

The Cuneiform Tablet Collection of the Los Angeles Unified School District

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§1. Introduction

§1.1. The Los Angeles Unified School District's (LAUSD) Art and Artifact Collection¹ is comprised mainly of a large assemblage of Greco-Roman antiquities acquired by Edward W. Clark, an artifact enthusiast and principal of Venice High School in Los Angeles from 1917 to 1938. In addition to Classical antiquities, however, the collection also features a small assortment of 15 cuneiform documents, consisting of 13 Ur III administrative texts, a Gudea cone, and a neo-Babylonian herding account.² The collection is currently housed in downtown Los Angeles in the administrative offices of the LAUSD.

§1.2. Clark majored in Classics and graduated with an A.B. from Oberlin College in 1890. He continued his studies at the University of Chicago and later in Leipzig, earning his A.M. in 1895. When he returned from Germany, Clark accepted a position at Ripon College teaching Greek and Latin as well as archeology. Clark continued to travel abroad, occasionally purchasing Greek and Roman antiquities that he eventually used to form a small collection for the school. This collection at Ripon College now bears his name.³ Clark left Ripon College in 1909 and spent much of the next few years in Europe.

In 1916, he returned to the United States and moved to California, where he taught at several high schools before becoming principal of Venice High School. In 1932, he started the Venice High School Latin Museum using pieces mainly from his own collection that he had acquired while traveling abroad.

§1.3. Thirteen tablets from Clark's collection of antiquities are presented below dating to the Ur III period (2112-2004 BC). Six come from the sites of Drehem (ancient Puzriš-Dagān) and Umma respectively, while one tablet likely comes from Girsu. As with most collections of this type, these tablets represent a medley of known Ur III archives. And, as is typical of such administrative miscellany, this potpourri of tablets offers certain insights into the terminology (š_u-gid₂, ab₂-rig₅) and practices (bala, abbreviating year names, sealing) of the Ur III state apparatus.

§2. Texts

§2.1. Girsu Tablet

§2.1.1. No. 1 = AA 69

This Girsu tablet is a reckoning of Aba-isege's debt to a household within the Lagaš province—likely a grain equivalent of labor—from his role as a foreman of weavers. The tablet is dated to Amar-Suen 1 xi.

Obverse

- | | |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. 𒀭 la ₂ -ia ₃ 5(aš) še gur
lugal | <i>The carried over debt is 5
royal gur of barley;</i> |
| 2. 𒀭 si ¹ -i ₃ -tum [nig ₂ -ka ₉ -ak] | <i>the remaining debt of the
balanced account</i> |
| 3. 𒀭 a ¹ -ba-i ₃ -se ₃ -ge-e | <i>(by) Aba-isege</i> |
| 4. su-su-dam | <i>to be replaced/repaid;</i> |

¹ Our thanks to Leslie Fischer, LAUSD's Art and Artifact Collection Consultant, who brought the collection to our attention and who was gracious enough to allow digital imaging of the documents. Ms. Fischer also provided much of the biographical information regarding Edward Clark.

² The neo-Babylonian herding account (AA 74) will be treated elsewhere by Michael Kozuh. The Gudea cone (AA 135) bears the same inscription as *RIME* 3/1.1.7.63. For artifact images, consult CDLI.

³ Several years after Clark left Ripon College, a professor of physics there, William H. Barber, agreed to purchase seven cuneiform tablets (EC.74.1, EC.74.2, EC.74.3,

EC.74.4, EC.74.5, EC.74.6, and EC.74.7) from Edgar Banks and donated them to the school's Clark Collection of Ancient Art.

Reverse

blank space

1. 𒀵 it₁ še-sag₁₁-ku₅ month: "Barley harvest,"
2. 𒀵 mu¹ amar-d¹suen lugal year: "Amar-Suen is king."

Envelope

Obverse

1. [la₂-ia₃ 5(aš) še gur] lugal The carried over debt is 5 royal gur of barley;
2. [si-i₃-tum] 𒀵 nig₂¹-ka₉-ak the remaining debt of the balanced account

blank space

3. [a-ba]-𒀵 i₃-se₃-ge¹ (by) *Aba-isege*
4. [su-su]-𒀵 dam¹ to be replaced/repaid;

Reverse

blank space

seal impression

1. [iti še-sag₁₁]-𒀵 ku₅¹ month: "Barley harvest,"
2. [mu amar-d¹suen lugal] year: "Amar-Suen is king."

Seal

1. [a]-ba-i₃-[se₃-ge] *Aba-isege*
2. dumu [...] son of ...
3. [...]

§2.1.1.1. The provenience of this tablet is based on its prosopography; an *Aba-isege* occurs in a number of Girsu texts involving female weavers (*geme₂ uš-bar*) from late in Šulgi's reign into Amar-Suen's reign. In several texts (e.g. *ASJ* 9, 327, 2 [AS 1 i]; *HLC* 68 [AS 2 iii 1]; *UNT* 34 [nd]; *OTR* 258 [AS 1 x]), *Aba-isege* is listed as a foreman of weavers (*ugula uš-bar*) and associated with the *e₂ uš-bar*. He appears in three additional texts concerning female weavers (*CT* 7, pl. 32 BM 18395 [Š 46]; *MVN* 22, 18 [...]; *SET* 240 [Š 45]),⁴ as taking amounts of grain into his administrative control (*i₃-dab₅*).⁵ Based on the quantity of grain he receives in *SET* 240 and *ASJ* 9, 327, 2, he supervised between 24 and 32 weavers during the first year of Amar-Suen's reign.⁶

§2.2. Drehem Tablets

§2.2.1. No. 2 = AA 76

This text notes a transfer of animals from *Intae'a* to *Ur-*

⁴ Jones & Snyder 1961: 134-135, assigned this text to Umma, but it is almost certainly from Girsu. Umma's month one, *še-sag₁₁-ku₅*, is the same as Girsu's month eleven. Moreover, none of the names attested in *SET* 240 are particular to Umma.

