Both were active primarily outside of the state-administration, retaining, however, certain privileges or obligations for which they deposited a seal with a close relative, or did in fact seal in person, either as an aid to this relative or fulfilling an obligation.

Atu, Lugal-ezem and Gudea

Two persons were named son of Ur-Nigar, the chief cattle administrator, in only one text each: Atu and Lugal-ezem. The seal of Atu, the son of Ur-Nigar, the chief cattle administrator,⁶²³ is recorded only on Aleppo 176 (from AS 3).⁶²⁴ The seal of Lugal-ezem, the son of Ur-Nigar, the chief cattle administrator, is recorded only on Aleppo 371 (from Š 37 viii). The document is a simple “šu-ti-a receipt” relating to the delivery of dead animals (of the type described above, pp. 224 to 226). Ayakala is named as the recipient in the body of the text; the herder delivering the animals, called Ur-Ištaran, is also known from other similar texts. It is possible that Lugal-ezem was another son of Ur-Nigar, but it is equally possible that we are dealing with a simple copying error.

Gudea, the son of Ur-Nigar, was briefly mentioned in footnote 246 of this study; there is no indication that Gudea ever participated in the state administration.⁶²⁵

A number of other persons attested in the Umma material appear as descendants of a person called Ur-Nigar. They are listed here, although their affiliation with the ruling family

623. As already noted (fn. 384 on p. 152), yet another text has the seal of Atu, the son of Nigar-Kidu, the chief of the galla.

624. The text is a simple receipt relating to the administration of work.

625. Princeton 1, 414 (from AS 3); SAT 2, 665 (from AS 1); and YOS 4, 84 (from Š 48 v), without the title chief cattle administrator.

cannot be proven, since they do not record the title of their father or any other indication of their familial relationship.

Lugal-ḥegal:

Nineteen of the texts that have the subscription “sealed by Lugal-ḥegal” were receipts of work, mostly work done by male workers (both *guruš* and *ug₃-ga₆*)—all of the recorded work was agricultural field-work. One text (MVN 16, 1500 [from ŠS 1 vi]) was a receipt of three reed-mats from Lu-Ebgal. Three texts mention the granary of Apisal,⁶²⁶ two texts mention a canal outlet (*kun-zida*) at Apisal,⁶²⁷ and three texts mention the field APIN-bazi, located in the Apisal district.⁶²⁸ There appears to be some substance to the claim that Lugal-ḥegal was indeed associated with one area in particular: the granary of Apisal, and the field APIN-bazi. Therefore, it may be argued that Lugal-ḥegal was a member of the ruling family of Umma who was not active in the state-run administration, but rather in the private sector of the economy, while retaining certain ties to the state; in this regard, he had a career analogous to Inim-Šara and several other well-known members of the ruling family.

626. MVN 14, 65 (from AS 1 ix); MVN 16, 1427 (from AS 7 iii); and UTI 3, 1777 (from AS 7).

627. UTI 3, 1669 (from ŠS 4), obv. 2; *kun-zi-da a-pi₄-sal₄^{ki}*; MVN 16, 775 (from ŠS 4), obv. 2; *kun-zi-da a-pi₄-sal₄^{ki}*.

628. MVN 21, 152 (from ŠS 6); SAT 3, 1696 (from ŠS 6); UTI 4, 2509 (from ŠS 7 i). This field was located in the Apisal district, see CST 539 (from IS 3).

Lu-dingira, Mansum, Lu-ḫegal and Ur-Nisaba

Lu-dingira's seal (lu₂-dingir-ra / dub-sar / dumu ur-nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar}) appears on very few texts; Lu-dingira is always mentioned as the sealing party in these texts.

The texts sealed with Lu-dingira's seal deal mainly with labor, a few with household items, and one 6-column text concerns a multitude of commodities, which Lu-dingira sealed instead of Ur-Gipar, the išib-mah_h priest (AAICAB 1, 1911-240 [from ŠS 5]). All the texts sealed by Lu-dingira fall between AS 9 and SS 7. Lu-dingira cannot be included, for certain, in the family of Ur-Nigar; he remains almost entirely outside the state-administrative records.

Mansum, the son of Ur-Nigar, is known from his seal-inscription found on one, possibly two, tablets.⁶²⁹ Mansum's seal had a dedication to Ur-Lisi, and we can speculate that he was active very early, before the administrative expansion following the construction of Drehem.

The seal of Lu-ḫegal, son of Ur-Nigar is attested only once, on a tablet published by M. Touzalin (Aleppo 257 [from AS 1 v]).⁶³⁰

Ur-Nisaba's seal (ur-^dnisaba / dub-sar / dumu ur-nigar_x(NIGIN₃)^{gar}) was rolled on very few tablets. The majority of these documents recorded the production of simple household items.⁶³¹ Ur-Nisaba was active between Š 38 and Š 44. There seems to be no

629. Nik 2, 188 (from Š 35 vii), and BIN 5, 183 (no date).

630. This text should be collated; lu₂ is perhaps a mistake for lugal?

particular reason to include, nor to exclude, for that matter, Ur-Nisaba from among the members of the ruling family of Ur III Umma.

631. See Aleppo 54 (no date); Aleppo 153 (from Š 38 vii); MVN 18, 462 (from Š 38 ix); SAT 2, 201 (from Š 38). Some other texts may refer to the same person; see SANTAG 6, 33 (from Š 37); BCT 2, 101 (from Š 34 vii); Syracuse 265 (from Š 34 vii); Syracuse 266 (from Š 44 ix); Syracuse 267 (from Š 43 x); and MVN 18, 400 (from Š 44 viii).

Chapter 6. Conclusions

This study has investigated the system(s) of succession during the late 3rd millennium BC in southern Mesopotamia, and in particular sought to describe a provincial elite family; certain problems were isolated, and it is now possible to paraphrase these as questions:

1. Did a common “law” of succession exist in late 3rd millennium BC Mesopotamian society?
2. Did the ruling family of Umma mimic the royal family?
3. Can we modify the current understanding of the public and private spheres of the Ur III society?

The answer to the first question is probably no. Late 3rd millennium BC Mesopotamian society did not witness the formulation of a codified law of succession, nor the evolution of a set of commonly accepted social practices comparable to a law.

We have looked at several families in this study, some of which relied on fraternal succession when choosing an heir—others favored primogeniture. It is possible that two traditions existed, for example the clan of Ur-Nammu, bound by custom, favored fraternal succession, while other families, perhaps based on ethnicity, advocated primogeniture. However, one succession scheme may have been deemed more prominent or correct. The absence of written inheritance laws is not limited to ancient societies; the Saudi royal family

(described in Excursus 1), to quote only one modern example, also lacks a codified plan for succession.

Two offices held by members of the ruling family of Umma were handed down laterally, but two other offices were inherited vertically within that very same family, suggesting that the system of succession was more complex than a simple opposition between fratrilineal or non-fratrilineal might suggest. Although it is impossible to determine the exact sequence of the sons of, for example, Ur-Nigar—head of the Umma ruling family—and therefore impossible to determine whether Ur-Lisi was his oldest son, it remains certain that primogeniture did not determine the line of succession, since we know that both Ur-Lisi and Ayakala, his successor, had sons who were by-passed in succession. However, it may be correct to describe the system of succession as patrilineal, since, as we shall see, inclusion in succession was based on patrilineal descent only.

