

ELEMENTS OF THE NEO-SUMERIAN MILITARY

Daniel Patterson

A DISSERTATION

in

Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations

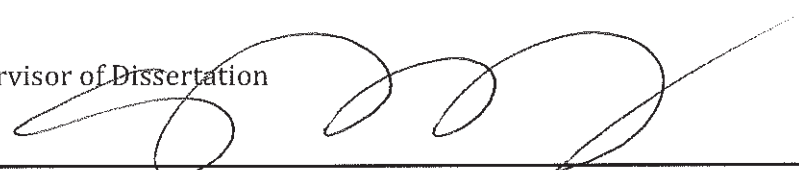
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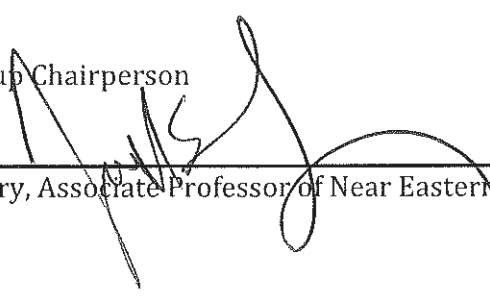
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For Kelcey and Rebecca

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ABSTRACT

ELEMENTS OF THE NEO-SUMERIAN MILITARY

Dan Patterson

Steve Tinney

The Neo-Sumerian (Ur III) period is known for having produced tens of thousands of tablets though, paradoxically, much of the history and culture of this period remains in the dark. One of these areas is the history and organization of the Ur III military. This dissertation is an investigation of selected issues and the terminology related to the military history of this period. It attempts to rectify the absence of monographic studies on this topic and to clarify problematic issues that recur in the secondary literature.

Chapter one introduces the historical background of the Ur III period, focusing on the available sources and their associated biases. Chapter two establishes the framework for a military history of this period by utilizing year-names and textual references to plunder, and teases out some of the problems involved in using this data. This chapter utilizes the vast administrative corpus to build portraits of the enemy toponyms mentioned in year-names and attempts to determine their organizational structure and political relationship to the kingdom of Ur. Chapter three discusses the primary terms for soldiers (**eren₂**, **aga₃-us₂**, **gar₃-du**) and the garrison system that was established in the periphery. It demonstrated that the taxes on garrison settlements (**gun₂ ma-da**) exhibited an array of formats and utilized a multiplicity of terms; this aids our understanding of the political statuses of a number of foreign toponyms. Chapter four investigates the context

of the messenger text genre and some of the military terminology found within. This resulted in the discovery that different provinces and their messenger text corpora dealt with different regions of the periphery. Additionally, it was discovered that foreign groups from the periphery traveled in greater numbers and with greater frequency than previously assumed. Lastly, selected military terms were investigated and some previous assumptions regarding their meaning were challenged.

This dissertation increases and redefines our knowledge of the military and political contexts of the Third Dynasty of Ur and provides and provides a beginning point for further research into this area.

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ABBREVIATIONS

<i>AfO</i>	<i>Archiv für Orientforschung.</i>
<i>AnOr</i>	<i>Analecta Orientalia.</i>
<i>AoF</i>	<i>Altorientalische Forschungen.</i>
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament.
AOS	American Oriental Series.
ARCANE	Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean.
<i>ARM</i>	<i>Archives royales de Mari.</i>
<i>ASJ</i>	<i>Acta Sumerologica.</i>
<i>BA</i>	<i>Beiträge zur Assyriologie und semitischen Sprachwissenschaft.</i>
<i>BaghM</i>	<i>Baghdader Mitteilungen.</i>
BAR	British Archaeological Reports.
<i>BBVO</i>	<i>Berliner Beiträge zum Vorderer Orient.</i>
<i>BCSMS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the Canadian Society of Mesopotamian Studies</i>
BE	The Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania.
BiMes	Bibliotheca Mesopotamica.
<i>BJRL</i>	<i>Bulletin of the John Rylands Library.</i>
BPOA	Biblioteca del Proximo Oriente Antiguo.
BuB	Bibel und Babel.
CAD	The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago.
<i>CDLB</i>	<i>Cuneiform Digital Library Bulletin.</i>
CDLI	Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative.
<i>CDLJ</i>	<i>Cuneiform Digital Library Journal.</i>
CM	Cuneiform Monographs.
CNIP	Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications.
CRRAI	Compte Rendu Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale.
<i>CSMSJ</i>	<i>Canadian Society for Mesopotamian Studies Journal.</i>
CUSAS	Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology.
ETCSL	The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature.
FAOS	Freiburger Altorientalische Studien.
GMTR	Guides to the Mesopotamian Textual Record.
GN	Geographical Name.
HANES	History of the Ancient Near East Studies.
Hebenstreit	Siglum for tablets in the private collection of Laurent Hebenstreit.
HIMA	Revue internationale d'Histoire Militaire Ancienne.
IB	Siglum for tablets excavated from Ishan Bahriyat, ancient Isin.
<i>JAC</i>	<i>Journal of Ancient Civilizations.</i>
<i>JAOS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Oriental Society.</i>
<i>JCS</i>	<i>Journal of Cuneiform Studies.</i>
JCS SS	Journal of Cuneiform Studies Supplemental Series.
<i>JESHO</i>	<i>Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient.</i>
<i>JFH</i>	<i>Journal of Family History.</i>

JNES	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies.</i>
JSOT SS	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplemental Series.
LAPO	Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient.
MAD	Materials for the Assyrian Dictionary.
MARI	Mari, Annales de Recherches Interdisciplinaires.
MC	Mesopotamian Civilizations.
MCS	Manchester Cuneiform Studies.
MEA	Labat, Rene. <i>Manuel d'épigraphie akkadienne: signes, syllabaire, idéogrammes</i> , 6 th ed. Paris: Librairie orientalisle P. Geuthner, 1995.
MZL	Borger, Rykle. <i>Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon</i> , 2 nd ed., AOAT 305. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010.
NABU	<i>Nouvelles Assyriologiques Brèves et Utilitaires.</i>
OBO	Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis.
OIP	Oriental Institute Publications.
OLA	Orientalia Lovaniensia analecta.
ORACC	Online Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus
<i>OrAnt</i>	<i>Oriens Antiquus.</i>
<i>OrNS</i>	<i>Orientalia, Nova Series.</i>
PAAH	Publications of the Association of Ancient Historians.
PIHANS	Publications de l'Institut historique-archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul.
PN	Personal name.
RA	<i>Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale.</i>
RHA	<i>Revue Hittite et Asianique.</i>
RGTC	Répertoire géographique des textes cunéiformes.
REMA	Revue des études militaires anciennes.
RIMA	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Assyrian Periods.
RIME	Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia, Early Periods.
RINAP	Royal Inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian Periods
<i>RIA</i>	<i>Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie.</i>
RSO	Rivista degli Studi Orientali.
SAA	State Archives of Assyria.
SAAB	<i>State Archives of Assyria Bulletin.</i>
SANER	Sources of the Ancient Near East.
SAOC	Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilizations.
SARI	Sumerian and Akkadian Royal Inscriptions.
SBLWAW	Society of Biblical Literature Writings from the Ancient World.
SCCNH	Studies on the Civilization and Culture of Nuzi and the Hurrians.
TSO	Texte und Studien zur Orientalistik.
WA	<i>World Archaeology.</i>
WZKM	<i>Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes.</i>
ZA	<i>Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie.</i>

CONVENTIONS

In the body of the text, Sumerian words are indicated by bold-type letters and Akkadian words are in italics. For example, the word for “son” would be portrayed as **dumu** in Sumerian and as *mārum* in Akkadian.

Dates are represented in the format of month/day/royal name + regnal year. The abbreviations for royal names are as follows: UN = Ur-Namma, Š = Šulgi, AS = Amar-Suen, ŠS = Šu-Suen, IS = Ibbi-Suen. Therefore the fifteenth day of the second month of Amar-Suen’s fifth year would be represented as: 2/15/AS05.

Texts are referenced by their CDLI number and their publication data. In some instances the text only has a CDLI number, and in other instances it only has publication data. For example, a letter-order from Ešnunna is referred to as such: P118632 / MVN 15, 367. Thus the P-number is the tablet’s identification in the *Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative* database, while the publication data informs that the tablet is the 367th entry in the 15th volume of the series *Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico*.

ABBREVIATIONS OF TEXT EDITIONS

AAICAB 1/1	Grégoire, J. P. <i>Contribution à l'Histoire Sociale, Économique, Politique et Culturelle du Proche-Orient Ancien: Archives Administratives et Inscriptions Cunéiformes de l'Ashmolean Museum et de la Bodleian Collection d'Oxford, I. Les Sources 1.</i> Paris, 1996.
AAICAB 1/2	Grégoire, J. P. <i>Contribution à l'Histoire Sociale, Économique, Politique et Culturelle du Proche-Orient Ancien: Archives Administratives et Inscriptions Cunéiformes de l'Ashmolean Museum et de la Bodleian Collection d'Oxford, I. Les Sources 2.</i> Paris, 2000.
AAICAB 1/4	Grégoire, J. P. <i>Contribution à l'Histoire Sociale, Économique, Politique et Culturelle du Proche-Orient Ancien: Archives Administratives et Inscriptions Cunéiformes de l'Ashmolean Museum et de la Bodleian Collection d'Oxford, I. Les Sources 4.</i> Paris, 2004.
Aleppo	Touzalin, M. "L'Administration palatiale à l'époque de la troisième dynastie d'Ur: Textes inédits du Musée d'Alep." PhD diss., Université de Tours, 1982.
AUCT 1	Sigrist, M. <i>Neo-Sumerian Account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum</i> , Andrews University Cuneiform Texts 1. Berrien Springs, 1984.
AUCT 2	Sigrist, M. <i>Neo-Sumerian Account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum</i> , Andrews University Cuneiform Texts 2. Berrien Springs, 1988.
AUCT 3	Sigrist, M., C. Gavin, D. Stein and C. Menard. <i>Neo-Sumerian Account Texts in the Horn Archaeological Museum</i> , Andrews University Cuneiform Texts 3. Berrien Springs, 1988.
BCT 1	Watson, P. J. <i>Neo-Sumerian Texts from Drehem: Catalogue of Cuneiform Tablets in Birmingham City Museum I.</i> Warminster, 1986.
Berens	Pinches, Th. G. <i>The Babylonian Tablets of the Berens Collection.</i> London, 1915.

- BIN 3 Keiser, C. E. *Neo-Sumerian Account Texts from Drehem*, Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of B.J. Nies 3. New Haven, 1971.
- BIN 5 Hackman, G. G. *Temple Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur from Umma*, Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of B.J. Nies 5. New Haven, 1937.
- BIN 8 Gottlob, G. *Sumerian and Akkadian Administrative Texts: From Predynastic Times to the End of the Akkad Dynasty*, Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of James B. Nies 8. New Haven, 1958.
- BIN 9 Crawford, V. E. *Sumerian Economic Texts from the First Dynasty of Isin*, Babylonian Inscriptions in the Collection of B.J. Nies 9. New Haven, 1954.
- BPOA 1 Ozaki, T. and M. Sigrist. *Ur III Administrative Tablets from the British Museum: Part One*, Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 1. Madrid, 2006.
- BPOA 2 Ozaki, T. and M. Sigrist. *Ur III Administrative Tablets from the British Museum: Part Two*, Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 2. Madrid, 2006.
- BPOA 6 Sigrist, M. and T. Ozaki. *Neo-Sumerian Administrative Tablets from the Yale Babylonian Collection: Part One*, Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 6. Madrid, 2009.
- BPOA 7 Sigrist, M. and T. Ozaki. *Neo-Sumerian Administrative Tablets from the Yale Babylonian Collection: Part Two*, Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 7. Madrid, 2009.
- CHEU Contenau, G. *Contribution à l'histoire économique d'Umma*. Paris, 1915.
- CST Fish, T. *Catalogue of Sumerian Tablets in the John Rylands Library*. Manchester, 1932.
- CT 1 King, L. W. *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum: Part I*. London, 1896.
- CT 5 King, L. W. *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum: Part V*. London, 1898.

- CT 7 King, L. W. *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum: Part VII*. London, 1899.
- CT 9 King, L. W. *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum, Part IX*. London, 1900.
- CT 16 King, L. W. *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum, Part XVI*. London, 1911.
- CT 32 King, L. W. *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum, Part XXXII*. London, 1912.
- CT 50 Sollberger, E. *Presargonic and Sargonic Economic Texts, Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part L*. London, 1972.
- CT 51 Walker, C. B. F. *Miscellaneous Texts, Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum, Part LI*. London, 1972.
- CTMMA 1 Spar, I. *Tablets, Cones and Bricks of the Third and Second Millennia B.C., Cuneiform Texts in the Metropolitan Museum of Art: 1*. New York, 1988.
- CTNMC Jacobsen, Th. *Cuneiform Texts in the National Museum, Copenhagen*. Leiden, 1939.
- CTPSM 1 Perlov, B. and Y. Saveliev. *Cuneiform Texts in the Collection of the Pushkin State Museum of Fine Arts: I. Administrative Texts from Tello from the Ur III Period*. Moscow, 2014.
- CUSAS 3 D.I. Owen, D. I. and R. Mayr. *The Garšana Archives*, Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 3. Bethesda, 2007.
- CUSAS 16 Garfinkle, S., H. Sauren and M. Van De Mieroop. *Ur III Tablets from the Columbia University Library*, Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 16. Bethesda, 2010.
- CUSAS 17 George, A., ed. *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and related Texts in the Schøyen Collection, Manuscripts in the Schøyen Collection. Cuneiform texts VI*, Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 17. Bethesda, 2011.
- CUSAS 19 Maiocchi, M. *Classical Sargonic Tablets Chiefly from Adab in the Cornell University Collections. Part II*, Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 19. Bethesda, 2012.

- CUSAS 23 Bartash, V. *Miscellaneous Early Dynastic and Sargonic Texts in the Cornell University Collections*, Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 23. Bethesda, 2013.
- CUSAS 27 Milano, L. *The "Šuilisu Archive" and other Sargonic Texts in Akkadian*, Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 27. Bethesda, 2015.
- CUSAS 35 Bartash, V. *Sumerian Administrative and Legal Documents ca. 2900-2200 BC in the Schøyen Collection*. Cornell University Studies in Assyriology and Sumerology 35. Bethesda, 2017.
- DAS Lafont, B. *Documents administratifs sumériens provenant du site de Tello et conservés au Musée du Louvre*. Paris, 1985.
- DoCu Strasbourg Charpin, D. and J.M. Durand. *Documents cunéiformes de Strasbourg conservés à la Bibliothèque Nationale et Universitaire, Études Assyriologiques* 4. Paris, 1981.
- Hirose Gomi, T., Y. Hirose and K. Hirose, *Neo-Sumerian Account Texts of the Hirose Collection*. Potomac, 1990.
- HLC 1 Barton, G. A. *Harverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Texts or Documents from the Temple Archives of Telloh*, vol. 1. Philadelphia, 1905.
- HLC 2 Barton, G. A. *Harverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Texts or Documents from the Temple Archives of Telloh*, vol. 2, Philadelphia, 1909.
- HLC 3 Barton, G. A. *Harverford Library Collection of Cuneiform Texts or Documents from the Temple Archives of Telloh*, vol. 3. Philadelphia, 1914.
- HSS 4 Hussey, M. I. *Sumerian Tablets in the Harvard Semitic Museum (II) from the Time of the Dynasty of Ur*, Harvard Semitic Series 4. Cambridge, 1915.
- HSS 10 Meek, T. J. *Old Akkadian, Sumerian, and Cappadocian Texts from Nuzi. Excavations at Nuzi* 3, Harvard Semitic Series 10. Cambridge, 1935.
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- SNAT Gomi, T. and S. Sato. *Selected Neo-Sumerian Administrative Texts from the British Museum*. Chuo-Gakuin University, 1990.
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- TSDU Limet, H. *Textes Sumeriens de la III Dynastie d'Ur*. Gembloux, 1973.
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Chapter I: Introduction

I.1: Introduction to Ancient Military History and Previous Scholarship

The study of ancient military history has a distinguished pedigree for the classical world and, to a much lesser degree, for Mesopotamia as viewed through the lenses of classical and biblical authors who wrote about the intersections between the classical and biblical realms and the worlds of Assyria, Babylonia and Persia. Western military scholarship, originating in classical Greece, likely found its genesis as utilitarian guides for commanders in the field, subsequently morphed into academic, theoretical and antiquarian discourses in late antiquity, and continued in such a fashion into the early Enlightenment.¹ Nineteenth century military historians were often officers themselves as the discipline progressed into the realm of the university, and had primarily a philological emphasis. This included the identification and elucidation of Greek and Latin martial terminology and the identification and collation of relevant passages in classical texts, and the concomitant focus on the careers of ancient generals, military formations, equipment, strategy and battlefield topography - aspects of military historiography often dubbed the “Old Military History.”² This traditional military historiography and military

¹ Victor Davis Hanson, “The Modern Historiography of Ancient Warfare,” in *The Cambridge History of Greek and Roman Warfare, vol. 1: Greece, the Hellenistic World and the rise of Rome*, edited by Philip Sabin et al., 3-21 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007): 3-5.

² Ibid, 5-8; Garret G. Fagan and Matthew Trundle, “Introduction,” in *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare*, edited by Garret G. Fagan and Matthew Trundle, 1-19 (Leiden: Brill, 2010): 5-6; Jordi Vidal, “Introduction,” in *Studies on War in the Ancient Near East: Collected Essays on Military History*, AOAT 372, edited by Jordi Vidal, 1-3 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010): 1; Davide Nadali and Jordi Vidal, “Introduction,” in *The Other Face of Battle: The Impact of War on Civilians in the Ancient Near East*, AOAT 413, edited by Davide Nadali and Jordi Vidal, 1-6 (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2014): 1; Seth Richardson, “Mesopotamia and the ‘New’ Military History,” in *Recent Directions in the Military History of*

history in general was marginalized in the mid-twentieth century for a number of reasons, some being the war-weariness and anti-militarism following the second World War and the rise of anthropological, sociological, Marxist and geo-historical approaches.³ With the rise of these approaches, the Old Military History, often seen as a vehicle for nationalist propaganda, entertainment and the glorification of war, has sometimes been demonized as a male-focused, elite-oriented, Western-dominated field cherished by antiquarians, war-gamers and enthusiasts, but beneath the attentions of legitimate academic scholarship.⁴

In contradistinction to the Old Military History, the “New Military History” has sought to investigate the interaction of warfare and sectors of civilization such as the economy, culture and society, and has eschewed a top-down approach that emphasized the careers and perspectives of kings and generals. Instead it has embraced a bottom-up approach that aims to examine the experience of the rank-and-file soldier, the role of women in armed conflict, the perspective of the “other,” and the effect of sieges and battles on civilian populations, both directly through massacre and deportation, but also indirectly through the economic consequences of these events.⁵

the Ancient World, PAAH 10, edited by Lee L. Brice and Jennifer T. Roberts, 11-52 (Claremont: Regina Books, 2011): 11-16.

³ Fagan and Trundle, “Introduction,” 6-7; Vidal, “Introduction,” 1-3. He notes that Assyriology, characteristically impermeable to new historiographic trends, has not followed this pattern in the same way as classical studies.

⁴ Lee L. Bruce and Jennifer T. Roberts, “Introduction,” in *Recent Directions in the Military History of the Ancient World*, edited by Lee L. Bruce and Jennifer T. Roberts, 1-10 (Claremont: Regina Books, 2011): 1-4; Hanson, “The Modern Historiography of Ancient Warfare,” 12-13, 15-17; Fagan and Trundle, “Introduction,” 6. This reaction often contains a moralistic undertone, though with modern Western academia, often quite secular and beholden to a worldview of philosophical naturalism, one wonders the absolute basis by which the category of evil is even formulated, let alone the philosophical grounds by which one distinguishes good from evil.

⁵ Nadali and Vidal, “Introduction,” 2-3; Hanson, “The Modern Historiography of Ancient Warfare,” 11-13; Brice and Roberts, “Introduction,” 3-4. Marc van de Mieroop, *Cuneiform Texts and the Writing of History* (New York: Routledge, 1999): 98-105.

However, jettisoning the Old Military History is misguided since the philological, geographical, chronological and topographical data help to provide a framework by which to investigate bigger-picture issues and consanguineal topics that have been traditionally ignored. Neither should the perspective of the kings and officers who conducted campaigns, though traditionally emphasized at the expense of other viewpoints, be ignored. To ignore them would be to ignore opinions held by real historical people simply because they seem distasteful to many modern, Western minds in the academy. Nevertheless, there have been many people, both ancient and modern, whose cultural attitudes saw honor in battle, opportunities for social mobility and the chance to amass wealth from the spoils of war. Thus their experiences often led them to romanticize and glorify war due to the justice and opportunity they found in it.⁶ The mistake is to assume that such attitudes and opinions were shared with the grunts who shouldered the burdens of campaigning and combat or the rest of the society at large. Those perspectives must be studied on their own terms.⁷

Also misguided would be to prefer the traditional approaches of the Old Military History at the expense of the New Military History, for it is a useful corrective in helping to provide a holistic view of ancient warfare that includes attempts to view the ubiquitous

⁶ Oftentimes the prosecution of war against one's enemies was seen as a moral obligation; see Bustenay Oded, *War, Peace and Empire: Justifications for War in Assyrian Royal Inscriptions*. Wiesbaden: Dr. Ludwig Reichert Verlag, 1992. These perspectives were not limited to the upper echelons of the military organization as ancient armies were often viewed as places of opportunity by mercenary groups.

⁷ The subjugation of such historical studies for nationalistic or propagandistic purposes or the imposition of ideologies on the data is not a fault of the subject under study, but is the fault of those conducting the studies who engage in such practices. Thus a recent approach to military history which emphasizes technology as the key to the history of warfare distorts the historical picture due to its adherence to technological determinism - the belief that technology drives all of history; Brice and Roberts, "Introduction," 4-5. Technological determinism is simply one facet of an underlying evolutionary logic and worldview which, though at home in biology, has often been applied, and shown to be found wanting, throughout the humanities.

phenomenon through a variety of perspectives across gender, rank, and socio-economic status. Though some may have profited from war, the idea of glory in battle was far from the minds of defeated soldiers and besieged citizens who experienced intimately the full horror of war.⁸ The study of war's effects on culture, society and economy also assists in preventing a myopic focus on the immediate battles that neglects later ramifications of armed conflict.

The emergence of newer topical interests and methodologies, however, has not led to any particular school dominating ancient military history, and the military history that is currently written is a combination of the traditional and the new.⁹ This is especially the case for Mesopotamia whose field, in comparison to classics, is in its infancy, with work still being done on the numerous languages, such as Sumerian, Hurrian, Elamite, Urartian, etc., which are poorly or imperfectly understood. In the case of Sumerian, much of our knowledge of its lexicon and grammar comes filtered through

⁸ Neo-Assyrian annals are well-known for their descriptions of brutal tactics against their enemies. Aššurbanipal relates the effects of a multi-year siege of Babylon in which the populace is reported to have eaten their leather shoes, pets and even their children. Family members abandoned each other as they withered away, weeping, into corpselike apparitions of their former selves, to die of starvation and pestilence; Jamie Novotny and Joshua Jeffers, *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668–631 BC), Aššur-etel-ilāni (630–627 BC), and Sîn-šarra-iškun (626–612 BC), Kings of Assyria, Part 1*, RINAP 5/1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2018): 159-160 text no. 7 col. viii, lines 7' - 61'. Another example comes from the annals of Aššurnasirpal II who describes the unenviable treatment of an enemy city (A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium I (1114-859 BC)*, RIMA 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991): 201-202: Aššurnasirpal II text no. 1 col. i, line 116b - col. ii, line 1a):

ina išātī qilūti ummānāti balūti mādāte ina qātē ušabbita annūte kappišunu rittišunu ubattiq annūte appišunu uznīšunu rittišunu ubattiq ša ummānāti mādāte īnīšunu unepil išēt isītu ša balūti išēt qaqqadāt aršip ina gupnī ina limēt ālīšunu qaqqadātīšunu ina libbi u'il batūlīšunu batulātēšunu ana maqlūti aqli

"I personally burned alive many troops with fire. I cut off the hands and arms of some; I cut off the noses, ears (and) *extremities* of others. I gouged out the eyes of many troops. I built one pyramid of the living (and) one of (severed) heads. I hung their (severed) heads from tree-trunks around their city. I roasted their adolescent boys (and) girls as burnt offerings."

Also to be considered are conscripts who desired to escape rather than fulfill their military duties and the use coercion into military service; Sasson (*The Military Establishments at Mari* [Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969]: 10) notes that kings in the Old Babylonian period were "not above instilling fear by promenading the head of an executed criminal."

⁹ Hanson, "The Modern Historiography of Ancient Warfare," 18; Brice and Roberts, "Introduction," 6.

the later Akkadian bilingual and lexical corpora,¹⁰ which can introduce distortion via inexact equivalencies and a lack of consideration for diachronic lexical variation. Even with the Akkadian language the most detailed and comprehensive lexicon, *The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, did not begin to appear until 1956, its final volume was published as late as 2010, and over half of the volumes were published after 1980. Therefore much of the “pedantic” work remains to be done, and it is often conducted alongside the newer approaches, as reflected in the topics of conference publications.¹¹

The study of the ancient Mesopotamian military has also concentrated on the armies of the late second and early first millennia.¹² Much of this focus stems from the nature of the documentation, most notably the genres of annals and chronicles, as well as palatial reliefs, which are unattested for earlier periods. Additionally, these sources came from the first cities to be excavated in the nineteenth century, namely Nineveh, Kalḫu, Dur-Šarrukīn and Aššur,¹³ and it was an annal of Tiglath-Pileser I by which it was known that Akkadian had been deciphered.¹⁴ Though a brief survey will be given, this dissertation is not the place for a substantial bibliographical overview of monographs and articles on the Late Bronze Age and Iron Age Mesopotamian militaries which, though not

¹⁰ Marie-Louise Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language: An Introduction to its History and Grammatical Structure*, 3rd ed., Mesopotamia 10 (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 2001): 24-25; Gábor Zólyomi, *An Introduction to the Grammar of Sumerian* (Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2017): 20-21.

¹¹ See, for example, the contents in *Les armées du Proche-Orient ancien (III^e-I^{er} mill. av. J.-C.)*, BAR International Series 1855, edited by Philippe Abrahams and Laura Battini. Oxford: Hadrian Books, 2008 and *Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien*, AOAT 401 (CRRAI 52), edited by Hans Neumann et al. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014.

¹² Including studies by classicists who have expanded classical research interests to include the eastern Mediterranean; an example is Robert Drews, *The End of the Bronze Age: Changes in Warfare and the Catastrophe ca. 1200 B.C.* Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993.

¹³ Roger Matthews, *The Archaeology of Mesopotamia: Theories and Approaches* (New York: Routledge, 2012): 2-12.

¹⁴ Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium I*, 7.

remotely as extensive as the bibliographies of Greco-Roman militaries, is substantial nonetheless.¹⁵

Studies on the armies and military organizations of the third and early second millennia are comparatively much rarer. General overviews such as those of Yadin, Postgate and Hamblin tend to conflate the data of these periods and ignore information from administrative documents.¹⁶ Focused studies for the Old Babylonian Period include Sasson's monograph on the military at Mari, an updated study of the same topic by Abrahami, Durand's overview in his second volume on the Mari letters in the series *Littératures anciennes du Proche-Orient*, and in the Old Babylonian volume of the *Mesopotamien* subset of the series *Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis*.¹⁷ Studies on the armies

¹⁵ Though comprehensive monographs which combine text, image and artifact are comparatively rare. Many investigations of the Mesopotamian military are collateral to primary studies of political history, royal ideology, ancient historiography, etc. Some of the more pertinent studies for the Late Bronze Age are Amir Harrak, *Assyria and Hanigalbat: A Historical Reconstruction of Bilateral Relations from the Middle of the Fourteenth to the End of the Twelfth Centuries B. C.*, TSO 4. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1987 and Timothy Kendall, "Warfare and Military Matters in the Nuzi Tablets," PhD diss., Brandies University, 1975. For the Neo-Assyrian army, see Frederick Mario Fales, *Guerre et paix en Assyrie Religion et impérialisme*. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 2010; Tamás Dezső, *The Assyrian Army I: The Structure of the Neo-Assyrian Army*, 2 vols. Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2012 and *The Assyrian Army II: Recruitment and Logistics*. Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2016 and the bibliographies within. For recent work on the Neo-Babylonian military, see John MacGinnis, "Mobilisation and Militarisation in the Neo-Babylonian Empire," in *Studies on Warfare in the Ancient Near East*, AOAT 372, edited by Jordi Vidal, 153-164. Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2010 and *The Arrows of the Sun: Armed Forces in Sippar in the First Millennium BC*, BA 4. Dresden: Islet-Verlag, 2012. For a general, topical military bibliography, see Philippe Abrahami, "Bibliographie sur les Armées et les militaires au Proche-Orient ancien (I)," REMA 2 (2005): 3-19 and "Bibliographie sur les Armées et les militaires au Proche-Orient ancien (II)," REMA 3 (2009): 1-11. The topic of the military is absent from the third volume of Borger's otherwise useful *Handbuch der Keilschriftliteratur*.

¹⁶ Yigael Yadin, *The Art of Warfare in Biblical Lands: In the light of Archaeological Study*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1963; J. Nicholas Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia: Society and Economy at the Dawn of History*. New York: Routledge, 1992; William J. Hamblin, *Warfare in the Ancient Near East to 1600 BC: Holy Warriors at the Dawn of History*. New York: Routledge, 2006. The general omission of the administrative corpus is understandable, since such studies have not been conducted until recently for some periods or not at all for others, and they are often quite labor-intensive.

¹⁷ Jack M. Sasson, *The Military Establishments at Mari*. Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969; Philippe Abrahami, "L'armée à Mari." PhD diss., Université de Paris, 1997; Jean-Marie Durand, *Documents épistolaires du Palais de Mari*, vol. 2, LAPO 17. Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1998; Dominique Charpin, "Histoire politique du Proche-Orient Amorrite (2002-1595)," in *Mesopotamien: Die altbabylonische Zeit*, OBO 160/4, edited by Pascal Attinger et al., 25-484 (Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004): 278-304 (Guerre et Paix); Marten Stol, "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Altbabylonischer Zeit," in *Mesopotamien: Die altbabylonische Zeit*, OBO 160/4, eds. Pascal Attinger et al. (Göttingen:

of the Early Dynastic and Old Akkadian periods include both general overviews and, more recently, focused studies as well.¹⁸

Thus it is evident that military investigation for the historical phases bracketing the Neo-Sumerian or, more specifically, Ur III period has seen an increase in the past twenty years and to such a degree that monographs have been produced. This has not exactly been the case for the Ur III period. Study of the Ur III military has primarily been tangential to other topics of research and has generally not been pursued as its own topic, other than the overview of the textual evidence for the armies of Ur by Bertrand Lafont.¹⁹ A brief overview of works that have touched on martial aspects of the Third Dynasty of Ur will elucidate the state of research on this subject.

Academic Press Fribourg Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004): 777-817 (Die Armee). Philological work, which overlaps with some military topics, is still being done on the Mari documents. See, for example, Ilya Arkhipov, *Le vocabulaire de la métallurgie et la nomenclature des objets en métal dans les textes de Mari: Matériaux pour le Dictionnaire de Babylonien de Paris*, vol. 3, ARM 32. Leuven: Peeters, 2012. A number of relevant articles and essays have appeared in the subsequent fifteen or so years, much of which falls under the category of “New Military History.”

¹⁸ Josef Bauer, “Die vorsargonische Abschnitt der mesopotamischen Geschichte,” in *Mesopotamien: Späturuk-Zeit und frühdynastische Zeit*, OBO 160/1, ed. Pascal Attinger and Markus Wäfler (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag; Freiburg Schweiz: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998): 523-531; Aage Westenholz, “The Old Akkadian Period: History and Culture,” in *Mesopotamien: Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit*, OBO 160/3, eds. Pascal Attinger and Markus Wäfler. Göttingen: Universitätsverlag; Freiburg Schweiz: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999; Benjamin Foster, *The Age of Agade: Inventing Empire in Ancient Mesopotamia* (New York: Routledge, 2016): 163-177; Philippe Abrahams, “L’armée d’Akkad,” in *Les armées du Proche-Orient ancien (III^e-I^{er} mill. av. J.-C.)*, BAR International Series 1855, eds. Philippe Abrahams and Laura Battini (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges Ltd, 2008): 1-17; Juris Zarins, “The Sharkalisharri Army of Umma: Linguistic, Historical and Archaeological Considerations,” in *Aux marges de l’archéologie: hommage à Serge Cleuziou*, eds. Jessica Giraud and Guillaume Gernez (Paris: DeBoccard, 2012): 187-213; Ingo Schrakamp, “Krieger und Waffen im frühen Mesopotamien,” PhD diss., Philipps-Universität Marburg, 2010; Ingo Schrakamp, “Krieger und Bauern: RU-lugal und aga₃/aga-us₂ im Militär des altsumerischen Lagaš,” in *Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien*, AOAT 401 (CRRAI 52), eds. Hans Neumann et al. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014): 691-724.

¹⁹ Bertrand Lafont, “L’armée des rois d’Ur: ce qu’en disent les textes,” in *Les armées du Proche-Orient ancien (III^e-I^{er} mill. av. J.-C.)*, BAR International Series 1855, eds. Philippe Abrahams and Laura Battini (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges Ltd, 2008): 23-44 and reworked in English as “The Armies of the Kings of Ur: The Textual Evidence,” *CDLJ* (2009:5): 1-25. An addition to this work utilizing data from newer archives is found in Lafont, “The Garšana Soldiers,” in *Garšana Studies*, CUSAS 6, ed. David I. Owen (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2011): 213-220 and Lafont, “Données nouvelles sur l’organisation militaire des rois d’Ur d’après les archives de Garšana et d’Irisagrig,” in *Kakkēka rukusma («Ceins tes armes!»)*: 2^e Rencontre d’Histoire militaire du Proche-Orient ancien (Lyon, 17-18 octobre 2013) HIMA 3, eds. Philippe Abrahams and Catherine Wolff (Paris: Klincksieck, 2016): 55-68.

Some of the main earlier works on aspects of the Ur III military are Goetze's prosopographical study of a number of generals of the kingdom and Hallo's organization of the campaigns of Šulgi into Hurrian wars.²⁰ Michalowski's work on the literary letters pertaining to Ur III kings, especially his latest monograph, have sought to place the origin of (at least some of) these documents in their historical contexts and, due to the content of these letters, have touched on aspects of the military history of the Ur III state.²¹ These works discuss the fortifications mentioned in the year-names of Šulgi and Šu-Suen, the issue of hostile Amorites, the fall of the Ur III state and short prosopographical studies of generals named in some of the letters. The other major contributor has been Piotr Steinkeller whose seminal article on the organization of the Ur III state demonstrated the organization of the garrison system that was established in the periphery of the kingdom and administered by the military as a sub-branch of the royal sector.²² Steinkeller has also done considerable work on the issue of the geopolitical entity known as Šimaški to elucidate the orthography of its name, its geographic extent and the political history of this kingdom which saw to the end of the Third Dynasty of Ur.²³

²⁰ Albrecht Goetze, "The Šakkanakkus of the Ur III Empire," *JCS* 17 (1963): 1-31. William W. Hallo, "Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier," *RHA* 36 (1978): 71- 83.

²¹ Piotr Michalowski, "The Royal Correspondence of Ur," PhD diss., Yale University, 1976; "Königsbriefe," *RIA* 5 (1981): 51-59; *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur: An Epistolary History of an Ancient Mesopotamian Kingdom*, MesCiv 15. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011.

²² Piotr Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State: The Core and the Periphery," in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, SAOC 46, edited by McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1987): 19-42. Steinkeller notes in the article previous work and interpretations of peripheral tax documents; for one of the more informative studies on the topic, which discusses some of the terminology used in these texts, see Piotr Michalowski, "Foreign Tribute to Sumer in Ur III Times," *ZA* 68 (1978): 34-49. The other major work on the garrison system which sought to partially modify Steinkeller's position is Tohru Maeda, "The Defense Zone during the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty," *ASJ* 14 (1992): 135-172.

²³ The main publications are Piotr Steinkeller, "On the Identity of the Toponym LU₂.SU(.A)," *JAOS* 108 (1988): 197-202; "New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers," *ZA* 97 (2007): 215-232; "On the Dynasty of Šimaški: Twenty Years (or so) After," in *Extraction and Control: Studies in Honor of Matthew W. Stolper*, SAOC 68, edited by Michael Kozuh et al., 287-296. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2014.

A substantial amount of the work touching on Ur III warfare has involved studies in historical geography on toponyms mentioned in the year-names and royal inscriptions. Much of this has been undertaken by Frayne, with some contributions from others.²⁴ There are a few studies that have been produced touching on the spoils of war coming from these regions²⁵ and both Michalowski and Notizia have provided brief studies on foreign groups from the vicinity of Khuzistan and their interactions with Babylonia.²⁶ Otherwise, there is little else that deals with the Ur III military to a substantial degree.

²⁴ Douglas R. Frayne, "On the Location of Simurru," in *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour on his 80th Birthday*, eds. Gordon D. Young et al. (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1997): 243-269; Frayne, "The Zagros Campaigns of Shulgi and Amar-Suena," in *Nuzi at Seventy-Five*, SCCNH 10, eds. David I. Owen and Gernot Wilhelm (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1999): 141-202; Frayne, *Ur III Period (2112-2004 BC)*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997; Frayne, "The Zagros Campaigns of the Ur III Kings," *CSMSJ* 3 (2008): 33-56; Daniel Potts, "Adamšah, Kimaš and the Miners of Lagaš," in *Your Praise is Sweet: Memorial Volume for Jeremy Black from Students, Colleagues and Friends*, eds. Heather D. Baker et al. (London: British Institute for the Study of Iraq, 2010): 245-254; Piotr Steinkeller, "The Early History of the Hamrin Basin in the Light of Textual Evidence," in *Uch Tepe I: Tell Razuk, Tell Ahmed al-Mughir, Tell Ajam*, ed. McGuire Gibson (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1981): 163-168; Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa: A Pivotal Episode of Early Elamite History Reconsidered," in *Susa and Elam: Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives*, eds. Katrien De Graef and Jan Tavernier (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 293-318; Steve Renette, "The Historical Geography of Western Iran: An Archaeological Perspective on the Location of Kimaš," in *Susa and Elam II. Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives*, eds. Katrien De Graef et al. (Leiden: Brill): in press; Walter Sallaberger, "From Urban Culture to Nomadism: A History of Upper Mesopotamia in the Late Third Millennium," in *Sociétés humaines et changement climatique à la fin de troisième millénaire: une crise a-t-elle eu lieu en haute Mésopotamie?* eds. Catherine Kuzucuoğlu and Catherine Marro (Istanbul: Institut français d'études anatolienne Georges-Dumézil, 2007): 417-456 (especially pp. 433-449); David I. Owen, "Ur III Geographical and Prosopographical Notes," in *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour*, eds. Gordon D. Young et al. (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1997): 367-398; Horst Steible, *Die Neusumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften: Kommentar zu den Gudea-Statuen, Inschriften der III. Dynastie von Ur, Inschriften der IV. und "V." Dynastie von Uruk, Varia*, FAOS 9/2. Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1991; Behzad Mofidi Nasrabadi, "Eine Steininschrift des Amar-Suena aus Tappeh Bormi (Iran)," *ZA* 95 (2005): 161-171.

²⁵ Stephen J. Lieberman, "An Ur III Text from Drehem Recording 'Booty from the Land of Mardu'," *JCS* 22 (1968): 53-62; Laurent Hebenstreit, "The Sumerian Spoils of War during Ur III," in *Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien*, AOAT 401 (CRRAI 52), eds. Hans Neumann et al. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014): 373-380; Steven J. Garfinkle, "The Economy of Warfare in Southern Iraq at the End of the Third Millennium BC," in *Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien*, AOAT 401 (CRRAI 52), ed. Hans Neumann et al. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014): 353-362.

²⁶ Piotr Michalowski, "Observations on 'Elamites' and 'Elam' in Ur III Times," in *On the Third Dynasty of Ur: Studies in Honor of Marcel Sigrist*, JCS SS1, ed. Piotr Michalowski (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2008): 109-124; Palermo Notizia, "Hulibar, Duḫduḫ(u)NI e la frontiera orientale," in *ana turri gimilli: studi dedicati al Padre Werner R. Mayer, S.J. da amici e allievi*, eds. M. Biga and M. Liverani (Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma, 2010): 269-292.

Though some aspects of the military have been touched on in the context of the messenger text genre, no study has focused on the military titles and the relation of this text genre to military affairs.²⁷ There has been no comprehensive or systematic study of the arms and equipment of this period either.²⁸

This overview has shown that while aspects of the military history of the Ur III period have been treated in articles, essays and as tangential elements of other studies, a monographic treatment focusing solely on this subject is lacking. A major reason for this is due to the nature of our source material for this period, which makes direct study of the armies of Ur a difficult endeavor.

²⁷ The primary monographs are Robert Clayton McNeil, “The ‘Messenger Texts’ of the Third Dynasty,” PhD. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1971 for the Umma corpus and Palermo Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, Nisaba 22. Messina: Dipartimento di Scienze dell’Antichità dell’Università degli Studi di Messina, 2009 for the Girsu messenger texts. For an overview of the genre, see Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 295-315. An overview of the Iri-Saġrig messenger texts is found in David I. Owen, *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saġrig/Āl-Šarrākī and the History of the Ur III Period*, Nisaba 15. Bethesda: CDL Press, 2013 and a study of the commodity distribution in those texts is Hagan Brunke, “Rations in the Āl-Šarrākī Messenger Texts,” in *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saġrig/Āl-Šarrākī and the History of the Ur III Period*, Nisaba 15, ed. David I. Owen (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2013): 207-334.

²⁸ Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 15. Studies on the terminology of weapons and equipment have appeared for Presargonic/Sargonic and Old Babylonian periods: Schrakamp, “Krieger und Waffen im frühen Mesopotamien” and Ilya Arkhipov, *Le vocabulaire de la métallurgie et la nomenclature des objets en métal dans les textes de Mari*. These treatments would greatly benefit the study of the accoutrements of war in the Ur III period.

I.2: Sources for the Study of the Ur III Military

The paradox of a highly militaristic dynasty, the largest cuneiform corpus attributable to a single period and the scarcity of data pertaining to military affairs has been well noted.²⁹ Researchers of ancient warfare in other periods have access to a wider variety of data to utilize in their investigations, with Greco-Roman scholars enjoying the widest array and most pertinent textual genres for ancient military reconstruction.

Greek warfare has been embedded within or been the topic of numerous writings by both Greek and later Roman authors. Genres include archaic poetry, philosophical treatises, historical-political treatises, military manuals and inscriptions by well-known authors such as Homer, Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon.³⁰

The Roman military historian is spoiled with the richness and coverage of data on the Roman army. As far as the textual record is concerned, emphasis has relied on the literary sources to provide the historical framework of campaigns, though along with military minutiae in many cases, which came from narrative historians, some of whom had personal experience with the Roman army, as well as military manuals by military officers. This forms a substantial corpus of information on the Roman army from just a single textual genre.³¹ Supplementing the literary sources are law collections, diplomas

²⁹ Lafont, "The Armies of the Kings of Ur," 1.

³⁰ P. C. Millet, "Writers on War, Part I, Greece: Winning Ways in Warfare," in *The Oxford Handbook of Warfare in the Classical World*, eds. Brian Campbell and Lawrence A. Tritle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013): 46-73. Military topics, allusions and themes of discussion permeate the pre-Socratic philosophers, Plato, Aristotle, and in dramas and comedies of playwrights such as Aeschylus and Euripides.

³¹ This corpus includes: Polybius, *Histories*; Caesar, *Gallic War*; *Civil War*; *Alexandrian*, *African and Spanish Wars*; Josephus, *History of the Jewish War*; Frontinus, *Stratagems*; Arrian, *Order of Battle Against the Alans*, *Essay on Tactics*; Livy, *History of Rome*; Tacitus, *Annals of Imperial Rome*, *Histories*, *Agricola*, *Germania*; Appian, *The Civil Wars*; Dio Cassius, *Roman History*; Vegetius, *Epitoma Rei Militaris* and the Emperor Maurice, *Strategikon*; Pat Southern, *The Roman Army: A Social and Institutional History* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006): 18-31.

(service-fulfillment certificates), epigraphic records (inscriptions on tombstones, buildings, religious dedications and honorary monuments) and administrative documents.³² The substantial administrative corpus that records aspects of the quotidian concerns of legionary and auxiliary troops has survived on papyrus, wooden writing tablets and lapidary inscriptions.³³

The arms and armament of the Roman war machine are well attested archaeologically, with examples of weaponry, armor and clothing coming from across the Roman Empire, from Dura-Europos in the east to Straubing in the west. The combination of archaeological data with textual sources in the form of soldiers' letters to relatives requesting clothing and equipment, and pictorial data from sculpture and relief, has led to enough material that specialist journals, books and congresses have arisen purely devoted to this subject.³⁴ Roman forts, walls and military installations have been uncovered from Britain to the Near East and provide information on the Roman military presence in particular regions and their historical development.³⁵

Even in the Near East, though it does not boast the range and extent of sources on military history of the classical world, there are periods in which the military is vastly better documented than in the third millennium, the prime example being the Neo-Assyrian period. Inscriptions and, especially, the annals of the kings of Assyria provide substantial information on their campaigns.³⁶ Much of what is written in these texts is

Many of these works provide invaluable ethnographic information (via Roman perspective) on the various peoples and cultures encountered by the Roman Army.

³² Southern, *The Roman Army*, 8-10, 17-18, 31-32.

³³ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

³⁴ Southern, *The Roman Army*, 5-6.

³⁵ *Ibid.* The site of Masada comes to mind, which was surrounded by numerous Roman forts, a siege wall and siege ramp, all of which are visible today.

³⁶ A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC I (1114-859 BC)*, RIMA 2. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991; Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858-745*

supplemented by chronicles, palatial reliefs and sculpture.³⁷ Further details on the Assyrian army and the administration of Assyrian territories can be gleaned from letters and administrative documents,³⁸ and some information is available from texts in the omen and magical genres. Additionally, Neo-Assyrian sites are archaeologically attested not only in Assyria proper, but in its provincial territories as well, and more Assyrian (era) weaponry has survived than from any other period of Mesopotamian history.

Conversely, the fragmentary nature of our textual corpuses and the vastly incomplete picture that we derive from these relatively meager sources for the late fourth and the entire third millennia, let alone the late third millennium, can probably not be

BC), RIMA 3. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996; Hayim Tadmor, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC)*, RINAP 1. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011; A. Kirk Grayson and Jamie R. Novotny, *The Royal Inscriptions of Sennacherib, King of Assyria (704-681 BC)*, 2 vols., RINAP 3. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2012, 2014; Erle Leichty, *The Royal Inscriptions of Esarhaddon, King of Assyria (680-669 BC)*, RINAP 4. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011; and the forthcoming volumes on Sargon and Aššurbanipal.

³⁷ A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian and Babylonian Chronicles*, TCS 5. Locust Valley: J. J. Augustin, 1975; Jean-Jacques Glassner, *Mesopotamian Chronicles*, SBLWAW 19. Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2004. For the palatial reliefs, see E. A. W. Budge, *Assyrian Sculptures in the British Museum: Reign of Ashurnasir-pal, 885-860 B.C.* London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1914; H. R. Hall, *Babylonian and Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*. Paris: Les Éditions G. van Oest, 1928; L. W. King, *Bronze Reliefs from the Gates of Shalmaneser, King of Assyria B.C. 860-825*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1915; Richard D. Barnett, *The Sculptures of Aššur-nasir-apli (883-859 B.C.), Tiglath-Pileser III (745-727 B.C.) and Esarhaddon (681-669 B.C.) from the Central and South-west Palaces at Nimrud*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 1962; Barnett, *Assyrian Sculpture in the British Museum*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975; Barnett, *Sculptures from the North Palace of Ashurbanipal at Nineveh (668-627 B.C.)*. London: British Museum Publications, 1976; Pauline Albenda, *The Palace of Sargon, King of Assyria: Monumental Wall Reliefs at Dur-Sharrukin, from Original Drawings made at the Time of their Discovery in 1843-1844 by Botta and Flandin*. Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986; Barnett, *Sculptures from the Southwest Palace of Sennacherib at Nineveh*. London: British Museum Press, 1998; Barnett et al., *The Balawat Gates of Ashurnasirpal II*. London: Trustees of the British Museum, 2008.

³⁸ Florence Malbran-Labat, *L'armée et l'organisation militaire de l'Assyrie: d'après les lettres des Sargonides trouvées à Ninive*, HEO 19. Geneva: Droz, 1982; Simo Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I: Letters from Assyria and the West*, SAA 1. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1987; Giovanni B. Lanfranchi and Simo Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part II: Letters from the Northern and Northeastern Provinces*, SAA 5. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1990; Andreas Fuchs and Simo Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part III: Letters from Babylonia and the Eastern Provinces*, SAA 15. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2001; Frederick M. Fales and J. Nicholas Postgate, *Imperial Administrative Records, Part II: Provincial and Military Administration*, SAA 11. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1995; Mikko Luukko and Greta van Buylaere, *The Political Correspondence of Esarhaddon*, SAA 16. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 2002.

stressed enough. The nearly six thousand proto-cuneiform texts of the Uruk IV and Uruk III / Jemdet Nasr periods have not yet been (and perhaps cannot be) fully deciphered, so their use in historical reconstruction is quite limited.³⁹ Additionally, the picture of Mesopotamia provided by these texts comes predominantly from Uruk and from tertiary contexts.⁴⁰ The next body of texts is the archaic texts from Ur, dating to the Early Dynastic I-II period (ca. 2900-2600 BCE), consisting of nearly four hundred administrative documents found in the trash heap of the Seal Impression Strata 5-4.⁴¹ Our next significant group of texts comes from the Early Dynastic IIa period (ca. 2600 BCE) from the site of Fara (Shuruppak) and consist of about 800 texts, the vast majority of them administrative, and most of which may derive from a single year.⁴² Added to this is a collection of over five hundred tablets from Tell Abu Şalabiḥ composed of literary, lexical and administrative texts.⁴³ Following those corpora is the administrative archive from Girsu dating to the Early Dynastic IIIb period numbering approximately two thousand documents and covering one estate (**e2-munus**) for a period of about twenty years.⁴⁴ The Early Dynastic III period is where we encounter text genres outside of the administrative and lexical ones, such as royal inscriptions.⁴⁵ Though the Early Dynastic

³⁹ These tablets consist of almost solely administrative documents and lexical lists, and the script was not intended to represent a language but was used as a mnemonic device; Robert K. Englund, "Texts from the Late Uruk Period," in *Mesopotamien: Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit*, OBO 16-/1, eds. Pascal Attinger and Markus Wäfler (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1998): 65-66.

⁴⁰ Jon Taylor, "Administrators and Scholars: The First Scribes, in *The Sumerian World*, ed. Harriet Crawford (New York: Routledge, 2013): 290.

⁴¹ Manuel Molina, "Ur. A. I. Philologisch. Im 3. Jahrtausend," *RIA* 14 (2015): 357. These are also administrative and lexical tablets.

⁴² Taylor, "Administrators and Scholars," 290.

⁴³ Robert D. Biggs, *Inscriptions from Tell Abu Şalabikh*, OIP 99. Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1974.

⁴⁴ Taylor, "Administrators and Scholars," 290.

⁴⁵ The only earlier inscriptions are the two of Enmebaragesi which date to the preceding Early Dynastic II period; Douglas R. Frayne, *Presargonic Period (2700-2350 BC)*, RIME 1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008): 5.

IIIb period has produced hundreds of royal inscriptions from almost a score of sites, the vast majority of them come from Girsu.⁴⁶ In northern Mesopotamia, we have a few hundred texts and fragments from Tell Beydar in the Habur triangle that date to Early Dynastic IIIb on paleographic grounds,⁴⁷ and approximately three thousand to thirty-five hundred texts from Ebla covering a timespan of roughly forty years.⁴⁸ As we proceed into the Old Akkadian period, our textual corpus expands both in number and range of proveniences, but is still quite limited. Over seven thousand administrative documents survive with the majority of them stemming from two sites, Adab and Girsu, and dating to the reigns of Naram-Suen and Šarkališarri.⁴⁹ A few hundred royal inscriptions survive, many as Old Babylonian copies, but hardly any lexical or literary texts have come to light, and only a few letters.⁵⁰ This overview is not intended to be a comprehensive and exhaustive survey of fourth and third millennium textual sources, but should suffice to demonstrate that our data is quite limited in scope in multiple ways. They are geographically limited; though tablets may stem from multiple places, the majority of them in any period usually come from only a handful of sites. They are temporally limited in the sense that tablet archives tend to span only a few decades or less. Lastly, they are generically limited, for administrative texts predominate in all periods, with

⁴⁶ Horst Steible and Hermann Behrens, *Die altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 2 vols., FAOS 5. Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1982; Jerrold S. Cooper, *Presargonic Inscriptions*, SARI I. New Haven: The American Oriental Society, 1986; Frayne, *Presargonic Period*.

⁴⁷ Virtually all tablets belong to the administrative genre; see Ismail Farouk et al., *Administrative Documents from Tell Beydar (Seasons 1993-1995)*, Subartu 2. Turnhout: Brepols, 1996 and Lucio Milano et al., *Third Millennium Cuneiform Texts from Tell Beydar (Seasons 1996-2002)*, Subartu 12. Turnhout: Brepols, 2004.

⁴⁸ Alfonso Archi, *Ebla and its Archives: Texts, History and Society*, SANER 7 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2015): 84.

⁴⁹ Which amounts to 60 years; Giuseppe Visicato, *The Power and the Writing: The Early Scribes of Mesopotamia* (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2000): 99-231; Rebecca Hasselbach, *Sargonic Akkadian: A Historical and Comparative Study of the Syllabic Texts* (Wiesbaden: Harrasowitz Verlag, 2005): 9-19; Benjamin Foster, *The Age of Agade: Inventing Empire in Ancient Mesopotamia* (New York: Routledge, 2016): 50-79.

⁵⁰ Hasselbach, *Sargonic Akkadian*, 11-17.

royal inscriptions and letters absent or relatively limited in number until the Early Dynastic II-III periods.

In contrast, when we get to the Ur III period we have a relative embarrassment of riches regarding textual sources, though this wealth of data comes, as will be shown below, with several caveats. In addition to an indeterminate number of tablets in the Iraq Museum, there are at least 120,000 administrative documents stemming from this period with over 96,000 of them catalogued in the Database for Neo-Sumerian Texts (BDTNS),⁵¹ an online corpus under the direction of Manuel Molina of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid. The majority of these tablets and fragments come from illegal excavations at the close of the 19th century and into the first half of the 20th century, and have been scattered among numerous collections across the globe.⁵² This vast assortment of tablets, the largest collection of texts from a single period in the entire cuneiform corpus,⁵³ would appear to provide a comprehensive view of the history and society of this period. However, virtually the entire corpus comes from only seven sites:⁵⁴

⁵¹ The breakdown of the 97,264 administrative documents on BDTNS, as of September 2017, is as follows:

In handcopy and/or transliteration:	63,583	65.4%
Catalogue entry or photo only:	22,605	23.2%
Auctioned:	802	1%
Unpublished:	10,274	10.6%

The term “administrative document” is an umbrella rubric under which fall a number of textual categories, such as legal documents and letters, alongside strictly administrative tablets. These include: receipts, accounts (balanced or not), inspection texts, work orders, deliveries, loans, verdicts (**di-ti-la**), property sales, inheritance, marriage contracts, letter-orders, and tablet-basket labels (**bisaĝ-dub-ba**), just to name a few; see Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 212-227.

⁵² Ur III texts are found in over 758 collections in 40 different countries and texts with the same proveniences are often scattered - texts from Umma belong to nearly 500 different collections; Molina, “Archives and Bookkeeping in Southern Mesopotamia during the Ur III Period”, 2.

⁵³ The entire cuneiform corpus, ranging from proto-cuneiform texts from the southern Sumerian city of Uruk to Hittite texts from the Anatolian peninsula and Neo-Assyrian texts from Aššurbanipal’s library at Nineveh, contains well over 300,000 texts; thus the Ur III corpus comprises around a third of all extant cuneiform texts. To get a sense of the cuneiform corpus, see oracc.museum.upenn.edu/cdli/corpus.

⁵⁴ For the most updated tally, see <http://bdtms.filol.csic.es/index.php?p=about&anc=staff#staff>, last updated September 2017.

Site	Number	Percentage
Umma (Tell Jokha):	30,241	35.6%
Girsu (Tello):	27,294	32.2%
Puzriš-Dagan (Drehem):	15,767	18.6%
Ur (Tell Muqayyer):	4,291	5.1%
Nippur (Tell Nuffar):	3,695	4.4%
Garšana (uncertain):	1,548	1.8%
Iri-Saġrig (uncertain):	1,177	1.4%
Other:	863	1%

Out of the aforementioned total of texts (96,000) published and/or catalogued on BDTNS, these seven sites make up 86% of that total. Out of those seven sites, 87% come from only three sites (Umma, Girsu and Puzriš-Dagan); therefore these three provenances comprise 75% of the Ur III corpus.⁵⁵ Thus it needs to be kept in mind that the large majority of our data comes from only three sites, resulting in substantial geographical biases, and it cannot be assumed that what was standard for one province was standard for another.⁵⁶ The above tally shows that the extant documentation is biased towards provinces located in the south. The kingdom of Ur is thought to have been divided into almost twenty provinces whose capital cities were the loci of the traditional city-states of the realms of Sumer in southern Babylonia and Akkad in northern Babylonia.⁵⁷

⁵⁵ After Iri-Saġrig, the next largest corpus, from E-Šu-Suen (Aradġu archive), contains only 215 tablets. Ešnunna (Tell Asmar) follows with 156 texts. The remaining 18 sites from which Ur III texts stem have corpora of 80 tablets or less, with a majority of them having less than 10; *ibid.*, 8.

⁵⁶ An example of this can be seen in the **bala**-obligations of various provinces, in which Girsu paid its duties 2-4 times per year while northern sites such as Babylon and Kiš either split the monthly obligation between them or did not owe their duties every year; Tonia Sharlach, “To Everything There is a Season, Turn, Turn, Turn,” in *The Growth of an Early State in Mesopotamia: Studies in Ur III Administration*, BPOA 5, eds. Steven J. Garfinkle and J. Cale Johnson (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008): 86-88 and see especially note 27 for bibliography on regional variation among provinces regarding governance, calendar, religion, scribal practice and land tenure.

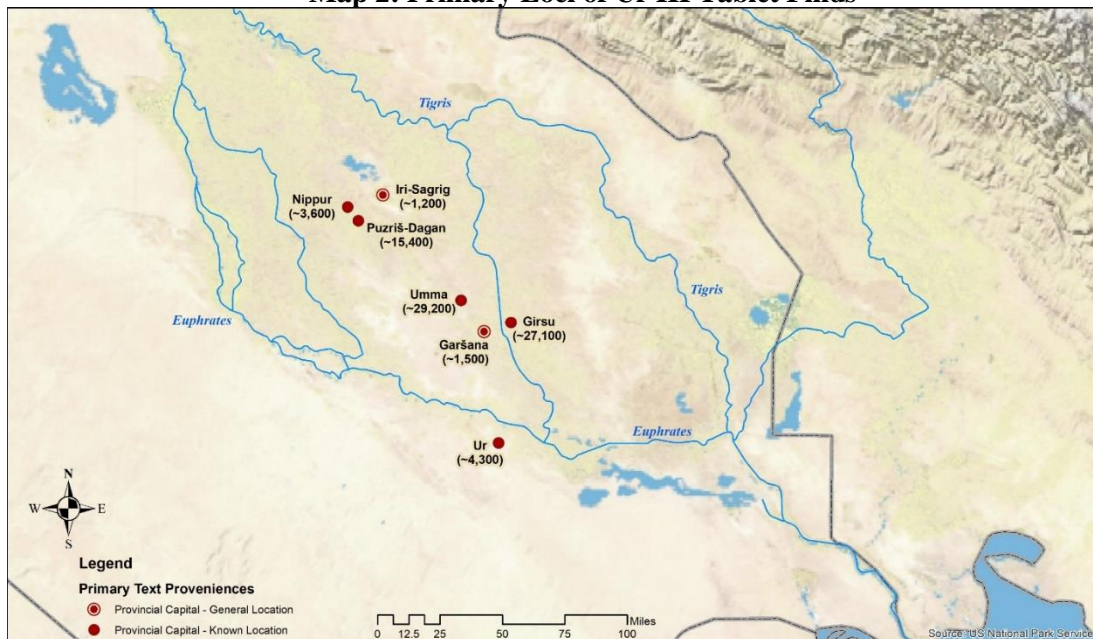
⁵⁷ Tonia Sharlach, *Provincial Taxation and the Ur III State*, CM 26 (Leiden: Styx, 2004): 6-8.

Map 1: Provincial Capitals of the Ur III Kingdom



Yet when we look at the geographic distribution of nearly all of our Ur III administrative corpus, only southern Babylonia is represented:

Map 2: Primary Loci of Ur III Tablet Finds



Thus the land of Akkad which, prior to the Ur III period, had distinct governmental, economic and societal differences from Sumer, is generally unrepresented.⁵⁸ This is important in light of the notion that the kings of Ur by and large did not try to replace traditional socio-economic structures with an intrusive and standardized bureaucracy, but rather co-opted local networks of power and authority.⁵⁹ Therefore the character of nearly half of the kingdom of Ur is virtually unknown.⁶⁰

The character of the “archives” stemming from each site also affects our data set and the fact that most of these texts have come to light as a result of looting or from official excavations in an early age of Mesopotamian archaeology, when excavation was more akin to treasure hunting, means that the detailed and accurate compilation of ancient text groupings remains difficult and oftentimes uncertain.⁶¹ The tablets from Drehem, ancient Puzriš-Dagan, and Umma derive from the antiquities market via looting which occurred in the early twentieth century.⁶² Umma, modern Tell Jokha, has only experienced legitimate excavation from 1999 to 2000; prior to this all material has come

⁵⁸ Piotr Steinkeller, “Early Political Development in Mesopotamia and the Origins of the Sargonic Period,” in *Akkad: The First World Empire: Structure, Ideology, Traditions*, HANES V, ed. Mario Liverani (Padova: Tipografia Poligrafica Moderna, 1993): 116-127.

⁵⁹ Steven J. Garfinkle, “Was the Ur III State Bureaucratic? Patrimonialism and Bureaucracy in the Ur III Period,” in *The Growth of an Early State in Mesopotamia: Studies in Ur III Administration*, BPOA 5, edited by Steven J. Garfinkle and J. Cale Johnson, 55-61. Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008.

⁶⁰ They are mainly attested when they intersect with the provincial administrations of Girsu and Umma, or the royal administration at Puzriš-Dagan.

⁶¹ The term “archive” is often used in Ur III studies to refer to texts which seem to stem from a particular institution or, even more generally, from a particular text provenience and therefore does not necessarily signify that the associated documents were housed in the same location in antiquity or divided into multiple sub-archives; Molina, “Archives and Bookkeeping in Southern Mesopotamia,” 7-8. For an introduction to the archaeological history of Mesopotamia, see Roger Matthews, *The Archaeology of Mesopotamia: Theories and Approaches*. London: Routledge, 2003. For an overview of the acquisition, publication and study of Ur III texts, see Tom B. Jones, “Sumerian Administrative Documents: An Essay”, in *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen on His Seventieth Birthday June 7, 1974*, AS 20, ed. Stephen J. Lieberman (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1975): 41-62.

⁶² Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 202 and 238; Richard Zettler, “Archaeology and the Problem of Textual Evidence for the Third Dynasty of Ur,” *BCSMS* 38 (2003): 59-61.

from looting, primarily that which occurred at the beginning of the 20th century.⁶³ The recent excavations partially uncovered the temple of Šara which was heavily damaged by the earlier looters, and only 19 Ur III texts were found *in situ*.⁶⁴ The tablets from Garšana and Iri-Saĝrig are also unprovenanced, stemming from illicit excavations; neither site has been identified with a modern tell.⁶⁵ Though Girsu was formally excavated by the French in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the vast corpus of tablets dating to the Ur III period still lack detailed archaeological contexts. All that can be said is that the tablets were found on clay benches and shelves in two contiguous rooms of a mud-brick building of substantial size from which were later excavated four door sockets inscribed by Arad-Nanna, the **sukkal-mah** who built, for Šu-Suen, “his Girsu temple” (**e2 ĝir2-su^{ki}-ka-ni**); the archaeological strata of the tablets and the door sockets have not been matched with certainty.⁶⁶ The city of Ur has been subjected to archaeological exploration since the mid nineteenth century, though the most concentrated period of exploration was the twelve-year excavation under the leadership of Leonard Woolley in

⁶³ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 202 and 315; Zettler, “Archaeology and the Problem of Textual Evidence for the Third Dynasty of Ur,” 60-61.

⁶⁴ Jason Ur, “Umma. B. Archäologisch”, *RIA* 14 (2015): 327-330.

⁶⁵ For Garšana, see David I. Owen and Rudolf H. Mayr, *The Garšana Archives*, CUSAS 3 (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2007): 1-9; Wolfgang Heimpel, *Workers and Construction Work at Garšana*, CUSAS 5 (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2009): 7-9; Piotr Steinkeller, “On the Location of the Town Garšana and Related Matters,” in *Garšana Studies*, CUSAS 6, edited by David I. Owen, 373-390. Bethesda: CDL Press, 2011; Manuel Molina and Piotr Steinkeller, “New Data on GARšana and the Border Zone between Umma and Girsu/Lagaš,” in *The First Ninety Years: A Sumerian Celebration in Honor of Miguel Civil*, SANER 12, eds. Lluís Feliu et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017): 231-249. For Iri-Saĝrig, see David I. Owen, “URU-Saĝrig,” 498; Owen, *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saĝrig/Al-Šarrākī*, 28-31; Douglas R. Frayne, “The Location of Al-Šarrākī and the Precinct of Keš,” in *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saĝrig/Al-Šarrākī and the History of the Ur III Period*, Nisaba 15/1, ed. David I. Owen, Nisaba 15/1 (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2013): 183-194.

⁶⁶ Studevent-Hickman, *The Organization of Manual Labor in Ur III Babylonia*, 102-104. For the door socket inscriptions, see Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 323-324: E3/2.1.4.13. The earlier, suboptimal excavation methods and data recording, and the intermittent looting at Tello have contributed to the eradication of useable archaeological contexts for the Girsu tablets. Additionally, see Zettler, “Archaeology and the Problem of Textual Evidence for the Third Dynasty of Ur,” 55-56.

the 1920s and 1930s.⁶⁷ The fact that the tablets uncovered there were found in the context of controlled excavations is largely irrelevant since they mostly stem from ancient refuse dumps and as filling under floors.⁶⁸ Out of all of the main Ur III tablet proveniences, Nippur has been the most extensively excavated. However, like Ur, many of the excavated tablets were found in secondary depositions, with a large number of them used as fill for a foundation platform overlaid upon the Ur III Inana temple during the Parthian period.⁶⁹ Another large group of tablets probably come from Mound X and are characterized as being texts belonging to the “private sector.” Though many of these tablets stemmed from private houses, the fact that their findspots were not recorded has removed them from their archaeological context.⁷⁰

Yet the main “archives” can be characterized, on the basis of the primary text types and contents, in a general manner and further sub-archives can also be determined. The largest text provenience, Umma, consists of multiple archives related to the provincial governor’s administration, seemingly organized into different bureaus.⁷¹ This

⁶⁷ Richard L. Zettler and William B. Hafford, “Ur. B. Archäologisch,” *RIA* 14 (2015): 368-370.

⁶⁸ Magnus Widell, *The Administrative and Economic Ur III Texts from the City of Ur* (Piscataway: Gorgias Press, 2003): 91-93. The majority of tablets from this site were found under the baked brick floors of a complex of rooms that abutted the Edublamah courtyard; Zettler, “Archaeology and the Problem of Textual Evidence for the Third Dynasty of Ur,” 54-55.

⁶⁹ McGuire Gibson et al., “Nippur. B. Archäologisch,” *RIA* 9 (2001): 548-562; Molina, “Archives and Bookkeeping in Southern Mesopotamia during the Ur III Period,” 8.

⁷⁰ Zettler, “Archaeology and the Problem of Textual Evidence for the Third Dynasty of Ur,” 58-59. Tell Asmar (Ešnunna) has yielded approximately 150 tablets (according to BDTNS), though most remain unpublished. Many of these texts were found in a courtyard associated with the palace and temple complex and a few were found within the Šu-Suen temple; Zettler, Zettler, “Archaeology and the Problem of Textual Evidence for the Third Dynasty of Ur,” 59 and Clemens Reichel, “Political Changes and Cultural Continuity in the Palace of the Rulers at Ešnunna (Tell Asmar) from the Ur III Period to the Isin-Larsa Period (ca. 2070-1850 B.C.)” (PhD diss., The University of Chicago, Chicago, 2001): 43-56. All other text groups with proveniences from known sites yield less than 100 tablets, with the exception of Adab (Tell Bismaya); Molina, “Archives and Bookkeeping in Southern Mesopotamia during the Ur III Period,” 8.

⁷¹ These texts are vast in their scope of Umma’s economy, dealing with agriculture, animal husbandry, wool and textile industry, waystations, shipbuilding and transport, labor and the production of items from leather, wood, reed and metal. Most documents deal with only a few transactions with summary tablets only rarely attested; see Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 315; Sharlach, *Provincial Taxation and the Ur III State*, 25; Studevent-Hickman, *The Organization of Manual Labor in Ur III Babylonia*, 24-25.

seems to be the case as well for the texts stemming from Girsu which, having a broad scope of subjects like the Umma texts, show a strong connection to the provincial administration.⁷² Included with these provincial archives are the tablets from Iri-Saĝrig which belonged to the archive of the governor, but had a strong royal connection as well. There are many references to the royal family travelling to this city, and not as part of an itinerary to other places; the Ur III kings traveled to this city more often than to any other. It also appears that some members of the royal family resided in Iri-saĝrig, and that there were temples to all the deified and deceased kings (except Ibši-Suen).⁷³ Tablets from Puzriš-Dagan, in contrast to the provincial documents from Umm and Girsu, belong to the royal sector, though their scope in this domain is quite limited. The majority of the documents dealt with the administration of the crown's livestock while the rest concerned the unrelated shoe and treasure archives, as well as the management of the livestock of Šulgi'simti, the wife of Šulgi.⁷⁴ The texts from Garšana also focus on the royal sector as they stem from the estate of a royal daughter and her physician-general husband, Šu-Kabta; however, Šu-Kabta's primary estate seems to have been located in Nippur and the documents from Garšana deal primarily with local construction projects and the production of commodities.⁷⁵ Most of the documents from Ur derive from the reign of

⁷² Sallaberger ("Ur III-Zeit," 286) states that the scope of this archive can only be understood by its relation to the governor's administration. The governor's administration was supported by a network of temple households, different from the Umma province which seems to have been undergirded by a network of bureaux; Sharlach, *Provincial Taxation and the Ur III State*, 62-64 and Studevent-Hickman, *The Organization of Manual Labor in Ur III Babylonia*, 103-107.

⁷³ See David I. Owen, *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saĝrig/Al-Šarraki and the History of the Ur III Period*, 2 vols. Nisaba 15. Bethesda: CDL Press, 2013. For a concise overview, see David I. Owen, "Uru-Saĝrig (Iri-Saĝrig, Al-Šarrāki, Šarrākum)", *RIA* 14 (2015): 498-500.

⁷⁴ Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 238-239; Sallaberger, "Puzriš-Dagan," 125-127; Christina Tsouparopoulou, "A Reconstruction of the Puzriš-Dagan Central Livestock Agency," *CDLJ* (2013:2): 1-2.

⁷⁵ Owen and Mayer, *The Garšana Archives*, 1-9; Heimpel, *Workers and Construction Work at Garšana*, 2-5.

Ibbi-Suen, though smaller groupings from the reigns of earlier kings occur as well. Most of the tablets were found in the vicinity of the Nanna temple and deal primarily with activities developed in the city and its immediate hinterland, such as animal husbandry, agriculture, and textile and craft production; the royal archives of Ur have not been found.⁷⁶ The Nippur tablets are characterized as belonging to private archives and sub-provincial institutions such as the administrative archive of the Inana temple.⁷⁷

Thus we can see that the majority of our data comes from provincial archives and therefore the texts reflect the concerns of the provincial governor's administration and not the royal sector, the latter consisting primarily of the military organization and royal dependents. The only time the royal sector is visible is when it interacts with the provincial sector.⁷⁸ Where the royal sector is represented, the contents of the extant documentation are generally not related directly to military affairs. The most likely reasons for this are twofold. The first is that military records and documents pertaining to logistics and troop movements were probably kept at the households of the notable generals of the kingdom, and these estates have not been touched by either controlled or illicit digging. In contrast to modern Western bureaucratic practice, ancient Mesopotamian officials did not separate their institutional and private activities, nor did they separate the documents related to their official and personal activities; much of the

⁷⁶ Ibid, 96-101; Manuel Molina, "Ur. A. I. Philologisch. Im 3. Jahrtausend," *RIA* 14 (2015): 359.

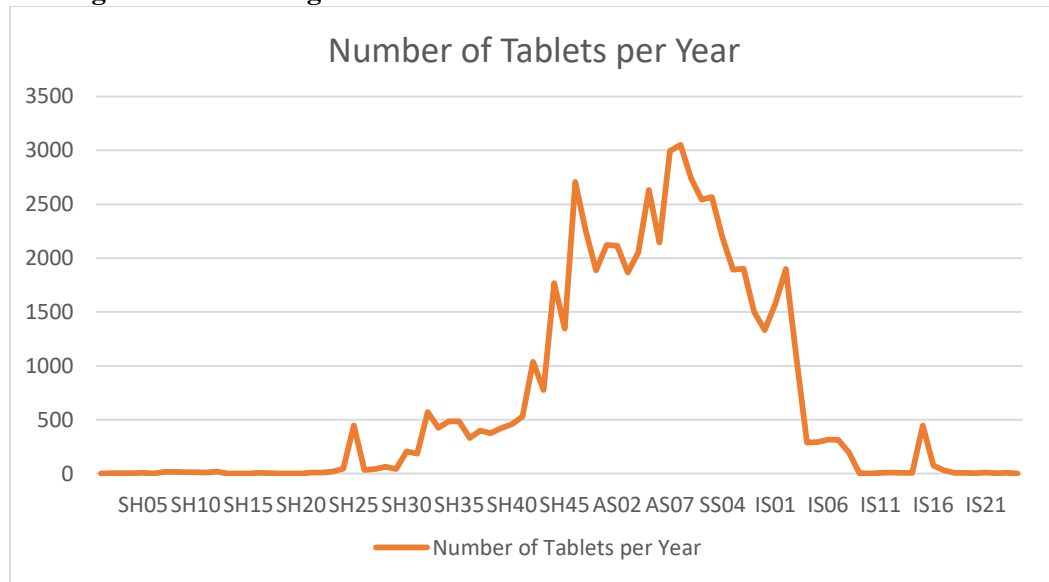
⁷⁷ Richard L. Zettler, *The Ur III Tempel of Inanna at Nippur: The Operation and Organization of Urban Religious Institutions in Mesopotamia in the Late Third Millennium B.C.*, BBVO 11 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1992): 91-102; Molina, *Archives and Bookkeeping in Southern Mesopotamia during the Ur III Period*, 8.

⁷⁸ Piotr Steinkeller, "Archival Practice at Babylonia in the Third Millennium," *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*, ed. Maria Brosius (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): 41; Lafont, "The Armies of the Kings of Ur," 1. For more about the distinction between the provincial and royal sectors, see below.

business conducted by state officials occurred within their own personal estate(s).⁷⁹ The second concerns the probability that obsolete mobilization rosters, army supply records, and epistolary correspondence between officers were discarded or destroyed after the prosecution of a military action.

Temporal biases are present in the data as well. Tablets dating to the reign of Ur-Namma are almost completely unattested except for twenty-seven texts stemming from Girsu. The early part of Šulgi's reign and the majority of Ibbi-Suen's reign are also poorly documented:

Figure 1: Chronological Distribution of Ur III Administrative Documents⁸⁰

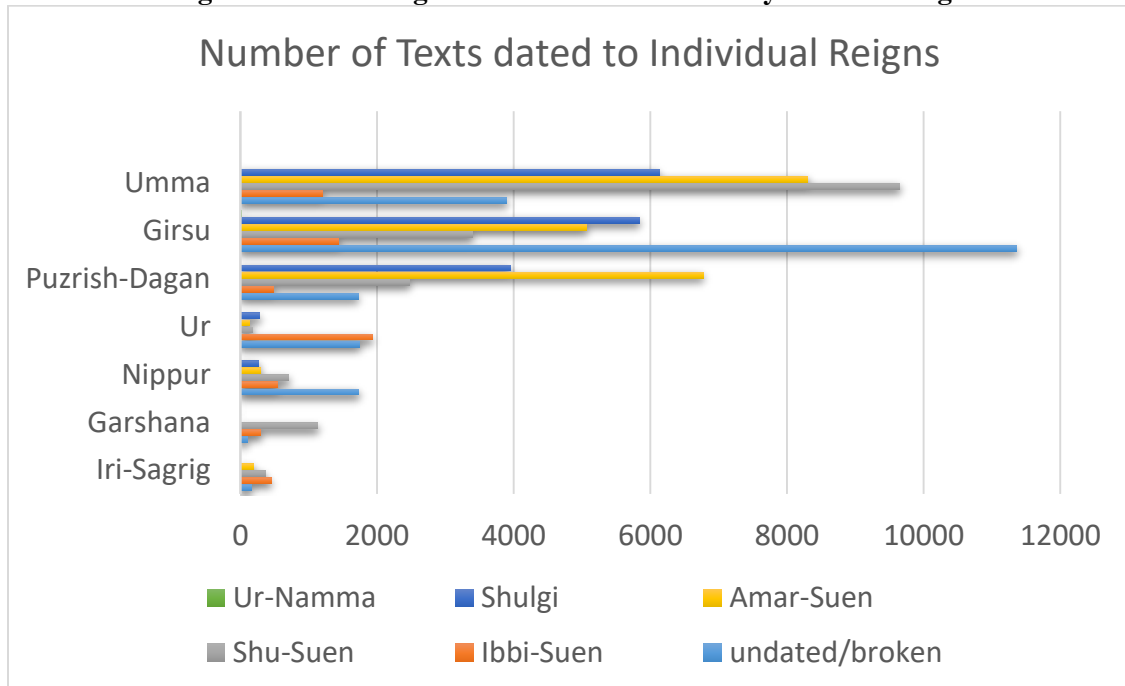


⁷⁹ Garfinkle, “Was the Ur III State Bureaucratic?” 57-58. In the later Old Babylonian period, the records found in the private house of the chief lamentation singer, Ur-Utu, included both personal and official documents; Karel van Lerberghe, “Private and Public: The Ur-Utu Archive at Sippar-Amnānum (Tell ed-Dēr),” in *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*, ed. Maria Brosius (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): 59-77.

⁸⁰ This data was derived from BDTNS on July 5, 2018 and has not taken into account mistakes in the attribution of date and provenience present in this online corpus. Nevertheless, such errors are relatively rare and do not affect the statistical trend in the data.

This table shows that the vast majority of our tablets date between Šulgi's fortieth year and Ibbi-Suen's third, and consequently that only about thirty years of a dynasty which lasted over a century are relatively well documented.⁸¹ Temporal biases can be further nuanced by looking at the diachronic distribution of tablets by site and reign:

Figure 2: Chronological Distribution of Texts by Site and Reign



Here we see that Ur-Namma's reign, and thus his establishment of the kingdom and control of parts of the Diyala and Susa, are essentially undocumented. Šulgi's reign and that of his successor, Amar-Suen, are best documented in texts from Umma, Girsu and Puzriš-Dagan, while texts dating to their reigns are absent from the Garšana archive and

⁸¹ Multiple factors influenced both the number of tablets drafted in antiquity and the number of tablets preserved, such as the destruction or recycling of obsolete documents and the "catastrophic factor" in which the process of disposing of obsolete tablets did not have time to operate before the destruction and/or abandonment of a site; Miguel Civil, "Ur III Bureaucracy: Quantitative Aspects," in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, SAOC 46, eds. McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1987): 44-49.

poorly represented at Iri-Saĝrig. Ur primarily contains texts dated to Ibbi-Suen's reign. The large number of undated texts from Girsu, many undoubtedly stemming from the messenger text genre, skews the picture, but in an unknown manner. Thus over half of our text proveniences poorly represent the reign of Šulgi and the early part of the reign of Amar-Suen - precisely when the dynasty reached its zenith in military activity.

In summary, though the Ur III period certainly provides a wealth of textual data, this abundance must be seen in the context of tablet preservation and discovery. Primary archaeological contexts are virtually absent due to secondary deposition in antiquity, the underdeveloped archaeological methodology of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and, most significantly, illicit excavations. Our data stems from only about a third of the Ur III provinces with the northern region of Akkad almost completely unrepresented, and most of the texts come from the provincial sector, leaving the royal sector substantially more opaque. Only about a third of the temporal span of the Dynasty of Ur is represented in archival documents, with Ur-Namma's reign, half of Šulgi's reign and most of Ibbi-Suen's inadequately documented. Added to this are the aforementioned text genres, such as letters and annals, which provide significant evidence for armies in later periods but are absent from the Ur III textual corpus. It would seem that a rather grim picture emerges for the hope of elucidating the Ur III army via textual sources.

Therefore one might turn to the archaeological and visual sources for evidence, but one would face even greater disappointment. Concerning archaeological remains, the Ur III period is poorly represented. As already mentioned, Puzriš-Dagan, Garšana and Iri-Saĝrig have not been excavated, nor has Umma, for the most part. Girsu (Tello), though excavated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, has produced little

Ur III material and has suffered from poor excavation standards.⁸² Most of the peripheral territories have not been identified, let alone excavated, and a detailed discussion of the excavation and survey data of the Diyala and Hamrin regions is beyond the scope of this study and would likely not prove very fruitful in comparison to the amount of work it would take to survey the literature.⁸³

Weapon remains are also virtually unattested for the late third millennium, with the most common type being the inscribed, votive mace head and its frequency is misleading, since the mace seems to have been a weapon reserved for the gods (and perhaps rulers) and did not partake in the armament of Mesopotamian armies in the third millennium.⁸⁴ Regarding armor, the current state of our knowledge suggests that third millennium armies did not wear metal armor, but rather heavy leather or woolen cloaks that would not have likely survived for archaeological recovery; it should be kept in mind, however, that this data comes from pre-Ur III periods.⁸⁵ Shields were standard equipment in the third millennium, probably made of reed or leather with metal fittings,

⁸² R. J. Matthews, "Girsu and Lagash," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, vol. 2, ed. Eric M. Meyers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997): 406-409. Oftentimes it is difficult to distinguish the Ur III period from the early Old Babylonian period at many sites.

⁸³ The Lower Diyala region (the area surrounding Ešnunna, Khafajeh, Tell Agrab and Ischali) has been subject to excavation and survey and archaeological remains from this region are poor for the Ur III period; Ingolf Thuesen, "Diyala," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, vol. 2, ed. Eric M. Meyers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997): 163-166. The Hamrin Dam Salvage Project, initiated in 1977, identified roughly 100 sites in the nearly 425 square mile area that was to be flooded by the creation of a dam on the Diyala River where it flowed through the Jebel Hamrin. The Ur III period was not well-recognized in the region, though sites with Old Akkadian and Isin-Larsa assemblages were occupied in the Neo-Sumerian period as well; Michael Roaf, "Hamrin Dam Salvage Project," in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Archaeology in the Near East*, vol. 2, ed. Eric M. Meyers (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997): 471-474. For the region known as Luristan, the Early Bronze IV period (late Akkadian to early Isin-Larsa period) is only attested in the region around modern Ilam and is poorly understood. The material culture is limited to small tombs, shafthole axes and imported monochrome pottery with Akkadian and Ur III shapes; see Daniel T. Potts, "Luristan and the Central Zagros in the Bronze Age," in *The Oxford Handbook of Ancient Iran*, ed. Daniel T. Potts (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013): 201-216.

⁸⁴ McGuire Gibson, "The Mace, The Axe, and the Dagger in Ancient Mesopotamia," (MA Thesis, University of Chicago, 1964): 35-42; Ingo Schrakamp, "Speer und Lanze," *RIA* 12 (2011): 630-633.

⁸⁵ T. Deszö, "Panzer," *RIA* 10 (2004): 319.

and varied from rectangular body-shields to bowed siege-shields though, again, our data comes from pictorial sources dating to earlier periods and often from outside Babylonia.⁸⁶

Though chariots or “battle-wagons” have been found in artistic representations and in burials at Ur, Kiš and Susa, they have all dated to the Presargonic period or earlier.⁸⁷

The dagger, spear, bow and axe are attested in the art of the Presargonic and Sargonic periods,⁸⁸ but the artistic repertoire for the Ur III period is quite limited. It consists of a few statuettes,⁸⁹ some caneophorous foundation figures, the fragmentary Ur-Namma stele, and glyptic images.⁹⁰ Though a number of seals and seal impressions have been recovered from this period, nearly all bear the theme of the presentation scene, which depicts the seal bearer before a seated god or king, with little else in the scene.⁹¹ Complicating the picture of Ur III art is that unless inscribed, it is generally not possible to distinguish the Ur III material from preceding Akkadian or succeeding Isin-Larsa material.⁹²

Thus we see that there are a number of challenges one faces when approaching the study of the late third millennium army. With the pessimistic portrait painted above, one would be justified in questioning the feasibility and value of studying the Ur III military. Nevertheless, there is much to be done with the sources available. Lafont’s

⁸⁶ I. Schrakamp, “Schild,” *RIA* 12 (2009): 177.

⁸⁷ K. Kaniuth, “Wagen. C. Archäologisch,” *RIA* 14 (2016): 628-629; M. A. Littauer and J. H. Crouwel, “Kampfwagen (Streitwagen). B. Archäologisch,” *RIA* 5 (1976-1980): 344-345.

⁸⁸ Joan Aruz, ed., *Art of the First Cities: The Third Millennium B. C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus* (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003): 21-236.

⁸⁹ This does not include the statues and stela of Gudea, whose temporal proximity to the dynasty of Ur is uncertain, nor the few statues from the Šakkanakku period at Mari. For the Gudea material, see Claudia E. Suter, *Gudea’s Temple Building: the Representation of an Early Mesopotamian Ruler in Text and Image*, CM 17. Groningen: Styx Publications, 2000.

⁹⁰ Eva A. Braun-Holzinger, “Ur III-Zeit, Kunst,” *RIA* 14 (2015): 385-386.

⁹¹ Henri Frankfort, *The Art and Architecture of the Ancient Orient* (Baltimore: Penguin, 1956): 50.

⁹² Braun-Holzinger, “Ur III-Zeit, Kunst,” 385.

articles have shown that there is a wealth of data on military affairs if one mines the administrative corpus, and his overviews have only scratched the surface. Corpus based approaches can help clarify martial terminology and related vocabulary, and have become possible with electronic tools such as: *The Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative* (CDLI), *The Database of Neo-Sumerian Texts* (BDTNS), *The Online Richly Annotated Cuneiform Corpus* (ORACC) and its myriad projects and subcorpora, *The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature* (ETCSL), *The Electronic Pennsylvania Sumerian Dictionary* (2nd version: ePSD2) and other tools.⁹³

The approach of this study is to mine the vast administrative corpus in order to elucidate some of the terminology, titles and designations encountered in year-names, royal inscriptions and archival documents. Ideally all terms relating directly and indirectly to military affairs would be examined and compared with the preceding Presargonic/Sargonic periods and the following Old Babylonian period for further illumination and/or to document diachronic change. However, such a project is beyond the scope of this study, hence the title “*Elements of the Neo-Sumerian Military.*” It would also be useful to have a comprehensive knowledge of general ancient military history in order to provide analogs for institutions and practices found in the late third millennium archives. However, this too is not possible for the scope of this study and therefore analogs discussed in the following chapters are rather selective instead of comprehensive, though they are often invoked to show possibilities rather than certainties. Overall, this is an attempt to better understand the Ur III period via the military organization and its activities, which permeated life and society at this time.

⁹³ CDLI: <https://cdli.ucla.edu/>; BDTNS: <http://bdtns.filol.csic.es/>; ORACC: <http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/>; ETCSL: <http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk>.

Before delving into the meat of the subject, a brief overview of the dynastic history and organization of the state will provide the backdrop before which these other elements occur.

I.3: Dynastic History and the Organization of the Ur III State

1.3.a: History of the Third Dynasty of Ur

The first king of the dynasty, Ur-Namma, has often been thought to have been the brother of Utu-ḫeġal, the king of Uruk, who is attributed as having driven out the Gutian presence from the homeland (**kalam**), and to have served as his general and the governor of the city of Ur.⁹⁴ The data for this is not certain, as it depends upon the reading of a broken royal inscription and other circumstantial evidence.⁹⁵ Dahl pointed out that the fact that Ur-Namma was a general of Utu-ḫeġal does not prove familial relationship due to the common practice of Ur III kings recruiting generals from outside of the royal family⁹⁶ The only thing that ties this dynasty to Babylonia would be the theophoric

⁹⁴ Claus Wilcke, “Zum Königtum in der Ur III-Zeit,” in *Le Palais et la Royauté*, CRRAI 19, ed. Paul Garelli (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, 1974): 192-193; Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 9; Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 132; Piotr Steinkeller, “Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa,” 298.

⁹⁵ Frayne (*Ur III Period*, 9) notes that there are offerings attested for Utu-ḫeġal, possibly as a family ancestor, in a text that mentions a temple of Utu-ḫeġal in Uruk (P119544 / MVN 16, 1496). However, there is a much more involved (or at least well attested) cult for the former ruler of Lagaš, Gudea, who often appears alongside other deities common to the Girsu province, and whom there is no evidence of a familial connection with the Ur III dynasty. See, for instance, P206045 / MVN 22, 226 and P110674 / TCTI 1, 804. Also attested is a cupbearer (**sagi**) for Gudea (P116362 / MVN 12, 100) and offerings for the chariot of Gudea (P110965 / TCTI 2, 3569). There is also a reference to offerings given to the Old Akkadian kings Sargon and Naram-Suen within the temple of Enlil (P126021 / PDT 1, 605). Therefore it seems that it was practice for Ur III kings to honor notable kings who preceded them, though they were not necessarily related to them. Indeed, the only notable king to which the monarchs of Ur claimed relation was Gilgameš, whom they claimed was a brother; Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 132. The other alternative is that they merely assumed patronage for cultic activities already undertaken by the various provinces which were subsumed into their kingdom.

⁹⁶ Jacob Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma: A Prosopographical Analysis of an Elite Family in Southern Iraq 4000 Years Ago* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2007): 10. Not only did they recruit outside of the royal family, but they also recruited outside of the homeland (**kalam**), taking foreign persons bearing Elamite, Hurrian and Amorite names; Steinkeller, “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State,” 25. It should be pointed out that a Hellenistic period text designates Šulgi as the “son of the daughter of Utu-ḫeġal,” from which we can infer that Ur-Namma married into the royal family of Utu-ḫeġal, a practice which was common later in the dynasty of Ur; Walther Sallaberger, “Ur-Namma,” *RIA* 14 (2015): 423. Lance Allred (“Cooks and Kitchens: Centralized Food Production in Late Third Millennium Mesopotamia,” PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2006: 9 n.

element in Ur-Namma's name, Namma, and even this is curious in itself for Namma is a rather obscure deity. Called the "mother of Enki" in the myth *Enki and Ninmah*⁹⁷ and having her name written with the same sign used to denote the cosmic subterranean waters (**engur**; Akkadian *apsû*), she seems to have belonged to the oldest generation of gods and goddesses and was associated with, if not directly belonging to, the pantheon of Eridu.⁹⁸ There is no evidence for a cult of Namma in the Ur III period.⁹⁹ The name of this goddess is attested only as the theophoric element of personal names, the vast majority of which refer to (the deceased) Ur-Namma himself.¹⁰⁰ With so little data on the goddess Namma, it is uncertain where her cult places were located and therefore we simply have little to go on in ascertaining Ur-Namma's city of origin and it cannot be confidently asserted whence the Ur III dynasty originated.¹⁰¹

The Sumerian King List attributes 18 years for the reign of Ur-Namma.¹⁰² His rise to power and his annexation of the Babylonian city-states into his kingdom are opaque, as is the chronological relation of his reign with other late third-millennium

16) questioned whether the name Ur-Namma should be restored in the inscription, for this seems to be the only potential reference of Ur-Namma's service in Utu-ḫeḡal's army.

⁹⁷ ETCSL 1.1.2 lines 24, 29 and 45.

⁹⁸ F. A. M. Wiggermann, "Nammu," *RIA* 9 (1998): 135-139. Even if it was certain that Namma belonged to Eridu, it does not necessarily follow that Ur-Namma originated from that city.

⁹⁹ The Early Dynastic **za₃-mi₂** hymns suggest that her cult city was **eš-šu^{ki}**, perhaps located in the vicinity of Ur not far from its port city Ga'eš; Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 9.

¹⁰⁰ The exceptions are P104534 / AUCT 3, 322 and P355945 / Nisaba 13, 30, which mention a **lu₂-^dnamma**.

¹⁰¹ Sallaberger ("Ur-Namma," 424) notes that Ur-Namma's portrayal as the son of Ninsun and the brother of Gilgameš - both Urukian deities - is already attested for Gudea of Lagaš and therefore is not an indicator of an origin from Uruk.

¹⁰² All manuscripts, including the one dated to the Ur III period, agree. See, ETCSL 2.1.1 lines 341-342; Thorkild Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, AS 11 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1939): 122-123 and Piotr Steinkeller, "An Ur III Manuscript of the Sumerian King List," in *Literatur, Politik und Recht in Mesopotamien: Festschrift für Claus Wilcke*, eds. Walther Sallaberger, Konrad Volk and Annette Zgoll (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2003): 274. See also the king-list in Andrew R. George, "Sumero-Babylonian King Lists and Date Lists," in *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, CUSAS 17, ed. Andrew R. George (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2011): 206-207 no. 100, which also attributes 18 years for Ur-Namma.

political entities following the collapse of the dynasty of Akkad.¹⁰³ His titles seem to reflect his political influence, having been called “king of Ur” in inscriptions stemming from Ur and nearby regions such as Eridu, and “king of Sumer and Akkad” in inscriptions from throughout Babylonia.¹⁰⁴ The prologue of the law code of Ur-Namma mentions his freeing of cities in northern Babylonia from servitude to Anšan,¹⁰⁵ which may be related to his conflict with Puzur-Inšušinak and his conquest of Susa.¹⁰⁶ There is some evidence that he fought against Gutians,¹⁰⁷ but as a whole his military actions are obscure and he is best known for his myriad building projects and as the progenitor of the

¹⁰³ See the chronological overview in Esther Flückiger-Hawker, *Urnamma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition*, OBO 166 (Göttingen: University Press Fribourg Switzerland Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999): 1-4; Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 132-134 and Walther Sallaberger and Ingo Schrakamp, *History and Philology*, ARCANÉ 3 (Brepols: Turnhout, 2015): 113-130. The interval between the end of the classical Sargonic period with the death of Šarkališarri and Ur-Namma’s control of Babylonia is generally referred to as the Gutian period to which belong post-Akkadian rulers of Uruk and Lagaš, various Gutian rulers in control of Adab and some northern Babylonian cities, Utu-ḫeḡal of the Uruk V “dynasty,” Puzur-Inšušinak of Elam, and the Lagaš II dynasty which produced the famous Gudea.

¹⁰⁴ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 137-139; Sallaberger, “Ur-Namma,” 423. Steinkeller (“Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa,” 298) posits that since the majority of his year-names name him as king of Sumer and Akkad, that he must have gained control of Babylonia early in his reign.

¹⁰⁵ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 48: E3/2.1.1.20 col. iii, lines 125-134. See pages 43-45 for a discussion of the notion that the law collection is to be attributed to Šulgi. Though previously known only through Old Babylonian copies, an Ur III copy from the Schøyen collection has been published relatively recently, confirming the attribution of the text to Ur-Namma; Miguel Civil, “The Law Collection of Ur-Namma,” in *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, CUSAS 17, ed. Andrew R. George (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2011): 221-310.

¹⁰⁶ For the reference to Puzur-Inšušinak in Ur-Namma’s inscriptions, see Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 65-66: E3/2.1.1.29. For the notion that Ur-Namma conquered Susa, see Gianna Marchesi, “Ur-Nammâ(k)’s Conquest of Susa,” in *Susa and Elam: Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives*, eds. Katrien De Graef and Jan Tavernier (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 285-292. Based on this data, the reference to Gudea’s defeat of the cities of Anšan and Elam in his Statue B and other points of evidence, Steinkeller (“Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa,” 298-302) has proposed that Ur-Namma and Gudea formed a military alliance and fought against Puzur-Inšušinak in Khuzistan. However, other scenarios are possible, such as Gudea’s campaigns in Khuzistan allowed for Puzur-Inšušinak to gain control of the region, only to subsequently be defeated by Ur-Namma; all scenarios must be held tentatively until the chronological relationships between Ur-Namma, the Lagaš II dynasty and Puzur-Inšušinak are understood; Sallaberger and Schrakamp, *History and Philology*, 125.

¹⁰⁷ A fragmentary royal inscription attributed to Ur-Namma mentioning Gutarla the Gutian (Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 66-68: E3/2.1.1.30) and a damaged section in the hymn Ur-Namma C (ETCSL 2.4.1.3). Steinkeller (Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa, 297-298) has suggested that Puzur-Inšušinak’s campaign through the Zagros and subsequent capture of parts of northern Babylonia severely weakened the Gutians residing in Mesopotamia and therefore made them susceptible to swift defeat by Utu-ḫeḡal of Uruk and Ur-Namma. See also Sallaberger and Schrakamp, *History and Philology*, 127-129.

infrastructure of the economic/administrative system that characterized the reigns of succeeding kings.¹⁰⁸

Šulgi, Ur-Namma's son and successor, reigned for forty-eight years, and expanded the kingdom that he had inherited from his father.¹⁰⁹ There are two date-lists which order the year-names in a chronological sequence, the primary one being BE 1/2 no. 125 which preserves all but the first five years of his reign.¹¹⁰ Šulgi, the product of the union of Ur-Namma and his wife SI.A-tum, was married to the daughter of the ruler (*šakkanakum*) of Mari, Apil-kin, who took the name Taram-Uram.¹¹¹ He also had two other main wives and several "junior wives" (**lukur**).¹¹² At least one of these wives, Šulgi-simti, who bore the title of "queen" (**nin**), is thought to have been of foreign origin due to her connection with the cult of the goddesses Belat-Terraban and Belat-Šuḥnir, who are attested at Ešnunna and likely stem from the Diyala region.¹¹³ From these unions sprang a plethora of sons and daughters, with the sons often holding military

¹⁰⁸ Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 134-139; Sallaberger, "Ur-Namma," 426-429.

¹⁰⁹ The Sumerian King List provides variants to the 48 years: 46 years (Weld-Blundell Prism from Larsa) and 58 years (P5 from Nippur); see ETCSL 2.1.1 lines 343-344. Jacobsen (*The Sumerian King List*, 122 n. 321) provides scenarios as to how these (assumed to be) scribal errors may have occurred. A king-list covering the reigns of kings from Ur-Namma to Damiq-ilišu ascribes 48 years to Šulgi's reign; Edmond Sollberger, "New Lists of the Kings of Ur and Isin," *JCS* 8 (1954): 135-136.

¹¹⁰ For the year-names of Šulgi, see A. Ungnad, "Datenlisten," *RIA* 2 (??): 136-137; Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 91-110 and Marcel Sigrist and Peter Damerow, *Mesopotamian Year Names: Neo-Sumerian and Old Babylonian Date Formulae*, https://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yearnames/yn_index.html.

¹¹¹ Walther Sallaberger, "Šulgi," *RIA* 13 (2012): 271. However, this familial presentation has not been wholly accepted; see Piotr Michalowski, "Of Bears and Men: Thoughts on the End of Šulgi's Reign and on the Ensuing Succession," in *Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature: Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter Machinist*, eds. David S. Vanderhooft and Abraham Winitzer (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013): 289, who views an unusual Old Babylonian copy of an inscription of Šulgi from Tell Harmal, which explicitly labels him as the son of Ur-Namma, as a later fabrication, probably derived from later versions of the Sumerian King List which tended "to impose the paradigmatic father-son succession pattern on the Ur III royal family," and therefore posited that Šulgi's parentage remains uncertain.

¹¹² For the family of Šulgi, see Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 166-170; Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, 17-20 and Sallaberger, "Šulgi," 271. For the nuances of the term **lukur**, see Tonia Sharlach, "Priestess, Concubines, and the Daughters of Men: Disentangling the Meaning of the Word Lukur in Ur III Times," in *On the Third Dynasty of Ur: Studies in Honor of Marcel Sigrist*, *JCS* SS1, ed. Piotr Michalowski (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2008): 177-184.

¹¹³ Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit, 160; Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 170.

positions at the rank of general and the daughters often being married off to strengthen alliances among neighboring states or to incorporate high-ranking officials and military officers into the royal family.¹¹⁴

Šulgi is often thought of as the king who structured the kingdom into the bureaucratic and administrative machine that seems to be reflected in the extant documentation. Characterized as a system of reforms, the relevant events seem to cluster around his twentieth and twenty-first regnal years, splitting the earlier part of his reign, characterized by attention on infrastructure and cultic matters, from the latter part of his reign, which was characterized by military affairs.¹¹⁵ Such “reforms” include the deification of Šulgi, the creation of a standing army, the reorganization of the system of temple households and the related administrative changes and the introduction of a standardized calendar.¹¹⁶ The thought that Šulgi was responsible for all these reforms or that the precise interpretation of his year-name formulae support such notions has been challenged¹¹⁷ and the converse has been proposed, namely that Šulgi simply drew upon and expanded the work begun by his father in most cases.¹¹⁸

The last three decades of Šulgi’s rule is characterized, again in the choice of year-names, by consistent military campaigning in regions to the east, southeast and northeast of the kingdom. These campaigns involved the establishment of garrisons in the peripheral territories which were subjected to taxes in livestock. The taxation of

¹¹⁴ For a chart showing the royal family of Ur and the positions they held, see Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, 31. Daughters were often integrated into cultic positions, such as high-priestess of various high-ranking deities.

¹¹⁵ At least this is the image provided by his year-names; Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 140-143.

¹¹⁶ For an explicit outline of the various reforms, see Steinkeller, “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State,” 20-22.

¹¹⁷ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 148.

¹¹⁸ Sallaberger, “Šulgi,” 272-273.

livestock was administered by the royal sector at Puzriš-Dagan, and the animals were used to supply offerings for the pantheon at Nippur as well as for the sustenance of foreign dignitaries and groups of soldiers and messengers.¹¹⁹

Offerings to Šulgi began at the beginning of the eleventh month of his forty-eighth year, which informs that he must have died shortly before.¹²⁰

Amar-Suen presents an interesting character, if only by the circumstances of the data that we do, or do not, have regarding him. One of the main issues is that the name Amar-Suen is not attested in the administrative corpus prior to his assumption to the throne, which is the converse of the situation regarding the name Šu-Suen which is attested throughout the latter half of Šulgi's reign as well as throughout the reign of Amar-Suen.¹²¹ This has led to speculative scenarios such as that he was sent abroad by Šulgi, was exiled, or was a usurper, though another possibility is that the name Amar-Suen was simply a throne name and that he is attested in the earlier documentation, albeit under a different, unknown (to us) appellation.¹²² The transition from the reign of Amar-Suen to that of his successor Šu-Suen also seems to have been atypical, as there seems to have been a number of disturbances or administrative peculiarities in the kingdom in the

¹¹⁹ Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State," 30-41; Tohru Maeda, "The Defense Zone during the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty," *ASJ* 14 (1992): 135-172; Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 156-159; Sallaberger, "Šulgi," 273-275.

¹²⁰ Sallaberger, "Šulgi," 272.

¹²¹ The earliest attestation of the name Šu-Suen is in Šulgi's 25th year (P290691 / BPOA 7, 2188), while the earliest attestation of the name with the qualifier of "prince" (**dumu lugal**) is at the beginning of Amar-Suen's first year (P121522 / NATN 825: 1/20/AS01). Not all of the attestations of the name of Šu-Suen seem to refer to the same person; the earliest references to the prince likely occur in the final decade of Šulgi's reign; see Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, 27 n. 112.

¹²² Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 163. Sallaberger tends to accept the Sumerian King List as providing accurate filial data for the Ur III kings, as supported by funerary offerings which would suggest that Amar-Suen was the product of Šulgi's marriage with Taram-Uram; Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 165 and Sallaberger, "Šulgi," 271.

last three or four years of his reign.¹²³ Many provincial governors, who appear to not have had any direct links with their predecessors or the provinces in which they governed, were installed in his latter years, and a large number of generals came to Ur to swear an oath.¹²⁴ Already in his sixth year tablets bear seal impressions of royal servants that are dedicated to the divine Šu-Suen. A new soldier class, perhaps royal guards (**gar3-du d**amar-**d**suen), appear as livestock recipients in administrative documents from Puzriš-Dagan, while the traditional soldier (**aga3-us2**) disappears from this archive in the last few years of his reign. Related is the question as to whether royal succession was strictly patrilineal, or whether Šu-Suen (and even Ibbi-Suen) were sons of Šulgi alongside Amar-Suen. It has been suggested quite some time ago that Šu-Suen was a son of Šulgi, instead of a son of Amar-Suen, based on a royal hymn and a seal impression, though both pieces of evidence have been challenged.¹²⁵ Nevertheless, other arguments and counterarguments have been marshalled and both sympathetic and antipathetic positions are currently held.¹²⁶ Dahl understands the anomalies of Amar-Suen's reign as

¹²³ Curious is the later reception of Amar-Suen, in which he is virtually absent in the royal hymnic genre and his ignominious deaths in the omen literature.

¹²⁴ For a list and discussion of the pertinent data, see Bertrand Lafont, "Game of Thrones: the Years when Su-Sin Succeeded Amar-Suen in the Kingdom of Ur," in *The first Ninety Years: A Sumerian Celebration in Honor of Miguel Civil*, SANER 12, eds. Lluís Feliu et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017): 189-204.

¹²⁵ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 285-286. The hymn is Šu-Suen A (ETCSL 2.4.4.1) and the seal impression is E3/2.1.2.94 which mentions a šu-^den-[x], general of Uruk, who is designated as a son of Šulgi; whether or not the seal refers to Šu-Suen depends on whether one restores **suen** or **lil2** in the lacuna, and the latter should be preferred (Sallaberger, "Ur III Zeit," 168) though the former is still maintained by some; Hartmut Waetzoldt, "König Šusuen, der Sohn Šulgis," *NABU* (2001/2 no. 44): 49.

¹²⁶ Jacob L. Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma: A Prosopographical Analysis of an Elite Family in Southern Iraq 4000 Years Ago* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2007): 27-28; Walther Sallaberger, "Šu-Suen," *RIA* 13 (2012): 362-363. See also David I. Owen, "On the Patronymy of Šu-Suen," *NABU* (2001/1 no. 17): 19-20 which discusses a tablet from Puzriš-Dagan containing the anthroponym *Šu-Suen-walid-Šulgi* "Šu-Suen-born-of-Šulgi" and posits that this was Šu-Suen's full name. Though this name can certainly be used to argue for direct descent, it could also be used metaphorically with gods and deified beings. For example, both Ur-Namma and Šulgi claim to have been birthed (**tud** / **walādum**) by their "mother" Ninsun - who was also the mother of the famous Urukian king Gilgamesh; see the royal hymns Ur-Namma C (ETCSL 2.4.1.3 lines 48 and 113) and Šulgi A (ETCSL 2.4.2.1 line 7).

symptomatic of a struggle for the throne between him and his brother Šu-Suen.¹²⁷ An interesting scenario, based primarily on sudden absences of members of the royal family in archival documents following the death of Šulgi, is Michalowski's position that Amar-Suen was a nephew of Šulgi, the offspring of the son of Ur-Namma who married the Mari princess Taram-Uram. He suggests that upon the death of Šulgi, one of his queens, Šulgi-simti, and her prominent sons were exiled, demoted or killed and another branch of the family, under Amar-Suen, came to power. Šu-Suen, a half-brother of Amar-Suen, succeeded the latter to the throne and was in turn followed by Ibbi-Suen, yet another half-brother.¹²⁸ Lafont has noted that it is difficult to proceed beyond the mere statement of facts to reconstruct the historical situation with any degree of certainty. He sees no reason to assume that there was any competition for the throne between Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen and notes that many of the anomalies begin in Amar-Suen's sixth year, when he began the campaign against Huhuri. He suggests that perhaps the king returned from the campaign gravely wounded or ill, and opinion regarding the likelihood of his recovery among his subordinates was divided, with some immediately recognizing his successor while others waited for the outcome.¹²⁹

Whatever the relationship between Šulgi and Amar-Suen, the penultimate king of the Ur III dynasty is attested in archival documents throughout the reign of his predecessor with the designation **dumu lugal** "the son of the king" and may have been the general of Uruk and Der at some point in the reign of Šulgi. He was the general of at least Der during the reign of Amar-Suen.¹³⁰ Šu-Suen's year-names and inscriptions refer

¹²⁷ Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, 25.

¹²⁸ Michalowski, "Of Bears and Men," 285-320.

¹²⁹ Lafont, "Game of Thrones," 200-201.

¹³⁰ Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, 27; Michalowski, "Of Bears and Men," 308-309.

to campaigns solely to the north of the kingdom and sources allude to the erection of his statues throughout his core and peripheral territories; related is the construction of temples for the divine king throughout the realm.¹³¹ The construction of defensive fortifications named the *Murīq Tidnim*, following the campaign to the north against Simanum and Tidnum Amorites, has been viewed as a sign of the weakening of the kingdom, though it could reflect an adjustment or realignment of military strategy.¹³² Only one other campaign is recorded in his nine-year reign, with the rest of his inscriptions commemorating cultic activities and building projects, notably the (re)construction of the Šara temple in Umma, the subject of his ninth year-name, though this was a project undertaken over the course of his reign involving officials and workers from throughout the kingdom.¹³³ Like his predecessor, Šu-Suen reigned for only nine years, with offerings for the throne of the deceased king attested on the fourth day of the tenth month of his ninth year, the same month that offerings for his ghost (**gidim**) are recorded.¹³⁴

The final king of the Third Dynasty of Ur was Ibbi-Suen, who was either the son or brother of Šu-Suen,¹³⁵ and who had the second longest reign of the dynasty at twenty-four years.¹³⁶ It is difficult to identify Ibbi-Suen in archival texts due to a number of

¹³¹ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 170.

¹³² Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, 27; Piotr Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 159-164.

¹³³ Piotr Steinkeller, “The Employment of Labor on National Building Projects,” in *Labor in the Ancient World: A Colloquium held at Hirschbach, April 2005*, eds. Piotr Steinkeller and Michael Hudson (Dresden: ISLET, 2015): 190-196.

¹³⁴ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 171.

¹³⁵ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 172; Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, 29. Michalowski (“Of Bears and Men,” 302, 316-317) suggests that Ibbi-Suen was a son of Šulgi’s union with Šulgi-simti, while Šu-Suen was a product of the union of Šulgi and Abi-simti.

¹³⁶ Some manuscripts of the Sumerian King List attribute 25 years for Ibbi-Suen, though only 24 year-names are attested; Sallaberger, “Ur-III Zeit,” 172.

people bearing that name who were given various designations from “herdsman” to “judge.”¹³⁷ Though his kingdom drastically contracted early in his reign, there is no evidence of strife or rebellion upon his succession to the throne, nor are there any signs of any political, economic or military crises in the extant documentation in his first three years.¹³⁸ However, there are signs that trouble was brewing around this time. First, taxes from the peripheral garrisons seem to have been sent only from sites located in the lower Diyala near the Tigris River,¹³⁹ suggesting that the previously extensive “defense zone” had greatly contracted to territories just outside of the provincial homeland (**kalam**). This is supported by Ibbi-Suen’s third year-name mentioning an attack against Simurru in the upper Diyala, which may have begun in his first regnal year.¹⁴⁰ Additional supporting documents mention the provisioning of highlander prisoners-of-war in his second year¹⁴¹ and a reference to troops going to campaign in that general region in his third year.¹⁴² Textual documentation from Puzriš-Dagan almost completely ends in Ibbi-Suen’s second year and concomitantly the peripheral tax collections likely cease by the end of this year; combined with the loss of Ešnunna and Susa in his third year, all this suggests that upheavals and loss of control affected the eastern frontier of the kingdom of Ur.¹⁴³ Documents from Garšana and Iri-Saġrig end shortly after, and the largest text archives that we possess, Umma and Girsu, end in Ibbi-Suen’s fifth and sixth years,

¹³⁷ Michalowski, “Of Bears and Men,” 300-301.

¹³⁸ Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 177, 179.

¹³⁹ Ibid, 177-178.

¹⁴⁰ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 362-363.

¹⁴¹ P111271 / ITT 3, 6175 (---/IS02).

¹⁴² P109329 (7---/IS03) mentions 159,630 liters of barley and 47,400 liters of wheat for “troops of the army when they went on the ‘Amorite’ campaign” (532(aš) 3(ban₂) še gur / 158(aš) ziz₂ gur / eren₂ ugnim_x-ma-ke₄-ne / ud kaskal mar-tu-še₃ i₃-re-ša-a). This reference to the “Amorite campaign” undoubtedly referred to military actions in the region known as the **kur mar-tu** “Amorite land(s)” which seem to have been located primarily in the Transtigridian region north of the Diyala.

¹⁴³ Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 178.

respectively. Texts from Nippur cease in Ibbi-Suen's eighth year, leaving only documents from Ur and alluding to a drastic reduction of territory within Babylonia itself to the environs of Ur by the end of Ibbi-Seun's first decade of rule.¹⁴⁴ Nevertheless, attempts to reclaim territory or weaken opponents are attested in year-names which mention an action against Huh̄nuri in his ninth year, against Susa and AdamDUN in his fourteenth and against Amorites in his seventeenth. Ibbi-Suen lasted seven more years before Ur was taken by Kindattu of Šimaški and Ibbi-Suen was reportedly taken away to Anšan.¹⁴⁵

I.3.b: The Organization of the Kingdom of Ur

With this brief overview of the dynasty complete, we can turn our attention to a short elucidation of the structure of the kingdom. The organization of the Ur III state initiated by Ur-Namma and further developed by Šulgi consisted of three geographic spheres: the provincial (home)land, the incorporated peripheral territories and the realm of the semi-autonomous and fully autonomous neighbors. Additionally it consisted of three primary sectors of the economy and management: the provincial/institutional sector, the royal/military sector and the private sector.¹⁴⁶ The map below shows a rough delineation of the geographic spheres. Green is the region of the kingdom composed of

¹⁴⁴ For a discussion of the data and theories regarding the weakening and collapse of the Ur III State, see Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 366-368; Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 174-178 and Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 170-185.

¹⁴⁵ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 368; Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 210-215.

¹⁴⁶ Much of the work on this comes from Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State," in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, SAOC 46, ed. McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1987):19-42, though he generally dismisses the private sector as playing any substantial role; Piotr Steinkeller, "Land-Tenure Conditions in Third Millennium Babylonia: The Problem of Regional Variation," in *Urbanization and Land Ownership in the Ancient Near East*, eds. Michael Hudson and Baruch A. Levine (Cambridge: Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, 1999): 289-329.

provinces, red is the peripheral territories which contained garrisons subject to the state and yellow denotes areas which have features of both the provincial and peripheral regions:

Map 3: Political Organization of the Ur III State



Also shown are political entities with which the kingdom of Ur engaged in diplomacy and commerce.¹⁴⁷

The heartland of the kingdom, which the Sumerians called “the (home)land” (**kalam**), comprised all of southern Mesopotamia, which consisted of Sumer in the south and Akkad in the north, from Eridu to Sippar. This region was composed of roughly

¹⁴⁷ For the western neighbors, see David I Owen, “Syrians in Sumerian Sources from the Ur III Period,” in *New Horizons in the Study of Ancient Syria*, BibMes 25, eds. Mark W. Chavalas and John L. Hayes (Malibu: Undena, 1992): 107-175. References to Marḥaši and Anšan are found in the year-names of Šulgi: Š18: royal daughter elevated to queenship of Marḥaši; Š30: royal daughter married to ruler of Anšan; Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 100-101, 104. References to Magan occur in the inscriptions of Ur-Namma (Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 39-42: E3/2.1.1.17-18), and there are a few references to Dilmun in the administrative corpus; Kilian Butz, “Dilmun in Wirtschaftstexten der Ur-III-Zeit,” in *Dilmun: New Studies in the Archaeology and Early History of Bahrain*, BBVO 2, ed. Daniel T. Potts (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1983): 91.

twenty provinces which were essentially derived from the earlier city-states, in which the provincial capital was the primary city of the city-state and the subordinate provincial towns were tantamount to the hinterland of the original city-state.¹⁴⁸ What constituted a province has been largely determined by whether a region had a provincial governor (**ensi₂**) and whether it participated in the **bala**-system; this leaves us with ten provinces in the northern region traditionally known as Akkad (Marad, Apiak, Kazallu, Kiš, Babylon, Kutha, Puš, Urum, Tiwe and Sippar) and nine provinces in the southern region of Sumer (Ur, Uruk, Girsu, Umma, Šuruppak, Adab, Isin, Iri-Saĝrig and Nippur).¹⁴⁹ The **bala**-system was essentially a tax on the provincial sector that also functioned as a redistributive and entitlement system. It was a tax assessed and imposed by the central government on the provinces in which raw and processed goods were delivered either to redistribution centers or directly to the relevant parties. Each province delivered goods in which it specialized, but also withdrew goods which were needed. The royal sector withdrew a substantial amount of the **bala**-contributions in order to provision royal dependents located within the provinces.¹⁵⁰

The Ur III state seems to have functioned as a patrimonial system in which individual households are embedded within larger ones in a hierarchy with the king at the

¹⁴⁸ Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State," 23-24.

¹⁴⁹ Sharlach, *Provincial Taxation and the Ur III State*, 6-8.

¹⁵⁰ Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State," 27-30; Sharlach, *Provincial Taxation and the Ur III State*, 16-21. Sharlach provides an overview of the previous studies of this system, noting its complex character that incorporated different aspects emphasized by those earlier studies. **bala**-obligations were not distributed equally among the provinces, with many of the northern provinces having paid only a third of the standard rate while Girsu province paid three to four times the usual rate (8). Provinces varied in types and amounts of goods sent. Umma province sent nearly half of its annual grain yields to the crown along with reeds, timber, manufactured items and labor; Girsu province sent similar commodities. The primary difference between the two provinces is that Girsu was assigned to 3 or 4 months of the year, while Umma only 1 month; Sharlach, *Provincial Taxation and the Ur III State*, 27-29, 65-66.

apex of the pyramid; thus in a sense private households and provincial estates are all extensions of the royal household and were linked together in a network of kinship ties, mutual rights and obligations.¹⁵¹ This is quite evident since top officials of the Ur III state, such as Arad-Nanna and Babati, who held multiple governorships and generalships, nevertheless had cylinder seals inscribed that portray them as being the slave/servant (**arad₂**) of the king. They, in turn, had other officials as “slaves/servants” of their own.

On a lower level than the king, provinces were managed as the extended household of the provincial governor; the placement of temple estates of the provinces under the control of their provincial governors has been thought to have been one of Šulgi’s most significant reforms.¹⁵² Some examples of this household model in the provinces come from Nippur and Umma. The archive from the Inana temple at Nippur documents the activities of the chief administrator of the Inana temple (**ugula e₂ dⁱinana**) and demonstrate that the position was hereditary and that a substantial number of personnel tied to the temple belonged to the kin group of the administrators; one branch of the family monopolized the governorship of the province of Nippur.¹⁵³ The ruling

¹⁵¹ Steinkeller, “Corvée Labor in Ur III Times,” 350. It has been noted that modern notions of bureaucracy conjured up by the mass of documentation for this period are misleading. Emic terminology did not include terms for “state” and “office,” and actions undertaken by a particular individual were done in service of both a greater household and his own immediate household; Jason Ur, “Households and the Emergence of Cities in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *CAJ* 26 (2014): 249-258; Garfinkle, “Was the Ur III State Bureaucratic?” 55-61.

¹⁵² Steinkeller, “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State,” 20-21. He states that the provincial governors were royal appointees who now sent temple surpluses to the central government instead of retaining them for their provinces. The status of this as one of Šulgi’s reforms has been questioned; Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 138.

¹⁵³ Richard L. Zettler, “Administration of the Temple of Inanna at Nippur under the Third Dynasty of Ur: Archaeological and Documentary Evidence,” in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, SAOC 46, ed. McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1987): 125-126. For greater detail on the roles and interactions of the Ur-Meme family with the Inana temple, see Richard L. Zettler, *The Ur III Temple of Inanna at Nippur: The Operation and Organization of Urban Religious Institutions in Mesopotamia in the Late Third Millennium B.C.*, BBVO 11 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1992): 177-238.

family of Umma stemmed from one Girine who bore the titles of “equerry” (or “chief livestock administrator” - **šuš3**) and “chief policeman” (**gal5-la2 gal**), and from whom came a number of Umma’s provincial governors as well as other family members who continued in the roles of equerry and chief policeman.¹⁵⁴ At least some of the family are attested as having multiple titles such as Ayakala who progressed from scribe (**dub-sar**) to captain (**nu-banda3**) and finally to governor (**ensi2**), while other family members did not embark on a career in provincial administration, but rather used their connection to their powerful family to engage in private enterprise.¹⁵⁵

Subordinate to the provincial governors were the various temple and estate administrators (**saġġa**, **šabra**) who were oftentimes connected in some way to the ruling family of the province. Underneath these administrators was a cadre of personnel and dependents, such as temple functionaries, craftsmen, animal herders, farmers and unskilled laborers,¹⁵⁶ many of whom worked the domain land (**GAN2 gud**), sustenance plots (**GAN2 šuku**) and tenant land (**GAN2 niġ2-ġal2-la**) which comprised the provincial holdings.¹⁵⁷

The royal sector, which was present in both the provinces and outlying areas, was composed largely of military personnel. Each province had a military commander and a number of other high-ranking officers assigned to some of the towns within the province.¹⁵⁸ Alongside provincial settlements were royal settlements subject to the authority of generals (**šakkan6**) and captains (**nu-banda3**), and administered by “mayors”

¹⁵⁴ Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, 33-137.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

¹⁵⁶ For a list of some of the temple employees/dependents of the Inana temple at Nippur, see Zettler, *The Ur III Temple of Inanna at Nippur*, 156-163.

¹⁵⁷ Magnus Widell, “Sumerian Agriculture and Land Management,” in *The Sumerian World*, edited by Harriet Crawford, 55-67. New York: Routledge, 2013.

¹⁵⁸ Steinkeller, “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State,” 24-25.

(**ḥa-za-num₂**) and city elders (**ab-ba iri**).¹⁵⁹ Royal settlements were exclusively royal operations, as the provincial economy is virtually undetectable in the economic life of these towns and villages.¹⁶⁰ Such towns were often new establishments, bearing Akkadian elements in their names such as *maškanum* “rural village,” *ašārum/ušārum* “encampment,” and *ālum* “town,” as well as the names of the Ur III kings (i.e. *Āl-Šu-Suen*), and were situated throughout the provinces.¹⁶¹ Many of these settlements were located in the vicinity of provincial towns. An example of this is Garšana, which consisted of the provincial town, the estate of the general Šu-Kabta and the royal daughter Simat-Ištaran, and a military garrison manned by over a thousand men.¹⁶² The estate and the garrison comprised the royal settlement, which was spatially separated from the provincial town by a wall rebuilt by Šu-Kabta that surrounded the camp and estate.¹⁶³ The full name of the royal settlement was Ušar-Garšana (“the encampment of Garšana”) as attested by the seal inscription of Arad-Nanna that designates him as the general of the settlement,¹⁶⁴ and the town utilized the *Reichskalendar* (“imperial calendar”) as was customary for settlements directly controlled by the crown, such as Ur and Puzriš-Dagan.¹⁶⁵ Royal settlements, like the temple domains in the provincial

¹⁵⁹ Steinkeller, “Corvée Labor in Ur III Times,” 351-352. The traditional translation of “mayor” for **ḥa-za-num₂** is inadequate, instead they seem to have functioned as military liaisons - intermediaries between towns and the military administration; Jon Taylor, “Hazannum: The Forgotten Mayor,” in *City Administration in the Ancient Near East*, BB5, ed. L. Kogan et al. (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2010): 207-222.

¹⁶⁰ Steinkeller, “Corvée Labor in Ur III Times,” 356. However, the converse is not true, for we see a large number of military personnel traveling to and from the peripheral territories in the messenger texts. The expenditures for these personnel at waystations were under the purview of the provincial government.

¹⁶¹ Ibid, 356-357. Royal settlements located solely in Umma province include: A’ebara, Amrima, Ašarum-dagi, Garsuda, Garšana, Gišabba, Gišgigal, Gusaḥardu, Hardaḥi, Id-dula, Karkar, Maškan, NAGsu, Šarbat, Ušar-atigini, and Zabalam.

¹⁶² Heimpel, *Workers and Construction at Garšana*, 1-5; Bertrand Lafont, “The Garšana Soldiers,” in *Garšana Studies*, CUSAS 6, edited by David I. Owen, 213-219 (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2011): 213.

¹⁶³ Heimpel, *Workers and Construction Work at Garšana*, 4.

¹⁶⁴ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 323-324: E3/2.1.4.13.

¹⁶⁵ Cohen, *Festivals and Calendars of the Ancient Near East*, 225-226.

organization, possessed land and fields; indeed, they may have possessed a significantly greater amount of land than the provincial organization.¹⁶⁶ Their land holdings were constituted of land distributed among dependents of the king, which consisted primarily of military personnel, along with estates for members of the royal family and settlements for prisoners-of-war.¹⁶⁷ Royal settlements were not limited solely to the provincial heartland, but were established as garrison towns along the Diyala and elsewhere in the periphery, with the same military hierarchy in control under whom the daily management was conducted by city elders and military liaisons.¹⁶⁸

The most controversial aspect of Ur III society is the notion of a private sector in which enterprise was conducted and property owned by individuals and families that did not directly benefit or belong to the provincial or royal sectors. Much past scholarship assumed an evolutionary model of economic development in early Mesopotamia in which the Early Dynastic period was characterized by a temple-state economy, in which the temple estates held virtually all arable land, and was followed by statist economies of the Sargonic and Ur III periods under which land tenure fell to the secular state, finally

¹⁶⁶ Steinkeller, "Corvée Labor in Ur III Times," 358-359. He statement that "the province of Umma essentially formed one vast royal domain, within which was embedded a comparatively modest estate of the governor," is based off of a cadastral text that lists roughly 13,155 ha of land for the provincial organization, which makes up only 7% of an estimated total of 200,000 ha of the province of Umma. He notes that the provincial sector's land tenure in Umma was concentrated to the northern region of the province, while the southern region would have been populated with the royal settlements and their land holdings. Steinkeller also notes that, paradoxically, the royal sector, though it held the majority of the land, is poorly documented, especially in the countryside. This is due to the fact that most of our sources stem from provincial archives and therefore the royal sector appears only when it interacts with the provincial sector (353).

¹⁶⁷ Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State," 27; Steinkeller, "Corvée Labor in Ur III Times," 357.

¹⁶⁸ Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State," 30-41; Steinkeller, "Corvée Labor in Ur III Times," 351-352. The garrison settlements will be dealt with in greater detail in the following two chapters.

giving way to a rising private sector that cooperated with various palatial economies.¹⁶⁹ This model seemed to have been evident in the sources, though the nature and extent of the source material, and the biases they introduced, were often not taken into consideration.¹⁷⁰ The private sector is the least documented and therefore the least well-known sector; it has often been thought that though land held in private certainly existed, it played a negligible role in the economy.¹⁷¹ Arguments against this position include 1) that the argument that evidence for private land tenure is lacking is an argument from silence, 2) that arable land was privately held in the south prior to the Ur III period and 3) that sale documents attest to alienable orchards and residential property.¹⁷² An increasing realization of the patrimonial nature of the kingdom has led to a growing awareness of the ancient lack of distinction between public and private roles. Officials would have simultaneously engaged in entrepreneurial activities for the benefit of their own household as they worked for superordinate institutions or “households.” This was not limited to merchants, but included successful families engaged in other occupations as well.¹⁷³

The above overview provides the backdrop to the organizational system employed by the kingdom of Ur. It was a patrimonial system which saw interconnected kin groups

¹⁶⁹ Steven J. Garfinkle, *Entrepreneurs and Enterprise in Early Mesopotamia: A Study of Three Archives from the Third Dynasty of Ur*, CUSAS 22 (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2012): 18-19.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 19-21.

¹⁷¹ Steinkeller, “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State,” 27.

¹⁷² Garfinkle, *Entrepreneurs and Enterprise in Early Mesopotamia*, 21-23.

¹⁷³ Such as SI.A-a the chief herdsman (**na-gada**) who acted as a creditor in giving out interest-bearing loans, thus increasing his wealth, and issued antichretic loans, demonstrating his need for labor and acquisition of arable land; Steven J. Garfinkle, “SI.A-a and His Family: the Archive of a 21st Century (BC) Entrepreneur,” *ZA* 93 (2003): 161-198. For the existence of private enterprise and the lack of private/public distinction, see Steven J. Garfinkle, “Public versus Private in the Ancient Near East,” in *A Companion to the Ancient Near East*, ed. Daniel C. Snell (Malden: Blackwell, 2005): 384-396; Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, 88, 136-137; Garfinkle, *Entrepreneurs and Enterprise in Early Mesopotamia*, 137-153.

in various degrees of relations that employed officials from a range of backgrounds, who performed a range of roles and often accrued multiple titles.¹⁷⁴ The provincial and royal sectors permeated the kingdom and interacted with each other in undertaking projects initiated by the kings, ranging from the construction of temples to the prosecution of military campaigns. The latter became quite frequent in Šulgi's reign as he sought to establish degrees of control in the periphery to the east of Babylonia via diplomatic measures and the establishment of garrisons, and this continued into the reigns of his successors. The following chapters will investigate the toponyms subjected to military actions by the kingdom of Ur, some of the main troop types and military terms encountered in the documentary sources, and the garrison system established in the periphery. Though nowhere near to being an exhaustive and comprehensive treatment of the Neo-Sumerian military, this study will help to clarify issues and build a framework upon which a more complete military history of this period can be written.

¹⁷⁴ Garfinkle, *Entrepreneurs and Enterprise in Early Mesopotamia*, 72-73.

Chapter II: The Framework and Content of Ur III Military History: Year-Names, Plunder Texts and Toponyms

II.1: The Framework

As mentioned in the previous chapter, year-names provide the framework by which we flesh out the military history of the kingdom of Ur and its political relations with its neighbors. As will be discussed below, there are many challenges in understanding and using year-names for historical-political reconstruction. Therefore any augmentation with other types of evidence is quite welcome. For this we will turn to references to the spoils of war from these enemy locales in archival documents along with indirect allusions to campaigns (**kaskal**) in sources from Puzriš-Dagan. By combining these elements we can produce tables of the data to give us a snapshot of this military history:¹⁷⁵

Table 1: Military Events in the Reign of Šulgi

Year	Campaigns mentioned in Year-Names	Plunder of GN	kaskal
21	Der defeated		
22			
23			
24	Karaḥar defeated		
25	Simurru defeated		
26	Simurru defeated for the 2 nd time		
27	Ḫarši defeated		
28			
29			
30			
31	Karaḥar defeated for the 2 nd time		
32	Simurru defeated for the 3 rd time		
33	Karaḥar defeated for the 3 rd time	Anšan	
34	Anšan defeated		ša ₃ kaskal ^{ki}
35			

¹⁷⁵ See also Piotr Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur: An Epistolary History of an Ancient Mesopotamian Kingdom*, MesCiv 15 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011): 100-103.

36			
37			ša ₃ kaskal-la
38			ša ₃ kaskal-la (2x)
39			
40		Amorite lands	
41			ša ₃ kaskal
42	Šašrum defeated		
43			
44	Simurru and Lullubum defeated for the 9 th time	Amorite lands; Šuruthum	
45	Šulgi smote the heads of Urbilum, Simurru, Lullubum and Karaḥar in a single day	Urbilum	
46	Šulgi defeated Kimaš, Ḫurti and their territories in a single day	Amorite lands	
47		Šimaški; Amorite lands	siškur ₂ ša ₃ kaskal-la-še ₃ ; ša ₃ kaskal-la (2x)
48	Ḫarši, Kimaš and Ḫurti, and their territories were defeated in a single day	Ḫurti; Amorite lands; Kimaš; Ḫarši; Šimaški; Urbilum	ša ₃ maš ₂ -da-ri-a kaskal-ta er-ra

Table 2: Military Events in the Reign of Amar-Suen

Year	Campaigns mentioned in Year-Names	Plunder of GN	kaskal
1		Amorite lands	ud kaskal-še ₃ ša ₃ kaskal-la
2	Urbilum defeated		
3		Amorite lands	
4		Šašrum; Šuruthum; Šariphum; Amorite lands	ša ₃ kaskal-la
5		Amorite lands; city of Nergal/Meslamtaea	
6	Šašrum defeated for the 2 nd time		siškur ₂ lugal ša ₃ kaskal; mu aga ₃ -us ₂ kaskal-ta er-ra-ne-še ₃
7	Ḫuḫnuri defeated		mu nu-banda ₃ u ₃ gar ₃ -du Amar-Suen kaskal-ta er-ra-ne-še ₃
8			
9			

Table 3: Military Events in the Reign of Šu-Suen

Year	Campaigns mentioned in Year-Names	Plunder of GN	kaskal
1			mu šakkan ₆ nu-banda ₃ u ₃ ugula ġeš ₂ -da kaskal-ta er-ra-ne-še ₃
2			
3	Simanum defeated		ša ₃ kaskal-la
4			
5			
6		Simanum; Ašaḥar	
7	Territory of Zabšali defeated		
8			ša ₃ kaskal
9			

Table 4: Military Events in the Reign of Ibbi-Suen

Year	Campaigns mentioned in Year-Names	Plunder of GN	kaskal
1		Simanum; Urumanšer	
2		highlanders	
3	Ibbi-Suen defeated Simurru		
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			
9	Ibbi-Suen went with massive power to Ḫuḥnuri...		
10			
11			
12			
13			
14	Ibbi-Suen overwhelmed Susa, AdamDUN and Awan in a day and seized their lords	Amorites	
15			
16			
17	Amorites submitted to Ibbi-Suen		
18			
19			
20			
21			
22			
23			
24			

These tables can demonstrate concentrations of military activity by showing where martial references appear up in the administrative documentation.¹⁷⁶ There are numerous references to the spoils of war (**nam-ra(-aš)-ak, ne-ra(-aš)-ak**), some designating the origins of the plunder. Items of plunder included livestock, people and (precious) metals, corresponding precisely to the items Šu-Suen boasted in taking from his campaign against Zabšali.¹⁷⁷ The merits and pitfalls of using plunder texts to date campaigns will be examined below in the discussions on each of the toponyms referenced as the objects of Ur III campaigns. The allusions to **kaskal** as “campaign” are not always clear, since the basic meaning of **kaskal** is “road, path” with transferred meanings of “journey, trip, business trip; caravan” as well as “military campaign, expedition, raid.”¹⁷⁸ References to relatively large numbers of animals being sent to the kitchen on behalf of soldiers and officers coming from the **kaskal** undoubtedly refer to their return from a campaign:

¹⁷⁶ Steven J. Garfinkle (“The Economy of Warfare in Southern Iraq at the End of the Third Millennium BC,” in *Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien*, AOAT 401 [CRRAI 52], eds. Hans Neumann et al. [Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014]: 354) notes that the administrative documentation is largely a product of war years and suggests that there were probably no years between Š24 and IS08 that did not witness warfare.

¹⁷⁷ Douglas R. Frayne, *Ur III Period (2112-2004 BC)*, RIME 3/2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997): 304-305: E3/2.1.4.3 col. iv line 15 to col. v line 19. For a discussion of these plunder texts, see Laurent Hebenstreit, “The Sumerian Spoils of War during Ur III,” in *Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien*, AOAT 401 (CRRAI 52), eds. by Hans Neumann et al. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014): 373-380 and Garfinkle, “The Economy of Warfare in Southern Iraq,” 353-362.

¹⁷⁸ CAD vol. 5, 90-93 s. v. *girru* A and CAD vol. 6, 106-113 s. v. *ḥarrānu*. For the Ur III period, the text provenience and archive can help to determine the meaning. For example, the phrase **kaskal-še₃** in Girsu messenger texts is used in contradistinction to **ša₃ iri** in reference to goods that were to be consumed at the waystation versus those to be used on the journey; Palermo Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, Nisaba 22 (Messina: Studi Assiriologici Messinesi, 2009): 24-25. We can see both usages in a messenger text from Iri-Saḡrig (P454040 / Nisaba 15/2, 755 rev. lines 7-15): **1 sila₃ tu₇ 1 ku₆ / 1 sila₃ tu₇ 1 ku₆ kaskal-še₃ / igi-an-na-ke₄-zu aga₃-us₂ lugal tu-ra / 1 sila₃ tu₇ 1 ku₆ / 1 sila₃ tu₇ 1 ku₆ kaskal-še₃ / šeš-kal-la aga₃-us₂ lugal tu-ra / ud kaskal ugnim-ta im-e-re-ša-a** “1 liter of soup concentrate (and) 1 fish (at the waystation), 1 liter of soup concentrate (and) 1 fish for the road (for) Igi-Anake-zu the injured royal soldier; 1 fish (at the waystation), 1 liter of soup concentrate (and) 1 fish for the road (for) Šeškala the injured royal soldier - when they came from the military campaign (lit. road of the army).”

P114335 / MVN 5, 115 (7/25/AS06):¹⁷⁹

12 udu / 83 u₈ / 25 maš₂ / 35 ud₅ / mu aga₃-us₂ kaskal-ta er-ra-ne-še₃
 “12 rams, 83 ewes, 25 bucks, 35 nanny-goats for the soldiers who came from campaign”

P135098 / TRU 334 (8/10/AS07):

20 la₂ 1 udu 40 la₂ 1 u₈ / 2 ud₅ / šu-gid₂ / mu nu-banda₃ u₃ gar₃-du
^dAmar-^dSuen kaskal-ta er-ra-ne-še₃
 “19 rams, 39 ewes, 2 nanny-goats - a selection for the captains and champions of Amar-Suen who came from campaign”

P273491 / RA 101, 35 no. 1 (7/22/ŠS01):

3 gud 255 udu / ud 21-kam / 90 udu / šu-gid₂ e₂-muḥaldim-še₃ / mu šakkan₆ nu-banda₃ / u₃ ugula ḡeš₂-da kaskal-ta / er-ra-ne-še₃
 3 oxen (and) 255 sheep on the 21st day, 90 sheep (on the 22nd day) - a selection to the kitchen for the generals, captains and master sergeants when they came from campaign”

The animals expended for these groups indicate large contingents, perhaps as large as 9300, 3480 and 17,100 men respectively.¹⁸⁰ Other references to **kaskal** are not as straightforward. There are multiple occurrences of the phrase **ša₃ kaskal** “(from) within the **kaskal**,” some of which seem to merit the translation “campaign.” One document (P111954 / NCBT 2307 [--/--/ŠS03]) lists 165 assorted cattle and 141 sheep/goats as a delivery from out of the **kaskal** and sealed by Apilaša the general of Kazallu,¹⁸¹ and another text (P123364 / OIP 115, 464 [--/--/Š41]) mentions 21 ox carcasses and 231 sheep carcasses for the soldiers within the **kaskal** and sealed/received by Šu-ili the captain.¹⁸² The amount of meat would have been able to feed 26,460 men in a single sitting. Whether or not all of these references to **kaskal** in texts from Puzriš-Dagan refer

¹⁷⁹ For a duplicate of this text, see P144133 / SAT 2, 913.

¹⁸⁰ Assuming the animals were consumed in a single setting and based off of meat-to-person ratios found in Lance Allred, “Cooks and Kitchens: Centralized Food Production in Late Third Millennium Mesopotamia” (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 2006): 65.

¹⁸¹ **165 gud ab₂ ḡi-a / 141 udu maš₂ ḡi-a / mu-ku_x ša₃ kaskal-la.**

¹⁸² **21 ad₆ gud / 231 ad₆ udu / mu aga₃-us₂-e-ne-še₃ / ša₃ kaskal / kišib šu-i₃-li₂ nu-banda₃.**

to campaigns needs further study, though all references have been included in the tables above. Before one takes the data in the tables *prima facie*, aspects of this data need to be clarified to assist in preventing misleading assumptions and conclusions.

II.1.1: When Did Campaigns Occur?

The use of year names to date administrative and legal documents in Mesopotamia found its genesis in the Presargonic period, became the standard method of dating in the Old Akkadian, Ur III and Old Babylonian periods, and died out early in the Kassite period.¹⁸³ Years were named after events considered significant to the ruling administration, including both internal and external affairs, and were named after civil, cultic, diplomatic or military events. During the Ur III period these events included the construction of city walls and fortifications, the organization of the system of travel in the land, the construction of temples and cultic paraphernalia, diplomatic marriages linking the house of Ur to the ruling houses of foreign polities, and military campaigns. An example of each “type” is listed below:¹⁸⁴

Civic:

mu ur-dnamma lugal-e sig-ta igi-nim-še3 ġiri3 si bi-sa2-a¹⁸⁵

“Year that ‘traveling,’ from the lower to the upper (land), was put in order by Ur-Namma the king”

¹⁸³ For a basic overview, see Tonia Sharlach, “Calendars and Counting,” in *The Sumerian World*, ed. by Harriet Crawford (New York: Routledge, 2013): 311-312. Year names are attested in Babylonia for the Early Dynastic IIIb, Old Akkadian, Lagaš II, Ur III, Isin-Larsa, Old Babylonian and Kassite periods. They are attested in Syria at third millennium Ebla as well as second millennium Mari, Alalakh and Aleppo. In Egypt, they are attested for the Early Dynastic Period and the Old Kingdom (ca. 3100-2160), prompting the possibility that the use of year-names was a practice which originated in Egypt and entered Babylonia via Syria; Malcolm J. A. Horsnell, “On the Use of Year-Names in Reconstruction the History of the First Dynasty of Babylon,” in *From the Upper Sea to the Lower Sea: Studies on the History of Assyria and Babylonia in Honour of A.K. Grayson*, ed. Grant Frame (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2004): 165. Note that Assyria, throughout its history, relied on the eponym system for dating rather than year names; for an overview of the Kültepe Eponym List and the Mari Eponym Chronicle, see Klaas R. Veenhof and Jesper Eidem, *Mesopotamia: The Old Assyrian Period*, OBO 160/5 (Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 2008): 28-31 and 59-60. For a discussion of the history of the eponym system and its use, especially in the Neo-Assyrian period, see Alan Millard, *The Eponyms of the Assyrian Empire: 910-612 BC* (Helsinki: The University of Helsinki Press, 1994): 1-14.

¹⁸⁴ These are my translations. For alternate translations, see the footnotes attached to each category.

¹⁸⁵ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 14; *CDLI*: <https://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yearenames/HTML/T6K1.htm>. This example comes from P128417 / RTC 262.

Cultic:

mu ^dšu-^dsuen **lugal urim₅^{ki}-ma-ke₄ e₂** ^dšara₂ **umma^{ki}-ka mu-du₃**¹⁸⁶
 “Year that Šu-Suen the king of Ur (re)built the temple of Šara of Umma”

Diplomatic:

mu dumu-munus lugal ensi₂ an-ša-an^{ki}-ke₄ ba-an-tuku¹⁸⁷
 “Year that the daughter of the king was taken (in marriage) by the ruler of Anšan”

Military:

mu ^damar-^dsuen **lugal-e ur-bi₂-lum^{ki} mu-ḥulu**¹⁸⁸
 “Year that Amar-Suen the king defeated Urbilum”

The idiosyncrasies of the Ur III dating system provides numerous challenges for scholars trying to organize tablets in a chronological sequence or glean historical data from them. One problem is that the majority of tablets used an abbreviated year-name which, in some cases, can be identical to other year-names. For example, the abbreviated formula **mu si-mu-ru-um^{ki} ba-ḥulu** “The year that Simurru was ‘ruined’” could refer to Šulgi’s twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, thirty-second, or forty-fourth year, as well as to Ibbi-Suen’s third year.¹⁸⁹ Different provinces sometimes employed different year-names and a single province could even use different names for the same year. A good example of this comes from Šulgi’s twenty-first and twenty-second years. The date lists BE 1, 125 and IB 542a+b provide the following names:

Š21

BE 1, 125: **mu** ^dnin-urta **ensi₂ gal** ^den-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ e₂ ^den-lil₂-la₂
^dnin-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ [eš-bar k]in **ba-du₄-ga** [...]

¹⁸⁶ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 294; CDLI: <https://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yearnames/HTML/T6K4.htm>. This example comes from P100778 / Aleppo 446.

¹⁸⁷ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 104; CDLI: <https://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yearnames/HTML/T6K2.htm>. This example comes from P106214 / BIN 3, 407.

¹⁸⁸ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 236; CDLI: <https://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yearnames/HTML/T6K3.htm>. This example comes from P100046 / AAS 58.

¹⁸⁹ Richard Firth, “Notes on Year Names of the Early Ur III Period: Šulgi 20-30,” *CDLI* (2013:1): 1-2.

“The year that Ninurta, the chief steward of Enlil, pronounced an oracle for the temples of Enlil and Ninlil...”

IB 542a+b, 1: [m]u ^dni[n-ur]ta [e]nsi₂ gal ^den-l]il₂ [e]š-bar kin
[dug₄]-ga a-šag₄ šuku [^den-l]il₂ [^dni]n-lil₂-ra
[si bi₂]-in-sa₂-sa₂-a

“The year that Ninurta, the chief governor of Enlil, pronounced an oracle (and) put in order the fields and accounts for Enlil and Ninlil”

IB 542a+b, 2: [mu BA]D₃.AN^{ki} ba-ḥulu

“The year Der was ‘ruined’”

The date-list BE 1, 125 stems from Nippur while the date-list IB 542a+b comes from Isin.¹⁹⁰ Both entries for Šulgi’s twenty-first year in these lists are abridged and/or slightly variant forms of the full year-name attested in an administrative document from Nippur:

P110466 / Iraq 22, pl. 18:

mu ^dnin-urta ensi₂ gal ^den-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ e₂ ^den-lil₂ ^dnin-lil₂-la-ke₄ eš-bar
kin ba-an-dug₄-ga ^dšul-gi lugal uri^{ki}-ma-ke₄ gan₂ nig₂-kas₇ ša₃ e₂ ^den-
lil₂ ^dnin-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ si bi₂-sa₂-a

“The year that Ninurta, the chief governor of Enlil, pronounced an oracle for the temples of Enlil and Ninlil (and) Šulgi put in order the fields (and) accounts in the temples of Enlil and Ninlil.”

However, the Isin date-list includes a variant year-name referencing the “ruination” of Der. This becomes the sole year-name for Šulgi’s twenty-second year in this list,¹⁹¹ while the Nippur list refers to the ordering of accounts:

Š22

BE 1, 125: mu us₂-sa ^d[n]in-urt[a ...]

“The year after (the year) Ninurta...”

¹⁹⁰ For BE 1, 125 see Arthur Ungnad, “Datenliste,” *RIA* 2 (1938): 136-137 and for IB 542a+b see Claus Wilcke, “Neue Quellen aus Isin zur Geschichte der Ur III-Zeit und der I. Dynastie von Isin,” *OrNS* 54 (1985): 299-303.

¹⁹¹ P121049 / NATN 351 and P120817 / NATN 119.

IB 542a+b: **[mu u]s₂-sa BAD₃.AN^{ki} ba-ḥulu**
 “The year after (the year) Der was ‘ruined’”

Documents from Nippur only attest the use of the year-name referencing the campaign against Der, conforming to the Isin date-list and not the Nippur date-list.¹⁹² Texts from Umma during this time used what seems to have been a highly abbreviated form of BE 1, 125 and IB 542a+b, 1 and used temporary year-names based off of this form for the following four years:¹⁹³

- Š21: **mu niĝ₂-kas₇ ak al-la**
 “Year of the balanced account(s) of the hoe(s)”
- Š22: **mu niĝ₂-kas₇ ak al-la-ke₄ mu us₂-sa-bi**
 “Year of the balanced account(s) of the hoe(s), its following year”
- Š23: **mu niĝ₂-kas₇ ak al-la-ka mu 2-kam us₂-sa-bi / mu 2-kam us₂**
 “Year of the balanced account(s) of the hoe(s), its second following year”
 “The second following year”
- Š24: **mu niĝ₂-kas₇ ak al-la-ka mu 3-kam us₂-sa-bi / mu 3-kam us₂**
 “Year of the balanced account(s) of the hoe(s), its third following year”
 “The third following year”
- Š25: **mu niĝ₂-kas₇ ak al-la-ka mu 4-kam us₂-sa-bi / mu 4-kam us₂**
 “Year of the balanced account(s) of the hoe(s), its fourth following year”
 “The fourth following year”

Tablets dated to Šulgi’s twenty-fifth year from Umma are particularly interesting since it seems that they employed three different year-names for the same year:

mu us₂-sa kara₂-ḥar^{ki} ba-ḥulu
 “The year that followed (the year that) Karaḥar was defeated”

¹⁹² It should be noted that between Šulgi’s 21st and 22nd years only three texts come from Nippur and therefore the sample size is too small to assume that this was the standard practice for Nippur.

¹⁹³ Firth, “Notes on Year Names of the Early Ur III Period,” 3-6.

mu si-mur-ru-um^{ki} ba-ḥulu

“The year that Simurru was defeated”

mu niĝ²-kas⁷ ak al-la-ka mu 4-kam us²-sa-bi

“The year of the balanced account(s) of the hoe(s), its fourth following year”

The reason for the use of variant year-names is complicated, hindered by the lack of an adequate sample size for the earlier years of Šulgi, and would require a monograph in itself.¹⁹⁴ Nevertheless, a few aspects can be examined in detail.

One of the issues surrounding year names is the question of when the event occurred after which a year was named. Did it occur in the preceding year or in the same year? How long after an event did it take for a year name to be adopted throughout the provinces? In the case of a military action, a number of steps would have been undertaken to establish the year-name: 1) the campaign must have reached its conclusion (or at least have been at the point where the outcome was inevitable), 2) news of the results needed to have made it back to the king, 3) its use to name a year had to be decided upon and 4) finally the edict proclaiming this to be the central administration’s choice to name the year had to be sent to the provincial administrations and enacted.¹⁹⁵ It

¹⁹⁴ Even the use of month-names exhibits complexity - tablets from Ur were dated using the Girsu calendar up to the 30th year of Šulgi’s reign; Mark Cohen, *Festivals and Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2015): 80-84.

¹⁹⁵ For the Old Babylonian period we have “promulgation documents” which are texts that seem to exist for the sole purpose of informing the reader about the new year-name; Marten Stol, *Studies in Old Babylonian History*, PIHANS 40 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 1976): 49. They are classified as such if only a single year name is recorded (distinguishing it from date lists) and the year name is the only writing on the tablet; therefore it was recorded for its own sake and not to date other types of documents; Malcolm J. A. Horsnell, *The Year Names of the First Dynasty of Babylon, vol. 1: Chronological Matters: The Year-Name System and the Date-Lists* (Hamilton: McMaster University Press, 1999): 149. They can be bilingual Sumerian-Akkadian as well as include a shortened form of the year name (ibid, 149), and they are inscribed on tablets which are landscape-oriented; Piotr Michalowski and Gary Beckman, “The Promulgation of the Name of the Third Year of Rim-Anum of Uruk,” in *The Ancient Near East, A Life! Festschrift Karel Van Lerberghe*, OLA 220, eds. Tom Boiy et al. (Leuven: Peeters, 2012): 425.

has been traditionally thought that unless a temporary year name (**mu us₂-sa**) was used, the event after which a year was named occurred in the previous year.¹⁹⁶ However, at least for the Ur III period, the situation seems to have been more complicated. One problem is that temporary year names seem to have been used for most, perhaps nearly all, of the regnal years of the dynasty.¹⁹⁷ This could be interpreted to mean that events which provided the official year-name occurred in the earlier part of the year after which they are named, though there are problems with this scenario as well. Nevertheless, support can be marshalled for both the notion that years were named for events that happened earlier in the year and that they were named for events of the previous year. Support for the position that years were named after events of the same year stem from:

- 1) the ubiquity of temporary year-names (**mu us₂-sa**) throughout the dynasty of Ur, 2)
- texts which record plunder from a toponym in the same year as the official year-name,¹⁹⁸
- 3) references to troops coming from campaign in the same year as the official year-name,¹⁹⁹ and 4) news of the defeat of a toponym attested in the same year named after

¹⁹⁶ Horsnell, “On the Use of Year-Names in Reconstruction the History of the First Dynasty of Babylon,” 178-179 and n. 51.

¹⁹⁷ Provisional, or temporary, year-names are attested for each year from Šulgi’s 22nd year to Ibbi-Suen’s 8th, with the sole exception being Šulgi’s 30th year (when his daughter married the ruler of Anšan). There are generally too few tablets preserved from the reign of Ur-Namma, the first half of Šulgi’s reign and the latter part of Ibbi-Suen’s to provide an accurate sample, and therefore absence of provisional year-names in these years is essentially meaningless.

¹⁹⁸ For example, Šulgi’s 45th year, its name being “the year Urbilum was ‘ruined’,” is the same year that two references to plunder of Urbilum are mentioned: P104144 / AUCT 2, 326+336 (12/02/Š45) and P117196 / MVN 13, 423 (11/15/Š45).

¹⁹⁹ The year-name for Amar-Suen’s 6th year: “The year Šašrum was defeated for the 2nd time.” Campaign reference: P114335 / MVN 5, 115 (7/25/AS06): “on behalf of the soldiers who came from campaign” (**mu aga₃-us₂ kaskal-ta er-ra-ne-še₃**). The year-name for Amar-Suen’s 7th year: “The year Huḫnuri was defeated.” Campaign reference: P135098 / TRU 334 (8/10/AS07): “on behalf of the captains and warriors of Amar-Suen who came from campaign” (**mu nu-banda₃ u₃ gar₃-du ^damar-^dsuen kaskal-ta er-ra-ne-še₃**). It should be noted that the references to troops coming back from campaign do not include the names of their objectives, therefore introducing the possibility that they were coming back from campaigns against places different from those listed in the year-names.

that toponyms's defeat.²⁰⁰ An example provided by Sallaberger can show how a number of these data points can contribute to pinpointing the year in which a campaign took place.²⁰¹ He states that the distribution of temporary and official year-names for Šu-Suen's third year, which commemorated the defeat of Simanum, suggests that the new year-name was coined in the third month and used almost exclusively after the fourth month. In addition to this, a document from Puzriš-Dagan mentions a delivery of cattle from troops of Ḫabura, Talmuṣ and Nineveh, which is significant due to the inscriptions of Šu-Suen that mention Ḫabura as a prime target alongside Simanum; the text is dated to the early part of Šu-Suen's third year.²⁰² Lastly, in a text not cited by Sallaberger, is a reference to news that Simanum was defeated that dates to Šu-Suen's third year.²⁰³

It should be kept in mind that the notion that a year-name is named after a campaign that occurred in the same year likely refers to the completion or outcome of the campaign, and that the beginning of the campaign could have happened the year before or even earlier. References dating to Šu-Suen's first year about troops and officers coming from campaign may refer to the beginning of the Simanum campaign, though it could refer to military actions against other polities that culminated in the defeat of Simanum, or to an unrelated campaign.²⁰⁴ Another problem concerns plunder texts. We

²⁰⁰ P140334 / UTI 4, 2315 (---/AS06): "1 mina of silver rings (as) a gift (to) Lugal-andul who brought the good news that Šašrum was 'ruined'" (**a2-aĝ2-ĝa2 sig5 ša-aš-ru-um^{ki} ḫulu-a de6-a**).

²⁰¹ Walther Sallaberger, "From Urban Culture to Nomadism: A History of Upper Mesopotamia in the Late Third Millennium," in *Sociétés humaines et changement climatique à la fin de troisième millénaire: une crise a-t-elle eu lieu en haute Mésopotamie?* eds. Catherine Kuzucuoğlu and Catherine Marro (Istanbul: Institut français d'études anatolienne Georges-Dumézil, 2007): 443-444.

²⁰² P105106 / BCT 1, 4 (3/18/ŠS03).

²⁰³ P119008 / MVN 16, 960 (---/ŠS03).

²⁰⁴ P273491 / Hebenstreit 12 (7/22/ŠS01): "on behalf of the generals, captains and master sergeants who came from campaign" (**(mu) šakkan6 nu-banda3 u3 ugula ĝeš2-da kaskal-ta er-ra-ne-še3**). See also P332109 / PPAC 4, 190 (7/14/ŠS01); P122020 / Nik. 2, 337 (---/ŠS01); P136011 / UCP 9, 7 (---/ŠS01); P135353 / Torino 2, 547 (---/ŠS01).

cannot assume that the year to which they are dated is the same year in which the campaign that produced the spoils occurred. One example should suffice to demonstrate this point. The third year of king Šu-Suen was named “the year Šu-Suen the king of Ur defeated Simanum” (**mu** ^dš_u-^dsuen **lugal urim₅^{ki}ma-ke₄ si-ma-num₂^{ki} mu-ḥulu**).²⁰⁵ Though there is a messenger text from Umma which records prisoners-of-war as slaves dated to this year,²⁰⁶ the first explicit reference to plunder from Simanum occurs in a summary messenger text from Iri-Saḡrig that dates to the latter part of Šu-Suen’s sixth year.²⁰⁷ The relevant lines (rev. lines 11-14) are as follows:

34 sila₃ tu₇ / 5(ban₂) 4 sila₃ ku₆ šeḡ₆ / arad₂ nam-ra-ak lu₂ si-ma-num₂^{ki}-me / 362 sila₃ tu₇ arad₂ nam-ra-ak lu₂ a-ša-ḥa-ar^{ki}-me
 “34 liters of soup concentrate (and) 54 liters of roasted fish (for ones who) are slaves, prisoners-of-war, men of Simanum; 362 liters of soup concentrate (for ones who) are slaves, prisoners-of-war, men of Ašaḥar.”