⁵ In *MVN* 22, 18, *Aba-isege* takes administrative control over unused rations/allocations from a weaver, *Nin-Šulgi*, who has recently died. The logical inference is that *Aba-isege* was her supervisor.

⁶ This calculation assumes a 30-sila₃ ration for *geme₂* (Gelb 1965: 232).

kununa, both important officials within the Drehem livestock administration.⁷ This tablet was recorded in *Am-ar-Suen* 6 vi.

Obverse

1. 1(u) u₈ sila₄ nu-a 10 pregnant ewes,
2. 1(u) ud₅ maš₂ nu-a 10 pregnant nanny goats,
3. a-bi-a-bi-iḫ (of) *Abi-abih*;
4. 1(u) u₈ 10 ewes,
5. 1(u) ud₅ 10 nanny goats,
6. ur-niḡar^{ar} ab₂-rig₅-e (of) *Ur-Niḡar*, the abrig (official);

Reverse

1. ki in-ta-e₃-a-ta from *Intae'a*,
2. ur-ku₃-nun-na *Ur-kununa*
3. i₃-dab₅ took (into his administrative control).
4. iti a₂-ki-ti month: "Akiti (festival),"
5. mu ša-aš-ru^{ki} ba-ḫul year: "Šašrum was destroyed."

Left edge

1. 4(u) 40 [total animals]

§2.2.1.1. The agents recorded in this transaction are well known in the Drehem administration: *Intae'a*, a member of the shepherd's office,⁸ *Ur-kununa*, whose family is associated with the shepherd's office⁹ and *Abi-abih*, a cup-bearer (*sagi*) at Drehem who was often involved in cult transactions.¹⁰ The presence of *Abi-abih* in conjunction with an abrig official, *Ur-niḡar*, suggests that this tablet is recording a transfer of animals for cultic purposes.

§2.2.1.2. The most striking feature of this text is the phrase *ab₂-rig₅-e*, which only occurs in one other text (*CST* 320 [AS 5 vi 20]), also qualifying the personal name *Ur-niḡar*. An alternative orthography *ab₂-ri₂-ig eš₃* occurs in *Amorites* 18, pl. 7-8 (AS 5 xii 1, 29) and its related account *MVN* 15, 192 (AS 5 xii, 29), both in conjunction with the personal name *Ur-niḡar* at Drehem. Syntactically and contextually, the term indicates the office or position held by *Ur-niḡar* at Drehem, interpreted here as abrig.¹¹

⁷ Tsouparopoulou 2008: 225-227 and 218-220.

⁸ Metcalf 2010: §2.1a with references. See also, Tsouparopoulou 2008: 225-227.

⁹ Tsouparopoulou 2008: 218-220.

¹⁰ Tsouparopoulou 2008: 262.

¹¹ These two interrelated texts record *Ur-niḡar* amongst the chief singer (*gala-mah*) and the *šabra*. *Ur-niḡar* receives a single lamb, which tends toward a cultic interpretation

§2.2.2. No. 3 = AA 79

This small tablet is an account of nine weaver garments (tug₂ uš-bar) given from Nūr-Suen into the administrative control of Lu-gina, the chief household administrator (šabra) during the 46th regnal year of Šulgi's reign. The provenience is provisional, based on Nūr-Suen appearing in other Drehem texts from this time period.¹²

Obverse

1. 1(u) la₂ 1(diš) tug₂ uš-bar 9 weaver garments,
2. ki nu-ur₂-^dsuen-ta from Nūr-Suen;
3. lu₂-gi-na šabra Lu-gina, chief household administrator,
4. šu ba-ti received.

Reverse

blank space

1. [mu] ḫu¹-ur₂-[ti^{ki} ba-ḫul] year: "Hur^{ti} was destroyed."

§2.2.2.1. Nūr-Suen often conducts various transactions with the other Drehem offices, including the dead animals' office; beginning in Amar-Suen's reign, Nūr-Suen appears as a main official in the sub-division of this bureau that deals with the raw materials—hides and wool—and also the finished goods—leather and textiles.¹³

§2.2.2.2. It is unclear whether Lu-gina is the chief household administrator of a local cult near Drehem, or if he is in fact operating out of Numušda's cult center of Kazallu.¹⁴ There are, however, three seals from Drehem that bear the title ARAD₂ ^dnumušda (Turām-ilī [ŠS 9 iii-viii]; Šu-iškur [ŠS 9 vii-x]; Ḫalala [ŠS 9 v]), suggesting, at a minimum, that cultic activity related to Numušda's temple was not uncommon at Drehem, at least in the latter Ur III period.

§2.2.2.3. The short forms of year names can be ambiguous and problematic.¹⁵ M. Sigrist discussed most recent difficulties in differentiating Šulgi 48 and Šulgi 46,¹⁶

over an association with the kitchen or slaughterhouse. For additional commentary on this term, see Brumfield 2011.

¹² Nūr-Suen also appears in other textile accounts (e.g. *VAMZ* 3, 26-27 129 3 [AS 1 viii]; *MVN* 13, 11 [AS 3 viii]; *TRU* 304 [AS 1 xi]) within several years of this account. Moreover, the tablet shape adheres to the typology of Drehem tablets, in opposition to those from Umma.

¹³ Tsouparopoulou 2008: 154, 257.

¹⁴ See *MVN* 3, 364.

¹⁵ See, for example, Wu 2010.

¹⁶ Sigrist 2010: 232-33.

which in their long form, both mention the destruction of Hur^{ti}, a toponym situated in the western Kermanshah province of Iran:¹⁷

Šulgi 48 (long form)

mu ḫa-ar-ši^{ki} ki-maš^{ki} ḫu-ur₅-ti^{ki} u₃ ma-da-bi u₄
1-bi ba-ḫul (e.g. *AUCT* 1, 149; *MVN* 2, 157; etc.)