In our analysis of the ruling family of Ur III Umma [Chapter 5] we began by investigating the earliest generations [Sections 2 and 3]. This investigation was in some regards unproductive, since it is impossible, at present, to connect the earliest rulers of Ur III Umma with the clan of Ur-Nigar, although this family was clearly involved in the management of the province from the time of the earliest documentation. The next sections [4 to 6] dealt with the three well-known governors of Umma, Ur-Lisi, Ayakala, and Dadaga, who were shown to be brothers. Succession to the highest of offices in Umma thus remained within one generation of brothers, and succession can be described as fratrilineal. This was exactly the basis for the question posed in the beginning of the next section [7]. Why did the

brother of the governor succeed him and not his own son? Only Gududu, the son of Dadaga, seems to have been aligning himself in the line of succession; his cousin Lukala, however, may have done the same. The many sons of the three Umma governor's Ur-Lisi, Ayakala, and Dadaga, who have left little trace in the public records of the period must all have been bypassed, either willingly or not, in the line of succession so as to allow for the fratrilineal succession; whether this was out of concern for tradition or due to a desire to follow a quasi-imperial ideology will be discussed below. The following sections [8 to 10] concerning Ur-E'e and his sons were aimed at connecting this group with the ruling family. This was successfully carried out based on the existing evidence associating Ur-E'e and his sons with the ruling family, as well as on the basis of the strong circumstantial evidence showing that the careers of Ur-E'e and his sons were closely connected to the ruling family. Section [11] which dealt with Ir(mu) and his son shows that the patterns of office succession in these two family-lines were identical; that both Lu-Haya, Ur-E'e's son, and Ir(mu)'s son Šara-izu inherited their father's office without using his title. Based on this analogy it is strongly suggested that the rules of office inheritance were more complex than hitherto believed. In the last section [12] the remaining sons of Ur-Nigar were surveyed, and their careers described. The fact that only very few of the many remaining sons of Ur-Nigar ever pursued a career within the state-administration is indicative of the fact that succession was limited to a restricted sequence of candidates.

The result is a system not unlike that of Saudi Arabia, where the succession pattern within the royal family is largely fratrilineal, but not systematized, and where, generally speaking, seniority seems to be the dominant pattern. A member of that family described

succession as a system in which an heir is chosen among the most fit senior princes by means of a set of unspecified “coincidences”.⁶³²

Even if a law of succession is defined as a common set of rules adhered to by a majority of the population, we are still forced to admit that we do not know of any such law. We note, in passing, the results of Steinkeller’s investigation of the social structure of the family-groupings making up the forester work-crews—similar to our results concerning the ruling elite—and suggest that even the much larger groupings working the domain lands of Umma were arranged in a similar way.⁶³³

Figure 10 below, demonstrates the sequence of persons holding the four most important offices in Umma (it should be compared to the preliminary survey of the ruling family of Nippur presented elsewhere in this study). Here it is worthwhile to note, in particular, three different developments. First, at the time of the take-over by the clan of Ur-Nigar in Šulgi 33 the family went from controlling only the offices of the chief of the

632. See p. 280 fn. 658.

633. See in particular P. Steinkeller, AOS 68 (1987) 80 - 81, and figure 2 - 5. The family of Dada was mentioned above (fn. 480, p. 191). SAT 2, 77 (from Š 33 vi), which is a summary of the work-force associated with the ca. 10 domain units controlled by Dada (who in this text is given the title scribe of 10 oxen (dub-sar gu₄ 1(u)), clearly advocates that this group (consisting of 9 administrators and 40 permanent workers + ca. 20 additional workers) was made up of an extended family. Four generations are mentioned in this text. Note for example the following: Lukala the cultivator (obv. ii 9) was the son of Lugal-ezem (obv. i 2), who is here mentioned as the assistant to his father Dada (obv. i 1). Moreover, Lukala’s own son, Ur-Ninpirig, is mentioned right after Lukala as a member of his work-team (perhaps as an ox-driver, ša₃-gu₄).

granary and that of the chief cattle administrator, to having full control over the city of Umma.⁶³⁴ Second, after the take-over, it appears that succession within those two offices became entirely lineal, passing from father to son. It is unclear whether the power of the two offices also diminished after the take-over—Lukala’s high-ranking position within the local hierarchy seems to counter this suspicion. Likewise, it is probable, but impossible to prove, that the office of the chief cattle administrator and that of the chief of the granary were in some way closely related to the imperial court, therefore we might see the events of Š 33 as a take-over by a family of imperial administrators. Lastly, it is important to note that four sons of Ur-Nigar, simultaneously, took over the four most important offices in Umma in that same year, Š 33.

The historical sources do not relate any events dating to Š 33 which could be seen as an external reason for a hypothesized “take-over” by a clan of imperial administrators. Drehem, the administrative center of the empire was supposedly not founded until Š 39 coinciding with the wide-spread, if not universal change in the dedications of seal-inscriptions away from the local governor and unto the king. Šulgi was deified already around his 21th year, almost contemporary with the so-called reforms of Šulgi. In Š 34 we learn about the sack of Anšan, a city in Iran where Šulgi had sent his daughter (unnamed) only four years earlier to become the “consort” of the ruler of that political entity (the ruler

634. Of course, we do not know if the governor prior to Ur-Lisi (perhaps Abbamu) was a member of the same family that we have called the ruling family of Umma. The fact, however, that there exists no reference to a familial relationship of the clan of Ur-Nigar with the governor of Umma prior to Š 33 is indicative of the fact that that office was not yet in their hands.

of Anšan was subsequently bequeathed with the title *ensi*₂, “governor’ by Šulgi). This campaign is hardly the reason for the “take-over” by the clan of Ur-Nigar, but it may be possible to reconstruct the period as one of contraction and consolidation.⁶³⁵ As such it may be possible to understand the “take-over” in the light of long-term trends in the political history of the Ur III period. It is equally difficult to find any internal reason for the take-over; although absence of the name of the governor of Umma prior to Š 33 is perhaps indicative of a very weak governorship prior to that date. Although it may be possible to speculate about several reasons for the situation in Š 33, it is better to await the publication of further records, and perhaps even renewed excavations at the city of Umma, before any further suggestions are made.

	Governor (<i>ensi</i> ₂)	Chief household administrator of the governor (*šabra e ₂ <i>ensi</i> ₂)	Chief of the granary (KA-guru ₇)	Chief cattle administrator (šuš ₃)
				GIRINI
	?	?	Ur-Lisi	Ur-Nigar
Šulgi 33	Ur-Lisi	Ayakala	Ir(mu)	Ur-E'e
		Dadaga		
		Lukala		
	Ayakala		Šara-izu	Lu-Haya
	Dadaga	Gududu		

Figure 10: The succession of office in Ur III Umma.

635. See M. Stolper, “On the Dynasty of Šimaški and the Early Sukkalma’s,” ZA 72 (1982) 52 - 53.

The fact that the son of the chief cattle administrator as well as the son of the chief of the granary rarely mentioned themselves with the titles of their predecessors has been noted above. In particular on pp. 196 - 197 and p. 238, where it was suggested that the absence of the title of Ur-Nigar in the seal of his son Ur-E'e was indeed not an accident, but rather inspired by a social practice "forbidding" the mention of the title of one's father when inheriting his office. Whether this has any importance for our understanding of the system of succession is not certain, but it could indicate that fratrilineal succession was more accepted within the ruling elite than primogeniture; this remains, however, largely speculative.

This, of course, leads us to the second question of whether the provincial ruling family mimicked the royal court. Since we initially investigated the Umma family as a comparative case in order to help us understand succession within the royal family, it appears unreasonable to ask whether the Umma ruling family mimicked the royal family. However, the fact that the patterns of succession observed within the Umma ruling family seem to be restricted to that family and perhaps only to a limited extent influenced the lower strata of society means that it may still be possible to suggest that the ruling family of Umma mimicked the clan of Ur-Nammu when emulating their practice of lateral succession.

In other areas as well it seems likely that the Umma elite tried to mimic the royal court, and we see that concubinage became (or was) an institution in Umma as well as at the court. The governor of Umma was, however, completely subordinate to the king of Ur.⁶³⁶ Unfortunately, very few documents provide evidence for direct correspondance between the

royal and the provincial court, although two letters testify to its existence (see pp. 159 - 162 in this study). The accounts concerning the governor, as well as the military presence in the Umma province clearly show the degree of royal control.