The latter toponym, Ašaḥar, is attested in a royal inscription of Šu-Suen that describes his campaign against the lands of Zabšali.²⁰⁸ Thus we have a situation in which a smaller group of prisoners-of-war, which were taken in the campaign against Simanum (and were still designated as such), passed through the Iri-Saḡrig waystation in the same month as prisoners-of-war taken in the more recent campaign that subdued Zabšali. Furthermore, a

²⁰⁵ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 287.

²⁰⁶ P118249 / MVN 14, 569 (6/--/ŠS03) obv. line 13 to rev. line 5: **4(ban₂) 2 sila₃ kaš gen / 4(ban₂) 2 sila₃ ninda / ½ sila₃ sum / 1/3 sila₃ 6 gin₂ naga / ^dnin-mar-ki sagi / e₂ ^dšara₂-še₃ saḡ nam-ra-ak-da ḡen-na** “42 liters of average beer, 42 liters of bread, ½ liter of onions, 1/3 liter and 6 shekels of potash (for) Ninmarki the cupbearer who went with the slaves, prisoners-of-war, to the temple of Šara.” The term **saḡ**, literally “head,” was used in the Ur III period in reference to slaves; it is especially common in slave sale documents. See Piotr Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur III Period*, FAOS 17 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989): 130-131.

²⁰⁷ P453799 / Nisaba 15/2, 369 (10/--/ŠS06).

²⁰⁸ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 303: E3/2.1.4.3 col. ii, line 26.

document dated to Ibbi-Suen's first regnal year mentions provisions given to prisoners-of-war from Simanum.²⁰⁹

**6 ġuruš / 1/3 sila₃ i₃-šaġ₂-ta / i₃-šaġ₂-bi 2 sila₃ / i₃-ba nam-ra-ak /
lu₂ si-ma-num₂^{ki}-me / a-ru-a lugal / šu ba-ab-ti**

“6 able-bodied men received 1/3 liter of lard each; their lard (amounts to) 2 liters. (It is) the oil ration of the plunder (who) are men of Simanum; a royal donation”

Thus it is evident that plunder from one campaign could be kept in circulation, and was still designated as plunder of that campaign, for years or even a decade or more.

Plenty of scholars have thought that most, if not all, year-names refer to events that occurred in the previous year.²¹⁰ Support for this position comes from the notion that since the outcome of many of the events (such as wars) could not have been decided in the first few months of the year, then the events of all year names in principle should be considered to have taken place in the previous year.²¹¹ This obviously assumes that the completion of the event did not carry over into the year which was named after the event. Therefore the aforementioned reference to officers coming from campaign in Šu-Suen's first year could be an argument that the campaign against Simanum occurred in his first and second year.²¹² Additional supporting evidence would be the news of the defeat of a toponym attested prior to the year after which it was named and plunder texts dated to the year preceding the relevant year-name.²¹³ Lastly, the use of temporary year-names do not

²⁰⁹ P453965 / Nisaba 15/2, 623 (8/--/IS01).

²¹⁰ Magnus Widell, “Reconstructing the Early History of the Ur III State: Some Methodological Considerations of the Use of Year Formulae,” *JAC* 17 (2002): 106-107.

²¹¹ Widell's (ibid, 106-107) explanation for the occurrence of temporary year-names is that the discussion of the name of the new year, a process apparently taking a few months, did not begin until after the previous year was completed.

²¹² P273491 / Hebenstreit 12 (7/22/ŠS01).

²¹³ For news text, see P101074 / AnOr 1, 83 (1/--/AS02): “the good news that Šašrum was defeated” (**a₂-aġ₂-ġa₂ sig₅ ša-aš-šu₂-ru^{ki} ħulu-a**). This would refer to the first campaign of Amar-Suen against Šašrum, though to have taken place in Amar-Suen's 4th year; Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 237-238. For an example of a

seem to have been limited to the period of time in which the outcome of an event which was to be its subject matter of an official year-name was pending. Dahl has shown that Ur III annual reckoning adhered to the accession-year system or, in other words, when a king died and a new king took the throne, the entire year was still reckoned to the previous king's reign.²¹⁴ Therefore though Amar-Suen was dead by the end of the second month of his ninth year, the entire year was still named after him and the official year-name of Šu-Suen designated the first full year of his reign, though he ruled for most of the prior year. However, temporary year-names are attested for Šu-Suen's first year, sometimes well into the middle part of the year; Dahl's solution for this is to posit that the Umma calendar was a month or two ahead of the *Reichskalendar* used by the royal sector and thus would have been forced to use temporary year-names until the official year-name was formulated at Puzriš-Dagan or Ur.²¹⁵

An example of the complexity of the use of year-names involves Šulgi's action against Anšan. Šulgi's thirty-fourth year was named "the year that Anšan was defeated" (**mu an-ša-an^{ki} ba-ḫulu**) in all of the relevant text proveniences (Umma, Girsu, Puzriš-Dagan, Ur).²¹⁶ The breakdown of temporary and official year names can be seen in the table below:

prior-dated plunder-text, see P101721 (11/--/Š33): "plunder of Anšan" (**nam-ra-ak an-ša-an^{ki}**) when the following year (Š34) is named "the year that Anšan was defeated."

²¹⁴ Jacob Dahl, "Naming Ur III Years," in *Why Should Someone Who Knows Something Conceal It? Cuneiform Studies in Honor of David I. Owen on His 70th Birthday*, eds. Alexandra Kleinerman and Jack M. Sasson (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2010): 85-87.

²¹⁵ Ibid, 92-93.

²¹⁶ The Garšana and Iri-Saḡrig texts cover a period after the reign of Šulgi. There is one document from Nippur (P122220 / NRVN 1, 7) which provides a variant year-name: **ud an-sa-an^{ki} šul-gi mu-ḫulu** "when Šulgi 'ruined' Anšan." For more on this unusual text, see below.

Distribution of Date Formulae by Month for Š34²¹⁷

	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	XII
mu us₂-sa	1	1	5	--	--	--	--	--	--	1	--	--
ba-ḫulu	13	9	12	14	22	55	51	17	23	33	30	34

mu us₂-sa = temporary year-name

ba-ḫulu = official year-name

The **ba-ḫulu**-dates occur in texts from Umma, Girsu and Puzriš-Dagan in all months with a few exceptions. One is that texts from Girsu are unattested for the first month and another is that the only attestations from Ur are two texts dating to the ninth month. There are just over one-hundred texts with the month-name omitted or missing, with only one text of the **mu us₂-sa** type in which the month-name was omitted. Thus we can see that the temporary year-name was exceedingly rare, comprising only two percent of the total. The temporary year-names occur almost solely in the first three months, with the exception of one outlier in the tenth month. Therefore the temporary year-names seem to suggest a couple of possible scenarios. One is that the campaign occurred either at the very end of Šulgi's thirty-third year, and it took the first three months or so for the selection of the campaign as the year-name and the issuance of promulgation documents to occur. Another is that it occurred at the beginning of Šulgi's thirty-fourth year and the aforementioned process was conducted at a faster pace.²¹⁸ Texts dated with the official year-name support, in part, the data from the temporary year-names in that a significant upsurge in official year-names occurs from the fifth month onward. Support outside of

²¹⁷ This is based off of the catalogued data in BDTNS and it should be kept in mind that some documents cannot be securely attributed to a time and place solely on internal data (i.e. P339480 / BPOA 1, 824 in which the personnel do not have names with theophoric elements referring to either Girsu or Umma deities and the date of the document could refer to 4/--/Š34 at Girsu and 6/--/Š34 at Umma). Additionally, though I have tried to view the transliterations of a majority of the tablets, I have not checked all of them and therefore some errors in the attribution of date and/or provenience may have filtered down into this table. Nevertheless, the bigger picture should still be accurate.

²¹⁸ Another option, in which the campaign primarily occurred in the latter portion of Š33 and carried over into the first month or two of Š34, is also possible.

the temporary year-names for the completion of the Anšan campaign in Šulgi's thirty-fourth year comes from a balanced account of fish, some of which were expended for workers who transferred the army to Magan and from Anšan:²¹⁹

P115919 / MVN 10, 149 (5/--/Š34) obv. col. ii, lines 6-9:

**70 ġuruš ud 1-še₃ / ugnim_x (SU.KU.ŠE₃.KI.GAR.RA) ma₂-gan^{ki}-še₃
bala-a / 30 ġuruš ud 1-še₃ / ugnim_x an-ša-an^{ki}-ta bala-a**

“70 workman days (for) having transferred the army to Magan; 30
workman days (for) having transferred the army from Anšan”

This tablet is dated with the official year name, covering a period from the fifth through eighth months. Therefore the campaign could have been finished with troops departing the region as early as the fifth month of the year.

However, there is also evidence that can be marshalled for the view that the campaign after which Šulgi's thirty-fourth year was named occurred in the previous year. The fact that there is a significant number of texts dated to the first three months of the year with the official year-name, and that these documents stem from multiple sites (Umma, Puzriš-Dagan and Girsu), suggest that the military action against Anšan happened in Šulgi's thirty-third year. A plunder text from Puzriš-Dagan has been adduced as evidence of the campaign happening in this year:²²⁰

²¹⁹ Englund (*Organisation und Verwaltung der Ur III-Fischerei*, BBVO 10 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1990): 157) understood (tentatively) the scenario to be one in which Girsu fishermen were recruited to transfer the army, after having defeated Anšan, to Magan for an expedition there - mimicking the Gulf campaign of Maništušu in the Old Akkadian period - though currently there is no other evidence to support a Magan campaign in the Ur III period. Lafont agrees with the interpretation that the army coming from Anšan had taken part in the campaign after which Šulgi's 34th year was named, though he does not suggest a Magan campaign; Bertrand Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur: The Textual Evidence,” *CDLJ* (2009:5): 5. Relevant texts with similar dates which mention troops being transferred to Magan (**eren₂ ma₂-gan^{ki}-še₃ bala-a**) though without reference to Anšan are P134286 / TLB 3, 145 (5/--/Š34 to 2/--/Š35) and P134287 / TLB 3, 146 (9/--/Š34 to 2/--/Š35).

²²⁰ Piotr Michalowski, “Observations on ‘Elamites’ and ‘Elam’ in Ur III Times,” in *On the Third Dynasty of Ur: Studies in Honor of Marcel Sigrist*, edited by Piotr Michalowski, 109-124 (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2008): 116; Hebenstreit, “The Sumerian Spoils of War during Ur III,” 373.

P101721 / AOAT 420, 80 no. 6 (11/--/Š33):

**44 udu ħi-a ba-ug₇ / nam-ra-ak an-ša-an^{ki} / ki ur-^{giš}gigir ensi₂
a-dam-DUN^{ki}-ta / ġiri₃ ab-ba-na-ka / udu-bi su-su-dam / a-gu₃
na-ra-am-i₃-li₂-ka / i₃-im-ġal₂ / itud ezem-me-igi-ġal₂ / mu us₂-sa a-ra₂
3-kam si-mu-ru-um^{ki} ba-ħulu**

“44 assorted sheep died; (they are part of) the plunder of Anšan, from Ur-gigir the governor of AdamDUN, via Abbanaka. Those sheep are to be replaced. (They) were present in the (capital section of the) account of Naram-ili. *DATE*.”

The logic is that if there is plunder from Anšan attested in a text dated to Šulgi’s thirty-third year, then this must be the action from which the name of the thirty-fourth year derived. There is also an account of reed and wood expenditures from Umma dated to the eighth month of Šulgi’s thirty-third year which mentions reeds issued for personnel from Anšan who were, perhaps, in Ur when they received them.²²¹

Additional data further complicates the picture. What is quite intriguing is four texts with the collocation of “Anšan,” “defeated,” and **2-kam** in their year-name formulae. Two of the documents have the following construction: **mu 2-kam us₂ an-ša-an^{ki} ba-ħulu**²²² and should be translated as “the second year following (the year) Anšan was defeated.” This seems to be a variant way to write the temporary year-name for Šulgi’s thirty-sixth year: **mu us₂-sa an-ša-an^{ki} ba-ħulu mu us₂-sa-bi** “the year after (the year) Anšan was defeated, its following year,”²²³ as supported by a temporary year-name written as **mu 2-kam us₂ si-mu-ru-um^{ki} a-ra₂ 3-kam ba-ħulu** “the second year following (the year) Simurru was defeated for the third time” which, it can be shown, is

²²¹ P118442 / MVN 15, 162 (8/--/Š33) rev. line 4’: **360 sa gi lu₂ an-ša^{ki}-na-me** “360 bundles of reeds (for) the ones of Anšan.”

²²² Sumer 55, 120 no. 2 and Sumer 55, 125 no. 6.

²²³ See, for example, P100683 / Aleppo 351.

a variant of **mu us₂-sa a-ra₂ 3-kam si-mu-ru-um^{ki} ba-ḥulu mu us₂-sa-bi** “the year after (the year) Simurru was defeated for the third time, its following year.”²²⁴ The construction of a number followed by the genitive marker and the enclitic copula in these cases undoubtedly modify **mu** “year.”²²⁵ However, there is one document which bears the official year-name **mu an-ša-an^{ki} a-ra₂ 2-kam ba-ḥulu** “the year that Anšan was defeated for the second time” and another in which it occurs as a temporary year-name: **mu us₂-sa an-ša-an^{ki} ba-ḥulu a-ra₂ 2-kam** “the year after (the year) Anšan was defeated for the second time.”²²⁶

Was Šulgi’s thirty-fourth year named after the second campaign against Anšan, the first of which was not chosen to be a year-name? There is another example of this, namely the actions against Šašrum undertaken during the reign of Amar-Suen. The sole mention of any action against Šašrum occurs in the year-name for Amar-Suen’s sixth year, mentioning Šašrum’s second defeat, and it should be pointed out that it is far more common to encounter texts dated to this year that do not include the notation **a-ra₂ 2-kam** “for the second time” than ones that do.²²⁷ There are a few ways to understand this in relation to the campaign(s) against Anšan. The first is that there were two separate campaigns with, perhaps, the latter being the primary offensive which succeeded in taking the city.²²⁸ Another way is to view it as two major operations in the same

²²⁴ For example, P142151 / YOS 4, 87.

²²⁵ The example with the variant temporary year-name mentioning Simurru shows that the first number-genitive-copula construction modifies “year” (**mu 2-kam**) while the second construction modifies “times” (**a-ra₂ 3-kam**); both constructions occur in the same formula and therefore show the distinction.

²²⁶ P142350 / YOS 4, 286 and P100619 / Aleppo 287, respectively.

²²⁷ As a whole, only about 250 texts out of roughly 1500 (17%) include the **a-ra₂ 2-kam**. This is based off of texts in BDTNS attributed to AS, though some of them (without adequate internal evidence) could actually reference Šulgi’s 42nd year. It is substantially more common for texts that include the name of Amar-Suen in the year-name formula to omit the **a-ra₂ 2-kam** than to include it.

²²⁸ Piotr Steinkeller, “New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers,” *ZA* 97 (2007): 226-227 and notes 45-56; Hebenstreit, “The Sumerian Spoils of War During Ur III,” 373.

campaign, or that military actions which began in one year and carried over into another year were counted as two campaigns or defeats. It is even possible that the second Anšan campaign was conducted, at least for the most part, in Šulgi's thirty-third year for which the thirty-fourth year was named, and the first campaign was conducted prior to Šulgi's twenty-first year, as suggested by Frayne based off of a Nippur text which has an unusual "year"-name.²²⁹ It should be pointed out that there are a few other occasions of foreign toponyms being designated as having been defeated for the second time, and in each instance the more common, official year-names show that they were not consecutive years and that they are to be considered separate campaigns.²³⁰

To summarize, we have the occurrence of the temporary year-name, the distribution pattern of the temporary year-name, the transfer of the army from Anšan via boats during Šulgi's thirty-fourth year, and the attestation of the year-name "the year that Anšan was 'ruined' for the second time" that support the notion that one, and perhaps the main, campaign against Anšan happened in the early months of Šulgi's thirty-fourth year. On the contrary, the common occurrence of the official year-name in the early months of the year, the reference to plunder from Anšan dating to the previous year and the mention

²²⁹ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 105. The text, P122220 / NRVN 1, 7, only has the temporal clause **ud an-sa-an^{ki} šul-gi mu-ḫulu** for any sort of dating; there is no day or month date and therefore the clause may be functioning as a year name. However, the clause is not the last item of the text and thus it might actually refer to the day in which Anšan was defeated. Frayne's criteria for dating the text prior to Šulgi's 21st year is that Šulgi's name omits the divine determinative and Anšan is written with the sibilant *ś* instead of *š*, which seems to be characteristic of earlier periods.

²³⁰ Karaḥar: **ḫulu** = Š24, **ḫulu a-ra₂ 2-kam** = Š31, **ḫulu a-ra₂ 3-kam** = Š33; standard year-names.
 Simurru: **ḫulu** = Š25, **ḫulu a-ra₂ 2-kam** = Š26, **ḫulu a-ra₂ 3-kam** = Š32; standard year-names.
 Ḥarši: **ḫulu** = Š27, **ḫulu a-ra₂ 2-kam** = Š48; standard year-name, P142148 / YOS 4, 84.
 Kimaš: **ḫulu** = Š46, **ḫulu a-ra₂ 2-kam** = Š48; standard year-name, Borowski Collection, C7 (**mu us₂-sa** year-name).
 Šašrum: **ḫulu** = AS04, **ḫulu a-ra₂ 2-kam** = AS06; inferred from plunder texts (Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 237-238, standard year-name).

of Anšanites present in Babylonia in Šulgi's thirty-third year all compile to argue that the event occurred in the previous year.

It is evident that there is a substantial amount of ambiguity regarding when campaigns occurred. Dahl's theory may be a way forward in understanding the peculiar use of the temporary year-name, though this would have to be demonstrated for all text proveniences.²³¹ Another factor that needs to be taken into consideration is the idiosyncratic nature of the calendars of the individual provinces of the Ur III period. This distinctive feature may extend to the towns within a province so that different towns in a single province may have used slightly different calendars.²³² If this is correct, then it could account for some of the occurrences of the official year-name at the beginning of the year and the temporary year-name at the end of the year.

Nevertheless, these theories may be rendered moot by the occurrence of a text which provides the temporary year-name formula on the tablet and the official year-name on the envelope:²³³

Tablet:

40 ġuruš si₁₂-a
lu₂ ġa-ar-ši^{ki}
ki lugal-ġe₂-ġal₂-ta
mu ^den-lil₂-la₂-i₃-sa₆-še₃
lu₂-diġir-ra
i₃-dab₅

Envelope:

40 ġuruš si₁₂-a
x x x x ġa-ar-ši^{ki}-me
ki lugal-ġe₂-ġal₂-ta
mu ^den-[lil₂-la₂-i₃-sa₆] šabra-še₃
lu₂-[diġir-ra i₃-dab₅]
itud ezem-^dšul-gi

²³¹ For example, a text from Girsu (P116994 / MVN 13, 222) utilized a temporary year-name as late as the ninth month for Šu-Suen's first year.

²³² For the calendrical system of the Ur III period, see Cohen, *Festivals and Calendars of the Ancient Near East*, 60-69, 77-113, 115-162, 168-191 and 207-232. Thus it is possible that some of the texts stemming from a particular province came from a city other than the capital and which may have had differences in its calendar from the capital city. Royal settlements within provinces, such as Garšana, seemed to have adhered to the *Reichskalendar*; Cohen, *Festivals and Calendars of the Ancient Near East*, 225-226. It should also be noted that some month names, such as **itud še-sa₁₁-kud**, varied between provinces as to whether it occurred at the beginning or end of the year.

²³³ P125954 / PDT 1, 538.

itud ezem-^dšul-gi mu ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} ḥu-ur-ti^{ki} u₃ ki-maš^{ki}
mu us₂-sa ki-maš^{ki} ba-ḥulu mu us₂-sa-bi ud 1-a ba-ḥulu

Composite Text Body:

“40 able-bodied men, *sia*-workers - (they are) men of Ḥarši, Lu-Diġira took from Lugal-ḥeġal on behalf of Enlila-isa (the temple administrator).”

Date:

Tablet: “Month: festival of Šulgi. Year that followed the year after Kimaš was defeated.”

Envelope: “Month: festival of Šulgi. Year that Ḥarši, Ḥurti and Kimaš were defeated in one day.”

Either this was a mistake of the modern copyist of this tablet which collation of the text, housed in Istanbul, would quickly resolve, or there are other realities behind the drafting of tablets, envelopes, and the use of year names which remain to be discovered.²³⁴ The entire year-name system of the Ur III period is in need of a detailed study, and until then these issues cannot be confidently resolved.

A final point needs to be made about the year-name system, namely that it cannot be assumed that all military actions were recorded in year names. This becomes immediately evident with the official year-name of Amar-Suen’s sixth regnal year: “the year that Šašrum was defeated for the second time.”²³⁵ Additional evidence for the first campaign against Šašrum comes from a handful of documents dating to Amar-Suen’s

²³⁴ One possibility is that the tablet was drafted days prior to the creation of the envelope and it was during that interval in which the official year-name was instituted as the standard dating practice for that year at Puzriš-Dagan. Some problems with this are that both tablet and envelope are dated to the same month and that this month, being the seventh, seems a bit late for adopting a new year-name. The problem of the co-occurrence of temporary **mu us₂-sa** dates and official dates has also been identified at the level of a personal archive, in which the dossier of a Nippur merchant, Ur-Nusku, contains an official year-name dated to the 11th month of Šu-Suen’s 9th year while another document is dated to the 12th month with a temporary year-name; Widell, “Reconstructing the Early History of the Ur III State,” 107.

²³⁵ This also applies for Šulgi’s 44th year-name “the year that Simurru and Lullubum were ‘ruined’ for the 9th time,” though some have interpreted this to mean “for the final time” instead of a literal nine times; William Hallo, “Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier,” *RHA* 36 (1978): 77 and Piotr Michalowski, “Memory and Deed: The Historiography of the Political Expansion of the Akkad State,” in *Akkad: The First World Empire*, ed. Mario Liverani (Padova: Tipografia Poligrafica Moderna, 1993): 79.

fourth year which mention plunder from Šašrum²³⁶ and a text referencing the news of the defeat of Šašrum.²³⁷ Occurrences of Amar-Suen's sixth year-name referring to it being the second defeat of the city are relatively rare. Out of almost sixteen hundred tablets dated to Amar-Suen's sixth year, less than three-hundred bear the notation "for the second time" (**a-ra₂ 2-kam**).²³⁸ The majority simply have "the year that Šašrum was defeated" (**mu ša-aš-ru-um^{ki} ba-ḥulu**).²³⁹ Lastly, references to plunder from places not mentioned in year-names, such as Šimaški and the Amorite lands, show either that campaigns were more extensive and not limited to the toponyms mentioned in the official year-names, or that separate campaigns occurred which were not selected to be the subject of a year-name.

Now that we have surveyed the complexity of the year-name system which provides the framework for a political and military history of the Ur III state, we will examine some of the issues involved with the vocabulary used in these year-names.

²³⁶ See Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 237-238.

²³⁷ P101074 / AnOr 1, 83 (1/--/AS02), Umma: **2 gun₂ siki gen₆ / niĝ₂-ba lugal-^dištaran' / a₂-aĝ₂-ĝa₂ sig₅ / ša-aš-šu₂-ru^{ki} ḥulu-a / ki lu₂-kal-la-ta / kišib ensi₂-ka / itud še-sag₁₁-kud / mu ^damar-^dsuen lugal-e ur-bi₂-lum^{ki} mu-ḥulu** "2 talents of medium-quality wool (as) a gift (for) Lugal-Ištaran (for) the good news that Šašrum was 'ruined.' Sealed/received by the governor from Lukala. DATE."

²³⁸ Only about 100 of these are dated with the previous year name, utilizing the **mu us₂-sa** "the year that followed" formula.

²³⁹ Which, unfortunately, without enough internal contextual data is identical with Šulgi's 42nd year name. There are occurrences in which the name of Amar-Suen is explicitly written though the notation "for the second time" is omitted; for example, P248744: **mu ^damar-^dsuen lugal-e ša-aš-ru^{ki} mu-ḥulu** "the year that Amar-Suen the king defeated Šašrum." That this cannot refer to Amar-Suen's first military action against Šašrum in his 4th year is shown by the date lists which only list the installation of the *en*-priestess of Nanna for this year.

II.1.2: Issues with the Terminology in Year-Names

The overwhelming majority of year-names that refer to military affairs simply use the verb **hulu** to describe the actions taken against the various enemy polities:

Š21: Der hulu	AS02: Urbilum hulu
Š24: Karaḥar hulu	AS06: Šašrum hulu
Š25: Simurru hulu	AS07: Bitum-rabium, Yabru and Ḫuḥnuri hulu
Š26: Simurru hulu	
Š27: Ḫarši hulu	ŠS03: Simanum hulu
Š31: Karaḥar hulu	ŠS07: Zabšali hulu
Š32: Simurru hulu	
Š33: Karaḥar hulu	IS03: Simurru hulu
Š34: Anšan hulu	IS09: Ḫuḥnuri [...]
Š42: Šašrum hulu	IS14: Suan, AdamDUN, Awan RA-gi/gurum / dabs
Š44: Simurru and Lullubum hulu	
Š45: Urbilum, Simurru, Lullubum and Karaḥar saḡ-du-bi tibir...ra	
Š46: Kimaš and Ḫurti hulu	
Š48: Ḫarši, Kimaš and Ḫurti hulu	

Military events from the reign of Ur-Namma are not attested in his year names²⁴⁰ and references to campaigns in the year-names of Ibbi-Suen become more elaborate, and poetical, after the beginning of the collapse of the Ur III state.²⁴¹ Therefore the bulk of the year-names, at a time when the kingdom of Ur was an international power (from the latter half of Šulgi's reign to the beginning of Ibbi-Suen's), adhered to the formulaic **hulu** with only a single derivation with Šulgi's forty-fifth year-name. The use of **hulu** was not

²⁴⁰ Sigrist and Damerow's website ("Ur-Nammu," *Mesopotamian Year Names: Neo-Sumerian and Old Babylonian Date Formulae*; available from <https://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yearnames/HTML/T6K1.htm>; Internet; accessed 6 June 2018) include **mu gu-ti-um^{ki} ba-hulu** "the year that Gutium was 'ruined'," though this is not included in other discussions of year-names; Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 10-20; Walther Sallaberger and Ingo Schrakamp, eds., *History and Philology*, ARCANÉ III (Leiden: Brepols, 2015): 50.

²⁴¹ After Ibbi-Suen's third year, when former territorial possessions abandoned the use of his year-names; Walther Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," in *Mesopotamien: Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit*, OBO 160/3, eds. Pascal Attinger and Markus Wäfler (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag; Freiburg Schweiz: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999): 174-176.

limited to year-names, but occurred in administrative documents outside of the dating system. Again, every attestation except one uses this verb:²⁴²

As a temporal clause indicating the time of and reason for a cultic meal (**ĝišbun₂**):
ud ħu-ur₅-ti^{ki} a-ra₂ 2-kam-aš ba-ħulu²⁴³

As a temporal clause indicating the time of and reason for a banquet (**kaš-de₂-a**):
ud ki-maš^{ki} ba-ħulu²⁴⁴
ud ħu-ur₅-ti^{ki} ba-ħulu-a²⁴⁵
ud ^damar-^dsuen-ke₄ ša-aš-ru^{ki} u₃ šu-ru-ut-ħu-um^{ki} mu-ħulu-a²⁴⁶

As a subordinate clause indicating the content of a news report (**a₂-aĝ₂-ĝa₂**):
ša-aš-šu₂-ru^{ki} ħulu-a²⁴⁷
ša-aš-ru-um^{ki} ħulu-a²⁴⁸
ur-bi₂-lum^{ki} ħulu-a²⁴⁹
ma-ri₂^{ki} ħulu-a²⁵⁰
si-ma-num₂^{ki} ħulu-a²⁵¹

The verb **ħulu** is usually translated as “to destroy” due to first-millennium lexical equations with *abātu* (*ubbutu*) “to destroy” and *lapātu* (*šulputu*).²⁵² This translation, however, has caused uncertainty regarding how to understand the nature of these campaigns, especially in light of Simurru being **ħulu**-ed in two consecutive years (Š25, 26) or for a total of ten times by Šulgi’s forty-fifth year - averaging one **ħulu**-ing every

²⁴² The exception is P117445 / MVN 13, 672 which has a temporal clause indicating the time of and reason for items received (**be₆**): **ud LU₂.SU.A^{ki} mu-tag-tag-a** “when they attacked/defeated Šimaški.” The word **tag** is equivalent to Akkadian *lapātu*, its basic meaning “to touch” and a transferred meaning “to attack, defeat,” which used TAG in the G-stem and ĤUL in the Š-stem with the meanings “to overthrow, defeat; to destroy; to desecrate, defile.”

²⁴³ P124457 / Ontario 1, 44; P143717 / SAT 2, 517; P303637 / BPOA 7, 2852.

²⁴⁴ P142138 / YOS 4, 74.

²⁴⁵ P103528 / AUCT 1, 683.

²⁴⁶ P134675 / Trouvaille 2.

²⁴⁷ P101074 / AnOr 1, 83.

²⁴⁸ P140334 / UTI 4, 2315.

²⁴⁹ P315493 / PPAC 5, 7.

²⁵⁰ Same as above.

²⁵¹ P119008 / MVN 16, 960.

²⁵² Gianni Marchesi, “Ur-Nammâ(k)’s Conquest of Susa,” in *Susa and Elam: Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives*, eds. Katrien De Graef (Leiden: Brill, 2012): 287.

other year in a twenty-year period. If we are to understand **hulu** as *abātu* / *ubbutu* “to destroy / to completely destroy,”²⁵³ then we have to assume that Simurru was razed to the ground only to be rebuilt and repopulated in time for the armies of Ur to demolish it in the following year or the year after. Due to the unlikelihood of this, scholars have adopted a variety of positions to deal with this nuance of the verb. Sollberger posited that in the context of year-names the verb should be rendered as “to raid, to carry out a punitive expedition, to sack”²⁵⁴ and seems to have been followed by Potts, Sallaberger and Owen.²⁵⁵ Hallo understood Šulgi’s forty-fourth year name to be a poetic way of stating “for the last (or umpteenth) time” and therefore seems to have understood the verb as referring to destruction, though being used in a figurative sense in this instance and relieving us from having to assume ten destructions in a twenty year period.²⁵⁶ Michalowski also seems to have accepted the gloss of “to destroy” and, like Hallo, viewed its use figuratively, yet in a different sense, positing that the verb was being used hyperbolically.²⁵⁷

²⁵³ CAD vol. 1/1, 41-44 equates the G and D-stems, while CDA 2 provides an “intensive” nuance to the D-stem; the latter’s distinction is likely correct, though it should be noted that the D-stem in Semitic conveys iterative or pluralic notions which the translation “to completely destroy” exhibits nicely.

²⁵⁴ Edmund Sollberger, *The Business and Administrative Correspondence under the Kings of Ur*, TCS 1 (Locust Valley: J. J. Augustin, 1966): 132-133.

²⁵⁵ Timothy Potts understood the year-names to be describing raids rather than complete destruction and/or annexation, and notes that the repeated expeditions belie the ineffectiveness of their military endeavors in the region; Timothy Potts, *Mesopotamia and the East: An Archaeological and Historical Study of Foreign Relations 3400-2000 BC* (Oxford : Oxford University Committee for Archaeology, 1994): 125. Sallaberger (“Ur III-Zeit,” 156) described the “destructions” as raids to capture people and resources rather than as wars of annihilation. Owen seems to have understood **hulu** to have a basic meaning of “to conquer” with a semantic extension to include “raid”; David I. Owen, “The Royal Gift Seal of Šillu’s-Dagan, Governor of Simurru,” in *Studi sul Vicino Oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*, ed. Simonetta Graziani (Naples: Istituto universitario orientale, 2000): 820 n. 28.

²⁵⁶ Hallo, “Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier,” 82 and in Owen, “The Royal Gift Seal of Šillu’s-Dagan,” 820 n. 28.






²⁵⁷ Michalowski, “Memory and Deed,” 79.

Thus it is obvious that the way in which one understands the meaning and use of the word will affect, sometimes drastically, how one understands the political and military history of the Ur III period. If we understand **hulu** as denoting “to raid,” then the Ur III kings seem to have merely been concerned with the collection of plunder and perhaps the temporary weakening of their enemies, without concern to establish a presence in the region or eliminate their enemies. If we understand the word to mean “destroy” in a literal sense, then we should view their aims as eradicating (and perhaps occupying) the polities to their east and northeast, as well as their opponents being extremely resilient and industrious to recover enough to require frequent campaigns against the same cities. If we understand the word “destroy” in a figurative sense, then there is no need to assume the kings of Ur were as militarily active as the year-names portray; their actions could have been much more limited in scope.

It is interesting that the year-names, as a subset of royal inscriptions, used such a limited vocabulary to refer to their campaigns when there was a variety of terminology both available and in use in the preceding Presargonic and Old Akkadian periods. Understanding the various terms and their uses should help to clarify the application of **hulu** in the Ur III year-names and avoid misleading translations. For many translations tend not to nuance the various verbs used to refer to different aspects of conquest, defeat and destruction, which can lead to the potential for misunderstanding if not accounted for. Additionally, if the poetics and intent of the message are not understood, then the text can be misconstrued as well. Failure to take into account either of these things can easily allow for eisegesis instead of exegesis, in which we read our own contexts and modes of thinking into the ancient texts rather than allowing them to speak for

themselves. In our case, ignoring the nuances of the vocabulary used can result in viewing a homogenous treatment by the armies of Ur toward the various locales against which they campaigned, while ignoring poetical and rhetorical devices can result in dismissing martial claims as mere propaganda divorced from historical realities.

Therefore it will be useful to briefly survey the martial terminology of the latter half of the third millennium. The corpus of Old Sumerian royal inscriptions, stemming primarily from Presargonic Lagaš, utilized over a half-dozen terms in their descriptions of martial activity. The most common was the compound verb **aga3-kar2...sig10** (often transliterated as TUN₃.ŠE₃...se₃ or GIN₂.ŠE₃...se₃)²⁵⁸ whose Akkadian equivalent, *ša'ārum*, seems established by an inscription of Sargon.²⁵⁹ Occurring over thirty times, it has as its semantic direct object people, cities and lands, and has the connotation “to defeat, conquer.”²⁶⁰ Without the verb **sig10/se3**, the word is tentatively understood to mean “conqueror.”²⁶¹ The next most common word is **ha-lam** which translators gloss as “annihilate” based off of an Akkadian equivalent of *ḫalāqu*; its objects include territories

²⁵⁸ The first of the two elements of the syntactic direct object of the compound verb refers to an axe, whether written as **aga3 (gin2)** , **aga**  or **tun3 (aga3)** , but the meaning of the second element is uncertain and should probably be read as **kar2**  instead of **še3** ; Burkhardt Kienast, "Der Feldzugsbericht des Ennadagan in literarhistorischer Sicht," *OrAnt* 19 (1980): 258.

²⁵⁹ Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods*, 11: E2.1.1.1 line 37. For a different proposal for this term's Akkadian equivalent, see Piotr Steinkeller, "Review of *Umma in the Sargonic Period* by Benjamin Foster," *WZKM* 77 (1987): 188-189 who suggested that the Akkadian equivalent might be *ana karašim šakānum* "to place for destruction."

²⁶⁰ See, for example, Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 145-149: E1.9.3.5 and *passim*. A literal interpretation of "to strike with weapons" (*mit Waffen schlagen*) has been proposed; Hermann Behrens and Horst Steible, *Glossar zu den altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, FAOS 6 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1983): 337-339. Attested only in the late third and early second millennium, there is currently no data from lexical lists: CAD vol. 17/1, 2: "to be victorious, to win; to vanquish."

²⁶¹ Behrens and Steible, *Glossar zu den altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 337: "Besieger(?)" Also translated as "vanquisher" in Frayne, *Presargonic Period*, 442: E1.15.11. Apparently based on an Akkadian participial construct; Kienast, "Der Feldzugsbericht des Ennadagan in literarhistorischer Sicht," 258.

and cities as well as enemy rulers.²⁶² Following at a mere eight occurrences is the word **ḥulu** which nearly always takes as its object cities (or city-states) with the exception of an adjectival use to describe a palace; as mentioned above, translators tend to gloss “destroy” based on the late Akkadian equivalents *abātu/ubbutu* and *šulputu*.²⁶³ Limited to just a handful of occurrences are **gaz**, **gul** and **ug7**. The verb **gaz** was primarily used to render *dâku* “to kill, execute; to fight, defeat” but can be used for *maḥāṣu* “to hit, wound, strike, kill”; the two Akkadian verbs obviously have significant semantic overlap with *dâku* having greater focus on the outcome of a violent action while *maḥāṣu* focuses on the action itself.²⁶⁴ In the Presargonic inscriptions, **gaz** has the meaning of “to slay, kill” (*erschlagen, töten*) when its object is the population of a city and connotes “to fight back, repel (*zurückschlagen, zurücktreiben*)” when its object is a city ruler and an indirect object is present.²⁶⁵ The verb used to denote the killing of city rulers is **ug7** “to kill” (*šumūtu*)²⁶⁶ and the verb reserved for connoting the destruction of items was **gul**, with statues and pedestals as its direct objects.²⁶⁷ The inscriptions of Urukagina also include **izi...sum** “to set fire” and **šu...bad** “to plunder” in the context of stele and cultic installations.²⁶⁸

A good example of the variety of martial terminology in a single Early Dynastic text is an inscription from Eanatum (E1.9.9.5), from which the relevant sections follow:

²⁶² Behrens and Steible, *Glossar zu den altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 158-159: “vernichten”; CAD vol. 6, 37.

²⁶³ Behrens and Steible, *Glossar zu den altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 163: *zerstören*. Cf. Frayne’s (*Presargonic Period*, 151: E1.9.3.6 col. iv, lines 16-17 and col. v, lines 1-2) translation “to sack,” referring to the plundering of a captured town, which would more likely be specifically referenced by **ir** or **lah4** / *šalālu*; CAD vol. 17/1, 196-202.

²⁶⁴ CAD vol. 3, 35-43 and CAD vol. 10/1, 71-84

²⁶⁵ Behrens and Steible, *Glossar zu den altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 134-135.

²⁶⁶ Ibid, 351-352: *töten*. CAD vol. 10/1, 421-427.

²⁶⁷ Ibid, 154: *zerstören*. The Akkadian equivalent, *abātu/ubbutu*, bears the etymological meaning of the English “destroy” from the Latin *de-struere* “to un-build”; “Destroy,” *Online Etymology Dictionary*; available at <https://www.etymonline.com/word/destroy>; Internet; accessed 6 June 2018.

²⁶⁸ Behrens and Steible, *Glossar zu den altsumerischen Bau- und Weihinschriften*, 178, 317.

Table 5: Conquest Terms in an Inscription of Eanantum

Line #	Transliteration	Translation
iii 13-16	NIM ħur-saġ u ₆ -ga aga₃-še₃ be₂-sig₁₀ SAĤAR.DU ₆ .TAK ₄ -bi mu-dub	The highlands/Elam, the awesome mountain range, was defeated by him (and) he heaped up its burial mounds
iii 17-22	šu-nir URUxA ^{ki} -ka ensi ₂ -bi saġ mu-gub-ba aga₃-še₃ be₂-sig₁₀ SAĤAR.DU ₆ .TAK ₄ -bi mu-dub	Its ruler, who positioned himself at the front of the standard of Urua, was defeated by him (and) he heaped up its burial mound
iii 23-iv 1	umma ^{ki} aga₃-še₃ be₂-sig₁₀ SAĤAR.DU ₆ .TAK ₄ -bi mu-dub	Umma was defeated by him (and) he heaped up its burial mound
iv 6-7	unug ^{ki} aga₃-še₃ be₂-sig₁₀ SAĤAR.DU ₆ .TAK ₄ -bi mu-dub	Uruk was defeated by him (and) he heaped up its burial mound
iv 8-9	urim ^{ki} aga₃-še₃ be₂-sig₁₀ SAĤAR.DU ₆ .TAK ₄ -bi mu-dub	Ur was defeated by him (and) he heaped up its burial mound
iv 10-11	ki- ^d utu aga₃-še₃ be₂-sig₁₀ SAĤAR.DU ₆ .TAK ₄ -bi mu-dub	Ki'utu was defeated by him (and) he heaped up its burial mound
iv 12-15	uru-az ^{ki} mu- ħulu ensi ₂ -bi mu- ug₇	He “destroyed” Uru'az (and) killed its ruler
iv 16-17	mi-ši-me ^{ki} mu- ħulu	He “destroyed” Mišime
iv 18-19	a-ru ₂ -a ^{ki} mu- ħa-lam	He erased Arua
v 4-8	zu-zu lugal akšak ^{ki} akšak ^{ki} -še ₃ mu- gaz mu- ħalam	He repulsed Zuzu the king of Akšak (back) to Akšak (and) “erased” him
vi 17-20	NIM šubur ^{ki} URUxA ^{ki} a-suħur-ta aga₃-še₃ be₂-sig₁₀	The highlands/Elam, Subartu (and) Urua were defeated by him via the Carp-water (canal)
vi 21-vii 2	kiš ^{ki} akšak ^{ki} ma-ri ₂ ^{ki} an-ta-sur-ra ^d nin-ġir ₂ -su-ka-ta aga₃-še₃ be₂-sig₁₀	Kiš, Akšak (and) Mari were defeated by him via the Antasura of Ningirsu

This inscription shows that a number of these terms were employed in Presargonic royal inscriptions and were utilized with their varying degrees of specificity for rhetorical effect. The use of **aga₃-še₃ be₂-sig₁₀** referred to some type of battle, perhaps a pitched battle, supported by the subsequent reference to the heaping up of burial mounds. The use of **ħulu** and **ħa-lam** provide a vaguer notion of defeat, while **ug₇** and **gaz** were utilized due to the nature of their objects. This variety extended into the subset of inscriptions known as year-names, which appeared as a means to date documents around this time. An example of this variety can be provided from year-names of Enšakušana of Uruk.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁹ Sallaberger and Schrakamp, *History and Philology*, 41.

mu en-ša₃-kuš₂-an-na kiš^{ki} ab-da-tuš-a

“The year that Enšakušana laid siege to Kiš.”

mu en-ša₃-kuš₂-an-na ag-ga-de₃^{ki} aga₃-kar₂ bi₂-sig₁₀-ga

“The year that Enšakušana conquered Akkad.”

mu en-ša₃-kuš₂-an-na-ke₄ saĝĝa iri-saĝ-rig^{ki} i₃-dab₅-ba-a

“The year that Enšakušana seized the temple administrator of Iri-Saĝrig.”

This variety continued into the Old Akkadian period in both inscriptions and year-names, as exemplified by an inscription of Sargon which fortunately occurs in both a Sumerian and an Akkadian version; the relevant sections follow:²⁷⁰

Table 6: Conquest Terms in an Inscription of Sargon

Sumerian		Akkadian		
line #	Text	line #	Transliteration	My Transcription of terms
12-13	iri unug ^{ki} e- hul	12-14	URU ^{ki} UNUG ^{ki} SAG.GIŠ.RA	<i>inēr</i>
14-15	bad ₃ -bi e-ga- sig₁₀	15-17	u ₃ BAD ₃ -su ₂ I ₃ .GUL.GUL	<i>iqqur</i> ²
16-20	lu ₂ unug ^{ki} -ga-da ^{ĝi} tukul e-da- sig₃ aga₃-ka[r₂] e-ni-[sig₁₀]	18-20	in KAS.ŠUDUN UNUG[^{ki} ...] [i _š ₁₁ -ar]	<i>in(a) tāḥāzīm iš'ar</i>
22-26	[lugal unug ^{ki} -ga-da ^{ĝi} tuku[l]] [e]-d[a- sig₃] e-ga- dab₅	24-27	LUGAL [UN]UG ^{ki} in KAS.ŠUDUN ŠU.DU ₈ .A	<i>in(a) tāḥāzīm ikmi</i>
33-37	lu ₂ urim ₂ ^{ki} -ma-da ^{ĝi} tukul e-da- sig₃ aga₃-kar₂ e-ni- sig₁₀	35-37	in KAS.ŠUDUN URIM ₂ ^{ki} i _š ₁₁ -ar	<i>in(a) tāḥāzīm iš'ar</i>
38-39	iri-ni e- hul	39-40	URU ^{ki} SAG.GIŠ.RA	<i>inēr</i>
40-41	bad ₃ -bi e-ga- sig₁₀	41-43	u ₃ BAD ₃ -su ₂ I ₃ .GUL.GUL	<i>iqqur</i>
42-43	e ₂ - ^d nin-mar-ki e- hul	44-45	e ₂ -nin-mar-ki SAG.GIŠ.RA	<i>inēr</i>

²⁷⁰ Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods*, 9-12: E2.1.1.1. The verbs in the year-names include **hulu** “made bad,” **ĝen** “went (against),” **kaš.šudun...ĝar** “fought with,” **ša'ārum** “conquered,” **kamû** “captured”; See the introductory remarks for the various kings in Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods*, 7-8, 40, 84-87, 182-186 and in Sigrist and Damerow, *Mesopotamian Year Names*, https://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yearnames/yn_index.html. Variety in martial terminology in year-names also continued into the Isin-Larsa period and beyond, with the following verbs attested: **hulu** / **ra** / ^{ĝi}**tukul** **kalag-ga-ni im-ta-e₁₁** / **aga₃-kar₂...sig₁₀** / **gul** / **dab₅** / ^{ĝi}**tukul...sig₃** / ^{ĝi}**tukul...dab₅**. See the introductory sections of each king in Douglas Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)*, RIME 4, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990 and the year-names compiled in Sigrist and Damerow, *Mesopotamian Year Names*, https://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yearnames/yn_index.html.

44-45	bad ₃ -bi e-ga- sig₁₀	46-48	u ₃ BAD ₃ -su ₂ I ₃ .GUL.GUL	<i>iqqur</i>
46-49	gu ₂ kalam-bi lagaš ^{ki} -ta a-ab-ba-še ₃ na-[x]-ne-ne e- hul	49-55	u ₃ KALAM.MA ^{ki} -su ₂ u ₃ lagaš ^{ki} a-di-ma ti-a-am-tim SAG.GIŠ.RA	<i>inēr</i>
96-97	lu ₂ mu-sar-ra-e ab- ha-lam -e-a	102-104	ša DUB su ₄ -a u-sa-sa ₃ -ku-ni	<i>ušassakūni</i>

A striking feature of this list is that the Sumerograms used in the Akkadian versions are different in nearly every instance from the related terms in the Sumerian version. Below is a list of the Sumerian words, the Sumerograms used in the Akkadian version and the Akkadian word represented by the Sumerogram:

hul	SAG.GIŠ.RA	<i>nêrum</i>
sig₁₀	I ₃ .GUL.GUL	<i>naqārum</i>
giš tukul...sig₃	in KAS.ŠUDUN	<i>ina tāhāzīm</i>
aga₃-kar₂...sig₁₀	---	<i>ša 'ārum</i>
dab₅	ŠU.DU ₈ .A	<i>kamûm</i>
ha-lam	---	<i>nasākum</i>

Two of the Sumerian words do not have Sumerographic equivalents in the Akkadian version. The term **aga₃-kar₂...sig₁₀** which, as mentioned above, is difficult to assess the literal etymology convincingly, is rendered as *ša 'ārum* in the Akkadian version. This verb occurs only in Old Akkadian and (rarely) in Old Babylonian texts and is always written syllabically in Sargonic inscriptions.²⁷¹ Therefore the equation of **aga₃-kar₂...sig₁₀** with *ša 'ārum* is based solely on their relative positions in the two versions of the text. The equation of **ha-lam** with *nasāku* occurs only in the curse formulae of Old Akkadian royal inscriptions; it is completely absent from lexical lists. The equations with

²⁷¹ CAD vol. 17/1, 2 and Burkhart Kienast, *Glossar zu den altakkadischen Königsinschriften*, FAOS 8 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1994): 276-278.

ḥa-lam that do occur in the lexical corpus are with *lemuttum* “evil, wickedness; misfortune,”²⁷² *ḥalāqum* “to disappear, be absent,”²⁷³ and *mašû* “to forget.”

The compound verb ^{ḡiṣ}**tukul...sig** was represented in the Akkadian versions with the prepositional phrase *ina tāḥazim*, always written logographically with its Sumerogram: KAS.ŠUDUN(-šeššig); in the second and first millennium the Sumerogram used to represent *tāḥazum* was ME₃.²⁷⁴ Regarding the Sumerogram I₃.GUL.GUL, Kienast seems to have chosen *naqāru* due to the verb’s frequent use in relation to the destruction of cities, walls and fortifications in later periods, though it is never written syllabically in the Old Akkadian inscriptions.²⁷⁵ The CAD, however, suggests that the verb is not attested prior to the early second millennium.²⁷⁶ The lack of syllabic variants of the Sumerogram means that we cannot be sure which Akkadian term is represented, for **gul** has lexical equivalents not just with *naqāru*, but with *abātu* “to destroy,” *ḥepû* “to break” and *sapānu* “to level” as well.²⁷⁷ The word *abātu* is the primary Akkadian term associated with **gul**.²⁷⁸ The word used in the Sumerian version of the inscription, **si** (**sig**₁₀), was later used as a Sumerogram for *sapānu* “to level, smooth; to destroy, devastate” which is not attested as having a lexical equivalent with **gul**.²⁷⁹ Thus we see that the Sumerian and Akkadian versions of the Sargon inscription were using synonymous terms with overlapping semantic ranges, but not precise lexical

²⁷² MSL 12, 157 A: 36 and 175 B: obv. i, 37; OB Lu₂-Azlag₂ B-C: seg. 1, 37: **lu₂ ḥa-lam-ma** = *ša lemuttim*.

²⁷³ MSL SSI, 17-27: col. iv, 39: **eme niḡ₂-ḥa-lam-ma** = *lišān šaḥluṭti*.

²⁷⁴ Kienast, *Glossar zu den altakkadischen Königsinschriften*, 305-307. That KAS.ŠUDUN is to be equated with *tāḥazum* is shown by parallels in an Old Babylonian literary text which recount the deeds of Naram-Suen; CAD vol. 18, 42-48.

²⁷⁵ “(Mauern) schleifen”; Kienast, *Glossar zu den altakkadischen Königsinschriften*, 252-253.

²⁷⁶ CAD vol. 11/1, 329-332.

²⁷⁷ See the lexical data in CAD vol. 11/1, 329 and CT 51, pl. 58-60 rev.[?] col. ii, lines 50’-52’ (Middle Assyrian *Šarru*).

²⁷⁸ CAD vol. 1/1, 41-47.

²⁷⁹ CAD vol. 15, 158-161.

equivalents.²⁸⁰ This is an important distinction when it comes to the verb **hulu** which, with its counterpart being SAG.GIŠ.RA in the Akkadian version of the Sargon inscription, is equated with *nêrum* and given the gloss “to conquer.”²⁸¹ The word *nêrum* has no associations with **hulu** in lexical texts or later bilingual compositions, its primary lexical equivalent being **saĝ-ĝiś-ra** and meaning “to strike, smite (mortally)” from the literal “to beat the club against the head.”²⁸² The idea of mortal wounding for *nêrum* is further supported by its associations with **gaz** “slaughter” and **ugs** “kill.”²⁸³

Parallel translations, and particularly wooden ones, can help to show both overlap and distinction in translation in the Sumerian and Akkadian versions of Sargon’s inscription:

Sumerian

lines 12-20: “He made bad the city of Uruk, moreover he leveled its walls (for) he had struck weapons with the man of Uruk (and) established victory”
 lines 22-26: “He struck weapons with the king of Uruk, moreover he seized him”
 lines 33-41: “He struck weapons with the man of Umma, established victory (and) made bad his city, moreover he flattened its walls”
 lines 42-45: “He made bad Eninmarki, moreover he leveled its walls”
 lines 46-49: “He made bad ... the entirety of the Land from Lagaš to the sea”
 lines 96-97: “The one who obliterates (this) inscription...”

Akkadian

lines 12-20: “He mortally wounded the city of Uruk and destroyed its walls (for) he was victorious in battle against Uruk”

²⁸⁰ Also supported by the use in this inscription of **ha-lam** versus *nasākum*, in which **ha-lam** is not attested as a Sumerogram or lexical equivalent of *nasākum*; the Akkadian word is primarily written logographically as ŠUB and the association between **ha-lam** and *nasākum* stems solely from their occurrences in a couple of bilingual Old Akkadian inscriptions and the assumption that bilingual versions produce precise lexical equivalents rather than a looser production of synonyms. **ha-lam** is attested as lexical equivalents of words stemming from the roots *lmn*, *hlq* and *mš*, not *nsk*. Also, though ŠU.DU₈.A does have lexical equations with **dabs**, it was primarily used as a logogram for *kamûm* while **dabs** (**dib₂**, with variants **dib**/**dab**) was the sole Sumerogram and equivalent to *šabātum*; see CAD vol. 8, 128ff. and CAD vol. 16, 5ff.

²⁸¹ Kienast, *Glossar zu den altakkadischen Königsinschriften*, 257: *erobern*. Cf. Frayne’s translation (*Presargonic Period*, 151) **hulu** as “sacked” which actually refers to the plundering of a city (*šalālu*) rather than its capture or destruction.

²⁸² Marchesi, “Ur-Nammâ(k)’s Conquest of Susa,” 287 n. 23.

²⁸³ CAD vol. 11/2, 178ff.

lines 24-27: “He captured the king of Uruk in battle”

lines 35-43: “He was victorious in battle against Ur, mortally wounded the city and destroyed its walls”

lines 44-48: “He mortally wounded Eninmarki and destroyed its walls”

lines 49-55: “and he mortally wounded his land and Lagaš as far as the sea”

lines 102-104: “the one who removes this *inscription*...”

To reiterate, bilingual versions of inscriptions often provide synonymous terms which can highlight varying nuances within overlapping semantic ranges.²⁸⁴ In the case of **hulu**, simply because an association with *nêrum* occurs in Sargonic Akkadian inscriptions, with a transferred meaning of “to conquer; destroy” in the context of lands and cities,²⁸⁵ does not mean that these glosses should be narrowly applied to the verb in Sumerian inscriptions. Indeed, the weight of the lexical data and bilingual associations demonstrate that **hulu** was strictly associated with the Akkadian root *lmn*:

<i>Akkadian Word</i>	<i>Sumerogram</i>	<i>Definition</i>
<i>lemēnu</i> (v.)	ḪUL	“to fall into misfortune, come upon bad times; to turn into evil; to become angry; to treat badly, defame; to make someone or something look bad; to annoy, offend, worry; to make enemies of each other” ²⁸⁶
<i>lemniš</i> (adv.)	ḪUL(.A.BI / LE.EŠ)	“badly, evilly, maliciously, viciously, miserably, severely” ²⁸⁷
<i>lemnu</i> (adj.)	ḪUL, NIG ₂ .ḪUL(.DIM ₂), ḪA.LAM, ŠU.TAG	“morally bad, evil, wicked; ill-boding, unlucky; dangerous, hard, bitter, unhappy” ²⁸⁸
<i>lemnu</i> (s.)	ḪUL	“evildoer, enemy; evil” ²⁸⁹

²⁸⁴ This occurs with lexical lists as well, which often give multiple Sumerian words as the equivalent of a single Akkadian term. For example, terms for size such as: **gur₄** “to be thick,” **gal** “to be big,” and **maḥ** “to be tall” are all subsumed under the rubric *rabû* “to be big” in some later lexical lists; for details, see chapter 4, n. 1444.

²⁸⁵ Ibid, 181-182.

²⁸⁶ CAD vol. 9, 116ff.

²⁸⁷ Ibid, 119f.

²⁸⁸ Ibid, 120ff.

²⁸⁹ Ibid, 124f.

<i>lemuttu</i> (s.)	ḪUL, NIG ₂ .ḪUL	“wickedness; misfortune, danger; evil intentions/plans; calamity” ²⁹⁰
<i>lummunu</i> (adj.)	ḪUL	“evil, miserable, unfavorable, unpropitious; of poor condition, quality” ²⁹¹
<i>lumnu</i> (s.)	ḪUL	“misfortune, evil fate; ill portent; catastrophe, harm; misdeed, evil” ²⁹²
<i>bēl lemutti/lumni</i> (s.)	EN / NIN ḪUL	“enemy, adversary” ²⁹³
<i>lumun libbi</i>	ŠA ₃ ḪUL(.LA / GAL ₂), ŠA ₃ GIG	“grief, sorrow, distress, anger” ²⁹⁴
<i>ša lemutti</i>	LU ₂ . ḪUL.DIM ₂ .MA, LU ₂ ḪA.LAM.MA, NIG ₂ . ḪA.LAM.MA	“evildoer” ²⁹⁵

Thus the term **ḫulu**, while denoting “evil,” was also used to denote “calamity, catastrophe,” and “misfortune” without any notion of moral or ritual failure.²⁹⁶ Just as **ḫulu** = *lemuttu* is a general term that can refer to a variety of crimes, sins, guilt and failures, **ḫulu** as “catastrophe, misfortune” is an encompassing rubric which subsumes a variety of events, such as (in military contexts) the defeat of an army, the raiding of the countryside, the capture of a city, the destruction of a city, the plunder of crops and livestock, etc. Essentially anything that caused a loss for the enemy could be considered as that enemy being **ḫulu**-ed or “ruined.”

²⁹⁰ Ibid, 127ff.

²⁹¹ Ibid, 246.

²⁹² Ibid, 247ff.

²⁹³ Ibid, 130, 250.

²⁹⁴ Ibid, 250.

²⁹⁵ Ibid, 130.

²⁹⁶ This is common feature in ancient Near Eastern terminology. Hebrew *rā‘a* (רָעָה) and its derivatives have the dual meaning of being wrong in light of moral law and divine command and of referring to physical or emotional harm (or unpleasantness) experienced by humans; adjectivally and substantively its non-moral meaning refers to misery, distress, and injury; G. Herbert Livingston, “2191 (*rā‘a*) I, be bad, evil. Denominative verb,” in *Theological Wordbook of the Old Testament*, eds. R. Laird Harris et al. (Chicago: Moody Publishers, 1980): 854-856.

We can see this notion displayed in the vocabulary of the few Ur III royal inscriptions that refer to campaigns. Four inscriptions provide alternate verbs and descriptions of the military actions the kings of Ur took against Kimaš and Ḫurti,²⁹⁷ Ḫuḫnuri, Simanum and Zabšali. In the inscription mentioning the action against Kimaš and Ḫurti, the verb describing their defeat is situated within a temporal clause and is the verb *ḫalāqu* (lines 7-10):

inu māt Kimaš u Ḫurtim uḫalliḳūna
 “when he (Šulgi) *obliterated* the land of Kimaš and Ḫurtum...”

The verb *ḫalāqu* is primarily rendered logographically in Akkadian with the Sumerogram **zah₂** or **zah₃**, though it also has other lexical equivalents, namely **ḫa-lam**, **u₂-gu₃ de₂**, and **kar**, each of these corresponding to various nuances in the verb’s semantic range.²⁹⁸ In this case we have a D-stem form of the verb *ḫalāqu* whose G-stem meanings of “to disappear, vanish, become missing or lost” are intransitive.²⁹⁹ A primary function of the D-stem in Semitic languages³⁰⁰ is to make intransitive verbs factitive. In other words, the D-stem takes a verb which is intransitive in the G-stem and expresses the bringing about of the state described by the verb in the G-stem. This causative nuance is distinguished from other Semitic causatives³⁰¹ due to its patency nuance instead of an agency nuance. The distinction is between causing to *be* something (D-stem) versus causing to *do*

²⁹⁷ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 141: E3/2.1.2.33.

²⁹⁸ CAD vol. 6, 37 and ePSD. **ḫa-lam** “to become forsaken, forgotten” (*mašû*); **u₂-gu₃...de₂** “to be lost, missing” (*ḫalāqu*); **kar** “to take away (by force), deprive” (*ekēmu*).

²⁹⁹ CAD vol. 6, 36. The underlying semantic notion is that of an object not being where it is supposed to be or used to be.

³⁰⁰ Akkadian D and Dtn-stems, Hebrew *Piel* and Aramaic *Pael* forms, in considering only active stems.

³⁰¹ Akkadian Š and Štn-stems, Hebrew *Hiphil* and Aramaic *Haphel*, *Aphel* and *Shaphel* forms, again only considering active stems.

something (Š-stem).³⁰² The Akkadian dictionaries provide D-stem glosses of “to make disappear, remove; to do away with; to cause a loss; to destroy, ruin.”³⁰³ This is in accord with the English word “obliterate” meaning “to remove from recognition or memory; to cause to disappear; to blot out, erase, efface”³⁰⁴ and therefore should be the word used in this context to render *hulluqu*. It does not necessarily signify the destruction of a city, either by active demolition or by burning with fire, but rather figuratively conveys the notion that the foreign, enemy entity has, by the actions of the Mesopotamian king, been “erased” or “removed” from its previous status and level of power and rendered “impotent, forgettable and ruined.”

The inscription of Amar-Suen describing his attack of Huḫnuri is unfortunately damaged at the section which contains the verb used in relation to Huḫnuri’s defeat, rendering a number of signs uncertain. Nasrabadi proposed the transliteration *u₃-ša-ri[?]-id[?]-u₂[?]* and noted that Sallaberger suggested *u₃-ša-ri[?]-id[?]-su[?]*.³⁰⁵ Regardless of the final sign being *u₂* to signify the subordination suffix or *su* to denote an assimilated third person, masculine direct object, the proposed verb is a Š-stem preterite of the verb *warādu*. This verb is almost solely rendered by the Sumerogram **e11 (ed3)** which, in Sumerian, denotes vertical movement and can be used to render both *elû* “to ascend” and

³⁰² Bill T. Arnold and John H. Choi, *A Guide to Biblical Hebrew Syntax* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 42-43. An example they provide is the verb *ḥwh* which means in the *Qal* (G-stem) “to live,” in the *Piel* (D-stem) “to cause to be alive” (focusing on causing a state of being) and in the *Hiphil* (= Š-stem) “to cause to live” (focusing on causing an action). Huehnergard’s (*A Grammar of Akkadian*, second edition (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005): 257-258) division of D-stem verbs into factitive and causative is misleading; most of the verbs listed under the “causative” section have both D and Š-stems and therefore should be understood as factitive in the D-stem.

³⁰³ CAD vol. 6, 39; AHw vol. 1, 310-311; CDA 101.

³⁰⁴ *The Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, 6th ed., s. v. obliterate; “Obliterate,” *Online Etymology Dictionary*; available from <https://www.etymonline.com/word/obliterate>; Internet; accessed 2 June 2018.

³⁰⁵ Behzad Mofidi Nasrabadi, “Eine Steininschrift des Amar-Suena aus Tappeh Bormi (Iran),” *ZA* 95 (2005): 161-171.

warādu “to descend.”³⁰⁶ The basic meaning of the latter is “to go down, descend” which, in the Š-stem, can mean “to send down, bring down; to make descend into the netherworld.”³⁰⁷ Therefore we can propose that this reference should be translated “he/they brought down Huhnuri,”³⁰⁸ though the use of *šūrudu* with a city or territory as its object is virtually unattested elsewhere.

The inscriptions of Šu-Suen provide the most detailed descriptions of the king of Ur attacking his enemies, though the texts are replete with figurative language. The relevant syntagms are included below:

Simanum Campaigns:

Item 1. col. ii, lines 38, 45: [... **me₃ šen-še**]n-ba . . . **aga_x-kar₂ bi₂-se₃-se₃**
“(their rulers) were conquered . . . by him (Šu-Suen) in battle and combat”

2. col. iv, lines 17-20:
dub₃-tuku-bi LU_{2x}KAR₂-a [mi-ni]-dab₅-ba
“he seized their runners as captives”

nam-lu-ulu₃-ba saḥar im-mi-dul
“he covered their people with dirt”

3. col. iv, lines 21-25:
si-ma-num₂^{ki} ḥa-bu-ra^{ki} u₃ [m]a-da-ma-da-bi saḡ-du-be₂ tibir₂
im-mi-ra
“he smote the heads of Simanum, Ḥabura and all their territories”

4. col. v, lines 42-48:
ḥur-saḡ gal-ga[l] ḥu-ri₂-in-g[in₇] gu₂ ki-[še₃] ba-an-da-ab-[ḡar]
“like an eagle he (Šu-Suen) made the great mountain ranges submit”

iri^{ki} a₂-dam ki ḡar-ḡar-ra-b[i] du₆-du₆-ra₂ mi-ni-[ḡar]
“he (Šu-Suen) turned the cities (and) encampments established by them (Amorites) into ruin mounds”

³⁰⁶ CAD vol. 1/2, 212-213. Note TUK.TUK = *šu-ru-du* Diri I, 315.

³⁰⁷ CAD vol. 1/2, 217-219, AHW vol. 3, 1462-1463; CDA 433.

³⁰⁸ As Nasrabadi translated: “Huhnuri hinabgeführt hat.”

Zabšali Campagins:

Item 5. col. iii, lines 10-11:

me₃ šen-šen-ba aga_x-kar₂ bi₂-in-se₃-se₃

“(their rulers) were conquered by him (Šu-Suen) in battle and combat”

6. col. iii, lines 12-13:

saĝ ur-saĝ-be₂ gu₂-gur_x bi₂-in-dug₄³⁰⁹

“their foremost champions were *reaped* (by him)”

7. col. iii, lines 14-15:

du₁₀-tuku-be₂ šu si-ga bi₂-in-dug₄

“their runners were *rendered impotent* (by him)”

8. col. iii, lines 16-17:

kalag-ga si-ga-bi ur-re-eš₂ mu-ug₇-ug₇

“He killed (both) strong (and) weak like dogs”

9. col. iii, lines 18-19:

saĝ zid saĝ lul-bi numun-e-eš₂ mu-ĝar-ĝar

“He sowed the heads of the righteous (and) the criminal (alike) like seeds”

10. col. iii, lines 20-21:

ad₆ nam-lu₂-ulu₃-bi zar-re-eš₂ mu-du₈-du₈

“He stacked the corpses of his people like sheaves (of grain)”

11. col. iii, lines 22-32:

**en-en bara₂-bara₂-bi LU₂xKAR₂-a mi-ni-in-dab₅-dab₅ ensi₂ gal-gal
ma-da-ma-da za-ab-ša-li^{ki} u₃ ensi₂-ensi₂ iri^{ki}-iri^{ki} me-a mu-da-an-gur-
re-ša [.....] LU₂xKAR₂ mi-ni-in-dab₅-dab₅-ba-na**

“all their lords and enthroned ones he took into captivity, the greatest ruler of all the territories of Zabšali and all the rulers of the cities whom he had brought back with (him) from the battles [.....] when he had taken them into captivity...”

³⁰⁹ Frayne (*Ur III Period*, 303) translates **saĝ-ur-saĝ** as “*assinnu*” though the meaning of the term, “cultic personnel of Ištar; male cultic prostitute” (CAD vol. 1/2, 341-342 and CDA, 26, respectively), makes little sense in the context of this inscription. The reason for translating **saĝ-ur-saĝ** as *assinnu* is due to the equation of the term with *assinnu* in lexical lists. However, this equation only occurs in the lexical genre while LU₂.UR.SAL is the logographic rendering of *assinnu* in other text genres; CAD vol. 1/2, 341-342. There is also a Middle Babylonian exemplar of the lexical list Saĝ from Emar which not only has **saĝ-ur-saĝ** = *assinnu* (obv. col. i, line 14) but also includes in the immediately preceding line **saĝ-ur-saĝ** = *qarrādu* “warrior, champion” (obv. col. i, line 13), and therefore the equation of *assinnu* with **saĝ-ur-saĝ** is unnecessary. The periphrastic verb **gu₂-gurx...dug₄** uses a variant form of *ešēdu*, normally written with **gur₁₀** (KIN) or **gur_x** (ŠE.KIN), though occurring here as ŠE.UR₄ (**gur_x**). This is a common trope used to refer to the slaughter of enemy troops; CAD vol. 4, 338f.

12. col. iv, lines 2-7:

**nam-ĝuruš šu me₃-ta im-ma-ta-šub-bu-ša-a iri^{ki}-iri^{ki}-bi-še₃ mušen-gin₇
zi-bi ba-ab-de₆-a šu-ni la-ba-ta-e₃**

“The men who escaped from the grip of battle (and) brought their lives to their cities like (fleeing) birds did not escape his hand”

13. col. iv, lines 8-14:

**iri^{ki}-iri^{ki}-bi-še₃ anzud-gin₇ a-ne še₁₄ bi₂-in-gi iri^{ki} a₂-dam
ki-ĝar-ĝar-ra-bi du₆-du₆-ra₂ mi-ni-in-ĝar bad₃-bi mu-gul-gul**

“Against their cities he himself screeched like the Anzu-bird. He turned the cities and encampments established by them into ruin mounds (and) destroyed their walls”

Here we see the continuation of terms used in earlier inscriptions (i.e. **aga₃-kar₂...sig₁₀, dab₅, gul**) as well as previously unattested terms (i. e. **gu₂-gur_x...dug₄, šu si-ga...dug₄**); it should be noted that **hulu** was not used in these inscriptions.³¹⁰ In the Simanum campaign, Šu-Suen is described as having been victorious in battle (item 1) followed by the outcome of the melee in terms of negative consequence for the enemy combatants (item 2) followed by the summary statement (item 3) that he smote the heads Simanum, Ḫabura and the surrounding territories. This summary statement is the only direct connection between martial terms in royal inscriptions and the vocabulary of the year-names, sharing the phrase (**saĝ-du-be₂ tibir₂...ra**) with the full version of Šulgi’s forty-fifth year-name. Slightly problematic in the year-names is the writing of the syntactic direct object of the compound verb (**šu-BUR₂...ra**). The problem arises with the word that occurs immediately before the verb. It has been read as **tibir**, **tibira** and **bur₂**. The sign is almost always preceded by the word **šu** “hand” though a text from Umma and a text from Adab omit it.³¹¹ The writing of these signs are as follows:

³¹⁰ It should be kept in mind, however, that substantial parts of these inscriptions are missing.

³¹¹ P129393 / SAFK 125 and P113769 / MVN 3, 209 respectively.

tibir (TAG):**tibira** (DUB.NAGAR):**bur₂** (BUR₂):

The words **tibir** and **tibira** are both used to refer to one of the Akkadian words for hand, *upnu*.³¹² However, a survey of the hand copies and tablet pictures available on BDTNS shows that it is always the BUR₂-sign which is written, and not the TAG-sign or TIBIRA, suggesting that it should be read **bur₂**.³¹³ Yet the lexical list Nabnitu has both šu.^{bur}BUR₃ and šu.^{ti-bir}TIBIR₂ as the equivalent of *upnu*,³¹⁴ with the former perhaps being a variant of **šu bur₂-ra**, and it is this Akkadian equivalent which should be associated with it.³¹⁵ The Akkadian word *upnu* means either the hollow space of a cupped hand which can be filled with tangible items, such as flour, or metaphorical things such as the pain of hardship. Its other usage refers to an open or cupped hand used in prayer gestures.³¹⁶ Taken woodenly, the phrase **saĝ(-du) šu bur₂-ra ra** should mean “to strike the head with the (cupped) hand.” Perhaps ETCSL’s gloss of “fist” for **tibir** suggests a more proper

³¹² For **tibir** = *uqnu*, see Old Babylonian Ugu-mu; Benno Landsberger and Miguel Civil, *The Series HAR-ra = ħubullu: Tablet XV and Related Texts*, MSL 9 (Rome: Pontificum Institutum Biblicum, 1967): 69 no. 20. The value of **tibir** for TIBIRA is suggested in an Old Babylonian lexical text, which Civil provides a translation of “striking fist”; Miguel Civil, *The Lexical Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, CUSAS 12 (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2010): 156 col. 7 line 13.

³¹³ The absence of the DUB-sign in the reading **tibira** could also be resolved by positing a **tibir_x** value which omits the DUB-sign. However, the NAGAR-sign is distinct enough from the BUR₂-sign to prohibit a reading of NAGAR; the examples clearly show the BUR₂-sign.

³¹⁴ CAD vol. 20, 181.

³¹⁵ Michalowski (“News of a Mari Defeat from the Time of King Šulgi,” *NABU* (2013/2): 38 no. 23) suggests that **šu-bur₂** is an Ur III orthography of a word normally written as **tibir₂** (TAGxŠU) following Civil’s interpretation that **šu-bur₂** is the syllabic spelling of **tibir₂**; the occurrence of **tibir₂** in the same phrase in the Šu-Suen inscription supports this.

³¹⁶ Ibid, 181-182.

nuance (“to strike the head with the fist”) though the idea of striking with an open hand (“slapping”) cannot be ruled out.³¹⁷

Regardless, it is unmistakable that **saĝ(-du) šu bur2-ra ra** (“to strike the head with the fist”) closely resembles the SAG.GIŠ.RA logogram (“to strike the head with the stick”) used in Old Akkadian inscriptions to render *nêru* “to smite, strike (a mortal blow).” A suggestion for the reason this unusual phrase was used can be found in Šulgi’s royal hymns, especially Šulgi B.³¹⁸ In this self-laudatory hymn, Šulgi is portrayed not only as a jack-of-all-trades (as a sage, soldier, hunter, diviner, diplomat and scholar)³¹⁹, but also as the most accomplished in all of these fields. Pertinent for this point is the description of Šulgi as the hunter: “For onagers, I do not lay traps nor do I dig watering holes (to lure them) or shoot arrows; (instead) I run (after them) as if they were my rivals.”³²⁰ In this passage the king is depicted as being fast enough to chase down wild equids and strong enough to dispatch them with his bare hands, rather than needing to use traps, lures and archery upon which mere mortals rely. Thus this usage brings to mind the common SAG.GIŠ.RA found in Akkadian royal inscriptions, though unlike the Akkadian kings who used weapons to strike down their foes (as implied in a literal

³¹⁷ The verb **tibir...ra** with **saĝ-du** as its semantic direct object occurs in Lugale (ETCSL 1.6.2 line 581): **na4ša-ga-ra saĝ edin-na dili-bi du saĝ-du tibir ra** “Šagara-stone, who smites the head of one who travels alone in the wilderness.” In Gilgameš and Huwawa A (ETCSL 1.8.1.5, line 151) the direct object is Huwawa’s cheek (**te-na tibir^{ra} ba-ni-in-ra** “he beat a fist upon his cheek”) while in Gilgameš and Huwawa B (ETCSL 1.8.1.5.1, line 131) the object is Huwawa’s ear (**ĝeštug-a-ne2 tibir bi2-in-ra** “he beat a fist upon his ear”). Both of the Gilgameš occurrences are to be translated as strict verbal phrases, whereas the occurrence in Lugale is to be understood as a compound verb which utilizes another **saĝ** to explicitly denote a head being struck.

³¹⁸ For an introduction to the Sumerian royal hymns, see the introduction in Jacob Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns: Sumerian Royal Hymns Glorifying King Šulgi of Ur* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1981): 21-49. He notes (p. 32) that the royal hymns describe the ideal kings who “uphold social and religious order in their land, who protect the borders of Mesopotamia from the attacks of foreign people and make the multitudes of their people dwell in peace, harmony and prosperity.” For Šulgi B, see G. Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns (B, C)*, Rome: Istituto di studi del Vicino Oriente, Università, 1972 and ETCSL 2.4.2.02.

³¹⁹ Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns*, 46.

³²⁰ My translation of the transliteration of Šulgi B lines 91-93 in ETCSL 2.4.2.02.

reading of SAG.GIŠ.RA), Šulgi struck them down with his bare hands. Nevertheless, both SAG.GIŠ.RA and **saĝ(-du) šu-bur₂/tibir ra** should be understood as compound verbs that do not explicitly translate the syntactic direct object, though the notion of weapon versus bare fists would have been evident to those reading the year-name.³²¹

This is the only year name of Šulgi which uses a verb other than the standard **hulu** “ruin.” This is interesting, since the vast majority of the names for Šulgi’s forty-fifth year do employ the verb **hulu** in the apocopated formula **mu ur-bi₂-lum^{ki} ba-hulu** “the year that Urbilum was ‘ruined’.” Thus both **hulu** and **saĝ-du tibir₂...ra** seem to have been synonymous verbs encapsulating the outcome of Mesopotamian aggression for the enemy polity - having been subjected to the might of the king of Ur, the enemy has become “ruined” or “mortally wounded.” Included with the description of the Simanum campaign is the outcome of the Amorite tribes’ resistance against the Mesopotamians. Though most of the details are missing, the summary statements included the submission of their territory and the reduction of their population centers into ruins (item 4).

The Zabšali affair has more details preserved, though is still structured similarly to the Simanum inscription. Following the general statement of victory (item 5) is the description of the aftermath of the battle and the inevitable ruination of the city, using agricultural terms such as “reap,” “sow” and “stack like sheaves” (items 6, 9 and 10) as well as comparisons with lesser beasts, “killed like dogs” and “fled like birds” (items 8

³²¹ This interpretation should be taken tentatively, since it is only equids which Šulgi kills with his bare hands in this hymn (he boasts of killing wild bulls with archery and lions with spear) and the comparison with terms in Old Akkadian royal inscriptions assumes a substantial degree of intertextuality, though this has not been demonstrated; yet the fact that many of our Old Akkadian inscriptions stem from Old Babylonian copies, suggesting an active preservation of them by later scribes, along with evidence that at least Sargon and Naram-Suen were given offerings by the Ur III administration, argues for this intertextuality. The only text that I am aware of that implicitly refers to statues of Old Akkadian kings is P126021 / PDT 1, 605 which mentions offerings for the divine Naram-Suen and Sargon within the temple of Enlil (**1 udu niga ^dna-ra-am-^dsuen 1 udu niga ^dšar-ru-gin⁷in ša₃ e₂ ^den-lil₂-la₂**).

and 12), to emphasize the might of the king through the portrayal of combat as inevitable and banal a thing as the harvest, and the dehumanization of the “other” via comparison with mere animals. As in the Simanum campaign, the cities of the enemy were reduced to ruins (item 13). Both inscriptions refer to the taking of plunder. The Simanum text focuses on the deportation of people from Simanum to Sumer in order to populate a new town created for them, while the Zabšali inscription refers to the deported population being subjected to service in orchards and weaving mills, as well as to the plundering of livestock and metals.

The above survey has shown that there was a rich stock of martial terminology from which scribes could draw for the composition of year-names and royal inscriptions, of which the former were a subgenre of the latter. This variety was manifest in the inscriptions of the Presargonic, Sargonic and Ur III periods, and was present in the year-names of the Presargonic, Sargonic and Isin-Larsa kings, but virtually absent for the year-names of the kings of Ur, who almost exclusively used the term **hulu**. Similar to the ideology that the Sumerian king was the only earthly king (**lugal**) and all other rulers were merely governors (**ensi2**), the near exclusive use of **hulu** was meant to underpin the might of the king by emphasizing that whatever the nature of the military action he took against his enemies, from simple raiding and plundering to pitched battles, sieges and city destructions, he “ruined” his foes. This practice of conforming historical realities into a royal ideological mould was a prominent feature of the royal inscription genre and continued well into the first millennium, exemplified by the Assyrian annals. Despite trends in scholarship that view royal inscriptions as mere propaganda devoid of historical relevance, nevertheless:

“these documents were not merely propagandistic deceptions. In composing royal inscriptions, scribes adhered to age-old conventions that allowed some equivocation (omission and selective emphasis), but did not permit overt falsehoods due to the risk of divine retribution. Accordingly, Assyrian sources ignored outright defeats, gave short shrift to battlefield victories that had little political or military impact, and concentrated on events whose outcomes exemplified ideal royal behavior.”³²²

Therefore by using the vague description provided by **hulu** “ruined,” Šulgi could boast that he had inflicted defeat upon Simurru nine times in a nineteen-year period when the reality is that he may have simply raided its territory, collected some plunder and perhaps been victorious in some battles or skirmishes, but in the greater geopolitical scheme had been generally ineffective.³²³ Therefore the earlier proposals about the significance of **hulu** in the year-names were partially correct, but missed the issue as a whole. Thus, though “raiding,” “sacking,” and “punitive expeditions” are all able to fall under the rubric of **hulu**, it is not necessary to add such specific meanings to the semantic range of the verb, especially when lexical and bilingual data do not support this.³²⁴ These notions partake in the idea of ruination, but are not specific to it. The other option of reading it as figurative speech is also correct, though not in the sense that **hulu** specifically meant “destroy” and therefore was hyperbolic, but that **hulu** as “ruined” was a general notion to

³²² Sarah C. Melville, “Win, Lose or Draw? Claiming Victory in Battle,” in *Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien*, AOAT 401 (CRRAI 52), eds. Hans Neumann et al. (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014): 527.

³²³ Melville’s (“Win, Lose or Draw?” 530-533) discussion of the competing victory claims regarding the battle of Der showed that the battle itself was indecisive for all parties involved who, nevertheless, claimed victory. The Assyrians could claim victory due to achieving their strategic objective of halting the Babylonian-Elamite coalition and preventing the loss of Der, though the Assyrian army suffered significant losses and was forced to retreat. The Babylonian chronicle reports and Elamite success since they were in possession of the battlefield after the conflict, but must have suffered enough losses that they were unable to besiege Der, even with the arrival of the Babylonian army. The Babylonians claimed sole credit for the victory since it was their arrival which prompted the Assyrian retreat.

³²⁴ Again, the “hapax” equation of **hulu** with *ubbutu* is likely erroneous and the equation with *šulputu*, which has meanings of “to desecrate, defile, ruin” (CAD vol. 9, 82-83; AHw, 536), does not require the translation “destroy”; Marchesi, “Ur-Nammâ(k)’s Conquest of Susa,” 287.

refer to the enemy as having taken a loss.³²⁵ Undoubtedly this was often an exaggeration of the importance of that loss, for repeated campaigns against the same polities alludes to their ability to have remained a threat to Ur.

³²⁵ This seems to come through in more recent references to the Ur III year-names by the use of the gloss “defeated”; Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 101-102; Sallaberger and Schrakamp, *History and Philology*, 50.

II.2: The Objects of Ur III Military Attention

It has been noted that the earlier part of Šulgi's reign seems to have been characterized, on the basis of year-names, as a relatively peaceful period in which the king focused on infrastructure and cultic patronage instead of war. However, Šulgi's twenty-first year-name records the conscription of the citizens of Ur as spearmen and the tenor of the year-names changes into one focused primarily on military events.³²⁶ The exact meaning and implication of the year-name is disputed, but the series of campaigns to the southeast, east and northeast demonstrates a level of militarization as yet unseen in the Ur III dynasty.³²⁷ A number of foreign polities in the regions located in the modern Iranian provinces of Fars, Khuzistan, Ilam, Kermanshah, Luristan and Kurdistan, as well as Iraqi Kurdistan, came under attack by the armies of Ur. Yet the formulaic and vague use of the verb **hulu** in the year-names provides little information regarding the nature of these campaigns and their aftermath. Therefore the following section will utilize year-names, royal inscriptions and the administrative corpus to understand as much as possible about these cities and regions.

³²⁶ Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 144-145

³²⁷ Steinkeller understood this to refer to the reorganization of the army, an element of a series of reforms as part of a grand strategy which included rapid territorial expansion into Iran; Piotr Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State," in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, SAOC 46, eds. McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1987): 20-21. This, however, has been questioned (Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit, 148) and it is also feasible that the drafting of the citizens of Ur was a defensive move in response to a threat rather than a reorganization for offensive purposes; Widell, "Reconstructing the Early History of the Ur III State," 103 n. 19.

II.2.1: Der

II.2.1.a: Date of Campaign and the Location of the Toponym

This site is both interesting and problematic. There are potentially three year-names of Šulgi that refer to this site if the different spellings (BAD₃^{ki}, BAD₃.AN^{ki}, and BAD₃.GAL.AN^{ki}) are merely orthographic variants of the same toponym and not separate place names.³²⁸ The year-names referring to this toponym, if all variants are the same place, are as follows according to the Nippur date-list BE 1/2, 125 and the Isin date-list IB 542a+b:

Š11: **mu** ^dištaran BAD₃.GAL.AN^{ki} e₂-a ba-ku_x

Š19: **mu** BAD₃^{ki} ki-be₂ ba-ab-gi₄

Š21: **mu** BAD₃.AN^{ki} ba-ḥulu

The unusual orthography of the eleventh year-name does not militate against understanding the toponym as Der, for all attestations of this year-name used to date administrative documents exclude the GAL-sign.³²⁹ The toponym of Šulgi's nineteenth

³²⁸ Even if they all refer to the toponym known as Der, there still is the potential issue of multiple places bearing the name of Der; see Dominique Charpin, "La 'Toponymie en Miroir' dans le Proche-Orient Amorrite," *RA* 97 (2003): 3-34. In the Old Babylonian period, at least, there were four places named Der, one being located along the Zagros near Badra and another as far northwest as the Balikh valley.

³²⁹ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 99. For example, P128440 / RTC 286: **mu** ^dištaran BAD₃.AN^{ki} e₂-a ba-ku_x. The full year-name has two variants, one being **mu** ^dištaran BAD₃.AN^{ki} e₂-a-na ba-ku_x "the year Ištaran of Der was installed into his temple" (CTPSM 1, 1) and the other **mu** ^dištaran BAD₃.AN^{ki} iri-a-na ba-ku_x "the year Ištaran of Der was installed into his city" (P111522 / ITT 5, 6812). Apocopated forms include **mu** ^dištaran BAD₃.AN^{ki} (P114212 / MVN 4, 260) and a variant writing of the toponym **mu** ^dištaran AN^{ki} (P111520 / ITT 5, 6810). Frayne (*Ur III Period*, 95) suggested that this may be an anagraphic writing for BAD₃.AN.GAL^{ki} since AN.GAL is another name/epithet of Ištaran, the tutelary deity of Der.

year-name is the truly difficult anomaly. The Nippur date-list writes the toponym as the EZEN-sign containing another sign; Ungnad saw EZENxKASKAL and read it as **ubara**^{ki},³³⁰ though Wilcke saw it as EZENxKUG and read it as **kissik**^{ki}.³³¹ The Isin date-list provides a clear writing of **bad**₃^{ki} (EZENxBAD),³³² while the handcopy of the sole administrative document dated to this year (P136610 / UET 3, 292), though read as **bad**₃^{ki} by Legrain,³³³ is too obscure to be of assistance.³³⁴ However, the Isin date-list confirms the earlier suggestion by Michalowski that EZENxKUG is a mistake for BAD₃.³³⁵ In the Nippur date-list, Der is not mentioned in the year-name for Šulgi's twenty-first year nor as a temporary year-name for his twenty-second year. The Isin list, however, includes the defeat of Der as an alternate year-name for the twenty-first year and as the sole temporary name for the twenty-second.³³⁶ The situation in the Isin date-list is borne out by the dates of administrative texts from Nippur, which utilized the non-Der name for Šulgi's twenty-first year, but used the temporary year-name which referenced the defeat of Der for his twenty-second.³³⁷

The equation of BAD₃.AN^{ki} with the Transtigradian polity known in Akkadian as Der, as well as its location at Tell 'Aqar near Badra, has been the general scholarly consensus, though equations with BAD₃^{ki} and localizations of BAD₃.AN^{ki} in Sumer proper and the Diyala have been proposed, as we shall see below.

³³⁰ Ungnad, "Datenliste," 137, 141.

³³¹ Wilcke, "Neue Quellen aus Isin zur Geschichte der Ur III-Zeit und der I. Dynastie von Isin," 301. Michalowski ("Durum and Uruk during the Ur III Period," *Mesopotamia* 12 (1977): 86) has stated that collations by himself and Sjöberg have shown the sign to be EZENxKUG.

³³² Ibid, 301.

³³³ Léon Legrain, *Business Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur: Indexes, Vocabulary, Catalogue, Lists*, UET 3/2 (London: Harrison and Sons, Ltd, 1947): 211.

³³⁴ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 101.

³³⁵ Michalowski, "Durum and Uruk during the Ur III Period," 86.

³³⁶ Wilcke, "Neue Quellen aus Isin zur Geschichte der Ur III-Zeit und der I. Dynastie von Isin," 302.

³³⁷ Š21: P110466 / Iraq 22, 18 no. 490; Š22: P120817 / NATN 119 and P121049 / NATN 351.

Falkenstein had equated the two toponyms and suggested that they represented Durum, thought to be located close to Eridu.³³⁸ Michalowski had originally proposed that the writing BAD₃.AN^{ki} was used to refer both to the well-known Der (Tell ‘Aqar) situated on the Elamite border, as well as a city called Durum (possibly Tell al-Wawiya) located in the heartland of Sumer, not far from Uruk.³³⁹ His primary reasons for this position are that seal impressions of Ur-Suen³⁴⁰ name him as both general (**šakkan**) of Uruk and BAD₃.AN^{ki}, with the assumption that if one was to be a general of two localities, they must have been located in close proximity to each other, and that Old Babylonian Durum could be logographically written as BAD₃.AN^{ki},³⁴¹ though BAD₃^{ki} is the most common writing.³⁴² His criteria for distinguishing whether BAD₃.AN^{ki} referred to Sumerian Durum or Transtigradian Der was that the former is characterized by texts that refer to the prince-generals and to equid deliveries that often involved these generals. The latter is identified by texts that refer to other Transtigradian localities and personalities, and those which refer to **gun₂ ma-da** payments.³⁴³ The main assumption that Michalowski made in coming to this conclusion is that a person could be a general of two cities only if those cities were located in close proximity with each other.

However, especially in light of how little we know of the workings of the Ur III state, this is at best a (reasonable) guess, but is essentially a *non-sequitur*. This is shown

³³⁸ Adam Falkenstein, “Zu den Inschriftfunden der Grabung in Uruk-Warka 1960-1962,” *BaghMitt* 2 (1963): 27-28; Adam Falkenstein, “Zur Lage des südbabylonisches Dürum,” *AfO* 21 (1966): 50-51.

³³⁹ Michalowski, “Durum and Uruk during the Ur III Period,” 84.

³⁴⁰ RIME3/2.1.2.95, RIME3/2.1.2.96 and RIME3/2.1.2.97. That this Ur-Suen was a royal prince seems likely due to his designation as **dumu lugal** that occurs in texts dating to the latter part of Šulgi’s reign; a few examples are P115919/MVN 10, 149 (SH34); P404810 (SH44); P114325/MVN 5, 105; P345963 (SH46).

³⁴¹ Michalowski, “Durum and Uruk during the Ur III Period,” 84-88.

³⁴² Groneberg, *RGTC* 3, 33.

³⁴³ Michalowski, “Durum and Uruk during the Ur III Period,” 91-92. The **gun₂ ma-da** was a tax on livestock imposed upon settlements in the periphery.

in the Garšana texts (published over twenty years after Michalowski's article), in which a certain Šu-Kabta was a general who was the proprietor of an estate (along with the Ur III princess Simat-Ištaran) in Garšana, but lived and spent most of his time in Nippur, maintaining contacts between himself and his Garšana estate via a steady stream of messengers.³⁴⁴ The Garšana texts are illuminating in that they show three entities of Garšana: a town, Šu-Kabta's estate and a military camp. The military camp, with over 1300 troops, was encircled along with the estate, creating a single unit separate from the town, the latter being administered by the province of Umma, which was headed by the governor (**ensi**₂) of Umma. The daily administration of the military camp seems to have fallen to the responsibility of one Ea-šar who was second-in-command.³⁴⁵ The notion of a general being in charge of multiple localities is also seen in the **gun₂ ma-da** texts (discussed in greater detail in chapter three). Some of these tax records of military establishments in the periphery show a general who was immediately responsible for one establishment, but is also called "overseer" (**ugula**) of multiple others. A couple of examples:

P234987

<i>Commanding Officer</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Overseer (ugula)</i>
u ₃ -i ₃ -li ₂	ra-bi ₂ ^{ki}	i ₃ -lal ₃ -lum
lugal-ezem	ar-ma-an ^{ki}	
----	ti-ra-an ^{ki}	

³⁴⁴ Wolfgang Heimpel, *Workers and Construction Work at Garšana*, CUSAS 5 (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2009): 2. The location of Garšana was probably on/close to the Tigris, upstream from Umma and close to Zabalam. Texts referring to days of travel between Garšana and Nippur indicate that it took around four days to complete; Ibid, 7-9.

³⁴⁵ Ibid, 2.

P108667 /CT 32, 19

<i>Commanding Officer</i>	<i>Place</i>	<i>Overseer (ugula)</i>
lu ₂ - ^d nanna zi-mu-dar ^{ki}	ša-mi ^{ki}	lu ₂ - ^d nanna zi-mu-dar ^{ki}
lu ₂ - ^d nin-šubur	tum-ma-al ^{ki}	
a-ḥu-ni	a-bi ₂ -ba-na ^{ki}	a-ḥu-ni
na-bi ₂ - ^d suen	pu-uh ₂ -zi-gar ₃ ^{ki}	
----	kak-ku ₈ -la-tum ^{ki}	
ša-li-im-a-ḥu-um	tu-tu-ub ^{ki}	lu ₂ - ^d nanna maš-kan ₂ -a-bi ₂ ^{ki}
----	maš-kan ₂ -a-bi ₂ ^{ki}	

It is uncertain where many of these locations are and even if they were grouped in close proximity, these texts show the administration of these garrisons being undertaken by high-ranking officers (**nu-banda₃**) who were ultimately under the authority of generals labeled as “overseers” (**ugula**).³⁴⁶ The fact that Ur-III princes were generals of Uruk and BAD.AN^{ki} probably does signify a connection, but not necessarily a geographic connection; the Ur III dynasty, or at least Šulgi, seems to have had a special connection to Ištaran if one takes seriously the use of that deity in similes and metaphors related to Šulgi.³⁴⁷

Recent scholarship has, with few exceptions, associated BAD₃.AN^{ki} with the Der of Ištaran located at the foothills of the Zagros; the positions can be summarized in the following table:³⁴⁸

³⁴⁶ Though not explicitly labeled as generals (**šakkan₆**) in these texts, they are known with this designation in other documents.

³⁴⁷ Šulgi B (ETCSL 2.4.2.02) line 263-264: “...and in view of my expertise, comparable to that of Ištaran, in verdicts...”; Šulgi C (ETCSL 2.4.2.03) segment A, line 104: “my heart enables me to be the Ištaran of the foreign lands”; Šulgi O (ETCSL 2.4.2.15) lines 142-144: “He, the Ištaran of Sumer, omniscient from birth, decrees judgments in due order for the Land, and makes decisions in due order for the Land...” There may have been a cultic connection as well for the two names of Ištaran, *Ištarān* “the two Ištars” (Venus as morning and evening star) and **an gal** / *Anu rabū* “Great Anu,” reflect the tutelary deities of Uruk: Inana/Ištar and An/Anu; Christopher Woods, “The Sun-God Tablet of Nabû-apla-iddina Revisited,” *JCS* 56 (2004): 68. Other evidence comes from the names of royal children with Ištaran-theophoric elements, connections with Ištaran to Abi-Simti and associations between the deified Šulgi and Ištaran in a god-list; Peter Verkinderen, “Les toponymes bād^{ki} et bād.an^{ki},” *Akkadica* 127 (2006): 115-116. Ištaran is only known to have been associated with Der at Tell ‘Aqar; W. G. Lambert, “Ištarān,” *RIA* 5 (1976-1980): 211.

³⁴⁸ The references are: Falkenstein, “Zu den Inschriftfunden der Grabung in Uruk-Warka 1960-1962,” 27-28; Falkenstein, “Zur Lage des südbabylonisches Dūrum,” 50-51; Michalowski, “Durum and Uruk during

Falkenstein (1966, 68)	BAD ₃ .AN ^{ki} = BAD ₃ ^{ki} = <i>Dūrum</i> (near Eridu) in Ur III period
Michalowski (1977)	BAD ₃ .AN ^{ki} = <i>Dēr</i> (Tell ‘Aqar) or <i>Dūrum</i> (near Uruk) in Ur III period BAD ^{ki} = <i>Dūrum</i> (near Uruk) in OB period
Owen (1995)	BAD ₃ .AN ^{ki} (<i>no comment</i>) BAD ₃ ^{ki} = site in Syria (possibly one of three locales called BAD ₃ ^{ki})
Verkinderen (2006)	BAD ₃ .AN ^{ki} = <i>Dēr</i> (Tell ‘Aqar) BAD ₃ ^{ki} = a town in the region of Zabalam and Kisurra
De Graef (2007)	BAD ₃ .AN ^{ki} = <i>Dēr</i> (Tell ‘Aqar) BAD ₃ = <i>Dūrum</i> (one of multiple possible places with this name)
Frayne (2008)	BAD ₃ .AN ^{ki} = BAD ₃ ^{ki} = <i>Dūr-(ili)</i> (in Diyala, maybe Delli ‘Abbas), one of many Ders or Durums
Steinkeller (2013)	BAD ₃ .AN ^{ki} = <i>Dēr</i> (Tell ‘Aqar)
Michalowski (2013)	BAD ₃ .AN ^{ki} = <i>Dēr</i> (Tell ‘Aqar)
Owen (2013)	BAD ₃ .AN ^{ki} = <i>Dēr</i> (Tell ‘Aqar), tentative

An interesting exception is Frayne who suggested a location for Der in the Diyala implicitly in an early study³⁴⁹ and explicitly at modern Delli ‘Abbas in a later study.³⁵⁰ His primary evidence for this position comes from a damaged and difficult to read section of the royal hymn Šulgi C in which he posits that the text references the Diyala and Taban Rivers followed by a description of Šulgi’s attack on Der. His translation differs from Castellino’s and the edition in ETCSL. The two most relevant lines (27’, 34’) are as follows:

the Ur III Period,” 83-96; David I. Owen, “Amorites and the Location of BĀD^{ki},” in *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East: Festschrift E. Lipinski*, edited by Karel van Lerberghe and A. Schoors, 213-219. Leuven: Peeters, 1995; Verkinderen, “Les toponymes bād^{ki} et bād.an^{ki},” 109-122; Katrien De Graef, “Another Brick in the Wall,” *Akkadica* 128 (2007): 85-98; Douglas Frayne, “The Zagros Campaigns of the Ur III Kings,” *CSMS Journal* 3 (2008): 38-46; Piotr Steinkeller, “Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa: A Pivotal Episode of Early Elamite History Reconsidered,” in *Susa and Elam: Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives*, eds. Katrien De Graef and Jan Tavernier (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 306-307; Piotr Michalowski, “Of Bears and Men,” in *Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature: Essays on the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter Machinist*, eds. David S. Vanderhoost and Abraham Winitzer (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013): 303-314; David I. Owen, *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saḡrig/Al-Šarrākī and the History of the Ur III Period*, Nisaba 15/1 (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2013): 128-155.

³⁴⁹ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 103.

³⁵⁰ Frayne, “The Zagros Campaigns of the Ur III Kings,” 38-46.

Frayne:³⁵¹ “Along the banks of the Diyala and Taban rivers”
 (gu₂ id₂dur-ul₃-la₂ gu₂ id₂ta-ba-an-na-ka)
 “Der - all the enemy (troops) - I did indeed leave abandoned”
 (BAD₃.AN^{ki} gu₂-erim₂-ĝal₂ nam-ba-d[a-x]-[ta]g₄)

Castellino:³⁵² *untranslated*
 (gu₂? id₂ x x x ti-a x x x na KA?)
 “The powerful one of heaven and earth, from the bank, nothing...”
 (šilig an-ki gu₂-ta niĝ₂? ĝal₂ nam-ba?-an-x)

ETCSL:³⁵³ *untranslated*
 (gu₂ id₂ X KIB la₂ gu₂ id₂-da ba-e₃?)
 “The walls proudly rising to heaven shall not open...”
 (bad₃ an-ki-še₃ gu₂ gur₃-ru ĝal₂ nam-ba-d[a-x-x]-taka₄)

As we can see, the translations of these lines are far from certain and the general character of the hymn extols the king’s prowess, abilities and might in general terms, not in specific references to enemy towns conquered. This is not the place to offer an assessment of the merits and weaknesses of all of the arguments that he marshals, and other recent studies have supported the notion of BAD₃.AN^{ki} = Der at Tell ‘Aqar.³⁵⁴

II.2.1.b: Political Organization and Relationship to the Kingdom of Ur

Der, with its strategic location at the foothills of the Zagros between the Diyala and Khuzestan, was of vital importance as only recently attested by the Iri-Saĝrig corpus,

³⁵¹ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 103; Frayne (“The Zagros Campaigns of the Ur III Kings,” 39) later reads line 34 as BAD₃.AN^{ki}-še₃ gu₂-gur₃-ru ĝal₂ nam-ba-da-[x-x]-taka₄ “...heaped up against Dēr...did not open up.”

³⁵² G. R. Castellino, *Two Šulgi Hymns* (Rome: Istituto di Studi del Vicino Oriente, 1972): 260-264.

³⁵³ ETCSL 2.4.2.03 segment B lines 27, 34.

³⁵⁴ Verkinderen, “Les toponymes bād^{ki} et bād.an^{ki},” 109-122; Michalowski, “Of Bears and Men,” 303-314.

in which Der is the most frequently attested toponym in the messenger text archive.³⁵⁵ It was also a heavily militarized town. An **ensi₂** is unattested, but the seals of four officials designate them as generals of Der, two of them (Ur-Suen and Šu-Suen) were princes, one being the penultimate ruler of the Ur III dynasty.³⁵⁶

General	Date	Text
ur- ^d suen	1/--/AS01	P134747
	--/--/----	P106750
	--/--/----	P127654
šu- ^d suen	3/--/AS09	P112976
pu-šu-DINGIR	7/--/IS01	P120831
	12/--/IS01	P120806
	12/--/IS01	P122384
	3/10/IS02	P134364
EN-i ₃ -li ₂	--/--/IS03	P121310

Other generals were associated with Der. Ilalum, a well-known military official,³⁵⁷ delivered **kunga₂**-equids from Der,³⁵⁸ was the authorizing official (**maškim**) for animals expended from out of the delivery of soldiers of the city,³⁵⁹ and took breeding goats and arrowheads to Der.³⁶⁰ The Iri-Saġrig messenger text corpus also records multiple generals traveling to and from the city:

³⁵⁵ David I Owen, *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saġrig/Al-Šarrāki*, 128-155; Steinkeller, “Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa,” 306-307; Michalowski (“Of Bears and Men,” 311-314) compares it to the role of Harran in the Sargonid period, which was a vital frontier center ruled by a royal son.

³⁵⁶ Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma: A Prosopographical Analysis of an Elite Family in Southern Iraq 4000 Years Ago* (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2007): 27, 31; Michalowski, “Of Bears and Men,” 303-311.

³⁵⁷ Goetze, “Šakkanakkus of the Ur III Empire,” 12-13.

³⁵⁸ P106226 / BIN 3, 419 (5/--/AS01).

³⁵⁹ P104103 / AUCT 2, 285 (8/28/AS02).

³⁶⁰ P103449 / AUCT 1, 604 (4/--/AS01) and P106862 / BJRL 64, 111 no. 68 (12/--/AS0).

General	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	Date	Text
SUḪUŠ-ki-in		x	5/09/ŠS02	P453709
i-ti- ^d da-gan		x	12/--/ŠS03	P453736
šar-ru-um-ba-ni	x		3/06/IS02	P388013
ri-im-i ₃ -li ₂	x		7/28/IS02	P387987

The city specialized in the delivery of bear cubs and **kunga₂**-equids by generals who were also princes, attested as coming from the princes Ur-Suen, Šu-Suen and Aḫuni.³⁶¹ Livestock deliveries in documents from Puzriš-Dagan are undoubtedly of the **gun₂ ma-da** type of tax, as explicitly attested in a text recording the tax of a junior captain of the Der garrison.³⁶² Two documents mention expenditures of animals from out of the delivery of the soldiers (**aga₃-us₂**) of Der, and another lists an expenditure from the troops (**eren₂**) of Der.³⁶³

Thus it seems that Šulgi was involved with Der from early in his reign, when he gained control of the city and installed the cult statue of Ištaran into the god's temple in his eleventh year.³⁶⁴ At some point during the following decade, either the inhabitants rebelled or the city fell to an outside enemy. A possible candidate for the enemy in the latter scenario might be Ḫarši which, if a location in the vicinity of modern Ilam is

³⁶¹ Michalowski, "Of Bears and Men," 304-309.

³⁶² P128642 / CT St. Louis 117 (11/13/ŠS03) obv. line 1 to rev. line 1: **1 gud niga / 8 udu u₂ / 1 maš₂-gal u₂ / 1 sila₄ / za-li-a nu-banda₃ lu₂ BAD₃.AN^{ki} / ugula nir-i₃-da-ĝal₂ / gun₂ ma-da** "1 grain-fed ox, 8 grass-fed sheep, 1 grass-fed billy-goat (and) 1 lamb (from) Zalia the captain, a man of Der. Overseer (is) Nir-idaĝal. Tax of the territories."

³⁶³ P104103 / AUCT 2, 285 (8/28/AS02) and P116227 / MVN 11, 214 (9/--/AS04): **ša₃ mu-ku_x aga₃-us₂ lu₂ BAD₃.AN^{ki}(-ke₄-ne)**. P123346 / OIP 115, 345 (7/16/Š48): **ša₃ mu-ku_x eren₂ BAD₃.AN^{ki}**. It is uncertain whether the **eren₂** was a general rubric for soldiers at Der or whether the **eren₂** should be considered distinct from the **aga₃-us₂**. Large numbers of livestock came from Der; two examples are P118295 / MVN 15, 15 (3/--/AS02) recording 418 sheep and goats from Šu-Suen the prince and P111927 / JCS 14, 111 no. 15 recording 1200 sheep and goats from the city.

³⁶⁴ This event may be commemorated in a damaged inscription: [..... ud e₂] **ki-aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ni [mu]-na-du₃-a BAD₃.AN^{ki} iri ki-aĝ₂-ĝa₂-ni ki-be₂ mu-na-gi₄-a nam-ti-la-ni-[še₃] a mu-na-[ru]** ".....when he built his beloved temple (and) restored Der, his beloved city, he dedicated (the votive object) for his life"; Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 164: E3/2.1.2.63.

correct,³⁶⁵ was only about seventy kilometers to the northeast and was the object of the campaign commemorated in Šulgi's twenty-seventh year. Nevertheless, the reacquisition of Der marked the beginning of Šulgi's program of foreign campaigns to the east.

³⁶⁵ Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," 311.

II.2.2: Karaḥar

II.2.2.a: Dates of Campaigns and the Location of the Toponym

Karaḥar was the object of military action in Šulgi's twenty-fourth, thirty-first, thirty-third and forty-fifth years. The first action is simply called "The year Karaḥar was 'ruined'" (**mu kara₂-ḥar^{ki} ba-ḥulu**) in texts from Girsu, Ur and Nippur, though texts from Umma employ the year-name **mu niĝ₂-kas₇ ak al-la-ka mu 3-kam us₂-sa-bi** "the third year that followed the year the balanced account(s) of the hoe(s)" and its abbreviated form **mu 3-kam us₂**.³⁶⁶ The second action is known as **mu a-ra₂ 2-kam kara₂-ḥar^{ki} ba-ḥulu** "year that, for the second time, Karaḥar was 'ruined'"³⁶⁷ and the third action is known as **mu kara₂-ḥar^{ki} a-ra₂ 3-kam-aš ba-ḥulu** "year that Karaḥar was 'ruined' for the third time."³⁶⁸ The campaigns against Karaḥar began only a few years after the conscription of the citizens of Ur (Š20) and the "ruination" of Der (Š21). Hallo grouped the actions against Karaḥar into two separate "Hurrian Wars," the first spanning Šulgi's twenty-fourth to twenty-seventh years and consisting of the "ruination" of

³⁶⁶ This year name is thought to have been an alternate for the year name **mu ^dnin-urta ensi₂-gal ^den-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ e₂ ^den-lil₂ ^dnin-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ eš-bar kiĝ₂ ba-an-dug₄-ga ^dšul-gi lugal urim₅^{ki}-ma-ke₄ gan₂ niĝ₂-kas₇ ša₃ e₂ ^den-lil₂ ^dnin-lil₂-la₂-ke₄ si bi₂-sa₂-a** "Year that Ninurta, the chief governor of Enlil, pronounced a(n oracular) decision upon the temples of Enlil and Ninlil (and) the fields and accounts of the temples of Enlil and Ninlil were put in order by Šulgi, the king of Ur." For a discussion of this, see Firth, "Notes on Year Names of the Early Ur III Period: Šulgi 20-30," 1-12.

³⁶⁷ This is the format for most text proveniences. Girsu texts place the **a-ra₂ 2-kam** after the toponym instead of before it.

³⁶⁸ Though BDTNS attributes 425 texts to Šulgi's 33rd year, less than 100 use the official name mentioning the campaign against Karaḥar, and nearly all of these tablets come from Girsu. The majority of texts, stemming from Umma and Puzriš-Dagan, used the temporary year-name **mu us₂-sa a-ra₂ 3-kam si-mu-ru-um^{ki} ba-ḥulu** "the year after (the year), for the third time, Simurru was 'ruined'." Perhaps, according to the administrations at Umma and Esaĝdana (Puzriš-Dagan), the third military action against Simurru was more significant than the third one against Karaḥar and therefore the temporary year-name was adopted as the official year-name at Umma and Esaĝdana.

Karaḥar (1x), Simurru (1x), Simurru (2x) and Ḥarši (1x), and the second Hurrian war covering his thirty-first, thirty-second and thirty-third years against Karaḥar (2x), Simurru (3x) and Karaḥar (3x).³⁶⁹ These groupings suggest that Karaḥar, Simurru and Ḥarši were in relatively close proximity to each other and bring up the possibility that these two “Hurrian Wars” were conducted as single, ongoing campaigns in which the individual “ruinations” were notable successes against different city-states after which years were named. However, other possibilities include that the Sumerian army traveled to the periphery, engaged in some sort of military action and traveled back to the homeland, or that some of the army returned home while part of it stayed in the general vicinity of the campaign grounds. Perhaps the latter option would have seen the establishment of garrison towns which were positioned increasingly further eastward along the Diyala, and which are later attested as having paid the tax of the peripheral territories (**gun2 ma-da**).

The final reference to Karaḥar in regnal year-names stems from Šulgi’s forty-fifth year, the full name of the year being **mu dšul-gi lugal-e ur-bi2-lum^{ki} lu-lu-bu^{ki} si-mu-ru-um^{ki} u3 kara2-ḥar^{ki} aš-še3 saġ-du-be2 šu-tibir-a bi2-in-ra** “Year that Šulgi the king smote, as one, the heads of Urbilum, Lullubum, Simurru and Karaḥar.” The full year-name makes up only a small percentage of the year-names for this year, with a substantial number of occurrences of the temporary year-name mentioning the events commemorated in the previous year and the majority of the official year-names simply designating it as “the year Urbilum was ‘ruined’” (**mu ur-bi2-lum^{ki} ba-ḥulu**), suggesting

³⁶⁹ Hallo, “Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier,” 74-75.

that the defeat of Urbilum was the crowning achievement.³⁷⁰ In view of this year-name following the name of the previous year, “the year that Simurru and Lullubum were ‘ruined’ for the ninth time,” it seems, despite the efforts of the kingdom of Ur in the first and second “Hurrian Wars,” as though it was unable to subdue Karaḥar and its environs until late in the reign of Šulgi.

The only reference to plunder in Šulgi’s third and fourth decades mentions the plunder of Anšan dated to Šulgi’s thirty-third year and is no help in illuminating the first three campaigns against Karaḥar. There are three documents referencing plunder that date to Šulgi’s forty-fifth year, but they only reference a few animals and metallic items and all are labeled as plunder of Urbilum (**nam-ra-ak ur-bi2-lum^{ki}**).³⁷¹ Therefore the year-names, unsupported by documents referencing plunder or royal inscriptions, provide very little information on the campaigns against this city-state.

Karaḥar has been thought to have been the same place as the Neo-Assyrian Harḥar, which may have been located in the vicinity of modern Kermanshah.³⁷² Harḥar in the Neo-Assyrian period was subjected to attacks from Shalmaneser III, Adad-nirari III and Sargon II, the last of whom installed his own governor, resettled deportees and renamed the city Kar-Sargon.³⁷³ Shalmaneser III’s inscriptions lists Harḥar as a territorial region (KUR / *mātu*) alongside the lands of Media, Mešu and Araziaš, which

³⁷⁰ The full version of this year-name occurs primarily in texts from Puzriš-Dagan, though it is attested in documents from Girsu as well.

³⁷¹ These texts are: P117196 / MVN 13, 423; P104144 / AUCT 2, 326+336; P134759 / TSDU 39.

³⁷² L. Levine, “Harḥar,” *RIA* 4 (1975): 120-121. He posits that a stele of Sargon II suggests a location on the Khorasan Road near Bisutun. Edzard and Farber suggest a location south of Arrapha (Kirkuk) near the Diyala; Dietz Otto Edzard and Gertrud Farber, *Die Orts- und Gewässernamen der Zeit der 3. Dynastie von Ur*, RGTC 2 (Wiesbaden: Reichert, 1974): 91

³⁷³ Levine, “Harḥar,” 120.

together were populated with primary cities and secondary towns.³⁷⁴ The annals of Sargon II also locate Harhar in the vicinity of Media and bordering the kingdom of Ellipi, located in central Zagros north of Elam.³⁷⁵ Although Frayne has noted that a variant Ur III writing of Karaḥar as **ḥar-ḥar** is known, he suggests that the Ur III toponym was distinct from the Assyrian Harḥar and should rather be connected with the toponym **kak-ka3-ra** in the Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names.³⁷⁶ Frayne's position has shifted somewhat with his various studies on third millennium historical geography, though they tend, for the most part, to situate Karaḥar in the same general vicinity, somewhere along the Alwand River between Khanaqin and Sarpol Zahab, in the general vicinity of Qasr-e Shirin.³⁷⁷

It has also been suggested that the name of this city should be read Karakina (**kara2-kin2-na^{ki}**) on the basis of a single document from Umma in which the NA-sign follows the HAR-sign in the writing of the its name; if this is correct, then there would be no relation to the Assyrian Harḥar.³⁷⁸ However, there are five attestations of the RA-sign

³⁷⁴ See, for example, the Black Obelisk: A. K. Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858-745 BC)*, RIMA 3 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996): 68 lines 120-126.

³⁷⁵ Trevor Bryce, *The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia: From the Early Bronze Age to the Fall of the Persian Empire* (New York: Routledge, 2009): 225; St. C. Brown, "Medien (Media)," *RIA* 7 (1990): 619-623; Simo Parpola and Michael Porter, eds., *The Helsinki Atlas of the Near East in the Neo-Assyrian Period* (Helsinki: The Casco Bay Assyriological Institute and the Neo-Assyrian Text Corpus Project, 2001): map 11, section B3.

³⁷⁶ He also thinks that this toponym is linked to the **ka3-ka3-ra-an** mentions in Old Akkadian texts from Tell Suleimah; see Douglas Frayne, "The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena," in *Nuzi at Seventy-Five*, SCCNH 10, eds. David I. Owen and Gernot Wilhelm, 141-202 (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1999): 148-149.

³⁷⁷ Douglas Frayne, "On the Location of Simurru," in *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour*, eds. Gordon D. Young, Mark C. Chavalas and Richard E. Averbeck (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1997): 257-258; Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 451; Frayne, "The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena," 148-149. In his paragraph on the association of Karaḥar with Kakkara, he stated that Karaḥar was associated with the later Assyrian Harḥar, which was to be located near the Diyala south of Arrapha; Douglas Frayne, *The Early Dynastic List of Geographic Names*, AOS 74 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1992): 65. He later suggested that Karaḥar was to be located at the modern site of Warmar, near Halabja; Frayne, "The Zagros Campaigns of the Ur III Kings," 46. This places the toponym roughly 50 km north of his previous suggestions.

³⁷⁸ Claus Wilcke, "Kara2-kin2-na^{ki}," *NABU* (2006/1): 18 no. 20.

following the HAR-sign, from more than one archive, and therefore the evidence is in favor of the reading Karaḥar.³⁷⁹ This data, combined with attestations of the first element of the name (**kara2-**) being written as **ḥa-ra-**,³⁸⁰ suggests that the name of the city was Kar(a)ḥar or Har(a)ḥar. Phonetically the alteration between /k/ and /ḥ/ is attested elsewhere, a good example being the variant orthographies of the divine name Belat-šu(h/k)nir.³⁸¹ Therefore the Ur III toponym may in fact be the same as the Assyrian Harḥar; this depends on the location of both the third and first millennium city(-state), neither of which can be firmly localized at this point.

Some other circumstantial evidence suggests that Karaḥar was located near Ḥamazi and Simurru. An inscription of Arad-Nanna the **sukkal-maḥ** notes that he was the governor of Ḥamazi and Karaḥar (**ensi2 ḥa-am3-zi^{ki} u3 kara2-ḥar^{ki}**) in a long list of governorships and generalships;³⁸² the conjunction (**u3**) shows that Ḥamazi and Karaḥar were to be understood as a unit. A problem is that the precise location of Ḥamazi is unknown, though likely to be located in the region of modern Kirkuk.³⁸³ The sequence of toponyms in campaigns of Šulgi attested via the year-names of his second decade (Der-Karaḥar-Simurru-Ḥarši) suggests a general proximity with these towns, though only Der has been localized with any certainty.³⁸⁴ Therefore we will tentatively locate Karaḥar in the general vicinity of Sarpol Zahab.

³⁷⁹ Girsu documents: P361737; P108476 / CT 5, 17; P127983 / RA 66, 21; P145688 / TCS 1, 153. Puzriš-Dagan text: P102926 / AUCT 1, 80.

³⁸⁰ Puzriš-Dagan: P113677 / MVN 3, 117; P123237 / OIP 115, 17; P331983 (Š31: **a-ra2 2-kam**); P124399 (Š33: **a-ra2 3-kam**); P116199 / MVN 11, 186 (Š45). Girsu: P114360 / MVN 5, 140.

³⁸¹ Kozad Mohamed Ahmed, "The Beginnings of Ancient Kurdistan (c. 2500-1500 BC): A Historical and Cultural Synthesis," (PhD diss., Universiteit Leiden, Leiden, 2012): 198.

³⁸² Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 323-324: E3/2.1.4.13.

³⁸³ Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 233-234.

³⁸⁴ Der is located at Tell 'Aqar near Badrah. For Simurru and Ḥarši, see below.

II.2.2.b: Political Organization and Relationship to the Kingdom of Ur

There is one governor attested in three administrative documents and another attested in an inscription. The inscription references the aforementioned secretary-of-state, Arad-Nanna, as governor of ̒amazi and Karaḥar. Since this text is an inscription and not in seal impressions on administrative tablets, we do not have any precise dates for his governorship of Karaḥar. However, due to the inscription being dedicated to Šu-Suen, we know that Arad-Nanna was in control of the city-state at some point during the reign of the penultimate king of the dynasty.

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>“Governor / Ruler” (ens₂)</i>	<i>“Man of / One of” (lu₂)</i>
Karaḥar	e ₂ -a-ra-bi ₂	šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂
	9/02/AS04 P126733	10/--/AS07 P109323
	9/22/AS05 P123827	
	--/--/----	
	P129523	
	arad ₂ - ^d nanna	
	--/--/ŠS---	<i>inscription</i> ³⁸⁵

Prior to Arad-Nanna’s control of Karaḥar, a governor by the name of Ea-rabi is attested in a few administrative documents dating to the middle of Amar-Suen’s reign. Ea-rabi is an Akkadian name composed with a theophoric element referencing a traditional Mesopotamian deity who was the tutelary god of the southernmost Sumerian city, Eridu. Therefore just as an official of the Ur III state was in control during the reign of Šu-Suen, it appears that another Ur III official was in control of Karaḥar during the reign of Amar-Suen and that the final campaign against that city-state in Šulgi’s forty-

³⁸⁵ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 323-324: E3/2.1.4.13.

fifth year led to its occupation by the kingdom of Ur. The texts that mention Ea-rabi show that he was responsible for delivering livestock and equids from Karaḥar to Puzriš-Dagan:

1. P126733 / Princeton 1, 44, obv. lines 1-6:

**3 gud / 3 dusu₂ nita₂ / 3 dus₂ munus / šu-gid₂ / ki e₂-a-ra-bi₂ ensi₂
kara₂-ḥar^{ki}-ta / ḡiri₃ er₃-ra-UR.SAG lu₂-na**

“3 oxen, 3 male donkeys (and) 3 female donkeys - a selection from Ea-rabi the governor of Karaḥar, via his man, Erra-qarrad”

2. P123827 / OIP 121, 97, obv. lines 1-4:

**25 gud niga 17 gud / 3 ab₂ / 270 udu 180 maš₂-gal / e₂-a-ra-bi₂ ensi₂
kara₂-ḥar^{ki}**

“25 grain-fed oxen, 17 oxen, 3 cows, 270 sheep (and) 180 billy-goats (from) Ea-rabi the governor of Karaḥar”

3. P129523 / SET 114, rev. lines 1-10:

**36 gud / 12 ab₂ / 6 dusu₂ nita₂ / 6 dusu₂ munus / 60 / šu-gid₂ engar
kara₂-ḥar^{ki}-ta / ki e₂-a-ra-bi₂ ensi₂ kara₂-ḥar^{ki}-ta / e₂ šu sum-ma
e₂-a-ra-bi₂ saḡ-nig₂-gur₁₁-ra-ba en₃-bi tar-re-dam / giri₃
er₃-ra-UR.SAG-[x] šeš lu₂-ša-lim-ḡir₃-re lu₂ unug^{ki}-ga**

“36 oxen, 12 cows, 6 male donkeys (and) 6 female donkeys (for a total of) 60 (animals). A selection (from) the farmers of Karaḥar, from Ea-rabi the governor of Karaḥar, to be checked among the available assets of the storeroom of Ea-rabi. Via Erra-qarrad, the brother of Lu-šalim-ḡire, a man of Uruk”

The larger number of animals in the second text may have been the tax of the military establishment with Ea-rabi as the overseer and not a tax strictly on Ea-rabi himself. The section immediately following this excerpt lists the **gun₂ ma-da** tax for the garrison of Ḥubni, though in reverse order of the standard, listing the tax of the troops followed by the junior officers and lastly the general; the general’s tax amount is not included. As will be shown below in the section on the garrison system, there was a degree of variation in the format and information included in peripheral tax documents. A text from Puzriš-

Dagan which lists amounts of livestock entering the accounts over the course of a month or more mentions two oxen from the troops of Karaḥar (**2 gud eren₂ kara₂-ḥar^{ki} / 1 [sila₄ šu]-eš₄-tar₂ nu-banda₃**)³⁸⁶ and likely the officer in charge, Šu-Eštar, who is called a “man (**lu₂**) of Karaḥar” in a separate document listing the recipient of livestock expenditures.³⁸⁷ If the large number of animals in the second text is solely the tax on the troops stationed there, then there was a substantial garrison, with the 45/450 cattle-to-sheep ratio suggesting a troop strength of thirteen thousand, five hundred men.³⁸⁸ This number of troops raises further questions: Was Karaḥar a staging point for campaigns and, if so, would tax rates have been adjusted for troops stationed there on a temporary basis? Or did Karaḥar simply contain a large garrison, being located in a region that took roughly two decades for Šulgi to subdue? Or was this a large garrison that also engaged in military actions outside of Karaḥar? There are multiple ways of interpreting these numbers, which are based on assuming that the livestock amount solely reflects the tax of the troops of the garrison and not its officers, military liaisons and elders. The aforementioned text referencing the troops (**eren₂**) of Karaḥar only lists two oxen as its tax contribution, suggesting a troop strength of only six-hundred men. However, as it will be shown below, tax obligations and, by extension, troop strengths, often fluctuated in these garrisons, sometimes by substantial amounts.

There is a text which seems to connect Šu-Eštar with Ea-rabi.³⁸⁹ The document concerns the delivery of six-hundred sheep carcasses for semi-professional soldiers

³⁸⁶ P126313 / PDT 2, 959, obv. col. iii, lines 31-32.

³⁸⁷ P109323 / Nisaba 30, 43. Šu-Eštar is followed by Taḫišen the man of Šetirša, who is known in other texts to have been the garrison commander of that town.

³⁸⁸ See chapter 3 for the discussion on the tax rate for garrison troops.

³⁸⁹ P293351 / BPOA 6, 906 (7/--/AS06).

(**aga3-us2**) stationed at a place called Nimzium who were under the authority of Dukra, who is known to have been a prominent Ur III general.³⁹⁰ The person designated as the intermediary of the transaction (**ĝiri3**) is Šu-Eštar the son of Ea-rabi. The fact that this document is dated to the reign of Amar-Suen, which is precisely when Ea-rabi is attested as governor of Karaḥar, that Šu-Eštar is labeled as a “man” of Karaḥar, and that it is connected to the military establishment, suggests that Šu-Eštar, an officer (**nu-banda3**) of the garrison of Karaḥar, was either the son or subordinate of Ea-rabi, the governor of Karaḥar.³⁹¹

We see in text three that a substantial number of cattle and equids were taken as a tax on farmers³⁹² at Karaḥar and sent from Ea-rabi who, as governor of the city, likely counted them among his assets. This calls into question whether the cattle and equids in text one came from Ea-rabi’s personal property or were taken as taxes from another element within Karaḥar. This uncertainty applies to another text, which provides little in the way of context.³⁹³

616 udu / kara2-ḥar^{ki} / 72 udu / sa-bu-um / 56 udu / kaš-de2-a
 “616 sheep (from) Karaḥar, 72 sheep (from) Sabum, 56 sheep (for) the banquet”

³⁹⁰ Goetze, “Šakkanakus of the Ur III Empire,” 16.

³⁹¹ For **dumu** as a term of rank as well as a term of filiation, see Francesco Pomponio, “The Ur III Administration: Workers, Messengers, and Sons,” in *From the 21st Century B.C. to the 21st Century A.D.: Proceedings of the International Conference on Sumerian Studies held in Madrid 22-24 July 2010*, edited by Steven Garfinkle and Manuel Molina, 221-232 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013): 227-231.

³⁹² The term **engar** refers more to a “field manager” than a “farmer”; they were in charge of a field (**a-šag4**) measuring roughly 96 acres (6 **bur3** = 38.88 ha.) and the workers (**ša3-gud** “ox-driver”) who labored in the field. See Magnus Widell, “Sumerian Agriculture and Land Management,” in *The Sumerian World*, edited by Harriet Crawford, 55-67 (New York: Routledge, 2013): 60-62.

³⁹³ P126552 / PDT 2, 1222.

If the sheep represent taxes taken from the troops of Karaḥar, then the applied rate would suggest a total of 18,480 troops stationed there.³⁹⁴ The reference to farmers (or field managers) and troops in text three can be given further context in a number of texts which refer to sesame of Karaḥar, suggesting that it was a place known for sesame cultivation.³⁹⁵ The format of these five documents lists the amount of sesame oil, the group that received it for their oil rations, the overseer of the group and the person who issued the rations. Optional information included the intermediary and the reference to a seal and/or the presence of a seal impression. An example is P145137 / SAT 3, 1937:

36(aš) 2(barig) 3(ban₂) še-ḡiš-i₃ gur / i₃-ba eren₂ a-šag₄ šed₆[?]-da bad₃-da-ka tuš-a / ugula ib-ni-^dšul-gi / ḡiri₃ ur-^dlu₂-lal₃ / še-ḡiš-i₃ kara₂-ḥar^{ki} / ki gu-za-ne₂-ta / ba-zi / kišib lugal-a₂-zi-da / itud ezem-^dnin-a-zu / mu ^di-bi₂-^dsuen lugal “10,950 liters of sesame oil (as) oil rations (for) the troops stationed at the manured[?] fields of the fortification. Overseer (is) Ibni-Šulgi; intermediary (is) Ur-lulal. Sesame oil of Karaḥar issued from Guzana. Sealed by Lugal-azida. DATE.”

The data of these texts are summarized in the table below:

Table 7: Oil Rations (i₃-ba) from the Sesame of Karaḥar (še-ḡiš-i₃ kara₂-ḥar^{ki})

Text/Date	Amount of Oil	Recipients	Overseer (ugula)	Issuer (ba-zi)	Intermediary (ḡiri ₃)	Seal
P113859 --/--/ŠS09	40,620 l.	eren ₂	saḡ- ^d nanna-i ₃ -zu	gu-za-na	---	---
P122802 --/--/ŠS09	3900 l.	aga ₃ -us ₂	za-zi	gu-za-na	dan-ne-ki	ḡiri ₃ -ne ₂ -i ₃ -sa ₆ dub-sar -ti bisaḡ-dub-ba dumu ba-ba
P145137 6/--/IS01	10,950 l.	eren ₂	ib-ni- ^d šul-gi	gu-za-na	ur- ^d lu ₂ -lal ₃	lugal-a ₂ -zi-da
P145135 12/--/IS01	83,370 l.	aga ₃ -us ₂ u ₃ dam dumu-ba	a-mur-DINGIR	gu-za-na	i-ku-un-KA- ^d UTU	---
P111948 --/--/IS01	4380 l.	aga ₃ -us ₂ / NIM šuruppak ^{ki}	ur-nigar ^x ^{gar}	gu-za-na	ḥu-un-nu	lugal-a ₂ -zi-da bisaḡ-dub-ba saḡḡa ^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂

³⁹⁴ For udu GN = udu ša3 GN, see chapter 3 in the section on the garrison system.

³⁹⁵ For an attestation of specified sesame farmers (**engar še-ḡiš-i₃**) see P137768 / UET 3, 1443 obv. line 17.

Though none of the overseers are given a title or rank, nevertheless it is probable that they are all generals. Ibni-Šulgi is a rare personal name, attested only twelve times in the entire administrative corpus. One document lists him alongside other generals as being responsible for (overseeing troops) stacking sheaves of grain from tracts of land of various sizes,³⁹⁶ while another document is a **gun2 ma-da** tax record listing him as the commanding officer (**ugula**) of the troops of Puttulum.³⁹⁷ Amur-ilum is attested in a couple of documents from Ur dating to the reign of Ibbi-Suen with the title of general (**šakkan6**),³⁹⁸ and Saĝ-Nanna-izu occurs as overseer for three captains (**nu-banda3**) paying their one ox and ten sheep tax in a **gun2 ma-da**-type document.³⁹⁹ Zazi is not an infrequent name, though there is reference to Zazi the general in a document dating to the latter part of Amar-Suen's reign,⁴⁰⁰ and Ur-nigar, though an extremely frequent name, does have a few occurrences with the title of general in texts dating to the reign of Šu-Suen.⁴⁰¹

The soldiers under the command of the aforementioned generals are designated as either **eren2** or **aga3-us2**. There is little in these texts that indicates where the soldiers were stationed; both occurrences of **eren2** refer to their position at an agricultural or urban place, but not in (**ša3**) a specific polity.⁴⁰² The reference to Karaĝar simply denotes

³⁹⁶ P121723 / Nebraska 38: Ibni-Šulgi is listed alongside well-known generals, such as Nur-Suen, Ur-Utu, Nir-idaĝal, Ĥun-Šulgi and Šarrum-bani.

³⁹⁷ P127555.

³⁹⁸ P137579 / UET 3, 1254 and P139235 / UET 9, 1105.

³⁹⁹ P429788 / JAC 29, 23 no. 1.

⁴⁰⁰ P110438 / HUCA 29, 77 no. 6.

⁴⁰¹ P122912 / NYPL 375; P140508 / UTI 4, 2489; P429468 / CUSAS 6, 1584.

⁴⁰² The difficult phrase **a-šaĝ3 KU da bad3-da-ka tuš-a** could refer simply to a field name or could refer to a field and some other thing located near a fortification or (city) wall. I have tentatively rendered **KU** as **šed6** "to defecate; excrement" to possibly refer to fields that have been fertilized with animal manure; one

the locus of production for the sesame oil used for the oil rations. The fact that the oil amounts differ substantially and the troops are under the command of a different general in each text suggests that the oil was disbursed to multiple locations. One clue for the destination of the oil is in P111948 / JCS 19, 28 no. 3 in which the tablet notes that the oil was intended for the oil rations of the semi-professional soldiers (**i3-ba aga3-us2**) while the envelope renders the same line as “oil rations for the highlanders stationed at Šuruppak” (**i3-ba NIM šuruppak^{ki}-tuš<-a>**).⁴⁰³ This is significant, since it equates this group of highlanders with semi-professional soldiers and refers to them being stationed in the midst of Babylonia. A related text is a letter order which mentions a field and stockyard to be given to highlanders and men from Karaḥar, which were probably located in Girsu.⁴⁰⁴

Other than the references to the governor, there are some references of other rulers of the city, specifically, three cylinder seals which name divinized kings of Karaḥar:

1. **^dti4-sa2-a-tal lugal kara2-ḥar^{ki} ma-ši-am-eš4-tar2 arad2-zu**⁴⁰⁵
 “Tiš-atal the king of Karaḥar: Maši’am-Eštar (is) your servant”

2. **^dza-ar-da-mu ^dUTU ma-ti-šu na-ra-am ^dKIŠ.UNU.GAL i3-li2-šu an-nu-ni-tum um-ma-šu ^d[šul]-pa-e3 [... ..] ^dEN.SIG.NUN a-li-ik i-mi-ti-šu [x] ^dUTU**

document is dated to the sixth month - a time when soil was being prepared for planting, making the suggestion plausible.

⁴⁰³ Sollberger (“Three Ur-Dynasty Documents,” *JCS* 19 (1965): 28) read the final sign as -še3¹ since the hand copy portrays the KU-sign. Instead of assuming a scribal error, it is simpler to read the KU as **tuš** “to sit, dwell” and should be understood as highlanders stationed at Šuruppak.

⁴⁰⁴ P145688 / TCS 1, 153 (---/---): **Lugal-itud-da-ra / u3-na-a-dug4 / a-ša3 na-kab-tum / NIM u3 lu2 kara2-ḥar^{ki}-ra-ke4-ne / sum-mu-da / in-na-a-dug4-ga / ḥe2-ne-eb-sum-mu / u3 6(bur3) gan2 / tu-ta2-ru-um-ra / he2-na-ab-sum-mu** “Tell Lugal-ituda that he should give the field and stockyard to the highlanders and men from Karaḥar as he was instructed, and he should (also) give forty hectares of land to Tutarum.” The provenience of the letter order is Girsu, so it is assumed that the land and stockyard was located in Girsu.

⁴⁰⁵ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 452: E3/2.5.1.

^dDUMU.ZI-[x] LUGAL *da-num*₂ LUGAL *kara₂-ḥar*^{ki} *u₃* LUGAL *ki-ib-ra-tim ar-ba-im* DAM ^dINANA⁴⁰⁶

“Zardamu, the sun-god of his land, the beloved of Nergal, his god, (and) Annunitum, his mother, [.....] of EN.SIG.NUN, who goes at his right side, the [x] of Šamaš and Dumuzi, the strong king, king of Karaḥar and king of the four quarters, the spouse of Ištar”

3. ^d**ke-le-eš-a-tal lugal kara₂-ḥar**^{ki} **ba-la-la-tum dam**⁴⁰⁷

“Keleš-atal, the king of Karaḥar, Balalatum (is your) wife”

Though the inscriptions employ a typology close to that of the Ur III period, the design of the seals is that of Isin-Larsa and therefore postdate the period under consideration.⁴⁰⁸

⁴⁰⁶ Ibid, 453: E3/2.5.2.

⁴⁰⁷ Zsombor Földi, “Gleanings from the Antiquities Market: A Contribution to the Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Royal Inscriptions,” *CDLB* (2013:3): 4-5.

⁴⁰⁸ Dominique Collon, “The Life and Times of Teheš-atal,” *RA* 84 (1990): 129-136.

II.2.3: Simurru and Lullubum

II.2.3.a: Dates of Campaigns and the Locations of the Toponymns

Campaigns against Simurru were the subject of the year names for Šulgi's twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, thirty-second, forty-fourth and forty-fifth years, as well as Ibši-Suen's third. Campaigns against Lullubum are attested for Šulgi's forty-fourth and forty-fifth years, being paired with Simurru in the former and included with Simurru in the latter:

Simurru:

Šulgi 25: **mu si-mu-ru-um^{ki} ba-ḫulu⁴⁰⁹**
 “The year that Simurru was ‘ruined’”

Šulgi 26: **mu si-mu-ru-um^{ki} a-ra₂ 2-kam-ma-aš ba-ḫulu⁴¹⁰**
 “The year that Simurru was ‘ruined’ for the second time”

Šulgi 32: **mu si-mu-ur₄-ru-um^{ki} a-ra₂ 3-kam-aš ba-ḫulu⁴¹¹**
 “The year that Simurru was ‘ruined’ for the third time”

Simurru and Lullubum:

Šulgi 44: **mu si-mu-ru-um^{ki} lu-lu-bu-um^{ki} a-ra₂ 10 la₂ 1-kam-ma-aš
 ba-ḫulu⁴¹²**

⁴⁰⁹ There is no attestation of a longer form of the year name.

⁴¹⁰ P136614 / UET 3, 295. This is the longest version of the year name that I have found. Most common is the omission of the terminative marker after **kam**, and the designation “for the second time” can occur before and after the toponym.

⁴¹¹ This is the standard format for texts from Girsu while texts from Umma, Nippur and Puzriš-Dagan place the ordinal number before the toponym. One document from Girsu (P340530 / BPOA 2, 1877) has a fuller year-name: **mu dšul-gi nita kalag-ga lugal urim^{ki}-ma lugal an-ub-da limmu₂-ba si-mu-ur₄-ru-um^{ki} a-ra₂ 3-kam-aš ba-ḫulu** “The year that Šulgi, the strong male, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, ‘ruined’ Simurru for the third time.”

⁴¹² This year-name exhibits a moderate amount of variation, some of it being the order of toponyms and the inclusion or exclusion of the conjunction (**u₃**) between the toponymns. Other variants include the occurrence of both toponyms, though with the phrase “for the 9th time” omitted (P211350 / BPOA 7, 2235), or just the mention of a single toponym: **mu si-mu-ru-um^{ki} a-ra₂ 10 la₂ 1-kam-aš ba-ḫulu** “the year Simurru was ‘ruined’ for the ninth time” (P303532 / BPOA 7, 2759); **mu lu-lu-bu-um^{ki} ba-ḫulu** “the

“The year that Simurru and Lullubum were ‘ruined’ for the ninth time”

Šulgi 45: **mu dšul-gi nita kalag-ga lugal urim^{ki}-ma lugal an-ub-da limmu²-ba-ke⁴ ur-bi²-lum^{ki} si-mu-ru-um^{ki} lu-lu-bu^{ki} u³ kara²-ḫar^{ki}-ra aš-eš-še³ saĝdu-bi šu-tibir-ra im-mi-ra**
 “The year that Šulgi, the strong male, king of Ur, king of the four quarters smote Urbilum, Simurru, Lullubum and Karaḫar as one (entity)”

Thus we see that military actions against Lullubum were not stand-alone operations, but were part of campaigns against Simurru and other territories. The first attestation of action against Lullubum occurs in Šulgi’s forty-fourth year-name, though it references its ninth defeat. As mentioned above, the year-names do not include all military events that occurred throughout the dynasty’s rule and the notion that the reference to nine campaigns against Lullubum might be poetic or hyperbolic is militated against by a few non-standard year-names:

P290937 / BPOA 7, 1617 (Š27):
mu us²-sa a-ra² 2-kam lu-lu-bu-um si-mu-ru-um ba-ḫulu
 “Year after (the year that) for the second time Lullubum and Simurru were ‘ruined’”

CTPSM 1, 22 (Š33):
mu si-mu-ru-um lu-lu-bu a-ra² 3-kam-aš ba-ḫulu
 “Year that Simurru and Lullubum were ‘ruined’ for the third time”

These examples show that a campaign against Simurru seemed to always have included actions against Lullubum as well; this makes sense of the reference to its ninth ‘ruination’

year Lullubum was ‘ruined’” (P121320 / NATN 622). The fact that these are simply variations of the standard name for Šulgi’s 44th year are shown by texts which have the variant name on the tablet and the standard name on the envelope: P121020 / NATN 322+334 omits “for the 9th time” in the tablet but includes it on the envelope and P102054 / MVN 17, 43a-b simply has “the year Lullubum was ‘ruined’” on the tablet but has the standard year-name on the envelope.

alongside Simurru's in Šulgi's forty-fourth year-name and is supported by the fact that they occur together in Šulgi's forty-fifth year-name.⁴¹³ The notion that Lullubum was not completely pacified by the action undertaken against it in Šulgi's forty-fourth or forty-fifth year is suggested by a single occurrence of the toponym in the name designating Šulgi's forty-eighth and final year:

P143773 / SAT 2, 573 rev. line 4 (7/--/Š48):

mu ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} ki-maš^{ki} ḥu-ur₅-ti^{ki} lu-lu-bum₂^{ki} ba-ḥulu

“The year that Ḥarši, Kimaš, Ḥurti (and) Lullubum were ‘ruined’”

The collocation of Simurru and Lullubum suggests that the two toponyms were in close proximity to each other. The general location of Lullubum is fairly certain though its precise location is yet to be proven; it is generally thought to have been situated within and around the Shahrazur plain, between Halabja in the south and Suleimaniyah in the north, and therefore it was in close proximity to where Simurru is to be localized and in the general vicinity of Karahar.⁴¹⁴

⁴¹³ Further support for this comes from attestations of Lullubum occurring alone in references to Šulgi's 44th year:

P135919 / UCP 9, 1 no. 15 obv. line 1 - rev. line 1: **2(aš) dabin gur lugal / mu lu-lu-bi / 2(aš) mu ur-bi₂-lum^{ki} ba-ḥulu / 4(barig) še a₂ e₂-[x] / mu ki-maš^{ki}** “600 liters of high-quality semolina - year Lullubum; 600 liters - year Urbilum was ‘ruined’; 240 liters ... year Kimaš”

P122229 / NRVN 1, 17 rev. lines 2-3 (Š45): **mu us₂-sa lu-lu-bu-um** “Year after (the year that) Lullubum (was ‘ruined’)”

P210464 / BPOA 6, 684 rev. lines 5-7 (Š46): **mu us₂-sa lu-lu-bu^{ki} a-ra₂ 10 la₂ 1-kam ba-ḥulu mu us₂-sa-bi** “Year that followed the year after (the year that) Lullubum was ‘ruined’ for the 9th time”

Therefore Šulgi's 44th year-name can refer to both Simurru and Lullubum, solely Simurru or solely Lullubum.

⁴¹⁴ The third millennium Lullubum is generally thought to have been located along the western edge of the Zagros in the region around Suleimaniyah between the Lesser Zab and the Diyala; see Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, 112; Horst Klengel, “Lullu(bum),” *RIA* 7 (1988): 164-165; Aage Westenholz, “The Old Akkadian Period: History and Culture,” in *Mesopotamien: Akkade-Zeit und Ur III-Zeit*, OBO 160/3, eds. Pascal Attinger and Markus Wäfler (Göttingen: Universitätsverlag Freiburg Schweiz Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999): 94 and Bryce, *The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia*, 424-425. For a localization closer to Halabja than Suleimaniyah, see Frayne, *The Early Dynastic List of Geographic Names*, 61; Frayne, “The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena; and Frayne, “The

II.2.3.b: Political Organization and Relationship to the Kingdom of Ur

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>“Governor / Ruler” (ensi₂)</i>	<i>“Man of / One of” (lu₂)</i>
Lullubum	i-re-eb 8/17/ŠS02 P124545	---

There is very little information on rulers, governors or personnel from Lullubum, other than a single reference to Ireb the governor who delivered three hundred and eighty-three grain-fed sheep and goats to Puzriš-Dagan. That Lullubum became a royal settlement after its subjugation is suggested by documents referring to **gun₂ ma-da**-type deliveries from its troops:

P116225 / MVN 11, 212 obv. lines 7-8 (8/16/Š43):

72 gud eren₂ lu₂-lu-lu^{ki} ud 16-kam

“72 oxen (from) the troops of Lullubum on the 16th day”

P112104 / AUCT 3, 484 obv. lines 7-8 (5/08/AS08):

10 [gud] eren₂ lu-lu-bu^{ki} [ugula d]a[?]-da dumu lugal

“10 oxen (from) the troops of Lullubu; overseer (is) Dada the prince”

A related document is P303707 / BPOA 7, 2912 obv. line 1 to rev. line 2 (7/14/AS02):

**126 udu / 720 u₈ / 226 maš₂ / 383 ud₅ / ud 14-kam / šu-gid₂ / lu-lu-bu^{ki}-ta /
ki ur-^dnin-sun₂**

Zagros Campaigns of the Ur III Kings,” 47 who in this last publication gives a precise location of modern Dalamar, situated just to the southeast of Halabja, though such an association is highly tentative. Lullubum’s closest neighbor to the west was Arraphum (modern Kirkuk) and its territory may have extended as far east as modern Marivan. A southern limit for Lullubum at Sarpol Zahab, the site of a rock inscription of Annubanini the king of Lullubum (Douglas Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period (2003-1595 BC)*, RIME 4 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990): 704-706: E4.18.1.1), can probably only be applied for the second millennium and did not extend that far south during the Ur III period. Though the toponym was extended to refer to “mountain people” in general in the 2nd millennium, the texts from Shemsharra refer to it as a specific political entity that bordered the land of Utûm, whose capital was Šušarra; Ahmed, “The Beginnings of Ancient Kurdistan,” 75-77.

“126 rams, 720 ewes, 226 bucks, 383 nanny-goats - 14th day, a selection from Lullubum, from Ur-Ninsun”

The first document is problematic since it provides an unusual orthography for the toponym, which is usually written as **lu-lu-bu(-um)**^{ki} or **lu-lu-bum**^{2ki}. Another issue revolves around the date of the text, which mentions the tax of the garrison troops in Šulgi’s forty-third year, though Lullubum may not have been pacified until Šulgi’s forty-eighth year. Lastly, the other toponyms referenced in the troop deliveries differ from the toponyms in the other **gun2 ma-da**-type document.⁴¹⁵ Therefore the first document may reference a different place than Lullubum.⁴¹⁶ If, however, these three texts do represent **gun2 ma-da** payments, then the associated troop strengths would be as follows:

8/16/Š43:	72 cattle	=	21,600
7/14/AS02:	1455 sheep/goats	=	43,500
5/08/AS08:	10 cattle	=	3000

The first number could easily refer to troop build-up in conjunction with the ninth campaign against Simurru and Lullubum. The second number could also be seen as a troop build-up in conjunction with Amar-Suen’s campaign against Urbilum, though it still seems somewhat high.⁴¹⁷ Since the only designation of the animal delivery is “a

⁴¹⁵ P112104 / AUCT 3, 484 lists places in the general vicinity of where Lullubum is thought to be, such as Arraphum, Hamazi and Dur-Ebla. This last point is not very strong since it lists Zatum, which is in both documents, and the deliveries are recorded as having arrived on different days, raising the possibility that the toponyms listed in the text are not to be associated with each other.

⁴¹⁶ Though a scenario in which the garrison intended for Lullubum was located some distance from, and not within, the still hostile town is not inconceivable.

⁴¹⁷ Though large, the number is not inconceivable; if we look at the troop numbers in the Old Babylonian period, we see surprisingly large forces at the command of the various city-states. Shamshi-Adad mustered 60,000 troops in order to besiege Nurrugum, which came from a variety of sources: 1,000 men from the Hanaeans, 600 from other tribes, a few thousand from Mari, 6,000 from Eshnunna, 10,000 from Shamshi-Adad, etc. When Hammurabi and Zimri-Lim were fighting against Eshnunna and Elam, an army of 30,000 is mentioned. Armies ranging from a few thousand to 10,000 are not uncommon, and a letter from Shamshi-Adad shows that he reckoned 20,000 troops to be a strong army; see Jack Sasson, *The Military*

selection” (**šu-gid₂**), then it is possible that the number of livestock represents not only the tax of the troops, but also the taxes of the officer cadre, military liaisons, city elders, and other elements in the royal settlement. The third number is a reasonable garrison strength for a time in the history of the dynasty when the western Zagros had been relatively pacified.

A couple of documents raise the question of the nature of the troops stationed at the garrison in Lullubum.⁴¹⁸ Two of them mention either two different persons, one designated as a soldier (**aga₃-us₂**) and the other as a captain (**nu-banda₃**), or the same person who moved up in the chain of command during the course of a twenty-year career.⁴¹⁹ The intriguing thing about these texts is that the name of the person(s) in question is “Lullubean” - the toponym written as an Akkadian gentilic (*lu-lu-ba-a*). If the name represents the person’s ethnicity, and it would be an odd name if it did not, then we have a foreign, Lullubean soldier employed by the kingdom of Ur who, in the earlier document, was a **giri₃**-agent for livestock and in the second seems to have been taxed livestock along with some other Ur III notables. A related text is P104622 / AUCT 3, 413 from Puzriš-Dagan which lists, among other livestock expenditures, a sheep and a goat issued for Lullubean captains when they swore an assertory oath at the temple of Ninurta in Nippur.⁴²⁰ Are these native Lullubeans who have entered into military service

Establishments at Mari (Rome: Pontifical Biblical Institute, 1969): 7-9 and Stephanie Dalley, *Mari and Karana: Two Old Babylonian Cities* (New York: Longman, 1984): 141-142. These numbers come from a time when there were numerous petty kingdoms throughout Assyria and Babylonia that relied upon a handful of allies to levy their armies, unlike the centralized Ur state which could have levied its troops from over twenty provinces and their subordinate towns.

⁴¹⁸ This question is explored further in the chapter on the peripheral garrisons.

⁴¹⁹ P375979 / Nisaba 24, 22 (12/--/Š48) and P129502 / SET 92 (5/02/IS01).

⁴²⁰ Obv. lines 17-18 (11/15/ŠS09): **1 udu 1 maš₂ nam-erim₂ e₂ ^dnin-urta mu nu-banda₃ lu-lu-bu^{ki}-ke₄-ne-še₃** “1 sheep (and) 1 goat (for) the assertory oath (in) the temple of Ninurta on behalf of the captains of Lullubum.”

for the king of Ur? Or are they native Babylonians stationed at Lullubum who are renewing their oath to serve the king, especially at a time when the dynasty was likely already losing control of its territorial holdings?⁴²¹ Or were they a mix of Babylonian and Lullubean officers stationed at Lullubum and renewing their oaths? The wording of the Sumerian text leaves this question unanswerable without further context.⁴²²

Complicating the picture is that not all references to a toponym called Lullubum seem to refer to the polity north of the Diyala along the Zagros; some seem to refer to a royal settlement within the province of Girsu most probably settled by prisoners-of-war from Lullubum.⁴²³ We know from an inscription of Šu-Suen that elements of defeated populations were deported and settled in towns named after them:⁴²⁴

⁴²¹ That the reign of Šu-Suen was troubled is suggested by his construction of the Muriq-Tidnim wall and only by the fact that he conducted two campaigns worthy of year-names; Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, 28. The fact that Ibbi-Suen named his third year after a campaign against Simurru, near the head of the Diyala River, suggests that the territorial holdings of the empire had shrunk significantly by the beginning of Ibbi-Suen's reign. It is uncertain whether this oath, which Steinkeller called a "loyalty oath," was a unique or a regular occurrence. A similar type of oath was taken at Ur by many or all the generals of the realm (**ud šakkan-ne nam-erim in-kuš-ša**) in a text that lists the expenditure of reeds for the cooking of a large quantity of meat for this oath ceremony; Piotr Steinkeller, "Joys of Cooking in Ur III Babylonia," in *On the Third Dynasty of Ur: Studies in Honor of Marcel Sigris*, JCS SS1, ed. Piotr Michalowski (Boston: American School of Oriental Research, 2008): 185-187. In the case of the generals, the quantity of meat suggests that this was not an oath taken by men recently appointed to the rank of general, but rather an oath for continued loyalty and service.

⁴²² It should be noted that Lullubeans served in groups as mercenaries in the armies of the kingdoms of northern Syria; Ahmed, "Beginnings of Ancient Kurdistan," 76.

⁴²³ Piotr Steinkeller, "Corvée Labor in Ur III Times," in *From the 21st century B.C. to the 21st century A.D.: Proceedings of the International Conference on Sumerian Studies held in Madrid 22-24 July 2010*, eds. Steven Garfinkle and Manuel Molina (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013): 354.

⁴²⁴ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 298-299: E3/2.1.4.1 col. iv lines 34-46 with relevant material continuing on to col. v line 23. Frayne essentially follows Civil's ("Šū-Sîn's Historical Inscriptions: Collection B," *JCS* 21 [1967]: 31) translation: "He settled the enemy people, his plunder, (namely) Simānum, for the god Enlil and the goddess Ninlil, on the frontier of Nippur, (and) built for them [a town]." This is a bit misleading, since the verb **ki...gar** refers to the foundation of the town called Simanum, not the settling of people who were the plunder of Simanum, though this was undoubtedly taking place. Thus the object of the verb is Simanum and not the prisoners-of-war (**saĝ erim-ĝal nam-ra-aš-ak-ni**) and the passage refers to the establishment of a royal settlement called Simanum after the plunder who populated it. This is supported in the same inscription in col. v lines 5-6 which has the noun "town" as the direct object of the verb (**iri^{ki} ki nu-ne-gar**) and lines 22-23 which has Simanum as the direct object (**si-ma-nu[m^{ki}] ki mu-ne-[gar]**). Therefore the emphasis is on the foundation of the new town called Simanum and not on the settling of the prisoners-of-war. The latter would have been the object of the verb **tuš** with the Akkadian nuance of *šūšubu* "to cause to dwell, to settle."

saĝ erim₂-ĝal₂ nam-ra-aš-ak-a-ne₂ ^den-lil₂ ^dnin-lil₂-r[a] ki-sur-r[a] nibru^{ki}-ka
 [iri[?]] si-ma-nu[m₂^{ki}] ki m[u-ne]-ĝar [iri-bi[?] mu-n]e-du₃ [...t]a
 mu-ne-[x-t]a-an-gub iri^{ki}-ba ^dšu-^dsuen diĝir-bi-im

“For the enemy slaves, his plunder, he founded the *town* of Simanum at the border of Nippur on behalf of Enlil and Ninlil (and) built *their town*, having set *them apart for them* (Enlil and Ninlil). The god of their town is Šu-Suen.”

Though we do not have a similar inscription for Lullubum, we do have one document which references prisoners-of-war employed as weavers at Ur, showing that Lullubeans were present in the homeland (**kalam**).⁴²⁵ The question then arises as to how we decide which Lullubum, the old foreign town or the new royal settlement, is being referenced. One way is to note the proveniences of the texts which stem primarily from Puzriš-Dagan and Girsu. Documents from the former are well-known for mentioning peripheral entities while the latter, outside of the messenger text genre, deal with the provincial administration. Therefore texts from Girsu will be assumed to refer to the royal settlement within Girsu province:

Table 8: Texts from Girsu mentioning Lullubum as a Royal Settlement in Girsu Province

P340546 BPOA 2, 18	--/04/AS01	Ur-Bau received 18 baskets of garments in Lullubum. Duga-zida was overseer.
P134284 TLB 3, 143	--/--/AS01	Ur-Bau received 16 baskets of garments in Lullubum. Duga-zida was overseer.
P134281 TLB 3, 140	--/02/AS01	2947 assorted sheep under the care of various shepherds, which were sheared, in Lullubum. Duga-zida was overseer.
P204041 PPAC 5, 615	--/03/AS01	203 rams - sheep (that were) repaid debts (and) with fleece - in Lullubum.
P110307 HSS 4, 34	--/04/AS01	2314 sheep under the care of various shepherds, which were sheared, in Lullubum. Duga-zida was overseer.
P115696 MVN 9, 53	--/--/AS02	80,245 liters of grain, grain of Ur-Bau the estate manager (saĝĝa), are present in Lullubum.
P317106 PPAC 5, 278	--/--/----	Balanced account of grain dispersed among cities of Girsu province such as Girsu, Niĝin, Urub, and Lullubum.

⁴²⁵ P138089 / UET 3, 1763 (--/--/----). The tablet is quite fragmentary, but it seems to list various garments produced by female Lullubean prisoners-of-war: [...] **geme₂ nam-ra-aš ak [lu-lu-]bu^{ki}-na-ke₄-ne-ta [geme₂[?]] uš-bar-ra-ke₄-ne-ta** “from...female prisoners-or-war of Lullubum, the female weavers.”

P204777 PPAC 5, 601	--/--/AS05	List of animals in fields of cities and towns within Girsu province, including Hurim, Gu'abba, Kinunir, Niġin, Urub, Lagaš and Lullubum.
P111176 ITT 3, 5367	8/--/ŠS09	900 liters of grain from the timber storehouse from Lu-Utu for the wages of hirelings, sealed by the military liaison (ha-za-num₂) of Lullubum.

