

Libiamo ne' lieti calici

**Ancient Near Eastern Studies Presented
to Lucio Milano on the Occasion of his 65th
Birthday by Pupils, Colleagues and Friends**

edited by
Paola Corò, Elena Devecchi, Nicla De Zorzi,
and Massimo Maiocchi
with the collaboration of Stefania Ermidoro
and Erica Scarpa

Alter Orient und Altes Testament

Veröffentlichungen zur Kultur und Geschichte des Alten Orients
und des Alten Testaments

Band 436

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2016
Ugarit-Verlag
Münster

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www.ugarit-verlag.de

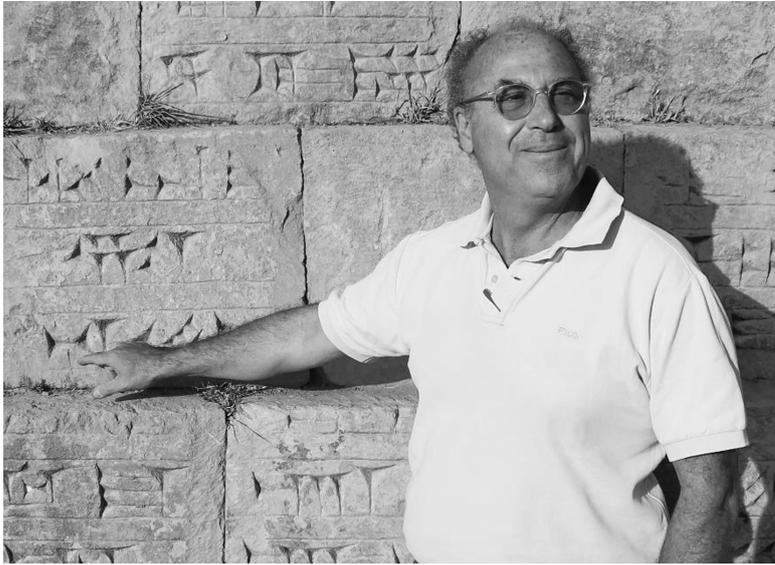
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Printed in Germany

ISBN 978-3-86835-197-2

ISSN 0931-4296

Printed on acid-free paper



Lucio at Jerwan (October 2013)

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Foreword

This book celebrates Lucio Milano's many scholarly achievements in the field of Ancient Near Eastern studies. As former pupils of his who have all greatly benefitted from his wide-ranging scholarship, guidance and support, we felt it was time for us to reciprocate by presenting him with this collection of essays from pupils, friends, and colleagues, as a token of our gratitude and affection on the occasion of his 65th birthday. On the other hand, we could also imagine his reaction: "*Oh ragazzi!*... what are we celebrating? It's too early for my retirement!". Our excuse is that in offering the present volume to Lucio at this time, we arbitrarily picked his 65th birthday as one occasion among the many special events that could have been chosen instead. We have no doubt that there will be many other celebrations for our dear friend Lucio in the future.

Although Lucio's Assyriological interests are manifold, we sought to narrow the scope of this volume to topics that over the course of his career have grown particularly close to his heart.

Lucio's wide-ranging work and interests reflect his intellectual formation. He studied Classics at "La Sapienza" University in Rome and graduated *summa cum laude* in 1975 with a thesis on "Viticoltura e enologia nell'Asia anteriore antica", written under the supervision of Mario Liverani. Appointed in 1977 to the Institute of Ancient Near Eastern Studies ("Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente") in Rome, he continued to work at "La Sapienza" University as "ricercatore universitario confermato" (1981–1993) at the Department of History, Archaeology and Anthropology ("Dipartimento di Scienze Storiche, Archeologiche e Antropologiche dell'Antichità") and as Professor of History of the Ancient Near East (1984–1987) for the post-graduate course in Oriental Studies ("Corso di Specializzazione in Studi Orientali"). In 1993 he moved to "Ca' Foscari" University in Venice as Associated Professor and since 2001 he has held at that university the chair of History of the Ancient Near East as Full Professor.

Lucio's research focuses on the social, economic, and political history of the third millennium BC, with special focus on Syria and northern Mesopotamia, especially Ebla and Tell Beydar, an area on which he has published extensively. His scholarly publications include several text editions and studies on a wide range of topics, which he explores through a multi-faceted approach, ranging from linguistics to prosopography, to digital tools for the study of the Ancient Near East. He is a leading scholar in the history of palaeonutrition, to which he has contributed articles and congress volumes, as a director of research projects and as a supervisor of doctoral theses. Since the early part of his career he has been heavily involved in archaeology as well, participating as an epigraphist in the expeditions to Ebla, Tell Ashara, Tell Mozan, Tell Leilan and Tell Beydar. In addition, he was active between 1997 and 2010 as director of the "Ca' Fosca-

ri” team at the Syro-European archaeological mission of Tell Beydar. Always ahead of his time, he has worked in digital humanities since the early 1980s, taking part in 1982–1983 in the “Project in the Computer Analysis of the Ebla Texts” initiated by G. Buccellati at the University of California, Los Angeles. Since 2010, he has been the chief editor of the project “Ebla Digital Archives” at “Ca’ Foscari” University.

Lucio has not only been a prolific researcher. Over the years, he has invested an enormous amount of time and energy in activities aiming at the divulgation of knowledge on the Ancient Near East to a wider audience, stimulating at the same time pertinent research. All of the undersigned – and many besides us – have benefitted from his inspirational teaching, from general courses for undergraduates to specialized seminars for doctoral and post-doctoral students. He has succeeded in establishing his own “school” of Ancient Near Eastern studies at “Ca’ Foscari” University. The defining characteristic of our “Venetian school” is not a single theme – far be it from Lucio’s mind to impose a single area of specialization on those who study with him – but is rather its *spiritus rector*’s historical methodology and openness to different approaches to elucidating the multifaceted realities of the Ancient Near East. This attitude is exemplified by Lucio’s endeavours under the auspices of the “Advanced Seminar in the Humanities: Literature and Culture in the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece, Rome and the Near East” at the Venice International University, which he has co-organized since 2005. A volume recently published under his editorship, *Il Vicino Oriente antico dalle origini ad Alessandro Magno* (2012), is on its way to becoming a standard manual for Ancient Near Eastern and Egyptian history in Italian universities. Mention must also be made of the journal *Kaskal*, founded in 2003, of which Lucio is co-director, and which has grown into an internationally recognized and increasingly influential forum for the multi-disciplinary study of Ancient Near Eastern cultures.