It is, of course, peculiar that the fratrilineal kinship terms (*šeš / nin₉*) were used very infrequently in the Ur III administrative records since we have shown that fraternal lineage was indeed very important for succession.⁶³⁷ The distribution of this term, as shown in Excursus 2, suggests that it was primarily used by the brothers of women connected through marriage or marriage-like liaisons with members of the ruling elite. This, of course, has a bearing on our understanding of neo-Sumerian system of succession since it is clear that paternal descent was considered the most important factor for success in society, whereas fraternal affiliation would have been useful only to people for whom this proved the only way to affiliate themselves with the ruling elite. Babati may be the best example of this. He had no other way of associating himself with the royal family than by claiming to be the in-law of the king, and later the maternal-uncle of the new king. The *sukkalmah*, on the other hand, may have belonged to an important cadet branch co-opted into the ruling family through marriage with a royal daughter. His familial relations to the royal family are rarely mentioned in the extant documents.

636. This relationship is seen clearly in the documents describing the yearly visits of the “queen-dowager” Abī-simtī to Zabala. It is documented that the household of the governor of Umma supported her visits in every way.

It is unknown at present whether the system described here applies to all of Babylonia during the period in question, or whether regional differences existed. It may be opportune at a later date to extend this investigation in both time and space in order to

637. According to Yu. Yusifov, “The Problem of the Order of Succession in Elam again,” a paper published in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im alten Vorderasien* (Budapest 1976) 321 - 331, a fratrilineal order of succession is not present when the successor does not base his claim to the throne on a fratrilineal affiliation with the previous ruler (p. 327). The case of Elam, studied by Yu. Yusifov, is of great interest for our present study, although it cannot be fully discussed here due to the restrictions of this limited study.

Yusifov claims that the order of succession in Elam was not fratrilineal, as previously thought, but rather, “that in the history of Elam there existed more than one order of succession to the throne. At first there predominated the order of succession to the throne through the female side which subsequently gave place to the patrilineal principle of succession.” (p. 331) The cases surveyed by Yu. Yusifov of brother succeeding brother all seem to have related to extreme situations and nowhere but once did the new king use the “title” brother of the king. However, it is my interpretation of the evidence put forward by Yusifov that the system of succession in Elam might have changed from matrilineal to patrilineal, but that primogeniture was hardly the rule. Yusifov does points out that the title “beloved son” (šak hanek) perhaps functioned as a title comparable to “heir apparent”, whereby, as he writes, “this fact in its turn excludes succession to the throne in the order of seniority” (p. 328).

The only example (according to Yu. Yusifov) for the use of the title “beloved brother” used by a successor to the throne, about his brother, a preceding ruler, was Šilhak-Inšušinak the brother of Kutir-Naḥḥunte. The titles used by Šilhak-Inšušinak were i-ke ḥa-ne-ek kuti-ir-^{na}ḥḥu-un-te, “beloved brother (of) Kutir-Naḥḥunte, and i-ke ḥa-ne-ek u₂-ri-me, “my beloved brother” used about Kutir-Naḥḥunte. Šilhak-Inšušinak was in time followed by Kutir-Naḥḥunte’s son Ḥuteleduš-Inšušinak who claimed to be the son of both his father and his uncle. Yusifov explains the usage of this title, as well as Šilhak-Inšušinak’s use of a matrilineal claim to succession as the claims of an usurper (p. 325), and concludes that, “in that period the succession from the father to the son was a firmly established rule” (p. 325).

Although the overall structure of Elamite succession seems clarified by the article of Yu. Yusifov, much still remains to be done (compare F. W. König, “Geschwesterehe in Elam” RLA 3 (1964) 224 - 231), particularly with regard to the theoretical issues raised by the definitions of Yusifov. They seem to question the nature of seniority rather than the question of fratrilineal succession.

uncover whether inheritance patterns were in any way connected to ethnicity. No such study is yet available, nor is the primary data necessary for such an investigation similar to the one conducted here available.

Based on what we know about other powerful patriarchs, such as Šulgi—or Abd al-Aziz, a more contemporary model—it seems very plausible that Ur-Nigar, the head of the Umma clan, fathered multiple male heirs. Furthermore, it is very likely that only a handful of these sons embarked on a career in the state-administration, whereas the rest would have been able to profit from their connection with the powerful family of Ur-Nigar and venture into the private sphere of the economy, leaving no traces behind them in the official record. It is only affirming to see these persons on an occasional basis fulfilling certain obligations within the state-administration. Another reason for the irregular and rather peculiar, and seemingly infrequent, appearance of the sealings of several high-ranking members of society is presumably connected to the familial structures of the clan of Ur-Nigar. Some members perhaps fulfilled obligations for others. Therefore, it is both possible and likely that people would deposit their seal with other administrators or perhaps households for extended periods of time.

The relation between the members of the ruling family and the agricultural lands have been mentioned several times in this study. MVN 21, 343 (from ŠS 3), a text recording the yield and field interest of various plots in different fields, gives interesting clues as to the administration of land. It can be suggested, on basis of this text, that individuals had certain

rights (or obligations depending on the point of view) to tracts of land in different fields, sometimes corresponding to the same plots of land mentioned in their sealed documents concerning labor.⁶³⁸

Therefore, it is safe to say, in answer to the third question, that we have modified the understanding of public and private Mesopotamia, since we have demonstrated (with numerous examples from the primary sources) the likelihood that some members of the most prominent family of Ur III Umma were not present in the public domain pursuing a career, but that they remained liable for some service to the state, and therefore were present in the records. And we have also suggested that the relations between high-ranking members of society and the estate-land of Umma be re-considered.⁶³⁹ This seems to be true regardless of the fact that no private economy has ever been attested in the documents from the Ur III period. It is not the suggestion here that a high-risk, elite economy, independent of the state, existed; rather, private is here used only in opposition to official, and may refer to the lack of any career as well.⁶⁴⁰

638. See in this regard the field Abagal-Enlila and EnKAS mentioned above (see p. 198 - 199, above).

639. See also P. Steinkeller, JESHO 24 (1981)118 - 119. Steinkeller associates some of the same persons which I have identified with the title district administrator, with individual temple households. However, aside from the fact that Steinkeller describes the Umma domain land as essentially tenant-land, his outline of the administrative command structures are not far from the one suggested in this study.

640. Gelb, as is well known, argued for the existence of a private economy, coexisting side by side with the state sponsored economy. This cannot at present be proven or disproven. See I. Gelb, "On the Alleged Temple and State Economies in Ancient Mesopotamia," Studi in Onore di Edoardo Volterra, Vol. 6 (1971) 138-154.

However, it is evident that the Ur III state was neither feudal, nor bureaucratic, since power was dependent on the tribal or clan-like background of each individual. Estates were perhaps given to high-ranking officials, but the basis for these grants is not well understood. A bureaucratic class entirely dependent on education for office did not exist during the Ur III period either (except perhaps for the Drehem elite; this, however, cannot be proven at present); rather, offices were passed down through and dependent on, family lines.

Excursus 1: The House of Saud

In 1926 after he had conquered most of the Arabian Peninsula and secured his own rule, Abd al-Aziz ibn Abd al-Rahman (c. 1880 - 1953), head of the House of Saud (from 1902 to 1953),⁶⁴¹ assumed the title “king of the Hijaz and sultan of Najd and its dependencies” (Malik al-Hijaz wa-sultan Najd wa-mulhaqatihah) at a ceremony in Mecca — the most important city of Saudi-Arabia.⁶⁴² Although “ibn Saud,” as he was often referred to by Westerners, had accumulated immense respect and an irrefutable reputation as a strong and charismatic ruler, he had not secured the line of succession. After his death, sovereignty over the House of Saud could easily pass to his brother Muhammad ibn Abd al-Rahman, born almost at the same time as Abd al-Aziz.⁶⁴³ Muhammad’s son Khalid ibn Muhammad, almost of the same age as Saud, the oldest surviving son of Abd al-Aziz, was also a contestant to the throne. Shortly after the proclamation of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia (1932), the king Abd al-Aziz challenged his own generation and nominated Saud his heir.