Many of these documents which mention livestock and their products in Lullubum also mention as overseer (**ugula**) one Duga-zida who oversaw sheep and their wool not only within the town called Lullubum, but also throughout the province of Girsu.⁴²⁶ Likely to be added to this list are two references to Lullubum in texts from Umma, one mentioning men (**ġuruš**) from Eduru-Inana, Simurru and Lullubum hired (**lu₂ huġ-ġa₂**) for working fields,⁴²⁷ and the other recording a promissory oath taken by a captian (**nu-banda₃**) concerning roughly 800 acres of cultivated fields in Lullubum.⁴²⁸ The two Girsu messenger texts that refer to Lullubum should probably be understood as referencing the foreign town located outside of Babylonia since the vast majority of toponymns in the Girsu messenger texts are foreign locales.⁴²⁹ Additionally, though livestock was common in the Lullubum located in Girsu, the foreign Lullubum was a producer of livestock, as attested by two texts which refer to the **šu-gid₂**-delivery of Iri-Saġrig issued from the top

⁴²⁶ P380076 / PPAC 5, 1494 is a **bisaġ-dub-ba** label of texts dealing with wool from fat-tailed sheep from Girsu to Gu'abba (**bisaġ dub-ba udu gukkal ba-ur₄ siki ba-la₂ ġir₂-su^{ki}-ta gu₂-ab-ba^{ki}-še₃ ugula duga-ga-zi-da i₃-ġa₂**). References to Duga-zida as overseer of sheep and wool (or wool products) within particular towns in Girsu province include: Girsu (P134216 / TLB 3, 75), Gu'abba (P102245 / SNAT 40), Kinunir (P102238 / SNAT 43), Kimadasala (P134283 / TLB 3, 142).

⁴²⁷ P201211 / Princeton 2, 213. The reference to Eduru-Inanna, known to be a village in Girsu province, suggests that the Simurru and Lullubum referenced here are the royal settlements populated with prisoners-of-wars from those polities.

⁴²⁸ P209414 / Ontario 2, 156; Steinkeller, "Corvée Labor in Ur III Times," 354.

⁴²⁹ P356020 / Nisaba 13, 105 (9/22/----) and P203257 / PPAC 5, 557 (4/--/Š45). Both texts record the mission of the travelers as having "went to the sheep of Lullubum".

cultic official to Puzriš-Dagan, which differentiated animals of Lullubum from animals of Sumer (**ki-en-gi**).⁴³⁰

Though it was often associated with Lullubum, Simurrum seems to have been the more important objective for the Ur III kings since it is the polity most commonly referenced in the year-names. Its exact location is uncertain and earlier scholarship placed it east of the Jebel Hamrin between the Adheim (Nahr al-Uzaym) and Diyala rivers, at the point where the Adheim breaks through the Jebel Hamrin, or further east between Qarah Tappah and Kifri.⁴³¹ Frayne suggested that Simurrum lay on the Diyala, not the Adheim, and noting the close connection between Simurrum and Karaḥar, placed its location further east than previous suggestions, situating it where the Pungala River meets up with the Diyala in the vicinity of modern Kalar.⁴³² Later he adjusted his positioning and placed Simurrum at Shamiran, roughly twenty kilometers west of Halabja, in the vicinity of Darbandikan.⁴³³ Though Simurrum was located near Karaḥar, the closer association with Lullubum, as noted above, favors a location for Simurrum in the general vicinity of Halabja.

<i>City</i>	<i>Personnel designated as ensi₂</i>	<i>Personnel designated as lu₂</i>
Simurrum	ṣi ₍₂₎ -lu-uš- ^d da-gan 6/--/ŠS03 P126665 6/--/ŠS03 P126673 6/--/ŠS05 P126643 6/--/ŠS05 P126683 --/--/ŠS06 P141661	ki-ri ₍₂₎ -ip-ul-me 9/14/AS08 P105979 9/16/AS08 P105185 10/13/AS08 P126482 10/17/AS08 P131590 2/26/AS09 P129476 11/03/AS09 P124305 11/04/AS09 P131989

⁴³⁰ P103250 / AUCT 1, 405 (4/--/Š46): 1342 sheep/goats from Lullubum and 954 from Sumer in the first installment (**a-ra₂ 1-kam**) and 1008 and 533 in the second installment respectively. P106156 / BIN 3, 350 (9/--/Š47): 70 sheep/goats from Lullubum and 902 from Sumer.

⁴³¹ Hallo, Simurrum and the Hurrian Frontier,” 72 n. 17; Frayne, “On the Location of Simurrum,” 260-262.

⁴³² Frayne, “On the Location of Simurrum,” 262-267.

⁴³³ Frayne, “The Zagros Campagins of the Ur III Kings,” 46.

	(only occur in seal impressions) ⁴³⁴	11/07/AS09	P128924
		1/24/ŠS01	P106023
		10/20/ŠS01	P130031
		11/24/ŠS02	P104839
		tab ₄ -ba-an-da-ra-aḥ	
		4/18/ŠS01	P125983
		4/--/ŠS01	P126021
		10/20/ŠS01	P130031
		9/09/ŠS02	P126772
		9/17/ŠS02	P126264
		9/19/ŠS02	P106249
		9/20/ŠS02	P106358
		9/23/ŠS02	P106366
		9/--/ŠS02	P124924
		lam-še-en	
		11/09/----	P332038

As we can see, there is only one explicit governor/ruler (**ensi₂**) attested in the administrative archive and three persons designated as **lu₂**. Of great interest is the person named Tabban-daraḥ. Albrecht Goetze connected the occurrences of this name in Old Babylonian “historical” omens to references to Tabban-daraḥ in Ur III archival sources, arriving at the conclusion that Tabban-daraḥ must have been the king of Simurru against whom Šulgi fought, and eventually defeated, as attested in his year-names:⁴³⁵

⁴³⁴ These seal impressions belong to personnel who served under Šilluš-Dagan and Waetzoldt has shown that such **arad₂-zu** seals were in use after the tenure of the governor to whom they were dedicated; therefore we cannot automatically assume that since such **arad₂-zu** seals mentioning Šilluš-Dagan were dated to the reign of Šu-Suen, that he was still governor of Simurru at that time; Hartmut Waetzoldt, “Änderung von Siegellegenden als Reflex der ‘grossen Politik,’” in *Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte Vorderasiens: Festschrift für M. Boehmer*, eds. by Uwe Finkbeiner et. al. (Mainz: Verlag Philipp von Zabern, 1995): 659-663. For the **in-na-ba**-seal of Šilluš-Dagan and its proposed date of Šulgi 42, see David I. Owen, “The Royal Gift Seal of Šilluš-Dagan,” in *Studi Vicino Oriente antico dedicati alla memoria di Luigi Cagni*, ed. Simonett Graziani (Naples: Instituto Universitario Orientale, 2000): 817-819. Also Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 425-426: E3/2.1.6.1046.

⁴³⁵ Albrecht Goetze, “Historical Allusions in Old Babylonian Omen Texts,” *JCS* 1 (1947): 253-265. For the related omens listed above, see pages 259-260 (following his numbering). On the usefulness of such historical omens, see Jerrold Cooper, “Apodictic Death and the Historicity of ‘Historical’ Omens,” in *Death in Ancient Mesopotamia: Papers Read at the 26th Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, ed. Bendt Alster (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1980): 99-104 and Erica Reiner, “New Light on Some Historical Omens,” in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Hans Gustav Güterbock on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, eds. K. Bittel et al. (Leiden: Nederlands Historisch-Archaeologisch Instituut in het Nabije Oosten, 1974): 257-261.

25. *šumma bāb ekallim šīrum ibbir amūt Šulgi ša Tappa-Daraḥ ikmû*
 “If the ominous tissue crosses the ‘palace gate’, (it is) an omen of Šulgi who bound (as captive) Tappa-Daraḥ.”
- 26 a. *šumma bāb ekallim šīram udduḥ amūt Šulgi ša Tappa-Daraḥ ikmû*
 “If the ‘palace gate’ is covered with ominous tissue, (it is) an omen of Šulgi who bound (as captive) Tappa-Daraḥ.”
- 26 b. *šumma bāb ekallim šīram udduḥ amūt Šulgi ša Tappa-Daraḥ inēru*
 “If the ‘palace gate’ is covered with ominous tissue, (it is) an omen of Šulgi who ‘slew’ Tappa-Daraḥ.”
27. *šumma ina libbi bāb ekallim šīrum kubbutma šakin amūt Šulgi ša Tappa-Daraḥ ikmû*
 “If the ominous tissue is heavy and situated within the ‘palace gate’, (it is) an omen of Šulgi who bound (as captive) Tappa-Daraḥ.”

This association depends upon a number of things: 1) that the designation of **lu₂** Simurru for the Tabban-daraḥ attested in documents dating to the reign of Šu-Suen refers to his position as “ruler” of Simurru, 2) that this Tabban-daraḥ is the same man as the Tabban-daraḥ attested in texts dated to the reign of Šulgi, and 3) that the capture of Tabban-daraḥ was quite a significant event in the region of Šulgi and should be related to his defeat of Simurru since he refers to ten “ruinations” of the city in his year names. An overview of the occurrences of this name, which is quite rare in the administrative corpus, may help to clarify the situation.

Table 9: References to Tabban-Daraḥ in the Reign of Šulgi

Date	Description	Date
7/--/Š33	3 grain-fed sheep as regular provisions (sa₂-dug₄) for Tabban-daraḥ	P126782
9/--/Š33	2 grain-fed sheep for Belat-šuh _{nir} and Belat-Tarraben via (ḡiri₃) the daughter of Tabban-daraḥ	P101348
2/--/Š34	6 grass-fed sheep (from) Tabban-daraḥ (for) the delivery of Šulgi-simti	P123722
5/--/Š34	1 ox, 8 sheep and 2 goats (from) Tabban-daraḥ (for) Šulgi-simti	P134156
5/--/Š35	8 sheep and 2 goats issued for the spouse of Tabban-daraḥ	P303806

8/--/Š36	1 grain-fed ox and 7 goats (from) the spouse of Tabban-daraḥ (for) the delivery of Šulgi-simti	P123716
11/--/Š38	2 grass-fed cattle, 7 grass-fed sheep and 3 goats (from) the spouse of Tabban-daraḥ (for) the delivery of Šulgi-simti	P101335
11/--/AS02	Ennum-Adad, the son of Tabban-daraḥ, was a witness for the confirmation of certain personnel as slaves of the palace	P130093
--/20/----	3 grain-fed sheep (for) the daughter of Tabban-daraḥ	P128943

The fact that omen tradition placed an emphasis on Tabban-daraḥ's capture and that one Tabban-daraḥ and some of his family members are attested in the years immediately following Šulgi's third defeat of Simurru suggests that the two should be connected.⁴³⁶ We see from the data above that the Ur III administration both provided livestock for and received livestock from Tabban-daraḥ, his wife and one of his daughters. This suggests the family's integration, to some degree, into the royal family, and this is supported by the women's connection to Šulgi's wife, Šulgi-simti, and her cult revolving around Belat-terraban and Belat-šuhñir, and by the integration of his son into the administration at Puzriš-Dagan.⁴³⁷ Yet if the scholarly consensus is that this Tabban-daraḥ is the defeated ruler of Simurru,⁴³⁸ does it necessarily follow that the Tabban-daraḥ attested in the reign of Šu-Suen was the same person? The data on this person, whose attestations occur only in the context of receiving small numbers of livestock, are presented below:

⁴³⁶ It is well known that it was a common practice for defeated rulers and their families, along with other notables and specialists, to be deported into the kingdom of their conqueror. Goetze's ("Historical Allusions in Old Babylonian Omen Texts," 260) claim, however, that the final "destruction" of Simurru and the capture of Tabban-daraḥ (the latter event assumed to have occurred at that time) is untenable. The Akkadian versions of building inscriptions referencing the (re)construction of Nergal's temple in Kutha and Tišpak's temple in Ešnunna provide the title "king of the four quarters" (*šar kibrātīm arba'im*) and would have likely been written prior to the last few years of Šulgi's reign. More concretely, an administrative document bearing a temporary year-name referencing Šulgi's 2nd defeat of Simurru employs the title (P114584 / MVN 6, 128); though it doesn't exclude the possibility that one of the defeats of Simurru prompted the title, it seems to have been in use at least by the middle of his reign.

⁴³⁷ Tonia Sharlach, "The Case of the Family the Fled," in *If a Man Builds a Joyful House: Assyriological Studies in Honor of Erle Verdun Leichty*, eds. Ann K. Guinan et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2006): 388.

⁴³⁸ Goetze's conclusions have been followed by Hallo, "Simurru and the Hurrian Frontier," 74-76; Robert Biggs, "Šulgi in Simurru," in *Crossing Boundaries and Linking Horizons: Studies in Honor of Michael C. Astour*, eds. Gordon D. Young, Mark C. Chavalas and Richard E. Averbeck (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1997): 169-173 and Owen, "The Royal Gift Seal of Šilluš-Dagan, Governor of Simurru," 820-824.

Table 10: References to Tabban-daraḥ lu₂ Simurrum in the Reign of Šu-Suen

Date	Expenditures	ġiri ₃ -agent	maškim	Location	Other lu ₂ GN Receiving Animals
4/18/ŠS01	1 udu niga	er ₃ -ra-a skl	Aradġu	Nippur	a-bu-DUG ₃ lu ₂ Mari ⁴³⁹
4/--/ŠS01	3 udu niga 2 maš ₂ -gal niga	[...]	[...]	---	---
10/20/ŠS01	udu niga	a-wa-ar-ka skl	Aradġu	Ur	ki-ri-ib-ul-me lu ₂ Simurrum in-da-da-pi lu ₂ Yabibum ba-la-la lu ₂ Ma(n)hili
9/09/ŠS02	1 udu niga	^d suen-il-šu skl	---	---	^d šu- ^d suen-wa- lu ₂ Simanum zu-um-i-šar-re ga-da-bi lu ₂ Tikitinhi
9/17/ŠS02	1 [udu niga]	[Hani skl]	Aradġu	---	[ga-da-bi] [lu ₂ Tikitinhi]
9/19/ŠS02	1 udu niga	Hani skl	Aradġu	---	ga-da-bi lu ₂ Tikitinhi
9/20/ŠS02	1 udu niga	Hani skl	Aradġu	---	ga-da-bi lu ₂ Tikitinhi zi-li-ni munus lu ₂ Hurti
9/23/ŠS02	1 udu niga	Hani skl	Aradġu	---	ga-da-bi lu ₂ Tikitinhi
9/--/ŠS02		Hani skl	Aradġu	---	^d šu- ^d suen-wa- lu ₂ Simanum zu-um-i-šar-re ga-da-bi lu ₂ Tikitinhi

skl = sukkal

Most scholars tend to think that this Tabban-daraḥ is the same person as the one mentioned in the documents dating to Šulgi's fourth decade and therefore the attempt to juggle the data of having the Tabban-daraḥ of both Šulgi's and Šu-Suen's reigns, along with Kirip-ulme and Šilluš-Dagan, as rulers/governors has led to a variety of interpretations of the political scene, many of which can be somewhat ambiguous and uncertain. Hallo opined that Tabban-daraḥ was the native ruler who was defeated and captured in Šulgi's second "Hurrian War" (the third time Simurrum was 'ruined') though Simurrum was not turned into a province until after the third "Hurrian War" (Šulgi's forty-fourth and forty-fifth years) and Šilluš-Dagan appointed as its governor.⁴⁴⁰ Biggs understood Tabban-daraḥ to have been the native ruler of Simurrum who was finally

⁴³⁹ The location of Nippur only applies to Tabban-daraḥ.

⁴⁴⁰ Hallo, "Simurrum and the Hurrian Frontier," 74-77.

defeated and captured in Šulgi's forty-fifth year, to be succeeded later by another native ruler, Kirip-ulme; he does not discuss the role of Tabban-daraḥ in texts dated to Šu-Suen's reign nor the role of Šilluš-Dagan.⁴⁴¹

Owen presented the scenario in which Tabban-daraḥ was a native ruler who was defeated in the early campaigns against Simurru. For a short period around Šulgi's fortieth to forty-second years, Simurru came under the (at least nominal) control of Ur and Šilluš-Dagan was installed as governor. Tabban-daraḥ subsequently regained control of the city, but was captured in the destruction of Simurru commemorated in Šulgi's forty-fifth year-name. The sources are silent regarding the rulership of Simurru from the end of Šulgi's reign into the middle of Amar-Suen's reign, unless the reference to (U)lam-šen as **lu**₂ Simurru denoted his tenure as ruler. In the latter part of Amar-Suen's reign and into the early part of Šu-Suen's Kirip-ulme (and possibly Tabban-daraḥ) were in control of Simurru, which, according to one of the literary letters of the correspondence of the kings of Ur, came to the aid of Amorites attacking Mesopotamian troops as they tried to construct the Muriq-Tidnim fortifications.⁴⁴² After this there may have been a brief period with Šilluš-Dagan as governor for the second time. Not much later, Simurru was again hostile to Ur and the object of a campaign attested in Ibbi-Suen's third year-name. Thus the picture is one in which Simurru slipped in and out of the control of the kings of Ur.⁴⁴³

Ahmed presented the scenario that Tabban-daraḥ, the native king of Simurru, was captured in Šulgi's thirty-second year and taken to Sumer with his family. The

⁴⁴¹ Biggs, "Šulgi in Simurru," 170-173.

⁴⁴² Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 398-407 text no. 18; ETCSL 3.1.15.

⁴⁴³ Owen, "The Royal Gift Seal of Šilluš-Dagan," 820-838.

reference to Šulgi's wall (**bad₃ ma-da**) in his thirty-seventh year-name, which he translates as "The Wall of Unincorporated Lands," demonstrates that Simurru and other territories beyond the the wall were not under the rule of Ur.⁴⁴⁴ That situation changed at the beginning of Šulgi's final decade when Simurru was annexed, with Tabban-daraḥ re-installed as the nominal king and Šilluṣ-Dagan appointed as governor for the *de facto* administration of the city, but that situation lasted only a few years, after which the campaigns of Šulgi's forty-fourth and forty-fifth year were conducted against Simurru. Kirip-ulme succeeded Tabban-daraḥ to the throne and Simurru remained under the control of Ur until the beginning of Ibbi-Suen's reign.⁴⁴⁵

Frayne has suggested that Šulgi appointed Tabban-daraḥ as governor at an unknown date; then around Šulgi's fortieth or forty-first year, when Simurru was fully under Ur III control, he appointed Šilluṣ-Dagan, who subsequently lost control, resulting in the campaigns commemorated in Šulgi's forty-fourth and forty-fifth years. Kirip-ulme was appointed at some time after these campaigns and is attested until Šu-Suen's second year.⁴⁴⁶ Sallaberger assumed that Simurru belonged to the kingdom of Ur in the interval between Šulgi's campaign mentioned in his forty-fifth year-name and the campaign mentioned in Ibbi-Suen's third year-name.⁴⁴⁷

⁴⁴⁴ Ahmed, "The Beginnings of Ancient Kurdistan," 240. His translation of **ma-da** as "unincorporated lands" is untenable in light of Ur III archival documents mentioning the **ma-da** of cities in both northern and southern Babylonia; for example: **ma-da** Girsu: P107547 / CST 34; **ma-da** Uruk: P416190 / CUSAS 16, 282;

ma-da Iri-Saḡrig: P481399 and **ma-da** Kiš: P131755 / TCL 5 6041. That **ma-da** refers to the hinterland of a city is suggested by references to shepherds and cowherds: P116260 / MCS 1, 26 is a **bisaḡ-dub-ba** text mentioning seal impressions of the shepherds of the **ma-da** of Girsu and P209259 / Nisaba 6, 1 mentions subsistence plots held by shepherds and cowherds of the **ma-da** of Umma. For the semantic range of **ma-da**, see Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 125-129.

⁴⁴⁵ Ahmed, "The Beginnings of Ancient Kurdistan," 237-242.

⁴⁴⁶ Frayne, "Simurru," 509-510.

⁴⁴⁷ Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 158.

Molina, in order to harmonize the dates from the administrative documents and the later omen tradition, has posited that Tabban-Daraḥ was captured in Šulgi's third campaign against the city, was settled with his family at the court of Ur for a time, and was then transferred to Simurru as a high-ranking official under the authority of Šilluš-Dagan, the governor of Simurru.⁴⁴⁸

This survey of the different historical reconstructions shows the uncertainty and confusion that arises when confronted with incomplete data, lack of context and trouble with some of the terminology.

Excursus: The Titles of Rulers and Governors in the Ur III Period

Much of this confusion stems from the fact that it has often been asserted that the construction **lu₂ GN** was the standard way of designating a ruler.⁴⁴⁹ This is a good point in which to review the terminology of a few key words in regards to their use in the Sumerian administrative corpus: **lugal**, **ensi₂** and **lu₂**. Ur III ideology allowed for only one "king" (**lugal**), which was the divine ruler of Ur and no other.⁴⁵⁰ Foreign rulers were

⁴⁴⁸ Manuel Molina, "Tappan-daraḥ," *RIA* 13 (2012): 452.

⁴⁴⁹ Owen, "The Royal Gift Seal of Šilluš-Dagan," 821; Biggs, "Šulgi in Simurru," 171; Michalowski, "Aššur in the Ur III Period," in *Here and There across the Ancient Near East: Studies in Honour of Krystyna Lyczkowska*, ed. Olga Drewnowska (Warszawa: Agade, 2009): 152.

⁴⁵⁰ Michalowski ("Aššur during the Ur III Period," 149) phrases it well when he states "In the political language of Ur III times, there was only one terrestrial **lu g a l** 'king' while all other earthly potentates, no matter how powerful, were designated with the word **e n s i₂**." This is applicable for all Ur III administrative documents and the year-names used to date them. The only exception to this rule comes from one inscription of Šu-Suen commemorating his defeat of Simanum (Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 297 col. iii lines 38-44): **mar-tu l[u₂?] ti-id-n[u-um^{ki}] ia₃-a-ma-d[i₃-um^{ki}] im-ma-da-e[₃-eš] lugal-b[i] me₃ šen-š[en-ba gaba[?]] im-m[a-d]a-r[i]-eš "Amorites the Tidnum (and) Yamadeans came out (and) their *kings* confronted (Šu-Suen) in battle and melee." It is interesting that only the rulers of the Amorite tribes bear the designation **lugal** and not the rulers of Simanum, Habura and their surrounding territories when they are the focus of the inscription. This is especially true considering how another inscription of Šu-Suen**

either called **ensi₂** “ruler (of GN)” or **lu₂** “the man of (GN)”; this has caused uncertainty, as exhibited above, as to the reconstruction of the political situation between the kingdom of Ur and its neighbors. Both terms can be used in the same documents to designate foreign personnel present or represented within the kingdom of Ur.⁴⁵¹

1 udu niga a-mur-DINGIR lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a li-ba-nu-ug-ša-ba-aš ensi₂
 mar-ḥa-ši^{ki}
 1 udu niga gu-ra-a lu₂ eb-la^{ki}
 1 udu niga lil₂-la lu₂ ma-ri^{ki}
 1 udu niga ^dda-gan-a-bu lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a ia₃-ši-i₃-lum ensi₂ tu-tu-la^{ki}
 1 udu niga i-ba-ti lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a ib-da-ti ensi₂ gu₅-ub-la^{ki}
 “1 grain-fed sheep (for) Amur-ilam the envoy of Libanugšabaš the ruler of
 Marḥaši,
 1 grain-fed sheep (for) Guraya the man/one of Ebla,
 1 grain-fed sheep (for) Lilla the man/one of Mari,
 1 grain-fed sheep (for) Dagan-abu the envoy of Yaši-ilum the ruler of Tuttul,
 1 grain-fed sheep (for) Ibati the envoy of Ibdati the ruler of Byblos”

The juxtaposition of both terms referring to foreign entities is likely the reason for the adoption of positions such as the notion that **lu₂** indicated a foreign ruler with no formal ties to Ur and **ensi₂** to refer to foreign rulers who had a formal relationship with Ur and

describing his defeat of Zabšali designates their rulers as lords (**en-en**), rulers (**ensi₂-ensi₂**) and great rulers (**ensi₂ gal-gal**); Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 303-304. The Amorites were considered uncivilized in Mesopotamian literature, portrayed solely as pastoral nomads, and such an unfavorable presentation of them also occurs in this inscription (col. v lines 25-27): **mar-tu lu₂ ḥa-lam-ma dim₂-ma ur-ra-gin₇ ur-bar-ra-gin₇** “Amorites, a people of ruin, with instincts like dogs (and) like wolves...” This begs the question as to why such beastly people would have kings when Šu-Suen’s civilized enemies would not. Perhaps the answer lies in understanding **lugal**, when referring to the Amorites, as meaning “master, lord, owner” (Akk. *bēlu*) instead of “king” (Akk. *šarru*). The word **lugal** is often given the Akkadian gloss of *bēlu* in lexical texts and the word *bēlu* often denotes the master or owner of slaves and dogs (CAD vol. 2, 191-198), the latter being a description of the Amorites in this inscription. Perhaps the **lugal** used to refer to the Amorites is exhibiting paraonymasia, in which Šu-Suen the **lugal** (*šarru*) of the civilized is contrasted with the Amorites who are subject to **lugals** (*bēlu*) like dogs. Michalowski (*The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 115) has suggested that this was simply the way in which scribes chose to render the concept of an ethnic chieftan, similar to the logographic use of LUGAL to render *sugāgum* “tribal leader” at Mari in the Old Babylonian Period.

⁴⁵¹ P114331 / MVN 5, 111 obv. line 15 to rev. line 4.

were considered “vassals,” though in reality were independent.⁴⁵² However, the fact that both terms could refer to the same ruler is shown by two texts, one that refers to one Banana as the envoy (**lu₂-kiĝ-gi₄-a**) of the “man” (**lu₂**) of Marḥaši and the other refers to him as the envoy of the “ruler” (**ensi₂**) of Marḥaši.⁴⁵³ This militates against this idea as being the avenue in which to understand these designations. The use of the term **ensi₂** to denote a territorial ruler is unproblematic; the problem stems from administrative ideology refusing to acknowledge any other **lu₂gal** and therefore relegating any territorial ruler, incorporated or unincorporated, under the rubric of **ensi₂**. This means that **ensi₂** can describe: 1) the governor of a province within the heartland (**kalam**) of the kingdom of Ur who was part of the institutional sector, though not part of the royal sector, 2) the military ruler of a peripheral territory or garrison town (e.g. Ea-rabi the governor of Karaḥar or Babati the governor of Awal) who was part of the royal sector, or 3) a foreign ruler of an unincorporated city-state or kingdom (e.g. Byblos, Marḥaši).

The term **lu₂** has a more nebulous meaning.⁴⁵⁴ This is due to the fact that the construction **lu₂ GN(.ak)** is the Sumerian nisba or gentilic construction which was used to denote affiliation or origin; its extended use can include the notion of “ruler,” though this translation is not required.⁴⁵⁵ Therefore one cannot simply assume that **lu₂** (foreign) GN refers to the ruler of that polity. An example of this comes from Ili-Dagan, who is mentioned only twenty-five times in texts dated from Šulgi’s forty-fourth year to Amar-Suen’s seventh year, only a twelve year period. All occurrences stem from Puzriš-Dagan

⁴⁵² Chen Yanli and Wu Yuhong, “The Names of the Leaders and Diplomats of Marḥaši and Related Men in the Ur III Dynasty,” *CDLI* (2017:1): 1.

⁴⁵³ P103972 / AUCT 2, 154 (10/01/ŠS03) and P108738 / CTNMC 7 (2/30/ŠS06).

⁴⁵⁴ Robert M. Whiting, “Tiš-atal of Nineveh and Babati, Uncle of Šu-Suen,” *JCS* 28 (1976): 175.

⁴⁵⁵ And thus is the counterpart to the Semitic gentilic endings -aya (Akkadian, written -a-a), āy (Aramaic) and -î (Hebrew). An implied **lu₂** is assumed in headless genitives used in this fashion; Daniel Foxvog, “Introduction to Sumerian Grammar” <http://www.anelanguages.com/SumerianGrammarFoxvog.pdf>, 42.

and therefore without any other data it would be relatively safe to assume that these occurrences refer to the same person. In all but two cases he is called **lu₂ eb-la^{ki}** and if one assumed that one designated as **lu₂** (foreign) GN who received livestock from Puzriš-Dagan was the ruler of that polity, then we would conclude that this was the ruler of Ebla at the end of the reign of Šulgi and over the course of the reign of Amar-Suen. Indeed, he is listed in a few occasions alongside those designated as **lu₂** Mari, Uršu and Yamatium as recipients of fattened sheep and goats.⁴⁵⁶ However, there is reference to one Megum who is designated as the **ensi₂** of Ebla dating to Amar-Suen's seventh year. Should we assume then, that Ili-Dagan was the ruler of Ebla until succeeded by Megum who, designated as **ensi₂**, had a different relationship with the kingdom of Ur? One text, however, helps to clarify the situation since it designates Ili-Dagan as the envoy (**lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a**) of the **lu₂** of Ebla.⁴⁵⁷ Indeed, Ili-Dagan may have been the envoy present in Sumer on behalf of Megum, the ruler of Ebla, in Amar-Suen's seventh year.⁴⁵⁸

Another example is Ḫašip-atal, whose name occurs thirty times.⁴⁵⁹ Most occurrences stem from Puzriš-Dagan and date from Šulgi's forty-third year to Amar-Suen's eighth year and thus likely refers to the same person. Five occurrences stem from Iri-Saĝrig and date to the first two years of Ibbi-Suen's reign; they may not refer to the same person. One occurrence is found in an Umma messenger text with a missing date, and therefore may or may not refer to the same man attested at Puzriš-Dagan.⁴⁶⁰ Quite

⁴⁵⁶ See, for example, P200530 and P111894.

⁴⁵⁷ P124445 / Ontario 1, 32. Though the phrase **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lu₂ eb-la^{ki}** is often translated as "the envoy of the man of Ebla," it perhaps should be translated as "the Eblaite envoy" while **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a PN ensi₂ eb-la^{ki}** would mean "the envoy of PN the ruler of Ebla."

⁴⁵⁸ P200526 obv. line 13 to rev. line 1: [1] **udu niga** [...] **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a me-gu-um ensi₂ eb-la^{ki}**.

⁴⁵⁹ For a study of Ḫašip-atal, see Yanli and Yuhong, "The Names of the Leaders and Diplomats of Marḫaši and Related Men in the Ur III Dynasty," 3-10.

⁴⁶⁰ P290509 / BPOA 7, 2356.

often no designation follows his name, but one text lists Ҳашип-атал as a recipient of five fattened sheep at Ur and designates him as **lu₂ Marḥaši**.⁴⁶¹ Are we to understand Ҳашип-атал to be a ruler of Marḥaši?⁴⁶² Fortunately the other documents provide a more detailed picture of this person, which is summed up on the following table:

Table 11: References to Ҳашип-атал⁴⁶³

Text/Date		Title/Designation of Ҳашип-атал	Description
1	P123296 3/22/Š43	---	Delivery to Puzriš-Dagan composed in part of 7 bulls and 7 cows from Ҳашип-атал
2	P131578 4/--/Š46	šakkan₆	Ҳашип-атал the general sent a bronze javelin to Dayyanum-mišar in Puzriš-Dagan, conveyed by Šu-Enlil the soldier (aga₃-us₂) and subordinate of Ea-ili
3	P105819 9/19/Š46	lu₂ mar-ḥa-ši^{ki}	Ҳашип-атал <i>the Marḥašian</i> received 5 grain-fed sheep, prepared by the kitchen, in Ur.
4	P134874 12/04/Š47	---	Delivery to Puzriš-Dagan composed in part of 5 cattle and 31 sheep/goats, and 3 cattle and 30 sheep from Ninḫedu the bride (e₂-gi₄-a) of Ҳашип-атал.
5	P124859 6/26/Š48	---	1 sheep issued from the delivery of Ҳашип-атал.
6	P117510 8/12/Š48	---	Sheep/goats were issued for a few persons, one being the envoy (lu₂-ki₂-gi₄-a) of Ҳашип-атал in Nippur.
7	P125835 8/13/Š48	---	Sheep/goats were issued for a few persons, one being the envoy (lu₂-ki₂-gi₄-a) of Ҳашип-атал in Nippur.
8	P124451 11/25/Š48	---	3 sheep issued for the e₂-uz-ga from the delivery of Ҳашип-атал.
9	P101001 3/--/AS01	---	Delivery to Puzriš-Dagan of 5 cows from Ҳашип-атал.
10	P105872 7/01/AS03	---	10 sheep issued to Ilalum from the delivery of Ҳашип-атал.
11	P143994 9/02/AS04	---	25 Šimaškian goats were issued to Lugal-magure out of the delivery of Ҳашип-атал.
12	P102939 4/10/AS05	---	Delivery to Puzriš-Dagan composed in part of 2 Šimaškian goats and 20 sheep from Ҳашип-атал.
13	P125584 4/24/AS05	---	Delivery to Puzriš-Dagan composed in part of 2 sheep from Ҳашип-атал.
14	P368370 5/04/AS05	ugula	Delivery to Puzriš-Dagan composed in part of the gun₂-ma-da tax of a junior captain (nu-banda₃ paying 1 ox and 10 sheep/goats) subordinate to Ҳашип-атал.
15	P123818 5/06/AS05	---	Delivery to Puzriš-Dagan composed in part of 2 sheep from Ҳашип-атал.

⁴⁶¹ P105819 / BIN 3, 12 (9/18/Š46).

⁴⁶² Yanli and Yuhong (“The Names of the Leaders and Diplomats of Marḥaši,” 7, 16-17) seem to think that Ҳашип-атал was the son of the ruler of Marḥaši and was married to the Ur III princess who was “elevated to the queenship of Marḥaši” for which Šulgi’s 18th year was named, and therefore was a king of Marḥaši who preceded Arwilugbi. They are somewhat ambiguous about this.

⁴⁶³ For references to **gun₂ ma-da** tax amounts and the corresponding ranks, see the next chapter.

16	P125583 5/25/AS05	ugula	gun₂ ma-da -tax of the officers and troops of Arraphum with Ḫašip-atal as the general.
17	P109323 10/--/AS07	---	1 sheep and 1 goat issued for the man (lu₂) of Ḫašip-atal.
18	P112104 5/08/AS08	---	gun₂ ma-da -tax of the troops of Arraphum with Puzur-Šulgi, the son of Ḫašip-atal, as the general.
19	P108676 --/--/ŠS03	---	Receipt of a lamb by Puzur-Šulgi the son of Ḫašip-atal.
20	P106440 --/--/----	---	Ḫašip-atal received 1 grain-fed ox as a royal gift/allotment (niĝ₂-ba lugal).

From this compilation we see that Ḫašip-atal occurs in these text primarily as a provider of animals to the kingdom of Ur, undoubtedly as taxes from the periphery (**gun₂ ma-da**) as attested by two documents (nos. 14 and 16) which list him as the overseer, and therefore general, of the garrison which the latter text notes as being located at Arraphum (modern Kirkuk). His position as general is confirmed by text no. 2, which provides the designation, and he may have been given an Ur III princess as his wife if the Niĝedu of text no. 4 is the same **dumu-munus lugal** occurring on a seal impression,⁴⁶⁴ conforming with the practice of having the generals of the kingdom incorporated into the royal family via marriage with royal daughters.⁴⁶⁵ Ḫašip-atal's son succeed him as general of Arraphum and was given a name with an Ur III theophoric element, Puzur-Šulgi (texts nos. 18 and 19). Without the designation of being the son of Ḫašip-atal, who was designated elsewhere as a Marḫašian, it would be easy to assume that Puzur-Šulgi was of Mesopotamian stock. The fact that Ḫašip-atal was a general of Arraphum, probably holding that position in his earliest attested text (text no. 1: 3/22/Š43), though he received fattened livestock and was designated as **lu₂ Marḫaši**, informs us that we are to

⁴⁶⁴ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 269-270: E3/2.1.3.20.

⁴⁶⁵ Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State," 25-26 and Piotr Michalowski, "Charisma and Control: On Continuity and Change in Early Mesopotamian Bureaucratic Systems," in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, SAOC 46, eds. McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs (Chicago: The University of Chicago, 1987): 58-59.

understand the designation to denote affiliation or origin, not that he was a ruler of Marḥaši. Additionally, his “envoys” (**lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a**) were issued animals for meat as well (texts nos. 6 and 7) and should be understood as subordinates representing the general instead of ambassadors from a foreign ruler.⁴⁶⁶

This is not the place for an in-depth study of the terminology used of foreign elements in the Ur III kingdom. Nevertheless, we can present the possibilities to which the Sumerian gentilic construction, **lu₂ GN**, may refer, falling under the broad rubric of “a person associated with or native to a city or region.” As far as foreign elements are concerned, this could refer to: 1) any native of a peripheral city, whether that person was incorporated into the Ur III kingdom or independent of it, 2) the native ruler of an independent peripheral city, 3) the governor of an incorporated peripheral city, whether a native of that city appointed by the king or an official from Babylonia installed as manager, 4) the general and overseer of a garrison or a group of garrisons, 5) any officer or soldier of a peripheral garrison, whether a Babylonian colonist or local conscript, 6) a town elder (**ab-ba iri**) or military liaison (**ḥa-za-num₂**) of the royal settlement/garrison, whether of foreign or Mesopotamian stock, or 7) any other worker either associated with or native to the city or garrison.⁴⁶⁷

This excursus was provided to show that one cannot assume that the Tabban-darah mentioned in texts dating to the reign of Šu-Suen and designated as the **lu₂** of

⁴⁶⁶ This at least partially militates against Maeda’s assumption that foreign toponyms which had men designated as “envoy” (**lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a**) and “city-ruler” (**ensi₂**), and who were presented with cattle from Puzriš-Dagan, were vassal states; Tohru Maeda, “The Defense Zone during the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty,” *ASJ* 14 (1992): 143.

⁴⁶⁷ Terms such as “vassal” and “incorporated” are usually not further explained in the secondary literature and often betray the uncertainty of the political status vis-à-vis the Ur III state and the organization of polities which were incorporated, probably in a variety of ways, into the kingdom of Ur. Some of these possibilities are explored in the next chapter.

Simurru was the ruler of the city at that time nor that he is the same person as the Tabban-daraḥ attested in texts dating to Šulgi's reign. There is simply too little context in these documents to suggest the connection or position of Tabban-daraḥ; he is merely given an association with Simurru and was noted as having received fattened animals for consumption alongside other foreign personnel. He seems to have traveled within Babylonia over the course of two years, sometimes at Ur or Nippur, though whether he traveled back to the periphery during this time is uncertain. The only possible clue as to the nature of this Tabban-daraḥ comes from a **gun2 ma-da** text dated to the seventh year of Šu-Suen referencing the tax of the officers of a place called Azaman.⁴⁶⁸

Tax Amount		Officers (nu-banda3)	General/Overseer (ugula)
Cattle	Sheep/goats		
6	80	Tabban-daraḥ	Šilluṣ-Dagan
1	10	Teššup-šelaḥ	
1	10	Addu-damani	
1	10	Uzi	

That Tabban-daraḥ was the officer in charge of the daily operation of the garrison is suggested by the fact that his tax amount was substantially greater than the 1 ox /10 sheep amount of the junior captains listed alongside him as well as the 2 oxen / 20 sheep amount for senior captains attested in other tax documents. It was still less than the 10:100 amount generally assumed to be the standard for generals, though this amount exhibits variation with other garrison commanders. The fact that the officer ultimately responsible for the Azaman garrison is Šilluṣ-Dagan is quite interesting, suggesting that Azaman was in the general vicinity of Simurru and hinting at the possibility that the

⁴⁶⁸ P101339 / MVN 18, 44 (11/02/ŠS07).

Tabban-daraḥ listed as a high-ranking officer of Azaman was the same person as the Tabban-daraḥ the Simurrean who came to southern Mesopotamia in the first and second years of Šu-Suen's reign. Another interesting facet of the texts that reference Tabban-daraḥ as a **lu₂** Simurru is that he is usually listed with one Gadabi of Tikiti(n)ḥum and that they shared the same **ĝiri₃**-agents, showing a closer connection between these two than with the other foreign personnel listed; one document mentions the son of Gadabi whose name is Dan-Amar-Suen - bearing an Ur III theophoric name just like the son of Ḥašip-atal.⁴⁶⁹ Since it would be strange for a foreign ruler of an independent or vassal city to name his children with appellations praising the kings of Ur, and since that practice has been shown to have been common among those recruited as officers into the Ur III army, it is likely that Gadabi was a commander of a garrison settlement, not the ruler of an independent or vassal city. With the aforementioned data, we can postulate that Tabban-daraḥ was a Simurrean officer in charge of the garrison of Azaman, which was located near Simurru and under the ultimate authority of Šilluš-Dagan, the governor of Simurru. Tabban-daraḥ came to Sumer in the early part of Šu-Suen's reign along with Gadabi of Tikiti(n)ḥum, which was likely another garrison settlement located in the vicinity of Simurru. Whether this Tabban-daraḥ is the same person as the Tabban-daraḥ mentioned in documents from Šulgi's thirty-third through thirty-eighth year, while possible, remains uncertain. Though not airtight, this scenario is more plausible than the assumption that this Tabban-daraḥ was a ruler of Simurru.

Tabban-daraḥ is also attested in the same text as Kirip-ulme, both being called **lu₂** Simurru, arguing against either being a ruler of the city.⁴⁷⁰ Like Tabban-daraḥ, Kirip-

⁴⁶⁹ P131590 / TCL 2, 5500: KAL-d₁amar-d₁suen.

⁴⁷⁰ P130031 / SNAT 271.

ulme was designated solely as **lu₂** Simurrum in documents from Puzriš-Dagan and was given small livestock for consumption while traveling in Sumer to capital cities such as Ur and Nippur:

Table 12: References to Kirip-ulme, lu₂ Simurrum

Date	Expenditures	ġiri ₃ -agent	maškim	Location	Other lu ₂ GN receiving Animals
9/14/AS08	1 udu niga	ġu-zi-ri skl	Aradġu	Puzriš-Dagan	i-ša-we-er dun-ga ₂ -a-at lu₂ Ĥarši lu₂ Zidaġhri
9/16/AS08	2 udu niga	^d nanna-i ₃ -gi skl	Aradġu	---	i-ša-we-er lu₂ Ĥarši
10/13/AS08	1 udu	^d nanna-kam skl	Aradġu	Ur	ga-da-bi in-da-da-pi ġu-li-bar --- lu₂ Tiktiġe lu₂ Yabibum lu₂ Duġduġne lu₂ Mardaman
10/17/AS08	1 gud niga 2 udu niga 3 udu	^d nanna-kam skl	Aradġu	---	ga-da-bi in-da-da-pi ₂ a-ri-du-bu-uk ki-da-ni ^d šul-gi-a-tal na-ak-da-ma-ri še-da-ak-gu ₂ -gu ₂ lu₂ Tikitiġum lu₂ Yabibum lu₂ Šašrum lu₂ Šaritiġum lu₂ Gumaraši lu₂ Mardaman lu₂ Ma(n)ġili
2/26/AS09	2 udu niga ⁴⁷¹	ba-za-za skl	Aradġu	---	wa-la-la ba-ab-du-ša lkg i-da-du dm bi ₂ -li ₂ -ib-ba lu₂ Ma(n)ġili Yabrat Šimaški ensi ₂ E-gula
11/03/AS09	1 udu niga	ġu-zi-ri skl	Aradġu	---	ga-ba-ba lu₂ Mukiš
11/04/AS09	1 udu niga	ġu-zi-ri skl	Aradġu	---	ga-ba-ba lu₂ Mukiš
11/07/AS09	1 maš ₂ -gal niga	ġu-zi-ri skl	Aradġu	---	---
1/24/ŠS01	1 udu niga	i ₃ -li ₂ -be-li ₂ skl	Aradġu	Nippur	---
10/20/ŠS01	1 udu niga	na-ra-am- ^d ISKUR skl	Aradġu	Ur	tab ₄ -ba-an-da-ra-aġ in-da-da-pi ba-la-la lu₂ Simurrum lu₂ Yabibum lu₂ Ma(n)ġili
11/24/ŠS02	[1] udu niga	šu-ku-bu- um skl	Aradġu	---	ba-ab-du-ša lkg ši-la-ti-ir lkg a-ri-du-bu-uk še-et-pa ₂ -tal Yabrat Šimaški Tazite lu₂ Anšan lu₂ Šašrum lu₂ Gigibni

⁴⁷¹ One sheep is designated as **šu-a-ge-na** and the other as **niġ₂-diri-a**.

One undated document from Umma refers to the the wife of Kirip-ulme receiving ten liters of good beer while in Ur.⁴⁷²

The only other **lu2** Simurrum mentioned is (Ul)lam-šen. In one document, unfortunately undated, he is listed along with Zarriqum of Aššur, Nadu-beli the Amorite, and Abi-kin, an officer of Šišil, suggesting a date from the end of Šulgi's reign or the reign of Amar-Suen.⁴⁷³ The name occurs again in a list of personnel dating to the first year of Ibbi-Suen; it is uncertain whether this is the same person, though it is perfectly conceivable that it is.⁴⁷⁴

Outside of the aforementioned references to governors and men of Simurrum, there are only three archival documents that reference the toponym. Two of the documents stem from provincial archives and likely refer to the royal settlement established in the provincial homeland (**kalam**) and populated with deportees from Simurrum.⁴⁷⁵ The final text refers to cattle expended from the **maš-da-ri-a**-payment of Simurrum and destined for a storehouse associated with the god Enlil.⁴⁷⁶

Another competing reconstruction of the political history of Simurrum can be offered here. Tabban-daraḥ was the native ruler of Simurrum who was subjected to the attacks by the kingdom of Ur after which Šulgi's twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth and thirty-second years were named. It was the campaign of the thirty-second year that saw the capture of Tabban-daraḥ mentioned in the later omen literature and is the reason we see

⁴⁷² P129706 / SET 297.

⁴⁷³ Owen, "The Royal Gift Seal of Šilluš-Dagan," 824-825.

⁴⁷⁴ P104474 / AUCT 3, 259.

⁴⁷⁵ P201211 / Princeton 2, 213 (Umma) and P204777 / PPAC 5, 601 (Girsu); see above in the section on Lullubum for the cities established in Sumer for deportees.

⁴⁷⁶ P412630 / TCL 2, 5502+5503 (12/--/Š41). The **maš-da-ri-a**-payment seems to have been a tax levied for cultic purposes; Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 267. Ahmed ("The Beginnings of Ancient Kurdistan," 187) states that this is a sign that Simurrum had been annexed to the kingdom of Ur, though the continuation of campaigns against it in subsequent years mitigates against this idea.

him and his family members in the administrative corpus dating from Šulgi's thirty-third to thirty-eighth years. Despite Tabban-daraḥ's capture, Simurru was still outside of Ur III control, under the rule of a ruler who is not documented in the extant sources and prompting five more military actions in a roughly ten-year period. At some point at the beginning of Šulgi's final decade of rule, Ur seems to have brought Simurru under its control and appointed Šilluš-Dagan as governor.⁴⁷⁷ Šilluš-Dagan was ousted by a rebellion that prompted the campaigns against it attested in Šulgi's forty-fourth and forty-fifth year-names. These campaigns resulted in the incorporation of Simurru into the Ur III kingdom and the reestablishment of Šilluš-Dagan as governor. Šilluš-Dagan held this position throughout the reign of Amar-Suen and into the reign of Šu-Suen. Though the **arad₂-zu** seals dedicated to him and dated from Šu-Suen's third to sixth years cannot be taken as concrete data for his tenure as governor of Simurru at that time, there is little reason to doubt that this was the case.⁴⁷⁸ Indeed, one of the persons bearing an **arad₂-zu** seal, Ibbi-Adad, is only attested in four texts dating from Amar-Suen's sixth year to Šu-Suen's third year.⁴⁷⁹ Another document, dating to Amar-Suen's fifth year, details a delivery of livestock mentioning various Ur III notables who each delivered a single lamb, followed by four individuals who delivered twenty or thirty sheep; the four individuals include Šilluš-Dagan, Ḥašip-atal the general of Arraphum and Ur-Iškur the governor of Ḥamazi, both toponyms having been in the vicinity of Simurru and

⁴⁷⁷ Based off of the **maš-da-ri-a** payment of Simurru dated to 12/--/Š41 (P412630 / TCL 2, 5502-5503) and the notion that Šilluš-Dagan's **in-na-ba** seal is to be dated to Šulgi 42.

⁴⁷⁸ The main argument against this would be the literary letter "Šarrum-bani to Šu-Suen" (Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 398-407; ETCSL 3.1.15), which refers to Simurru sending aid to the Amorites harassing the general Šarrum-bani as he tried to build fortifications under the instruction of Šu-Suen. However, due to the nature of these literary letters as scribal training exercises subjected to unknown amounts of redaction (ibid, 216-226) and other possible ways to explain the situation (such as Simurru referring to a region and not the incorporated city itself) does not preclude this scenario.

⁴⁷⁹ P103135 / AUCT 1, 290; P104170 / AUCT 2, 352; P121505 / NATN 808; P106434 / BIN 3, 627.

suggesting that the leaders of the region were sending in their livestock contribution together.⁴⁸⁰ The aforementioned **gun₂ ma-da** text mentioning Tabban-daraḥ, who in other texts dated to Šu-Suen's reign is designated as a Simurrean (**lu₂ Simurru**), as the commander of the garrison at Azaman under the generalship of Šilluḥ-Dagan suggests that Šilluḥ-Dagan was still in control of Simurru at the end of Šu-Suen's seventh year. He is attested as the commander of Iṣim-Šulgi, an Ur III fort located on the Diyala, in the fourth month of Ibbi-Suen's second year, which suggests that at some point in the roughly two and a half years between the end of Šu-Suen's seventh year and the date of this document he lost control of Simurru and "retreated" to Iṣim-Šulgi to take up command there.⁴⁸¹ At some point in Ibbi-Suen's second or third year, he conducted a final campaign against Simurru, as attested by the year-name of his third year,⁴⁸² though the fact that he lost control of Ešnunna, which was located much closer to the homeland, after his third year informs us that the campaign was ultimately a failure.⁴⁸³

⁴⁸⁰ P102939 / AUCT 1, 93.

⁴⁸¹ P108667 / CT 32, 19.

⁴⁸² **mu^di-bi₂-^dsuen lugal urim₅^{ki}-ma-ke₄ si-mu-ru-um^{ki} mu-ḥulu** "The year that Ibbi-Suen the king of Ur 'ruined' Simurru."

⁴⁸³ Sllabberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 174-175.

II.2.4: Ȧarši

II.2.4.a: Dates of Campaigns and the Location of the Toponym

On the heels of the campaigns against Karaḥar, Lullubum and Simurru, which focused on the region of the upper Diyala and the adjacent Zagros flank, Šulgi directed his attention to a place called Ȧarši. The year-name for Šulgi’s twenty-seventh year is **mu ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} ba-ḥulu** “The year that Ȧarši was ‘ruined’.”⁴⁸⁴ Virtually no additional information exists regarding Ȧarši at this time nor for the campaign directed against it. We again encounter Ȧarši in documents in the administrative archive dating from Šulgi’s forty-fourth year and in the name for Šulgi’s forty-eighth and final year. The full form of that name is:

mu dšul-gi lugal-e ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} ḥu-urs-ti^{ki} ki-maš^{ki} u₃ ma-da-bi ud aš-a mu-ḥulu
 “The year that Šulgi the king of Ur, king of the four quarters, ‘ruined’ Ȧarši, Ȧurti, Kimaš and their territories in a single day.”⁴⁸⁵

Variant forms include, in descending order of frequency, the following:⁴⁸⁶

mu ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} ki-maš^{ki} ba-ḥulu⁴⁸⁷
 “The year that Ȧarši and Kimaš were ‘ruined’”

⁴⁸⁴ Only a few documents are dated to his year and it is identical to one of the abbreviated forms of Šulgi’s 48th year. For a variant spelling of the toponym as Haršum (**ḥa-ar-šum^{ki}**), see P107060 / MTBM 181.

⁴⁸⁵ P115406 / MVN 8, 15.

⁴⁸⁶ The following examples do not account for minor variations such as the spelling of the toponyms, the inclusion/exclusion of **ma-da-bi** or **ud aš**, the inclusion/exclusion of the conjunction **u₃** or the use of the terminative case marker after the numeral rather than the locative.

⁴⁸⁷ For example, P330484 / AAICAB 1/4, 416.

mu ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} ḥu-ur₅-ti^{ki} ba-ḥulu⁴⁸⁸

“The year that Ḥarši and Ḥurti were ‘ruined’”

mu ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} ba-ḥulu⁴⁸⁹

“The year that Ḥarši was ‘ruined’”

mu ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} ki-maš^{ki} ḥu-ur₅-ti^{ki} u₃ ma-da-bi ud aš-a ba-ḥulu⁴⁹⁰

“The year that Ḥarši, Kimaš, Ḥurti and their territories were ‘ruined’ in a single day”

We can see that regardless of the variation, Ḥarši is always fronted, suggesting its position as the objective of the campaign. There are two formula that designate this as the second time Ḥarši was attacked and therefore obliquely refer back to the campaign in Šulgi’s twenty-seventh year.⁴⁹¹ There are four documents that mention the plunder of Ḥarši:

P273421 (6/16/Š48) obv. lines 6-9:

7 gud 3 ab₂ 3 udu 11 maš₂ ba-ug₇ e₂-kišib-ba-še₃ ša₃ mu-ku_x nam-ra-ak ḥa-ar-ši^{ki}

“7 bulls, 3 cows, 3 sheep (and) 11 goats (that) are dead (were issued) to the storeroom out of the delivery of the plunder of Ḥarši”

P143811 / SAT 2, 611 (7/--/Š48) obv. lines 1-2:

2 gud la₂-i₃ ša₃ nam-ra-ak ḥa-ar-ši^{ki}

“2 oxen - the remainder out of the plunder of Ḥarši”

P131575 / TCL 2, 5485 (7/--/Š48) obv. lines 1-2:

1 gud la₂-i₃ ša nam-ra-ak ḥa-ar-ši^{ki}

“1 ox - the remainder out of the plunder of Ḥarši”

P104182 / AUCT 2, 364 (--/--/----) rev. lines 6-8:

224 [x] 31 [x] nam-ra-ak ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} u₃ ki-maš^{ki}

“224 [x] (and) 31 [x] - the plunder of Ḥarši and Kimaš”

⁴⁸⁸ For example, P108527 / CT 7, 28.

⁴⁸⁹ For example, P103867 / AUCT 2, 49.

⁴⁹⁰ For example, P107713 / CST 201.

⁴⁹¹ P124938 / OrSP 47-49, 50: **mu a-ra₂ 2-kam-aš ḥa-ar-ši^{ki} ba-ḥulu** “the year that Ḥarši was ruined for the second time.” See also P142148 / YOS 4, 84.

Thus cattle and sheep comprise the plunder of 𒊕arši and are once designated as the plunder of both 𒊕arši and Kimaš. Most of the documents simply refer to animals issued from that plunder and unfortunately do not give any indication regarding the magnitude of the spoils taken from 𒊕arši.

The location of 𒊕arši is difficult to pinpoint with any certainty.⁴⁹² Frayne proposed the possibility that inscribed bricks from the Old Babylonian period naming Puḫiya the king of 𒊕aršitum, found near modern Tuz Khurma, could localize 𒊕arši if 𒊕arši and 𒊕aršitum could be equated; he cautioned that the evidence was far from conclusive.⁴⁹³ If correct, this would place 𒊕arši a little over sixty miles to the south-southeast of modern Kirkuk. Steinkeller, who noted that 𒊕arši is only mentioned in Ur III texts,⁴⁹⁴ listed evidence that suggested the toponym was to be located in the region of Ilam province. The location of 𒊕arši is linked to that of Kimaš and 𒊕urti due to the reference that the polities and their territories were “ruined” in a single day or “at once.”⁴⁹⁵ If not hyperbole, then this may suggest the defeat of an allied army in a single battle with the result that the regions were vulnerable and subject to capture.⁴⁹⁶ Steinkeller proposed a location for 𒊕arši in the region of modern Ilam due to 1) the aforementioned connection between 𒊕arši, Kimaš and 𒊕urti, 2) his proposals for the

⁴⁹² Edzard and Farber (*RGTC* 2, 74-75) suggested a general vicinity north of the Diyala and south of Kirkuk.

⁴⁹³ Frayne, “The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena,” 155-156. Ahmed (“The Beginnings of Ancient Kurdistan,” 198) accepts this postulation.

⁴⁹⁴ Steinkeller, “Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa,” 304 n. 63.

⁴⁹⁵ Ibid, 305.

⁴⁹⁶ Such alliances were common in later periods, though the cities and kingdoms partaking of the alliance were not necessarily in close proximity; the alliance that confronted Šalmaneser III at Qarqar included troops from as far north as Hamath to as far south as Egypt and Arabia; Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II*, 23: A.0.102.2.

locations of Kimaš and Ḫurti (see below), 3) the notion that the Iri-Saġrig messenger texts intimate a route of travel from Iri-Saġrig to Der and further along the route which passes by the modern towns of Mehran, Amirabad and Ilam to connect with the Great Khurasan Road, and 4) that since Ḫarši was attacked as early as Šulgi's twenty-seventh year, it likely was situated closer to southern Mesopotamia than Kimaš or Ḫurti.⁴⁹⁷ I am inclined to agree with Steinkeller since, as he has noted, references to highlanders and bears militate against the notion that Ḫarši lay west of the Zagros.⁴⁹⁸

II.2.4.b: Political Organization and Relationship to the Kingdom of Ur

<i>City</i>	<i>Personnel designated as ensi₂</i>	<i>Personnel designated as lu₂</i>
Ḫarši	ad-da-ge-na	----
	8/07/AS05 P131932	9/--/Š44 P104162
	8/12/AS05 P118479	
	1/--/AS08 P117409	ša-lu
		1/13/Š46 P134794
	in-ši-pi-ir <i>dumu Addagena</i>	----
	9/14/AS09 P111812	3/--/Š46 P218183
	9/06/ŠS01 P113898	9/04/Š46 P112091
	sa-bi	
	1/--/ŠS07 P412128	ti-[x]-ti
		11/02/AS01 P102956

	1/20/IS01 P388035	ki-u ₃ -suḫ ₅
		4/18/AS02 P110475
		ma-ar-ḫu-ni
		6/27/AS01 P110436
		8/17/AS01 P113157
		11/11/AS02 P416204
		2/12/AS03 P127306
		7/18/AS03 P124524
		11/03/AS03 P104788

⁴⁹⁷ Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," 304-312.

⁴⁹⁸ Ibid, 306.

		8/05/AS06	P128613
		8/26/AS06	P124200
		8/29/AS06	P416418
		8/05/AS07	P142961
		8/07/AS07	P126505
		8/14/AS07	P102145
		8/16/AS07	P110438
		1/--/AS08	P117409
		6/04/AS08	P124283
		6/10/AS08	P106209
		6/16/AS08	P210424
		ad-da-ge-na	
		7/02/AS08	P125964
		i-ša-pi-ir <i>dumu Addagena</i>	
		9/13/AS08	P124285
		9/14/AS08	P105979
		9/16/AS08	P105185
		sa-bi	
		12/10/ŠS01	P126454

There are three **ensi**₂'s attested for Ḫarši, two of them having southern Mesopotamian names, intimating that they were governors appointed by the king and not local rulers.⁴⁹⁹ The name of the third **ensi** is of uncertain derivation.⁵⁰⁰ Though, as discussed above, the construction **lu**₂ GN had a broad semantic range, nevertheless all three governors are attested with the designation **lu**₂ Ḫarši. However, it can be argued that the designation **lu**₂ applied to those who were not governor at the time the text was drafted. In the case of Addagena, it is only in his latest-dated text that he may be designated as **lu**₂. However the document is recording the expenditure of a sheep for his

⁴⁹⁹ Adda-gena is a Sumerian name meaning "the father is true/established" and his son's name appears to be Akkadian. The variant writings of the name (*i-ša-pi-ir*, *in-ši-pi-ir*, *i-ši-pi-ir*) suggests an N-stem preterite of the verb *šapāru* with the harmonization of the a-vowel to the vowel of the following syllable, a feature known to occur for short /a/ in an open, unaccented syllable in the Assyrian dialects of Akkadian: *inšapir* > *iššapir* > *iššipir* meaning "he was sent." Compare with nearby Karaḫar, whose kings had Hurrian names such as Tiš-atal and Keleš-atal, as attested by seal impressions dating likely to the early Isin-Larsa period; see above, pp. 120-121.

⁵⁰⁰ It could be Akkadian, meaning (a type of) stone or brewer, or it could be a Hurrian derivative of unknown meaning; CAD vol. 15, 5-10.

envoy and not for Addagena himself: **1 udu lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a ad-da-ge-na lu₂ ħa-ar-ši^{ki}**.⁵⁰¹

This phrase can be read as either a double genitive construction: **1 udu lukiĝgia**

Addagena lu Ĥarši.k.ak “1 sheep (for) the envoy of Addagena the man of Ĥarši” or in

apposition in which the phrase **lu₂ Ĥarši** functions adjectivally, modifying **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a**

ad-da-ge-na: 1 udu lukiĝgia Addagena.k lu Ĥarši.k “1 sheep (for) the Ĥaršian envoy

of Addagena.”⁵⁰² Addagena is attested for the middle to latter part of Amar-Suen’s reign,

once as a provider of livestock and the other times as a recipient, once when he was at

Tummal to celebrate the festival there and once in Nippur. If Addagena was unable to

travel to Babylonia, he sent his envoy on his behalf. His son, Iššipir, succeeded him as

governor either at the end of Amar-Suen’s reign or the beginning of Šu-Suen’s. Prior to

taking office he was simply designated as a Ĥaršian (**lu₂ Ĥarši**) and received fattened

livestock while he was in Babylonia, with one document noting his location in Puzriš-

Dagan.⁵⁰³ The one text that explicitly designates him as governor has the context of a

gun₂ ma-da tax; the tablet first lists the tax contributions of the soldiers of Ebal and then

lists the contribution from Ĥarši: **884 maš₂-gal LU₂.SU 816 ud₅ LU₂.SU 2 az i-ši-pi-ir**

ensiz ħa-ar-ši^{ki} ugula i-ti^dda-gan “884 Šimaškian billy-goats, 816 Šimaškian nanny-

⁵⁰¹ P125964 / PDT 1, 548 obv. line 14.

⁵⁰² The orthography of the tablet favors the latter interpretation, for the genitive marker **.ak** is written as **.k** after vowels and the consonant /k/ is omitted unless followed by another vowel; Marie Louise Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language: An Introduction to its History and Grammatical Structure*, 3rd edition, Mesopotamia 10 (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 2001): 42, 90. For the former interpretation one would expect the writing: **1 udu lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a ad-da-ge-na lu₂ ħa-ar-ši^{ki}-ka** with the /k/ of the KA-sign representing the first genitive and the /a/ representing the second. However, administrative documents often omit case markers thus rendering an interpretation based off of orthography uncertain. This is the case for the text P111812 / OIP 121, 572 which has **1 maš₂-gal in-ši-pi-ir dumu ad-da-ge-na ensiz ħa-ar-ši^{ki}** which most scholars would read “1 billy-goat (for) Iššipir the son of Addagena the governor of Ĥarši,” assuming that the phrase “governor of Ĥarši” modifies Addagena and not Iššipir, though it is certainly possible that the phrase “governor of Ĥarši” modifies Iššipir. This merely affects whether we understand Iššipir to have assumed his father’s role as governor of Ĥarši in Amar-Suen’s ninth year or in Šu-Suen’s first.

⁵⁰³ P105979 / BIN 3, 173 (9/14/AS08). Two of the other texts are dated within a day or two of this document, suggesting that he was in Puzriš-Dagan on those days as well.

goats (and) 2 bears (from) Iššipir the governor of Ḫarši; overseer (is) Itti-Dagan.”⁵⁰⁴ The Itti-Dagan referenced as overseer is undoubtedly the same as the Itti-Dagan designated as general (**šakkan**) in an Iri-Saḡrig messenger text.⁵⁰⁵ This is interesting since it suggests that some peripheral territories may have been organized somewhat similarly to Mesopotamian provinces, which had both a governor and one or more generals.⁵⁰⁶ The number of livestock, 1700 goats, would suggest a troop strength of 51,000 if this referred to the tax of the garrison alone. However, this likely included the tax of the governor, the officer cadre, the troops and other groups; one document refers to a royal delivery sent to Puzriš-Dagan composed primarily of livestock from field managers and city elders: **2 udu en-zi 70 maš2-gal u2 1 sila4 engar-ne 30 maš2-gal u2 ab-ba iri-me-eš2 lu2 ḫa-ar-ši^{ki}-me-eš2** “2 ‘lead’-sheep, 70 grass-fed goats (and) 1 lamb (from) the field managers, 30 grass-fed goats (from) the city elders - they are Ḫaršians.”⁵⁰⁷ The last named governor was Sabi, who is designated as **lu2** Ḫarši in his earliest attestation, probably at a time when Iššipir was governor.⁵⁰⁸ His only attestation as governor stems from an Iri-Saḡrig messenger text which notes that he and his soldiers (**aga3-us2**) received 150 liters of beer and bread, the quantity suggesting that Sabi came with an entourage ranging from seventy to one hundred and forty men.⁵⁰⁹

The most common anthroponym associated with Ḫarši is Marḫuni. Marḫuni first appears in the middle of Amar-Suen’s first year and is attested in Amar-Suen’s second,

⁵⁰⁴ P113898 / MVN 3, 338 (9/06/ŠS01).

⁵⁰⁵ P453736 / Nisaba 15/2, 259 (12/--/ŠS03).

⁵⁰⁶ Steinkeller, “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State, 24-25.

⁵⁰⁷ P114347 / MVN 5, 127 (2/14/ŠS07). Cf. the field managers of Karahar mentioned above on pp. 115-118.

⁵⁰⁸ P126454 / PDT 2, 1119 (12/10/ŠS01). He received a fattened sheep in Nippur.

⁵⁰⁹ P412128 / Nisaba 15/2 399 (1/--/ŠS07). Another Iri-Saḡrig messenger text (P388035 / Nisaba 15/2, 561) mentions one Šarrum-ili who traveled to bring the envoy of the governor of Ḫarši to Iri-Saḡrig and is dated to the beginning of Ibbi-Suen’s first year; though unnamed, the governor may still be Sabi.

third, sixth, seventh and eighth years.⁵¹⁰ The earliest dated document refers to sheep and goats issued from Puzriš-Dagan for Marḫuni and the troops that came with him (**mu ma-ar-ḫu-ni u₃ eren₂ mu-da-a-re-e-ša-a-še₃**).⁵¹¹ The amount of livestock expended - two goats or sheep per day - suggests that this contingent of troops amounted to roughly one hundred and twenty men.⁵¹² Marḫuni and his men are called “Ḫaršians” (**lu₂ ḫa-ar-ši^{ki}-me**), though it is unsure whether this refers to native Ḫaršians or members of the garrison who were Mesopotamian settlers, since **lu₂ Ḫarši** could refer to either their native origin or simply their association with the town if indicating troops from the garrison established there. That there was a garrison at Ḫarši is shown by a text recording an expenditure of three breeding goats for one Ea-ili, probably the general attested in P339817 / BPOA 1, 1162 who was the overseer (**ugula**) of U’umu the soldier (**aga₃-us₂**; P118481 / MVN 15, 201) and the overseer of a group of “Amorites” who received plunder from Urbilum (P117196 / MVN 13, 423).⁵¹³ The date of the text (4/14/Š47) alludes to at least Ḫarši being subdued and a garrison established by the summer of Šulgi’s forty-seventh year in the campaign that was directed against Kimaš and Ḫurti as well, and that gave the name for Šulgi’s forty-eighth and final year. That there is only one reference to the garrison of Ḫarši is unproblematic since we likely have less than ten percent of all **gun₂ ma-da** tax references that ever existed (see chapter 3). The fact that

⁵¹⁰ There are two texts which record the antroponym without the designation **lu₂ Ḫarši** (P109660 / Hirose 189; P109224 / RA 18, 99). In both cases Marḫuni provides a single lamb as part of a delivery to Puzriš-Dagan.

⁵¹¹ P110436 / HUCA 29, 75 no. 4.

⁵¹² Allred (“Cooks and Kitchens,” 65) has suggested that one sheep or goat had a dress weight of 40 lbs of meat, which could feed 60 men in a single setting.

⁵¹³ P303355 / BPOA 7, 2603: **3 maš₂-gal ḡiš-du₃ e₂-a-i₃-li₂ ša₃ mu-ku_x eren₂ ḫa-ar-ši^{ki}** “3 breeding billy-goats (for) Ea-ili out of the delivery of the troops of Ḫarši.”

neither Amar-Suen nor Šu-Suen campaigned in the region of 𒊕arši suggests that it was still firmly within Ur III control during their reigns.⁵¹⁴

The majority of references to Marḥuni, who is always given the designation **lu2** 𒊕arši, simply record his receipt of fattened livestock for consumption. The document P124524 / Ontario 1, 111 records Marḥuni as having received 1 fattened billy-goat on the seventeenth and eighteenth days of the month, showing that Marḥuni was to consume one sheep per day, which suggested that he was accompanied by a retinue of approximately sixty men.⁵¹⁵ Half of the expenditures of sheep for Marḥuni are designated as having been issued to him while he was in Tummal. His presence in Tummal is attested for Amar-Suen's first, sixth and seventh years, and always in the eighth month. Tummal was the seat of a royal palace, administrative center and the locus of a funerary cult of Ur-Namma;⁵¹⁶ in the eighth month was the Tummal festival in which foreign emissaries and notables of the kingdom gathered for its celebration.⁵¹⁷ This was undoubtedly the reason for Marḥuni's presence in Babylonia in that month. Most of his references outside of the eighth month do not mention his location except for one text (P210424 / BPOA 6, 646) which notes his location in Uruk and another (P117409 / MVN 13, 636) which places him in Nippur.

There is no reason to think that he was the ruler or governor of 𒊕arši, since Addagena is attested as holding that position in the reign of Amar-Suen. The fact that he is never given the designation of **lu2-kiĝ2-gi4-a** (meaning "envoy" or "emissary" in the context of the Puzriš-Dagan archive) is conspicuous, militating against the idea that he

⁵¹⁴ On the nature of the **gun2 ma-da** tax, see chapter 3 in the section on the garrison system.

⁵¹⁵ See the note 522 above about the ratio of sheep to men in regards to meat consumption.

⁵¹⁶ Steinkeller, "Corvée Labor in Ur III Times," 362-363.

⁵¹⁷ Tonia Sharlach, "Diplomacy and the Rituals of Politics at the Ur III Court," *JCS* 57 (2005): 21-22.

was a mere envoy. For those reasons and his above mentioned connection with troops (**eren**₂), who may have been part of the garrison of Ȧarši, we should tentatively understand his role as an officer, perhaps even the general, of Ȧarši.

There are a few other references to **lu**₂ Ȧarši. One document lists animals in a delivery from Šilluš-Dagan, Šeškala, Ȧuba'a and Ki-usuḥ the Ȧaršian; the fact that the other three people mentioned are well-known generals may suggest he was a military officer.⁵¹⁸ Three other documents list livestock deliveries from Ȧaršians with only one document providing a name;⁵¹⁹ they date to Šulgi's forty-fourth and forty-sixth years and perhaps allude to the notion that the campaign against these regions began a few year prior to Šulgi's forty-eighth year.⁵²⁰ Two more simply list them as recipients of livestock.

Ȧarši does occur, albeit rarely, in messenger text from Girsu and Iri-Saġrig. In the Girsu texts the references are limited to groups of highlanders (**NIM**) that have traveled from the east and were given provisions at waystations in Girsu province:

Table 13: References to Ȧarši in Girsu Messenger Texts

Text/Date	Rations						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda /zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P107002 9/--/----	35 l.	2 j.	---	---	½ l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru	---	---	---
P122854 12/--/----	---	3 j.	80 l.	---	5/6 l.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P128525 11/--/----	20 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Ȧarši	---	skl	NIM 10

j. = jar (**dug**); l. = liter (**sil**₃); skl = **sukkal**

⁵¹⁸ P110475 / Iraq 41, 125 no. 3.

⁵¹⁹ Šalu provided a bear (P134794 / TRU 30) while the unnamed ones provided the more typical cattle and sheep/goats (P218183 / Santag 7, 108 and P104162 / AUCT 2, 344).

⁵²⁰ Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," 305-306 and no. 73. He seems to imply that the process of incorporation of peripheral territories into the **ma-da** system of defensive settlements occurred during the course of campaigns and not solely after their completion.

These groups numbered from ten to eighty people; unfortunately we are not told the reason why they traveled to Babylonia. Though sometimes thought to be guard entourages for foreign emissaries and rulers (see below in chapter 4 for discussion on this), one document provides a little more context:

P125954 / PDT 1, 538 (7/--/Š48) lines 1-6:

40 ġuruš si₁₂-a / lu₂ ħa-ar-ši^{ki} / ki lugal-ġe₂-ġal₂-ta / mu

^den-lil₂-la₂-i₃-sa₆-še₃ / lu₂-diġir-ra / i₃-dab₅

“Lu-diġira took 40 able-bodied, Ĥaršian, *si.a*-workers from Lugal-ġeġal on behalf of Enlila-isa.”

These forty Ĥaršians are designated as **si₁₂-a**, which denotes a class of worker. The type of work to be performed is uncertain; the workers were taken by one Lu-diġira whose seal impression discloses that he was a soldier (**aga₃-us₂**) and the son of Arad-ġula, the latter known from other texts to have been a general, on behalf of Enlila-isa whom the associated envelope calls a temple or estate manager (**šabra**). In messenger texts from Iri-Saġrig we see personnel either traveling from Ĥarši to the king, who is understood to have been located at Iri-Saġrig at the time, or are traveling to Ĥarši. The only additional information is supplied in one document which mentions the envoy of the governor of Ĥarši being brought to Iri-Saġrig.

Table 14: References to Ĥarši in Iri-Saġrig Messenger Texts

Text/Date	Person		GN-ta	GN-še ₃	Mission
P453919 1/11/IS01	a-ġu-ni	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃
P388035 1/20/IS01	šar-ru-um-i ₃ -li ₂	lkl	---	---	ud lu ₂ -kiġ ₂ -gi ₄ -a ensi ₂ ħa-ar-ši ^{ki} ma-la-ġa-a
P453921 1/24/IS01	i ₃ -li ₂ -šip-ti NE-par ₄ -ra	lkl lkl		x x	

	u-bar-ra	lkl		x	
P453943 5/15/IS01	a-ba	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃
P454084 10/--/IS02	sa ₆ -ga	lkl		x	

II.2.5: Anšan

II.2.5.b: Date of Campaign and the Location of the Toponym

This toponym is known to be located at modern Tall-i Malyan in the province of Fars, situated about 50 kilometers to the northwest of Shiraz and 43 kilometers west of Persepolis.⁵²¹ The site was substantial, at its largest consisting of roughly 130 ha. of occupation surrounded by a wall encompassing 200 ha. It was the locus of a four-level Kaftari settlement hierarchy centered on Anšan which appeared in the Kur River basin in the general timeframe of the Gutian interregnum with seeming abruptness following an archaeological hiatus from the Baneš cultural period, which lasted between 2800 and 2200 BCE.⁵²² Elite residences, temples and palatial constructions have yet to be uncovered at Malyan.⁵²³ Anšan is attested in two year-names belonging to the reign of Šulgi:

Š30: **mu dumu-munus lugal ensi2 an-ša-an^{ki}-na-ke4 ba-tuku-a**

“The year that the daughter of the king was taken (in marriage) by the ruler of Anšan”

⁵²¹ William M. Sumner, “Maljān, Tall-e (Anšan),” *RIA* 7 (1990): 306-320; Daniel T. Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999): 8; Bryce, *The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia*, 46-47.

⁵²² Sumner, “Maljān, Tall-e (Anšan),” 317. Anšan was the main city in a valley which was home to 3 towns (referring to sites of 10-16 ha.), 8 villages (4-8 ha.) and 63 hamlets (less than 4 ha.). Anšan, during the reigns of the kings of Ur, grew from 39 ha. to over 100 ha. in the Early Kaftari period (2200-1900 BCE) and reached its zenith in the Middle Kaftari period (1900-1800 BCE); Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, 151-152.

⁵²³ Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, 153-157. Potts notes that the material assemblage from Anšan at this time portrays the “common man” and that historical links between Anšan, Šimaški and Susa, though attested in the written record, find little corroboration in the written record.

Š34: **mu an-ša-an^{ki} ba-ḥulu**⁵²⁴
 “The year that Anšan was ‘ruined’”

The ruler who took the Mesopotamian princess as a wife was likely the same who was subjected to attack by the armies of Ur. Though the year-names do not provide a name for this ruler, there is one named **ensi₂** of Anšan in the archival records.

II.2.5.b: Political Organization and Relationship to the Kingdom of Ur

<i>City</i>	<i>Personnel designated as ensi₂</i>	<i>Personnel designated as lu₂</i>
Anšan	li-bu-um 11/--/---- P128481	ḥu-un-da-ḥi-še-er 10/13/Š44 P123310 ta ₂ -a-zi-te 1/18/AS08 P106284 11/24/ŠS02 P104839 12/14/ŠS02 P109324 7/--/---- P133420 bi ₂ -in-zi --/--/---- P126172 --- --/--/ŠS04 P135981 6/--/ŠS05 P140908

The only named **ensi₂** of Anšan is Libum and though his sole attestation is only dated to the month, data from other documents demonstrate that Libum was probably the ruler mentioned in the two year-names:

⁵²⁴ A variant to this name comes from P209543 / Ontario 2, 127: **mu e₂ an-ša-an^{ki} ba-ḥulu** “the year the house of Anšan was ‘ruined’.” Additionally, a legal text from Nippur (P122220 / NRVN 1, 7) is dated by the temporal clause **ud an-sa-an^{ki} šul-gi mu-ḥulu** “when Šulgi ‘ruined’ Anšan,” though without a month or day provided. Frayne (*Ur III Period*, 105) suggested that this must refer to an earlier campaign conducted prior to Šulgi’s 21st year based on the orthography of the toponym and the lack of divine determinative for Šulgi’s name.

**11 sila₃ ninda / NIM 11 šu ba-ti / 2 sila₃ ninda / i-din-^dIŠKUR / ra-gaba /
li-bu-um / ensi₂ an-ša-an^{ki} / 2 sila₃ ninda / a-hu-ni / lu₂ ur-^{giš}gigir ensi₂
a-dam-DUN / an-ša-an^{ki}-ta DU-a**

“11 highlanders received liters of bread; 2 liters of bread (for) Iddin-Adad the boat-courier of Libum the ruler of Anšan; 2 liters of bread (for) the man of Ur-gigir the governor of AdamDUN - who *brought* them from Anšan”

The reference to Ur-gigir the governor of AdamDUN in the document demonstrates that Libum is to be dated around the time of Šulgi’s thirty-third year due to a plunder text dated to the eleventh month of the same year that mentions sheep sent from Ur-gigir out of the plunder of Anšan.⁵²⁵ A text from Umma dated earlier to the sixth month of the thirty-third year records bundles of reeds to a group of Anšanites (**lu₂ an-ša^{ki}-na-me**) present at Ur in southern Babylonia. Thus the ruler of Anšan and other Anšanites were present in Babylonia by the middle of Šulgi’s thirty-third year as a result of either the campaign which provided the material for the year-name of Šulgi’s thirty-fourth year, or from an earlier, distinct campaign.⁵²⁶ Regardless, the dynastic marriage between the houses of Ur and Anšan failed rather quickly.

There are three named individuals called **lu₂ Anšan**. Ḫundaḫiše is only attested once in the last decade of Šulgi in the context of having brought **gu₂-gurs**-animals, possibly Bactrian camels, to Mesopotamia alongside Yabrat the Šimaškian.⁵²⁷ Three texts dating from the end of Amar-Suen’s reign and the beginning of Šu-Suen’s mention a Ta’azitte the **lu₂ Anšan** in the context of his envoys (**lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a**) receiving livestock

⁵²⁵ P101721 / AOAT 240, 80 no. 6 (11/--/Š33).

⁵²⁶ For discussion of the campaign(s) against Anšan, see above in section II.1.1 on issues with year-names.

⁵²⁷ Steinkeller, “New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers,” 218-219; Piotr Steinkeller, “Camels in Ur III Babylonia?” *Exploring the Longue Durée: Essays in Honor of Lawrence E. Stager*, eds. David J. Schloen and Lawrence E. Stager (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2009): 415-419

for consumption while in Babylonia.⁵²⁸ The name Ta'azitte is interesting, since it occurs twice in the Šimaškian King List before and after Ebarti (Yabrat), whose envoys are always attested with those of Ta'azitte.⁵²⁹ Though Ta'azitte is named as a Šimaškian ruler in the king list, other data suggests that he and Anšan were distinct from Šimaški. The inscriptions of Šu-Suen seem to suggest that the territory of Anšan was not geographically a part of Šimaški, but rather was on its southern border.⁵³⁰ Additionally, Ta'azitte is always designated as **lu₂** Anšan and never **LU₂.SU(.A)** in the administrative documentation. Nevertheless, there was a strong association between Anšan and Šimaški as suggested by the association of Ta'aitte with Yabrat, and by the fact that Anšan was the focal point of the kingdom of Kindattu, the son and successor of Yabrat, whose primary royal title was "king of Anšan."⁵³¹ Steinkeller postulates that Yabrat's domain bordered, or was located within, the territory of Anšan and that he may have become powerful enough to subject Anšan under his authority as a vassal.⁵³²

Anšan is only attested in the Girsu corpus of the messenger text genre, being the fourth most attested toponym after the Khuzestan polities of Susa, Sabum and AdamDUN. Additionally, Anšan is second only to Šimaški as the largest source of highlander groups traveling to and from Babylonia. Places from and to which Anšanite highlander groups traveled were Anšan, Susa, Šimaški, Kimaš and the Ur III captials of Ur and Nippur, and it was not uncommon for the liaisons (**ĝiri₃**) to these groups to have

⁵²⁸ One undated text (P133420 / TCTI 4259) mentions the envoy of a **ta₂-at-zi-at-a** apparently alongside the envoy of Yabrat; Steinkeller, "New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers," 221.

⁵²⁹ Sallaberger and Schrakamp, *History and Philology*, 24-25. They posit the second Ta'azite as the one attested in Ur III administrative documentation.

⁵³⁰ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 303 (col. ii, 14-20), 308 (col. ii, 21'-23'), 313: E3/2.1.4.3, 4, 6.

⁵³¹ Steinkeller, "New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers," 221-224. He also notes that literary tradition describes Anšan as the place of exile for Ibbi-Suen.

⁵³² *Ibid.*, 223-228.

been associated with the military (bearing the titles **šakkan₆**, **dumu nu-banda₃**, **lu₂-^{giš}tukul (gu-la)**, and **aga₃-us₂ gal**).⁵³³ The highlander groups also show a close association between Anšan and Šimaški since highlanders that were grouped together were designated as natives to Anšan and Šimaški (**NIM ši-ma-aš-ki u₃ an-ša-an^{ki} me**) when they travelled to and from Šimaški.⁵³⁴ The table below shows that Mesopotamian personnel also frequently travelled to and from Anšan, though unfortunately dates are rare in these texts. Regardless, the highlander groups and Mesopotamian personnel show intensive contacts between Anšan and southern Mesopotamia in this period:

Table 15: Personnel Travelling to/from Anšan in Girsu Messenger Texts⁵³⁵

Text	Person	Title	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	GN-[x]	Date
P248729	da-da	skl	x			1/--/----
P100206	šu- ^d nanna	skl	x			12/--/----
P100208	a-a-ni-šu	skl	x			12/--/----
P100313	a-mur- ^d UTU	ltgl		x		5/--/----
P102778	a ₂ -pi ₅ -la-ti	---	x			12/--/----
P105727	šu- ^d ma-mi	skl	x			8/--/----
P206611	še-le-bu-um	dnb	x			11/--/----
CTPSM 1, 189	šu-um	skl	x			4/--/----
CTPSM 1, 214	[x]-kal-la	skl	x			7/--/----
	[...]-ma ₂	skl	x			
P123057	šu-e-li	lt	x			11/--/----
P110023	šu-ku-gu-um	skl		x		1/--/----
P110153	šu- ^d UTU	skl	x			5/--/----
	lugal-zi-mu	ltgl	x			
P110040	NE.NE	skl	x			11/--/----
	a ₂ -pi ₅ -la-num ₂	ltgl	x			
	šu- ^d en-lil ₂	skl	x			
P110173	a ₂ -pi ₅ -la-num ₂	skl	x			12/--/----
	e ₂ -an-ni	ltgl	x			
	ur-kug-nun	k	x			
	lugal-u ₂ -šim-e	---	x			
P110181	i ₃ -sa ₆ -ga	---	x			6/--/----

⁵³³ For details, see Appendix F.

⁵³⁴ See Appendix F.

⁵³⁵ Not included are messenger texts whose travel rubric is **an-ša-an^{ki}-ta u₃ nibru^{ki}-ta** since this was a general statement denoting travel in the general area circumscribed by the furthest extents of travel by personnel utilizing the Girsu province waystations: Nippur to the northwest and Anšan to the southeast; see Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Giršū-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 72-81. Also not included are highlander groups and their **ĝiri₃**-agents, which are displayed in Appendix F.

	lu ₂ -ma ₂ -ga-na	ltgl	x			
P110224	ur- ^d nun-gal nir-ĝal ₂ NE.NE ga-du	--- ltgl ltgl k	x x x x			12/--/----
P110343	i ₃ -li ₂ -un lugal-an-ka kalag-ga	skl skl k	x x x			1/--/----
P110347	šu- ^d nin-dub-ĝa ₂ DINGIR.KAL ar-ši-aḥ kal-la-mu šu-gu-du šu-ur-ba i-ti-a	skl skl skl skl skl skl skl	x x x x x x x			12/--/----
P110363	lugal-dub-la ₂ NE.NE ur- ^d šara ₂ maš-tur lu ₂ - ^d ašnan šu- ^d IŠKUR	skl skl skl skl --- skl	x x x x x x			11/--/----
P111790	i-me-ta	skl	x			2/--/----
P315774	a-bu ₃ -ni šu- ^d UTU si-mu in-ti-a šu- ^d en-lil ₂ da-ti-a	ltgl ltgl skl skl skl skl	x x x x x x			7/--/----
P315789	^d IŠKUR-ba-ni	skl	x			9/--/----
P315808	ga-lu ₅ a-ḥu-ma zi-na-ti	skl skl skl	x			10/--/----
P106989	la-la-a ga-ga	--- skl	x x			5/--/----
P106994	šu- ^d INANA i-ti-a šu- ^d IŠKUR	skl skl skl	x x x			6/--/----
P106997	iš-du ₁₁ -gi-ni lu ₂ - ^d nin-šubur	skl ltgl	x x			7/--/----
P107006	ur- ^d nin-mug an-ne-ba-du ₇	skl ---	x x			9/--/----
P114454	im-ti-MUNUS.DIB a ₂ -pi ₅ -la-num ₂	--- ---	x x			1/--/----
P114457	šu- ^d IŠKUR e-mul da-a-da	skl skl skl	x x x			2/--/----
P114926	en-num ₂ -mi-li ₂	k		x		9/--/----
P115056	i-ti-nir-ra puzur ₄ -eš-tar ₂ im-ti-da puzur ₄ -ḥa-ia ₃ gu ₂ -ra-i ₃ -li ₂ lu ₂ -ša-lim be-li ₂	k --- augg skl skl skl k	x x x x x x x			10/--/----

P115009	i ₃ -ti-a ⁵³⁶ pu ₃ -zur _x -a na-bi				x	7/--/----
P115108	lu ₂ -diġir-ra nu-ur ₂ - ^d ISKUR a-pi ₅ -la-num ₂ nu-ri ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂ še-le-bu-um [...] -ša-ra-[x]-ne ^d ISKUR-ba-ni	skl skl skl skl skl --- skl	x x x x x x x			4/--/----
P115121	i ₃ -gu ₂ -ra šu- ^d UTU	--- k	x x			9/--/----
P115123	šu-eš-tar ₂	---	x			6/--/----
P115223	gu ₂ -ra-i ₃ -li ₂ ur- ^d kug-PI-kug ^d nanna-maḥ ₂ -zu	skl skl augg	x x x			3/--/----
P115241	da-gu	šlkr		x		8/--/----
P115245	i ₃ -li ₂ -a-num ₂	dnb	x			1/--/----
P115317	al-la	aug		x		2/--/----
P120132	ga-du-[x] arad ₂ -dam ur- ^d amma	[x] skl skl	x x x			1/--/----
P120137	lugal-dur ₂ -dug ₃ ^d nanna-ġa ₂ -kam ur- ^{giš} gigir lu ₂ - ^d utu šu- ^d DUMU.ZI	skl --- skl skl skl	x x x x x			7/--/----
P120128	šu- ^d en-lil ₂ gu ₃ -de ₂ -a	skl skl	x x			2/--/----
P121107	AN.GAR ₃	skl	x			5/--/----
P202049	šu- ^d UTU a-ḥu-a arad- ^d nanna lugal-mas-su ₂	skl skl skl skl	x x x x			3/--/----
P202036	a-ḥu-um-ma iš-du ₁₁ -gi-ni i-ti-da	skl skl skl	x x x			1/--/----
P202101	la-a-a a-ḥu-u-ni NE.NE šu- ^d ISKUR puzur ₄ -eš-tar ₂	skl skl skl skl skl	x x x x x			10/--/----
P202064	ba-la-la igi-ni-da-a	skl skl	x x			9/--/----
P207640	arad ₂ -ġu ₁₀	---	x			10/01/AS08
P356012	ma-li ₂ -ik šu- ^d ISKUR	dnb au	x x			1/--/----
P356013	a-bu ₃ -DA-UM ur-mes	--- skl	x x			2/--/----
P356022	la-qi ₃ -ip šu- ^d DUMU.ZI be-li ₂ na-na	skl skl skl skl	x x x x			1/--/----

⁵³⁶ Itia and Puzura are called “men of Zarriq the governor of Susa.”

P356024	i-ti-a na-na-mu ^d nanše-i ₃ -sa ₆ bur-ra e-gi lugal-asilal ₃ bu ₃ -lu ₅ a-kal-la šu-a-da-mu be-li ₂	k skl skl skl skl skl skl augg skl skl	x x x x x x x x x x			2/--/----
P356031	a-ḥu-šu-ni šu- ^d nanna	ltgl ltgl	x x			3/--/----
P356034	šu- ^d UTU šu-gid ₂ -da arad ₂ - ^d nanna puzur ₄ - ^d ISKUR a-ḥu-u-ni	skl skl skl skl skl	x x x x x			1/--/----
P405932	e-šu-dub-ba-ni gu-u ₂ -re-e	skl rg NIM	x x			4/--/----
P406051	lu ₂ - ^d nanna	dnb	x			7/--/----
P406054	a-mur-DINGIR ^{im}	uk		x		10/16/----
P406257	šu-e ₂ -a šu- ^d DUMU.ZI DINGIR.KAL DINGIR.E ₂ ^d nanna-mas-su ₂ ka ₅	skl skl skl skl skl augg	x x x x x x			10/--/----
P406505	a-gu-a	dnb	x			5/--/----
P406513	[...]	skl	x			12d/--/----
P127718	šu- ^d ISKUR en-u ₂ -mi-i ₃ -li ₂	dnb aug	x x		x	11/--/----
P122854	lu ₂ - ^d šul-gi ur- ^d nin-ezem ^d ISKUR-ba-ni i-ti- ^d suen ka-al-la be-li ₂ a-ḥi	skl skl --- skl skl skl skl	x x x x x x x			12/--/----
P128479	šu-sa-bar šu-zu-gar ₃	skl --- ⁵³⁷	x x			2/--/----
P128499	^d nanna-dalla dur-ra-i ₃ -li ₂ ar-ši-aḥ i ₃ -li ₂ -ki-aḥ	skl skl skl skl	x x x x			6/--/----
P128009	da-ti-a a-ḥu-ni lu ₂ - ^d ba-u ₂ KA.KA-lugal	skl skl skl ---	x x x x			6/--/----
P128253	i-me-ta	skl		x		3/--/ŠS02
P218192	a-ḥu-ni NE.NE [...] da-da-a	skl skl skl ---	x x x x			2/--/----

⁵³⁷ Called “man of Zarriq the governor of Susa.”

P131220	puzur ₄ -šu	aug		x		10/18/----
P130013	im-ti-dam	---	x			12/--/----
P110685	KAL-i ₃ -li ₂	lt	x			--/--/----
P135788	^d nanna-i ₃ -sa ₆ mušen-du ₃ da-a-mu PU ₃ -KA-ra bi ₂ -li-li	ltgl skl --- ltgl ---	x x x x x			6/--/----
P135791	šu- ^d nanna	k	x			9/--/----
P135792	puzur ₄ -er ₃ -ra kas ₄ -mu arad ₂ -da-ni	skl skl skl	x x x			1/--/----
P135798	puzur ₄ -ra-a-bi ₂ ḥu-ne-šar ₂ -ra la-ge-eb	ltgl ltgl skl	x x x			3/--/----
P135808	a-pi ₅ -la-a šu-na ku-da-num ₂	skl skl skl	x x x			6/--/----
P135809	^d nanna-kam šu-gid ₂ -da ^d nanna-dalla ^d suen-ba-ni puzur ₄ - ^d šuba ₃	k skl skl skl skl	x x x x x			2/--/----
P135968	NE-ti-ti PU ₃ -KA-na-a-a ḥu-la-la ur- ^d [...]	skl skl skl [x]	x x x x			9/--/----
P136216	NE.NE-a šu- ^d suen ^d nanna-i ₃ -zu lugal-ig-gal kug- ^d nanna	skl skl --- skl skl	x x x x x			6/--/----
P113517	šu- ^d UTU I-KA.NI-a na-a-ti la-qi ₃ -ip	skl skl skl skl	x x x x			6/--/----

skl = sukkal, **k** = lu₂-kas₄, **rg** = ra₂-gaba, **lt(gl)** = lu₂-^{ēi}š₄tukul (gu-la), **au** = aga₃-us₂, **aug** = aga₃-us₂ gal, **augg** = aga₃-us₂ gal-gal, **dnb** = dumu nu-banda₃, **šlkr** = šeš lukur

II.2.6: The Amorite Land(s) (**kur mar-tu**)

The phrase **kur mar-tu** is attested in twenty-six documents, nearly all stemming from Puzriš-Dagan, and all dated between Šulgi's fortieth year and Amar-Suen's seventh year.⁵³⁸ The majority of these occurrences (fourteen texts) reference plunder (**nam-ra-ak**) of the **kur mar-tu**. The Sumerian word **mar-tu** and its Akkadian equivalent *amurru* were generally used to designate either the west, people from the west ("westerners"), or population groups composed of people of West Semitic heritage.⁵³⁹ The term **mar-tu** occurs as a toponym in the third millennium texts from Ebla, showing that it was within the geographical scope of that important Syrian center and therefore located to the west of Babylonia. The phrase **kur mar-tu** can have slightly differing interpretations. If one translates Sumerian **kur** as Akkadian *šadûm*, then the nuance is "Amorite mountain," which is often understood to be the modern Jebel Bišri to the west of the Euphrates River in Syria.⁵⁴⁰ Support for this seems to come from an inscription of Naram-Suen describing "The Great Revolt" (RIME 2.1.4.2 col. ii, lines 3 to col. iii, line 24):⁵⁴¹

“(Amar-girid, king of Uruk, went) from Asimanum to Šišil; at Šišil he crossed the Tigris, (and continued) from Šišil to the side of the Euphrates; he crossed the

⁵³⁸ In only three texts is the year name missing: P103121 / AUCT 1, 276; P121052 / NATN 354; P137716 / UET 3, 1391.

⁵³⁹ Robert M. Whiting, "Amorite Tribes and Nations of Second-Millennium Western Asia," in *Civilizations of the Ancient Near East*, ed. Jack M. Sasson (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1995): 1231-1242; Westenholz, "The Old Akkadian Period," 96-97; Bryce, *The Routledge Handbook of People and Places of Ancient Western Asia*, 40-41.

⁵⁴⁰ Whiting, "Amorite Tribes and Nations of Second-Millennium Western Asia," 1234; Westenholz, "The Old Akkadian Period," 97; Bryce, *The Routledge Handbook of People and Places of Ancient Western Asia*, 40-41; Sallaberger, "From Urban Culture to Nomadism," 429.

⁵⁴¹ Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods*, 91-92.

Euphrates and went up to Bašar, the Amorite mountain (SA.TU-*i*₃ MAR.TU^{ki}).⁵⁴² Naram-Sin, the strong, heard (about) him, took hold of nine captains of Agade and set out to meet him...Naram-Sin, the strong, reached the Euphrates River at Bašar, the Amorite mountain, engaged him in battle and they fought each other. By the verdict of Annunitum and Enlil, Naram-Sin, the strong, was victorious in battle at Bašar, the Amorite mountain, against Uruk.”

However, the identification of Amorite mountain(s) with Jebel Bishri and the west in post-Akkadian third millennium texts is not certain in some cases and does not seem possible in others. It occurs in Gudea’s Statue B inscription (RIME 3/1.1.7 col. vi, lines 5-20):⁵⁴³

BU₃-sal-la ħur-saĝ mar-tu-ta^{na4} na gal im-ta-e₁₁ na-ru₂-a-še₃ mu-dim₂ kisal e₂-ninnu-ka mu-na-ni-du₃ ti-da-num₂ ħur-saĝ mar-tu-ta gesznu_x gal lagab-bi-a mi-ni-de₆ ur pad-da-še₃ mu-na-dim₂-dim₂ sag-gul-še₃ e₂-a mi-ni-si-si
 “From BUsala, the Amorite mountain (**ħur-saĝ mar-tu**), he (Gudea) brought down large stones, fashioned them into steles (and) erected them in the courtyard of the Eninnu; from Tidanium, the Amorite mountain (**ħur-saĝ mar-tu**), he brought alabaster blocks, fashioned them into destructive lions (and) installed them in the temple as gate locks.”

Though the first Amorite mountain, BUsala, has been thought to refer to the Jebel Bishri,⁵⁴⁴ this identification is by no means certain.⁵⁴⁵ Even if it does refer to the region west of the Euphrates, it does not necessarily follow that the Tidanium Amorite mountain was located nearby. That there are two toponyms designated as Amorite mountain(s), that the larger context of this passage lists materials procured outside of Sumer from sites

⁵⁴² SA.TU is a pseudo-logogram used for the Akkadian word *šadūm* “mountain” whose Sumerian equivalent was **kur**; Ignace J. Gelb, *Glossary of Old Akkadian*, MAD 3 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1957): 263-264.

⁵⁴³ Frayne, *Gudea and his Dynasty*, 34.

⁵⁴⁴ Westenholz, “The Old Akkadian Period,” 97 n. 441. This stems from reading **bu₃** as **ba₁₁** and thus providing **ba₁₁-sal-la**, a variant form of Bašar.

⁵⁴⁵ See Sallaberger, “From Urban Culture to Nomadism,” 431 n. 79 and Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 112-113.

progressing in order from a (north)east to (south)west fashion,⁵⁴⁶ and that the phenomenon known as “mirror toponymy” may be a factor suggests that the Amorite mountain(s) in reference to the Tidnum was located within the Zagros folds.⁵⁴⁷

Indeed, **kur mar-tu** is better translated in the Ur III documentation as “Amorite land(s)” and understood to refer to various polities and tribal territories situated to the northeast of the kingdom of Ur.⁵⁴⁸ The opinion that the Amorite lands should be sought in the mountainous region to the east rather than the traditional Amorite homeland to the west is nothing new,⁵⁴⁹ though there is some disagreement over the specifics of the location and extent of this region. Steinkeller understood the phrase to denote, specifically, the Jebel Hamrin, and in a general sense “the entire piedmont zone,

⁵⁴⁶ The larger passage references timber from Ursu (probably the city Uršu, to be located in the general vicinity of Gaziantep; C. Michel, “Uršu(m). A. In mesopotamischen Quellen,” *RIA* 14 [2015]: 440-442) and the mountain(s) of Ebla, stones from a toponym of unknown location and BUšala, alabaster from Tidnum, copper from Kimaš and ebony from Meluḥḥa. For discussion of Tid(a)num, see Michalowski (*The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 111-118) who marshals the evidence to support the view that this tribe was located in the reaches of the Upper Diyala in the Ur III period. An inscription of Šu-Suen that describes his campaign against Simanum, a city located somewhere along the northern reaches of the Tigris, mentions the Tidnum Amorites rising against him during the course of this campaign; though fragmentary, a later portion of the text (Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 299: E3/2.1.4.1 col. v line 42) seems to describe the territory of the Tidnum as “large mountains” (**hur-saĝ gal-gal**), agreeing with the Gudea statue in the use of **hur-saĝ**, but with the plural indicating that we should understand **kur** in the archival texts to mean “(mountainous) land” rather than a single mountain.

⁵⁴⁷ Charpin, “La toponymie en miroir,” 12-19. This article describes how two or more occurrences of the same toponym, often across large geographic features, can be explained by groups of migrant Amorites who named their new settlements after older ones. An interesting text, P118627 (11/23/Š43), is an Ur III administrative text from Puzriš-Dagan that lists offerings to the deity Amurru and his associated territory: **1 sila4 dmar-tu / mu-ku_x šu-dam-ki-na / 1 sila4 hur-saĝ ba-ša-ar / mu-ku_x si-im-ti-ip-ḥa-še-er / zabardab₅ maškim / ud 23-kam / zi-ga itud ezem-me-ki-ĝal₂ / mu en dnanna maš-e i₃-pad₃** “1 lamb (for) Amurru (from) the delivery of Šu-Damkina (and) 1 lamb (for) the mountain of Bašar (from) the delivery of Simtipaḥšer. The *zabardab* was the authorizing agent. Date.” This text dates to a period in Šulgi’s reign when the armies of Ur were quite active in the Zagros Mountains to the east and all references to **kur mar-tu** in Ur III texts seem to refer to this eastern peripheral zone. Thus the reference to the “mountain of Bašar” (**hur-saĝ ba-ša-ar**) may indicate, though the evidence is certainly slim, that this phenomenon of mirror toponymy, in which migrant groups renamed (relatively) new settlements after older ones from whence they originated, was in play and therefore it is possible Bašar could refer to two distinct locations - one in Syria and one in the Zagros.

⁵⁴⁸ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 158.

⁵⁴⁹ Stephen J. Lieberman, “An Ur III Text from Drēhem Recording ‘Plunder from the Land of Mardu’,” *JCS* 22 (1968): 53-62.

extending from the middle course of the Tigris to the region of Susiana.”⁵⁵⁰ This opinion stems from his location of Kimaš and Ḫurti in the western portion of the Kermanshah province and from a text that records a variant form of the year name of Šulgi’s forty-seventh year.⁵⁵¹

Standard:⁵⁵² **mu us₂-sa ki-maš^{ki} u₃ ḫu-ur₅-ti^{ki} ba-ḫulu**
 “Year after the year that Kimaš and Ḫurti were ‘ruined’”

Variant:⁵⁵³ **mu us₂-sa ki-maš^{ki} mar-tu^{ki} ba-ḫulu**
 “Year after the year that Kimaš (and) the Amorite place were ‘ruined’”

Sallaberger stated that the “Amorite land” cannot be the same as the cities and regions mentioned in the year-names since there are plunder texts in which certain polities occur alongside references to the Amorite land, and plunder collected from the cities and from the Amorite land were counted as distinct from one another. Thus there are texts which distinguish plunder from Urbilum and Šimaški, as well as one which mentions plunder distributed to Amorites from Urbilum and Ḫurti. Therefore these toponyms - and by extension the other toponyms mentioned in year names - are not synonymous with **kur mar-tu**.⁵⁵⁴ Sallaberger locates the Amorite land along the length of the Jebel Hamrin, which begins just south of the Diyala River and terminates in the north just below the eastern edge of the Jebel Sinjar, though it also may have included the Upper

⁵⁵⁰ Steinkeller, “New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers,” 218.

⁵⁵¹ Ibid, 218 n. 13. See Lieberman, “An Ur III Text from Drēhem Recording ‘Plunder from the Land of Mardu’,” 56 n. 28 for arguments that this is simply a scribal error, though it may expose realities known by the scribe not reflected in the standard year name. Sallaberger (“From Urban Culture to Nomadism,” 447 n. 155) rejects this as evidence to be used in the localization of this region.

⁵⁵² See, for example, P248618 rev. line 7.

⁵⁵³ P142150 / YOS 4, 86 rev. line 6.

⁵⁵⁴ Sallaberger, “From Urban Culture to Nomadism,” 447-448.

Mesopotamian plains as well.⁵⁵⁵ Michalowski notes that the texts referencing plunder from the Amorite lands are dated to the latter part of Šulgi's reign and the first half of Amar-Suen's, a period which references campaigns along much of the length of the Zagros mountains, and that the military officers responsible for the delivery of the spoils (designated as the **ġiri**₃-agent) are the same ones known to have been involved with affairs in the Zagros region.⁵⁵⁶ The lack of the determinative **ki** may suggest that **kur mar-tu** was not a specific location with definable borders, but rather a general designation of where Amorites were thought to live; therefore Michalowski understands the term to refer to, in the minds of Ur III bureaucrats, the amorphous region along the Diyala valley and the Jebel Hamrin in which all the hostile Amorites resided.⁵⁵⁷ Overall there seems to be a consensus about the location of the **kur mar-tu** in Ur III administrative sources as situated in the general area known as Subartu in antiquity.⁵⁵⁸ Below is a table on the plunder from the Amorite land and a few comments:

Table 16: Plunder from the “Amorite Lands” (nam-ra-ak kur mar-tu)

<i>Text/Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
P124463 5/--/Š40	30 female kids from the plunder of the Amorite lands (^{munus} aš ₂ -gar ₃ ša ₃ nam-ra-ak kur mar-tu) were issued from Nasa (the top administrator of Puzriš-Dagan) to Ur-ešlila on behalf of Taddin-Eštar
P106127* 3/--/Š44	3 jacks (dusu₂ ni₂ta₂), plunder of the Amorite lands, a royal delivery from Naram-ili via Abuni; <i>rest fragmentary</i> .
P130506 12/07/Š46	165 fat-tailed sheep (udu gukkal), 13 fat-tailed sheep of breeding stock (udu gukkal ġi₃-du₃), two billy-goats (maš₂-gal) - plunder of the Amorite lands. Via Ĥun-habur.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid, 449.

⁵⁵⁶ The texts date between Šulgi's 40th year and Amar-Suen's 5th; within this span the year names record campaigns against Šašrum (Š42), Simurru and Lullubum (Š44, Š45), Karaḥar (Š45), Urbilum (Š45, AS02), Kimaš and Ĥurti (Š46, Š48) and Ĥarši (Š48). Plunder texts dated to this period mention Urbilum, Ĥurti, Ĥarši, Kimaš, Šimaški, Šašrum and Šuruthum; see table in Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 101-102.

⁵⁵⁷ Ibid, 104-105.

⁵⁵⁸ Though the geo-political realities shifted somewhat depending on time period and corpus, Subartu generally designated the north of Mesopotamia, often the Transtigridian corridor between the Tigris and Zagros north of the Diyala; C. Michel, “Šubartu,” *RIA* 13 (2012): 225-227.

P111953 3/20/Š47	6 jacks (dusu₂ nita₂) and 1 jenny (dusu₂ munus) - plunder of the Amorite lands - from Lu-Nanna, via Etum the errand-runner.
P321083 3/22/Š47	[x] jacks (dusu₂ nita₂) and 2 jennies (dusu₂ munus) - plunder of the Amorites lands - Šu-AN.BAD took from Nasa (the top administrator of Puzriš-Dagan).
P126167 5/--/Š47	Balanced account of shepherds and animal fatteners (niĝ₂-kas₇ ak sipad kurušda). Plunder of the Amorite lands occurs twice, both in the “capital” sections of the account, with one section listing 240 female kids (munus₂ aš₂-gar₃) and 10 goats (maš₂) and the other section listing 110 female kids (munus₂ aš₂-gar₃). There are also a few of references to “plunder of Šimaški” (nam-ra-ak LU₂.SU) included in this account as well: ⁵⁵⁹ 110 female goats; 227 female lambs (kir₁₁), 32 sheep (udu), 38 female kids and 3 goats; 228 female lambs, 32 sheep, 38 female kids and 2 goats; 227 female lambs, 33 sheep, 39 female kids and 2 goats
P100976 5/--/Š47	[17]+ jacks, 4 two-year-old jacks (dusu₂ nita₂ mu 2), 36 jennies (and) 1 two-year-old jenny (dusu₂ munus mu 2) - plunder of the Amorite lands - a royal delivery that Šu-AN.BAD took from Nasa.
P100977 7/19/Š48	4 jacks and 2 jennies - plunder of the Amorite lands - from Lu-Nanna the general, via Lamuša the errand-runner. (Part of a) delivery that Nasa took.
P124466 --/20/Š48	10 young equids (dur₃), 1 one-year-old equid (dur₃), 11 jennies, 1 one-year-old jenny, 3 fat-tailed rams of breeding stock, 5 fat-tailed rams, 32 fat-tailed ewes (us gukkal) - plunder of the Amorite lands - via Šu-ili the captain. Overseer was Ur-Enlila. Text also references cattle from the surplus cattle that was (part of) the plunder of Urbilum.
P127959 1/--/AS01	9 jennies, 2 male foals (dusu₂ nita₂ amar-ga) and 1 female foal (dusu₂ munus amar-ga) - plunder of the Amorite lands - Šu-Suen the prince (dumu lugal) took from Naram-ili.
P407104 5/--/AS03	2 jacks, a selection (su-gid₂) - plunder of the Amorite lands - Šu-Erra took from Abbasaga.
P144000 12/18/AS04	5 fat-tailed sheep of breeding stock and 120 fat-tailed ewes, out of the delivery of the plunder of the Amorite lands (ša₃ mu-ku_x nam-ra-ak kur mar-tu), for the <i>en</i> -priest of Inana. Ilalum was the authorizing agent. Animals also issued out of the delivery of Nir-idaġal (ša₃ mu-ku_x nir-i₃-da-ġal₂).
P125448 1/03/AS05	3 fat-tailed sheep, 5 fat-tailed sheep of breeding stock and 1 fat-tailed lamb (for) Lugal-magure, issued from Abbasaga out of the delivery of the plunder of the Amorite lands (ša₃ mu-ku_x nam-ra-ak mar-tu).

As already mentioned, it is uncertain whether the references to spoils from the Amorite land in different texts refer to different campaigns (and if so, how many?) or one or two campaigns from which the plunder was in circulation within the kingdom over a number of years. The earliest reference, dating to Šulgi’s fortieth year, likely came from military actions related to the first Šašrum campaign. The rest of the texts dated to Šulgi’s reign occur at a time when the Armies of Ur campaigned against Karaḥar,

⁵⁵⁹ Some of the references to the plunder of Šimaški are written as **ša₃ nam-ra-ak LU₂.SU** “(from) within the plunder of Šimaški,” which demonstrates that these animal expenditures comprised only part of the spoils from Šimaški.

Simurru, Lullubum, Urbilum, Kimaš, Hurti, Harši and Šimaški, thus confirming the notion of the Amorite land(s) being situated in the Transtigridian corridor, but also in agreement with Steinkeller's assessment that their lands extended to the border of Khuzistan. Amorite plunder texts in the reigns of Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen occur around the times of the campaign against Urbilum and the early Šašrum campaign for the former king, and the Simanum campaign for the latter king, affirming the emphasis on the Amorite lands being primarily, though not limited to, the Zagros piedmont north of the Diyala. Other references to the Amorite land(s) refer to silver rings and prestige weapons plated in silver given to "Amorites" located within or traveling to/from the Amorite land. Some of these "Amorites" seem to have been officials and employees in the kingdom of Ur, most likely within the royal sector/military organization.⁵⁶⁰

Table 17: Other References to the Amorite Land(s)

<i>Text/Date</i>	<i>Description</i>
Sumer 59, 94 no.1 11/17/Š45	Šu-Šulgi the secretary brought 2 <i>tilpānu</i> -weapons (⁶¹ <i>šillar</i>) plated with silver, issued from Dayyanum-mišar in Puzriš-Dagan, to the Amorite lands for Iamuta the Amorite.
P117429 1/16/Š46	2 jacks and 5 jennies were issued for La'aya the u₃-kul when he went to the Amorite lands (ud kur mar-tu-še₃ i₃-ĝen-na-a); overseer was Ea-ili.
P103787 2/--/AS02	1 silver ring of [x] shekels was issued from Puzur-Erra, in Puzriš-Dagan, for Anumeilum the Amorite when he came from the Amorite lands (ud kur mar-tu-ta i₃-im-ĝen-na-a).
P103951 9/--/AS03	Zannum, on royal assignment, brought 1 <i>gamlum</i> -weapon plated with silver, issued from Dayyanum-mišar in Puzriš-Dagan, to Atal-Martu, to the Amorite lands.
P100967 1/04/AS07	5 sheep were placed in the boat to the place of Naplanum the Amorite, to the Amorite lands.

⁵⁶⁰ Michalowski stated that some of them seem to have been employed as royal bodyguards and that the term "Amorite" may have denoted a profession rather than an ethnicity in some contexts; Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 107-110. Also note the Babylonian designation for general in the succeeding Old Babylonian period, UGULA MAR.TU *wakil Amurrîm* "overseer of Amorites"; Marten Stol, "Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Altbabylonischer Zeit," in *Mesopotamien: Die altbabylonische Zeit*, OBO 160/4, eds. Attinger et al. (Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004): 779.

P124926 6/--/ŠS04	[...] za and Amaknum, the Amorite of Dimat-Enlila, each received 1 silver ring (weighing) 7 shekels, issued by Lu-Diġira, in Nippur, when he came from the Amorite lands (ud kur mar-tu-ta i3-im-ġen-na-a).
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II.2.7: Šaš(šu)rum (and Šuruthum)

II.2.7.a: Dates of Campaigns and the Locations of the Toponyms

The toponym Šašrum⁵⁶¹ is encountered in the year-names of Šulgi's forty-second regnal year and Amar-Suen's sixth, while the city of Šuruthum appears in plunder texts dated to Šulgi's forty-fourth and Amar-Suen's fourth year of rule:

Šulgi 42: **mu ša-aš-ru-um^{ki} ba-ḫulu**

“The year that Šašrum was ‘ruined’.”⁵⁶²

Amar-Suen 6: **mu ^damar-^dsuen lugal-e a-ra₂ 2-kam-aš ša-šu₂-ru-um^{ki} mu-ḫulu**

“The year that Amar-Suen the king ‘ruined’ Šaššurum for the second time.”⁵⁶³

As mentioned above, one problem with year names is that they were primarily written in an abbreviated form and can therefore be identical if two kings claimed to have defeated the same city. Other internal data have to be considered in order to determine which year-name, and therefore campaign, is being referenced and sometimes the attribution to

⁵⁶¹ The orthography of the toponym exhibits a degree of variation in the administrative corpus: **ša-aš-ru(-um)^{ki}**, **ša-aš-rum^{ki}**, **ša-aš-šu/šu₂-ru/ru₂(-um)^{ki}**, **ša-as/aš₂-ru^{ki}**, **sa-aš-ru(-um)^{ki}**, **ša₃-aš-(šu₂)-ru(-um)^{ki}**, **ša-aš-šu₄-ru-um^{ki}**, **ša-šu/šu₂-ru(-um)^{ki}**, see Marcus Hilgert, “Šaš(u)rum,” *RIA* 12 (2009): 88-89.

⁵⁶² This is the basic form of the year name for Šulgi, though the toponym can be written a variety of ways: There are a couple of texts (P100829 / Aleppo 497 and P142156 / YOS 4, 92), however, which include a longer form of the year name: “The year that Šulgi, the deity of the homeland, ‘ruined’ Šašrum” (**mu ^dšul-gi diġir kalam-ma-ke₄ ša-aš-ru-um^{ki} mu-ḫulu**).

⁵⁶³ This full form is quite rare, I can only find one instance: P142346 / YOS 4, 282. Some texts, for example P142757, omit the phrase “for the second time”: **mu ^damar-^dsuen lugal-e ša-aš-šu₂-ru-um^{ki} mu-ḫulu** “year that Amar-Suen the king ‘ruined’ Šaššurum.” Quite often the year name is further abridged to **mu a-ra₂ 2-kam ša-aš-ru-um^{ki} ba-ḫulu** “year that, for a second time, Šašrum was ‘ruined’” or simply **mu ša-aš-ru-um^{ki} ba-ḫulu** “year that Šašrum was ‘ruined’.” Sigrist’s and Damerow’s (“Mesopotamian Year Names,” <https://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yeardnames/HTML/T6K3.htm>) year-name for Amar-Suen’s 6th year (“Year Amar-Suen the king destroyed Šašrum for the second time and Šuruthum”) seems to be unattested in the administrative corpus.

a particular king is tentative at best or simply uncertain.⁵⁶⁴ The fact that variants of Amar-Suen's year name refer to the "ruination" of Šašrum for the second time (**a-ra₂ 2-kam**) inform us that the king had campaigned against the city earlier in his reign. Though there is no year-name to commemorate it, this earlier campaign against Šašrum is attested in archival documents dated to Amar-Suen's fourth year, providing a *terminus ante quem* for this military action.⁵⁶⁵ That this campaign may have occurred well before Amar-Suen's fourth year is suggested by a text dated to the first month of Amar-Suen's second year that mentions news of Šašrum's defeat⁵⁶⁶ and perhaps alludes to the notion that the first action against Šašrum was conducted in the same campaign of Amar-Suen's against Urbilum. The texts dating to Amar-Suen's fourth year follow a monthly progression, with a banquet (**kaš-de₂-a**) of Nanna undertaken in the seventh month on the occasion that Šašrum and Šuruthum were defeated⁵⁶⁷ and another banquet of Enlil and Ninlil celebrated the following month for the same reason.⁵⁶⁸ At the end of the eighth month an expenditure of fifty Šimaškian goats was made for the general Ilalum from out of the plunder of Šašrum and Šuruthum,⁵⁶⁹ and in the tenth month "men" of these two places were present in Babylonia, receiving animals for sustenance during their stay.⁵⁷⁰

⁵⁶⁴ For example, P122816 / NYPL 278, dated with the year name **mu ša-aš-ru^{ki} ba-ḥulu**, contains two seal impressions of the **arad₂-zu**-type referencing Šulgi, while P122806 / NYPL 268, dated with the name **mu ša-aš-ru-um^{ki} ba-ḥulu**, mentions the construction of a temple of Amar-Suen. Thus we have nearly identical year names referring to events that occurred twelve years apart.

⁵⁶⁵ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 237-238.

⁵⁶⁶ P101074 / AnOr 1, 83 (1/--/AS02) obv. lines 1-4: **2 gun₂ siki gi / niĝ₂-ba lugal-^dištaran / a₂-aĝ₂-ĝa₂ sig₅ / ša-aš-šu₂-ru^{ki} ḥulu-a** "2 talents of medium-quality wool (as) a gift (for) Lugal-Ištaran (who brought) the good news of Šašrum's defeat."

⁵⁶⁷ P127614 / Nisaba 8, 58 (7/--/AS04): **ud ^damar-^dsuen-ke₄ ša-aš-ru^{ki} u₃ šu-ru-ut-ḥu-um^{ki} mu-ḥulu-a**.

⁵⁶⁸ P134675 / Trouvaille 2 (8/--/AS04).

⁵⁶⁹ P131634 / TCL 2, 5545 (8/29/AS04): **ša₃ mu-ku_x nam-ra-ak ša-aš-ru^{ki} u₃ šu-ru-ut-ḥu-um^{ki}**.

⁵⁷⁰ P103259 / AUCT 1, 414 (10/08/AS04).

Amar-Suens' second campaign seems to have taken place in the first half of his sixth year; there is one text, though it does not preserve the month or day, that is dated to his sixth year and mentions the news that Šašrum was defeated:⁵⁷¹

1 ma-na ħar kug-babbar₂ / niġ₂-ba lugal-an-dul₃ / a₂-aġ₂-ġa₂ sig₅ /
ša-aš-ru-um^{ki} / ħulu-a de₆-a / ki lu₂-kal-la-ta / kišib ensi₂-ka / itud še-KIN-kud
/ mu ša-aš-ru-um^{ki} ba-ħulu
 “1 mina of silver rings (is) the gift (for) Lugal-andul who brought the good news that Šašrum was ‘ruined’. From Lukala, sealed/received by the governor. *DATE*.”

A supporting text comes from Puzriš-Dagan and lists the animals expended for consumption by a large army that had just come back from campaign:⁵⁷²

12 udu / 83 u₈ / 25 maš₂ / 35 ud₅ / mu aga₃-us₂ kaskal-ta er-ra-ne-še₃
 “12 rams, 83 ewes, 25 bucks (and) 35 nanny-goats for the soldiers who came from campaign”

Unfortunately there are no references to Šašrum during the reign of Šulgi outside of the year-name in the administrative documentation. The only relevant text is a document dating to Šulgi's forty-fourth year mentioning the expenditure of animal hides out of the plunder of Šuruthum, which was undoubtedly attacked along with Šašrum in Šulgi's campaign.⁵⁷³

⁵⁷¹ P140334 / UTI 4, 2315.

⁵⁷² P114335 / MVN 5, 115 (7/25/AS06) obv. lines 1-5 and duplicate P144113 / SAT 2, 913. The latter document is attributed to the Šulgi's 42nd year, but the fact that DINGIR.KAL the **sukkal** was the authorizing agent (**maškim**) and Intaea was the official in charge of disbursements demonstrate that these documents belong to the reign of Amar-Suen. The amount of meat, based off of Allred's ("Cooks and Kitchens," 65) calculations, would have been able to feed over 9000 men in a single sitting. Similar numbers of **aga₃-us₂** were mobilized for assistance with the harvest, with 9600 soldiers in one instance and 10,800 in another; Lafont, "The Armies of the Kings of Ur," 10.

⁵⁷³ P143126 / MVN 20, 193 (4/--/Š44) obv. line 1 to rev. line 2: **4 kuš gud / 11 kuš udu / 3 kuš maš₂ / nam-ra-ak šu-ru-ut-ħu-um^{ki}-ma / ki a₂-piš-la-ša-ta / ġiri₃ ur-nigar_x^{gar} nu-banda₃** “4 ox hides, 11 sheep

There is a general scholarly consensus that Šaš(šu)rum is the third millennium name for Old Babylonian Šušarra and was located at modern Tell Shemsharra, situated in the Raniya Plain.⁵⁷⁴ Šuruthum, always mentioned in conjunction with Šašrum, must have been close enough to Šašrum that a campaign against one meant a campaign against the other as well; this suggests a location in or around the Raniya Plain.⁵⁷⁵ Only a few people are attested from these locales and none of them bear the designation **ensi**₂.

II.2.7.b: Political Organization and Relationship to the Kingdom of Ur

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>“Governor / Ruler” (ensi₂)</i>	<i>“Man of / One of” (lu₂)</i>
Šaš(šu)rum	---	a-ri-du-bu-uk 10/08/AS04 P103259 10/17/AS08 P131590 11/24/ŠS02 P104839 12/07/ŠS07 P381727 12/14/ŠS09 P107970

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>“Governor / Ruler” (ensi₂)</i>	<i>“Man of / One of” (lu₂)</i>
Šuruthum / Šarithum	---	dar-ḫi-ib-bi ₂ -ig-ma-an 10/08/AS04 P103259 ki-da-ni 10/17/AS08 P131590

hides (and) 3 goat hides (from out of) the plunder of Šuruthum, (issued) from Apilaša, via Ur-nigar the captain.”

⁵⁷⁴ Frayne, “The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena,” 171-172; Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 238-239; Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 158; Hilgert, “Šaš(u)rum,” 88-89; Jesper Eidem, “Šušarrā,” *RIA* 13 (2012): 360-362.

⁵⁷⁵ Perhaps near modern Dokan: Frayne, “The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena,” 174; Ahmed, “The Beginnings of Ancient Kurdistan,” 263.

Aridubuk is the only person attested from Šašrum and is solely attested in the context of having received animals for consumption from Puzriš-Dagan while he was present in southern Mesopotamia. Due to the relative frequency of his visits to Babylonia over a period of fifteen years, Aridubuk was probably an envoy instead of the ruler, though there is far too little data to rule out the latter possibility. Two men of Šuruthum, Darhibbigman and Kidani, are attested in similar contexts. There are no **gun₂ ma-da-** type documents attested for these toponymns and they are not mentioned in the messenger text genre; thus we can tentatively assume that Šašrum and Šuruthum were not incorporated in any way into the kingdom of Ur.⁵⁷⁶ A possible argument against this conclusion is the recovery of a tablet from Tell Brustī, a site close to Tell Shemshara, which is dated with a year-name of the Ur III king Ibī-Suen.⁵⁷⁷ This may suggest that the Raniya Plain was under Mesopotamian control and that the lack of tax documents from Šašrum and the absence of the toponym in messenger texts merely reflect the vagaries of preservation and discovery.

⁵⁷⁶ The absence of references in the messenger text genre is probably meaningless since messenger text archives were particular to specific regions. The waystations in Girsu province were concerned with the regions in and around Khuzistan and Fars, and the waystation in Iri-Saġrig was concerned with the regions of Luristan, Ilam and Kermanshah (for this distribution, see chapter 4). There are no messenger texts recording trips to regions along the western flank of the Zagros, north of the Diyala. The occurrence of a messenger text-type document from Ešnunna (P111815 / OIP 43, 169 no. 622) suggests that waystations concerned with this region likely existed, perhaps at Ešnunna or Išim-Šulgi. Note that documents show that Tiš-atal of Nineveh stopped at Ešnunna before he continued on to Nippur; Piotr Steinkeller, “Tiš-atal’s Visit to Nippur,” *NABU* (2007): 14 no. 15.

⁵⁷⁷ Molina, “Archives and Bookkeeping in Southern Mesopotamia in the Ur III Period,” 5.

II.2.8: Urbilum

II.2.8.a: Dates of Campaigns and the Location of the Toponym

There are two references to campaigns against Urbilum in year-names, one dating to Šulgi's forty-fifth year and the other to Amar-Suen's second. The full form of the name for Šulgi's year is:

mu ^dšul-gi nita kalag-ga lugal urim⁵_{ki}-ma lugal an-ub-da limmu₂-ba-ke₄ ur-bi₂-lum^{ki} si-mu-ru-um^{ki} lu-lu-bu^{ki} u₃ kara₂-ḫar^{ki}-ra aš-še₃ saĝdu-bi šu-tibir-ra im-mi-ra⁵⁷⁸

“The year that Šulgi, the strong male, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, smote the heads of Urbilum, Simurru, Lullubum and Karaḫar as one”

The full form for Amar-Suen's year is:

mu ^damar-^dsuen nita kalag-ga lugal urim⁵_{ki}-ma lugal an-ub-da limmu₂-ba-ke₄ ur-bi₂-lum^{ki} mu-ḫulu⁵⁷⁹

“The year that Amar-Suen, the strong male, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, ‘ruined’ Urbilum”

Both year-names make use of the abbreviated form **mu ur-bi₂-lum^{ki} ba-ḫulu** “The year that Urbilum was ‘ruined’,” though this form is more common for Šulgi than for Amar-Suen. Indeed, it was the primary form of the name used in the reign of Šulgi and only made up a small portion of the year-names of Amar-Suen. Internal criteria of the tablets must be used to distinguish the year to which the tablet dated with the abbreviated year-

⁵⁷⁸ P108476 / MVN 17, 2. The verbal prefixes in texts from Girsu tend to be **im-mi-**, while those from Puzriš-Dagan favor **bi₂-in-**; Michalowski, “News of a Mari Defeat from the Time of King Šulgi,” 38.

⁵⁷⁹ P204362 / PPAC 5, 610.

name belongs⁵⁸⁰ and sometimes there is not enough context to make a determination.

Summary documents recording transactions over a span of time that includes both Šulgi's forty-fifth year and Amar-Suen's second utilize the abbreviated year-name for the former and the standard year name for the latter, which was **mu** ^d**amar-dsuen lugal-e ur-bi2-lum**^{ki} **mu-ḥulu** "The year that Amar-Suen the king 'ruined' Urbilum."⁵⁸¹

There are four texts which reference plunder (**nam-ra-ak**) from Urbilum. The earliest dated document (7/17/Š45) lists a few bronze and silver items sent from Šu-Enlila the prince (**dumu lugal**), Ḫun-ḫabUR the general (**šakkan**), Lamaḫir the captain (**nu-banda3**) and Šilluš-Dagan, and are designated as plunder of Urbilum.⁵⁸² This likely alludes to these individuals' participation in the military action which defeated the city. Silver from the plunder of Urbilum was also sent in a text dated to the twelfth month of Šulgi's forty-fifth year;⁵⁸³ it was received by Puzur-Erra, in Puzriš-Dagan, who was also the recipient in the other document, though there he received it in Nippur. The other two plunder documents record expenditures from the spoils of Urbilum, the first recording sheep issued for twenty-two men designated as "Amorites" (**mar-tu**) under the command of Ea-ili from out of the plunder of Urbilum.⁵⁸⁴ These Amorites were most likely mercenaries who partook in the campaign, perhaps seeing opportunity in employment by

⁵⁸⁰ For example, tablets from Puzriš-Dagan that mention Abbasaga as the chief official of Puzriš-Dagan must be dated to Amar-Suen, for his tenure in office only spanned the reign of Amar-Suen; Christina Tsouparopoulou, "A Reconstruction of the Puzriš-Dagan Central Livestock Agency," *CDLJ* (2013:2): 8.

⁵⁸¹ See, for example, P453714 / Nisaba 15/2, 223.

⁵⁸² P134759 / TSDU 39. Šilluš-Dagan is noted as having paid one **gal kug-babbar**. If one reads **gal** as equivalent to Akkadian *rabû*, the line does not make sense: "1 silver big." However, if we understand **gal** to refer to Akkadian *ribbatu*, a west Semitic loan word attested in the Old Babylonian period meaning "10,000" and written logographically as GAL and GALxU, then we can understand this line to mean that Šilluš-Dagan delivered 10,000 silver (shekels), or 2.78 talents of silver, to Nippur. If correct, his contribution would vastly outweigh the others and may be an indicator that he was top commander of the Urbilum campaign. For *ribbatu*, see CAD vol. 14, 314.

⁵⁸³ P104144 / AUCT 2, 326+336.

⁵⁸⁴ P117196 / MVN 13, 423. Ea-ili is called **ugula** in this text but is designated as a general in P339817 / BPOA 1, 1162 (---/AS02).

the kings of Ur. The latest of these documents dates to Šulgi's forty-eighth year and mentions six cattle expended out of the remaining cattle of the spoils of Urbilum.⁵⁸⁵

II.2.8.b: Political Organization and Relationship to the Kingdom of Ur

There are no **ensi**₂'s attested for Urbilum, only one individual and groups of people who bear the designation **lu**₂ Urbilum:

<i>City</i>	<i>Personnel designated as ensi₂</i>	<i>Personnel designated as lu₂</i>
Urbilum	---	ša-da-zi 1/--/Š47 P105825 5/--/Š47 P104202 ⁵⁸⁶

It is uncertain whether Šadazi was the officer in charge of Urbilum or a foreign ruler.

The former is to be preferred since the city seems to have been incorporated into the kingdom of Ur not long after its conquest, because one of the documents referencing Šadazi records his sending one bull personally along with seven bulls and three cows as the **maš-da-ri-a**-payment of the territory of Urbilum (**ma-da ur-bi₂-lum^{ki}-ma**) as a royal delivery to Puzriš-Dagan.⁵⁸⁷ In the same year eighteen oxen were issued to Lu-Nanna,

⁵⁸⁵ P124466 / Ontario 1, 53: **ša₃ gud la₂-i₃ nam-ra-ak ur-bi₂-lum^{ki}**. For the meaning of “remainder” for the Akkadian equivalent of **la₂-i₃**, *ribbatu*, see CAD vol. 14, 316-317.

⁵⁸⁶ The name in this document is GA.KA.ZI and should probably be read as **ša¹-da₁₂-zi** since this text is dated to only a few months after the reference to Šadazi and therefore likely refers to the same person.

⁵⁸⁷ P105825 / BIN 3, 18. The other text mentioning Šadazi (P104202 / AUCT 2, 384) is fragmentary, but lists bronze items that he sent to Dayyanum-mi^šar in Ur and that were conveyed by the general Igiruma^ḫ. Additional support for Urbilum's incorporation into the kingdom of Ur comes from a document (P131481 / SAT 1, 377) that seems to refer to a shipment of pine timber to a temple of Šu-Suen in Urbilum (**e₂ d^šu-suen-ka / ur-bi₂-lum^{ki}-še₃**); Wolfgang Heimpel, “Twenty-Eight Trees Growing in Sumer,” in *Garšana Studies*, CUSAS 6, edited by David I. Owen, 75-152 (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2011): 104-105.

who is called the general of Urbilum.⁵⁸⁸ Two **gun₂ ma-da** texts inform us more about the military structure of Urbilum, one being a fragmentary tablet which records six bulls and one cow from the troops of Urbilum, but does not mention any of the officer cadre.⁵⁸⁹ The other dates to the latter part of Šu-Suen's reign, when we see Unap-atal in command instead of Lu-Nanna:⁵⁹⁰

gun₂ ma-da Text from the Reign of Šu-Suen

Tax Amount		Name	Rank	Troops
Cattle	Sheep/Goats			
30	240	u ₂ -na-ap-a-tal	(šakkan ₆)	
---	2	šar-ra-a	nu-banda ₃	
1	1	da-še		
1	1	gi-ib-la-ta [?] -gu ₂ [?]		
1	1	ḥa-na-am		
1	1	e [?] -ni-[...]		
1	1	[...]		
1	1	[...]		
[x]	[x]	[...]		
[x]	[x]	[...]		
[x]	[x]	a-da-[x]		
70	---	---	---	

Though the tax amounts vary from what is considered the norm, the structure is the same as other **gun₂ ma-da** texts and this document is explicitly labeled as **gun₂ ma-da**. The tax amount of the troops suggests a garrison strength of 21,000 soldiers. Outside of this document the name Unap-atal occurs four times, two of them dated to Šu-Suen's eighth year, and three of them provide a designation of **ensi₂** Babylon.⁵⁹¹ It is uncertain whether

⁵⁸⁸ P210421 / BPOA 6, 644 (3/--/Š47). This may be the same Lu-Nanna who is attested as the general of Zimudar in documents dating to the reigns of Šu-Suen and Ibbi-Suen.

⁵⁸⁹ P116193 / MVN 11, 180 obv. col. ii lines 8-9. The date is unfortunately missing.

⁵⁹⁰ P107439 / CHEU 6 (8/13/ŠS07). Also note that Arad-Nanna the **sukkal-mah** claimed the generalship of Urbilum in his stone-socket inscriptions; Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 323-324: E3/2.1.4.13. It is difficult to know when or for how long Arad-Nanna would have held this position; the aforementioned inscription, dating to the reign of Šu-Suen, designates him as a general of NI.HI^{ki} and lists him as the general (as **ugula**) of NI.HI^{ki} in a **gun₂ ma-da** text dated to Š48 (P128619).

⁵⁹¹ P142805 / AICAB 1/1, 516; P117646 / MVN 13, 874; P201033 / Princeton 2, 35; P118466 / MVN 15, 186.

Unap-atal the general of Urbilum was the same person as Unap-atal the governor of Babylon.⁵⁹² He is the only named governor of Babylon for the reign of Šu-Suen, being preceded by Aršiah who is attested for the reign of Amar-Suen, and followed by Puzur-Tutu attested as governor in Ibbi-Suen's second year. Further complicating the picture is a document which mentions five sheep issued to the bride of Nanip-atal of Urbilum.⁵⁹³ The name Nanip-atal is attested five times from Amar-Suen's sixth year to Šu-Suen's first year, though with little additional context to help solve this problem.⁵⁹⁴ That the two names could be variants of the same name may be suggested by the occurrence of the name Unip-atal, who was a captain (**nu-banda₃**) under the authority of Šilluš-Dagan.⁵⁹⁵

Urbilum is absent from the messenger text genre with one possible exception. A document from Girsu, dating to the end of Šu-Suen's seventh year, lists beer expenditures for errand-runners followed by expenditures on four separate occasions for "men/ones of Urbilum" (**lu₂ ur-bi₂-lum^{ki}-me**), usually amounting to eighty liters per expenditure.⁵⁹⁶ Absent as well are references to highlanders from Urbilum, though the city's location to the west of the Zagros likely excludes it from having been considered as part of the highlands. There are a few other documents that refer to groups from this city. A document from Umma records five hundred and forty liters of semolina (**dabin**), four hundred and twenty liters of quality beer, sixty-five liters of groats (and) reed bundles for

⁵⁹² The cylinder seals of Arad-Nanna the **sukkal-mah** and Babati show that the same person could hold governorships and generalships in different cities simultaneously. Another possibility is that Unap-atal was transferred from his assignment in Urbilum in order to govern Babylon; an example of this may be the case of Zarriqum who is thought to have been a general of Aššur who was transferred to the governorship of Susa; N. Rudik, "Zarriqum," *RIA* 15 (2017): 218-219.

⁵⁹³ P108671 / CT 32, 26 (5/30/AS07) obv. col. i, lines 16-18: **5 udu e₂-gi₄-a na-ni-pa₂-tal ur-bi₂-lum^{ki}-še₃**. The bride's name, Migir-Mulliltu, is provided in P109768 / Hirose 297 and P130031 / SNAT 271.

⁵⁹⁴ The five texts include the two mentioned in the preceding note and P131590 / TCL 2, 5500; P125970 / PDT 1, 554; P106273 / BIN 3, 466.

⁵⁹⁵ P332547 / Princeton 2, 194 (---/---).

⁵⁹⁶ P133095 / TCTI 2, 3899 (9/--/ŠS07).

a group of people from Urbilum,⁵⁹⁷ and another Umma text records seventy-six **geme₂** of Urbilum who received beer and flour as (at least part of) their regular provisions (**sa₂-dug₄**).⁵⁹⁸ It is not entirely certain how to translate the word **geme₂**, which is able to signify either a female worker (corresponding to **ĝuruš/e₁lum**) or a female slave (corresponding to **arad₂/wardum**), though the low ration amounts and the fact that the text dates to soon after the campaign against Urbilum may favor the latter translation.⁵⁹⁹ Lastly, a text from Puzriš-Dagan, also dated to Šulgi's forty-sixth year, mentions the expenditure of one sheep and five goats for consumption by the "man of Urbilum, the man of Hešumma and their 'Amorites'" (**lu₂ ur-bi₂-lum^{ki} lu₂ ĥe₂-š_u-um-ma^{ki} u₃ mar-tu-ne-š_e₃**). The amount of meat from the animals could feed three hundred and sixty men in a single sitting and the text could refer to a few scenarios: 1) the rulers of Urbilum and the associated town of Hešumma, along with their sizable entourage, visited southern Mesopotamia and perhaps swore oaths of loyalty, 2) the foreign ruler, notables and staff were brought to southern Mesopotamia as plunder,⁶⁰⁰ or 3) notables from these cities with their Amorite troops came for employment by the king of Ur. Nevertheless, Urbilum is generally considered the northernmost part of the peripheral territory incorporated into the Ur III state and subject to the **gun₂ ma-da** duty.⁶⁰¹

⁵⁹⁷ P143713 / SAT 2, 513 (---/Š46).

⁵⁹⁸ P143696 / SAT 2, 496 (---/Š46).

⁵⁹⁹ Though it should be kept in mind that they were not designated as "plunder" (**nam-ra-ak**).

⁶⁰⁰ Cf. P453942 / Nisaba 15/2, 590 which mentions a ruler (**ens₂**), 16 wives of mayors (**dam ra-bi₂-a-num₂**), and 82 men and women (**ĝuruš / geme₂**) along with 62 of their children as Urumanšerian prisoners-of-war (**nam-ra-ak lu₂ uru-ma-an-š_e-er^{ki}-me**).

⁶⁰¹ Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State," 36-37; Maeda, "The Defense Zone during the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty," 154; Bryce, *The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia*, 60; Ahmed, "The Beginnings of Ancient Kurdistan," 184. For dissenting views, see Walter Sallaberger, "From Urban Culture to Nomadism," 434; Piotr Michalowski, "Aššur during the Ur III Period," 154-155.

II.2.9: Kimaš and Ḫurti

II.2.9.a: Dates of Campaigns and the Locations of the Toponyms

These two toponyms are treated together since they usually occur together in year-names and royal inscriptions. This collocation was used prior to Šulgi's year-names, occurring in an inscriptions of Puzur-Inšušinak:⁶⁰²

Puzur-Inšušinak iššiak Šušin šakkanak māti Elamti mār Šimpi-išḫuk inūme Kimaš u māt Ḫurtim ikkirūs illikma nakrussu ikme
 “Puzur-Inšušinak, the ruler of Susa, general of the land of Elam, son of Šimpi-išḫuk - when Kimaš and Ḫurti became hostile to him, he went and captured his enemies...

These toponyms comprise the year-names for Šulgi's forty-sixth, forty-seventh and forty-eighth years. The full version of the year-name for his forty-sixth year is:

**mu dšul-gi nita kalag-ga lugal urim^{ki}-ma lugal an-ub-da limmu²-ba-ke⁴
 ki-maš^{ki} ḫu-ur⁵-ti u³ ma-da-bi ud aš-a mu-ḫulu⁶⁰³**
 “The year that Šulgi, the strong male, king of Ur, king of the four quarters
 ‘ruined’ Kimaš, Ḫurti and their territories in a single day”

Though hundreds of documents dated to this year refer to both toponyms: **mu ki-maš^{ki} u³
 ḫu-ur⁵-ti^{ki} ba-ḫulu** “the year that Kimaš and Ḫurti were ‘ruined’,” the majority of texts in this year are dated with the abbreviated form: **mu ki-maš^{ki} ba-ḫulu** “the year that

⁶⁰² Ignace J. Gelb and Burkhard Kienast, *Die altakkadischen Königsinschriften des dritten Jahrtausends v. Chr.*, FAOS 7 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1990): 321: Elam 2, lines 5-16.

⁶⁰³ This form is only attested in a document from Girsu (P109958).

Kimaš was ‘ruined’” and therefore show that Kimaš was the primary objective of this campaign.⁶⁰⁴ This is borne out by the name of Šulgi’s forty-seventh year, in which the temporary year-name was made into the official year-name;⁶⁰⁵ it primarily referenced solely the action against Kimaš: **mu us₂-sa ki-maš^{ki} ba-ḫulu** “the year after (the year) Kimaš was ‘ruined’.” The year-after formula which mentions both Kimaš and Ḫurti is relatively rare and one which mentions solely Ḫurti is unattested. The full year-name for Šulgi’s forty-eighth and final year is:

mu ḫa-ar-ši^{ki} ki-maš^{ki} ḫu-ur₅-ti^{ki} u₃ ma-da-bi ud aš-a ba-ḫulu⁶⁰⁶
 “The year that Ḫarši, Kimaš, Ḫurti and their territories were ‘ruined’ in a single day”

Significant variants from the full name include, in descending order of frequency, the following:

mu ḫa-ar-ši^{ki} ki-maš^{ki} ba-ḫulu
 “The year that Ḫarši and Kimaš were ‘ruined’”

mu ḫa-ar-ši^{ki} ba-ḫulu⁶⁰⁷
 “The year that Ḫarši was ‘ruined’”

mu ḫa-ar-ši^{ki} ḫu-ur₅-ti^{ki} u₃ ki-maš^{ki} ba-ḫulu⁶⁰⁸
 “The year that Ḫarši, Ḫurti and Kimaš were ‘ruined’”

mu ḫa-ar-ši^{ki} ḫu-ur₅-ti^{ki} ba-ḫulu
 “The year that Ḫarši and Ḫurti were ‘ruined’”

⁶⁰⁴ Only a handful of tablets are dated with the abbreviated year-name: **mu ḫu-ur₅-ti^{ki} ba-ḫulu** “the year that Ḫurti was ‘ruined’.”

⁶⁰⁵ See the date-list BE 1, 125.

⁶⁰⁶ For example, P107713 / CST 201.

⁶⁰⁷ This year name, except for the two occurrences which include **a-ra₂ 2-kam** “for the second time” (see the section on Ḫarši above), is identical to Šulgi’s 27th year-name. Due to the chronological distribution of tablets, most occurrences of this name should be attributed to Š48 instead of Š27, though internal data should be used for confirmation when possible.

⁶⁰⁸ Texts from Puzriš-Dagan usually include **u₃ ma-da-bi ud aš-a** “...and their territories, in one day...”

These variants show that Ḫarši was the primary target of this campaign with Kimaš of secondary, and Ḫurti of tertiary, importance.

This campaign is commemorated in the only military inscription securely attributed to Šulgi. It is a brick inscription written in Akkadian:⁶⁰⁹

Šulgi il mātišu dannum šar Urim šar kibrātim arba'im īnu māt Kimaš u Ḫurtim uḫalliḳūna ḫirītam iškun u bīrūtam ibni

“Šulgi, the god of his land, the strong, king of Ur, king of the four quarters - when he obliterated the land of Kimaš and Ḫurti, he established a moat and *heaped up a pile of corpses*”

The italicized portion represents Frayne’s translation of the last two words of the inscription. If he is correct, then this text provides us with a description of the fate of the inhabitants, or at least the defeated soldiers, of these cities.⁶¹⁰ He seems to have followed Westenholz’s study of the term *bīrūtum* and *damtum* in which he included the meaning of “burial mound” among the more standard meanings of “foundation mound” and “hill.”⁶¹¹ There are, however, a number of problems with this. First, Westenholz described *bīrūtum* as earth heaped up over corpses for the purpose of burial, not a pile of corpses, and the text itself never mentions the word “corpse” (*pagrum*). Secondly, references to burial mounds in Presargonic inscriptions (SAḪAR.DU₆.TAK₄) are composed with the word DU₆ (Akkadian *tīlum*) meaning “ruin mound” and never with **sur**₃ (or **sur**₆, both *bīrūtum*), and therefore there is a lack of precedence for **sur**₃/*bīrūtum* with the meaning

⁶⁰⁹ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 140-141: E3/2.1.2.33.

⁶¹⁰ Ahmed (“The Beginnings of Ancient Kurdistan,” 184 n. 142) follows Frayne’s translation and assumes that the reference to digging a moat was for the purpose of draining the blood from the corpses.

⁶¹¹ Aage Westenholz, “*berūtum*, *damtum*, and Old Akkadian KI.GAL: Burial of Dead Enemies in Ancient Mesopotamia,” *AfO* 23 (1970): 27-31.

of “burial mound.” Thirdly, the few instances in which *birūtum* might refer to burial mounds, the verb used for their creation is *šapāku* “to heap up”, not *banû* “to build,” as is used in our inscription.⁶¹² Finally, Westenholz noted that this particular inscription did not fall into his group of texts which seem to refer to *birūtum* as meaning “burial mound.”⁶¹³ If *bīrūtum* does not refer to a burial mound, then what does it refer to? An inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III may provide a clue:⁶¹⁴

āla šuātu ina bērūtī u nēpešī akšudma qaqqariš amnu
 “I conquered that city with mounds and siege machines and leveled it to the ground.”

This passage shows that *bērūtu* refers to earthworks used in conjunction with siege machines in the process of capturing a city. The result of the successful siege is described differently:

*āla šuātu adi ālāni ša limētīšu appul aqqur ina išāti ašrupma ana tīlī u karmē utēr*⁶¹⁵
 “That city, along with the towns in its environs, I ripped up, tore down, burnt with fire and turned (them) into ruin mounds and rubbish heaps.”

Here we see the result of Assyrian forces capturing an enemy city, which itself was a process that reversed the activity of building - where the enemy had laid down foundations and built up the walls to the crenellations, the Assyrians pulled up the

⁶¹² The Presargonic references to burial mounds use the Sumerian equivalent of *šapāku*, **du₃**, not **du₂** (*banû*).

⁶¹³ Westenholz, “*berūtum*, *damtum*, and Old Akkadian KI.GAL,” 29.

⁶¹⁴ Hayim Tadmor and Shigeo Yamada, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC), Kings of Assyria*, RINAP 1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011): 47 line 21a.

⁶¹⁵ Ibid, 47 line 17b.

foundations and tore down the structure from its crenellations. The end point of this activity is that the cities were turned into ruin mounds, which are represented by the words *tīlu* and *karmu* (both represented by the Sumerogram **du6**), and not *bīrūtu*. If it is the case that we should understand *ḥirītum* and *bīrūtum* as siege moat and siege mound, then this would be our only reference to siege warfare in the Neo-Sumerian period. Additionally, it would prove that a variety of military actions were conducted against peripheral territories and that the use of **ḥulu** in the year-names cannot be limited to the notion of “raids.” However, there are problems with this interpretation as well. It would be a bit odd for the subordinate clause, which references the “obliteration” of Kimaš and Ḥurti - seemingly the end of a process, to be subordinate to a main clause which describes the process itself. Furthermore, Westenholz had already noted that this inscription was not written on a stele or tablet copy of a statue or stele, but rather on a brick, which he suggested could have been used on the *bīrūtum* itself.⁶¹⁶ Frayne has noted that the brick is thought to have come from Susa, where we know that Šulgi built structures for the god Inšušinak and the goddess Ninḥursaĝa.⁶¹⁷ Therefore this brick inscription may be referring to the beginning stages of the construction of one of these temples in Šulgi’s forty-sixth year, or perhaps the fortifications of the city of Susa,⁶¹⁸ and the reference to the obliteration of Kimaš and Ḥurti simply situated that construction temporally.

⁶¹⁶ Westenholz, “*berūtum*, *damtum*, and Old Akkadian KI.GAL,” 29.

⁶¹⁷ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 141. The relevant texts for his construction work in Susa on pages 137-140, E3/2.1.2.30-32.

⁶¹⁸ Both *ḥirītum* “ditch, moat” and *bīrūtum* are attested in texts as being made of bricks and used in the construction of city defenses; see CAD vol. 6, 198-199 and CAD vol. 2, 213, as well as the examples in Westenholz, “*berūtum*, *damtum*, and Old Akkadian KI.GAL,” 27-28. Steinkeller (“Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa,” 305 n. 70), however, states that the notion that the brick comes from Susa is simply a guess without any justification.

The aforementioned year-names and inscriptions provide some useful information regarding the location of these toponyms. The first thing to consider is the geographic relation of these cities to each other. Like Simurru and Lullubum, Kimaš and Ḫurti are always referenced together. The inscription and year-names of Šulgi make it clear that a campaign against Kimaš always included actions against Ḫurti and thus suggest that the two polities were situated close to each other; this is reinforced by the Puzur-Inšušinak inscription mentioned above.⁶¹⁹ Steinkeller has noted a few texts which further confirm their propinquity:⁶²⁰

P142138 / YOS 4, 74 (2/--/Š46):

22 gud niga / 7 gud / kaš-de₂-a / ud ki-maš^{ki} ba-ḫulu / bala ensi₂ babilim^{ki}-ma / ensi₂ pu-us₂^{ki} / u₃ ensi₂ A.HA^{ki} / zi-ga / ki ^den-lil₂-la₂-ta
 “22 grain-fed oxen (and) 7 oxen (for) the banquet when Kimaš was ‘ruined’ (from) the *bala*-contributions of the governors of Babylon, Pus and Tiwe. Expenditures from Enlila. DATE.”

P103528 / AUCT 1, 683 (3/--/Š46);

33 gud niga / 18 gud kaš-de₂-a / ud ḫu-ur₅-ti^{ki} ba-ḫulu-a / bala ensi₂ mar₂-da^{ki} / zi-ga / [k]i ^den-lil₂-la₂-ta
 “33 grain-fed oxen (and) 18 oxen (for) the banquet when Ḫurti was ‘ruined’ (from) the *bala*-contribution of the governor of Marad. Expenditures from Enlila. DATE.

Thus we have cattle expended in celebration of the defeat of both Kimaš and Ḫurti with only one month separating them, alluding to their proximity.⁶²¹ Three other documents

⁶¹⁹ Steinkeller, “Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa,” 304-305.

⁶²⁰ Ibid, 304-305

⁶²¹ The three texts mentioning plunder of Kimaš are all undated and therefore are not useful in providing insight on the date of the campaign. One text probably refers to animals that came from the plunder of Ḫarši and Kimaš (P104182 / AUCT 2, 364 from Puzriš-Dagan) while the other two are messenger texts recording the provision of Kimašian prisoners-of-war: P123062 / CUSAS 16, 213 lists 35 “able-bodied men” (**ḡuruš**) who received 2 liters of flour each, and P122992 / CUSAS 16, 199 mentions 150 liters of bread for “highlanders” (**NIM**) who likely numbered between 75 to 150 people (assuming a ration amount of 1 to 2 liters per person).

from Puzriš-Dagan mention expenditures for a cultic meal in the temple of Enlil on the occasion that Ḫurti was ‘ruined’ for the second time (**ḡišbun₂ ša₃ e₂ ^den-lil₂ ud ḫu-ur₅-ti^{ki} a-ra₂ 2-kam-aš ba-ḫulu**).⁶²² On the basis that these documents are dated a month or so later than the text mentioning the banquet mentioned above, Steinkeller assumes that this reference to the second ‘ruination’ of Ḫurti alludes to additional military action against the city in Šulgi’s forty-sixth year.⁶²³ However, two points should be kept in mind, the first being that references to other polities being ‘ruined’ two or more times (Karaḫar, Simurru, Lullbum, Ḫarši, Šašrum) refer to campaigns conducted in separate years and the second that not all campaigns were incorporated into year-names. Therefore operations against Ḫurti, and by association Kimaš, could have been conducted prior to Šulgi’s forty-sixth year.

To summarize, the inscriptions of Šulgi and Puzur-Inšušinak, the year-names of Šulgi and the banquet texts all point to the close connection between Kimaš and Ḫurti. To this we can add one final piece of evidence from Šulgi’s year-names in which the longer versions state that the polities and their territories were ‘ruined’ in a single day. This likely refers to military actions against the two polities being undertaken in close temporal proximity, from which we can infer close geographical proximity. However, as suggested in the section on Ḫarši above, there are scenarios in which military coalitions comprised of polities of significant distance from one another could be defeated at one point in time and therefore an assumption that they were situated near each other based upon the defeat of their armies in a single day would be unwarranted. Overall, the

⁶²² P143717 / SAT 2, 517 (4/23/Š46); P124457 / Ontario 1, 44 (4/24/Š46); P303637 / BPOA 7, 2852 (4/--/--).

⁶²³ Steinkeller, “Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa,” 304.

reference to Kimaš, Hurti and Harši being defeated in a single day, the close association between Kimaš and Hurti, and the fact that the first campaign against Harši was conducted early in the era of Šulgi's expansion presents the notion that Harši, being closer to southern Mesopotamia, was in the general vicinity of Kimaš and Hurti, and that the latter two were in closer proximity to each other.

Now that we have their geographic relation to each other outlined, further evidence for their location can be assessed, primarily focusing on Kimaš. The location of Kimaš has been subjected to a wide array of hypotheses by various scholars trying to account for the data encountered in textual sources from the late third and early second millennia, and, to a more limited extent, archaeological sources. Excellent summaries of the data and history of interpretation are provided by Potts, Steinkeller and Renette.⁶²⁴ Without being too repetitive, we will survey the more recent literature and assess some of the more pertinent data. We have already mentioned the inscriptions of Puzur-Inšušinak and Šulgi as well as the latter's year-names. Important data to add to this are references to Kimaš in the Gudea's Cylinder A and Statue B:

Cylinder A col. xvi, lines 13-21:

**ensi₂ e₂-ninnu du₃-ra / ni₂ gal-gal-e šu mu-na-ab-il₂ / hur-saĝ
urud-ke₄ ki-maš-ta / ni₂-bi mu-na-ab-pad₃ / uruda-bi gi-dirig-ba mu-
ni-ba-al / lu₂ e₂ lugal-na du₃-dam / ensi₂-ra kug-sig₁₇ kur-bi-ta /
saĝar-ba mu-na-tum₃ / gu₃-de₂-a kug izi-a kur-bi-ta mu-na-ta-ed₃-de₃**
“The greatest things were raised for the ruler, the builder of the Eninnu. A
mountain range of copper revealed itself to him from Kimaš - its copper
was mined onto its rafts, gold ore from that mountain was being brought to

⁶²⁴ Daniel Potts, “Adamšah, Kimaš and the Miners of Lagaš,” in *Your Praise is Sweet: Memorial Volume for Jeremy Black from Students, Colleagues and Friends*, ed. Heather D. Baker et al. (London: British Institute for the Study of Iraq, 2010): 245-254; Steinkeller, “Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa,” 293-318; Steve Renette, “The Historical Geography of Western Iran: An Archaeological Perspective on the Location of Kimaš,” forthcoming.

the ruler, the one who was to build his lord's house. Gudea, was bringing down refined silver from that mountain."

Statue B col. vi, lines 21-25:

**abul-at^{ki} / ĥur-saĝ ki-maš^{ki} / uruda mu-ni-ba-al / šita₂ ub-e nu-il₂-še₃
mu-na-dim₂**

"In Abullat, the mountain range of Kimaš, he (Gudea) mined copper (and) fashioned it into the 'Mace Which the Corners (of the World) Cannot Bear' for him (Ningirsu)."

Together these passages portray Kimaš as a mountainous, copper-producing region accessible by watercraft.⁶²⁵ Added to this is the titulary of the Ĥunĥili seal inscription, which reads: *ĥu-un-i₃-li₂ ENSI₂ ki-maš^{ki} ŠAKKAN₆ ma-at NIM^{ki}* "Ĥunĥili the governor of Kimaš (and) general of "Elam,"⁶²⁶ and two Old Babylonian year names:

mu ugnim ki-maš u₃ NIM-e bi₂-in-ra

"The year that the armies of Kimaš and 'Elam' were beaten"⁶²⁷

mu gud-apin kug-sig₁₇ iri ki-maš e₂-gal-la-tim

"The year the golden plow (and) the cities Kimaš (and) Ekallatum"⁶²⁸

Lastly is a fragment of an Old Babylonian tablet copy of what may possibly have been a royal inscription on a stele:⁶²⁹

[...] ^{ki} [...] [...]
[...] ^{ki} ĥu-uh₂-nu-ri^{ki} [...] [...]
[...] -ri-ni^{ki} ši-pa-ra^{ki} m[u...]
[...] -ki^{ki} sa-bu-um^{ki} bi-d[a-dun^{ki}]
[...] ^{ki} ki-maš^{ki} duĥ-duĥ-ne₂^k[ⁱ...]

