Ur III Sundries

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In the following\(^1\) the opportunity is taken to publish in copy, transliteration and short commentary five Ur III period administrative documents together with one late Old Akkadian tablet in the possession of the Land Berlin. These texts were bought in conjunction with the acquisition for the Berlin research project *Archaische Texte aus Uruk* of the major portion of the archaic tablets auctioned from the Swiss Erlenmeyer collection at Christie’s of London in December 1988. The complete archive of archaic tablets, which the Basel collectors originally purchased in the late 1950s, has been dealt with summarily in a catalogue prepared by the members of the project to accompany an exhibition held in 1990 at the Charlottenburg Palace.\(^2\) These proto-cuneiform texts will form the basis of a detailed commentary volume to be published by P. Damerow and myself in the series *Materialien zu den frühen Schriftzeugnissen des Vorderen Orients*. Of the tablets from later periods now in Berlin, two of Ur III date are being published separately due to the importance of the information they contain concerning the organization and administration of labor gangs in the Ur III province of Umma.\(^3\) Six 2nd and 1st millennium tablets from the Erlenmeyer collection were also purchased by the Land Berlin. One, an Old Babylonian table of area measures from 1 gin to 1 šar’u.gal, was copied for the 2nd edition of *Frühe Schrift* (pp. 192—193, Abb. 18u) and will be commented upon in a separate publication by J. Friberg. O. Pedersen will discuss elsewhere *Frühe Schrift* no. 17.17 (p. 167, Abb. 17p), a Middle Assyrian account of brick production, in connection with his remarks in *Archives and Libraries in the City of Assur*, vol. 1 (Uppsala 1985) pp. 86—88 to M8:32 and 29. Of the two Old Assyrian letters *Frühe Schrift* pp. 166—167, Abb. 17n-o, no. 17.14 was published by B. Kienast, *Altassyrische Texte* (Berlin 1969) pp. 85—86 as no. 61. No. 17.13 will, at a later date, be published together with the final two Neo-Babylonian texts *Frühe Schrift* p. 164, Abb. 17q-r.

Berlin’s goal at the 1988 London auction was to secure from an impending dispersal the archaic archive of ca. 80 tablets; the Senate was consequently able to give only passing consideration to the acquisition of tablets from later periods. A perusal of the few texts bought by Berlin demonstrates just the same, I believe, quite clearly the importance of the Ur III documents from the Erlenmeyer collection, which has as a result of the sale been given over to the speculative and often secretive market of antiquities dealers and collectors. It seems no authoritative edition, very few text copies or transliterations, and no photo archive of the tablets in that collection were
prepared by scholars permitted by the earlier owners to study them, so that it will be entirely a matter of happenstance that an occasional publication such as this makes known to the field small lots from the auction which are accessible to the public.

It has, further, been impossible to recover any helpful information about the circumstances of the purchase of these latter texts by the Erlenmeyers. The history of ownership behind only one tablet published here, text no. 5 (= Erlenmeyer 112), may be roughly sketched. This tablet belonged originally to the Wengler collection partially published by A. Deimel in transliterations dispersed through early volumes of Orientalia, our no. 5 as Wengler 30 in Or. 5 (1922) p. 55. Since roughly three-quarters of the Wengler collection was bought by J. Friedrich in the early 1950s, it is safe to assume that at the least text no. 5 was sold to the Basel collectors at the same time; an unknown number of other post-archaic tablets from the Wengler collection may as well have found their way into the Erlenmeyer collection before its ultimate dispersal, since to my knowledge the tablets Wengler 9—11, 14—15, 17—18, 23—24, 38—39 and 53—55 remain unaccounted for.

CATALOGUE OF THE OLD AKKADIAN AND UR III ERLENMEYER TABLETS
PURCHASED BY THE BERLIN SENATE.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>Erlenmeyer no.:</th>
<th>Christie's lot no.:</th>
<th>Date:</th>
<th>Measurements H x W x T in mm:</th>
<th>Publications, remarks:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>118</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>Šu-Su'en 1/vii</td>
<td>111 x 49 x 23</td>
<td>photo Frühe Schrift p. 164, Abb. 171; unfired tablet from Urma, debit account of trade agent Pada with silver equivalents</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Šu-Su'en?</td>
<td>113 x 54 x 23</td>
<td>photo Frühe Schrift p. 166, Abb. 178; unfired tablet from Urma, inventory of fishery workers supplying named temples and state agencies</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>Ibbi-Su'en 2/vi</td>
<td>94 x 51 x 23</td>
<td>photo Frühe Schrift p. 162, Abb. 171; unfired tablet from Urma, work inventory</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Šulgi 46/ix</td>
<td>71 x 42 x 22</td>
<td>photo Frühe Schrift p. 145, Abb. 142; unfired tablet from Drehem, cattle offerings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>Šu-Su'en 2/xii</td>
<td>50 x 41 x 21</td>
<td>photo Frühe Schrift p. 164, Abb. 171; unfired tablet from Urma, grain deliveries</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. 166 69 Old Akkadian 74 x 45 x 21

5 155 86 Šu-Su'en 4 136 x 73 x 31

152 92 Šu-Su'en 2 161 x 166 x 36

photo Frühe Schrift p. 163, Abb. 171; unfired mu-iti tablet from Urma concerning corns; published in: R. Englund, "Hard Work: Where Will It Get You?" JNES 50 (1991) 255—280 (cf. Frühe Schrift, pp. 84—89 to no. 10.14); unfired tablet from Urma concerning a gēme milling workteam; photo and translation Frühe Schrift, pp. 90—95; publication in preparation; fired (7), repaired tablet from Urma concerning gēme agricultural workteams

1: Erlenmeyer 118 Šu-Su'en 1/vii, from Urma
Transliteration

obv. 1 1/3 ma.na 1 gin 20 še kū, babbar
si.tum 6ī[i] šE,kIN.ku₅,₇ [i[i [n.pi] šE] šE]’
6 1/3 gin kū Lu₄,di.inanna₄,ta’
ša.bi.ta