International recognition for Lucio’s scientific achievements is reflected in his activities, under various titles, at “Ca’ Foscari” University, as well as at universities outside Italy, such as UCLA, Cornell University, and the École Pratique des Hautes Études.

Lucio’s contagious enthusiasm, gentleness, and wit immediately captivate all those who work with him. Only he – as students, colleagues, and friends have learned – could turn brisk walks with him through the Venetian *calli* towards Venice’s railway station into unique opportunities to discuss Assyriology and the vagaries of life. Moreover, his advice is delivered not only in this peripatetic form, but also in the many toasts offered during the numerous informal dinner parties held at his home for welcoming visiting scholars, or for celebrating shared successes.

All this is clearly reflected, we believe, in the contributions to this volume, which stand as a token of appreciation, certainly of Lucio Milano as an out-

standing scholar, but also, and perhaps more significantly, of Lucio as a *Mensch*.

Thus, once more, let us stand and raise our glasses to celebrate Lucio's 65th birthday. *Salute!*

Venice, Turin, Vienna
March 30th, 2016

Paola Corò
Elena Devecchi
Nicla De Zorzi
Massimo Maiocchi

Cases on Malpractice by Provincial Officers at Umma*

Manuel Molina

During the governorships of Aiakala (AS 8 to ŠS 7/ii) and his brother Dadaga (ŠS 7/ii to at least IS 3) of Umma, cases of malpractice by provincial officers were recorded in a small group of tablets dated between the second and the seventh years of king Šu-Suen of Ur (ca. 2035–2027 BC). The texts contain accusations of wrongdoings by administrators who were already active during the rule of the former governor Ur-Lisi (Š 33 to AS 8). Unlike most of the legal texts from Umma, they are frequently sealed by the administrator held responsible for the malpractice, who in this way acknowledged his negligence and eventually the penalty imposed on him. Thanks to the filiation included in the seal legend, these sealings allow the identification of the officials and the relationship of the cases with other legal documents, published and so far unpublished.

It is open to question whether the accusations against these officials were connected with some kind of purge of administrators who had reached high-ranking positions under the governorship of Ur-Lisi, but it is certain that most of their long administrative careers ended around the years in which charges were brought. On two occasions, the fault committed by the administrators and their disappearance from written records are very closely connected in time, so it is quite plausible that they were summarily fired because of their negligence: this was the case of I-pa'e (Š 3) and Ur-gigir (Š 6) respectively, accused and dismissed in ŠS 7/iii and ŠS 4. The case of I-pa'e, an important official whose long career had begun twenty-eight years before, in Š 36, is particularly remarkable, since he was fired the very first month of Dadaga's rulership, as if the new governor had outstanding issues with him.

It might also happen that paying a fine or the promise not to re-offend could prolong the officer's career, but not for very long: Abbagena was accused of negligence and accepted to pay a fine in ŠS 4, but his activities continued only a few more months, until ŠS 6/i (Š 1), while Inim-Šara, who in ŠS 2 was held responsible for not having kept watch on an ox, promised not to do it again and maintained his position until ŠS 5 (Š 4). It was Nitaġu (Š 5), who seriously disregarded the instructions of the governor in ŠS 5, although his penalty was

* BM 106476, 106219, 106457, and 106442, and collations of SNAT 519 (BM 106239) and BPOA 1, 720 (BM 107002) are here published by kind permission of the Trustees of the British Museum. I am very grateful to Walther Sallaberger and Piotr Steinkeller, who read the manuscript and offered helpful and valuable comments. Needless to say, any remaining errors are my own responsibility. All abbreviations used are those of BDTNS (<http://bdtns.filol.csic.es>). This research has been made possible thanks to the financial support granted by the Spanish Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad through the project FFI2011–23981.

not recorded in the text, who apparently held out longer in his office, until IS 2. For Bida (§ 2) we do not have a chronological reference on how his negligence affected his position.

The officials and the texts where these legal procedures were recorded are presented below in more detail.

§ 1. Abbagena/Lu-Šara

Abbagena was a pseudonym used by Lu-Šara, son of Ursaga (Mayr 2005, 86). His seal inscription (Lu₂-^dŠara₂, dub-sar, dumu Ur-sa₆-ga) appears in some fifty texts, in which the receiving official is recorded as Abbagena (kišib Ab-ba-ge-na). Following Vanderroost (2013-II, 175–180), he was a chief plot manager (nu-banda₃ gu₄) with responsibilities in the Da-Umma district. Agricultural work assignments in different fields were certified by him from AS 7 (BPOA 1, 1255) to ŠS 5 (SAT 3, 1630), although his activities extended from AS 1/i (Rosen RS 462, *apud* Mayr 2005 no. 495a and Vanderroost, *ibid.*) to ŠS 6/i (SAT 3, 1678). He supervised work assignments mainly in fields of the Da-Umma district (A-ġeština, Engabari, Išum, Šarahuma), but occasionally also in the Gu'edena, Mušbi'ana, and Apisal districts. According to the texts below, the field of Kamari – also in the Da-Umma district – was entrusted to him as prefect (šabra) by ŠS 4 (cf. also AnOr 1, 193, seal collated on photo CDLI P101184; SACT 2, 137, seal collated on photo CDLI P129094), and apparently his negligence in its management ended his administrative career.

§ 1.1. AnOr 7, 367 = MVN 18, 367 = AuOrS 11, 367 (photo CDLI P101662):

[A]b-ba-ge-na, [e]n₂si₂-ke₄, Ka-ma-ri₂^{ki}, šu-ni ba-an-šum₂, uru-a ba-tuš, i₃-si-na-bi, udu-a ba-ab-gu₇, da-^rbi^r ^rla^r-ba-ti, (*Seal*), [mu ba]d₃ mar-tu ^rba^r-du₃. *Seal*: Lu₂-^dŠara₂, dub-sar, dumu Ur-sa₆-ga

The governor entrusted (the field of) Kamari to Abbagena, (but) he remained in the city. (Therefore,) its barley with grown culms was eaten by sheep. He did not approach their side (*i.e.*, he did not watch them). ŠS 4. *Seal*: Lu-Šara, scribe, son of Ursaga.

For this text, see also Sallaberger 1999, 388.