⁶²⁵ Note two Ur III documents referencing items made from the copper of Kimaš: P102924 / AUCT 1, 78 (12d/--/AS04) and P103980 / AUCT 2, 162 (12/--/AS04).

⁶²⁶ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 456: E3/2.6.1. Frayne follows Zadok in normalizing *ĥu-un-NI-NI* as Hunĥili to represent an Elamite name rather than the more Akkadian Ĥun-ili.

⁶²⁷ Sigrist and Damerow, *Mesopotamian Year Names*, <https://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yeardates/GLOSSAR/T08K01Y17.htm>.

⁶²⁸ Ibid, <https://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yeardates/GLOSSAR/T36K20Y44.htm>.

⁶²⁹ Ibid, 401: 3/2.1.6.1012.

[... **ma**]-**da an-ša4-an**^{ki} [...]

“[.....] Huḥnuri, [.....]rini, Šipara, M[u.....] Sabum, Bidadun, [...] Kimaš, Duḥduḥne, [...] territory of Anšan [...]”

Other texts and circumstantial data considered relevant for Kimaš's location have been included in some scholars' interpretations, but these are the primary pieces of evidence. The more recent treatments will be discussed below.

In Frayne's earlier postulation he proposed, as he is wont to do, multiple localities with the name Kimaš. Regarding the Kimaš of the Gudea texts, he suggests that Abullat might be equated with Abul-Adad of the Sargon Geography and therefore posits a location near modern Marivan, while the Kimaš of the Old Babylonian year-names, due to the association with Ekallatum,⁶³⁰ is to be situated east of the Tigris, near Kirkuk at a place called Qūš Tepe, just south of modern Tawuq.⁶³¹ He agreed with Lafont in thinking that another Kimaš was located in Elam (Khuzistan region).⁶³² His later suggestion, however, placed Kimaš at Kahr Hamza, close to modern Zarayan and relatively close to Suleimaniyah, in the Shahrazur valley along the Tanjaro River.⁶³³

Potts surveyed the earlier literature on the location of Kimaš, which had postulated locations to the east of the Tigris and to the west of the Zagros chain:⁶³⁴ between the Zab rivers and the Jebel Hamrin, near modern Kirkuk and in the vicinity of

⁶³⁰ Ekallatum is thought to have lain along the Tigris in the general vicinity of Aššur; Bryce, *The Routledge Handbook of The People and Places of Ancient Western Asia*, 216-217.

⁶³¹ Frayne, “The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena,” 159-161. He suggests that the modern toponym might be a reflex of the ancient name: Kimaš > Kiwaš > Qūš.

⁶³² Based on a fragmentary text listing a number of toponyms, including Huḥnuri, Anšan, and Sabum, as well as a Girsu messenger text which lists the cities of Susa, AdamDUN, Urua, Sabum and Anšan. The messenger text is unhelpful for determining geographic proximity since it only records expenditures for people who were located at the Girsu waystation at the same time, but who were to travel to these foreign cities.

⁶³³ Frayne, “The Zagros Campaigns of the Ur III Kings,” 47.

⁶³⁴ Potts, “Adamšah, Kimaš and the Miners of Lagaš,” 248-249.

Kifri.⁶³⁵ The correct reading of the Hunhili inscription allowed for a location in Iran: Veshnavah to the south of Qom or in Anarak to the east of Isfahan, in the central plateau.⁶³⁶ In his solution he noted that copper sources are ubiquitous in Iran, that the reference to the submission of Šimaški in the Puzur-Inšušinak inscription suggests a more easterly location than the region of Kirkuk and that Kimaš's southeastern border may have extended far enough to have been loosely considered in proximity with Elam, therefore he suggested a location near the Tiyari copper mines near Amadiyah, near the Iraq-Turkey border to the northeast of Dohuk.⁶³⁷

Steinkeller's position of placing Kimaš at modern Kermanshah is derived from a number of additional considerations, such as: 1) its inclusion in the **gun2 ma-da** tax system, which was imposed upon territories in the western Zagros, excluding locations further east on the plateau, 2) it supplied "Elamites" (**NIM**) to Babylonia and therefore excludes locations to the west of the Zagros, 3) a Girsu messenger text mentioned Kimaš prisoners-of-war being routed via Urua (likely near modern Musiyan), and 4) the Iri-Saĝrig messenger texts suggest a route from Iri-Saĝrig to Der and further on to link up with the Great Khorasan Road at Islamabad-e Gharb; the cities along this route are the most substantial in the region and have a history of great antiquity.⁶³⁸

Lastly, Renette, who surveyed the textual data and secondary literature, assessing their merits, has posited a location in the vicinity of Khorramabad for Kimaš. This stems

⁶³⁵ The aforementioned locations stem from a misreading of the Hunhili seal inscription, reading Madga (thought to be located in the vicinity of Kirkuk) instead of *māt Elam*; Potts, "Adamšah, Kimaš and the Miners of Lagaš," 248; Renette, "The Historical Geography of Western Iran," 5.

⁶³⁶ Potts, "Adamšah, Kimaš and the Miners of Lagaš," 245.

⁶³⁷ Ibid, 251-254.

⁶³⁸ Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," 305-311.

primarily from the association of Kimaš with Elamite lands⁶³⁹ and that the material culture of the Khorramabad-Borujerd region in the Early Bronze age was aligned with that of Khuzestan, and not of western Luristan, and that the archaeological record for the Kermanshah region does not exhibit demonstrable links with the material culture of Mesopotamia.⁶⁴⁰

Ideas about the location of Hurti generally have relied upon the establishment of the location of Kimaš and can be summarized quickly. Frayne's initial study, having placed Kimaš just south of Tawuq, suggested the nearby town of Taze Hurmatu, which may preserve the ancient name; he read hu-mur-ti and posited metathesis of the consonants /m/ and /r/ to get to Hurmatu.⁶⁴¹ His later repositioning of Kimaš to Kahr Hamza led him to adjusting Hurti's position to Jaq Kharwu, in the region of Darbandikhan and Halabja.⁶⁴² Potts simply stated that it was situated close to Kimaš, which would make his location for Hurti the most northerly suggestion.⁶⁴³ Steinkeller tentatively suggested Islamabad-e-Gharb due to its being, along with Kermanshah, the largest settlement in the region and its strategic location along the Great Khorasan Road.⁶⁴⁴

⁶³⁹ Mainly referencing the fragmentary inscription listing Khuzestan toponyms, the Girsu messenger text also listing Khuzestan toponyms, the inscription of Puzur-Inšušinak and the titulary of Puzur-Inšušinak and Hunhili.

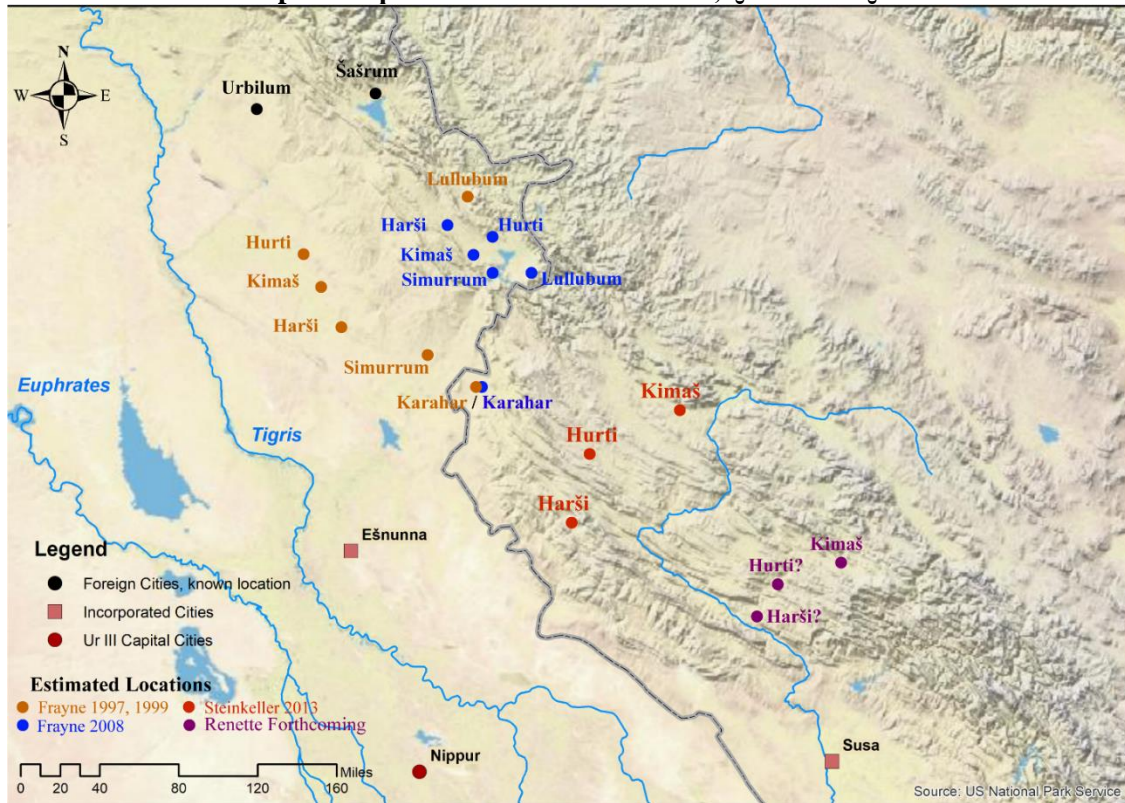
⁶⁴⁰ Renette, "The Historical Geography of Western Iran," 9-17.

⁶⁴¹ Frayne, "The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena," 161-162.

⁶⁴² Frayne, "The Zagros Campaigns of the Ur III Kings," 47.

⁶⁴³ Potts, "Adamšah, Kimaš and the Miners of Lagaš," 250.

⁶⁴⁴ Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," 310-311.

Map 4: Proposed Locations for Kimaš, Hurti and Harši

A few aspects about our sources need to be pointed out. As Potts had already discussed, there were multiple sources of copper available in the Zagros mountains and the Iranian plateau, so the Gudea texts do not provide much information on its location outside of its association with mountains and a river, which does not do much to narrow the possibilities since the Zagros chain and its foothills are full of mountains and river valleys. The fragmentary Old Babylonian stele copy is far too damaged to provide any context for the toponyms mentioned and therefore its use is quite limited. A problem with trying to associate Kimaš with Khuzistan derives from the imprecise meaning of the term “Elam” (**NIM**) in the third millennium. The basic notion of the term is “to be high, elevated” (Akkadian *šaḡû*), from which was derived the designation “highlands” used by Mesopotamian scribes for the Zagros mountains and Iranian plateau, and “highlanders” to

denote people native to these regions or from the east in general.⁶⁴⁵ In the late third millennium, the designation **NIM**/Elam did not refer to lowland Khuzestan and references to **NIM** groups from polities in and near lowland Khuzistan are relatively rare.⁶⁴⁶ Therefore Hunhili's seal, designating him as the ruler of Kimaš and the general of the land of Elam does not necessarily require close proximity between Kimaš and the Khuzestan plain.⁶⁴⁷

With the above considerations, it seems that either Steinkeller's position of Kermanshah or Renette's of Khorramabad best fit the available evidence. Both places are located in mountainous regions in close proximity to the Karkeh River, though I am inclined to view Khorramabad as the better candidate. Khorramabad fits Steinkeller's criteria of being in the region which provided the **gun2 ma-da** tax and produced groups of "Elamites" (**NIM**), and the archaeological data pointed out by Renette needs to be taken into consideration. However, it is the distribution of toponyms in the Girsu and Iri-Saĝrig messenger texts that helps to favor the one suggestion over the other.⁶⁴⁸ In the Iri-Saĝrig texts, Der is undoubtedly the most common toponym, being attested in sixty-five percent of the total number of foreign toponyms. The next most common toponyms are Kimaš, Šimaški and Ĥurti; if we exclude Der, then Kimaš and Ĥurti comprise fifty-four

⁶⁴⁵ Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, 3-4; Jean-Jacques Glassner, "L'onomastique de Marhaši," *NABU* (2005): 11-14 no. 13.

⁶⁴⁶ Michalowski, "Observations on 'Elamites' and 'Elam' in Ur III Times," 112. In messenger texts, there is only one reference to **NIM** from Susa and eleven from AdamDUN. Sabum has considerably more, but its high frequency of attestation in Girsu messenger texts, which primarily seem to have dealt with the general vicinity of Khuzistan, may suggest that Sabum was located in the Zagros folds to the east and adjacent to lowland Khuzistan, perhaps in the vicinity of modern Masjed Soleyman or Izeh; for details, see chapter 4.

⁶⁴⁷ This brings to mind the seals mentioning the prince Ur-Suen, which designate him as general of both Uruk and Der; Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 188-190: E3/2.1.2.95-97. The straight-line distance between these two cities is roughly 190 km.

⁶⁴⁸ For the following discussion and the relevant data, see chapter 4.

percent of the remaining toponyms. Susa and AdamDUN are the only known Khuzestan polities mentioned in the Iri-Saġrig messenger text corpus and consist of only three percent of the remaining toponyms.

Conversely, in the Girsu messenger text corpus, Susa comprises fifty percent of the toponyms with Sabum, AdamDUN, Urua, Ḫuḫnuri and Pašime also being well represented. The percentage of these known Khuzestan polities comprise seventy-eight percent of the foreign toponyms. Anšan, which is absent in the Iri-Saġrig texts, is the fourth most common polity in the Girsu corpus and, if added to the Khuzestan toponyms, raises the percentage of references to eighty-seven percent. The picture that emerges from this is that Girsu waystations catered almost solely to the region of Khuzestan and Fars while the Iri-Saġrig waystation(s) dealt with travelers moving to and from regions to the north of Khuzistan, likely in general proximity to Der. The interesting facet about this division is that Kimaš is well attested in the Girsu messenger text corpus as the sixth most common toponym and almost twice as frequently as Ḫuḫnuri, located in southern Khuzistan. Additionally, highlander or “Elamite” groups (NIM) from Kimaš are only attested in Girsu messenger texts and make up the third most common origin of these groups after Šimaški and Anšan. Furthermore, highlander groups from Kimaš are not infrequently designated as having traveled to Babylonia from Anšan, which would allude to travel between Kimaš and Anšan as somewhat frequent.

Therefore while the two messenger text archives seem to have had different “jurisdictions,” Kimaš was a prominent location in both of them. This points towards a location closer to Khuzestan than Kermanshah. It should be noted that although Kimaš is well represented in the Girsu messenger texts, Ḫurti and Ḫarši are not, with the former

attested only three times and the latter once. This militates against Renette's notion that they were located on the route between Susa and Khorramabad. The acceptance of the location of Kimaš at Khorramabad instead of Kermanshah would not affect Steinkeller's proposal that 𒄩arši lay near modern Ilam, though it would be problematic for 𒄩urti's location at Islamabad-e Gharb since, as noted above, 𒄩urti and Kimaš were in close proximity to each other. That consideration has led me to propose a location of 𒄩urti in the vicinity of modern Kuhdasht.⁶⁴⁹

II.2.9.b: Political Organization and Relationship to the Kingdom of Ur

Only one unnamed **ensi₂** of Kimaš occurs in the Ur III administrative documentation; all other persons associated with the city are designated as **lu₂** Kimaš:

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>“Governor / Ruler” (ensi₂)</i>		<i>“Man of / One of” (lu₂)</i>	
Kimaš	---		---	
	5/03/Š46	P123588	1/--/Š33	P115134
			su-su	
			11/--/Š46	P128335
			lu ₂ -igi-sa ₆ -sa ₆	
			--/--/Š46	P100347
			lu ₂ -sig ₅	
			--/--/Š46	P100347
			i-šar-a-li ₂ -iš-šu	
			2/15/Š47	P123672

			--/--/Š47	P143756

⁶⁴⁹ For these locations on a map, see the map on the campaigns of Šulgi in the conclusion of this chapter.

		u ₂ -du	
		7/--/AS01	P303661
		12/28/AS06	P130879
		ḥu-un-ḥi-li	
		7/04/AS05	P131926
		ra-ši-ši	
		7/04/AS05	P131926

		8/26/AS07	P201203
		ni-iš-te-ni	
		8/05/AS08	P375569
		puzur ₄ -ma-ma	
		8/04/ŠS03	P103291
		ni-im-zi	
		1/--/ŠS05	P201000
		u ₂ -a-li-li	
		--/10/----	P100404
		si-mu	
		11d/--/----	P315934
		itud-da	
		--/--/----	P339889

		--/--/----	P115227
		--/--/----	P315657
		--/--/----	P139536

The context of the unnamed **ensi₂**, which mentions animals expended over a two-month period for the cultic meals (**ḡišbun₂**) in the temples of Enlil and Ninlil on the occasion that the **ensi₂** was captured (**ud ensi₂ ki-maš^{ki} in-ma-dab₅-ba-a**), shows that this probably refers to the native ruler.⁶⁵⁰ Otherwise, the references to the people designated **lu₂** Kimaš do not seem to refer to either a native ruler or an installed governor.⁶⁵¹ A few

⁶⁵⁰ Cf. the cultic meals celebrated for the ‘ruination’ of Hurti mentioned above.

⁶⁵¹ Interesting is a text dated to Šulgi’s 46th year (P100347 / Aleppo 15) that records a transaction of a basket of sweet paste in Uruk between two men with Sumerian names (**lu₂-gig-sa₆-sa₆** and **lu₂-sig₅**) who are nevertheless designated as “men/ones of Kimaš” (**lu₂ ki-maš^{ki}-me**).

interesting documents can be pointed out. A Girsu messenger text, dated to Šulgi's thirty-third year, mentions provisions for a man from Šimaški and a man from Kimaš who are designated as "boat-couriers" (**ra-gaba-me**),⁶⁵² while another messenger text refers to a man from Zimudar and a man from Kimaš as "(errand)-runners."⁶⁵³ A text from Puzriš-Dagan records animals expended to envoys (**lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a**) of the "place of Yabrat" (**ia₃-ab-ra-at^{ki}**) who are designated as **lu₂** Kimaš.⁶⁵⁴ Other "men" of Kimaš include Udu, who delivered silver in Amar-Suen's first year and cattle in his sixth year to southern Mesopotamia,⁶⁵⁵ as well as Hunhili, who may be the same person from the seal inscription designating him as governor of Kimaš and general of the highlands, though if it is the same person he probably did not hold those positions at the time of this document.⁶⁵⁶

There are a few references to the garrison at Kimaš and a general of Kimaš. Interestingly, the earliest of these documents is dated to the beginning of Šulgi's forty-fourth year - two years prior to the reference to Kimaš in Šulgi's year-name. The relevant documents are:

- P303668 / BPOA 7, 2875 (2/--/Š44): **2 gud eren₂ ki-maš^{ki}**
 "2 oxen (from) the troops of Kimaš"
- P134908 / TRU 144 (4/13/Š45): **16 gud eren₂ ki-maš^{ki}**
 "16 oxen (from) the troops of Kimaš"
- P109521 / Hirose 50 (3/17/Š46): **5 gud eren₂ ki-maš^{ki}**
 "5 oxen (from) the troops of Kimaš"

⁶⁵² P115134 / MVN 7, 251.

⁶⁵³ P128335 / Rochester 231 (11/--/Š46).

⁶⁵⁴ P201000 / Princeton 2, 2 (1/--/ŠS05).

⁶⁵⁵ P303661 / BPOA 7, 2869 (7/--/AS01) and P130879 / Syracuse 328 (12/28/AS06).

⁶⁵⁶ P131926 / TCS 140 (7/04/AS05). Both Hunhili and a man named Rašiši are designated **lu₂** Kimaš and deliver the same amount of livestock (2 oxen, 1 goat).

Steinkeller suggests that the conquest and colonization of Kimaš may have begun a few years earlier than the year that was named after it.⁶⁵⁷ This seems to be a reasonable solution, for multiple campaigns conducted by separate armies could have occurred in the same year (thus against Kimaš as well as against Urbilum). The number of cattle taxed from these troops seem to show a build-up of forces between the forty-fourth and forty-fifth years, with a reduction in the third month of the forty-sixth year - the same month in which animals were expended for a banquet “when Kimaš was ‘ruined’.”⁶⁵⁸ One document seems to refer indirectly to a general of Kimaš:

P142271 / YOS 4, 207 (--/--/----) rev. col. ii, lines 4-6:

1 udu niga bar-su-ga / 2 udu u₂ bar-su-ga / dam kiš-er šakkan₆ ki-maš^{ki}-še₃ ĝen-na

“1 grain-fed, sheared sheep (and) 2 grass-fed, sheared sheep (for) the wife of Kišer the general who went to Kimaš”

Though the text does not designate Kišer as being the general of Kimaš, the reference to his wife traveling to Kimaš to meet him there suggests that he was. Though the date of the text is missing, two other documents dated to Amar-Suen’s second year mention livestock deliveries from a man named Kišer; he was therefore probably the general

⁶⁵⁷ Steinkeller, “Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa,” 305-306 n. 73.

⁶⁵⁸ One document (P210449 / BPOA 6, 669), dated to the 11th month of Šulgi’s 35th year, mentions a donkey foal sent from Erra-Dan and designated as “the delivery of Kimaš” (**mu-ku_x ki-maš^{ki}**). The fact that a person with an Akkadian name with a theophoric element invoking a war-deity (“Erra is mighty”) is attested sending animals from Kimaš helps to demonstrate that the relationship between Babylonia and the periphery was earlier, more intense and more complex than is often portrayed in the secondary literature. Another document (P142367 / YOS 4, 303), dated to the first month of Šulgi’s 40th year and mentioning a delivery of 213 sheep from Kimaš, further supports this. See also P100790 / Aleppo 458 (7/--/Š33) which mentions an emblem (**šu-nir**) of Kimaš.

responsible for the troops mentioned above.⁶⁵⁹ Similarly with places such as Karaḥar, there seems to have been agriculturalists who were responsible for sending items and duties to southern Mesopotamia.⁶⁶⁰

As mentioned above, Kimaš figures prominently in messenger texts from both Girsu and Iri-Saḡrig. Military designations (**lu₂-^{gi}tukul gu-la**, **dumu nu-banda₃**, and **aga₃-us₂ gal**) accompany the majority of personnel recorded in the Girsu texts. Two documents are worth pointing out. The only dated text in this group refers to a sizable contingent of soldiers traveling to Kimaš at the beginning of Šulgi's forty-seventh year;⁶⁶¹ another document mentions a royal daughter traveling to Kimaš (perhaps as a bride for the governor or general?).⁶⁶² Though the Iri-Saḡrig texts tend to lump most personnel under the rubric "on royal assignment" (**lu₂-ki^{gi}gi₂-gi₄-a lugal**), there is a single reference to a general.⁶⁶³ These texts date as late as the end of Ibbi-Suen's second year and therefore may indicate the Kimaš was still under Ur III control at that time.

Table 18: Personnel Travelling to/from Kimaš in Girsu Messenger Texts

Text	Person	Title	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	GN-[x]	Date
P122957	er ₃ -ra-KAL	ltgl		x		8/22/----
P100313	lu ₂ - ^d en-ki	lu₂ ^dgu-la		x		5/--/----
P100959	^d šul-gi-da-an-ga-da	---	x			9/--/----
P105726	a-mur- ^d IŠKUR	k	x			5/--/----
P206127	da-a-a	dnb	x			12/--/----
P206555	PU ₃ -KA-u ₂ ⁶⁶⁴	skl		x		8/--/----
CTPSM 1, 189	šu- ^d UTU šu- ^d IŠKUR	skl dnb	x x			4/--/----

⁶⁵⁹ P292620 (11/--/AS02) mentions one goat delivered each by the generals Nir-idaḡal, Šilluš-Dagan and Kišer on the fourth day of the month. P104082 / AUCT 2, 264 (11/29/AS02) mentions the delivery of 12 cattle from the property of Kišer.

⁶⁶⁰ P100792 / Aleppo 460 (/--/--ŠS09): 1 1/3 shekels of silver (from) the tiller (**apin-la₂**) of Kimaš; P209752 / Ontario 2, 266 (3/--/ŠS09): 300+ liters of [x] (from) the garden (**^{gi}ki^{ri}₆**) of Kimaš. The date of these texts suggest that Kimaš was still under Ur III control at the end of Šu-Suen's reign.

⁶⁶¹ P119650 / MVN 17, 4 (2/--/Š47). See the note in the table below.

⁶⁶² P110339 / HSS 4, 66 (10/--/----).

⁶⁶³ P388034 / Nisaba 15/2, 596 (6/14/IS01).

⁶⁶⁴ Noted as coming from Ur and going to Kimaš.

P122964	lu ₂ - ^d nan-še nu-ur ₂ - ^d suen	skl au		x x		2/--/----
P123164	šu-na-zi lu ₅ -lu ₅ -ni	--- skl		x x		7/--/----
P110009	lu ₂ -sig ₅ ur- ^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂	uk dnb	x x			3/--/----
P110107	ba-ba-a	skl	x			5/--/----
P110331	šu- ^d IŠKUR e ₂ -a-ku-ni-ig	aug dnb	x x			1/--/----
P110335	ne-mur inim-da-da	ltgl dnb	x x			7/--/----
P110339	dumu-munus lugal	---		x		10/--/----
P110342	lu ₂ - ^d nin-šubur	skl		x		8/--/----
P315772	DINGIR-ba-ni	ltgl		x		6/--/----
P107036	ḫa-ti	šlkr	x			7/--/----
P107058	ir ₃ -re-eb	aug		x		--/--/----
P114463	a-bi ₂ -a	---	x			5/26/----
P115241	šu- ^d UTU	aug	x			8/--/----
P115778	lugal-kalam-[...]	[...]	x			7/--/----
P119650	(200-400) aga₃-us₂ ⁶⁶⁵	---		x		2/--/Š47
P119671	za-HAR-an	dnb	x			3/--/----
P119722	lu ₂ - ^d nanše inim-sa ₆ -sa ₆	aug skl		x x		4/--/----
P206220	i-ti-bu-um	ltgl		x		6/--/----
P209209	^d IŠKUR-ba-ni	skl		x		5/--/----
P202035	si-mu-KAL	dnb		x		1/--/----
P356016	ur- ^d ma-mi	skl	x			1/--/----
P406050	da-a-a	dnb	x			12/--/----
P406054	er ₃ -ra-šum	skl	x			10/16/----
P406464	ir ₃ -re-eb	[x]		x		10/13/----
P406478	ka-la-a	skl		x		12/--/----
P406492	ad-da-zu lugal- ^d utu	--- k	x x			5/28/----
P406505	u-bar-um	skl	x			5/--/----
P202551	a-bu-ni	uk	x			4/--/----
P128508	šu- ^d IŠKUR [x]-mu	skl uk	x x			1/--/----

⁶⁶⁵ This text is a summary messenger text which does not mention a specific number of soldiers, but rather lists the total amount of semolina (**dabin**) consumed by them: **6(aš) 2(barig) 4(ban₂) aga₃-us₂ lugal ki-maš^{ki}-še₃ ġen-na-me** “1960 liters (of semolina for) the royal soldiers who went to Kimaš.” The amount consumed per person varied depending upon variables such as destination of travel or mission, but a few examples can show that the amount of semolina given per soldier could range from 5-10 liters:

P122997 / CUSAS 16, 262 obv. lines 3-4: **3(barig) 2(ban₂) dabin kaskal-še₃ aga₃-us₂-bi 40-am₃** “200 liters of semolina for the road, (the number of) its soldiers is 40”

P110546 / TCTI 1, 677 rev. lines 1-3: **2 ġuruš 5 sila₃ dabin-ta aga₃-us₂ lugal gud šušin^{ki}-da ġen-na-me** “2 men (received) 5 liters of semolina each - they are royal soldiers who went with the cattle of Susa”

P132456 / TCTI 2, 3204 obv. lines 1-5: **18 ġuruš 1(ban₂) dabin lugal-ta aga₃-us₂ lugal šušin^{ki}-ta gud-da¹ ġen-me** “18 men (received) 10 liters of high-quality semolina each - they are royal soldiers who went from Susa with the cattle”

Therefore the nearly 2000 liters of semolina would have fed roughly 400 soldiers at 5 liters each or 200 soldiers at 10 liters each.

P128530	[x]-da-na-[x]-ni DINGIR-mi-ti	aug aug		x x		5/--/----
P131216	NE.NE-a i-qu-lum	k dnb	x x			2/--/----
P131220	a-bu-ni šu- ^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂	aug šlkr			x x	10/18/----
P131222	šu- ^d UTU da-da-a	k k	x		x	2/--/----
P131225	šu-ma-ma ur- ^d nisaba	skl dnb	x	x		10/10/----
P131226	i-tur ₂ -re	rg	x			7/--/----
P131231	DINGIR.KAL	ltgl		x		7/--/----
P131233	ur- ^d nisaba	aug	x			1/--/----
P131248	^d suen-ba-ni	k	x			
P131257	en-u ₂ -a ur-sukkal	dnb aug	x x			7/--/----
P131261	i-ti-e ₂ -a	skl		x		2/--/----
P131270	an-ne ₂ -ba-du ₇ lu ₂ - ^d šara ₂	dnb uk	x	x		1/--/----
P414528	i-ti-a	aug		x		1/--/----
P332626	a-da-a an-ne ₂ -ba-du ₇	dnb uk	x x			3/--/----

ltgl = lu₂-^štukul gu-la; **k** = lu₂-kas₄; **skl** = sukkal; **dnb** = dumu nu-banda₃; **au** = aga₃-us₂; **aug** = aga₃-us₂ gal; **uk** = u₃-kul; **rg** = ra-gaba; **šlkr** = šeš lukur

Table 19: Personnel Travelling to/from Kimaš in Iri-Saġrig Messenger Texts

Text	Person	Title	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	Mission	Date
P453603	šu- ^d UTU	lkl		x		7/--/AS07
P453606	[...]	lkl		x		8/07/AS07
P453597	^d aš ₃ -gi ₅ -al-su	lkl		x		9/23/AS07
P411950	a- ^h u-DINGIR šu-eš ₁₈ -tar ₂	šuš ₃ ?; lkl lkl		x x		1/02/AS08
P333719	da-da	lkl		x		1/--/AS08
P453635	u-bar-um	skl ; lkl		x		4/03/AS08
P453639	u-bar-um	skl ; lkl		x		4/--/AS08
P411992	ur- ^d nin-mug	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	6/29/AS08
P453646	DI.KU ₅ -i ₃ -li ₂ ša-lim-a- ^h u-um	lkl lkl		x x		8/14/AS08
P453632	nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂	lkl		x		9/03/AS08
P453652	ur- ^d nin-mug	lkl		x		12/01/AS08
P453667	la-la-a lugal- ^h a-ma-ti AN-[...]	lkl lkl lkl		x x x		1/18/AS09
P453718	kal ₂ -lu ₅	skl ; lkl		x		2/08/ŠS03
P453730	^d IŠKUR-ILLAT	lkl		x		3/11/ŠS03
P387919	MI- ^d IŠKUR puzur ₄ -šu?-ga?	lkl lkl		x x		6/19/ŠS04
P453770	a- ^h u-(ba-qar) (PN)	lkl lkl		x x		3/03/ŠS05
P387883	da- ^h a-ab	lkl		x		3/19/ŠS05
P453795	i ₃ -li ₂ -me-ti	skl ; lkl		x		9/28/ŠS06
P453870	KAL-i ₃ -li ₂	lkl		x		1/--/ŠS09

P453895	ḥa-la-ti	lkl		x		7/28/ŠS09
P414587	i ₃ -li ₂ -šip-ti	lkl		x		6/13/IS01
P388034	bu-ša-num ₂ lu ₂ -ge-na (10) kir ₄ -dab ₅ -me	škn šuš ₃ ; lkl ---		x x x		6/14/IS01
P453946	lu ₂ -ge-na	šuš ₃ ; lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	6/17/IS01
P387945	lu ₂ -diġir-ra šu- ^d en-lil ₂ ur- ^d šul-pa-e ₃ ḥa-la-ti	lkl lkl lkl lkl	x	 x x x	ki lugal-še ₃	6/28/IS01
P387973	a-ḥu-ni	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	8/18/IS01
P453930	da-a-a	kšd; lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	9/17/IS01
P411936	i ₃ -li ₂ -šip-ti lu ₂ - ^d ištaran puzur ₄ -eš ₁₈ -tar ₂	lkl lkl lkl	x x	 x	ki lugal-še ₃ ki lugal-še ₃	13/11/IS01
P387885	šu-eš ₁₈ -tar ₂ šar-ru-um-i ₃ -li ₂	lkl lkl	 x	 x	ki lugal-še ₃	13/24/IS01
P453985	^d šu- ^d suen-na-ra- am- ^d ištaran	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	
P453986	ur- ^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	13/28/IS01
P454010	šu-eš ₁₈ -tar ₂ pu-su	lkl lkl		x x		1/05/IS02
P387978	in-zu	lkl		x		1/21/IS02
P387958	šu-eš ₁₈ -tar ₂	lkl		x		1/22/IS02
P388015	^d nanna-i ₃ -sa ₆	lkl		x		1/25/IS02
P454016	[...] (PN)	lkl lkl	x x		ki lugal-še ₃ ki lugal-še ₃	1/--/IS02
P387880	^d šu- ^d suen-i-šar-ra- ma-aš ₂ puzur ₄ -la-ba šar-ru-um-ba-ni ^d ašnan-uru-ġu ₁₀	lkl lkl lkl lkl		x x x x		2/02/IS02
P388021	e-num ₂ -ma-e ba-a-a	lkl lkl	x	 x	ki lugal-še ₃	2/06/IS02
P388039	e-num ₂ -ma-e a-pi ₅ -li	lkl lkl		x x		2/07/IS02
P411935	i-mi-a	lkl		x		2/30/IS02
P387971	i-mi-a	lkl		x		2/30/IS02
P333684	pu-su-a ma-at-i ₃ -li ₂	lkl lkl	x	 x	ki lugal-še ₃	2/--/IS02
P411993	30 aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal	---	x		ki lugal-še ₃	2/--/IS02
P454038	ur-dub-la ₂ -maḥ-a	lkl		x		4/03/IS02
P454039	e ₂ -ze ₂ -er-nu na-ap-li ₂ -is- DINGIR	lkl lkl	x x		ki lugal-še ₃ ki lugal-še ₃	4/05/IS02
P387947	šar-ru-um-ba-ni ba-la-la	lkl lkl	x x		ki lugal-še ₃ ki lugal-še ₃	4/15/IS02
P388026	DINGIR.KAL tu-ra-a ^d šul-gi-i ₃ -li ₂ šu- ^d nin-šubur	lkl lkl lkl lkl	x	 x x x	ki lugal-še ₃	4/18/IS02
----	DINGIR.KAL	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	4/--/IS02
P454042	i-mi-a	lkl		x		4/--/IS02
P333747	ki-ur-a-a	lkl		x		4/--/IS02

P388023	lu-lu-ba-ni	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	5/10/IS02
P454058	DINGIR.KAL	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	7/10/IS02
P454095	DINGIR-ba-ni	lkl		x		12/--/IS02
P453920	i-šar-ma-ti-is ₂ -su ₂	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	1/16/----
P454029	i-na-a ₂ -DINGIR	lkl		x		--/25/----
P453638	nam-ḥa-ni	lkl		x		--/--/----
	lu ₂ - ^d šul-gi	[...]		x		

lkl = lu₂-kiġ₂-gi₄-a lugal; skl = sukka₁; škn = šakka₆; kšd = kurušda

Lastly, as mentioned above, groups of highlanders (**NIM**) from Kimaš are frequent in the Girsu messenger texts.⁶⁶⁶ Though Steinkeller assumed that these were groups of mercenary soldiers, we see a number of reasons for their travels to southern Mesopotamia. Some were designated as prisoners-of-war,⁶⁶⁷ while others were designated as conscripts,⁶⁶⁸ though whether or not they were conscripted for civil labor or military duty is uncertain. Some groups delivered livestock from Kimaš to Babylonia.⁶⁶⁹

Overall there is less information on Ḫurti than Kimaš, though some aspects are more illuminated. There are two named **ensi₂** attested in archival sources and a few named **lu₂** Ḫurti.

City	Personnel designated as <i>ensi₂</i>	Personnel designated as <i>lu₂</i>
Ḫurti	ba-za-mu 12/--/Š47 P132148 ḥu-ba-mir-si-ni 7/14/ŠS01 P332109 7/18/ŠS01 P142127 --/--/---- P332256	gu-un-da (gu-u ₂ -dam ₂) 10/24/AS04 P235696 10/28/AS04 P127539 ---- <i>munus Zilini</i> 9/20/ŠS02 P106358 ḥu-un-ḥur-ti 8/26/ŠS07 P102354

⁶⁶⁶ For details, Appendix F.

⁶⁶⁷ P122992 / CUSAS 16, 199: **NIM ne-ra-aš ak ki-maš^{ki}-me** “highlanders who are prisoners-of-war from Kimaš.”

⁶⁶⁸ P315780 / PPAC 5, 136: **NIM dab₅-ba ki-maš^{ki}** “conscripted highlanders from Kimaš.”

⁶⁶⁹ P107027 / MTBM 148: **NIM ki-maš^{ki}...gud udu ki-maš^{ki} bala-e-de₃ ġen-na** “highlanders from Kimaš who came to transfer the cattle and sheep of Kimaš.”

Bazamu is attested at the end of Šulgi's forty-seventh year in Nippur receiving three pairs of dark-colored boots, five pairs of dark-colored shoes and two pairs of shields (^{kuš}**du₁₀-uk-si-um e₂-ba-an**).⁶⁷⁰ The date of the text is late enough that the campaign after which Šulgi's forty-eighth year was named could very well have been completed and therefore Bazamu might have been the governor appointed by the king of Ur.⁶⁷¹ No governor is attested at Ҳurti until the beginning of Šu-Suen's reign when we encounter Ҳubamirsini, who does not have a Sumerian or Akkadian name. The contexts of his attestations include the receipt of livestock for consumption while he was in southern Mesopotamia,⁶⁷² as well as gifts including carnelian beads when he came from Ҳurti (**ud hu-ur-ti^{ki}-ta i₃-im-ĝen-na-a**).⁶⁷³ It is uncertain whether Ҳubamirsini should be considered a native vassal of Ur or an appointed governor, though the presence of a garrison attested in the reign of Amar-Suen may favor the latter.⁶⁷⁴ Regarding those designated as **lu₂** Ҳurti, the context is always one in which the person received livestock while in Babylonia. One of the texts mentioning Gunda notes that the authorizing agent (**maškim**) for the delivery of his sheep to the kitchen (**e₂-muḥaldim**) was the general Šuruš-kin, perhaps alluding to his connection with the military.⁶⁷⁵ The cattle given to

⁶⁷⁰ For the **duksium** (Akkadian *tukšum*) shield, see CAD vol. 18, 460 and Ilya Arkhipov, *Le Vocabulaire de la Métallurgie et la Nomenclature des Objets en Métal dans les textes de Mari*, ARM 32 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012): 128.

⁶⁷¹ Note that expenditures were made in Puzriš-Dagan from out of the plunder of Ҳurti (**ša₃ nam-ra-ak hu-ur₅-ti^{ki}**) in the 4th month of Šulgi's 48th year - Ҳurti would likely have been captured prior to this and accounting for time to gather and transport the plunder would strengthen the case that Ҳurti's capture occurred sometime in the previous year; P118481 / MVN 15, 201 (4/14/Š48).

⁶⁷² P142127 / YOS 4, 63 and P332109 / PPAC 4, 190.

⁶⁷³ P332256 / JCS 54, 7 no. 52.

⁶⁷⁴ P125772 / PDT 1, 356 (1/12/AS01): **5 gud 2 ab₂ eren₂ hu-ur₅-ti^{ki}** "5 bulls (and) 2 cows (from) the troops of Ҳurti." For foreign elements appointed to command positions of peripheral settlements, see the discussion of Ҳašip-atal in the section on Simurru and Lullubm.

⁶⁷⁵ P235696.

Ḫun-Ḫurti were designated as a royal gift/allotment (**niġ₂-ba lugal**), but it still seems that his designation as **lu₂** Ḫurti should be rendered as “Ḫurtian” and not “ruler of Ḫurti” since he also seems to be called “the man of Nannakam the secretary” (**lu₂ dⁿnanna-kam sukkal**).⁶⁷⁶

In the Girsu messenger texts only highlanders from Ḫurti are attested; references to Mesopotamian personnel traveling to and from Ḫurti are completely absent.⁶⁷⁷ The Iri-Saġrig messenger texts mentions Mesopotamian personnel, some of whom are given titles identifying them as part of the military officer cadre. The most interesting of these texts records the well-known general Ḫun-Šulgi and a prince who traveled to Ḫurti in Šu-Suen’s fifth year.⁶⁷⁸

Table 20: Personnel Travelling to/from Ḫurti in Iri-Saġrig Messenger Texts

Text	Person	Title	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	Mission	Date
P453610	er ₃ -[...]	lkl		[x [?]]		3/--/AS07
P387972	zi-ki-il-ti	lkl		x		8/03/AS07
P453621	d ^š ul-gi-i ₃ -li ₂	nb; lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	12/--/AS07
P285682	šu-d ⁿ nin-šubur	lkl		x		3/09/AS08
---	lugal-me-lam ₂	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	5/15/ŠS02
P453718	bu-la-lum	skl; lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	2/08/ŠS03
P453766	DINGIR.KAL	lkl		x		5/15/ŠS05
P453776	šu-d ⁱ ŠKUR	lkl		x		12/04/ŠS05
P453762	ib-ni-um [?] -DINGIR [?] su-su-e	lkl lkl	x x		ki lugal-še ₃ ki lugal-še ₃	9/03/ŠS05
P333758	ḫu-un-d ^š ul-gi ḫu-la-al	škn dl		x x		10/--/ŠS05
P387975	šu-d ⁿ nin-šubur	lkl		x		1/09/IS02
P454014	nu-ur ₂ -d ⁿ suen	lkl		x		1/24/IS02
P454175	ḫu-dan-sar	skl; lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	--/--/----

lkl = **lu₂-kiġ₂-gi₄-a lugal**; **skl** = **sukkal**; **nb** = **nu-banda₃**; **škn** = **šakkan₆**; **dl** = **dumu lugal**

⁶⁷⁶ P102354 / ASJ 9, 270 no. 78.

⁶⁷⁷ For highlander groups in Girsu and Iri-Saġrig messenger texts, see Appendix F.

⁶⁷⁸ P333758 / Nisaba 15/2, 331 (10/--/ŠS05).

II.2.10: Šimaški

II.2.10.a: Dates of Campaigns and the Location of the Toponym

The first references to hostile relations with Šimaški, the political entity which dealt the death-blow to the Third Dynasty of Ur,⁶⁷⁹ come from a text dated to the first month of Šulgi's forty-seventh year which mentions Šulgi's son, Šu-Enlila, who received gifts on the occasion that he "ruined" or "desecrated" Šimaški,⁶⁸⁰ as well as from documents dated to Šulgi's forty-seventh and forty-eighth years which mention plunder from Šimaški. The texts and their relevant sections are:

Table 21: Plunder from Šimaški in Texts dated to Šulgi's 47th and 48th Years

1	2/--/Š47	Ur-banda the animal-fattener took 2 Šimaškian ewes from out of the plunder of Šimaški (ša₃ nam-ra-ak LU₂.SU)	P112109
2	2/--/Š47	Ur-Igalim the animal-fattener took 2 Šimašian ewes from out of the plunder of Šimaški	P142618
3	5/--/Š47	Balanced account of animals fatteners mentioning 4 separate deliveries of female kids, goats, female lambs and sheep (munus_{aš₂}-gar₃, maš₂, kir₁₁, udu , respectively) from out of the plunder of Šimaški: 1. 293 munus_{aš₂}-gar₃ / 7 maš₂ 2. 227 kir₁₁ / 32 udu / 38 ^{munus}aš₂-gar₃ / 3 maš₂ 3. 228 kir₁₁ / 32 udu / 38 ^{munus}aš₂-gar₃ / 2 maš₂ 4. 227 kir₁₁ / 33 udu / 40 la₂ 1 ^{munus}aš₂-gar₃ / 2 maš₂	P126167
4	10/--/Š48	The hides of 5 dead cattle, from out of the plunder of Šimaški, were brought into craft workshops	P123288

⁶⁷⁹ Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, 142-143. The Old Babylonian city laments attribute the destruction of Ur to Šimaški and Elam (*The Lament for Ur*, ETCSL 2.2.2, line 243, *The Lament for Sumer and Ur*, ETCSL 2.2.3, line 33, *The Lament for Eridu*, ETCSL 2.2.6, line 87). Kindattu, who is called the "man of Elam" in a hymn of Išbi-Erra (*Išbi-Erra and Kindattu*, ETCSL 2.5.1.2) and whose son is called king of Anšan, king of Šimaški and Elam in a royal inscription (CUSAS 17, 18), is known to have been the ruler responsible for the sack of Ur.

⁶⁸⁰ Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 158: P117445 / MVN 13, 672 (1/--/Š47): **ud LU₂.SU.A^{ki} mu-TAG.TAG-a**. The reduplication of the verbal base **tag** is probably denoting the equivalent of the Š-stem form of *lapātum*; CDA, 178; CAD vol. 9, 82-83.

The references to animals expended “from out of the plunder of Šimaški” (**ša₃ nam-ra-ak LU₂.SU^{ki}**) show that each text records only a portion of the spoils from the action against Šimaški, which had already taken place by the beginning of Šulgi’s forty-seventh year. This plunder, which included a variety of livestock ranging from lambs to cattle, must have been massive, consisting of thousands of animals. It is important to note that these texts register animals being expended from the plunder and are not records of plunder coming in. Since, as was mentioned above, spoils of a particular campaign were in circulation for years after the event, the fact that these expenditures occurred in a particular year do not guarantee that the campaigns occurred in that year or the prior year.⁶⁸¹ Additionally, though the third text in the list also mentions plunder from the Amorite lands, references to spoils from this region occur as early as Šulgi’s fortieth year; therefore, this text may have recorded plunder from the Amorite lands taken seven years earlier. Consequently, this causes greater uncertainty in attempts to link the location of Šimaški with toponyms mentioned in the year-names of those years.

Generally thought to designate a loose confederation of independent polities instead of a territorial state headed by a single ruler, the precise location and extent of Šimaški is difficult to determine, though it has often been thought to have extended from the border of Anšan in the south to either Lake Urmia or the Caspian Sea to the north.⁶⁸² Evidence for the north-south extent of Šimaški comes solely from a couple of inscriptions

⁶⁸¹ Contra Piotr Michalowski, “Royal Women of the Ur III Period. Part II. Geme-Ninlila,” *JCS* 31 (1979): 175; Piotr Steinkeller, “On the Identity of the Toponym LU₂.SU(.A),” *JAOS* 108 (1988): 201 n. 31. New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers,” *ZA* 97 (2007): 217-218.

⁶⁸² Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, 141-142; Steinkeller, “New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers,” 217; Steinkeller, “On the Dynasty of Šimaški,” 291.

of Šu-Suen: **ud-ba LU₂.SU^{ki} ma-da-ma-da za-ab-ša-li^{ki} zag an-ša-an^{ki}-ta a-ab-ba igi-nim-ma-še₃**⁶⁸³ which is often translated as “at that time, Šimaški, (which comprises) the lands of Zabšali, from the borders of Anšan to the Upper Sea,” and is thought to denote a territory extending from modern Fars to the Caspian Sea.⁶⁸⁴ However, the term “Upper Sea,” normally used in Mesopotamian sources to denote the Mediterranean,⁶⁸⁵ does not necessarily have to denote the Caspian, and the “Upper Sea” in relation to Šimaški’s northern extent has been suggested as referring to Lake Urmia⁶⁸⁶ or even Lake Zeribor, roughly fifty kilometers east of modern Sulaimaniyah.⁶⁸⁷ Additionally, it is not at all certain that Zabšali was a sub-territory of Šimaški. Michalowski, contra the general consensus, thinks that Zabšali and Šimaški were two regions sharing a common border, with Zabšali being situated to the north of Šimaški.⁶⁸⁸ I think that Michalowski has the more accurate reading of the inscriptions and follow his interpretation.⁶⁸⁹ The eastern and western extent of Šimaški are more debatable. Steinkeller posited that the eastern extent was the border with Anšan while the western edge extended deep into the Zagros, perhaps even to include Lullubum.⁶⁹⁰ Frayne had suggested a similar western extent,

⁶⁸³ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 303 and 308: E3/2.1.4.3 col. ii, lines 14-19 and E3/2.1.4.4 col. ii, lines 21’-23’.

⁶⁸⁴ Piotr Steinkeller, “More on LU₂.SU.(A) = Šimaški,” *NABU* (1990): 10-11 no. 13; Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 303, 308; Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, 141; Ahmed, “The Beginnings of Ancient Kurdistan,” 192-193.

⁶⁸⁵ Dietz Otto Edzard, “Meer. A. Mesopotamien,” *RIA* 8 (1993): 1-3.

⁶⁸⁶ Michalowski, “Šimaški,” 503.

⁶⁸⁷ Frayne, “The Zagros Campaigns of the Ur III Kings,” 49.

⁶⁸⁸ Michalowski, “The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur,” 162-163 and Michalowski, “Šimaški,” 504. Potts had suggested that Šimaški might be sought in the region of the Oxus River and characterized by the Bactrian-Margiana Archaeological Complex, though Steinkeller has shown this to be untenable; Daniel Potts, “Puzur-Inšušinak and the Oxus Civilization (BMAC): Reflections on Šimaški and the geo-political landscape of Iran and Central Asia in the Ur III Period,” *ZA* 98 (2008): 165-194 and Piotr Steinkeller, “On the Dynasty of Šimaški: Twenty Years (or so) After,” in *Extraction and Control: Studies in Honor of Matthew W. Stolper*, SAOC 68, eds. Michael Kozuh et al. (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2014): 291-296

⁶⁸⁹ For a more detailed discussion, see the section on Zabšali.

⁶⁹⁰ Steinkeller, “New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers, 217. The inclusion of Lullubum rests on a caption from Šu-Suen’s Akkadian inscription (Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 312: E3/2.1.4.5 caption 8: *wa-bur-tum* / [E]NSI₂ / [x]-lu-bi-im^[ki]).

though for different reasons, stating that Zabšali, which he assumed to have been part of Šimaški, to have been located at modern Halabja.⁶⁹¹ Steinkeller's later publication placed the sixteen territories or principalities mentioned in the Šu-Suen inscriptions in a general stretch of western Iran, from Luristan in the south to Kurdistan in the north.⁶⁹² A border extending east to Kerman has also been proposed.⁶⁹³

II.2.10.b: Political Organization and Relationship to the Kingdom of Ur

In the administrative documentation there are no personal names attested which bear the designation **ensi₂**, nor is the standard PN **lu₂** GN present in documents from Puzriš-Dagan.⁶⁹⁴ Instead we simply have the personal name followed by **LU₂.SU(.A)^{ki}** or a personal name followed by the designation “envoy” (**lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a**) and then the toponym. The latter could be translated as either “PN the envoy of Šimaški” or PN the “Šimaškian envoy.” Since, to my knowledge, the genitive construction **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** GN.**ak** does not occur elsewhere, we should probably favor the latter translation.⁶⁹⁵

⁶⁹¹ Frayne, “The Zagros Campaigns of the Ur III Kings,” 49. He places all the other territories listed in Šu-Suen's inscriptions thought to have been part of Šimaški as being located immediately to the south of Lake Zeribor.

⁶⁹² Steinkeller, “On the Dynasty of Šimaški,” 291.

⁶⁹³ Bryce, *The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia*, 641.

⁶⁹⁴ Unless the **lu₂** of **LU₂.SU(.A)** is doing double duty as the noun/animate relative pronoun and as the first element of the rebus writing of the toponym; this writing, solely used at Puzriš-Dagan and in royal inscriptions, is a pseudo-logogram in which **LU₂.KUŠ(=SU).A** stands for the Akkadian folk etymology *ši maškim* “the one of the leather/hide”; Steinkeller, “On the Identity of the Toponym **LU₂.SU(.A)**,” 198.

⁶⁹⁵ See also the discussion above in section on Lullubum and Simurru.

Table 22: Persons designated as “Šimaškian”

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>Personnel</i>	<i>Designation</i>	<i>Date</i>	<i>CDLI #</i>	<i>Received (R.) Sent (S.)</i>
Šimaški	u ₂ -ga-ab-bi-ir	--- Š.	12/--/Š31	P129414	S.
	ia ₃ -ab-ra-at	--- Š.	10/13/Š44	P123310	S.
	e ₂ -da-la	lk Barbanazu Š.	1/--/Š46	P109240	R.
	bu ₃ -šu-du ⁶⁹⁶	lk Barbanazu Š. lk Yabrat Š.	5/27/Š46 12/--/AS08	P106309 P128644	R. R.
	in-gu-du	--- Š.	8/22/Š48	P200572	S.
	bi ₂ -ib-ra	--- Š.	9/21/AS01	P117302	R.
	ba-da-ti-na	--- Š. --- Š. --- Š.	3/27/AS03 1/06/AS04 2/02/AS04	P116197 P131597 P126455	R. R. R.
	a-ḫu-um-DINGIR	lk Š.	7/27/AS03	P103260	R.
	bu-ul-ba-ad	--- Š.	1/06/AS04	P131597	R.
	me-ši-nu-nu	--- Š.	9/08/AS04	P123894	S.
	ga-ra-da-du	lk Š. --- Š. --- Š. lk Yabrat Š.	10/08/AS04 10/27/AS04 10/28/AS04 5/21/AS07	P103259 P391046 P127539 P200526	R. R. R. R.
	da-šu-ug	--- Š.	8/--/AS05	P134756	R.
	ru-uš-dam	dumu Bakti Š.	9/09/AS05	P116153	S.
	zu-bu-uš	lk Yabrat Š. lk Yabrat Š. lk Yabrat Š. lk Yabrat Š. lk Yabrat Š. lk Yabrat Š.	1/11/AS03 12/22/AS05 2/16/AS06 2/24/AS06 5/21/AS07 --/--/----	P131648 P104136 P124461 P107981 P200526 P116157	R. R. R. R. R. R.
	du-li-a	lk Yabrat Š. lk Yabrat Š.	6/12/AS07 6/13/AS07	P132015 P127311	R. R.
	ba-tu-ug-ra-ad	dumu Yabti Š.	12/--/AS06	P104098	R.
	da-bu-du-uk	lk Yabrat Š. lk Yabrat Š.	1/18/AS08 1/--/AS08	P106284 P117409	R. R.

⁶⁹⁶ Variant spelling: **bu₃-šu-ud**.

ba-ab-du-ša	lk Yabrat Š. lk Yabrat Š. lk Yabrat Š. lk Yabrat Š. lk Yabrat	2/26/AS09 11/24/ŠS02 12/14/ŠS02 4/12/ŠS03 --/--/----	P129476 P104839 P109324 P124562 P355912	R. R. R. R. R.
i ₃ -a-ab-ni-šu	--- Š.	3/09/ŠS01	P131031	R.
ba-...]	lk Yabrat Š.	4/12/ŠS03	P124562	R.
šu-tu-un-gu	lk Kirname Š.	4/12/ŠS03	P124562	R.
i ₃ -u ₃ -ša-na-aĝ ₂	--- Š. dumu Mešanunu --- Š.	2/--/ŠS02 1/09/ŠS03 1/19/ŠS03	P142135 P131031 P107930	R. R. R.
nim-zi-na ⁶⁹⁷	--- Š. lk Yabrat Š. lk Yabrat Š.	3/09/ŠS01 7/10/ŠS03 --/--/ŠS--?	P131031 P128191 P115609	R. R. R.
ia ₃ -a-da-az	lk Kirname Š.	2/23/ŠS06	P108738	R.
zu ₍₂₎ -ur ₂ -zu ₍₂₎ -ur ₂ /ra	lk Yabrat lk Yabrat	3/--/ŠS05 2/06/ŠS06	P339509 P108738	R. R.
šu-nu-un-DU	dumu [...]	9/14/ŠS07	P131604	R.
šu-šu [?] -ug	šeš Mešiad [?]	9/14/ŠS07	P131604	S.
ḥu-un- ^d šul-gi	--- Š. --- Š.	--/11/---- --/29/----	P125827 P125945	R. R.
gu-du-me-ri-iš	--- Š.	--/11/----	P125827	R.

Therefore the twenty-nine people named here are given the general designation of “Šimaškian.” The earliest attestation of a person designated as **lu₂** Šimaški, or of “Šimaški” in general, dates to Šulgi’s thirty-first year, around the time of intensive interactions with Anšan,⁶⁹⁸ and records the delivery of a horse (^{anše}**si₂-si₂**) by a man named Ugabbir who disappears from the administrative corpus after this sole occurrence. Another occurrence in this decade documents a **lu₂** Šimaški and a **lu₂** Kimaš who are

⁶⁹⁷ Variant spelling: **ni-im-zi**.

⁶⁹⁸ Šulgi’s 30st year-name designates a diplomatic marriage between his daughter and the ruler of Anšan, while military actions against Anšan are attested in his 33rd and 34th years; see the section on Anšan above.

designated as “boat-couriers” (**ra-gaba-me**) and were recipients of commodities in Girsu province at the beginning of Šulgi’s thirty-third year.⁶⁹⁹ Further references to Šimaški are absent in the textual record until Šulgi’s final decade.

We know from the Šimaškian King List that some of them were indeed territorial rulers, with the first half of the list mentioning persons attested in Ur III and early Isin sources:

Šimaškian King List	Ur III Archival Sources	
1. ^d <i>gi-ir-na-am-me</i>	<i>ki-ir-na-me</i> ₍₂₎	Kirnamme
2. <i>ta-zi-it-ta</i>	<i>ta₂-a-zi-te</i>	Ta’azitte (I)
3. <i>e-ba-ar-ti</i>	<i>ia₃(-a)-ab-ra-at</i>	Yābrat (I)
4. <i>ta-zi-it-ta</i>	<i>ta₂-a-zi-te</i>	Ta’azitte (II)
5. <i>lu₂-[x]-ra[?]-ak[?]-lu-uh-ḫa-an</i>	??	??
6. <i>ki-in-da-at-tu</i>	---	Kindattu
7. <i>i-da-ad-du</i>	---	Idattu (I)
(the first seven of twelve): ⁷⁰⁰		

As discussed by Potts, Steinkeller, and Sallaberger and Schrakamp, nearly half of the kings in the Šimaškian King List are attested in Ur III documentary sources and though the list appears to show them in chronological sequence, many of them were contemporaries. The first name on the list, Kirnamme, is attested only in Šu-Suen’s third and sixth years in the context of his envoys (**lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a**) having received provisions of meat while they were in southern Mesopotamia. Steinkeller suggested that Kirnamme may have been attested earlier in Šulgi’s forty-sixth year if the name *gu-ri-na-me* refers to the same person,⁷⁰¹ though he is not given the designation of “Šimaškian.”⁷⁰² The

⁶⁹⁹ P115134 / MVN 7, 251 (1/--/Š33).

⁷⁰⁰ Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, 144; Sallaberger and Schrakamp, *History and Philology*, 24-25.

⁷⁰¹ Steinkeller, “New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers,” 220: P116387 / MVN 12, 125 (12/--/Š46).

⁷⁰² Sallaberger and Schrakamp (*History and Philology*, 24-25) are doubtful about this connection and are of the opinion that since the envoys of Kirnamme are always attested with those of Yabrat, Kirnamme of the

third king on the list, Ebarat, is undoubtedly the Yabrat encountered in the Ur III documentary sources.⁷⁰³ He first appears as having personally traveled to southern Mesopotamia to deliver animals, possibly Bactrian camels, in Šulgi's forty-fourth year and is subsequently attested via his envoys until late in Šu-Suen's reign.⁷⁰⁴ Yabrat, whose domain may have been adjacent to or situated within the territory belonging to Anšan, gained control of Susa soon after Ibbi-Suen's third year, when the year-names of Ibbi-Suen are replaced there by those of Yabrat.⁷⁰⁵ His successor, Kindattu, known to have been the vanquisher of Ur,⁷⁰⁶ is attested in an Isin administrative document dated to Išbi-Erra's nineteenth year and in an inscription which provides the lineage of his son, Idattu (I), and shows that Kindattu was a son of Yabrat.⁷⁰⁷

Yabrat is the most commonly referenced Šimaškian in Ur III sources, with a number of his envoys attested as traveling to and from Ur, and the only Šimaškian whose

Ur III documentation must have been of lesser status and therefore he was not the same person as the divine Kirnamme of the king list. Steinkeller ("On the Dynasty of Šimaški," 288) later notes the problems with assuming the Kirnamme of the Ur III sources is the same as the person listed in the Šimaškian King List.
⁷⁰³ Steinkeller, "New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers," 220; Sallaberger and Schrakamp, *History and Philology*, 25. Not included in the table above are an unnamed **lu₂** Yabrat (P140908 / UTI 4, 2889), an unnamed envoy of Yabrat (P132357 / TCTI 2, 2756), and an occurrence of the name Yabrat as a **ĝiri₃**-agent for livestock (P129473 / SET 63).

⁷⁰⁴ Steinkeller, "New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers," 218-220; Steinkeller, "Camels in Ur III Babylonia?" 415-419.

⁷⁰⁵ Steinkeller, "New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers," 222-223. He suggests that the campaigns of Ibbi-Suen against Ĥuĥnuri and Susa imply a short reign for Yabrat at Susa. De Graef, while noting that there is no evidence that Ibbi-Suen recaptured Susa, nevertheless suggests the scenario that Susa was controlled by Yabrat in Ibbi-Suen's 4th-8th years, was freed from Šimaškian rule at the time of Ibbi-Suen's campaigns in Khuzistan, only to fall back under Šimaškian rule under Idattu I and Tan-Ruĥuratir; Katrien De Graef, "Susa in the Late 3rd Millennium: From a Mesopotamian Colony to an Independent State (MC 2110-1980)," in *History and Philology*, ARCANÉ III, edited by Walter Sallaberger and Ingo Schrakamp, 289-296. Turnhout: Brepols, 2015.

⁷⁰⁶ See the study by J. van Dijk, "Išbi'erra, Kindattu, l'homme d'Elam, et la chute de la ville d'Ur: Fragments d'un hymne d'Išbi'erra," *JCS* 30 (1978): 189-208; this is based on the hymn Išbi-Erra B (Išbi-Erra and Kindattu: ETCSL 2.5.1.2).

⁷⁰⁷ Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, 145; Steinkeller, "New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers," 221-223; Sallaberger and Schrakamp, *History and Philology*, 25. RIME 4.add38.1.1 lines 1-7: **ḫi-da-du dumu-dumu ḫe-ba-ra-at dumu ḫi-in-da-du sipad ḫutu ki-aḡ: ḫinana lugal an-ša-an^{ki} lugal ši-ma-aš-ki u₃ elam-ma** "(For) Idattu the grandson of Yabrat, the son of Kindattu, the shepherd of Utu, beloved of Inana, king of Anšan, king of Šimaški and Elam..."

name is used as a toponym as well; there are a half-dozen tablets which add the place-determinative **KI** to his name:

P112091 (9/04/Š46): a **lu₂** Yabrat^{ki} is a recipient of livestock along with other notables and foreigners.

P128649 / CT St Louis 169 (--/--/----): Nimzi the **lu₂** Yabrat^{ki} and his followers received commodities.

P201000 / Princeton 2, 2 (1/--/ŠS05): Šagubi and Nimzi, envoys of Yabrat^{ki} who are men of Kimaš, received livestock in Puzriš-Dagan.

P126172 / PDT 2, 807 (--/--/----): Labanamzi **lu₂** Yabrat^{ki} received livestock along with other notables and foreigners.

P211640 / Santag 6, 262 (--/--/ŠS03): Babduša the envoy of Yabrat^{ki}, who came from the palace, received sheep as a royal gift.

P133553 / TEL 46 (1/--/ŠS08): highlanders of Yabrat^{ki} received commodities at the Gu'abba waystation.

Steinkeller suggested that Yabrat may have resided near the town of Yabru, a city which was defeated along with Ḫuḫnuri and thus was likely located in the vicinity of Ḫuḫnuri, and that the similitude of the two names was a source of confusion.⁷⁰⁸

Steinkeller posited that Yabrat's domain, the origin or core of the Šimaški confederation, was located on the border or within Anšan, between Tall-e Malyan and Ḫuḫnuri,⁷⁰⁹ and perhaps we can suggest that it was centered at or near modern Yasuj.

⁷⁰⁸ Steinkeller, "New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers," 218 n. 15. He also suggests that Yabrat's domain lacked a specific name, prompting Babylonian scribes to simply designate it as "Yabrat's Land." It may have simply been an alternate name for Šimaški or a more specific region within the larger kingdom. Note that Nimzi, an envoy of Yabrat, is called both **lu₂** Yabrat^{ki} and **lu₂** Šimaški. A similar alternation of GN and PN^{ki} occurs with Hulibar, who was the ruler of Duḫduḫne and whose name was also employed as a toponym; a Girsu messenger text (P316207) lists highlanders coming from both Hulibar^{ki} and Duḫduḫne^{ki}, suggesting distinct, yet related, locales.

⁷⁰⁹ Ibid, 223; Steinkeller, "On the Dynasty of Šimaški," 293.

The evidence that he marshals is:⁷¹⁰ 1) Kindattu is associated with Anšan in later sources,⁷¹¹ 2) Ibbi-Suen is said to have been carried off to Anšan following the sack of Ur,⁷¹² 3) an inscription of the Isin king Šu-ilišu describes his return of the statue of Nanna from Anšan⁷¹³ and 4) letters were sent from Anšan to Kindattu shortly before Kindattu's attack on Ur.⁷¹⁴ To this we can add the fact that the name of Tan-Ruḫuratir, number eight in the Šimaškian King List, bears the theophoric element Ruḫuratir, who was the tutelary deity of Ḫuḫnuri according to the Tappeh Bormi inscription and who was worshipped at Choga Zanbil in Khuzistan in later periods,⁷¹⁵ thus adding to the notion of Šimaški being in close proximity to Anšan.

I agree with Steinkeller about Yabrat's domain being in close proximity to Anšan, though I would go further and posit that the references to Šimaški in Ur III archival texts solely refer to the territory under the direct control of Yabrat and his subordinates. This is a tenable position for a number of reasons: 1) the earliest references to Šimaški occur at a time when Ur was dealing intensively with Anšan, 2) the envoys of Ta'azitte, the **lu₂** Anšan who is named in the Šimaškian King List, always occur with the envoys of Yabrat of Šimaški,⁷¹⁶ 3) that the polities Sigreš, Bulma and Aṣaḫar, which are thought by some scholars to have been in the land of Šimaški (via Šu-Suen's inscriptions), are never

⁷¹⁰ Steinkeller, "New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers," 224.

⁷¹¹ His son, Idattu, used "king of Anšan" as his primary royal title (see the inscription in n. 707) and the hymn Išbi-Erra B (ETCSL 2.5.1.2) notes his connection with Anšan.

⁷¹² *The Lament for Sumer and Ur*: ETCSL 2.2.3 lines 27-37. The first millennium celestial omen series *Enūma Anu Enlil* includes four omens relating how Ibbi-Suen was taken into captivity in tears (or stumbling) and the later Emesal Damu lament Ibbi-Suen was buried in Anšan; Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 202, 213.

⁷¹³ Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period*, 15-16: E4.1.2.1

⁷¹⁴ P236312 / BIN 9, 302 (1/20/IE14 = IS22).

⁷¹⁵ Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, 223.

⁷¹⁶ Steinkeller ("On the Dynasty of Šimaški," 290) thinks that this is Ta'azitte II, who was a son of Ta'azitte I along with Yabrat and was the latter's surrogate.

associated with the term Šimaški in the administrative corpus and 4) that Zabšali was contiguous to, but not incorporated into, Šimaški. Additionally, Šimaški, occurring in messenger texts from both Girsu and Iri-Sağrig, figures most prominently in the Girsu corpus and highlanders (**NIM**) from Šimaški who utilized the Girsu waystations were often noted as having come from Anšan.⁷¹⁷ The fact that there are numerous **lu₂** Šimaški attested is unproblematic if we simply do not assume that they refer to rulers, but rather to “Šimaškians,” and the fact that some of them had envoys (**lu₂-kiğ₂-gi₄-a**) is also a non-issue since officials, and not solely rulers, utilized them.⁷¹⁸

Regarding point 3), more about these polities should be said. The most commonly referenced sub-region of Šimaški in the administrative corpus is Sigreš.⁷¹⁹ This locality is probably to be equated with the Sikris attested in Neo-Assyrian inscriptions and should therefore be located within what was to be known as the land of Media.⁷²⁰ There are five texts from Puzriš-Dagan, six from Iri-Sağrig and three from Girsu that mention this toponym. The documents from Puzriš-Dagan record expenditures of livestock, three times for persons designated as **lu₂** Sigreš and once for a daughter of an Ur III king who was the wife of the **lu₂** Sigreš. The earliest mention of a “man of Sigreš” dates to the middle of Šulgi’s forty-eighth year and mentions expenditures for a person named Gutu.⁷²¹ This may be the ruler of Sigreš, since the royal daughter Šulgi-inib-Mama is attested as the wife of the “man of Sigreš” only a couple of months after the

⁷¹⁷ See Appendix F. It should also be noted that highlanders of Šimaški were grouped together with those of Anšan, demonstrating a close, but distinct, relationship between the two entities.

⁷¹⁸ Such as generals; see, for example, P145285 / SAT 3, 2085 and P124730 / Orient 16, 81 no. 117.

⁷¹⁹ The spelling of the name is somewhat variable amongst different text proveniences; Puzriš-Dagan: **ši-ig-ri₂-iš/ši/šum^{ki}**; Girsu: **si-gi/e-ri/e-eš^{ki}**; Iri-Sağrig: **si-ig-ra(-aš₂)^{ki}**. Šu-Suen’s royal inscriptions have **si-ig-ri₂-iš^{ki}**.

⁷²⁰ Steinkeller, “On the Dynasty of Šimaški,” 291-292.

⁷²¹ P106325 / BIN 3, 518.

reference to Gutu. Gutu is attested as late as the end of Amar-Suen's ninth year, so the reference to a Šilnigi as a "man of Sigreš" likely refers to an envoy. This is supported by the fact that he had a house in Uruk for lengthy stays in southern Mesopotamia - it being unlikely that a foreign ruler would spend significant amounts of time away from his kingdom - and that a separate text mentions a "man of Sigreš" and lists him along with others under the rubric of "errand-runners" (**kas₄-me**).

Table 23: References to Sigreš in Texts from Puzriš-Dagan

Text	Recipient of Livstock Expenditure	Designation	Location	Additional	Date
P106325	gu ₅ -du ₂	lu ₂ Sigreš	---	---	6/05/Š48
P321022	^d šul-gi-i ₃ -ni-ib ₂ -ma-ma	dumu-munus lugal dam lu ₂ Sigreš	---	e ₂	8/22/Š48
P125889	ši-il-ni-gi	lu ₂ Sigreš	Uruk	e ₂ -a-ne-ne	1/16/AS01
P145831	gu-du	lu ₂ Sigreš	---	ud tu-ra i ₃ -me-a	11/09/AS09
P118422	[...]	lu ₂ Sigreš	---	kas ₄ -me	--/--/----

The references to Sigreš in the Iri-Saĝrig messenger texts are generally uninformative, with the exception of P453848 / Nisaba 15/2, 443 which mentions animals expended for meat for a banquet (**kaš-de₂-a**) of the royal daughter Šu-Suen-šaram-Inana and her errand-runners when she went to Sigreš. This undoubtedly refers to another diplomatic marriage to the ruler of Sigreš established after Šu-Suen's campaign against Šimaški and Zabšali.

Table 24: References to Sigreš in Iri-Saĝrig Messenger Texts

Text	Person	Title	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	Additional	Date
P453684	sa ₆ -ga	lkl		x	---	9/21/AS09
P453848	^d šu- ^d suen-ša-ra-am- ^d inana				dumu-munus lugal u ₃ kas ₄ -ne	7/04/ŠS08
P453930	i-ti- ^d suen šu-eš ₁₈ -tar ₂	lkl lkl		x x	---	9/17/IS01
P454014	sa ₆ -a-ga	lkl		x	---	1/24/IS02
P388023	a-ḫu-DUG ₃	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	5/10/IS02

The references to Ur III royal daughters in connection to Sigreš highlights a couple of points regarding the foreign policy of the Ur III kings. In this instance, the ruler of Sigreš was brought into a marriage alliance with the house of Ur towards the end of the reign of Šulgi. Whether Sigreš was part of the territory of Šimaški attacked by Šulgi in the latter part of his reign is uncertain. This alliance seems to have held up until some point in the reign of Šu-Suen, when he conducted a significant campaign against Zabšali and Šimaški, of which Sigreš was one of multiple targets. Soon after this action, a new marriage alliance was established, probably to a new ruler supported by the king of Ur. Therefore we see that the kingdom of Ur had regular dealings with polities well before their attestation in year-names or royal inscriptions, and it seems that diplomatic interaction was preferred to military action, at least in some cases, and that military intervention was employed only when diplomatic tactics failed to secure the objectives desired by the kings of Ur. A few Girsu messenger texts record groups of Sigreš “highlanders” (**NIM**) traveling between southern Babylonia and the periphery in groups of fifteen to thirty people, which Steinkeller assumes to be mercenaries,⁷²² though they could have been used for other purposes.⁷²³

Other than Sigreš, only two other Šimaškian toponymns are attested in the administrative documentation. The toponym Bulma is explicitly stated as being in Šimaški in one of Šu-Suen’s inscriptions and as having suffered particularly harsh treatment:⁷²⁴

⁷²² Steinkeller, “On the Dynasty of Šimaški,” 291.

⁷²³ Such as the 40 Ḫaršian **si**₁₂-**a**-workers mentioned above. For the discussion on highlander groups and the specific texts referencing the groups from Sigreš, see chapter 4 and Appendix F, respectively.

⁷²⁴ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 305: E3/2.1.4.3 col. v, lines 28-29, 32-35.

bu-ul-ma^{ki} ma-da LU₂.SU^{ki}-ka...nam-lu₂-ulu₃ munus nita zi-ġal₂ mu-tuku-bi
[x] ġi^štukul mi-ni-in-gaz

“Bulma, in the territory of Šimaški...its people, the women and men possessing life, he (Šu-Suen) slaughtered with weapons”

Though always written as **bu-ul-ma^{ki}** in the inscriptions, the administrative corpus mentions a **bu-li^{ki}** and a **bu-lu-um^{ki}**; the latter two orthographies are undoubtedly related,⁷²⁵ though their relation to Bulma is not quite as certain. The toponym is attested in three texts, one from Puzriš-Dagan and two from Iri-Saġrig. The document from Puzriš-Dagan records Ziri the son of Šebba as having received a ten-shekel silver ring in Puzriš-Dagan alongside a person from Šimaški and one from Nawar.⁷²⁶ Regarding the Iri-Saġrig texts, one is simply a messenger text recording provisions to a Mesopotamian on royal assignment who traveled to Buli⁷²⁷ and the other lists oil expended for the **lu₂s** of Sigreš, Buli, Zidanum and ẖuttum when they “brought the seal of the secretary-of-state from city to city” (**ud kišib sukkal-mah iri^{ki}-ta iri^{ki}-še₃ mu-de₆-ša-a**).⁷²⁸ The other toponym, Ašaḡar, is listed as one of the cities conquered in Šu-Suen’s inscriptions and occurs in a summary messenger text from Iri-Saġrig that lists three-hundred and sixty-two liters of soup concentrate expended for Ašaḡarian slaves who were prisoners-of-war.⁷²⁹

Steinkeller thinks that the toponymns Zidaḡri and Zidanum should be included alongside Sigreš and Buli. He notes that a caption in Šu-Suen’s Akkadian inscription

⁷²⁵ Bulum is the orthography at Iri-Saġrig which often “Semitized” foreign toponyms by adding case markers (Owen, *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saġrig*,” 549 n. 567), for example, **ši-ma-aš-gi^{ki}** > **si-maš-ku-um^{ki}**, **ḫu-ur-ti^{ki}** > **ḫu-ur-tum^{ki}**, etc.

⁷²⁶ P134756 / TSDU 38 (8/--/AS05).

⁷²⁷ P388038 / Nisaba 15/2, 43 (8/25/AS07).

⁷²⁸ P453962 / Nisaba 15/2, 618 (8/13/IS01).

⁷²⁹ P453799 / Nisaba 15/2, 369 (10/--/ŠS06): **362 sila₃ tu₇ arad₂ nam-ra-ak lu₂ a-ša-ḡa-ar^{ki}-me**.

references one **dun-ġa2-at** as the ruler of Yabulmat and that this man should be equated with a **dun-ġa2-a-at lu2** Zidaḥri attested in texts from Puzriš-Dagan.⁷³⁰ Yet it is unclear whether these are two different people or the same person who was in charge of two separate settlements. Therefore we cannot state with any certainty that Zidaḥri was a part of Šimaški.⁷³¹ The same can be said for Zidanum. Steinkeller referenced a document which he thinks designates Raši as a Šimaškian,⁷³² though the structure of the text does not require it. The relevant parts can be broken into two sections, the first ending with the designation “they are Amorites” (**mar-tu-me**) and the second ending with “they are Šimaškians” (**LU2.SU-me**):⁷³³

1.) obv. col. 1, lines 1-16:

PN₁

PN₂ **šeš-ni**

PN₃ **dumu-ni**

2.) obv. col. i, line 17 to col. ii, line 13:

PN₁ **lu2-kiġ2-ġi4-a** PN₂ **ensiz** GN

PN₃

PN₄

⁷³⁰ Steinkeller, “On the Dynasty of Šimaški,” 292 n. 41. For the relevant inscription, see Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 312: E3/2.1.4.5. Regarding the references in the administrative texts from Puzriš-Dagan, Dungāt occurs 9 times as a recipient of livestock and never as a provider, in texts dated to Amar-Suen’s seventh and eighth years. His location is attested in Nippur and Puzriš-Dagan (once each) and in Tummal (5x). Other recipients of livestock, alongside Dungāt include people from the toponyms Ḥarši (5x) and Simurrum (1x). It needs to be stressed that these texts are recording expenditures for people within Babylonia on a given day and that toponyms listed in the same document were not necessarily located in close proximity to each other or related to each other in any way. An example of this is P108701 / CTMMA 1, 17 (7/--/AS04) which mentions expenditures for one Šibaraq **lu2** Zidaḥri alongside the **lu2**’s of Magan and Mari. Even more illuminating is the case of Raši of Zidanum who, in texts dated to Amar-Suen’s second year, is attested alongside personnel from Mari and Ebla in Syria (see, for example, P481071 / LAOS 1, 28). In texts dated to Amar-Suen’s third year, Raši is attested once in the same text as a man from Mari and once with a man from Ḥarši. In documents dated to the fourth year, he is attested alongside people from Šimaški, Šašru, Šuruthum and Ḥurti. However, if the frequency of the collocations of the toponyms were to be reflective of Zidaḥri’s location, then we could posit a location somewhere in Ilam or Kermanshah province due to the frequent occurrence of Ḥarši. The relevant texts are: P105979 / BIN 3, 173; P110438 / HUCA 29, 77 no. 6; P294907 / JCS 57, 28 no. 5; P130514 / Nisaba 30, 42; P128915 / SACT 1, 160; P126505 / PDT 2, 1170; P124285 / OIP 121, 555; P142961 / MVN 20, 28; P116174 / MVN 11, 161.

⁷³¹ One text mentions Šimaškians and Zidaḥrians as recipients of animals in relation to an oath sworn in the temple of Ninurta, probably for their employment in the Ur III military (P111926 / JCS 14, 111 no. 14): **1 udu 1 maš2 nam-erim2 e2 nin-urta mu LU2.SU u3 zi-da-aḥ-re^{ki}-ke4-ne-še3** “1 sheep (and) 1 goat (for) the oath (sworn in) the temple of Ninurta on behalf of the Šimaškians and Zidaḥrians” (on this oath, see above in section on Lullubum). However, the men from Šimaški and the men from Zidaḥri are distinguished in the text.

⁷³² Steinkeller, “On the Dynasty of Šimaški,” 292 n. 43.

⁷³³ P131597 / TCL 2, 5508 (1/06/AS04).

PN ₄ dam PN ₂	PN ₅ lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a PN ₆
PN ₅ lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a GN	PN ₇ lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a PN ₈
PN ₆	PN ₉ lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a PN ₁₀
PN ₇	PN ₁₁
mar-tu-me	PN ₁₂
	LU.SU-me

It is not entirely certain whether the designations at the end of the two sections qualify the whole section or the last couple of names in each section. The designation **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** could stand for the sole qualification of PN₅ in section one and PN₉ in section two, thus separating them from PN₆₋₇ and PN₁₁₋₁₂ who are labelled **mar-tu-me** and **LU₂.SU-me** respectively. However, PN₁ of section one (Naplanum) is designated as an Amorite in other texts and therefore the designation could apply to all names listed in each section. If that is the case, then it can only be stated that those designated as envoy (**lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a**) were further qualified as Šimaškians, not the persons for whom they acted as envoys. This is evident with the first name in section two, which mentions Amur-ilam the envoy of Libanugšabaš the ruler of Marḥaši. It is conceivable that the ruler of Marḥaši employed a Šimaškian as his representative in Babylonia; it is harder to accept that the ruler of Marḥaši was a Šimaškian himself, especially when there is no evidence to support this. Thus Raši employed as his envoy Šebi who may have been a Šimaškian, but Raši himself is not designated as a Šimaškian. That Raši could have employed people from Šimaški is unproblematic, since Zidanum was situated near Kimaš, which seems to have bordered Šimaškian territory.⁷³⁴

⁷³⁴ Steinkeller has demonstrated that the toponym Abullat was located within Zidanum (see P112927 / MDP 10, 73 no. 125) and called “the mountain range of Kimaš (**ḥur-saĝ ki-maš-ka**: Gudea St. B vi 21-23); Steinkeller, “Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa,” 308-310.

Thus in the administrative documentation there is virtually no association between Sigreš or Buli(um) and Šimaški, supporting the notion that Šimaški in the administrative archives denotes a kingdom contiguous with Anšan and perhaps with Kimaš, but not a “loose confederation” consisting of the other “principalities” listed in the inscriptions. The association of those territories with Šimaški comes almost solely from the two fragmentary Šu-Suen inscriptions and the inscription of Arad-Nanna the **sukkal-mah**. As previously noted, these inscriptions are fragmentary in the critical parts and therefore the relationship between them and Šimaški is not straightforward. Though Bulma is stated as having been in the land of Šimaški, the geopolitical realities behind such a statement are not evident.⁷³⁵ The inscription of Arad-Nanna associates Šimaški and Karda by the use of the conjunction **u3**, though this association may have simply been geographical and not necessarily political.⁷³⁶ The idea of Šimaški as a confederation, if it did include polities such as Sigreš and Lullubum, likely coalesced only in the latter part of the dynasty of Ur and may have been a brief, ephemeral alliance that did not survive Šu-Suen’s campaign. Again, the data concerning the fall of Ur and Kindattu all focus on Khuzistan and Fars; the northern places are not mentioned. Perhaps the scenario was one in which Šimaški, a kingdom extending from the northern part of the modern province of Fars, possibly centered on/around modern Yasuj,⁷³⁷ and extending as far north as Arak or Hamadan and bordering the toponyms listed in the Šu-Suen inscriptions, came into an alliance with those polities as well as with Zabšali further north that was disrupted and

⁷³⁵ Were Bulma and its territories a province of Šimaški or simply its vassal? Or were they an independent, yet allied, kingdom surrounded by an expanding kingdom of Šimaški?

⁷³⁶ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 324: E3/2.1.4.13: **šakkan6 LU2.SU^{ki} u3 ma-da kar-da^{ki}-ka** “general of Šimaški and the territory of Karda.” Note that Arad-Nanna is also called the general of Ḥamazi and (**u3**) Karahar, though there is no reason to assume an association, other than geographical, between the two toponyms.

⁷³⁷ Steinkeller (“New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers,” 223) placed Yabrat’s domain halfway between Anšan and Ḥuḥnuri (vicinity of Ramhormuz).

disbanded after Šu-Suen's campaign. This scenario is still speculative and must await further data.

Little can be said about the rest of the Šimaškian personnel listed in the table above other than that they were present in Mesopotamia and received livestock for consumption or that they were involved in sending animals to Puzriš-Dagan.⁷³⁸ An interesting exception is ̒un-Šulgi, a well-known military officer of the Ur III kingdom,⁷³⁹ attested in texts stemming from Šulgi's forty-sixth year until Ibbi-Suen's second year,⁷⁴⁰ and labeled as a Šimaškian in two documents from Puzriš-Dagan.⁷⁴¹ A seal impression designates him as the general of Umma and his latest attestation is an Umma tablet that also designates him as a general.⁷⁴² Thus like ̒ašip-atal of Marḥaši,

⁷³⁸ One exception is P131604 / TCL 2, 5515 (9/14/ŠS07) which lists a delivery of small amounts of silver by two Šimaškians to an Ur III official in Nippur.

⁷³⁹ ̒un-Šulgi is designated as a **sukkal** in an undated Umma messenger text (P200062 / Nisaba 1, 8) and **nu-banda₃** in two documents of which only one preserves a date of Amar-Suen's eighth year; P142171 / YOS 4, 107 (8/--/AS08) and P109149 / DoCu Strasbourg, 64 (--/--/----). Three messenger texts from Iri-Saḡrig specifically label him as a general (**šakkan₆**; P333758 / Nisaba 15/2, 331; P453774 / Nisaba 15/2, 330; P453738 / Nisaba 15/2, 271) and date to Šu-Suen's fourth and fifth years. It is uncertain whether he was promoted from **nu-banda₃** to **šakkan₆** early in Šu-Suen's reign, or whether **šakkan₆** was an honorary title not specifically related to rank (Adams has suggested that the term "may sometimes have signified a hereditary rank, like lord or marquess, and only secondarily (or not at all) as general"; Robert McC. Adams, "Old Babylonian Networks of Urban Notables," *CDLI* (2009:7): 4. It should be noted that in **gun₂ ma-da** texts those of the rank of general are never designated as **šakkan₆** but **nu-banda₃** along with the other officers, though they are labelled as the **ugula** "overseer" of the garrison. Goetze ("Šakkanakkus of the Ur III Empire," 18) has noted that a document designates ̒un-Šulgi as an Amorite (**mar-tu**) and thereby assumed that he was of Syrian origin, though the designation **mar-tu** seems to have often been used as a professional designation rather than an ethnic label, especially in the Girsu messenger texts; Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 110-111.

⁷⁴⁰ BDTNS attributes two tablets referencing ̒un-Šulgi as dating to Šulgi's fourth decade, one to his 36th year (P131349 / SAT 1, 240) and the other to his 37th (P202522 / Nisaba 8, 7). The former tablet bears a year name which could refer either to Šulgi's 36th year or Amar-Suen's 9th year. This tablet contains the seal impression of Ur-Šugalama the scribe and son of Dada. The only other tablets bearing this seal impression date from Šu-Suen's 3rd year to Ibbi-Suen's 9th, and therefore our text must date to Amar-Suen's 9th year. The latter tablet bears the apocopated date **mu bad₃ ba-du₃** "The year the wall was built" which often signifies Šulgi's 37th year, but can be used to designate Šu-Suen's 4th year when he built the Muriq Tidnim wall. For example, the tablet P340764 / BPOA 2, 211 bears the same date formula but also bears the seal impression of Akala the son of Lu-buluḡa, the chief leatherworker. This seal is attested from Šulgi's 46th year to Ibbi-Suen's third year and therefore this must be a shortened form of the Šu-Suen year-name instead of the Šulgi year-name.

⁷⁴¹ P125827 / PDT 1, 411 (--/--/----) and P125945 / PDT 1, 529 (--/29/----).

⁷⁴² P104537 / AUCT 3, 325 and P145184 / SAT 3, 1984.

we have a foreign man drafted into a command position in the Ur III military. Perhaps an oath taken by some Šimaškians and Zidaḥrians at the Ninurta temple at Nippur should be understood in a similar context.⁷⁴³

Šimaški occurs as an origin and destination of travel in both the Girsu and Iri-Saḡrig messenger texts whose shared jurisdiction suggests, as noted above, a location for the territory in the mountains and on the Iranian plateau to the east of Khuzistan and Luristan. Unsurprisingly, the Girsu texts do not provide year dates, but the Iri-Saḡrig corpus shows a relatively steady stream of travelers from the latter part of Amar-Suen's reign and into the reign of Ibbi-Suen, occurring both before and after Šu-Suen's campaign. The titles of the personnel in the Girsu texts demonstrate that personnel related to the military (**dumu nu-banda₃**, **aga₃-us₂ gal**, and **lu₂-^{giš}tukul gu-la**), though not uncommon, do not predominate like they do with Ḫuḫnuri, suggesting that much of the intercourse between Šimaški and Ur did not necessarily involve military affairs.

Table 25: Personnel Travelling to/from Šimaški in Girsu Messenger Texts

Text	Person	Title	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	GN-[x]	Date
CTPSM 1, 189	i-ṣur-i ₃ -li ₂	k		x		4/--/----
P123002	DINGIR-ma-zu	k	x			5/--/----
P110153	DINGIR-ba-ni	skl		x		5/--/----
P110331	šu- ^d IŠKUR	k			x	1/--/----
P111790	i-ti-da	skl		x		2/--/----
P107022	ur- ^d suen	skl			x	2/--/----
P115781	ip-ḫur	k	x			4/--/----
P206200	nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂	---	x			1/01/----
P202112	[...]	ltgl			x	12/03/----
P356033	puzur ₄ -šuba ₃ šu-gu-du	skl skl	x x			9/25/----
P406054	ša-ru-um-da-ad	skl		x		10/16/----
P124393	šu-i ₃ -li ₂	dnb		x		5/--/----
P202551	i-ṣur-i ₃ -li ₂	skl	x			4/--/----
P128513	ur-nigar _x ^{gar}	k	x			6/--/----

⁷⁴³ P111926 / JCS 14, 111 no. 14 (9/17/ŠS01).

P128530	a-a-ni-šu na-ra-am-e ₃	skl aug		x x		5/--/----
P128253	i-ti-da	---		x		2/--/----
P131220	a-ad-da	ltgl	x			10/18/----
P131250	a-bu-ni	aug		x		5/--/----
P131253	šu-la-a DINGIR-ba-ni	dnb aug	x x			5/--/----
P131257	šu- ^d nin-šubur	dnb		x		7/--/----

Table 26: Personnel Travelling to/from Šimaški in Iri-Saĝrig Messenger Texts

Text	Person	Title	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	Mission	Date
P285682	i-tu-ni-šu	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	3/09/AS08
P453641	er ₃ -ra-ba-ni ^d nanše-ba-ni	lkl lkl	x x		ki lugal-še ₃ ki lugal-še ₃	5/27/AS08
P453652	nu-ur ₂ - ^d IŠKUR ^d IŠKUR-ILLAT	lkl lkl		x x		12/01/AS08
P453731	bu-la-lum ku-ku	lkl šuš ₃ ; lkl		x x		3/12/ŠS03
P453733	a-mur- ^d suen arad ₂ -ĝu ₁₀	skl; lkl lkl		x x		3/18/ŠS03
P333667	puzur ₄ - ^d inana	lkl		x		6/25/ŠS04
P453579	nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂ šu- ^d DUMU.ZI	lkl lkl		x x		2/17/ŠS06
P453961	i-ti-a	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	7/--/IS01
P387973	šu-na-da i-ti- ^d suen	lkl lkl	x	x	ud gud si-maš-kum ^{ki} -ta e ₂ -gal-še ₃ mu-la-ḥa-a	8/18/IS01
P453931	i-šar-li ₂ -ša	lkl		x		9/28/IS01
P387975	i-šar-li ₂ -si	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	1/09/IS02
P388023	sa ₆ -a-ga	lkl		x		5/10/IS02
P454044	kur-bi- ^d suen	lkl	x		ki lugal-še ₃	5/11/IS02
P387986	da-a-a sa ₆ -a-ga	lkl lkl	x	x	ki lugal-še ₃	5/18/IS02
P454046	lu ₂ - ^d nanna	lkl		x		5/--/IS02
P387888	a-ḥa-ni-šu	lkl		x		6/07/IS02
P454095	ur-nigar _x ^{gar}	lkl		x		12/--/IS02

An interesting facet about the messenger texts from Girsu is the high frequency of attestations of Šimaškian highlander groups traveling to and from southern Mesopotamia.⁷⁴⁴ These bands are the most commonly attested, comprising twenty-six percent of all highlander groups in the Girsu corpus. When combined with highlander

⁷⁴⁴ For the details of this summary, see Chapter 4 and Appendix F.

groups from Anšan, the second most commonly attested, the percentage jumps to forty-two; thus Šimaškians and Anšanites comprise nearly half of the foreigners travelling between southern Mesopotamia and the east. Intriguingly, the toponym most frequently associated with their point of departure is not Šimaški, but Anšan, and Šimaškian highlander groups are not uncommonly paired with Anšanite bands. These groups left Girsu province destined primarily for Šimaški, though once they were noted as traveling to Susa and another time as traveling to Kimaš. This again affirms the close connection between Šimaški and Anšan as well as the more limited association with Kimaš. Like the Mesopotamian officials traveling to and from Šimaški, the intermediaries (**ĝiri3**) for these highlander groups primarily bore the designation **sukkal**, with military titles comparatively rare. Šimaškian groups are also the most common foreign element traveling into southern Mesopotamia in the Iri-Saĝrig messenger texts and are attested in the Umma messenger text archive as well.

II.2.11: 𒁫𒂊𒎶𒍪

II.2.11.a: Dates of Campaigns and the Location of the Toponym

𒁫𒂊𒎶𒍪 is listed as the object of military action twice in the year names of the Ur III kings - once in Amar-Suen's seventh year and then twenty years later in Ibši-Suen's ninth year.⁷⁴⁵ The full name of Amar-Suen's seventh year is:

**mu ^damar-^dsuen lugal urim⁵ki-ma-ke₄ bi₂-tum-ra-bi₂-um^{ki} i₃-ab-ru^{ki} ma-da
ma-da-bi u₃ 𒁫𒂊-uh₂-nu-ri^{ki} mu-ḫulu**
“The year Amar-Suen the king ‘ruined’ all the territories of Bitum-rabium,
Yabru, as well as 𒁫𒂊𒎶𒍪”

Different archives placed slightly different emphases on the different objectives of the campaign. Texts from Girsu only reference 𒁫𒂊𒎶𒍪 by reducing the full name to “the year 𒁫𒂊𒎶𒍪 was ruined”.⁷⁴⁶ This phrase is a common way to date documents of this year from Umma as well, but close to ten percent of the Umma texts dated to this year only reference Bitum-rabium (**mu bi₂-tum-ra-bi₂-um^{ki} ba-ḫulu**). Tablets from Puzriš-Dagan are primarily dated via the apocopated 𒁫𒂊𒎶𒍪 name, though there are a few occurrences in which the full year name is attested. The other main archives, Nippur, Ur, Garšana and Iri-Saḡrig, only reference 𒁫𒂊𒎶𒍪 in their date formulae. This suggests that 𒁫𒂊𒎶𒍪 was the crowning achievement of this campaign season, with Bitum-rabium rarely attested and the occurrences of Yabru negligible.

⁷⁴⁵ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 239, 363; Sallaberger and Schrakamp, *History and Philology*, 50.

⁷⁴⁶ The toponym is written as 𒁫𒂊-uh_{2/3}-nu-ri^{ki}, 𒁫𒂊(-ḫu)-nu-ri^{ki} and 𒁫𒂊-u₄-uh₂-u₄-nu-ri^{ki}.

The full name of Ibbi-Suen's ninth regnal year is not fully attested. It occurs in a date-list from the Old Babylonian period that includes some of Ibbi-Suen's year names along with some of the year names of the following Isin dynasty,⁷⁴⁷ as well as in an administrative document that exhibits some variation.⁷⁴⁸ The extant materials do not allow for an easy translation:

mu ̣u-uh₂-nu-ri^{ki} saĝ-kul ma-da NIM^{ki} a₂? dugud-bi ba-ši-de₆ [x]-šum₂-be₂ sa bi₂-in-ĝar

“Year that forces were mightily brought against ̣uḥnuri, the (locking) bolt of the territory of Elam, (and) placed a net(?) over its [...].”

mu ^di-bi₂-^dsuen lugal urim⁵-ma-ke₄ ̣u-uh₂-nu-ri^{ki} KA.BAD ma-da an-ša-an^{ki}-še₃ [x] dugud ba-ši-in-de₆ [...] gin₇ a₂ maḥ [...] bi₂-[...]

“Year that Ibbi-Suen the king of Ur brought mighty strength against ̣uḥnuri, the bolt/open mouth⁷⁴⁹ of the territory of Anšan, like [...] (and) [...] great might.”

Regardless of the exact translation, it is agreed that this year name refers to some sort of military action against ̣uḥnuri.

The location of ̣uḥnuri has generally been sought in the southeastern portion of Khuzistan, or even further to the southeast. The *Répertoire Géographique* notes that ̣uḥnuri has been proposed to be located at modern Izeh, situated no more than fifty miles to the northeast of Ramhormuz, as well as in the region of Persepolis.⁷⁵⁰

⁷⁴⁷ UET 1, 292.

⁷⁴⁸ P137708 / UET 3, 1383.

⁷⁴⁹ It is not sure if the writings of these signs are erroneous forms for **saĝ-kul**: **saĝ** = 𒂗𒂗, **ka** = 𒂗𒂗; **kul** = 𒂗𒂗, **bad** = 𒂗𒂗, or whether an alternate phrase **ka bad** was intended; Frayne (*Ur III Period*, 363) posits **ka bad**. An investigation of the phrase “open mouth” (**ka(g) bad** / *pû peṭû*) in Sumerian and Akkadian sources may help to clarify this, but such a study is beyond the scope of this essay. Note the variation of **ma-da NIM^{ki}** and **ma-da an-ša-an^{ki}**.

⁷⁵⁰ Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, 77-78.

Duchene's article on the localization of Huh̄nuri surveyed the earlier suggestions and then posited Arrajan, about five miles to the north of modern Behbahan.⁷⁵¹ Potts followed Duchene's position.⁷⁵² Frayne suggested the possibility of another place whose name was homophonous with the Huh̄nuri of Elam, and posited a location in the foothills of the Zagros between modern Kifri and Tawuq, just to the southeast of modern Kirkuk.⁷⁵³ Nasrabadi localized Huh̄nuri at Tappeh Bormi, less than two miles southwest of Ramhormuz, due to an inscription allegedly found at the site.⁷⁵⁴ This location has been accepted by Steinkeller⁷⁵⁵ and seems to be the tentative consensus. However, Abbas Alizadeh has challenged this position due to a lack of a secured provenience for the inscription (only rumored to be from the Ramhormuz region) and to his survey results which suggested that the area was unoccupied until after the Ur III period.⁷⁵⁶ Nevertheless, archaeological survey is not always as precise a tool as some would believe and may not be enough to overturn the emergent consensus.⁷⁵⁷ Additionally, the phrase

⁷⁵¹ J. Duchene, "La Localisation de Huh̄nur," in *Fragmenta historiae Elamicae: mélanges offerts à M. J. Steve*, ed L. De Meyer et al. (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986): 65-73.

⁷⁵² Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, 124.

⁷⁵³ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 239.

⁷⁵⁴ Nasrabadi, "Eine Steininschrift des Amar-Suena aus Tappeh Bormi (Iran)," 161-162.

⁷⁵⁵ Steinkeller, "New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers," 223 and Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," 294 n. 9.

⁷⁵⁶ Abbas Alizadeh, "The Problem of Locating Ancient Huh̄nuri in the Ram Hormuz Region," *NABU* (2013, 37): 65.

⁷⁵⁷ Roger Matthews, *The Archaeology of Mesopotamia: Theories and Approaches* (London: Routledge, 2003): 51. A good example, of which I am familiar, of the limitations of survey results comes from Khirbet Qeiyafa, a small, fortified settlement along the Elah Valley at the edge of what was Philistine and Israelite territory. A survey of the site and surrounding region by Yehuda Dagan ("Khirbet Qeiyafa in the Judean Shephelah: Some Considerations," *Tel Aviv* 36 (2009): 68-81) led him to produce a settlement sequence of the site which consisted of occupation in the Middle Bronze Age (2000-1550), as well as Iron I (1200-1000), Iron IIB-C (925-970) and Hellenistic periods. Actual excavation of the site has shown no evidence of Middle Bronze, Iron I or Iron IIB-C occupation. Rather, some regions of the site had a Hellenistic assemblage while the majority of what was excavated contained an early Iron IIA (1000-925) assemblage, under which was virgin soil (see Yosef Garfinkel and Saar Ganor, "Khirbet Qeiyafa in Survey and Excavations: A Response to Y. Dagan," *Tel Aviv* 37 [2010]: 67-78). Therefore we see in this instance a disagreement over survey and excavation results, and in a case like this the excavation results should be favored. While Alizadeh's caution in identifying Tappeh Bormi with Huh̄nuri is warranted, it should

“bolt of the land of Anšan” in Ibbi-Suen’s year name suggests this region was the gateway to the territory of Anšan, which accords well with Tappeh Bormi. Not wanting to entirely dismiss Alizadeh’s reasonable objections, perhaps we can hold Tappeh Bormi as the tentative location of Ҳуһнuri and the results of Duchene’s study, Arrajan, as a possible alternative.

In the early 2000s a stone inscription of Amar-Suen was found, as mentioned above, at Tappeh Bormi, a five-hectare tell located roughly three kilometers southwest of Ramhormoz, in the Khuzistan region of Iran, though it was originally much larger, around eighteen hectares.⁷⁵⁸ The inscription relates the defeat and plundering of Ҳуһнuri by Amar-Suen’s “warriors”⁷⁵⁹ and the subsequent rebuilding of the local deity’s temple and establishment of the town as (possibly) Bit-Amar-Suen. The Akkadian transcription and a translation are provided here:

*Amar-Suen dannum šar Urim u šar kibrātīm arba'im inu ina awāt Enlil rabītīm qardīšu in 30⁷ sikkātīm ištīnâ išpurūma Ҳуһнuri ušāridu⁷ u Ruḫuratir išlul[...]
ana maḥar Enlil bēlīsu ūru'aššu Ninḫursaḡ ana Amar-Suen mārīša dīnšu idīnma
ana ālīšu utīršu [...]šu bīssu ibnīšum u ālam Bīt'-Amar-Suen šumšu iškun
“Amar-Suen, the strong, king of Ur, king of the four quarters - when, at the great
command of Enlil, he sent⁷⁶⁰ his champions, in 30 units,⁷⁶¹ as one and brought*

nevertheless not be ruled out based on an absence of evidence of occupation as so exhibited by the results of surveying.

⁷⁵⁸ Nasrabadi, “Eine Steininschrift des Amar-Suena aus Tappeh Bormi (Iran),” 161-162.

⁷⁵⁹ Written in this text as *qar-di-šu* and obviously related to the **gar₃-du** known in administrative documents in the latter half of his reign; for more on these soldiers, see below in chapter 3.

⁷⁶⁰ Nasrabadi (“Eine Steininschrift des Amar-Suena aus Tappeh Bormi,” 164) reads *iš-pu-ur₂-ma*, though perhaps it should be read *iš-pu-uru₈-ma* to account for the expected subordination suffix.

⁷⁶¹ The text has KAK-*tim*, which is generally rendered as *sikkatum* “peg, nail”, but which seems to also refer to another, homophonous verb with an uncertain meaning - though it seems to be able to denote a military expedition or an army; Nasrabadi, “Eine Steininschrift des Amar-Suena aus Tappeh Bormi,” 168-169 (citing CAD vol. 15, 251-252). This is the only portion of the text in which my translation differs from Nasrabadi’s. I understand the text to be saying that Amar-Suen sent 30 units of “warriors” who acted in concert to defeat Ҳуһнuri. Nasrabai understands it as Amar-Suen sending his warriors on 30 expeditions against the city (*seine qardu-Truppen in 30 “Feldzügen” jede einzeln gesandt hat*); his position would be more tenable if the “30” is to be read as “3”: *ibid*, 163.

down⁷⁶² Huḫnuri, and carried off Ruḫuratiṛ - he led him (Ruḫuratiṛ) before Enlil, his lord. Ninhursag, rendered a decision for Amar-Suen, her son, and returned him (Ruḫuratiṛ) to his city. He (Amar-Suen) built his [...] and his temple for him, and established the city, Bit⁷-Amar-Suen (being) its name.”

Nasrabadi notes that this text refers only to the plundering of Ĥuĥnuri and that there is no reference to Bitum-rabi’um or Yabru, which are mentioned in the *plene*-version of Amar-Suen’s seventh year name. Tappeh Bormi was situated on the route between Susa and Anšan,⁷⁶³ where the Khuzistan plain begins to narrow between the westernmost folds of the Zagros range and the coast of the Persian Gulf, which may have been further inland and surrounded by marshes in antiquity. Thus this location illuminates Ĥuĥnuri’s designation as “the bolt of the territory(s) of Anšan” (**ḥu-uh₂-nu-ri^{ki} saĝ-kul ma-da an-ša-an^{ki}**)⁷⁶⁴ that would had to have been “unlocked” for further (land) access into Anšanite territory.⁷⁶⁵ The inscription relates the return of Ruĥuratir, the tutelary deity of Ĥuĥnuri, to his city and the subsequent reorganization (?) and renaming of the city to Bit-Amar-Suen. The new name of the city is not attested in the Ur III administrative corpus.

As mentioned above, the cities of Bitum-rabium and Yabru, along with their hinterlands, were subject to the same campaign as Huh̄nuri. Bitum-rabium, as an Akkadian toponym, is not attested outside of the year name. It may occur logographically as E₂.GU.LA^{ki} in one text from Puzriš-Dagan listing livestock given to generals and named personnel including men of Simurru, Mahhili, an envoy from

⁷⁶² The reading is unsure; Sallaberger proposed *u₃-ša-ri²-id²-su²* though Nasrabadi prefers *u₃-ša-ri²-di²-u₂²* (ibid, 169). It should be noted that the Š-stem of *warādu*, thus “to bring down”, is not elsewhere attested in reference to the defeat of a city (see CAD 1/2, 217-220).

⁷⁶³ Nasrabadi, "Eine Steininschrift des Amar-Suena aus Tappeh Bormi," 171.

⁷⁶⁴ Ibbi-Suen's ninth regnal year

⁷⁶⁵ This city seems to have been bypassed by Šulgi, who likely used a maritime route for his invasion of Anšan; Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 5.

Šimaški, and Idadu the son of Biliba the **ensi**₂ of E₂.GU.LA^{ki}.⁷⁶⁶ Yabru occurs only once outside of the year name in the Ur III administrative corpus.⁷⁶⁷ This text lists livestock given to errand-runners (**lu₂-kas₄**), as well as animals for the ruler of Duḥduḥne, a couple of Šimaškians, the Ur princess betrothed to the man of Simanum, and Billi the envoy of Susuwadar the man of Yabru (**1 udu niga bil₂-li lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a su₂-su₂-wa-da-ar lu₂ i₃-a-ab-ru^{ki}**). These expenditures were most likely received in or around Puzriš-Dagan and the different locales listed in this document cannot be assumed to be located near each other; the text simply records expenditures to foreigners from throughout the periphery who happen to be within the kingdom at the same time.

It is difficult to judge precisely when the campaign took place. If we use BDTNS to look at the year-names of Amar-Suen's seventh year, we encounter approximately forty-one occurrences of the temporary year-name formula (**mu us₂-sa (a-ra₂ 2-kam) ša-aš-ru^{ki} ba-ḥulu** "The year after (the second time) Šašrum was 'ruined'"), the vast majority of which come from Umma province. However, we run into a problem, since unless the year name explicitly states that it was the second defeat of Šašrum (**a-ra₂ 2-kam**), corresponding to the full name of Amar-Suen's seventh year, there is the potential for ambiguity due to the fact that the year-name for Šulgi's forty-second is "the year Šašrum was 'ruined'." Therefore we will only consider the dates that mention the "second ruination" of Ḫuḥnuri,⁷⁶⁸ with the results as follows:

⁷⁶⁶ Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, 27, 44. P129476 / SET 66 (2/26/AS09).

⁷⁶⁷ P131031 / MVN 15, 216 (3/09/ŠS01).

⁷⁶⁸ Mistakes in date attribution in the database, as to be expected in a project of its magnitude, are not uncommon and it is beyond of the scope of this study to try to determine which year name formulae belong to which year. It should be noted that the texts which do not provide the **a-ra₂ 2-kam** phrase that are still attributed to AS07 date, with rare exceptions, from the first to third months.

Month	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
mu-us₂-sa	10	--	2	--	--	1	--	--	--	--	--	--
ḥulu	101	83	114	87	112	156	152	157	116	120	132	168

mu us₂-sa = temporary year-name

ḥulu = official year-name

As this table shows, there is only a tiny fraction of tablets explicitly dated with the **mu us₂-sa** formula and a fairly consistent number of tablets with the **ḥulu** notation, suggesting that the formula “the year Ḥuḥnuri was defeated” was already standard throughout the kingdom in the first month. This in turn prompts the understanding that the campaign against Ḥuḥnuri (along with Bitum-rabium and Yabru) took place in the previous year. This is in accord with the text that lists beer and bread provisions given to the unnamed ruler (**ensi₂**) of Ḥuḥnuri in the first month of Amar-Suen’s seventh year.⁷⁶⁹ A document from Puzriš-Dagan dating to the latter part of Amar-Suen’s eighth year that mentions captains and **gar₃-du** receiving animals when they came back from campaign does not militate against this, for these troops could have remained at Ḥuḥnuri until things had settled in the wake of the campaign and the commanding officials felt secure enough to send the army away.⁷⁷⁰ Additionally, one tablet, a Girsu messenger text, records plunder from Ḥuḥnuri but does not provide anything more than the month of the expenditures.⁷⁷¹

⁷⁶⁹ P290446 / BPOA 7, 2295 (1/--/AS07).

⁷⁷⁰ P135098 / TRU 334 (8/10/AS07): **20 la₂ 1 udu 40 la₂ 1 us / 2 uds / šu-gid₂ / mu nu-banda₃ u₃ gar₃-du** **amar-^dsuen kaskal-ta er-ra-ne-še₃** “19 rams, 39 ewes (and) 2 nanny-goats - a selection for the captains and ‘champions’ of Amar-Suen who came from the campaign.”

⁷⁷¹ P128256 / Rochester 151 (8/--/----) and its duplicate P111792 / JAOS 33, 28 no. 3: **30 geme₂ 3 sila₃ dabin 5 gin₂ i₃-ḡi₃-ta / ne-ra-aš ak ḥu-ḥu-nu-ri^{ki}-me / ḡiri₃ iš-me-a lu₂-kas₄ / ḥu-ḥu-nu-ri^{ki}-ta du-ne₂** “30 female workers each (received) 3 liters of semolina (and) 5 liters of *iḡi₃*-oil - they are prisoners-of-war from Ḥuḥnuri. Via Išmea the errand-runner, when they came from Ḥuḥnuri.”

II.2.11.b: Political Organization and Relationship to the Kingdom of Ur

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>“Governor / Ruler” (ensi₂)</i>		<i>“Man of / One of” (lu₂)</i>	
Ħuĥnuri	---		pu-zu	
	1/--/AS07	P290446	4/10/AS07	P340515

As mentioned above, one unnamed **ensi₂** is attested at the beginning of Amar-Suen’s first year as the recipient of over five thousand liters of semolina (**dabin**) and nearly four thousand liters of beer. This ruler may be the same person as Puzu the **lu₂** Ħuĥnuri whose son Dadda[x]li received a javelin in Puzriš-Dagan when he left to go to the governor of Umma in order to bring out loaned grain.⁷⁷² This transaction was conducted under the supervision of the general Aĥuni with the **sukkal-maĥ**, Arad-Nanna, as the authorizing agent (**maškim**).

A number of tablets show a substantial presence of Ħuĥnurians in southern Mesopotamia following Amar-Suen’s campaign. There are six documents from Girsu dating to Šu-Suen’s second year that list provisions of beer and bread for a group of Ħuĥnurians; these can be best presented in tabular form:

Date	Commodities				Text	Additional
	<i>good beer</i>	<i>average beer</i>	<i>“hand” bread</i>	<i>average bread</i>		
1/15/ŠS02	none	none	none	none	P127760	ša ₃ e ₂ -gal
10/01/ŠS02	48 l.	838 l.	718 l.	448 l.	P133083	ša ₃ e ₂ -gal
10/13/ŠS02	none	none	none	none	P114398	ša ₃ e ₂ -gal
10/--/ŠS02	48 l.	838 l.	718 l.	448 l.	P110566	ša ₃ e ₂ -gal
10/--/ŠS02	none	none	none	none	P111129	ša ₃ e ₂ -gal / ša ₃ Ga’eš

⁷⁷² P340515 / BPOA 2, 2681 (4/10/AS07): **1 za₃-mi-ri₂-tum / da-ad-da-[x]-li / dumu pu-zu lu₂ ĥu-uĥ₂-nu-ri^{ki}-ka / ud ensi₂ umma^{ki}-ka-še₃ / še ur₅-ra e₃-e₃-de₃ / i₃-ġen-na-a šu ba-an-ti / ugula a-ĥu-ni / arad₂-^dnanna maškim / ša₃ e₂ puzur₄^{iš}-^dda-gan** “1 javelin Dadda[x]li the son of Puzu the man of Ħuĥnuri received when he went to the governor of Umma in order to withdraw the loaned grain. The overseer (was) Aĥuni; Arad-Nanna was the authorizing agent. Within the estate/temple of Puzriš-Dagan.”

11/01/ŠS02	48 l.	836 l.	718 l.	448 l.	P133318	ša ₃ e ₂ -gal
12/10/ŠS02	48 l.	842 l.	718 l.	460 l.	P133316	ša ₃ e ₂ -gal

The context of these expenditures is obscure; the recipients are always designated as being **ša₃ e₂ gal** which could either be translated as “in the palace” or, perhaps better, “inside the (waystation) complex” if the expenditures are related in any way to the messenger text genre.⁷⁷³ The multiple texts dated to the tenth month demonstrate that these expenditures were more frequent than monthly provisions, but the occurrence of texts which list no commodities being expended suggests that they were less frequent than daily disbursements. The amounts of commodities given to the Huhnurians suggest a group of over a hundred people, perhaps even a few hundred. Three texts from Umma record disbursements of reed bundles (**sa gi**) for Huhnurians, though again the context is obscure.⁷⁷⁴

Five texts from Girsu list boats on **bala**-duty (**ma₂ bala-a gub-ba**), with one preserving a date towards the end of Amar-Suen’s eighth year. These lists enumerate the boats and their cargos of goods, animals and personnel that traveled from the province to the capital cities.⁷⁷⁵ In each of these lists appears one 18,000-liter boat allocated for men from Huhnuri; thus Girsu province was responsible for providing ships as part of its **bala**-obligation for the transport of Huhnurians, though the status and tasks of these foreigners remains obscure.⁷⁷⁶

⁷⁷³ For details on waystation complexes, see chapter 4.

⁷⁷⁴ P119244 / MVN 16, 1196 (7/10/ŠS02): 252 reed bundles; P141662 / UTI 6, 3665 (---/ŠS02): 1222 reed bundles; P141446 / UTI 5, 3428 (---/ŠS05): 240 reed bundles.

⁷⁷⁵ Tonia Sharlach, *Provincial Taxation and the Ur III State*, CM 26 (Leiden: Styx, 2004): 86-90.

⁷⁷⁶ P110792 / TCTI 1, 922 (11/29/AS08); P110877 / TCTI 1, 1007 (---/---); P416108 (---/---); P416110 (---/---); P416113 (12/--/AS08 or AS09). Lafont views these shipments as exceptional and possibly linked to the demise of Amar-Suen; Bertrand Lafont, “Game of Thrones: The Years When Šu-Suen Succeeded Amar-Suen in the Kingdom of Ur,” in *The First Ninety Years: A Sumerian Celebration in Honor of Miguel Civil*, SANER 12, eds. Lluís Feliu et al. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017): 194-195.

A balanced account from Umma of grain used for beer dating to Amar-Suen's eighth year mentions 7200 liters of beer for ̒uḥnurians that was sealed/received by the general Abuni.⁷⁷⁷ Earlier in the text there is reference to 4800 liters of good beer and 37,710 liters of average-quality beer for the soldiers (**aga3-us2**).⁷⁷⁸ The text does not provide any chronological data other than the year-name, so it is unsure if these beer expenditures were for a single day, month or the entire year, and thus this renders useless any speculation about the number of people involved. The date of the text, as well as the reference to the soldiers and the general, may be clues that these beer expenditures were related to the campaign against ̒uḥnuri. If so, it would show that soldiers designated as **aga3-us2**, omitted from the Tappeh Bormi inscription, were present in the campaign.

Both the Umma and Girsu messenger texts record groups of ̒uḥnurian highlanders (**NIM**) traveling to, from and within southern Mesopotamia.⁷⁷⁹ They are the most commonly attested highlander group in the Umma tablets, appearing as early as the second month of Amar-Suen's seventh year and as late as the second month of Šu-Suen's sixth year. The Girsu messenger texts show that these highlander groups were traveling to and from Mesopotamia well before Amar-Suen's campaign. A summary messenger text from the Gu'abba waystation records small groups of ̒uḥnurians at the end of Šulgi's forty-eighth year, while a single commodity receipt mentions them in Amar-Suen's fifth year.⁷⁸⁰ They traveled not only from ̒uḥnuri, but also from Anšan and AdamDUN, and are once noted as having traveled at the command of the governor of Sabum (**u3-na-a-dug4 ensi2 sa-bu-um^{ki}**).

⁷⁷⁷ P130353 / STA 3 (---/AS08): rev. col. ii, lines 5-8.

⁷⁷⁸ Obv. col. iii, lines 6-8.

⁷⁷⁹ For details, see Appendix F.

⁷⁸⁰ P317781 / Nisaba 22, 71 (12d---/Š48) and P204832 / Nisaba 22, 1 (6---/AS05).

The discussion above has shown the not uncommon presence of Ҳуһнурians in southern Mesopotamia, not just after the campaign against their city, but years prior. Therefore the question arises as to the purpose of their presence in the land of Sumer and Akkad. As will be discussed in chapter four, the highlander groups came to Mesopotamia for multiple reasons, whether to transport livestock taxes or for employment as laborers. Some were drafted into the military establishment. A text from Puzriš-Dagan records the expenditure of a sheep for a ritual of the Sebitti consumed by a detachment of Ҳуһнурian “champions” in a field named “Amar-Suen (is) the plot manager of Enlil.”⁷⁸¹ Possibly related, in the remuneration for their services, is a text recording fields surveyed in Girsu from which Ҳуһнурian men (**ḡuruš**) received plots of land, though a designation of **šuku** “subsistence (field)” is absent.⁷⁸²

Not only did groups of Ҳуһнурians travel between Ҳуһнuri and Mesopotamia, but officials and personnel of the kingdom of Ur did as well. The majority of the associated titles are of a military nature (**šakkan**₆, **dumu nu-banda**₃, **nu-banda**₃, **aga**₃-**us**₂ **gal**, and **lu**₂-**ḡi**^š**tukul**) and the two texts which include a year-name date to Šu-Suen’s first year. One interesting thing to note are the royal scribes who traveled from Ҳуһнuri. Unfortunately, without a date or additional information in the document, we can only speculate about the reasons for their trip to the foreign city, whether to record the king’s victory over the city or for administrative purposes.

⁷⁸¹ P106209 / BIN 3, 402 (6/10/AS08): **1 udu niga / du**₆ **ur-saḡ** **7 / uzu-bi gar**₃-**du lu**₂ **ḡu-uh**₂-**nu-ri**^{ki}-**ke**₄-**ne ba-ab-gu**₇ / **ḡiri**₃ **da-da sagi / a-tu sagi maškim / ša**₃ **a-šag**₄ **amar-**^d**suen-engar-**^d**en-lil**₂-**la**₂. For the Sebitti, see F. A. M. Wiggerman, “Siebengötter A,” *RIA* 12 (2009): 459-466.

⁷⁸² P102529 / ASJ 14, 228 no. 79 (---/---).

Table 27: Personnel Travelling to/from Huḫnuri in Girsu Messenger Texts

Text	Person	Title	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	GN-[x]	Date
P105792	ur- ^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂	lt		x		10/08/----
CTPSM 1, 189	šu-a-zi la-a-mu	dnb aug	x x			4/--/----
P122964	i-ti-šu-ni-im	aug		x		2/--/----
P123001	a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂ -a	dnb		x		4/--/----
P110038	lugal-an-na-tum ₂ a-ḫu-šu-ni	skl skl		x x		6/04/----
P111790	a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂	skl	x			2/--/----
P106896	al-ba-ni	lt		x		7/--/----
P114464	ka ₅ ^a -mu nimgir-inim-ge-na ur-ḡar	lt dsl dsl	x x x			6/16/----
P114478	in-du-še ₃ ti-ni-ti	lt rg		x x		12/28/----
P202087	in-da-pa ₃	---		x		6/--/----
P356004	la-qī ₃ -ip	škn		x		11d/04/----
P127682	a-gu-a	---		x		3/26/----
P127686	a-zu-ra zi ₂ - ^d ISKUR lugal- ^d utu	skl k k	x x x			4/22/----
P127693	puzur ₄ -um la-qī ₃ -ip	skl nb			x x	3/09/----
P128508	e ₂ -a-ni-šu lugal-mas-su	skl uk		x x		1/--/----
P128530	ša-i ₃ -li ₂ ba-ba-a	aug aug	x x			5/--/----
P128253	DINGIR-ra-bi	skl	x			2/--/----
P128536	še-il-ḫa da-a-a	--- ⁷⁸³ k				
P131223	lu ₂ -sa ₆ -ga i-bi ₂ -i ₃ -zu	dnb ---		x x		2/--/----
P131253	a ₂ -pi ₅ -la-num ₂ KAL-i ₃ -li ₂	skl dnb	x	x		5/--/----
P131257	ud-du-ša	šlkr	x			7/--/----
P132234	šar-ru-i ₃ -li ₂	lt		x		8/--/----
P132319	e ₂ -a-ra-bi	lt		x		5/03/ŠS01
P132923	u ₂ -ši-nu-ru-um	lt		x		8/--/----
P132634	in-da-ši-ir ₁₁ šeš-kal-la	lt lt	x x			6/--/----
P132650	ma-at-i ₃ -li ₂	lt		x		12/27/----
P132731	maš-ba-lum	škn		x		10/--/----
P132733	ur- ^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂	---	x			4/30/----
P132746	ša-ar-i ₃ -li ₂ ši-a-la-šu ti-i ₃ -ti	lt lt lt		x x x		11d/--/----
P132994	a-na-ḫi-li	lt	x			3/--/ŠS01
P133113	[...] a-ki-a	lt lt			x	2/--/----
P133338	ur- ^d šul-pa-e ₃	lt		x		7/27/----

⁷⁸³ Called **lu₂ ḫu-li-bar-a** “man of Hulibar” (ruler/general of Duḫduḫne).

P113524	da-ga	lt			x	10/--/----
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skl = sukkal, k = lu₂-kas₄, rg = ra-gaba, dnb = dumu nu-banda₃, nb = nu-banda₃,
 škn = šakkan₆, aug = aga₃-us₂ gal, lt = lu₂-^{ēis}tukul, slkr = šeš lukur, dsl = dub-sar lugal

Nevertheless, the documentation we have on 𒂍𒌷𒍪nuri shows somewhat intensive contact between the city and the kingdom of Ur well before and after Amar-Suen's campaign against it, with officers and officials traveling to the city and groups of 𒂍𒌷𒍪nurians present in Mesopotamia, some drafted within the military. The degree of incorporation, if any, into the kingdom of Ur remains uncertain for there are, at present, no records of a diplomatic marriage, no **gun₂ ma-da** texts, and no references at all to goods coming from 𒂍𒌷𒍪nuri to southern Mesopotamia.

II.2.12: Simanum

II.2.12.a: Date of Campaign

The campaign against Simanum is attested both in a year-name and in a lengthy, yet fragmentary, royal inscription. The full year-name of Šu-Suen's third year is:

mu ^dšu-^dsuen lugal urim⁵ki-ma-ke⁴ si-ma-num²ki mu-ḥulu

“The year that Šu-Suen the king of Ur ‘ruined’ Simanum”⁷⁸⁴

though the vast majority of the names of this year utilize the apocopated form: “The year that Simanum was ‘ruined’ (**mu si-ma-num²ki ba-ḥulu**). Interactions with Simanum occurred well before the reference to the campaign of Šu-Suen. Arip-atal, the son of the **ensi²** of Simanum, is attested as having delivered bears to Babylonia in Šulgi's forty-fifth year. Two other pertinent documents dating to Šulgi's reign are P390958 / BPOA 7, 2488 (2/--/Š47) and P107705 / CST 193 (10/25/Š47). The first is quite interesting, for it mentions sheep expended for offerings on the bank of the Titin River, in a place called Kiniḥum and in Simanum (**ša³ si-ma-nu-um^{ki}**). The most interesting part concerns the following three lines: **šu-niġin² 31 udu maš² ḥi-a / siškur² ša³ kaskal-la-še³ / zi-ga-am³** “total of 31 assorted sheep (and) goats is the expenditure for sacrifices within the **kaskal**.” Depending on how one understands **kaskal**, this may refer either to offerings made when Mesopotamian diplomats present in Simanum concluded a treaty with its

⁷⁸⁴ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 287. For an example, see P106368 / BIN 3, 561.

ruler, or to offerings made in Simanum and the surrounding territory during a campaign in the region which brought Simanum into some sort of subordinate relationship to Ur. Undoubtedly related is the latter document which recorded livestock expended for the kitchen on behalf of Zarriqum the **lu₂** of Aššur, some named personnel and the “one” or “ones” of Simanum in Nippur.⁷⁸⁵

An inscription of Šu-Suen commemorates the campaign referenced in the year-name.⁷⁸⁶ Though quite fragmentary, it portrays the rebellion of Simanum, Ḫabura and their territories by their expulsion of the Ur III princess resident there, who was the seal of a diplomatic alliance. After the description of the mayhem unleashed by Šu-Suen, the text states that the royal daughter was reinstated with the servitude of Simanum and Ḫabura bestowed to her. Elements of the defeated populations were deported to the border of Nippur, where they resided in a town built for them also named Simanum. As Sallaberger has shown, a series of administrative documents are related to the passages in the Šu-Suen inscription that describe his settling of prisoners-of-war in this new town:⁷⁸⁷

**saĝ erim₂-ĝal₂ nam-ra-aš-ak-ne₂ dⁿen-lil₂ dⁿnin-lil₂-r[a] ki-sur-r[a] nibru^{ki}-ka
si-ma-nu[m₂^{ki}] ki m[u-ne]-ĝar [iri^{ki}-bi mu-n]e-du₃ . . . iri^{ki}-ba d^šu-d^suen
diĝir-bi-im**

“For the enemy slaves, his plunder, he (Šu-Suen) founded Simanum at the border of Nippur and built the (their) town for (the benefit of) Enlil and Ninlil...Šu-Suen is the god of their town.”⁷⁸⁸

⁷⁸⁵ P107705 / CST 193 (10/25/Š47): **6 udu niga / 4 maš₂-gal niga / e₂-muḫaldim-še₃ / mu za-ri₂-iq lu₂ a-šurs^{ki} / šu-d^šul-gi / ti-ša-an-da-ḫi / u₃ lu₂ ši-ma-nu-um^{ki}-ke₄-ne-še₃** “6 grain-fed sheep (and) 4 grain-fed billy-goats for the kitchen on behalf of Zarriq the man of Aššur, Šu-Šulgi, Tišandaḫi and the man/men of Simanum.”

⁷⁸⁶ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 295-300: E3/2.1.4.1.

⁷⁸⁷ Sallaberger, “From Urban Culture to Nomadism,” 442-443. For prisoners-of-war from Simanum, see P453799 / Nisaba 15/2, 369 (10/--/ŠS06) and P453965 / Nisaba 15/2, 623 (8/--/IS01), both from the Iri-Saĝrig archive.

⁷⁸⁸ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 298-299: E3/2.1.4.1 col.iv, lines 34-46 (my translation).

Most of the documents stem from Nippur, are dated to the sixth month of Šu-Suen's eighth year⁷⁸⁹ and refer to inspections of agricultural workers available for the day (š_u-niĝin₂ x ĝuruš gub-ba-am₃ gurum₂ ak ud 1-kam).⁷⁹⁰

II.2.12.b: Political Organization and Relationship to the Kingdom of Ur

Following the references to Simanum in Šulgi's reign are occurrences of the toponym and persons associated in texts dating to the reign of the remaining kings of the Ur III dynasty. The following anthroponyms are associated with Simanum:

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>“Governor / Ruler” (ensi₂)</i>	<i>“Man of / One of” (lu₂)</i>
Simanum	bu-ša-am 4/--/AS06 P134757	a-[ri ₂ ³]-ip-a-tal 12/24/Š45 P117483
		[x-x]-na 11/02/AS01 P102956
		bu ₍₃₎ -ša-am 8/03/AS05 P142576
		8/12/AS05 P118479
		11/16/ŠS05 P129501
		--/--/---- P330397
		ar-pa ₂ -tal <i>dumu Bušam</i>
		12/29/AS08 P136226
		9/11/AS09 P117412
		2/11/ŠS01 P303722
		2/19/ŠS01 P429765
		3/09/ŠS01 P131031
		4/01/ŠS01 P104507
		6/21/ŠS01 P105197
		6/26/ŠS01 P129380

⁷⁸⁹ P121148 / NATN 450 (6/07/ŠS08); P134610 / THM NF 1-2, 300 (6/12/ŠS08); P134611 / THM NF 1-2, 301 (6/19/ŠS08); P134612 / THM NF 1-2, 302 (6/20/ŠS08); P134613 / THM NF 1-2, 303 (6/21/ŠS08); P134614 / THM NF 1-2, 304 (6/26/ŠS08); P121399 / NATN 701 (--/--/ŠS08).

⁷⁹⁰ They are called “troops” (**eren₂**) of Simanum.

		^d šu- ^d suen-PI-zu-um-i-šar-re 9/09/ŠS02 P126772 9/17/ŠS02 P126264 9/--/ŠS02 P124924 ip-ḫu-ḫa <i>dumu Bušam</i> 3/25/IS01 P111899
--	--	--

Bušam was given the designation of **ensi**₂ when his envoy, Puzur-Aššur, came from Simanum to Puzriš-Dagan in Amar-Suen's sixth year and received a ring of silver.⁷⁹¹ He was designated simply **lu**₂ Simanum when he was present for the Tummal festival in the previous year,⁷⁹² as well as in the document dating to Šu-Suen's fifth year in which he delivered a bear.⁷⁹³

Ar(i)p-atal is attested as early as the end of Šulgi's forty-fifth year as having sent a number of bears in a delivery to Puzriš-Dagan.⁷⁹⁴ Otherwise, in the reigns of Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen he is always attested as a recipient of livestock, usually in Nippur, though also in Ur. Nearly half of the references to Arip-atal are indirect and instead refer to his bride, Kunši-matum. Michalowski was able to determine that the royal daughter mentioned in the Šu-Suen inscription was the same as the Kunši-matum attested in archival documents.⁷⁹⁵ The earliest attestation of Kunši-matum dates to Amar-Suen's fifth year and concerns a delivery of animals from Bušam, Ipḫuḫa, who is designated as his son, and Kunši-matum, who is given the designation **e**₂-**gi**₄-**a**.⁷⁹⁶ Otherwise she is attested only in Šu-Suen's first year as a recipient of livestock for consumption in

⁷⁹¹ P134757 / TSDU 36 (4/--/AS06).

⁷⁹² P142576 / ZA 80, 28 (8/03/AS05) and P118479 / MVN 15, 199 (8/12/AS05).

⁷⁹³ P129501 / SET 91 (11/16/ŠS05).

⁷⁹⁴ P117483 / MVN 13, 710 (12/24/Š45).

⁷⁹⁵ Piotr Michalowski, "The Bride of Simanum," *JAOS* 95 (1975): 716-719.

⁷⁹⁶ P128638 / SA 35 (6/12/AS05).

Nippur.⁷⁹⁷ In these texts she is called the **e2-gi4-a** Ar(i)p-atal **lu2** Simanum, with one exception in which she is not given any designation. The Akkadian equivalent of the word **e2-gi4-a**, *kallātum*, can mean “daughter-in-law, wife of a son living in her father’s household; sister-in-law” and “bride.”⁷⁹⁸ Michalowski, noting that Kunši-matum is attested as **e2-gi4-a** over a number of years and as the **e2-gi4-a** of both Bušam and Airp-atal, but not Ipḥuḥa, thought she must therefore have been given to Bušam as a bride for his son Ipḥuḥa.⁷⁹⁹ However, due to the frequency with which she is designated as the **e2-gi4-a** Arip-atal and considering the semantic range of the term **e2-gi4-a**, it may be best to assume that she was the bride of Arip-atal.⁸⁰⁰

Ipḥuḥa, also a son of Bušam, is first attested with his father in Amar-Suen’s fifth year as having provided a delivery of animals and his sole other attestation comes from the first year of Ibbi-Suen, when he received livestock at Puzriš-Dagan.⁸⁰¹ Also attested is a **lu2** Simanum with an Ur III theophoric name, Šu-Suen-wuzum-išarre, in the ninth month of Šu-Suen’s second year, as a recipient of livestock. There is not enough context to establish his relationship to the governance of Simanum or to the house of Ur.

The location of Simanum⁸⁰² is, unsurprisingly, not known. Frayne posited Sinānu as a later spelling of the toponym and suggested that it was located at modern Sinan, situated just a few kilometers north of the confluence of the Batman and Tigris Rivers.⁸⁰³

⁷⁹⁷ P429765 (2/19/ŠS01); P125988 / PDT 1, 572 (2/22/ŠS01); P131031 / MVN 15, 216 (3/09/ŠS01); P104507 / AUCT 3, 294 (4/01/ŠS01).

⁷⁹⁸ CAD vol. 8, 79-82; CDA, 142. Michalowski (“The Bride of Simanum,” 718) noted that the Akkadian uses might have differed in nuance from those of the Sumerian term.

⁷⁹⁹ Ibid, 719.

⁸⁰⁰ **e2-gi4-a** could possibly indicate a status of betrothal.

⁸⁰¹ P128638 / SA 35 (6/12/AS05) and P111899 / JCS 10, 28 no. 5 (3/25/IS01).

⁸⁰² With the spellings **ši-ma-nu-um/num₂^{ki}**, **si-ma-nu-um/num₂^{ki}**, **a-ši-ma-nu-um/num₂^{ki}** and **a-si-ma-nu-um/num₂^{ki}**; Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2, 165-166.

⁸⁰³ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 288-290.

Sallaberger, following earlier studies, assumed a connection with Old Babylonian Šinamum and Neo-Assyrian Sinabu and therefore a possible location at modern Pornak roughly fifteen kilometers southeast of Diyarbakir.⁸⁰⁴ However, it is uncertain whether Simanum was situated as far to the northeast as these locations suggest. Simanum seems to have been closely associated with the territory that would later become known as the land of Aššur. The inscription of Šu-Suen repeatedly associates Simanum with Ḫabura, stating that both places and their territories rebelled against Šu-Suen and expelled his daughter from the region; she was later given the servitude of both Simanum and Ḫabura as a gift.⁸⁰⁵ Ḫabura, generally thought to have been located near the confluence of the Tigris and Little Khabur River,⁸⁰⁶ was associated with Mardaman, Talmuṣ and Nineveh.⁸⁰⁷ Mardaman has recently been localized at Bassetki based on finds of Middle Assyrian tablets in the 2017 excavation season.⁸⁰⁸ Further association between Mardaman and Talmuṣ, the latter equated with the Neo-Assyrian Talmus and localized in the vicinity of Jarahiya near Dohuk,⁸⁰⁹ comes from a text listing animals expended in Ur for the **lu**₂s of both polities.⁸¹⁰ A couple of texts correlate Simanum with the later

⁸⁰⁴ Sallaberger, “From Urban Culture to Nomadism,” 436-437, 442.

⁸⁰⁵ See Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 292-299: E3/2.1.4.1. The relevant sections are col. iii, lines 30’-37’; col. iv, lines 4’-10’; col. iv, lines 21’-25’ and 29-33.

⁸⁰⁶ Sallaberger, “From Urbanism to Nomadism,” 436.

⁸⁰⁷ Two documents (P124344 / OLP 8, 9 no. 6 and P107680 / CST 168) dating to Š47 mention animals expended for the envoys of the **lu**₂s of Ḫabura and Mardaman in Nippur, the latter text explicitly associating the two toponyms: **5 udu niga / 5 maš₂-gal niga / e₂-muḫaldim-še₃ / mu lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lu₂ mar-da-ma-ni^{ki} / lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lu₂ ḫa-bu-ra^{ki} / u₃ kas₄-ke₄-ne-še₃** “5 grain-fed sheep (and) 5 grain-fed billy-goats to the kitchen for the envoy of the man of Mardaman, the envoy of the man of Ḫabura and their errand-runners.” The association of Ḫabura with Talmuṣ and Nineveh stems from a **gun₂ ma-da**-type document which lists contributions of cattle from the three locales (P105106 / BCT 1, 4).

⁸⁰⁸ “Cuneiform tablets from Bassetki reveal location of ancient royal city of Mardaman,” available at Universität Tübingen; www.uni-tuebingen.de/en/newsfullview-landingpage/article/cuneiform-tablets-from-bassetki-reveal-location-of-ancient-royal-city-of-mardaman.html; accessed 13 June 2018.

⁸⁰⁹ Sallaberger, “From Urbanism to Nomadism,” 437.

⁸¹⁰ P136226 / UDT 92.

Assyrian capitals of Nineveh and Aššur,⁸¹¹ and the name of one of the envoys of the ruler of Simanum, Puzur-Aššur, suggests a potential connection between Simanum and the region of Assyria.⁸¹²

Personnel from these polities were present in Babylonia in the latter part of Šulgi's reign, some as providers of animals for deliveries to Puzriš-Dagan, but most often as recipients of fattened livestock for consumption. As we can see the envoys for the rulers of Mardaman and Ḫabura and "men" of Simanum, Nineveh, Talmuš and Aššur were all present in Babylonia in Šulgi's forty-seventh year:

9/29/Š44: Zarriq the "man" of Aššur provided a goat as part of a delivery to Puzriš-Dagan

1/--/Š46: 1 fattened ox and 10 fattened sheep for the envoys of the "men" of Ḫabura and Šahu'an

9/04/Š46: 1 fattened ox and 5 fattened sheep for the "man" of Ḫabura (along with many other **lu₂** GNs)

3/09/Š47: 2 fattened cattle and 20 fattened sheep/goats for the envoys of the "men" of Mardaman, Ḫabura, Gigibinium, Duḫduḫne and [...]

3/14/Š47: 10 fattened sheep/goats for the envoys of the "men" of Mardaman and Ḫabura, and their errand-runners

5/16/Š47: "Man" of Talmuš provided 10 male donkeys as part of a delivery to Puzriš-Dagan

7/05/Š47: 10 fattened sheep/goats for the "men" of Simanum and Nineveh

10/13/Š47: 3 fattened sheep/goats for Zarriq the "man" of Aššur

⁸¹¹ P105170 / BCT 1, 68: **5 udu niga 5 maš₂-gal niga / e₂-muḫaldim / mu lu₂ ši-ma-nu-um u₃ lu₂ ni-nu-a-še₃** "5 grain-fed sheep (and) 5 grain-fed billy-goats (to) the kitchen for the man of Simanum and the man of Nineveh." P107705 / CST 193: **6 udu niga / 4 maš₂-gal niga / e₂-muḫaldim-še₃ / mu za-ri₂-iq lu₂ a-šur₅^{ki} / šu-^dšul-gi / ti-ša-an-da-ḫi / u₃ lu₂ ši-ma-nu-um^{ki}-ke₄-ne-še₃** "6 grain-fed sheep (and) 4 grain-fed billy-goats to the kitchen for Zarriq the man of Aššur, Šu-Šulgi, Tišandaḫi and the man of Simanum."

⁸¹² P134757 / TSDU 36. Steinkeller ("Tiš-atal's Visit to Nippur," 15 n. 8) preferred a more southerly location than north of the Tur Abdin, based partly on the geographical information in Amar-girid's campaign against Naram-Suen.

10/15/Š47: 1 fattened ox for Zarriq the “man” of Aššur

10/25/Š47: 10 fattened sheep/goats for Zarriq the “man” of Aššur and the “man” of Simanum

Again, this suggests that these localities were in the same general vicinity as Mardaman, Ḫabura and Talmuš, all situated in the modern Dohuk Governate. Though the documentation for these polities is overall scarce, the references to them in Šulgi’s reign and the attestation of Kunši-matum the bride of Simanum in Amar-Suen’s reign demonstrate that this region was in (probably frequent) contact with Babylonia well before Šu-Suen’s campaign.

As the tables below show, some of the personnel from these locales delivered animals, not just received them, and some of these “rulers” were generals in service to Ur, such as Zarriq(um), as his inscription attests.⁸¹³ This raises the question of the status of this region vis-à-vis the kingdom of Ur. Aššur has been considered to have been incorporated into the kingdom of Ur as a peripheral territory⁸¹⁴ as well as to have been the northernmost province of the Ur III empire.⁸¹⁵ Further to the northeast, Urbilum is generally understood to have been subject to Ur as a peripheral garrison town,⁸¹⁶ though

⁸¹³ A. Kirk Garyson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Third and Second Millennia BC (to 1115 BC)*, RIMA 1, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987): 9: A.O.1003: *bīt Bēlet-ekallim bēlatīšu ana balāt Amar-Suen dannim šar Urim u šar kibrātīm arba’im Zarriqum šakkanak Aššur warassu ana balātīšu īpuš* “Zarriqum, the general of Aššur, his (Amar-Suen’s) servant, built the temple of Belet-ekallim, his lady, for the life of Amar-Suen, the strong, king of Ur and king of the four quarters (and) for his (own) life.” This text was inscribed on a stone plaque found in the Ištār temple at Aššur.

⁸¹⁴ Steinkeller, “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State,” 38-40; Maeda, “The Defense Zone during the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty,” 150.

⁸¹⁵ Sallaberger, “From Urban Culture to Nomadism,” 434.

⁸¹⁶ Whiting, “Tiš-atal of Nineveh and Babati, Uncle of Šu-Suen,” 177; Steinkeller, “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State,” 36-40; Maeda, “The Defense Zone during the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty,” 154; Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 159-160. Note, however, that the map on page 132 in Sallaberger and Schrakamp, *History and Philology*, does not include Urbilum as having been under Ur III control.

Nineveh, only seventy-five kilometers from Urbilum, is thought to have been independent of Ur.⁸¹⁷ Opinions on the status of Nineveh vary from independent ally⁸¹⁸ to autonomous vassal city.⁸¹⁹ Therefore we see a degree of uncertainty with regard to the precise relationships of the kingdoms and city-states outside of southern Mesopotamia with the kingdom of Ur; this is due in part due to a lack of clarity and consistency when using terms to define the degree of incorporation these polities had with the Ur III state and in part to the incomplete and laconic nature of our sources.⁸²⁰ Barjamovic has recently presented a good argument that Aššur was incorporated in some form into the Ur

⁸¹⁷ Whiting, “Tiš-atal of Nineveh and Babati, Uncle of Šu-Suen,” 177; Richard L. Zettler, “Tiš-atal and Nineveh at the end of the Third Millennium BC,” in *If a Man Builds a Joyful House: Assyriological Studies in Honor of Erle Verdun Leichty*, CM 31, eds. Ann K. Guinan et al. (Leiden: Brill, 2006): 503, 506; Sallaberger, “From Urban Culture to Nomadism,” 443-444; Steinkeller, “Tiš-atal’s Visit to Nippur,” 15; Michalowski, “Aššur in the Ur III Period,” 149.

⁸¹⁸ For example, Michalowski, “Aššur in the Ur III Period,” 149.

⁸¹⁹ For example, Sallaberger, “From Urban Culture to Nomadism,” 443-444.

⁸²⁰ Sallaberger’s statement (“From Urban Culture to Nomadism,” 434 n. 104) “The ample documentation of the Ur III period allows always a clear decision between the status of province or vassal in the region concerned here (northern Mesopotamia)” is categorically false. A number of scenarios could have been operative:

Degree of Incorporation	Governance	Relationship to Ur	Additional
fully independent	local ruler	neighbor / none	trade / no interaction
fully independent	local ruler	ally	sent gifts, assistance
semi-autonomous	local ruler	vassal	owed tribute to Ur
semi-autonomous	local ruler local general	vassal vassal garrison	owed tribute to Ur owed gun₂ ma-da
semi-dependent	local ruler Babylonian general	vassal royal settlement / garrison	owed tribute owed gun₂ ma-da
fully dependent	Babylonian governor Babylonian general	peripheral town royal settlement / garrison town	owed taxes owed gun₂ ma-da
fully dependent	Babylonian general	royal settlement / garrison town	owed gun₂ ma-da
fully dependent	Babylonian governor	province	owed taxes / bala -duties

1. “Babylonian” governor or general can refer to royal appointees who were not native to Babylonia.
2. Semi-autonomous and semi-dependent are used to show, in the gradient of incorporation, a position closer to independent for the former and a position closer to dependent for the latter. This issue is treated further in the following chapter and still needs more study.

III empire, whether as a vassal or an imperial province.⁸²¹ The arguments for the independent status of Nineveh are relatively weak. Whiting posited that Nineveh was outside of Ur's control due to the rarity of attestations of the city in Ur III documentation and the (admittedly speculative) assumption that Tiš-atal of Nineveh was the same person as Tiš-atal the ruler of Urkeš and Tiš-atal the king of Karahar.⁸²² However, the first point makes the fallacy of negative proof,⁸²³ while the second point is based off of nothing more than general chronological propinquity and that they seemed to have been considered important in sight of the royal administration of Ur. Whiting's stance has generally been accepted though Tiš-atal's visit to Nippur⁸²⁴ and the livestock delivery from the **ensi₂** of Talmuš along with deliveries of the troops (**eren₂**) of Ḫabura and Nineveh⁸²⁵ have had interpretations of some variance. Sallaberger saw these documents in the context of Šu-Suen's Simanum campaign; the reference to animals delivered by troops was not related to the **gun₂ ma-da** tax, but rather was a kind of tribute delivered at the occasion of the presence of the army of Ur, and Tiš-atal subsequently came to Babylonia to swear an oath of allegiance as a vassal.⁸²⁶ Steinkeller suggested that Tiš-atal, a subject of Simanum, the latter being allied to southern Mesopotamia via dynastic

⁸²¹ G. Barjamovic, *A Historical Geography of Anatolia in the Old Assyrian Colony Period*, CNIP 38 (Copenhagen: Carsten Niebuhr Institute of Near Eastern Studies, 2011): 4-5 n. 15. It should be noted that troops (**eren₂**) of Aššur delivered livestock (P126176 / PDT 2, 811: 12/16/AS--) and a military liaison is attested there as well (**ḫa-za-num₂**; P248907: 3/25/AS05), both features of royal settlements which populated both the provincial territories as well as the frontier; Steinkeller, *Covée Labor in Ur III Times*, 351-353.

⁸²² Whiting, "Tiš-atal of Nineveh and Babati, Uncle of Šu-Suen," 173-182.

⁸²³ Fischer, *Historian's Fallacies*, 47-48. Whiting thought that Urbilum was under Ur III control, but outside of the toponym's occurrence in year-names, there are less than a dozen references to the city in the administrative corpus. Additionally, the Ur III fortress town of Išim-Šulgi is known to have been firmly under Ur III control due to texts referring to its payment of both **gun₂ ma-da** and **bala** duties, but it too has only a few references in the administrative corpus. Thus the vagaries of preservation and discovery could easily account for the scarcity of references to Nineveh.

⁸²⁴ NABU 7, 15 (9/28/ŠS03).

⁸²⁵ P105106 / BCT 1, 4 (3/18/ŠS03).

⁸²⁶ Sallaberger, "From Urban Culture to Nomadism," 443-444 and n. 128.

marriage until the daughter of the Ur III king was ousted by an internal power struggle, may have come to the military aid of Šu-Suen and therefore received a change in status to first-rank vassal, which was ritually expressed by his oath-taking at Nippur.⁸²⁷ The troops that delivered livestock were, contra Sallaberger, southern Mesopotamian military colonists settled at Nineveh and Ḫabura by Šu-Suen.⁸²⁸ It is often understood that the oath taken by Tiš-atal at Nippur was solely a vassalage oath,⁸²⁹ but it may not have been limited to the ruler swearing allegiance to the king of Ur. It could have also, or primarily, involved swearing an oath of military service as frontier guardsmen to protect and police their native region and serve alongside the armies of Ur that happened to campaign nearby. This is suggested by similar references to men of Šurbu who took an oath at the Ninurta temple in Nippur in Šu-Suen's first year; they are then attested as soldiers in a **ḡun2 ma-da** text in his sixth or eighth year.⁸³⁰

Thus the precise status of this region in relationship to Ur is uncertain, but it seems that Šu-Suen's campaign against Simanum pacified this region probably until the early years of Ibbi-Suen.

⁸²⁷ Steinkeller, "Tiš-atal's Visit to Nippur," 14-15.

⁸²⁸ Ibid, 15-16 and n. 5, 11 and 12. His understanding of the **eren2** as Babylonian colonists stems from its synonymous use with **dumu-gir15** in other administrative documents; Steinkeller, "Corvé Labor in Ur III Times," 350 n. 8.

⁸²⁹ Steinkeller, "Tiš-atal's Visit to Nippur," 14; Sallaberger, "From Urban Culture to Nomadism," 443-444.

⁸³⁰ P128927 / SACT 1, 172 (---/ŠS01): **1 udu 1 maš2 nam-erim2 e2 4nin-urta / mu lu2 šu-ur2-bu^{ki}-ke4-ne-še3** "1 sheep (and) 1 goat (for) the oath (sworn in) the temple of Ninurta (for) the men of Šurbu." P104420 / AUCT 3, 198 (9/13/ŠS06 or ŠS08): **15 udu u2 / 37 maš2-gal u2 / aga3-us2 lu2 šu-ur2-bu^{ki}-me / ugula ta2-ḫi-iš-a-tal** "15 grass-fed sheep (and) 37 grass-fed goats (from) the soldiers who are men of Šurbu. Taḫiš-atal (is) the overseer." See also the reference to the oath sworn by Lullubean captains above. The fact that these oaths were conducted at the temple of Ninurta, the male war deity *par excellence*, may be another indicator of the martial purposes of these oaths.

Tables 28-32: the Personnel Associated with the Region of Simanum

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>“Governor / Ruler” (ensi₂)</i>	<i>“Man of / One of” (lu₂)</i>	<i>Received (R) Sent (S)</i>
Mardaman	---	<div> <div>---</div> <div> 3/09/Š47 P124344 3/14/Š47 P107680 10/13/AS08 P126482 </div> </div> <div> NE-ri-iš-a-tal 10/06/AS05 P122541 </div> <div> na-ak-da-ma-ri 10/17/AS08 P131590 </div> <div> gu-zu-zu 12/29/AS08 P136226 </div>	R R R S R R

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>“Governor / Ruler” (ensi₂)</i>	<i>“Man of / One of” (lu₂)</i>	<i>Received (R) Sent (S)</i>
Talmuš	a-ab-ba-a ⁸³¹ 8/23/AS07 P112231 8/25/AS07 P124202 8/29/AS07 P113795	<div> <div>ḫi-li-iš</div> <div> 5/16/Š47 P106312 3/18/ŠS03 P105106 </div> </div> <div> a-ri₍₂₎-ip-ḫu-up-pi₂⁸³² 12/29/AS08 P136226 3/--/AS09 Sumer 59, 98 no. 3 </div>	S S R S

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>“Governor / Ruler” (ensi₂)</i>	<i>“Man of / One of” (lu₂)</i>	<i>Received (R) Sent (S)</i>
Ḫabura	---	<div> mu-šu-ḫur-da 1/--/Š46 P109240 </div> <div> --- 9/04/Š46 P112091 3/09/Š47 P124344 3/14/Š47 P107680 10/--/AS07 P109323 </div>	R R R R R

⁸³¹ The context of all occurrences is the receipt of livestock for consumption while attending the Tummal festival.

⁸³² The text dated to Amar-Suen's 9th year designates Aripḫuppi as **simug lu₂ tal-muš^{ki}-ke₄** “a smith, a man of Talmuš.” That this phrase is not to be translated as “a smith of the man of Talmuš” is shown by his designation as solely **lu₂** Talmuš in his other attestation and by the fact that A'abba'a, the **ensi₂** of Talmuš, was likely still ruler at the time of the references to Aripḫuppi.

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>“Governor / Ruler” (ensi₂)</i>	<i>“Man of / One of” (lu₂)</i>	<i>Received (R) Sent (S)</i>
Nineveh	ti-iš-a-tal 9/28/ŠS03 NABU 2007, 15	--- 7/05/Š47 P105170 ti-iš-a-tal 1-/--/ŠS03 P112023	R R

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>“Governor / Ruler” (ensi₂)</i>	<i>“Man of / One of” (lu₂)</i>	<i>Received (R) Sent (S)</i>
Aššur	za-ri ₂ -iq	za-ri ₂ -iq	S
	--/--/----	9/29/Š44 P117479	R
	P112336	10/13/Š47 P248736	R
	--/--/----	10/15/Š47 P143751	R
		10/25/Š47 P107705	S
		12/22/AS05 P100983	R
		11/09/----	P332038
			R
		i-ti-a-šur Š46-AS09 P454105	

Map 5: The Northern Political Landscape



II.2.13: Zabšali

Zabšali is mentioned in two year-names, in one as the target of Mesopotamian aggression and in the other as an ally. Zabšali is the only other polity, alongside Anšan, which is attested in the year-names as having been subjected to both hostile and diplomatic action, though with Anšan the diplomacy preceded the hostile action while with Zabšali diplomacy followed in the wake of a campaign. The reality is undoubtedly more complicated since, as we saw with Simanum, relations between Ur and Zabšali could have occurred well before the latter's mention in Šu-Suen's seventh year-name. However, unlike the case for Simanum, there are no administrative documents which refer to Zabšali prior to its occurrence in the year-name. The two year names mentioning this region are:

(Šu-Suen 7): **mu dšu-dsuen lugal urim^{ki}-ma-ke⁴ ma-da za-ab-ša-li^{ki} mu-ḥulu⁸³³**
 “The year that Šu-Suen the king of Ur ‘ruined’ the territory of Zabšali”

(Ibbi-Suen 5): **mu tu-ki-in-GIDRU-mi-ig-ri-ša dumu-munus lugal ensi² za-ab-ša-li^{ki}-ke⁴ ba-an-tuku⁸³⁴**
 “The year that Tukin-ḫatti-migriša, the royal daughter, was taken (in marriage) by the ruler of Zabšali”

⁸³³ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 293. For an example of the full writing, see P248969. Though the long form is not uncommon, most tablets dated to this year bear the abridged forms: **mu ma-da za-ab-ša-li^{ki} mu-ḥulu** “the year that he ‘ruined’ the territory of Zabšali” and **mu ma-da za-ab-ša-li^{ki} ba-ḥulu** “the year that the territory of Zabšali was ‘ruined’.”

⁸³⁴ Ibid, 363. An example of the full writing is P145209 / SAT 3, 2009. Most occurrences of this year name omit the name of the royal daughter.

The year name for Šu-Suen's seventh year almost always includes the term **ma-da**, which can be understood to broadly mean "the country of GN" as well as the more narrow nuances of "territory, hinterland," or "frontier region."⁸³⁵ The fact that it is written with **ma-da** may suggest that territories belonging to Zabšali were invaded, but perhaps the capital city of the region was not attacked.

There are only three administrative documents which mention Zabšali outside of the year name. None of them mention an **ensi**₂ and the two occurrences which mention a person (**lu**₂) of Zabšali do not include a name:

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>"Governor / Ruler" (ensi₂)</i>	<i>"Man of / One of" (lu₂)</i>
Zabšali	---	---
		--/11/---- P330632
		--/25/---- P212264

The two texts mentioning a **lu**₂ of Zabšali are beer-expenditure lists which record amounts of beer for named individuals, unnamed individuals and bureaus. The proveniences of these texts are uncertain since they are only dated to the day, omitting the month and year. One of the texts (P212264 / Santag 6, 382) lists an errand-runner of Zabšali (**kas₄ za-ab-ša-li^{ki}**) who received double the amount of beer (20 liters) than the man of Zabšali received (10 liters), raising doubts to whether this **lu**₂ refers to the ruler. The only other document referencing the city is a messenger text from Umma mentioning provisions expended for the envoys of Anšan and Zabšali.⁸³⁶ Ironically, though this

⁸³⁵ Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 125-126. He notes (n. 6) that the term needs a full investigation.

⁸³⁶ P141490 / UTI 5, 3472 (12/--/IS01): **4(barig) kaš dida lugal / 4 (barig) zi₃ / 4 udu / 4 sila₃ i₃ lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a an-ša-an^{ki} u₃ za-ab-ša-li^{ki}-[ke₄-ne]** "240 liters of high-quality beer extract, 240 liters of flour, 4 sheep

toponym is the most rarely attested place name in the administrative corpus out of all the foreign locales mentioned in the year-names, it is the best attested in the royal inscriptions.