641. The House of Saud is named after Saud ibn Muhammad, who was a local Shaykh in the central Arabian province of Najd. Abd al-Aziz was the true head of the clan following his father’s 1900 abdication, although his father kept the title imam (a primarily religious title) for himself, and left Abd al-Aziz with the title hakim (arbitrator). Following Abd al-Aziz’s successful conquest of Riyadh in 1902, he was granted the title amir by his father. Abd al-Rahman died in 1928.

642. Abd al-Aziz was not crowned king of (the unified) Saudi Arabia until 1932. Saud was announced “heir apparent” in 1933 (not by public statement). Oil was discovered in Saudi Arabia for the first time in 1937; however, large oil-revenues were unknown before the Second World War.

643. Both Abd al-Allah ibn Abd al-Rahman and Muhammad ibn Abd al-Rahman presented a challenge to the lineal succession when this was first introduced by Abd al-Aziz ibn Abd al-Rahman in the 30’s. The importance of the descendants of the brothers of Abd al-Aziz and the other cadet branches of the House of Saud is now dying out (J. Kechechian, *Succession in Saudi Arabi* (New York 2001) 32).

The House of Saud had risen twice before to rule the Arabian Peninsula. The first great Saud leader, Muhammad ibn Saud (1742 - 1765), was able to secure succession for his own son, and lineal succession lasted for two generations when the House of Saud again collapsed due to internal rivalries. The second rise of the Al Saud, under Turki ibn Abd al-Allah (1824 - 1834), was even less successful in establishing lineal succession. Turki's son was deposed by the Ottoman Sultan and his Egyptian allies, and imprisoned in Cairo. He was later to return to Riyadh and regain power over central Arabia, but he was unable to secure succession. Lateral succession was as common as lineal succession in the House of Saud, as it was among their immediate competitors on the Arabian Peninsula, the Al Rashid.⁶⁴⁴

Abd al-Aziz, being the strong charismatic ruler that he was, fathered at least 35 sons with numerous wives and concubines. He had, however, never more than four legally married wives at the same time, following the example of the prophet.⁶⁴⁵ Abd al-Aziz's first son was born in 1900, his last in 1947, resulting in a generation stretching an entire century. The oldest sons of Abd al-Aziz—some of whom rode with the Ikwan,⁶⁴⁶ uniting the Arabian Peninsula—had strong investments in the creation of the kingdom of Saudi Arabia. The House of Saud faced widespread rebellion when they were rethinking succession, and

644. Internal rivalry was one of the primary reasons for the final fall of the Al Rashidi (J. Kechechian (2001) 14-15).

645. Abd al-Aziz would take full advantage of the possibilities of divorce sanctioned by the Quran; however, he would continue to support his divorced wives, and those of them who had born him children would remain living at the court. The exact number of Abd al-Aziz's sons remains unknown as does the number of wives he married over time.

646. The Ikwan, or brotherhood, was Abd al-Aziz's creation: a Beduin army fueled by a desire for plunder and religious fanaticism.

confronted the cadet-branches of the House of Saud with the new centralization of power within one line of the family. Subsequently, Abd al-Aziz was forced to fight members of his own family, who were to be known as the “araif” (an Arabic word used for redeemed camels, applied to this family faction since Abd al-Aziz had pardoned them after their first defeat). Abd al-Aziz managed the problem caused by the rebels, first by co-opting these cadet branches in his rule and finally by executing those who continued their rebellion.⁶⁴⁷

The basis of the Saudi rulership over the larger part of the Arabian Peninsula military power and the religious fanaticism of the Beduin soldiers assembled by Abd al-Aziz rather than any legal claim. The Saudi theological claims of religious supremacy, and custodianship of the holiest places in Islam, negotiated with their allies, the Al Shaykh (descendants of the reformer Muhammad ibn Abd al-Wahhab), are easily contested from within Islamic circles. These theological claims are not founded on any genealogical claims, as was the case when the Hashemonites ruled the Hijaz, but exclusively on reformist, puritan arguments of the Wahhabi branch of Sunni Islam. This schism remains the *Achilles heel* of the Al Saud who have failed to eliminate all opposition to their religious claims.

The rulers of central Arabia prior to the successful conquest of Abd al-Aziz, the Al Rashid, were only one of the tribes of the Arabian Peninsula. Abd al-Aziz incorporated many of these tribes into his realm either by making them join his family (co-opting them in the rule of Al Saud) or by vanquishing them. Other tribes formed smaller “nation states”

647. A. Bligh, *From Prince to King, Royal Succession in the House of Saud in the Twentieth Century* (New York & London 1984) 17 - 18

bordering the Persian Gulf, some of which relied on primogeniture for the selection of heirs.⁶⁴⁸ The rulers of Saudi Arabia have tried several times to expand their territory at the expense of these states.

After the premature death of his first son Turki, the head of the Al Saud, King Abd al-Aziz, named his second son, Saud, “heir apparent” and his third son, Faysal, number two in the line of succession.⁶⁴⁹ Saud has been described as everything, ranging from the flattering image of a true son of the desert, a replica of his father, to being denounced as a dilettante without any vision.⁶⁵⁰ Whatever the viewpoint, it remains a fact that Saud ibn Abd al-Aziz had little training in foreign affairs and only limited official schooling.⁶⁵¹ His

648. The rulers of both Yemen and Oman have been chosen according to the system of primogeniture, whereas the ruling families of Kuwait, Abu Dhabi, and Umm al-Quwayn all seem to have relied on seniority (A. Bligh, 1984, 9-10).

649. No public statement was issued in 1933 announcing the appointment of Saud as “heir apparent”. The first such statement on the order of succession was issued in 1992, during King Fahd’s rule, when it was then explicitly stated that Abd al-Allah is the “heir apparent”, and implicitly that Sultan is number two to the throne. This is seen as a bargain between the powerful faction of princes known as the Sudayri Seven, after their maternal descent, and the other senior princes. The Sudayri Seven are: the present king (Fahd), Sultan, the minister of defence and civil aviation (number two to the throne), Nayif, the minister of the interior, Ahmad, the deputy minister of the interior, Salman, the governor of Riyadh, Turki, Sultan’s deputy defence minister, and Abd al-Rahman, a successful business leader (see J. Kechechian (2001) 5ff.). The statement of 1992 is not a law of succession. However, even if it was considered a rule of succession, it is limited by physical conditions such as the longevity of the first generation following Abd al-Aziz. It follows that the question of succession will have to be addressed more seriously in the near future.

650. See for example D. Holden and R. Johns, *The House of Saud* (London 1981) 176ff., W. Powell, *Saudi Arabia and its Royal Family* (Secaucus 1982) 222ff.

651. A. Bligh, 1984, 58-59.

traditional education, unlike the more westernized education of his brother Faysal, centered around virtues of a Beduin shaykh more than those of a ruler of a rich oil-state. Saud therefore seemed utterly unprepared to take over at the time of his father's death in 1953. His reign became one of the most troubled in modern Saudi history. He was *de-facto* deposed after six years (in 1958), and was finally forced to sign a letter of abdication in 1964 (actually Faysal ibn Abd al-Aziz signed in his place, but the take-over remained peaceful).⁶⁵² Faysal, supported by a large number of senior Saudi princes, in turn nominated his younger brother Khalid as "heir apparent". A cousin, Faysal ibn Musaid ibn Abd al-Aziz, assassinated Faysal after only nine years as king of Saudi Arabia.

When Faysal replaced Saud he had to deal with the many grown sons of Saud, some of whom saw a potential spot in the line of succession slip out of their hands with the dethronement of their father Saud.⁶⁵³ To this end Faysal could rely on the support of not only his own sons, but also his younger brothers and to some extent their sons.⁶⁵⁴ Faysal managed to built considerable support for his rule, and it was he who finally secured lateral succession.⁶⁵⁵ Khalid took over, following the death of Faysal, and nominated prince Fahd as

652. The struggle between the two brothers was seen by J. Kechechian (2001) 40ff. as amounting to a family feud lasting most of Saud's rign, in particularly picking up momentum after Sauds involuntary funnelling of executive power to Faysal in 1958. Saud regained power in 1960 and threw the country into one of the worst conflicts in its history.