§ 1.2. AnOr 7, 325 = MVN 18, 325 = AuOrS 11, 325 (photo CDLI P101620):

a-ša₃ Ka-m[a-ri₂]-ka, i₃-si-na-ba udu ba-an-du₂-ru-un, Ab-ba-ge-na šabra-am₃, nu-un-^rzu^r, e[₂n₂si₂-^r]a, nu-^run-na^r-an-du₁₁, (*Seal*), mu bad₃ mar-[tu] ba-[du₃]. *Seal*: Lu₂-^dŠara₂, dub-sar, dumu Ur-sa₆-ga

Abbagena, although he was the prefect, did not realize that the sheep had established themselves in the barley with grown culms of the Kamari field. He did not inform the governor. ŠS 4. *Seal*: Lu-Šara, scribe, son of Ursaga.

For this text, see also Civil 1994, 173.

§ 1.3. Once Abbagena had sealed these tablets and thus admitted his negligence, he agreed to pay a fine of 2 *mana* of silver, as recorded in BPOA 1, 422:

2 ma-na ku₃-babbar, [u₄]-sakar u₄-15, iti ezem-^dŠul-gi-ra-še₃, Ab-ba-ge-na, su-su-da, mu lugal-bi in-pa₃, i[gi Luga]-ku₃-zu-še₃, igi Lugal-e₂-maḥ-e-še₃, igi Ur-^dNintu-še₃, mu bad₃ mar-tu ba-du₃. *Seal*: Lu₂-^dŠara₂, dub-sar, dumu Ur-s[a₆-ga]

2 *mana* (= 1 kg) of silver, for the full moon of the tenth month, Abbagena has promised by the name of the king that he will repay. Before Lugal-kuzu, before Lugal-emaḥe, before Ur-Nintu. ŠS4. *Seal*: Lu-Šara, scribe, son of Ursaga.

§ 1.4. The problems of Abbagena/Lu-Šara with the provincial administration had started, nevertheless, at least the year before (ŠS 3). In fact, a new unpublished text from the British Museum records his negligence in the supervision of the work carried out in the field of Išum. Abbagena, together with Ur-Šulpa'e and Aiakala, both probably also plot managers, were accused of not having supervised the flattening of the soil and the harvest of crops that *eren₂* workers of the governor were supposed to carry out on the plots that the latter and his brother Dadaga held at the field of Išum (cf. Steinkeller 2013, 358–360).

BM 106476. 1913-04-16-1308

Photo: BDTNS 058042. Copy: Fig. 1

Date: ŠS 3/iv. 80×44×22

- o. 1. Ab-ba-ge-na-ar
 2. a-ša₃ I₃-šum₂ eren₂-e tab-ba-de₃
 3. ensi₂-ke₄ a₂ in-da-na-an-aḡ₂
 4. eren₂-e gana₂-IL₂ tab-ba-e-de₃ šu bi₂-ib₂-dag
 5. šuku-bi ba-ab-tab
 6. i₇ I₃-šum₂-ma i₃-ib₂-de₆-a
 7. u₄ 14-am₃ eren₂-e a-ša₃-bi-še₃ ba-ab-gid₂
 8. ensi₂-še₃ u₃ Da-da-ga-aš
 9. lu₂ nu-mu-un-ši-in-gi₄
 10. a-ša₃-bi a la-ba-ab-si
- r. 1. engar ša₃-gu₄-ka-ni
 2. še gur_x-gur_x(ŠE.KIN.ŠE.KIN)-de₃ ba-an-na-šum₂
 3. Da-da-ga ṽgurum₂ṽ-še₃ ṽi₃ṽ-ḡen
 4. eren₂-bi 3-a diri-ga nu-gub-ba-am₃
 5. 1 Ab-ba-ge-na
 6. 1 Ur-^dŠul-pa-e₃
 7. 1 A-a-kal-la
 8. ša₃-bi 1-am₃ saḡ-bi-še₃ nu-gub-ba-am₃
 9. inim Ab-ba-ge-na-ka
 10. igi ensi₂-ka-še₃ ba-an-ge-en₆
 11. ša₃ a-ša₃ ḡ^{is}Ma-nu-ka
 12. iti nesaḡ mu us₂-sa ma₂ ^dEn-ki ba-ab-du₈

¹⁻³ The Išum field is to be smoothed out by the *eren*₂ workers for Abbagena. The governor gave these instructions to him.

⁴⁻⁷ (Nevertheless,) the *eren*₂ workers neglected to smooth out the corvée field. They (instead) smoothed out their subsistence fields. The canal that brings (water) on the Išum field, during fourteen days the *eren*₂ workers diverted it towards their fields. ⁸⁻⁹ (Abbagena) sent nobody to the governor (= Aiakala) and Dadaga (to inform them). ¹⁰ (Consequently,) their field (= Aiakala and Dadaga's) was not filled with water.

^{r.1-2} His (= Abbagena's) cultivators (and) ox-drivers were given to him (= Abbagena) to harvest the barley. ^{r.3-8} Dadaga went there for an inspection, (and found out that) no more than three *eren*₂ workers were in service. Abbagena, Ur-Šulpa'e (and) Aiakala: not one of them was in service as the person in charge. ^{r.9-11} It was confirmed in the statement of Abbagena, before the governor. At the Manu field.

^{r.12} ŠS 3/iv.

Commentary

o. 2, 4, 5: Examples of -e-d > -a-d after a stem containing a as the only or as the last vowel are well attested in Garšana texts (Sallaberger 2011, 343), where an occurrence of *tab-ba-de*₃ is also documented (CUSAS 3, 262).

It is difficult to ascertain the meaning of the verb *tab* in this context. In earlier times *gana*₂ *tab-ba* occurs in ED IIIb Girsu texts (Bauer 1972, 110–111) and in Umma tablets from the time of Lugalzagesi (Powell 1978, 21–22), where it designated a type of land. Most probably unrelated to this designation is the occurrence of *tab-ba* in Classical Sargonic texts from Umma (CT 50, 60), where it was a term used “to indicate that two parcels of land of two different types under the responsibility of the same person had the same area” (Foster 1980, 225–226). In Ur III texts, the expression *gana*₂ *tab-ba*, as noted by Maekawa (1995, 187), refers to plots of which the estimate of their yield is not recorded. Actually, on one occasion (TUT 8: iii.1–2) *gana*₂ *tab-ba* appears in opposition to *kab*₂-*du*₁₁-*ga* (Civil 1994, 155), while in other texts the estimate of the yield of a *tab-ba*-land was made under oath (AnOr 45, 308 53: 7', r.7'; ASJ 17, 217 110: ii.4', iii.16'), as happened when the expected yield was particularly low (Wilcke 1999, 324). These attestations seem to correspond then to fields whose yield, for some reason, could not be estimated. On the other hand, the semantics of *tab* supports well the translation “to smooth out (?)” of *tab* proposed by W. Sallaberger (in press) for its occurrence in TCS 1, 173. This text records an interesting sequence of agricultural works: 1 *šidim-e* 0.0.3^{GANA2}-*am*₃ *ḥa-gur*₁₀-*gur*₁₀, 0.0.3^{GANA2}-*am*₃ *ḥa-ab-tab-be*₂ *še* 3.0.0 *gur-am*₃, *ḥa-sag*₃-*ge*, “Each brick layer should harvest 3 *iku*, smooth out(?) 3 *iku*, and thresh exactly 3 kor of grain” (translation by W. Sallaberger). I would thus suggest that the works denoted with the verb *tab* probably corresponded to the preparations, described in Farmer's Instructions ll. 2–13, “made to ensure