The inscriptions provide our only source for understanding regarding the location of Zabšali. Below are the relevant sections of the four inscriptions of Šu-Suen which mention this region:

1. E3/2.1.4.3 (col. ii line 14 to col. iii line 1):⁸³⁷

**ud-ba LU₂.SU^{ki} ma-da-ma-da za-ab-ša-li^{ki} zag an-ša-an^{ki}-ta a-ab-ba
igi-nim-ma-še₃ buru₅-gin₇ zi-ga-bi ni-bu-ul-m[a-at^{ki}] [xxx-a]^{ki} si-ig-
ri₂-i^{ki} a-lu-mi-da-tim^{ki} ga-ar-ta₂^{ki} a-ša-ḥa-ar^{ki} bu-ul-ma^{ki} nu-šu-šu-
ma-ar^{ki} nu-uš-ga-ne-lu-um^{ki} zi-zi-ir-tum^{ki} a-ra-ḥi-ir^{ki} ša-ti-lu^{ki} ti-ir-mi-
um^{ki} u₃ [.....]-da im-ma-da-e₃-eš [ensi₂?]-bi [me₃ šen-š]en-ba gaba
mu-na-da-ri-eš**

“On that day, Šimaški (and) all the territories of Zabšali, from the border of Anšan to the sea of the upper land, when they arose like (a swarm of) locusts, Nibulmat, [...]am, Sigreš, Alumdatim, Garta, Aşaḥar, Bulma, Nušušmar, Nušganelum, Zizirtum, Araḥir, Šatilu, Tirmium and [.....] they emerged with him (the ruler of Zabšali?), they confronted him (Šu-Suen) in battle and combat”

2. E3/2.1.4.4 (col. ii, lines 21'-23'):⁸³⁸

ud-ba LU₂.SU^{ki} ma-da-ma-da za-ab-ša-li^{ki} zag an-ša-an^{ki}-ta
“At that time, Šimaški (and) all the territories of Zabšali, from the border of Anšan...”

3. E3/2.1.4.5 (obv. lines 1-28):⁸³⁹

*Enlil iddiššumma ana Šu-Sîn dannim šar Urim u šar kibrātim arba'im
migir Enlil u Sîn mātāt Simaškim uḥalliḳ māt Zabšali māt Sigreš māt*

(and) 4 liters of oil (for) the envoys of Anšan and Zabšali.” The amounts expended were undoubtedly for both the envoys and their entourages.

⁸³⁷ Frayne, *The Ur III Period*, 301-306. Old Babylonian copies known as Šu-Suen Collection A; Dietz Otto Edzard, “Neue Inschriften zur Geschichte von Ur III unter ŠuSuen,” *AfO* 19 (1959): 1-32.

⁸³⁸ Ibid, 307-308. Old Babylonian copy. The text, following the description of the territory encompassed by Šimaški and Zabšali, is fragmentary.

⁸³⁹ Ibid, 308-312. Old Babylonian copies of two nearly identical inscriptions, the main difference being that one was dedicated to Enlil and the other to Ninlil. The rest of the inscription is quite fragmentary and refers to the flight of Indasu, the fashioning of a royal image out of the spoils of war and the customary curses for those who tamper with the inscription. Those sections have not been included in the edition above.

*Nibulmat māt Alumidatim māt Garta māt Šatilu napḥar 6 mātātīm Aṣaḥar
Bulma Nušušmar Nušganelum Zizirtum Araḥir [.....]*

“Enlil gave to Šu-Sin the strong, the king of Ur and king of the four quarters, the favorite of Enlil and Sin, the lands of Šimaški and he obliterated the land of Zabšali, the land of Sigreš, the land of Nibulmat, the land of Alumidatum, the land of Garta, the land of Šatilu - a total of six lands - (as well as) Aṣaḥar, Bulma, Nušušmar, Nušganelum, Zizirtum, Araḥir [.....]”

4. E3/2.1.4.6:⁸⁴⁰

[š^du-suen lugal kalag]-ga [lugal urim²]^{ki}-ma [lug]al an-ub-da
limmu²-ba-ke⁴ ud ma-da za-[a]b-ša-li^{ki} u³ ma-d[a-m]a-da LU².SU^{ki}-ka
mu-ḥul-a maš²-gal gu²-un an-ša-an^{ki}-na mu-un-tum²-na tam²-ši-lum-bi
mu-na-an-dim² nam-ti-la-ni-še³ a mu-na-ru

“When Šu-Suen, the mighty king, king of Ur, king of the four quarters, had ‘ruined’ the territory of Zabšali and (all) the territories of Šimaški, (and) when he brought the large goat, the tribute of Anšan - he fashioned for him its image and dedicated it for the sake of his (own) life.”

Frayne’s edition of these inscriptions understood the collocation of **LU².SU^{ki}** and **ma-da-ma-da za-ab-ša-li^{ki}** to mean “Šimaški (which comprises) the lands of Zabšali”⁸⁴¹ and therefore understood Zabšali to be one of the multiple cities and territories that made up the confederation of Šimaški. This has been expounded in the most detail by Steinkeller who stated:

“The most extensive sources of information on the geographical location of Šimaški are the historical inscriptions of Šu-Suen, which describe his campaign against Zabšali and other Šimaškian lands, during the seventh or sixth year of his reign. These sources mention some sixteen Šimaškian principalities, specifically identifying Zabšali, Šigriš, Yabulmat, Alumidatum, Karta, and Šatilu as the most prominent ones. Among these, Zabšali clearly was the most important (and therefore probably also the largest) principality, since the “lands of Zabšali” is a shorthand writing for the entire Šimaškian federation.”⁸⁴²

⁸⁴⁰ Ibid, 313. Old Babylonian *Sammeltafel* copy.

⁸⁴¹ Ibid, 303 and 308. This probably follows Steinkeller, “On the Identity of the Toponym LU².SU(.A),” 199.

⁸⁴² Steinkeller, “New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers,” 216-217.

This position has been generally accepted,⁸⁴³ but these passages may not be as straightforward as they seem. I would be more comfortable with this interpretation if there was an expressly written copula (**LU₂.SU^{ki} ma-da-ma-da za-ab-ša-li^{ki}-im** “Šimaški, being (comprised of) the territories of Zabšali,”) though it should be noted that copulas were not always written and that the relationship between “Šimaški” and “the lands of Zabšali” could simply be written asyndetically, as Frayne seems to have taken it. However, inscription number four uses the conjunction **u₃** to refer to the territory of Zabšali *and* the territories of Šimaški, perhaps indicating that they were two separate, though contiguous, political entities, and therefore inscriptions one and two, which omit the conjunction, are to be understood in light of inscription number four. One wonders that if “the lands of Zabšali” was a shorthand for the Šimaškian federation, then why was the toponym Šimaški included in every inscription alongside Zabšali? Why is Šimaški common in the administrative corpus and Zabšali virtually unattested? Perhaps the geographical description following **LU₂.SU ma-da-ma-da za-ab-ša-li^{ki}**, “from the border of Anšan to the sea of the upper land” (**zag an-ša-an^{ki}-ta a-ab-ba igi-nim-ma-še₃**), referred to the regions of Zabšali and Šimaški, though having been separate political entities, as together encompassing a region which extended from the border of the territory controlled by Anšan to the sea located in the “upper land,” perhaps referring to Lake Urmia.⁸⁴⁴ Inscriptions one and three list a number of other territories after the lands

⁸⁴³ See Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, 135-136 and Bryce, *The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia*, 783; Ingo Schrakamp, “Zabšali,” *RIA* 15 (2017): 174. Sallaberger (“Ur III-Zeit,” 158, 161) simply states that Zabšali probably belonged to the easternmost mountainous region of northwestern Iran or was located in central Iran.

⁸⁴⁴ Michalowski (*The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 162-163) seems to be the primary scholar who does not accept the consensus that Zabšali was a part of Šimaški: “But it seems more likely...that in Ur III nomenclature Zabšali was perceived as a separate polity that was contiguous with the area generally designated as Šimaški by the scribes of Sumer. Indeed, throughout the description of Šu-Sin’s campaign, the territories of Šimaški and Zabšali appear as distinct geopolitical areas, not as synonyms.”

of Šimaški and Zabšali; of these only Sigreš, Ašaḥar and (possibly) Bulma appear in administrative documents and they are virtually unassociated with Zabšali or Šimaški in those documents; only Bulma is explicitly stated in one inscription as being located within the territory (**ma-da**) of Šimaški. These territories and their rulers are listed in the table below, comparing the two inscriptions and their colophons:⁸⁴⁵

Text: E3/2.1.4.3		Text: E3/2.1.4.5	
Toponym	Ruler / Title	Toponym	Ruler / Title
LU ₂ .SU ^{ki}	---	<i>ma-ta-at si-maš-ki-im</i> ^{ki}	---
ma-da-ma-da	zi-ri ₂ -in-gu	<i>ma-at za-ab-ša-lī</i> ^{ki}	in-da-su ₂ ENSI ₂ Zabšali
za-ab-ša-lī ^{ki}	ensi ₂ ma-da Zabšali	<i>ma-at si-ig-ri₂-iš</i> ^{ki}	bu-ni-ir-ni ENSI ₂ Sigreš
ni-bu-ul-ma-at ^{ki}	---	<i>ma-at ni-bu-ul-ma-at</i> ^{ki}	dun-ḡa ₂ -at ENSI ₂ Nibulmat
[...a]m ^{ki}	---	<i>ma-at a-lu-mi-da-tim</i> ^{ki}	nu-[x]-li ENSI ₂ Alumidatum
si-ig-ri ₂ -iš ^{ki}	---	<i>ma-at ga-ar-ta</i> ^{ki}	[x]-am-ti ENSI ₂ Karta
a-lu-mi-da-tim ^{ki}	---	<i>ma-at ša-ti-lu</i> ^{ki}	---
ga-ar-ta ^{ki}	---	<i>a-ša-ḥa-ar</i> ^{ki}	---
a-ša-ḥa-ar ^{ki}	---	<i>bu-ul-ma</i> ^{ki}	---
bu-ul-ma ^{ki}	---	<i>nu-šu-uš-ma-<-ar</i> ^{ki} >	ti-ti ENSI ₂ Nušušmar
nu-šu-uš-ma-ar ^{ki}	---	<i>nu-uš-ga-ne-lu-um</i> ^{ki}	ti-ru-bi-u ₂ ENSI ₂ Nušganelum
nu-uš-ga-ne-lu-um ^{ki}	---	<i>zi-zi-ir-tum</i> ^{ki}	ne-ni-ib ₂ -zu ENSI ₂ Zizirtum
zi-zi-ir-tum ^{ki}	---	<i>a-ra-ḥi-ir</i> ^{ki}	ba-ri-ḥi-za ENSI ₂ Araḥir
a-ra-ḥi-ir ^{ki}	---	[.....]	
ša-ti-lu ^{ki}	---		s[a-a]m-ri ENSI ₂ [x-x]-li-[x] ^{ki}
ti-ir-mi-um ^{ki}	---		wa-bur-tum ENSI ₂ [x]-lu-bi-im ^{ki}
[.....]			

⁸⁴⁵ Though I treat these inscriptions as two self-contained texts, E3/2.1.4.3 is an Old Babylonian tablet copy of inscriptions on three statues and their pedestals while E3/2.1.4.5 is known from two Old Babylonian tablet copies; Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 301, 308-309.

It is evident that most of the toponyms of the two inscriptions match, with discrepancies accounted for by the lacunae throughout the tablets. The Akkadian text distinguishes seven toponyms (Šimaški, Zabšali, Sigreš, Nibulmat, Alumidatum, Karta⁸⁴⁶ and Šatilu) as regional centers (*māt* GN, *mātāt* GN) while the rest of the toponyms may have been city-states with more circumscribed territories or simply cities. The rulers are always given the designation **ensi₂** and only the Akkadian text preserves the names of these rulers, with the exception of the **ensi₂** of Zabšali, who appears in both texts.⁸⁴⁷ Interestingly, the Sumerian text designates Ziringu as the ruler of Zabšali while the Akkadian attributes Indasu as its ruler. This seeming contradiction can be explained if we take a closer look at their designations.⁸⁴⁸ The Akkadian text labels Indasu as simply the “ruler of Zabšali” (ENSI₂ *za-ab-ša-li^{ki}*) while the Sumerian dubs Ziringu as the “ruler of the territory of Zabšali” (**ensi₂ ma-da za-ab-ša-li^{ki}**). The Sumerian inscription also has a passage which suggests tiers of authority in a regional kingdom comprised of several smaller territories and cities:⁸⁴⁹

**ensi₂ gal-gal ma-da-ma-da za-ab-ša-li^{ki} u₃ ensi₂-ensi₂ iri^{ki}-iri^{ki} me₃-a
mu-da-an-gur-re-ša**

“the greatest ruler of all the territories of Zabšali and all the rulers of all the cities whom he (Šu-Suen) had brought back from battle...”⁸⁵⁰

⁸⁴⁶ Karta is also designated as a regional territory (**ma-da**) in Arad-Nanna’s inscription; Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 323-324.

⁸⁴⁷ Sections in the Akkadian text that designate Indasu, the ruler of Zabšali, as a king (LUGAL) only occur in the notations of the Old Babylonian scribes marking the location of the inscriptions and it is thus their interpretation of the Ur III designation of **ensi₂** for these foreign rulers.

⁸⁴⁸ De Graef (“Susa in the 3rd Millennium,” 295-296) discusses the problem of assuming that the solution lies in the tablet containing references to inscriptions of two separate campaigns. However, her (admittedly tentative) solution of Indasu referring to an area within Zabšali is unconvincing.

⁸⁴⁹ Ibid, 295.

⁸⁵⁰ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 304: E3/2.1.4.3 col. iii, lines 24-30.

Thus Zabšali seems to have been ruled by a “Great King” (**ensi₂ gal-gal**)⁸⁵¹ under whose authority smaller kinglets and principalities (**ensi₂ iri^{ki}**) were subject. Thus Ziringu may have been the top authority for the amalgamation that was Zabšali while Indasu, though still an important ruler, was of lesser rank. Just as the name of Yabrat, the most prominent ruler of Šimaški, was used as a toponym synonymous with Šimaški in the administrative corpus, Ziringu’s name was also utilized in a similar fashion as a synonym for Zabšali, thus supporting this notion.⁸⁵² The two messenger texts recording Ziringu’s name as a toponym inform us about the travels of its envoy in the latter part of Šulgi’s final year and the beginning of Amar-Suen’s first year. A person by the name of Adalal, the “man” (**lu₂**) of “Ziriġu’s Place” (**zi-ri₂-ġu₁₀^{ki}**), received travel provisions alongside PU₃-KA-KA the Šimaškian, Simmu the **lu₂** Širaḥši and thirty highlanders at the Kinunir waystation in Girsu province from Nur-ili the errand-runner (**lu₂-kas₄**), who came from Ur in the twelfth month of Šulgi’s forty-eighth year. The same group is attested again in the sixth month of Amar-Suen’s first year as they received provisions to travel from Ur to Susa.⁸⁵³ Unfortunately, little else can be said about Zabšali with the current data set.

⁸⁵¹ Compare the military designations in the messenger texts of **aga₃-us₂** “soldier,” **aga₃-us₂ gal** “chief soldier” and **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal** “great chief soldier” with the last term as a designation of individuals, not a notation of multiple **aga₃-us₂ gals**.

⁸⁵² Two administrative documents attest his name, written as **zi-ri₂-ġu₁₀**, with the place marker KI: P110360 / HSS 4, 87 (as/--/Š48) and P204267 / Nisaba 22, 75 (6/--/AS01).

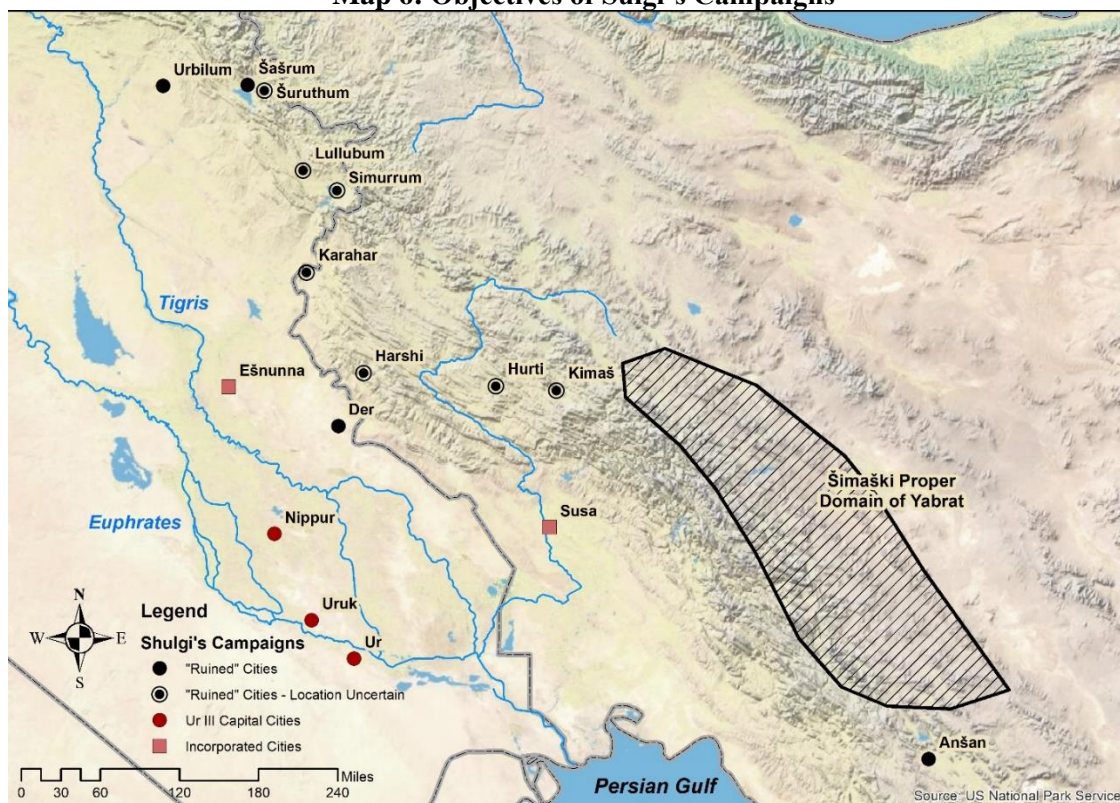
⁸⁵³ Schrakamp (“Zabšali,” 174) suggested that their travels were connected with the defeat of Kimaš, Ḫarši and Ḫurti in the last few years of Šulgi’s reign.

II.3: Chapter Summary

This chapter aimed to show the means by which a framework of the military history of the Ur III state could be constructed. It utilized year-names, plunder texts and references to campaigns (**kaskal**) to build the framework, while acknowledging the issues involved in trying to use these sources and the terminology contained within. References in the administrative archives were mined to gather information on the numerous objectives mentioned in these sources in an attempt to ascertain their status in relation to the kingdom of Ur.

The campaigns of Šulgi began with Der and skirted along the western edge of the parts of the Zagros chain located in modern Ilam, Kermanshah, Suleimaniyah and Erbil provinces, proceeding in a northly direction. This included the subdual of the Amorite Land(s) and the establishment of garrisons along the Diyala and the Transtigridian corridor. The only campaign that was not a part of this northern advance along the Zagros was the maritime action against Anšan until we approach the end of his reign, when focus was diverted from the north to Hurti and Kimaš, located in modern Luristan Province, and perhaps to the entity known as Šimaški. It seems to have been during his reign that much of the garrison system was established.

Map 6: Objectives of Šulgi's Campaigns



The objectives of Amar-Suen's campaigns for the majority of his reign were concentrated to the north, in modern-day Iraqi Kurdistan, along the western piedmont of the Zagros. The region of Urbilum, between the Greater and Lesser Zab rivers, and Šašrum, located only eighty kilometers east in the Ranyia plain, constituted an area that likely remained unpacified at the end of Šulgi's reign. Urbilum seems to have been incorporated into the garrison system as one of the northernmost outposts of Ur III control, though there is no evidence that Šašrum was ever incorporated. The only references to Zabšali, just to the east of this region, come from a couple of messenger texts that mention Adalal, the "one of Ziringu's Place," who traveled within Babylonia at the end of Šulgi's and beginning of Amar-Suen's reigns. Outside of these northern campaigns was an expedition against ̒uḥnuri and the nearby polities of Bitum-rabium

and Yabru. Unlike the other major Khuzistan cities, Huh̄nuri does not seem to have been incorporated into the Ur III kingdom. The Tappeh Bormi inscription does not speak of Huh̄nuri in terms of rebellion as Šu-Suen's inscriptions describe of Simanum, and there is no evidence of any garrison having been established after Amar-Suen's campaign. Overall, Amar-Suen's military campaigns seem to have been aimed at finishing the work of his predecessor.

Map 7: Objectives of Amar-Suen's Campaigns



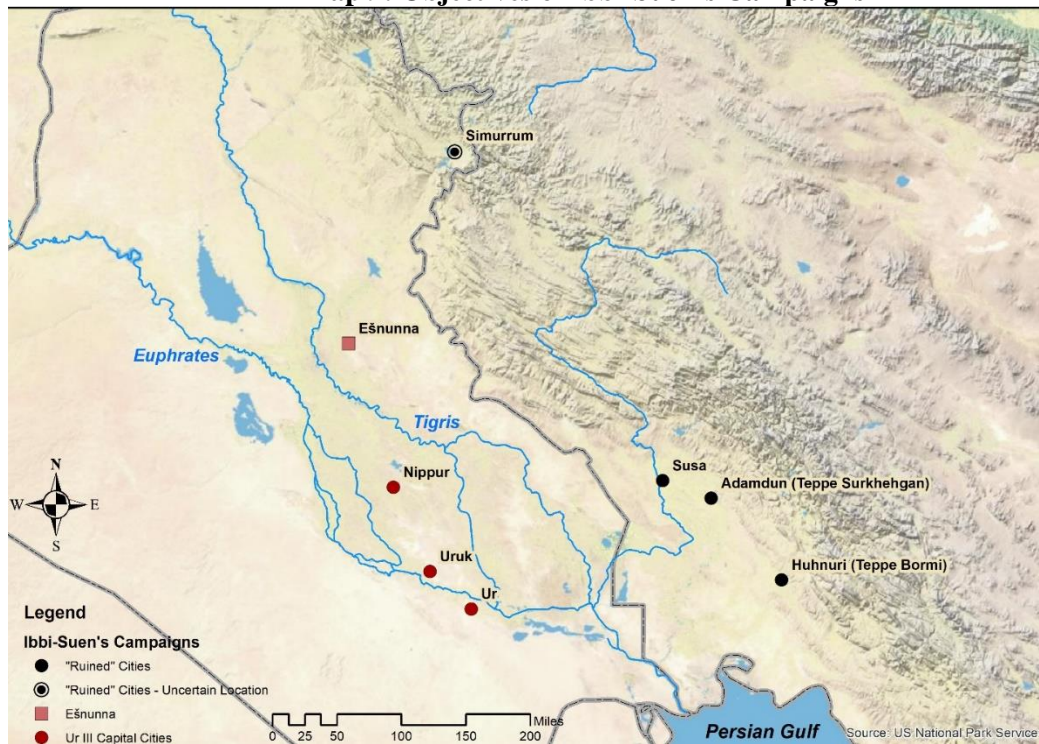
A glance at the campaign map of Šu-Suen suggests that the periphery had been successfully subdued, though the rebellion of Simanum, the construction of the Amorite fortifications and the campaign against Zabšali and Šimaški argue against the notion that this king's reign was one of great security. Šu-Suen's actions against Zabšali and Šimaški likely occurred in the region of the modern Kurdistan and Suleimaniyah

provinces and perhaps indicate an increasing instability in the eastern Zagros, especially north of the Diyala. Thus disinigrative forces seem to have been at work in the latter half of his reign. This is supported by the fact that Šilluš-Dagan, formerly the Ur III governor of Simurrum, had retreated down the Diyala to take up the position as the top military officer of Išim-Šulgi at least by the beginning of Ibbi-Suen's second year, and perhaps earlier. The attempt to reclaim Simurrum provided the year-name for Ibbi-Suen's third year, and the rest of his campaigns focused on the region of Khuzistan. Having lost control of Umma and Girsu by his sixth year, and with Išbi-Erra in control of Isin and Nippur by his eighth year, Ibbi-Suen was limited in choice for campaign options. He focused on southerly regions to the east, likely utilizing Ur's and Ħuĥnuri's close proximity to the Persian Gulf and Susa's access via the Karkeh River to launch maritime campaigns with the objective of regaining Khuzistan in order to rebuild his power base. However, despite his long reign, Ibbi-Suen lost the military initiative and spent most of his reign as king of a reduced and shrinking realm, and was defeated by the peripheral territories that earlier had been subjected to the might of his dynasty.

Map 8: Objectives of Šu-Suen's Campaigns



Map 9: Objectives of Ibši-Suen's Campaigns



Chapter III: Troop Types and the Garrison System

III.1: The **eren₂**

Throughout Mesopotamian history, the general term for “troops” or “soldiers” was the Sumerian word **eren₂**, which was often used as a Sumerogram for the Akkadian word *šābu(m)*; this term did not have a strictly military connotation per se, since it was also used in reference to corvée laborers in non-military contexts.⁸⁵⁴ These “troopers” were composed of the able-bodied men (**ĝuruš**) residing in the various city-states of Babylonia,⁸⁵⁵ and the **eren₂**, which denoted all types of conscripted teams, drew its military contingents largely from the personnel of the large economic units of these city-states.⁸⁵⁶ Therefore an examination of the **eren₂** in the Ur III period will be useful to determine the nature of the soldiery which accompanied kings, princes and generals as they engaged in forays into the eastern territories bordering upon their kingdom. Since this term occurs close to five thousand times in a variety of sub-genres in the administrative corpus, from messenger texts to legal documents to letter orders, what follows will only be a brief overview relying heavily on the work of a number of scholars who have investigated the organization of labor in the Ur III period.

⁸⁵⁴ F. Malbran-Labat, “Soldat. A. In Mesopotamien,” *RIA* 12 (2011), 586-590; Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 8; CAD vol. 16, 46-55: “group of people, contingent of workers, troop of soldiers, army, people, population”. The Sumerogram EREN₂ can be used for the Akkadian term for “army” (*ummānu*) and its distinction from *šābum* is indicated only by grammatical contexts that are feminine, since *ummānu* is a feminine word; *ibid*, 55. The sign EREN₂ was originally the pictogram for a double yoke from which stems the designation of a “team”, referring both to draft animals and human workers: Schrakampf, *Krieger und Waffen im Frühen Mesopotamien*, 61.

⁸⁵⁵ Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 8.

⁸⁵⁶ Schrakampf, *Krieger und Waffen im Frühen Mesopotamien*, 61.

Already in the Presargonic period the term **eren₂** was used to denote both work groups of laborers as well as contingents of soldiers,⁸⁵⁷ and the Bau temple archives allude to people as high of rank as temple administrators being included in the troop.⁸⁵⁸ In Presargonic Lagaš a ration list for “troops” engaged in harvest work included cupbearers (**sagi**), gardeners (**nu-^âš₆kiri₆**), masons (**šidim**) and shepherds (**sipad**), among numerous other professional titles.⁸⁵⁹ The term **eren₂** referred to temple workers who were conscripted for civil works and military service, and who were allocated rations and land allotments in return - thus they were the same group as the *šuku*-holders (**lu₂ šuku dabs-ba**).⁸⁶⁰ The same is the case in this period for people attached to the Inana temple at Zabalam.⁸⁶¹ The Sargonic period exhibits a similar scenario in which the **eren₂** were free persons of some status who were supplied with grain, oil and wool payments by the institutional sector, along with subsistence plots, in return for corvée and military service; officers such as **nu-banda₃** and **ugula** seemed to have been of high status due to their possession of seals and the ability to write letters.⁸⁶² The troops levied by the large

⁸⁵⁷ Juris Zarins, “The Sharkalisharri Army of Umma: Linguistic, Historical and Archaeological Considerations,” in *Aux marges de l’archéologie*, ed. Jessica Giraud and Guillaume Gernez (Paris: De Boccard, 2012): 192, 196, 206.

⁸⁵⁸ Schrakampf, *Krieger und Waffen im Frühen Mesopotamian*, 64. For the variant readings of EREN₂, see pages 62-63.

⁸⁵⁹ Ibid, 64. We see this in later periods as well. Texts from late 2nd millennium Nuzi demonstrate that the infantry was conscripted from the general citizenry of the town and list various personnel, such as smiths (*nappaḫu*), fullers (*ašlaku*) and temple administrators (*šangū*) as foot soldiers (*šāb šēpi*), with some becoming spearmen and others archers; Timothy Kendall, “Warfare and Military Matters in the Nuzi Tablets” (PhD diss., Brandeis University, 1974): 71-72, 126-127. Documents from Sippar in the Neo-Babylonian period show that the Ebabbar temple levied archers from some of its dependents who were farmers, shepherds, gardeners, smiths and carpenters by trade; John MacGinnis, *The Arrows of the Sun: Armed Forces in Sippar in the First Millennium BC* (Dresden: ISLET-Verlag, 2012): 5-6. It seems as though the provincial contingents of the Neo-Assyrian army functioned similarly, with nonprofessional troops conscripted for both military and corvée work; Tamás Dezső *The Assyrian Army II: Recruitment and Logistics* (Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2016): 45-49.

⁸⁶⁰ Schrakampf, *Krieger und Waffen im Frühen Mesopotamien*, 66.

⁸⁶¹ Ibid, 78-83. The Inana temple at Zabalam may have been able to field 300 or more men. Lower-level workers such as the **igi-nu-du₈** and female laborers do not have appeared to have belonged to the **eren₂**.

⁸⁶² Ibid, 95.

administrative units included people from a variety of occupational backgrounds such as field-plot managers (**engar**), masons (**šidim**), kitchen managers (**muḫaldim**), singers (**nar**), and estate managers (**šabra e2**).

The limited text genres and their narrow contexts in these earlier periods challenge the certainty of conclusions regarding the meaning(s) and use of particular terminology, though the brief survey above shows an emergent pattern. Even with the large number of texts stemming from the Third Dynasty of Ur, defining the emic terms used by the Ur III scribes and their various connotations is tricky, debate-laden and context-dependent. One example of this is the term **arad2** which, on one end of the spectrum, can denote a slave originating as a prisoner of war or a native person who had fallen into debt slavery, and on the other end of the spectrum can be found to describe the highest political and cultic positions (the **sukkal-maḫ** and **zabar-dabs**) in their relation to the king and is thus rendered “servant.”⁸⁶³ It is not always clear when one should translate the term as “servant” instead of “slave”, leading some to conclude that slaves made up a significant portion of the Ur III labor force and others to posit that they played a negligible role in the economy.⁸⁶⁴ This ambiguity is certainly true of the term **eren2**. As noted above, its basic, general meaning is “team” or, in other words, a group working

⁸⁶³ The use of the term “servant” is common in cylinder seals (see Irene J. Winter, “Legitimation of Authority through Image and Legend: Seals Belonging to Officials in the Administrative Bureaucracy of the Ur III State,” in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, ed. McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs [Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 1987: 69-93] and was a part of the patrimonial system discussed in the first chapter.

⁸⁶⁴ For example, Heimpel (*Workers and Construction at Garšana*, 45) is of the opinion that the workforce of the estate at Garšana consisted primarily of slaves, while Steinkeller (“Labor in the Early States: An Early Mesopotamian Perspective,” 7 n. 12) rejects this notion, stating that data regarding their activities and professional status show that they were free workers. There is even some ambiguity regarding nuances of the terms **ḡuruš** and **geme2** (Agnès Garcia-Ventura, “Ur III Biopolitics: Reflections on the Relationship between War and Work Force Management,” in *The Other Face of Battle: The Impact of War on Civilians in the Ancient Near East*, AOAT 413, eds. by Davide Nadali and Jordi Vidal [Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014]: 13-17), though the basic meanings of “able-bodied male worker” and “able-bodied female worker” seem clear in many contexts.

together towards a shared goal. Text provenience plays a role in understanding the nuances of the term. In some archives, such as the context of building activities at Garšana, the term **eren₂** can refer to skilled builders (**šidim**), unskilled male or female workers, slaves (or servants) and hired workers - and therefore has a general connotation of “worker” regardless of gender or status.⁸⁶⁵ Documents from Puzriš-Dagan that fall into the category of “**gun₂ ma-da** delivery text” show the **eren₂** in royal settlements within the peripheral territories of the kingdom and under a military hierarchy.⁸⁶⁶ Thus it needs to be kept in mind, and this will be repeated *ad nauseam*, that the conclusions which are drawn from studies of the **eren₂** are, just like other features of the Neo-Sumerian state, heavily subject to data biases. Therefore the **eren₂** in texts from Umma and Girsu, stemming primarily from the provincial archives headed by local governors (**ensi₂**), are found primarily in civil, non-military contexts, while the **eren₂** in the documents from Puzriš-Dagan primarily refer to the troops stationed at garrisons located throughout the periphery and under the supervision of various commanders (**šakkan₆** and **nu-banda₃**).

Much of the recent work on Ur III labor has been undertaken by Piotr Steinkeller, who notes that the royal sector (his “central government”) planned, subsidized and executed the major “public works,” such as monumental construction (temples, walls/fortifications, palaces), waterway management (canal dredging and embankment work), communication networks (waystations and roads) and large agricultural projects

⁸⁶⁵ Heimpel, *Workers and Construction at Garšana*, 25. He also notes (ibid, 47) that males in occupations which were primarily under the purview of women, such as miller, could be totaled with females as **geme₂** “female worker,” and therefore we need to be cautious in applying uniform translations for terms which had a degree of flexibility in their application and meaning.

⁸⁶⁶ See below.

(harvest and sheep-shearing).⁸⁶⁷ He describes how the corvée labor used in such projects was supplied by the free population who also supplied the bulk of the manpower for defensive and offensive military operations. The Mesopotamians did not distinguish between service in the civil realm and service in the military realm, but rather included both under the labor obligations of conscripted workers.⁸⁶⁸ The kings of Ur drew their manpower from the free citizens of Babylonia who formed the largest segment of Ur III society and were designated by the term **eren₂**.⁸⁶⁹ The **eren₂** owed labor and services to the crown, up to six months per year in installments spread over the year, and were compensated with allotments of grain, oil, clothing and wool, as well as land allotments upon which they had usufruct rights.⁸⁷⁰ A wide array of social and occupational backgrounds made up the **eren₂** levied for civic and military duties. The Tummal construction project undertaken in Šulgi's fourth decade not only included "blue collar" laborers, but a number of high level administrators as well, though many of the higher level **eren₂** likely fulfilled their corvée obligations via substitutes.⁸⁷¹ When they were not

⁸⁶⁷ Piotr Steinkeller, "The Employment of Labor on National Building Projects," in *Labor in the Ancient World: A Colloquium held at Hirschbach, April 2005*, eds. Piotr Steinkeller and Michael Hudson (Dresden: ISLET, 2015): 137.

⁸⁶⁸ Piotr Steinkeller, "Corvée Labor in Ur III Times," in *From the 21st Century B.C. to the 21st Century A.D.: Proceedings of the International Conference on Neo-Sumerian Studies Held in Madrid, 22-24 July 2010*, eds. Seven J. Garfinkle and Manuel Molina (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013): 348. See the chart in Lafont, "The Armies of the Kings of Ur," 11 which shows that able-bodied males of the kingdom, designated as **ĝuruš**, comprised the **eren₂** who were conscripted for campaigns alongside smaller contingents of professional soldiers designated as **aga₃-us₂**.

⁸⁶⁹ Steinkeller, "Corvée Labor in Ur III Times," 350.

⁸⁷⁰ Ibid, 350-351; Piotr Steinkeller, "Labor in the Early States: An Early Mesopotamian Perspective," in *Labor in the Ancient World: A Colloquium held at Hirschbach, April 2005*, eds. Piotr Steinkeller and Michael Hudson (Dresden: ISLET, 2015): 26-27. Steinkeller notes that the commodity allotments are better thought of as labor wages instead of rations, especially since the grain allotments (**še-ba**) substantially exceeded the dietary needs of the families who received them, leaving a surplus for purchasing other goods. The amount of commodity allotments and the size of the land allotments (**šuku**) depended upon a person's rank and social status, with land allotments varying from 4 *iku* (1.44 ha) to 1000 *iku* (360 ha) of land (Steinkeller, "Corvée Labor in Ur III Times," 351).

⁸⁷¹ Steinkeller, "Corvée Labor in Ur III Times," 366-367. Lower status **eren₂** included masons (**šidim**), foresters (**lu₂-tir**), fishermen (**šu-ku₆**), kitchen managers (**muḫaldim**), brewers (**lunga**), vegetable farmers (**lu₂-sum-ma**), **gudug**-priests, smiths (**simug**, **kug-dim₂**), fullers (**tug₂-du₈**), shepherds (**spiad**), (semi-)

fulfilling their corvée obligations, the **eren₂** hired themselves out to temple estates and other local organizations, often to the same institutions under which they performed their corvée work, and at significantly higher rates than they were compensated for their labor duties.⁸⁷²

The **eren₂** seem to have been divided among the provincial and royal sectors. Though the patrimonial organization of the Ur III state, as discussed in Chapter I, conceptualized all **eren₂** as part of the king's household and thus his subordinates/dependents, in practice they were generally separate entities used for tasks related to their respective sectors and were remunerated via land allotments from the sector to which they belonged.⁸⁷³ In the case of Umma province, the provincial sector's land holdings comprised only a small percentage of the province's territory, with most of the land belonging to the royal sector and its dependents who resided in Umma and in royal settlements throughout the province.⁸⁷⁴ The conscription of provincial versus royal **eren₂** can be seen in two documents, one being an account of grain distributed to **eren₂** (both hired labor and corvée workers) of the provincial sector and the other being a muster list of royal **eren₂** under the command of various generals assembled for the benefit of the governor of Girsu for an unspecified task.⁸⁷⁵ The former text lists the provincial

professional soldiers (**aga₃-us₂**), doorkeepers (**i₃-du₈**), throne-bearers (**gu-za-la₂**) and torch-bearers (**lu₂-gi-zi**). Higher status **eren₂** included estate managers (**šabra**), land recorders (**saĝ-du₅**), archivists (**pisaĝ-dub-ba**), granary supervisors (**ka-guru₇**), plow-team managers (**nu-banda₃-gud**), animal managers (**šuš₃**), field surveyors (**agar₄-niĝin₂**), orchard managers (**santana**), scribes (**dub-sar**), chief lamentation priests (**gala-mah**), merchants (**dam-gar₃**) and various overseers (**ugula**). Steinkeller notes that the occupations of upper-level **eren₂** would prohibit them from spending much time personally in the labor force and that they may have drafted substitutes from junior kinsmen, servants, slaves or hired menials.

⁸⁷² Steinkeller, "Labor in the Early States," 19-23.

⁸⁷³ Steinkeller, "Corvée Labor in Ur III Times," 358.

⁸⁷⁴ Steinkeller (ibid, 359-360) states that well over three quarters of the population of Umma's province were royal **eren₂**, numbering as high as 25,000 people.

⁸⁷⁵ P108593 / CT 9, 39 (---/Š47) and P206473 / ZA 91, 72 no. 220 (---/----), respectively.

eren₂ as stemming from the temples of Ninĝirsu, Šulgi, Ninĝišzida, Igalim, Nanše, Gatumdu, Dumuzi, Nindara, and Ninmarki, as well as from the city of Girsu itself and the estates of the estate manager (**šabra**) and Namḥani.⁸⁷⁶ The latter document lists over twelve thousand **eren₂** stemming from various royal settlements from throughout Babylonia, many of them coming from settlements within Girsu and, especially, Umma provinces who were under the authority of a number of generals, and who were mustered for an unidentified labor project under the auspices of the governor of Girsu.⁸⁷⁷ Thus the provincial **eren₂** were conscripted from personnel associated with temples and the governor's household, while the royal **eren₂** came from royal settlements and were under the authority of the military hierarchy.⁸⁷⁸

Both the provincial and royal **eren₂** participated in national labor projects, such as national building programs and the annual harvest, though the royal **eren₂** seem to have been primarily conscripted for campaigns and work related to the military.⁸⁷⁹ The royal sector was particularly prominent with regards to harvesting crops and collecting wool from the flocks, which can be demonstrated by the missions noted for military officers who received provisions from the waystation at Iri-Saĝrig:

⁸⁷⁶ Included are soldiers of the provincial governor (**aga₃-us₂ ensi₂-me**).

⁸⁷⁷ For an edition and commentary of this text, see Steinkeller, "Corvée Labor in Ur III Times," 387-392.

⁸⁷⁸ Other texts that show the mustering of royal **eren₂** include P132760 / TCTI 2, 3543 and P131755 / TLC 5, 6041. These troops are never listed as coming from temple estates or governors' households and they are always under the authority of the military.

⁸⁷⁹ Steinkeller, "Corvée Labor in Ur III Times," 373-374. Since the crown was directly concerned with the harvest and large-scale construction projects, we often see military officers directly involved in their undertaking; an Old Akkadian year-name provides an earlier example: "Year that Šarkališarri appointed Puzur-Eštar the general to build the temple of Enlil" **mu šar-ka₃-li₂-šar₃-ri₂ puzur₄-eš₄-tar₂ šakkan₆ e₂ en-lil₂ du₃-da bi₂-gub-ba-a**; Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods*, 184.

Table 33: Officers who Levied Troops for Labor Assignments

Text/Date	Name	Military Designation	Mission
P453628 1/21/AS08	ur ₂ -ra-DINGIR la-la-a	škn	came to the guard(station) of the grain harvest (ud en-nu še buru ₁₄ -še ₃ im-e-re-ša-a)
P453665 1/04/AS09	ur-e ₂ -an-na	škn	
P454173 --/08/----	ur-tur-tur	nb	
P453698 1/--/ŠS01	arad ₂ -hul ₃ -la	škn	came to levy troops for harvesting grain (ud eren ₂ še gur ₁₀ -gur ₁₀ -de ₃ zi-zi-de ₃ im-e-re-ša-a)
P453919 1/11/IS01	šu-al-la	nb	
P453738 1/07/ŠS04	hun- ^d šul-gi	škn	came to levy troops for stacking sheaths of grain (ud eren ₂ še zar ₃ tab-ba zi-zi-de ₃ im-ġen-na-a)
P333682 1/--/IS02	^d suen-ba-ni	škn	
P453777 12/12/ŠS05	ur-e ₂ -an-na	škn	came to levy troops in order to shear sheep (ud eren ₂ udu ur ₄ -de ₃ zi-zi-de ₃ im-e-re-ša-a)

škn = šakkan₆ “general,” nb = nu-banda₃, “captain”

Underneath the **eren₂** class was the menial class. This consisted of men, designated as “carriers” (**UN-il₂**) who were tasked with carrying items and towing boats, as well as women, designated as “servants” (**geme₂**) who were employed primarily in weaving and the grinding of grain (though they could be given the same tasks as the **UN-il₂**). They worked all year round in return for commodity allotments and were the unskilled labor who did the bulk of the agricultural work and the transportation of goods.⁸⁸⁰ Menials appear to have been destitute natives who were dependent upon temple and private households for their sustenance, but who generally were not granted subsistence plots and did not have the skills or economic resources to live independently, though, unlike slaves, they had some legal and social rights.⁸⁸¹ The number of menials was small in comparison to the **eren₂** and therefore had an insignificant impact on the

⁸⁸⁰ Steinkeller, “Corvée Labor in Ur III Times,” 365.

⁸⁸¹ Steinkeller, “Labor in the Early States,” 24-25.

economy.⁸⁸² That they were deployed on campaign is suggested by a balanced account of oil that lists oil expended for the anointing of “the conscripted female millers of the army, troops, **lu₂-ḥu-bu₇^{bu}**-workers and carriers,” though to what extent and for what purpose has to remain speculation.⁸⁸³ Steinkeller is of the opinion that the menial class later became the Old Babylonian *muškēnum*, though the range of interpretation regarding that term in the second millennium, along with the fact that the Sumerogram used to represent the Old Babylonian term already occurs in the Ur III period, make this association doubtful.⁸⁸⁴

Below the menials were the slaves (**arad₂**, **geme₂**). Foreign slaves included prisoners-of-war and foreigners purchased in the slave market; females and their children were usually distributed among temple estates and other production units and primarily worked as weavers and millers, while male prisoners-of-war who were made into chattel slaves were often blinded and employed in orchards and gardens.⁸⁸⁵ The majority of slaves, however, were debt-slaves of native origin who had some legal rights and the possibility of manumission. Slaves, whether of foreign or domestic stock, only made up a marginal portion of the population and therefore were not of much economic

⁸⁸² Ibid, 24 and Steinkeller, “Corvée Labor in Ur III Times,” 360 n. 56.

⁸⁸³ P110276 / HSS 4, 3 (12/--/AS01) rev. col. iv, lines 24-26: **šu-niĝin₂ 4(barig) 2(ban₂) 7 2/3 sila₃ i₃-ĝiš / geme₂ kinkin₂ ugnim_x eren₂ lu₂-ḥu-bu₇^{bu} / u₃ UN-il₂ dab₅-ba ba-ab-šeš₄**. Grain processing, garment repair and equipment transport would have been needs of the army that were likely met by these menials.

⁸⁸⁴ For an overview of the various positions on the term, see Eva von Dassow, “Awīlum and Muškēnum in the Age of Hammurabi,” in *La famille dans le Proche-Orient ancien: réalités, symbolismes, et images*, CRRAI 55, ed. Lionel Marti (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014): 291-308. She concludes that the terms *awīlum* and *muškēnum* were relative designations that could apply to free people regardless of wealth and institutional affiliation. The former term denoted the exercise of authority while the latter denoted subjection to authority. The same person could bear both designations depending on the rank or status of another entity to which they would be affiliated (307-308). An Ur III example shows a livestock expenditure from the property of a *muškēnum* located in the periphery: **1 gud 1 dusu₂ nita / 8 udu 2 maš₂ / udu ba-ug₇ ša₃ niĝ₂-gur₁₁ MAŠ.EN.GAG me-tur₂-an^{ki}** “1 ox, 1 jack, 8 sheep (and) 2 goats - dead livestock (from) out of the property of the *muškēnum* of Me-Turan” (P118475 / MVN 15, 195: 6/09/Š48).

⁸⁸⁵ Steinkeller, “Labor in the Early States,” 7-8.

importance. A court record suggests that an owner could appoint his slave for military duty, perhaps as his substitute.⁸⁸⁶

Thus the term **eren₂**, often glossed “worker/soldier,”⁸⁸⁷ is synonymous with the term **dumu-gir₁₅** “native citizen,”⁸⁸⁸ which was a general designation for those who would more specifically be called **dumu GN** “citizen of (a certain city).”⁸⁸⁹ In the corpus of Old Babylonian royal inscriptions, we see this most plainly in the inscriptions of Išme-Dagan, in which the terms **eren₂** and **dumu** are both used in the relative clause that describes the exemption of Nippur from military and tax obligations:⁸⁹⁰

E4.1.4.5, lines 5-11:

ud nibru^{ki}
iri ki-aĝ₂
^den-lil₂-la₂-<ka>
gun₂-bi
mu-un-du₈
eren₂-bi kaskal-ta
ba-ra-an-zi-ga-a

“When he (Išme-Dagan) removed
the tax (and) relieved from military
service the troops of Nippur, the
beloved city of Enlil...”

E4.1.4.6, col ii, lines 1-3

ud dumu nibru^{ki}
kaskal-ta
ba-ra-an-zi

“When (he) relieved from military
service the citizens of Nippur...”

⁸⁸⁶ Manuel Molina, “New Ur III Court Records Concerning Slavery,” in *On the Third Dynasty of Ur: Studies in Honor of Marcel Sigrist*, JCS SS1, ed. Piotr Michalowski (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2008): 131-132.

⁸⁸⁷ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 310.

⁸⁸⁸ Steinkeller, “Corvée Labor in Ur III Times,” 350.

⁸⁸⁹ This is found in the Old Babylonian Sumerian literary corpus as well. A couple of examples should suffice. *The Victory of Utu-ḫeĝal*: “He (Utu-ḫeĝal) called out to the citizens of his city...the citizens of Uruk (and) the citizens of Kulaba rejoiced (over his call to arms). His city followed after him like a single person; he organized the inspected assembly” (**dumu iri-na-ke₄-ne gu₃ mu-ne-de₂-e . . . dumu unug^{ki}-ga dumu kul-aba^{ki}-ka šaĝ₄ ḫul₂-la ba-an-ĝar iri-ni lu₂-dili-gin₇ eĝer-ra-ni ba-ab-us₂ KA-keš₂ igi bar-ra si bi₂-sa₂**; ETCSL 2.1.6 lines 28, 32-34). *Gilgameš and Huwawa A*: “The citizens that went with him (Gilgameš) were cutting those (cedar) branches and were laying them at the base of the mountain” (**dumu iri^{ki} mu-un-de₃-re₇-eš-a pa-bi i₃-ku₅-ru-ne KA ba-an-keš₂-re-ne ur₂ ḫur-saĝ^{ki}-ĝa₂-ka mu-ni-ib-nu₂-u₃-ne**; ETCSL 1.8.1.5 lines 146-148).

⁸⁹⁰ **eren₂** is the most common designation for troops in Old Babylonian year-names and royal inscriptions and was used somewhat synonymously with **ugnim** “army” which, though not infrequent, was nevertheless not as common as **eren₂**; see Marcel Sigrist and Peter Damerow, “Mesopotamian Year Names: Neo-Sumerian and Old Babylonian Date Formulae,” https://cdli.ucla.edu/tools/yearnames/yn_index.html.

In the first text we essentially have **ud** [**[eren Nibru.ak].Ø [kaskal].ta ba.ta.n.zig.Ø.a**]**.a** (“when he relieved from military service the troops of Nippur”), though it is structured as an anticipatory genitive and has an adjectival phrase (**iri ki-aĝ₂ ^den-lil₂-la₂** “the beloved city of Enlil”) and the first *nomen regens* (**gun₂-bi** “its tax”), along with its associated verbal chain (**mu-un-du₈**), between the *nomen rectum* (**nibru^{ki}**) and the *nomen regens* that concerns this point (**eren₂-bi**). The second text has a straightforward genitival construction without any interrupting/internal adjectival phrases and is thus **ud** [**[dumu Nibru.ak].Ø [kaskal].ta [ba.ta.n.zig(Ø.a)]**.a**** (“when he relieved from military service the citizens of Nippur”) - the exact same relative phrase as the first inscription, but with **dumu** substituted for **eren₂**. Thus we see that the **eren₂** of Nippur, making up the city’s primary body of citizens, were traditionally subject to corvée labor and military service.

We see this in the Ur III period with Šulgi’s twentieth year-name: **mu dumu urim₂^{ki}-ma lu₂-ĝi^š-gid₂-še₃ zu₂ ba-ab-kešda** “the year that the citizens of Ur were assembled as spearmen.”⁸⁹¹ This year-name could be understood to imply that the royal

⁸⁹¹ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 101. The conscription of troops with the verb **KA...keš₂** emphasizes the action of the king assembling his forces for war and not the status of the citizens being drafted, who would have already been subjected to conscription for civil tasks as part of their status as **eren₂**, which was represented by the verbal base **dab₅** (= *šabātum* with the meaning “to levy persons, services”; CAD vol. 16, 13-14). Nor is the focus on the action of the soldiers assembling, which would have been represented by the verb **niĝin₂ / paḥārum** “to assemble, congregate.” The Sumerogram KA.KEŠ₂ represents the Akkadian word *kišrum* that was often used to refer to a contingent of laborers or soldiers (CAD vol. 8, 436-438) and stems from the verb *kašārum* “to organize, assemble a body of soldiers into a military formation” (CAD vol. 8, 257, 259-260). The verbs *kašārum* and *paḥārum* have overlapping semantic ranges with the notions of “gather, assemble” with *kašārum* acting transitively in the G-stem with an agency focus emphasizing the gatherer, while *paḥārum* functions intransitively in the G-stem and thus the agency resides with the patient of the verb or it downplays any agency external to the one performing the action. For *paḥārum* see CAD vol. , 23-32. For **KA...keš₂** see also Fumi Karahashi (“Sumerian Compound Verbs with Body-Part Terms,” [PhD diss., The University of Chicago, 2000]: 129) who translates the compound verb as “to put together, organize.” **KA...keš₂** was used in Old Babylonian year-names and demonstrates an interchange between **eren₂** and **uĝnim** “army” (see Sigrist and Damerow, “Mesopotamian Year Names,” accessed 7 July 2018:

sector was directly responsible for the equipping of the troops. Though I am unaware of any Ur III documents that refer explicitly to the outfitting of the **eren₂**, there is a Sargonic text that suggests that the responsibility fell to both officers and governors:⁸⁹²

1(u) ġeš-gid₂-da / ugula nu-banda₃ e₂-gal / 2(u) 5(aš) ur-dlum-ma ugula nu-banda₃ / 2(u) ad-da nita gal / 1(u) 5(aš) lugal-ša₃ ugula nu-banda₃ / 1(u) 5(aš) lugal-KA ugula nu-banda₃ / 1(u) e₂-u₄-di-pa-e₃ šu-ku₆ / 1(ġeš₂) la₂ 3(diš) ġeš-gid₂-da / ur-e₂-tur ensi₂ / 1(ġeš₂) ur-d[...] / ugula nu-banda₃ ab-[x] / šu-niġin₂ 3(ġeš₂) 2(u) 2(aš) ġeš-gid₂-da eren₂ šum₂-ma

“10 spears (from) the overseer, captain of the palace; 25 (from) Ur-Lumma the overseer, captain; 20 (from) Adda, the big man; 15 from Lugalša the overseer, captain; 15 (from) Lugal-KA the overseer, captain; 10 from Eudi the overseer, who brings out the fishermen/hunters; 57 spears (from) Ur-Etur the governor; 60 (from) Ur-[...] the overseer, captain of [...]. Total: 202 spears the troops were given.”

The same may be the case for the Ur III period, though evidence is extremely slight. One document lists the property of one Šarrum-ili that was present in Pašime.⁸⁹³ That this may be the same person as the general documented in the archival texts dating to the latter part of Šulgi’s reign and that his property was located at Pašime, which was likely part of the militarized periphery, increases the plausibility of this notion.⁸⁹⁴ Concerning

Samsu-ditana 15: **mu alan-a-ni igi KA-keš₂ ugnim-ma** “Year (the king made) his statue (representing him) before the mustering of the army.”

Ammi-ditana 26: **mu urudu alan-a-ni igi-du eren₂ KA-keš₂-ke₄** “Year (the king made) his copper statue (representing him) as leader of the mustered troops.”

Dannum-taḥaz 2bb: **mu alan igi-du keš₂ eren₂** “Year (Dannum-taḥaz brought in the temple of Tišpak) a statue (representing himself) as leader of the mustering of the troops.”

⁸⁹² P212656 / BIN 8, 108. Schrakamp (*Krieger und Waffen*, 129 n. 752) has noted that a number of scholars assume, due to the presence of a person designated as a “fisherman” (**šu-ku₆**), that **ġiš-gid₂-da** refer to poles used for staking or spear fishing, but that other expenditure texts list people of other professions, while omitting fishermen, as recipients of **ġiš-gid₂-da**. It should be noted that Schrakamp understands the personnel in the text above to be recipients of the spears, while I understand them as providers for the collective, unnamed **eren₂**.

⁸⁹³ P105629 / BE 3/1, 77 (---/---), listing 44 spears (**ġiš-gid₂-da**) along with a number of other items.

⁸⁹⁴ For Šarrum-ili being explicitly labeled as a general, see P292513 / BPOA 6, 1306 (7/06/Š47). See also P134043 / TIM 6, 38 (11/---/AS02) and P134047 / TIM 6, 42 (---/AS03) in which one Huba, possibly the same person as the general Huba’a, delivers bronze spear-blades to Dayyanum-mišar the “weapons broker”

provincial responsibility for the equipping of conscripts, there are no texts that explicitly document the provincial governor's role in equipping the army. However, large numbers of spears or spear-shafts (**ĝiššukur**) made from *manu*-wood coming from the forestry overseers Ur-silaluh and his son Ur-emaš were sent to Ur as requisitioned items (**niĝ2-dab5**), suggesting that even if the governors themselves were not directly involved, provincial "bureaus" were responsible for sending materials to the crown for the army.⁸⁹⁵

The spear (or lance) was the primary combat weapon and the typical armament of conscripted **eren2**.⁸⁹⁶ It is the only weapon that is ever associated with the **eren2**; they are, as yet, unattested with bows.⁸⁹⁷ With the more frequent and general term for spear, **ĝiš-gid2-da** (literally "long wood"), it is often difficult to distinguish in the archival documents spears and spear troops assigned for military operations and those assigned for spear fishing and other civilian uses. Since civil work and military service both fell under the general notion of corvée supplied by the **eren2** for part of the year, the tools (spears, axes, daggers) which they used in the civil realm were likely also employed in the military realm; additionally, labor and products utilized in different areas were often tallied together as the contribution of a particular production unit with the details of their

in Puzriš-Dagan. For Huba'a, see Goetze, "Šakkanakkus of the Ur III Empire," 13. For Dayyanum-mišar see Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 245-246.

⁸⁹⁵ P211643 / Santag 6, 60 (---/Š44) lists 10,800 spears (**ĝiššukur**) and P143981 / SAT 2, 781 (---/AS07) lists 600 spears from Ur-silaluh; P141557 / UTI 6 3542+3602 (---/ŠS03) lists 1200 spears from Ur-emaš. For both an overview and detailed look at the forestry sector of Umma, see Steinkeller, "Archival Practices at Babylonia in the Third Millennium," 49-52 and Steinkeller, "The Foresters of Umma: Toward a Definition of Ur III Labor," in *Labor in the Ancient Near East*, AOS 68, edited by Marvin Powell, 73-115. New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1987, respectively. Even larger numbers of spears are attested; P109902 / HLC 1, 24 (11/---/Š46) gives a total of 22,800 spears in a balanced account of a **bala**-payment of reed and timber. On the **ĝiš-gid2-da** and **ĝiššukur** as "spear" or "lance," see Ingo Schrakamp, "Speer und Lanze," *RIA* 12 (2011): 630-632.

⁸⁹⁶ Lafont, "The Armies of the Kings of Ur," 15; Schrakamp, "Krieger und Waffen," 136;

⁸⁹⁷ For texts mentioning **eren2 ĝiš-gid2-da**, see P133761 / TEL 245 (---/----); P108600 / CT 9, 46 (5/---/Š46); P108548 / CT 7, 38 (12/---/ŠS02); P102517 / ASJ 13, 227 no. 72 (1/03/IS01); P332176 / PPAC 4, 264 (---/----); P110253 / HLC 3, 384 (---/----).

uses often omitted, therefore obscuring efforts to isolate military references.⁸⁹⁸

Furthermore, our data comes from the Girsu and Umma archives and thus are heavily biased towards the administration of the production units within those provinces instead of being directly concerned with military affairs, regardless of how the wars of the kingdom of Ur affected these production units.⁸⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the conscripted **eren₂** are associated with spears and undoubtedly made up the bulk of any army in the field.⁹⁰⁰

A conscripted laborer or soldier could be designated as **dumu dabs-ba**

“conscripted citizen” or **lu₂ dabs-ba** “conscripted one”⁹⁰¹ These “conscripted citizens”

⁸⁹⁸ A good example are the documents which record boats and labor used to transfer the troops/army (**eren₂ugnim**) from Anšan to Magan following the campaign against Anšan attested in Šulgi’s 34th year-name: P115919 / MVN 10, 149; P134286 / TLB 3, 145; P134287 / TLB 146. Fishermen, who were undoubtedly conscripted for military campaigns as part of their corvée service, may have been employed as “marines” in campaigns and have used their fishing spears as weapons; Robert Englund, *Organisation und Verwaltung der Ur III-Fischerei*, BBVO 10 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1990): 107-125; Piotr Steinkeller, “New Light on Šimaški and its Rulers,” ZA 97 (2007): 226-227 n. 45; Molina, “New Ur III Court Records Concerning Slavery,” 132; Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 5.

⁸⁹⁹ For example, the references to the army’s movement in relation to the Anšan campaign is solely incidental to the purpose of recording the flow of labor and supplies.

⁹⁰⁰ The literary letter of Lipit-Eštar (ETCSL 3.2.4) suggests an army composition of 4000 spearmen (**eren₂ lu₂ šukur**), 2000 archers (**eren₂ lu₂ šippan**) and 2000 axemen (**eren₂ lu₂ dur₁₀-tab-ba**), though the numbers of troops is the most variable section among the manuscripts; Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 20. Additionally, one example is not enough to ascertain the standard composition of the armies of Ur.

⁹⁰¹ Steinkeller, “Corvée Labor in Ur III Times,” 350 n. 8. **dumu dabs-ba** is a fairly common term, occurring over 400 times, and is almost solely attested in texts from Girsu. Therefore it may be a designation for conscripted citizens that is unique to this province alone. It occurs in a handful of texts from Puzriš-Dagan in the context of reeds delivered from the **sukkal-mah** that were the product of labor of **dumu dabs-ba** (2744 **gu₂ gi-zi / a₂ dumu dabs-ba / ki sukka₁-mah-ta / mu-ku_x**; P106151 / BIN 3, 345). All of the Puzriš-Dagan occurrences date to Ibši-Suen’s first year, which was when Arad-Nanna the **sukkal-mah** was also the governor of Girsu province (Jacob Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma: A Prosopographical Analysis of an Elite Family in Southern Iraq 4000 Years Ago* [Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2007]: 22-27) and therefore this does not present a problem for this suggestion. There are less than a dozen occurrences of the term in texts from Umma with a number of those texts unable to be unquestionably provenienced from Umma. Other cases may simply be the interaction of laborers from Girsu with the province of Umma; see Steinkeller, “National Building Projects in the Ur III Period,” 196 who notes that laborers from outside of Umma were conscripted to work on the city’s temple to Šara. See also Steinkeller, “Money-Lending Practices in Ur III Babylonia: The Issue of Economic Motivation,” in *Debt and Economic Renewal in the Ancient Near East*, eds. Michael Hudson and Marc Van De Mieroop (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2002): 131 in which one Šarrum-ili, a captain of the conscripts of Girsu (**nu-banda₃ dumu dabs-ba gir₂-su^{ki}-ke₄**) received an antichretic loan of 90,000 liters of grain from the governor of Umma which he was to repay at the harvest by reaping 540 ha, which would have undoubtedly been accomplished with his conscripts). The term **lu₂ dabs-ba** occurs only a few dozen times, almost solely in documents from Girsu as well.

could refer to the general bulk of the troops, the **eren₂**, as shown by a grain receipt from Girsu:⁹⁰²

2(aš) 1(ban₂) še gur lugal / ša₃-gal eren₂ dumu dab₅-ba-ne / ki
 ur-^den-lil₂-la₂-ta / ma-u₂-u₂ / ugula ba-ad-da-ri₂ / itud amar-a-a-si / mu en
^dnanna ga-eš^{ki} ba-ḥuḡ
 “610 liters of grain, the food provisions of the troops, conscripted citizens,
 Ma’u’u (received) from Ur-Enlila. The overseer (was) Baddari. DATE.”

or they could refer to more specialized troops, the (semi-)professional soldiers known as the **aga₃-us₂**.⁹⁰³

na-ni / u₃-na-a-dug₄ / 120(aš) še gur / dumu dab₅-ba aga₃-us₂-ḡu₁₀ /
 ḥe₂-na-ab-sum-mu / na-mi-gur-re
 “Tell Nani that he is to give 36,000 liters of grain to the conscripted citizens, my
 soldiers, (and) let him not argue.”

The conscripted **eren₂** are recorded as having served the central government part-time in the context of **bala**-obligations:⁹⁰⁴

⁹⁰² P114387 / MVN 5, 167 (10/--/AS09).

⁹⁰³ P135726 / PPAC 5, 109 (--/--/----). It should be noted that the laconic writing in this documents allows for other interpretations:

1. Conjunction: **dumu dab₅-ba(-ne u₃) aga₃-us₂(-e-ne)-ḡu₁₀** “conscripted citizens and my soldiers”
2. Genitive construction: **dumu dab₅-ba aga₃-us₂-ḡu₁₀(-ke₄-ne)** “conscripted citizens of my soldiers”
3. Appositional construction: **dumu dab₅-ba(-ne) aga₃-us₂-ḡu₁₀(-me)** “conscripted citizens - they are my soldiers”

It is evident in the translation above that I favor the appositional construction as the most natural way to read this text. The only omissions are the plural markers, while the conjunction option omits the plurals and the conjunction, and the genitive construction omits the plural and the genitive markers.

⁹⁰⁴ P133432 / TCTI 2, 4271 (10/--/IS01) and P133448 / TCTI 2, 4287 (11/--/ŠS01). For administrative terminology regarding labor obligations, see Piotr Steinkeller, “Archival Practices at Babylonia in the Third Millennium,” in *Ancient Archives and Archival Traditions: Concepts of Record-Keeping in the Ancient World*, edited by Maria Brosius, 37-58 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003): 44-49. For the **dumu dab₅-ba** referring to members of the **eren₂**, see P133404 / TCTI 2, 4243)--/--/ŠS07) which explicitly shows that the former term is a subset of the latter: **ša₃-gal eren₂ bala gub-ba / dumu dab₅-ba-me** “food provisions (for) the troops on *bala*-duty - they are conscripted citizens” (obv. lines 4-5).

7(aš) še gur / ša₃-gal dumu dab₅-ba bala gub-ba / ki ur-^dba-u₂-ta / kišib
ur-ki-sal₄-la / nu-banda₃ šeš-kal-la / i₃-dub a-šag₄ ^dnin-tu-ta / itud amar-a-a-si
/ mu ^di-bi₂-^dsuen lugal

“Ur-kisala sealed for/received 2100 liters of grain (as) food provisions (for) the conscripted citizens on *bala*-duty from Ur-Bau. The captain (is) Šeškala. From the granary of the field of Nintu. *DATE*.”

24 ġuruš 1(ban₂) 5 sila₃-ta / dumu dab₅-ba bala tuš-a / ki lu₂-kal-la-ta / kišib
lugal-mas-su₂ / itud še-sag₁₁-kud / mu ^dšu-^dsuen lugal

“Lugal-massu sealed for/received 24 able-bodied men each (received) 15 liters (of grain for) the conscripted citizens off *bala*-duty from Lukala. *DATE*.”

The **dumu dab₅** also occurs in the messenger text genre both as a designation of a person receiving travel provisions⁹⁰⁵ and as the objects of missions of military(-related) officials.⁹⁰⁶ A further connection with the military may be seen in a few other documents. A text dating to Šulgi’s forty-sixth year lists grain sealed for or received by one Ur-kisala who is designated as “overseer of conscripted citizens” (**ugula dumu dab₅-ba**) in the city of Madga, which was probably located in the vicinity of the Diyala River between the Jebel Hamrin and Zagros Mountains and therefore may have been a garrison settlement.⁹⁰⁷ Another text lists repaid grain-loans of overseers of conscripted citizens

⁹⁰⁵ P124734 / Orient 16, 83 no. 124 (6/12/----) rev. lines 10-13: **3 sila₃ kaš 2 sila₃ ninda / 2 gin₂ i₃ / a-ġu-ni dumu dab₅-ba / --- ġen-na** “3 liters of beer, 2 liters of bread (and) 2 shekels of oil (for) Aġuni the conscripted citizen who went [...]”

⁹⁰⁶ P406481 / Nisaba 22, 118 (12/--/----) rev. lines 8-9: **10(ban₂) kaš ud 2-kam i-zu-a dumu nu-banda₃ / mu dumu dab₅-ba-še₃ ġen-na** “10 liters of beer for 2 days (for) Izua the subordinate of the captain who went for the conscripted citizens.

⁹⁰⁷ P116350 / MVN 12, 88 (10/--/Š46): **1(barig) še lugal / ša₃-gal ma₂-ad-ga^{ki} / ki na-ba-sa₆-ta / kišib ur-ki-sal₄-la ugula dumu dab₅-ba / ġiri₃ ur-^ddumu-zi / ša₃ iri ma₂-ad-ga^{ki} / itud amar-a-a-si / mu ki-maš^{ki} ba-ġulu** “Ur-kisala, the overseer of conscripted citizens, sealed for/received 60 liters of grain - the food provisions of Madga, from Nabasa. Via Ur-Dumuzi in the city of Madga. *DATE*.” The amount of grain seems remarkably low, though other documents show that larger quantities were received. P116340 / MVN 12, 78 (10/--/Š46) lists 1620 liters of grain as the food provisions of the troops of Madga (**ša₃-gal eren₂-na ma₂-ad-ga^{ki}**) and P113316 / MVN 2, 17 (12/--/Š46) lists 840 liters as food provisions for the troops of Madga also received by Ur-kisala. On the location of Madga, see Douglas Frayne, *The Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names*, AOS 74 (New Haven: American Oriental Society, 1992): 54-57 and Frayne, “The Zagros Campaigns of Šulgi and Amar-Suena,” in *Nuzi at Seventy-Five*, SCCNH 10, eds. David I. Owen and Gernot Wilhelm (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1999): 157-158.

(še **ur₅-ra su-su ugula dumu dabs-ba-ne**), with the names of the overseers being associated elsewhere with the military organization.⁹⁰⁸

This is a good point to discuss another translational obstacle to be overcome, or at least aware of, as we try to characterize the Ur III state: the word **dumu**. Quite often the word is translated literally as “son” when such a connotation is uncertain at best.⁹⁰⁹ As Civil has noted some time ago, a significant challenge in understanding Sumerian documents is the application of the ethnocentric approach, which refers to “the unwarranted projection on Sumerian vocabulary of semantic categories, presuppositions, and cultural classifications applicable only to the standard Western worldview,” and, to a lesser degree, an overly strong reliance on Akkadian equivalents to Sumerian terms without testing such nuances in Sumerian contexts.⁹¹⁰ Civil has already noted this issue in light of the attempt to translate kinship terms, providing an example as to how Sumerian lacks a word for “cousin” since this nuance may be subsumed under the words **šeš** “brother” and **nin₉** “sister.”⁹¹¹ It should also be noted that kinship terms may have been extended to include those who were not related by blood or marriage. This notion

⁹⁰⁸ P203915 / PPAC 5, 701 (---/Š48). The names of the overseers are Ilšu-qurad, Dada, Ur-Suen, Duduni, Šu-ili and Kamu. Dada was the general of Zabalam and a Šu-ili is attested as a master sergeant (**ugula ġeš₂-da**; P102872 / AUCT 1, 26; 12/---/AS03); Ur-Suen was a prince who was the general of Uruk and Der (Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 189-190: E3/2.1.2.97; 1/---/AS01) and a Kamu is attested as a captain (**nu-banda₃**; P108845 / DAS 57; 7/---/AS01). Though it is quite conceivable that the personal names belong to people other than these officers, the collocation of the names and their positions of authority in the text renders the notion that they are military officers plausible.

⁹⁰⁹ For example, Lafont (“The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 12) translates **aga₃-us₂ dumu dabs-ba 15-bi** as “soldiers (who are) fifteen young seized men. This ignores that the term **dumu/mārum** is a relational term whereas “young” is a qualitative term which would be rendered by **ġuruš/e₂lum** if describing a young man or (**lu₂-tur/šerrum** to describe a child or baby. Even with a designation such as **tur** it is more likely to refer to a “junior soldier” and not a “child-soldier” (ibid, 13) in this context, because **tur** was used not only to render **šerrum** “baby, infant, young child” (CAD vol. 17/2, 317-320) but also **ših₃rum** “second in rank, apprentice” and **šuġārum** “adolescent; subordinate” (CAD vol. 16, 179, 182, 231-235). Cf. also ePSD’s gloss of junior scribe for **dub-sar tur**.

⁹¹⁰ Miguel Civil, “Lexicography,” in *Sumerological Studies in Honor of Thorkild Jacobsen on his Seventieth Birthday June 7, 1974*, AS 20, ed. Stephen J. Lieberman (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1974): 142.

⁹¹¹ Ibid, 142.

has quite an impact on how we understand an extremely prevalent term such as **dumu** in the Ur III administrative corpus. Pomponio questions whether the phrase PN₁ **dumu** PN₂ indicates a true patronymic or whether it indicates his superior and thus the office in which he operates; in other words, whether we should translate **dumu** as “son” or “subordinate.”⁹¹² Evidence for the latter includes: 1) the extremely high number of sons attested for some officials; 2) officials that seem to have had two fathers who carried out similar, if not the same, functions; and 3) a few sons of the governor of Girsu, Ur-Lama, were deprived of their positions, wealth and possibly their lives at the beginning of Amar-Suen’s reign while their “father” retained his position.⁹¹³ An example from a later period adds to the notion that the literal translation of kinship terms cannot be rigidly applied without consideration of their contexts. The Nuzi corpus, dating to the early Late Bronze Age, often mentions a type of tax called *ilku*, and the nature of the *ilku*-impost was inextricably tied up with contracts known as *tuppi mārūti* “tablet of adoption” (literally “sonship”) which were used to transfer real estate from parties in one family to parties in another.⁹¹⁴ The *ilku*-duty was a corvée tax which was tied to the real estate and imposed upon whoever owned the real estate *at the time* the service was called up; thus the real estate and its *ilku*-duty were alienable. This situation, though it is verifiable in the texts (with earlier analogs in documents such as the Code of Hammurapi), has often been muddled due to the terminology used in the transfer of this type of property, which is familial. Thus these (real estate) adoption contracts (*tuppi mārūti*) were structured so

⁹¹² Francesco Pomponio, “The Ur III Administration: Workers, Messengers, and Sons,” in *From the 21st Century B.C. to the 21st Century A.D.: Proceedings of the International Conference on Neo-Sumerian Studies Held in Madrid, 22-24 July 2010*, eds. Steven J. Garfinkle and Manuel Molina (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013): 227.

⁹¹³ Ibid, 227-231.

⁹¹⁴ Maynard Paul Maidman, *Nuzi Texts and their Uses as Historical Evidence*, SBLWAW 18 (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2010): 163.

that a “father” (= seller) “adopted” (*ana mārūti īpuš*, literally “make into a son” = engages in a transaction) a “son” (= buyer) and “gave” (*nadānu*) him the real estate (immediately, not waiting until the “father’s” death), while in return the “son” gave the father a “gift” (NIG₂.BA/*qīštu*) which amounted to the market value of the real estate; the “son” had no filial obligations (support, burial, or mourning) to the “father.”⁹¹⁵ And therefore it was thought that these fictitious adoptions were necessary because land was essentially inalienable from the families of the original owners. It is uncertain why much of the land sale was couched in the language of adoption, but it is clear that the function of such “adoptions” was limited to land sale and was not connected to familial status or law at all.⁹¹⁶ Thus this demonstrates that the proper translation of **dumu** is heavily context-dependent.

Also related to the **dumu dab₅-ba** and **lu₂-dab₅-ba** are those designated as **lu₂ al-dab₅-ba**.⁹¹⁷ Occurring in roughly two dozen texts from Umma and Girsu, the contexts in which they appear often militate against understanding them as prisoners of any sort and favor the interpretation “conscripts.” In Umma messenger texts they occur as recipients of food provisions as they travel to and from peripheral territories (**ša₃-gal lu₂ al-dab₅-ba-ne gaba-aš/gaba-ta bala-a**),⁹¹⁸ and in a Girsu messenger text a chief soldier is given provisions for the task of transferring conscripts across a river or canal.⁹¹⁹ Thus we see

⁹¹⁵ Ibid, 165-166.

⁹¹⁶ Ibid, 166.

⁹¹⁷ It is uncertain whether the stative prefix /al/ distinguishes in any functional manner the **lu₂ dab₅-ba** “conscripted one” from the **lu₂ al-dab₅-ba** “one who is/was conscripted.”

⁹¹⁸ P118254 / MVN 14, 574; P208845 / Nisaba 3, 87.

⁹¹⁹ P128489 / RTC 336: **2(ban₂) zi₃-gu lugal / ud 4-kam ša₃ iri / 5 sila₃ zi₃ kaskal-še₃ / ka-la-a / aga-us₂ gal / lu al-dab₅-ba / id₂-de₃ bala-e-de₃ ġen-na / itud munu₄-gu₇** “20 liters of flour (for) 4 days in the city (and) 5 liters of flour for the road (for) Kala’a the chief soldier who went to transfer conscripts across the river.”

an association with the periphery and the military, which bolsters the interpretation “conscript.”

A pertinent question is the means by which troops were conscripted, especially for military duties. Conscription of troops in the late third millennium army has often been conceived of as a hostile, and perhaps violent, imposition of the state upon its population. Some of this likely stems in part from modern Western opinions of the evil despotic state that oppresses its subjects. Another part is due to the way scholars translate certain words and verbs which, if not properly translated in a given context, could give false impressions. Some examples will be sufficient to show the danger of not properly contextualizing terminology. Heimpel in his discussion of the phrases **lu₂ sa-bar-re dab₅-ba** and **lu₂ ^{giš}tukul-e dab₅-ba** translates them as “persons seized by the casting net” and “persons seized by the weapon” and understands them as syntactically parallel phrases.⁹²⁰ Regarding the former phrase, he noted that the people who were designated as such had Sumerian names, excluding them from consideration as prisoners of war, and therefore sought an explanation of them as criminals who were perhaps literally tied to a net or rope as part of a chain gang.⁹²¹ Heimpel’s opinion that these phrases essentially mean “seized by force” simply follows Steinkeller’s lead in his article which discusses the term.⁹²² This is picked up by Lafont, who states:

“The extensive Ur III administrative documentation shows what kind of severe control was exercised on the population, so that no one could escape this form of conscription, whether civil or military. In some cases, men could be “seized by

⁹²⁰ Heimpel, “The Industrial Park of Girsu in the Year 2042 BC,” 395. For the word **sa-bar** as an orthographic variant of **sa-par₃/par₄**, see Piotr Steinkeller, “A Note on sa-bar = sa-par₄/par₃ ‘Casting Net’,” *ZA* 75 (1985): 39-46.

⁹²¹ Heimpel, “The Industrial Park of Girsu in the Year 2042 BC,” 395.

⁹²² Steinkeller, “A Note on sa-bar = sa-par₄/par₃ ‘Casting Net’,” 42.

weapons” (^{geš}**tukul-e dabs-ba**). Texts also mention several categories of “seized” or “dragooned” individuals (**lu₂-dabs-ba**, **dumu-dabs-ba**, **gan-dabs-ba**, etc.), as well as individuals who tried to escape, and as a result had to face punishment and imprisonment, once they surrendered or were caught.”⁹²³

The conception behind his statement about the “severe control exercised on the population” has been briefly addressed above. Therefore if this statement can be questioned, should we assume this understanding of these phrases? This conception is not without support. The hostile connotation of the phrase **lu₂ sa-bar-re dabs-ba** seems to be supported by the literary use of **sa-bar/par₄** as a net used to catch enemies and criminals in royal inscriptions and hymns to deities such as Nungal, the divine lady warden of prisons.⁹²⁴ However, in Ur III administrative documents the word is never used in such a way. In fact, it is only used in the aforementioned phrase and as a designation of personnel (**lu₂ sa-bar**). The three occurrences of the phrase **lu₂ sa-bar-re dabs-ba** belong to the Girsu kennel-men texts and in these three documents there are no references to any sort of prison, punishment, or crimes. They simply list provisions for: personnel stationed with the storehouse (**ĝa₂-nun-da tuš-a**), troops of the secretaries’ office (**eren₂ e₂-sukkal**), troops of various shrines (**eren₂ eš₃ didli**), equid keepers (**si^{anše}pad kunga₂**), “Amorite” women (**mar-tu munus**), “workers” (**lu₂-ĥu-bu^{bu}**) and dogs (**ur-gir₁₅**).⁹²⁵ Regarding the contexts of the **lu₂ sa-bar-ra**, one text mentions 59,800 liters of fish in 520 one-hundred-and-fifteen-liter containers “delivered” (**ĝiri₃**) by the “ones of

⁹²³ Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 8. Benjamin Studevent-Hickman (“The Organization of Manual Labor in Ur III Babylonia,” [PhD diss., Harvard University, 2006]: 142, 227) understands **lu₂ ĝis^{geš}tukul dabs-ba** to designate “former captives,” though he is unsure if they are to be understood as prisoners-of-war or people who were taken captive in other contexts. Michalowski (*Letters from Early Mesopotamia*, SBLWAW 3 [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993]: 86 no. 150) glosses the term as “prisoners-of-war.”

⁹²⁴ See the examples in Steinkeller, “A Note on sa-bar = sa-par₄/par₃ ‘Casting Net’,” 40-41.

⁹²⁵ The texts are P110326 / HSS 4, 53; P119720 / MVN 17, 126; P315683 / PPAC 5, 76.

the net” (**lu₂ sa-bar-ra-ke₄-ne**).⁹²⁶ Another lists the **lu₂ sa-bar-ra** alongside boat-towers (**ma₂-gid₂**) and sailors (**ma₂-lah₅**) that made up a group of thirteen “men” (**ġuruš**) as part of the “troops (going) for *manu*-wood” (**eren₂ ġi^šma-nu-še₃-e-ne**).⁹²⁷ And yet another associates the **lu₂ sa-bar-ra** with boats and fish, mentioning “rations for the **lu₂-sa-bar-ra** (and) boat-towers with the fish-boats, (errand)-runners and fowlers” (**še-ba lu₂ sa-bar-ra ma₂-gid₂ ma₂ ku₆-da kas₄ u₃ mušen-du₃-e-ne**).⁹²⁸ This designation also occurs in an Umma beer-expenditure text which also mentions beer allotted to fowlers and fishermen (**mušen-du₃, šu-ku₆**).⁹²⁹ Overall, the context of **lu₂ sa-bar-ra** is one of a fisherman who was in some way distinguished from the better-known term for “fisherman,” which was **šu-ku₆**.⁹³⁰ There is no good reason, contextually, to accept **lu₂ sa-bar-re dab₅-ba** to mean “seized by force.”

Investigation into the syntax of these phrases also does not support this interpretation. This is a participial phrase which has a subject (**lu₂**), indirect object (**sa-bar/ġi^štukul**) and a passive participle (**dab₅-ba**). The case marker **-e**, suffixed to **sa-bar/ġi^štukul**, is what has been traditionally known as the locative-terminative marker.⁹³¹ The locative-terminative is used to denote movement towards or location near/next to an

⁹²⁶ P110481. Uncertain provenience. This plural construction shows that **lu₂ sa-bar-ra** is to be understood as a genitive phrase (**lu sabar.ak**; “one of the net”) rather than a locative phrase (**lu sabar.a**; “one in the net”).

⁹²⁷ P137378 / UET 3, 1053. Ur.

⁹²⁸ P138172 / UET 9, 41. Ur.

⁹²⁹ P145285 / SAT 3, 2068.

⁹³⁰ This term was also used to denote a “hunter”. Perhaps this term was used to denote fishermen who fished with spears rather than nets. A quick search of BDTNS shows a collocation of **šu-ku₆** with spears (**ġi^š-gid₂-da**), and not **sa-bar**.

⁹³¹ This is probably not the ergative marker **-e**, since the ergative is generally used to mark an animate (personal) agent, which **sabar/tukul** “net/weapon” is not. Additionally, when inanimate objects (excluding animals) are found in the ergative, they usually are in literary constructions in which they mimic or are ascribed animate behavior and characteristics. Furthermore, an item such as a tool or weapon is not an object which would be the subject of the verb **dab₅** “to seize.” These considerations argue against the probability of this being an ergative marker and thus a Mesanepada construction: **mes.Ø An.e pad.a** “hero chosen by An”; thus **lu sabar/tukul.e dab.a** likely does not mean “one seized by net/weapon”.

entity, and it is also used as the inanimate dative.⁹³² None of these functions denote “by (means of)”. This connotation is reserved for the ablative-instrumental case marker **-ta**.⁹³³ Thus this has to be the inanimate dative. As a dative marker, the postposition **-e** denotes the beneficiary or goal of a verbal event.⁹³⁴ We can better understand these phrases as “seized for (or with the goal of) nets/weapons.”

However, the use of the translation “seize” still biases one towards the view of “apprehended by force”. This highlights the problem with the way the word **dab₅** is often translated as “seized” without attention given to finer nuances. While it certainly can mean to “seize” an enemy or city, as well as bandits (occurring in the Iri-Saĝrig messenger texts, though it is uncertain if they are capturing the bandits or merely taking control of already captured bandits), the verb is not limited to this narrow nuance. In texts from Puzriš-Dagan the verbal form **is-dab₅**, in the context of the receipt of livestock and other deliveries (**mu-ku_x**), is substantially more common than the synonymous verb **šu ba-ti**. The verb **dab₅** occurs with a variety of items as its objects, such as **šuku** plots, seed grain, grain for laborers/soldiers, hirelings and silver.⁹³⁵ The forceful connotation of

⁹³² Marie Louise Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language: An Introduction to its History and Grammatical Structure*, 3rd edition, Mesopotamia 10 (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 2001): 95-96. Gábor Zólyomi, (*An Introduction to the Grammar of Sumerian* [Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2017]: 167-168, 215-216) would distinguish the inanimate dative **-e** and the locative **-e**.

⁹³³ The ablative-instrumental case marker **-ta** is used to denote: 1) motion away from something, 2) the instrument or means by which and action is carried out, or 3) a distributive sense; Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 105-107; Piotr Michalowski, “Sumerian,” in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World’s Ancient Languages*, ed. Roger D. Woodard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004): 34; Foxvog, *Introduction to Sumerian Grammar*, 58; Zólyomi, *An Introduction to the Grammar of Sumerian*, 184-186 (includes separative function).

⁹³⁴ Zólyomi, *An Introduction to the Grammar of Sumerian*, 167-168. Thomsen (*The Sumerian Language*, 95) noted that the locative-terminative **-e** used with inanimate objects parallels the use of the dative for the animate. Abraham Jagersma (*A Descriptive Grammar of Sumerian* [Leiden: Faculty of the Humanities, Leiden University, 2010]: 169) understood **-e** as the directive case marker with the primary function of denoting indirect or oblique object, though his translation in example 152 suggests its use to denote the goal of the verb.

⁹³⁵ For an example of the **šuku** plots, which were parcels of land given by the royal and provincial sectors in exchange for labor and service, see P102531 / ASJ 14, 231 no. 81. For examples of the grain, hirelings

“to seize” is not applicable in any of these contexts. This is not the place for a word study on **dab5**, but we can examine its many nuances in light of its Akkadian counterpart *ṣabātum*; those nuances have been conveniently compiled in the *Chicago Assyrian Dictionary*. The CAD (vol. 16, 5-41) provides a large range of meanings for *ṣabātum*, including: 1) to seize, overcome (with demons, illness, misfortune and sleep as subjects and people as objects), 2) to seize, capture, arrest, imprison (a person, hostage or slave), 3) to take hold of a person (in legal contexts in asking for payment of debt or to require a person to appear as a witness), 4) to levy taxes or services, 5) to take possession of real estate or hold ownership of land, 6) to conquer or take a city, 7) to take over a city or province for administrative purposes, 8) to take or accept objects and materials for specific purposes, 9) to hold an object or use a tool, 10) to take up position or hold a passage. There is a whole host of idiomatic meanings as well. This brief survey shows that the underlying notion of the verb is “to take control”. Therefore perhaps we should understand the phrase ^{ĝi5}**tukul-e dab5-ba** to mean “(people) who were taken control of for weapons” or better “(people) conscripted for military service”.⁹³⁶ This provides a more neutral rendering of the phrase that does not force the evidence into a certain context in which it might not belong. This is not to deny that conscription can often be involuntary and against one’s will, only to question the notion that conscripts were taken forcibly at “spear-point”.

and silver as objects of **dab5**, see P108650 / CT 10, 48; P110221 / HLC 3, 350 and P116117 / MVN 11, 103.

⁹³⁶ The phrase ^{ĝi5}**tukul-e dab5-ba** is a shortened form of **lu2-^{ĝi5}tukul-e-dab5-ba**, demonstrated by the variant forms in a tablet and envelope concerning grain expenditures; P107209 / MTBM 330, 331 (4/05/Š46). In place of the **lu2** can stand **he2-dab5** (a type of worker), **eren2** (troops), and **ĝuruš/geme2** (able-bodied man/woman).

A quick survey should suffice to produce doubts that **ġištukul-e dab5-ba** should be understood as “seized by force.” Quite often texts which contain this phrase are lists of named individuals who received grain, oil or garment allotments, or who were allocated for various labor assignments. The summary section of one document lists the following:⁹³⁷

šu-niġin2 30 ġuruš 2 a2 ½ / šu-niġin2 3 geme2 / ħe2-dab5-me / šu-niġin2 4 ġuruš muḥaldim u3 lu2 didli / e2-ḪAR.ḪAR-a gub-ba ša3 saġ-da-na^{ki}

“Total: 30 able-bodied men, 2 (of whom are) half-output laborers; total: 3 able-bodied women - they are **ħe2-dab5**-workers; total: 4 able-bodied men - a cook and various other persons. Stationed at the E.ḪAR.ḪAR, in Saġdana.”

The body of the text distinguishes between those who are **ġištukul-e dab5-ba-me** and those who are **ħe2-dab5-me**, with the majority of personnel falling under the first category and bearing occupational designations such as fisherman (**šu-ku6**), gardener (**nu-ġiškiri6**), singer (**nar**), lamentation priest (**gala**), fuller (**azlag7**), potter (**baḥar2**), reed worker (**ad-kup4**) and merchant (**dam-gar3**). Both those designated as **ġištukul-e dab5-ba** and those designated as **ħe2-dab5** are subsumed under the rubric of **ħe2-dab5** in the summary section, showing that not all who were **ħe2-dab5** were **ġištukul-e dab5-ba**. This is born out if we tally the total number of occurrences of **ħe2-dab5** and compare it with the total number of attestations of **ħe2-dab5 ġištukul-e dab5-ba**, which make up only a small percentage.⁹³⁸ We see both male and female workers designated as such, as well as half-time laborers, which naturally leads to the question of whether part-time workers and

⁹³⁷ P136192 / UDT 60 (5/16/AS09) rev. col. ii, lines 9-14.

⁹³⁸ This also seems confirmed by the text P380037 / PPAC 5, 1470 (10/20/ŠS03) which mentions one Duganizi who was **ġištukul-e dab5-ba** from the **ħe2-dab5 (ħe2-dab5-ta)** for the reed (harvesting) troop (**eren2 gi-zi-še3**).

women would need to be conscripted at spear-point. Female laborers (**geme2**) are not uncommonly present among personnel designated as **ĝištukul-e-dab5-ba**. One text mentions thirty liters of oil used for anointing female millers in Nippur⁹³⁹ while another mentions female weavers who are designated as **ĝištukul-e dab5-ba** alongside men, many of whom were potters.⁹⁴⁰

That many of these conscripts were drafted from temple dependents and provincial villages is shown by a couple of documents, one that lists one thousand, seven hundred and seventy liters of grain as rations/payments for **ĝištukul-e dab5-ba** who belong to the temples of Dumuzi and Nindara,⁹⁴¹ and another that lists **he2-dab5**-workers and female millers under the rubric of **he2-dab5 ĝištukul-e-dab5-ba-me** of the temple of Nanše.⁹⁴² The latter text again shows that **he2-dab5** and **ĝištukul-e dab5-ba** is not a one-to-one equation. Though the term occurs nearly six hundred times, a comprehensive study on the **he2-dab5** worker is lacking. Heimpel had suggested that the term be read **gan-dab5** with the literal meaning “I want to be a seized (person)” and connoting criminals who turned themselves in with the expectation of a lighter sentence.⁹⁴³ The ePSD simply notes that the term designates a type of worker, and Studevent-Hickman’s dissertation on labor declines to provide a translation, but provides some information on them, such as they seem to have been temple dependents, performed multiple tasks (such as working in agriculture or in shipyards), were employed for a limited time of the year

⁹³⁹ P108504 / CT 7, 16 (8/--/AS01) rev. col. ii, lines 5-7: **3(ban2) i3-ĝiš / geme2 kinkin2 ĝištukul-e dab5-ba ba-ab-šeš4 ša3 Nibru**.

⁹⁴⁰ P109952 / HLC 1, 74 (6/23/Š48).

⁹⁴¹ P116410 / MVN 12, 148 (12/--/Š46).

⁹⁴² P113476 / MVN 2, 177 (11-12/--/ŠS01). This grain expenditure text provides the standard ratio of 60 liters per month for the men and 30 liters for the women.

⁹⁴³ Wolfgang Heimpel, “The Industrial Park of Girsu in the Year 2042 B.C.: Interpretation of an Archive Assembled by P. Mander,” *JAOS* 118 (1998): 398.

(about five months) and apparently were part of the **eren₂**, at least in some instances.⁹⁴⁴

Studevent-Hickman translates the occurrences of **he₂-dab₅** ^{ĝi_š}**tukul-e dab₅-ba** as

“HE2.DAB5 seized by the weapon” and states that the status of these workers, whether as fugitives or as newly captured prisoners before they came to the temple, is not clear.⁹⁴⁵

Out of close to six hundred occurrences of **he₂-dab₅**, there are only eighteen occurrences associating **he₂-dab₅** with ^{ĝi_š}**tukul-e dab₅-ba**, thus showing that not all those who were ^{ĝi_š}**tukul-e dab₅-ba** became **he₂-dab₅**. Indeed, one document suggests that **he₂-dab₅**-workers who were ^{ĝi_š}**tukul-e dab₅-ba** only served for a limited period of time, in that case two months, while the regular **he₂-dab₅** served for the majority of a year or more.⁹⁴⁶

The **eren₂** and other workers designated as such, though their work assignments are normally absent,⁹⁴⁷ nevertheless received food provisions (**ša₃-gal**) in the form of barley and semolina⁹⁴⁸ or commodity allotments of grain, oil and textiles (**še-ba**, **i₃-ba**, and **tug₂-ba**).⁹⁴⁹ An interesting document lists dates (**zu₂-lum**) issued for consumption for groups of men (**ĝuruš**) numbering from one hundred and five to one hundred and eighteen persons, alongside their overseers, at various times (**a-ra₂ 1-7-kam**), totaling two thousand, one hundred and sixty liters of dates consumed by the ^{ĝi_š}**tukul-e dab₅-ba** in the palace of Amar-Suen (**ĝi_š**tukul-e dab₅-ba gu₇-a ša₃ e₂-gal d^damar-d^dsuen**).⁹⁵⁰ This is**

⁹⁴⁴ Studevent-Hickman, “The Organization of Manual Labor in Ur III Babylonia,” *passim*.

⁹⁴⁵ Ibid, 227.

⁹⁴⁶ P114905 / MVN 6, 527 (5/--/Š34).

⁹⁴⁷ There are exceptions, such as P205021 / BPOA 1, 334 (2/--/AS08) which lists oil rations for 11 men who were “boat-towers stationed at the transportation center” (**ma₂-gid₂ zi-gum₂-ma gub-ba**).

⁹⁴⁸ See, for example P136154 / UDT 26 (1/--/Š47) which lists 3890 and 6570 liters of barley over a 2-month period for **eren₂**, amounting to roughly 65 and 110 men, and P379320 / PPAC 5, 1241 (10/--/----) which lists 1140 liters of semolina for the **eren₂**.

⁹⁴⁹ See, for example, P380311 / PPAC 5, 1603 (12/--/Š46) which mentions grain allotments (**še-ba**) for ^{ĝi_š}**tukul-e dab₅-ba** who came from Girsu; P118643 / MVN 15, 385 (---/Š47) which mentions garments allotted for 12 conscripted **ĝuruš** and **geme₂**; P112789 / DAS 226 (1/--/AS08) which lists oil given to 20 named **ĝuruš** who were (**lu₂**) ^{ĝi_š}**tukul-e dab₅-ba** of the **sukkal-mah** who went to the transportation center (**zi-gum₂-še₃ ĝen-na**).

⁹⁵⁰ P115697 / MVN 9, 54 (---/AS03).

somewhat reminiscent of Sargon's claim that fifty-four hundred troops ate before him daily⁹⁵¹ and it would seem odd that a relatively large number of dragooned individuals were eating at the king's residence.⁹⁵²

This is simply a brief survey of a descriptive phrase which needs to be studied in greater detail along with some other terms to denote various types of workers. As mentioned above, the terms **dumu dab5-ba** (conscripted citizen) and **lu2 dab5-ba** (conscripted one) seem to have been the terminology idiosyncratic to the Girsu administration to refer to conscripts. The phrase (**lu2**) ^{giš}**tukul-e dab5-ba** is almost solely attested in texts from Girsu as well, suggesting that it is another term idiosyncratic to Girsu used to refer to laborers who were conscripted for military-related duties. This naturally leads to the questions, for what type of duties were they conscripted and how did they differ from regular troop conscripts? The literal phrase "taken for the weapon," understood to mean "conscripted for military(-related) duties," does not have to imply conscription to serve as part of the infantry, but could refer to conscription to serve the military organization in a broader sense. We know from later periods that non-combatants traveled with the Assyrian and Persian armies to prepare food, transport supplies, repair equipment, tend to livestock and pack animals, appease the gods, divine

⁹⁵¹ **1(šar2) 3(geš2) eren2 ud-šu2-še3 igi-ni-še3 ninda i3-gu7-a** "5400 troops eat bread before him daily" (Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods*, 28-29; E2.1.1.11).

⁹⁵² It is interesting that they are eating dates since dates were not a standard ration or payment commodity for laborers or troops in this period; Ignace J. Gelb, "The Ancient Mesopotamian Ration System," *JNES* 24 (1965): 236-237. Though only dates are mentioned, it would be a mistake to uncritically assume that this was the only alimentation for these meals; other food items may have been written on other tablets which were not recovered. For this practice in Girsu and Iri-sağrig messenger texts, see Chapter 4. It should also be noted that the **lu2** ^{giš}**tukul-e dab5-ba** received meat as well: P123157 / CUSAS 16, 164 (6/--/Š42 or AS06) "(The ones) conscripted for military duties received 10 sheep carcasses" (**10 ad7 udu / tukul'-e-dab5-ba / šu ba-ti**); P116663 / MVN 12, 401 (3/--/AS04): "**he2-dab5**-workers conscripted for military duties received 300 liters of bread and 17 sheep carcasses" (**1(aš) ninda gur lugal / 17 ad6 udu he2-dab5** ^{giš}**tukul-e dab5-ba / ... šu ba-ti**); P111679 / TCS 1, 325 (/--/--) "Tell [...] that he is to give 30 sheep carcasses to Ur-Alla to feed the (ones) conscripted for military duties" ([...] **-ra / u3-na-a-dug4 / 30 ad6 udu /** ^{giš}**tukul-e dab5-ba / gu7-de3 / ur-dal-la / he2-na-ab-sum-mu**).

the future and meticulously record the flow of supplies and acquisition of plunder; this freed the soldiers to construct their camps, fight, destroy enemy structures and clear difficult terrain.⁹⁵³ However, there is no evidence that the **lu₂ ġi^štukul-e dab₅-ba** in our texts accompanied the armies of Ur when they went on campaign.⁹⁵⁴ Therefore we can propose that the workers who bore the designation were tasked to support the military apparatus from within the provinces, as much campaign preparation undoubtedly occurred within the provinces themselves in order to prepare the army for mobilization and transport to the field. As has been discussed above, personnel designated as **ġi^štukul-e dab₅-ba** came from temple estates and thus belonged to the provincial **eren₂** which, as Steinkeller suggested, probably were not mobilized for campaigns except in exceptional circumstances.⁹⁵⁵ The only assignments recorded for these personnel is work in transportation centers (**zi-gum₂**), which we know the army utilized.⁹⁵⁶

To summarize, the **eren₂** were conscripted from the free population of Babylonia for corvée and military labor, and were divided among provincial **eren₂** and royal **eren₂**, the latter being the more populous of the two. They were provisioned (**ša₃-gal**) by the provincial and royal sectors in the course of their work and received commodity allotments (**še-ba**, etc.) and land allotments (**šuku**) from their respective sectors. They

⁹⁵³ John Marriott and Karen Radner, “Sustaining the Assyrian Army among Friends and Enemies in 714 BCE,” *JCS* 67 (2015): 127-143; Tamás Dezső, *The Assyrian Army II: Recruitment and Logistics* (Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2016): 85-90. Some of the data from this comes from Nimrud Letter 89 (SAA 5, 215) which lists part of the Assyrian army mustered in the Zagros region of Zamua and includes: 8 manservants (*ša bēti šanie*), 12 tailors (*kāširu*), 20 cupbearers (*šāqū*), 12 victuallers (*kakardinu*), 7 bakers (*ēpū*), 10 butchers/cooks (*nuḫatimmu*), 8 scribes (*ummānu*), 23 donkey-drivers (*rādi imāri*) and 1 reporter (*mūtir iēme*); J. Nicholas Postgate, “The Assyrian Army in Zamua,” *Iraq* 62 (2000): 89-108. Marriott and Radner (135) note that the support staff comprised a significant percentage of the army’s personnel.

⁹⁵⁴ Support personnel who accompanied the army are probably those designated as “(occupation) of the army” (**baḥar₂ ugnim_x**, **dub-sar ugnim_x**); for such categories and a discussion of the term **ugnim**, see Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 4-5.

⁹⁵⁵ Steinkeller, “Corvée Labor in Ur III Times,” 372-373 and n. 106.

⁹⁵⁶ P205021 / BPOA 1, 334 and P112789 / DAS 226. For the **zi-gum₂**, see Chapter 4.

owed roughly six months of service to their institutions, after which they worked for those same institutions as hired labor (**lu₂-huġ-ġa₂**) for wages (**a₂**). The royal **eren₂** comprised the bulk of the armies sent in the field and seem to have served primarily as spearmen. Such armies would have been supplemented by semi-professional soldiers (**aga₃-us₂**), as will be discussed in the following section.

III.2: The **aga₃-us₂**

The term **aga₃-us₂** occurs relatively frequently in the Ur III administrative corpus,⁹⁵⁷ though its exact semantic nature and thus the corresponding modern translation is debated, resulting in varying translations such as: “(professional) soldier”, “elite soldier”, “guard”, “policeman”, “gendarme”, “watch-soldier”, “attendant”, and “bodyguard”.⁹⁵⁸ It is attested from the mid-third millennium into the first millennium, though it is quite rare in the late second and early first millennium.⁹⁵⁹ Much of the disagreement over the nature of the term stems from the nature of our sources. Old Babylonian sources such as Hammurapi’s Law Code, letters and some Sumerian literary texts tend to portray the **aga₃-us₂** / *rēdûm* as a type of soldier, and some scholars extrapolate this meaning back into the third millennium. Whether or not this is anachronous depends on the degree of continuity in the semantic range of the term from the mid-third millennium to the end of the Old Babylonian period. Scholars that tend to reject, or at least are hesitant to affirm, the meaning of “soldier” base their views solely

⁹⁵⁷ BDTNS registers 2160 occurrences of this word.

⁹⁵⁸ For bibliography on the positions of various scholars, see Ingo Schrakamp, *Kreiger und Waffen im Frühen Mesopotamien: Organisation und Bewaffnung des Militärs in fröhdynastischer und sargonischer Zeit* (PhD. diss., Philipps-Universität, Marburg, 2010): 21 and Marco Bonechi, “Strife in Early Bronze Syria: Lexical, Prosopographical, and Historical Notes on the Ebla Texts,” in *Kakkēka rukusma* (“*Ceins tes armes!*”), HIMA 3, ed. Philippe Abrahams and Catherine Wolff (Paris: Klincksieck, 2016): 46-47 n. 136. Most of these terms have been applied to the title **lu₂-^{gis}tukul** as well, which could potentially obscure distinctions between the two.

⁹⁵⁹ CAD R, 246-251 provide the translations “soldier” and “bailiff” only for Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian texts; the translations “drover”, “guide”, “head of work crew”, “retainer” and “administrator” are reserved for the late second and first millennia. According to the RIMA and RINAP subcorpora of ORACC, the term does not occur in Middle Assyrian or Neo-Assyrian royal inscriptions, with the exception of one inscription of Esarhaddon (“Letter to Aššur”, RINAP 4, Esarhaddon 33, 80) which lists them after governors (*pīhātū*), overseers (*aklū*), and leaders (*šāpirū*). Neither does it occur in Babylonian inscriptions of the late second and first millennia, with the sole exception of a single inscription of Nabû-šuma-imbi (Grant Frame, *Rulers of Babylonia from the Second Dynasty of Isin to the End of Assyrian Domination (1157-612 BC)* [Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995]: 123-126: B.6.14.2001) which gives an uncertain context: *rēdû mutnennû ša ana paraš Nabû bēl mātāti bēl ilī putuququ santak* “a pious *rēdû* who constantly pays attention to the cult of Nabû, the lord of the lands, lord of the gods”. It is also absent from the corpus of Neo-Assyrian letters.

on contemporary third millennium texts. However, this suffers from data biases, since the term is relatively rare in Early Dynastic and Sargonic sources, and nearly all the occurrences of the term are found in administrative documents,⁹⁶⁰ a genre in which it can be notoriously difficult to isolate military versus civilian affairs.⁹⁶¹

The literal meaning of the word itself has been debated. Originally thought to have meant “one who follows (**us₂**) the crown (**aga**)” (or better, crown-follower, just as **dub-sar** is literally translated as “tablet-writer”), it is now thought that the term means “one who follows behind” based on a lexical text that gives: **aga₃-us₂** = *ālik urki*, in which **a-ga** = *warkatu*; this works well with its Akkadian equivalent *rēdû*.⁹⁶²

The **aga₃-us₂** is attested as early as the mid-third millennium, seeming to bear the connotation of “soldier” in documents from Fara. In a sun-god hymn attested at Abu Salabikh and Ebla the **aga₃-us₂** are levied from foreign lands.⁹⁶³ In the Early Dynastic IIIb / Presargonic period, the term is primarily attested at Lagaš and Adab and denotes a group of people who were provided with rations and land allotments (**a-šag₄ šuku**), were organized under supervisors and were themselves in charge of groups of people; a grain-

⁹⁶⁰ Schrakamp, *Krieger und Waffen im Frühen Mesopotamien*, 21-24.

⁹⁶¹ Many of these documents simply record the provisioning and general organization of the **aga₃-us₂**, otherwise providing little additional context to determine the nature of these people. There is no military context because the particular records are not concerned about military matters per se; they are only concerned about recording the specified amounts of supplies to be disbursed to various personnel. This can be illustrated by a modern example. I spent six years in the Indiana Army National Guard as an infantryman, which the army codes as 11B in its documents. Let us say that archaeologists a thousand years from now found some of my documents relating to my time as an infantryman in the army, namely my enlistment documents, health records, pay stubs, and orders. All these documents would designate me as an 11B, but none of them would explicitly state that I was a soldier designated (among other things) for a role in ground warfare. If those future scholars used those documents to define an 11B, they would not necessarily come up with “infantryman.”

⁹⁶² Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 9 n. 54; Schrakamp, *Krieger und Waffen im Frühen Mesopotamien*, 20. Schrakamp notes that the reading **uku-us₂** in some second millennium texts is not a valid orthography for the third millennium.

⁹⁶³ Schrakamp, *Krieger und Waffen im Frühen Mesopotamien*, 21.

ration list to members of different professions suggests that the **aga3-us2** held a high status.⁹⁶⁴

In the Old Akkadian period, the **aga3-us2 (lugal)** are not well attested and are not attested in strictly military contexts, such as campaigns or garrison duty; the term is absent in the royal inscriptions, which simply use the generic term for a young, able-bodied worker (**ĝuruš**).⁹⁶⁵ They do appear in roles of escorting messengers or boat convoys and seem to have been “attached” to certain estates or persons, perhaps as security forces.⁹⁶⁶ They could be attached to the royal household (**aga3-us2 lugal**), though Abrahams thinks that they were distinct from the **lu2-ĝis2tukul**, who would have made up the personal guard of the king.⁹⁶⁷ These **aga3-us2** also received land allotments, various rations (grain, wool, fish, salt, etc.), were organized under supervisors (**ugula, nu-banda3**), and engaged in construction projects, such as providing logs and producing mud bricks, as well as in other civil projects like, canal work and agricultural harvest.⁹⁶⁸ Though there is some uncertainty regarding whether the term designates a permanent profession, status or function, the data seem to suggest it is a professional title.⁹⁶⁹ Schrakamp provides a summary of the nature and role of the **aga3-us2** for the Old Akkadian Period that can be deduced from the available administrative documentation:⁹⁷⁰

⁹⁶⁴ Ibid, 21.

⁹⁶⁵ Abrahams, “L’armée d’Akkad,” 2. Schrakamp (*Krieger und Waffen im Frühen Mesopotamien*, 21) notes that there are only about seventy attestations of the term in this period.

⁹⁶⁶ It is uncertain whether these households recruited their own security or if it was provided to them by the royal institution; *ibid*, 2.

⁹⁶⁷ *Ibid*, 2. He notes that they participated in construction projects and could have been used in battle as a royal contingent.

⁹⁶⁸ Schrakamp, *Krieger und Waffen im Frühen Mesopotamien*, 21-27.

⁹⁶⁹ *Ibid*, 32. Though he notes that the **aga3-us2** was distinguished from a number of titles, people designated as **aga3-us2** sometimes also bore other titles. This leads him to relegate the designation to a status rather than solely a professional title. This overlooks the possibility of personnel holding multiple professional titles at one time.

⁹⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 33. He describes how the **aga3-us2** at Girsu were a special status of labor-troops that were divided into two groups, one that was used primarily for public works and the other that belonged to different

“(The) **aga3-us2** for the Sargonic period can be defined as a denomination of a group of persons maintained by state institutions through natural rations and allocation of subsistence land and in return was obliged to perform public works and military service. Although the **aga3-us2** certainly accounted for a large proportion of the total number of conscripts, the interpretation as a "soldier" or "professional soldier" hardly fits the bill, because their functions went beyond the military. The **aga3-us2** took over police functions, acted as escorts or guards, were assigned to certain functionaries and were also able to perform administrative functions on behalf of their clients.”

Though this summary of the responsibilities of the **aga3-us2** is good, his statement about the inadequacy of the term “soldier” for the Sumerian word is itself inadequate. He suggests that the translation of “soldier” does not fit since their function went beyond the military, but he neglects to define “soldier.” In the present day United States, an Army soldier is any person enlisted by the Army branch of the U.S. military and who answers to a military chain of command with the president, as commander-in-chief, at the top, under whom falls an assortment of commissioned officers, warrant officers, and non-commissioned officers who exercise authority over the various ranks of “private” that make up the bulk of the manpower. All those enlisted are given basic combat training and are expected to fight if necessary, even if their specialty is not infantry. Enlisted soldiers can hold a variety of occupations, such as doctor, land surveyor, lawyer, police, intelligence officer, firefighter, dentist and musician, just to name a few.⁹⁷¹ Although the primary mission of the Army infantry (11B) is to “shoot, move and communicate,”⁹⁷² they also engage in numerous other tasks. They can be used as a security detail for high-

professions. Thus he interprets the **aga3-us2** as a status designation that labeled personnel as belonging to the top level of labor troops.

⁹⁷¹ For a list of the various Army MOS (Military Occupational Specialty), see <https://usarmybasic.com/army-jobs/army-mos-list>.

⁹⁷² FM 7-8 *The Infantry Rifle Platoon and Squad*.

ranking military and civil personnel (guard/escort function), can be stationed to patrol borders and tasked to capture criminals (police function), and can be used in disaster relief and aid distribution (public service). Depending on the United State's geopolitical situation, they can spend more time working in secondary functions than engaging in their primary role. A highly specialized combat soldier, such as a sniper (11B-B4), spends the majority of his time in the field performing his secondary duty, which is "to collect and report battlefield information," rather than his primary duty, which is "to deliver long range, precision fire on key targets, select targets and targets of opportunity." Therefore even though the sniper is primarily a specialized combat soldier, he mainly functions as a surveillance and intelligence soldier. An ancient example of the multi-role infantry comes from the imperial Roman army whose

"prime directive was to fight enemies of the Roman world in defensive wars, or in aggressive campaigns and preemptive strikes into enemy territory, but at the same time the army combined several other roles apart from that of defense and attack...In addition to its military functions, the army also acted as the equivalent of the modern police force with a duty to keep the peace. There was no distinction between the civilian and military body, responsible for and performing anything and everything concerned with attack and defense, law and order, crowd control, courier duties, convoy patrol, protection and escort of the emperors and the provincial governors, and more besides. Soldiers also acted as customs guards and frontier police, collecting taxes and tolls on goods being transported across the boundaries between provinces, and watching and regulating what was carried into and out of the Empire across its frontiers."⁹⁷³

Therefore the exclusion of the translation "soldier" for **aga3-us2** due to their preoccupation with roles outside of the realm of defense and attack is untenable and, as

⁹⁷³ Pat Southern, *The Roman Army: A Social and Institutional History* (Santa Barbara: ABC-Clío Inc., 2006): 3-4.

mentioned above, the limited number of occurrences undoubtedly fails to provide a well-rounded picture of their roles and duties.

Prior to examining the Ur III **aga3-us2**, we will briefly look at the nature of the Old Babylonian AGA.US₂/*rēdûm* so that we can understand the similarities and differences between the Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian terms and therefore bracket the Ur III term in a wider context. One problem is that there is disagreement over the precise nature of the *rēdûm* in this period as well and the problem of the term being used differently in Babylonian armies versus Syrian armies. Thus we have some who understand the *rēdûm* as a simple soldier,⁹⁷⁴ others as guards/escorts,⁹⁷⁵ and others understand the term to designate an officer and thus denotes rank.⁹⁷⁶ Durand notes that the relation of the *rēdûm* to the *šābum piḫrum* “conscripted troops” is difficult to ascertain since the term appears only intermittently.⁹⁷⁷ Both the Sumerogram and the Akkadian word signify the “one who follows” which Durand suggests means “second-class” (rank) rather than “escort” (function).⁹⁷⁸ That the *rēdûm* went on campaigns is demonstrated by the so called Code of Hammurapi, which has laws relating to *rēdû* who are ordered to go on royal campaigns (*ša ana ḥarran šarrim alākšu qabû*), to soldiers who are taken captive while on campaign (*ša ina ḥarrān šarrim turru*) or performing

⁹⁷⁴ Postgate, *Early Mesopotamia*, 244-245; Hamblin, *Warfare in the Ancient Near East to 1600 BC*, 198.

⁹⁷⁵ Philippe Abrahams, “L’armée à Mari” (PhD diss., Université de Paris, 1997): chapter 1, 9-10.

⁹⁷⁶ Sasson, *The Military Establishments at Mari*, 11-12; For comparison of translations and differences between Mari and Babylon, see Stol, “Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in altbabylonische Zeit,” 779-780.

⁹⁷⁷ Jean-Marie Durand, *Documents Épistolaires du Palais de Mari II*, LAPO 17 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf, 1998): 362.

⁹⁷⁸ Ibid, 362. Durand notes that, at least at Mari, the terms normally used to refer to an (armed) escort were either *ālik idim* (“one who goes alongside”) or, if emphasizing protection, *mušallimum* (“one who keeps someone safe”).

garrison duty (*ša ina dannat šarrim turru*)⁹⁷⁹ and to soldiers that have received livestock as gifts in return for their service (*liātīm u šēnī ša šarrum ana rēdīm iddinu*).⁹⁸⁰

The *rēdû* received field allotments for their service, usually from one to three *būr* (18-54 *iku*, or roughly 16 to 48 acres), and designated as “holdings of their soldier-status” (*šibit rēdūtīšunu*). This was a feature not only of southern Babylonian armies; it also extended to the north, with the soldiers of Samsi-Addu being entitled to the cultivation of fields along with the receipt of cattle, flour, wool, oil and items for beer production.⁹⁸¹ The archive of a soldier named Ubarum gives us an overview of a lead soldier’s (*qaqqad rēdīm*, perhaps “squad leader,” *Hauptsoldat*) activities outside of the arena of warfare. He was engaged with legal disputes mediated by members of the military officer cadre, the leasing of sesame fields, owned small cattle which he entrusted to shepherds and engaged in other forms of profitable business.⁹⁸² The *rēdû* owned slaves and other items that were taken as plunder (*šallatum*), as shown by ARM 2, 13, which is a letter discussing a case concerning depriving or robbing soldiers of their spoils; Samsi-Addu had made it known that whoever took a soldier’s plunder was liable to having broken their oath of service to him: “Less than ten days after my verdict a tablet of your father arrived here, saying: “(He) who, among (my) servants, deprives a soldier of his plunder - he has broken my oath.”⁹⁸³ This brief sketch of the Old Babylonian *rēdûm* will hopefully provide some pertinent comparative data for the Ur III **aga3-us2**. Though they only

⁹⁷⁹ For *turru* meaning “capture,” see CAD vol. 18, 269.

⁹⁸⁰ For laws relating to soldiers, see Martha Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 2nd ed, SBLWAW 6 (Atlanta: Scholar’s Press, 1997): 85-89 laws 26-41.

⁹⁸¹ Stol, “Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in altbabylonische Zeit,” 782-783.

⁹⁸² Stol, “Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in altbabylonische Zeit,” 813-817.

⁹⁸³ Reverse lines 11-14: *warki šipfīya ešrum ūmum ul imši tuppum ša abīka ikšudam asakkī īkul ina wardī ša šallat rēdīm ikkimu*. For this text, see Durand, *Documents Épistolaires du Palais de Mari II*, 31-33, no. 457.

intermittently occur in Old Babylonian documents, a comprehensive and exhaustive study of the *rēdûm* in the second millennium is a desideratum.

As mentioned above, there are a large number of attestations of the **aga₃-us₂** in Ur III archival texts, though information on their precise nature and roles is relatively scarce. There is very little direct evidence for the **aga₃-us₂** in the role of campaigning and fighting. The primary reason for this is the nature of our sources, which do not include any military archives or the records and letters of military officers. A couple of texts from Puzriš-Dagan mention meat expenditures for the **aga₃-us₂**, either within or upon returning from campaign:

P123364 / OIP 115, 464 (---/Š41):

**21 ad₆ gud / 231 ad₆ udu / mu aga₃-us₂-e-ne-še₃ / ša₃ kaskal / kišib
 šu-i₃-li₂ nu-banda₃ / e₂-kišib-ba-ta / ba-zi / mu us₂-sa e₂
 puzur^{iš}₄-^dda-gan ba-du₃ mu us₂-sa-bi**
 “21 ox carcasses and 231 sheep carcasses for the soldiers within the
 campaign. Issued from the storeroom; sealed for/received by Šu-ili the
 captain. *DATE*.”

P114335 / MVN 5, 115 (7/25/AS06) obv. lines 1-5:

12 udu / 83 us / 25 maš₂ / 35 ud₅ / mu aga₃-us₂ kaskal-ta er-ra-ne-še₃
 “12 rams, 83 ewes, 25 bucks (and) 35 nanny-goats for the soldiers who
 came from campaign”

The first text suggests a troop strength of over seventeen thousand soldiers while the latter an army over six thousand.⁹⁸⁴ Undoubtedly these numbers are far too large for mere escort or guard duty and therefore **kaskal** is to be understood solely as a military campaign. Regarding armament, the **aga₃-us₂** are only explicitly recorded as being

⁹⁸⁴ Allred, “Cooks and Kitchens,” 65.

equipped with bows and arrows. Two documents from Puzriš-Dagan belonging to the “Dayyanum-mišar archive” demonstrate this:

P134039 / TIM 6, 34 (11/02/AS02) lines 1-13:

1200 ^{giš}ban / **1200** ^{kuš}saĝ-e₃ ^{giš}ban e₂-ba-an / mu aga₃-us₂-e-ne-še₃ /
 ħu-ba-a / u₃ a₂-pi₅-la-ša-ar / **1** za₃-mi-ri₂-tum zabar ^{giš}-bi kug-babbar
 šub-ba / aḥ-ba-bu mar-tu / lu₂-DUN-a a-bu-ni-ra / ugnim_x-še₃ /
 bur-ma-ma nu-banda₃ lu₂ zimbir^{ki}-ke₄ / u₃ zu-ku-ku-um / lu₂-DUN-a
 lugal-kug-zu-ke₄ / in-ne-de₆-eš

“Bur-Mama the captain, a man of Sippar and Zukukum the subordinate of Lugal-kugzu brought for the army 1200 bows (and) 1200 quivers (for) pairs of bows for the soldiers to Ĥuba’a and Apilaša (along with) 1 bronze javelin with a silver-plated shaft to Aḥbabu the Amorite (and) subordinate of Abuni.”

P134041 / TIM 6, 36 (3/--/Š46) lines 1-6:

90 ^{giš}ban / mu aga₃-us₂-e-ne-še₃ / **1** ḥa-ad kug-babbar / kug-sig₁₇
 kug-babbar ḡar-ra / lu₂-^dnanna šakkan₆ NAG-su^{ki}-ke₄ / šu ba-ti

“Lu-Nanna the general of NAGsu received 90 bows for the soldiers (and) 1 silver *instrument* overlaid with gold and silver.”

It is uncertain whether those designated as **aga-us₂** were solely archers or whether they formed contingents of spearmen or units armed with other weapons. The text above that referred to the meat provision of troops numbering over seventeen thousand men would argue against their sole position as archers.

There are, as well, very few references to the conscription of **aga-us₂**. Two texts suggest their conscription from shepherds (**sipad**). The document P114586 / MVN 6, 130 (---/Š35) mentions royal expenditures (**zi-ga lugal**) of grain “(for those) conscripted (literally “taken”) from shepherds (who) are royal soldiers” (**sipad-ta dab₅-ba aga-us₂ lugal-me**). The amount of grain listed amounts up to 39,220 liters and is separate from

the 1,371,300 liters of grain listed for the troops of the army (**eren₂ ugnim-me**).⁹⁸⁵ A similar text⁹⁸⁶ has the same phrase structured slightly differently: **aga₃-us₂ lugal sipad-ta dab₅-ba-me** “royal *aga*’us who were conscripted from shepherds” and lists 11,800 liters of grain (=195 men). Lafont understands these phrases as “royal soldiers seized among the shepherds” who were recruited by force,⁹⁸⁷ but notes that there are a couple texts that might argue against this, suggesting that entrance into the ranks of the **aga₃-us₂** might have occurred as a voluntary recruitment rather than involuntary conscription.⁹⁸⁸

P454138 / Nisaba 15/2, 953 is a personnel list of grain recipients that include one Ili-Suen, an **aga₃-us₂** who was counted as a shepherd (obverse col. i, lines 19-20). Instead of having a shepherd recruited as a soldier, this text seems to suggest here that a soldier was tasked as a shepherd. He is grouped with a **na-gada** and with his children who are also designated as shepherds (**sipad-me**); this may suggest that he was already affiliated with the world of animal husbandry. However, one text demonstrates the recruitment of soldiers from those not affiliated with animal husbandry. P145666 / TCS 1, 86 is a letter order concerning wool and grain allotments that are to be given to vintners (**lu₂-ĝeštin-a**) who are recruited as soldiers (**aga₃-us₂ a-ba-si-ga**).⁹⁸⁹

⁹⁸⁵ For the size of the **guru₇** measure (1 **guru₇** = 3600 **gur**), see Marvin Powell, “Masse und Gewichte,” *RIA* 7 (1988): 497. The text does not specify the duration of time that these grain expenditures were to cover. If we assume the sixty liter monthly allotment, then we get about 650 **aga₃-us₂** and 22,855 **eren₂**, or a ratio of 1 **aga₃-us₂** per 35 **eren₂**. It should be kept in consideration that **eren₂** could have included **aga₃-us₂** that were not specifically conscripted from shepherds as well as non-combatants that traveled with the army.

⁹⁸⁶ P108393 (---/Š35).

⁹⁸⁷ Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 12.

⁹⁸⁸ Ibid, 12. He mentions the text YBC 15411 which mentions sheep given to a named individual when he “entered into the status of soldier” (**nam-aga₃-us₂ i₃-ni-in-ku₄-ra**). The term **nam-aga₃-us₂** occurs in a broken text which mentions a person in the status of a soldier who was to be added to the list (**im daĝal dah-ĥe-dam**) and suggests that duty rosters of soldiers were kept, probably by scribes of the soldiers (**dub-sar aga₃-us₂**) though none are presently attested (ibid, 13; P111435 / ITT 5, 6712). The discussion of the use of the verb **dab₅** has been dealt with in the section on the **eren₂**.

⁹⁸⁹ Ibid, 12. Lafont lists another letter-order that seems to use the phrase, **aga₃-us₂...sig** “to fill (the role of) soldier” as an alternate to **nam-aga₃-us₂-še₃...ku₄** “to enter into the status of soldier.”

This emphasis on the recruitment of **aga3-us2**/*rēdû* from shepherds is found in later texts. One Old Babylonian document⁹⁹⁰ mentions shepherd boys (*kaparru*) who were taken under the authority of some named personnel as *rēdû* soldiers. A Neo-Babylonian letter specifies the recruitment of a particular type of soldier, archers, from shepherds: “this is a royal order: call up and dispatch these hundred archers from the (list of) shepherds, according to the old (list).”⁹⁹¹ This is in accord with the extant Ur III documents mentioned above that associate the **aga3-us2** with archery, though it should be kept in mind that an archer corps could have been assembled from people belonging to other occupations as well.⁹⁹² Further support for the conscription of shepherds comes from the Neo-Assyrian army. Dezső notes that shepherds, especially Aramean tribesmen such as the Itu’eans, were drafted or hired into the army as spearmen and archers.⁹⁹³ He divides the Assyrian army into three groups: professional soldiers which formed the core of the army; semi-professional troops who may have been used as workers as well, and non-professional soldiers who made up the bulk of a campaigning army, conscripted from the local population as well as from captives/deportees. The Aramean troops conscripted as auxiliary units of archers belonged to the category of semi-professional soldiers.⁹⁹⁴ The Itu’eans (^{LU2}*i-tu-’u-a*) were Aramean semi-nomads and their tribe provided most of the auxiliary archers for the Assyrian army. They were under the

⁹⁹⁰ TCL 1, 1:18; CAD vol. 14, 333.

⁹⁹¹ YOS 3, 44:18 (from CAD vol. 14, 306): LU₂.BAN *a4* 1 ME *ša2* LU₂.SIPA.MEŠ *akī labīrišu dekāššu*.

⁹⁹² For the temple dependents of various professions levied as archers in the Neo-Babylonian Period, see MacGinnis, “Mobilisation and Militarisation in the Neo-Babylonian Empire,” 157-159 and MacGinnis, *The Arrows of the Sun*, 5-7. Archers were recruited from shepherds, gardeners and farmers.

⁹⁹³ Tamás Dezső, *The Assyria Army II: Recruitment and Logistics* (Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2016): 10.

⁹⁹⁴ *Ibid*, 10.

authority of the king who dispatched them to various provinces of the empire.⁹⁹⁵ They received land allotments for their services, which included escort duty, police functions, labor for construction projects, manning garrisons in forts and towns, and forming fighting units for armies on campaign.⁹⁹⁶

The use of shepherds as units of archers likely stems from the nature of their profession. When heading outside of the cities and fields to the hinterlands, foothills and mountains to pasture their flocks - places where lions and bears were more prevalent - they probably used bows and arrows as the primary means to defend their herds; note that lion hunts were primarily undertaken using archery, attested from the Warka stele to the palace reliefs of Aššurbanipal. At Mari, semi-nomads (*ḥanû*), who specialized in animal husbandry, were experienced outdoorsmen and were valued as soldiers in the Old Babylonian period.⁹⁹⁷ As shepherds, they had experience protecting their flocks from predators which gave them skills that general conscripts seem to have lacked; one letter describes such a situation: “Two lions crouched at the fence/wall of Abullatum in the early part of the night. The cultivators (*ikkarum*) of Abullatum and troops (*ṣābum*) from here and there assembled, but they could not chase them off. We dispatched [...]. These Hana killed one lion and one lion was chased off.”⁹⁹⁸ They lived in “encampments” (*nawû*) which involved both assembly points at traditional locations as well as the various ranges that the *ḥanû* traveled in pasturing their flocks.⁹⁹⁹ Their transhumance likely

⁹⁹⁵ Tamás Dezső, *The Assyrian Army I: The Structure of the Neo-Assyrian Army I: Infantry* (Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2012): 32.

⁹⁹⁶ Ibid, 32-37.

⁹⁹⁷ Stol, “Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in altbabylonische Zeit,” 786; Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 29.

⁹⁹⁸ ARM 26, 106; see Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 218.

⁹⁹⁹ Ibid, 30-33. CAD vol. 11/2, 249-251: “pasture land on the fringes of cultivated areas as habitat of nomads, and its population and flocks; outlying area around a city; steppe.” Heimpel points out that the term can refer to a more circumscribed area than just the general hinterlands that they inhabit.

provided them with valuable knowledge of the terrain and topography of regions outside of the major towns and agricultural zones, which in turn would have been useful information for armies on the march. Their ferocity in battle is noted in other letters, such as one which describes “the lance of Zimri-Lim and the Hana” as being the basis of Mariote control of the region and another which comments on the zeal of the Hana during the final assault on the city of Larsa.¹⁰⁰⁰ Examples of their conscription show that they were used for agricultural work such as delivering sheep and assisting in bringing in the harvest, sometimes under high officials such as the well-known diviner Asqudum.¹⁰⁰¹

The vast majority of references to the **aga3-us2** in the Ur III period are related to the flow of commodities to and from them and to record of their use as labor. This is not surprising, since most of our available data comes from documents concerning the management and running of the provincial economies. Nevertheless, we can still learn some things about these soldiers. The **aga3-us2** received assorted food items from the provincial and royal sectors for their upkeep while on-duty and off-duty, these items were often designated by the terms “food provisions” (**ša3-gal**) or the phrase “was eaten” (**ba-ab-gu7**). They also received commodity and land allotments as remuneration for their labor and military service. The food provisions included items such as meat, grain, dates and fish:

¹⁰⁰⁰ Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 30, citing ARM 26, 303 and 386.

¹⁰⁰¹ Ibid, 193: ARM 26, 31. Asqudum was one of Zimri-Lim’s primary diviners (*haruspex* - *bārûm*) who was entrusted with a range of duties including negotiating the marriage of Zimri-Lim to the daughter of the king of Aleppo, delivering messages and gifts, other diplomatic missions, the importation of goods from regions outside the kingdom of Mari, the administration of aspects of the kingdom, and military command. See Dominique Charpin, “Patron and Client: Zimri-Lim and Asqudum the Diviner,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, eds. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011): 248-260.

1. P340074 / BPOA 1, 1419:

5 udu niga / 2 udu u₂ / ša₃-gal aga₃-us₂ / ma₂ lugal-ka gub-ba
 “5 grain-fed sheep (and) 2 grass-fed sheep (as) food for the soldiers that was stationed in the boat of the king”

2. P133290 / TCTI 2, 4106; obv. lines 1-4:

15 ġuruš 1(barig) še lugal-ta / ki lu₂ ge-na-ta / ša₃-gal aga₃-us₂ / ur-^dlamma šu-ba-ti
 “Ur-Lamma received (as) food (for) the soldiers (grain to feed) 15 men (at) 60 liters of grain each from Lu-gena”

3. P107113 / MTBM 234

30 ġuruš 1(barig) 3(ban₂) lugal / še-bi 9(aš) gur / ša₃-gal eren₂ aga₃-us₂ bala tuš-a
 “30 men (received) 90 liters (each), its grain (amounts to) 2700 liters - food of the troops and soldiers who are off-duty”

4. CTPSM 1, 68; obv. line 1 - rev. line 1:

3(u) 6(aš) še gur lugal / ki lu₂-kal-la-ta / ur-tur / šu ba-ti / ša₃-gal aga₃-us₂ ensi₂
 “Urtur received 10,800 liters of grain from Lukala (as) food (for) the soldiers of the governor”

5. P142574 / ZA 77, 190; obv. lines 3-4:

1(barig) 6 sila₃ zu₂-lum / aga₃-us₂-e ba-ab-gu₇
 66 liters of dates were eaten by the soldiers”

6. P117418 / MVN 13, 645; obv. lines 1-3:

566 ku₆ / 13 ku₆ saġ-keš₂ / aga₃-us₂-me
 “566 fish (and) 13 saġkeš-fish (for) the soldiers”

The commodity allotments included grain, oil, wool, garments, alongside land allotments, which were, in essence, salaries paid to the soldiers for the services that they owed to the state as part of the **eren₂** and which were distinguished from the ad-hoc food provisions given as sustenance while on labor/military assignment (**ša₃-gal**) and from wages paid as hirelings (**a₂**):¹⁰⁰²

¹⁰⁰² Steinkeller, “Labor in the Early States,” 26-30.

7. P116380 / MVN 12, 118; obv. 1-2:

6(ĝeš₂) 3(u) 3(ban₂) 5 sila₃ še gur lugal / še-ba aga₃-us₂-ne
 “117,035 liters of grain (as) the grain allotment of the soldiers”¹⁰⁰³

8. P116511 / MVN 12, 249; obv. 1 - rev. 1:¹⁰⁰⁴

6(ĝeš₂) 4(u) 4(aš) 3(barig) 1(ban₂) še gur lugal / ki ur-tur-ta /
ur-^een-lil₂-la₂ šu ba-ti / še-ba aga₃-us₂
 “Ur-Enlila received 121,390 liters of grain (as) grain allotments (for) the soldiers from Urtur”

9. P133694 / TEL 182; obv. 1-4:

4(aš) 1(barig) 5(ban₂) še gur / še-ba aga₃-us₂ dumu / NINA^{ki} / bala
gub-ba-še₃
 “1310 liters of grain for the grain allotment of the soldiers, citizens of Niĝin, who are on-duty”

10. P145054 / SAT 3, 1854; obv. 1-4:

7(ĝeš₂) 5(u) 3(aš) 3(ban₂) še-ĝi^š-i₃ gur / i₃-ba aga₃-us₂-e-ne /
itud 12-kam / ugula ta₂-hi-iš-a-tal
 “141,930 liters of sesame oil (as) the oil allotment for the soldiers in the 12th month; the commander is Taĥi^š-atal”

11. P132617 / TCTI 2, 3378; obv. line 1 - rev. line 2:

60 gun₂ siki / ki ur-ab-ba-ta / siki-ba aga₃-us₂ lugal-ke₄-ne / mu
ur-^dnin-a-zu šakkan₆-še₃ / ma-an-sum aga₃-us₂ šu ba-ti
 “Mansum the soldier received 60 talents (3960 lbs) of wool from Ur-abba (as) the wool allotment of the royal soldiers on behalf of Ur-Ninazu the general”

12. P138066 / UET 3, 1740; obv. lines 1-2:

15 ^{tug₂}uš-bar / tug₂-ba aga₃-us₂ gibil
 “15 garments (as) the textile allotment of the new soldiers”

13. P454105 / Nisaba 15/2, 892; obv. col. ii, line 1 - rev. col. i, line 9 and rev. col. ii, lines 10-13:

[.....] / 1(bur₃) gan₂ ma-šum / 1(bur₃) mu-mu / 1(bur₃) puzu₄-ka₃-ka₃ /
1(bur₃) bur-ma-ma / 1(bur₃) nu-ur₂-^dsuen / 1(bur₃) bur ma-ma min /
a-šag₄-bi 9(bur₃) gan₂ / ugula du-uk-ra / aga₃-us₂ lugal-me

¹⁰⁰³ At 60 liters per man, this would be remuneration for roughly 1950 soldiers. For the common (standard?) amount of the monthly grain allotment of 60 liters per man, see Gelb, “The Ancient Mesopotamian Ration System,” 230-233.

¹⁰⁰⁴ Payment for approximately 2023 soldiers.

“[.....], a 16-acre plot (for) Maššum, a 16-acre plot (for) Mumu, a 16-acre plot (for) Puzur-Kaka, a 16-acre plot (for) Bur-Mama, a 16-acre plot (for) Nur-Suen, a second 16-acre plot (for) Bur-Mama - those fields (amount to) 144 acres; the commander (is) Dukra, they are royal soldiers”

21 aga₃-us₂ 2(bur₃) gan₂-ta / ugula DINGIR.KAL / 12 aga₃-us₂ 1(bur₃) gan₂-ta / ugula šeš-kal-la

“21 soldiers (received) 32-acre plots each, (their) commander (is) Ilum-dan; 12 soldiers (received) 16-acre plots each; (their) commander (is) Šeškala”

14. P273615 / Studies Postgate, 562 E; rev. col. i, lines 6’-7’:

1(bur₃) gan₂ a-a-kal-la aga₃-us₂ / ki a-bu-ni šakkan₆

“A 16-acre plot (for) Ayakala the soldiers from Abuni the general”

Texts 13 and 14 show land allotments given to a variety of people including some soldiers. These documents allow comparisons between the amounts the soldiers received versus the amounts received by personnel with other occupational designations. Text 13 seems to differentiate soldiers (**aga₃-us₂**) from royal soldiers (**aga₃-us₂ lugal**), with the former listed collectively in two groups under different commanders and the latter in which each person was listed by name.¹⁰⁰⁵ All the royal soldiers and one group of “regular” soldiers received 16-acre plots while the other group of “regular” soldiers received 32-acre plots. Text 14 lists a 16-acre plot for a single named soldier.

Thus soldiers seem to have received plots ranging from one to two **bur₃**, or sixteen to thirty-two acres. The reasons for the varying amounts are unstated and could have depended on the soldier’s status, duties or other considerations. Nevertheless, they received over four times the three and a half acre plots which were the standard allotment for the lowest ranking citizens (**eren₂**), demonstrating some degree of status.¹⁰⁰⁶ The

¹⁰⁰⁵ It is uncertain whether **aga₃ us₂** versus **aga₃-us₂ lugal** distinguishes provincial from royal soldiers (similar to the **eren₂**), regular line troops from a royal contingent or royal guard, or something else.

¹⁰⁰⁶ Steinkeller, “Corvée Labor in Ur III Times,” 351.

field allotments of the soldiers can be compared with those of other citizens to estimate their relative social status. In Text 13 we see a number of personnel of varying occupations who received smaller field allotments than the soldiers, such as a potter (**baḥar₂**), sailor (**ma₂-lah₅**), maltster (**munu₄-mu₂**) and grass carrier (**u₂-il₂**), each receiving 8-acre plots. Those who received larger allotments than the soldiers were a silversmith (**kug-dim₂**: 64-acre plot), scribes (**dub-sar**: 64 to 80-acre plots), boat-couriers (**ra₂-gaba**: 64-acre plots) and cupbearers (**sagi**: 48 to 160-acre plots). In Text 14 personnel who received less than the soldiers were plot managers (**engar**: 5.34-acre plots), ox drivers (**ša₃-gud**: 2.67-acre plots), animal fatteners (**kurušda**: 8-acre plots) and potters (5.34-acre plots), while personnel who received more were scribes of oxen (**dub-sar gud**: 48-acre plots), the spouse of a general (**dam šakkan₆**: 48-acre plot) and a prince (**dumu lugal**: 480-acre plot). A number of professions received the 16 to 32-acre plots that seem to have been standard for soldiers such as sailors, metalsmiths (**simug**), physicians (**a-zu**), stewards (**aḡrig**), singers (**nar**), captains of ten oxen (**nu-banda₃ gud 10**) and leatherworkers (**ašgab**). Therefore we see that soldiers were of comparable status to many craftsmen and specialists of whom some, like the physicians, stewards and singers, had scribal training. Such training seems to have been available to at least some soldiers, as attested by the seal impression of one Ur-Zabalam that designates him as a scribe and a royal soldier.¹⁰⁰⁷

¹⁰⁰⁷ P102736 / ASJ 19, 216 no. 45: **ur-^dzabalam₃^{ki}** / **dub-sar** / **aga₃-us₂ lugal**. Physicians and stewards would have been trained for scribal competency in their respective fields as was certainly the case with chief singers (**nar gal**; Nele Ziegler, “Music: The Work of Professionals,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, eds. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 288-312 and perhaps regular singers as well. Though we cannot assume literacy for all **aga₃-us₂**, there could have been a substantial cadre of literate soldiers who had the scribal competency to read and write letter(-orders), receipts and disbursement records, which would necessitate only limited knowledge of the cuneiform writing system. For the various levels of literacy (functional, technical and scholarly), see Niek

Indeed, there is an occurrence of a soldier who received three goats “when he entered into the profession of lamentation singer” (**3 ud₅ a-ḫu-šu-ni aga₃-us₂ ud nam-gala-še₃ in-ku₄-ra**), which would likely have required an elementary scribal education to successfully transition into or add such a role,¹⁰⁰⁸ though this laconic phrase may refer to a temporary performance of ceremonial duties rather than the change or addition of a profession.¹⁰⁰⁹ Although the only evidence of the recruitment of the **aga₃-us₂** has been discussed above, a comparison of the designation of soldiers on tablets with the titles in their seal impressions suggests that a number of soldiers came from a variety of occupational backgrounds:

Table 34: Variation of Titles between Tablet and Seal regarding the aga₃-us₂

Text	Name	Tablet Designation	Seal Impression Designation
P101671	puzur ₄ -eš ₄ -tar ₂	šar ₂ -ra-ab-du	aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P102736	ur-zabalam ₃ ^{ki}	---	dub-sar / aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P104709	ur-sukkal	igi-du ₈	igi-du ₈ / [aga ₃]-us ₂ [lugal]
P105079	lugal-me ₃ -a	sukkal	sukkal kas ₄ / ugula aga ₃ -us ₂
P106414	ep-qu ₂ -ša	šar ₂ -ra-ab-du	aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P291149	ur-nigar _x ^{gar}	ugula	aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P133055	šu-ti-nu-um	lu ₂ - ^{ḡi} is ^{is} tukul	aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P454079	pu-su ₂	lu ₂ -kiḡ ₂ -gi ₄ -a lugal	aga ₃ -us ₂
P144570	ur-nigar _x ^{gar}	lu ₂ ka ₂ e ₂ -gal	aga ₃ -us ₂

Veldhuis, “Levels of Literacy,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, eds. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson, 68-89 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 68-89.

¹⁰⁰⁸ For the role and education of the lamentation singer (**gala**), especially the chief lamentation singer (**gala-mah**), in the Old Babylonian period, see Michel Tanret, “Learned, Rich, Famous and Unhappy: Ur-Utu of Sippar,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, eds. Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 270-287.

¹⁰⁰⁹ See Piotr Michalowski, “Love or Death? Observations on the Role of the Gala in Ur III Ceremonial Life,” *JCS* 58 (2006): 49-61 in which he suggests that the phrase **nam-gala-še₃...ku₄** “to enter into the profession of lamentation singer” was essentially synonymous with the similar phrase **nam-gala...ak** “to perform the job of lamentation singer” and may have been related to funeral rites within the military.

This alludes to the possibility that many soldiers may be attested in the administrative corpus though remain invisible due to the use of traditional titles or titles of merit instead of their titles or designations related to the military organization.

The use of multiple titles by a single individual introduces a greater degree of complexity. Garfinkle provides an excellent conception of professional titulary in the Ur III period.¹⁰¹⁰ He distinguishes three categories of designations. One level involved traditional or hereditary positions that were primarily local titles and that were largely not conferred onto the bearer by the royal sector; this included titles such as **dam-gar₃** “merchant,” **na-gada** “chief shepherd,” and any other such local occupation that was passed down through family lines and that formed its own local hierarchy independently of the state. Another level of designation was used to indicate the occupation held within the state bureaucracy, such as **šar₂-ra-ab-du** “inspector”, which could also be inherited. A third level was designations of achievement that did not refer to hereditary profession or social status. The primary example of this is the scribe (**dub-sar**), whose title at its most basic level refers to the completion of basic scribal training that allowed for employment in the state bureaucracy.¹⁰¹¹ A fourth level could be added to Garfinkle’s

¹⁰¹⁰ For the discussion below, see Garfinkle, *Entrepreneurs and Enterprise in Early Mesopotamia*, 72-75.

¹⁰¹¹ See Niek Veldhuis, “Levels of Literacy,” 68-89 for an overview of the different degrees of literacy in Mesopotamia. He distinguishes between functional, technical and scholarly literacy. He refers to studies by Charpin, Wilcke and Veenhof that show, for the Old Babylonian and Old Assyrian periods, that knowledge of well under 200 signs was needed to reach full functional literacy in Akkadian. A similar principle was likely in use in the Ur III period. This may be suggested by both the large number of personnel qualified as scribes, as well as by the terminology that suggests varying degrees of competency: **dub-sar tur** (“junior scribe”), **dub-sar maḥ** (“great scribe”). Though unattested in the Ur III period, the “senior scribe” (**dub-sar gal**) is known in the Old Akkadian period (Serota 35). Additional support for this comes from the number of scribes whose titles suggest a circumscribed field of responsibility: scribes of storehouses/storerooms (**dub-sar ḡa₂-nun-na/e₂-kišib-ba**), scribes of beer/bread (**dub-sar ninda/kaš**), scribes of livestock (**dub-sar gud udu**), scribes of offerings (**dub-sar siškur₂**), scribes of the army (**dub-sar ugnim**), scribes of the troops (**dub-sar eren₂-na**), scribes of the fields of the troops (**dub-sar a-šag₄ eren₂-na**), palace scribes (**dub-sar e₂-gal**), etc. For an example that lists a number of specially designated scribes on one tablet, see P120432 / MVN 21, 195. On this topic, see also Jon Taylor, “Administrators and

schema, that of function, which indicates the role a person carried out that generally did not appear on seals. Examples of this level include **maškim** (“authorizing agent”) and **ġiri3** (“conveyor”).¹⁰¹² It would be interesting to see what prosopographical study would produce concerning the roles and lives of the **aga3-us2**, but this is beyond the scope of this study.

Though the large number of attestations of the **aga3-us2** prevent a comprehensive and exhaustive examination in this brief overview of the Ur III military, nevertheless a survey of their occurrences in two limited sub-corpora can illuminate further aspects of this category of soldier. We can examine collective groups of **aga3-us2** in texts from Puzriš-Dagan which refer to livestock selections issued to the kitchen establishment for use by these soldiers (**šu-gid2 e2-muḫaldim-še3 mu aga3-us2-e-ne-še3**).¹⁰¹³ The other group we will examine is their occurrence in the sub-genre of administrative documents known as the messenger texts.

Regarding the livestock expenditure tablets, they list the animals issued from the central authority to be used as offerings for deities, to be given to Mesopotamian and foreign notables, to be handed over to the kitchen to be prepared as food for soldiers (**aga3-us2**) and errand-runners (**kas4**), and for various other purposes. For the most part, tablets dating to consecutive days are rare and this could be understood to mean that these disbursements were conducted on an ad-hoc basis, or at least, in the case of the soldiers, were issued intermittently throughout the month. However, the fact that these individual

Scholars: the First Scribes,” in *The Sumerian World*, edited by Harriet Crawford, 290-304. New York: Routledge, 2013; H. Waetzoldt, “Schreiber. A. Im 3. Jahrtausend,” *RIA* 12 (2009): 254-263.

¹⁰¹² For these functions, see Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 249-250. We could also add the designation “boat-tower” (**ma2-gid2**) as a temporary/functional title.

¹⁰¹³ For the **e2-muḫaldim**, see Lance Allred, “Cooks and Kitchens: Centralized Food Production in Late Third Millennium Mesopotamia,” PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore, 2006.

livestock expenditure tablets record animals to be prepared as food for soldiers to consume on that very day, and not over a period of a few days, is indicated in a summary tablet of such expenditures over the course of a month.¹⁰¹⁴ The number, type, gender and ages of the animals are listed followed by the notation “a selection to the kitchen for the soldiers” (**šu-gid₂ e₂-muḫaldim mu aga₃-us₂-e-ne-še₃**) and by the name of the authorizing agent (**maškim**), who was always Aradġu. The only exceptions are that after the 25th day the **maškim** is not listed and after the 27th day the phrase **mu aga₃-us₂-e-ne-še₃** is omitted; these absences may reflect a need to conserve space on the tablet rather than any lack of a **maškim** or absence of soldiers.

Table 35: Daily Livestock Deliveries for the aga₃-us₂ in a Summary Tablet

Day	Livestock		Troop Strength ¹⁰¹⁵
	Cattle	Sheep	
[1]	[...]	[...]	[...]
[2]	[...]	[...]	[...]
[3]	[...]	[...]	[...]
[4]	[...]	[...]	[...]
[5]	[...]	[...]	[...]
[6]	[...]	[...]	[...]
7	---	[23+]	[920+]
8	---	[60]	2400
9	1	55	2600
10	---	60	2400
11	6	70	5200
12	1	65	3000
13	---	34	1360
14	---	64	2560
15	1	240	10,000
16	1	55	2600

¹⁰¹⁴ P125945 / PDT 1, 529 (--/--/----).

¹⁰¹⁵ The troop strength is calculated in part from the ratios proposed in Allred’s dissertation on the **e₂-muḫaldim** (65). Assuming a conservative number of 400 lbs of meat per ox and 40 lbs per sheep or goat, and the estimate that 1 lb of meat fed 1.5 men, he came up with the view that 1 ox/cow fed 600 men and 1 sheep/goat fed 60 men. I have taken a more conservative position and assumed that a soldier would consume one pound of meat, and therefore the ratio I use is 1 ox/cow feeds 400 men and 1 sheep/goat feeds 40 men. The numbers in this column reflect a troop strength based off of the assumption that the meat was consumed in a single setting, though it obviously could have been eaten over multiple meals.

17	7	130	8000
18	3	55	3400
19	---	60	2400
20	5	50	4000
21	4	40	3200
22	4	40	3200
23	---	59	2360
24	6	50	4400
25	2	50	2800
26	3	50	3200
27	---	[...]	[...]
28	2	10	(800)
29	---	20	(800)
[30]	[...]	[...]	[...]

This is also demonstrated in individual tablets. We have daily livestock expenditure documents which cover nearly half of the days of a month-long period spanning from the early part of the fourth month to the beginning of the fifth month of Šulgi's forty-sixth year.¹⁰¹⁶

Table 36: Daily Livestock Deliveries for the aga₃-us₂ in Individual Tablets

Date	Livestock		Troop Strength	Text
	Cattle	Sheep		
4/05/Š46	2	30	2000	P125585
4/06/Š46	---	60	2400	P130386
4/08/Š46	6	87	5880	P129462
4/09/Š46	7	35	4200	P103963
4/13/Š46	6	89	5960	P130404
4/14/Š46	1	15	1000	P123491
4/15/Š46	4	40	3200	P122140
4/18/Š46	4	39	3160	P105820
4/19/Š46	10	90	7600	P122765
4/21/Š46	12	240	14,400	P107617
4/25/Š46	[7+]	[32+]	[4080+]	P106308
4/26/Š46	8	20	4000	P303691
4/27/Š46	16	40	8000	P123694
4/28/Š46	6	31	3640	P123622
5/01/Š46	4	40	3200	P107612
5/03/Š46	4	38	3120	P107623

¹⁰¹⁶ For the CDLI numbers and additional information, see Appendix B.

These tablets provide data for almost half of the fourth month, as well as data for multiple groupings of consecutive days: 5-6, 8-9, 13-15, 18-19 and 25-28. Both the summary tablet and the individual tablets demonstrate two points. The first is that these expenditures to the kitchen for the purpose of providing meat for groups of soldiers occurred on a daily basis. As Lafont has noted, the duration of use for comestibles expended to troops is rarely documented and therefore gives rise to uncertainty as to whether the food items were spread over a course of multiple meals or days.¹⁰¹⁷ Even if we cannot confidently assert that the meat was consumed in a single setting, we know that it was consumed in a single day.¹⁰¹⁸ This also assumes that the single tablets recorded all the meat expenditures for the entire day for a particular group of soldiers. However, there are multiple instances of two tablets recording expenditures of different amounts for the same day.¹⁰¹⁹ Although these instances may refer to expenditures for different groups of soldiers, nevertheless it demonstrates that the extant tablets show only a partial picture of the flow of goods into and out of Puzriš-Dagan.¹⁰²⁰ Indeed, this discussion highlights the vagaries of discovery (and preservation). Regarding the individual tablets, prior to the fourth month there is only one tablet attested for each month, with the exception of two texts attested for the second month. The fourth month alone has fourteen tablets. The succeeding months boast only seven documents for the

¹⁰¹⁷ Lafont, "The Armies of the Kings of Ur," 19.

¹⁰¹⁸ One pound of meat is quite substantial and alone could feed a single man over the course of a day (1 lb = 16 oz) and was not the only item of food a person would eat in a day. As will be shown in the case of Šeškala the soldier below, the meat would have been consumed alongside a variety of additional food items such as beer, bread, oil, vegetables, soup, fish, etc.

¹⁰¹⁹ See, for example, P128895 / SACT 1, 140 and P107665 / CST 153, both dated to 12/22/Š46, with the former listing 5 goats and the latter listing 1 ox, 8 sheep and 9 goats.

¹⁰²⁰ There are also references to multiple expenditures in single tablets as shown by the phrases "the 1st time, the second time" (**a-ra₂ 1-kam, a-ra₂ 2-kam**). An example is P303655 / BPOA 7, 2863 which lists 1 cow, 9 sheep and 6 goats "the first time," and 2 cattle and 4 sheep "the second time," with no distinction between separate days or separate groups of soldiers.

twelfth month, three texts each for the fifth and eight months, two texts for the tenth month and only a single tablet each for the sixth, ninth and eleventh months. The seventh month is not represented at all. Even more dramatic is the fact that although we have fourteen tablets covering a single month in Šulgi's forty-sixth year, there are only six tablets for the entirety of Šulgi's forty-eighth year. Thus we possess only a small fraction of the documents produced by the bureaucracy at Puzriš-Dagan.

The second point that these tables highlight is that the amount of livestock expended, and therefore the size of the troop contingent(s) that received them, fluctuated substantially over the course of the month, and even quite dramatically over the course of consecutive days. Minor fluctuations of a few dozen to a few hundred men could be explained as groups of men being assigned to temporary service in various tasks within the province. However, it does not explain, as we see from the fourteenth through the sixteenth days in the summary tablet, a nearly fourfold increase of troops between the fourteenth and fifteenth days, only for the troop strength return close to its original level on the sixteenth day. This should best be explained as various groups of **aga3-us2** arriving at and leaving Puzriš-Dagan as they were mobilized and deployed for various civil and military assignments, as well as the presence of a garrison unit or rear detachment stationed at Puzriš-Dagan to attend to various local needs. That different groups of soldiers are present in the same livestock disbursement texts can be demonstrated by three documents. The most obvious is P114335 / MVN 5, 115 which lists separately the animals destined for the troops that came from campaign (155 sheep = 6200 men) and those destined for soldiers without any other designation (30 sheep = 1200 men). Another is P124160 / OIP 121, 430 that distinguished animals issued for

soldiers who accompanied the king when he went to Nippur (**lugal nibru^{ki}-še₃ du-ni ma₂-a ba-a-ĝa₂-ar**; 96 sheep = 3840 men) from animals issued for soldiers who have no mission stated for them (20 sheep = 800 men). Lastly, a text distinguishes between animals for soldiers who entered the gate of the palace for the royal lustration ceremony (**a tu₅-a ka e₂-gal ku₄-ra-ne-še₃**; 1 ox and 5 sheep = 600 men) and for those with unspecified duties (6 sheep = 240 men).¹⁰²¹ As the table in Appendix B shows, conspicuously large animal expenditures, and therefore troop numbers, occur for Šulgi's forty-first, forty-sixth, forty-seventh and forty-eighth years, as well as for Amar-Suen's first, second and sixth years and Šu-Suen's second and third years - times in which the kings of Ur were actively campaigning in the regions of the upper Diyala and northern Mesopotamia.

To summarize, Puzriš-Dagan may have been a mustering point for troops mobilizing for civil and, especially, military duties. We see substantial fluctuations in the number of animals sent to the kitchen to prepare food for soldiers, indicating a fluctuation in troop numbers, sometimes on a daily basis. We know that different groups engaged in different tasks, such as returning from campaign, escorting the king and stationed as a garrison and labor force, were present at Puzriš-Dagan on the same day. The only texts referring to the armament of the **aga₃-us₂** (mentioned above) not only stem from Puzriš-Dagan, but actually refer to the transactions as taking place within Puzriš-Dagan (**ša₃ Puzur₄iš-dDa-gan**). This city's proximity to Nippur means that it was a prime location for supporting ritual duties concerning warfare, with the temple of Ninurta situated at Nippur being the location in which military personnel and foreigners swore oaths to the

¹⁰²¹ P102719 / ASJ 19, 209 no. 28.

deity.¹⁰²² Puzriš-Dagan was also ideally situated for sending troops to the peripheral garrisons and battlefield regions with its close proximity to Iri-Saġrig, from which troops traveled to Der and beyond into the central Zagros chain, and its relative propinquity to the lower Diyala, which was a staging area for missions and campaigns in the northern Transtigridian and Zagros piedmont regions.¹⁰²³

We encounter the **aga3-us2** in all three corpora of messenger texts.¹⁰²⁴ They occur most rarely in the Umma messenger texts, being attested in roughly half of a dozen tablets.¹⁰²⁵ This rarity has led to the postulation that the occupational(?) designation **ka-us2-sa2**, attested in over two hundred texts, was a variant phonetic writing of **aga3-us2** that was idiosyncratic to the scribes who drafted the Umma messenger tablets, especially in the reigns of Šu-Suen and Ibbi-Suen.¹⁰²⁶ However, the occurrence of personnel designated as **aga3-us2** in tablets dating to Amar-Suen's eighth year and Šu-Suen's fifth year may argue against this.¹⁰²⁷ The **aga3-us2** in the Umma messenger texts received varying commodity amounts - both provisions beginning with five liters of beer and those beginning with three liters of beer, which McNeil suggested distinguished those of the rank or status of **sukkal** from those of the rank of **maškim** (or other personnel of equivalent rank).¹⁰²⁸ Of course, commodity amounts may have been dependent on the

¹⁰²² Steinkeller, "Tiš-atal's Visit to Nippur," 14.