5 (uninscribed)
1 1/3 ma.na su.ḫē
kū.bi 1 1/3 gin
0;4,0,5 ša.lu sum.sikil igi.nu si₄.gš₇₅
kū.bi 4 gin 15 še

10 kū.bi i₄.kiši₄ Lū₄.kal.la
0;2,5 še.lü
kū.bi 1 2/3 gin 6 še
0;1,1,8 2/3 ša.la geššin ţād
kū.bi 1 2/3 gin 14 2/3 še

15 kū.bi i₄.kiši₄ Lugal.ni₄.la₄.ar.e
1.38 gš₄₅ esir ţād
rev. kū.bi 1 2/3 gin 6 še
0;1,5 ša.lu sum.sikil 1.38 gš₄₅ esir ţād
kū.bi 1 2/3 gin 6 še

5 9 5/6 ma.na uruład
kū.bi 5 1/3 gin 6 še

14 gin su.ḫē
kù.bi igi.4, gál lá.3 še
kišīb Lú.2 En.lí.lá
(uninscribed)
ŠU + NIGIN 1/3 ma.na 3 1/3 gin 7 še kù.[babbar]
10) zi.ga.âm
LÁ + NI 1 ma.na 4 gin 13 še kù.babbar
(uninscribed)
níg.kag.âk Pâ.da
iti min.êš mu 0Šu.â Su’en lugal

Translation

obv. 1 1/3 mana, 1 shekel, 20 grains of silver,
debit «of the mo[ntth “Harvest”(?)] throught the mo[ntth “Sac[ifice”]].
6 1/3 shekels from Lu-Inanna? (added later over erasure).
Therefrom:
5) (uninscribed)
1 1/3 mana suhe10
its silver equivalent: 1 1/3 shekels,
4 (barig) 5 sìla garlic of poor appearance(?),
its silver equivalent: 4 shekels 15 grains,11
10) (the tablet carries) the seal of Lukala.
2 (barig), 5 (bàn) of coriander,
its silver equivalent: 1 2/3 shekels, 6 grains,
1 (barig), 1 (bàn), 8 2/3 sìla of raisins,
their silver equivalent: 1 2/3 shekels, 14 2/3 grains,
15) nigdab-(offering) of “Holy Hill,”
(the tablet carries) the seal of Lugal-niglag[ar-e.]
98 [a]lents ... of dried bitumen
rev. its silver equivalent: 9 shek[els ...]
(the tablet carries) the seal of Adumu.
9 5/6 mana of copper,
its silver equivalent: 5 1/3 shekels, 6 grains,
5) 14 shekels of suhê,
its silver equivalent: 1/4 (shekel) minus 3 grains,
(the tablet carries) the seal of Lu-Enlila.
(uninscribed)
Total: 1/3 mana, 3 1/3 shekels, 7 grains of silver
deducted.

Debit: 1 mana, 4 shekels, 13 grains of silver.
(uninscribed)
Account concerning Pada.
Month: “min-et”, year: “Šu-Su’en is king”.

Text no. 1 derives from the numerous accounts documenting the activities of a
group of trade agents operation for the Ur III state from the province of Umma. D.
Snell has presented in his Ledgers and Prices: Early Mesopotamian Merchant Accounts
= YNER 8: New Haven 1982) a forceful study of the accounts and product equivalencies
used to record the activities of these damgar. Reference may further be made to
the author’s attempt in Ur III-Fischerei, pp. 13—51, to explain the bookkeeping
mechanisms employed in these texts in the broader context of the administrative
structure present in Ur III Mesopotamia. The general structure of the damgar accounts sup-
ported by that study is presented in fig. 1 below.

An administrative account covering the standard fiscal year of the twelve months
“Harvest” through “Dumuzil-festival,” or, not infrequently, a part thereof in Umma
consists of three major sections: that recording the trading debits of the agent dam-
gar, that recording his credits and that deriving a balance of his account. The accounts
are qualified in toto with information about the damgar concerned and about the time
span covered by the account.

The debits section of damgar accounts may be further divided into two subsec-
tions: first the recording of an eventual deficit (LÁ + NI) calculated in the immediately
preceding account of the activities of the damgar concerned, second the recording
of the domestic products of the Ur III state—grain, wool and textiles, fish, etc.—
entrusted to the damgar for purposes of domestic and foreign exchange. In both cases
the goods are transferred by use of a system of standardized value equivalencies into
a quantity of silver.12 The total of these two subsections is qualified with the termi-
nus sag.níg.gur11, ra.kam, literally “it is the head of the goods,”13 which may be translated
idiomatically into “it is the debit,” since from the point of view of the trade
agent damgar all goods recorded are state property which he has been charged to dis-
pose of utilizing barter markets in and around Babylonia, thereby returning to the
state desirous products which must be value equivalent to the goods leaving the state.
No account known to me suggests any deviation form this state of affairs, that is, no
accounts record the private activities of damgar.14

The credits section records the real performance of the agent concerned. The ter-
mini technici utilized in Ur III bookkeeping for this section are, in general, the fol-
lowing: šá.bi.ta / ... / ŠU + NIGIN n / zi.ga.âm, “therefrom ..., totaling n,
deducted.” The agent’s performance consists of the delivery to state agencies of products
desired by the administration: on the one hand metals, woods, essences, etc., which have been bartered for in outlying regions of the realm, on the other vegetables, bitumen, dates and other products which, while domestically produced, will not have been locally available to or otherwise at the disposal of state agencies in Umma. These products in turn are by means of the same system of standard equivalences transferred into a quantity of silver, the common denominator in damgar accounts allowing of a simple posting of debits against credits. The mechanisms involved in the determination of the silver equivalence of, in particular, products foreign to Mesopotamian production are unknown, however it seems certain that the state will have played the major role in these determinations, thus underscoring the dependent status of the trade agents in its employ.