the proper flow of water in the canals and its proper level in the flooded fields. (...) While the field is drying at the beginning of the hot season, it has to be worked with various kinds of hoes to keep it level and free of weeds”. (Civil 1994, 1–2). These works were made at the time of the yearly flood, which coincides with the harvest season: in fact, in FI l. 13, it is said that “(the field) should be smoothed out until it dries up well” (en-na a-ša₃-ga al-šeĝ₆-šeĝ₆-e-da teš₂ a-ra-ab-si₃-ke-a) (Civil 1994, 1, 28–29). Both harvest and flood irrigation are also recorded in our text. This interpretation would also explain why, according to the evidence cited above, the yield of a tab-ba-land could be hardly estimated: flood irrigation and works to smooth it out would make it difficult to determine the extension of harvested land.

o.4: gana₂-il₂ were the fields where corvée duties had to be performed (see Wilcke 2007, 34–35 and n. 56).

o.6: For the interpretation of this line, cf. a – de₆/tum₃ “to bring, to carry water” (said of watercourses) (PSD A/1, s.v. a A, 11, 2.3.16 a – tum₂/tum₃).

o.7: gid₂ with the meaning “to divert (a watercourse)”, derived from its basic meaning “to drag, pull” (Akk. *šadādum*) is also found, for example, in NSGU 130: 7 (see commentary by Falkenstein 1956-II, 222).

o.10: For a – si “to fill with water, to irrigate”, see Yoshikawa 1975, 450; Kienast – Volk 1995, 86–87 (comm. *ad* STTI 102: 6); Volk 1995, 134 (comm. *ad* InŠuk 134/173).

r.6–7: The identities of Ur-Šulpa’e and Aiakala are uncertain. A farmer and chief plot manager named Ur-Šulpa’e is well known in Umma sources as a worker at the Da-Umma district (Vanderroost 2013-II, 232–236), but his identification with the Ur-Šulpa’e of our text is too hazardous; note also that a certain Ur-Šulpa’e is accused of neglecting a plough-ox (using the same wording as in Text § 4) in ASJ 11, 154 (Bar-AM 366).

§ 2. Bida

The tablet below, so far unpublished, records the case of Bida, a fattener of the provincial administration who faced several charges. First, Bida was accused on two occasions of not having taken care of sheep during a number of days. He recognized not having met his obligations only during a part of those days, so two successive investigations were commissioned, probably to maškim officials; during the procedure it was also stated that the sheep were not fed, for one and two days respectively, the latter at Ka’ida (north of the Umma province). Furthermore, it was demonstrated that he had received barley to feed the sheep, although he declared he had not; another witness also confirmed that the sheep had not been fed or watered at Nippur during two days. Perhaps as a reason for Bida’s negligence, Kas confirmed that Bida was on duty with workers serving at the mill and loading beer on boats. The rest of the text, damaged, deals with two

more charges that had to be investigated, and concludes with a statement about the tablet(s) of Bida.

This Bida was most probably identical with one of the most important fatteners (*kurušda*) of Umma (Dahl 2007, 116). Some texts show also Bida as a supplier of grain to mill-foremen (Dahl 2007, 120), which fits well with his duties at the mill mentioned in line 11 of our text. Bida was probably subordinate (cf. IOS 6, 59 P 1) to Kas/Enkas (his name is spelled *Kas₄* in the texts, and *En-kas₄* in his seal inscriptions), one of the main livestock administrators (*šuš₃*) of the Umma province (Stępień 1996, 52–53, 122–124; Dahl 2007, 87, 92), who was active from Š 39 (BPOA 6, 521) to IS 2 (L'uomo 65). It is thus unsurprising that Kas/Enkas was present during the court procedure and gave testimony.

BM 106219. 1913-04-16-1051

Photo: BDTNS 058034. Copy: Fig. 2

Undated. 81×46×23

- o. 1. [u₄ n-a]m₃ Bi₂-da ʾki¹ [udu-k]a nu-tuš-am₃
 2. a-ra₂ l-kam
 3. Lugal-e₂-maḥ-e en₃-bi tar-re-dam
 4. [š]a₃-ʾba¹ u₄ 8-am₃
 5. inim Bi₂-da-ka ba-an-ge-en₈
 6. ʾu₄¹ l-am₃ udu u₂ nu-gu₇-a ba-ge-en₈
 7. igi Kas₄-še₃
 8. u₄ 15-am₃ ki udu-ka «AŠ» nu-tuš-am₃
 9. A-kal-la u₃ Lugal-e₂-[m]aḥ-e en₃-bi tar-re-dam
 10. [š]a₃-b]a u₄ 6-am₃
- r. 1. inim Bi₂-da-ka ba-an-ge-en₈
 2. Ka-i₇-da-ka u₄ l-am₃ še nu-gu₇-a
 3. Lu₂-kal-la in-ge-en₈
 4. inim Bi₂-da-ka ba-an-ge-en₈
 5. [x]⁺² ½ sila₃ še udu-a de₆-a
 6. [B]i₂-da nu-ub-dab₅ bi₂-in-du₁₁
 7. A-ra₂ dab₅-ba-aš in-ge-en₈
 8. Nibru^{ki}-a u₄ 2-am₃
 9. udu u₂ nu-gu₇-a-aš a nu-naḡ-aš
 10. Ur-^dŠul-pa-e₃-ke₄ in-ge-en₈
 11. ḡuruš kinkin-da gub-ba kaš ma₂-da ba-da-an-tuš
- lo.ed. 1. Kas₄ in-ge-en₈
 2. [...] udu e₂-a aka Ur-[... e]n₃-bi tar-re-dam
- le.ed. 1. l udu-niga m[u-...]-ʾa₂¹-(x)
 2. u₃ Niḡ₂-du₁₀-g[a ... e]n₃-bi tar-re-d[am]
 3. im Bi₂-da ʾx¹ [... A]K

(The lines at the left edge were perhaps divided into two columns.)