653. J. Kechechian (2001) 41, 42 and again 43, suggested that Saud had tried to secure succession for his own progeny. See also A. Bligh, 1984, 58.

654. The alliances between the more than 300 sons and grandsons of Abd al-Aziz are, of course, much more complex than this simplistic outline suggests.

655. J. Kechechian (2001) 47.

crown prince and Abd al-Allah as number two to the throne. Today king Fahd is the aging ruler of Saudi Arabia, promoting more than ever before speculations over the future of the Saudi monarchy.⁶⁵⁶

This particular system of succession, plotted by the old king Abd al-Aziz to prevent fratricide, has so far been successful, discounting of course the deposing of king Saud and the seemingly unconnected assassination of king Faysal.⁶⁵⁷

As the charismatic leader of the House of Saud for almost 50 years, and a successful leader in war and politics, Abd al-Aziz managed to concentrate power within his branch of the family. From the middle of his reign he began securing the succession of power for his own line only, excluding the line of his brothers and their families. When Abd al-Aziz nominated Saud and Faysal as number one and two to the throne, he did not change any

656. Descendants of Abd al-Aziz on the Saudi Arabian throne are, Saud (1902 - 1969, ruled 1953 - 1964 (deposed)), Faysal (1906 - 1975, ruled 1964 - 1975 (assassinated by nephew)), Khalid (1912 - 1982, ruled 1975 - 1982), and Fahd (born 1921, ruler since 1982). Abd al-Allah (born 1923) is the designated heir, and Sultan (born 1924) is considered number two to the throne. Fahd was the real ruler during most of his brother Khalid's reign, Khalid himself had apparently little interest in the duties of the throne; his reign has been seen as part of a deal between two powerful factions within the royal family. The succession paradigm of the Saudi royal family is by Western observers often described as a nest for future troubles. With gradually aging heirs waiting for their bid at the throne, this could result in a long list of elderly rulers in office for only a few years prior to their death, unless a generational change takes place.

657. Faysal's assassin seems not to have been motivated by a quest for the throne, it was perhaps an act of revenge by a young man following the execution of his brother and removal of his father from the line of succession.

traditional Arabic rules of succession, for no such rules exists. Rather he did what any strong Arab leader will try to do, to secure his own line over that of his brothers.⁶⁵⁸

Primogeniture exists along with seniority as a system of succession among the ruling families of the post-Hijrat Arab world, but seniority has been traditionally, and by far, the most common of the two.⁶⁵⁹ Looking to the Qur'an and the examples of the prophet Muhammad (*hadith*), even within the first four generations after Muhammad, Arab leaders are without any set of rules guiding succession.⁶⁶⁰ During the early generations of the House of Saud (ca. 1700 to ca. 1900) all succession was presumably determined through the principle of seniority, and it was not before Abd al-Aziz that any ruler was able to favor his own line as decisively as he did.⁶⁶¹ So far Abd al-Aziz has been followed on the throne by four sons, and several well-educated aspirants to the throne follow the "heir apparent", Sultan, in seniority, but in a system such as that found in Saudi Arabia, where the ruler propagates heirs over a period of fifty years, it is likely that succession will pass some younger

658. "For a variety of reasons, chiefly because of religious and tribal traditions, primogeniture has not developed among Arabian dynasties in quite the same way [as in Europe], because under Shariah law, all sons of a man are equal and legitimate, even if they were born from illegitimate marriages. Moreover, in pre-Islamic tribal norms, while the throne could have passed from one generation to the next within a particular family, it was not necessarily passed from father to son. Rather, authority fell to a ruler's brother, uncle, or cousin, depending on which of these oldest male relatives was seen to possess "the qualities of nobility; skill in the arbitration; *hazz* or 'good fortune'; and leadership"[quoted from an interview with prince Sultan bin Salman, quoted in J. Kechechian (2001) see fn. 23]", p. 10 in J. Kechechian, 2001. Compare this autobiographical statement from a member of the royal family with the theoretical writings on the charismatic leader by M. Weber, see fn. 223 p. 90.

659. See A. Bligh, 1984, 9 - 10.

brothers by and eventually pass on to the next generation, the “grandson generation”, where the most senior member suddenly is to be found.⁶⁶²

Abd al-Aziz seems to have been a strong and charismatic ruler, to use the terminology of M. Weber, whose decisions were not contested.⁶⁶³ It is interesting, however,

660. See A. Bligh, 1984, 6, and J. Kechechian (2001) 11-12. Harun al-Rashid, the calif of Baghdad, revealed his plans for succession inside the Ka'ba in 802. Al-Rashid had decided, late in his reign, to nominate his son al-Amin as his first successor, and another son, al-Ma'mun, his second successor. Following the death of al-Rashid in 809, al-Amin perhaps tried to form his own line of succession; however, soon after their father's death, al-Ma'mun succeeded in forming his own power-base in a distant province and finally in 812 to take Baghdad and have al-Amin executed. T. El-Hibri writes (p. 463) ; “Al-Amin's execution, the first regicide in the Abbasid house, shook the caliphate's legitimacy ... In time it also gave rise to an apologetic historiography that sought to legitimate al-Ma'mun's overthrow of an incumbent caliph.” According to the decree of 802, al-Amin was supposed to nominate the successor of al-Ma'mun, but in 805 al-Rashid nominated a third son, al-Mu'tamin, the successor of al-Ma'mun. The nomination of both al-Ma'mun and al-Mu'tamin were accompanied by land-allotments, or rather gubernatorial posts in border regions. T. El-Hibri (p. 475) concluded that “the caliph's purpose on the pilgrimage of 802 was simple. Having nominated al-Amin (in 792) and al-Ma'mun (in 799) during their minority [al-Amin's nomination of a minor as heir following the death of al-Rashid was used by al-Ma'mun as the juridical reason for the war], it was timely in 802 to confirm the succession with binding oaths on the princes in their majority.” (T. El-Hibri, “Harun al-Rashid and the Mecca Protocol of 802: A Plan for Division or Succession?” *International Journal of Middle East Studies*, Volume 24, Issue 3 (1992), 461-480).

661. 19th century Ottoman tradition of succession, although far removed in space from the Arabian Peninsula, favored linial succession, passing the office from father to son. Traditionally the Ottoman ruling family did not enforce strict primogeniture; rather, the strongest and most cunning of the sultans sons would take hold of the throne, eliminating all of his rivals. Fratricide became institutionalized, early on, at the Ottoman court. Among the Arab rulers from the House of Saud there were those who had firsthand knowledge of the Ottoman traditions from their “imprisonment” in Istanbul. See J. Kechechian (2001) 12-13, and A. Bligh, 1984, 9.

662. A. Bligh, 1984, 53.

663. See A. Bligh, 1984, 103. We exclude, of course, the above-mentioned contestants to succession who, ironically, in their defeat eventually contributed to the un-rivaled position of Abd al-Aziz.

to note that not even Abd al-Aziz's plans for succession were adhered to for very long, and that his heir Saud was deposed only nine years after his death. Internally, the House of Saud is divided into competing factions and the balance of power is very fine, thus, the danger of relapsing into a system of fratricide is never far away, and in every designation to a high office a number of political factors are taken into consideration.

The prospective heirs to the Saudi throne are chosen—at the time being—exclusively from among the sons of the late king Abd al-Aziz.⁶⁶⁴ Maternal descent as well as the career and education of the individual princes are of importance for the selection. On the other hand, it is imperative for the brothers never to delegate too much power to one of their brothers, a faction of full brothers, or to anyone from the next generation.⁶⁶⁵ It might be beneficial for our investigation of the system of succession within the elite families of late 3rd millennium BC Mesopotamia, to look at the credentials that may help a prospective heir within the House of Saud.

Succession within the House of Saud has bypassed several of the sons of Abd al-Aziz, either with the consent of the neglected (perhaps as an act of support for a full brother (brothers with the same mother) more fit for government) or for reasons such as mental

664. This was the topic of a paragraph in a royal decree, see J. Kechechian (2001) 210, quoting “Royal Decree Number A/90, Dated 27 Shaaban 1412H/1 March 1992” Chapter 2, article 5b.