Šulgi 46 (long form)

mu ki-maš^{ki} ḫu-ur₅-ti u₃ ma-da-bi u₄ 1-še₃¹⁸ ba-ḫul (e.g. *Aleppo* 185; *BPOA* 1, 1181; etc.)

§2.2.2.3.1. Judging from tablets that span multiple years—particularly the years immediately preceding or proceeding Šulgi 46 and 48 (e.g. *MVN* 14, 4)—it appears that scribes tended to abbreviate Šulgi 48 with a reference to the destruction of Hur^{ši}, an event not referenced in Šulgi 46 (e.g. *Princeton* 2, 349). Since AA 79 does not reference the destruction of Hur^{ši}, but only Hur^{ti}, a date of Šulgi 46 seems preferable.

§2.2.3. No. 4 = AA 73

This tablet records modest amounts of various cattle transferred between the Ur III administration and the merchant (dam-gar₃) Gudea, Adda-kala, a foreman of weavers (ugula uš-bar), and Šelluš-Dagān. The text was recorded in Šulgi 46 ii.¹⁹

Obverse

1. [n] 7(diš) gu₄ ḫ niga¹ [...] 7+ barley-fed oxen ...
2. n [...] ...
3. [n] gu₄ 4(diš) udu ḫ 1(diš) n oxen, 4 sheep, 1 goat ...
maš₂¹ x
4. [x] ḫ gu₃¹-de₂-a ḫ dam¹-... Gudea, merchant,
[gar₃]
5. [n] gu₄ niga 4(diš) [...] x n grain-fed ox(en), 4 ...
6. [n]+1(diš) udu 1(diš) x .. 1 sheep, 1 ...
7. x x x ...
8. [...] x [...] ...

Reverse

1. [...] ...
2. [n] ḫ maš₂ ad¹-da-... goat, Adda-kala, foreman
ḫ kal¹-[la] ugula uš-bar of weavers,
3. [n] ḫ maš₂¹ še-lu-uš-^dda-gan ... goat, Šelluš-Dagān.
blank space
4. ḫ mu¹-ku_x(DU) delivery;
5. iti ses-da-gu₇ month: "Piglet feast,"
6. mu ki-maš^{ki} u₃ ḫu-ur₅-ti^{ki} year: "Kimaš and Hur^{ti}
ba-ḫul¹ were destroyed."

¹⁷ Steinkeller 1988: 201.

¹⁸ Sometimes 1-a is seen instead of 1-še₃.

¹⁹ See §2.2.2.3 above for the discussion on this year name.

§2.2.3.1. Despite the fragmentary state of this tablet, the preservation of the personal names helps situate it in its original context. Both Adda-kala and Šelluš-Dagān appear individually in a number of texts where they are delivering lambs for deities (Inanna and Nanna respectively) in Drehem. These two personal names appear together in at least two other texts where each is recorded giving a lamb into the possession of Nasa, the fattener of the king,²⁰ at Drehem for cultic purposes (*PDT* 2, 1019 [Š 47 ii 4]; *PDT* 2, 1243 [Š 48 xi 13]).

§2.2.4. No. 5 = AA 136

This text records expenditures of animals from Abba-saga,²¹ one of the chief officials, to Šulgi-ayamu, a member of the disbursal office in Drehem dating to Amar-Suen 2 iii 10.²²

Obverse

- | | |
|------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|
| 1. 3(diš) gukkal babbar ₂ | 3 white fat-tailed sheep, |
| 2. 1(diš) gukkal ġeš-du ₃
babbar | 1 white pregnant fat-tailed
sheep, |
| 3. 3(diš) gukkal | 3 fat-tailed sheep, |
| 4. 2(diš) U ₈ .HUL ₂ | 2 ewes, |
| 5. 7(diš) udu | 7 sheep, |
| 6. 1(diš) sila ₄ | 1 lamb, |

Reverse

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. 1(diš) maš ₂ | 1 goat, |
| 2. 1(diš) ud ₅ | 1 nanny goat, |
| 3. u ₄ 1(u)-kam | on the 10th day, |
| 4. ki ab-ba-sa ₆ -ga-ta | from Abba-saga, |
| 5. dšul-gi-a-a-mu i ₃ -dab ₅ | Šulgi-ayamu took (into his
administrative control); |
| 6. iti u ₅ -bi ₂ -gu ₇ | month: “Ubi feast,” |
| 7. mu ^d amar-d ^{suen} lugal-e
ur-bi ₂ -lum ^{ki} mu-ḫul | year: “Amar-Suen, the king,
destroyed Urbilum.” |

Left edge

- | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|
| 1. 2(u) la ₂ 1(diš) | 19 (total animals) |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|

§2.2.4.1. Curiously, a virtual duplicate of this text is *BPOA* 6, 703 (AS 2 iii 10), attributed to Drehem, which reads as follows:

Obverse

- | |
|------------------------------------------------|
| 1. 3(diš) gukkal babbar |
| 2. 1(diš) gukkal ġeš-du ₃
babbar |

Reverse

- | |
|-------------------------|
| 1(diš) ud ₅ |
| u ₄ 1(u)-kam |

²⁰ For a brief overview of Nasa’s career at Drehem, see Wu & Li 2013: 445-446.

²¹ Possibly Abba-saga son of Nasa the royal fattener at Drehem under Šulgi (Wu & Li 2013: 446). Abba-saga assumed his father’s office under Amar-Suen.

²² Tsouparopoulou 2008: 332-334.

- | | |
|---------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 3. 3(diš) gukkal | ki ab-ba-sa ₆ -ga-ta |
| 4. 2(diš) u ₈ gukkal | dšul-gi-a-a-mu |
| 5. 7(diš) udu | i ₃ -dab ₅ |
| 6. 1(diš) sila ₄ | iti u ₅ -bi ₂ -gu ₇ |
| 7. 1(diš) maš ₂ | mu ^d amar-d ^{suen} lugal-e
ur-bi ₂ -lum ^{ki} mu-ḫul |

§2.2.4.2. M. Hilgert compiled duplicates from Drehem during the reign of Amar-Suen.²³ His list includes several texts involving Abba-saga and Šulgi-ayamu all dating from Amar-Suen 4-5. The pair presented here should be added to this list of Drehem duplicates.