The derivation of the balance in the third section of the account takes the general form of the subtraction of the total of the credits section from that of the debits section. A positive result of this calculation is recorded as LÁ+NI, “deficit”; this is a matter which certainly the damgar will want to have personally inspected, since this LÁ+NI is treated in further documents without exception as a debt the damgar owed the state. The silver value equivalent calculated then either formed the first subsection of the debit section of the subsequent account drawn up on the activities of the damgar concerned, described there as si.l.tum, “(transferred) remainder,” or it had to be accounted for in another fashion determined by the state administration. This could take the bookkeeping form of a debt settlement notice (Sumerian: LÁ+NI su.ga) or of nig.karu.ak si.l.tum, “account of deficit(s).”

Text no. 1 exhibits this particular abbreviated administrative accounting format nig.karu.ak si.l.tum. As will be demonstrated below, an account—now lost—concerning the activities of the Umma trade agent Padā will have resulted in a deficit (LÁ+NI) of 81 shekels and 20 grains of silver. This sum was transferred to the first line of the present account and qualified as si.l.tum. The following notations, including in line 2 the period from which the deficit derived, that is, according to the remaining traces perhaps the period of the first through the fourth months of the year, and in the following section possibly further transfers of goods or silver to the agent Padā, were, after completion of the account, completely erased. However, after the lines were erased and the tablet had obviously been allowed to dry for some time, a final addition to the debits was made in the form of an etched notation recording the receipt by Padā of a sum of 6 1/3 shekels of silver from a certain Lu-Inanna. The two quantities, totaling 87 shekels and 80 grains of silver, formed an abbreviated debit of the agent, from which in the second section of the account posted credits were deducted. The credits consisted of the delivery to state agents of foreign and domestic products, including metals or metal-working substances, vegetables and dried fruits and bitumen—

Figure 1: General structure of the damgar accounts
An inspection of the nine accounts known to deal with Pada shows that this deficit remained on the whole rather high, once after an initial low deficit the sum of more than one mana had been reached in Amar-Su'en 5:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text:</th>
<th>dated to:</th>
<th>Deficit (shekels ≈):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) Ledgers no. 2 (MLC 1980)</td>
<td>Amar-Su'en 3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2) Ledgers no. 4 (NBC 11453)</td>
<td>Amar-Su'en 5A</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) Ashm. 1924, 6670</td>
<td>Amar-Su'en 5/6</td>
<td>83 1/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) Ledgers no. 5 (YBC 16487)</td>
<td>Amar-Su'en 5B</td>
<td>96 1/2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) STA 23</td>
<td>Amar-Su'en 6/6</td>
<td>47 2/3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6) Ledgers no. 11 (MLC 2600)</td>
<td>Amar-Su'en 7/6</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7) Mississippian 321</td>
<td>Amar-Su'en 9/6</td>
<td>64 1/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8) Text no. 1 (= Erlenmeyer 118)</td>
<td>Su-Su'En 1</td>
<td>81 1/9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9) Ledgers no. 12 (YBC 16562)</td>
<td>Šu-Su’En 5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These nine accounts rank Pada together with Šeskala and Ur-Dumuzi as one of the three best-documented trade agents in the Ur III accounts from Umma. The eighth text (our text no. 1) itself assumes the same accounting function as the fourth text (Ledgers no. 5). The third text Ashm. 1924, 667 closes rev. ii 28 with a deficit balance (LÁ + NI) of 1 1/2 mana 6 1/3 gin 27 še kù.babbar. This account, dated to the 11th month of Amar-Su'en 5, was obviously supplemented in the same year—probably in the final month—with an accounting for the deficit, recorded on the fourth text: obv. 1 1/2 mana 6 1/3 gin 27 še kù.babbar. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Text</th>
<th>dated to:</th>
<th>Deficit (shekels ≈):</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The calculation of a new deficit concludes the accounting sections of the text. The sums of both sections “credits” and “balance” were in the account heavily corrected, which will have arisen from some unknown mistake or correcting in the credits section, from the necessity of correcting the initial debits section of the text, or from a combination of the two. Although Pada’s debt has with this account decreased by somewhat more that 17 shekels, it remains substantial: over 64 shekels of silver.
nig.kaq.ak Pà.da dam.gàr
mu en unuñ.gal d'Inanna ba.hùn
48.40.10 (?)²³

We have the following calculation:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>shekels</th>
<th>grains</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Debit</strong></td>
<td>96</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>= si.l.tum</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Credit</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total:</td>
<td>-48</td>
<td>160</td>
<td>= zi.ga.àm</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Balance</strong>:</td>
<td></td>
<td>47</td>
<td>107 = LÁ + NI</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This represents a precise parallel to the situation involved in the account no. 1 (Erlangen 118) written up in the 7th month of the accession year of the king Šu-Su'en. We may thus with some confidence assume that the account supplemented a major, multiple-column account of the activities of the agent Pada either from the first half of the accounting year Šu-Su'en 1, or of the period from some point in the final year of Amar-Su'en. Since text no. 1 is the only attested damgar account from the accession year of any of the Ur III monarchs and since published accounts from other units of the Ur III administration are not clear about the bookkeeping procedures used during the transition year between reigns, this question will have to remain open to discussion.

Texts such as **TCL** 5, 5668, 5670, and Erlangen 1²⁴ are at least indicative of the upheaval one might expect from such transitions. These accounts of milling work performed by women in Ur III Umma share a number of personal names and professional titles of receiving and delivering agents, but of greater consequence they share common foremen of the female laborers charged with the actual milling. The texts date as follows:

**TCL** 5, 5670  Šulgi 48/i/ii/23 → Amar-Su'en 1/i/i/7  (nig.kaq.ak Ur-Šara)
**TCL** 5, 5668  Šulgi 48/iV/i → Šulgi 48/xii/20  (nig.kaq.ak Dingira)
Erlangen 1  Šulgi 48/i/ii/23 → Šulgi 48/xii/20  (ki Ur-Urbartab),
Šulgi 48/xii/20 → Amar-Su'en 1/i/i/8  (ki Dingira)