¹⁻⁷ It was (the case) that during [n] days Bida did not stay at the place of the sheep. For the first time. Lugal-emaḡe has to investigate this. It was

confirmed in the statement of Bida that it was for eight of those days (that he did not stay there). It was confirmed that it was for one day that the sheep were not fed with grass. Before Kas (as witness).

^{8-r.4} (For the second time:) It was (the case) that during fifteen days (Bida) did not stay at the place of the sheep. Akala and Lugal-emaḫe have to investigate this. It was confirmed in the statement of Bida that it was for six [of those] days (that he did not stay there). Lukala confirmed that it was for one day that (the sheep) were not fed with barley at Ka'ida. It was confirmed in the statement of Bida.

^{r.5-7} (Concerning) [x]+2 ½ litres of barley that were brought for the sheep, Bida declared: "It was not taken!". Ara has confirmed that (the barley) was taken.

^{r.8-10} Ur-Šulpa'e has confirmed that during two days, at Nippur, the sheep were not fed with grass and were not given water to drink.

^{r.11-lo.ed.1} Kas has confirmed that (Bida) was on duty with the workers who are serving at the mill (and) with the beer for the boats.

^{lo.ed.2} [...] the sheep of the temple? ...: Ur-[...] has to investigate this.

^{le.ed.1-2} 1 fattened sheep ...: [...] -a2-[(x)] and Niḡduga have to investigate this.

^{le.ed.3} The tablet(s) of Bida ...

Commentary

r.5: For *udu-a* < /uṛa/+e (erg.), see Jagersma 2010, 44. This form is also found in MVN 18, 367 (see above § 1.1).

§ 3. I-pa'e

I-pa'e was the son of Lu-Šara, the field registrar. His long career extended from Š 36/vii (MVN 14, 117) to ŠS 7/iii, his activities being concentrated at the Gu'edena and Mušbi'ana districts (Vanderroost 2013-II, 54–57). In the tablet below he is accused of having lied to the governor about the escape of a woman. Because this is the last tablet bearing his seal impression known to us, it may be assumed that the accusation dramatically ended his career.

SNAT 519 (collated; photo BDTNS 033983):

1 dumu-munus Da-^rda¹ nu-zah₃-am₃, ensi₂-ke₄, I₇-pa-e₃ en₃ in-na-an-tar, i₃-zah₃ in-na-an-du₁₁, ki-bi-ta nu-tuku₄ mu-gub, ensi₂-ra, du₁₁-ga-ni si nu-un-na-an-sa₂, (*Seal*), iti še-kar-ra-ḡal₂-la, mu ^dŠu-^dSuen, lugal U[r₁₅^{ki}-m]a-ke₄, ma-da Z[a-ab-ša-l]i^{ki} m[u-ḫul]. *Seal*: I₇-pa-e₃, dub-sar, dumu Lu₂-^d[Šara₂], saḡ-du₅

It was (the case) that the daughter of Dada did not escape. The governor asked I-pa'e (about this). "She escaped", (I-pa'e) told him. (But) she did not move from that place, she stayed there. (I-pa'e) did not put in order his statement for (*i.e.* he was not straightforward with) the governor. ŠS 7/iii. *Seal*: I-pa'e, scribe, son of Lu-Šara, the field registrar.

For this text, see also Wilcke 2005, 296.

§ 4. Inim-Šara

Inim-Šara, son of Ur-gigir, was active from Š 48/ix (BPOA 7, 2006) to ŠS 5 (BPOA 1, 370). Since AS 5–6 he worked as a chief plot manager at the Da-Umma district under the supervision of Egalesi, who was in charge of 30 domain units in the same district (Vanderroost 2013-II, 50–51; Studevent-Hickman 2006, 38). The text below, so far unpublished, records the physical punishment he received from the governor for not having taken care of an ox.

BM 106457. 1913-04-16-1289

Photo: BDTNS 058038. Copy: Fig. 3

Date: ŠS 2/[]. 83×50×23

- o. 1. Inim-^dŠara₂-ka
 2. ensi₂-ke₄
 3. gu₄-apin 1-am₃
 4. šu-ni ba-an-šum₂
 5. ġa₂-la bi₂-in-dag
 6. mu 3-am₃
 7. da-bi la-ba-ti
 8. ensi₂-ke₄
 9. in-sig₃
 10. a-ra₂ 2-kam gu₄-e
 11. ġa₂-la nu-ub-dag-a
- r. 1. mu lugal-bi in-pa₃
Seal
 2. ʾiti¹ [...] - ʾx¹ - [...]
 3. mu ma₂-[dara₃] ^dEn-ki-ka ba-ab-du₈
- Seal 1. Inim-^dŠara₂
 2. dub-sar
 3. dumu Ur-r^šigigir¹

¹⁻⁷ The governor entrusted Inim-Šara one plough-ox, (but) he neglected it. For three years he did not approach its side (*i.e.*, he did not watch it).

⁸⁻⁹ The governor struck him.

^{10-r.1} (Inim-Šara) has promised by the name of the king that he will not neglect an ox a second time.

^{r.2-3} ŠS 2/[]

Seal: Inim-Šara, scribe, son of Ur-gigir.

Commentary

o.9: sig₃ “to beat, strike” in a context of punishment is also attested in CT 7, pl. 18 BM 12942: 6, text translated and discussed by Wilcke 1999, 337–338.

§ 5. Nitaĝu

Nitaĝu belonged to the family of Lugalsaga, whose members held high-ranking posts in the provincial administration, particularly in the distribution of animals (Stępień 1996, 187–190, 208). Nitaĝu’s seal (Nita-ĝu₁₀, dub-sar, dumu Lugal-sa₆-ga) is attested on tablets dated from Š 33/xiid (BPOA 2, 2035) to IS 2/xi (Torino 2, 578). His responsibilities involved the fattening and collection of animals for the *bala*-obligation, the collection and distribution of reeds, work assignments for transportation of goods, and various other duties. According to Dahl (2007, 117), Nitaĝu was probably the main fattener in Umma. In this text he is accused of not having followed the instructions of the governor: apparently, 36,000 bundles of reed were harvested for the *bala*-obligation of the previous year, but rain ruined them; therefore, the governor ordered Nitaĝu to cut the reeds again, but he did not obey his command.