§2.2.4.3. There are some small differences between these two texts, such as the line divisions and the use of |U₈+HUL₂| in AA 136 compared to u₈ gukkal in *BPOA* 6, 703. Moreover, our text appears to use in one instance (obv. 1) babbar₂ (U₄.U₄) instead of babbar (U₄), for describing the white color of the small cattle, whereas only babbar is seen in *BPOA* 6, 703. The practice of using babbar₂ to qualify small cattle at Drehem, predominantly the fat-tailed (gukkal) variety, is seen only until ca. Amar-Suen 6. In the other provinces, babbar₂ continues to be used in similar contexts regularly throughout the Ur III period with no such temporal restriction observed. The use of both babbar and babbar₂ in the same text is attested in several tablets (e.g. *Nik* 2, 465 [Š 46 v 21] and *MVN* 5, 107 [Š 48 i 2]), but the distinction between their use and the significance of the variant orthographies remains unclear. In AA 136, *Nik* 2, 465 and *MVN* 5, 107, the choice appears to be one of aesthetic, where babbar₂ is used to fill out a short line and babbar is used in a crowded line.

§2.2.5. No. 6 = AA 77

This text records the expenditure from the Drehem administration of two lambs to the cult of the moon god, Nanna, and five ewes to the kitchen (e₂-muḫaldim) in Šulgi 46 v 29. These animals were delivered on the same day that they were booked out, as recorded in *OIP* 115, 205. The delivery of two lambs ultimately destined for Nanna’s temple in Nippur agrees with Wu Y.’s and Li X.’s reconstruction of regular deliveries from Drehem to major cultic centers in Nippur during Šulgi’s reign and suggests that Enšakuge and Lu-Ninšubur were associated with the en of Inanna in Nippur.²⁴

²³ Hilgert 2003: 40-42.

²⁴ Wu & Li 2013: 446, 450. According to their analysis, the en of Inanna in Nippur, consistently identified by title alone, contributed two lambs or one lamb and one kid to

Obverse

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. 1(diš) sila ₄ mu-ku _x (DU)
en-ša ₃ -r ⁷ ku ₃ -ge | <i>1 lamb delivery (from)
Enšakuge,</i> |
| 2. 1(diš) sila ₄ niga mu-
ku _x (DU) lu ₂ - ^d nin-šubur | <i>1 barley-fed lamb delivery
(from) Lu-Ninšubur,</i> |
| 3. ^d nanna | <i>(for) Nanna,</i> |
| 4. zabar-dab ₃ maškim | <i>the z a b a r d a b -official²⁵ was
maškim;</i> |

Reverse

- | | |
|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------|
| 1. 5(diš) u ₈ šu-gid ₂ | <i>5 ewes šu-gid₂,</i> |
| 2. e ₂ -muḫaldim-še ₃
blank space | <i>for the kitchen;</i> |
| 3. zi-ga u ₄ 3(u) la ₂ 1(diš ₁)-kam | <i>credited on the 29th day;</i> |
| 4. r ⁷ iti ⁷ ezem- ^d nin-a-zu | <i>month: "Festival of Ninazu,"</i> |
| 5. mu us ₂ -sa ur-bi ₂ -lum ^{ki}
ba-ḫul | <i>year: "The year after Urbi-
lum was destroyed."</i> |

§2.2.5.1. This was one of at least two expenditures made to the kitchen on this day. The other, recorded in *MVN* 20, 185, notes that the kitchen received one barley-fed ox (gu₄ niga), four barley-fed sheep (udu niga) and one barley-fed billy goat (maš₂ gal niga) "on account of the runners" (mu kas₄-e-ne-še₃). Together, these texts represent a fraction of the likely dozens of tablets drawn up on this day to document the movement of animals within and without the Drehem administration.

§2.2.5.2. The exact meaning of the term šu-gid₂ remains elusive. Proposed translations include "general dues,"²⁶ "tax,"²⁷ "Ausschuss,"²⁸ or as a designation of animals suitable to be eaten,²⁹ among others. Based on literary contexts, Karahashi suggested "to accept" or, in the context of extispicy,³⁰ "to examine" adopted by Englund.³¹

§2.2.5.2.1. In general, the term šu-gid₂ in the Drehem texts is used for animals expended to the kitchen.³² In

Inanna, Nanna, Utu, An and Nanaya. The sanga primarily sent deliveries for Enlil and Ninlil.

²⁵ For a brief discussion of the interpretation of this official see Johnson 2006: §2.2.

²⁶ Kang 1972: 279.

²⁷ Sigrist 1995: passim.

²⁸ Sallaberger 2004: 49.

²⁹ Tsouparopoulou 2008: 215.

³⁰ Karahashi 2000: 161-2.

³¹ Englund 2004: 40 and 2010: 104.

³² Not all animals recorded as šu-gid₂ went to the kitchen; see, for instance *BIN* 3, 309.

a number of texts, they are distinguished from animals qualified as "slaughtered" (ba-uš₂/ug₇) (e.g. *BIN* 3, 490 [Š 43 vi 17], *AUCT* 1, 679 [AS 4 vi 27], etc.). However, not all animals are qualified as either "slaughtered" or šu-gid₂, and in many texts they appear with no designation at all (e.g. *MVN* 5, 103 [Š 46 ix 13]; *BIN* 3, 63 [AS 3 xi 2]).

§2.2.5.2.2. An examination of same-day Drehem kitchen texts demonstrates another curious aspect of the use of the term šu-gid₂. The text *ASJ* 3, 189 1 is a summary account of large cattle expenditures by the fatterer Enlila made during the second month of Šulgi 43. Included are expenditures of oxen to the kitchen on the 3rd (7 oxen), 10th (1), 11th (2), 12th (1), and 19th (1) of the month. These animals are not qualified as šu-gid₂. However, in *NYPL* 18, dated to the 12th day of the second month of Šulgi 43, there is an expenditure of some 20 small cattle of various types as well as one ox to the kitchen, all qualified as šu-gid₂.