Dingira is thus foreman of a working troop of women, the production of which was, up to the 20th day of the last month of Šulgi 48, accounted for in **TCL** 5, 5668, thereafter through the 8th day of the second month of Amar-Su'en 1 in the second accounting period of the debits section of Erlangen 1.²⁵ The events surrounding the death of Šulgi are not clear; the sequence of accounting periods from these three texts may support a hypothesis that, following the death of Šulgi sometime before the middle of the 12th month of his 48th regnal month,²⁶ an obligatory inventory of all state assets—including of course its working population—was ordered and completed for Amar-Su'en. This procedure occupied the ensuing period through the first week of his second regnal month, altogether some six weeks.²⁷

2: **Erlangen** 94 Šu-Su'en (?), from Umma

obv. Lù.dù.10.gà
Lugal.kù.gà.ni
Lù.gir17.zal

2/B/1-6/1-a

5) Šel.pà.da
(1).kal.la
Lugal.rágigire.re
X²⁸.dar
2 dumu Ur.₄Hšaran
20) Lugal.i.ti.'da
(13)
è Šara;
Lugal.šù.nir.re
Lù.₄Su'en
15) Ma.an.'zi.zi
è Nîn.ur₄.ra
(Šel.kal.la
'Lugal.hé.gal
è ma
rev. Dingir.ra.àm
2 du[mu] 'Ur.gigigír
è š2šù.gi.ra
Lù.₄Šara
5) 'Zì.gi.ga
è 'Amar.₄Su'en
X[1] l.nun
X XI 1
è š2šù.₄Su'en
10) Na.ba.'ṣaṣ₃
è KAS₄ an.za.'gàr
A.dù.'dù
é KAS₄ Ummaₕₚ₇₉
(uninscribed)
15) ŠU+NIGIN 27 šukuₕ₃⁺
šukuₕ sá.du₁₁ 1dingir.re.ne.šē²

Text no. 2 represents an inventory of fishing troops assigned the procurement of fish for offerings at major temples and administrative households of Umma. The first and largest troop, consisting of 13 fishery workers, is assigned to the largest temple of the city, that of the god Šara. Smaller numbers of workers were required to deliver fish to the temple of Nin-ura and to the Emah, further to the cult houses in Umma of the divinized rulers Šulgi, Amar-Su'en and Šu-Su'en. Finally, one worker each is assigned to the two ‘running house’ establishments ‘tower’ and ‘Umma’. These will have been households dedicated to the victualing and housing of the large numbers of couriers underway in the Ur III realm. Many of the named workers in this inventory are in other Umma texts attested as being connected to the state’s organized fisheries.

A close parallel to text no. 2 is offered by lines 326—336 of the Umma text AnOr. 1, 88, dated to Amar-Su’en 5:

7 guruš šukuₕ sá.du₁₁ dŠara 7 workers: fishermen (responsible for) the regular offering of Šara,
1 guruš šukuₕ dNin.ura-ra 1 worker: fisherman (responsible for) Nin-ura,
1 guruš šukuₕ é.mah 1 worker: fisherman (responsible for) Emah,
1 1/2 guruš šukuₕ dŠul.gi.ra 1 1/2 workers: fishermen (responsible for) Šulgi,
1 šukuₕ é.KAS₄ 1 fisherman (responsible for) the ‘runner/house,
1 1/2 šukuₕ dAmar.Su’en 1 1/2 fishermen (responsible for) Amar-Su’en.
ŠU+NIGIN 14 guruš Total: 14 workers,³⁵
šukuₕ,me being fishermen.

One may compare with this text the delivery of 120 kunzi fish qualified as sá.du₁₁ dNanše, “regular offering for Nanše,” registered in the Girsu text TLB 3, 145 iv 8, and the following notation in the Umma text BRM 3, 90, dated to Šulgi 44/vi:

obv. 0;0,2,5 ku₆₅ 5 (bán) fish,
sá.du₁₁ dŠara regular offering for Šara
u₂₉.1.kam for one day,

An examination of related texts makes clear the nature and range of the expected deliveries from the workers noted in these inventories. Assuming the offering to the divinity Šara consisted of GAR.K1 or smoked (šē₃) fish, the 7 fishery workers noted in AnOr. 1, 88, would have delivered between 46 2/3 (= 7 × 6 2/3) and 49 (= 7 × 7) sīla daily, i.e., a quantity very close to the 50 sīla recorded in BRM 3, 90. There were consequently fewer workers assigned to the same households in this text than those noted in text no. 2. 7 instead of 13 workers assigned to the Šara temple, one instead of 3 assigned to Nin-ura, etc.³⁹ These fishery workers will thus have delivered only about half of the fish expected of the workers recorded in text no. 2. The reasons for this difference are open to speculation. On the one hand, a larger household may have emerged in the period after Amar-Su’en, requiring larger rations, since the temple personnel will themselves have partaken of the offerings made according to cultic practice. It may be on the other hand that the increase in fish deliveries mirrored the economic development known from the reign of Ibbi-Su‘en, namely that declining grain production or, rather, distribution, led to the increasing dependence of those responsible for rationing on fish as a protein substitute for barley.

3: Erlemeyer 158 Ibbi-Su‘en 2/vi, from Umma
obv. 1 úg [‘L₁₁, d]îlškur
1/2 šē₅.a.ni (erasure)
1/2 Nam.zi
1/2 šē₅.Guza.ni
5) an.za.gār Ur₄.Dumu.zi.da 1/2 Lugal.kū.zu
1/2 šē₅.kal.la dumu Inim.gin
(uninscribed)
djumu.gi₄.me.ēš
10) 3 1/2 guruš ugu₅₆.1.kam
1 X.ki
1 an.za.gār Kū₄.dŠar[a₅]
1 Lu₄.Ur₄.dšē₅[ra₅]
15) 1 šē₅.a.ni₁ gem.gi₄.me.ēš
rev. 1/2 Inim.ma.ni.z[i]
1/2 Nam.ma[h]  
1/2 A.lul  
1/2 Ba.za.za  
5) (uninscribed)  
   dumu.gi,me,cšš  
      5 guruš  
    uguša Lù.d'/En.lîl.'là  
(uninscribed)  
10) Ššu+NGIN 8 1/2 guruš  
    iti šu.numum.ta na tu4 20.âm  
    ba.'ra',zal.ta  
    gi.zi SIG7.e.da gub.ba  
edge mu en d'Inanna màš.e i.pà  