¹⁰²³ Tiš-atal of Nineveh stopped at Ešnunna prior to continuing his journey to Nippur, where he swore an oath at the Ninurta temple; *ibid.*, 14.

¹⁰²⁴ This discussion excludes the **aga3-us2 gal** and the **aga3-us2 gal-gal**, who are examined in Chapter 4.

¹⁰²⁵ See Appendix C.

¹⁰²⁶ Lafont, "The Armies of the Kings of Ur," 10. BDTNS registers 223 occurrences of **ka-us2-sa2** with 8 texts dating to Amar-Suen's 8th year, 23 texts dating to Ibbi-Suen's 1st and 2nd years, and the rest (181) dating to the reign of Šu-Suen. 11 texts are missing the year-name.

¹⁰²⁷ P208912 / Nisaba 3, 47 (11/14/AS08): Ur-Enki and P209142 / Nisaba 3, 43 (12/12/ŠS05): Erra-nuIB. There are 24 occurrences of Ur-Enki, who is once called **sukkal**, but never **ka-us2-sa2**, and 9 occurrences of Erra-nuIB, who is never given any other designation at all.

¹⁰²⁸ Robert Clayton McNeil, "The 'Messenger Texts' of the Third Ur Dynasty" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, 1970): 47.

type of mission or distance of travel instead of rank or status. Indeed, the fact that virtually all of the relevant personnel bear the sole designation **aga₃-us₂** and have no other distinction of rank or status supports this interpretation. Lastly, all the soldiers are simply labeled as **aga₃-us₂** and not **aga₃-us₂ lugal**, perhaps suggesting that the soldiers in the Umma messenger texts were provincial, and not royal, soldiers.

The occurrences of **aga₃-us₂** in the Girsu messenger text corpus can be divided into three categories: 1) occurrences of the term in the missions of other personnel, 2) occurrences of individual **aga₃-us₂** who received provisions and 3) occurrences of the **aga₃-us₂** as groups of men who received provisions.¹⁰²⁹ They occur in nine tablets in the missions of other personnel whose designations include secretary (**sukkal**), son/subordinate of the general (**dumu šakkan₆**), “on military assignment” (**lu₂-^{ĝi}š³tukul**) and prince (**dumu lugal**). The missions of the **sukkals** and **dumu šakkan₆** involved traveling for an unstated purpose on behalf of the royal soldiers (**mu aga₃-us₂ lugal-ke₄-ne-še₃ ĝen-na**) and for the conscription (or mustering) of royal soldiers who were citizens of the city of Ur (**aga₃-us₂ lugal urim₅^{ki}-ma dab₅-dab₅-de₃ ĝen-na**). One Šulgi-ili went to the “fields of the soldiers” (**a-šag₄ aga₃-us₂-ne ĝen-na**), undoubtedly referring to the **šuku** land-allotments they received in return for their service, though he is not given a designation and the purpose for his travel to those fields is unstated.¹⁰³⁰ A man by the name of Lugal-nesaĝ who is designated as being “on military assignment” (**lu₂-^{ĝi}š³tukul**)¹⁰³¹ received provisions when he went for the grain allotments of the soldiers (**še-**

¹⁰²⁹ See Appendix C.

¹⁰³⁰ The name Šulgi-ili occurs 42 times in the Girsu messenger texts with a number of military designations (**šakkan₆**, **dumu nu-banda₃**, **lu₂-^{ĝi}š³tukul**, **lu₂-^{ĝi}š³tukul gu-la**, and **aga₃-us₂ gal**) and a few designations with uncertain connections to the military organization (**sukkal**, **lu₂-kas₄**, and **u₃-kul**).

¹⁰³¹ For the discussion of this term, see Chapter 4.

ba aga3-us2-še3 ġen-na), as did the prince Etel-pu-Dagan when he traveled to give wool from Urua to the soldiers. There are two tablets which record the same mission for this prince which do not seem to be copies of each other since they vary in their designations of the soldiers. In the one text they are simply **aga3-us2** “soldiers” and in the other they are **aga3-us2 lugal** “royal soldiers.” Either the prince went on two separate trips to provide wool for both provincial and royal soldiers, or he went on two trips to provide wool solely for royal soldiers and the occurrence of **aga3-us2** is simply shorthand for **aga3-us2 lugal**. If the latter is the case, then the postulation above that the soldiers in the Umma messenger texts were provincial soldiers would be less tenable.

Regarding individual soldiers who received provisions at waystations, nearly half of them are unnamed and only their designation as soldiers is recorded in the text. This is an unusual feature of the designation **aga3-us2** that is not characteristic of the other titles encountered in this text corpus. Nevertheless they received the same amount of provisions as other personnel, further supporting the idea that commodity allotment was primarily based on mission and length of travel instead of status or rank.¹⁰³² Though the majority of cases do not record origins or destinations of travel for these soldiers, those that do show them coming from the polities of Khuzistan and Fars and traveling towards Khuzistan cities as well as to Kimaš. The only Babylonian cities mentioned are the capitals of Nippur and Uruk:

¹⁰³² An example is P110138 / HLC 3, 264 which lists Šu-Ninšubur the **aga3-us2** as receiving the same amount (5 liters of beer, 5 liters of flour and 1 vessel of oil) as recipients designated as **sukkal**, **aga3-us2 gal**, **lu2-ġis** **tukul gu-la** and **dumu nu-banda3**.

“From GN” (GN-ta)		“To GN” (GN-še ₃)	
Susa	9	Susa	5
Urua	3	Sabum	4
AdamDUN	2	Kimaš	2
Giša	1		
Anšan	1	Nippur	1
		Uruk	1
Nippur	1		

The soldiers mentioned in these texts often had further qualifiers. Besides the regular soldier (**aga₃-us₂**) and the royal soldier (**aga₃-us₂ lugal**), there are attestations of soldiers of the secretary-of-state (**aga₃-us₂ sukkal-mah**), soldiers of the chief cultic official (**aga₃-us₂ zabar-dab₅**) and soldiers of the provincial governor (**aga₃-us₂ ensi₂**). Also attested is a soldier whose secondary designation is **sukkal** and a **sukkal** whose secondary designation is **aga₃-us₂**.¹⁰³³ Though mission statements are generally quite laconic, nevertheless there are a number of tasks in which these soldiers were engaged:

Procurement and Transport of Goods and Supplies

ma₂ še-še₃ ĝen	“who went for the grain boat(s)”
ĝi^šu₃-su^h₅-še₃ ĝen-na	“who went for <i>ušu^h</i> -timber”
kaš ninda-še₃ ĝen-na	“who went for beer and bread”
udu-še₃ ĝen-na	“who went for the sheep”
mu ku₆-še₃ ĝen-na	“who went for fish”

Traveling to and from Notables in the Kingdom

ki ensi₂-ta ĝen-na	“who came from the provincial governor” ¹⁰³⁴
ki zabar-dab₅-ta ĝen-na	“who came from the chief cultic official”
ki PN-ta ĝen-na	“who came from PN”
ki PN-še₃ ĝen-na	“who went to PN”

Travel for Labor Projects

¹⁰³³ P119671 / MVN 17, 50 and P121102 / NATN 404, respectively.

¹⁰³⁴ P106890 / MTBM 10 notes royal soldiers who came from the provincial governor, suggesting collaboration between the two sectors.

zu₂-si-še₃ ĝen-na “who went for the (sheep) shearing”

Mustering/Escorting Conscripts and Personnel

(lu₂) ĝi^štukul-e dab₅-ba-še₃ ĝen-na “who went for those conscripted for military service”

eren₂-da ĝen-na “who went with the troops”

lugal-da ĝen-na “who went with the king”

Intermediary for Highlander Groups

1 (barig) kaš gen lugal “60 liters of beer (for)
NIM ki-maš^{ki}-me the highlanders of Kimaš,
ĝiri₃ PN aga₃-us₂ via PN the soldier”

Sentry Duty

aga₃-us₂ ša₃ en-nu “(goods for) the soldier in the guard”

Almost as common as the individual soldiers, whether named or unnamed, are groups of soldiers who received provisions for traveling between Babylonia and the peripheral territories, or for domestic missions. In the majority of cases, the number of soldiers in the group is not explicitly stated and must be inferred from the relative amounts of commodities disbursed to other personnel. This is not always straightforward due to the fact that commodity amounts varied quite drastically, with one instance of soldiers receiving only half a liter of semolina each and another instance of soldiers receiving ten liters of semolina per man,¹⁰³⁵ though amounts usually ranged between two and five liters. Regarding explicitly attested troop strengths, numbers vary from as few as two men to as many as forty. Substantially larger groups are implied in some texts by the large amounts of commodities expended, a prime example being P119650 / MVN 17, 4 (2/--/Š47) which lists 1960 liters of semolina for royal soldiers who went to Kimaš. Though the size of this contingent is not listed, if we assume ten, five and two liters per man we get troop strengths of one hundred and ninety-six, three hundred and ninety-two,

¹⁰³⁵ P108933 / DAS 181 and P132456 / TCTI 2, 3204.

and nine hundred and eighty soldiers, respectively. Undoubtedly this contingent of soldiers traveled to Kimaš in relation to the campaigns against the city and the surrounding regions attested in the year-names dating to the end of Šulgi's reign. It should be pointed out that this tablet is a summary messenger text recording commodity expenditures only for the Gu'abba district of Girsu province and does not necessarily represent the sum total of royal soldiers deployed from Girsu province or Babylonia as a whole.

The range of tasks undertaken by these groups have, unsurprisingly, substantial overlap with those of the individual soldiers listed in this text genre:

Procurement and Transport of Goods, Supplies

kaš ninda NIM-še₃ ġen-na	"who went for the beer and bread of the highlanders"
ma₂ dabin-še₃ ġen-na	"who went for the semolina boat(s)"
anše šu-gi₄-še₃ ġen-na	"who went for the equids that are unfit for work"
ki e₂-kišib-ba-še₃ ġen	"who went to the storeroom"
gud šušin^{ki}-da ġen-na	"who went with the cattle of Susa"
i₃-nun-še₃ ġen-na	"who went for the ghee"
udu-še₃ ġen-na	"who went for the sheep"
ku₆-še₃ ġen-na	"who went for fish"

Mustering and Escorting Workers and Troops

ma₂-gin₂ ma₂ ^dnanše-še₃ ġen-na	"who went for the shipbuilder(s) of the boat of Nanše"
e₂-kas₄ NINA^{ki}-še₃ eren₂-ne-da ġen-na	"who went with the troops to the waystation of Niġin"

Traveling to and from Notables in the Kingdom

šabra-še₃ ġen-na	"who went to the estate manager"
ki nin₉ sukkal-mah-še₃ ġen-na	"who went to the place of the sister of the secretary-of-state"
ki PN-še₃ ġen-na	"who went to PN"

Escorting and Erecting (Royal) Statues

alan-da ġen-na-me	"who went with the statue"
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**e2 alan ^dšu-^dsuen kar-ra
du3-de3 ġen-na**

“who went to build the shrine of the
statue of Šu-Suen in the quay”

Agricultural Duties

a-šag4 ni10-ni10-de3 ġen-na

“who went to survey the fields”

Thus we see that soldiers carried out a variety of tasks though the most common duties involved the acquisition and transportation of goods and supplies. Whether these items were procured for civil or military purposes, or both, is uncertain. One document merits some brief commentary. P128490 / RTC 337 (11/--/----) mentions a handful of injured soldiers returning from Dilmun:

**2 sila3 zi3-gu / ur-^ddumu-zi lu2-kas4 / 1(ban2) zi3-gu / aga3-us2 lugal tu-ra-me /
ġiri3 ur-^ddumu-zi lu2-kas4 / dilmun^{ki}-ta / du-ne-ne / itud še-sag11-kud**
“2 liters of flour (for) Ur-Dumuzida the errand-runner (and) 10 liters of flour (for)
the injured royal soldiers. Via Ur-Dumuzida the errand-runner, when they came
from Dilmun. DATE”

This fascinating text may allude to a military action taken against Dilmun in which we get a glimpse of a few injured soldiers receiving provisions upon returning from the campaign.¹⁰³⁶ Perhaps a more likely scenario, however, is that this text may be related to the campaign against Anšan that occurred in the earlier half of Šulgi’s fourth decade of rule. Though this text is undated, there are a number of Girsu messenger texts which date to this timeframe and therefore this genre is attested at Girsu during the time of the Anšan campaign. Additionally, the texts mentioned in chapter two that refer to the transfer of the army from Anšan to Magan could allow for a scenario in which troops crossed the

¹⁰³⁶ Dilmun was located within the Bahrain archipelago and nearby eastern continental Arabia; it was a commercial entrepôt in the third millennium; Bryce, *The Routledge Handbook of the Peoples and Places of Ancient Western Asia*, 196-198.

Persian Gulf from Fars to Magan (in the vicinity of eastern Oman and the United Arab Emirates) and along the coast, stopping at Dilmun prior to finishing the journey to the port cities of Gu'abba and Gaeš.

There are references to injured soldiers in the Iri-Sağrig messenger texts as well. A royal soldier by the name of Šeškala who is attested as receiving commodities is noted as having been injured by bandits when he went to the guard(-station) of the grain harvest (**ud en-nu-ĝa₂ še buru₁₄-ka-še₃ im-ĝen-na-a lu₂ sa-gaz-ke₄ in-sig₃-ga**). Attested in a period lasting slightly over a year, from 4/23/IS01 to 5/19/IS02,¹⁰³⁷ he often received a total of five liters of beer and bread (**kaš, ninda**) along with two cuts of mutton (**ma-la-ku udu**), two liters of soup (**tu₇**) and two fish (**ku₆**) per day.¹⁰³⁸ Though his food allotments diminished in his latter occurrences, the amounts are quite generous and perhaps demonstrate that he enjoyed some degree of status. Two other royal soldiers, Igianake and Ur-Eana, occur in a handful of texts with the designation of “injured” (**tu-ra**) and noted as having come from campaign (**ud kaskal ugnim-x-ta im-e-re-ša-a**). One document lists them alongside Šeškala and distinguishes their activities, thus confirming Lafont's position that the duties of these (semi-)professional soldiers were bifurcated into peacetime and wartime duties,¹⁰³⁹ though perhaps we can view the division as being between civil/domestic and foreign/martial duties, for undoubtedly some soldiers were engaged in domestic affairs at the same time as other soldiers campaigned in the peripheral regions. Igianake and Ur-Eana were probably injured in military actions either

¹⁰³⁷ P453938 / Nisaba 15/2, 585 and P388001 / Nisaba 15/2, 772, respectively.

¹⁰³⁸ The grain expenditures were recorded on separate tablets from the meat and soup expenditures, as exhibited by two documents recording the various commodities that are dated to the same day (2/30/IS02): P387971 / Nisaba 15/2, 732 (beer/bread) and P411935 / Nisaba 15/2, 731 (meat/soup). P454030 / Nisaba 15/2, 730, dated to the previous day (2/29/IS02), lists the same amount of meat and soup provisions.

¹⁰³⁹ Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 10; Lafont, “Données nouvelles sur l'organisation militaire des rois d'Ur,” 64.

directly or indirectly related to the campaign against Simurru which provided the material for Ibbi-Suen's third year-name.

Many of the soldiers in the Iri-Saġrig corpus are attested in small groups along with other notables and officials, such as the son/subordinate of the secretary-of-state (**dumu sukkal-mah**) and boat-courier (**ra₂-gaba**), with missions related to levying troops (**eren₂ zi-zi-de₃**) for various duties connected with the harvest, including reaping (**še gur₁₀**), stacking sheaths of grain (**še zar₃ tab**) and threshing grain (**še ġi_š ra**). As Lafont has pointed out, not only did the **aga₃-us₂** take control of conscripts for labor tasks, but they also engaged in labor projects in large contingents of their own, sometimes in much larger numbers than regular conscripts.¹⁰⁴⁰

10,800 aga₃-us₂ 4(aš) gur-ta / še-bi 12 guru₇

“10,800 soldiers (for threshing grain), 1200 liters per man, that grain (amounting to) 12,960,000 liters of grain”

Other missions include mustering alongside other personnel with a wide variety of occupational titles for “the journey of the king” (**ud ġiri₃ lugal-še₃ im-e-re-ša-a**) and for traveling for the royal offerings alongside cupbearers, diviners, cattle butchers and equerries (**šu_š₃**).¹⁰⁴¹

We also see soldiers traveling to and from peripheral territories, receiving provisions when they traveled to Der, came from Kimaš, or came from campaigning in

¹⁰⁴⁰ Lafont (“The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 10-11) notes multiple groups of 700+ soldiers, a group of 9600 and one of nearly 11,000, the latter demonstrated in the text above (P102233 / ASJ 8, 118 no. 33 obv. lines 9-10). Though there are 10,800 soldiers in that text, there are only 1269 conscripts (**eren₂**) and 146 menials (**UN-il₂**) engaged in the harvest.

¹⁰⁴¹ P387968 / Nisaba 15/2, 90 (9/11/AS08); P411936 / Nisaba 15/2, 651 (13/11/IS01).

the highland regions.¹⁰⁴² The origin of these soldiers could be questioned in view of P412128 / Nisaba 15/2, 399 (1/--/ŠS07), in which the governor of Țarši traveled from Țarši to the king (at Iri-Saġrig) along with his soldiers (**u₃ aga₃-us₂-a-ni**). This could be seen as support for the notion that some groups of **aga₃-us₂** in the messenger texts refer to highlander guards who formed part of the entourages of foreign rulers who traveled to Babylonia. Indeed, there are a few instances in which the designation **NIM** “highlander” seems to be further qualified by the designation **aga₃-us₂**, and vice versa, suggesting the possibility that some of the soldiers attested in Ur III documentation were of foreign origin.¹⁰⁴³ However, the likelihood that the governors of Țarši were Babylonian appointees, as discussed in Chapter Two, militates against such an understanding in this instance.

Nevertheless, there may be additional evidence that at least some soldiers were either foreign mercenaries or foreign troops conscripted from defeated enemies. One example deals with the garrison of Šurbu. A **gun₂ ma-da** text from Puzriš-Dagan lists a total of fifty-two sheep and goats as the tax contribution of “soldiers, men of Šurbu” (**aga₃-us₂ lu₂ šu-ur₂-bu^{ki}-me**) under the commander Tahiš-atal, who was also the commander of the garrison at Daltum.¹⁰⁴⁴ This garrison is attested at a later time in a text which notes the expenditure of six thousand liters of grain as grain allotments for the troops of the garrisons (**še-ba eren₂ ki en-nu-ġa₂**) of Awal, Kismar, Maškan-šarrum and

¹⁰⁴² P387891 / Nisaba 15/2, 883 (12/--/IS02); P411993 / Nisaba 15/2, 735 (2/--/IS02); P454052 / Nisaba 15/2, 791 (6/24/IS02) rev. line 7: **ud kaskal NIM^{ki}-ta im-e-re-ša-a**. Note that this group includes a captain (**nu-banda₃**), diviner (**maš₂-šu-gid₂-gid₂**) and two soldiers, one of whom was injured (**tu-ra**).

¹⁰⁴³ See Michalowski (“Observations on ‘Elamites’ and ‘Elam’ in Ur III Times,” 110-111) for further examples of **NIM** and **aga₃-us₂** occurring in apposition or as variants between text and envelope. His position that all the **NIM** in the messenger text genre were bodyguards of foreign envoys and essentially the counterpart to Babylonian **aga₃-us₂** will be dealt with in the next chapter.

¹⁰⁴⁴ P104420 / AUCT 3, 198 (9/13/ŠS--). The amount of tax suggests a garrison strength of 1560 men.

Šurbu, suggesting a location for the settlement in the general vicinity of the confluence of the Tigris and Diyala rivers.¹⁰⁴⁵ None of this argues for a foreign origin for these troops. However, it is P128927 / SACT 1, 172 (---/ŠS01) that raises the question. This text records men of Šurbu receiving animals upon taking an oath at the temple of Ninurta in Nippur:

**1 udu 1 maš₂ nam-erim₂ e₂ ^dnin-urta / mu lu₂ šu-ur₂-bu^{ki}-ke₄-ne-še₃ /
 ḥa-ab-ru-ša maškim / ša₃ nibru^{ki}**

“1 sheep (and) 1 goat (for) the oath (in) the temple of Ninurta for the men of Šurbu. Ḥabruša was the authorizing agent. In Nippur.”

The fact that the oath occurred in the temple of the war-god Ninurta and that the authorizing agent was the general of Ašārum-Dagi, a royal settlement in Umma, suggests that the men of Šurbu were taking the oath in a military context. Such oaths are attested for Lullubean captains as well as for men of Šimaški, Zidaḥri, Kimaš and Nineveh.¹⁰⁴⁶ Even if the notion that these oaths belong to a military context is correct, the exact purpose of the oath remains speculative, since the reason for the oath was not pertinent for livestock disbursement records and therefore was not included. The oaths could very well have been oaths of fealty made by foreign mercenary groups or by foreign contingents sent by vassal or allied kingdoms to the sovereign of Ur. However, it is also conceivable that the oaths were taken by Babylonian troops assigned to peripheral garrisons who, being geographically removed from the provincial homeland, were required to swear their allegiance to the king and to swear that they would not fail to

¹⁰⁴⁵ P454149 / Nisaba 15/2, 977 (---/IS03).

¹⁰⁴⁶ P104622 / AUCT 3, 413 (11/15/ŠS09); P111926 / JCS 14, 111 no. 14 (9/17/ŠS01); P116900 / MVN 13, 128 (10/25/IS02); NABU 2007, 15 (9/28/ŠS03).

perform their duties. Potentially favoring the latter interpretation is an oath taken at the Ninurta temple by errand-runners (**kas4-ke4-ne**) who are not associated with any foreign toponyms¹⁰⁴⁷ and a tablet concerning **gun2 ma-da**-type delivery which lists livestock contributions by six men of Šurbu who have predominantly Mesopotamian names.¹⁰⁴⁸ How one understands the nature of these oaths depends in part on how one understands the relation of the peripheral territories to the kingdom of Ur, some of which has been discussed in the previous chapter and more of which will be discussed below.

To summarize, the precise nature and role(s) of the **aga3-us2** have been the subject of debate for all periods, from Presargonic to Old Babylonian, in which it occurs. Translations ranging from guardsman to regular soldier to elite soldier have been proposed though the reasons for some of these suggestions are based on the limited contexts and occurrences derived from the types of cuneiform tablets that have happened to survive and have been discovered for these periods. Other problems stem from a lack of definition for what precisely a soldier is, which duties should be ascribed to soldiers, and whether tasks performed outside of these limited duties prohibit an identification with “soldier.” Nevertheless, there are substantial similarities among the **aga3-us2** of the late third and early second millennia. They received commodity and land allotments in exchange for services that seem to have included escort duties, guarding personnel or estates, and engaging in labor tasks, especially those involved with the harvest. The field allotments of **aga-us2** in the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods are virtually identical in size, and the **aga3-us2** in both periods seem to have been recruited heavily from shepherds or those engaged in animal husbandry. Both the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods

¹⁰⁴⁷ P115914 / MVN 10, 144 (9/03/IS02).

¹⁰⁴⁸ P113898 / MVN 3, 338 (9/06/ŠS01): Šu-Tišpak, Eštar-kin, Šu-Eštar, Erra-bani.

exhibit strong support for the notion that the **aga3-us2** went on offensive military campaigns and the Ur III documentation suggests that they were primarily archers. It needs to be kept in mind that there is limited attestation of the **aga3-us2** in all periods, that biases in our data sets affect how we view this group, and that these soldiers have not been exhaustively studied for the Ur III and Old Babylonian periods.

III.3: The **gar₃-du**

An interesting class of soldier is the **gar₃-du**, attested solely in the latter half of the reign of Amar-Suen. The reading and etymology of **gar₃-du** is uncertain, though the sole use of the **gar₃**-sign, to which the value /*qar*/ was added to represent the Akkadian emphatic consonant /q/, points in the direction of understanding the term to represent the Akkadian root *qrd*.¹⁰⁴⁹ This root was used to convey the idea of valor in battle and the nominal forms should be translated as “champion.” The root *qrd* includes nominal constructions (*qarrādum*, *qurādum*, *qarrādūtum*, *qurādūtum*, *qardūtum* “champion, warrior, heroism, warriorhood”) and adjectival constructions (*qardum*, *qurdum* “valiant, heroic”), most of which have lexical equivalents with Sumerian (**nam**-)**ur-saĝ**.¹⁰⁵⁰ The Tappeh Bormi inscription provides a syllabic spelling of *qar-di₃-šu* for *qardīšu* “his champions” which suggests that **gar₃-du** represented the Akkadian substantivized adjective *qardum* “valiant (man).”¹⁰⁵¹ It is possible that the **GAR₃**-sign could be read as *qara* to produce the *parrās* noun-pattern *qarrādum* “champion,” though the sign-lists do not include such a value.¹⁰⁵² If this is the case, then the Sumerian value should be read **gara₃-du**. A writing of the term that includes mimation is found in a tablet from Puzriš-Dagan that lists six individuals under the term **GAR₃-dum**, perhaps to be read **gara₃-dum**

¹⁰⁴⁹ However, note that *gardu* (^{lu2}*ga-ar-du*) in some Late Babylonian texts seem to refer to a military class or profession whose members are attested as being under an officer cadre and as holding land allotments. The word is thought to possibly be a loan from Old Persian; CAD vol. 5, 50.

¹⁰⁵⁰ *qardu*: valiant, heroic (GU₃.MUR and UR.SAG; CAD vol. 13, 129-131); *qardūtu*: heroism, valor; (NAM.UR.SAG; CAD vol. 13, 131); *qarrādu*: warrior, hero (UR.SAG; CAD vol. 13, 140-144); *qarrādūtū*: heroism, valor, bravery (NAM.UR.SAG; CAD vol. 13, 144); *qurādu*: hero, warrior (UR.SAG; CAD vol. 13, 312-315); *qurādūtū*: heroism (CAD vol. 13, 315); *qurdu*: heroism, bravery, heroic deeds (EN.TI(N), AN.TI(N); CAD vol. 13, 317-318).

¹⁰⁵¹ Nasrabadi, *Ein Steininschrift des Amar-Suena aus Tappeh Bormi*,” 163.

¹⁰⁵² MEA 153 no. 333; MZL 360 no. 543.

for Akkadian *qarrādum*.¹⁰⁵³ A similar form occurs in first millennium exemplars of the literary composition *Lugale*, with an orthography of **gar₃-ra-du-um**.¹⁰⁵⁴ This is a pseudo-logogram as it attempts to give an approximate spelling of the *status rectus* form of the Akkadian word; the passage in *Lugale* includes with the Sumerian possessive suffix **-bi** (**gar₃-ra-du-um-be₂**), though its Akkadian interlinear translation utilizes the suffix form of the noun (*qar-rad-su-nu*).¹⁰⁵⁵ Interestingly, this line of the composition uses both the traditional Sumerian equivalent (**ur-saĝ**) as well as the pseudo-logographic word (**gar₃-ra-du-um**) to render the same Akkadian word, *qarrādum*.¹⁰⁵⁶ Therefore we may be able to understand **gar₃-du** as a pseudo-logogram in which the Akkadian word is “loaned” into Sumerian, as Sumerian was the administrative language of the kingdom, to represent the Semitic word. This is similar to the case of the word for “merchant,” which was an Akkadian word borrowed into Sumerian, that was subsequently used as a Sumerogram to represent the Akkadian word: *tamkārum* > **dam-gar₃** > DAM.GAR₃ = *tamkārum*.¹⁰⁵⁷ Unlike *tamkārum*, whose Sumerogram was used extensively in later periods, the loan **gar₃-du** and sumerogram GAR₃.DU were only used during the latter half of Amar-Suen’s reign. Whether this pseudo-logogram represented the noun *qarrādum* or the substantivized adjective *qardum* is uncertain.

Nevertheless, the relationship with the Akkadian root *qrd* denotes not merely a militaristic connection, but rather an association with the elite warrior. This is seen in the

¹⁰⁵³ P332169 / PPAC 4, 257.

¹⁰⁵⁴ Markus Hilgert, *Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Amar-Suena*, OIP 121 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2003): 21 n. 63.

¹⁰⁵⁵ J. van Dijk, LUGAL UD ME-LÁM-bi NIR-ĜÁL: *texte, traduction et introduction* (Leiden: Brill, 1983): 56.

¹⁰⁵⁶ Ibid, 56; I 38: **ur-saĝ** ^{na4}**ĝiṣ-nu₁₁-gal** **gar₃-ra-du-um-be₂** **uru ba-ab-laḥ₄-laḥ₄** / *qar-ra-du* ^{na4}**II** *qar-rad-su-nu a-la-a-ni i-ṣal-lal-ṣu₂-nu-ti*

¹⁰⁵⁷ Another example is *sekretum*, which was written with the pseudo-logogram ^{munus}ZI.IK.RU.UM; CAD vol. 15, 215.

Old Babylonian Sumerian literary corpus which attributes the title of “champion” (**ur-saĝ** / *qarrādum*) substantially more often to Ninurta, the warrior deity *par excellence*, than any other divinity. Outside of the connection with the semantic range of the root *qrd*, there are two texts which demonstrate that the **gar3-du** went on military campaign. The first is an administrative document from Puzriš-Dagan which lists livestock given to commanders and **gar3-du** on the occasion of their return from campaign.¹⁰⁵⁸

20 la2 1 udu 40 la2 1 u8 / 2 ud5 / šu-gid2 / mu nu-banda3 u3 gar3-du

damar-dsuen kaskal-ta er-ra-ne-še3

“19 rams, 39 ewes (and) 2 nanny-goats, a selection for the captains and ‘champions’ of Amar-Suen who came from campaign”

The livestock expenditure suggests a force of roughly two-thousand four hundred troops and the date leaves no doubt that the target of the campaign was Ҳуһнuri (and by extension Bitum-rabium and Yabru). Confirmation that the **gar3-du** were utilized in the campaign against Ҳуһнuri is found in the Tappeh Bormi inscription, of which the relevant section is presented here:

col i, line 7 - col ii, line 3:¹⁰⁵⁹

inu ina awāt Enlil rabītim qarrādīšu in 30 sikkātim ištīnâ išpurūma

Ҳуһнuri ušāridu u Ruḫuratir išlul[...] ana maḥar Enlil bēlīšu ūru’aššu

“When, at the great command of Enlil, he (Amar-Suen) sent his champions, in 30 *units*, as one and brought down Ҳуһнuri, and carried off Ruḫuratir [...], he (then) led him (Ruḫuratir) before Enlil, his lord.”

If the inscription’s reference to thirty units can be reconciled with the administrative document’s expenditure for two-thousand four hundred troops, then each unit consisted

¹⁰⁵⁸ P135098 / TRU 334 (8/10/AS07).

¹⁰⁵⁹ See above in Chapter 2 for notes on this passage.

of eighty men. Regardless, units of **gar3-du** under the command of captains were able to inflict some sort of defeat on ĦuĦnuri and its subsidiary towns.

Nearly all of the occurrences of this term are found in texts from Puzriš-Dagan that record livestock deliveries made to the kitchen for provisioning the **ġar3-du** with meat.¹⁰⁶⁰ It has been noted that the **gar3-du** seem to replace the **aga3-us2** referenced in such documents from Puzriš-Dagan, for the two terms never occur together, with the **aga3-us2** virtually disappearing in the documentation from this site after the eleventh month of Amar-Suen's sixth year,¹⁰⁶¹ coinciding with the first appearance of the **gar3-du** at the end of the final month of the same year. The deliveries to the **aga3-us2** resume soon after the disappearance of the **gar3-du** from the textual record - a disappearance that occurred soon after the death of Amar-Suen.¹⁰⁶² It is uncertain whether they replaced the **aga3-us2** at Puzriš-Dagan as Amar-Suen's personal guard¹⁰⁶³ or if it merely represents a temporary designation of an already extant institution,¹⁰⁶⁴ though a few points can be said about this.

¹⁰⁶⁰ Thus they are one of the groups mentioned in the administrative formula "a selection to the kitchen for the *GROUP NAME*" (**šu-gid2 e2-muĥaldim-še3 mu *GROUP NAME*-še3**) which included soldiers (**aga3-us2**), errand-runners (**kas4**) and *šuku*-holders (**lu2-šuku**); Marcel Sigrist, *Drehem* (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1992): 68.

¹⁰⁶¹ P142791 / AAICAB 1, 421 (11/19/AS06).

¹⁰⁶² Markus Hilgert, *Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Amar-Suena*, OIP 121 (Chicago: The Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2003): 24. This has often been understood to have been a feature of a possible political upheaval or crisis that has been posited to account for a number of anomalies that accumulate in the administrative documentation of the latter half of Amar-Suen's reign; see Bertrand Lafont, "Game of Thrones: the Years when Su-Sin Succeeded Amar-Suen in the Kingdom of Ur," in *The First 90 Years: A Sumerian Celebration in Honor of Miguel Civil*, SANER 12, edited by L. Feliu, F. Karahashi, and G. Rubio (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2017): 197. The **aga3-us2** are attested again on 2/26/AS09 (P218070 / ASJ 18, 76 no. 7) and the final **gar3-du** reference occurs on 3/29/AS09 (P124497 / Ontario 1, 84). Amar-Suen seems to have been deceased by the ninth day of the second month of his ninth year; Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 167. Also note that though the **aga3-us2** are absent from livestock delivery texts dating to Amar-Suen's seventh year, there is a tablet which mentions a soldier as an intermediary for an animal expenditure to the Amorite Naplanum; P100967 / OIP 121, 543 (1/04/AS07).

¹⁰⁶³ Lafont, "The Armies of the Kings of Ur," 17 n. 94.

¹⁰⁶⁴ Hilgert, *Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Amar-Suena*, 24.

First, outside of Puzriš-Dagan the **aga3-us2** are attested at all sites for which we have data for Amar-Suen's seventh and eighth years. Thus they are attested at Umma, Girsu, Nippur and Iri-Saġrig; regarding Ur and Garšana, there is little to no attestation for the entire reign of Amar-Suen. Nippur presents an interesting case, in that the **aga3-us2** are unattested except for Amar-Suen's fifth, seventh and eighth years, precisely when they are absent at neighboring Puzriš-Dagan. This should warn us that the data set is quite incomplete and therefore a poor representation of the reality in antiquity. From both the Umma and Girsu archives the royal soldier (**aga3-us2 lugal**) is attested for these years and in one text a soldier, who is called an **aga3-us2 lugal** in the tablet, is designated as an **aga3-us2** of Amar-Suen,¹⁰⁶⁵ paralleling the phrase "**gar3-du** of Amar-Suen."

Second, not only are the **aga3-us2** still attested in the provincial archives, there is evidence that they were present in larger numbers. From Umma comes a text that mentions a total of forty-two thousand five-hundred and ten liters of grain expended for beer for the **aga3-us2**, substantially more than was expended for any other purpose.¹⁰⁶⁶ From Girsu come multiple texts that mention boats levied for **bala**-duty and the majority of the boats are boats of the **aga3-us2** that were levied from the general Ilalum and the secretary-of-state (**sukkal-mah**).¹⁰⁶⁷

Third, a text from Ur mentions a total of one-hundred and thirty-three **gar3-du**, along with their assistants (**šeš-tab-ba**) and servants (**arad2**), under the authority of the generals Šeškala and Dukra, tallied in an inspection within Urua. Since there is no

¹⁰⁶⁵ P104610 / AUCT 3, 400 (12/--/AS08). For an example from Girsu, P132456 / TCTI 2, 3204 (3/--/AS08) mentions 18 royal soldiers who brought oxen from Susa under the authority of the prince Šu-Suen.

¹⁰⁶⁶ P130353 / STA 3 (--/--/AS08).

¹⁰⁶⁷ See, for example, P320470 / CM 26 no. 95 (5/21/AS08) which lists 8 boats of the soldiers each from the general and the **sukkal-mah**, comprising 16% of the 98 boats listed in the document.

reference to the travels of the king or royal family, we can perhaps understand this group as (part of) the garrison at Urua. Relevant is a document which mentions the **gun₂ ma-da** payment of **aga₃-us₂** of Urua under the general Šeškala; unfortunately the text is undated.¹⁰⁶⁸ This example shows that the presence of the **gar₃-du** was not limited to the capital cities of the kingdom.

The purpose of demonstrating the presence of the **aga₃-us₂** in texts from provincial archives and showing parallels with the **gar₃-du** is to suggest the possibility that the appellation **gar₃-du** was primarily a change in designation undertaken by the administration of the royal sector in reference either to royal soldiers (**aga₃-us₂ lugal**) in general or perhaps to a specific subsection of royal soldiers that did act as a royal guard. Thus it was not a new group or class of soldier, but instead was the renaming (or perhaps the reorganization) of an already extant contingent of troops by the royal sector. The fact that the **aga₃-us₂** is still prevalent in texts from the provincial sector suggests that the provincial administration did not adopt this change. Two exceptions come from the provinces of Girsu and Umma, with the first exception being a fragmentary text related to wool and textiles that lists the donation of a few garments from some **gar₃-du**, and the second being a record of grain expenditure for **gar₃-du**.¹⁰⁶⁹ The grain expenditure text is interesting as it mentions one-hundred and seven thousand, one-hundred and seventy liters of grain as grain allotments for the **gar₃-du** with the generals Dukra and Babati involved in the transaction. Therefore the royal sector was the involved party though the text seems to come from Umma. At the standard rate of sixty liters of grain for the

¹⁰⁶⁸ P290500 / BPOA 7, 2350. The tax amount of 1 ox and 10 sheep suggest a garrison strength of 300 soldiers.

¹⁰⁶⁹ P130356 / STA 6 (---/AS04) and P144320 / SAT 2, 1120 (---/AS09). The former document is the earliest attestation of the **gar₃-du**.

monthly allotment, this amount would enable the payment of one-thousand and eighty six soldiers.

The notion that the **gar3-du** was a royal guard may find some support in the **e2-muḫaldim** texts from Puzriš-Dagan. For when the livestock expenditures for the **aga3-us2** are compared with those of the **gar3-du**, the latter are often attested in significantly smaller numbers than the former. Sixty-four percent of the **gar3-du** are attested in groups of less than five hundred men and only eight percent are attested in groups of a thousand or more, with the largest group being a little over two-thousand soldiers. In contrast, forty-nine percent of the **aga3-us2** are attested in groups larger than a thousand men with multiple groups totaling over ten-thousand soldiers.¹⁰⁷⁰ Additionally, their nature as a royal guard could account for the foreign elements attested within this group. Hilgert, following Gelb, has pointed out that the use of foreign bodyguards has been a common phenomenon throughout history.¹⁰⁷¹ Two texts highlight the foreign elements in the **gar3-du**. One mentions a livestock expenditure for Ḫuḫnurian **gar3-du** in the context of a ritual meal:

P106209 / BIN 3, 402 (6/10/AS08) obv. line 1 - rev. line 1:

**1 udu niga / du₆ ^dur-saĝ-7 / uzu-bi gar3-du lu₂ ḫu-uh₂-nu-ri^{ki}-ke₄-ne
ba-ab-gu₇ / ġiri₃ da-da sagi / a-tu sagi maškim / ša₃ a-šag₄
^damar-^dsuen-engar-^den-lil₂-la₂**

“1 grain-fed sheep (for) the mound of the seven warriors whose flesh was consumed by the Ḫuḫnurian **gar3-du**; via Dada the cupbearer. Atu the cupbearer was the authorizing agent. In the field ‘Amar-Suen-(is)-the-plot-manager-of-Enlil’.”

¹⁰⁷⁰ This data comes from Appendices B and D, and the more conservative rate of 1 bovine feeding 400 men and 1 caprid/ovid feeding 40 men in comparison to Allred’s 1:600 and 1:60; see n. 1020 above.

¹⁰⁷¹ Hilgert, *Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Amar-Suena*, 23 n. 79.

And the other provides the seal impression of one Hunnuduk that gives him the designation **gar₃-du**.¹⁰⁷² Regarding the former text, Hilgert understood the phrase **gar₃-du lu₂ hu-uh₂-nu-ri^{ki}-ke₄-ne** to mean “GAR₃.DU people of the man of Huḫnuri” and thus this unit was linked to the governor of Huḫnuri.¹⁰⁷³ However, this is the least natural reading of the extant Sumerian, though with the laconic nature of administrative documents, his position cannot be ruled out.¹⁰⁷⁴ Yet it leaves open the question as to whether the recently defeated ruler of Huḫnuri was providing elite troops for Amar-Suen’s guard unit and what relation they had to the fall of Huḫnuri in light of the Tappeh Bormi inscription. Additionally, the topic of the construction **lu₂ GN** has already been discussed in chapter 2 and has shown that in most instances this construction is the nisbe or gentilic. Therefore it is best to understand these as mercenary units in Amar-Suen’s army. As mentioned in chapter 2, Huḫnurian highlanders (**NIM**) were already traveling to southern Mesopotamia in the last year of Šulgi’s reign and contact between Ur and Huḫnuri continued into the early part of Amar-Suen’s reign; military service may have been at least part of the reason for such contact.

However, not all **gar₃-du** can be considered to have been derived from foreign troops. An obvious reason stems from the aforementioned text, which specifies that the **gar₃-du** who were engaged in a ritual meal for the Sebitti (**^dur-saĝ-7**), a group of astral deities first attested in this period and likely of eastern origin, were Huḫnurian **gar₃-du**.

¹⁰⁷² P104530 / AUCT 3, 318 (8/--/AS08).

¹⁰⁷³ Hilgert, *Drehem Administrative Documents from the Reign of Amar-Suena*, 23.

¹⁰⁷⁴ The extant text, **gar₃-du lu₂ hu-uh₂-nu-ri^{ki}-ke₄-ne**, provides three possible readings: 1) asyndeton: “the **gardu** (and) the man/men of Huḫnuri” (**gardu lu Huḫnuri.ak.ene**), 2) apposition: “the **gardu**, men of Huḫnuri” (**gardu lu Huḫnuri.ak.ene**) and 3) simple auslaut-genitive: “the **gardu** of the men of Huḫnuri” (**gardu lu Huḫnuri.ak.ene(.ak)**). The plene writing of “the **gardu** of the man (a.k.a. governor) of Huḫnuri” would be **gar₃-du lu₂ hu-uh₂-nu-ri^{ki}-ka-ke₄-ne**, which would normalize to **gardu lu Huḫnuri.ak.ak.ene**. Again, defective writings are common in administrative documents, so the extra genitive could have simply been omitted.

If all **gar₃-du** were Huh₃nurians, then it would have been superfluous to identify this group as such. Additionally, we have a couple of **gar₃-du** who have traditional Mesopotamian names, such as Lu-šalim and Šu-Mama, the latter individual also designated as being from Uruk (**lu₂ unug^{ki}**).¹⁰⁷⁵

¹⁰⁷⁵ P109321 / Nisaba 30, 46 (3/13/AS08) and P136247 / UDT 113 (5/--/AS08), respectively.

III.4: The Organization of the Periphery

Steinkeller, in his seminal article on the organization of the Ur III state, was able to use documents from Puzriš-Dagan in order to delineate the status of the territories surrounding and in contact with the Ur III state.¹⁰⁷⁶ He noted a sequence and pattern which conform to texts that are specifically labeled **gun₂ ma-da** in which taxes, in standard amounts, are levied from generals, captains, master sergeants and troops from settlements on the outskirts. The classic example of this is CT 32, 19-22 (P108667) from which we can take some excerpts to show the structure:

column i line 22 to column ii 33:

10 gud u₂ / 100 udu u₂ / ši-lu-uš-^dda-gan / 1 gud u₂ / 10 udu u₂ / i₃-li₂-TAB.BA / 2 gud u₂ / [20] udu u₂ / [...] -a / 1 gud u₂ / 10 udu u₂ / puzur₄-a-bi-iḥ / 1 gud u₂ / 10 udu u₂ / ^dšul-gi-i₃-li₂ / 1 gud u₂ / 10 udu u₂ / i₃-li₂-ši₂-li₂ / 1 gud u₂ / 10 udu u₂ / nu-ur₂-^dIŠKUR / 1 gud u₂ / 10 udu u₂ / a-gu-a-li₂ / 1 gud u₂ / 10 udu u₂ / za-ri₂-iq / 1 gud u₂ / 10 udu u₂ / za-a-num₂ / 1 gud u₂ / 10 udu u₂ / i₃-li₂-TAB.BA / 2 gud u₂ / 20 udu u₂ / igi-ḥa-lum / nu-banda₃-me-eš₂ / 17 gud u₂ / 135 udu u₂ / 35 maš₂-gal u₂ / eren₂ i-šim-^dšul-gi^{ki} / ugula ši-lu-uš-^dda-gan

“10 grass-fed oxen, 100 grass-fed sheep (from) Šiluš-Dagan; 1 grass-fed oxen, 10 grass-fed sheep (from) Ili-tappû; 2 grass-fed oxen, 20 grass-fed sheep (from) [...] -a, 1 grass-fed oxen, 10 grass-fed sheep (from) Puzur-abih, 1 grass-fed oxen, 10 grass-fed sheep (from) Šulgi-ili, 1 grass-fed oxen, 10 grass-fed sheep (from) Ili-šilli, 1 grass-fed oxen, 10 grass-fed sheep (from) Nur-Adad, 1 grass-fed oxen, 10 grass-fed sheep (from) Aquali, 1 grass-fed oxen, 10 grass-fed sheep (from) Zarriq, 1 grass-fed oxen, 10 grass-fed sheep (from) Za’anum, 1 grass-fed oxen, 10

¹⁰⁷⁶ Steinkeller, “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State,” 30-41. His work built off of other studies, such as William W. Hallo, “A Sumerian Amphictyony,” *JCS* 14 (1960): 88-114 (especially pp. 88-89) which equated **gun₂** and **gun₂ ma-da** and saw it as a “territorial tribute”. In a similar vein was Michalowski’s article (“Foreign Tribute to Sumer during the Ur III Period,” *ZA* 68 (1978): (especially p. 46) that viewed **gun₂** as a general term under which **gun₂ ma-da** fell, designating “military tribute” paid by peripheral territories that were constantly sliding up and down the gradient of independent to incorporated, depending on the changing political situation of the Ur III state, and that served as both defensive line and offensive staging areas for the kingdom. But he also noted that the notion of **gun₂** was applicable to certain texts even though the term was not expressly written, and was implied in texts that referred to livestock deliveries notated as coming from **eren₂ GN** (pp. 42-44). Gelb (“Prisoners of War in Early Mesopotamia,” *JNES* 32 (1973): 85) understood the term **gun₂ ma-da** to refer to a tax imposed on military settlers outside of Babylonia proper, but did not discuss the term’s relation to **gun₂**.

grass-fed sheep (from) Ili-tappû, 2 grass-fed oxen, 20 grass-fed sheep (from) Igiḫalum - they are captains. 17 grass-fed oxen, 135 grass-fed sheep (and) 35 grass-fed billy goats (from) the troops of Išim-Šulgi. Overseer (is) Šilluṣ-Dagan.”

This section can be better demonstrated in a tabular rather than in paragraph form.¹⁰⁷⁷

Table 37: Structure of the Peripheral Tax of Išim-Šulgi in CT 32, 19

Livestock (as tax) ¹⁰⁷⁸		Captains (nu-banda ₃)	Master Sergeants (ugula ḡeš ₂ -da)	Troops (eren ₂) of Išim-Šulgi	Officer in Charge (ugula)
Cattle	Sheep				
10	100	Šilluṣ-Dagan			Šilluṣ-Dagan
1	10	Ili-tappû			
2	20	[...]-a			
1	10	Puzur-abih			
1	10	Šulgi-ili			
1	10	Ili-šilli			
1	10	Nur-Adad			
1	10	Aguali			
1	10	Zarriq			
1	10	Za'anum			
1	10	Ili-tappû			
2	20	Igiḫalum			
17	170			eren ₂	

Immediately below this section follows another list of personnel and troops paying the **gun₂ ma-da** (column iii lines 1-26) that exhibits some similarities and differences from the section above:

Table 38: Structure of the Peripheral Tax of Šami and Ibbal in CT 32, 19

Livestock (as tax)		Captains (nu-banda ₃)	master sergeants (ugula ḡeš ₂ -da)	Troops	Officer in Charge
cattle	sheep				
2	20	Lu-Nanna			Lu-Nanna
1	10	Dayyan-ili			
1	10	Puzur-Haya			

¹⁰⁷⁷ This and the following examples are adapted from the table in Steinkeller, “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III state,” 32.

¹⁰⁷⁸ All charts subsume the various species, ages and genders of cattle and sheep under the categories of “Cattle” (= large livestock or *Großvieh*) and “Sheep” (= small livestock or *Kleinvieh*).

1	10	Ikumišar			
1	10		20 ugula-ġeš₂-da		
4	40			eren₂ Šami	
2	20	Lu-Ninšubur			Lu-Nanna
3	30			eren₂ Ibbal	

From this data, Steinkeller was able to show that there were regular tax rates, which are illustrated in the tables below:¹⁰⁷⁹

Table 39: Amount of Tax per Rank Category¹⁰⁸⁰

Cattle	Sheep	Category of Taxpayers
10	100	“general” (šakkan₆)
2	20	“senior captain” (nu-banda₃)
1	10	“junior captain” (nu-banda₃)
1	10	per 20 “master sergeants” (ugula ġeš₂-da-bi 20-me-eš₂)
1	10	per 300 “troops” (eren₂)

Table 40: Amount of Tax per Person

Cattle	Sheep	Category of Taxpayers	Silver Equivalent
10	100	“general” (šakkan₆)	200 shekels (3 1/3 minas)
2	20	“senior captain” (nu-banda₃)	40 shekels (2/3 mina)
1	10	“junior captain” (nu-banda₃)	20 shekels (1/3 mina)
1/20	1/2	“master sergeant” (ugula ġeš₂-da)	1 shekel (1/60 mina)
1/300	1/30	“trooper” (eren₂)	12 grains (1/15 shekel)

¹⁰⁷⁹ Adapted from table on page 35. He notes (p. 31) the prices of livestock were standardized in this period at one shekel per sheep and ten shekels per ox, which enables the calculation of the silver equivalents of the tax per person.

¹⁰⁸⁰ Steinkeller (31) notes that the number of troops paying the tax is never mentioned, but the occurrences of the twenty “master sergeants” indicates the number of troops. For example, in CT 32, 19-22, col. ii line 34 to col. iii line 26 we have 20 “overseers of 60” which equals 1200 troops. If we divide the number of troops by the number of sheep paid, then we arrive at 30 - higher than the twenty-sheep rate that senior captains paid and therefore too much. If we posit 1 ox and 10 sheep per 300 troops, then the 4 oxen and 40 sheep amount adds up to 1200 troops.

Therefore we see that the peripheral settlements were populated by troops underneath an officer cadre that included various ranks. It should be noted that the person paying the “general’s tax” is never explicitly designated as a “general” (**šakkan**) in these texts, but is included in the category of “captain” (**nu-banda₃-me-eš₂**) and called an “overseer” (**ugula**). Even some of the “senior captains” who paid the tax amount of two oxen and twenty sheep may have been generals, as illustrated by the case of Lu-Nanna of Zimudar who, in CT 32, 19, paid the two oxen and twenty sheep, but was the overseer of troops from Šami and Tummal, and who, in both other documentary sources and seal impressions, is designated as “general” (**šakkan**).¹⁰⁸¹ We also observe that the number of captains, both senior and junior, varied and that the rank of “master sergeant” (**ugula ġeš₂-da**; literally, “overseer of 60 [men]”) was not always represented at each settlement. When looking at CT 32, 19 as a whole, we see a good bit of variation among the settlements as to what was recorded. Regarding Išim-Šulgi, a significant military outpost, the contribution of its general is listed along with eleven captains, two of which were senior captains and the rest junior captains, though they are not listed in an order corresponding to their rank. No master sergeants are listed, just the impost of the garrison, which likely amounted to 5100 soldiers. For Šami and Putšadar each, there is one senior captain and three junior captains, listed by rank in descending order, along with twenty master sergeants, corresponding to the 1200 soldiers who were taxed four oxen and forty sheep. Places such as Kišgati, which had double the number of troops as Šami and Putšadar, nevertheless list the duties of only one senior captain and two junior captains, with no master sergeants mentioned. Kakkulatū, with a garrison of 900

¹⁰⁸¹ For an administrative document labeling him as a general, see P136392 / UET 3, 75. For his seal impression, see Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 352-353: E3/2.1.4.2010.

troops, had no officers listed, only the tax of the troops. Therefore these variations are all subsumed under the label **gun₂ ma-da**.

Steinkeller notes that the term **gun₂ ma-da** is relatively rare due to the fact that it was not used prior to Šu-Suen's third year and that this impost was designated via other terminology prior to this time, though he does not elaborate on the variant designations.¹⁰⁸² In order to determine the variation in form of different **gun₂ ma-da** texts, we will examine, in tabular form, all the texts that bear that designation:

Table 41: Texts Specifically Labeled gun₂ ma-da

Text/Date	Settlement	Livestock		Personnel			Overseer ¹⁰⁸³ (ugula)
		Cattle	Sheep	nu-banda ₃	ugula- ĝeš ₂	eren ₂	
P128642 11/13/ŠS03	Der	1	10	za-li-a (<i>lu₂ Der</i>)			nir-i ₃ -da-ĝal ₂
		---	---		---		
		---	---			---	
P127555 3/25/ŠS07	Puttulum	---	10	šar-ru-um-ba-ni			ib-ni- ^d šul-gi
		---	---		---		
		---	80			eren ₂	
P107439* 8/13/ŠS07	Urbilum	30	240	u ₂ -na-ap-a-tal			u ₂ -na-ap-a-tal
		1	1	šar-ra-a			
		1	1	da-še			
		1	1	gi-ib-la-ta [?] -gu ₂ [?]			
		1	1	ḫa-na-am			
		1	1	e [?] -ni- [...]			
		1	1	(<i>about 11</i>			
		[...]	[...]	<i>lines missing</i>)			
		[...]	[...]	a-da-[x]			
		---	---		---		
		70	---			eren ₂	
	Šetirša	1	---	ta ₂ -ḫi-še-en			arad ₂ -ĝu ₁₀
		---	---		---		
		4	---			eren ₂	
P101339 11/02/ŠS07	Azaman	6	80	tab ₄ -ba-an-da-ra-aḫ			ši-lu-uš- ^d da-gan
		1	10	te-šup-še-la-aḫ			
		1	10	ad-du dam-a-ni			
		1	10	u ₃ -zi (<i>lu₂ Azaman</i>)			
		---	---		---		
		---	---			---	

¹⁰⁸² Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State," 30-31.

¹⁰⁸³ Some texts, such as P107439, label the overseers as **ĝiri₃** rather than **ugula**.

P104420 9/13/ŠS06 or ŠS08	Šu-Suen-idug	[...] [...]	[...] [...]	^d nanna-igi-du [...]			^d nanna-igi-du
		---	---		---		
		[...]	[33+]			eren ₂	
	Daltum	1 ---	10 5	lugal-ezem i-šar-li-bi (<i>lu₂ Daltum.meš</i>)			ta ₂ -ḫi-iš-a-tal
		---	---		---		
		---	---			---	
P115612 --/--/ŠS--	Imun	[8]	[220]	wa-zum- ^d šul-gi			wa-zum- ^d šul-gi
		---	---		---		
		4	180			eren ₂	
P108667 4/29/IS02	Išim-Šulgi	10	100	ši-lu-uš- ^d da-gan			ši-lu-uš- ^d da-gan
		1	10	i ₃ -li ₂ -TAB.BA			
		2	20	[...]-a			
		1	10	puzur ₄ -a-bi-iḫ			
		1	10	^d šul-gi-i ₃ -li ₂			
		1	10	i ₃ -li ₂ -ši ₂ -li ₂			
		1	10	nu-ur ₂ - ^d IŠKUR			
		1	10	a-gu-a-li ₂			
		1	10	za-ri ₂ -iq			
		1	10	za-a-num ₂			
		1	10	i ₃ -li ₂ -TAB.BA			
		2	20	igi-ḫa-lum			
		---	---		---		
		17	170			eren ₂	
	Šami	2	20	lu ₂ - ^d nanna Zimudar			lu ₂ - ^d nanna <i>Zimudar</i>
		1	10	DI.KU ₅ -i ₃ -li ₂			
		1	10	puzur ₄ -ḫa-ia ₃			
		1	10	i-ku-mi-šar			
		1	10		20-me-eš ₂		
		4	40			eren ₂	
	Ibbal	2	20	lu ₂ - ^d nin-šubur			lu ₂ - ^d nanna <i>Zimudar</i>
		---	---		---		
		3	30			eren ₂	
	Abibana	2	20	a-ḫu-ni			A-ḫu-ni <i>dumu Iribum</i>
		1	10	nu-ur ₂ -eš ₄ -tar ₂			
		---	---		---		
		4	40			eren ₂	
	Puḫzigar	1	10	na-bi ₂ - ^d suen			A-ḫu-ni <i>dumu Iribum</i>
		---	---		---		
		1	10			eren ₂	
	Kakkulatam	---	---	---			A-ḫu-ni <i>dumu Iribum</i>
		---	---		---		
		3	30			eren ₂	
	Maškan-ušuri	2	20	amar-ma-ma			kur-bi-la-ak
		---	---		---		
		1	10			eren ₂	
	Putšadar	2	20	ḫu-um-zum			ḫu-um-zum
		1	10	za-a-num ₂			
		1	10	AN-[...]			
		1	10	ar-ši-aḫ			
		1	10		20-me-eš ₂		
		4	40			ensi ₂	

	Kišgati	2	20	ši-lu-uš- ^d šul-gi			ši-lu-uš- ^d šul-gi
		1	10	šu-ma-ma			
		1	10	dam-qum			
		---	---		---		
		8	80				
	Tutub	2	20	lu ₂ - ^d nanna			lu ₂ - ^d nanna <i>Maškan-abi</i>
		1	10	ša-lim-a-ḫu-um			
		1	10	bar-ra			
		1	10	la-qi ₂ -ip			
		---	---		---		
		6	60				
	Maškan-abi	---	---	---			lu ₂ - ^d nanna <i>Maškan-abi</i>
		---	---		---		
		8	80				

We see that **gun₂ ma-da** texts can range from as little as the obligation of one captain from one settlement (P127555) to as large as the troops and officers of eleven settlements (P108667 / CT 32, 19). The size of the troop contingent at a site does not seem to determine whether the tax of the master sergeants is listed. The most common ratio of oxen to sheep is one to ten, though other ratios occur as well and both categories of livestock are not always listed in a single delivery. A person can be designated as an overseer (**ugula**) of a settlement being taxed without being listed as one of the taxed individuals themselves. Therefore an examination of the seven texts explicitly notated as **gun₂ ma-da** shows that there is a range of data that can be included or excluded. To my knowledge, Steinkeller's position that the **gun₂ ma-da** was a duty paid by military personnel living in the peripheral territories¹⁰⁸⁴ has not been contested, yet his opinion that earlier texts simply labeled as **gun₂**, or without any designation at all, were related to the **gun₂ ma-da**¹⁰⁸⁵ has been questioned.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State," 31.

¹⁰⁸⁵ Ibid, 31.

Tohru Maeda questioned whether **gun₂** can stand for **gun₂ ma-da**, whether all deliveries by soldiers from peripheral regions were equivalent to the **gun₂ ma-da**, and whether all the overseers were generals sent by Ur.¹⁰⁸⁶ Regarding the first question, Maeda stated that **gun₂ ma-da** was a new category of obligation that did not exist prior to Šu-Suen's third year and that it should be seen as distinct from **gun₂**.¹⁰⁸⁷ While acknowledging that **gun₂(-na)** was occasionally used as an abridged form of **gun₂ ma-da**, he lists characteristics that can be used to separate the two, in which **gun₂** was: 1) not limited to cattle, 2) delivered from larger political units than the settlements characterized as paying the **gun₂ ma-da**, 3) delivered from or under the responsibility of native rulers and 4) used alongside **gun₂ ma-da** after Šu-Suen's third year.¹⁰⁸⁸ This led him to the conclusion that, with the exception of a few cases, **gun₂** and **gun₂ ma-da** were entirely different duties, the former having been tribute brought by rulers from distant regions and the latter having been a tax on troops stationed to the east of the Tigris, though not in the region of Khuzistan.¹⁰⁸⁹

A problem with Maeda's position is that it accounts for neither the polyvalency of individual words nor the practice of using different terms or phrases to refer to the same entity, both features characteristic to Sumerian.¹⁰⁹⁰ Therefore a few examples will be provided to show a range terms and phrases used to refer to this peripheral tax on garrison settlements. The first two examples, dealing with the settlements Išim-Šulgi and Puttulum, show that the phrase **gun₂ ma-da** can be completely absent in peripheral tax

¹⁰⁸⁶ Tohru Maeda, "The Defense Zone during the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty," *ASJ* 14 (1992): 135-138.

¹⁰⁸⁷ Though he does acknowledge that CT 32, 19 lists the **gun₂ ma-da**-tax of the previous year as simply **gun₂** while the tax of the current year that the document was drafted was designated as **gun₂ ma-da**.

¹⁰⁸⁸ Maeda, "The Defense Zone during the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty," 140.

¹⁰⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, 143.

¹⁰⁹⁰ Regarding the former, Michalowski ("Foreign Tribute to Sumer during the Ur III Period," 44-46) noted a while ago that **gun₂** was used to refer to the peripheral tax, tribute and, perhaps, audience gifts and suggested that the difference between **gun₂** and **gun₂ ma-da** in the archival corpus was that the former was used in texts that recorded the peripheral taxes of single settlements while the latter recorded the taxes of multiple settlements. The Akkadian equivalent of the term, *biltum*, with its basic semantic concept of "load," was used to refer to crop yield, taxes, rent, and tribute; CAD vol. 2, 229ff. Regarding the latter, an example would be "to do, perform" which can be represented in Sumerian by the verbs **ak**, **du₃** and **dug₄**, all of which can be rendered by the Akkadian word *epēšum*.

documents with solely the phrase **eren₂ GN** present, or both **eren₂** and **gun₂ ma-da** replaced by **ša₃** “(from) within GN”:

Table 42: Variant Tax Designations: Išim-Šulgi

Text 1: P129420 / SET 10 9/11/AS05			Text 2: P109321 / Nisaba 30, 46 3/13/AS08			Text 3: P108667 / CT 32, 19 4/29/IS02		
Cattle	Sheep	Officers	Cattle	Sheep	Officers	Cattle	Sheep	Officers
10	100	nu-i ₃ -da	---	---	---	10	100	ši-lu-uš- ^d da-gan
2	20	^d nanše				2	20	[...]-a
1	10	šu-er ₃ -ra				2	20	IGI-ḫa-lum
1	10	u-bar				1	10	i ₃ -li ₂ - TAB.BA
1	10	za-ri ₂ -iq				1	10	puzur ₄ -a-bi-iḫ
1	10	i-pi ₂ -iq- DINGIR				1	10	^d šul-gi-i ₃ -li ₂
1	10	kuš-anše-kuš-anše				1	10	i ₃ -li ₂ -ši ₂ -li ₂
1	10	i-mi-id ₂ - DINGIR				1	10	nu-ur ₂ - ^d IŠKUR
						1	10	a-gu-a-li ₂
						1	10	za-ri ₂ -iq
						1	10	za-a-num ₂
						1	10	i ₃ -li ₂ - TAB.BA
17	140	ša ₃	17	---	eren ₂	17	170	eren ₂ gun ₂ ma-da
ugula: nu-i ₃ -da			ugula: nu-i ₃ -da			ugula: ši-lu-uš- ^d da-gan		

Table 43: Variant Tax Designations: Puttulum

Text 4: P103588 / AUCT 1, 743 9/19/Š48			Text 5: P109321 / Nisaba 30, 46 3/13/AS08			Text 6: P127555 / RA 9, 54 3/25/ŠS07		
Cattle	Sheep	Officers	Cattle	Sheep	Officers	Cattle	Sheep	Officers
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	10	šar-ru-um-ba-ni
12	---	ša ₃	8	---	eren ₂	---	80	eren ₂ gun ₂ ma-da
---			ugula: ḫu-ba-a			ugula: ib-ni- ^d šul-gi		

Regarding Išim-Šulgi, we see that texts 1 and 3 have nearly the exact same format with the commander of the garrison (**ugula**) taxed 10 cattle and 100 sheep with various

captains (**nu-banda₃**) taxed at a fifth or a tenth of the commander. The number of cattle owed by the troops is the same, though the number of sheep is slightly different with text 1 having less sheep than the standard ratio of one ox and ten sheep per three hundred troops. As shown above, variations in tax ratios do occur in texts explicitly labeled as **gun₂ ma-da** and therefore do not present a problem. Text 1 has **ša₃** (“from within”) in the place of **eren₂** in Text 3 (and Text 2) and can therefore be considered a variant of **eren₂** in peripheral tax documents. Text 2 varies from Text 3 in that it does not list taxes from the officer cadre, but only taxes from the troops (**eren₂**). The fact that the commander (Nuida) is the same in Texts 1 and 2 and that the tax amount in cattle for the troops is seventeen animals in all three texts demonstrates that they are variant forms of tax records for this garrison settlement. Texts concerning Puttulum exhibit the same variants of **ša₃**, **eren₂** and **eren₂ gun₂ ma-da**.

A couple of other examples will show that **gun₂** is included in the variants:

Table 44: Variant Tax Designations: Za(t)tum

Text 1: P116225 / MVN 11, 212, 8/--/Š43			Text 2: P112104 / AUCT 3, 484 5/08/AS08			Text 3: P131108 / TAD 66 --/--/ŠS09		
Cattle	Sheep	Officers	Cattle	Sheep	Officers	Cattle	Sheep	Officers
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
14	---	eren₂	10	---	eren₂	10	---	gun₂
ugula: ---			ugula: šeš-kal-la			ugula: šeš-kal-la		

Table 45: Variant Tax Designations: Tiran

Text 4: P105945 / BIN 3, 139 8/13/AS07			Text 5: P131096 / TAD 54 --/--/----			Text 6: P330685 / TCICA 33 --/--/----		
Cattle	Sheep	Officers	Cattle	Sheep	Officers	Cattle	Sheep	Officers
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
1	18	eren₂	1	18	gun₂	1	18	eren₂
ugula: ---			ugula: šar-ru-um-ba-ni			ugula: šar-ru-um-ba-ni		

Both of these settlements refer to the taxes of the troops (**eren₂**) while omitting the taxes of the officer cadre, and both use **gun₂** instead of **eren₂** on one occasion each (Texts 3 and 5). As Maeda has acknowledged, these examples show that **gun₂ ma-da** can be abridged to **gun₂**, especially in cases when the assessed taxes had not been delivered to Puzriš-Dagan (**nu-mu-de₆**).¹⁰⁹¹ However, in the case of AdamDUN he assumes that since the **ensi₂** of the city had a foreign name (Uba'a) and there are no explicit **gun₂ ma-da** texts attested for the city (and the whole of Khuzistan), it must have been an unincorporated vassal state (along with the other Khuzistan polities) that exercised considerable independence from the kingdom of Ur, though owing tribute.¹⁰⁹² A couple of points argue against this interpretation. The first is that the name of a person cannot automatically ascertain whether or not they were part of the Ur III ruling class or an independent ruler. Steinkeller had already pointed out that many within the military organization of the Ur III state who were subject to the king and oversaw royal settlements within the provincial region of Sumer and Akkad bore foreign names. Second, the governor of AdamDUN prior to Uba'a was Ur-gigir, who bore a common Sumerian name. Therefore we would have to devise a scenario in which the control of AdamDUN passed from the status of incorporated territory administered by an appointed governor to an independent state ruled by a native king precisely at a time when Ur III territorial acquisitions were at their peak.¹⁰⁹³ All the polities known to have been located

¹⁰⁹¹ Maeda, "The Defense Zone during the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty," 139-140.

¹⁰⁹² Ibid, 142, 148-149.

¹⁰⁹³ In the time of Ur-gigir, AdamDUN was already sending livestock (or at least their products) to Babylonia, as suggested by P128113 / Rochester 8 (6/--/Š33) which mentions the receipt of 10 talents of wool from the sheep of AdamDUN. 10 talents of wool would have been produced by a flock numbering roughly 330 animals, based on a ratio of 1.8 minas of wool per sheep; Marek Stepień, *Animal Husbandry in the Ancient Near East: A Prosopographic Study of Third-Millennium Umma* (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1996): 46.

within Khuzistan, with the exception of 𒂍𒌷𒎶𒌷, were incorporated into the Ur III state and this region seems to have been a mustering point and staging area for campaigns.¹⁰⁹⁴

Below are examples of variant tax designations for AdamDUN and, for comparison,

𒂍𒌷𒎶𒌷:

Table 46: Variant Tax Designations: AdamDUN

Text 1: P100971 / OIP 115, 182 12/06/Š45			Text 2: P122166 / Nik 2, 483 8/--/Š46			Text 3: P142571 / ZA 68, 42 9/30/Š47		
Cattle	Sheep	Officers	Cattle	Sheep	Officers	Cattle	Sheep	Officers
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
[...]	1680	eren₂	---	6190	šu-gid₂	7200	1618	gun₂
ugula: u ₁₈ -ba-a			ki u ₁₉ -ba-a ensi₂ GN-ta			ki u ₁₈ -ba-a-ta		

Table 47: Variant Tax Designations: 𒂍𒌷𒎶𒌷

Text 4: P111921 / JCS 14, 109 4/--/AS07			Text 5: P112104 / AUCT 3, 484 5/08/AS08			Text 6: P134742 / TSDU 74 5/16/ŠS08		
Cattle	Sheep	Officers	Cattle	Sheep	Officers	Cattle	Sheep	Officers
---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
30	1141	šu-gid₂ gud udu	[...]	---	eren₂	---	234	šu-gid₂ udu
ki ur- ^d iškur ensi₂ GN-ta			ġiri₃ ur- ^d iškur ugula: i ₃ -la-lum			---		

Text 1 shows the standard **gun₂ ma-da** format in which animals taxed from the **eren₂** are listed followed by the commander of the settlement (**ugula**). Text 2 replaces **šu-gid₂** “selection” for **eren₂** and instead of listing Uba’a as the commander it designates him as the governor of AdamDUN and notes the animals as coming from him (**ki...-ta**). Text 3 has a further variant, with **gun₂** “tax” in place of **eren₂** or **šu-gid₂** and notes that the

¹⁰⁹⁴ Piotr Michalowski, “Observations on ‘Elamites’ and ‘Elam’ in Ur III Times,” in *On the Third Dynasty of Ur: Studies in Honor of Marcel Sigrist*, JCS SS1, ed. by Piotr Michalowski (Boston: American Schools of Oriental Research, 2008): 120-121. For greater detail on the region of Khuzistan, see the section of Khuzistan polities in Chapter 4.

shipment came from Uba'a, but does not provide any designation for him. Text 2 has two related documents that record the destination of part of the **šu-gid₂** delivery consisting of animals that had died (**ba-ug₇**) and which utilized different terminology from Text 2. One document (P125455 / PDT 39) lists 384 sheep skins and carcasses (**kuš/ad₆ udu**) that were brought into storerooms “(from) within the sheep of AdamDUN” (**ša₃ udu a-dam-DUN^{ki}**). Therefore instead of **ša₃ šu-gid₂** “(from) within the selection” we have instead **ša₃ udu** “(from) within the sheep” although both texts refer to the same livestock shipment. The other document (P135041 / TRU 277) provides more information than the first by itemizing the animals by species and gender and replacing **ša₃ udu a-dam-DUN^{ki}** with **udu a-dam-DUN^{ki} ki u₁₈-ba-a-ta** “sheep of AdamDUN from Uba'a.”¹⁰⁹⁵ Thus we see three variant ways of referring to the same shipment and therefore the different terminology utilized with livestock taxes originating from outside of Babylonia are not necessarily indicative of separate types of duties required by the kingdom of Ur.

Livestock shipments from Ḫamazi also used **šu-gid₂** in place of **eren₂**, though unlike AdamDUN the documents include the full phrase: “a selection of the (oxen and) sheep of Ḫamazi” (**šu-gid₂ gud udu ḫa-ma-zī^{ki}** - Texts 4 and 6). The city, or territory, of Ḫamazi is an interesting entity which played an important role in the geopolitics of Mesopotamia in the third millennium. One of the few political entities outside of the

¹⁰⁹⁵ Note that these texts use **udu** “sheep” as a blanket-term meaning small livestock (*kleinvieh*) under which fall a variety of caprid and ovid species, of various genders and ages; this further highlights the tendency in Sumerian administrative practice to subsume numerous specific categories under a more general category. Another example is found in labor documents, in which young men (**ĝuruš**) who worked in occupations typically dominated by females were tallied with the women under the general rubric of **geme₂** “young woman”; Wolfgang Heimpel, *Workers and Construction Work at Garšana*, CUSAS 5 (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2009): 47. There is no reason to assume that the various designations for these peripheral taxes are not merely terms highlighting different aspects of the same impost.

homeland (**kalam**) that was mentioned in the Sumerian King List as exercising kingship over Sumer,¹⁰⁹⁶ it was within the diplomatic sphere of the kingdom of Ebla¹⁰⁹⁷ and is attested in Sargonic documents from Gasur (Nuzi) and Tell Suleimeh (Awal).¹⁰⁹⁸ Ḫamazi, most recently reviewed by Michalowski,¹⁰⁹⁹ is to be located east of the Tigris, though a more precise location cannot be confidently asserted. It has been suggested that it was located in the region of Kirkuk (Arrapha) and Sulaimaniyah, along the Lower Zab, north of Aššur, and south of the Lower Zab in the vicinity of Gasur (Yorghana Tepe).¹¹⁰⁰ This toponym is attested twenty times in the Ur III administrative corpus.¹¹⁰¹ Though not mentioned in the year names or royal inscriptions of the kings of Ur, nor in any administrative texts which reference plunder (**nam-ra-ak**), Ḫamazi nevertheless came under the authority of the Ur III dynasty.

There are six documents which mention the bride of Ur-Iškur, the governor (**ensi2**) of Ḫamazi, one of which refers to her by name, Tabur-ḫaṭṭum. She is thought to have been a royal daughter of one of the Ur III kings.¹¹⁰² The union between Tabur-ḫaṭṭum and the governor of Ḫamazi seems to have occurred in the last regnal year of Amar-Suen, when we have a handful of documents, dating from the fifteenth to the nineteenth days of the eleventh month, in which animals were provided for her (and her

¹⁰⁹⁶ Lines 177-184 in the composite text in the *Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*; ETCSL 2.1.1.

¹⁰⁹⁷ Maria Giovanna Biga, "The Geographical Scope of Ebla: Commerce and Wars. Some Remarks," in *History and Philology*, ARCANÉ III, eds. Walther Sallaberger and Ingo Schrakamp (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015): 181.

¹⁰⁹⁸ Schrakamp, "Geographical Horizons in Presargonic and Sargonic Archives," 231.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 233-234 (Appendix D).

¹¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 233-234.

¹¹⁰¹ All attestations come from Puzriš-Dagan. It is never mentioned in messenger texts.

¹¹⁰² Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 337 and Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, 28. Neither of the two occurrences of her name is qualified by **dumu-munus lugal**, but her marriage to a peripheral ruling is in standing with the diplomatic practices of the kings of Ur.

entourage's) arrival at Puzriš-Dagan, her nuptial feast, and her sustenance for a couple days after the ceremony.¹¹⁰³ She apparently made trips back to the homeland where she received in Nippur a bronze cauldron as a gift at the end of Šu-Suen's second year.¹¹⁰⁴ She also received livestock when she returned to Ḥamazi at the end of Šu-Suen's seventh year:

P125870 / PDT 1, 454 (obv. lines 1-5):

**10 udu u₂ / 10 maš₂-gal u₂ / ta₂-bur-ḥat-tum e₂-gi₄-a ur-^diškur / ud ḥa-
ma-zi^{ki}-še₃ i-ḡen-na-a / ma₂-a ba-na-a-gub**

“10 grass-fed sheep (and) 10 grass-fed billy-goats stationed in the boat
(for) Tabur-ḥaṭṭum, the bride of Ur-Iškur, when she went to Ḥamazi”

Other than the records of livestock being delivered from Ḥamazi to Puzriš-Dagan and the references to Ur-Iškur's wife, there is very little else known about Ḥamazi and its relationship to the kingdom of Ur. There are two texts dating to Amar-Suen's first regnal year that mention the delivery of equid-hybrids (^{anše}**kunga₂**) from Lu-Nanna, the son of a governor of Ḥamazi who ruled prior to Ur-Iškur's elevation to the post.¹¹⁰⁵ The delivery of **kunga₂**-equids was characteristic in this period of settlements along the Diyala and in the frontier region.¹¹⁰⁶

¹¹⁰³ The relevant texts are: P104315 / AUCT 3, 84; P106188 / BIN 3, 382; P124573 / Ontario 1, 160; P100215 / Torino 1, 261. On the nuptial feast (**siškur₂ nu₂ gub-ba**), see M. Such-Gutiérrez, “Brauchtum in der Ur-III Zeit (I): “sizkur₂-^{giš}nu₂”, “Riten (des) Betes”, ein neuer Ritus bei der Eheschliessung,” *Iberia* 1 (1998): 197-206.

¹¹⁰⁴ P134760 / TSDU 41.

¹¹⁰⁵ P103643 / AUCT 1, 798 and P113777 / MVN 3, 217. It is possible that this Lu-Nanna is the same person as Lu-Nanna the general of Zimudar or Lu-Nanna the general of Maškan-abi. Michalowski (*The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 146) notes that there may have been two or more generals by this name and that pinpointing specific individuals is difficult. He (ibid, 196) seems to suggest that Lu-Nanna was the governor of Ḥamazi, though the governor may have been his father, Namḥani.

¹¹⁰⁶ Michalowski, “Of Bears and Men,” 304.

Ḥamazi seems to have paid the **gun₂ ma-da** duty. Though this term does not occur in the livestock deliveries mentioning Ḥamazi, the format of the deliveries suggests that they belong to this category. Noting the general vicinity of Ḥamazi, a suggestion that it was not a part of the garrison system incorporated into the kingdom of Ur would be difficult to argue. It would have been surrounded by garrison settlements, with Urbilum to the north, Aššur to the west, the Diyala settlements to the south and Arraphum as a close neighbor. What also needs to be taken into consideration is that the governors attested for the city bear traditional Babylonian names. Thus for Ḥamazi we have a city located well within the zone for incorporated garrison settlements governed by men with Babylonian names, one of whom was likely married to a royal daughter of the king of Ur and with one attestation of livestock taxed on troops under the authority of the general Ilalum.

To summarize, the above discussion has attempted to show that texts explicitly labeled as **gun₂ ma-da** exhibit a significant amount of variation among themselves and therefore we should not be surprised if peripheral tax documents without that exact label exhibit variation as well. Nevertheless, there are patterns and internal data in these texts that demonstrate a substantial variety of terms were utilized to refer to these peripheral tax records, and they can be labeled as **gun₂ ma-da**-type texts. Such terms include **gun₂ ma-da**, **gun₂**, **eren₂ GN**, **ša₃ GN**, **šu-gid₂** and **udu**. Some of these variations are simply the shorthand writing of fuller terms while others may be utilizing generic terms instead of specific designations and vice versa. Some of the terms may reflect different political and organizational realities, though at this point it is difficult to understand what they would be. It is becoming clearer that the provinces in Babylonia did not adhere to one

monolithic organizational model, exhibiting instead substantial idiosyncratic variations. Perhaps the peripheral territories should be viewed in such a light as well. Before we proceed to a discussion of the nature of these garrison settlements, it should be pointed out that though we have tax documents from dozens of these settlements, they have not appeared for every garrison settlement that existed in this period.

Some military outposts do not have any texts that record their tax deliveries, but we know of their military nature due other types of documents. One example is the royal settlement of Šulgi-Nanna located on the banks of the Diyala River; a grain receipt text mentions one Ur-Igalim receiving a grain donation from Lu-Nanna, the general of Zimudar, within Šulgi-Nanna on the banks of the Diyala.¹¹⁰⁷ The location outside of the provincial homeland and the name of the town, which utilizes a royal theophoric element, undoubtedly identify this town as a royal settlement. It was located with the other main administrative and military centers for this region (Ešnunna, Išim-Šulgi, and Zimudar) and certainly had the same or similar character to those settlements.¹¹⁰⁸ Another settlement is Šulgi-Utu, which had a governor (**ensi₂**) and, like Ešnunna, a livestock ranch that housed a large number of animals.¹¹⁰⁹

¹¹⁰⁷ P136392 / UET 3, 75 (1/--/ŠS01): **3(geš₂) še gur / a-ru-a lu₂-^dnanna / šakkan₆ zi-mu-dar^{ki} / ur-^dig-alim / šu-ba-ti / ša₃ ^dšul-gi-^dnanna / gu₂ ^{id₂}dur-ul₃.**

¹¹⁰⁸ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 103; Michalowski, *The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 136. A few other documents mention troops (**eren₂**) of Šulgi-Nanna (P139004 / UET 9, 874; P109930 / HLC 1, 52) as well as an “office of secretaries” (**e₂ sukkal**) and a royal barracks (**e₂ gi-na-ab-tum lugal**); P136687 / UET 3, 366 (/--/Š47). For Šulgi-Nanna, see F. Huber Vulliet, “Šulgi-Nanna,” *RIA* 13 (2012): 280.

¹¹⁰⁹ See Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 213-214: E3/2.1.2.2028 for the seal impression of Ur-Hendursag, the governor of Šulgi-Utu and P131567 / TCL 2, 4688 (5/--/AS06) for the livestock ranch: **2021 udu / 136 udu LU₂.SU / 813 maš₂-gal / e₂-udu niga-še₃ / ša₃ ^dšul-gi-^dutu^{ki} / ġrir₃ ^dnanna-kam sukkal / u₃ da-a-a-ti dub-sar / ki ab-ba-sa₆-ga-ta / a-ḥu-wa-qar / i₃-dab₅** “Aḥu-waqar took from Abbasaga 2012 sheep, 136 Šimaškian sheep (and) 813 billy-goats for the livestock ranch within Šulgi-Utu; via Nannakam the secretary and Dayyati the scribe.” Maeda (“The Defense Zone during the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty,” 151-152) noted that the ġiri₃-agents for the deliveries to the livestock ranch of Šulgi-Utu are the same as the ġiri₃-agents for the deliveries to the livestock ranch of Ešnunna, with both occurring in the same year; thus Šulgi-Nanna was likely situated in the vicinity of Ešnunna.

A prime example of a garrison settlement unattested in peripheral tax documents is the town of Nimzium, for which we have some receipts for animal carcasses sent to feed the troops stationed there:

1. P111901 (7/--/AS04 or AS09):

1235 ad₆ udu ħi-a / ki tu-ra-a-ta / eren₂-e šu ba-ti / ġiri₃ lu₂-^dnanna / ša₃ nim-zi₂-um^{ki} / itud ezem-^dšul-gi / mu en ^dnanna ba-ħuġ
 “1235 assorted sheep carcasses the troops received from Tura’a. Via Lu-Nanna. In Nimzium. *DATE*.”

2. P312516 / BPOA 7, 3022+23 (--/--/AS05):

1472 ad₆ udu / ki tu-ra-a šuš₃ / ik-šu-dum šakkan₆ / mu aga₃-us₂ / šu ba-an-ti ġiri₃ šu-eš₄-tar₂ / ša₃ nim-zi₂-um^{ki} / itud NI-ik-mu-um / mu en ^dinana unu-ga^{ki} ba-ħuġ
 “1472 sheep carcasses from Tura’a the equerry, Ikšudum the general received for the soldiers. Via Šu-Eštar. In Nimzium. *DATE*.”

3. P293351 / BPOA 6, 906 (7/--/AS06):

600 ad₆ udu / mu aga₃-us₂-e-ne / ugula du-uk-ra / ki tu-ra-a / ħu-um-zum / šu ba-ti / ġiri₃ šu-eš₄-tar₂ / dumu e₂-a-ra-bi₂ / ša₃ nim-zi-um^{ki} / itud ezem-^dšul-gi / mu ša-aš-ru^{ki} ba-ħulu
 “600 sheep carcasses for the soldiers, the overseer is Dukra, Humzum received from Tura’a. Via Šu-Eštar the son of Ea-rabi. In Nimzium. *DATE*.”

If we apply the ratio of one sheep feeding forty soldiers, this leads to 49,400, 58,880 and 24,000 soldiers, though there is nothing, in these instances, to suggest that the sheep were consumed in one setting. Nevertheless, with the sheep already designated as carcasses there was a limited amount of time to consume them before spoiling and therefore we are still dealing with thousands of soldiers. Interestingly, we have a related text in Akkadian:

4. P111902 (--/--/----):¹¹¹⁰

¹¹¹⁰ Normalized: 554 *pagrī immerī ištu Tura’a nāqidim IIsu-rabi laputtūm ša ZABAR.DAB₅ IIm-banī laputtūm ša Lamassum ilqū maššarti Nemzim ana šābim*

554 AD₆ UDU.ĜI.A / KI *tu-ra-a* NA.GADA / DINGIR-*su-ra-bi*₂
 NU.BANDA₃ / *ša* ZABAR.DAB₅ / DINGIR-*ba-ni* / NU.BANDA₃ / *ša*
^dLAMMA-*sum* / ŠU.BA.TI / *ma-ša-ar-ti* / *ne-em-zi-im* / *a-na ša-bi*_{2-im}
 “554 sheep carcasses IIsu-rabi the captain of the **zabardab** (and)
 IIsu-bani the captain of Lamassum received from Tura’a the herd
 manager. The guard of Nemzum, for the troops.”

It is the last three lines of the text that are the most interesting: *maššarti Nemzim ana šābim* “the guard/garrison of Nemzum, for the troops.” Sumerian does not contain a word that specifically means “garrison” and this text directly equates the Akkadian word *maššartum*, and by extension its Sumerian equivalent **ennu**(Ĝ), with the meaning of “garrison”. The Sumerian word **ennu**(Ĝ) is generally used to denote a watch or guard, but is also used to refer to a prison.¹¹¹¹ The basic meaning of the term refers to the guarding of places or things, whether forts, palaces or people detained for crimes. The number of guards, specifically labeled **lu₂ en-nu-Ĝa₂**, is generally limited, certainly never numbering hundreds or thousands of troops.¹¹¹² The Akkadian word *maššartum* has these connotations, but was also one of the primary terms for “garrison” from the Old Akkadian period down into the first millennium.¹¹¹³ There were a few other terms used as well. In the Old Babylonian period, as well as in a few first millennium instances, another term was *ša/šāb birtim* “the one/troops of the fort,”¹¹¹⁴ and the primary first millennium term for “garrison” that we encounter in Standard Babylonian texts such as the royal inscriptions of the Neo-Assyrian kings is *šūlūtu*.¹¹¹⁵

¹¹¹¹ Civil, “On Mesopotamian Jails and their Lady Warrens,” 75. He states that the meaning of “prison” is the most common use of the term in Ur III administrative documents.

¹¹¹² Note how the personnel of the *maššarti Nemzim* are called “troops” (*šābum*) rather than “guards” (*ša maššartī*).

¹¹¹³ In the first millennium this occurs primarily in letters.

¹¹¹⁴ CAD vol. 2, 262.

¹¹¹⁵ Another possible Neo-Assyrian term for “garrison” is *ullūtu*, though the dictionaries (CDA 421; CAD vol. 20, 85 suggests “levy”) seem uncertain. Both terms derive from *elū* “to go out”.

Therefore while the Sumerian documents do not characterize the **eren₂** or **aga₃-us₂** of Nimzium, the Akkadian text describes them as the garrison. Yet guarding the town and the surrounding countryside might not have been the sole purpose of the garrison at Nimzium. The large number of troops, corresponding to the large numbers of animal carcasses for them, along with the different military officers occurring in each text, may suggest that this was a staging point for campaigns as well. Note that the month name of the second text (P312516) is not attested elsewhere in Ur III documents and its unorthodox use of Sumerian suggest that it was written outside of the core provinces.¹¹¹⁶ Text 3 mentions **Humzum** as recipient of the carcasses for the soldiers; the name **Humzum** is only attested three other times, twice in the **gun₂ ma-da** text P108667 / CT 32, 19, which lists him as the senior captain and overseer of the troops of Putšadar. Therefore he is probably the same person, and this perhaps suggests a Diyala location for Nimzium.¹¹¹⁷ It may have also been located in the vicinity of Karahar, since Text 3 also mentions the **ġiri₃**-agent as being Šu-Eštar the son/subordinate of Ea-rabi, undoubtedly

¹¹¹⁶ The unorthodox Sumerian features are:

- 1) word order - the beneficiaries of the delivery (**aga₃-us₂**) come after the person from whom the animals originated as well as the one who received them and the beneficiary phrase splits the subject of the verb (Ikšudum) from the verb itself (**šu ba-an-ti**):
 normal word order: commodity - beneficiary - exporter - recipient - verb - additional information - date
 this text's word order: commodity - exporter - recipient - beneficiary - verb - additional information - date
- 2): the substantially laconic nature of the writing:
 obv. line 2: **ki tu-ra-a šuš₃** instead of **ki tu-ra-a šuš₃-ta**
 obv. line 4: **mu aga₃-us₂** instead of **mu aga₃-us₂-e-ne-še₃**
- 3): incorrect sign order:
 rev. line 4: **unug-ga^{ki}** instead of **unug^{ki}-ga**

The occurrence of a text in Akkadian may also suggest that the text was produced outside of the provinces that tended to use Sumerian for their administrative purposes.

¹¹¹⁷ The text CT 32, 19 lists places such as Išim-Šulgi and Tutub (Khafaje), and mentions Lu-Nanna of Zimudar, thus providing a high probability that the locations in that texts are in the region of the Diyala, and therefore the connection of Humzum with Nimzium could suggest a location for the settlement in the vicinity of the Diyala as well. The one other text mentioning a Humzum comes from Iri-Saġrig and labels him as a pig keeper (**sipad šah₂**). All references to Humzum date from AS06 to IS02.

referring to the captain (**nu-banda₃**) of Karaḥar whose father/superior was the governor of Karaḥar. In Text 2, the general receiving the animals has his seal impression upon the tablet and this designates him as the general of Kiš. Therefore we have the general of Kiš receiving meat for the troops within Nimzium, the meat being delivered by an officer of Karaḥar. This demonstrates interaction between a provincial general and a peripheral officer at a royal settlement that may have been a staging point for campaigns in the upper Diyala, Transtigridian and Zagros regions.

Other garrison sites are only marked by features of royal settlements that were characteristic of both intra-provincial towns and the royal settlements stationed as garrisons in the periphery. These included town elders (**ab-ba**) and military liaisons (**ḥa-za-num₂**) subordinate to a military hierarchy of generals (**šakkan₆**) and captains (**nu-banda₃**).¹¹¹⁸ The table below lists peripheral towns in which some or all of these features are attested:¹¹¹⁹

Only Elders (ab-ba) Attested	Only Military Liaisons (ḥa-za-num ₂) Attested	Both Elders and Liaisons Attested
Bidadun Garnene Išim-Šu-Suen Maškan-kallatum Tablala Tašil	Aššur Awal Ešnunna Išim-Šulgi Maškan-šarrum Puttulum Terga	Tutub

Tutub is a prime example of the character of these royal settlements in the periphery.

Under the command of various generals and a cadre of captains, it had multiple elders

¹¹¹⁸ Piotr Steinkeller, "On the Location of the Town GARšana," 375-376; Steinkeller, "Corvée Labor in Ur III Times," 351-353.

¹¹¹⁹ P330643 / AAICA1/4, 584; P115585 / MVN 8, 195; P102014 / ASJ 3, 68 no. 1; P104411 / AUCT 3, 188; P248907 / AAICAB 1/2, 395; P290500 / BPOA 7, 2350.

and military liaisons who delivered livestock taxes to the central authority. Some of these settlements, such as Išim-Šu-Suen and Maškan-kallatum, are only attested via their elders or military liaisons.

Below is a list of all the settlements that can be tentatively understood as having been incorporated into the garrison system of the Ur III kingdom. Most are attested as bringing livestock into the kingdom via the terms discussed above (**gun₂ ma-da**, **gun₂ GN**, **eren₂ GN**, **ša₃ GN**, **šu-gid₂**, and **udu GN**) and can be found in Appendix E along with their approximate troop estimations and commanding officers. Some of the tax documents only record the duties of various officers, city elders or military liaisons, thereby preventing an estimation of their troop strength due to the omission of the tax on the troops of those garrisons. Other texts only record expenditures from these tax deliveries subsequently to their arrival at Puzriš-Dagan and therefore are also not useful.¹¹²⁰

Table 48: Garrison Settlements attested in Text from Puzriš-Dagan

Abibana	Ebal	Kakkulatam	Pašime	Susa
AdamDUN	Eduru-Šulgi	Karahar	PI'il	Šu-Suen-idug
Agaz	Erut	Kimaš	Puḫzigar	Tablala
Arame	Ešnunna	Kišgati	Putšadar	Tabra
Arman	Gablaš	Kismar	Puttulium	Terga
Arraphum	Garnene	Lullubu	Rabi	Tiran
Aššur	Ḫabura	Maḫazum	Sabum	Tutub
Awal	Ḫarši	Marman	SallaNEwe	Urbilum
Azaman	Ḫamazi	Maškan-abi	Šami	Urguhalam
Babi	Ḫebilat	Maškan-gaeš	Šanidat	Urua
Balue	Ḫubium	Maškan-kallatum	Šešil	Wanum

¹¹²⁰ See Appendix E. These texts generally record small numbers of livestock and provide the designation **ša₃ mu-ku_x eren₂/aga₃-us₂/gun₂ GN** “(from) out of the delivery of the troops/soldiers/tax of GN.” These are distinct from the tax document that simply substitute **ša₃ GN** for **eren₂ GN**. They differ not only by number of livestock recorded, but by their designation as “expenditures” (**zi-ga** and **ba-zi**) instead of “deliveries” (**mu-ku_x**) which characterizes the tax documents.

Barman	Ḫubni	Maškan-šarrum	Šetirša	Ya'amiš
Bidadun	Ḫupum	Maškan-ušuri	Si'ummi	Zababa
Daltum	Ḫurti	Neber-Amar-Suen	Šu'aḫi	Zatum
Dašibiwe	Ibbal	Neberum	Šu'irḫum	Zibire
Dašil	Innaba	NI.darašwe	Šulgi-Nanna	Zimudar
Der	Išim-Šulgi	NI.ḪI	Šulgi-Utu	
Der-KI.ZI	Išim-Šu-Suen	Nimzium	Šunti	
Dur-Ebla	Išum	Ninua	Šumtium	
Durmaš	Išur	Nugar	Šurbu	

Here we have ninety-six garrison settlements that are attested in the periphery. It is understood that the **gun₂ ma-da** was an annual duty levied from the troops and officers of the garrisons.¹¹²¹ Assuming that most of these garrisons were established by the start of Amar-Suen's reign, we can calculate how many **gun₂ ma-da** texts should have existed from Amar-Suen's first year to Ibbi-Suen's second year, a twenty-year period. This amounts to over eighteen-hundred expected documents. We have less than one hundred and fifty, not even ten percent. The cases above in which there are garrison settlements for which we do not have any tax documents suggest that there are other royal settlements in the periphery that are simply unattested in our extant corpus.

The nature of these settlements is far from being clear or agreed upon.

Steinkeller, following Gelb, posited that the troops (**eren₂**) stationed in these peripheral settlements were Babylonian settlers or colonists.¹¹²² Thus in the case of references to livestock delivered from the troops of the far northern cities of Ḫabura and Nineveh, he understands the delivery as the **gun₂ ma-da** tax sent from military colonists settled at the conclusion of Šu-Suen's campaign against Simanum.¹¹²³ Maeda was of the opinion that

¹¹²¹ Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State," 35.

¹¹²² Gelb, "Prisoners of War in Early Mesopotamia," 85; Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State," 30-31.

¹¹²³ P105106 / BCT 1, 4. Steinkeller, "Tiš-atal's Visit to Nippur," 15.

this delivery was not **gun2 ma-da** and was simply the result of the military expedition¹¹²⁴ and Sallaberger further elaborated that it was not a regular tax but rather “a kind of tribute delivered at the very occasion of the presence of the army.”¹¹²⁵ So how are these peripheral settlements to be characterized? How are settlements such as Susa, Ešnunna and Išim-Šulgi to be characterized when they were subjected to both the **bala**-duty and the **gun2 ma-da** tax?¹¹²⁶ Why does Išim-Šulgi, for which we have multiple documents demonstrating a vast military presence and a royal settlement-type structure, have three governors (**ensi2**) at the same time?¹¹²⁷ What about cities that, according to year-names, were the objects of Mesopotamian campaigns and that were administered by governors (**ensi2**) with traditional Mesopotamian names, especially when there is no firm agreement as to whether or not these cities were incorporated into the Ur III state or to what degree and character that incorporation consisted of? What do we do with entities like Ḫamazi for which no hostile actions are attested in year-names, inscriptions or archival documents, but which were governed by an **ensi2** with a Sumerian name who sent massive amounts of livestock to Babylonia? The fact that these questions can be raised underscores the complexity of the settlement and garrison system in the peripheral regions and indicates that a monolithic view that assumes a highly standardized structure may not be correct. Answering the questions above is beyond the scope of this study, though perhaps the way forward may be to draw on comparative analysis to at least provide a framework that delineates various possibilities of how to conceptualize

¹¹²⁴ Maeda, “The Defense Zone during the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty,” 137.

¹¹²⁵ Sallaberger, “From Urban Culture to Nomadism,” 443-444 n. 128.

¹¹²⁶ Sharlach, *Provincial Taxation and the Ur III State*, 7.

¹¹²⁷ P128356 / RSO 9, 472 no. 368.

Mesopotamian presence and influence outside of the provincial homeland. Therefore a few examples of military incorporation and peripheral management will be examined.

Early imperial Rome can provide an example of provincial complexity.¹¹²⁸ The Roman provincial system, with provinces being “peripheral” territories outside of the Italian peninsula, was not monolithic. Rather, it was divided into two types of provinces, imperial and senatorial. Imperial provinces were under the control of the emperor, who appointed his own legates for the direct management of the provinces; they could hold their positions for a number of years, even decades. Senatorial provinces were generally governed by proconsuls who were appointed annually by lot; they reported to the Senate, though the emperor could intervene due to his *imperium maius*. In addition to this were provinces which did not fall under the category of imperial or senatorial, such as Egypt, which was under the emperor’s command via an equestrian prefect. Thus, both the imperial and senatorial provinces were governed by members of the Senate holding either praetorian or consular status while Egypt (and some minor provinces) was governed by a member of the Equestrian order. Stationed in the imperial provinces, which tended to lie in the frontier regions, were legionary garrisons. These garrisons consisted of legionnaires who were Roman citizens conscripted primarily from Italy in the west (though later also from southern Gaul and Spain, as they became more Romanized) and Asia Minor in the east. Only members of the Senate could command legions, and therefore a province that held a legionary garrison required a senatorial governor. Also stationed throughout the provinces were auxiliary garrisons. These garrisons were

¹¹²⁸ The following outline stems from Colin Wells, *The Roman Empire*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992): 123-151 and H. H. Scullard, *From the Gracchi to Nero: A History of Rome 133 BC to AD 68*, 5th ed. (New York: Routledge, 1982): 243-267.

characterized by being conscripted from the local population, who were not Roman citizens, but who could gain citizenship upon discharge of a full term of service. The status of a province could change; the province of Raetia, soon after it was conquered, was governed by a senator and contained a legionary garrison. Later, the legionary garrison left and was replaced by an auxiliary garrison headed by an equestrian prefect who seems to have been the senior centurion of the legion that had been stationed there and who had been given a new command over the auxiliary troops.

This example from imperial Rome has demonstrated a variety of possible administrative and military structures for the frontier regions. An example of greater propinquity, the Assyrian empire, can provide further nuances to the potential organization of regions outside of the homeland. The imperial project of first-millennium Assyria began as an expansion westward from the “Assyrian Triangle” (Aššur, Nineveh, Arbela) to reclaim territory controlled by the Middle Assyrian kings and later, under the Sargonids, to new acquisitions to the west, north and east of Assyria. This territorial expansion distinguished between the land of Aššur and the yoke of Aššur; the former referring to regions considered as Assyria proper and the latter referring to vassal kingdoms.¹¹²⁹ The land of Aššur consisted of the region of the Assyrian triangle and territories of the Habur. This territory was administered by a provincial system in which members of the old families of Aššur were installed as governors and a fixed rota of offerings of food items for the temple of Aššur was established.¹¹³⁰ The yoke of Aššur was borne by vassal kingdoms that paid tribute in valuables, metals and livestock to the king. Formal agreements about obligations and oaths were conducted between the

¹¹²⁹ J. N. Postgate, “The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur,” *WA* 23 (1992): 247-255.

¹¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, 251-252.

Assyrian king and local rulers and puppet kings who, as long as obligations were met, ruled their own territories with minimal interference from Assyria. One of the main obligations for vassals was the delivery of a fixed amount of tribute; polities in transitional or anomalous cases had both tribute and corvée imposed upon them.¹¹³¹ The Assyrian approach regarding the integration of conquered regions certainly changed diachronically. Tiglath-pileser I mentions both tribute and corvée, though the relationship seems to have been one of vassalage and not annexation, and Aššurnasirpal II's inscriptions mention supervisors appointed over corvée laborers, perhaps suggesting a "supervised client state."¹¹³² Beginning with Tiglath-pileser III, annexation of territories outside of the land of Aššur became standard practice and regions that earlier had local rulers governing their cities on a semi-independent basis were now governed by an Assyrian provincial governor appointed by the king.¹¹³³ During the reign of the Sargonids, regions under assault from Assyria underwent a series of phases stereotyped in royal inscriptions: conquest, administrative assimilation, renovation of cities and buildings, repopulation and the appointment of a governor.¹¹³⁴

Foreign elements entered into the Assyrian military through multiple avenues: as hired mercenaries, allied troops, soldiers taken as plunder, and troops conscripted from the corvée obligations of vassal territories.¹¹³⁵ There often is uncertainty regarding the

¹¹³¹ Ibid, 252-257. The transitional period was the interval between "the swearing of the first oath of submission and the definitive annexation of a territory, and it can last for a century or more"; Mario Liverani, *Assyria: The Imperial Mission*, MesCiv 21 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2017): 188.

¹¹³² Postgate, "The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur," 257.

¹¹³³ Ibid, 257.

¹¹³⁴ Liverani, *Assyria*, 184.

¹¹³⁵ Deszo (*The Assyrian Army II*, 9-13) distinguishes between royal, provincial and vassal troops. Both professional and semi-professional troops made up the royal corps from Assyrian and Aramean recruits as well as from the professional soldiers of defeated territories. Provincial troops consisted of semi or non-professional soldiers conscripted from both the local population and deportees. Vassal troops consisted of

status of these troops and it is difficult to distinguish some of these categories in the stylized form of the royal inscriptions. For example, Assurnasirpal II references the receipt of tribute from various polities to the west of Assyria during his march to the Euphrates; the lists of tribute can vary, but seems to have been listed separately from the troops of the various cities that Assurnasirpal says he took with him during the course of his march:¹¹³⁶

ana Gargamiš ša māt Hatti aššabat arḫu ana Bīt-Baḥiani aqṭirib maddattu ša mār Baḥiani narkabāti rakissu sisē kaspī ḫurāšī annakī siparrī diqār siparri amḫur narkabāti pīṭhallu zūku ša mār Baḥiani issīya asseqe ultu Bīt-Baḥriani attumuš

“I set out for Carchemish of the land of Hatti (and) approached Bit-Bahiani. I received tribute from the citizens of Bit-Bahiani - harnessed chariots, horses, silver, gold, tin, bronze (and) bronze bowls. I selected chariots, cavalry (and) infantry of the citizens of Bahiani (to go) with me (and) I set out from Bit-Baḥriani.”

The tribute (*maddattu*) is received (*maḥāru*) by the king and is in a separate clause from the troops which are selected (*nasāqu*). Chariots are attested in both the tribute and the selection. Nevertheless, it is still uncertain if these troops were hired as mercenaries or were also considered tribute. Sargon’s annals suggest that he added strength to his royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*) from the armies of the conquered:

[in]a emūq ilāni rabūti bēlīya ittīšunu amdaḥi[šma] 27,280 nišē adi narkabāti[šunu?] u ilāni tiklīšun šallat[iš] amnu 200 narkabāti kišir šarrū[tīya] ina libbīšunu akšurma sittātīšunu ina qereb Aššur ušašbit (Nimrud Prisms D and E, iv 29-36)¹¹³⁷

the professional and semi-professional soldiers of a vassal state sent to bolster the contingents of the Assyrian army.

¹¹³⁶ A. Kirk Grayson, *Assyrian Rulers of the Early First Millennium BC II (858-754 BC)*, RIMA 2 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996): text no. 1, col. iii lines 57-58.

¹¹³⁷ C. J. Gadd, “Inscribed Prisms of Sargon II from Nimrud,” *Iraq* 16 (1954): 179.

“With the might of the great gods, my lords, I fought with them (Samaritians) and I counted as plunder 27,280 people along with [*their*] chariots and the gods that they had trusted. I conscripted from among them 200 chariots (for) my royal corps and the rest of them I settled in Assyria.”

Here it seems that Sargon added units to his professional army out of the plunder, or prisoners-of-war, captured from Samaria. This might suggest that they were involuntary conscripts absorbed into the professional component of the Assyrian army. However, in the Nimrud Horse Lists there is reference to a unit of Samaritians headed by thirteen equestrian officers, whose commanding officer seems to have been a Samaritan holding high office; the facts that the Samaritians are listed as their own national unit and that some obtained high status in the Assyrian kingdom are indicative to some that these were hired mercenaries instead of conscripts from the conquered city.¹¹³⁸ The lack of reference to or clear designations of mercenaries in Assyrian annals is not surprising, since it would have been superfluous information which did not help to magnify the glory of the king.¹¹³⁹ The presence of mercenaries must be sought elsewhere, such as the correspondences

¹¹³⁸ Stephanie Dalley, “Foreign Chariotry and Cavalry in the Armies of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II,” *Iraq* 47 (1985): 31-48.

¹¹³⁹ Those who were mercenaries in ancient Mesopotamian sources are hard to isolate, since Sumerian and Akkadian did not have a term that designated soldiers for hire, and therefore the evidence for them is often indirect. They were certainly used earlier than the 1st millennium and are attested indirectly in the early second millennium. Kassite troops were hired (sometimes designated as *mušēšû*) by kings in southern Mesopotamia as scouts, infantry and chariot troops; other foreign elements, such as Elamites, Guteans and Suteans, also seem to have been used as mercenaries; Martin Stol, “*Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Altbabylonischer Zeit*,” in *Mesopotamien: Die altbabylonische Zeit*, OBO 160/4, ed. Pascal Attinger et al. (Göttingen: Academic Press Fribourg Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2004): 794-801. Mercenary troops are known from the archives of Mari and Tell Leilan, often called *ḥābirū* and *ḥabbātum*, who seemed to have formed bands of professional soldiers who offered their services to kings that could pay them; Jack M. Sasson, *From the Mari Archives: An Anthology of Old Babylonian Letters* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015): 194-197; Jesper Eidem, *The Royal Archives from Tell Leilan: Old Babylonian Letters and Treaties from the Lower Town Palace East*, PIHANS 117 (Leiden: Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten, 2011): 18-22.

between the Assyrian kings and their magnates, though data is scarce there as well. A brief letter to Sennacherib, Sargon's crown prince, is informative:¹¹⁴⁰

*ana mār šarri bēlīya urdaka Nabû-rība-aḥḥē lū šulmu ana mār šarri bēlīya šulmu
ana maššarāte adanniš Šidunaya qaqqadāte lā issi mār šarri bēlīya ina Kalḥa
illikū lā ina maššarte ša Ninua izzazzū qabsi āli idullu yāmuttu ina bīt ubrēšu*
“To the crown prince, my lord; your servant, Nabû-rība-aḥḥē: May it be well for
the crown prince, my lord. It is very well for the garrison. The Sidonites and
(their) leaders who did not go with the crown prince, my lord, to Kalḥu (and) who
do not serve in the garrison of Nineveh loiter in the center of the city, each in his
guest house.”

From this letter it appears that some troops from Sidon neglected their duties as armed escorts for the crown prince and as garrison troops for Nineveh. This is interesting, since there is no mention of any military action against Sidon in the inscriptions of Sargon or his two predecessors, yet there was some sort of Sidonite military contingent in Nineveh. This contingent apparently refused to go on escort duty or man the garrison, which would be odd for conscripted soldiers who owed service to the state,¹¹⁴¹ but perhaps not so incongruous for hired mercenaries. This is reinforced by the fact that they are mentioned as having stayed in guest houses (*bīt ubre*, literally “house of the foreigner”) rather than in encampments or barracks. Similar letters refer to obstinate troops in Kalḥu and Philistine troops in Arbela who refused their assignments.¹¹⁴²

Auxiliary units, many consisting of Aramean troops, were often stationed in garrisons throughout the empire. Many of these groups came into the fold of the

¹¹⁴⁰ Simo Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I: Letters from Assyria and the West*, SAA 1 (Helsinki: The University of Helsinki Press, 1987): text no. 153.

¹¹⁴¹ Conscripted soldiers and workers are attested in Mesopotamian texts as having fled their work and military assignments, but they are not attested as having refused them and remained milling about the city.

¹¹⁴² Parpola, *The Correspondence of Sargon II, Part I*, texts nos. 154 and 155. There are no references to penalties or punishments in these letters. Another letter seems to refer to the issue of the hiring of Kummenean scouts; SAA 5, 105

Assyrian empire during Assyria's earlier conquests and were absorbed into the military, with the groups being subjected to corvée and military service like those native to Assyria:

[ultu Ari]mi šuātunu ša ašlula [10³ līm pīḫāt] turtāni 10 līm pīḫāt nāgir ekalli [10³] līm pīḫāt rab šāqē [5³ līm pīḫāt māt] Barḫazi 5 līm pīḫāt māt Mazamua [uparr]is ušēšib pā ištēn ušaškinšunūti itti nišī [māt Aššur amnūšunūti] nīri Aššur bēlīya kī ša Aššuri [ēmissunūti]
 “[From those Ara]means whom I deported, [I distribu]ted and settled [10,000 in the province] of the chief commander, 10,000 in the province of the palace herald, [10],000 in the province of the chief cupbearer, [5000 in the province of the land] of Barḫalzi, 5000 in the province of the land of Mazamua. I made them submit as one. I counted them with the people of Assyria (and) [imposed upon them] the yoke of Aššur, my lord, like that of the Assyrians.”¹¹⁴³

Conquered Aramean tribes, as well as other regions and population groups, were often assimilated into the Assyrian provincial system and, at least in the inscriptions, were “counted as Assyrians.” This phrase refers to the “subjection of people to the same obligations (in taxes and corvée) as the inhabitants of the imperial heartland, without distinction between old and new provinces or between the ‘metropolitan’ center and newly conquered and colonized regions.”¹¹⁴⁴ Though counted as Assyrians for the purpose of bearing the same yoke, they nevertheless were identified by their ethnic designation and did not fall under the rubric of “Assyrian” in letters. Nimrud Letter 89 is a letter that lists part of the forces under the command of the governor of Mazamua; charioteers, cavalry, logistical personnel, and some infantry are recorded under the rubric

¹¹⁴³ Hayim Tadmor and Shigeo Yamada, *The Royal Inscriptions of Tiglath-pileser III (744-727 BC) and Shalmaneser V (726-722 BC), Kings of Assyria*, RINAP 1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2011): text 5 lines 9-12.

¹¹⁴⁴ Liverani, *Assyria*, 208.

of Assyrians while the auxiliaries, comprising the bulk of the army, are mentioned under their ethnic or tribal designations:¹¹⁴⁵

*naphar 6 me'āt 30 māt Aššuraya 3 me'āt 60 Gurru 4 me'āt 40 māt Itu
napharumma 1 līm 4 me'āt 30 šāb šarri*

“Total: 630 Assyrians, 360 Gurraeans, 440 Itueans. Grand total: 1430 troops of the king”

The Aramean Itueans, a tribe attested as stemming from the middle Tigris, seemed to have provided the Assyrian army with the majority of its auxiliary archers; they were under the direct authority of the king, who dispatched them to the various provinces.¹¹⁴⁶ Though they did accompany the armies on campaign, a major role undertaken by them was garrison and border-guard duty. They lived in and occupied villages and settlements, often constructing fortifications, and received arable land and/or pasture as remuneration for their services.¹¹⁴⁷ They seem to have been organized as tribal groups under the command of sheikhs and village inspectors, who were under the command of Assyrian military commanders (*šaknu*).¹¹⁴⁸ The Gurraeans seem to have been utilized primarily as auxiliary spearmen and, like the Itueans, played a prominent role in manning garrisons and taking part in campaigns. Unlike the Itueans, the Gurraeans were not organized under tribal leaders, but rather seem to have been deployed as formal military units under a cadre of Assyrian military officers.¹¹⁴⁹

¹¹⁴⁵ J. N. Postgate, “The Assyrian Army in Zamua,” *Iraq* 62 (2000): 89-90 (lines 21-23).

¹¹⁴⁶ Tamás Dezső, *The Assyrian Army: The Structure of the Neo-Assyrian Army, vol. I: Infantry* (Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2012): 32.

¹¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 33-37.

¹¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

¹¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 50-51. Dezső suggests that the Gurraean ethnonym later came to refer to auxiliary spearmen without alluding to the ethnic origins of the soldiers.

Another issue regarding garrison towns is whether or not a garrison consisted solely of troops or of troops and their families. Roman legionnaires were not legally allowed to marry, perhaps to increase military efficiency by keeping soldiers free of family ties. Yet they often married anyway, though their children were considered illegitimate and were therefore not considered Roman citizens and could not themselves enlist unless they were given Roman citizenship upon enlistment.¹¹⁵⁰ The degree to which families were present in Roman camps is uncertain and likely depended on such factors as the location of the camp, its duration and status as a temporary or permanent emplacement, and the development of communities around the military bases.¹¹⁵¹ In the Old Babylonian period, it seems assumed that families accompanied garrison troops to their assignments; this can be demonstrated in ARM 26/1, 35 lines 1-29:

[ana bēlīne qibīma umma Asqudum u Ašmad wardūkāma] ana Hurban nikšudma Meptum ištu Harbê ana pānīne illikamma tēmam gamram maḥrīni iškun umma šuma ištu ūmī mādūtīm 2 līm šābam šukurram dannam u mātam adi Wurqanā ana bēlīya ušakkin inanna qaqqadātum attuna tattalkānim šaptī bēlikunu šaknātunu ša epēšīkunu epšā šumma šābam tanassaḥā 10 līmī tānīštāšunu zikarum ana sinništīm ibašši u ina Yabliya Ayyabê u Harbê 3 līmī ugār še'im 2 mêtīm ugār šamnim ibaššû annītam Meptum maḥrīni iškun[šā']ma ništāl[šā']ma umma nīnūma 10 līmī tānīštam ninassaḥamna ana aḥ ekallim ana šūkulim ikabbitu inanna ana pān tēmim ša ammaru ana šēr bēlīne ašapparam

“We arrived at Hurban and Meptum came to us from Harbe and gave us a complete report, saying: ‘Many days ago I settled 2000 strong-spear troops and land up to Wurqana for my lord. Now you have come (as) leaders; you have been placed (as) the representative (lit. ‘lips’) of your lord. Do what you need to do. If you withdraw the troops, there is a population of 10 thousand, (from) man to woman, and in Yabliya, Ayyabe and Harbe there are 12,000 liters of grain (and) 8000 liters of plant oil.’ This is what Meptum placed before us and (so) we

¹¹⁵⁰ Wells, *The Roman Empire*, 126-127.

¹¹⁵¹ Colin Adams, “War and Society in the Roman Empire,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Warfare in the Classical World*, eds. Brian Campbell and Lawrence A. Tritle (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013): 272-273; Pat Southern, *The Roman Army: A Social and Institutional History* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, Inc., 2006): 178-182; Sara Elise Phang, “The Families of Roman Soldiers (First and Second Centuries A.D.): Culture, Law and Practice,” *JFH* 27 (2002): 358-360.

considered it, saying ‘(if) we withdraw a population of 10,000, it will be difficult for the palace to feed (them).’ Now I will write to our lord the information that I will see.”

In this letter it seems that soldiers were stationed at and around the cities of Yabliya, Ayyabe and Harbe, located at the southern border of the kingdom of Mari in the region known as Suḫu.¹¹⁵² Meptem states that he settled 2000 troops (*ṣābum* = **eren2**) in the region, but that if they were to be withdrawn, a population of 10,000 people, both men and women, should be taken under logistical consideration. Therefore it appears that the soldiers’ families accompanied them to their duty stations. Whether such families would have accompanied the troops to much further destinations is uncertain.

The above examples show that a variety of situations were possible when considering the structure of the periphery in Ur III times. In the case of Rome, garrison settlements and forts were manned both by Roman citizens native to the Italian peninsula who were thus military settlers or colonists, and by troops conscripted or recruited from native populations that the Romans had conquered. What was for a time a legionary garrison could be replaced by an auxiliary garrison as the native population became Romanized and grew more comfortable with their Roman overlords. Different types of garrisons were under the authority of different types of leaders, with legionary garrisons under senatorial command and auxiliary garrisons under equestrian command. The Assyrian army recruited troops out of conquered cities and hired mercenary elements to supplement the units levied via conscription of native and deportee populations and amassed from vassal and allied regions. Aramean tribes conquered and assimilated into

¹¹⁵² Wolfgang Heimpel (*Letters to the King of Mari*, MesCiv 12 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2003): 195) notes that at least some of these troops stationed in Suḫu were transferred to the northern border of the kingdom, to Qaṭṭunan; see ARM 27 no. 7.

the empire played a key role in manning the garrisons at the edge of Assyrian territory and accompanying the Assyrian army on campaign.

Thus a number of scenarios can be presented for the organization of the periphery by the kings of Ur in which Babylonian colonists under a Babylonian military officer cadre manned forts or garrison/royal settlements:

1. Some entities may have been a simple fort or settlement established alongside a road or key avenue of access, but were not directly associated with any independent peripheral towns.
2. Some could have been established near, next to or within an associated peripheral town with the peripheral town relegated to the status of a vassal, but retaining its native ruler.
3. Some could have been established near, next to or within an associated peripheral town with the peripheral town having the status of an independent ally under native rule.
4. Some could have been established near, next to or within an associated peripheral town with the peripheral town considered a direct subject of Ur under the control of a Mesopotamian governor.

In turn we need to ask whether **eren2** in documents from Puzriš-Dagan always refer to Babylonian military settlers or if they can refer to:

1. Foreign troops of conquered regions drafted as auxiliary units into the Ur III military.
2. Foreign troops counted as Mesopotamians and drafted into the Ur III military.
3. Foreign troops of vassal or ally states who send tribute, but who are not counted as Mesopotamians nor are directly under Ur III military command.
4. Foreign troops of an independent state sending gifts consisting of livestock.
5. All of the above.

And the related question of what **ensi2** means in **gun2 ma-da**-type documents:

1. A Babylonian official placed in charge of a foreign city

2. A native ruler allowed to retain his position albeit as a vassal of Ur, or a native ruler appointed by Ur
3. A native ruler independent, yet allied, to Ur
4. All of the above.

A number of these scenarios may have been in play with different degrees of incorporation characteristic of different geographical regions. Additionally, the situation of certain settlements at beginning of Amar-Suen's reign may have changed by the end of Šu-Suen's. Hopefully further study and the acquisition of more data will help clarify the organization of the periphery.

Chapter IV: Military Terms in the Messenger Texts

As will be shown below, the majority of occurrences of a number of military titles are limited to the genre of documents known as “messenger texts.” Indeed, some of these titles only occur within this genre. Therefore it is imperative that we understand the nature and context of these documents as much as possible in order to understand the background in which we encounter a substantial portion of our martial terminology.

IV.1: Way-stations and Messenger Texts

As just mentioned, a large proportion of military terms, or at least terms potentially related to military affairs, are found in the “messenger texts,” genre¹¹⁵³ which constitutes one of the largest, if not the largest, text typologies in the Ur III administrative corpus, and is attested as stemming almost solely from the provinces of Girsu, Umma and Iri-Saġrig.¹¹⁵⁴ The term “messenger text” is the traditional designation for these documents, though most scholars now believe the term is misleading and instead

¹¹⁵³ For a general overview of the Umma and Girsu texts, see Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 295-315. For a summary of the Iri-Saġrig documents, see David I. Owen, *Cuneiform Texts from Iri-Saġrig/Al-Šarrākī and the History of the Ur III Period*, Nisaba 15, 2 vols. (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2013): 128-131.

¹¹⁵⁴ There are approximately 6500 texts, both published and unpublished from Girsu (1500 published, 2000 in the process of being published, that are housed in the British Museum and in Istanbul), Umma (2670 texts both published and unpublished from the British Museum, Harvard Semitic Museum and Yale), and Iri-Saġrig (about 300 tablets). See Palermo Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, Nisaba 22 (Messina: Dipartimento di Scienze dell’Antichità dell’Università degli Studi di Messina, 2009): 20-22; Franco D’Agostino and Francesco Pomponio, “The Umma ‘Messenger Texts’” in *The Growth of an Early State in Mesopotamia: Studies in Ur III Administration*, BPOA 5, edited by Steven J. Garfinkle and J. Cale Johnson, 125-128 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008): 125; and David I. Owen, *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saġrig/Al-Šarrākī*, 128, respectively. BDTNS records 2635 from Umma, 3299 from Girsu and 319 from Iri-Saġrig. There is a text (P111815) that was excavated from Tell Asmar (Ešnunna) which mentions beer, bread, sheep (mutton) and oil expended by the governor (**ensi**₂) of Ešnunna for Girimzinak the man (**lu**₂) of Šimaški and conveyed (**ġiri**₃) by a “messenger” (**lu**₂-**kiġ**₂-**gi**₄-**a**), in a format quite similar to the Messenger Text genre. This hints that there may be further archives of these texts waiting to be found at other sites.

understand them as “ration distribution accounts” or “errand records,”¹¹⁵⁵ though some still prefer the traditional designation.¹¹⁵⁶ These texts record the expenditure of provisions by way-stations (**e2-kas4**) located throughout the provinces for consumption by various personnel. The **e2-kas4**, literally “house of the runner,” is attested in both Umma and Girsu provinces.¹¹⁵⁷ In Umma province, there were way-stations located at the provincial capital of Umma, as well as at Anzagar-id-Girsu, Apisal, and “opposite” (**gaba**) Pašime.¹¹⁵⁸ Girsu province had way-stations located at Girsu, Kalamsaga, Kimadasala, Kinunir, Lagaš, Niġin, Gu’abba and Hurim.¹¹⁵⁹ The accounts of the various way-stations in the province were often archived at the capital city:

Umma province: P330549 / AAICAB 1/4, 481

¹¹⁵⁵ Robert Clayton McNeil, “The ‘Messenger Texts’ of the Third Dynasty” (PhD. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1971): 23-29; Owen, *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saġrig/Al-Šarrākī*, 128.

¹¹⁵⁶ F. D’Agostino and F. Pomponio, *Umma Messenger Texts in the British Museum, Part One*, Nisaba 1 (Messina: Dipartimento di Scienze dell’Antichità dell’Università degli Studi di Messina, 2002): 13. This designation is still the scholarly convention and will be kept here for sake of convenience.

¹¹⁵⁷ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 299-300. Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagash della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 16-17.

¹¹⁵⁸ **e2-kas4 umma**^{ki}: P102523 / Erlenmeyer 94; P118654 / MVN 16, 606; P102523 / Erlenmeyer 94; **e2-kas4 ša3 umma**^{ki}: P130977 / Syracuse 426; P120439 / MVN 21, 202; **Anzagar-id-Girsu**: **e2-kas4 an-za-gar3-id2-ġir2-su**^{ki}: P108290 / CST 783; P140693 / UTI 4, 2674; **e2-kas4 an-za-gar3**: P102523 / Erlenmeyer 94; **e2-kas4 id2 ġir2-su**^{ki}: P130977 / Syracuse 426; **Apisal**: **e2-kas4 a-pi4-sal4**^{ki}: P131752 / TCL 5, 6038; P127072 / Princeton 1, 383; P201719 / Nisaba 11, 10; P101888; **e2-kas4 ša3 a-pi4-sal4**^{ki}: P112124; **“Opposite” Pašime**: **e2-kas4 gaba pa2-šim-e**^{ki}: P131752 / TCL 5, 6038; **e2-kas4 gaba**: P143903 / SAT 2, 703.

¹¹⁵⁹ See the chart in Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 17. **Girsu**: **e2-kas4 ġir2-su**^{ki}: P110706 / TCTI 836; P110707 / TCTI 1, 837; P110713 / TCTI 1, 843; P110861 / TCTI 1, 991; P110865 / TCTI 1, 995; **e2-kas4 ša3 ġir2-su**^{ki}: P107128 / MTMB 249; P110711 / TCTI 1, 841; P110712 / TCTI 1, 842; P110867 / TCTI 1, 997; P133504 / TCTI 2, 4713; P204862 / Nisaba 22, 66; P356070 / Nisaba 18, 180; P315722 / PPAC 5, 106; P315760 / PPAC 5, 130; ; **Kinunir**: **e2-kas4 ša3 ki-nu-nir**^{ki}: P206342 / Nisaba 22, 22; P110872 / TCTI 1, 1002; **Niġin**: **e2-kas4 NINA**^{ki}: P133563 / TEL 55; **Gu’abba**: **e2-kas4 gu2-ab-ba**^{ki}: P315716 / PPAC 5, 101; P135719 / TUT 146; **e2-kas4 ša3 gu2-ab-ba**^{ki}: P109907 / HLC 1, 29; P204306 / Nisaba 22, 62; P356070 / Nisaba 18, 180; P128552 / DAS 47; P110709 / TCTI 1, 839; P110710 / TCTI 1, 840; P110863 / TCTI 1, 993; P133553 / TEL 46; **Hurim**: **e2-kas4 ħu-rim3**^{ki}: P135719 / TUT 146. These are just the explicit references to the way-stations in these towns. There are less explicit references which refer to provisions (**sa2-dug4**) and tablet baskets (**pisan dub-ba**)/leather sacks (^{kuš}**dug3-gan**) of comestibles for messengers, or expenditures (**zi-ga**) within (**ša3**) the town in standard Messenger Text formats.

pisan dub-ba / sa₂-dug₄ kas₄ / ša₃ ^{kuš}dug₃-gan / ša₃ umma^{ki} / ġiri₃ gur₄-za-an / ša₃ an-za-gar₃ / ġiri₃ a-du / ša₃ a-pi₄-sal₄^{ki} / ġiri₃ kug-ga-ni / itud 12-kam / i₃-ġal₂ / mu ma₂ ^den-ki-ka ba-ab-dus

“Tablet basket that contains (the records of) the provisions of (errand-) runners, in leather sacks, (over the course) of twelve months, from: Umma, via Gurzan; Anzagar, via Adu; and Apisal, via Kugani. *DATE*.”¹¹⁶⁰

Girsu province: P203987 / Nisaba 22, 63

pisan dub-ba / ša₃ ^{kuš}dug₃-gan-na / kaš zi₃ i₃ / ġiri₃ kas₄-ke₄-ne / itud dirig še-KIN-ku₅-ta / itud še-il₂-la-še₃ / itud 2-kam / ša₃ gu₂-ab-ba^{ki} / ša₃ ki-nu-nir^{ki} / ša₃ ki-ma-da-sal₄-la^{ki} / i₃-ġal₂ / mu ħa-ar-ši^{ki} ba-ħul

“Tablet basket which contains (the records of) the beer, flour and oil (used for) trips by (errand-) runners, in leather sacks, (dated) from month intercalary ŠeKINku to month Še’ila - two months - from Gu’abba, Kinunir and Kimadasala. *DATE*”

The texts from Iri-Saġrig never mention a way-station (**e₂-kas₄**), but there are a few references to a “royal roadhouse” (**e₂-kaskal lugal**):¹¹⁶¹

P453597 / Nisaba 15/2, 23, obv. lines 1-5

4 sila₃ kaš 4 sila₃ ninda / a-ħu-DUG₃ lu₂-kiġ₂-gi₄-a lugal / 2 sila₃ kaš 2 sila₃ ninda / ur-zu šidim / ud e₂-kaskal lugal sa gi₄-gi₄-de₃ im-e-re-ša-a

“4 liters of beer, 4 liters of bread (for) Aħu-tāb, on royal assignment; 2 liters of beer, 2 liters of bread (for) Urzu the mason - when they came to prepare the royal roadhouse”

P453613 / Nisaba 15/2, 51, obv. line 6 - rev. line 2

2 sila₃ kaš 2 sila₃ ninda / ur-su-DU / ud e₂-kaskal lugal-še₃ sa gi₄-gi₄-de₃ / im-ġen-na-a

“2 liters of beer, 2 liters of bread (for) UrsuDU when he came to prepare the royal roadhouse”

P454031 / Nisaba 15/2, 740

¹¹⁶⁰ Note that the various titles of people moving through the way-stations (**sukkal**, **lu₂-kas₄**, **lu₂-^{ġi}štukul**, **mar-tu**, etc. are, in this text, given the generic label of “messengers” (**kas₄**). Perhaps this is a hint that we should gloss **lu₂-kas₄** as “errand-runner”.

¹¹⁶¹ Owen (*Cuneiform Texts from Iri-Saġrig/Al-Šarrākī and the History of the Ur III Period*, 166 n. 305) suggests that this **e₂-kaskal** might be the source of the Iri-Saġrig messenger texts. Note that Puzriš-Dagan also had an **e₂-kaskal** (P332401 / Nisaba 30, 93): [1 si]la₄ [1 maš₂ u₂ 1 udu nita₂] / 1 udu e₂-kaskal TE-[x] / 2 udu a-da-a / 5 maš₂ 1 udu / maš-sa₆-sa₆ / 2 udu šu-^dIŠKUR “1 lamb, 1 grass-fed goat, 1 ram (and) 1 sheep (for) the roadhouse [...]; 2 sheep (for) Adaya; 5 goats, 1 sheep (for) Mašsasa; 2 sheep for Šu-Adad.”

1 simug / 1 nagar / 1 ašgab / ud 2-še₃ / ma₂ e₂-kaskal lugal / iri-saĝ-
rig^{ki}-ta / kar lugal-še₃ / ib₂-gid₂ / ĝiri₃ ur-^dig-alim lu₂ ĝiš-ur₃ / itud
ĝiš^{apin} / mu en ^dinana unug^{ki} maš₂-e i₃-pad₃

“1 smith, 1 carpenter (and) 1 leatherworker, for two days, when? the boat
of the royal roadhouse was towed from Iri-Saĝrig to the royal quay. Via
Ur-Igalim the roofer. DATE.”

The first two texts simply refer to the preparation of the roadhouse, with the only hint to the nature of (at least part of) that preparation being the reference to one of the personnel as a “builder/mason” (**šidim**). The last text refers to a boat of the roadhouse which, due to the presence of craftsmen and a roofer, likely underwent some repairs or alterations on the day that it was taken from Iri-Saĝrig to, perhaps, Ur.¹¹⁶² It is interesting to note that the **e₂-kaskal** is always referred to as a “royal” roadhouse, while the way-stations are simply designated as being of or in (**ša₃**) a city. This accords with Iri-Saĝrig being closely associated with the king and royal family; this connection is attested by the fact that the kings of Ur traveled to Iri-Saĝrig more often than to any other city within the kingdom, that this archive mentions large numbers of royal “messengers” and royal functionaries, and that temples to all the kings of the Ur III dynasty (with the exception of Ibbi-Suen) are attested here.¹¹⁶³

Perhaps we could think of the **e₂-kaskal**, with the association of **kaskal** (“road, journey” but also “campaign”) with military expeditions,¹¹⁶⁴ as having been an

¹¹⁶² The boat in question was probably a **ma₂-gur₈** or “processional boat” that was an elite (both human and divine) prerogative. As a ruler’s personal transport, see Gudea Cylinder A (ETCSL 2.1.7) col. ii line 4 and col. iv line 3, in which Gudea travels from Girsu to Niĝin for the purpose of receiving an interpretation for his dream by the goddess Nanše. For the **ma₂-gur₈** having a roof or canopy, see *The Curse of Agade* (ETCSL 2.1.5) line 90. Ur III administrative documents show that leather (P340719 / BPOA 2, 2066: **kuš udu babbar**), nails or pegs (P112366: **1322** ^{giš}gag), and bitumen (P202205 / PPAC 5, 66: **63 gu₂ esir₂ ħad₂**) were used for these royal boats (**ma₂-gur₈ lugal-še₃**), requiring the skills of a number of craftsmen.

¹¹⁶³ David I. Owen, “Uru-Saĝrig,” *RIA* 14 (2015): 499-500.

¹¹⁶⁴ The word is often used as a Sumerogram for *harrānu* and *gerru*, both of which, alongside the broad semantic notion of traveling, are used to refer to military expeditions; CAD vol. 5, 90-93 and CAD vol. 6, 106-113. See, for example, the Laws of Hammurapi which refer to soldiers who had gone or returned from

exclusively military waystation while the **e2-kas4** functioned solely as a “civil” waystation. However, a few points argue against this. First, both the **e2-kaskal** at Iri-Saĝrig and the **e2-kas4** at Girsu catered to the military:

P128495 / RTC 342 (Girsu):

5 a2-GAM i3-ĝiš / ud 7-kam / ša-lim-be-li2-NI lu2-kas4 / ma2 ugnim sa gi4-gi4 tuš-a / zi-ga / itud šu-numun
 “5 containers of *iĝiš*-oil for 7 days (for) Šalim-belini the errand-runner who was stationed for preparing the boat of the army. Expenditures. DATE.”

P454053 / Nisaba 15/2, 792 rev. lines 10-12 (monthly summary tablet, Iri-Saĝrig):

45(aš) 2(baring) 2(ban2) 4 sila3 ku6 šeĝ6 gur / ud ugnimx / kaskal-ta im-e-re-ša-a
 “13,644 liters of cooked fish (expended) when the army came from campaign”

Second, both Girsu and Iri-Saĝrig expended provisions for prisoners of war (**nam/ne-ra-(aš)-ak**).¹¹⁶⁵ Third, both sites provisioned personnel who went into the peripheral territories that were the campaigning grounds of the Ur III monarchs, as well as provisioned groups of highlanders (**NIM, lu2 GN^{ki}**) travelling to and from southern Mesopotamia. Fourth, far more military-related designations are attested in Girsu messenger texts than the ones from Iri-Saĝrig, with the **dumu nu-banda3, aga3-us2 gal, aga3-us2 gal-gal, lu2-ĝištukul, lu2-ĝištukul gu-la, and lu2-ĝišgigir** attested, some in quite high numbers, in the documents from Girsu, while completely absent in documents from

royal campaign (*ana ħarrān šarrim alāku*); see laws 26 and 32; Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 85-87. See also the phrase **kaskal ugnim** used in the Iri-Saĝrig texts to refer to a military excursion.

¹¹⁶⁵ Iri-Saĝrig: P453799 / Nisaba 15/2, 369; P453942 / Nisaba 15/1, 590. Girsu: P109986 / HLC 2, 109.

Iri-Saĝrig.¹¹⁶⁶ Lastly, the messenger texts from Iri-Saĝrig list far more people as doing missions, not necessarily related to military affairs, at home rather than abroad.¹¹⁶⁷

Another possibility is that the two terms are simply varying designations used by different provinces to refer to the same entity, possibly with some minor variation in nuance. As will be shown below, there were probably multiple mustering points or campaign-launching points in southern Mesopotamia that were used to initiate military expeditions in the varying regions of the periphery. Girsu province's "jurisdiction" dealt primarily with the region around Khuzistan and further south into Fars, Iri-Sagrig's dealt with the eastern polities in the region of the modern provinces of Kermanshah, Luristan and Ilam (via Der), and the fortified settlements of Ešnunna, Išim-Šulgi and the multitude of garrisons along the Diyala plain dealt with the regions to the east, north and northeast of the Diyala River. Additionally, there was probably a waystation at Puzriš-Dagan, as suggested by the fact that there are over a hundred texts that mention deliveries of animals to the kitchen for the errand-runners (**šu-gid₂ e₂-muḫaldim-še₃ mu kas₄-e-ne-še₃**).¹¹⁶⁸

The establishment of a network of way-stations and road houses by Šulgi is mentioned in the royal hymn Šulgi A, and might be what is referred to in some royal inscriptions and year names:

¹¹⁶⁶ See the table on titles and designations in the messenger texts below.

¹¹⁶⁷ It is assumed that documents which list personnel receiving provisions for tasks which are not further designated by any geographic label are referring to tasks which were to be carried out locally.

¹¹⁶⁸ Lance Allred (*Cooks and Kitchens: Centralized Food Production in Late Third Millennium Mesopotamia*, PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 2006: 52-53) understands the texts which do not include the designation **ša₃ GN** "within (a city)" as referring to expenditures for personnel at Puzriš-Dagan. References to these animal expenditures for errand-runners with the designation "within (a city)" may suggest that there were waystations at Uruk, Ur, Nippur and Tummal.

Šulgi A (26-35):¹¹⁶⁹

dšul-gi-me-en lugal kalag-ga saĝ-bi-še₃ e₃-a-me-en
a2-nun-ĝal₂ zag-še-ni-še₃ ħul₂-la i₃-me-en-na-ke₄-eš
ĝiri₃ ħu-mu-gur kaskal kalam-ma-ke₄ si ħe₂-mi-sa₂-sa₂
danna ħu-mu-gen₆ e₂ gal-la ħe₂-bi₂-du₃
zag-ba ^{ĝi}š₆kiri₆ ħe₂-bi₂-gub
ki-bi lu₂ zu-a ħe₂-em-mi-tuš
sig-ta du igi-nim-ta du-e
a2 sed₄-bi-še₃ ni₂ ħe₂-eb-ši-te-en-te-en
nitaĥ ħar-ra-an-na du kaskal-e ^{ĝi}š₆ ba-an-da-sa₂-a
iri du₃-a-gin₇ zi-ni ħa-ba-ši-in-tum₃

“I am Šulgi, I am the mighty king who takes precedence.
 Because I am strong, one who rejoices over his strength,¹¹⁷⁰
 I returned “travelling”, I put in order the roads of the land,¹¹⁷¹
 I fixed the *danna*-length, large (waystation)-houses were built,
 orchards were planted next to them,
 resting places were established,
 (and) I stationed knowledgeable personnel there.¹¹⁷²

¹¹⁶⁹ My translation. For slightly different translations, see Jacob Klein, *Three Šulgi Hymns: Sumerian Royal Hymns glorifying King Šulgi of Ur* (Ramat-Gan: Bar-Ilan University Press, 1981): 188-203; Jeremy Black, Graham Cunningham, Eleanor Robson and Gábor Zólyomi, *The Literature of Ancient Sumer* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006): 304-308; Douglas Frayne, “Šulgi, the Runner,” *JAOS* 103/4 (1983): 743.

¹¹⁷⁰ Klein (*Three Šulgi Hymns*, 207) assumes that **zag-še-ni-še₃** is a figure of speech and that **zagše-tuku** “having shoulder” is analogous to **dub₃-tuku** “having knee” and both refer to endurance and speed in running. Therefore he translates (p. 191) “Because I am a powerful man, who rejoices at the strength of his loins”. See also Black et al. (*The Literature of Ancient Sumer*, 305) “Because I am a powerful man who enjoys using his thighs”.

¹¹⁷¹ There is uncertainty regarding the phrase **ĝiri₃ ħu-mu-gur**. Klein (*The Šulgi Hymns*, 191) translates “I moved my legs”, Black et al. (*The Literature of Ancient Sumer*, 305) provide “(I) strengthened (?) the roads” and Frayne (“Šulgi, the Runner,” 743) gives “I smoothed out the paths”. In this phrase, translated literally as “I returned the foot”, the word **ĝiri₃** should be understood to mean “foot(-traffic)” or “travelling.” There are direct equations of **ĝiri₃** with Akkadian *tallaktu* “road, path, walking, traffic”; see the lexical data for *tallaktu* in CAD vol. 18, 97-98 (5R 16 i 24: **gir₃** = *ta-lak*-[tu]; CT 16, 42:16f., and duplicate in von Weiher Uruk 1 i 22f.: **gir₃.kur.ra.ke₃ ba.an.sig₃.ge.eš** : *tal-lak-ti māti usaĥḥaru* “(the demons) turn back traffic in the land”). Additionally, **ĝiri₃ ħu-mu-gur** and **kaskal kalam-ma-ke₄ si ħe₂-mi-sa₂-sa₂** exhibit synonymous parallelism, in which the idea of returning traffic to the land is synonymous with putting the road systems in order. Lines 29-31 then describe how this ordering of the roadways/returning of traffic was accomplished. Finally, the use of **ĝiri₃** meaning “travels/travelling” is confirmed in a two-month messenger text summary account from Gu’abba (P317781 / Nisaba 22, 71) which, after enumerating the total expenditures of grain, beer and oil, states: **ša₃ ^{kuš}du₁₀-gan-na / ĝiri₃ ka₄-ke₄-ne** “in the leather sack(s) (of) the travels of the errand-runners”. For multi-month summary messenger texts, see Niek Veldhuis, “A Multiple Month Account from the Gu’abba Rest House,” *ZA* 91 (2001): 85-109. He notes varying nuances of the term **ĝiri₃** such as designating the personnel responsible for conveying provisions from the waystation to people (especially highlander groups) located considerable distances from the waystation in the daily documents, while in summary tags it was used to designate the people who were responsible for issuing the provisions, but not necessarily delivering them. **ĝiri₃** can also replace **e₂-ka₄** in tags, which he translates as “for the roads of the runners.” See pp. 94-95 and 91 n. 12.

¹¹⁷² Due to the terminative marker (-eš) suffixed to the finite verb in line 27, which, in its non-dimensional use, makes this clause subordinate to the following clauses (Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 101-102),

(Whether) travelling from the lower land (or) from the upper land,
 one can cool off when it is time for cooling off.
 The man who goes on a journey can spend the night on the road,
 since, like in a built-up city, he takes refuge there.”

The establishment of facilitated travel systems was a royal accomplishment about which kings boasted; it was one of the royal prerogatives in which good kings engaged. We see a similar concept in a year name of Ur-Nammu:¹¹⁷³

mu ur-^dnamma lugal-e sig-ta igi-nim-še₃ ġiri₃ si bi₂-sa₂-a
 “Year Ur-Namma the king put in order “travelling” from the lower to the upper land”

This deed recounted in the year name may also be found in the hymn Ur-Namma C and may have some additional support in the prologue of the Ur-Namma law code¹¹⁷⁴:

the modal prefix **he₂** (**hu**) marks the main clauses in this extended consequential clause that spans lines 28-31; for the view that **he₂** marks subordinate clauses (when prefixed to perfective verbs), see Miguel Civil, “Modal Prefixes,” *ASJ* 20 (2000): 32-35 and Piotr Michalowski, “Sumerian,” in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the World’s Ancient Languages*, edited by Roger D. Woodard, 19-59. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2004. For the traditional view that **he₂** + perfective verb is the affirmative, see Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 204-205.

¹¹⁷³ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 14-15. Texts dated with this year name are: P128416 / RTC 261, P128417 / RTC 262, P128418 / RTC 263 and P115243 / P115243. All texts come from Girsu.

¹¹⁷⁴ The use of the prologue of the Ur-Namma law code for the establishment of way-stations is rather tenuous due to lacunae, and the difficulty of this section is demonstrated in the following transliterations and translations:

1. Kramer (“Ur-Nammu Law Code”, *OrNS* 23, 1954, 40-48) provides for the relevant section (150-161): **u₄-ba / gu₂-^{id₂}idigna / gu₂-^{id₂}[buranun-na] / 153-160 destroyed / 161: gal-NI (šandana) lugal**

he₂-ib₂-tuku; “he made the arrogant have a master.”

2. Martha Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, SBLWAW 6 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1995): 16: **ud-ba gu₂ ^{id₂}idigna ^{d₂}Burun gu₂ id₂ du₃-a-bi add[ir si he₂-em-mi-sa₂-sa₂] kas₄? ša₃ [...] e₂ he₂-em-mi-in-[du₃] ^{ġis}kiri₆ [he₂-b]i₂-i[b₂-gub] šandana lugal-e he₂-eb₂-tuk** “At that time, [I regulated] the river-boat traffic on the banks of the Tigris River, on the banks of the Euphrates River, on the banks of all rivers. [I secured safe roads for] the couriers(?); I [built] the (roadside) house. [I planted] the orchard, the king placed a gardener in charge of them.”

3. Frayne (*Ur III Period*, 49) lines 150-161: **u₄-ba / gu₂-^{i₇}idigna / gu₂-^{i₇}buranun / gu₂-id₂-du₃-a-bi / add[ir(PAD.[x x x si he₂-em-mi-sa₂-sa₂] / E₂xKASKAL(?) ša₃ [...] / [x] he₂-em-mi-in-[du₃] / ^{ġis}kiri₆**

h[e₂-bi]₂-i[b₂-gub] / šandana lugal-e he₂-eb₂-tuk “At that time, I [put in order] ri[ver-boat traffic] on the banks of the Tigris, on the banks of the Euphrates, and on the banks of all the rivers.

Ur-Namma C, line 19:¹¹⁷⁵

**ur-^dnamma lugal urim^{ki}-ma nam dug₃ tar-ra-ba ġiri₃ si
mu-un-da-ab-sa₂**

“Ur-Namma the king of Ur, with that good fate which was decreed (for him), was able to put ‘travelling’ in order.”

As counterpart to proper kings, such as Ur-Namma and Šulgi, who opened roadways and put in order the business of travel, an evil king, such as Tirigan of the Gutians, hindered traffic and allowed the dilapidation of the road systems; note the similarity of the vocabulary with the above-mentioned passages:

Victory of Utu-ġeġal: 21-23:

sig-še₃ ki-en-gi-ra₂ gan₂ bi₂-keš₂

igi-nim-še₃ ġiri₃ i₃-keš₂

kaskal kalam-me-ke₄ u₂ gid₂-da bi₂-in-mu₂

“To the south, in Sumer, he (Tirigan) blocked off fields;

to the north, he blocked off travelling;

long grass grew upon the roads of the heartland because of him.”

[I established] *road stations* in [...]. I [*built*] ... (and) [*planted*] orchards beside them. (I), the king, placed gardeners in charge of them.”

4. CDLI (P432130), lines 150-161: **u₄-ba / gu₂ ⁱ⁷idigna / gu₂ ⁱ⁷buranun / gu₂ ⁱ⁷du₃-a-bi / nidba [...] / nesaġ ša₃-ge-guru₇ / [x] [...] / ġeš ġe₂-em-mi-in-tag / ġeš^{ki}kiri₆ / he₂-em-mi-gub / ... / šandana lugal-e**

he₂-eb₂-tuku “At that time, on the banks of the Tigris, on the banks of the Euphrates, and on the banks of all the rivers, *nidba*-offerings, [...], and first fruits and heart’s-desire offerings [...] I offered there. Orchards I planted there, and royal gardeners had charge of them.”

As the above reconstructions and translations show, there is substantial disagreement on how to read this heavily damaged section. The section comes from two copies, one from Nippur and one from Sippar, and below are what the hand copies show without conjecture or restoration:

Sippar copy (P226588; see also Fatma Yildiz, “A Tablet of Codex Ur-Nammu from Sippar,”

OrNS 50/1 (1981) 87-97): **ud-ba gu₂ ^{id2}idigna / gu₂ ^{id2}buranun / gu₂ ^{id2}du₃-a-bi / PAD [...] / [x] šaġ₄ [...] / ġiš[?] ġe₂-em-mi-in-[x] / ġiš^{ki}kiri₆ [...] / gal-ni [x]-eb₂#-[...]**

Nippur copy (P226580; see also Kramer, “Ur-Nammu Law Code,” 40-48): **ud-ba / gu₂ ^{id2}idigna[?] / gu₂ ^{id2}id₂[...] / [x] [...] / [x] [...] / [x] [...] / [...] / šandana lugal ġe₂-eb₂-tuku**

Therefore this section is too uncertain to use in this study.

¹¹⁷⁵ Esther Flückiger-Hawker, *Ur-Namma of Ur in Sumerian Literary Tradition*, OBO 166 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1999): 210-211: “Urnamma, the king of Ur: after an auspicious fate had been determined, the roads were put in order due to him”.

Though these texts portray this network as being established by royal prerogative, the actual operation of these stations was idiosyncratic to each province in which they operated; this is evident from the divergent tablet formats, types of rations expended, and information recorded on tablets from the different provinces.¹¹⁷⁶ Messenger texts from both Umma and Iri-Saġrig usually record the day, month and year in which the provisions were expended, while the texts from Girsu always provide the month, and often the day, but rarely the year.¹¹⁷⁷ The Umma messenger texts are attested from Šulgi's 47th year to Ibbi-Suen's second.¹¹⁷⁸ An interesting feature of this corpus is that almost no messenger texts are attested from Amar-Suen's ninth regnal year and Šu-Suen's first.¹¹⁷⁹ The Girsu tablets, attested from the first month of Šulgi's thirty-first year to the second month of Ibbi-Suen's third,¹¹⁸⁰ are the converse, in which the majority of the tablets that do include the year date come from Amar-Suen's eighth regnal year to Šu-Suen's first.¹¹⁸¹ The earliest Iri-Saġrig messenger text is attested much later than those from Umma and Girsu, dating to Amar-Suen's seventh year (3/02/AS07), and the latest attested text also dates to Ibbi-Suen's third year (10/11/IS03).¹¹⁸²

¹¹⁷⁶ For a good overview of the genre of Messenger Texts, see Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 295-315.

¹¹⁷⁷ Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 298.

¹¹⁷⁸ Franco D'Agostino and Francesco Pomponio, "The Umma 'Messenger Texts'," 125.

¹¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 125.

¹¹⁸⁰ For the earliest attested Girsu Messenger Text, see P114916 / MVN 6, 548. For the latest, see P127678 / C. F. Jean, "L'Elam sous la dynastie d'Ur; les indemnités allouées aux 'chargés de mission' des rois d'Ur," *RA* 19 (1922): 39 no. 11. The attested dates cover a span of thirty-nine years.

¹¹⁸¹ This peculiarity of the dating of the Umma and Girsu Messenger Texts is one of many features of the Ur III administrative corpus that seem to hint at some sort of disruption in the kingdom toward the latter part of Amar-Suen's regin. For more details on this, see Bertrand Lafont, "Game of Thrones: the Years when Šu-Suen succeeded Amar-Suen in the Kingdom of Ur" in *The First Ninety Years: A Sumerian Celebration in Honor of Miguel Civil*, SANER 12, edited by Lluís Feliu, Fumi Karahashi and Gonzalo Rubio (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter Inc., 2017): 189-204. See also Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 163, 167-168 and Piotr Michalowski, "Of Bears and Men. Thoughts on the End of Šulgi's Reign and the Ensuing Succession," in *Literature as Politics, Politics as Literature: Essays in the Ancient Near East in Honor of Peter Machinist*, edited by David S. Vanderhooft and Abraham Winitzer, 285-320. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013.

¹¹⁸² Owen, *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saġrig/Al-Šarrākī*, 128.

Outside of the dating protocol there are many other idiosyncratic features of each archive. The Umma texts have a number of standardized provision allotments that usually include beer (**kaš** or **dida**), bread (**ninda**), oil (**i3**), onions (**sum**), potash (**naga**) and fish (**ku6**), though there are occasional references to sheep and goats being given as meat.¹¹⁸³ These texts almost never mention the origins or destinations of the personnel receiving the commodities, but rather the general terms **gaba-ta** and **gaba-aš**, probably meaning “from/to the opposite (bank of the Tigris)”, were used instead.¹¹⁸⁴ The personnel listed are generally mentioned by name alone, with title or designation of function absent, and they rarely indicate the mission.¹¹⁸⁵ The Girsu Messenger Texts record expenditures of cereals (**ninda** “bread”, **zi3** “flour”, **dabin** “meal flour”), beverages (**kaš** “beer”, **dida** “malt extract”), lipids (**i3** “oil”, **i3-udu** “lard”, **i3-ĝiš**) and, though very rarely, potash (**naga**) and mutton (**udu**).¹¹⁸⁶ Unlike the Umma texts, which always record the issuance of various commodities together, the Girsu tablets vary in the number of different commodities that are listed in a particular text.¹¹⁸⁷ They also often differentiate items to be consumed in the city or way-station (**ša3 iri**) and those that were to be used on the journey (**kaskal-še3**).¹¹⁸⁸ Common to these texts is the inclusion of

¹¹⁸³ For the classification of these texts, see McNeil, *The “Messenger Texts” of the Third Dynasty* and the ongoing publications of the Umma messenger texts in the Nisaba series.

¹¹⁸⁴ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 298, following Yoshikawa, “GABA-aš and GABA-ta in the Ur III Umma Texts,” *ASJ* 10 (1988): 231-241.

¹¹⁸⁵ For discussion on the titles of ration recipients, see McNeil, *The “Messenger Texts” of the Third Dynasty*, 38-63.

¹¹⁸⁶ Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Ġirsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 23-24.

¹¹⁸⁷ See Palermo Notizia, “Messenger Texts from Girsu: for a New Classification,” *OrNS* 75/4 (2006): 317-333 for discussion of this. Some texts record only a single commodity, such as beverage (whether **kaš** or **dida**) or grain (whether **ninda** or **dabin**), some record only two commodities and others record three or more. There are multiple single-commodity texts that list different provisions, but are complementary due to the fact that they list the same personnel with the same origins/destinations as the other commodity texts (*ibid.*, 324-325). Sallaberger (“Ur III-Zeit,” 298) interpreted this to mean the expenditures of each commodity was under the responsibility of their respective depots.

¹¹⁸⁸ Notizia *diss.*, *I testi dei messaggeri da Ġirsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 24-25.

titles or functions of the recipients of the provisions, the origin or destination¹¹⁸⁹ of these personnel, and the mission or assignment that they have been tasked to carry out.¹¹⁹⁰ In the Iri-Saġrig tablets, the provisions given to the personnel listed fall into two categories, the first being the similar rations of beer (**kaš**) and bread (**ninda**) that are found in the Umma and Girsu texts, though with the addition of “sweet paste” (**niġ2-i3-de2-a**) and “fat bread/cake” (**ninda-i3**) which are absent in the other archives.¹¹⁹¹ The second is the meat and soup category which includes fish (**ku6** - present in Umma texts but not in Girsu texts), cuts of mutton (**ma-la-ku udu**), roasted mutton (**udu šeġ6-ġa2**) and soup (**tu7**).¹¹⁹² The Iri-Saġrig texts always list multiple commodities, tablet basket labels (**pisan dub-ba**) are absent and summary tablets (whether month, multi-month or year) are rare. The titles and functions of the recipients of the provisions, as well as their origin/destination and/or mission, are stated quite frequently.

The image that is painted in the hymn mentioned above (Šulgi A) is one of a large complex (**e2 gal-la**) that was, at least partially, self-sufficient in regards to food items provided by a garden/orchard planted alongside it (**zag-ba ġiškiri6 ħe2-bi2-gub**) and within which able personnel were stationed (**lu2 zu-a ħe2-em-mi-tuš**). To stay at the way-station was portrayed as tantamount to staying in a built-up city (**iri du3-a-gin7 zi-ni ħa-ba-ši-in-tum3**). This suggests that the way-stations were essentially complexes rather than simple roadside lodges. This notion finds support in a number of ways. First, the

¹¹⁸⁹ At least their initial destination; it can't be excluded that their journeys continued past the toponym recorded in the text.

¹¹⁹⁰ Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 31-36, 109-111.

¹¹⁹¹ Hagan Brunke, “Excursus D: Rations in the Al-Šarrākī Messenger Texts,” in *The Cuneiform Texts from Iri-Saġrig/Al-Šarrākī and the History of the Ur III Period*, Nisaba 15/1, David I. Owen, 207-334 (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2013): 209.

¹¹⁹² Ibid, 207-209. The “soup” was more of a stew or concentrate that was to be diluted rather than our common notion of soup (208 n. 437).

terminology of a complex or “large house” (**e2 gal-la**) is also found in the administrative documentation, often associated with the term “waystation” (**e2-kas4**) and is often called a “palace-waystation,” “palace (and) rest house” or “rest house palace”¹¹⁹³ in the secondary literature, though “complex” might provide a better translation than “palace.”¹¹⁹⁴ In the Umma messenger texts the **e2-gal** is only mentioned in relation to highlander groups receiving provisions, who are labeled as “highlanders who went from the complex” (**NIM e2 gal-ta ġen-na**). In the Girsu documents, there are references to highlanders in texts that mention the **e2 gal**, but they are not explicitly stated as leaving it.¹¹⁹⁵ In the Girsu archive, there are summary account tablets that mention the **e2-gal e2-kas4**¹¹⁹⁶ of, primarily, Gu’abba, but also Niġin. As mentioned above, the Iri-Saġrig texts used different terminology for the waystation (**e2-kaskal**) and therefore it is uncertain whether occurrences of **e2 gal** in its messenger texts refers to a waystation complex or an actual palace. Context undoubtedly plays a role and determines whether the collocation of **e2** and **gal** refers to a royal palace, a governor’s residence or a complex. A focused study of **e2 gal** in the administrative documents might help to further clarify this situation. It should

¹¹⁹³ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 308 and Heimpel, “Towards and Understanding of the Term SiKKum,” 28-29. Notizia (*I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 91) states that the “palaces” were the direct expression of the provincial governor’s authority on his provincial territory, and notes that the attendants (**ġir3-se3-ga**) of the “palace” and waystation were always listed together (**ġir3-se3-ga e2-gal e2-kas4**) but were listed separately from the attendants of the temples (**ġir3-se3-ga e2-diġir-re-ne**).