§2.2.5.2.2.1. The expenditure of an ox in *NYPL* 18, listed as šu-gid₂, is unequivocally the same one listed in *ASJ* 3, 189 1 without any such designation. That there are other instances of this phenomenon (e.g. *MVN* 13, 805 and *Nisaba* 30, 8 [Š 43 x 15]; *AUCT* 1, 876 and *OIP* 115, 314 [Š 47 viii 11]; *AUCT* 2, 72 and *AUCT* 1, 327 [AS 3 i 5], etc.) indicate that this was not simply a scribal error or some other administrative aberration.³³ Instead, the use of the term šu-gid₂ depended upon whose tablet the transaction was being recorded: in general, šu-gid₂ was used when the transaction came from the account of the main Drehem officials, e.g. Abba-saga and Intae'a. When that same transaction appeared in the records of fatteners such as Enlila, the designation šu-gid₂ was not used.

§2.2.5.2.2.2. Often, administrative records are abbreviated and, thus, omit non-compulsory information in the interest of time and/or space. Perhaps personal receipts, given to non-state employees, did not include supplementary information about the animals or transaction, especially if that information was informative only for internal record keeping. For additional discussion on this phenomenon, see §2.3.1.2. below.

§2.2.6. No. 7 = AA 70

This Drehem text records both large and small cattle received by members of the Ur III administration. Intae'a and Ur-mes have been identified as members working in

³³ See Allred 2006: table 2.1 for many such pairs.

the shepherd's office by previous Drehem research.³⁴ This tablet was recorded in Šu-Suen 2 vi 20-22.

Obverse

1. 1(diš) 1 amar maš-da₃-munus *1 young gazelle doe,*
2. u₄ 2(u)-kam *on the 20th day,*
3. 1(diš) sila₄ 1(diš) amar maš-da₃-nita *1 lamb, 1 gazelle,*
4. u₄ 2(u) 1(diš)-kam *on the 21st day,*
5. 1(diš) sila₄ 1(diš) gu₄ *1 lamb, 1 ox,*
6. 7(diš) ab₂ *7 cows,*
7. 1(u) la₂ 1(diš) dusu₂-nita *9 jacks,*
8. 2(diš) dusu₂-munus *2 jennets,*
9. šu-gid₂ u₄ 2(u) 2(diš)-kam^s u-gid₂ *on the 22nd day,*
10. ki in-ta-e^s-[a]-ta *from Intae'a;*

Reverse

1. 5(diš) udu ki na-lu₅-[ta] *5 sheep from Nalu;*
blank space
from here written on dried clay
2. ša₃-bi-ta *credits:*
3. 5(diš) udu ša₃ e₂ *5 sheep to the kitchen via*
muḫaldim ġiri₃ šu-i₃-li₂ *Šu-ilī,*
4. 2(diš) sila₄ 2(diš) amar maš-da₃ *2 lambs, 2 young gazelles,*
5. ġiri₃ in-ta-e₃-a *via Intae'a,*
6. ur-mes i₃-dab₅ *Ur-mes took (into his administrative control);*
7. 8(diš) ab₂ 1(u) 1(diš) dusu₂ *8 cows, 11 donkeys,*
8. en-lil₂-la₂ i₃-dab₅ *Enlila took (into his administrative control);*
blank space
9. iti a₂-ki-ti *month: "Akiti (festival),"*
10. mu ma₂ dara₃-abzu ba-ab-du₈ *year: "The boat Dara-Abzu was caulked."*

§2.2.6.1. Here, a small number of animals are being transported via Intae'a to Ur-mes; however, the majority of Intae'a's animal deliveries to the Ur III state are taken (i₃-dab₅) by the individual Duga and only sealed by Ur-mes.³⁵ Ur-mes is a curious figure in the Drehem shepherd's office. Tsouparopoulou speculates that he may have been an administrative link between the office of the shepherds and the shepherds themselves.³⁶ His status is somewhat nebulous given that he is never described as a

scribe.³⁷ This is part of an intricate pattern of exchange between Intae'a, Duga and Ur-mes discussed fully by Tsouparopoulou.³⁸

§2.3. Umma Tablets

§2.3.1. No. 8 = AA 72

This tablet records amounts of reeds (gi) and willow (ḡeš ma-nu) given from Šešani to Lugal-ezem, acting on behalf of the Ur III state. This text is marked as being part of the still poorly understood bala account of the administration. The date of this tablet is reconstructed as Šulgi viii based on the presence of Šešani in ša₃ bala accounts received or sealed by Lugal-ezem during the latter part of Šulgi's reign. This would argue, contextually, for a placement of AA 72 in the second half of Šulgi's reign.³⁹

Obverse

1. 1(u) gu₂ gi *10 talents of reed (~ 300 kg),*
2. 1(u) gu₂ ḡeš ma-nu *10 talents of willow wood,*
3. ki šeš-a-ni-ta *from Šešani;*
4. lugal-ezem *Lugal-ezem*
5. šu ba-ti *received;*
6. iti e₂-iti-6(diš) ša₃ bala-a *month: "House of the 6 moons;" from the bala (account).*

Reverse

seal impression
uninscribed

Seal

1. lugal-ezem *Lugal-ezem,*
2. dub-sar *scribe,*
3. dumu lugal-e₂-maḫ-e *son of Lugal-emaḫe,*
4. šabra *chief household administrator.*

§2.3.1.1. Lugal-ezem, son of Lugal-emaḫe, dealt with reeds and related goods at Umma, recorded almost exclusively during the 8th month and often, but not consistently, denoted as ša₃ bala. For example, *OrSP* 47-49 176 and *Aleppo* 112 record a similar bala transaction between these two individuals, but in the seventh month of Šulgi 34.