Although a personnel inventory of common format, the details of text no. 3 remain difficult to interpret. The rough structure of the account is as follows: two groups of workmen (guruš) are separately tallied, the first troop being under the charge of a foreman Adumu, the second under the foreman Lu-Enlila. The workmen designated įg-ga₃ are in this text qualified with the vertical stroke designating "full-time" workers; those designated dumu.gi₃ are here all so-called "half-time" workers, assuming that this qualification in obv. 9 refers only to the workers noted in obv. 2—7.42 No specification of the general tasks the workmen performed as members of labor gangs is made in the text. In two cases, workmen seem to have been attached to "tower-outposts"43 probably situated on the outskirts of the city Umma. This account seems to certify the transfer of these workers to the harvesting (SIG7)⁴⁴ of gi-zī, that is, of young, edible reeds which served as fodder for large and small cattle and for pigs. The workmen were assigned to this task for a total of 20 days during the 6th month of the year.

4: Erlenmeyer 93 Šulgi 46/ix, from Drehem  
obv. 1 gu₄ niga 6 udu 4 màš  
    Pà.da.mu  
    1 gu₄ niga 10 là.1 udu 1 màš I-ti-a di.ku₃  
      mu.DU ir.sù.a  
5) 1 gu₄ niga 10 udu gi₄ Ša-dim-be-li nu.bànda  
    1 gu₄ niga 3 udu niga 1 sila₄ niga  
    3 udu 2 màš  
    1 sila₄  

10) En.là.kù.ge en d'Nanše  
    10 là. màš gal  
    1 sila₄  
      énsi Gir₁₃.tab₃  
    4 udu A.LUM 1 udu 8 gukkel  
15) Na-du-be-li' mar-çtu  
    1 sila₄ en d'Inanna  
rev. 3 udu 1 màš Ur.mes šabra  
    1 sila₄ Lù.d'Asar.lù.hu šabra  
    2 sila₄ énsi 'Nibrû'ki  
    1 sila₄ A-m[u]-a ū.kul  
5) 2 udu 1 sila₄ [Mšašum s]agi  
    1 'sila₄' A.d[a].ša  
    1 sila₄ Lugai.pa.'èš  
    1 sila₄ Šeš.zi.mu  
    1 sila₄ d'Nanna.lù.du₁₀  
10) 1 sila₄ Ur.ama.na  
    1 sila₄ Ur.d'Nin.gublaga(EZEN×LA)  
(uninscribed)  
    m[u].DU iti Ezen.mah  
    m[u] Kj.maš.ki rù Hù.ur₅,šì'ki ba.'hul  
edge  u₄,6.kam  

The text from Drehem/Puziriš-Dagān records the deliveries of sacrificial animals to the central authority on the 6th day of the 9th month in the 46th year of the reign of Sulgi. In the standard format of such texts from Drehem,⁴⁵ the notations of these sacrificial animals are arranged according to the importance of the delivering official and thus according to the value of the animals delivered. The first section of the text obv. 1—10 includes, together with sheep and goats, deliveries of oxen, certainly the most prized animals in 3rd millennium Mesopotamia, from four high officials Padamu, the judge Išša (delivery for the festival "yowling"), the nunda šālu-bēl and from the Nanše-priest Enšakuge.⁴⁶ Each of these entries represents the transfer by the accounting official of information posted in individual receipts (šu ba.ti and 1.dab₃ texts), whereby in such "journals" the receiving official is no longer registered.⁴⁷ The second section obv. 11 through rev. 2 records the deliveries of a mix of sheep, goats and lambs from apparent lesser officials including an Inanna priest and three šābras. The final section rev. 3—11 records, with one exception, the delivery of only lambs from individuals of no obvious function.
5: Erlenmeyer 112 Šu-Su'en 2/xii, Umma

obv. 10;1,4 še ĝur
še Hî.ba.ri.tum\(\text{ki}\)
25;0,0 še ĝur
še sig. gibil
10;0,0 še ĝur
še Hî.ba.ri.tum\(\text{ki}\)

rev. 5;0,0 (še) ĝur
še sig. gibil
Lû.đingir.ra
ŠU + NGIN 50;1,4 še ĝur

5) še igi.nim.ta DU.a ša Umma\(\text{ki}\) giri Dingir.palil
iti d\(\text{En} \) Dumu.zi
mu mà d\(\text{En} \) ki ba.ab.dug

Text no. 5\(\text{38}\) carries an account of barley “deliveries from the high(land), in
Umma, responsible official: Dingir-palil” (rev. 5). The individual deliveries registered in
obv. 1 - rev. 3 may be divided into two subsections, each consisting of one nota-
tion concerning a measure of grain from Hîbarium and of another concerning a meas-
ure of “young green barley.” The grain measures noted in the first subsection are
qualified as having been loaded into the “storage house,” those in the second as ap-
parently having been delivered by an official Lu-đingira. That these deliveries seem
to have originated in the highland, probably the Susiana plain or surrounding, would
be in accord with the evidence placing Hîbarium on the Zubi canal—probably a course
of the Tigris—in eastern Babylonia.\(\text{49}\)

6: Erlenmeyer 166 late Old Akkadian period, from Umma

obv. 8.41;2,0,5 šila še ĝur sag.âl si.sâ
Lû.‘gu.ak’ gu.sur
4.00;0,0 lá.3;0,0 Ab.ba.sa.qa.\(\text{ga}\)’ gu.sur
1.03;0,0 E.\(\text{Am} \) ha.lu.ûb.\(\text{e}\) gu.sur

5) 1.40;0,0 Ur.nigar gu.sur
1.00;0,0 Lugal.KISAL

rev. 23;1,2 ‘Amar.\(\text{d} \) Ezinu
šes Ur.PA
5.00;0,0 Da.da gu.sur
ŠU + NGIN\(\text{71}\) 21.45;0,0 lá.0;0,3,5 šila še ĝur sag.‘gal’ si.sâ