¹¹⁹⁴ In Šulgi A line 29 the **gal** of **e2 gal-la** should be understood as an adjective and not as part of the noun **e2-gal**. Following **e2 gal-la** is the verbal chain **ġe2-bi2-du3** and therefore **e2** and **gal** constitute the intransitive subject of the verb **du3**. The suffixed morpheme /a/ to **gal** must be either a locative marker or an adjectival marker. Since the locative marker does not make sense, it must be the adjectival marker.

¹¹⁹⁵ The highlander groups will be expounded below.

¹¹⁹⁶ Translated as either “palace (and) rest house” or “rest house palace”, of which Heimpel (“Towards and Understanding of the term SiKKum,” 29) favors the former due to “the existence of the single small palace without a rest house next to the **e2-gal e2-kas4** in RTC 399.” This text lists personnel of the **e2-gal**, the **e2-kas4** and the **e2-gal e2-kas4** and it is not clear whether this refers to completely separate entities or to two parts of the same complex. The combination of **e2-gal** and **e2-kas4** also occurs in a tablet basket label (P204306 / Nisaba 22, 62): **pisan dub-ba / gurun2 ak dab5-ba / e2 4nin-mar-ki / eš3 didli / e2-gal e2-kas4 / ša3 gu2-ab-ba**^{ki}.

be noted, however, that the terms “king” (**lugal**), “prince” (**dumu lugal**) or “princess” (**dumu-munus lugal**) never occur in conjunction with the **e2 gal** in messenger texts, regardless of archive. Additionally, the only deity directly associated with the Girsu complex is Šulpae who, Heimpel notes, is given the epithet “Night watcher of the one of the road” (**ḏmaškim-ĝi6-lu2-ḥar-ra-an-na**).¹¹⁹⁷

Second, in the Girsu texts, the complex (**e2 gal**) is almost always mentioned in conjunction with the **en-nu(-ĝa2)** “watch, guard; prison,” though the **en-nu** does have a number of occurrences separate from the **e2 gal**. The contexts are standard messenger texts which include rations for personnel within these entities: **ša3 en-nu(-me/še3)**, **ša3 e2 gal(-me/še3)**. Civil has shown that the Ur III use of the term **en-nu** can refer to either a “watch/guard” or “imprisonment,” and thinks that the latter gloss is the more frequent in this period, especially when the term is used with the verbs **tī(l)** “to live,” **tuš** “to sit/dwell,” with those designated as **lu2-dab5-ba** “ones who are seized/taken,” and with phrases such as **ša3 en-nu-ĝa2** “within the **en-nu**.”¹¹⁹⁸ This is followed by Heimpel who suggested that the **en-nu** attached to the waystation was a prison which housed captives (the “seized ones” **lu2-dab5-ba** who were “seized by weapons or casting nets” **lu2 ḡištukul-e/sa-bar-re dab5-ba**), though some were put to work in other parts of the

¹¹⁹⁷ Heimpel (“Towards an Understanding of the Term SiKKum,” 29) is following Falkenstein’s discussion based off of an Old Babylonian god list (TCL 15, 10); Adam Falkenstein, “Sumerische religiöse Texte,” ZA 55 (1962): 25-28. Sallaberger (*Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit*, Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1993: 93-94) understands Šulpae’s role, based on his connection to the “palace,” to be that of a personal or familial deity of the governor of Girsu province. However, after an admittedly brief search, I could not find any direct association with Šulpae and the governors of Girsu.

¹¹⁹⁸ Miguel Civil, “On Mesopotamian Jails and their Lady Warden,” in *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo*, edited by Mark E. Cohen, Daniel C. Snell and David B. Weisberg, 72-78 (Bethesda: CDL Press, 1993): 75. Civil notes that some of the personnel in the **en-nu** were imprisoned for theft or desertion (**zah3**), though note that Sallaberger (“Ur III-Zeit,” 328) simply gives a gloss of “absent” (*ferngeblieben*) for **zah3** and states that its basic connotation is to refer to workers who had not appeared for their duty or reported in to their supervisor.

complex, such as the woodshed.¹¹⁹⁹ However, the notion that the **en-nu** is a prison in most occurrences is not certain, and the translation of **lu2-dab5-ba** as “captive” has not gone uncontested.¹²⁰⁰ Therefore we should look at the term in other messenger texts to see if we can find some more solid examples of the **en-nu** connoting a prison in this genre.

The term **en-nu** does not occur in the Umma messenger texts but it does appear in the ones from Iri-Saġrig.¹²⁰¹ The context for the occurrences are all the same - personnel are given rations for “when they came to the guard(-post) of the grain of the harvest” (**ud en-nu-ġa2 še buru14-ka-še3 im-e-re-ša-a / im-ġen-na-a**).¹²⁰² This manning or overseeing of the guard assigned to protect the harvested grain was conducted by military personnel: generals (**šakkan6**)¹²⁰³ and (semi-)professional soldiers (**aga3-us2**).¹²⁰⁴ Most of the occurrences of this phrase refer to a single soldier, Šeškala, who apparently stayed at the waystation and received rations since he had been struck by a bandit and was injured (**šeš-kal-la aga3-us2 lugal tu-ra...lu2-sa-gaz-ke4 in-sig3-ga**) when assigned to the task of guarding the harvest.

¹¹⁹⁹ Heimpel, “The Industrial Park of Girsu in the Year 2042 B.C.,” 392.

¹²⁰⁰ See above in the section on the **eren2** for Steinkeller’s gloss of “conscript” for this term.

¹²⁰¹ Note that outside of the messenger text genre the **en-nu(-ġa2)** appears in all of the main archives.

¹²⁰² Owen (*Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saġrig / Al-Šarrākī*, 166) translates “when they came for the guard(ing) of the grain (from) the harvest.” This treats **en-nu-ġa2** as a verb (albeit a non-finite verb) rather than a noun. If this were the case, one should probably expect **urin** “to guard, watch” (Akk. *našāru*) instead of **en-nu-ġa2** “guardpost, watchpost” (Akk. *maššartu*). Additionally, the method used in the Iri-Saġrig messenger texts to connote going some place to *do* something was by suffixing **-de3** to a non-finite verbal base. For examples, see *ibid*, 165-178. This distinction might seem a bit pedantic, but it is likely more accurate to say that generals and soldiers went to a specific guarding location - an actual watchpost - rather than that they went for the purpose of guarding. Either translation entails both of these notions, but the translation of the term as a noun instead of a verb may suggest that there were specific guardposts throughout a province that could be manned for various reasons. One document (Owen, *Studies Milano*, AOAT 346, 341 no. 5) suggests that a guardpost was stationed on the banks of the Tabi-Mama canal: **ud en-nu še gu2 id2 ta2-bi2-ma-ma-še3 im-e-re-ša-a**.

¹²⁰³ P453665 / Nisaba 15/2, 143; P453628 / Nisaba 15/2, 77.

¹²⁰⁴ The other designation associated with the guarding of the harvest, besides general or soldier, was **lu2-kiġ2-gi4-a lugal** “on royal assignment.” For a discussion of this term, see below.

Outside of the messenger text genre we see, at Iri-Saġrig, that sesame was also guarded: **3 ġuruš 1(barig) dabin-ta dabin-bi 3(barig) šu ba-ab-ti ud en-nu še-ġiš-i3-ka-še3 im-e-re-ša-a ġiri3 gu-za-ni** “3 male workers received 60 liters of semolina, totaling 180 liters, when they came to the guardpost of the sesame; via Guzani,”¹²⁰⁵ as well as wood and reeds: **192 gun2 ġiš³ma-nu šu ak 576 gun2 ġiš³ma-nu 12,330 sa gi ki lu2 en-nu ġiš gi-ta** “192 talents (6.3 tons) of worked willow wood, 576 talents (19 tons) of (unworked) willow wood, 12,330 bundles of reeds - from the guardsman of the wood and reeds.”¹²⁰⁶ There are a couple of texts which refer to troops of the *šarrabdu*-official who were given one to two liters of bread a day for thirty days, in the **en-nu**.¹²⁰⁷ The personnel numbered from forty-eight to sixty-six **ġuruš**. The fact that relatively large numbers of people, who are designated as both able-bodied men (**ġuruš**) and troops (**eren2**) of the *šarrabdu*-official, are grouped together in the **en-nu**, militate against understanding them as prisoners.¹²⁰⁸ Nevertheless, the Iri-Saġrig texts do show the **en-nu-ġa2** being used as a prison for criminals, as this example shows:¹²⁰⁹

1(barig) še e-la-ag-nu-id dumu da-da na-gada ba-uš2 / 1(barig) i-šar2-pa-dan dumu i3-li2-tab-ba / gab2-us2 da-da na-gada / ġir3-se3-ga^dnin-ħur-saġ keš³ki-ta / lu2 udu-a u8 ba-an-zuħ-ša-a-me / 5(ban2) nu nu-ur2-i3-li2 dumu be-li2-ba-ni / ġir3-se3-ga^dne3-iri11-gal ki an-za-gar³ki-ta / lu2 e2-kug-za-gin3 e2

¹²⁰⁵ P412133 / Nisaba 15/2, 109. The seal of Guzani labels him as an **aga3-us2 lugal** and seems to show that the professional soldier was responsible for provisioning the men manning the guardpost.

¹²⁰⁶ P387866 / Nisaba 15/2, 191.

¹²⁰⁷ P453958 / Nisaba 15/2, 614 and P454043 / Nisaba 15/2, 764: **38 ġuruš 2 sila3 ninda-ta / 10 dumu nita2 1 sila3-ta / ninda-bi 1(barig) 2(u) 6 sila3 / ud 1-kam ud 30-kam / šu-niġin2 8(aš) 3(barig) ninda gur / eren2 šar2-ra-ab-du / ib-gu7 / ša3 en-nu-ġa2 / ġiri3 še-le2-bu-um dub-sar** “38 male workers at 2 liters of bread each, 10 male sons/subordinates at 1 liter each - that bread (amounts to) 86 liter a day for 30 days (for a) total of 2580 liters of bread that the troops of the *šarrabdu*-official consumed. In the *ennuġ*, via Šelebum the scribe.”

¹²⁰⁸ Note that P453958 labels them as **eren2 šar2-ra-ab-du dabs-ba** which could be understood as “captive troops of the *šarrabdu*-official.” However, one wonders why such a large group of workers assigned to a certain official would have been imprisoned. This, as was shown above, depends on how one understands the verb **dabs**.

¹²⁰⁹ P453980 / Nisaba 15/2, 643.

^dPAP.NAGAR ša₃ an-za-gar₃^{ki} ba-an-zuḥ-a / ša₃ en-nu gu-la e₂-saĝ-da-na
 nibru^{ki}-ta / ġiri₃ pi₅-ša-aḥ-DINGIR ḥa-za-num₂ / šu-niġin₂ 2 ġuruš 1(barig)
 še-ta / šu-niġin₂ 1 ġuruš 5(ban₂) / še-bi 2(barig) 5(ban₂) itud 1-kam / itud šu-
 ġar-ra-ta / itud še-KIN-kud-še₃ / itud-bi itud 12-am₃ / šu-niġin₂ še-bi 7(aš)
 1(barig) 5(ban₂) gur / še-ba UN-ġa₆-e-ne / ša₃ gurum₂-ma-na i₃-ib₂-ge-en₆ /
 ab-ba uru mu ugula i₃-dab₅ / ġiri₃ ur-mes ensi₂ / mu ^di-bi₂-^dsuen lugal

“60 liters of grain (for) Elagnuid the son of Dada the chief shepherd, who died (and) 60 liters (for) Išar-padan the son of Ili-tappû, the shepherd of Dada the chief shepherd - they are sheep-workers who stole ewes from the attendant of Ninḫursaĝ of Keš. 50 liters (for) Nur-ili the son of Beli-bani who stole (from) the ‘bright-lapis-house’ (of) the temple of Papnagar within Anzagar, from the attendant of Nergal, from Anzagar. From within the large “prison” (of) Esaĝdana-Nippur, via Pišaḥ-illum the *ḥazannum*. Total: 2 men at 60 liters each; total: 1 man at 50 liters - its grain (amounts to) 170 liters per month, from the month Šugara to the month Šesagkud, (amounting to) 12 months; the total of that grain (is) 2210 liters. Grain allotments of the menials verified in his inspection; the elders of the city took control of on behalf of the overseer. Via Ur-Mes the governor. *DATE*.”

Therefore like texts from Umma and Girsu, the term **en-nu** can denote “detention,” though the relevance of this gloss probably should be determined on a case-by-case basis. Following are some additional points that give one pause in accepting that the majority of cases regarding **en-nu** should be glossed as “prison, detention.”

1) There is no association between **en-nu** and “plunder/prisoner-of-war” in any Ur III document, let alone in the messenger text genre. Indeed, one messenger text lists provisions for those in the **en-nu** (ša₃ **en-nu**), “seized” (probably “conscripted”) highlanders (**NIM dab₅-ba-me**), soldiers of the secretary-of-state (**aga₃-us₂ sukkal-maḥ**) and prisoners-of-war (**nam-ra-ak**) consecutively, yet separately.¹²¹⁰

2) Only kennel-men texts associated the **lu₂-dab₅-ba** and **en-nu** and there is not enough context to decide whether **lu₂-dab₅-ba ša₃ en-nu** should be translated as

¹²¹⁰ P109986 / HLC 2, 109. This does not necessarily exclude local criminals, but does show that at least prisoners-of-war and foreigners were not housed there.

“captives in prison” or “conscripts in the watch(post).” The related term **lu₂ al-dab₅-ba** “ones who were taken” only occurs twice and the contexts are equally ambiguous. Note, however, that one of the documents lists grain expenditures for **lu₂ al-dab₅-ba ša₃ en-nu-me** which include: thirty men (**ĝuruš**) for seventeen days, forty plot-managers (**engar**) for six days, plus seven named individuals, including a priest (**gudu₄**) and a sailor (**ma₂-lah₆**), for twenty-nine days.¹²¹¹

3) Dogs (**ur**, **ur-gir₁₅**) are always associated with the complex or palace (**e₂ gal** / **e₂-gal**) and never with the **en-nu**.¹²¹² The only documents that could be argued show an association between dogs and the **en-nu** are a few Girsu messenger texts and a kennel-man text which list provisions for those in the **en-nu** and for kennel-men and their dogs consecutively at the end of the tablet, but which do not necessarily connect them together.¹²¹³ However, we have multiple texts from different proveniences which do explicitly connect dogs with the complex. A few examples should suffice: 1) five dogs went from the complex, receiving ten liters of semolina as (part) of their food (**5 ur-gir₁₅ e₂-gal-ta er-ra ša₃-gal ud 1-a-bi 1(ban₂) dabin-ta**; P122123 / Nik. 2, 440 (Umma)); 2) two *minas* of wool were expended for dog *leashes*[?] for dogs that went to the complex (**ad-tab ur-še₃ e₂ gal-še₃ er-ra**; P375998 / Nisaba 24, 38 (Umma)); 3) one sheep for the dog

¹²¹¹ P108953 / DAS 206 (5/--/AS09). The recipients only receive one liter of bread, but this does not mean that is the sum of their entire daily allotments, since the Girsu texts are known to list separate commodities on separate tablets. Notizia (*I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 92-95) notes that those in the **en-nu** often received large quantities of beer and some high-quality provisions as well; he describes the various types of people housed in the **en-nu** as *lavoratori coscritti* “conscripted workers”.

¹²¹² Dogs are mentioned in the Girsu and Iri-Saĝrig messenger texts and dog handlers are found in all three archives. For dogs attested at Puzriš-Dagan and their connection with the military, see Christina Tsouparopoulou “The ‘K-9 Corps’ of the Third Dynasty of Ur: The Dog Handlers at Drehem and the Army,” *ZA* 102 (2012): 1-16. For dogs at Iri-Saĝrig, see David Owen, “Of Dogs and (Kennel)Men,” *CDLB* 2013/2: 1-7.

¹²¹³ For example, see P128257 / Rochester 152 and P119654 / MVN 17, 12 for the messenger texts, and P102546 / Kennelmen no. 15.

keeper and two sheep among the four (dogs) stationed in the complex were issued (**e2 gal-la gub-ba**; P145056 / SAT 3, 1856 (Puzriš-Dagan)); and 4) Šunabar, who is labeled as a dog-keeper (**sipad ur-gir₁₅**) but whose seal impression identifies him as a royal soldier (**aga3-us₂ lugal**), received sixty sheep carcasses, ten ox carcasses and fifteen pig carcasses as the monthly fodder for the dogs of the complex (**ša3-gal ur-gir₁₅ e2 gal**) under the authority (**ugula**) of the general Nir-idaġal (P453717 / Nisaba 15/2, 229 (Iri-Saġrig). Other Iri-Saġrig messenger texts (especially the monthly summary tablets) mention animal carcasses to feed the lion and dogs of the palace (**ša3-gal ur-mah₃ u3 ur-gir₁₅ e2-gal**).¹²¹⁴ One would expect that if dogs were present at waystation complexes, some would be used for guarding prisoners and therefore would be associated with the **en-nu** if it were indeed strictly a prison.¹²¹⁵

Therefore we should agree with Notizia that the gloss of “prison” for the term **en-nu** in the messenger texts is too restrictive and though it could be used as a detention center for criminals, it was often used as a collection center for various types of workers.¹²¹⁶ This is what we see in the Akkadian counterpart of **en-nu-ġa₂**, *maššartum*, which can refer to: “watch, guard” (as both an individual and/or detachment), “watchhouse, post,” “defenses” (of a city), “detention, security,” and “goods kept in safe keeping.”¹²¹⁷

¹²¹⁴ P387949 / Nisaba 15/2, 718 (1/--/IS02): 18 ox carcasses, 366 sheep carcasses, 60 pig carcasses. Note its counterpart for cereal expenditures: P387939 / Nisaba 15/2, 719 (1/--/IS02): 1470 liters of bread.

¹²¹⁵ For the close association between dogs and military personnel, see Tsouparopoulou, “The ‘K-9 Corps’ of the Third Dynasty of Ur: 1-16. She also notes (11) that classical sources portray dogs as being used on patrol, with messengers, as guards and for hunting.

¹²¹⁶ Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 92.

¹²¹⁷ CAD vol. 10, 333-340. The word *maššartum* is a *maprast* noun form of *našāru* indicating the place in which the action was taken; Huehnergard, *A Grammar of Akkadian, second edition* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2005) 377-379.

Third, Heimpel has shown, via messenger texts and kennel-men texts, that at Girsu the waystation was connected to a large production complex which included, along with (or as part of) the **e2 gal** and **en-nu**, a depot (**ġa2-nun**), a timber warehouse (**ġa2-nun ġiš**), livestock ranches (**e2-udu**, **e2-gud**), a kitchen, kennel and a shipyard.¹²¹⁸ Attached to the waystation complex was the *siKKum* (**zi-gum2**, **zi-gu5-um**), a term which seems to designate “a service for the benefit of royal messengers on their travels” that provided equid-pulled chariots and boats for transport, and was supported by scribes, grooms, cooks, craftsmen and other personnel.¹²¹⁹ *SiKKum* equids are thought to have been stationed at most waystations, but were also stationed in localities that are considered not to have had the **e2-kas4**.¹²²⁰ However, it is not clear whether some districts use the term *siKKum* as synecdoche to refer to the **e2-kas4** or **e2-gal e2-kas4** as a whole, or whether this is a product of the material that has survived and has been discovered.¹²²¹ Places in which a *siKKum* are attested are: Girsu, Kisura, Kalamsaga, Gu’abba, Asuna, Hurim, Nippur, Lugal-Suen, Iri-Saġrig, and Saġdana (Puzriš-Dagan).¹²²² Chariots¹²²³ and boats

¹²¹⁸ Heimpel, “The Industrial Park of Girsu in the Year 2042 B.C.,” 390-394.

¹²¹⁹ Heimpel, “Towards and Understanding of the Term *SiKKum*,” 29.

¹²²⁰ Ibid, 28 and Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 16-17.

¹²²¹ Note that references to the **e2-kas4** are relatively rare (about 170), in comparison to the number of messenger texts, and that we have only a handful of summary tablets or tablet basket labels, the text types which would explicitly reference the waystation. Additionally, there are no explicit references to equids of the **e2-kas4**, only to those of the *sikkum*.

¹²²² P108977 / DAS 242 mention fodder for equid teams of the *sikkums* of Girsu, Kisura and Kalamsaga; P111193 / ITT 3, 5443 lists fodder amounts for the *sikkum* equids of Gu’abba, Hurim and Asuna. P110159 / HLC 3, 286 list 5 **ġuruš** for the *sikkum* of Nippur, P315912 / PPAC 5, 173 mentions 5 **ġuruš** for the *sikkum* of Lugal-Suen, and P406050 / Nisaba 22, 86 mentions *sikkum* equids of Saġdana.

¹²²³ Heimpel (“Towards and Understanding of the Term *SiKKum*,” 29) suggests that royal messengers traveled on chariots or coaches of the *sikkum* that were pulled by four or eight equids. However, a text from Iri-Saġrig (P333680 / Nisaba 15/2, 879) suggests that equid teams were smaller:

6^{anše}kunga2 2(barig) 3 (ban2)-ta / 2 kir4-dab5 1(barig) 1(ban2) 5 sila3-ta / itud 1-kam / itud 12-še3 / še-bi 42 gur / ša3-gal^{anše}kunga2 / zi-gu5-um “6 equid-hybrids at 150 liters each (and) 2 chariot-drivers at 75 liters each per month for 12 months. That grain (amounts to) 12,600 liters. (It is) fodder for the equid-hybrids of the *sikkum*.”

The tally of six equids and two chariot drivers shows that each driver controlled a team of three equids. However, it may not be that simple since similar documents do not always match the number of chariot

were prominent features of the *siKKum* and were either constructed or repaired on-site; we have records for materials and supplies that explicitly refer to them as belonging to the *siKKum*; below are a few examples:

Chariots:

P106541 / BIN 5, 107 (Umma):

1/3 kuš gud u₂-ḫab₂ / 2 kuš udu a i₃-ri₂-na / 1 sa gud / 10 gin₂ še-gin₂ / ḡi^šgigir zi-gum₂-ma-ke₄ / šu-dug₄-dug₄-ga / 1 ḡuruš ud 1-še₃ / ḡiri₃ an-na-ḫi-li-bi / lu₂-kiḡ₂-gi₄-a lugal / mu us₂-sa ma₂ ^den-ki ba-ab-du₈

“1/3 of an ox hide tanned with oak gall, 2 sheep hides tanned with ivy fluid, 1 ox sinew, 10 shekels of glue - that was used on the chariot(s) of the *sikkum*. 1 male worker for one day. Via Annaḫilibi, on royal assignment. DATE.”

P453657 / Nisaba 15/2, 134 (Iri-Saḡrig):

1/2 kuš gud babbar / ḡi^šgigir zi-gu₅-um / ba-ra-keš₂ / ud ša-at-^dšul-gi dumu-munus lugal / BAD₃.AN^{ki}-še₃ / ba-ḡen-na-a / mu ^dšu-^dsuen lugal urim^{ki}-ma-ke₄ / e₂ ^dšara₂ umma^{ki} / mu-du₃

“1/2 of a white ox hide was bound (or “used”) onto the chariot of the *sikkum* when Šat-Šulgi the princess went to Der. DATE.”

Boats:

P136064 lines 1-3 (Umma):

45 ḡi^šeme-sig / 4 ur₂ ḡi^šma-nu / ma₂ zi-gum₂-ma-še₃

“45 boat planks (and) 4 bases of *manu*-wood for the boat(s) of the *sikkum*”

P249069 lines 1-2 (Umma):

80 ḡi^šmi-ri₂-za / ma₂ zi-gum₂

“80 boards (for) the boat(s) of the *sikkum*”

P142916 lines 1-4 (Umma):

3(barig) še-ba gu-du-du ašgab / 1 gur a-du / 1 gur ^dšara₂-i₃-zu / ma₂-lah₄ zi-gu₅-um-ma

“180 liters (is) the grain ration (for) Gududu the leatherworker, 300 liters (for) Adu, 300 liters for Šara-izu the sailor/boatman of the *sikkum*”

P205021 / BPOA 1, 334 (Girsu):

drivers with the number of equid teams (see P412080 / Nisaba 15/2, 945 which lists 2 chariot drivers, but only one equid team).

11 ġuruš 10 gin₂ i₃-ta / i₃-bi 1 5/6 sila₃ / i₃-ba ġi^štukul-e dab₅-ba /
 ma₂-gid₂ zi-gum₂-ma gub-ba / zi-ga / itud gu₄-ra₂-izi-mu / mu
 en-nun-e-/^damar-^dsuen-ra-ki-aġ₂ ba-ĥuġ
 “11 male workers (received) 10 shekels of oil each - that oil
 (amounted to) 1 5/6 liters. (It is) the oil ration (for those)
 conscripted for military service¹²²⁴ - (they are) boat-towers
 stationed at the *sikkum*. Expenditures. DATE.”

Most of the texts that refer to the construction or refurbishment of chariots and boats of the *siKKum* belong to the archive from Umma, with only a few references to chariots in the Iri-Saġrig texts and no reference to either in the Girsu texts, except for the indirect reference to boat towers stationed at the *siKKum*. That chariots and boats were staples of the waystations in Girsu province is attested indirectly.¹²²⁵ For chariots, there are references in messenger texts to equid teams and fodder for equids of the *siKKum*.¹²²⁶ For boats, there are references to provisions given to various errand-runners that were “put in the boat” (ma₂-a ġar-ra) and designations for travel to and from the sea (a-ab-ba-ta/še₃)¹²²⁷

Heimpel expected that more “industrial parks” would be found.¹²²⁸ His assumption was correct, for the texts from Iri-Saġrig produce a few month-long or multi-month summary accounts which records expenditures of what has to be a similar

¹²²⁴ For the expression ġi^štukul-e dab₅-ba, see the section on the *eren₂*.

¹²²⁵ Though there are no references to chariots of the *sikkum* in Girsu texts, there is one reference to a chariot of the e₂-ka₄ (P124726 col. iii lines 24-25): 1 sila₃ i₃-ša₂ / ġi^šgigir e₂-ka₄ ba-ab-saġ “1 liter of grease was used to improve the chariot(s) of the waystation.”

¹²²⁶ See, for example, P132733 / TCTI 2 3505, rev. lines 10-13: 1 bir₃ anše kunga₂ 1(ban₂) še-ta / ud 1-kam ud 30-še₃ / še-bi 1 še gur-am₃ / ša₃-gal anše kunga₂ zi-gum₂ / ša₃ ġir₂-su^{ki} “1 team of equid-hybrids (received) 10 liters of grain each per day for 30 days. That grain (amounts to) 300 liters of grain. (It is) fodder (for) the equid-hybrids of the *sikkum* in Girsu.”

¹²²⁷ For some examples, see P132585 / TCTI 2, 3342 and P115772 / MVN 9, 129. The phrase “put in the boat” occurs in neither Umma nor Iri-Saġrig messenger texts. Designations “to/from the sea” do not occur in Umma and only occurs once in Iri-Saġrig.

¹²²⁸ Heimpel, “The Industrial Park of Girsu,” 399.

“industrial complex” and has features that are found in the Girsu messenger and kennelmen texts as well as in the hymn to Šulgi.

P387949 / Nisaba 15/2, 718

15 sila₃ tu₇ / eš₃-eš₃ ki lugal-še₃ / **1** amar-ga / **24** udu šeĝ₆-ĝa₂ / **63** ma-la-ku
udu / **792** sila₃ tu₇ / **8** dug 0.0.3-ta / **44** dug 0.0.2-ta / **16** ^{dug}za₃-še₃-la₂ **5** sila₃-ta /
lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal u₃ zi-ga didli / **20** ad₃ tu-gur^{mušen}₄ / **640** mušen-tur-tur /
2100 sila₃ tu₇ / **0.0.4** ga-imgaga₃ / **17** dug 0.0.3-ta / **geme₂ uš-bar a-li₂-ni-su** /
275 mušen-tur-tur / **1022** sila₃ tu₇ / **geme₂ giš-i₃-sur-sur geme₂-kinkin₂ geme₂**
e₂-lunga₃ u₃ geme₂ e₂-kurušda / **800** sila₃ tu₇ / **eren₂ šar₂-ra-ab-du u₃ si₁₂-a**
gibil / **690** sila₃ tu₇ si₁₂-a ^{giš}kiri₆-ke₄-ne / **18** ad₃ gu₄ / **366** ad₃ udu / **60** ad₃ šah₂ /
ša₃-gal ur-mah u₃ ur-gir₁₅ e₂-gal / **im-bi 56** / **zi-ga ĝar-ĝar-a uzu** / ^dIŠKUR-ra-
bi₂ aĝrig / **itud šu-ĝar-gal** / **mu en** ^dinana unug^{ki} maš₂-e i₃-pad₃ / **i-šar-ra-ra-**
ma-šu / **šu-i₃-li₂-su**

“15 liters of soup (concentrate) for the eš₃-eš₃-festival of the king’s place; 1 suckling calf, 24 roasted sheep, 63 cuts of mutton, 792 liters of soup (in) 8 jars of 30 liters each (and) 44 jars of 20 liters each, 16 zagšela-jars of 5 liters each - (for) those on royal assignment and various expenditures; 20 dove carcasses; 640 little birds; 2100 liters of soup; 40 liters of emmer beer; 17 jars of 30 liters each - (for) the female weavers of Alinisu; 275 little birds, 1022 liters of soup - (for) female workers (who are) oil pressers, millers, brewery workers and workers in the fattening establishment; 800 liters of soup (for) the troops of the šarrabdu-official and new sia-workers; 690 liters of soup (for) the sia-workers of the orchards; 18 ox carcasses, 366 sheep carcasses, 60 pig carcasses (as) fodder (for) the lions and dogs of the complex. Their tablets (amount to) 56. Issued expenditures of meat (from) Adad-rabi the steward. DATE.”

Here we see soup and poultry expenditures for the eš₃-eš₃-festival at the royal residence (eš₃-eš₃ lugal), for those on royal assignment and for various purposes (lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal u₃ zi-ga didli), for female weavers, oil-pressers, millers, workers of the brewery and workers of the feedlot (geme₂ uš-bar geme₂ giš-i₃-sur-sur geme₂-kinkin₂ geme₂ e₂-lunga₃ u₃ geme₂ e₂-kurušda), for troops of the šarrabdu-official and new workers (eren₂ šar₂-ra-ab-du u₃ si₁₂-a gibil), for the workers of the gardens/orchards (si₁₂-a ^{giš}kiri₆-ke₄-ne) and lastly as fodder for the lions and dogs of the “palace” (ša₃-gal ur-mah u₃ ur-

gir₁₅ e₂-gal). This tally is the summation of separate expenditures that were recorded on fifty-six individual tablets (**im-bi 56**) and the reference to **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** (traditionally glossed as “messengers” though “on royal assignment” is more accurate), an **e₂-gal** (“palace” or “complex”), dogs, and workers of the brewery and feedlot accord well with the Girsu messenger texts that record provisions for the messengers, a “palace,” and dogs, and the references to female workers, a feedlot and to dogs agrees with the receipts of the kennel men texts. This document only records meat and soup provisions yet, as mentioned above, there were also beer and bread provisions disbursed to personnel as well. Fortunately, we have a summary tablet that records the monthly expenditure of grain products that dates to the same month and year:

P387939 / Nisaba 15/2, 719

3(ban₂) ninda / 9 sila₃ nig₂-i₃-de₂-a / 6 (sila₃) ninda-i₃ / eš₃-eš₃ ki lugal-še₃ / 8(aš) 3(barig) 5(ban₂) 2 sila₃ kaš gur / 9(aš) 2(barig) 3(ban₂) 3 sila₃ ninda gur / 1 sila₃ niĝ₂-i₃-de₂-a / lu₂-kin-gi₄-a lugal u₃ zi-ga didli / 8(aš) kaš gur / geme₂ uš-bar ki a-li₂-ni-su / 1(aš) 4(barig) kaš gur / geme₂ i₃ sur-sur-ra geme₂-kinkin₂ u₃ geme₂ e₂-kurušda / 1(aš) 4(barig) 4(ban₂) 8 sila₃ kaš gur / 4 (barig) 5(ban₂) 4 sila₃ ninda / UN-ĝa₆-me / 15(aš) 3(barig) ninda gur / eren₂ šar₂-ra-ab-du u₃ lu₂ še gu₇-a / 4(aš) 4(barig) 3(ban₂) ninda gur / ša₃-gal ur-mah u₃ ur-gir₁₅ e₂-gal / im-bi 50 / zi-ga gar-gar-a kaš-ninda / ^dIŠKUR-ra-bi₂ aĝrig / itud šu-gar-gal / mu en ^dInanna Unu^{ki} maš₂-e i₃-pad₃ / [(x)] Puzur^d4-Nin-gi-[x] / Lu₂-^dBa-u₂

“30 liters of bread, 9 liters of sweet paste 6 liters of cake, for the eš-eš-festival at the royal residence; 2632 liters of beer, 2853 liters of bread (and) 1 liter of ----- for those on royal assignment and various expenditures; 2400 liters of beer (for) the female weavers of Ali-nisu; 540 liters of beer (for) the female oil-pressers, millers and workers of the feedlot; 588 liters of beer (and) 294 liters of bread (for) the UNĝa-workers; 4680 liters of bread (for) the troops of the šarrabdu-official and those who eat grain; 1470 liters of bread as fodder (for) the loins and dogs of the “palace”. Its tablets (amount to) fifty. Expenditures made of beer and bread (from) Adad-rabi the steward. Date. Puzur-Ningi[x] (and) Lu-Bau.”

Therefore we see there were a large variety of workers and personnel involved with the waystations and their associated complexes which the monthly and annual summary

tablets record as **kas₄ didli-me** “various (errand)-runners” at Girsu and **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal** “those on royal assignment” at Iri-Saĝrig.

Consequently, we find a range of titles and occupations in the messenger text genre, some associated with the function and maintenance of these waystation complexes and others associated with the personnel who utilized these stations. Below is a table displaying the different personnel and their designations as they occur in each corpus of messenger texts:

Table 49: Titles/Designations and the Number of their Attestations in Messenger Texts ¹²²⁹						
Umma		Girsu		Iri-Saġrig		Meaning of Title
<i>“Messengers”</i>						
sukkal	535	sukkal	2519	sukkal	102	“emissary / secretary”
lu ₂ -kiġ ₂ -gi ₄ -a (lugal)	52	lu ₂ -kiġ ₂ -gi ₄ -a (lugal)	41	lu ₂ -kiġ ₂ -gi ₄ -a (lugal)	1510	“envoy / on (royal) assignment”
(lu ₂)-kas ₄	158	(lu ₂)-kas ₄	1173	(lu ₂)-kas ₄	-- ¹²³⁰	“messenger / errand-runner”
ra ₂ -gaba	7	ra ₂ -gaba	160	ra ₂ -gaba	47	“boat-courier”
<i>Military Titles / Functions</i>						
sukkal-maḥ	2	sukkal-maḥ	16	---	--	“ <i>sukkalmah</i> / secretary-of-state”
---	--	---	--	egir sukkal-maḥ	13	“adjutant to the <i>sukkalmah</i> ”
šeš sukkal-maḥ	1	šeš sukkal-maḥ	3	---	--	“brother / assistant of <i>sukkalmah</i> ”
dumu sukkal-maḥ	1	dumu sukkal-maḥ	6	dumu sukkal-maḥ	23	“son / subordinate of <i>sukkalmah</i> ”
šakkan ₆	5	šakkan ₆	39	šakkan ₆	27	“general”
---	--	nu-banda ₃	48	nu-banda ₃	21	“captain”
---	--	dumu nu-banda ₃	254	---	--	“subordinate of the captain”
---	--	---	--	ugula ġeš ₂ -da	1	“master sergeant”
---	--	aga ₃ -us ₂ gal-gal	29	---	--	“great chief soldier”
---	--	aga ₃ -us ₂ gal	314	aga ₃ -us ₂ gal	6	“chief soldier”
aga ₃ -us ₂	18	aga ₃ -us ₂	200	aga ₃ -us ₂	47	“(semi-)professional soldier”
---	--	lu ₂ - ^{ġis} tukul gu-la	559	---	--	“greater soldier/military assignment”
---	--	lu ₂ - ^{ġis} tukul	875	---	--	“soldier / on military assignment”
---	--	lu ₂ - ^{ġis} gigir	7	---	--	“charioteer”
mar-tu	6	mar-tu	215	mar-tu	--	“ <i>Amorite</i> ” ¹²³¹

¹²²⁹ This is just a rough tally, but should be able to show where the “occupational emphases” lay among the archives.

¹²³⁰ In the Iri-Saġrig texts the term occurs only in seals; in the tablets they are labelled **lu₂-kiġ₂-gi₄-a lugal**.

¹²³¹ I am inclined to agree with Michalowski (*The Correspondence of the Kings of Ur*, 109-110) that the word **mar-tu** may have, in some contexts, referred to a professional title rather than as an ethnic identifier, and I think that the messenger texts are a genre in which this is the case. Michalowski (ibid, 107-109) thinks that the term **mar-tu** often had a military connection and that those designated as such might be referring to royal bodyguards due to phrases such as **aga₃-us₂ mar-tu** “Amorite soldiers”, **ugula ġeš₂-da mar-tu** “overseer of sixty Amorites” and **mar-tu igi lugal-še₃ tuš-a** “Amorites

KA-us ₂ -sa ₂	203	---	--	---	--	<i>variant of aga₃-us₂?</i>
---	--	u ₃ -kul	52	---	--	“??”
sipad ur-(gir ₁₅ -)ra	3	sipad ur-(gir ₁₅ -)ra	36	sipad ur-(gir ₁₅ -)ra	11	“kennel man”
<i>Expert / Specialist / Craftsman</i>						
maš ₍₂₎ -šu-gid ₂ -gid ₂	5	---	--	maš ₍₂₎ -šu-gid ₂ -gid ₂	7	“diviner / haruspex”
---	--	gala-maḥ	1	---	--	“great lamentation priest”
---	--	gala	2	---	--	“lamentation priest”
---	--	a-zu	1	a-zu	4	“physician / healer”
---	--	---	--	nar gal	2	“chief musician”
nar	1	nar	4	nar	1	“musician”
šidim	2	šidim	9	šidim	5	“mason / builder”
---	--	nagar	4	---	--	“carpenter”
<i>Royal Titles</i>						
dumu lugal ¹²³²	10	dumu lugal ¹²³³	39	dumu lugal ¹²³⁴	11	“prince”

stationed before the king”. Indeed, the connection between the Amorites and the military is seen in the Old Babylonian period, which kept in use the terms **aga₃-us₂** and **nu-banda₃** but replaced the designation for “general” (**šakkan₆**) with UGULA MAR.TU (*wakil Amurrī* “overseer of Amorites”) at Babylon and GAL MAR.TU (*rab Amurrī* “chief of the Amorites”) at Mari and in the Diyala; Stol, “Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft in Altbabylonischer Zeit,” 779-781. The absence of the term **mar-tu** in the Iri-Saḡrig messenger texts calls into question the idea of their function as bodyguards, since Iri-Saḡrig had a strong royal presence. Notizia (*I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 29, 36-37), however, seems to hint that **mar-tu** was an ethnic designation, but later clarifies that it should be understood to mean “nomad” rather than as a true ethno-linguistic designation. This would be similar to one of the main uses of the Old Babylonian term *ḥanû* which is often translated as “bedouin” (Heimpel, *Letters to the King of Mari*, 34-36). Nevertheless, a detailed and updated study of the term in Ur III administrative documents may help for its further clarification.

¹²³² The princes named in the Umma texts are, and the number of attestations, are: Lu-Nanna (1), Arad-Nanna (1), **Šu-Enlil** (1), Luduga (1), Beli-arik (1), Puzur-Suen (1), KA-Nanna (1), Saḡrig (1), Damiq-Suen (1) and Nabi-Šulgi (1)

¹²³³ The princes named in the Girsu texts are: Ur-Ninsun (11), Nabi-Enlil (7), Etel-pu-Dagan (5), Ur-Nanna (3), Nabi-Suen (4), Puzur-Eštar (2), Ibaya (1), Iddin-Suen (1), Aḫu-wer (1), Ur-Enki (1), **Šu-Enlil** (1), Ali-[x] (1), unnamed (1).

¹²³⁴ Princes named in the Iri-Saḡrig tablets are: Lu-Enlil (3), Ahuni (2), Hulal (2), Šarrum-ili (1), Nanna-maba (1), Naram-Ea (1), and **Šu-Enlil** (1). Note that the only name overlapping among the archives is that of Šu-Enlil. Another interesting thing to note is that Šu-Suen, whose presence in the messenger texts may or may not refer to the fourth king of the dynasty, is never given the title **dumu lugal** in this genre and perhaps mitigates against seeing the person with this name as the future king (Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, 27 n. 112). However, at least in the Neo-Assyrian period, to give the name of the ruling king or crown prince to a commoner was considered a crime punishable by the river ordeal; Laura Kataja, “A Neo-

dumu-munus lugal	2	dumu-munus lugal	3	dumu-munus lugal	2	“princess”
<i>Administrative Titles</i>						
ensi ₂	2 ¹²³⁵	ensi ₂	39 ¹²³⁶	ensi ₂	4 ¹²³⁷	“governor / (foreign) ruler”
---	--	dam ensi ₂	2	---	--	“wife of governor / (foreign) ruler”
---	--	šabra	2	šabra	1	“chief administrator”
---	--	saĝĝa	1	---	--	“chief temple administrator”
---	--	ḥa-za-num ₂	1	---	--	“mayor / military liaison”
dub-sar	4	dub-sar	40	dub-sar	76	“scribe”
maškim	42	maškim	30	---	--	“ <i>maškim</i> / authorizing agent” [?]
<i>Other Titles / Designations</i>						
---	--	di-ku ₅	7	---	--	“judge”
---	---	---	---	gud-gaz	17	“slaughterer”
---	---	gudug	1	gudug	2	“ <i>gudug</i> -priest”
i ₃ -du ₈	2	i ₃ -du ₈	3	i ₃ -du ₈	2	“doorkeeper”
---	---	---	---	kisal-luḥ	7	“courtyard sweeper”
---	---	kurušda	3	kurušda	7	“livestock fattener”
kir ₄ -dab ₅	1	kir ₄ -dab ₅	3	kir ₄ -dab ₅	52	“chariot driver”
---	--	lu ₂ a-tu ₅	17	---	--	“one of the lustration rite”
lu ₂ -bu ₃ -bu ₃	4	lu ₂ -bu ₃ -bu ₃	1	lu ₂ -bu ₃ -bu ₃	2	“??”
---	--	lu ₂ -hu-bu ₇	11	---	--	<i>a type/designation of worker</i>

Assyrian Document on Two Cases of River Ordeal,” SAAB 1/2 (1987): 66. Whether this can be extrapolated as a practice for the Ur III kings is not at all certain, though (with the possible exception of Šu-Suen) occurrences of royal names outside of references to those kings themselves is virtually non-existent. It should be pointed out that the term **dumu lugal** is not entirely clear in what it denotes and why certain royal children were designated as such. Michalowski (“Of Bears and Men,” 294) provides some possibilities: it was an authorized category or unofficial honorific title - either being a way for scribes to identify certain people, though their names often occur without the title. Many of the names above overlap with the names of known generals, so it can probably be said that at least there was no distinction in this term between the biological children of the king and those who married into the royal family.

¹²³⁵ All ensis are foreign rulers (Susa and Sabum)

¹²³⁶ All ensis are foreign rulers (Sabum: 23, Susa: 9, AdamDUN: 5, Duhduhne: 1, Mahili: 1); note that local ensis and the king can appear as ration recipients in summary accounts.

¹²³⁷ All ensis are either foreign rulers or the governor of a garrison (Ḥarši: 2, Urumanšer: 1, Išim-Šulgi 2).

lu ₂ - ^{ġis} gu-za-la ₂	8	lu ₂ - ^{ġis} gu-za-la ₂	8	lu ₂ - ^{ġis} gu-za-la ₂	4	“chair/throne-bearer”
---	---	---	---	lu ₂ - ^{hal} bi	14	“well-head worker”
---	---	lu ₂ -ma ₂ -saġ-ġa ₂	1 ¹²³⁸	lu ₂ -ma ₂ -saġ-ġa ₂	2	“boat pilot”
---	--	lu ₂ mar-sa ₍₃₎ ¹²³⁹	1	lu ₂ mar-sa ₍₃₎	1	“one of the depot / shipyard” ¹²⁴⁰
---	---	---	---	lu ₂ - ^{tug} niġ ₂ -barag ₂	14	“quilter”
---	---	---	---	lu ₂ -tir	4	“forester”
---	--	lu ₂ u ₄ -sakar	14	---	--	“one of the crescent moon”
---	---	lu ₂ -ur ₃ -ra	3	lu ₂ -ur ₃ -ra	42	“spice miller”
---	---	---	---	lu ₂ -uzu	18	“butcher”
---	---	ma ₂ -laḥ _{5/6}	5	ma ₂ -laḥ ₅ (a-kiġ ₂)	6	“boatman / sailor”
muḥaldim	3	muḥaldim	7	muḥaldim	23	“cook / food production manager”
---	---	mušen-du ₃	9	---	---	“bird catcher”
---	---	nu- ^{ġis} kiri ₆	2	---	---	“gardener”
---	---	---	---	pisan-dub-ba	1	“archivist”
sagi	14	sagi	27	sagi	139	“cupbearer”
si ₁₂ -a	3	si ₁₂ -a	5	si ₁₂ -a	4	<i>a type/designation of worker</i>
---	---	sipad ¹²⁴¹	15	---	---	“shepherd”
---	---	---	---	sipad ur-maḥ	2	“lion keeper”
šar ₂ -ra-ab-du	4	šar ₂ -ra-ab-du	26	---	---	<i>a type of official</i>
---	--	šeš lukur	45	---	--	“brother / assistant of <i>lukur</i> ”
---	--	šeš-ba	9	---	--	“assistant?” (cf. šeš-tab-ba)
---	---	šu-i	2	šu-i	80	“barber”
šuš ₃	1	šuš ₃	11	šuš ₃	139	“equerry”
tibira	1	tibira	5	tibira	9	“sculptor”

¹²³⁸ This title occurs more often in the Girsu corpus, though it occurs as the assignment of another person; for example: **1(ban₂) 5 sila₃ zi₃-gu na-ba-sa₆ mar-tu lu₂-ma₂-saġ-ġa₂-ke₄-ne-še₃ ġen-na** “15 liters of flour (for) Nabasa the ‘Amorite’ who went to the boat pilots” (P123060 / CUSAS 16, 223, obverse lines 1-3).

¹²³⁹ P318089 names a prince, judge and 7 **ra₂-gaba** as **lu₂-mar-za**, thus showing titles can be associated with institutions rather than merely occupations.

¹²⁴⁰ note close connection with chariot drivers and equids.

¹²⁴¹ The occurrence of **sipad** here includes shepherds of birds (**mušen** “birds”, **uz-tur** “small ducks”), oxen, sheep and goats (**sipad udu gud-me**) and equids (**sipad anše** “equids”/ **anše kunga₂** “donkey-hybrids” / **si₂-si₂** “horses”). Some of the shepherds tend to equids of the governor (**anše ensi₂**; P414455 / Nisaba 22, 164), some to the equids of the secretary-of-state (**anše sukkal-maḥ**; P132933 / TCTI 2, 3728) and some to the equids of a princess (**anše dumu-munus lugal**; P113537 / WMAH 238).

This table shows that a wide variety of titles and designations are present in each of the messenger text archives (Umma: 30, Iri-Saĝrig: 45, Girsu: 58), many of which overlap, but with substantial variation as well. The vast majority of the designations refer to those who have traditionally been called “messengers.” Among this group in the Girsu and Umma documents, the **sukkal** was the most commonly attested, followed by the **lu₂-kas₄**. Those labeled as **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** and **ra₂-gaba** make up a negligible proportion of the “messengers” in these corpora. The situation is substantially different for the Iri-Saĝrig texts. The **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** comprises most of the “messengers” while the **sukkal**, **lu₂-kas₄** and **ra₂-gaba** constitute a small minority. Here is the percentages of individual “messenger”-types among the “messengers” as a whole:

Umma:	sukkal 71%, lu₂-kas₄ 21%, lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a 7%, ra₂-gaba 1%
Girsu:	sukkal 65%, lu₂-kas₄ 30%, lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a 1%, ra₂-gaba 4%
Iri-Saĝrig:	sukkal 6%, lu₂-kas₄ 0%, lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a 91%, ra₂-gaba 3%

Following the group under the rubric of “messengers,” the next most common group in the messenger texts, for the Umma and Girsu corpora, are those with titles and designations related to the military. In this section we see that the Girsu messenger texts hold both the majority of military terms as well as the greatest number of occurrences of these terms in this genre. The Iri-Saĝrig texts are unique in that they record a large number of non-“messenger” and non-military titles such as “cupbearer” (**sagi**, 139 occurrences), “equerry” (**š_uš₃**, 139 occurrences), “barber” (**š_u-i**, 80 occurrences) and “scribe” (**dub-sar**, 76 occurrences). The breakdown of the percentages of the various types of titles is as such:

	Umma	Girsu	Iri-Saĝrig
“messenger” designations	69%	56%	66%
military designations	22%	38%	6%
other designations	9%	6%	28%

These percentages do not take into account the potential military connections that the “messenger” category had with the military. Regarding the **sukkal**, one should note that the highest political/military position in the kingdom was the **sukkal-mah**, literally “the great **sukkal**.” In documents from Puzriš-Dagan a **sukkal** is frequently the authorizing agent (**maškim**) for meat deliveries for the soldiers (**aga3-us2**)¹²⁴² and we see a similar function in a text from Umma which lists cereal expenditures for royal soldiers (**aga3-us2 lugal**) and equids, with the general Ĥabruša as the conveyor (**ĝiri3**) and sealed by a **sukkal** who is designated as the authorizing agent.¹²⁴³ The document P208523 / Nisaba 11, 19 shows that soldiers could be subordinate (or at least assigned to) a **sukkal**. This is also shown by the seal of Lugal-mea which designates him as **sukkal kas4 ugula aga3-us2** “secretary (of) errand-runners (and) overseer (of) soldiers.”¹²⁴⁴ Regarding the errand-runners (**lu2-kas4**), they occur not infrequently in texts from Puzriš-Dagan as recipients of meat together with soldiers.¹²⁴⁵ They are noted as being the **ĝiri3**-agents for equids taken as plunder, often receiving them from generals.¹²⁴⁶ They also occur as **ĝiri3**-agents for

¹²⁴² See, for example, P107568 / CST 056 (1/17/IS02); P125427 / PDT 1, 11 (2/11/ŠS08); P201160 / Princeton 2, 944 (2/12/ŠS01).

¹²⁴³ P339240 / BPOA 1, 584 (10/--/AS05).

¹²⁴⁴ Frayne, “Ur III Period,” 211: E3/2.1.2.2024. The seal bearer’s name means “king of battle” (**lugal-me3-a**).

¹²⁴⁵ See, for example, P122842 / NYPL 304 (11/19/AS04).

¹²⁴⁶ P111953 (3/20/Š47); P100977 / OIP 115, 287 (7/19/Š48).

livestock deliveries from the periphery.¹²⁴⁷ Therefore the errand-runners at least could have some connection to the military, though they might not have been strictly a part of the military apparatus.¹²⁴⁸ Additionally, these percentages may also be a bit misleading due to the lack of knowledge of the connotations and/or meanings of a number of terms, such as what **mar-tu** precisely designates in this genre, as well as terms such as **KA-us2-sa2** and **u3-kul**. Another potentially misleading issue is that, as will be shown below, **lu2-kiĝ2-gi4-a** was a functional rather than an occupational title and could be used to designate both military and non-military personnel. This is not a large issue for the Umma and Girsu texts, since the **lu2-kiĝ2-gi4-a** make up only an insignificant portion of the “messenger” cadre, but would greatly affect the Iri-Saĝrig percentages, because **lu2-kiĝ2-gi4-a** comprise such a large portion of the titles and often seem to function as a secondary qualification of a person (i.e. PN **sagi lu2-kiĝ2-gi4-a lugal** or PN **dub-sar lu2-kiĝ2-gi4-a lugal**).

Not only were names and titles mentioned in messenger texts, but travel information was included as well. Girsu texts tended to have rather circumspect phrases to indicate from where a person departed who had arrived at the waystation as well as to indicate the destination of personnel who were soon to depart from the waystation. The most common phrase for noting the place from which a person arrived was **GN-ta du-ni** “when he came from GN” (literally “his going from GN”) and the most common phrase for departures to a place was **GN-še3 ĝen-na** “who went to GN.” Rations could be

¹²⁴⁷ P248907 (3/25/AS08); P118295 / MVN 15, 15 (3/--/AS02). The latter text mentions 418 sheep from Der, from the crown-prince Šu-Suen.

¹²⁴⁸ It is interesting that the documents of Ebla from the mid-third millennium use **nig2-kas4** to designate a military expedition; Alfonso Archi, “Who Led the Army of Ebla? Administrative Documents vs. Commemorative Texts,” in *Krieg und Frieden im Alten Vorderasien*, CRRAI 52, edited by Hans Neumann, Reinhard Dittman, Susanne Paulus, Georg Neumann and Anais Schuster-Brandis, 19-26 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014): 20.

divided as those intended for consumption “in the city” (**ša₃ iri**) or, more specifically, at the waystation, and those intended for consumption “for the road” (**kaskal-še₃**). The Iri-Saġrig texts occasionally designated whether the rations were to be consumed (**ša₃ iri**) or were (**kaskal-še₃**). These documents referred to the points of departure and destination of travelers by means of explicit temporal clauses:

ud GN-ta

ba-ġen-na-a / ba-e-re-ša-a / im-ġen-na-a / im-e-re-ša-a

ud GN-še₃

“when he/they came/went from GN”

“when he/they came/went to GN”

The Umma texts generally did not record specific locations from and to which personnel traveled. Rather they used the stereotypical phrases **gaba-ta** and **gaba-še₃** “from over there” and “to over there” to designate travel to and from the other side of the Tigris.¹²⁴⁹

Below are tables which show the frequency of attestation for cities, both local and abroad, that were the origin and destination of various travelers:

Table 50: References to Foreign Locales in the Messenger Texts¹²⁵⁰

Umma	Girsu	Iri-Saġrig
AdamDUN (6)	Susa (1018)	Der (289)
Ḫuḫnuri (6)	Sabum (213)	Kimaš (63)
Ummulūm (3)	AdamDUN (194)	Šimaški (30)
Susa (2)	Anšan (172)	Ḫurti (20)
Anšan (1)	Urua (123)	Diniktum (11)
	Kimaš (84)	Ḫarši (10)
	Šimaški (69)	Sigreš (6)
	Ḫuḫnuri (47)	Susa (4)
	Duḫduḫne (30)	Zidaḫrum (4)
	Zaul (22)	Zitian (3)
	Si’u (m) (20)	AdamDUN (1)
	Giša (19)	Bulum (1)
	Marḫaši (6)	Mealtum (1)
	Pašime (6)	Ḫudakum (1)

¹²⁴⁹ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 298.

¹²⁵⁰ Includes both named personnel and highlander groups.

	Ḫurti (3)	
	Uluḡ (3)	
	Gizili (2)	
	Ma(n)ḫili (2)	
	Adaraḫuḫ (1)	
	A ₂ .NI-gi ₄ (1)	
	Ara'u'e (1)	
	GarNENE (1)	
	Giziḫu (1)	
	Ḫarši (1)	
	Ḫupum (1)	
	Magan (1)	
	Siri (1)	
	Šabara (1)	
	Urre (1)	
	Uru'az (1)	
	Ušlu (1)	
	Zurbati (1)	
Non-specific Geographical Designations		
gaba-aš/ta (816)	a-ab-ba-a (72)	a-ab-ba-a (1)
Anšan u ₃ Nippur (1)	Anšan u ₃ Nippur (114)	

Table 51: References to Local Cities in the Messenger Texts

Umma	Girsu	Iri-Saġrig
Apisal (1)	Ur (87)	Anzagar (3)
Nibru (2)	Nibru (74)	Unug (2)
Zabalam (2)	Gu'abba (30)	Eridu (1)
KI.AN (1)	Saḫar (20)	
	Ga'eš (9)	
	Unug (4)	
	Saḫar-ḪAR.ŠINIG (3)	
	Niġin (2)	
	Urub _x (URU _x KAR ₂) (2)	
	HA-Saḫar (1)	
	ME-Saḫar (1)	
	Zabalam (1)	
	Kinunir (1)	
	NE.U ₂ (1)	

The data from the tables above can be viewed as percentages showing the primary places of travel for Ur III officials and personnel:

Iri-Saġrig Toponym Percentages:

Der:	65%
Kimaš:	14%
Šimaški:	7%
Ḫurti:	5%
Diniktum:	2%
Ḫarši:	2%
(8 other toponyms make up the remaining 5%)	

Girsu Toponym Percentages:

Susa:	50%
Sabum:	10%
AdamDUN:	9%
Anšan:	8%
Urua:	6%
Kimaš:	4%
Šimaški:	3%
Ḫuḫnuri:	2%
DuḫduḫNI:	1%
(23 other toponyms make up the remaining 7%)	

Thus for the Iri-Saġrig corpus we see that the vast majority of the origins and destinations of travelers was the city of Der which, located at Tell Aqar near Badra,¹²⁵¹ was situated at the foothills of the Zagros and since the Early Dynastic period was the major town between Khuzistan and the Diyala.¹²⁵² It is interesting to note that references to known Diyala polities are absent and references to Khuzistan polities are rare (four attestations for Susa and one for AdamDUN). Therefore, if Der was not the final destination, travelers who journeyed to the city likely used it as a stopping point from which they would have continued into the Zagros towards the regions of Kermanshah and Hamadan.¹²⁵³ This is supported by the fact that the toponyms Kimaš, Ḫurti and Ḫarši together make up twenty-one percent of the toponyms mentioned and, as discussed

¹²⁵¹ Edzard and Farber, *RGCT II*, 23.

¹²⁵² Frayne, *The Early Dynastic List of Geographic Names*, 58.

¹²⁵³ What Owen (*Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saġrig/Al-Šarrākī*, 152-153) calls the *Al-Šarrākī-Dēr-Elam Overland Route*.

above, were likely located in this region. The foreign locales mentioned in the messenger texts from Girsu primarily come from the region of Khuzistan, with Susa accounting for half of the occurrences. Together the territory of Khuzistan as a whole (Susa, AdamDUN, Sabum, Urua and Huh̄nuri) account for seventy-seven percent of the foreign polities. Therefore the Girsu corpus, which has the most substantial military presence of all the messenger text corpora, is primarily focused on the territories adjacent to Sumer's southeastern border. This is an important fact to take into consideration when trying to understand the nature of this region as it relates to the Ur III kingdom. Since this area is not mentioned in relation to military campaigns as attested in the extant corpus of royal inscriptions and year names, it has not been discussed. Therefore we will address the nature of this region below.

It is assumed that messenger texts that did not mention any toponymns simply recorded provisions for personnel who were to engage in various tasks within the province itself, probably relatively close to the city and waystation from which the provisions were expended.¹²⁵⁴

¹²⁵⁴ Owen, *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saġrig/Al-Šarrākī*, 129.

IV.2: Highlander Groups in the Messenger Texts

Before we delve into the discussion on the politics of Khuzistan, there is one final topic in relation to the messenger texts that should be addressed, and that is the groups of people designated as **NIM** who frequently appear in this text genre. Alongside the officials and personnel of the Sumerian kingdom utilizing the waystations were groups of **NIM** traveling to and from various localities to the east and southeast of the kingdom. McNeil had described that the previous scholarly consensus was that **NIM** designated “Elamite,” and that these groups of Elamites were used as garrison troops, thus as mercenaries, in the periphery of the Ur III kingdom.¹²⁵⁵ The **NIM** received a variety of rations and almost always appear in conjunction with an official performing the **ĝiri3**-function; since the official often bore a military-related title and the “Elamites” were thought to have been given meager rations, it was assumed that their role was related to the military and their socio-economic position in the kingdom was quite low or even perilous.¹²⁵⁶ McNeil, however, suggested that **NIM** did not refer to Elamites, but rather was a designation of non-Babylonians and that these groups were employed as laborers on civil projects, being ultimately under the control of the secretary-of-state (**sukkal-mah**) who, in turn, delegated their command to other governors.¹²⁵⁷ Sallaberger, following McNeil, agreed that the **NIM** were groups from the periphery utilized as laborers, but gave a more accurate sense of the word **NIM** by calling them “highlanders” (*Hochlandleute*).¹²⁵⁸ Michalowski confirmed that the reading of **NIM** was **elam**, which

¹²⁵⁵ McNeil, *The Messenger Texts of the Third Ur Dynasty*, 65.

¹²⁵⁶ Ibid, 65-67.

¹²⁵⁷ Ibid, 69-73.

¹²⁵⁸ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 306. For the conception of **nim/elam** as a designation of the eastern highlands from the perspective of Mesopotamian scribes, see Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, 1-4.

had a broad usage outside of a strict geographic-ethnic connotation, similar to the use of **mar-tu**/*amurru*, and thus can be understood as “highlanders.”¹²⁵⁹ Departing from McNeil and Sallaberger’s stances regarding the highlanders as laborers, he understood them as guards accompanying foreign envoys from the east, being the “counterparts to ‘native’ **aga₃-us₂** guardians.”¹²⁶⁰ The **NIM** occur in all three corpora of messenger texts, but predominate in the Girsu documents. Below is a table listing the highlander groups of different polities (**NIM GN(.ak)**) in the three archives; the Girsu and Umma texts label them as **NIM**, while the Iri-Saġrig texts label them as **lu₂ GN** “the men/ones of GN”:

Table 52: Attestations of Highlander Groups in the Messenger Texts

Girsu (NIM)		Iri-Saġrig (lu ₂)		Umma (NIM)	
Šimaški	146	Šimaški	8	Ḫuḫnuri	14
Anšan	89	Ḫurti	5	Sabum	5
Kimaš	67	Sigreš	2	AdamDUN	3
Zaul	40	Ḫuttum	2	Anšan	2
Sabum	39	Buli	1	Susa	1
Duḫduḫne	36	Maza	1	Marḫaši	1
Ḫuḫnuri	26	Zitian	1	Šimaški	2
Giša	26			Ebal	1
Si’u(m)	21				
Marḫaši	12				
Ma(n)ḫili	10				
AdamDUN	8				
Ḫurti	7				
Ḫupum	6				
Ulu	5				
Ḫarši	3				
Sigreš	3				
Zurbati	3				
Sitin-rubum	3				
A ₂ .NI.GL ₄	2				
Siri	2				
Gizili	1				
Pašime	1				
Giziḫu	1				
Urre	1				
Arau’e	1				
Dudašu’in	1				

¹²⁵⁹ Michalowski, “Observations on ‘Elamites’ and ‘Elam’ in Ur III Times,” 109-110.

¹²⁶⁰ Ibid, 110-111.

Ḫu'uša'umtum	1				
Tablala	1				
Barbarraḫuba	1				

Notizia notes that most of the highlander groups came from localities in the territory of independent states which existed outside of the military-controlled buffer zone and agreed with Michalowski that they were used as armed escorts for foreign ambassadors; however, he notes that this interpretation does not exclude their use as auxiliary troops and labor teams.¹²⁶¹ Such workers, coming from independent kingdoms, such as Anšan and Marḫaši, would not have been obliged to provide corvée to the Ur III kingdom and therefore we can understand these groups as voluntary sojourners seeking employment from the state.¹²⁶² The groups of highlanders, thought to have numbered from two to eighty individuals, were generally given one to two liters of cereals and beer per day and Notizia has pointed out that there seem to have existed some settlements of highlanders in the province of Girsu; they stayed in small villages independent of the waystations and eventually were integrated into the labor system, losing their designation as **NIM**.¹²⁶³ The existence of villages and households of foreigners has long been known,¹²⁶⁴ with

¹²⁶¹ Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 37-38.

¹²⁶² Ibid, 38.

¹²⁶³ Ibid, 38-40, 43-44.

¹²⁶⁴ There are multiple attestations of a Meluḫḫan village (**e₂-duru₅ me-luḫ-ḫa^{ki}**) in which Meluḫḫans were recognized as a distinct ethnic group, but had a role within the domestic Ur III society. This village, located in Girsu province, seems to have operated as a producer and supplier of grain; see Simo Parpola, Asko Parpola and Robert H. Brunswig, Jr., "The Meluḫḫa Village: Evidence of Acculturation of Harappan Traders in Late Third Millennium Mesopotamia?" *JESHO* 20 (1977): 129-165. The Meluḫḫan village supplied grain for soldiers (**aga₃-us₂**; P235705), builders (**šidim**; 114609 / MVN 6, 154), shepherding apprentices (**gab₂-us₂**; P115266 / MVN 7, 420) and troops of various shrines (**eren₂ eš₃ didli**; P374962 / Nisaba 18, 41). The document P108484 / CT 5, 36 (---/Š48) lists old and new grain divided among the various locales in both Girsu and Guabba; the grain stored (**i₃-dub**) at the Meluḫḫan village is part of the tally of the 1,513,790 liters of grain within Girsu (**ša₃ ḡir₂-su^{ki}**) and therefore shows that the Meluḫḫan village was located in the vicinity of the city of Girsu, and not, as one might assume, on the coast in the vicinity of Guabba. This village held 11% (169,170 liters) of the Girsu total. The term **e₂-duru₅** (loaned into Akkadian as *edurû/adurû*) seems to denote small rural settlements or hamlets; CAD vol. 4, 39.

towns consisting of deported prisoners of war, foreign ambassadors with their entourages (from both east and west), and highlander groups from the east:

Prisoners-of-War:¹²⁶⁵

**saĝ-erim₂-ĝal₂ nam-ra-aš-ak-a-ni ^den-lil₂ ^dnin-lil₂-ra ki-sur-ra
nibru^{ki}-ka [x] si-ma-num₂^{ki} ki mu-ne-ĝar [... mu-n]e-du₃**

“The enemy people, his plunder, for Enlil and Ninlil, he (Šu-Suen) settled [the people] of Simanum at the border of Nippur and built [their town].”

Villages/Houses of Ambassadors:¹²⁶⁶

**1 udu niga lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a ar-wi-lu-ug-bi lu₂ mar-ḥa-ši^{ki} / 1 udu niga
lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a dumu ar-wi-lu-ug-bi lu₂ mar-ḥa-ši^{ki} / 1 udu niga
lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a ḥu-li-bar lu₂ duḥ-duḥ-ne₂^{ki} / ša₃ unug^{ki}-ga / 1 maš₂-gal
niga ama-ug-ir / e₂-duru₅-ne-ne-še₃ / ĝiri₃ lugal-inim-ge-na kas₄ /
arad₂-ĝu₁₀ maškim / itud ud 21 ba-zal / ki a-ḥu-ni-ta ba-zi / itud
a₂-ki-ti / mu ^damar-^dsuen**

“1 grain-fed sheep (for) the envoy of Arwilugbi the ruler of Marḥaši, 1 grain-fed sheep (for) the envoy of the son of Arwilugbi the ruler of Marḥaši, 1 grain-fed sheep (for) the envoy of Ḥulibār the ruler of Duḥduḥne. In Uruk. 1 grain-fed billy-goat *ama-ug-ir* for their houses/villages. Via Lugal-inimgena the errand-runner; Aradĝu was the authorizing agent. Issued from Aḥuni. DATE.”

¹²⁶⁵ Frayne, Ur III Period, 298: E3/2.1.4.1 column iv, lines 34-41.

¹²⁶⁶ P102704. Sharlach (“Diplomacy and the Rituals of Politics at the Ur III Court,” 20 and n. 26) noted that foreign emissaries were stated as living in villages or fields, and though the phrase “their villages” (**e₂-duru₅-ne-ne**) can be read as “their houses” (**e₂-a-ne-ne**; **duru₅** is a value of the A-sign), she suggests that variation with **a-šag₄** “field” points to reading it as “villages.” However, the small number of animals delivered (1-6 sheep or goats, usually 3 or less) and the notation of “in GN” (i.e. **ša₃ unug^{ki}-ga**) which was common at the end of the tablet, suggest that reading the phrase as **e₂-a-ne-ne** and translating it as “house” or “estate” may be preferable. Thus we have houses attested for envoys from:

Mari: P118625 / MVN 15, 360; P107702 / MVN 12, 103 (Uruk); P126010 / PDT 1, 594 (Nippur); P111894; P107702 / CST 190 (Uruk)

Ebla: P118625 / MVN 15, 360; P126010 / PDT 1, 594 (Nippur); P111894

Uršu: P118625 / MVN 15, 360; P126010 / PDT 1, 594 (Nippur); P111894

Simanum: P127334 / ZA 80, 37 (Uruk)

Sigreš: P125889 / PDT 1, 473 (Uruk)

Zidanum: P125889 / PDT 1, 473 (Uruk); P200539

ZI.NAM: P200539

Marḥaši: P249851; P102704 (Uruk)

Duḥduḥne: P126010 / PDT 1, 594 (Nippur); P102704 (Uruk)

If all of these occurrences should be read as **e₂-a-ne-ne** instead of **e₂-duru₅-ne-ne**, then we have evidence that foreign emissaries had residences in the Ur III capitals of Uruk and Nippur.

Highlander Settlements:¹²⁶⁷

6(aš) 2(ban₂) še gur lugal / ša₃-gal eren₂ bala tuš-a / i₃-dub e₂-duru₅
 NIM-e-ne-ta / eren₂ e₂ ^dnin-dar-a / ki šu-eš-tar₂-ta mu a-a-kal-la nu-
 banda₃-še₃ / kišib lu₂-lagaš^{ki} dumu ba-a-a / itud ezem-^dba-u₂ / mu ki-
 maš ba-ḥul

“1820 liters of grain (as) food for the off-duty troops, from the village of the highlanders, (and for) the troops of the temple of Nindara, from Šu-Eštar, (which) Lu-Lagaš the son of Ba’a sealed/received on behalf of A’akala the captain. *DATE*.”

Thus we see that there were various degrees and types of integration concerning foreign elements within the Ur III kingdom.¹²⁶⁸ The table above, which shows the locations from which the highlanders originated as well as how frequently those groups are attested, can be better visualized as percentages. The Girsu messenger texts make up ninety-two percent of the total references to highlander groups among the three archives, with Umma contributing five percent and Iri-Saġrig three percent. The data in the table above can be broken down into percentages of highlanders native to the various foreign locales within each corpus:¹²⁶⁹

Girsu	
Šimaški:	26%
Anšan:	16%
Kimaš	12%
Zaul:	7%
Sabum:	7%
Duḥduḥne:	6%
Ḥuḥnuri:	5%
Giša:	5%
Si’um:	4%

¹²⁶⁷ P116319 / MVN 12, 57. This is one out of five texts that mention an **e₂-duru₅ NIM-e-ne**, all of which come from Girsu (P355924 / Nisaba 13, 9; P374459 / Nisaba 18, 130; P135733 / TUT 160) except for one document from Umma (P145886). The majority of the contexts show that this village, like the Meluḥḥan village, supplied grain, though in much smaller quantities

¹²⁶⁸ It is interesting to note that there are no settlements designated as “Amorite villages” (**e₂-duru₅ mar-tu**).

¹²⁶⁹ It should be kept in mind that this is based off that which is merely attested in the extant published documents and that we are working with small sample sizes. Therefore these percentages are to provide a general idea of the situation as portrayed in the extant corpus, but could be potentially misleading.

Marḥaši:	2%
Manḥili:	2%
AdamDUN:	1%
Ḥurti:	1%
Ḥupum:	1%
Uluḡ:	1%

(the 15 remaining toponyms make up 4%)

Umma

Ḥuḥnuri:	50%
Sabum:	18%
AdamDUN:	11%
Anšan:	7%
Susa:	3.5%
Marḥaši:	3.5%
Šimaški:	3.5%
Ebal:	3.5%

Iri-Saḡrig

Šimaški:	40%
Ḥurti:	25%
Sigreš:	10%
Ḥuttum:	10%
Buli:	5%
Maza:	5%
Zitian:	5%

From this we see that highlander groups from Šimaški, the only region which occurs in all three corpora, form the largest group of easterners in both the Girsu and Iri-Saḡrig messenger texts. The Iri-Saḡrig texts seem to reflect groups coming from cities around the Kermanshah region, due to references to the cities of Ḥurti and Sigreš.¹²⁷⁰ The Umma documents primarily refer to groups coming from the Khuzistan and Fars regions to the southeast. The Girsu corpus shows many groups coming from both the southeast as well as the region of Kermanshah. Conspicuously rare (or absent), especially

¹²⁷⁰ For the location of these towns, see chapter 2. The toponyms of Sigreš, Buli, Zitian and Ḥuttum occur together in P453962 / Nisaba 15/2, 618 and possibly suggests that they were located in the general vicinity of each other.

considering the frequency in which they are mentioned as the origin and destination of travelers, are references to highlander groups native to the cities of Susa, AdamDUN, Urua and Pašime, and this may suggest a greater degree of integration within the Ur III kingdom than some of the other toponyms. More on these polities below.

Data on these highlander groups have been collected and can be found in Appendix F; we can utilize this data to confirm, refine or adjust the conclusions in the secondary literature that was surveyed above. For specific details one can consult the appendix, and therefore we will simply provide an overview and some comments gleaned from this compilation. It has been stated that most of the highlander groups consisted of roughly five to twenty-five people¹²⁷¹ though the range attested amounts to as few as two and as many as eighty.¹²⁷² Unfortunately the texts which specifically designate a group's native origin usually do not specify the number of individuals in the group. The few exceptions are:

Number of NIM and Toponym	Amount / Commodity	Amount (l.) per Person
25 from Anšan (P115300)	25 l. ninda	1
11 from Sabum (P128521)	11 l. kaš	1
16 from ̒uḥnuri (P128505)	32 / 48 l. ninda	2 / 3 (kaskal/iri)
13 from ̒uḥnuri (P128507)	26 l. ninda	2
13 from Giša (P128511)	26 l. ninda	2
30 from Si'um (P110184)	30 l. kaš/ninda	1
50 from ̒urti (P142529)	50 l. kaš/ninda	1
15 from ̒upum (P128522)	15 l. kaš	1
42 from ̒upum (P132546)	84 l. kaš/ninda	2
18 from Uluḡ (P128523)	36 l. kaš	2
10 from ̒arši (P128525)	20 l. kaš	2
19 from Siri (P128504)	38 l. ninda	2
24 from Urre (P128516)	24 l. ninda	1

¹²⁷¹ Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 306.

¹²⁷² Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 38-40.

We see that for the most part these easterners received one to two liters of beer and/or bread per person with the two liter per person ratio being slightly more common than the one-to-one ratio. To this we can add data from texts that do not include the places to which the highlander groups belong, but do mention the number of people in the group that are receiving provisions; this group has a higher frequency of references to the number of highlanders:

Text / Number of NIM	Amount / Commodity	Amount (l.) per Person
P100934: 2	2 l. kaš	1
P100954: 40	3 jars <i>dida</i>	---
25	25 l. kaš	1
20	2 jars <i>dida</i>	---
P100959: 10	10 l. kaš/ninda	1
P206646: 44	88 l. kaš/ninda	2
P110360: 30	60 l. kaš/ninda	2
P320387: 40	40 l. kaš/ninda	1
P315958: 20	40 l. kaš/ninda	2
P204267: 30	60 l. kaš/ninda	2
P114985: 20	20 l. kaš	1
P115005: 20	20 l. ninda	1
10	30 l. ninda	3
10	47 l. ninda	4.7
P204501: 45	90 l. kaš/ninda	2
P406015: 10	1 jar <i>dida</i>	---
7	1 jar <i>dida</i>	---
P204251: 10	20 l. kaš/ninda	2
P127218: 5	15 l. kaš	3
P128481: 11	11 l. ninda	1
P128498: 80	80 l. ninda	1
20	20 l. ninda	1
P128526: 20	1 jar <i>dida</i>	---
P127951: 2	1 l. kaš	.5
P128533: 5	5 l. kaš/ninda	1
P128550: 2	5 l. ninda	2.5
P131214: 2	5 l. kaš	2.5
P131273: 2	1 jar <i>dida</i>	---
6	25 jars <i>dida</i>	---
7	20 jars <i>dida</i>	---
25	60 l. kaš	2.4
P131274: 10	10 l. ninda	1
P108931: 3	6 l. kaš / 3 l. ninda	2 / 1

Again, the most common amount of beer and bread allotted to highlanders is one or two liters, this time with the majority of attestations being one liter per person. These amounts varied from as little as half of a liter to close to five liters. Unfortunately, little detail about the nature of travel and the purposes for the provisions are supplied in the texts and therefore it is uncertain as to the precise reason for the variation in ratios. As the appendices show, the highlander groups could receive malt extract (**dida**) and semolina (**dabin**) either along with, or instead of, beer (**kaš**) and bread/flour (**ninda/zi₃**), as well as other commodities. However, the beer and bread seem to show the most consistent liter-to-person ratios and is therefore the data which we are taking into consideration.¹²⁷³ Therefore due to the consistency of the ratio of beer and bread to persons in the group, we can estimate a range for the number of people in groups which do not have their numbers explicitly written, assuming a ratio of one to two liters per person. These estimates show that groups larger than eighty came from the various territories to the east and southeast. The largest groups are:

Girsu

Šimaški:	105-210 people	210 l. dabin	P315771
Anšan:	260-540	520 l. kaš / 540 l. ninda	P110745
	150-300	300 l. dabin	P315783
Sabum	150-300	300 l. dabin	P132455
Ulum	80-160	160 l. kaš/ninda	P412670

Umma

Ḫuḫnuri	150-300	30 l. ninda / 270 l. dabin	P117936
Anšan	180-360	360 l. kaš/ninda	P118841

¹²⁷³ Semolina (**dabin**) seems to conform to the beer and bread ratio quite consistently and therefore will also be utilized when provisions of bread or flour are absent.

There are a few summary messenger tablets which can help us to conceptualize the degree of foreign presence traveling within the kingdom of Ur. The first document, P206877 / Nisaba 22, 72, is a fragmentary tablet upon which is preserved the expenditures of a waystation. Since only the tenth month is fully preserved, at least regarding the provisions of highlanders, this will be the only section considered. Since the highlander groups are often provided with varying amounts of beer and bread, or since they include numbers of jars of wort without specifying the capacity of the vessels, we will based our estimate upon the lower of two varying numbers and assume a ratio of one liter per person:¹²⁷⁴

10th month	
Ḫuḫnuri:	45
Anšan:	20
Giša:	35
Šimaški:	30
Duḫduḫne:	90
Šimaški:	35
Šimaški:	35
<i>Ḫulibar:</i>	35
Anšan:	30
Šimaški:	40
Šimaški:	30
Duḫduḫne:	60
Šimaški:	40
total: 525	

Thus we see over five hundred people from six separate locations passing through the waystation in a single month. Even if we attribute a two liter per person ratio, there were still over two hundred highlanders traveling within the province. Another document

¹²⁷⁴ Instead of assuming 2 liters per person, which would lower the number of commodity recipients. Additionally, in the lists below, names in italics are personal names instead of geographical names.

(P114453 / MVN 5, 233), though also fragmentary, is a summary text of waystation expenditures over a four month period:

1st month

Zaul:	50-100
Zaul:	60-120
Anšan:	45-90
Zaul:	15-30
Si'u:	15-30
A ₂ .NI-gi ₄ :	35-70
Zaul:	15-30
Šimaški:	15-30
Si'u:	15-30
Kimaš:	50-100
Šimaški:	25-50
total:	340-680

2nd month

Duḥduḥne:	20-40
Si'u:	15-30
Šimaški:	30-60
Sabum:	[...]
Duḥduḥne:	60-120
Kimaš:	20-40
Duḥduḥne:	50-100
Duḥduḥne:	50-100
total:	245(+)-490(+)

3rd month

Giša:	30-60
Kimaš:	60-120
Ḫuḥnuri:	30-60
Anšan:	30-60
Šimaški:	45-90
Sabum:	45-90
Duḥduḥne:	40-80
Zaul:	30-60
total:	310-620

4th month

Kimaš:	30-60
Giša:	30-60
Kimaš:	60-120

Ulim: 60-120
total: 180-360

A few things should be pointed out. The first is that multiple groups of highlanders native to the same region are attested in a single month, such as the four groups from Duḥduḥne in the second month, thus bringing up the possibility that this is the same group utilizing the waystation at different times during the month. However, some arguments against this would be 1) that the **ḡiri**₃-agent is almost always different for groups of the same origin in a single month as well as in different months, 2) that multiple groups of the same origin in a single month were distinguished from each other instead of totaled together and 3) that the groups of the same origin had varying amounts of provisions. Counterarguments could probably be brought forth against these points, but the notion that these multiple groups of the same origin are merely separate groups of highlanders is the most simple and can be tentatively adopted. Another important point is that this may be the activity encountered at a single waystation. The end of the tablet designates it as “expenditures (of) errand-runners (of) the complex in Gu’abba” (**zi-ga kas**₄ **e2-gal**[?][-**la**] **ša**₃ **gu2-ab-ba**^{ki}). There are a few broken lines beneath this phrase, but the legible signs in the hand copy do not seem to suggest that it includes any of the other known waystations. If this is correct, then we have an average of two hundred and seventy to five hundred and forty easterners traveling through one waystation in a single month. If other highlander groups bypassed the Gu’abba station and utilized other waystations in the province, then the number of foreigners sojourning in Girsu province could easily be substantially greater than the number of people recorded in this tablet.

Additional information on these highlander groups is limited, though there are a few things that can be gleaned by the occasional additional piece of information or designation. Some did enter the kingdom of Ur as prisoners-of-war; those labeled as such are primarily attested as coming from Kimaš and Ҳуһнuri. In only one document are they designated as “highlanders,” instead being referred to as **ġuruš** or **geme₂**, or simply as “plunder” (**nam-ra-ak**).¹²⁷⁵ Since the term for “plunder” is rare in the messenger texts, probably most of the highlander groups came as workers, as attested by their designations as workers or the tasks that they were assigned, some of which were related to **bala**-duty.¹²⁷⁶ Some of the labor groups were specifically designated as types of workers as exemplified by messenger texts which designate them, for example, as **NIM si₁₂-a**¹²⁷⁷ or as “brick removers” (**lu₂ sig₄ bur_x-re-me**).¹²⁷⁸ The highlanders

¹²⁷⁵ Kimaš:

P122992 / CUSAS 16, 199: 150 liters of bread (**ninda**) for **NIM ne-ra-aš ak ki-maš^{ki}-me** “highlanders, plunder of Kimaš”. The amount of bread suggests 75 to 150 people.

P123062 / CUSAS 16, 213: **35 ġuruš 2 sila₃ zi₃-ta ne-ra-aš ak ki-maš^{ki}-me** “35 able-bodied men at 2 liters of flour each, they are prisoners-of-war from Kimaš.” Note that this group was apparently routed through Urua on their journey from Kimaš to Girsu, provisioned by an errand-runner “when they came from Urua” (**u²URUxA^{a.ki}-ta du-ne₂**).

Ҳуһнuri:

P128256 / Rochester 151 and P111792 (copies of the same text): “30 able-bodied women at 3 liters of semolina and 5 shekels of oil each, they are prisoners-of-war from Ҳуһнuri” (**30 geme₂ 3 sila₃ dabin 5 gin₂ i₃-ġi^š-ta ne-ra-aš ak Һu-Һu-nu-ri^{ki}-me**).

Unspecified:

P109986 / HLC 2, 109: **3(ban₂) kaš nam-ra-ak** “30 liters of beer for prisoners-of-war.”

¹²⁷⁶ Occupational designations:

P202064 / Nisaba 3, 42: 40 liters of semolina and 3 vessels (**a₂-GAM**) of oil were allotted to highlanders from Kimaš who, along with two **sukkals**, were designated as “boat-men” (**ma₂-gur₈-me**) who came from Kimaš.

Also note that throughout the messenger texts the highlander groups are often designated as **dabs-ba** which, as shown above in the section on the **eren₂**, is often used to mean “conscripted” in a general sense.¹²⁷⁷ The precise meaning of the designation of **si₁₂-a** (**SIG7-a**) is unknown. They primarily occur in kennel-men texts. The only place from which highlander **si₁₂-a**-workers are attested is Susa; one document (P206054 / BPOA 1, 126) noting that they came from Susa (**šušin^{ki}-ta ġen-na**) and another (P129961 / SNAT 200) calling them “citizens of Susa” (**dumu šušin^{ki}-ke₄**).

¹²⁷⁸ P131214 / SAT 1, 105. Literally “ones who tears up bricks.” It is interesting that the sign used to denote the verb **bur** “to tear out” is **bur_x** (**bu₃**) instead of the more common **bur₁₂** (**bu**). Note however that the tool **Һabuda**, possibly used for such tasks, can be written either as **Һa-bu₃-da** or **Һa-bu-da**, with the former being more common.

designated as **si₂-a**-workers were often stationed at sheep ranches,¹²⁷⁹ and the connection of highlander workers with livestock is seen in other messenger texts: P107027 / MTMB 148 mentions highlanders from Kimaš being provisioned in the city for seven days when they came from Kimaš to do the **bala**-duty of the cattle and sheep of Kimaš (**gud udu ki-maš^{ki} bala-e-de₃ ġen-na ki-maš^{ki}-ta du-ne₂**), and P113521 / MVN 2, 222 which notes a few highlanders who “came with the sheep of Sabum.”¹²⁸⁰ Such highlander worker groups appear at Puzriš-Dagan as well. One text mentions forty able-bodied male workers native to Harši whom a soldier took control of on behalf of a temple administrator.¹²⁸¹

As Michalowski has suggested, some may have been the bodyguards of officials traveling from vassal and independent states.¹²⁸² His position is based on texts that mention **aga₃-us₂ NIM** or **NIM aga₃-us₂**, in which he rightly sees the terms as qualifying each other: “highlander bodyguards” or “bodyguard-highlanders,” and from a document which mentions livestock allocated for consumption by **aga₃-us₂ lu₂ mar-ḥa-ši^{ki}**.¹²⁸³ However, his position on these groups may not be as straightforward as it would initially seem. The collocation of **NIM** and **aga₃-us₂** only occur in two messenger texts, which is the genre in which we would expect to find foreign escort groups traveling to and from

¹²⁷⁹ **NIM si₁₂-a e₂-udu-ka tuš-a**: P206227 / MVN 22, 161 and P120162 / MVN 19, 36.

¹²⁸⁰ **NIM udu sa-bu-um^{ki}-da ġen-na-me**. Note that BDTNS (as of 2/8/2018) mistransliterates **lu** instead of **udu**.

¹²⁸¹ P125954 / PDT 1, 538: **40 ġuruš si₁₂-a lu₂ ḥa-ar-ši^{ki}-me ki lugal-ḥe₂-ġal₂-ta mu ^den-lil₂-la₂-i₃-sa₆ šabra-še₃ lu₂-diġir-ra i₃-dab₅**. Lu-diġira’s seal impression labels him as an **aga₃-us₂**.

¹²⁸² Michalowski, “Observations on ‘Elamites’ and ‘Elam’ in Ur III Times,” 110-111.

¹²⁸³ P122167 / Nik. 2, 484. Michalowski (ibid, 110) does not provide a translation of this passage and therefore it is uncertain whether he understands the phrase to mean “**aga’us** (who are) men of Marḥaši (i.e. “Marḥašian **aga’us**”) or “**aga’us** of the man of Marḥaši.” Both translations are possible, with the first simply denoting the origin/ethnicity of the group of *aga’us*, and the latter denoting *aga’us* belonging to, or under the authority of, the ruler of Marḥaši. Since the latter translation is better suited for Michalowski’s argument, I will assume that is how he understands the passage.

the kingdom. One messenger text from Girsu (P132361 / TCTI 2, 2760) may suggest a role as bodyguards, since provisions are given to a handful of highlander **aga3-us2** (two to four men) who may have accompanied a **lu2-ĝi^štukul gu-la**, though there is no designation of travel. The other messenger text, coming from Iri-Saĝrig, simply refers to the provisioning of one Šulanum when he went for the highlander **aga3-us2**.¹²⁸⁴ Other documents with the collocation of **NIM** and **aga3-us2**¹²⁸⁵ simply refer to grain expenditures with little additional context. One document lists twenty men labeled as **NIM aga3-us2-me** who received sixty liters of grain each per month over a period of eight months, showing that they spent the majority of at least one year within the Ur III kingdom. Another text (P101997 / ASJ 2, 33 no. 92) lists 55,080 liters of grain as a grain-allotment (**še-ba**) for **NIM aga3-us2-e-ne** which, at the rate of sixty liters per man, suggests a total of nine hundred and eighteen **aga3-us2**. This prompts the questions of whether foreign guards and the envoys they protected would stay for the better part of a year, and whether a security contingent would consist of nearly a thousand men. The former is certainly conceivable, but the latter seems unlikely, especially in light of the fact that most of the highlander groups recorded in the messenger texts consist of no more than sixty men. Several points can be made regarding the document recording livestock allocated to the **aga3-us2 lu2 mar-ĥa-ši^{ki}**. First, the translation of this phrase is uncertain and may simply signify ethnic origin rather than allegiance.¹²⁸⁶ Second, the number of livestock (60 sheep/goats) suggests about 2400 soldiers were fed which seems

¹²⁸⁴ P453642 / Nisaba 15/2, 105: **1 sila3 tu7 2 ku6 šu-la-num2 lu2-kiĝ2-gi4-a lugal ud NIM aga3-us2-e-ne im-ĝen-na-a** “1 liter of soup (and) 2 fish (for) Šulanum, on royal assignment, when he went (for) the highlander **aga’us**.” It should be pointed out that the translation “highlander **aga’us**” is not certain. This could also be rendered as “highlanders of the **aga’us**” or “highlanders and **aga’us**.”

¹²⁸⁵ P113438 / MVN 2, 139; P133555 / TEL 47; P131180 / SAT 1, 71; P201210 / Princeton 2, 212; P101997 / ASJ 2, 33 no. 92.

¹²⁸⁶ See note 1289.

a bit large for the guard element of an envoy.¹²⁸⁷ Third, there is no reference to Libanuašgubi, the well-known envoy (**lu2-kiĝ2-gi4-a**) of the ruler of Marḥaši (or reference to any envoys, for that matter). Fourth, the **aga3-us2** are under the command of a well-known general of the Ur III state, not a foreign prince or envoy.¹²⁸⁸ Lastly, as mentioned above, the gloss of “guard” (especially “bodyguard”) for **aga3-us2** is far too restrictive and ultimately misleading; “soldier” is a better translation. Therefore some of the **aga3-us2 NIM**, and especially the Marḥašian soldiers, were likely integrated into the Ur III kingdom as either mercenaries or allied troops. Michalowski’s opinion that “there is absolutely no evidence to support the notion that they were part of the Ur III military establishment” is simply incorrect. It is not a matter of presence or absence of evidence, but rather simply how one interprets the evidence.¹²⁸⁹

This is a problem within Ur III studies. As mentioned above, we have a plethora of texts, but a scarcity of proveniences and, therefore, contexts. The occurrence of a term in, say, a governor’s archive provides a specific context in which the term is to be translated. That translation may not be valid in other contexts, such as royal or private archives. Thus to take a few occurrences in a single context and extrapolate them for the

¹²⁸⁷ Though this allotment could have been spread out over multiple days, there is nothing in the text to suggest this.

¹²⁸⁸ The **aga3-us2** are under the authority of Abuni, who is their “overseer” (**ugula**). The term **ugula** in texts from Puzriš-Dagan quite often refer to generals.

¹²⁸⁹ It has often been stated that many of the top military cadre of the Ur III state consisted of foreigners who became integrated into the Ur III military and ultimately owed their loyalty to the king, as opposed to the provincial governors who derived from established local families; see Steinkeller, “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State,” 25-26 and Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 194. It has been noted that a Marḥašian named Ḥašip-atal arrived in Mesopotamia and eventually became the general of Arraphum; Chen Yanli and Wu Tuhong, “The Names of the Leaders and Diplomats of Marḥaši and Related Men in the Ur III Dynasty,” *CDLI* (2017:1): 1-18. If easterners were able to be integrated into the Ur III military’s highest ranks, then why not groups of regular soldiers as well? Indeed, one of the factors that may have been in play when the Ur monarch decided who to integrate into his army as a commander may have been his ability to bring with him a substantial contingent of troops to serve, ultimately, under the auspices of the king.

whole of the Ur III kingdom is highly problematic, especially in light of the fact that the separate “archives” coming from separate provinces are quite idiosyncratic and that the idea of a highly consolidated bureaucracy probably does not reflect the realities of the historical situation.¹²⁹⁰ These issues are compounded by the problem of the laconic nature of administrative documents which can lend to multiple possibilities in translating phrases. Understanding terms and phrases in Ur III documentation requires exhaustive studies of all their occurrences while simultaneously keeping in mind the limits of our data; failure to do so will often lead to incorrect interpretations and assumptions.

Thus, for example, Michalowski begins with the assumption that the **aga3-us2** were primarily guards. This assumption was based off of Allred’s brief discussion of them in his study of the **e2-muḫaldim**¹²⁹¹ which, as mentioned above in the discussion of the **aga3-us2**, suffers from multiple problematic assumptions and assertions. The very few examples of **NIM** qualifying **aga3-us2** were then extrapolated to all the occurrences of **NIM** in the messenger text genre, even though most of the occurrences of **NIM** qualifying **aga3-us2** do not occur in this genre, and that a systematic study of the **NIM** in messenger texts had not been undertaken.¹²⁹² This then lead to the assertion that there is “no evidence” that the **NIM** were connected with the Ur III military, though no overview of the Ur III military (such as Lafont’s) existed at the time of his study and no detailed study of the military has yet been undertaken. All this is not intended to criticize competent scholars, but rather to show how the nature of our sources demand layers of

¹²⁹⁰ Steven J. Garfinkle, “Was the Ur III State Bureaucratic? Patrimonialism and Bureaucracy in the Ur III Period,” in *The Growth of an Early State in Mesopotamia: Studies in Ur III Administration*, BPOA 5, ed. Steven J. Garfinkle and J. Cale Johnson (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008): 55-61.

¹²⁹¹ Allred, *Cooks and Kitchens*, 57-61.

¹²⁹² Even my discussion and tables presented in this study are a far cry from being an exhaustive and systematic study.

contexts to be understood in order to arrive at accurate descriptions of the elements under study. This is a monumental task that requires the efforts of numerous scholars and advances in digital tools to analyze the tens of thousands of documents to provide cumulative cases for how we understand various aspects of the Ur III economy and society. This in turn provides the background of how elements in other studies are interpreted and which assumptions are held as the base of those studies. Thus to categorically state that there is absolutely no evidence for a certain interpretation is not helpful and could discourage others from questioning such conclusions or further nuancing such results. This ambiguity can be demonstrated in the following example:

3 [...] / 1(**barig**) 5 **sil**₃ **zi**₃ **luga** / **NIM** **dab**₅-**ba** **uru** **hul-ke**₄ **šu** **ba-ti** / 5 **sil**₃ **kaš**
 5 **sil**₃ **ninda** / 1 **i**₃ **a**₂-**GAM** / **ġiri**₃ **šu-^dnin-[x]** / **lu**₂-**ġi**^š**tukul** **gu-la** / 5 **sil**₃ **kaš** 5
sil₃ **ninda** / 1 **i**₃ **a**₂-**GAM** / **lu**₂-**banda**₃^{da} / **an-ša-an**^{ki}-**ta** **ġen-na** / **itud** **amar-a-a-**
si

“3 [...] (and) 65 liters of high-quality flour (that) the

option #1: captured highlanders of the ‘ruined’ city

option #2: conscripted highlanders of the ‘ruined’ city

received. 5 liters of beer (and) 5 liters, bread (and) 1 vessel of oil (for) the conveyor (for the highlanders) Šu-Nin[x], who was on military assignment. 5 liters of beer, 5 liters of bread (and) 1 vessel of oil (for) Lu-banda. (They are ones who) came from Anšan. Date.”

How one translates certain words in this text will affect their overall conception of the situation. Therefore if we go with option one, then we would understand this group of highlanders to be prisoners of war who were captured and were being brought into Girsu province. However, this would ignore a couple of issues, the first being the question as to why prisoners-of-war were given high-quality provisions (**zi**₃ **luga**) and the second being the fact that the term for “prisoner-of-war” (**nam-ra-ak**) was not used; additionally, the term **nam-ra-ak** is differentiated from **dab**₅-**ba** in a separate messenger

text, suggesting that the two words had different meanings.¹²⁹³ If we go with option two, these issues are resolved, though one may question whether the Mesopotamians would have recruited laborers and soldiers from freshly defeated enemies. To answer this, we can look at examples from other periods, a primary one being the Neo-Assyrian period, which provides us with much greater amounts of data on the military. As Assyrian annals attest, the Assyrian empire was known for drafting units of conquered soldiers of freshly captured cities into its armies, both in provincial armies as well as in the royal corps (*kišir šarrūti*).¹²⁹⁴ There are plenty of other examples of such practices, but this is not the place for a detailed overview of them.

Therefore the traditional consensus of (at least some) highlanders being conscripted into the Ur III military,¹²⁹⁵ McNeil's and subsequently Salladberger's position that they came into the kingdom primarily as laborers, and Michalowski and Notizia's stance that they were guard elements of the entourages of ambassadors all find support in the documentation. Now that we have surveyed the features of the messenger texts, we will provide a brief excursus on the polities of Khuzistan, which played an important role in the messenger text genre.

¹²⁹³ P109986 / HLC 2, 109.

¹²⁹⁴ Tamás Dezső, *The Assyrian Army, vol II: Recruitment and Logistics* (Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2016): 39-40. Dalley ("Foreign Chariotry and Cavalry in the Armies of Tiglath-Pileser III and Sargon II," *Iraq* 47 (1985): 31-48) discusses how Sargon incorporated troops from Samaria into his army as a large, ready-formed national unit which employed their own Samarian officers. They were well-treated and had opportunities for advancement in the bureaucracy of their conquerors. For an example of an administrative document listing the conscription of workers from a defeated kingdom in the Old Babylonian period, see Marco Bonechi, "Conscription à Larsa après la Conquête Babylonienne," *MARI* 7 (1993): 129-158.

¹²⁹⁵ The traditional view is still held, as shown by Steinkeller ("Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," 306) who stated that "Kimaš, Īurti, and Īarši also supplied Elamite soldiers (Elam) to the Ur III state."

IV.3: Politics in the Region of Khuzistan

There are a number of polities attested in messenger texts, as well as in tax/tribute documents, that are known to have been located in the Khuzistan region. These are: Susa, AdamDUN, Sabum, Huḫnuri, Urua and Pašime. Steinkeller stated that since the year formulae of Šulgi and his inscriptions do not mention any military actions in Khuzistan, this region therefore had probably already been conquered and incorporated into the Ur III state by Ur-Namma.¹²⁹⁶ However, this statement needs to be investigated and unpacked. As we have seen above, military actions were not automatically used for year names and the vast majority of the military campaigns undertaken by the kings of this dynasty are not currently attested in the corpus of royal inscriptions; therefore the possibility of Šulgi incorporating this region into the kingdom early in his reign, instead of Ur-Namma, cannot be entirely dismissed. Additionally, we must ask what is meant by “incorporated” and to what extent was this region assimilated into the provincial structure of the kingdom. Below we will examine the relevant data for these polities in an attempt to build a picture of their relation to the Ur III state.

¹²⁹⁶ Piotr Steinkeller, “Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa: A Pivotal Episode of Early Elamite History Reconsidered,” in *Susa and Elam. Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives: Proceedings of the International Congress Held at Ghent University, December 14-17 2009*, edited by Katrien de Graef and Jan Tavernier, 293-318 (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 298.

IV.3.a: Susa

Susa has, throughout its history, seemed to have taken part in both the Mesopotamian and Iranian worlds; it was located near the base of the Zagros Mountains alongside the Karkheh River and today is surrounded by the modern town of Shush.¹²⁹⁷ During the Ur III period we have four persons explicitly named as “governors” (**ensi₂**) of the city.¹²⁹⁸

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>“Governor / Ruler” (ensi₂)</i>	<i>“Man of / One of” (lu₂)</i>
Susa	ur-ki-um	ik-bu-sum ₂
	4/--/SH33 P128482	1/25/SH47 P123294
	3/--/---- P114929	
	6/--/---- P128475	i-ti-zu
	7/--/---- P128476	3/25/AS05 P248907
	za-ri ₂ -iq	šar-ru-um-i ₃ -li ₂ (nu-banda ₃)
	7/--/SH41 P103799	3/--/AS06 P111905
	6/--/AS04 P128401	
	10/24/AS04 P330392	
	--/--/AS04 P125973	<i>unnamed</i>
	--/--/AS05 P122904	5/--/Š44 P102056
	2/--/---- P128479	--/--/---- P200629
	5/--/---- P100898	--/--/---- P145383
	11/--/---- P128478	
	be-li ₂ -a-ri ₂ -ik	
	1/--/SS08 P132777	
	1/--/---- P128388	
	9/--/---- P111149	
	--/--/---- P111489	
	--/--/---- P128944	
	--/--/---- P145362	
	i-da-du	
	--/--/---- P200397	
	<i>unnamed</i>	

¹²⁹⁷ For an historical and archaeological overview of Susa, see F. Malbran-Labat, “Susa (Suse). A. Philologisch,” *RIA* 13 (2012): 347-352 and R. Boucharlat, “Susa (Suse). B. Archäologisch,” *RIA* 13 (2012): 352-359.

¹²⁹⁸ As mentioned above, **ensi₂** can refer to a governor under the authority of the king of Ur or an independent ruler, and **lu₂ GN**, having a greater semantic range, can designate the ruler of an independent polity, the envoys or messengers of an independent ruler, or simply a person who hails from a specific city.

	--/--/SH36	P102684	
	6/--/AS05	P204832	
	7/12/----	P114469	
	--/--/----	P129506	
	--/--/----	P333946	

The data regarding the city of Susa paints an interesting picture and the status of Susa regarding the organization of the Ur III state is uncertain. It has often been thought that Susa was conquered by Šulgi, though others prefer to date the Ur III dynasty's control of the city to Ur-Namma.¹²⁹⁹ The only military action recorded in a year-name of an Ur III king against Susa occurs in Ibbi-Suen's fourteenth year.¹³⁰⁰ Susa is not mentioned in either the Ur-Nammu Cadastre text¹³⁰¹ or in the prologue to the Ur-Namma law code,¹³⁰² and none of the inscriptions of Ur-Namma were found in Susa or refer to the city.¹³⁰³ However, Marchesi attributed the conquest of Susa to Ur-Namma based on a fragmentary inscription originally attributed to Šulgi,¹³⁰⁴ his position that this inscribed vessel mentioning the "ruination" of Susa belongs to Ur-Namma is based on two arguments.

The first is that the divine determinative is in the middle of the first broken case and not

¹²⁹⁹ Gianni Marchesi, "Ur-Nammâ(k)'s Conquest of Susa," in *Susa and Elam. Archaeological, Philological, Historical and Geographical Perspectives: Proceedings of the International Congress Held at Ghent University, December 14-17 2009*, eds. Katrien de Graef and Jan Tavernier (Leiden: Brill, 2013): 285 n. 3.

¹³⁰⁰ **mu** ^di-bi₂-^dsuen lugal urim₂^{ki}-ma-ke₄ šušin^{ki} a-dam-DUN^{ki} a-wa-an^{ki} ud-gim ŠID bi-in-gi₄ ud 1-a mu-un-gurum en-bi LU₂<xKAR₂>-a mi-ni-in-dab₅-ba-a "Year that Ibbi-Suen the king of Ur roared against Susa, AdamDUN (and) Awan like a storm, made them submit in a single day (and) took their lords as captives." Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 364.

¹³⁰¹ Ibid, 50-56: E3/2.1.1.21.

¹³⁰² Ibid, 43-49: E3/2.1.1.19, see also Roth, *Law Collections from Mesopotamia and Asia Minor*, 13-17. The copies of the laws had originally been attested in only Old Babylonian copies and the attribution of the text has been contested, with a number of scholars arguing for the laws to be attributed to Šulgi. For an overview of the debate about the laws, see Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 43-46. Confirmation that the laws should be attributed to Ur-Namma comes from an Ur III copy of the laws housed in the Schøyen collection; see Miguel Civil, "The Law Collection of Ur-Namma, in *Cuneiform Royal Inscriptions and Related Texts in the Schøyen Collection*, CUSAS 17, ed. A. R. George (Bethesda: CDL Press, 2011): 221-286.

¹³⁰³ A possible exception is E3/2.1.1.30 (Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 66-68), a clay cylinder from Nippur which is quite fragmentary and its attribution to Ur-Namma is uncertain. Even if it could be attributed to Ur-Namma, the preserved context does not seem to suggest a conquest of Susa.

¹³⁰⁴ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 408: E3/2.1.6.1021

at the beginning, contra Frayne's restoration, allowing a sign prior to the determinative which would accord well with the writing of Ur-Namma's name (**ur-d^unamma**) and not with Šulgi's (**d^ušul-gi**).¹³⁰⁵ The second is that Šulgi's inscriptions always include "strong man" (**ni^{ta}ḫ kalag-ga**) or "god of his country" (**di^{gi}r kalam-ma-na**) between his name and his title as "king of Ur," which is absent in this inscription.¹³⁰⁶ This attribution of the fragment to Ur-Namma is probably correct, though not certain, and the nuances of his dominion of Susa as rendered by the blanket-term **ḫulu** are unsure. Additional support that the region of Khuzistan was subjugated to Mesopotamia in the early days of the kingdom comes from data concerning Gudea, the governor of Lagaš, who was probably contemporaneous with the early part of the Ur III dynasty and who claimed in one of his statues to have defeated the cities of Elam and Anšan and have brought their plunder into the Eninnu.¹³⁰⁷ He also mentioned, in his cylinders, Elamites or "highlanders", as well as Susians, coming from the east and from Susa to participate in the construction of the Eninnu, Ningirsu's temple in Girsu.¹³⁰⁸ Ancillary data includes administrative documents from this second dynasty of Lagaš recording timber delivered from AdamDUN, expenditures of garments to an **ensi²** of AdamDUN, and a list of foreign men, perhaps as workers or troops, which mentions **Ḫuḫnuri²ans**.¹³⁰⁹ In Lagaš II texts foreigners are not

¹³⁰⁵ CBS 14934. The following is all that is visible on the fragment: [...] ^d [...] / [**lug**]al urim²[^{ki}-m]a-ke⁴ / [...]**š**u^šin^{ki} / [**m**]u-**ḫulu-a** / [...] *rest missing*.

¹³⁰⁶ Marchesi, "Ur-Nammâ(k)'s Conquest of Susa," 286.

¹³⁰⁷ Gudea Statue B column vi, lines 64-69; Dietz Otto Edzard, *Gudea and his Dynasty*, RIME 3/1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997): 35: E3/1.1.7.StB. Note that there are no inscribed objects of Gudea that were found at Susa.

¹³⁰⁸ Cylinder A column 15 lines 6-10. ETCSL 2.1.7.

¹³⁰⁹ Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," 298-301.

infrequently mentioned, including people from Susa, AdamDUN and Huḫnuri, possibly with a connection to Ur-Nammu's conflict with Puzur-Inšušinak.¹³¹⁰

Nevertheless, it is not until the reign of Šulgi that we find clear evidence of Mesopotamian control over Susa.¹³¹¹ The earliest dated text mentioning Susa is a messenger text from Girsu, dated 12/--/Š32, which mentions provisions given to a **šar2-ra-ab-du** and a **dumu nu-banda3** for their journey to Susa.¹³¹² There are four documents dating to the following year; two are messenger texts, one recording provisions for a **sukkal** who went to Susa¹³¹³ and the other provisions for Urkium, the **ensi2** of Susa.¹³¹⁴ The other two texts are grain allotment texts (**še-ba**) for "conscripted citizens" (**dumu dab5-ba**)¹³¹⁵ and foresters (**lu2-tir**)¹³¹⁶ in Susa. In Šulgi's thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth and thirty-sixth years are texts which refer to the grain and fields of Susa, once explicitly stated in one document as allotments for personnel who were **šuku**-holders.¹³¹⁷ In Šulgi's thirty-fifth year, we encounter large amounts of grain located in the city of Susa. Large quantities came from the city for the chief temple administrators of the temples of divinities of Girsu province.¹³¹⁸ Even larger quantities of grain are listed as royal expenditures (**zi-ga lugal**) and accumulated in Susa (**i3-dub ša3 šušin^{ki}**): 39,220 liters of

¹³¹⁰ Ibid, 301. There has been an increasing view that Ur-Namma and Gudea were allies in the war against Puzur-Inšušinak; Ibid, 298 n. 39.

¹³¹¹ Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, 130.

¹³¹² P115100 / MVN 7, 211.

¹³¹³ P127725 (4/--/Š33).

¹³¹⁴ P128482 / RTC 329 (4/--/Š33).

¹³¹⁵ P114565 / MVN 6, 92 (8-10/--/Š33).

¹³¹⁶ P115214 / MVN 7, 345 (7/--/Š33).

¹³¹⁷ P102158 (--/--/Š36): **lu2-šuku-ra-me a-šag4 šušin^{ki}**. Alongside named personnel are overseers (**ugula**), plot managers (**engar**), conscripted citizens (**dumu dab5-ba**), craftsmen (**gašam**) and merchants (**dam-gar3**).

¹³¹⁸ P114583 / MVN 6, 126 (--/--/Š34 to --/--/Š35): **še šušin^{ki}-ta šu ur3-dam / guru7-a taka4-a taḫ-ḫe-dam** "grain from Susa to be erased (from records?) that was left in the granary(ies), to be added." Note that the grain was for temple administrators of the deities Gatumdu, Nanše, Nindara and Dumuzid; Ningirsu and Bau, the top divine couple of the province of Girsu, are conspicuously absent.

grain for **aga3-us2 lugal** who were conscripted from shepherds (**sipad**) and 1,371,300 liters for the troops of the army (**eren2 ugnim-me**).¹³¹⁹ A balanced account of grain also dating to this year combines elements of the previous two texts, labeled as grain of Susa (**še šušin^{ki}**), and lists 1,275,652 liters placed in the accounts of the estate and temple administrators (**a-gu3 šabra saĝĝa-ka ba-a-ĝar**), 11,800 liters for royal soldiers conscripted from shepherds (**aga3-us2 lugal sipad-ta dabs-ba-me**), 1200 liters as fodder for horses (**ša3-gal^{anše}si2-si2**), 65,980 liters for the captains of the army (**nu-banda3 ugnim-me**) and 44,765 liters for “captains of the cities” (**nu-banda3 uru-me**), among other grain expenditures.¹³²⁰

Thus at the beginning of Šulgi’s third decade as king we begin to see the journeys of messengers and other personnel between Girsu province and Susa, and a significant military presence at the site alongside other personnel, some of which were **šuku**-alloment holders in the fields of Susa. Like the garrisons in the periphery, Susa seems to have paid the **gun2 ma-da** tax:

P107636 / MVN 12, 99 (7/08/Š46) obv. line 5 to rev. line 10:

**51 gud / 4 ab2 / 1380 udu / 334 us / 86 maš2-gal / 14 sila4 ga / gun2
šušin^{ki}**

“51 bulls, 4 cows, 1380 rams, 334 ewes, 86 billy-goats (and) 14 suckling lambs - the tax of Susa.”

P123619 / OIP 115, 343 (7/12/Š48) obv. lines 1-2:

1 udu ki-a-naĝ ur-^dnamma / ša3 mu-ku_x gun2 šušin^{ki}

“1 sheep (for) the funerary offering of Ur-Namma out of the delivery of the tax of Susa.”

P105219 / BCT 1, 117 (4/07/IS02) obv. line 5:

132 udu ša3 gun2 šušin^{ki}

“132 sheep out of the tax of Susa.”

¹³¹⁹ P114586 / MVN 6, 130 (---/Š35).

¹³²⁰ P108393 / CT 1, 4 (---/Š35).

There are no documents specifically with the phrase **eren₂ šušin^{ki}**, but it has already been shown that a variety of phrases, such as **gun₂**, **eren₂ GN**, and **ša₃ GN**, can be used to refer to the **gun₂ ma-da** tax.¹³²¹ Therefore the first text shows that a substantial number of livestock came from Susa in Šulgi's forty-sixth regnal year while the other two reference the tax as a source of expenditures for various people, gods and bureaus. The third text shows that these payments continued into the beginning of the reign of Ibbi-Suen.

Interestingly, Susa also received livestock as well:

P122162 / Nik. 2, 479 (3/09/AS06) obv. line 1 to rev. line 4:

**3586 udu / 14 maš₂-gal / e₂-udu-niga / ša₃ šušin^{ki} / ġiri₃ ur-^dnisaba
lu₂-kiġ₂-gi₄-a lugal / ud 10 la₂ 1-kam / ki ab-ba-sa₆-ga-ta /
be-li₂-a-ri₂-ik / i₃-dab₅**

“3586 sheep (and) 14 billy-goats (for) the sheep-fattening ranch in Susa, via Ur-Nisaba on royal assignment. 10th day. Beli-arik took from Abbasaga.”

From where did these animals come? This text states that Beli-arik, the **ensi₂** of Susa,¹³²² took them from Abbasaga, who was the main official of the central livestock bureau at Puzriš-Dagan during the reign of Amar-Suen.¹³²³ Thus one could posit that these animals came from Puzriš-Dagan - a sort of reverse delivery to Susa. However, another text might help to clarify the situation. The document P126313 / PDT 2, 959 is a massive, and fragmentary, summary text from Puzriš-Dagan. A section of it lists the **gun₂ ma-da** payments of the troops (**eren₂**) of a number of garrisons,¹³²⁴ totaling over four thousand

¹³²¹ Sometimes there is no designation at all. P128944 / SACT 1, 189 (obv. col. 4 lines 1-5) lists 40 oxen and 675 sheep simply as “(from) Beli-arik the **ensi₂** of Susa.”

¹³²² Note that his seal impression, P332451 / MDP 54, 29, labels him as a cupbearer (**sagi**) as well as the governor of Susa.

¹³²³ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 265-266; Christina Tsouparopoulou, “A Reconstruction of the Puzriš-Dagan Central Livestock Agency,” *CDLJ* (2013/2): 8-9.

¹³²⁴ These garrisons are: NIdarašpi, Rabi, Arman, Išum, Tiran and Ebal.

animals, designated as destined or delivered to the sheep fattening ranch in Ešnunna (**e2-udu-niga-še3 ša3 eš3-nun-na^{ki}**). Thus we have the same terminology as the document above referring to Susa with a similarly high number of animals. Therefore we can understand these animals destined for the sheep fattening ranch in Susa as coming from the garrisons located in regions within and surrounding Khuzistan. The reference to the high official of Puzriš-Dagan, Abbasaga, can be explained as an administrative routing notation, in that the animals, belonging to the accounts of Puzriš-Dagan, were nevertheless directly sent to Susa to be fattened instead of being delivered first to Puzriš-Dagan and then sent to Susa.¹³²⁵

While Susa paid the **gun2 ma-da** tax, which suggests it is congruent with the garrison settlements, it also engaged in the **bala** system, suggesting congruence with the provincial system of the heartland (**kalam**). This situation of paying both **gun2 ma-da** and **bala** is attested for the sites of Susa, Ešnunna and Išim-Šulgi.¹³²⁶ This raises the question of the type and/or degree of integration of (at least parts of) the Diyala and Khuzistan. The **bala** of these three sites seems to have been limited to livestock. Perhaps these places, located at the major hubs of the main routes into the eastern territories, combined elements of both provincial and peripheral management in a gradient that favored a more military-heavy, peripheral-style settlement.¹³²⁷ Therefore it may be

¹³²⁵ According to Tsouparopoulou, “They (the animals) were not normally brought physically to Drehem. Drehem must have functioned not as a repository of animals, but rather as a repository of tablets and documents. Animals which are said to have been transferred or brought to Drehem should be envisaged as virtual transactions”; Tsouparopoulou, “A Reconstruction of the Puzriš-Dagan Central Livestock Agency,” 6. It should be kept in mind that Puzriš-Dagan could be both a repository for documents recording virtual transactions as well as a repository for actual animals sent from the periphery. The latter is suggested by the large number of texts documenting dozens of animals sent to the kitchen to feed the troops.

¹³²⁶ Sharlach, *Provincial Taxation and the Ur III State*, 7.

¹³²⁷ It is easy to forget that the provinces in Sumer proper were entities which combined royal/military elements along with provincial/temple elements; see Steinkeller, “The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State,” 24-25 and Heimpel, *Workers and Construction Work at Garšana*, 2-5.

useful to view both provincial and peripheral entities as occupying a position on a gradient of civil-military character. Some provinces may have had a strong, or even wholly, civil character while others may have had a stronger military character, with some of the garrison settlements being of a wholly military character.¹³²⁸

Susa is undoubtedly the most frequently attested city of origin and destination regarding the travels of assorted personnel in the messenger texts. It is one of the few polities attested in all three messenger text corpora, with over a thousand attestations in the Girsu texts, four in the Iri-Saĝrig documents and two in the Umma tablets. In the texts from Girsu, it comprises roughly fifty percent of all polities mentioned. A significant facet recorded in these messenger texts is that, though highlander groups were provisioned for trips to and from Susa, there is only one text which designates highlanders as being *of* Susa; in other words, that Susa was their native land. Though seemingly insignificant, it becomes more striking in light of the fact that many of the thousands of messenger texts from Girsu record provisions for trips to and from Susa. This is problematic if Susa is conceived as a vassal state or even as a place with a large native “Elamite” population subjected to direct control by the Ur III state. This in turn produces more questions that are difficult to answer. Does it mean that Susa was, at this point, primarily inhabited by people of Mesopotamian stock? Did the Akkadian colonists attested in texts of the Classical Sargonic period remain at Susa after the Akkadian empire collapsed and therefore a significant element of the population was of

¹³²⁸ Steinkeller (“The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State,” 24) states “Apart from the governor, each province had a district military commander, or general (Sumerian **šagina**), who, like the governor, resided in the province’s capital.” However, generals are not attested for all provinces; though this might be simply due to issues of preservation and discovery, we should be cautious to extrapolate that which was the norm for one province as being the norm for all provinces. Steinkeller himself (*ibid.*, 25) notes that some provinces, such as Umma, had generals stationed in a number of its towns.

Mesopotamian descent? Maeda's study of the garrisons on the periphery of the Ur III state is of the opinion that Susa and the Khuzistan polities were vassal states governed by native "Elamite" rulers and therefore were not part of the "defense zone", but were also treated differently than other vassal states (such as Mari, Ebla, etc.) due to their strategic location for the exercise of the sovereignty and diplomacy of the Ur III state.¹³²⁹

However, more scholars are of the opinion that Susa was incorporated into the Ur III state, though perhaps with a different status than the core provinces of the alluvial plain.¹³³⁰ This data from the messenger texts bolsters the latter position and it should be kept in mind that Šulgi built temples for Ninḫursaĝa and Inšušinak at Susa, as attested by his brick inscriptions, canephrous figures and foundation tablets uncovered there,¹³³¹ suggesting substantial control by the monarch of Ur.¹³³²

¹³²⁹ Maeda, "The Defense Zone during the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty," 148-152.

¹³³⁰ Michalowski, "Foreign Tribute to Sumer in the Ur III Period," 44; Potts, *The Archaeology of Elam*, 130-135; Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," 298; Katrien de Graef, "Susa in the Late 3rd Millennium: from a Mesopotamian Colony to an Independent State (MC 2110-1980)," in *Associated Regional Chronologies for the Ancient Near East and the Eastern Mediterranean, volume III: History and Philology*, eds. Walther Sallaberger and Ingo Schrakamp (Turnhout: Brepols, 2015): 289; F. Malbran-Labat, "Susa (Suse). A. Philologisch," 348-349.

¹³³¹ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 137-140: E3/2.1.2.30, 31, 32. Potts (*The Archaeology of Elam*, 131-132) has pointed out that the bricks dedicated to the building of the Inšušinak temple, as well as a votive macehead dedicated for the life of Šulgi, all spell out Šulgi's name without the divine determinative, suggesting that these activities occurred prior to Šulgi's twentieth regnal year.

¹³³² Tablets stemming from Susa used Ur III date formulas up to Ibī-Suen's third year, thus providing more evidence for Susa's firm integration into the kingdom of Ur; Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 158.

IV.3.b: AdamDUN

The location of AdamDUN is probably to be fixed at Tepe Surkhegan near Šuštar due to an inscription of Gudea that was supposedly found there that refers to his building activity in AdamDUN, and this identification is bolstered by texts which indicate that AdamDUN was accessible via boats, correlating well with the fact that Šuštar is located next to the Karun River.¹³³³

<i>Toponym</i>	<i>Governor / Ruler (ensi₂)</i>	<i>Man of / One of (lu₂)</i>
AdamDUN	ur- ^{ĝi₈} gigir	<i>unnamed</i>
	11/--/SH33 P101721	--/--/---- P339087
	11/--/---- P128481	
	u ₁₈ -ba-a (u ₃ -ba-a, u ₁₉ -ba-a)	
	1/24/SH43 P115531	
	6/--/SH43 P135148	
	--/--/SH44 P134788	
	8/17/SH44 P101443	
	8/--/SH46 P134871	
	8/--/SH46 P122166	
	4/25/SH47 P102377	
	2/--/---- P116249	
	7/--/---- P111484	
	8/--/---- P111792	
	8/--/---- P128256	
	12/--/---- P120158	
	na-gid ₂ -da	
	11/--/---- P128478	

The earliest attested **ensi₂** of AdamDUN had a solid Sumerian name (Ur-gigir), though one of his successors, Uba'a, had neither a Sumerian nor an Akkadian name. This

¹³³³ Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," 297. The tablet was reported by a local school teacher who had found it on the tell; see Marie-Joseph Steve, "La tablette sumérienne de Šuštar (T. MK 203)," *Akkadica* 121 (2001): 5-21. Michalowski ("Observations on 'Elamites' and 'Elam' in Ur III Times," 115) cites Potts (2010) in acknowledging the uncertainty of the provenience of the inscription, though Steinkeller ("Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," 299 n. 43) asserts that the information is reliable, citing communication with Gasche.

has led some to assume that AdamDUN was an unincorporated vassal state under the control of native rulers; from that assumption follows another in that the deliveries from this territory, though from the **eren₂** of AdamDUN, did not qualify as **gun₂ ma-da**.¹³³⁴

The livestock deliveries from AdamDUN under the various designations are listed below:

Texts mentioning tax (**gun₂**) of AdamDUN:

P142571 (9/30/Š47) obv. lines 1-7:

**7200 gud / 1331 udu 62 maš₂ / udu ti-la / 225 udu ba-ug₇ / gun₂
a-dam-DUN^{ki} / ki u₁₈-ba-a**

“7200 cattle, 1331 sheep, 62 goats - livestock that are alive (and) 225 dead sheep. Tax of AdamDUN from Uba’a.”

P125434 / PDT 1, 18 (9/--/Š47) obv. line 1 to rev. line 6:

**225 udu / ba-ug₇ / ša₃ gun₂ a-dam-DUN^{ki} / kuš-bi ġiš-kin-ti ba-an-ku₄ /
ad₆-bi e₂-kišib-ba-še₃ ba-an-ku₄ / ki na-sa₆-ta ba-zi**

“225 dead sheep (from) the tax of AdamDUN. Their skins were brought into the workshop(s), their carcasses were brought into the storehouse(s). They were issued from Nasa.”

Texts mentioning troops (**eren₂**) of AdamDUN

P100971 / OIP 115, 182 (12/06/Š45) obv. lines 1-5:

**[...] gud / 1500 10 la₂ l udu / 171 maš₂ / eren₂ a-dam-DUN^{ki} / ugula
u₁₈-ba-a**

“[x] oxen, 1509 sheep, 171 goats - (from) the troops of AdamDUN, overseer (is) Uba’a.”

P130415 / StOr 9, 30 (8/26/AS09) obv. lines 1-6:

**1200 udu gu₂ mu en eridu^{ki} ba-ġuġ / 1100 udu 100 maš₂-gal / gun₂ mu
en ^dnanna kar-zi-da ba-ġuġ / eren₂ a-dam-DUN^{ki} / ġiri₃ KAL-^dšul-gi /
ugula u₁₈-ba-a**

“1200 sheep - tax/tribute (of) the year the *en*-priestess of Eridu was installed; 1100 sheep, 100 billy-goats - tax/tribute (of) the year the *en*-priestess of Nanna of Karzida was installed - (from) the troops of AdamDUN. Via Dan-Šulgi, overseer (is) Uba’a.”

P136225 / UDT 91 (--/03/----) obv. col. iv, lines 1’-7’:

**[...] la₂ 1 maš₂ / eren₂ a-dam-DUN^{ki} / 32 udu / 28 maš₂ lugal-niġ₂-si-sa₂-
e dumu gu-še / ugula u₁₈-ba-a / ġiri₃ i₃-li₂-maġ-ri kurušda**

¹³³⁴ Maeda, “The Defense Zone during the Rule of the Ur III Dynasty,” 141-142.

“[...] goats (from) the troops of AdamDUN; 32 sheep (and) 28 goats (from) Lugal-niĝsisae the son of Guše. Overseer (is) Uba’a.”

Texts mentioning **šu-gid₂**-deliveries of AdamDUN

P122166 / Nik. 2, 483 (8/--/Š46) obv. line 1 to rev. line 2:

**1491 udu / 661 u₈ / 2324 maš₂ / 1714 ud₅ / šu-gid₂ / ki u₁₉-ba-a ensi₂
a-dam-DUN^{ki}**

“1491 rams, 661 ewes, 2324 goats, 1714 nanny-goats - a *šugid*-delivery (from) Uba’a the governor of AdamDUN.”

Text mentioning simply **udu** of AdamDUN

P135041 / TRU 277 (8/--/Š46) obv. line 1 to rev. line 4:

**231 u₈ / 50 udu / 70 la₂ 1 ud₅ / 34 maš₂ / ba-ug₇ / udu a-dam-DUN^{ki} /
ġiri₃ bu₃-u₂-da-ki / ad₆-bi / ur-nigar_x^{gar} šu ba-ti / kuš-bi ġiš-kin-ti
ba-an-ku₄ / zi-ga ki na-sa₆**

231 ewes, 50 rams, 69 nanny-goats, 34 male goats are dead - (they are) sheep of AdamDUN. Via Budaki. Ur-nigar received their carcasses, their skins were brought into the workshop(s). Expenditures from Nasa.”

Texts mentioning **ša₃** AdamDUN^{ki}

P125455 / PDT 1, 39 (8/--/Š46) obv. line 1 to rev. line 7:

**384 kuš udu / 384 ad₆ udu / ša₃ udu a-dam-DUN^{ki} / ġiri₃ bu-da-ki šeš
u₁₈-ba-a / ki na-sa₆-ta / e₂-kišib-ba-še₃ / ba-an-ku₄**

384 sheep skins (and) 384 sheep carcasses (from) within (the delivery) of sheep of AdamDUN. Via Budaki the brother of Uba’a. (They) were brought into the storehouse(s) from Nasa.”

Texts mentioning livestock delivered from Uba’a:

P128944 / SACT 1, 189 (---/ŠS or IS)¹³³⁵ obv. iv lines 6-15:

**20 gud niga / 10 udu bar-ġal₂ niga / 167 udu u₂ / 32 maš₂-gal u₂ / 1 sila₄
/ mu a-dam-DUN^{ki}-še₃ / 2 gud niga 20 udu u₂ / mu ħu-pu-um^{ki}-še₃ /
u₃-ba-a**

“20 grain-fed oxen, 10 grain-fed sheep with fleece, 167 grass-fed sheep, 32 grass-fed billy-goats (and) 1 lamb - on behalf of AdamDUN; 2 grain-fed oxen, 20 grass-fed sheep - on behalf of (the city) Ĥupum, from Uba’a.”

¹³³⁵ The text (obverse column iii, line 3) references Ituria the governor of Ešnunna, who is known to have held the position at the latter part of Šu-Suen’s reign and into Ibbi-Suen’s reign.

We see that a large number of animals designated as **gun₂** came from the city and from that delivery the animals which had already died were processed, with the skins routed to workshops for leather production and the carcasses routed to storage facilities, likely to be sent to kitchen institutions (**e₂-muḫaldim**) for the provisioning of errand-runners and soldiers. The allocation of dead animals to storage facilities and workshops from these deliveries are designated with slightly different vocabulary - one tablet refers to three hundred and eighty-four sheep as simply **udu** AdamDUN while a duplicate text refers to them as **ša₃ udu** AdamDUN “out of the sheep of AdamDUN,” showing that, like the text mentioning the **gun₂**, this group of animals came from the larger delivery. Equally common are deliveries from the troops (**eren₂**) of AdamDUN, always listing Uba’a as overseer,¹³³⁶ with P130415 / ASJ 15, 150 no. 49 showing both that this was an annual payment and that the **gun₂** was a tax on the troops. Sometimes the reference to the troops is omitted and the livestock delivery is noted as being carried out by Uba’a “on behalf of AdamDUN (**mu a-dam-DUN^{ki}-še₃**) or as a *šugid*-delivery from Uba’a (**šu-gid₂ ki u₁₉-ba-a ensi₂ a-dam-DUN^{ki}**). Here is a summary of these texts:

Table of Overall Deliveries

Date	Livestock		Designation	Text
	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Sheep</i>		
12/06/Š45	[...]	1680	eren₂	P100971
8/--/Š46	---	6190	šu-gid₂	P122166
9/30/Š47	7200	1618	gun₂	P142571
--/--/AS08	---	1200	gun₂, eren₂	P130415
8/26/AS09	---	1200	gun₂, eren₂	P130415
--/--/ŠS or IS	---	230	mu...še₃	P128944
--/03/----	[...]	[...]	eren₂	P136225

¹³³⁶ Michalowski (“Observations on “Elamites” and “Elam” in Ur III Times,” 121) notes that Uba’a is often listed among other generals and therefore this probably was (at least) one of his titles as well.

Table of Parts of the Overall Deliveries

Date	Livestock		Designation	“Parent Text”	Text
	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Sheep</i>			
8/--/Š46	---	384	udu	P122166 / 8/--/Š46	P135041
8/--/Š46	---	384	ša₃ udu	P122166 / 8/--/Š46	P125455
9/--/Š47	---	225	ša₃ gun₂	P142571 / 9/30/Š47	P125434

As we have already seen in the chapter on the garrisons, the various constructions (**gu₂** GN, **eren₂** GN, **udu** GN, **šu-gid₂**) are all referring to the same thing - the annual tax of the military settlers of the city. Just like the other garrison documents, the amount of the tax can be subject to variation and not every text included both cattle and sheep. The livestock amounts, when applied to the tax rate shown to be imposed on garrison settlements, allude to large numbers of troops stationed at (and around) the city:

Date	Livestock		Est. Troop Strength
	<i>Cattle</i>	<i>Sheep</i>	
12/06/Š45	---	1680	50,400
8/--/Š46	---	6190	185,700
9/30/Š47	7200	1618	48,540
--/--/AS08	---	1200	36,000
8/26/AS09	---	1200	36,000

The massive tax deliveries show that AdamDUN was not a typical garrison and was likely a mustering or staging point for military forays into the Zagros Mountains.¹³³⁷

AdamDUN was different from other peripheral settlements in other ways. Unlike the fortress-town of Išim-Šulgi which had “governors” (**ensi₂**) who were separate persons from the officers in charge of the troops of the garrison, AdamDUN’s “governor,” Uba’a, seems to have fulfilled both roles. This governor is an interesting character. The name Uba’a is quite rare in the administrative corpus and therefore likely refers to the same person. The name occurs thirty times in documents from Puzriš-Dagan, eighteen times in

¹³³⁷ Michalowski, “Observations on “Elamites” and “Elam” in Ur III Times,” 120.

texts from Girsu and eighteen times also in texts from Umma. In texts from Puzriš-Dagan, he is often noted as the overseer or responsible person of animal deliveries, which were usually quite large. He also provided animals in minor deliveries alongside other Ur III notables and military personnel (a few examples: P134943 / TRU 179, P101319 / MVN 18, 24 and P110433 / HUCA 29, 69 no. 1). He is attested as having sent other items, at least in one instance, such as a bow (^{gi}**ban**; P135148 / TRU 384). In the Umma and Girsu documents he primarily occurs in the messenger text genre. The Girsu messenger texts are all undated (at least regarding the year name) while the Umma messenger texts provide a range from AS07 to IS02. He is attested as either personally traveling to and from Sumer, or sending his officials to do business on his behalf.¹³³⁸ Unlike rulers or envoys from regions outside of the control of the kingdom of Ur, Uba'a never received livestock at Puzriš-Dagan. This suggests that, though he has a "foreign" name, he (and the city of AdamDUN) was a part of the Ur III kingdom, though not necessarily in the same manner as the **ensi**'s of the provinces in southern Babylonia.¹³³⁹ One text may even hint at his origin, as a shepherd of Iri-sa^{grig}¹³⁴⁰ - not entirely improbable considering **aga**₃-**us**₂ were conscripted from shepherds and one of the governors of Susa, Beli-arik, was a cupbearer prior to his elevation to **ensi** of Susa.

The messenger texts add more to the portrait of AdamDUN. Other than Susa, it is the only polity that is attested in messenger texts from all three proveniences of the genre - Umma, Girsu and Iri-Sa^{grig}. It occurs six times in the Umma documents and on only

¹³³⁸ P108940 / DAS 191 (8/29/----).

¹³³⁹ Uba'a is not, unlike Zarriq of Susa, attested as paying the **bala**-duty.

¹³⁴⁰ P101694 / AnOr 12, 277 (--/--/----). Uba'a, who is listed as providing 40 ewe and 50 rams, is named among four other people who are labeled as **sipad iri-sa^{grig}-rig^{ki}-me** "they are shepherds of Iri-Sa^{grig}."

one Iri-Saĝrig tablet.¹³⁴¹ In the Girsu texts it occurs one hundred and ninety-four times, making it the third most referenced site after Susa and Sabum. Compared to the total number of messenger texts that designate AdamDUN as a place of origin or destination, the references to groups of highlanders of AdamDUN are quite rare.¹³⁴² There are eight references in the Girsu messenger texts and the ration amounts indicate that these groups were usually limited in number, often thirty or less people. However, one text suggests that one group amounted from 105 to 210 people.¹³⁴³ They are almost solely described as coming from or going to AdamDUN, with one exception that notes their coming from Nippur. We saw in one of the livestock delivery texts above (P128944 / SACT 1, 189) that Uba'a delivered two oxen and twenty sheep on behalf of ̕upum (**mu ̕u-pu-um^{ki}-še₃**) which connects him as the officer-in-charge of the garrison at ̕upum which, judging from the amount, held six hundred troops. The Girsu messenger texts also record highlanders of ̕upum (six occurrences) who traveled from the waystation(s) in Girsu province to Ur, Susa, and (back) to ̕upum. Groups ranged in size from fifteen to around sixty and date from Šulgi's forty-seventh year to Amar-Suen's eight.¹³⁴⁴

Overall, the data shows that AdamDUN paid the **gun₂ ma-da** tax in amounts that suggest it was a key staging point for military operations. It was one of the most commonly attested places which sent and received personnel from Girsu and highlanders from Khuzistan. The relative lack of highlander groups for whom AdamDUN was their native city may suggest the possibility of a substantial Mesopotamian population settled

¹³⁴¹ For the Iri-Saĝrig document, see P333667 / Nisaba 15/2, 278 (6/25/ŠS04): **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal ud a-dam-DUN^{ki}-ta ki lugal-še₃ ba-ĝen-na-a** “the one on royal assignment who went from AdamDUN to the place of the king.”

¹³⁴² See Appendix F on the highlanders in Girsu messenger texts.

¹³⁴³ P315783.

¹³⁴⁴ See Appendix F on the highlanders in Girsu messenger texts.

there. At some point during the reign of Ibbi-Suen, between his ninth and fourteenth years, the kingdom of Ur lost control of AdamDUN.¹³⁴⁵

¹³⁴⁵ Ibbi-Suen's ninth year name references his attack on Ḫuḫnuri, but doesn't mention other Khuzistan sites. His fourteenth year name is named after his attack on Susa and AdamDUN, suggesting that he had lost control of all of Khuzistan by that point. Michalowski ("Observations on 'Elamites' and 'Elam' in Ur III Times, 121) suggests that both Susa and AdamDUN were out of Ur's control in Ibbi-Suen's third year. This follows the well-known data that the administrative documents cease at a number of sites between Ibbi-Suen's second and seventh years (Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 366-367), but the interpretation that this reflects that the point at which Ur lost control of a region is not as straightforward as it might seem; Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 174-178.

IV.3.c: Sabum

The city of Sabum may be the third most prominent polity in the territory of Khuzistan. Unlike Susa and AdamDUN, the location of Sabum is subject to wider disagreement. The *Répertoire Géographique* posits a number of possibilities such as within Elam (Khuzistan), Marhaši, the Pušt-i Kuh and near the Persian Gulf.¹³⁴⁶ McNeil placed it in the territory of Gutium (also Pušt-i-Kuh),¹³⁴⁷ Duchene thought it was associated with Huḫnuri (thought to be in the Ram Hormuz region),¹³⁴⁸ and Frayne posited modern Agha-Jari at the southeastern corner of Khuzistan.¹³⁴⁹ Steinkeller also assigned it to this region.¹³⁵⁰ Notizia is a more recent scholar to have located Sabum in the Pušt-i Kuh region to the northwest of Khuzistan; he noted a close link between the city and another polity called Duḫduḫne which he thinks was situated between Sabum and Šimaški, the latter being the area known as Piš-i Kuh, beyond the Kabir Kuh.¹³⁵¹ He is of the opinion that since Huḫnuri was localized at Tappeh Bormi and Pašime was in the vicinity near the Persian Gulf, that the region would not support the additional two centers of Sabum and Duḫduḫne.¹³⁵² However, as will be shown below, Pašime is likely to be located on the northwestern edge of Khuzistan, rendering his conclusion uncertain. Below are the names of the people who held the title **ensi** of Sabum:

¹³⁴⁶ Edzard and Farber, *RGTC* 2 (1974): 159-161. See also the maps at the end of the book, which localize Sabum in the Pušt-i Kuh region.

¹³⁴⁷ McNeil, *The "Messenger Texts" of the Third Ur Dynasty*, 70 n. 161.

¹³⁴⁸ J. Duchene, "La localization de Huḫnuri," in *Fragmenta historiae Elamicae: mélanges offerts à M. J. Steve*, eds. L. De Meyer, H. Gasche and F. Vallat (Paris: Éditions Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1986): 69.

¹³⁴⁹ Frayne, *The Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names*, 83. For an overview of Sabum, see David I. Owen, "Sabum. A. Early Dynastic-Ur III," *RIA* 11 (2007): 478-479.

¹³⁵⁰ Steinkeller, "Puzur-Inšušinak at Susa," 298, 303.

¹³⁵¹ Palermo Notizia, "Hulibar, Duḫduḫ(u)NI e la frontiera orientale," in *ana turri gimilli: studi dedicati al Padre Werner R. Mayer, S.J. da amici e allievi*, eds. M. Biga and M. Liverani (Rome: Università degli Studi di Roma, 2010): 275.

¹³⁵² *Ibid.*, 276.

<i>City</i>	<i>Personnel designated as ensi₂</i>	<i>Personnel designated as lu₂</i>
Sabum	<i>unnamed</i>	
	10/--/AS05 P130358	ur- ^d ba-u ₂ --/--/IS02 P316510
	4/04/---- P110626	
	5/15/---- P107487	u ₂ -lu-lu
	12/--/---- P132948	--/--/---- P118346
	a-bu-um-DINGIR	
	1/17/SS01 P205223	
	3/13/---- P108931	
	5/--/---- P110510	
	6/--/---- P114465	
	9/20/---- P133327	
	9/--/---- P111493	
	11/--/---- P127715	
	--/--/---- P110509	
	--/--/---- P110745	
	--/--/---- P295905	
	--/--/---- P207490	
	a-ḥu-um-me-lum	
	10/--/SS08 P118467	
	--/--/---- P295906	
	še-le-bu-um	
	1/--/---- P406469	
	7/--/---- P206228	
	9/--/---- P105790	
	9/--/---- P110013	
	10/--/---- P106955	
	--/--/---- P109164	
	--/--/---- P111697	
	--/--/---- P412670	
	--/--/---- P209838	
	^d šu- ^d suen-ba-ni	
	3/--/---- P110643	
	10/--/---- P110979	
	11/--/---- P132669	
	12/--/---- P110899	
	ta-la-bu	
	2/--/---- P101290	
	a-bu-um-mi-šar ₃	
	9/--/---- P111245	

Most of these attestations do not provide the year name, making their tenures in office difficult to pin down; further prosopographic study may alleviate this situation. Nearly

all the names are Semitic and one of them, Šu-Suen-bani, contains an Ur III royal theophoric element, suggesting the ruler's subordination to the penultimate king of the dynasty. Already in Šulgi's thirty-fourth year we have mention of a general of Sabum who received provisions along with an **aga3-us2 gal-gal** in a Girsu messenger text.¹³⁵³ The toponym only occurs in texts from Umma, Girsu and Puzriš-Dagan, with almost all of the occurrences coming from Girsu.¹³⁵⁴ The documents from Puzriš-Dagan deal, not surprisingly, with livestock deliveries from the city. P103997 / AUCT 2, 179 (8/03/AS01) mentions four black sheep (**udu ġi6**) for Ninġursaġ of Iri-Saġrig as well as cattle, sheep and goats for Enlil and Ninlil out of the tax of Sabum (**ša3 gun2 sa-bu-um^{ki}**). This text shows that both cattle and small livestock made up the tax of Sabum and that black sheep were specifically designated for Ninġursaġ of Iri-Saġrig. These features are echoed in the other Drehem texts that refer to Sabum. One document refers to a delivery of cattle with similar phraseology: 20 oxen out of (the tax) of Sabum.¹³⁵⁵ Another text documents a larger cattle delivery of seventy-two animals, without any designation other than the name of the city.¹³⁵⁶ P112129 / JCS 32, 172 no. 2 (6/22/AS04) records 600 black sheep (**udu ġi6**) for Ninġursaġ of Iri-Saġrig out of the delivery of the troops of Sabum (**ša3 mu-ku_x eren2 sa-bu-um^{ki}**). This phraseology shows that the 600 sheep were not the entire delivery of the troops of Sabum; like the first text, there were probably cattle and other small livestock associated with the delivery as well.¹³⁵⁷ The six hundred

¹³⁵³ P128480 / RTC 327 (10/--/Š34).

¹³⁵⁴ The texts from Umma and Girsu are all messenger texts.

¹³⁵⁵ **30 la2 1 gud** [**ša3**] **sa-bu-um^{ki}**; P103588 / AUCT 1, 743 (9/19/Š48).

¹³⁵⁶ P126552 / PDT 2, 1222 (--/--/----). Note that Karaġar delivered a much larger amount of cattle (616 animals).

¹³⁵⁷ AUCT 2, 179 and P112129 show that the phrase of the first text (**ša3 gun2**) is synonymous with the phrase of the latter (**ša3 mu-ku_x eren2**).

sheep amounts to 18,000 troops, showing that Sabum, like the other polities in the region, seems to have had a substantial garrison and may have been a military mustering town.

This accords well with the Girsu messenger texts, which document the provisioning of various personnel, many of them related to the military, for travel within and outside of the kingdom of Ur. As an origin or destination of travelers, Sabum is the second most common locale, with over two hundred occurrences in travel notations. It is close in number with AdamDUN, though nowhere close to Susa, which was the primary object of travel to and from Girsu province in the messenger texts. Unlike Susa and AdamDUN, there is a significant number of references to highlanders of Sabum. There are thirty-nine occurrences of these groups with the majority of them, judging by the amounts of their provisions, consisting of groups of forty people or less, though there are exceptions, such as P132455 / TCTI 2, 3203 which lists 300 liters of semolina (**1 dabin gur**) for highlanders of Sabum by the command of the *sukkalmah* (**u3-na-a-dug4 sukkal-mah-ta**) and conveyed by one Dannum-maziat. The notation that the provisions of the highlanders were to be given at the command of the *sukkalmah* is not uncommon, and the associated **ĝiri3**-agent is always a **lu2-ĝi3-tukul** (literally “one of the weapon”). Though Dannum-maziat was not given any designation in the aforementioned text, another document labels him as a **lu2-ĝi3-tukul** and designates the same **ĝiri3**-function.¹³⁵⁸ This text records 600 liters of grain as fodder for sheep and 600 liters of groats (**niĝ2-ar3-ra**) as fodder for cattle when the cattle and sheep came from Sabum to Girsu (**gud udu sa-bu-um^{ki}-ta ĝir2-su^{ki}-še3 ĝen-na**). This may connect the messenger text genre (at least partially) to the **gun2 ma-da**-type texts that we find from Puzriš-Dagan since, as we have

¹³⁵⁸ P132936 / TCTI 2, 3731.

seen above, the troops of Sabum delivered sheep and cattle as their tax; additionally it is interesting to note that the **ġiri₃**-agent is one who is called a **lu₂-ġi^{is}tukul**, a military title, in dealing with what may be the peripheral troop tax. The highlander groups primarily traveled to and from Sabum, though there are occurrences of their travels originating in Susa, Anšan and Nippur. On one occasion there is a small group of conscripted highlanders (**NIM dab₅-ba**).¹³⁵⁹

To summarize, Sabum seems to have been a peripheral territory under the authority of the Ur III kings, though with a somewhat significant native population, judging by the higher frequency of highlanders belonging to Sabum than we encounter with Susa and AdamDUN. It paid the **gun₂ ma-da** tax in amounts that suggest a substantial body of troops inhabiting the city, and it received and sent personnel of the Ur kingdom on various missions, which are unfortunately usually unspecified.

¹³⁵⁹ For details see the tables on the Girsu highlander groups.

IV.3.d: Urua

Urua, once thought to be within the region of Khuzistan, is now thought to be located on the outskirts of Khuzistan, to the northwest of the region.¹³⁶⁰ Known from the *Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names*,¹³⁶¹ it is also attested in Pre-Sargonic and Sargonic royal inscriptions as an object of Mesopotamian military aggression.¹³⁶² Molina, noting that it paid the **gun₂ ma-da** tax and was a prominent origin/destination in the Girsu messenger texts, suggested that Urua became a province of the Ur III state.¹³⁶³ As we can see below, there is only one person explicitly named as **ensi₂** of the city.

City	Personnel designated as <i>ensi₂</i>	Personnel designated as <i>lu₂</i>
Urua	^d šul-gi-zi ₂ -mu 9/14/SS07 P131604	[^d šul]-gi-zi-mu 11/--/AS06 P125650 --/--/---- P112952

The name of this person, with an Ur III royal theophoric element, is likely a person appointed to governorship of the city, and not an independent local ruler.¹³⁶⁴ The name is relatively rare, occurring fifty-one times, and outside of the messenger text genre he is designated as **ensi₂** and **lu₂** Urua, “kitchen manager” (**muḥaldim**), and “physician” (**a-**

¹³⁶⁰ It was known as the “bolt of Elam” (**saġ-kul elam^{ki}-ma**); Manuel Molina (“Urua,” *RIA* 14 (2015): 444) suggests an identification with modern Musiyan on the Deh Luran plain.

¹³⁶¹ Frayne, *The Early Dynastic List of Geographical Names*, 71-72.

¹³⁶² Molina, “Urua,” 444.

¹³⁶³ *Ibid*, 444.

¹³⁶⁴ Whether or not he was a native of the town is uncertain.

zu).¹³⁶⁵ In messenger texts from Umma and Girsu he is given the designations of **ra2-gaba**, **sukkal**, **lu2-êi^štukul** (**gu-la**), **aga3-us2 gal**, and **lu2-kas4**. It is uncertain whether most or all of these occurrences refer to the same person, due to the lack of patronymic and the issues involving the accrual and nature of titles. Urua delivered livestock in **gun2 ma-da**-type payments to Puzriš-Dagan, as the following texts suggest:

P117290 / MVN 13, 517 (6/30/Š45) obv. lines 1-5:

2 gud / 97 udu / 51 maš2-gal / eren2 URUxA^{ki} / 1 gud 10 maš2-gal 1 maš2 / ^dšul-gi-zi-mu

“2 oxen, 97 sheep (and) 51 billy-goats (from) the troops of Urua; 1 ox, 10 billy-goats (and) 1 goat (from) Šulgi-zimu.”

P112147 (2/--/Š40) obv. line 12:

821 udu URUxA^{ki}-ta

“821 sheep from Urua.”

P126146 / PDT 2, 781 (6/--/Š46):

727 u8 / 131 kir¹¹ gub / 141 udu / 198 sila4 gub / 530 ud5 / 37 munu^aš2-gar3 gub / 114 maš2 nita2 / 96 maš2 gub / šu-niĝin2 858 u8 / šu-niĝin2 340 la2 1 udu / šu-niĝin2 567 ud5 / šu-niĝin2 210 maš2 / šu-gid2 udu URUxA^{ki} / ki mi-it-ḥar-iš-ta / mu-kux / ur-kug-nun-na i3-dabs / itud a2-ki-ti / mu ki-maš^{ki} ba-ḥulu / 1974

“727 ewes, 131 female lambs *gub*, 141 rams, 198 lambs *gub*, 530 nanny-goats, 37 female kids *gub*, 114 male goats (and) 96 goats *gub*. Total: 858 ewes; total: 339 rams; total: 567 nanny-goats; total: 210 goats - a *šugid*-delivery of sheep of Urua. A delivery (that) Ur-kugnuna took from Mithariš. Date. (Total:) 1947.”

P144114 / SAT 2, 914 (9/13/AS06) obv. line 1 to rev. line 9:

3 gud / 70 udu / 110 maš2-gal / a-bi2-si2-im-ti / mu-kux eren2 URUxA^{ki} / arad2-ĝu¹⁰ maškim / ud 13-kam / ki ab-ba-sag9-ga-ta / ba-zi

“3 oxen, 70 sheep (and) 110 billy-goats (for) Abi-simti (from) the delivery of the troops of Urua. Aradĝu was the authorizing agent. 13th day. Issued from Abbasaga.”

¹³⁶⁵ For **muḥaldim**: P108687 / CT 32, 48; P127437 / NATN 740. For **a-zu**: P118488 / MVN 15, 209 (witness in slave sale document).

The last text should be understood as an apocopated form of the phrase **ša3 mu-ku_x eren₂ GN**, since the expenditures are issued from the primary livestock manager at Puzriš-Dagan, Abbasaga, to be received by queen Abi-simti. The same is true for the text P134890 / TRU 126 (9/18/AS08) which mentions three oxen and three sheep from the **eren₂** of Urua, via Šulgi-zimu. This low amount with an equal ration among cattle and sheep, and with the delivery coming from Ur-Igalim the animal fattener of the queen (**kurušda nin**), suggest that this should be understood as livestock taken from the tax of Urua (**ša3 mu-ku_x**) instead of the tax itself. Therefore, like AdamDUM, Urua provided large deliveries of livestock that were designated with various labels. The flow of goods was not one-sided, however, as is illustrated by two texts. P111304 / TCS 1, 179 is an undated letter-order in which one Nani is ordered to give 216,000 liters of grain and 120 liters of *iḡiṣ*-oil to the troops of Urua. Urua was one of the places that did mention tax (**gun₂**) that did not consist of livestock. P131604 / TCL 2, 5515 (9/14/ŠS07) mentions one mina of silver as the **gun₂** of Urua (from) Šulgi-zimu the **ensi₂** of Urua (**1 ma-na kug-babbar gun₂ URUxA^{ki} dšul-gi-zi₂-mu ensi₂ URUxA^{ki}**). This text also lists a smaller amount of silver from two named Šimaškians as well as two bronze and gold knives from the son of Taḥišen, the man/one (**lu₂**) of Šetirša, who is known to have been the overseer as well as the **ḡiri₃**-agent for **gun₂ ma-da** taxes from the troops of Šetirša.¹³⁶⁶

Regarding messenger texts, Urua as an origin or destination occurs only in the documents from Girsu, being the fourth most frequent place mentioned. There are one hundred and twenty three occurrences. It is the one city out of all the polities within and

¹³⁶⁶ This shows that these garrison towns delivered more than livestock and that they were more complex entities than generally thought.

adjacent to Khuzistan that does not have any highlander groups attested as traveling to or from it.

IV.3.e: Pašime

Pašime had traditionally been thought to have been situated on the Persian Gulf to the south of Khuzistan and to the west of Anšan, with its border perhaps extending up to the southern reaches of Khuzistan.¹³⁶⁷ However, an Akkadian inscription found on a stone stele at Tell Abu Sheeja, located to the northwest of Susa, suggests that this site was ancient Pašime.¹³⁶⁸ The following rulers and/or personnel attested for the city are:

City	Personnel designated as <i>ensi</i> ₂	Personnel designated as <i>lu</i> ₂
Pašime	<i>unnamed</i> 10/--/AS03 P375990	kur-bi-la-ak 7/15/SH46 P127348 7/19/SH48 P100977 7/21/SS04 P332381 šu-da-ba-ni 8/--/SH48 P200583 <i>unnamed</i> --/--/AS01 P134278

In light of the fact that Šuda-bani has a name with an Elamite theophoric element and was married to an Ur III princess,¹³⁶⁹ it is relatively safe to assume that this was the native ruler of the city at this time. It is unsure whether the unnamed **ensi**₂ mentioned in Amar-Suen's third year is the same man or possibly a governor installed by the Mesopotamian

¹³⁶⁷ Piotr Steinkeller, "The Question of Marḥaši: A Contribution to the Historical Geography of Iran in the Third Millennium B.C.," ZA 72 (1982): 240-243.

¹³⁶⁸ Ayad Mohammad Hussein et al., "Tell Abu Sheeja/Ancient Pašime: Report on the First Season of Excavations, 2007," *Akkadica* 131 (2010): 56-58: *a-na* ^d*su-da il₃-su-ra-bi₂ ba-si-me^{ki} šu* GIŠ.TUKUL ALAN *u-se₁₁-ri₂-ib pa₂-si-i₇ su₄-mi-im ap-la-am a u₂-ta₂ su₄-ma-am a ir₃-ši* "For Šuda, Ilšu-rabi (of) Pašime, the soldier, brought in (this) statue. The one who erases (this) name, may he not find an heir nor have a name (for himself)" (Normalized as Old Babylonian: *ana Šuda Ilšu-rabi Pašime šū kakkim šalman ušērib pāšit šumim aplam ay-ūta šumam ay-irši*). For the šu GIŠ.TUKUL, see below in the section on the **lu₂-^{is}tukul**. Note that the Persian Gulf location for Pašime is still accepted by some: Notizia, "Hulibar, Duḥduḥ(u)NI e la frontiera orientale," 276.

¹³⁶⁹ The princess was Taram-Šulgi; P200583 (8--/Š48).

ruler. Five years prior to the attestation of the union of the princess and the ruler of Pašime, a text from Puzriš-Dagan of the **gun₂ ma-da** type lists three oxen and one hundred and eighty sheep from the **eren₂** of Pašime, suggesting a troop strength of roughly 5400 soldiers.¹³⁷⁰ Larger amounts of livestock are recorded from Pašime during the reign of Šu-Suen,¹³⁷¹ and during the reign of Ibbi-Suen a delivery of 18,000 liters of grain was made to the **eren₂** of the city.¹³⁷² Interactions between the kingdom of Ur and Pašime are attested as early as Šulgi's thirty-fourth year in a messenger text that records a contingent of twenty highlanders coming from Pašime escorted by a **nu-banda₃** and a **sukkal**.¹³⁷³ In Šu-Suen's third year fifty-five long, dark pine logs were sent to Pašime to be used in the construction of doors, though the purpose of the doors was not stated.¹³⁷⁴

To sum up the situation, Pašime is first attested in a messenger text from Girsu in Šulgi's thirty-fourth year,¹³⁷⁵ a garrison delivering livestock is attested in his forty-third year, and one of Šulgi's daughters is known to be married to the ruler of Pašime by his forty-eighth year. Building materials are delivered to Pašime in Šu-Suen's third year while an even larger livestock delivery comes from the city in his sixth year. Finally grain is sent to the garrison in Ibbi-Suen's fourth year. The picture this presents is one in which a foreign city was incorporated into the Ur III kingdom, perhaps by the early part of Šulgi's fourth decade of rule, and was cemented by a diplomatic marriage. However, the exact nature of this incorporation is uncertain. There is no evidence of hostile action

¹³⁷⁰ P124433 dated 6/--/Š43.

¹³⁷¹ The tablet (P134175 / TLB 3, 34), dated to 12/--/ŠS06, is a fragmentary livestock account and simply labels the delivery as **udu pa₂-šim-e^{ki}**.

¹³⁷² P105780 / Berens 69; 10/--/IS04.

¹³⁷³ P114985 / MVN 7, 54.

¹³⁷⁴ P133627 / TEL 116; 1/--/ŠS03.

¹³⁷⁵ P114985 / MVN 7, 54 (8/--/Š34). It is a messenger text listing beer provided to a **nu-banda₃** and twenty highlanders (**NIM**) who came from Pašime.

taken by an Ur III king against the city and there are no references to any taxes or tribute (**gun₂**) imposed on it outside of the livestock tax imposed on all of the military garrisons in the periphery. Yet it seems to have been more than simple a garrison city as evidenced by the marriage of the princess to its ruler, but it was not incorporated to the degree that Susa was, which paid **bala** duties. All of this must be taken with a grain of salt, since only a fraction of the documentation produced concerning the city of Pašime has survived or has been recovered.