§2.3.1.2. There are two distinct seals attested for Lugal-ezem, son of Lugal-emaḫe.⁴⁰ The shorter seal inscrip-

³⁴ Tsouparopoulou 2008: 211-248.

³⁵ The last attestation of Ur-mes' seal dates to Šu-Suen 4 vi, which likely indicates that Ur-mes retired/died sometime between the 6th and 10th month of that year.

³⁶ Tsouparopoulou 2008: 237-240.

³⁷ Tsouparopoulou 2008: 237, fn. 111.

³⁸ Tsouparopoulou 2008: 93, 240. For a brief discussion on sealing by proxy, see Mayr 1997: 139.

³⁹ Huehnergard & Sharlach 2000: 123-124, fn. 3.

⁴⁰ A broken attestation of a Lugal-ezem seal dating as late

tion tends to appear on a transactions of various goods occurring throughout the year, almost to the exclusion of the 8th month. Conversely, Lugal-ezem's longer seal inscription predominantly with transactions for reeds in the 8th month, often with an explicit bala designation. This pattern suggests that officials may have used distinct seals to denote different types of transactions—in this instance bala and non-bala exchanges.⁴¹ After all, bala was not consistently recorded on bala transactions (see the undated duplicate *SACT* 2, 73, of *CDLJ* 2009:6 §1).⁴² This paradigm permits the suggestion that in addition to administrative terminology, bala transactions could also be denoted by a separate seal.⁴³

as Šu-Suen 5 is found in Owen 1994: 23-24, no. 13, from Umma. Because of its fragmentary state, it is not certain which seal of Lugal-ezem is attested in Šu-Suen 5.

⁴¹ There does not appear to be a difference in the placement (e.g. obverse, reverse) of the “short” (three lines) and “long” (four lines) seals of Lugal-ezem, as outlined by A. Di Ludovico in his study of Ur III Umma administrative tablets (2012: 277-278).

⁴² See Widell 2009 for the potential duplicate accounts. An additional example is given in Brumfield *forthcoming*. Moreover, bala may not indicate the same type of system for all participants in the Ur III administrative apparatus; Garfinkle (2002: 30 fn. 8) and Van de Mieroop (1986: 15 & fn. 49) each argue for a distinct bala in the private archives of Tūram-ili.

⁴³ There is extant evidence for variant practices for recording administrative transactions in the Ur III period. For example, compare *BCT* 2, 27 and 28 (Š 44 xi), two Umma tablets recording the same work of reed workers but with slightly different information recorded on each tablet (Heimpel 2009: 45):

1(u) 5(diš) gurus / a₂ u₄ 1(diš)-bi gu-nigin₂ 4(u) 5(diš)-am₃ / šunigin 1(ġeš₂u) 2(ġeš₂) 4(u) 5(diš) gu-nigin₂-am₃ / a₂ u₄ 1(u) 7(diš)-bi-im / ur-e₁₁-e i₃-dab₅ / blank space / iti pa₅-u₂-e / mu si-mu-ru-um^{ki} ba-ḥul

15 male workers, the labor of 1 day: 45 bales, the total is 765 bales, being the labor of 17 days, Ur-e'e took (into his administrative control); month: "Pa'ue," year: "Simurrum was destroyed" (BCT 2, 27).

1(u) 5(diš) ġurus a₂ u₄ 1(diš)-bi u₂|ZI&ZI|-a gu-nigin₂ 3(diš)²-ta-am₃ / šunigin 1(ġeš₂u) 2(ġeš₂) 4(u) [5(diš)] gu-nigin₂-am₃ / [a₂ u₄] 1(u) 7(diš) 1-bi-im¹ / saġ-niġ₂-gur₁₁-ra-kam / ša₃-bi²-ta / 1(ġeš₂u) 2(ġeš₂) 4(u) 5(diš) gu-nigin₂-am₃ / ur-e₁₁-e i₃-dab₅ / ku²-ga² ma₂-da-ga-še₃² su²-us₂² / iti pa₅-u₂-e / blank space / mu si-mu-[ru]-um^{ki} ba-ḥul¹ / erasures² / blank space

15 male workers, the labor of 1 day: rushes, 3² bales each, the total is 765 bales, being the labor of 17 days, it is the debits; credits are 765 bales; Ur-e'e took (into his administrative control); ... Magda ... month: "Pa'ue," year: "Simurrum was destroyed" (BCT 2, 28).

§2.3.2. No. 9 = AA 80

This Umma text records a large quantity of reeds (gi) from Lugal-itida listed with his patronymic, in the account of Lukalla, as debits. This transaction was sealed by Ur-Šara, son of Lugal-ušur, during Amar-Suen 3.⁴⁴

Obverse

1. 3(ġeš₂u) 9(ġeš₂) 1(u) gu₂ gi 2,350 talents of reeds (~ 60.5 metric tons),
2. še-ta sa₁₀-a exchanged in grain,
3. ki lugal-iti-da-ta from Lugal-itida,
4. dumu ġiri₃-ne₂ son of Ġirine,
5. ugu₂ lu₂-kal-la ba-^Γa^Γ-ġar placed in the debit account of Lukalla;

Reverse

1. kišib₃ ur-^dšara₂ ša₁₃- dub-ba sealed document of Ur-Šara, archivist; seal impression
2. mu ku₃ gu-za^den-lil₂-la₂ ba-dim₂ year: "A shining throne for Enlil was built."

Seal

1. ur-^dšara₂ Ur-Šara,
2. dub-sar scribe,
3. dumu lugal-ušur₃ son of Lugal-ušur.