5) \(\text{En-na-}djingir-e\)
šu ba.ti
‘Lugal’ saq mâłkim

The text contains the uncomplicated addition of measures of grain:

grain: delivered by:
8.41;2,0,5 Lulgû’ak gu.sur
4.00;0,0 -3;0,0 Abba-saga gu.sur
1.03;0,0 E-ḥalube gu.sur
1.40;0,0 Ur-nigar gu.sur
1.00;0,0 Lugal-KISAL
23;1,2 Amar-Ezinu
5.00;0,0 Dada gu.sur
21.45;0,0 -0;0,3,5

Tablet format and prosopography place text no. 6 firmly in the mu-itû archive
dealt with in B. Foster Umma in the Sargonic Period (Hamden, CT, 1982). According
to the chronological differentiations made by Foster, the text belongs to the “Group
C” dated by him to the late Old Akkadian period. The ascription of text no. 6 to this
group seems secured by the attestation of the gu.sur officials\(\text{50}\) E.\(\text{Am} \) ha.lu.ûb.\(\text{e}\)
[gu.sur] (obv. i 10—11) and Ur.nigar gu.sur (obv. ii 9) in the text Tik. 2. 78,\(\text{51}\) an
account of grain, silver and small cattle apparently due the emi Me-sag, who served
in Umma under the king Šarkališarri. Both the gu.sur Lulgû’ak (text no. 6, obv. 2)\(\text{52}\)
ard the receiving official Enna-ill,\(\text{53}\) moreover, seem attested in several texts in the
mu-itû archive from this period.

Notes

1. Abbreviations of works cited are found in the dictionaries. Other abbreviations are: Ledgers =
D. Snell, Ledgers and Prices: Early Mesopotamian Merchant Accounts (New Haven 1982); Timekeeping
III-Fischerei = R. Englund, Organisation und Verwaltung der Ur III-Fischerei (= Berliner Beiträge zum
Vorderen Orient 10; Berlin 1990).
2. H. Nissen, P. Damerow, and R. Englund, Frühe Schrift und Techniken der Wirtschaftsverwaltung
im alten Vorderen Orient (Berlin, 1990, rev. 2d ed. 1991; in the following = Frühe Schrift). See in partic-
ular pp. 11—43 and 66—75.
an edition of the second text, Erlenmeyer 152, is in preparation. See the text catalogue below for further
information.
to explain why these same garlic bulbs should have been recorded at an equivalence rate of just 3 barig per shkel when they were qualified as igi.nu.sigq. H. Waetzoldt translates in Bulletin sur Sumerian Agriculture 3 (Cambridge 1987) 34-35 (with reference to our Erlenmeyer text as no. “87”) the terms igi.sigq/ /sag and igi.nu.sigq/ /sag “sorted” and “unsorted” respectively, following his Untersuchung zu neusumerischen Textindustrie (Rome 1972) pp. 41-44. sigq may be either a phonetic or semantic variant of sag in igi.sag, since the connection between igi.sag and igi.zag/sag(SID), Akkadian bišir (or possibly nisq), “choice”, is only contextual. Further, the reference above to igi.sag suggests an interpretation of igi as “eye” or “face” and may indeed refer to a part of the harvested garlic.

12. The basic equivalency takes the form of quantity of product per shkel (ca. 8 1/3 grams) of silver and is expressed in the texts with the terminus technicus kū.bi n, “its silver is n (amount in system of weight measures)”.

13. This section of accounts seems otherwise referred to with the designation ügu (A.KA) in Ur III bookkeeping. Thus the formulaic ügu PN ba.a.gar, “(such-and-such) has been entered against PN,” documents the posting of quantities of goods or labor time into the debits section of an account of the official noted. See for Ur III usage M. Yoshikawa, Or. 46 (1977) 449-450 (with numerous reference texts cited), and Ur III-Fischerei, p. 724sq., and, for the corresponding presargonic Lagash accounting terminology gu-anu/neme-a gar, “to post into his/debent account,” pp.92-93³⁹⁴.

14. One indication of their personal dealings invariably underscored by proponents of lively private trading activities in the 3rd millennium is to be found in the texts particularly from Nippur documenting silver loans and other apparent private financial transactions of damage. Whether however this evidence for the accumulation of wealth was the result of trading or of a system of prebends known in the Ur III period, or of some other circumstances not attested to by textual sources, cannot presently be determined.


16. It is clear that this erasure occurred after completion of the text due to the fact that the notation kū.ba.bābar in line 9 of the reverse was partially obliterated by the action.

17. The total of credits would require a notation here of 9 gin [â 16 2/3 le]. Since at least 98 talents of ‘dried bitumen’ were registered, this would suggest either a mistake in the calculation or an exchange rate different from the standard of 10 gin per gin of silver. An equivalency of 660 instead of 600 mana, i.e., 11 instead of 10 talents per shkel of silver, for example, would in fact result in a silver equivalently of very nearly 9 gin minus 16 1/2 le, assuming the preceding notation of a bitumen measure was complete. The irregularities encountered in the equivalency rates of dry bitumen, for example in the text STA 23 rev. i 6-7 (rate: ca. 620 mana per shkel), MVN 1, 240 ii 18-19 (660 mana 1; text dated to Amur-Su-en 8/xii), YOS 18, 123 iv 13-14 (666 2/3 mana) and TEL 5, 6037 rev. iv 32-33 (654 4/9 mana), make this the more plausible alternative.

18. Cf. the erasures evident on the photo of the text in Frühe Schrift, p. 164, Abb. 17.

19. One may gather from the first two published accounts that Pada had suffered no deficits during his early years which could not be otherwise settled than through transfer to the following account. The first post item in the account Ledgers no. 2, in precisely the same position as one would otherwise expect registration of the deficit sili.tum, consists in fact of the transfer to Pada of over 80 shekels of silver by the enši of Umma. Following the posting of two capacity measures of dates, the deficits section closes with Pada’s receipt from the Umma “silver agent” Lukala of 5 shekels of silver. This makes the impression of being a record of the “incorporation” of the agent Pada by state agencies.