See also A. Bligh, 1984, 53-55, who attempted to group the heirs according to their prospects at succession.

665. This can be seen for example in the Al Saud management of the oil-production and the government of the oil-producing eastern provinces that are never concentrated in the hands of one heir alone. J. Kechechian (2001) 87.

disabilities or weak health. Several of the sons of Abd al-Aziz have not taken part in any aspects of the administration of the kingdom, a fact that would disqualify them in the struggle for succession at once. Most of these sons have ventured into the sphere of private enterprises, heavily subsidized by their affiliation to the ruling family, where they have become very wealthy.

The use of dynastic marriages—the co-optation of rivaling families by the ruling house—is widely employed in Saudi Arabia.⁶⁶⁶ Abd al-Aziz would marry the daughters of opponents, or even rebels, as well as the daughters of his allies, to secure the line of Ibn Saud.⁶⁶⁷

Among the many children of Abd al-Aziz, the sons from the political or dynastic marriages, as well as sons from marriages within the extended clan of Saud have been the most successful. The children of his concubines have been successful too, albeit not ascending to the highest offices. This is perhaps only by chance, since according to Shariah law all the sons of a man are equal. It is debated whether the tribal background of the mother is important for the success of her son. For example, the mother of the present “heir apparent”, Abd al-Allah ibn Abd al-Aziz, was from the Shammar tribe, an influential tribe from the central Najd, supplying many Beduin-conscripts for the national security forces, which also has Abd al-Allah as their chief.⁶⁶⁸ In addition, it is likely that the closeness of the mother to the king is important when later the son makes his bid for power.⁶⁶⁹ The number of full brothers is another very important factor determining the standing of a Saudi prince,

666. J. Kechechian (2001) 4.

667. R. Burling (1974) has pointed out some of the possible problems related to dynastic marriages, see p. 68.

since brothers with the same mother tend to support each other.⁶⁷⁰ Members of the grandson generation (grandsons of Abd al-Aziz) have also formed factions, mainly based on father - son relations, and largely dependent on the success of their fathers.⁶⁷¹ Saud ibn Abd al-Aziz had 53 sons many of whom ascended to high offices in the state when their father became king. Exactly the fact that Saud had multiple successful sons is a possible reason for his relative success, being as he was, an otherwise unlikely candidate to the throne of Saudi Arabia. When Saud fell from power his sons fell with him; when Faysal ibn Abd al-Aziz rose to power his sons too assumed high offices, however, two of them remained in power after the assassination of their father, perhaps because of their long and sound bureaucratic training.⁶⁷²

Since succession in the House of Saud is based on seniority and restricted to the descendants of Abd al-Aziz, rulership will, at some point, be transferred to the grandson generation following a non-legalized scheme where both the individuality and familial connections of the contestants are likely to play a role. The education and offices of the sons

668. However, precisely the fact that the familial structures of the Al Saud were so intricate perhaps weakens the argument that the tribal maternal affiliation of an heir is of much importance. See fn. 674 p. 286.

The sister of Abd al-Allah's mother was the wife of his own brother Saud.

669. A. Bligh, 1984, 40 - 41. This is an interesting point with regard to the Ur III royal family. As seen above (pp. 104 - 105) the concubines of the Ur III ruler often employed a terminology invoking their closeness to the king

670. J. Kechechian (2001) 26 - 28.

671. J. Kechechian (2001) 28-30.

672. For the careers of the sons of Faysal see J. Kechechian (2001) 29. Note that Saud al Faysal was co-opted in the reign of Khalid, as a minister of foreign affairs (A. Bligh, 1984, 90).

and grandsons of Abd al-Aziz, which has been studied by J. Kechichian and others,⁶⁷³ might point to any one descendant of Abd al-Aziz as the next in line for the throne, but with the large number of princes and the constant formation of factions the hierarchy of the House of Saud seems fluid.

During any struggle for succession, the contestant must delegate power to supporters in exchange for their support, endangering his future position. Is it possible for the new ruler to maintain dynastic power? Will his dynasty slowly disintegrate? Centralized power is perhaps at its peak in present day Saudi Arabia, with a minimum of cadet branches competing for the throne, but when power passes to the next generation, it might result in the loss of control recoverable only through another strong man.

The many similarities between the ancient ruling family of the Ur III empire and the contemporary royal family of Saudi Arabia has made this modern clan a valuable model for studying patterns of succession during the time of Ur III. Many post-Islamic Arab ruling houses could be cited as useful comparative material for our study, but the House of Saud is more applicable for our case due to its unprecedented success and richness. Consider the following complex family structure: “Abd Allah was born in 1921, when his father was about fifteen years old. His mother, Faysal’s first wife, was Sultanah bint Ahmad al-Sudayri, whose older sister Hassah was married to Abd al-Aziz. Hassah gave birth to the first of her seven

673. Data concerning the political history of the House of Saud, from the early 18th century till today is not always readily available, and many studies have been based, in part, on interviews with anonymous Saudi personalities.

sons, Fahd, at about the time Abd Allah was born. The oldest of the Sudayri Seven, Fahd, was thus both uncle and cousin to Abd Allah al-Faysal.” [A. Bligh, 1984, 66].⁶⁷⁴ Earlier generations of the Al Saud had not yet generated such complex family structures since the rulers produced fewer heirs. The high number of surviving heirs of Abd al-Aziz seems to be the result of not so much the extraordinary richness which befell Saudi Arabia following the large-scale exploitation of natural resources; rather, Abd al-Aziz himself must be given credit for having created a power-base as powerful as that of his sons.

674. Note that Saud was married to a sister of Abd al-Aziz’s Shammar bride (the mother of Abd Allah), co-opting the defeated house of Hail in the reign of Al Saud.

Excursus 2: Son of the king vs. brother of the king

In a society which favors lineal succession, it is expected that a contestant to the throne would express his close familial ties to the ruler, and in a society with strictly enforced primogeniture, the heir would hold a title such as crown-prince. But would a competitor call himself brother of the (ruling) king in a society where fratrilineal succession exists together with patrilineal succession? In the following brief excursus I will list and discuss all the examples of the kinship terms “brother” and “sister” used by persons claiming a close affiliation with the ruling clans of Sumer, as found in the extant texts from the Ur III period.

Only one person used the kinship term “brother” in relation to the king. This person is otherwise unknown, and the affiliation is expressed in only two texts.

Table 4: “brother of the king”

ID	date	
BM 103420 (unpubl.)	AS 8 ix	ur- ^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂ šeš lugal
MVN 8, 129	AS 4 iv 5	ur- ^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂ šeš lugal

Likewise, only four persons specified their familial affiliation with the second most important person of the empire, the sukkalmaḥ, in terms of brotherhood.

Table 5: “brother of the sukkalmaḥ”

ID	date	
JCS 10, 30 9	ŠS 8 ii 05	ur- ^d nanna sukkal šeš ir ₁₁ - ^d nanna sukkal-maḥ
CT 3, 21 (= BM 18957)	Š 43 to Š 46	lu ₂ - ^d šara ₂ šeš sukkal-maḥ
TCTI 2, 3711	XX XX iv 21	a-ḥu-ni šeš sukkal-maḥ

Table 5: “brother of the sukkalmaḥ”

ID	date	
TCTI 2, 4161	XX XX x 21	šu-i ₃ -li ₂ šeš sukkal-maḥ

A few persons called themselves “brother of the governor” to specify their affiliation with the head of an important family:

Table 6: “brother of the governor”

ID	date	
BM 105554 (unpubl.)	Š 34 ii	ir ₁₁ šeš ensi ₂ umma ^{ki} (Umma)
ASJ 19, 226 72	(no date)	ir ₁₁ šeš ur- ^d li ₉ -si ₄ (Umma)
JCS 28, 215 26	Š 43	a-kal-la šeš ensi ₂ (Umma)
OrSP 47-49, 500	(no date)	a-kal-la šeš ensi ₂ (Umma)
SAT 2, 1078	AS 8	lu ₂ - ^d utu šeš ensi ₂ adab ^{ki} (Adab)
AUCT 3, 31	ŠŠ 7 x	lu ₂ - ^d utu šeš ensi ₂ adab ^{ki} (Adab)
ITT 2, 4090	Š 42	lu ₂ - ^d nin-šubur šeš ensi ₂ (Girsu)
LB 610 (unpubl.)	(no date)	ur-ba-gara ₂ šeš ensi ₂ (Girsu)
NATN 123	Š 40	1 ur-x-[x] šeš ^Γ ensi ₂ [∩] (Nippur)

Babati, the brother of queen Abī-simtī, whose seal was copied in the Babylonian school, was an important person in the empire (see fn 273, on p. 110 above). Strangely, however, only one text includes the information, known from his seal inscription, that Babati

was the brother of the queen. Aside from Babati, we know of only two persons who mention their relationships to a named royal consort.