§2.3.2.1. Ur- Šara, an archivist (šadubba), is a prominent official in the Umma administration whose career extended from the middle of Šulgi's reign through his predecessor Amar-Suen.⁴⁵

§2.3.2.2. Lugal-itida, son of Ġirine, also possessed several seals throughout his career.⁴⁶ Lugal-itida's seals show a variant orthography for his name as Lugal-tida. In Šulgi 37, but possibly as early as Šulgi 34, his seal reads as follows:

W. Heimpel's assertion that the second (incorrectly identified as sealed) text was given to Ur-e'e, an agent of the Ur III state, seems to be the most logical interpretation of the differences between administrative records (although see Widell 2009: §2.3.7 for the arguments in favor of scribal drafts). The more abbreviated record would be sufficient for the workers to prove their payment of reeds; however, the state would require supplementary details. Based on the duplicate accounts presented by Heimpel as well as those discussed in Brumfield, *forthcoming*, such supplementary details could include sealing agent/authorizing party, terminology used in running accounts, toponyms, commodity specification, additional agents or account type.

⁴⁴ The family of Lugal-ušur is outlined in Mayr 1997:150-151.

⁴⁵ Dahl & Hebenstreit 2007: 48; Dahl 2007: 76, fn. 279.

⁴⁶ Mayr 1997: 469-470.

Lugal-tida
son of *Girine*
soldier of the governor

§2.3.2.2.1. Beginning in Šulgi 48 and continuing to Šu-Suen 5, Lugal-itida assumes the office of nu-banda₃ gu₄ and adopts a fuller orthography for his name:

Lugal-itida
overseer of the oxen
son of *Girine*

§2.3.3. No. 10 = AA 82

Tablet AA 82 records the total fodder consumed by a herd of 30 sheep over the course of one month. These animals are being purposefully fattened in preparation for cultic slaughter by Alulu, a fatterer (ku ru š da) of the deity Šara, at Umma. This tablet dates to Amar-Suen 6 i.

Obverse

1. 3(u) udu niga 5/6(diš) 30 barley-fed sheep (fed) 5/6
sil₃ še-ta liter of grain each,
2. 2(ban₂) 4(diš) sil₃ 24 liters of bran,
duḥ
3. 3(u) 3(u)-še₃ for 30 days;
4. šunigin še-bi 2(aš) the total of its barley is 750
2(barig) 3(ban₂) gur liters;
5. šunigin duḥ-bi the total of its bran is 720
2(aš) 2(barig) gur liters;

Reverse

1. sa₂-du₁₁ dšara₂ ša₃ umma^{ki} regular offerings for Šara in
Umma,
2. ġiri₃ a-lu₅-lu₅ via Alulu;
3. iti še-sag₁₁-ku₅ month: "Barley harvest,"
4. mu us₂-sa en-^{ra} mah-gal^{ra} year after: "Enmahgalanna
an-na ba-ḥuḡ was installed."

§2.3.3.1. This text is typical for Alulu's activities as an animal fatterer at Umma. He is involved in numerous transactions of fattened animals for the Umma cults (see *NYPL* 20 [AS v 2] for a similar account to AA 82). The hereditary nature of Alulu's office has already suggested by Mayr,⁴⁷ Stepien,⁴⁸ and Widell.⁴⁹

§2.3.4. No. 11 = AA 81

This tablet records quantities of cord bundles (sa gu) transferred in four installments across non-consecutive months at Umma. The goods were delivered by Ur-Nintu

and accounted to the Ur III state by Lu-Ninšubur, who is identified with both a profession and patronym on the accompanying sealing. This text is from Amar-Suen 6 with accounting entries for months: iii, iv, viii, xi.

Obverse

1. 3(u) sa gu 30 bundles of cords,
2. niġ₂-dab₅ iti še-kar-^{ra} ra^{ra}-^{ra} requisitions (during the
ġal₂-la month: "Barley at the
harbor;"
3. 1(ġeš₂) sa gu 60 bundles of cords,
4. ezem nesaġ (requisitions during the
month: "First offering;"
5. 1(ġeš₂) sa gu 60 bundles of cords,
6. ezem e₂-iti-6(diš) (requisitions during) "Fes-
tival of the house of 6
moons;"

Reverse

1. 3(u) sa gu 30 bundles of cords,
 2. ezem pa₄-u₂-e (requisitions during) "Festi-
val of Pa'ue,"
 3. ki ur-^dnin-tu-ta from Ur-Nintu,
 4. kišib₃ lu₂-^dnin-šubur sealed document of Lu-
Ninšubur;
- seal impression*
5. 1 mu ša^{ra}-aš-šu₂-ru-um year: "Šašrum was destroyed
a-ra₂ 2(diš)-kam ba-ḥul for a second time."

Seal

1. lu₂-^dnin-šubur Lu-Ninšubur,
2. dub-sar scribe,
3. dumu šeš-kal-la son of Šeškalla,
4. šabra chief household administra-
tor.

§2.3.4.1. This particular seal of Lu-Ninšubur appears on Umma texts beginning in Šulgi 34 until Šu-Suen 1. Variations of this seal are also attested at Umma, one as late as Šu-Suen 9 (e.g. *PDT* 1, 586). Mayr indicates that there may be as many as six distinct seals for Lu-Ninšubur at Umma throughout his lifetime.⁵⁰ This leads to some confusion for seals without a clear patronym (e.g. *Tavolette* 360 [AS 7 iii]; *BPOA* 1, 700 [ŠS 3 xiii]), but in cases with patronyms, such as AA 81 here, his identity is more secure.

§2.3.4.2. *SET* 274 has a similar entry to this text, but dates several years earlier to Amar-Suen 2 iii, iv, viii, xi. This pattern extends to many other texts from Umma involving Ur-Nintu and Lu-Ninšubur (e.g. *BPOA* 6, 1442 [AS 2 xi]; *USC* 6612 [AS 3 viii]):

Reverse ii

⁴⁷ Mayr 1997: 153.

⁴⁸ Stepien 1996: 38-39.

⁴⁹ Widell 2009: §3.3-3.3.5.

⁵⁰ Mayr 1997: 318-319.