20. = Ledgers, p. 16, no. 18, copy available to me courtesy of J-P. Grégoire.

22. Resulting from the following calculation:

\[ \text{obv. i 13–15: (Su+NIGIN) 4 1/3 ma.na 7 gin 1 le ku, (bab[bpr]), (unincr.): ság.nig.gur, ra.kam} \]

rev. ii 26–27: = (Su+NIGIN) 2 5/6 ma.na 1/2 gin 4 le ku.babbar/bai.zi.ga.am

rev. ii 28: = (LÁ+N) 1 1/2 ma.na 6 1/3 gin 27 ku.babbar

23. 48.40:10 appears to be a sexagesimal reconstruction of the total with 48.50:10 expressed in shekels.

The final “10” may have represented the 10 grains of the total, graphically separated from the notation itself since not a consequent part of a positional value notation. A parallel situation seems attested in the text Nik. 2, 402. On the obverse face of this short account, two notations of 5 1/2 gin 23 1/2 le and 7 1/3 gin (ku.babbar) were first totaled as 12:50; 23:30 before being converted to the apparently more difficult weight notation 12 5/6 gin 23 1/2 le, recorded in first line of the reverse (It may be noted to D. Snell, JESHO 31 [1988] 8, that the text is not “formally anomalous,” since both the agent recorded in this text as well as that recorded in Ledgers 4 are simply covering LÁ+N debits. The receiver of at least the land noted obv. 3–4, moreover, was recorded in Snell’s text Ledgers no. 18, ii. 13–14, as losing the original (in charge of the stored and distribution of fats?) Ur-Suílíne (rev. 24); the receiver of the 11 mana of [uru]da (obv. 5) will have been the metals merchant Lu-Enilim).


25. The first deed of the section concerns the workteam of the foreman Ur-Urbartah, who according to Or. 47–49, 298, was a son of Dingira.

26. P. Michalowski published in Or. 46, 220–225, a Drehem text attesting to the delivery of sacrificial animals to the libation place (ki.a.nag) of Su lié on the 2nd day of the 11th month of Š 48; see the literature cited op.cit., p. 221–4, concerning the royal cult practices in the Ur III period and Michalowski’s remarks in Fs. Flankerstein, 155–157.

27. Further texts documenting transition periods of the Ur III dynasty are in fact seldom. Of the ca. fifty such accounts known to me, the twenty which come from Uma Súlí through Amar-Su’en: N. Forde, Nebraska 44; M. de J. Ellis, JAOS 90, 268, YBC 41974; F. de Liagre Böhl, BIKOR 8, pl. II after p. 52; text b; AAS 62, no. 14, 4; TCL 5, 5670; Súlí through Ibbi-Suí’en; S. Langdon, Baby. 6, 41A; Amar-Su’en through Sú-Suí’en: Or. 47–49, 412 [Jollahon OrAnt. 17, 51]; MVN 10, 230 [= J.–M. Durand, RA 73, 34–45, 47 and J.–P. Grégoire, OrAnt. 18, 234, 6]; M. Sgrist, Studium Bib. Francais, 4, 2; AAS 81; YOS 4, 291, V. Scheil, RA 15, 138; AnOr. 7, 316; M. Sgrist, PSTT 1, 368; YOS 4, 313; MVN 14, 229; YOS 4, 320; Sú-Suí’en through Ibbi-Suí’en: AnOr. 1, 235) point to no clearly identifiable irregularities in accounting procedures from that province.

28. The traces on the tablet are suggestive of sign A/ID. A reading of the well-attested name Sú-Al-
dar seems excluded by the traces, which show a clear vertical (instead of an oblique) wedge at the close of and, apparently, two adjoining horizontal wedges above the abraded surface (see the copy).

29. For this proposed reading of the sign combination SÚ + HA see Ur III-Fischerei, 230–234.

30. The account registers unquantified personal names as one worker each. The entries recording 2 workers are likely to have represented teams of father and son (or sons, in case they were categorized as A 1/2, A 1/3 and so on, for which cf. below fn. 42; no women were recorded in fisheries accounts, with only the father being relevant for the bookkeeping. 2 dums PMN may refer to two unnamed tons or, in some form, dependents of the man recorded who though not himself a worker in this unit will have been responsible for the production of his charges.

31. Since the text AnOr. 1, 88, dating to Amar-Su’en 5, records fish deliveries to the cults of Súlí

and Amar-Su’en, our text no. 2 would seem best dated to the reign of Sú-Suí’en.

32. an.za.gar = Akk. dimitu/sištu, often as part of toponyms; cf. W. Baumgartner, ZA 36 (1925) 233–236.

33. The provisioning of the couriers sukkal was recorded on so-called “messenger texts,” of which many hundreds survive. The rations consisted almost exclusively of beer, bread/groat, fats, fish and onions.

34. Lu-duga in SET 270 iv and Vicino Orientale 8/1, 67; Lugal-kugan in Nik. 2, 401 TCL 5, 6046, T. Gomi, Selected Texts of the British Museum nos. 286 and 347; Lu-širin in BM 21055; École biblique 26 (both unpubl., cf. M. Sgrist), 203; Lugal-šigir and Lugal-šēgal in École biblique 26; Lu-Šarā in Or. 47–49, 239; Nabasa in SET 270 i and iv.

35. Schneider’s copy exhibits in the individual entries a total of just 13 workers. It seems most likely that a DIS sign in one of the entries indicating a full worker will have been missed by the抄ist.

36. See Ur III-Fischerei, p. 117.

37. For these designations see Ur III-Fischerei, pp. 216–220.

38. Cp. for these two quotas the treatment of MVN 11, 106, in Ur III-Fischerei, pp. 164–171, and op.cit., p. 121, respectively.