BPOA 1, 720 (collated; photo BDTNS 058410):

bala im-ma su-ga-ta, gi zi zi₂-de₃, Nita-ĝu₁₀, ensi₂-ke₄, a₂ in-da-aĝ₂, gi zi-bi, nu-un-zi₂, 36000 sa gi zi, im ba-a-še-en₆ ba-ĥul, Nita-ĝu₁₀ en₃-bi nu-un-tar, ĝa₂-la bi₂-in-dag, inim ensi₂-ka-ke₄, ĝiš la-ba-an-tuku-am₃, mu us₂-sa^dŠu-^dSuen lugal-e bad₃ mar-tu mu-du₃. *Seal*: Nita-ĝu₁₀, dub-sar, dumu Lugal-s[a₆-ga]

The governor ordered Nitaĝu to cut fresh reeds (due) from the *bala*-obligation of the last year that was repaid, (but) he did not cut these fresh reeds. 36,000 bundles of fresh reed: rain fell (and) they were lost. Nitaĝu did not make an inquiry. He neglected that. He did not obey the command of the governor. ŠS 5. *Seal*: Nitaĝu, scribe, son of Lugalsaga.

Commentary

še-en₆ is interpreted as a syllabic spelling of šeĝ₃ “to rain”. For the compound verb im – šeĝ₃ “to rain, to storm”, see Volk 1989, 245; Cavigneaux – Al-Rawi 1995, 188–189; Attinger 2009, 139.

§ 6. Ur-gigir

Ur-gigir, son of Bara-AN, was a prefect (šabra) whose activities, carried out in the Da-Umma district, are attested from Š 42/vi (AAICAB 1/1, Ashm. 1924–697) to ŠS 2/xii (UTI 3, 1794), although the use of his seal extends from Š 33/xii (Princeton 1, 392) to ŠS 4/iii (MVN 13, 226). He was engaged in work assignments mainly in the field of Kamari, but also in others (Vanderroost 2013-II, 200–206). The text below records the obligation of delivering a quantity of smoked fish after proving that he diverted water from a field with the purpose of preparing a fishpond.

MVN 18, 516 = AuOrS 11, 516 (photo CDLI P119877):

a-ša₃ Ka-ma-ri₂-ta, a ba-ra-ḥa-aš, bur ʾba-an-nu₂^ʾ, [...] (*rest of obv. and beginning of rev. lost*), [...] ʾx^ʾ [...], [x] ba-an-k[u₄^ʾ ...], [...] ku₆ šeḡ₆ g[ur^ʾ], Ur-ḡis^{ḡis}gigir-ke₄, su-su-dam, (*Seal*), mu us₂-sa Si-ma-num₂^{ki} ba-ḥul. *Seal*: Ur-ḡis^{ḡis}gigir, dub-sar, dumu [Bar-r]a-AN

The water was diverted from the field of Kamari (and) a (fish)pond was laid out ... [x] gur^ʾ of smoked fish are to be repaid by Ur-gigir. ŠS 4. *Seal*: Ur-gigir, scribe, son of Bara-AN.

For this text, see also Molina 2014, 403.

§ 7. Cultic personnel of Šara?

Although not belonging to the group of tablets dated to the governorships of Aiakala or Dadaga, an additional unpublished tablet from the British Museum is presented here, documenting the case of three goats that became lost. Apparently, members of the cultic personnel of god Šara were involved.

BM 106442. 1913-04-16-1274

Photo: BDTNS 058036. Copy: Fig. 4

Date: AS 8/v. 87×48×24

- o.
1. 3 maš₂ E₂-a-šar sipa Da-da gala-ka
 2. u₂-gu ba-an-de₂-[am₃^ʾ]
 3. E₂-a-šar-e Lugal-ḡis^{ḡis}gigir-[re] ba-an-la-aḥ bi₂-du₁₁
 4. E₂-a-šar egir-ba im-[ma]-an-[gur^ʾ]
 5. 1 Lu₂-diḡir-ra
 6. u₃ Ur-^dUtu-ke₄
 7. 3 maš₂ igi Lugal-ḡis^{ḡis}gigir-re-ka gub-bi igi bi₂-in-du₈-am₃
 8. urdu₂ maš₂ eg₂-me-ta mu-la-aḥ in-na-an-eš
 9. igi E₂-gal-e-si-še₃
 10. igi Nin-dub-sar-še₃
 11. maš₂ e₂ A-kal-la dumu ^dUtu-saga₁₀-ka ba-an-su-un
- r.
1. igi Lu₂-^dInanna-ka-še₃
 2. e₂ A-kal-la-ke₄ 60 nindan-am₃ nu-ti-a gaba-ri-na mu-gub
 3. 1 A-li₂ maškim
 4. 1 Ur-^dSuen nar
 5. 1 Tir-gu maškim
 6. igi-ne-ne-še₃
 7. Nin₉-ku-li dumu Ur-AN.[...]-ke₄
 8. Da-da dumu Lu₂-A[N.X (x)]
 9. 10 la₂ 1 maš₂ ziz₂-da-aš
 10. ga-ra-AK in-[na-du₁₁]
 11. Lugal-šu-nir-re a-r[a₂^ʾ 2^ʾ-kam^ʾ] sizkur₂-bi bi₂-d[u₁₁^ʾ]
 12. ka-ga ba-an-ge-e[n₆]
 13. igi Lu₂-diḡir-ra dumu Lugal-ba-ra-ab-e₃-še₃
 14. igi A-tu dumu Urdu₂-ḥul₃-la-še₃

15. igi Inim-ma-AN-še₃
 le.ed. 1. igi Ur-^dLamma-še₃
 2. igi Ĥe₂-na-sa₆-še₃
 3. igi Da-ad-da-ġu₁₀-še₃
 4. iti RI mu en Eridu^{ki} ba-ĥuġ

¹⁻² [It was? (the case) that] three goats of Ea-šar, shepherd of Dada, the lamenter, were lost.

³ Ea-šar declared: “Lugal-gigire drove them off.”

⁴⁻¹⁰ Afterwards Ea-šar returned? (and) Lu-diġira and Ur-Utu declared for him: “(Ea-šar) saw indeed the three goats standing before Lugal-gigire. The servant (= Lugal-gigire) drove the three goats from our dike”. (Statements) before Egalesi, before Nin-dubsar.