Table 7: “brother of the queen”

ID	date	
BCT 1, 126	AS 3 iii 19	ba-ba-ti šeš *Γ nin 𒀭
CT 3, 35 (= BM 21335)	(no date)	ir ₁₁ -mu šeš nin ₉ -kal-la,
OIP 115, 199	Š 46 iii 19	i-di ₃ -e ₂ -a šeš e ₂ -a-ni-ša
RA 73, 191	XX XX ix to XX XX i	i-di ₃ -e ₂ -a šeš e ₂ -a-ni-ša

Some persons in texts from Girsu were referred to as “brother or sister of the nin-dingir-priestess.” The nin-dingir-priestess is presumably identical with the wife of the governor of Girsu, an office held by the sukkalmah₂ after AS 6.

Table 8: “brother / sister of the nin-dingir-priestess”

ID	date	
UNT 26 ^a	Š 47 xii	ur-sa ₆ -ga šeš nin-dingir-ra
BAOM 2, 28 45 ^b	Š 48 xi	ab ₂ -la-la-a nin ₉ nin-dingir-ra-ke ₄
MVN 00 BM 013925 (unpubl.) ^c	Š 43	Lu ₂ -AB.DI šeš nin-dingir

a. See also Amherst 27 (from Š 37), where the same Ur-saga is called a foreman (ugula), and the very fragmentary text MVN 2, 283 (no date).

b. See also TUT 112 (no date).

c. See also BAOM 2, 24 14 (from Š 39 vi).

Only one person used the kinship term “sister of the queen,” Bizua; she is only rarely attested:

Table 9: “sister of the queen”

ID	date	
ASJ 3, 74	AS 4 viii 16	bi ₂ -zu-a nin ₉ nin
Fs. Jones 68	ŠS 6 i 04 to xii 30	bi ₂ -zu-a nin ₉ nin
TCL 2, 5484	AS 5 viii 20	bi ₂ -zu-a nin ₉ nin

Only two texts mention anyone who claimed fraternal affiliation with a general:

Table 10: “brother of the general”

ID	date	
SNAT 333	AS 2 xi	ur-lugal šeš šagina
RTC 331	Š 35 vii	da-da-a šeš lu ₂ - ^d utu šagina

Apart from the examples we have seen here, there few references to un-named wives, brothers, and sisters of high-level officials of the empire (see for example, OIP 115, 74 [from Š 43 ix 22], which mentions both the sister of Šelluš-Dagān (obverse line 7; nin₉ ze₂-lu-uš-^dda-gan) and the wife of Šarakam (obverse line 5; dam ^dšara₂-kam), among others).

The single most numerous group of people claiming affiliation with the royal clan, through brotherhood, is a group of approximately 40 persons, each of whom claimed to be the brother of a (royal) concubine. This group of people, who can only be associated with the royal concubines through circumstantial evidence, are all mentioned in texts similar to the

simple messenger texts. They all appear together with military envoys traveling to and from the eastern provinces. The texts are all written records of the provisions for these persons.

Table 11: “brother of the concubine”

ID	date	
HLC 132 (pl. 99)	XX XX iii	[a]-mur- ^d utu šeš lukur
OMRO 66, 55 20	XX XX v	a-bu-ni šeš lukur
MCS 5, 27 (= HSM 6367)	XX XX xii	a-ḥu-a šeš lukur
MVN 9, 135	XX XX vii	a-na-ti šeš lukur ^a
OMRO 66, 55 20	XX XX v	a ₂ -bi ₂ -li ₂ -a šeš lukur
RA 59, 145 (= FM 56)	XX XX iii	ba-ba-a šeš lukur
RTC 349	XX XX viii	ba-lu ₅ -a šeš lukur
MVN 7, 377	XX XX viii	da-gu šeš lukur
RTC 347	XX XX xi	e-la-<ak?>-nu-id šeš lukur ^b
CT 10, 30 (= BM 014612)	Š 43	e ₂ -ni-bi šeš lukur ^c
ABTR 13	XX XX vii	᠖ er ₃ ᠑-ra-LUGAL šeš lukur
ASJ 2, 9 15	XX XX iii	ḥa-ti šeš lukur
HSS 4, 66	XX XX x	i-din- ^d utu šeš lukur ^d
MVN 9, 136	XX XX viii	i-din-e ₃ -a šeš lukur ^e
TBM 1, 148	XX XX vii	i-ti-iš šeš lukur
TBM 1, 122	XX XX viii	iš-me-a šeš lukur
SAT 1, 157 (= BM 21022)	XX XX vi	ku-da-num ₂ šeš lukur
TBM 1, 148	XX XX vii	ku-da-num ₂ šeš lukur
TBM 1, 112	XX XX i	la-bi-ru-um ki šeš lukur mu ḥa-gar ^{ki} gibil-še ₃
SET 212	(no date)	la-la-a <šeš> lukur ^f

Table 11: “brother of the concubine”

ID	date	
TUT 211	(no date)	la-la-a šeš lukur
TBM 1, 122	XX XX viii	la-ni šeš lukur
TBM 1, 138	XX XX iv	lu ₂ - ^d nanna šeš lukur
ABTR 13	XX XX vii	lu ₂ -gu-la šeš lukur
HLC 168 (pl. 104)	XX XX iii	nig ₂ -e ₂ -ša-šu šeš lukur
TBM 1, 145	XX XX i	nu-a-a-ti šeš lukur
A 824 (unpubl.)	(no date)	nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂ šeš lukur
TUT 211	(no date)	puzur ₄ - ^Γ eš [∇] -[dar x] [šeš lukur]
SET 212	(no date)	puzur ₄ -eš ₄ -dar šeš lukur
TBM 1, 106	XX XX vii	puzur ₄ -ga-ga-u ₂ u ₃ a-da-lal ₃ šeš lukur
RA 19, 42 89	XX XX iv	puzur ₄ -šu šeš [lukur]
HLC 106 (pl. 94)	XX XX iii	puzur ₄ -šu šeš lukur
TBM 1, 148	XX XX vii	šu- ^d utu šeš lukur
MVN 9, 136	XX XX viii	šu-e ₃ -a šeš lukur
TUT 212	XX XX viii	šu-eš-dar šeš lukur
RTC 355	XX XX i	šu-eš-dar šeš lukur
RA 19, 40 21	XX XX xx 19	šu-i ₃ -li ₂ šeš [lukur(?)]
HLC 161 (pl. 103)	XX XX v	šu-i ₃ -li ₂ šeš lukur
TBM 1, 148	XX XX vii	ud-du-ša šeš lukur

- a. Perhaps the same person who is mentioned without title or familial relation in PDT 1, 434, together with Ninkala (spelled nin-kal-la), Šulgi-simtī, and other important figures from the empire as recipients of pairs of dušia boots (^{kuš}suḥub₂ du₈-ši-a e₂-ba-an). The text also mentions the father of Šulgi-simtī; DIB₂-ib-si-na-at. The personal name Iṭīb-sinat is mentioned in seven Ur III texts altogether. In all seven texts he appears as a high official together with other high-ranking officials and members of the clan of Ur-Nammu (see BCT 1, 38 [from Š 48 viii 19]; BIN 3, 603 [from IS 2 xii 1]; OIP 115, 293 [from Š XX XX 7]; Princeton 1, 81 [from AS 4 ix 26]; SAT 2, 774 [from AS 4 ix 25]; TBM 1, 451 [from Š 46 ximin]; and PDT 1, 434 discussed here).
- b. Only the PN e-la-ak-nu-id is known to me.
- c. Perhaps the same as the military person mentioned in MVN 6, 215 (from Š 34 vii), with the title “police officer” (aga₃-us₂) and captain (nu-banda₃).
- d. Includes the provisions for the daughter of the king (dumu-mi₂ lugal).
- e. Perhaps identical with the Idin-Ea (spelled i-DI-e₂-a) who was a known brother of Ea-niša mentioned above fn. 254 on p. 104.
- f. The reconstruction is suggested by the following reference combined with the circumstantial evidence that only men appears as recipients of rations in these texts.