39. Based on production expectations derived from texts examined in Ur III-Fischerei, pp. 212–124 and 192–194, we can assume the following (ideal) daily deliveries of fish to the institutions named in text no. 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>institution</th>
<th>fish</th>
<th>either</th>
<th>or</th>
<th>other</th>
<th>or</th>
<th>other</th>
<th>or</th>
<th>GAM + GAM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sú-Suí’en</td>
<td></td>
<td>91 sila</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>2/3 sila</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>“bundles”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nínurra</td>
<td></td>
<td>21 sila</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>sila</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>“bundles”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e Maštá</td>
<td></td>
<td>14 sila</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1/3 sila</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“bundles”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e Sušipé</td>
<td></td>
<td>21 sila</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>sila</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>“bundles”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e Amársu’én</td>
<td></td>
<td>14 sila</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1/3 sila</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“bundles”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sú-Suí’én</td>
<td></td>
<td>14 sila</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>1/3 sila</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>“bundles”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e KAS₃</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2/3 sila</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>fish</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>“bundles”</td>
<td>10 mana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Of course, in practice the deliveries will have consisted of a mix of the above fish sorts, which will have been transferred into a common value commodity employing known fish equivalences.

40. Cp. the texts cited in Ur III-Fischerei, 126–127, in the case of Ur: UET 3, 1426, 1’5’ ([(g)éme.kin.kin / [ na.kab.tum] / rim.ki.ta] / sila 1’3’’ / ... / 0,01 kug.taj); UET 3, 1431 rev. 2–3 (4 sila 1’0,01 kug. / IGI / [(g)éme.kin.kin zl.dan.e]); UET 3, 1303, 1–3 (8,0 kug. le.kug / nu.nig.gur, a(g)éme.it, e / zl.mu.ki.ta’); UET 9, 946 obv. 4’’ / 0,01,5 lek.0,01 kug.; UET 9, 63 (gémé.sag.dub / each receive 2 bán barley and 15 sila fish, gémé.1/2 on the other hand 15 sila barley, 15 sila fish). These texts from Ur document a partial substitution with fish of barley rations, which in the reign of Ibbi-Suí’en had become scarce; cf. T. Gomi, “On the Critical Economic Situation at Ur Early in the Reign of Ibbi-

šin,” JCS 36 (1964) 211–242 (earlier literature p. 211). The least likely alternative would be that the fishery workers enjoyed a reduced catch quota in the period following the well documented reign of Amar-Su’en, since such adjustments to production expectations are nowhere attested in the Ur III text corpus and since it will have been precisely the stubborn adherence to unrealistic production norms that would have played a major role in the rising discontent among low- and mid-level officials with the administrations of Sú-Suí’en and Ibbi-Suí’en. 
41. The remaining traces are not amenable to a reconstruction "Nam[mu], the result of which, moreover, would have been the only attestation known to me of a name Lu + (divinized) Ur-Nammu. It is thus tempting to assume a scribal mistake and read either Lu-šu₃₃₃[a] or -Lù₃₃₃₃₃₃₃ [a].

42. The designations “full”- and “half”-time workers do not, however, refer to the real time the laborers spent working; the qualifications ʃ and ʃ designate rather categories of workers of whom respectively a full and a half work performance are expected. Cf. Ur III-Fischerei, pp. 47, 76 and 159, and the literature cited there. For the reading of -ag, -ag₃ in Umma cf. Ur III-Fischerei, p. 29°100.

43. See above, fn. 32.

44. The agricultural activity qualified SIG, is not entirely clear; cf. V. Christian, AOF 20 (1963) 150—151, for its use with reeds (meaning perhaps “to break off,” not a synonym of ku₃) and with cheese (to press?); see also M. Yoshikawa, Or. 48 (1979) 200.

45. Cp. for the personal designations and text format of text no. 4 the treatment of the Drehem archive in M. Sigrist, Drehem (forthcoming).

46. Note in all four notations the relationship of 1 gu₄ to 10 small cattle (sheep and goats), which phenomenon is attested in other texts recording deliveries of such animals from officials stationed in peripheral regions of the Ur III empire (cf., e.g., the treatment of the text CT 32, pils. 19—22, BM 103398, by I. Gelb in INES 32 [1973] 85, and most recently by P. Steinkeller, “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State: The Core and the Periphery,” in M. Gibson and R. Biggs, eds., The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East [= SAOC 46; Chicago 1987] 30—36.

47. The relationship of these deliveries from apparent “civilian” administrators to those from military, or perhaps more generally “colonial” representatives recorded in the gu.ma.da texts is not obvious. It may be noted, however, that all four individuals in our text no. 4, of whom one was qualified as a nu₃.banda, “foreman,” delivered the same number of animals (1 gu₄ and 10 udu₃.mal.bi.a) as that expected of an apparently lower level nu₃.banda from the ranks of the administrators of the gu.ma.da territories.

48. The text is a modern tablet no. 30 of the Wengler collection, published in transliteration by A. Deimel, Or. 5 (1992) 55.

49. Cp. F. Kraus, ZA 51 (1955) 59 and 63—64 (in the region of Aukl); W. Hallo, JCS 18 (1964) 68. For a discussion of the proposed locations of the canal Zubi cf. RGTC 2, p. 296.

50. The professional title gu.sur has been discussed by W. Farber, “gu.sur,” ArOr. 45 (1977) 148—156. Farber assumes that the combination gu, “thread”, and sur, “divide”, will have referred to a surveyor in attestations from the Fara period (Fara: NUN.SUR/GAR/GU, Abu Salabikh: GAR.GU.SUR) through later Lugalzagesi and into the Late Sargonic SUR/GU/gu.sur. The explanation remains tentative, however, since both gu.sur and the known title lu₃.l₃.gid occur simultaneously in the texts. Cf. further B. Foster, USP, pp. 83—85.

51. See the discussion in W. Farber, ArOr. 45, 152, and B. Foster, USP, p. 92.

52. It seems probable that the person of the same name in particular in the texts CT 50, 53, and MCS 9, 237 (cf. the discussion in B. Foster, USP, pp. 84—85), will also have been a gu.sur official.

53. The receiving agent may be the same as the Enna-šu qualified as labra in USP no. 21 rev. 3. Cf. USP p. 154 and MAD 3, p. 52, reference to HSS 10, index, and, for a glossary of the personal names...