^{11-r.1} “He (= Lugal-gigire) brought the goats into the house of Akala, son of Utusaga”. Before Lu-Inana.

^{r.2-6} “The house of Akala, which is (at a distance of) 60 *nindan* (= 360 meters), (Ea-šar) did not approach, he remained on his opposite side”. Ali, the commissioner; Ur-Suen, the singer; Tirgu, the commissioner. Before them.

^{r.7-10} Nin-kuli, daughter of Ur-..., [told] Dada, son of Lu-...: “I will deliver nine goats for you as compensation.”

^{r.11} Lugal-šunire accomplished the oral? rites for the second time?.

^{r.12} It was orally confirmed.

^{r.12-le.ed.3} Before Lu-diġira, son of Lugal-barabe; before Atu, son of Urdu-ĥula; before Inima-AN; before Ur-Lamma; before Ĥenasā; before Daddaġu.

^{le.ed.4} AS 8/v.

The text records the case of three lost goats that belonged to Dada, the lamenter. Ea-šar, the shepherd who was responsible for them, declared that a certain Lugal-gigire had taken the goats away, and Lu-diġira and Ur-Utu appeared to support his statement, adducing that the goats were found within the limits of their fields. Two more testimonies, perhaps also given by Lu-diġira and Ur-Utu before different groups of witnesses, demonstrated that the goats were taken to the house of Akala, and that Ea-šar had nothing to do with that. As a consequence, Nin-kuli, whose relationship with Lugal-gigire is unclear (see below), agreed to give Dada nine goats as compensation. The text concludes with an obscure reference to rites accomplished by Lugal-šunire, and the list of bystanders.

The background of the case is unclear in some respects. It involved Dada, the well-known chief lamenter of the royal court, who had properties in the Umma province (Michalowski 2006, 49–50). It is plausible that the three goats were given to Dada on the occasion of some kind of ritual performed at the temple of Šara, if Nin-kuli is identical with the *lukur*-priestess of Šara attested in MVN 18, 296: ii.14; AAICAB 1/1, Ashm. 1911-480: r.i.11; AAICAB 1/1, Ashm. 1924-668: ii.18; AAICAB 1/2, Ashm. 1975-293: r.i.1; Nisaba 23, 24: r.i.2, and 36: ii.19. If so, the servant (*urdu*₂) mentioned in line 8, probably to be identified

with Lugal-gigire, could be a servant of the temple, and the rites of line r.11 would have been accomplished in the context of that ritual. Although Lugal-gigire is an exceedingly common personal name in the Ur III corpus, it should be noted that someone with that name is attested as a son of a *gudu*₄-priest of the temple of Šara (DoCu EPHE 190: i.25, AS4/xii), and is also mentioned in other texts as a servant (*urdu*₂) or working for the temple of Šara (Nisaba 6, 12: ii.8; AnOr 1, 88: v.29 [AS5]); in all these texts, other individuals named Lu-diġira and Ur-Utu, like those who supported Ea-šar's statements, are also attested, although it is quite uncertain whether they were the same persons. This context is also consistent regarding the witnessing role of Ur-Suen, the singer, whose activities are attested in Umma from Š 40 (SAT 2, 247) to ŠS 7 (MVN 16, 1243), and who is also known as “overseer of female singers” (*ugula nar-munus*, AnOr 1, 88: r.iv.29, AS 5) and “singer of the governor” (*nar ensi*₂-ka, MVN 21, 199: r.ii.40, Š 47[?]); cf. Pruzsinszky 2010, 107 fn. 40.

Commentary

o.8: The interpretation of the expression *eg*₂-*me*-*ta* as “from our dike” was kindly suggested to me by W. Sallaberger. The dike in this context probably designated the limits of a land managed by Lu-diġira and Ur-Utu where the goats were found. For these kinds of embankment see the in-depth discussion by Civil 1994, 109–129.

o.11: *su-un* is interpreted as a syllabic writing of *sun*₅, the plural stem of *ku*₄.r “to enter”. For *sun*₅ and *ku*₄.r, see Civil 1975, 150 fn. 44; for *su-un* = *sun*₅, see Culbertson 2009, 204, who transliterated and translated this text.

r.13–le.ed.3: For the role of the bystanders listed in these lines, see Molina 2013.