All of the texts mention deliveries for persons traveling to and from cities in the eastern provinces. Some of these people are called couriers (lu₂ kas₄) or messengers (sukkal), but others have military titles, such as captain (nu-banda₃), chiefs of police (aga₃-us₂ gal, literally “chief follower of the crown”), or simply knights (lu₂ ^{geš}tukul). See for example SAT 1, 157 (= BM 21022) (no year, month 6):

Obverse

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1. 1(ban ₂) kaš DU lugal
u ₄ 2-kam ša ₃ uru | 1 ban of regular standard quality beer,
for 2 days while in the city, |
| 2. 1(diš) dug dida kaskal-še ₃ ze ₂ -la-a
aga ₃ -us ₂ gal sa-bu-um ^{ki} -še ₃ DU-ni | 1 jar of dida (beer) for the road: Šelaya,
police-chief, traveling to Sabum. |

3. 2(ban₂) kaš 2(diš) dug dida kaskal-še₃ 2 ban of beer, 2 jars of dida (beer) for the road,
 lu₂-^den-ki u₃-kul u₃ nu-ur₂-NE Lu-Enki, *ukul*, and Nūr-NE, captain
 nu-banda₃ dumu nu-banda₃ son of the captain,
 a-dam-dun^{ki}-še₃ DU-ni travelling to Adamdun.
4. 3(diš) sila₃ kaš iš-me-a lu₂-kas₄ 3 sila of beer. Išme-Ea, the runner,
 Reverse
 1. šušin^{ki}-ta DU-ni travelling from Susa.
 2. 5(diš) sila₃ kaš dan-i₃-li₂ sukkal 5 sila of beer, Dān-ilī, messenger,
 3. 3(diš) sila₃ kaš a-a-kal-la lu₂-kas₄ 3 sila of beer, Ayakala, runner,
 sa-bu-um^{ki}-ta DU-ni travelling from Sabum.
 4. 2(ban₂) kaš 2(diš) dug dida kaskal-še₃ 2 ban of beer, and 2 jars of dida (beer) for the road,
 ku-da-num₂ šeš lukur u₃ i-din-^dsuen Kudānum brother of the concubine,
 and Idin-Suen,
 sukkal a-dam-dun^{ki}-še₃ DU-ni messenger, travelling to Adamdun.
 5. 1(ban₂) kaš da-da-a aga₃-u₂ gal 1 ban of beer, Dadaya, police chief,
 u₃ šu-i₃-li₂ sukkal šušin^{ki}-ta DU-ni and Šū-ilī, messenger, travelling from Susa.
 6. iti šu-numun Month “Seeding”.

The other people mentioned in this and similar texts all seem to belong to two different social strata. The elite group of military staff and “diplomats”, on the one hand, and the mid-level group of couriers and messengers, on the other.

The first person, Šelaya, has the title police-chief. Nothing is known about this person other than this reference. Sabum, the destination of his travel, was located on the route to Susa, east of Sumer.

The next entry is for a pair of people, both traveling to Adamdun, an area south of Sabum, southeast of Sumer.⁶⁷⁵ The title of Lu-Enki (u₃-kul) is presumably related to the military, since it appears exclusively within this group of texts. The title of Nūr-NE, Lu-Enki's companion is usually understood as a military title comparable to a captain. Lu-Enki is not otherwise attested with the title u₃-kul. A messenger by the name of Lu-Enki, is attested frequently as member of the diplomatic corps; see, for example, MVN 1, 142 (from AS 5 viii 24), obv. 7 - 10: 1 gu₄ 5(diš) udu šimaški(LU₂.SU) / 5(diš) maš₂ gal šimaški / li-ba-an-aš-gu-bi lu₂ kin-gi₄-a li-ba-nu-uk-ša-ba-aš lu₂ mar-ḥa-ši^{ki} / giri₃ lu₂-^den-ki sukka, "1 ox and 5 šimaški sheep, 5 large šimaški goats; Libanaš-Gubi, the envoy of Libanuk-Šabaš, the man of Marḥaši,⁶⁷⁶ via Lu-Enki, the messenger." See also CT 10, 30 (= BM 014612) (from Š 43), where a certain Lu-Enki, son of the captain (nu-banda₃), is mentioned. A police chief is called Nūr-NE in TBM 1, 122 (no year, month 8), traveling from Urua (u₂urua^a ki).

675. See W. Sallaberger, *Ur III-Zeit* (1999) plate 4, p. 157.

676. Libanuk-Šabaš is called governor (ensi₂) of Marḥaši in TCL 2, 5508 (from AS 4 i 6). Although it is likely that /libana/ was a Marḥaši PN theophoric element, the two names recorded here are the only known names of persons from Marḥaši where such an element is detectable, except for persons with names such as Ḥašib-Atal (BIN 3, 12 [from Š 46 ix 12]), who probably was not a native of Marḥaši, and Amur-DINGIR, an envoy of Libanuk-Šabaš (see, for example, AUCT 2, 278 [from AS 4 ii 25]). Other names of persons from Marḥaši are: Aršik-u (see, for example, CST 235 [from AS 1 viii 17]); Banana (see, for example, CST 436 [from ŠS 6 iii 29]); Arbi-mašbi (MVN 1, 124 [from AS 1 viii 17]); Marḥuni (see, for example, MVN 13, 636 [from AS 8 i]); PN the envoy of Aršik-ug(u)bi (see, for example, MVN 15, 194 [from AS 1 v 29]); Bariašum (see, for example, OrSP 47-49, 24 [from AS 3 vi 2 to 30]); and PN the envoy of Arwil-ug(u)bi (see, for example ASJ 19, 204 13 [from AS 1 vi 21]).

The next persons subsequently mentioned, Išme-Ea,⁶⁷⁷ Dān-ilī, and Ayakala, were all lower level officials. Their rations were considerably smaller than those of the first group.

Kudanum, the brother of the concubine, is only mentioned in this text and in TBM 1, 112. The last pair of persons, Dadaya and Šū-ilī, are recorded as coming from Susa. Šū-ilī, the messenger, is recorded frequently in the published record. Dadaya travels to Susa with Apilānum in HSS 4, 67 (no year, month 8), and to Adamdun together with Idin-Ea in MVN 9, 136 (no year, month 8).

The term *lukur* qualifies two groups of women, one being the prosperous group of royal consorts, and to a lesser extent consorts of other high-ranking officials, the other being a group of temple staff. The group of men with some affiliation to the military or the diplomatic corps discussed in this excursus is the only closed group distinguishing their status through a laterally defined genealogical association. Whether this relation was with either of the two groups of concubines, outlined above, is less important than the sociological conclusions that can be drawn from this observation, namely that in a patriarchal society a person's rank is presumably defined through his patrilineal descent only, but persons without any relation to the ruling group except the marital link of their sister are forced to use this as their claim of affiliation.

677. See for example SET 212, which mentions a person called Išme-Ea, son of the captain, travelling from Sabum, obv. 15-16: iš-me<-e₂>-a dumu nu-banda₃ / sa-bu-um^{ki}-ta DU-ni.

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