- ...
33. 1(ĝeš₂) 3(u) sa gu
34. niĝ₂-dab₅ ezem še-kar-ra-ĝal₂-la u₃ ezem nesag
35. 1(ĝeš₂) sa gu
36. niĝ₂-dab₅ ezem e₂[?]-iti-6(diš)

Reverse iii

1. 3(u) sa gu
2. niĝ₂-dab₅ ezem pa₅-u₂-e
blank space
3. kišib₃-bi 4(diš)-am₃
4. kišib₃ lu₂-^dnin-šubur
- ...

§2.3.4.3. Several texts from Umma that record bundles of cords transactions do not contain month information, so it is difficult to claim any pattern definitively (e.g. *BPOA* 2, 2652 [Š 44], and *Nisaba* 9, 220 [Š 44], for Ur-Nintu entries).

§2.3.5. No. 12 = AA 75

This Umma account records 355 liters of “large bread” (ninda gal) given by Gurzan and associated with the šunir. This text was sealed by Ayakala, the governor (ensi₂) of Umma from Amar-Suen 9 until the end of Šu-Suen’s reign. Accordingly, this text was recorded on Šu-Suen 3 xiii.

Obverse

1. 1(aš) 5(ban₂) 5(diš) sila₃ 355 liters of large bread,
ninda gal gur
2. zi-ga šu-nir credited to the šunir,
3. ki gur₄-za-an-ta from Gurzan;

Reverse

1. kišib₃ ensi₂ sealed document of the governor;
seal impression
2. iti diri mu si-ma-num₂^{ki} month: “Extra,” year:
ba-ḫul “Simanum was destroyed.”

Seal

col. i

1. ^dšu-^dsuen Šu-Suen,
2. lugal kal-ga strong king,
3. lugal uri₅^{ki}-ma king of Ur,
4. lugal an ub-da limmu₂-ba king of the heaven with its
four corners;

col. ii

1. a-a-kal-la Ayakala,
2. ensi₂ governor,
3. umma^{ki} of Umma,
4. ARAD₂-zu your servant.

§2.3.5.1. There are at least three distinct individuals named Gurzan at Umma active in Šu-Suen 3: a cook

(muḫaldim) (e.g. *MCS* 2, 75, BM 113075 [ŠS 3]), a fuller (azlag) (e.g. *SAT* 3, 1332 [ŠS 3 xi]) and a smith (simug) (e.g. *Rochester* 158 [ŠS 3 vii]). It is difficult to confidently state which Gurzan is represented in the text here; however, contextually the exchange of baked bread would suggest that this Gurzan was a cook at Umma.⁵¹

§2.3.6. No. 13 = AA 78

This text is a brief labor account for the equivalent of 60 labor days for work performed at the threshing floor (ki-su₇) of the Ninurra field. The foreman (ugula) is Šeškala and the sealing agent (kišib₃) is Ur-Šulpa’e, son of Lugal-kugani. This account is dated to Šu-Suen 3.

Obverse

1. 1(ĝeš₂) [guruš u₄ 60 labor days,
1(diš)-še₃]
2. ki-^rsu₇-a-ša₃-^dnin- stationed at the threshing
ur₄-ra ^rgub-ba floor of the Ninurra
field,
3. [ugula] ^ršeš ^rkal-^rla ^r the foreman is Šeškala,
4. [kišib₃ ur]-^ršul-pa-e₃ sealed document of Ur-Šul-
pa’e;

Reverse

seal impression

1. mu us₂-sa ^dšu-^dsuen lugal year after: “Šu-Suen, the
-e ^rbad₃ ^rmar-tu king, built the western
^rmu ^r[du₃] wall.”

Seal

1. ur-^dšul-pa-e₃ Ur-Šulpa’e,
2. dub-sar scribe,
3. dumu lugal-ku₃-ga-ni son of Lugal-kugani.

§2.3.6.1. The place name ki-su₇ a-ša₃-^dnin-ur₄-ra occurs only in Umma texts; moreover, this field features prominently in a list of Umma fields in *SAT* 2, 1114 (AS 8). There are several other work assignment records for this location, mostly groups of male laborers (guruš) filling and punting or towing⁵² (gid₂) boats (e.g. *UTI* 4, 2447 [ŠS 4]; *SACT* 2, 76 [ŠS 1]).

§2.3.6.2. The reconstruction of ugula in obv. 3 is supported by *BPOA* 1, 10 (iv 10), and *BPOA* 1, 908 (ŠS 3). Specifically, *BPOA* 1, 10, lists the foremen responsible for work in the field of Ninurra in Umma:

Obverse

1. 3(ĝeš₂) guruš ša₃-gu₄ 180 ox driver workers,

⁵¹ Allred 2006: 169-71.

⁵² For the possible translation “punting” of gid₂ instead of the traditional “towing,” see the recent arguments set forth in Englund 2010.

- | | | | | | |
|----|------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| 2. | ugula ur- ^d šul-pa-e ₃ | <i>the foreman is Ur-Šulpaē;</i> | u ₄ 1(u) | | |
| 3. | 3(ĝeš ₂) ugula lugal-a ₂ -zi-da | <i>180 (ox driver workers), the foreman is Lugal-azida;</i> | 2. | iti nesaĝ | <i>month: "First offerings,"</i> |
| 4. | 2(ĝeš ₂) ugula šeš-kal-la | <i>120 (ox driver workers), the foreman is Šeškalla;</i> | 3. | ki-su ₇ a-ša ₃ ^d nin-ur ₄ -ra | <i>at the threshing floor of the Ninura field.</i> |
| 5. | 1(ĝeš ₂) ugula lu ₂ -banda ₃ ^{da} | <i>60 (ox driver workers), the foreman is Lubanda;</i> | | | |
| 6. | 2(ĝeš ₂) ugula ur- ^d ma-mi | <i>120 (ox driver workers), the foreman is Ur-mami;</i> | | | |

Reverse

1. gurum_x(|IGLERIM|) *inspected on the 10th day;*

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