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Figures

§ 1.4. BM 106476

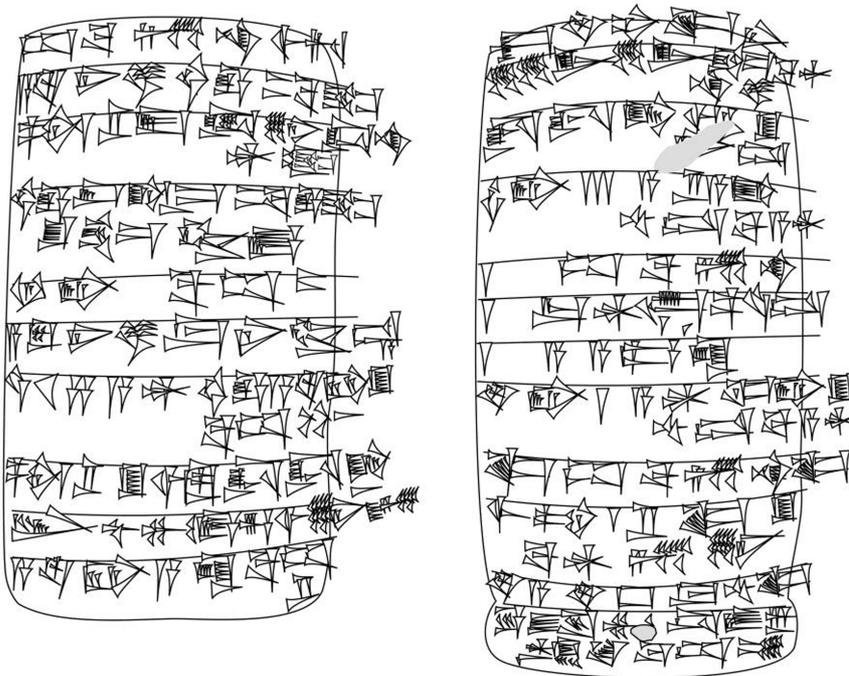


Fig. 1

§ 2. BM 106219

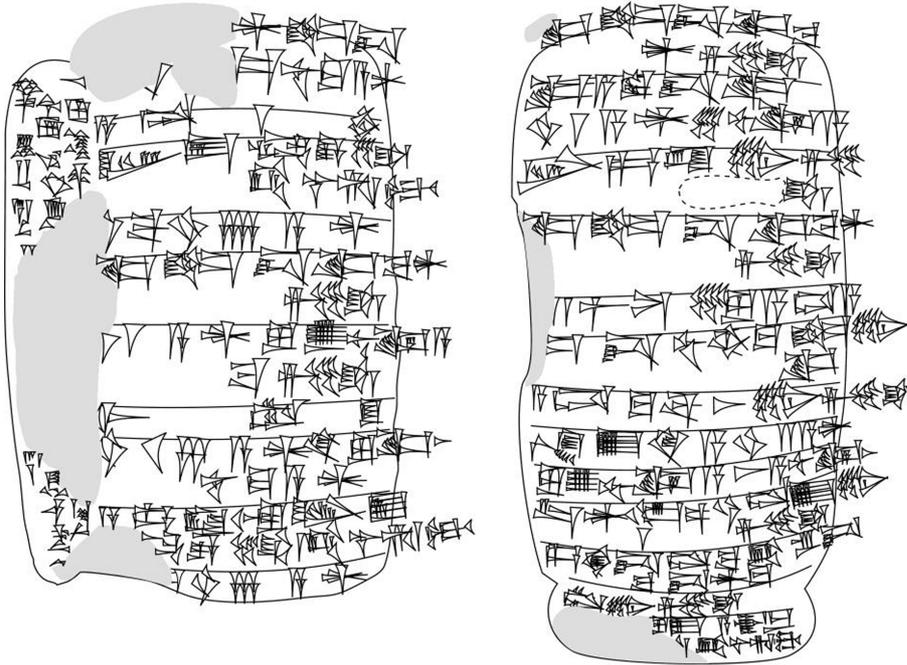


Fig. 2

§ 4. BM 106457

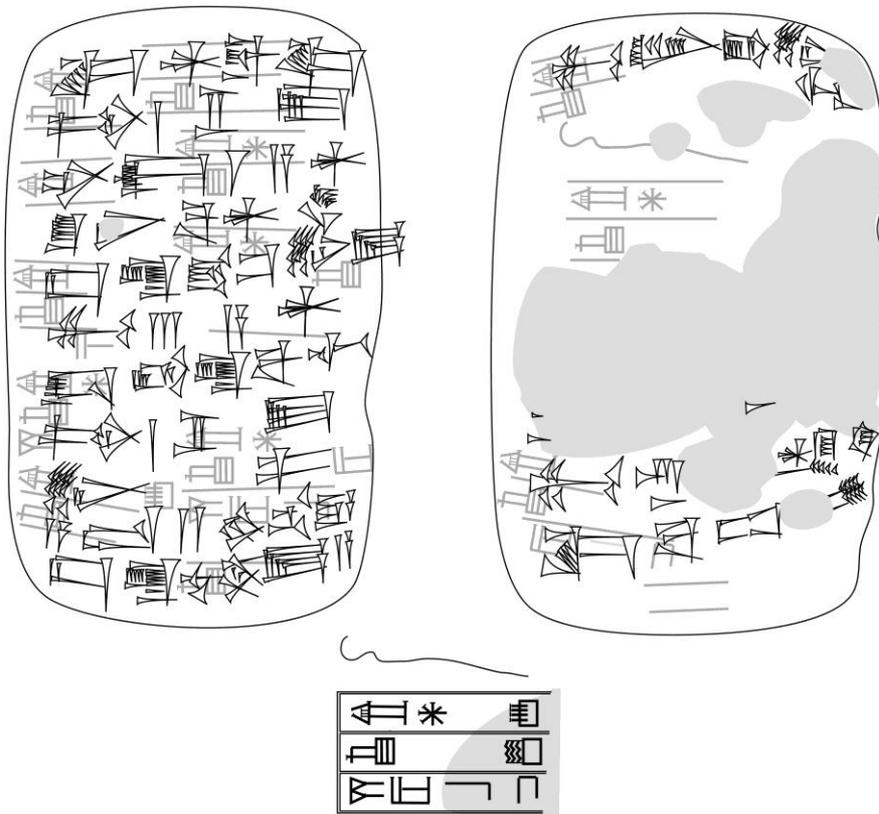


Fig. 3

§ 7. BM 106442

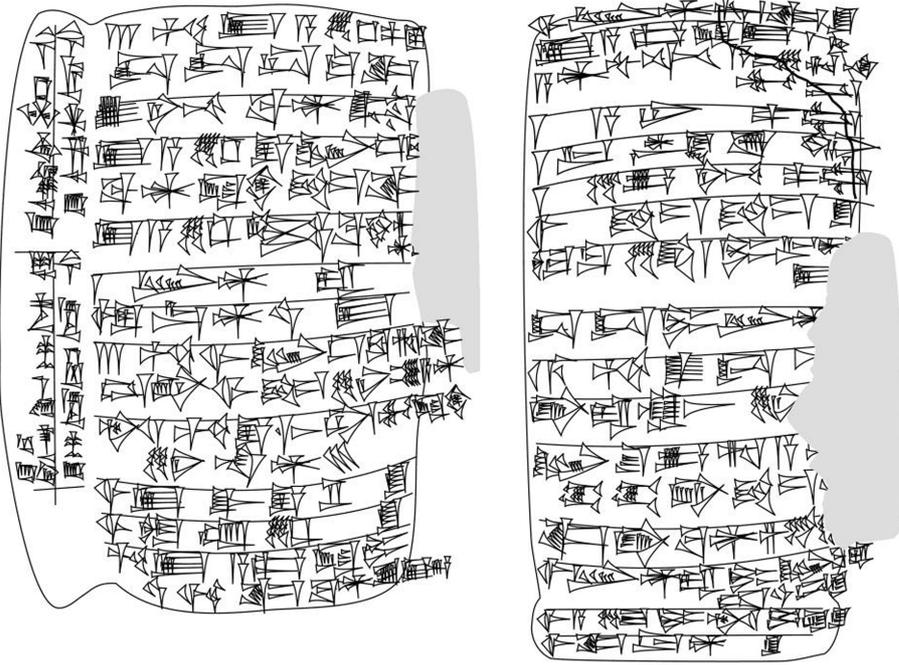


Fig. 4