IV.3.f: 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶

As mentioned in the historical overview of the campaigns of the Ur III kings, 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 has strongly been associated with the Ramhormuz region in southern Khuzistan, and more recently with Tappeh Bormi. Unlike Susa, AdamDUN, Sabum and Urua, there are no attestations of **gun₂ ma-da**-type texts for 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶, and references to the ruler of the city are exceedingly rare:

City	Personnel designated as <i>ensi₂</i>	Personnel designated as <i>lu₂</i>
𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶	<i>unnamed</i> 1/--/AS07 P290446	pu-zu 4/10/AS07 P340515

There are some other references to **lu₂** 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 which do not refer to the ruler or former ruler of the city. One text mentions provisions for interpreters (**eme-bala**), two of which were foreigners, one a Marḥašian (**lu₂ mar-ḥa-ši^{ki}**) and the other a 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶ian (**lu₂ ḥu-ḥu-nu-ri**).¹³⁷⁶ There are six Girsu messenger texts, five of which mention rations for **lu₂ ḥu-uh₂-nu-ri^{ki}**, some of which list amounts of cereals and beer and others which list commodities that were to be allocated, but were not expended; all date to the last three months of Šu-Suen's second year.¹³⁷⁷ The format of the section dealing with the **lu₂** 𐎶𐎠𐎶𐎶𐎶 is the same in all six texts, listing good beer (**kaš sigs**), medium-quality beer (**kaš gen**), *šu*-bread (**ninda šu**) and medium-quality bread (**ninda ġen**), being followed by the phrase **lu₂ ḥu-uh₂-nu-ri^{ki}**. The text P114398 / MVN 5, 178 has **lu₂ ḥu-uh₂-nu-ri^{ki}-me**, showing that the other texts were written without the plural enclitic copula (-

¹³⁷⁶ P217712 / MVN 6, 83.

¹³⁷⁷ P133083 / TCTI 2, 3887; P133316 / TCTI 2, 4147; P133318 / TCTI 2, 4149; P114398 / MVN 5, 178; P111129 / ITT 3, 5160.

me(-eš)). The amounts of commodities provided also suggest a fairly large group rather than a ruler or official and his entourage.¹³⁷⁸ The **lu₂** **Ḫuḫnuri** also occur in Umma messenger texts in the same format as the texts above,¹³⁷⁹ and they occur in relation to the **bala**. One document is a balanced account of grain and beer expenditures in the **bala** (**niġ₂-kas₇ ak še kaš bala-a**), dating to Amar-Suen's eighth year, that lists the expenditure of 7200 liters of beer for the ones of **Ḫuḫnuri**.¹³⁸⁰ This is obviously too large of an amount to be for the ruler and his entourage and, considering that the text is dated to the year after **Ḫuḫnuri**'s defeat, could possibly refer to prisoners of war, though it should be noted that the term "plunder" (**nam-ra-ak**) is absent. Three other texts from Umma mention **Ḫuḫnurians** (**lu₂ ḫu-uh₂-nu-ri^{ki}-me**) receiving bundles of reeds (**sa gi**) as regular provisions (**sa₂-dug₄**) and/or as expenditures that were part of the provincial **bala**-duty which provided for the royal sector (**šag₄ bala-a**).¹³⁸¹

From Girsu we get five references to one 60-*gur* (18,000 liter) boat of the man/men of **Ḫuḫnuri**.¹³⁸² None of these occurrences contain the plural enclitic copula, which could suggest that this refers to the ruler of **Ḫuḫnuri**. However, the context in which these boats are found are in lists of boats that were provided from, as well as for, various people and institutions as boats that were serving time in the **bala**-duty of

¹³⁷⁸ Total beer amounts: 886-890 liters of beer; total cereal amounts: 1166-1178 liters of bread. These are much larger amounts than what we encounter with highlander groups (**NIM**), who are thought to consist of five to twenty-five men who were workmen for community tasks (Sallaberger, "Ur III-Zeit," 306) or bodyguards who accompanied envoys and messengers from the peripheral territories (Michalowski, "Observations on 'Elamites' and 'Elam' in Ur III Times, 110-111, 121).

¹³⁷⁹ P127760 (1/15/ŠS02).

¹³⁸⁰ P130353 / STA 3.

¹³⁸¹ P119244 / MVN 16, 1196 (7/--/ŠS02): "252 reed bundles are the regular provisions for ten days (for) the **Ḫuḫnurians**"; P141662 / UTI 6, 3665 (--/--/ŠS02): "1222 reed bundles...within the *bala*-duty."; P141446 / UTI 5, 3428 (--/--/ŠS05): "240 reed bundles purchased by grain (**gi še-ta sa₁₀-a**) for the **Ḫuḫnurians**...within the *bala*-duty." For the phrase **šag₄ bala-a** see Sharlach, *Provincial Taxation and the Ur III State*, 39-52.

¹³⁸² P416108; P416110; P416113;

Girsu.¹³⁸³ Therefore some of these people and institutions were providing rather than receiving boats. This is confirmed by, for example, P110877 / TCTI 1, 1007 which has an explicit ablative marker (-**ta**) in reference to a boat from Nippur,¹³⁸⁴ and the word **ki** in front of the title *sukkalmah* and the name of the general Ilalum, forming the circumlocution **ki...(-ak)-ta** which Sumerian used since the ablative marker was not suffixed onto animate nouns.¹³⁸⁵ If the one boat was supposed to be from the man of Huhnuri, we would expect **1 ma2 60 ki lu2 hu-uh2-nu-ri^{ki}**. The lack of **ki** shows that it was a 60-*gur* boat *of* or *for* the **lu2 hu-uh2-nu-ri^{ki}**. The fact that groups of Huhnurians received provisions in messenger texts and bundles of reeds from *bala*-obligations suggests that we understand the boat to be for a group of Huhnurians instead of from the ruler of Huhnuri.¹³⁸⁶ The references in these texts to boats of generals, soldiers (**aga3-us2**), and dogs shows a fairly strong military connection and, in light of a text from Puzriš-Dagan, perhaps refers to a group of Huhnurian soldiers. This text mentions a fattened sheep expended for the throne platform of the seven divine warriors which was consumed by **gar3-du**-soldiers who were Huhnurians (**1 udu niga du6 ur-saĝ-7 uzu-bi gar3-du lu2 hu-uh2-nu-ri^{ki}-ke4-ne ba-ab-gu7**).¹³⁸⁷ The only instance that we can

¹³⁸³ Alongside ablative phrases, discussed below, there are clear genitive phrases such as **3 ma2 40 eren2-na** “three forty-*gur* boats of the troops.” This is probably still to be understood as “for” the troops. There are no explicit dative (or locative-terminative) case markers in these texts, though this is not surprising for Ur III administrative documents.

¹³⁸⁴ Reverse line 6: **1 ma2 60 še Nibru^{ki}-ta** “One 60-*gur* grain-boat from Nippur.”

¹³⁸⁵ Reverse lines 2-3: **5 ma2 60 aga3-us2 ki sukkal-mah / 7 ma2 60 aga3-us2 ki i3-lal3-lum** “Five 60-*gur* boats of *aga*’us from the *sukkalmah*, seven 60-*gur*-boats of *aga*’us from Ilalum.” On the circumlocution, see Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 104. These boat-texts omit the ablative marker from the title or name. Note, however, that this could reflect Akkadian influence since the Sumerogram KI before a personal name, without the postposition TA, is used in Akkadian to render the ablative preposition *ištu* “from”.

¹³⁸⁶ This agrees with Sharlach’s (*Provincial Taxation and the Ur III State*, 89 n. 86) understanding of the text.

¹³⁸⁷ P106209 / BIN 3, 402 (6/10/AS08).

confidently state that **lu₂ hu-uh₂-nu-ri^{ki}** refers to one specific Huhnurian is P340515 / BPOA 2, 2681:

1 za₃-mi-ri₂-tum / da-ad-da-[x]-li / dumu pu-zu lu₂ hu-uh₂-nu-ri^{ki}-ka / ud ensi₂ umma^{ki}-ka-še₃ / še ur₅-ra e₃-e₃-de₃ / i₃-ĝen-na-a / šu ba-an-ti / ugula a-hu-ni / arad₂-^dnanna maškim ša₃ e₂ puzur₄^{iš}-^dda-gan

“Dadda[x]li, the son of Puzu the man/one of Huhnuri, received 1 *zamiritum* when he went to the governor of Umma in order to bring out grain (used as) loans. Overseer (is) Ahuni. Arad-Nanna (is) the authorizing agent. Within Puzriš-Dagan. Date.”

This text dates to 4/10/AS07, not long after Huhnuri’s defeat, and describes a Huhnurian receiving a prestigious weapon,¹³⁸⁸ usually reserved for high officers, when he was tasked, under the authority of a known general and the secretary-of-state, to fetch grain from the provincial governor of Umma. This Puzu could very well be the former ruler of Huhnuri or some other elite Huhnurian who became employed, along with other members of his family, by the king of Ur. There is one attestation of an unnamed **ensi₂** of Huhnuri which likely refers to the native ruler of the city due to his appearance in a text dating to the first month of Amar-Suen’s seventh year.¹³⁸⁹ This document, from the Umma archive, lists 5100 liters of semolina (**dabin**) and 3900 liters of beer which the ruler of Huhnuri received under the authority of the *sukkalmah*.

The degree that Huhnuri was incorporated into the kingdom of Ur is uncertain.

Though the Tappeh Bormi inscription states that Amar-Suen (re)built the temple of

¹³⁸⁸ The *zamiritum*, at least in the Old Babylonian period, was a type of lance or spear, perhaps a javelin; Ilya Archipov, *Le Vocabulaire de la Métallurgie et la Nomenclature des Objets en Métal dans les textes de Mari*, ARM 32 (Leuven: Peeters, 2012): 129-130; Schrakamp, *Krieger und Waffen im Frühen Mesopotamien*, 215-218. The CAD (vol. 21, 39) notes that this item seems to have usually been decorated with silver and gold. This is evident in the handful of occurrences of the term in Ur III administrative documents, exemplified by P134039 / TIM 6, 34 which mentions **1 za₃-mi-ri₂-tum zabar ĝiš-bi kug-babbar šub-ba** “one bronze(-tipped) *zamiritum*, its shaft (lit. “wood”) is overlaid with silver” that was given to a general’s subordinate.

¹³⁸⁹ P290446 / BPOA 7, 2295 (1/--/AS07).

Ḫuḫnuri's tutelary deity and renamed the city Bit-Amar-Suen, there is no other evidence that the kingdom of Ur exercised direct authority or had a significant Mesopotamian presence there. Occurrences of **e2-d^aamar-d^asuen** in the administrative corpus never include the place determinative **ki** and the contexts show that a shrine or temple of the king is the referent and not the renamed city of Ḫuḫnuri. Additionally, there are no texts that suggest a garrison that paid the **gun2 ma-da** was established at the site, nor that a native Mesopotamian was ever installed as a governor.¹³⁹⁰

Regarding the messenger texts, Ḫuḫnuri is the least attested polity in the region of Khuzistan, with the exception of Pašime, though it is still not an uncommon origin and destination for personnel recorded in these documents. It occurs in messenger texts from both Girsu and Umma, though it is, not surprisingly, unattested in documents from Iri-Saḡrig. In the Umma documents it is tied with AdamDUN as the most commonly attested city (six attestations each), though this is a small fraction when compared to the number of the occurrences for the general phrase “to/from across (the Tigris)” (**gaba-aš/ta**). At Girsu, the other Khuzistan polities (Susa, Sabum, AdamDUN and Urua) have a much greater number of attestations and some polities outside of this region (Anšan, Kimaš and Šimaški) are more frequently mentioned as well. The vastly greater number of references to Anšan than to Ḫuḫnuri raises some questions. If Ḫuḫnuri, as the bolt or lock to the territory of Anšan, was not conquered until late in Amar-Suen's reign, did

¹³⁹⁰ Without additional data it is difficult to know the status of these foreign polities and their rulers, and we should be open to a variety of ways in which subjugated territories were incorporated into the kingdom. A good potential corollary to this would be the Neo-Assyrian empire's various forms of domination. The Assyrian empire can be viewed as including “Assyria proper” and vassal kingdoms in which the latter consisted of semi-autonomous native rulers in a dynamic situation that put these rulers on a shifting gradient of autonomy - whether they simply owed tribute and were otherwise unmolested, had corvée imposed as well, or assimilated into an Assyrian province; see J. Nicholas Postgate, “The Land of Assur and the Yoke of Assur,” *World Archaeology* 23 (1992): 247-263.

errand-runners from the kingdom of Ur bypass the territory of *Ḫuḫnuri* via a maritime route? As mentioned above, the assault on the city in *Šulgi*'s thirty-fourth year was probably an operation which involved transport by sea to the Iranian coast followed by relatively short march to the city. Therefore it is possible that prior to *Amar-Suen*'s victory (and even afterwards), this was the primary route of access to the city of *Anšan* and its environs. We do know that at some point in *Šulgi*'s reign a group of eleven highlanders accompanied the **ra₂-gaba** of the **ensi₂** of *Anšan* to Mesopotamia and were given provisions at one of the *Girsu* waystations.¹³⁹¹ All of this could be a relatively moot point, since the *Girsu* messenger texts tend not to preserve the year name and the couple of year names that are attested date to after *Amar-Suen*'s seventh year. However, the mention above of the visit of the **ra₂-gaba** of the ruler of *Anšan* and the diplomatic marriage of *Šulgi*'s daughter to its ruler suggest that the exchange of envoys between Ur and *Anšan* was occurring, and perhaps frequent, well before *Amar-Suen* came to power. Other than the use of a maritime route for the exchange of envoys between Sumer and *Anšan*, which would bypass a hostile *Ḫuḫnuri* and its hinterland, another possibility is one of a diplomatic agreement in which the ruler of *Ḫuḫnuri* granted access through his territory for Mesopotamian envoys.¹³⁹²

That there was interaction between the kingdom of Ur and *Ḫuḫnuri* prior to *Amar-Suen*'s campaign against the city is attested by groups of *Ḫuḫnurian* highlanders (**NIM**) mentioned in messenger texts from *Girsu*. Though most of the *Girsu* references to

¹³⁹¹ Though undated, the text references Ur-gigir the **ensi₂** of AdamDUN, who is attested in another document dated to *Šulgi*'s thirty-third year (see table on rulers of AdamDUN above). Ur-gigir's successor, Uba'a, is already attested at the beginning of *Šulgi*'s forty-third year. It should be kept in mind that interaction between Sumer and *Anšan* was occurring earlier, as the name of *Šulgi*'s thirtieth year is named after the diplomatic marriage between his daughter and the ruler of *Anšan*.

¹³⁹² The fact that, as mentioned above, the **ra₂-gaba** was strongly associated with watercraft adds further evidence that the intercourse between Ur and *Anšan* was conducted via maritime routes.

highlander groups are undated regarding the year name, two documents are dated prior to Amar-Suen's seventh year. One text, dating to the end of Šulgi's final regnal year, is a summary messenger text that recorded either two groups of ҲuҲnurians who were provisioned by one of the Girsu waystations in two consecutive months, or it refers to the same group which was present in Girsu province in both months.¹³⁹³ The provisions of thirty liters of both beer and bread suggest a group of roughly fifteen to thirty people, who are noted as coming from ҲuҲnuri (**ḫu-ḫu-nu-ri^{ki}-ta du-ne₂**). The other text is a broken tablet mentioning unknown quantities of provisions, via (**ḡiri₃**) the governor of Susa, which dates to Amar-Suen's fifth year.¹³⁹⁴ There are a total of forty messenger texts that record the provisioning of highlanders from both Girsu (26) and Umma (14). The Umma texts do provide the year names and the dates range from the second month of Amar-Suen's seventh year to the second month of Šu-Suen's sixth year. Unfortunately they rarely provide any additional information. The Girsu documents are the converse, in that they rarely provide year dates, but have significantly more information than the Umma texts. The ҲuҲnurian highlander groups were most commonly from ҲuҲnuri, though there is one explicit reference to their coming from AdamDUN and one implicit reference to their coming from Anšan.¹³⁹⁵ The reference to the ҲuҲnurians coming from AdamDUN describes them as thirteen able-bodied men (**ḡuruš**) who were highlander conscripts (**NIM dabs-ba**). Perhaps some ҲuҲnurians who were seeking employment by the Ur III state approached the Mesopotamian authorities in AdamDUN and were subsequently sent to the main provincial territories via Girsu province. One other point

¹³⁹³ P317781 / Nisaba 22, 71 (12/--/Š48).

¹³⁹⁴ P204832 / Nisaba 22, 1 (6/--/AS05).

¹³⁹⁵ P128507 / RTC 354 and P120137 / MVN 19, 11 respectively.

of interest regarding the highlander groups is that P295905 / NABU 2011 no. 50 mentions a group of thirty to sixty Huhnurians who came from Huhnuri at the command of the Abum-ilum, the governor of Sabum (**u3-na-a-dug4 a-bu-um-DINGIR ensi2 sa-bu-um^{ki}**). The references here and above to the Khuzistan polities of Susa, AdamDUN and Sabum in connection with these highlander groups suggest that the Ur III state interacted with Huhnuri via its garrison cities in the Susiana plain, and thus that these cities not only provided a staging and mustering point for Mesopotamian forces, but also controlled and facilitated the entrance of foreigners from the eastern and southeastern territories into the kingdom. Another point of interest is a document dating to Šu-Suen's first year mentioning a group of thirty to seventy-five highlanders of both Huhnuri and Pašime who received provisions when they were to travel to Huhnuri. This shows that separate groups of foreigners could be tasked together for assignments in the periphery of Ur. Unfortunately no additional information is given in this tablet.¹³⁹⁶

Overall it seems that Huhnuri was the most independent city of all the polities in the territory of Khuzistan. While it certainly was not incorporated into the Mesopotamian kingdom like the other cities of Susiana, whether or not it was a vassal to Ur is uncertain, and if it was, the type of vassalage to which it was subjected is not clear. The difficulty of ascertaining whether or not a city and its ruler were vassals in the Ur III period is difficult. An example of this is Hulibar, the ruler of an eastern city known as Duḫduḫne, a city which Notizia classified as belonging to the category of independent peripheral

¹³⁹⁶ P111711 / ITT 5, 8212. It also shows that localities mentioned together in a text do not necessarily mean that they are in close proximity to each other. As noted above, Pašime was located on the northwestern edge of the Susiana plain, while Huhnuri was located on the southeastern edge - a distance, as the crow flies, of well over 150 miles.

states.¹³⁹⁷ Hulibar, and his envoys (**lu2-kiĝ2-gi4-a**), are attested in documents at Puzriš-Dagan dating from the latter part of the reign of Šulgi and into the reign of Šu-Suen. In these documents they received provisions of meat, which was standard practice for foreign envoys and rulers who had traveled to Sumer. Indeed, Hulibar and his envoys are listed alongside some of these other foreign entities in the same tablet.¹³⁹⁸ This, alongside the fact that there are no attestations of a garrison of troops paying the **gun2 ma-da** tax, would suggest, as Notizia opined, that Duĝduĝne was an independent state.¹³⁹⁹ It is also thought that Hulibar married the daughter of an Ur III king,¹⁴⁰⁰ which was a part of the diplomatic repertoire of the Mesopotamian monarchs. However, there are some points against the notion that Duĝduĝne was an independent state. It is known that Ur III princesses were married to generals within the Ur III military establishment who were not the governors of foreign cities, but rather were in charge of royal dependents and garrisons within the provinces of the homeland.¹⁴⁰¹ Additionally, Hulibar is called a general (**šakkan6**) in a document from Umma¹⁴⁰² and is attested as possessing highlander prisoners of war, which led Notizia to conclude that the ruler of this independent foreign state may have had a prominent role in the Zagros wars of Šulgi and Amar-Suen.¹⁴⁰³ However, the title of general was not a standard designation for the Ur

¹³⁹⁷ Notizia, "Hulibar, Duĝduĝ(u)NI e la frontiera orientale," 269-292.

¹³⁹⁸ See, for example, P433577 / RSO 83, 344 no. 9 and P126482 / PDT 2, 1147.

¹³⁹⁹ Notizia, "Hulibar, Duĝduĝ(u)NI e la frontiera orientale," 276.

¹⁴⁰⁰ Ibid, 271-273.

¹⁴⁰¹ Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State," 24-25. For a specific example, Šu-Kabta was the general of the garrison at Garšana and was married to Simat-Ištaran, who was an Ur III princess; they owned a country estate near the town of Garšana, in Umma province: David I. Owen, "Šu-Kabta," *RIA* 13 (2012): 265-266.

¹⁴⁰² P122649 / NYPL 113 (12/--/AS06).

¹⁴⁰³ Notizia, "Hulibar, Duĝduĝ(u)NI e la frontiera orientale," 271-272.

III bureaucracy to use in reference to independent foreign rulers¹⁴⁰⁴ and I am unaware of any examples of independent rulers aiding any of the military endeavors of the kings of Ur.¹⁴⁰⁵ Another factor is that one document attests to the setting up of a statue of Šu-Suen at Duḥduḥne which would seem to suggest that the city was incorporated, in some way, into the Ur III state.¹⁴⁰⁶ Regardless of its status in relation the the kingdom of Ur, Ḫuḥnuri was independent of Ur III control by Ibbi-Suen's ninth regnal year, which was named after a military action by the Mesopotamians against the city.

¹⁴⁰⁴ Though the rulers of Mari called themselves generals (**šakkan**/*šakkanakku*) in this period, they were not designated as such by the Ur III bureaucracy, which instead simply called them **lu**₂ "the man, one of" Mari. For the inscriptions on the seals and seal impressions of the rulers of Mari, see Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 439-450: E3/2.4.1-4.7.1. The inscriptions of the last two rulers do label them as kings (**LUGAL**/*šarrum*), but they are listed towards the end of the Šakkanakku List from Mari and likely would have reigned during the waning of the Ur III state. For an overview of the Šakkanakku List from Mari, see Sallaberger and Schrakamp, *ARCANE III*, 26-28.

¹⁴⁰⁵ This is not to say that vassals of the kings of Ur did not supply troops and supplies for the wars of the Ur III kings, as was common in other periods. For just one example that springs to mind, Aššurbanipal, in his campaign against Tarhaka of Egypt, stated that he brought his Syro-Phoenician vassals and their troops along with him; see Jamie Novotny and Joshua Jeffers, *The Royal Inscriptions of Ashurbanipal (668–631 BC)*, *Aššur-etel-ilāni (630–627 BC)*, and *Šîn-šarra-iškun (626–612 BC)*, *Kings of Assyria, Part 1*, RINAP 5/1 (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2018): in press, Prism C ii 25'-55'. The problem we encounter is how do we define an Ur III vassal, how were they different from peripheral garrison commanders, and what types of vassalage existed in the Ur III period. As we have seen, there is disagreement on what elements constitute a vassal from a garrison city as well as to the degree of independence peripheral territories exercised.

¹⁴⁰⁶ P128543 / DAS 185 (11/10/----): **2 kaš sig₅ 2 zi₃-gu ½ sila₃ i₃ 1 udu alan šu-^dsuen-ka NE-duḥ-ḫu-NI^{ki}-še₃ ḡen-na** "2 liters of good beer, 2 (liters) of flour, ½ liter of oil (and) 1 sheep (for) the statue of Šu-Suen that went to Duḥduḥne." It is not entirely sure what a statue of the king going to a foreign city entailed. Evidence from the Neo-Assyrian period shows that royal statues were installed either before or next to the images of various deities within their temples and often received offerings alongside the gods, which raises the question of the divine status of these royal images (see Steven W. Cole and Peter Machinist, *Letters from Priests to the Kings Esarhaddon and Assurbanipal*, SAA 13 (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1998): XIII-XV). Perhaps a similar situation applies here, in which a statue of Šu-Suen was set up before the image of the tutelary deity of Duḥduḥne. This is perhaps in accord with the fact that the divine determinative is missing from the king's name. The other possibility is that a statue of the divine king was to be installed as an object of worship for the ruler (or simply governor) of Duḥduḥne - a scenario that we see for the governors of Ešnunna who had a temple of Šu-Suen affixed to their palace. Either way, both scenarios suggest at least some degree of incorporation of Duḥduḥne into the Ur III state. I am unaware of any instance of a statue of an Assyrian king being installed in the city of an independent allied state or a vassal state which was unicorporated into the Assyrian provincial system.

Now that we have discussed the contextual and background aspects of the messenger texts, and have examined the statuses and roles the cities in the region of Khuzistan bore, we will examine some of the military terms contained within them.

Map 10: Politics of Khuzistan and Fars



IV.4: Messengers, Soldiers or Men on Assignments?

IV.4.1: The **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a**

In a chapter on military terms it may seem strange that the designation **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a**, often translated as “messenger,” would be included. However, there are aspects of this term and its usage which bear relevance to the term **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** and can perhaps be viewed as its counterpart. Therefore we will begin with a brief discussion of this term and then use it to help illuminate aspects of Ur III titulary which bears significance for the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul**. The **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** was one of the primary designations given to commodity recipients in the messenger texts, along with the **lu₂-kas₄**, **ra₂-gaba** and **sukkal**. The table below shows the total number of attestations of each title both in the messenger text genre as a whole and in the individual archives:

Title	Number of Occurrences in Messenger Texts			
	Total	Girsu	Umma	Iri-Saĝrig
sukkal	3156	2519	535	102
lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a	1603	41	52	1510
lu₂-kas₄	1331	1173	158	--
ra₂-gaba	214	160	7	47

Though the **sukkal** was, without contest, the primary designation of personnel in these texts, those labeled as **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** comprised the second most common group. As mentioned above, the term “messenger text” for this genre has been deemed misleading by some, primarily for the reasons that the delivery of messages is never mentioned and that the texts are concerned with the distribution of commodities to various personnel. Additionally, the titles **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a**, **lu₂-kas₄**, **ra₂-gaba** and **sukkal**, which make up the majority of designations in the messenger texts, tend to be given the general designation

of “messenger” or “courier” without further distinction.¹⁴⁰⁷ It has not been until relatively recently that more nuanced studies of the titles of these primary ration recipients have been undertaken. Sharlach’s examination of the diplomatic corps of the Ur III kingdom¹⁴⁰⁸ has shown that the gloss of “messenger” given to these titles is quite inadequate. Sharlach described the Ur III state as containing

“a branch of government whose business was foreign policy both at home and abroad. In charge of this organization was the **sukkal-mah**, a term which can be translated literally as “chief secretary” or perhaps better as “secretary-of-state.” Included under his purview was a foreign service, which consisted of trusted emissaries, sent by the king of Ur into foreign lands. These were known in Sumerian as **lu₂-kin-gi₄-a lugal** “royal emissaries.” Indeed the most famous **sukkal-mah**, Arad-Nanna, served as a **lu₂-kin-gi₄-a lugal**, that is, a royal emissary who went abroad, prior to the promotion to the office of his father. There was also a domestic branch, which consisted of civil servants who held the title **sukkal**, “secretary.” In these contexts, **sukkal** denotes a state employee in the diplomatic corps.”¹⁴⁰⁹

She noted that the term **sukkal** was never equated with the traditional Akkadian term for a messenger, *mār šipri*, but rather *sukallu* “court official” and that the Old Babylonian term agrees with her notion of the Ur III **sukkals** as secretaries involved with foreign

¹⁴⁰⁷ As a representative example, the ePSD provides the following glosses for these terms:

lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a	“messenger”
lu₂-kas₄	“runner, messenger”
ra₂-gaba	“rider, messenger”

Though the ePSD provides a different gloss for the **sukkal** “secretary, civil servant,” previously this term was thought to denote a “messenger” (see McNeil, *The ‘Messenger Texts’ of the Third Ur Dynasty*, 23-26 who noted the traditional consensus of these terms as “messengers” or “couriers” while questioning the adequacy and applicability of such translations). The traditional consensus was continued in the detailed and excellent survey of the Ur III period: “the common messenger and envoy” (Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 188, 306) and this understanding is still promulgated in relatively recent publications. See, for example, Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 27, 31, though he does note that they can have different functions in different “archives” (Ibid, n. 65).

¹⁴⁰⁸ Tonia Sharlach, “Diplomacy and the Rituals of Politics at the Ur III Court,” *JCS* 57 (2005): 17-29.

¹⁴⁰⁹ Ibid, 18.

affairs.¹⁴¹⁰ Another case of a mistranslated term is the **ra₂-gaba**. The word is an obvious loan from the Akkadian root *rkb* (*rakābu* “to mount, ride”) and has variously been translated as “wagon-driver,” “horse-rider” or “rider” and is often further glossed as “mounted/riding messenger” or “courier”.¹⁴¹¹ However, Such-Gutiérrez’s study of the term has shown that there was no equestrian connection. Instead, there was a close connection between the **ra₂-gaba** and boats, and thus the term is more appropriately translated as “courier/errand-runner conveyed by ship.”¹⁴¹² These **ra₂-gaba** were not simply ship-borne messengers, though. They bore additional titles such as “animal-fattener” (**kurušda**), “cup-bearer” (**sagi**), “secretary” (**sukkal**) and “barber” (**šu-i**).¹⁴¹³ They also engaged in a range of activities such as acting as an authorizing agent (**maškim**), acting as an intermediary (**ġiriš**) for livestock deliveries, accompanying groups of highlanders coming from the east, and acting as witnesses.¹⁴¹⁴

¹⁴¹⁰ Ibid, 18-19. She cites Lafont’s study on Old Babylonian messengers, who notes that the *sukkallu* was responsible for admitting or refusing entrance into the palace for foreign emissaries who arrived at the gate, and thus they were a sort of minister of foreign affairs; Bertrand Lafont, “Messagers et Ambassadeurs dans les Archives de Mari,” in *La circulation des biens, des personnes et des idées dans le Proche-Orient ancien*, CRRAI 38 (Paris: Recherche sur les Civilisations, 1992): 174, 183 n. 94.

¹⁴¹¹ M. Such-Gutiérrez, “Das ra₂-gaba-Amt anhand der schriftlichen Quellen de 3. Jahrtausends,” *AoF* 53 (2015): 19. A strong connection with equids is apparent in other translations such as “equestrian” (Dahl, *The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, 40). This is not surprising considering the close connection of the Akkadian term with equids as well as a similar connection of the root *rkb* with equids and chariots in other Semitic languages: Hebrew: *rikbāh* “riding”, *rakkāb* “charioteer”, *rekeb* “chariot”, *merkābāh* “chariot”; Ugaritic: *mrkbh*; William White, “*rakāb*,” *TWOT*, 847.

¹⁴¹² Such-Gutiérrez, “Das ra₂-gaba-Amt anhand der schriftlichen Quellen de 3. Jahrtausends,” 19-21. Note that the Akkadian word *rakābu* (U₅) “to ride” can refer to riding on animals, in chariots and in boats; the word *rukūbu* “vehicle” can denote a boat or a chariot, though its Sumerogram favors the boat: ^{GIŠ}MA₂.U₅ which translates literally as “boat-rider.”

¹⁴¹³ Ibid, 25. Studies on professional titles are showing a far more complex reality than the basic translations of the terms show. For example, the barber (**šu-i**), whose Akkadian cognate (*gallābu*) does involve shaving and cutting hair, is rarely directly indicated as performing such tasks in the late third millennium. Rather they are found in judicial and administrative contexts, as authorizers of transactions, and their seals often indicate a high status and close interaction with important officials. Thus the term could apply both to an individual’s function in the role of barber as well as to an honorific title for officials who did not seem to be engaged in the duties of a barber; see Alexandra Kleiner, “The Barbers of Iri-Saġrig,” in *From the 21st Century B.C. to the 21st Century A.D.: Proceedings of the International Conference on Neo-Sumerian Studies Held in Madrid, 22-24 July 2010*, eds. Steven J. Garfinkle and Manuel Molina (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2013): 301-311.

¹⁴¹⁴ Such-Gutiérrez, “Das ra₂-gaba-Amt anhand der schriftlichen Quellen de 3. Jahrtausends,” 21-25.

Further highlighting the need for specific studies of titles and designations is the **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a (lugal)**. The gloss of “messenger” likely stems from a variety of factors, one being its occurrence in Umma and Girsu messenger texts, in which personnel labeled as such are given rations to travel to and from various locales, sometimes at the command (**u₃-na-(a-)dug₄**) of an official, and another being the equation of the Sumerian term with Akkadian *mār šipri*, “messenger,” which, especially in its first millennium usage, often seems to denote a person responsible for transmitting messages and tablets.¹⁴¹⁵ However, the CAD translates *mār šipri* as “envoy,” “agent” and “deputy” as well, noting that different periods and contexts require a translation other than “messenger.”¹⁴¹⁶ Therefore the term “(royal) emissary” is much better than “messenger”, yet still does not provide the proper nuance of the term.¹⁴¹⁷ Supplemented with the texts from Iri-Saĝrig, which were published well after Sharlach’s article, we will briefly examine the term and its contexts in order to better grasp its meaning. First, we need to determine whether this is an office with its corresponding title, or whether this is more of a designation or role that the person performed temporarily. As mentioned above in the discussion of the **aga₃-us₂**, the titles and designations which personnel in administrative documents bore were

¹⁴¹⁵ See the lexical data provided in CAD vol. 10/1 pp. 260-261. Some contexts explicitly describe the *mār šipri* as relaying messages: *adû mār šipriya ša šipirti niddaššu umma leqēma ana PN idin* “now, thus (I spoke) to my messenger, to whom we had handed a message, saying: take it and give it to PN...” (ABL 589:9); and *mār šipri ša^{md} aia-nu-ri...kanīku inaššu* “the messenger of Aya-nuri...brings a sealed document” (Iraq 17, 131 no. 14:4); CAD vol. 10/1, 263.

¹⁴¹⁶ There are first millennium occurrences in which the *mār šipri* acts as an inspector and a legal agent, receiving goods and facilitating transactions (ibid, 264). Old Babylonian usage portrays an array of activities for the *mār šipri*: 1) as a messenger: “the two messengers who brought a tablet from Babylon to Kisurra” (A 4700:3), 2) as an inspector: “after the messenger of Nur-Sin had made the inspection (I went and opened my irrigation canal” (BIN 7, 40:16f.), 3) as an envoy: “that you have kept back the envoys of the king of Qatanum until now?” (ARM 1, 15:6) and 4) even as a guard: “a slave or a slave girl who has entered the gate of Eshnunna under guard of a messenger” (Laws of Eshnunna n. 52 A iv 10). For all of these references and more, see CAD vol. 10/1, 261-262.

¹⁴¹⁷ An emissary is defined as “a person sent on a special mission, usually as a diplomatic representative”. At the time of her article, her primary sources for the term would have stemmed from Umma messenger texts and its use in connection with foreign rulers in the Puzriš-Dagan archive.

complex and depended on multiple criteria. The various categories of designations include traditional-hereditary titles, professional titles, achievement titles and functionary titles.¹⁴¹⁸ The realms in which these titles bore significance were provincial, central, personal and temporal. Therefore we have traditional-hereditary titles which held significance at the local or regional level (and as such can be designated as “provincial”), where such titles were passed on through the family and informed their socio-occupational roles and statuses within that locality. Professional titles (bestowed by the central, or royal, sector) denoted the place of an individual within the state bureaucracy. Achievement titles did not necessarily reflect a socio-economic or occupational role, but rather identified that the holder had completed the requirements involved in bearing a certain title.¹⁴¹⁹ These titles were often the personal designations that individuals included in their seal inscriptions. Lastly, functional titles indicated a role that a person performed for a transaction at a given point in time, but which was not an occupational title and did not provide any indication of socio-economic status or position in the bureaucracy.¹⁴²⁰ Though a thorough study of the **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a (lugal)** is needed, it seems that this title denoted a functional designation which operated in the temporal realm. Rather than translating the term as “messenger,” a more accurate translation would be “on (royal) assignment.” A few points can be mustered for this position.

¹⁴¹⁸ This draws on the discussion of titles in Garfinkle, *Entrepreneurs and Enterprise in Early Mesopotamia*, 72-73.

¹⁴¹⁹ Such as **dub-sar** which at its most essential level simply indicates one who has completed basic scribal training, but could also designate the role that person was playing in a certain transaction. A similar example of this principle in the U.S. Army is that those who have completed U.S. Army Ranger School are authorized to wear a “Ranger Tab” on their uniform, even though many who complete the school do not become part of the active-duty Ranger battalions and perform roles in the army which are substantially different from the roles the soldiers of the Ranger battalions perform.

¹⁴²⁰ The prime examples of the functional title are **maškim** and **ĝiri₃**; Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 249-250.

The first point to be made concerns the evidence from seals and seal impressions. The title **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** never appears in seal impressions, and the fact that there are over two thousand attestations of the term in documents stemming from all of the primary proveniences for Ur III texts argues against the notion that this could be due to the vagaries of preservation or discovery.¹⁴²¹ Tablets that do bear seal impressions of personnel labeled as **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** in the text are never designated as such in their seal inscriptions; below is a list of texts that differentiate the titles of the same person in the text from their seal impressions:

	Text	Seal Impression
Iri-Saĝrig:		
P412127 / Nisaba 15/2, 81:	lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal	lu₂-kas₄
P387910 / Nisaba 15/2, 763:	lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal	lu₂-kas₄?
P454079 / Nisaba 15/2, 848:	lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal	aga₃-[us₂]
P454087 / Nisaba 15/2, 862:	lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal	šakkan₆ lugal
Girsu:		
P108833 / DAS 41:	lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal	lu₂-kas₄
Umma:		
P122023 / Nik 2, 340:	lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal	nu-banda₃

Second, (especially in the recently published Iri-Saĝrig texts) there are occurrences of the term as a secondary designation of a person within the same document.¹⁴²² For example, Iri-Saĝrig messenger texts often provide the primary and secondary designations of a person on the same “line”:

¹⁴²¹ The breakdown of attestations of the term by site are as follows: Iri-Saĝrig: 1538, Umma: 253, Puzriš-Dagan: 158, Girsu: 104, Garšana: 17, Ur: 14, Nippur: 9.

¹⁴²² Owen (*Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saĝrig/Al-Šarrākī*, 153-155) has already noted, based on evidence from the Iri-Saĝrig texts, that the **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** appeared “to be royal envoys appointed (at *Al-Šarrākī*) only for a specific task or tasks rather than individual messengers attached to the court for longer periods of time...and, like **ĝiri₃**, is a temporary designation.”

P453893 / Nisaba 15/2, 511:

obv. line 3: **en-lil₂-KA-NE sukkal lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal**

rev. line 3: **nu-ur₂-i₃-li₂ sukkal lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a-lugal**

Below is a table that shows the various primary designations of personnel who are given the secondary designation **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** in the same document in the messenger text genre.

Umma	Girsu	Iri-Saĝrig
---	sukkal (2)	sukkal (96)
	ra ₂ -gaba (1)	sagi (42)
		ra ₂ -gaba (33)
		šuš ₃ (14)
		a-zu (2)
		dub-sar (2)
		nu-banda ₃ (2)
		šakkan ₆ (1)
		sipad (1)

It is interesting to note that all occurrences of the term at Iri-Saĝrig are **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal** and the highest frequency of primary titles are related to the royal sector, those being the **sukkal** and **sagi**,¹⁴²³ which accords with the data suggesting that Iri-Saĝrig was a city with a heavy royal presence.¹⁴²⁴ Also important to note is a text from Puzriš-Dagan (P136247 / UDT 113) in which a certain Šu-Mama, who was an Urukean and a **gar₃-du** “elite-soldier/royal guard,” was also labeled a **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal** as a tertiary

¹⁴²³ As mentioned above, the **sukkals** seemed to have been personnel who dealt with foreign affairs - an aspect of government primarily falling to the royal sector. The cupbearers (**sagi**) also had close ties with the royal sector, being responsible for cultic affairs, especially royal sacrifices; see Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 186-188; also note that the Old Babylonian literary composition, *Sargon and Ur-Zababa* (ETCSL 2.1.4), describes the founder of the Old Akkadian dynasty as a cupbearer to the king of Kiš.

¹⁴²⁴ Each king of Ur traveled to Iri-Saĝrig more often than to any other city, and at least eight princesses and numerous princes, some of whom are unattested elsewhere, are found in the city’s archives. Temples to all of the Ur III kings (with the exception of Ibbi-Suen) were also located there; see David I. Owen, “URU-Saĝrig (Iri-Saĝrig, *Al-Šarrākī, Šarrākum*)” *RIA* 14 (2015): 498-500 and Nisaba 15/1 (do full cite).

designation and was the **ĝiri₃**-official of a royal delivery (**mu-ku_x lugal**) of seventy-seven cattle.¹⁴²⁵ Therefore we have a royal agent from one of the royal capitals whose third designation is a royal **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** conveying a royal delivery.

Noticeably absent in the table above is the **lu₂-kas₄**. Interestingly, all the personnel designated as **lu₂-kas₄** in their seal impressions are not designated as such within the document itself; this holds true regardless of the provenience of the text. Most often the person is called **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a (lugal)**,¹⁴²⁶ though once he is called **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** and once a general:

Table 53: Occurrences of Tablets with lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a in the text and lu₂-kas₄ in the seal impression

Text/Provenience/Name	Designation on seal	Designation in text	Assignment
P111815 / OIP 43, 169 Ešnunna: Hamati	lu₂-kas₄	lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a	ĝiri₃ -agent for provisions for a Šimaškian expended by the governor of Ešnunna
P118841 / MVN 16, 793 Umma: Išim-Šulgi	lu₂-kas₄	lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal	Sealed (kišib) for provisions expended by the governor of Umma for a highlander group from Anšan
P140511 / UTI 4, 2492 Umma: Adallal	lu₂-kas₄	lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a	ĝiri₃ -agent for provisions (igi-kar₂) expended by the governor of Umma for Ĥulibar (ruler of Duĥduĥne) and his wife
P412127 / Nisaba 15/2, 81 Iri-Saĝrig: Nur-ili	lu₂-kas₄	lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal	ĝiri₃ -agent for provisions for a group of Šimaškians when they went from Šimaški to the king
P454018 / Nisaba 15/2, 708 Iri-Saĝrig: Nur-Suen	lu₂-kas₄	lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal	ĝiri₃ -agent for provisions for a group from Sigreš who went from Sigreš to the king
P454019 / Nisaba 15/2, 709 Iri-Saĝrig: Sa'aga	lu₂-kas₄	lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal	ĝiri₃ -agent for provisions for a group of Šimaškians when they went from Šimaški to the king
P108833 / DAS 41 Girsu: Nur-ili	lu₂-kas₄	lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal	Sealed (kišib) for provisions expended for a highlander group from Šimaški
P110633 / TCTI 1, 763 Girsu: Šulgi-bani	lu₂-kas₄	lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal	Sealed (kišib) for 27,540 liters of grain as the grain-allotment (še-ba) of the citizens (dumu) of AdamDUN;

¹⁴²⁵ Obv. lines 4-5: **ĝiri₃ šu-ma-ma gar₃-du lu₂ unug^{ki} lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal**.

¹⁴²⁶ Iri-Saĝrig: P412127 / Nisaba 15/2, 81; P454018 / Nisaba 15/2, 708; P454019 / Nisaba 15/2, 709; P333749 / Nisaba 15/2, 782. Girsu: P108833 / DAS 41. Umma: P140511 / UTI 4, 2492.

			his seal calls him the son/subordinate (dumu) of the general Kurrub-Šamaš
P131140 / SAT 1, 31 Girsu: Šu-Enlila	lu₂-kas₄	lu₂-êi^{is}tukul	Sealed (kišib) for 3300 liters of groats (niĝ₂-ar₃-ra) and 2360 liters of grain for the cattle and sheep that came from Sabum
P133094 / TCTI 2, 3898 Girsu: Ili-miṭṭi	lu₂-kas₄	šakkan₆	Sealed (kišib) for 24,000 liters of grain for 1200 troops (eren₂) who were stationed at Gu'abba (gu₂-ab-ba^{ki}-ka tuš-a)

This table shows those designated as **lu₂-kas₄** in their seals engaged in similar tasks of assuming responsibility for goods issued for groups of foreigners, troops and livestock until those goods reached them.¹⁴²⁷ While their seals identified them as **lu₂-kas₄**, the texts themselves seem to simply designate them as being, for the most part, on royal assignment or, in other words, engaging in tasks on behalf of the royal sector. Those designated as simply **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a**, without the accompanying **lugal**, can perhaps be viewed as engaging in activities on behalf of a provincial governor.¹⁴²⁸ The facts that the **lu₂-kas₄** is absent in documents from Iri-Saĝrig though present in seal impressions, and that **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** is used as a secondary designation for **sukkals** and **ra₂-gabas**, suggest that the terms **lu₂-kas₄** and **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** were essentially interchangeable, at least according to scribes at Iri-Saĝrig. However, this same notion seems to be in play in summary accounts from Girsu where the term **kas₄** is used to denote all types of travelers with widely varying designations, but whose provision-expenditures are totaled together under the rubric of items given to those who “are various ‘runners’” (**kas₄ didli-me**) and that combine all the expenditures of the waystation together as items on tablets “in the leather sacks (concerning) the ‘trips’ of ‘runners’” (**ša₃ ^{kuš}du₁₀-gan-na ĝiri₃ kas₄-ke₄-**

¹⁴²⁷ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 249-250 and Veldhuis, “A Multiple Month Account from the Gu’abba Rest House,” 94-95.

¹⁴²⁸ Both texts which omit the **lugal** expressly state that the provisions were expended by the governor of the city from which the text came.

ne).¹⁴²⁹ This also seems to be the case for the numerous references in texts from Puzriš-Dagan of livestock expended to the “kitchen” for consumption by “the runners” (**mu kas4-ke4-ne-še3**).

Further support for this notion is found when we compare the missions attested for the **lu2-kas4** in the Girsu documents for and the **lu2-kiĝ2-gi4-a** in the Iri-Saĝrig texts:

Table 54: Comparison of Missions of the **lu2-kas4 and the **lu2-kiĝ2-gi4-a****¹⁴³⁰

lu2-kas4 at Girsu	lu2-kiĝ2-gi4-a at Iri-Saĝrig
<i>Missions of Travel (perhaps for delivery of messages)</i>	
lu2 aga3-us2-^{<še3>} lugal ĝen-na “who went to the royal soldier(s)” ki ensi2-še3 ĝen-na “who went to the governor”	ud BAD3.AN^{ki}-ta ki lugal-še3 ba-ĝen-na-a “when he went from Der to the king” ud ki ensi2-ka-še3 im-ĝen-na-a “when he came to the place of the governor”
<i>Missions to Levy troops</i>	
eren2 id2-da e3-e3-de3 ĝen-na “who went to bring out the troops of the canal”	ud eren2 ša3 e2-gal saĝar^{id2}ma-ma-šar-ra-at zi-zi-de3 im-e-re-ša-a “when they came to levy the troops of the “palace” to dredge earth at the Mama-šarrat canal”
<i>Missions regarding Grain</i>	
še šidim-e-ne guru7 tuš-a “who was stationed at the granary (for) the grain of the builders” zi3 ma2-a si-še3 ĝen-na “who went to fill the boat with flour”	ud še-še3 im-ĝen-na-a “when he came for the grain” ud še sila-a ĝal2-la e3-de3 im-ĝen-na-a “when he came to bring out the grain that was in the street”
<i>Missions dealing with the Transport of Goods</i>	
ma2 ĝiš šušin^{ki}-da ĝen-na “who went with the wood-boat (of) Susa” ma2 ĝiš-i3-ka-še3 ĝen-na “who went for the sesame-boat” ma2 siki ĝa2-ĝa2-de3 ĝen-na	ud udu zabalam^{ki}-ta e2-gal-še3 mu-de6-a “when he brought sheep from Zabalam to the “palace”” ud še-ĝiš-i3 an-za-gar3^{ki}ta mu-de6-a “when he brought sesame from Anzagar”

¹⁴²⁹ For a good example of this, see P317781 / Nisaba 22, 71.

¹⁴³⁰ This data comes from the tables found in Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 109-161 and Brunke, “Rations in the Al-Šarrākī Messenger Texts,” 227-298. The missions listed in this table are simply a sampling of the tasks assigned to the **lu2-kas4** and the **lu2-kiĝ2-gi4-a** and are not exhaustive.

“who went to place wool in the boat”	ud ^{tug²} tam₂-ši-lum mu-de₆-a “when he brought <i>tamšilum</i> -garments”
<i>Missions associated with the Military</i>	
ma₂ ugnim sa gi₄-gi₄-de₃ tuš-a “who was stationed to put in order the boat of the army”	ud še zi-zi-de₃ ki šakkan₆-ke₄-ne-še₃ im-ġen-na-a “when he came to the place of the generals to issue grain”
<i>Missions regarding Fugitives and Stolen Goods</i>	
lu₂-zah₃-še₃ ġen-na-me “who went for the fugitives” mu gud zuḥ-a-še₃ ġen-na “who went for the stolen cattle”	ud eren₂ zah₃ iri-saġ-rig^{ki} dab₅-ba-de₃ im-ġen-na-a “when he came to take the fugitive troops of Iri-Sagrīg” ud anše zuḥ-a dab₅-ba-de₃ im-ġen-na-a “when he came to take the stolen equids”
<i>Missions regarding Fields</i>	
a-šag₄ ni₁₀-ni₁₀-de₃ ġen-na “who went to survey the field(s)”	ud a-šag₄ ni₁₀-ni₁₀-de₃ im-ġen-na-a “when he came to survey the field(s)”
<i>Other Tasks</i>	
zi-gum₂-e igi kar₂-kar₂-de₃ ġen-na “who went to provision the <i>sikkum</i> ” gu ku₅-de₃ ġen-na “who went to cut flax”	ud lu₂-sa-gaz gaz-de₃ im-ġen-na-a “when he came to execute bandits” ud sig₄ al-ur₅-ra-še₃ im-ġen-na-a “when he came for the baked bricks”

Thus we see a substantial overlap between the duties of a **lu₂-kas₄** employed in the province of Girsu and a **lu₂-kiġ₂-gi₄-a** at Iri-Saġrig. The above discussion allows us to make a few observations regarding these titles.¹⁴³¹ First, the **(lu₂-)kas₄** seems to have

¹⁴³¹ These observations are primarily valid for the use of these titles in the Ur III period. Their Akkadian counterparts (**lu₂-kas₄** = *lāsīmu*; **lu₂-kiġ₂-gi₄-a** = *mār šipri*) in the Old Babylonian period suggest a greater role in the relay of messages and did seem to have distinguished between the *lāsīmu* and the *mār šipri* (both can occur in the same document, such as ARM 26, 373); there also existed a term for a messenger which emphasized the sending of tablets: *wābil tuppim* “one who brings the tablet”; for a sampling of these roles, see Jack M. Sasson, *From the Mari Archives: An Anthology of Old Babylonian Letters* (Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2015): 159-164. Note that the word *šipru* in *mār šipri* denotes a range of ideas such as “mission, message; task, activity; service” and is not limited to the conveyance of messages; see CAD vol. 17/3, 73-84. The *mār šipri* did engage in a range of tasks as well, such as guarding slaves, inspecting canals, delivering goods and greeting gifts (especially in Amarna correspondence), and as a legal agent; see CAD vol. 10/1, 260-265. It should also be kept in mind that most of the later references to the Akkadian

been a general term for those engaged in various tasks on behalf of the central and/or provincial administrations. Second, the occurrence of the title **lu₂-kas₄** in seal impressions suggests that some personnel in the bureaucracy functioned primarily as intermediaries between those in authority and laborers, production units and other officials. Personnel bearing other titles (whether military or occupational) could carry out such tasks as well, but their titles reflected the sphere of duties in which they were primarily involved. Thus the **lu₂-kas₄** was more of an errand-runner than strictly an envoy or messenger. A number of points, including: 1) the use of **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** as a secondary designation for personnel with a range of primary titles (**sukkal**, **sagi**, **šuš₃**, **sipad**, etc.), 2) its complete absence in seal impressions, 3) its use to designate a person in a tablet while the title of that person in his seal impression is **lu₂-kas₄**, and 4) the wide variety of tasks assigned to the **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** that parallel the tasks assigned to the **lu₂-kas₄**, all suggest that the designation **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** is a functional-temporal title.¹⁴³² This title could be used to designate any type of official tasked with a specific mission and that, at least at Iri-Saĝrig, was a substitute for the title of **lu₂-kas₄**. Therefore **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a (lugal)** can be translated as “on (royal) assignment.” The illumination of this term will be pertinent for some of the military designations, as shown below.

counterparts are attested in letters, while all of our Ur III attestations occur in the administrative genre and this situation may have affected the preponderance of specific roles found in the different genres.

¹⁴³² Agreeing with Owen (*Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saĝrig/Al-Šarrākī*, 153-155 and Kleinerman (“The Barbers of Iri-Saĝrig,” 302).

IV.4.2: The **lu₂-ĝi^štukul (gu-la)**

One title that has traditionally been thought to have designated a class or type of soldier is **lu₂-ĝi^štukul (gu-la)**. This term forms the third largest qualification or title of personnel listed in the messenger texts after those labeled as **sukkal** “civil servants” and those designated as **lu₂-kin-gi₄-a (lugal)** “on (royal) assignment”.¹⁴³³

Title	Number of Occurrences in Messenger Texts			
	Total	Girsu	Umma	Iri-Saĝrig
sukkal	3156	2519	535	102
lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a	1603	41	52	1510
lu₂-ĝi^štukul (gu-la)	1434	1434	---	---
lu₂-kas₄	1331	1173	158	---
ra₂-gaba	214	160	7	47

The term is a genitive phrase to be normalized as **lu (ĝi^š)tukul.ak**¹⁴³⁴ and its literal translation is “man/one of the weapon(s)”; the literal translation is generally adhered to by scholars.¹⁴³⁵ When a literal translation is not adhered to, the glosses become quite varied and, probably, misleading.¹⁴³⁶ The term first appears, in only a handful of

¹⁴³³ This military term is curiously absent from Lafont’s otherwise very comprehensive overview of the Ur III army.

¹⁴³⁴ The *plene* writing which includes the genitive element occurs in Old Akkadian texts: ITT 1, 1287, 1418 and 2827; ITT 2, 4478; CT 50, 140; CUSAS 35, 366; RTC 126. We also have *plene* writings in the Ur III period, though they are extremely rare: **lu₂-ĝi^štukul-la** (P406578 / Nisaba 22, 161) and **lu₂-ĝi^štukul-la₂** (P107001 / MTBM 122).

¹⁴³⁵ Abrahams, “L’armée d’Akkad,” 2 n. 11: “*homme d’arme*”; Schrakamp, *Krieger und Waffen im frühen Mesopotamien*, 140: “*Waffenmann*”; Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 300-303 (*passim*): “(Groß)waffenmann.”

¹⁴³⁶ Mander (*An Archive of Kennelmen and other Workers in Ur III Lagash*, Naples: Istituto Universitario Orientale, 1994: 106) provides “armed man” for **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** and “sergeant” for **lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la**. Zarins (“The Sharkalisharri Army of Umma,” 196, 206): “*aide-de-camp*, adjutant”. This position is probably more accurately described by **egir šakkan** instead of **lu₂-ĝi^štukul**. Even more misleading is Dahl’s (*The Ruling Family of Ur III Umma*, 29 n. 122): “(great) knight” for **lu₂-ĝi^štukul (gu-la)**, which brings with it all sorts of equestrian and aristocratic flavorings that are quite anachronistic. More neutral is the ePSD2’s “soldier” and Heimpel’s (“Toward and Understanding of the term *SiKKum*,” 30) “gendarme,” though the latter is often reserved to describe the **aga₃-us₂**.

instances, in Old Akkadian administrative texts and is later well attested in the Ur III documentation. The contexts in which the term appears in the Old Akkadian documentation do not seem to be explicitly related to military affairs. Admittedly, little is known about of the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** in this period. The few attestations of the term provide little elucidation of the duties and functions of this group. The term **lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la** is not attested in the Old Akkadian period, though **lu₂-ĝi^štukul lugal** does occur. It has been suggested that the texts differentiate between the **aga₃-us₂ lugal** and the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul lugal**, with the former to be understood as “soldiers of the king” who were attached to the royal household as security details for palaces and royal estates, while the latter were a guard element close to the king who appear to have been specialists in escort missions.¹⁴³⁷ One text from Girsu shows a **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** who had brought five men, who seem to have been arrested, from Iri-Saĝrig to Girsu to be put in prison, and therefore the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** seem to have been used, at least in some capacity, as policemen. It is suggested that this function is supported by a document from Umma which mentions the transfer of captured “Elamites” by soldiers (**aga₃-us₂**) and **lu₂-ĝi^štukul**.¹⁴³⁸ The **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** was, not surprisingly, provided with flour, wool, beer and bread from administrative institutions.¹⁴³⁹ The meager amount of data on this title has led Schrakamp to conclude that “it can only be stated that the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul(-la₂)** were supplied by large economic institutions and could be used for police tasks; the interpretation

¹⁴³⁷ Abrahams, “L’armée d’Akkad,” 2. He notes that it could have possible for these personnel, whom he glosses as “royal soldiers” and “royal men-at-arms,” to have been formed into a sort of “royal regiment” under the direct command of the king; this, of course, brings into mind the Assyrian *kišir šarrūti* “royal contingent.” As for examples of escort/guard duties, he cites Foster 1982, p. 112 which mentions **lu₂-tukul eš₃-da gub-ba** “men-at-arms stationed at shrines” and BIN 8, 298 which refers to **lu₂-ĝi^štukul ma₂ me-luḥ-ḥa-ka** “men-at-arms of the boat of Meluhha.”

¹⁴³⁸ Schrakamp, *Krieger und Waffen im frühen Mesopotamien*, 140 and also mentioned in Abrahams, “L’armée d’Akkad,” 2 n. 11.

¹⁴³⁹ Schrakamp, *Krieger und Waffen im frühen Mesopotamien*, 140

“soldier” cannot be justified.”¹⁴⁴⁰ However, with less than fifty occurrences attested in laconic administrative documents which stem primarily from governors’ archives,¹⁴⁴¹ the statement that they could not be understood as soldiers may be the result of data biases and/or a too restrictive view on what the duties and responsibilities of soldiers and other military personnel could have entailed.

There is evidence that the **lu₂** in the phrase **lu₂-ĝi^štukul-la₂** should be understood as the Sumerian relative pronoun for animate beings rather than the noun usually glossed as “man” or “person.”¹⁴⁴² This is shown by the occurrence of both **lu₂-(ĝi^š)tukul** and *šu* (ĝi^š)TUKUL, both with and without the secondary qualifier of **lugal** (“royal”), with *šu* being understood as the Old Akkadian relative pronoun.¹⁴⁴³ Therefore the appropriate Akkadian translation of **lu₂-ĝi^štukul-la₂** is *ša kakkim* rather than *awīl kakkim*.

¹⁴⁴⁰ Schrakamp, *Krieger und Waffen im frühen Mesopotamien*, 140: “Zusammenfassend kann nur festgehalten werden, daß lú (ĝeš)tukul(-lá) von großen Wirtschaftseinheiten versorgt wurden und für polizeiliche Aufgaben eingesetzt werden konnten; die Interpretation als „Soldat“ ist nicht zu rechtfertigen.”

¹⁴⁴¹ On the various Old Akkadian text corpora, see Giuseppe Visicato, *The Power and the Writing: The Early Scribes of Mesopotamia*. Bethesda: CDL Press, 2000.

¹⁴⁴² On the use of **lu₂** as the relative pronoun in Sumerian, see Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 242.

¹⁴⁴³ For the Old Akkadian forms of the relative pronouns, see Ignace J. Gelb, *Old Akkadian Writing and Grammar*, MAD 2 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1952): 133. *šu* is the masculine singular nominative form; the masculine plural genitive form, *šūti*, occurs in the seal inscription of Mama-ḫursaĝ see Frayne, *Sargonic and Gutian Periods*, 168 no 2007. A list of the variant writings of this title in Old Akkadian texts follows; note that the secondary qualifier of **lugal** is attested for both the Sumerian and Akkadian forms of the title:

lu₂-(ĝi^š)tukul(-la₂-kam): 28 occurrences

P253317 / CUSAS 35, 371; P213719 / ITT 1, 1287; P212961 / CT 50, 55; P215506 / MCS 9, 235; P212531 / AOAT 250, 558, 1; P212842 / BIN 8, 298; P215795 / BuB 2, 1; P212927 / CST 2; P212929 / CST 4; P212930 / CST 5; P212962 / CT 50, 56; P212963 / CT 50, 57; P212964 / CT 50, 58; P213046 / CT 50, 140; P213093 / CT 50, 187; P232391 / CUSAS 23, 120; P253274 / CUSAS 35, 288; P253275 / CUSAS 35, 366; P253295 / CUSAS 35, 515; P480080 / Iraq 76, 189-192; P213831 / ITT 1, 1418; P213889 / ITT 2, 2827; P214295 / ITT 2, 4478; P215448 / MC 4, 23; P215478 / MC 4, 53; P215506 / MCS 9, 235; P215527 / MCS 9, 256; P342037 / NMSA 3878; P216905 / RTC 126;

lu₂-tukul lugal: 7 occurrences

P250422; P214928 / BuB 2, 2; P215808 / Nik 2, 27; P215812 / Nik 2, 31; P215813 / Nik 2, 32; P215820 / Nik 2, 39; P217360 / USP 3; P222926 / USP 55;

šu ĝi^šTUKUL: 5 occurrences

P323494 / CUSAS 19, 125; P323526 / CUSAS 27, 48; P253338 / CUSAS 27, 137; P253302 / CUSAS 27, 149;

šu ĝi^šTUKUL LUGAL: 1 occurrence

When we come to the Ur III period, we encounter the standard **lu₂-ĝi^{is}tukul** as well as the **lu₂-ĝi^{is}tukul gu-la**, the latter literally glossed as “the large weapon man”.¹⁴⁴⁴ It is interesting that the **gu-la**, often understood as an allomorph of **gal** “(to be) big, great” (Akkadian *rabû*), occurs with **lu₂-ĝi^{is}tukul** while **gal** occurs with **aga₃-us₂** and many other professions.¹⁴⁴⁵ A study of the terms **gal** and **gu-la** is beyond the scope of this essay, but the strict adherence of **gal** for **aga₃-us₂** and **gu-la** for **lu₂-ĝi^{is}tukul** must have some significance.¹⁴⁴⁶

As the table above shows regarding the messenger texts, the designation **lu₂-ĝi^{is}tukul (gu-la)** only occurs in the Girsu archive. In the corpus of Ur III administrative documents as a whole, the term occurs almost exclusively in texts from Girsu and of that group they occur almost solely in messenger texts and kennel-men texts.¹⁴⁴⁷ The term does not occur in any lexical lists, being notably absent from the List of Professions,¹⁴⁴⁸

P213347 / HSS 10, 81;

¹⁴⁴⁴ Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 300, 302. Other interpretations are “soldier” (*soldati*): Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 56, 85 and “sergeant”: Mander, *An Archive of Kennelmen and other Workers in Ur III Lagash*, 106 and *passim*.

¹⁴⁴⁵ Such as: **nar gal** “chief singer”, **ašgab gal** “chief leatherworker”, **simug gal** “chief metalsmith”, **nimgir gal** “chief herald”, **muḥaldim gal** “chief cook”. The chief **gala** “lamentation priest” never occurs as **gala gal**, but as **gala maḥ**. The cupbearer occurs with both **sagi gal** and **sagi maḥ**, with the latter title being primarily reserved for the highest cultic official of the kingdom, the **zabar-dab₅** (Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 186-188). The Sumerogram GAL is the primary way to logographically write Akkadian *rabû*, though GU.LA can also be used, as attested by lexical texts. However, this might be a later Akkadian conflation of two semantically similar, yet still distinct Sumerian words; see, for example, CAD vol. 14, 27, which cites Igituḥ I 260ff: **gur₄**, **maḥ**, **gu-la** = *ra-bu-u*, though **gur₄** usually referred to *kabru* “to be thick” and **maḥ** referred to *šīru* “to be exalted, supreme.”

¹⁴⁴⁶ Michałowski (*The Royal Correspondence of the Ur III Kings*, 402) notes that this debated word is more likely a superlative rather than a mere phonetic variant. In light of the fact that there were numerous different **lu₂-ĝi^{is}tukul gu-la**, perhaps we should understand it to be comparative instead of superlative. Traditionally it has been thought that the method used in Sumerian to denote the superlative was to reduplicate the adjective, for example: **diĝir gal-gal-e-ne** “the greatest gods”; Thomsen, *The Sumerian Language*, 65.

¹⁴⁴⁷ Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 31 n. 67, 32.

¹⁴⁴⁸ Based off of a quick search in DCCLT and CDLI. The Old Babylonian list of professions from Nippur includes the large majority of the titles and designations found in the messenger text genre. Notably absent along with the **lu₂-ĝi^{is}tukul** are the **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** and the **ĝiri₃-function**. Though **maškim** is generally regarded as a function rather than a title in Ur III administrative documents, it may occur as a title in one person’s seal inscription and is included in the list of professions. However, its appearance in the seal inscription is not certain. It should be noted that lexical texts from the Old Akkadian and Ur III periods are

nor does it occur in royal inscriptions. The significance of this is hard to gauge, since lexical lists are quite rare from both the Old Akkadian and Ur III periods and thus may signify that the term was restricted in its use temporally instead of being dismissed as an item qualified to be included in such documents as the List of Professions. Its absence in royal inscriptions is essentially meaningless, since the extant corpus of Ur III royal inscriptions contains very few inscriptions which refer to military activities, and the absence of the term in Old Akkadian inscriptions would likely have been due to stylistic preferences.¹⁴⁴⁹

The collocation of **lu₂** and **ĝi^štukul** does occur in the Old Babylonian corpus of Sumerian literature, though it is quite rare. In the royal hymn *The Death of Ur-Namma* (Ur-Namma A), the relevant lines describe Ur-Namma's installment in the netherworld as one of its judges, alongside Gilgameš.¹⁴⁵⁰ This section is preserved in a text from Nippur as well as in one from Susa. The Nippur version is as follows (lines 138-141):

inim dug₄-ga d^{ereš}-ki-gal-la-ka-ta
eren₂ ĝi^štukul-[la]¹⁴⁵¹ en-na ba-ug₅-ga
lu₂ nam-tag-ga en-na ba-zu-[x]-a
lugal-la šu-ni-še₃ im-ma-ab-šum₂-mu-ne

“From the command spoken by Ereškigal,
the troops of the weapon, as many as there were, who had died,
the guilty ones, as many as there were, who were found out,

quite scarce, and therefore the absence of **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** in the lexical genre may be more of a reflection of the term's usage in the late third millennium rather than evidence that it was not considered an actual title or occupation. On the late third millennium lexical corpus, see Niek Veldhuis, *History of the Cuneiform Lexical Tradition*, GMTR 6 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014): 139-142.

¹⁴⁴⁹ The term **aga₃-us₂/rēdūm** is also absent from Old Akkadian inscriptions; the general terms of **eren₂/šābum** and **ĝuruš/eṭlum** were preferred instead.

¹⁴⁵⁰ ETCSL 2.4.1.1.

¹⁴⁵¹ ETCSL translates this line as “all the soldiers who had been killed by weapons” and therefore seems to supply the ablative-instrumental case marker **-ta**. One problem with this is that one would expect **en-na**, which modifies **lu₂**, to come immediately after **lu₂**: **lu₂ en-na ĝi^štukul-ta ba-ug₅-ga**. The parallel of this line with the Susa text also suggests that the case marker should be genitive rather than ablative-instrumental.

were given into the hands of the king.”

The same section from Susa follows the Nippur version closely, but with some differences (segment C, lines 68-72):

inim dug₄-ga ^dereš-ki-gal-la-ke₄
lu₂ ^{giš}tukul-la in-na ba-šub-e
lu₂ nam-tag-ga in-na ba-mud-e
šeš ki aĝ₂-a-ni ^dgilgameš₃-ra
e-ne-ne di kur-ra kud-de₃ ka-aš-bi igi bar-re

“At the command spoken by Ereškigal,
the one of the weapon, as many as there are, who falls,
the guilty one, as many as there are, who are frightened,
for his beloved brother, Gilgameš,
concerning them he will render the verdicts of the netherworld and consider their decisions.”

Thus the Nippur version uses the term **eren₂** which, as we saw above, was used to refer to labor teams that were employed in both civil and military duties and therefore the **giš^štukul** in this version is modifying **eren₂** to let the reader know that citizens being used as military troops, rather than civil laborers, are being referred to. The substitution of the animate relative pronoun **lu₂** for **eren₂** in the Susa version in turn supports the notion that **lu₂ giš^štukul** is being used to denote, in a general sense, the levied population engaged in military service rather than an actual type of (semi-)professional soldier. That the Susa version uses **lu₂ giš^štukul** rather than **eren₂ giš^štukul** is interesting in light of the fact that, as will be shown below, the vast majority of those designated as **lu₂-giš^štukul (gu-la)** were noted as coming from and going to Susa.¹⁴⁵² Therefore the choice of **lu₂ giš^štukul** instead

¹⁴⁵² That is, the majority of those designated as **lu₂-giš^štukul** which had an origin or destination noted for them. Regarding those designated as **lu₂-giš^štukul** as a whole, the majority did not have an origin or destination listed.

of **eren₂** ^{ĝi^š}**tukul** may reflect the historical situation at Susa as attested in the messenger text genre.

The other literary text in that shows the nature of this designation comes from one of the letters which make up the royal correspondence of the kings of Ur. The letter, from the general Šarrum-bani to Šu-Suen,¹⁴⁵³ describes how the general, who had been sent by the king to work on the *Muriq-Tidnim* fortifications, requested more fighting men to repulse Amorite raids, since all the men that he had were allotted for construction work. The relevant section covers lines 26-33:

ud lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a-ĝu₁₀ igi-zu-še₃ mu-e-ši-gi₄-a-ĝu₁₀
 eĝir-ra-ni-ta lu₂-nanna ensi₂ ma-da zi-mu-dar-ra^{ki}-še₃
 lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a mu-ni-gi₄
 7200 eren₂ mu-e-ši-in-gi₄
 lu₂ ^{gi}dupsik ib₂-si lu₂ ^{ĝi^š}tukul sig₃-ge bi₂-ib-tur
 tukum-bi lugal-ĝu₁₀ eren₂ kiĝ₂-ak-ne duĥ-u₃-be₂ ab-be₂
 u₃-šub ^{ĝi^š}tukul ga-am₃-da-sig₃

“When I had sent my messenger to you, after him I sent a messenger to Lu-Nanna the governor of the territory of Zimudar. He sent to me 7200 troops. Corvée workers are (at) full (strength), (but) fighters have been diminished. If my king gives orders to release the troops doing work (for military duty), then when (the enemy) falls (upon us), I shall fight them.”

The manpower which Šarrum-bani levied and commanded is always referred to generally as “troops” (**eren₂**) in this text. When specifying corvée laborers, **eren₂** is qualified by ^{gi}**dupsik il₂-il₂** “troops carrying baskets” or **kiĝ₂ ak** “troops doing work.”¹⁴⁵⁴ When referring to troops engaged in fighting rather than corvée, **eren₂** is qualified with ^{ĝi^š}**tukul sig₃-ge** “troops striking (with) weapons.”¹⁴⁵⁵ Although the genitive phrase **lu₂ ^{ĝi^š}tukul-la**

¹⁴⁵³ ETCSL 3.1.15. For the critical edition, see Michalowski, *The Royal Correspondence of the Ur III Kings*, 398-407.

¹⁴⁵⁴ See lines 10, 16, 19, 30 and 31.

¹⁴⁵⁵ See lines 17 and 31.


is absent from this text, the principle by which it was used still applies. Again, the **eren₂**, citizens of the (home)land (**kalam**) who were annually conscripted for service owed to the state during part of the year, were utilized for either civil projects or military campaigns. The term **eren₂** itself does not distinguish between service in the civil and military sector, as this letter clearly demonstrates, and therefore the additional qualifications of “carrying baskets” and “striking with weapons” was needed for further clarification. Therefore the literary evidence suggests that the collocation of the animate relative pronoun **lu₂** and the word “weapon” (**gis^{is}tukul**) was used to designate the type of activity in which conscripted citizens were involved, distinguishing those engaged in military tasks from those engaged in civil tasks. However, as we will see below, those designated as **lu₂-gis^{is}tukul** were not necessarily engaged in actual combat missions and therefore this term will need further nuancing.

With the results of our examination of the term in the literary corpus in mind, we shall now make some general observations of its use in the administrative corpus before delving into the details of their use in this genre. Additionally, observations on the nature of the term **lu₂-ki^g₂-gi⁴-a** will be seen to be applicable to the designation **lu₂-gis^{is}tukul**. The first observation is that though there is a high number of attestations of this designation, it almost solely occurs in documents from Girsu. That Girsu texts would have had the lion’s share of this term is not surprising since we have shown that the Girsu messenger texts contain the majority of military-related titles and are concerned with travel to the peripheral territories, which were the campaigning grounds of the kings of Ur. What is surprising is that the term is almost completely absent in any other text provenience. The situation is somewhat similar to the **lu₂-ki^g₂-gi⁴-a**, which is attested

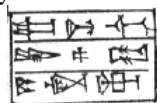
relatively rarely in text proveniences outside of Iri-Sağrig. The second observation is that the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** does not occur on cylinder seals or seal impressions; this seems strange in light of the fact that the term is so well attested. Other military terms which occur only in messenger texts, and have much fewer attestations (such as the **aga₃-us₂ gal** and the rare **aga₃-us₂ gal gal**), are found on seal inscriptions. The omission of **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** from seals is another feature shared with the **lu₂-kiĝ-gi₄-a**.

Not only is the designation **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** completely absent from seals, it occurs as a designation of certain personnel in tablets that include their seal impressions, and these seal impressions provide various alternative designations other than **lu₂-ĝi^štukul**. There are three tablets that mention a certain Kaguti who is designated as either a **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** or a **lu₂-ĝi^štukul lugal** in the tablet; two of those tablets contain his seal impression which does not designate him as either, but gives him the title **lu₂-maškim**.¹⁴⁵⁶ Another text labels Šutinum in the tablet as a **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** and as an **aga₃-us₂ lugal** in the seal impression.¹⁴⁵⁷ Finally, one document has Šu-Enlila as **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** in the tablet and **lu₂-kas₄** in the seal.¹⁴⁵⁸ These examples may be few in number, but the lack of **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** in seal impressions as a whole suggest a wider relevance for this aspect. Again, this is the situation that is encountered with the **lu₂-kiĝ-gi₄-a** as noted above.

¹⁴⁵⁶ P380243 / PPAC 5, 1578; P111504 / ITT 5, 6794; P132574 / TCTI 2, 3330. His seal impressions are the only occurrence of **maškim** attested in seals or seal impressions, which begs the question of whether the title in his seal should be read as:

lu₂-maškim		
or lu₂ ugula kas₄		

The copy of P111504 / ITT 5, 6794 suggests the latter:



¹⁴⁵⁷ P133055 / TCTI 2, 3859.

¹⁴⁵⁸ P131140 / SAT 1, 31.

There is an occurrence where a group of unnamed personnel are given provisions and designated as **lu₂-ĝi^stukul didli-me**.¹⁴⁵⁹ This messenger text lists provisions of beer, bread and oil over a period of three months for Dada, who is explicitly labeled a general, for Lugal-ĥeġal, possibly another general,¹⁴⁶⁰ and for groups of “various ones on military assignment.” The latter group is given 140 liters of beer and bread in one month and 540 liters of beer in another, which, if we assume the highest daily ration of 5 liters per person, amounts to twenty-eight and one hundred and eight personnel respectively. The use of the word **didli** “various” calls to mind its use in summary messenger texts from Girsu which label the various personnel with a variety of titles under the rubric **kas₄ didli-me** “they are various errand-runners.”¹⁴⁶¹ Outside of this group, only provisions for highlander groups, along with their intermediaries (**ġiri₃**), and a few other notable expenditures are listed. All expenditures are tallied and subsumed under a rubric which varies slightly between summary tablets, but which support this point:

P317781 / Nisaba 22, 71 (rev. col. iii, lines 1-2):

ša₃ kuš^sdu₁₀-gan-na / ġiri₃ kas₄-ke₄-ne
 “in the leather sacks (of) the ‘trips’ of the errand-runners”

P141935 / ZA 91, 101 (rev. lines 9’-10’):

ša₃ kuš^sdu₁₀-gan / e₂-kas₄
 “in the leather sacks (of) the waystation”

Here in the first text we have expenditure summaries for all personnel, regardless of title, under the label of “errand-runners” (**kas₄-ke₄-ne**) which is synonymous with

¹⁴⁵⁹ P133428 / TCTI 2, 4267.

¹⁴⁶⁰ In one of the months he received the same amount as Dada, and this name is qualified by the title of general in another messenger text: P127679 / RA 19, 39 no. 12.

¹⁴⁶¹ For example, P317781 / Nisaba 22, 71 (obv. col. i, lines 1-5) lists 280 liters of beer, 16 jars of wort and 354 liters of semolina as the expenditures for various errand-runners in a single month, which would amount to at least 70 people (at a rate of 5 liters of semolina per person) outfitted at the waystation.

“waystation” (**e₂-kas₄**) in the other summary text. Therefore **kas₄ didli** is simply a generic descriptor of any person who utilized the waystation for various assignments and **lu₂-ĝi^štukul didli** is a parallel phrase that was a generic descriptor of any person who received provisions to carry out tasks which were related in some way to the military and its objectives.

Now that we have established that **lu₂-ĝi^štukul (gu-la)** is a secondary designation with a functional/temporal meaning, “on (greater) military assignment,” we can examine their attestations in order to try to construct a picture of their character and duties. Though additional data in the messenger texts is usually scarce, it is possible to glean some information on the range of their activities and the places to which they traveled. We will begin with the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la**. Those bearing this title are attested as primarily coming from or going to various polities, both foreign and domestic:

Table 55: Travel Data for the lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la for Polities Outside of the Land (kalam)

Toponym	From (GN-ta)	To (GN-še ₃)	Unspecified	Total Number of References
Susa	50	52	---	102
Sabum	7	11	---	18
Anšan	13	4	---	17
AdamDUN	2	8	---	10
Kimaš	1	4	---	5
Giša	1	2	1	4
Šimaški	2	1	---	3
Urua	---	2	---	2
Duḫduḫne	1	1	---	2
Anšan and Nippur	19	---	---	19
Sea (shore) ¹⁴⁶²	2	---	---	2

¹⁴⁶² There are two references, one simply has **a-ab-ba-ta du-ni** “when he comes from the sea” and the other has **gu₂ a-ab-ba-ta ki ensi₂-ta ĝen-na** “who went from the sea shore, from the place of the governor.” Since the polity called Gu’abba usually occurs with the determinative of place, **ki**, and is almost never spelled with an extra /a/, then I assume that the text is referring to the shore of the Persian Gulf rather than the city of Gu’abba (**gu₂-ab-ba^{ki}** vs. **gu₂ a-ab-ba**).

Table 56: Travel Data for the lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la for Polities within the Land (kalam)

Toponym	From (GN-ta)	To (GN-še ₃)	Unspecified	Total Number of References
Nippur	12	1	---	13
Ur	1	4	---	5
Zabalam	1	---	---	1
Gu'abba	---	1	---	1

Here we see that the cities of Khuzistan, especially Susa, are the most frequently attested origins and destinations for the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la** and that Anšan is the most frequently attested outside of Khuzestan; this parallels what we see regarding references to foreign polities attested in the messenger texts overall.¹⁴⁶³ The most frequently attested city within the Land is Nippur, with nearly all of the occurrences recording the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-las** as coming from this ceremonial capital of the Ur III state and receiving provisions at waystations in Girsu province. It should be kept in mind that the majority of occurrences of the title do not record their travel information and therefore it is uncertain how accurate the picture portrayed in the above tables is or whether the absence of travel information indicates missions performed within the province itself, as seems to be the case in the Iri-Saĝrig messenger texts.¹⁴⁶⁴

In addition to travel information, the activities or missions of those designated as **lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la** are also attested, though this data is rare as well:

¹⁴⁶³ See the table on the tally of references to foreign locales in the messenger texts.

¹⁴⁶⁴ The Iri-Saĝrig texts nearly always include information on either origin/destination, mission or both for each personnel who was given provisions. This is not the case for the Girsu messenger texts and therefore the situation with the Iri-Saĝrig corpus cannot be extrapolated for the Girsu corpus.

1. They perform the **ġiri**-function, acting as an intermediary for supplies and provisions, for highlander groups from:

Giša: P248725 / AAICAB 1/2, 82; P110332 / HSS 4, 59; P110342 / HSS 4, 69; P115781 / MVN 9, 138
 Šimaški: P120132 / MVN 19, 6; 356029 / Nisaba 13, 114
 Anšan: P406466 / Nisaba 22, 107; P131246 / SAT 1, 137
 Zaul: P205696 / Nisaba 22, 60
 Sabum: P120133 / MVN 19, 7
 Duḥduḥne: P207719 / Studi Mayer 270 n. 3
Ḥulibar: P127677 / RA 19, 39 no. 9; P133351 / TCTI 2, 4186
 unspecified: P108643 / MTBM 21; P128550 / DAS 190
 other: P406620 / Nisaba 22, 149; P234846 / Studies Sigrist 28 no. 8

2. They were involved in the procurement of goods, the transport of goods and the movement of watercraft:

siki ma₂ ġa₂-ġa₂-de₃ ġen-na “who went to place wool into boats”
 P145532 / Akkadica 114-115, 104 no. 39
ma₂ id₂-ta e₃-e₃-de₃ tuš-a “who was stationed to bring boats out of the canal”
 P111791 / JAOS 33, 26 no. 2; P128256 / Rochester 151
ki ku₆-še₃ ġen-na “who went to the place of the fish”
 P206243 / MVN 22, 141
a-ab-ba-še₃ mu ku₆ ġen-na “who went to the sea for fish”
 P131215 / SAT 1, 106
mu ma₂ ġiš-ka-še₃ du-ni “when he goes for the timber boats”
 P113535 / MVN 2, 236
a-ab-ba-ka gi-gid₂ bur₂-de₃ tuš-a “who was station in the sea to spread reeds(?)”
 P131215 / SAT 1, 106

The relation of the **lu₂-^{ġiš}tukul gu-la** to the **lu₂-^{ġiš}tukul** is uncertain. Does the former indicate a more important mission than the latter? Or does the former designate a person on military assignment who was of higher rank than the latter? That the two were distinguished from each other is suggested by the occurrence of both titles in individual messenger texts:

P201265 / Princeton 2, 267 (9/--/ŠS01):

2 sila₃ kaš₂ sila₃ ninda₂ gin₂ i₃
 ur-de₃-mu-na lu₂ ^{giš}tukul gu-la
 2 sila₃ kaš₂ sila₃ ninda₂ gin₂ i₃
 lu₂-^dNanna lu₂ ^{giš}tukul gu-la
 2 sila₃ kaš₂ sila₃ ninda₂ gin₂ i₃
 na-DI lu₂ ^{giš}tukul
 2 sila₃ kaš₂ sila₃ ninda₂ gin₂ i₃
 ur-ku₃-nun lu₂ ^{giš}tukul
 2 sila₃ kaš₂ sila₃ ninda₂ gin₂ i₃
 I-ta-e₃-a lu₂ ^{giš}tukul
 itud mu-šu-du₇
 zi-ga
 mu ^dŠu-^dSuen lugal

“2 liters of beer, bread (and 2) shekels of oil (for) Urdemuna, on greater military assignment;

2 liters of beer, bread (and 2) shekels of oil (for) Lu-Nanna, on greater military assignment;

2 liters of beer, bread (and 2) shekels of oil (for) NaDI, on military assignment;

2 liters of beer, bread (and 2) shekels of oil (for) Ur-kugnun, on military assignment;

2 liters of beer, bread (and 2) shekels of oil (for) Itaea, on military assignment.
 Date.”

Therefore we have two **lu₂-^{giš}tukul gu-la** and three **lu₂-^{giš}tukul**, all of whom received the same amount of commodities. This could be an argument that rank or prestige was not a factor in distinguishing the two titles, though it could just as easily be the case that the provisions accounted for the duration of the trip or mission and not as an indicator of status.

If the notion that **lu₂-^{giš}tukul gu-la** and **lu₂-^{giš}tukul** were functional designations rather than titles is correct, then we would expect to see its occurrence alongside other titles borne by the same individuals. Below are some examples of this:

lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la:

P127679 / RA 19, 39 no. 12 (obv. line 4 to rev. line 1):

**1(ban₂) kaš sig₅ 2(ban₂) kaš 3(ban₂) ninda / arad₂-ḥul₃-la šakkan₆ /
**1(ban₂) kaš sig₅ 2(ban₂) kaš 3(ban₂) ninda / lugal-ḥe₂-ĝal₂ šakkan₆ / 9
 sila₃ kaš 9 sila₃ ninda 6 gin₂ i₃ / lu₂-MA.GIŠGAL[?]-sum ku₆ zi-gum₂-da
 ĝen-na / 4 sila₃ kaš 4 <sila₃> ninda 8 <gin₂> i₃ / in-daḥ-še-ri-u₃-ir / lu₂-
 ĝi^štukul gu-la-me****

“10 liters of good beer, 20 liters of beer (and) 30 liters of bread (for) Arad-
 ḥula the general; 10 liters of good beer, 20 liters of beer (and) 30 liters of
 bread (for) Lugal-ḥeĝal the general; 9 liters of beer, 9 liters of bread (and)
 6 shekels of oil (for) Lu-MA.GIŠGAL-sum who went with the fish (of)
 the *siKKum*; 4 liters of beer, 4 liters of bread (and) 8 shekels of oil (for)
 Indaḥšeriuir - they are on greater military assignment”

P133562 / TEL 54 (obv. line 7 to rev. line 3):

**1(ban₂) 5 sila₃ kaš 1(ban₂) 5 sila₃ [ninda] / 5 gin₂ i₃-ĝi^š / kur-bi-la-ak /
 ra₂-gaba lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la / duḥ-duḥ-ne₂^{ki}-še₃ du-ni**

“15 liters of beer, 15 liters of bread (and) 5 shekels of *iĝi^š*-oil (for)
 Kurbilak the boat-courier, on greater military assignment, when he went to
 Duḥduḥne”

lu₂-ĝi^štukul:

P208483 / MVN 22, 102 (obv. line 5 to rev. line 2):

**2(ban₂) zi₃ 4 a₂-GAM i₃ / ud 4-kam / lu₂-ri₂-i₃-li₂ sukkal / 4(ban₂) zi₃ ½
 sila₃ i₃-ĝi^š / ud 8-kam / še-le-bu-um sukkal / lu₂-ĝi^štukul ma₂ ĝi^š-i₃-me /
 šušin^{ki}-ta du-ne₂**

“20 liters of flour (and) 4 vessels of oil, for 4 days, (for) Luri-ili the
 secretary; 40 liters of flour (and) half a liter of *iĝi^š*-oil, for 8 days, (for)
 Šelebum the secretary - they are on military assignment (regarding)
 sesame boats - who came from Susa.”

P295467 / NABU 2011 n. 50 (obv. lines 1-7):

**1(ban₂) 5 sila₃ kaš 1(ban₂) 5 sila₃ zi₃ / 3 a₂-GAM i₃ ud 3-kam / ur-kug-
 nun nar / 1(ban₂) 5 sila₃ kaš 1(ban₂) 5 sila₃ dabin / a₂-ba-ti-li₂ sukkal /
 lu₂-ĝi^štukul niĝ₂-sur-še₃ DU-me**

“15 liters of beer, 15 liters of flour (and) 3 vessels of oil, for 3 days, (for)
 Urkugnun the musician; 15 liters of beer (and) 15 liters of semolina (for)
 Abat-ili the secretary - they are ones on military assignment who went for
 the filtered beer”

P106898 / MTBM 18 (obv. line 1 to rev. line 1):

5 sila₃ kaš 5 sila₃ ninda 2 gin₂ i₃ 2 gin₂ i₃-giš Bu₃-lu₅-lu₅ sukkal / lu₂-giš-tukul / 5 sila₃ kaš 3 sila₃ ninda 2 gin₂ i₃ A-hu-DU₁₀ sukkal lu₂-giš-tukul / sa-bu-um^{ki}-ta du-ne₂

“5 liters of beer, 5 liters of bread, 2 shekels of oil (and) 2 shekels of *iġiṣ*-oil (for) Bululu the secretary, on military assignment; 5 liters of beer, 3 liters of bread (and) 2 shekels of oil (for) Aḥu-ṭab the secretary, on military assignment - when they came from Sabum”

P115004 / MVN 7, 78

3 sila₃ kaš-ta / 2 sila₃ zi₃-ta / 4 gin₂ i₃-giš-ta / u₄ 1-kam u₄ 13 / ša₃-da mar-tu / lu₂-giš-tukul / kiġ₂ id₂-ka si₃-ga / kaš-bi 4(ban₂) la₂ 1 sila₃ / zi₃-bi 2(ban₂) 6 sila₃ / i₃-bi 1 sila₃ la₂ 8 gin₂ / zi-ga / iti mu-šu-du₇

“3 liters of beer, 2 liters of flour (and) 4 shekels of *iġiṣ*-oil per day for 13 days (for) Šada the “Amorite”, on military assignment, who was assigned to work on the canal (lit.: “placed in the work of the canal). Its beer (amounts to) 39 liters, its flour (amounts to) 26 liters (and) its oil (amounts to) 1 liter and 8 shekels. Expenditures. Date.”

P115375 / MVN 7, 574

5 sila₃ ninda / 4 gin₂ i₃-giš / ur-ma-mi sukkal / 10 sila₃ ninda / a₂-piš-li₂ sukkal / lu₂-giš-tukul / anše zi-gum₂ šu ur₃-me / giri₃ pu₃-zur_x-KA gu-za-la₂ / Nibru^{ki}-ta gen-na / iti amar-a-a-si

“5 liters of bread (and) 4 shekels of *iġiṣ*-oil (for) Ur-Mami the secretary; 10 liters of bread (for) Apili the secretary - they are ones on military assignment who *groomed* the *sikkum*-equids. Via Puzur-KA the throne-bearer, when they came from Nippur. Date.”¹⁴⁶⁵

P202048 / Nisaba 3, 43 (rev. lines 3-6):

5 sila₃ kaš 3 sila₃ ninda / 2 gin₂ i₃ / i₃-di₃-na-da-ad sukkal lu₂-giš-tukul / šušin^{ki}-ta du-ni

“5 liters of beer, 3 liters of bread (and) 2 shekels of oil (for) Iddin-Adad¹⁴⁶⁶ the secretary, on military assignment, when he came from Susa”

P132670 / TCTI 2, 3438 (rev. lines 1-8):

5 sila₃ kaš sig₅ / 5 sila₃ kaš gen / 5 sila₃ ninda / 5 gin₂ i₃ 2 gin₂ i₃-udu / ša₃ iri / 1(aš) dug dida sig₅ 1(ban₂) ninda kaskal-še₃ / ba-ba-a ra₂-gaba lu₂-giš-tukul / šušin^{ki}-še₃ du-ni

“5 liters of quality beer, 5 liters of average beer, 5 liters of bread, 5 shekels of oil (and) 2 shekels of lard - within the city; 1 jar of quality wort, 10 liters of bread - for the road; (for) Baba’a the boat-courier, on military assignment, when he went to Susa”

¹⁴⁶⁵ The compound verb **šu...ur₃**, literally “to drag the hand,” and often signifying the act of erasing or wiping something clean, is taken here as a reference to grooming.

¹⁴⁶⁶ The translation assumes that the **NI.TI.NA.DA.AD** transliterated in BDTNS stands for **i₃-di₃-na-da-ad**.

P132672 / TCTI 2, 3440 (obv. lines 1-5):

2(ban₂) 5 sila₃ kaš 2(ban₂) 5 sila₃ ninda / 10 gin₂ i₃ 2 gin₂ i₃-udu / ud 5-kam / ur-^dšul-pa-e₃ sukkal lu₂-^{giš}tukul / ma₂ zi₃-da u₃ ma₂ tug₂ gada a₂ ĝa₂-ĝa₂-de₃ ĝen-na

“25 liters of beer, 25 liters of bread, 10 shekels of oil (and) 2 shekels of lard (for) Ur-Šulpae the secretary, on military assignment, who went to initiate work on the flour boat(s) and the flax-garment boat(s)”¹⁴⁶⁷

These examples show that there are attestations of **lu₂-^{giš}tukul gu-la** as secondary qualifiers for personnel who bear the primary qualifiers of “general” (**šakkan₆**) and “boat-courier” (**ra₂-gaba**). **lu₂-^{giš}tukul** is attested as a secondary qualifier for personnel who were also labeled as “secretaries” (**sukkal**), “musicians” (**nar**), “Amorites” (**mar-tu**) and “boat-couriers” (**ra₂-gaba**). It is interesting to note that the primary designation which occurs most often with the secondary designation **lu₂-^{giš}tukul (gu-la)** is “secretary” (**sukkal**),¹⁴⁶⁸ for in the Iri-Saĝrig messenger texts **sukkal** is almost always given the secondary qualification **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal**.¹⁴⁶⁹ Owen points out that the frequency of these **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal** is very high in a relatively small body of texts, which is the converse situation for the administrative corpus outside of the Iri-Saĝrig texts, where there is a plethora of messenger texts but comparatively few references to the **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal**. I agree with one of Owen’s options regarding the reason for this situation, namely that this may be idiosyncratic to the Iri-Saĝrig archive and the bureau which drafted the documents.¹⁴⁷⁰ It was their practice to designate which personnel were engaged in tasks at the behest of the royal sector and perhaps, even more specifically, the

¹⁴⁶⁷ The compound verb **az...ĝar** is generally interpreted as “to defeat,” but the context of this administrative document does not allow such a translation. Michalowski (*The Royal Correspondence of the Ur III Kings*, 401), in the commentary on the Šarrum-bani to Šu-Suen letter discussed above, suggests the alternate translations “to initiate work” (equivalent to Akkadian *aḥam šakānum*) and “to provide wages.”

¹⁴⁶⁸ Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 32.

¹⁴⁶⁹ Owen, *Cuneiform Texts Primarily from Iri-Saĝrig/Al-Šarrākī*, 98-100.

¹⁴⁷⁰ *Ibid*, 155.

king. The few occurrences of **sukkal** sans **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal** list their mission as **ĝiri₃ lugal-še₃ im-e-re-ša-a** “when they came for the ‘traveling’ of the king.”¹⁴⁷¹ This is significant, since personnel, regardless of title, whose reason for being provisioned is listed as such, are never given the designation **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal**.¹⁴⁷² Therefore those being provisioned for coming for the traveling of the king seem to be coming into his service and have not yet been tasked by the king or another part of the royal sector for other missions. Additionally, the designation **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal** does not occur with **sukkals** in Iri-Saĝrig documents outside of the messenger text genre.¹⁴⁷³ All of this goes to show that **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal** “on royal assignment” was a temporal designation used to denote personnel who carried out tasks on behalf of the royal sector and the term **lu₂-ĝi^štukul (gu-la)**, which behaves in a parallel fashion to **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal**, seems to be the latter term’s counterpart. The fact that **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** does not occur in the Iri-Saĝrig corpus can be explained by the idiosyncratic nature of the various archives, in which the waystation at Iri-Saĝrig recorded whether or not an activity was under royal purview, ignoring the distinction between civil versus military objectives, while at Girsu the waystations were less concerned about whether a task was under royal versus provincial jurisdiction and more concerned with whether trips and tasks had civil versus military objectives.¹⁴⁷⁴

¹⁴⁷¹ P388007 / Nisaba 15/2, 738 and P453794 / Nisaba 15/2, 361. The sole exception is P454029 / Nisaba 15/2, 729 which lists a **sukkal** as “coming to cut meat” (**ud uzu dar-e im-e-re-ša-a**) alongside a butcher (**lu₂-uzu**) and a cook/kitchen manager (**muḥaldim**). All three are labeled as **e₂ uzu-me** “they are (ones) of the abattoir.” Perhaps the absence of the designation **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal** is because this **sukkal** was engaging in his mission on behalf of the abattoir, which did not happen to be a royal establishment.

¹⁴⁷² Note that similar phrases, such as **ud kaskal ĝiri₃ lugal-še₃ im-e-re-ša-a** and **ud kaš ĝiri₃ lugal-še₃ im-e-re-ša-a** do include the **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal**.

¹⁴⁷³ See P388012 / Nisaba 15/2, 400; P454090 / Nisaba 15/2, 865; P454119 / Nisaba 15/2, 920.

¹⁴⁷⁴ The situation for the Girsu texts is obviously more complicated, since the absence of any travel or mission data is common.

Now that we have discussed characteristics of the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la** and the relation of this term to the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul**, we will now focus on the characteristics of the latter. The **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** is attested as having traveled to and from a number of internal and peripheral polities:

Table 57: Travel Data for the lu₂-ĝi^štukul for Polities Outside of the Land (kalam)

Toponym	From (GN-ta)	To (GN-še ₃)	Unspecified	Total Number of References
Susa	49	85	3	137
Sabum	19	41	---	60
AdamDUN	18	31	---	49
Ĥuĥnuri	5	13	---	18
Duĥduĥne	7	7	1	15
Urua	3	4	---	7
Šimaški	---	5	2	7
Anšan	1	2	---	3
Giša	1	---	---	1
Si'u	---	1	---	1
Ma(n)ḫili	1	---	---	1
Anšan and Nippur	2	---	---	2
Sea (shore)	1	5	---	6

Table 58: Travel Data for the lu₂-ĝi^štukul for Polities Within the Land (kalam)

Toponym	From (GN-ta)	To (GN-še ₃)	Unspecified	Total Number of References
Ur	6	5	---	11
Nippur	2	1	---	3
Gu'abba	1	1	---	2
Urub	1	1	---	2
Ga'eš	---	---	1	1

We see that, like the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la**, the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** is attested as traveling primarily to Susa and the polities of Khuzestan. Indeed, the Khuzistan region accounts for seventy-one percent of the travel notations for the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la** and eighty-nine percent for the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul**.¹⁴⁷⁵

¹⁴⁷⁵ The Khuzistan polities were Susa, AdamDUN, Sabum, Urua and Ĥuĥnuri.

Percentages of Cities attested in Travel Notations

lu₂-ĝištukul gu-la		lu₂-ĝištukul	
Susa:	55%	Susa:	45%
Sabum:	10%	Sabum:	20%
Anšan:	9%	AdamDUN:	16%
AdamDUN:	5%	Ĥuĥnuri:	6%
Kimaš:	3%	Duĥduĥne:	5%
Giša:	2%	Urua:	2%
Šimaški:	2%	Šimaški:	2%
Urua:	1%	Anšan:	1%
Duĥduĥne:	1%	Giša:	.5%
		Si'u:	.5%
		Ma(n)ĥili:	.5%
Anšan u ₃ Nippur:	10%	Anšan u ₃ Nippur:	.5%
Sea (shore):	1%	Sea (shore):	2%

One notable facet is that Kimaš is attested as a travel destination solely for the **lu₂-ĝištukul gu-la** while Ĥuĥnuri is attested solely for the **lu₂-ĝištukul**. The reason for this is uncertain, but could perhaps be explained by the need for higher ranking officers in the Kermanshah-Hamadan region than in Khuzistan which, for the most part, was incorporated into the kingdom of Ur earlier in the dynasty's rule. Regarding the native cities attested in travel notations, the **lu₂-ĝištukul gu-la** is attested as having traveled mainly to and from Nippur while the **lu₂-ĝištukul** seems to have favored Ur.

There is a wider variety of missions attested for the **lu₂-ĝištukul** than for the **lu₂-ĝištukul gu-la**. It is uncertain whether this reflects the nature of the term or simply the greater number of attestations of the former. Missions include:

1. They performed the **ĝiri₃**-function, acting as an intermediary for supplies and provisions, for highlander groups from:

Šimaški: P110329 / HSS 4, 56; P111500 / ITT 5, 6790; P320142 / Nisaba 22, 59; P114456 / MVN 5, 236; P132439 / TCTI 2, 3185; P132550 / TCTI 2, 3305; P132678 / TCTI 2, 3446; P133560 / TEL 52; P113524 / MVN 2, 225

Hulibar: P108860 / DAS 82; P111296 / ITT 3, 6332; P108888 / DAS 122;
P127672 / RA 19, 39 no. 1; P128542 / RTC 389; P128549 / RTC
396; P110649 / ITT 2, 779; P132490 / TCTI 2, 3242; P132639 /
TCTI 2, 3403
Duhduhne: P105795 / Berens 84; P120693 / NABU 1997 no. 57; P110679
/ TCTI 1, 809; P132377 / TCTI 2, 2779
Anšan: P315783 / Kaskal 4, 71 no. 7; P127712 / RA 19, 43 no. 110;
P128542 / DAS 80; P133200 / TCTI 2, 4009
Sabum: P108858 / DAS 79; P110537 / TCTI 1, 668; P132669 / TCTI 2,
3437
Gizili: P111700 / ITT 5, 6990
Hurti: P317639 / Nisaba 22, 37
Zurbati: P295801 / NABU 2011 no. 50
Huhnuri: P295905 / NABU 2011 no. 50
Si'um: P120693 / NABU 1997 no. 57
Ma(n)hili: P109963 / ASJ 2, 206
dam *Hulibar*: P356004 / Nisaba 13, 89

2. They traveled for various other personnel:

mu ma2-laḥ5-še3 ḡen-na “who went for the sailor(s)”
P113514 / MVN 2, 215
sa2-dug4-ga lu2 ma2 gal-gal-<ke4>-ne-še3 ḡen-na “who went for the
provisions of those of the large boats”
P234826 / Studies Sigrist 28, 5
mu šu-ku6-e-ne-še3 ḡen-na “who went for the fishermen/hunters”
P108852 / DAS 70
lu2-zaḥ3-a dab5-de3 i3-im-ḡen-na “who went to take/seize fugitives”
P132806 / TCTI 2, 3591

3. They provisioned waystations and other bureaus:

zi-gum2-e igi kar2-kar2-de3 ḡen-na “who went to provision the *sikkum*”
P108856 / DAS 75
anše zi-gum2-ma anše sum-de3 ḡen-na “who went to provide for equids
of the *siKKum*”
P132746 / TCTI 2, 3522
ša3-gal anše-še3 anše sum-de3 ḡen-na “who went for equid fodder to
provide for equids”
P356004 / Nisaba 13, 89
e2-uš-bar šu sum-de3 ḡen-na “who went to provide for the weaving
establishment”
P106911 / MTBM 32

4. They were involved in the procurement of goods, the transport of goods and the
movement of watercraft:

ġiš-še₃ ġen-na “who went for timber”

P108934 / DAS 182

ġiš a-dam-DUN^{ki} zi-zi-de₃ ġen-na “who went to levy the timber of AdamDUN”

P416116

ġiš ma₂-a ġa₂-ġa₂-de₃ ġen-na “who went to place timber in boats”

P127688 / RA 19, 41 no. 42

ma₂ ġiš-i₃-ka šušin^{ki}-še₃ ġen-na “who went to Susa (for) boats of sesame”

P416116 / RA 19, 41 no. 42

niġ₂-sur-še₃ du-me “they are ones who went for filtered beer”

P295467 / NABU 2011 no. 50

ma₂ ġiš-i₃-ka-da ġen-na “who went with the boats of sesame”

P107040 / MTBM 161

ku₆-še₃ ġen-na “who went for fish”

P202074 / Nisaba 3, 37

uruda-da a-dam-DUN-ta im-da-ġen-na “who went with copper from AdamDUN”

P132788 / TCTI 2, 3573

mu zi₃-ka-še₃ ġen-na “who went for flour”

P132991 / TCTI 2, 3791

5. They were involved in ritual activities:

lu₂ a-tu₅-a lugal-me¹⁴⁷⁶ “they are ones of the royal lustration ceremony”

P406482 / Nisaba 22, 119

6. They were involved with fields and agriculture:

a-šag₄-še₃ ġen-na “who went (to) the fields”

P320230 / Nisaba 22, 17

7. They dealt with livestock:

zu₂-si udu-še₃ du-a “who went for the shearing of sheep”

P320203 / Nisaba 22, 54

gud nam-ra-ak ġen-na-me “they are ones who went for the cattle (taken as) plunder”

P405874 / Nisaba 22, 80

udu e₂ ^den-ki-še₃ ġen-na “who went for the sheep of the temple of Enki”

P132360 / TCTI 2, 2759

¹⁴⁷⁶ Notizia (*I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 34-36) is unsure whether this refers to the ritual ablutions of the king, but this designation was undoubtedly a temporal/functional title. Both **lu₂ a-tu₅** and **lu₂ a-tu₅ lugal** are attested in the context of travel to the sea (**a-ab-ba**) and could suggest that both refer to a royal ablution ceremony.

8. They were stationed along watercourses:

id₂-da gub-ba-me “they are ones who are stationed on the canal”
P406657 / Nisaba 22, 151

9. They were involved with construction:

sig₄-ga[?] ur₅-ra-še₃ ġen-na “who went for baked bricks”
P132367 / TCTI 2, 2767
e₂ alan^d šu-^dsuen kar-ra du₃-de₃ ġen-na “who went to construct a shrine
(and) statue of Šu-Suen in the quay”
P132968 / TCTI 2, 3765

Therefore we see that personnel bearing this designation in the messenger texts were involved in a variety of tasks ranging from interacting and outfitting foreign groups traveling to and from the homeland, to procuring different types of resources. We see substantial overlap between the missions carried out by the **lu₂-ġi^štukul** and the missions undertaken by errand-runners (**lu₂-kas₄**) and secretaries (**sukkal**).¹⁴⁷⁷ If the **lu₂-ġi^štukul** is to be understood as a temporal/functional designation, then the difference between an errand-runner and one on military assignment, who both perform the same task, is that the former was engaged in the activity on behalf of the provincial or royal sector for civil purposes while the latter was employed by either the provincial or royal sector for purposes related to military affairs, such as offensive and defensive operations, maintenance of the army and existing military structures, and the levying and management of military forces. Thus, for example, a person could have been tasked to procure timber for plows and other agricultural implements strictly for civil agricultural activities while another could have been tasked to procure timber for spear and arrow shafts. Some may have acted as **ġiri₃**-agents for highlander groups who came to Sumer

¹⁴⁷⁷ See the tables in Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 111-161.

for employment as workers while others may have performed the **ĝiri** role for highlander groups who came to be recruited as mercenaries serving the Ur III monarch.

The **lu₂-ĝi^štukul (gu-la)** occurs in kennel-men texts which, as mentioned above, are related to the messenger texts and the waystation complexes. However, unlike the messenger texts, they are few in number and occur in only a small percentage of kennel-men texts.¹⁴⁷⁸ Not much can be gleaned from these tablets. We encounter both the designation **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** and **lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la**. The latter received bread and cuts of mutton; one of them, Ursaga, received the victuals when he “went at the behest of the instructions of the temple administrator and estate manager” (**mu inim saĝĝa šabra-še₃ ĝen-na**).¹⁴⁷⁹ Concerning the regular **lu₂-ĝi^štukul**, they also received expenditures of bread and meat with one of them being ascribed travel information - “who came from the top cultic official” (**ki zabar-dab₅-ta ĝen-na**).¹⁴⁸⁰ One of the kennel-men texts could be seen as an argument against my position that **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** is a temporal/functional designation since the term does not follow a personal name and is further qualified by the temporal/functional designation **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a** “on assignment”: “8 liters of bread (and) half of a sheep (for) the scribe and **lu₂-ĝi^štukul lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄ zabar-dab₅-a**.”¹⁴⁸¹ However, there are a few ways we could translate this. One is to take all the terms as primary designations and occupational titles, as Mander does in his edition: “the scribe and the armed man, the messenger(s?) of the z.-functionary.”¹⁴⁸² Another would be to translate

¹⁴⁷⁸ For the kennel-men texts, see Mander, *An Archive of Kennelmen and other Workers in Ur III Lagash*. He provides an edition of 74 texts. There are only four relevant documents: nos. 11, 32, 48 and 57.

¹⁴⁷⁹ P200985 / Kennelmen no. 11: Ursaga received 20 liters of bread and half of a sheep. The other **lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-las** received similar provisions: Abbaĝu and Nanna-ki’aĝ received half of a sheep carcass (P131164 / Kennelmen no. 57) and Itia received a shank cut of meat (**uzu-ur₂**; CTPSM 1, 218).

¹⁴⁸⁰ P100151 / Kennelmen no. 32.

¹⁴⁸¹ P135802 / Kennelmen no. 48, rev. lines 10-12.

¹⁴⁸² Mander, *An Archive of Kennelmen and other Workers in Ur III Lagash*, 42.

the first two titles as primary and occupational, while treating the last as secondary and temporal: “the scribe and armed man, on assignment of the z.-functionary.” However, I do not see any reason why a person could not have more than one secondary/temporal designation, even if a primary title is missing: “the scribe and one on military assignment, (both) on assignment of the z.-functionary.” This understands that the person designated as **lu₂-ĝi^štukul**, whose name and title were not included in the text, was on an assignment with some sort of military connection or purpose and that mission was given to him by the top cultic official.¹⁴⁸³ Nevertheless, even if we are to accept Mander’s translation, this one text does not overturn the case made from the other characteristics of the designation of **lu₂-ĝi^štukul**, such as its high frequency in limited contexts and its absence in seal impressions.

Although the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** (**gu-la**) occurs almost exclusively in messenger and kennel-men texts,¹⁴⁸⁴ there is a number of other documents, roughly around fifty, which mention the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** and which cannot be assigned to the messenger or kennel-men texts. Though these documents do not follow the messenger text format, the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** is nevertheless seen performing similar missions. Just like in the messenger texts, they occur outside of the genre in the role of transferring commodities to various personnel:

¹⁴⁸³ It should be noted that the **zabar-dab₅** is recorded as having **aga₃-us₂** under his authority in both messenger and kennel-men texts. See, for example, P106901 / MTBM 22 and P200980 / Kennelmen no. 6.

¹⁴⁸⁴ Notizia, *I testi de messaggeri di Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 32. It has been pointed out that the degree of variation in messenger texts of the Girsu corpus makes it difficult to ascertain with a great degree of certainty which texts belong in the corpus and which are documents recording the expenditure of victuals outside of the waystation complexes; Pietro Mander, “The ‘Messenger Texts’ from Girsu,” in *The Growth of an Early State in Mesopotamia: Studies in Ur III Administration*, BPOA 5, eds. Steven J. Garfinkle and J. Cale Johnson (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2008): 119.

P317055 / PPAC 5, 268 (9/10/AS01) rev. col. ii lines 5-14:

**šu-niĝin₂ 10 la₂ 1 ĝuruš 5(ban₂)-ta / šu-niĝin₂ 2 geme₂ 3(ban₂)-ta /
kinkin₂-me / šu-niĝin₂ 10 la₂ 1 ĝuruš 1(barig)-ta / ur-^den-gal-du-du i₃-
dab₅ / ud 20-še₃ / še-bi 2(aš) 1(barig) 4(ban₂) gur /
geme₂ ĝuruš ĝi^štukul-<e> dab₅-ba / ĝiri₃ lugal-an-na-tum₂ lu₂-ĝi^štukul /
u₃ ur-^dlamma dumu lu₂-sa₆-ga**

“Total of 9 able-bodied men (receiving) 50 liters (of grain) each; total of 2 able-bodied women (receiving) 30 liters each - they are millers; total of 9 able-bodied men (receiving) 60 liters each, taken by Ur-Engaldudu for 20 days, their grain (amounting to) 6100 liters. (They are) female and male workers conscripted for military purposes. Via Lugal-annatum, on military assignment, and Ur-Lamma the son of Lusaga.”

In this text we see a connection between a person labeled as being on military assignment and those who were “conscripted for military purposes.” The only information that we get on any of the grain recipients is that the female workers were weavers. Female weavers conscripted for military service¹⁴⁸⁵ may simply mean that they were tasked with grinding grain that was to be used by the military, whether to feed troops, pack animals accompanying troops, or prisoners-of-war brought back from campaign. It does not necessarily mean that female weavers accompanied soldiers on campaign (likely as a support element), though this cannot be ruled out.

Another document (P133055 / TCTI 2, 3859) refers to one Šutinum who received (literally “sealed for”) grain to be given to metal smiths tasked for mining in the piedmont near AdamDUN:

**100 ĝuruš 6 sila₃ dabin-ta / zi₃-bi 2(aš) gur / simug hur-saĝ ba-al-me / nu-
banda₃ DINGIR-zi-li₂ / kišib šu-ti-<nu>-um / lu₂-ĝi^štukul / a-dam-DUN^{ki}-še₃ /
du-ne-ne itud ezem-^dli₉-si₄**

“100 male workers (received) 6 liters of semolina each, their flour (amounting to) 600 liters; they are smiths (tasked for) mining the mountain range. (Their) captain (is) Ium-šilli. Sealed/received by Šutinum, on military assignment, when they went to AdamDUN. Date.”

¹⁴⁸⁵ For the meaning of the phrase ĝi^štukul-e dab₅-ba, see the discussion in the section on the **eren₂** in chapter 3.

This procurement of metal could have been for use in weapon production and therefore have prompted Šutinum's designation as being "on military assignment" when he sealed for their commodities. Appropriately, Šutinum's seal impression on the tablet designates him as a soldier (**aga₃-us₂**).

One final example of the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** provisioning people outside of the messenger text genre is P108504 / CT 7, 16 (8/--/AS01), which lists various expenditures (**zi-ga didli**) approved by the governor of Girsu (**kišib ensi₂-ka**) of dates, apples and figs (as well as some apple and fig timber). A person designated as **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** was the **ĝiri₃**-agent for *iĝi^š*-oil and dates allotted to a musician (col. i, lines 1-4): **2(aš) i₃-ĝi^š gur lugal / 0.0.2(ban₂) zu₂-lum niĝ₂ ĝiri₃-lam ba-a-si / na-gu-u₂-du nar / ĝiri₃ šu-^den-lil₂-la₂ lu₂-ĝi^štukul** "600 liters of royal-quality *iĝi^š*-oil, 20 liters of dates - items filled into baskets - (for) Nagudu the musician. Via Šu-Enlila, on military assignment." One might wonder what relation a musician had with the military. Yet, as is the case with many titles and designations, one who bore the title of musician did not have roles circumscribed to merely producing music or song, and music had a wide application in the ancient world. Musicians produced music for cultic reasons (to soothe and pacify angry deities), provided entertainment for their patrons and were a feature on military campaigns, as attested by a report of the Assyrian king Sargon II: "I entered my military camp with joy and rejoicing, accompanied by musicians (playing) lyres and cymbals."¹⁴⁸⁶ Therefore

¹⁴⁸⁶ Nele Ziegler, "Music, the Work of Professionals," in *The Oxford Handbook of Cuneiform Culture*, edited by Karen Radner and Eleanor Robson, 288-312 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011): 289. In this essay she discusses the roles undertaken by chief musicians which included musical performance, overseeing the maintenance of musical instruments, acting as ambassador, engaging in diplomatic affairs and arranging dynastic marriages.

Šu-Enlila, whose transfer of provisions to the musician was designated as a military assignment, may suggest that the musician was attached to military units and may have been preparing to accompany them on campaign.¹⁴⁸⁷

Alongside their role as **ĝiri3**-agents for comestibles was their role in the transfer and movement of other commodities. One example of this concerns textiles:

P132660 / TCTI 2, 3428 (--/--/ŠS06):¹⁴⁸⁸

5 gu₂ siki ^{tug₂}guz-za 4-kam us₂ / gurdub-bi 44 / 15 gu₂ 32 ma-na /
^{tug₂}guz-za 3-kam us₂ / gurdub-bi 15 / [k]i ^dšul-gi-uru-ĝu₁₀-[t]a /
 a₂-giš-gar-ra e₂-uš-bar gir₂-su^{ki}-še₃ / mu lu₂-KA-niĝ₂-sa₆-g[a-še₃?] /
 kišib lugal-u₂-šim-e / dumu lu₂-du₁₀-ga / **ĝiri3** ki²-na-us₂-e lu₂-giš^{ti}tukul /
ĝiri3 ur-ba-gara₂ dumu ur-^dNUNUZ.KAD₄^{mušen} / u₃ lu₂-d^{ba}-u₂
 “5 talents of wool (for) 4th-rate textiles, its baskets (amount to) 44; 15
 talents (and) 32 minas (of wool for) 3rd-rate textiles, its baskets (amount
 to) 15 - from Šulgi-uruĝu for the work assignment of the weaving
 establishment of Girsu on behalf of Lu-KAniĝsaga. Sealed/received by
 Lugal-ušime the son of Luduga. Via Kinause, on military assignment.
 Via Ur-bagara the son of Ur-NUNUZ.KAD and Lu-Bau”

This text shows wool being delivered to a weaving establishment for the production of lower-quality textiles. One of the **ĝiri3**-agents was a person on military assignment. This could have signified that some of the wool was intended for textiles to be made into garments for soldiers. The fact that the textiles were of lower quality could make sense in that it would not be logical to spend much effort in producing high-quality cloth for the rank-and-file soldier whose occupation was one which was inherently messy, even outside of the realm of battle. It is interesting to note that the **ĝiri3**-agents are not grouped together. The person designated as **lu₂-giš^{ti}tukul** is explicitly labeled as performing the

¹⁴⁸⁷ Modern day examples of music use in the military include the U.S. Army band, which performs music for both ceremonial and entertainment purposes, both at home and deployed in war zones (www.goarmy.com/band; <http://www.usarmyband.com>), as well as psychological operations units using heavy metal music to intimidate enemy fighters and break the will of prisoners under interrogation.

¹⁴⁸⁸ A similar document with some of the same personnel is P133339 / TCTI 2, 4172 (--/--/ŠS06).

ġiri₃ function and two others, who are not given any titles, are listed under a separate **ġiri**₃ designation. Perhaps this indicates that some of the wool was destined for cloth production for the military while the rest was destined for textile production of a non-military nature. There are a few documents which refer to a **lu**₂-**ġi**^š**tukul**'s dealings with groups of livestock and other animals coming from cities in Khuzistan, one example being P132963 / TCTI 2, 3760:

11(aš) še gur / ša₃**-gal udu sa-bu-um**^{ki}**-ka-še**₃ / **kišib i-šar-d**^š**ul-gi lu**₂**-ġi**^š**tukul / u**₃ **kišib a**₂**-pi**₅**-li**₂**-a kurušda**

“3300 liters of grain for the fodder of the sheep of Sabum, sealed/received by Išar-Šulgi, on military assignment and sealed/received by Apilia the animal fattener”

At least some of these may have been related to the **gun**₂ **ma-da** duty.¹⁴⁸⁹

One document describing an activity unrelated to missions known from the messenger text genre is P133510 / TEL 4, in which a person labeled as being on military assignment facilitated the transfer of four shekels of silver between two parties.

We can assemble the dossier of a person who was commonly designated as **lu**₂-**ġi**^š**tukul**, both within and outside of the messenger text genre to gain an overview of the range of the duties they performed. A good candidate for this is Dannum-mašiat since his name occurs less than ten times in the entire corpus and all attestations stem from Girsu province:

¹⁴⁸⁹ The other texts are: P132864 / TCTI 2, 3653 (cattle and sheep from Sabum) and P111504 / ITT 5, 6794 (birds from AdamDUN).

Table 59: Texts referring to Dannum-mašiat

Text/Date	Description
P124730 --/--/----	Fragmentary messenger text. Dannum-mašiat, designated as lu₂-^{giš}tukul gu-la , received provisions though no travel data or mission is recorded.
P356004 13/04/----	Messenger text. Dannum-mašiat, designated as lu₂-^{giš}tukul , received provisions and was the ĝiri₃ -agent for the wife of Ḫulibar, the ruler of Duḫduḫne, under instruction from the sukkal-maḫ . He accompanied the spouse of Ḫulibar to Sabum.
P110979 10/--/----	Messenger text. Dannum-mašiat, designated as lu₂-^{giš}tukul , received provisions and was the ĝiri₃ -agent for the governor of Sabum. He accompanied the governor to Sabum.
P132669 11/--/----	Messenger text. Dannum-mašiat, designated as lu₂-^{giš}tukul , received provisions and was the ĝiri₃ -agent for highlanders of Sabum as well as for the governor of Sabum. He accompanied them to Sabum.
P132455 8/--/----	Messenger text. Dannum-mašiat, undesignated, was the ĝiri₃ -agent for highlanders from Sabum when they traveled either to or from Sabum.
P113448 2/17/ŠS08	Messenger text. Dannum-mašiat, undesignated, was the ĝiri₃ -agent for highlanders of Sabum when they went to Nippur.
P405874 10/--/----	Fragmentary messenger text. Dannum-mašiat, designated as lu₂-^{giš}tukul , received when he went alongside two captains (nu-banda₃) to [?] Duḫduḫne for cattle classified as plunder (nam-ra-ak).
P132936 5/--/----	Dannum-mašiat, designated as lu₂-^{giš}tukul , was the ĝiri₃ -agent for 600 liters of grain for fattened sheep and 600 liters of groats for cattle. The livestock came from Sabum and was delivered to Girsu.

Thus we see Dannum-mašiat, usually designated as **lu₂-^{giš}tukul**, once as **lu₂-^{giš}-tukul gu-la** and twice undesignated, acting as a transfer agent for provisions for the governor of Sabum, Sabum highlanders and the spouse of the governor (or ruler) of Duḫduḫne. His designation as being on military assignment is fitting due to his travels for livestock captured in war and to bring what was probably the **gun₂ ma-da** tax of Sabum into the homeland.

Though extremely rare, the **lu₂-^{giš}tukul** does occur outside of texts from Girsu. There is one document which most likely stems from Umma and seems to be in the format of (or at least a partial of) a summary messenger text, though the date is limited to

solely the year name.¹⁴⁹⁰ This text lists, as standard or regular provisions of those on military assignment (**sa₂-dug₄ lu₂-ĝi^štukul-ke₄-ne**), the following items:

2188 liters of quality beer (**kaš sig₅**)
 3428 liters of average beer (**kaš gen**)
 40 liters of quality wort (**dida sig₅**)¹⁴⁹¹
 5060 liters of average wort (**dida gen**)¹⁴⁹²
 10,469 liters of bread (**ninda**)
 200 liters of grain as equid fodder (**še ša₃-gal anše**)
 74 liters of oil (**i₃-ĝi^š**)
 28 ½ liters of potash (**naga**)
 1360 fish (**ku₆ maš₂-zi**)
 1360 bundles of vegetables (**sa sum-gaz**)
 11 sheep with their fleece (**udu bar ĝal₂**)
 2 sheared sheep (**udu bar su-ga**)
 5 goats (**maš₂**)
 2 ½ ox-hides (**kuš gud**)
 3 ox sinews (**sa gud**)
 15 sheep hides (**kuš udu**)

This text reveals a substantial quantity of provisions given to those designated as being on military assignment. Even if we take the amount of bread expended and divided it by the highest amount that was expended per person per day (5 liters), we end up with two thousand and ninety three people who were provided for. Since the text only lists a year name, we could assume that this is a summary of expenditures over the course of a year and can divide the two thousand and ninety three by twelve to arrive at an average of one hundred and seventy four personnel allotted provisions per month. It is interesting that such a large number of people are designated as **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** in this summary document when this designation is absent in the thousands of individual messenger texts from

¹⁴⁹⁰ P104118 / AUCT 2, 300 (---/Š42). BDTNS lists two other texts (P112481 and P129657) as originating from Umma province, though this attribution is far from certain.

¹⁴⁹¹ Stored/carried in two 20-liter jars.

¹⁴⁹² Stored/carried in thirty-four 30-liter jars, seventy-three 20-liter jars, and two hundred and fifty eight 10-liter jars.

Umma. That this summary tablet stems from Umma seems assured due to the presence of vegetables, potash and fish, all of which tend to be absent from the Girsu messenger texts. Additionally, the allotment of leather and sinew undoubtedly refer to the repair or fabrication of *siKKum*-chariots as these items were used on the vehicles which employed *siKKum*-equids, undoubtedly the equids referred to in this document.¹⁴⁹³ Therefore the absence of the appellation **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** in individual messenger texts from Umma, when the summary tablet suggests the presence of numerous **lu₂-ĝi^štukuls**, may be further evidence to suggest that term was a temporal/functional designation, not an occupational title, and are not recorded in the daily provision receipts. The texts from Puzriš-Dagan and Nippur each contain one reference to the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul**. The document from Puzriš-Dagan lists a person named Namḥani who received one goat in Uruk.¹⁴⁹⁴ In Nippur, cereals and beer were expended to various personnel including an unnamed **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** who seems to have gone to survey fields (**a-šag₄ niĝin₂**).¹⁴⁹⁵ These documents are ambiguous as to whether the term is being used as a functional or occupational title. The same is true for a single text from Ur in which the term occurs twice.¹⁴⁹⁶ The designation does not occur in documents from Garšana or Iri-Saĝrig.

We have seen enough examples of the missions of the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul (gu-la)** to know that they engaged in a variety of tasks. It has been shown, independently of their missions, that the designation was functional and temporal, used in the same way as **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a**, and that it most likely refers to a person who was engaged in a task that was

¹⁴⁹³ On *siKKum*-equids and chariots, see Heimpel, "Towards an Understanding of the Term Sikkum," 17-24. For examples of chariot repair and fabrication, see P140100 / UTI 3, 2081 and P106541 / BIN 5, 107.

¹⁴⁹⁴ P131068 / TAD 26.

¹⁴⁹⁵ P134458 / TMH NF 1-2, 147.

¹⁴⁹⁶ P139019 / UET 9, 889.

related in some way to the military apparatus of the kingdom of Ur. This could range from procuring supplies to be used by the military or for military purposes to surveying fields, perhaps the **šuku**-allotments given in return for military service. Finally, we will conclude this section by examining one small subset of the **lu₂-gis^{is}tukul**.

IV.4.3: The **lu₂-ĝi^štukul lugal**

The designation **lu₂-ĝi^štukul lugal**, “on military assignment of the king / on royal military assignment,” is quite rare in the Ur III corpus. Out of close to fifteen hundred attestations of **lu₂-ĝi^štukul**, the secondary qualifier of **lugal** occurs only thirteen times.¹⁴⁹⁷ The majority of these occurrences fall, as expected, within the genre of messenger texts. Their missions are listed below:¹⁴⁹⁸

P132806: “who went to take/seize the fugitives”

(**lu₂-zah₃-a dabs-de₃ i₃-im-ĝen-na**)

P131542 / SAT 1, 439: “who went to levy troops”

(**eren₂ zi-zi-de₃ im-ši-ĝen-na**)

P122983 / CUSAS 16, 103: “who went for the word/matter of Ningir-Ane-zu

(**inim nimgir-an-ne₂-zu-še₃ im-ši-ĝen-na**)

Two of these messenger texts bear mentioning in detail. The first (P406464 / Nisaba 22, 105) mentions provisions of flour (**zi₃**) for a variety of personnel (**sukkals**, **aga₃-us₂ gal**, **u₃-kul** and **dumu nu-banda₃**) who were all given five liters of flour regardless of task or designation. The only exception to this is Utu-bae the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul lugal** who was given 120 liters of flour - twenty-four times the amount of all the other personnel. Outside of named personnel there is also one highlander group, Anšanites (**NIM an-ša-an^{ki}-me**), who received 120 liters in the city and another 120 liters for the road. The amounts, being comparable to what Utu-bae received, may suggest that Utu-bae was receiving the flour on behalf of a group of people. If this is correct, then our gloss of **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** would suggest that Utu-bae was on a military assignment of the king (**lu₂-ĝi^štukul lugal**)

¹⁴⁹⁷ A miniscule amount compared to the roughly 900 occurrences of the term without any further qualification and the over 550 occurrences with the secondary qualifier **gu-la**.

¹⁴⁹⁸ Their occurrence in messenger texts without specified missions: P207303 / Nisaba 22, 28 and CTPSM 1, 163.

when he received the flour, probably to distribute it to other personnel, perhaps soldiers engaged in military duties. The other document (P203779 / Nisaba 22, 73) is a summary messenger text which lists, among other personnel, two **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** and one **lu₂-ĝi^štukul lugal** who received the same amount of provisions and undertook the same type of mission: going with cattle (**gud-da ĝen-na**). Other than the one person designated as being on “military assignment of the king,” they are otherwise indistinguishable.

Outside of the messenger text genre we have the following texts. One document (P105241 / BCT 1, 139) is a list of personnel, either merchants or connected to merchants, who provided silver “for Lu-šalim, on military assignment of the king, who was struck by a weapon” (**mu lu₂-ša-lim lu₂-ĝi^štukul lugal-ke₄ ĝi^štukul bi₂-si₃-ga-še₃**). P108572 / CT 9, 18 lists the allocations of grain, lipids, dates and apples, which were the property (**niĝ₂-gur₁₁**) of Abbaĝu the “chief governor” (**ensi₂ gal**); 3600 liters of grain for loans was disbursed (**še ur₅-ra e₃-a**) with one Lu-Damu **lu₂-ĝi^štukul lugal** as the **ĝiri₃**-agent. The text P115700 / MVN 9, 57 mentions Šu’û (**šu-u₂-u₂**) the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul lugal** who received 9000 liters of grain as “food for troops¹⁴⁹⁹ who went with the bird-boat(s)” (**ša₃-gal eren₂ ma₂ mušen-da ĝen-na**). A similar document is P380243 / PPAC 5, 1578, which mentions KA₂gutia as the one who sealed for 7200 liters of grain as food for troops of the sesame-boat(s) (**ša₃-gal eren₂ ma₂ še-ĝi^š-i₃**). Another comparable text is P110838 / TCTI 1, 968, which lists Gana’a the **lu₂-ĝi^štukul lugal** as the recipient of 300 liters of grain as fodder for wild bulls (**ša₃-gal am-še₃**), with the document noting that the wild bulls belong to Babati - undoubtedly the well-known high-official and uncle of king Šu-Suen. A curious text is P131388 / SAT 1, 279 which lists oil (**i₃-ĝi^š**) and date (**zu₂-lum**)

¹⁴⁹⁹ Note that the tablet labels the food as being for the “troops” (**eren₂**) while the envelope designates them as “fishermen/hunters” (**šu-ku₆**).

expenditures for female workers (**geme₂**), who were weavers (**geme₂ uš-bar**), totaling to 6466 women distributed among Gisu, Kinunir-Niġin and Gu'abba. The commodities were conveyed (**ġiri₃**) by Ur-Damu, and following his name is **e₂ lu₂-ġi^štukul lugal** “house/bureau of the **lu₂-ġi^štukul lugal**. There is no ablative marker to denote that the items were disbursed from this place and therefore one wonders if the **e₂** is an error.

Overall, the variations of the term **lu₂-ġi^štukul** show personnel performing a variety of functions and tasks that were performed on behalf of the military or for some martially-related purpose. There is substantial overlap in the duties of the **lu₂-ġi^štukul**, the **lu₂-ġi^štukul gu-la** and the **lu₂-ġi^štukul lugal** which hinders a clear definition of their roles and how they are distinct from one another. The one **lu₂-ġi^štukul lugal** who was struck with weapons may suggest that the term was used for those engaged in combat and that the terms had broader application than simply quartermaster duties. Further prosopographical study may help to better delineate their roles.

IV.5: Additional Soldier Classes

The **aga3-us2 gal-gal** and the **aga3-us2 gal** are designations that occur almost solely in the messenger text genre. The term **aga3-us2 gal** may potentially be rendered as “chief (or senior) soldier” and the term **aga3-us2 gal-gal**, probably utilizing the reduplicated adjective to convey the superlative, as “top soldier.” This interpretation goes against the notion of Lafont who did not see the designations as denoting rank, but rather as a means to refer to “distinctive groups of special **aga3-us2**, appointed by the royal power to a particular communication service in the Girsu province.”¹⁵⁰⁰ Hopefully the examination of these two titles will shed light on the nature of those who bore them.

IV.5.1: The **aga3-us2 gal-gal**

The vast majority of occurrences of the term **aga3-us2 gal-gal** appear in messenger texts that stem from Girsu. Below are two tables tallying the information on these personnel. The first table shows the number of **aga3-us2 gal-gal** in a single tablet, along with the types and number of other personnel listed in the same tablet as well as groups of highlanders from the various peripheral territories.¹⁵⁰¹ The second records the locations from which or to which they traveled, as well as any statements regarding the purpose of their travels.¹⁵⁰²

¹⁵⁰⁰ Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 10.

¹⁵⁰¹ It should be kept in mind that not all of the personnel in a single tablet went to the same location or were engaged with the same task. These texts primarily record who was provisioned with comestibles at the waystation on a particular day.

¹⁵⁰² Note that these tables only represent daily expenditure texts and do not include monthly, multi-monthly or yearly summary texts.

Table 60: Personnel occurring in Messenger Texts alongside the aga₃-us₂ gal-gal

Text/Date	augg	skl	au	aug	ltgl	lt	dnb	k	rg	uk	m	PN	NIM
P100206 12/--/----	1	7											
P122968 5/--/----	1	4						1					Giša (ĝ. skl)
P107066 4/--/----	1	3						2					
P107074 1/--/----	1	3										1	Šimaški
P114978 4/--/SH33	1	1											
P114994 10/--/SH34	2												
P115007 10/--/SH32	1	1					1	4					
P115041 9/--/SH41	2	3	1							1			
P115056 10/--/----	1	4						1				1	
P115122 9/--/SH34	2	1									1		
P115222 ¹⁵⁰³ 12/--/----	1									1			
P115223 3/--/----	1	2											
P115316 10/--/SH36	1												
P143057 12/--/----	1												
P206220 6/--/----	1	2			1		1						Šimaški (ĝ. dnb)
P206202 2/--/----	1	5			1								
P356021 9/--/----	1	5						4	1				
P356024 2/--/----	1	8						1					Zaul (ĝ. skl)
P406257 10/--/----	1	5											
P499513 2/--/----	1	3										1	Anšan (ĝ. skl)
P128480 ¹⁵⁰⁴ 10/--/SH34	1												
P128512 5/--/SH33	1												
P128525 11/--/----	1	1											Harši (ĝ. skl)
P128526	1	3			1								Anšan

¹⁵⁰³ Includes 1 authorizing agent (**maškim**).¹⁵⁰⁴ Includes 1 general (**šakkan**).

P406257 10/--/----	ka ₅	Anšan	---	---
P499513 2/--/----	[...]- ^d utu	---	---	---
P128480 10/--/SH34	šu-ni-su	---	---	---
P128512 5/--/SH33	ur-nigar _x ^{gar}	Uru'az	---	---
P128525 11/--/----	wa-a-ni	Ḫarši	---	---
P128526 9/--/----	en-u ₂ -mi-li ₂	(Nippur)	---	---

There are twenty-seven people designated as **aga3-us2 gal-gal** in Girsu messenger texts, accounting for the vast majority of the thirty-six occurrences of the term in the entire administrative corpus. In most of these texts, there is only a single **aga3-us2 gal-gal** attested, though there are three tablets which list two **aga3-us2 gal-gal** receiving provisions. They can occur as the sole recipient in single-commodity texts, as well as in larger messenger texts alongside ten or more recipients who have other designations. They are listed in the messenger texts alongside people with the designations of **sukkal**, **lu2-kas4**, **lu2-^{giš}tukul gu-la**, **dumu-nu-banda3**, **u3-kul**, **ra2-gaba**, **mar-tu** and **aga3-us2**. They occur most often alongside the **sukkal** (in 75% of the texts), followed by the **lu2-kas4** (25%). They are not attested with the **lu2-^{giš}tukul** or **aga3-us2 gal**. They occur in all months except the seventh and eighth months, and the rare instances in which the text is dated to the year, they are attested from Šulgi 32 to Šulgi 41:

- 10/--/Š32: one received baked bread alongside 4 **lu2-kas4**, 1 **dumu nu-banda3**, and 1 **sukkal lugal**
- 4/--/Š33: one received royal-quality bread alongside a **sukkal** when they came from A₂.NI.GI₄^{ki}
- 5/--/Š33: one received royal-quality bread when he came from Uru'az
- 9/--/Š34: two received beer alongside a **mar-tu** and a **sukkal**; the varying lengths of their assignments are reflected by the amount of beer (5 liters per day)

that they received (**mar-tu**: 4 days, **aga3-us2 gal-gal**: 2, 1 days, **sukkal**: 1 day)

10/--/Š34: two received bread

10/--/Š34: one received beer alongside a general (**šakkan6**) of Sabum.

10/--/Š36: one received bread

9/--/Š41: two received beer alongside three **sukkal**, one **aga3-us2** and one **u3-kul**; the amounts of their provisions vary, with personnel being provided for either a single day or for two days.

In the text that refers to the general of Sabum, this is probably the commander in charge of the region after its conquest (or at least its annexation, however it happened) into the kingdom of Ur. The earliest reference to Sabum in the administrative corpus dates to the seventh month of Šulgi's thirty-fourth year (P114621 / MVN 6, 166) and mentions grain rations for 60 workers who were levied to work on large boats for (the shipping of) the tax (or tribute) of Sabum,¹⁵⁰⁶ with the grain coming from the **sukkal-mah**. Subsequent records mentioning Sabum come from Šulgi's final regnal year, when we start to see messenger texts from Girsu and Umma recording groups of highlanders of Sabum¹⁵⁰⁷ and a **gun2 ma-da**-type tax document from Puzriš-Dagan.¹⁵⁰⁸

The majority of the messenger texts do not include the origins of the **aga3-us2 gal-gal** and they almost never include their destinations. Of the texts that do include the origins, the most commonly attested is Anšan (6x), followed by one occurrence each of ̒arši, Uru'az, A2.NI.GI4 and Nippur. The destination is only recorded once; the capital, Ur. The **aga3-us2 gal-gal** can be accompanied by a relatively large retinue, such as in

¹⁵⁰⁶ Obverse lines 1-4: **60 ġuruš 1(barig) še-ta / še-bi 12 gur lugal / lu2 ma2 gal-gal / niġ2 gu2-na sa-bu-um-ma^{ki} zi-zi-me** "60 workers received 60 liters each - that grain (amounts to) 3600 liters. They are men of the large boats levied (for) the items of the tax of Sabum."

¹⁵⁰⁷ This occurs in a Girsu-province summary tablet from Gu'abba (P317781 / Nisaba 22, 71: 11th (intercalary) and 12th months of Š48) and a daily messenger text from Umma (P109826 / Hirose 355: 3/17/Š48).

¹⁵⁰⁸ P103588 / AUCT 1, 743: mentions a delivery of 12 oxen from Puttulum (**ša3 pu-tu-li-um^{ki}**) on the fourth day (9/04/Š48) and 29 oxen from Sabum (**[ša3] sa-bu-um^{ki}**) on the 19th day.

P356024 / Nisaba 13, 109 which records eight **sukkal**s, one **lu₂-kas₄** and a group of highlanders of Zaul, all of them traveling from Anšan.¹⁵⁰⁹ Unfortunately, the texts almost never record the purpose of their receipt of provisions. There are only two mission recorded, one for Bilanum, who went to examine or provision the temples of the gods (**e₂ giġir-re-ne igi kar₂-kar₂-de₃ ġen-na**), and one for Ilum-dan (DINGIR.KAL), who went to examine or provision the *siKKum*.¹⁵¹⁰ Ilum-dan, though a relatively common name, is known in other texts as an overseer of a *siKKum*,¹⁵¹¹ and it is probably this overseer of the *siKKum* who is being called an **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal** and was responsible for its upkeep. A multi-month summary account of expenditures at one of the Girsu waystations, probably Gu'abba, mentions a general (Puzur-Eštar), an **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal** (Aradġu) and a **dumu nu-banda₃** (Ane-badu) who are designated as men of the **mar-sa** and royal **aga₃-us₂** who went for fat-tailed sheep. The **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal** and **dumu nu-banda₃** were given the same amounts of provisions, while the general was given substantially more.¹⁵¹²

¹⁵⁰⁹ The assignment of the origin to multiple personnel can be a bit unclear. In this text we have a list of the ten personnel and the group of highlanders with their provisions, with the place of origin at the end of the text, with only the month name following. The verb is in the singular, which would indicate that only the travel for the last person was recorded. However, there are occurrences of a singular verb governing plural subjects (e.g. P114978 / MVN 7, 47, lines 2-4: **ur-^dsi₄-an-na aga₃-us₂ gal-gal / u₃ zi₂-zi₂ sukkal / A₂.NL.GI^{ki}-ta ġen-na**). This is probably a short-hand writing for **ġen-na-me(-eš₂)**, which is the third person plural copula suffixed to a headless relative clause: (**lu₂ GN-ta ġen-na(-me-eš₂)**) “they are the ones who came from GN.” For an example of an explicitly written copula on the non-finite verb, see P127704 (**šušin^{ki}-ta ġen-na-me**).

¹⁵¹⁰ The notions of “examine” and “provision” are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Steinkeller (“On the Reading and Meaning of **igi-kar₂** and **gurun₂(IGI.GAR)**,” *ASJ* 4 (1982): 149-151) demonstrated that **igi-kar₂** as a nominal form stemming from **igi...kar₂** (Akk. *barû*, *harû* “to examine; to select”) meaning “provisions, supplies” comes from the notion of preparing something in advance (just as English “provide” comes from Latin *pro* + *videre* “to foresee”). Therefore **igi-kar₂** can be seen as provisions given on an irregular basis as the need arose, while another term that can denote “supplies, provisions”, **sa₂-dug₄**, denotes regularly occurring provisions. Widell (“The Sumerian Expression **igi-kar₂** Revisited,” *Iraq* 70 (2008): 131-145) tries to connect this term with childbirth in the royal family, but does not take into account the use of the non-finite verbal forms here. Though he may be correct in the connection with childbirth, this is likely just one nuance of the broader semantic range of the term.

¹⁵¹¹ P121102 / NATN 404 and P405816 / Nisaba 22, 76.

¹⁵¹² P412670 / Nisaba 22, 74. Reverse, column ii line 18: **lu₂ mar-sa₃ u₃ aga₃-us₂ lugal udu gukkal-še₃ ġen-na-me**.

Though the activities of the **aga3-us2 gal-gal** are usually not stated, we can examine the various roles they played by looking at a couple of **aga3-us2 gal-gal** whose names are uncommon in the administrative corpus and therefore have a higher probability of referring to the same person. First, we have Imtida whose name occurs only thirty-four times. This name is almost wholly attested at Girsu (20x) and Iri-Saĝrig (13x), and only occurs once at Umma. The majority of the occurrences at Iri-Saĝrig are in messenger texts, dating from 4/17/ŠS03 to 10/11/IS03. In them, Imtida is most commonly designated as being on royal assignment (**lu2-kiĝ2-gi4-a**), but in others he is given the title of cupbearer (**sagi**).¹⁵¹³ His missions are mainly described as traveling to and from Der, with one of the texts explicitly stating the purpose of at least one of these travels: to bring cattle and sheep to Der for the royal offering (**ud gud udu siškur2 lugal-še3 BAD3.AN^{ki}-še3 ba-la-ḥa-ša-a**). Once he is described as going from Ḥarši to the king. Outside of the messenger texts, he is a **ĝiri3**-agent for ten 10-liter vessels that were issued to Esaĝdana (an alternate name for Puzriš-Dagan) as royal betrothal gifts (**niĝ2-šu-us2-sa lugal**),¹⁵¹⁴ as well as five baskets filled with sesame and aromatics, also betrothal gifts, that were sent to Ur.¹⁵¹⁵ The latter occurrence simply labels him as **aga3-us2**. Is this simply a shortened writing of **aga3-us2 gal-gal**? Or did his status or rank change over time? Due to the fact that the text which designates him as an **aga3-us2 gal-gal** does not include a year name, this question cannot be answered. The attestations of this name at Girsu¹⁵¹⁶ primarily occur in the messenger texts as well. In these texts he is given the

¹⁵¹³ As **lu2-kiĝ2-gi4-a**: P453722, P453895, P454034, P387936 and P388018, which are Nisaba 15/2, 238, 513, 743, 766 and 868. As **sagi**: P387883, 453776 and P454139, which are Nisaba 15/2, 325, 335 and 954.

¹⁵¹⁴ P453624 / Nisaba 15/2, 69.

¹⁵¹⁵ P411981 / Nisaba 15/2, 108.

¹⁵¹⁶ Most of the texts omit the year name, but the few that do occur give a range of --/--/AS03 to 2/--/ŠS01, with most of them dating to Amar-Suen's ninth year.

designation of **lu₂-kas₄** (7x), **aga₃-us₂ gal** (4x), **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** (3x), **sukkal** (1x), **lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la** (1x) and **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal** (1x). With the designation of **lu₂-kas₄**, he is noted as coming from Urua¹⁵¹⁷ and functioning as the **ĝiri₃**-agent for provisions for highlander groups from Šimaški and Duḥduḥne.¹⁵¹⁸ Bearing the designation of **aga₃-us₂ gal**, he is recorded as traveling from Sabum and Urua, and to Anšan as the **ĝiri₃**-agent for highlanders from Anšan.¹⁵¹⁹ The occurrences with the designations **lu₂-ĝi^štukul** and **lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la** do not provide information on their travels or assignments, and the one with the title **sukkal** simply record him as having traveled to or from Susa.¹⁵²⁰ A text which does not give Imtida any of these common designations instead calls him the man (**lu₂**) of Zariq, the governor of Susa, who came from Nippur.¹⁵²¹ In the one Girsu text outside of the messenger text genre, he is a **ĝiri₃**-agent for thirty sheep carcasses to be given to highlander prisoners-of-war of Ḫulibār, the ruler of Duḥduḥne.¹⁵²² In this tablet he is designated as a **sukkal** on royal assignment. The one occurrence at Umma is a seal designating him as a scribe.¹⁵²³

Therefore, if this is the same person, then we have a person who utilized Girsu-province waystations to travel to and from polities in and around the Khuzistan plain, as well as Anšan. He was the agent responsible for the provisions of highlander groups from Šimaški, Anšan and Duḥduḥni, as well as for prisoners-of-war. We find him later as a cupbearer utilizing the Iri-Saġrig waystation for trips to and from Der, preparing

¹⁵¹⁷ P110226 / HLC 3, 356 and P100198 / CUSAS 16, 230. Both are single-commodity texts dated to the seventh month and therefore likely refer to the same trip.

¹⁵¹⁸ P107010 / MTBM 131; P114453 / MVN 5, 233.

¹⁵¹⁹ P202549 / PPAC 5, 1760; P110008 / HLC 2, 131 (URUxA); P320489 / Nisaba 3, 27.

¹⁵²⁰ P123001 / CUSAS 16, 207.

¹⁵²¹ P128478 / RTC 325

¹⁵²² Notizia, "Ḫulibār, Duḥduḥ(u)NI e la frontiera orientale," 269-292.

¹⁵²³ P454518 dated to Amar-Suen's eight year.

royal offerings, and as the official responsible for royal betrothal gifts destined for Puzriš-Dagan and Ur. He bears eight designations: **sagi**, **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal**, **aga₃-us₂ gal**, **sukkal**, **lu₂-kas₄**, **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a (lugal)**, **lu₂-ĝi^{is}tukul** and **lu₂-ĝi^{is}tukul gu-la**. The last three on the list are functionary terms, not titles, and the **lu₂-kas₄** seems to straddle between being a title and a function. The **aga₃-us₂ gal** and **gal-gal** likely designate similar, though nuanced, functions. Therefore we have essentially three different titles that, if this is the same person, are used to refer to a single official: **sagi**, **aga₃-us₂ gal(-gal)** and **sukkal**. This then raises the question of whether officials held multiple titles, and this could be conceptualized as changing jobs/offices, promotion or demotion, and the holding of multiple offices at once. The latter is favored by the inscriptions, seals and seal impressions of some of the highest officials in the state:

Arad-Nanna:¹⁵²⁴

sukkal-maḥ / ensi₂ lagaš^{ki}-ke₄ / saĝĝa^den-ki-ka / šakkan₆ u₂-ša-ar-gar-ša-na^{ki} / šakkan₆ pa₂-šim-e^{ki} / ensi₂ sa-bu-um^{ki} / u₃ ma-da gu-te-bu-um^{ki}-ma / šakkan₆ di₃-ma-at-^den-lil₂-la₂ / ensi₂ a-al-^dšu-^dsuen / šakkan₆ ur-bi₂-lum^{ki} / ensi₂ ḥa-am₃-zi₂^{ki} / u₃ kara₂-ḥar^{ki} / šakkan₆ NI.ḪI^{ki} / šakkan₆ LU₂.SU^{ki} / u₃ ma-da kar-da^{ki}-ka

“the secretary-of-state, governor of Lagaš, chief temple administrator of Enki, general of Ušar-Garšana, general of Pašime, governor of Sabum and the territory of Gutebum, general of Dimat-Enlila, governor of Al-Šu-Suen, general of Urbilum, governor of Ḥamazi and Karaḥar, general of NI.ḪI, general of Šimaški and the territory of Karda”

Babati:¹⁵²⁵

pisan dub-ba / ša₃-tam lugal / šakkan₆ / maš-kan₂-šar-um^{ki} / ensi₂ / a-wa-al^{ki} / šabra [...] / ku₃-gal / ma-da a dug₄-ga / šabra nin-min-a-bi / ^dbe-la-at-šuh^{nir} / u₃ ^dbe-la-at-te-ra-ba-an

“archivist, royal *šatam*-official, general of Maškan-šarrum, governor of Awal, temple administrator of [...], canal inspector of land of good water, estate manager of its two ladies - Belat-šuh^{nir} and Belat-terraban”

¹⁵²⁴ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 323-324: E3/2.1.4.13.

¹⁵²⁵ Ibid, 340-342: E3/2.1.4.32 lines 6-17 and E3/2.1.4.33 lines 7-14.

dub-sar ša₃-tam / pisan dub-ba aĝrig l[ugal²] / ensi₂ a-wa-al^{ki} u₃ a-pi-ak^{ki} / ku₃-gal ma-da a dug₃-ga / šabra nin-min-a-bi / saĝĝa ^dbe-la-at-ter-ba-an / u₃ ^dbe-la-at-šuk-nir

“scribe, *šatam*-official, archivist, *royal* steward, governor of Awal and Apiak, canal inspector of the land of good water, estate manager of its two ladies, chief temple administrator of Belat-terraban and Belat-šuh^{nir}”

Nanna-zišagĝal:¹⁵²⁶

zabar-dab₅ kurun_x-a-gal / sagi-maĥ / ugula maš₂-šu-gid₂-gid₂-de₃-ne
 “the chief-cultic official,¹⁵²⁷ chief brewer, great cupbearer, overseer of diviners”

Here we see high officials bearing numerous titles with affiliations to various realms of duty. Thus the secretary-of-state, Arad-Nanna, had titles connected to the royal sector as general (**šakkan₆**) of Ušar-Garšana, Pašime, Dimat-Enlila, Urbilum, NI.ĤI, Šimaški and the territory of Karda, as well as to the provincial sector as the governor (**ensi₂**) of Lagaš. Additional titles include “governor” (**ensi₂**) of the peripheral polities and territories of Sabum, Ĥamazi, Karaĥar, the territory of Gutium and Al-Šu-Suen, and chief temple administrator **saĝĝa** of the patron deity of Eridu, Enki. In the administrative corpus, Arad-Nanna is never referred to with the title of general nor that of temple administrator. Other than **sukkal-maĥ**, the only other title that he bears is governor of Girsu. His seals were quite simple, only designating him as the secretary-of-state.¹⁵²⁸ Babati, the uncle of Šu-Suen, is a similar case in that he had both royal sector roles as general of Maškan-šarrum and civil roles as governor of Awal and Apiak.¹⁵²⁹ Additionally he had five other professional titles: archivist, scribe, *šatam*-official, steward and canal inspector. Like Arad-Nanna, there are seals of Babati which provide only a single title for this high

¹⁵²⁶ For example, P204542 / CBT 1.

¹⁵²⁷ For the **zabar-dab₅** see Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 186-188.

¹⁵²⁸ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 346-347, 381: E3/2.1.4.2002 and E3/2.1.5.2003.

¹⁵²⁹ LOOK at RGTC for these places; Awal would not have been in the provincial sphere.

official, simply designating him as a scribe. This accrual of titles was not limited to only the topmost officials of the kingdom. Šu-Kabta, the proprietor of the military camp and household estate at Garšana, was designated as both a general and a physician (**a-zu**), the former attested in his personal seal and the latter attested by seals of his servants.¹⁵³⁰

Another example is the seal of Ur-Nanibgal who is called **sukkal kas₄ ugula aga₃-us₂** “secretary of errand-runners, overseer of soldiers”¹⁵³¹ and who would follow in his father’s position as the governor of Nippur.¹⁵³² Lastly, a person designated as a cupbearer (**sagi**) and governor of Susa, one Beli-arik, is attested in a sealing impression,¹⁵³³ showing that a person bearing the title of cupbearer was not solely relegated to cultic responsibilities, but could hold other responsibilities of a significantly different nature.¹⁵³⁴

The person named Bilanum is even more rarely attested. His name¹⁵³⁵ occurs a total of eleven times from three sites, with the texts that preserve a year name providing a temporal range from Amar-Suen’s first to last regnal years.¹⁵³⁶ The majority of

¹⁵³⁰ Alexandra Kleinerman, “Doctor Šu-Kabta’s Family Practice,” in *Garšana Studies*....., 177. Outside of sealings, he is almost always named without designation, the only exception to this that I am aware of is P318897 / CUSAS 3, 1467, which labels him as a physician.

¹⁵³¹ Frayne, *Ur III Period*, 211: E3/2.1.2.2024.

¹⁵³² Richard Zettler, *The Ur III Temple of Inanna at Nippur*, BBVO 11 (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1992): 178.

¹⁵³³ P332451 / MDP 54, 29.

¹⁵³⁴ Sallaberger (“Ur III-Zeit,” 186-188) emphasizes the cultic role of the cupbearer, and rightly so, which we see confirmed by the Iri-Saĝrig texts that record the primary mission of the **sagi** as traveling for the royal offering (**siškur₂ lugal-še₃**; see the table on pages 319-325 in Brunke, “Rations in the Al-Šarrākī Messenger Texts”). However, a person who was the governor of Susa would have had numerous responsibilities outside of a cultic function, many of which would have been diplomatic or military in nature. This is suggested by the prominence of Susa as the main center from and to which personnel recorded in the messenger texts traveled, and the large military presence which alludes to Susa, along with AdamDUN, as being the primary mustering and staging point in Khuzestan for campaigns into the highlands; Michalowski, “Observations on “Elamites” and “Elam” in Ur III Times,” 120-121. Also note the mission of one cupbearer recorded in the Iri-Saĝrig archive, who was given provisions “when he came to execute brigands” (**ud lu₂-sa-gaz gaz-de₃ im-ĝen-na-a**: P387924 / Nisaba 15/2, 691).

¹⁵³⁵ There is one occurrence of the name as **a₂-bi-la-num₂**, suggesting that Bilanum might be a slightly shortened form.

¹⁵³⁶ Girsu (5x). Iri-Saĝrig (4x), Puzriš-Dagan (2x).

occurrences appear in the messenger text genre. In the Girsu messenger texts he is once called an **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal** who went to provision/inspect the temples of the gods (**e₂ diġir-re-ne igi kar₂-kar₂-de₃**), while the other occurrences designate him as **sukkal** who once acted as **ġiri₃**-agent for a group of Šimaškian highlanders.¹⁵³⁷ None of the texts preserve the year name. At Iri-Saġrig he occurs three times in messenger texts and once in an inspection text (**gurum₂ ak**). In the messenger texts he is said to be, as is to be expected, “on royal assignment”. Two of the texts, dated about five months apart, describe him as being responsible for bringing sesame from Anzagar¹⁵³⁸ and traveling to the **maškim**-official of a shepherd.¹⁵³⁹ The inspection text mentions one Nabua, a wife (**dam**) of Bilanum and the colophon of the tablet states that it was an “audited” inspection of *muškēnū* who were people from Maškan-puša and whose overseer was the captain Šu-Eštar; this might give evidence of either where he came from and/or where he currently lived.¹⁵⁴⁰ In the two occurrences of this name at Puzriš-Dagan, one of them is with the designation **nu-banda₃** and is among the names of other notables who are known to be governors, generals and princes.¹⁵⁴¹ The other is a fragmentary account of workman days of the troops (**eren₂**) of Abilanum.¹⁵⁴² Therefore we have a person who was designated **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal**, **sukkal** and **nu-banda₃** who provisioned temples of the gods, procured

¹⁵³⁷ P202058 / Nisaba 3, 15

¹⁵³⁸ **ud še-ġi₃-i₃ an-za-gar₃^{ki}-ta mu-de₆-a**: P453608 / Nisaba 15/2, 45 (3/02/AS07) and P388038 / Nisaba 15/2, 43 (8/25/AS07).

¹⁵³⁹ **ud maškim sipad-še₃ im-ġen-na-a**: P453637 / Nisaba 15/2, 97.

¹⁵⁴⁰ P453681 / Nisaba 15/2, 164: **gurum₂ ak [dib-ba] / ENxMAŠ.GAG-e-ne / lu₂ maš-kan₂-pu-ša^{ki}-me / nu-banda₃ šu-eš₁₈-tar₂ / ur-mes ensi₂ / ur-mes dub-sar**. It is uncertain what the term *muškēnum* (ENxMAŠ.GAG) signified in the Ur III period since what is known about them is that they are attested for multiple cities, could be a subordinate to a general, and could hold *šuku*-allotments; Martin Stol, “Muškēnu,” *RIA* 8 (1997): 492. Its meaning in the Old Babylonian period has had a long history of debate; Eva von Dassow, “Awīlum and Muškēnum in the Age of Hammurabi,” in *La famille dans le Proche-Orient ancien: réalités, symbolismes, et images*, edited by Lionel Marti, 291-308. Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2014.

¹⁵⁴¹ P136225 / UDT 91.

¹⁵⁴² P235077.

supplies for Šimaškians, brought sesame to Iri-Saġrig from Anzagar, delivered livestock alongside other magnates, and was an overseer of troops (**eren₂**). Just like Imtida, Bilanum bore multiple titles and engaged in various tasks.

Outside of the messenger texts, we encounter the **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal** primarily in labels on seals and from seal impressions. There are two seal impressions of Tan-Upe from Girsu who is called a royal **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal**, and two of Šulgi-Šamši from Nippur. There is also a seal of Abu-ṭab from Girsu. Šulgi-Šamši is an extremely rare name that occurs only six times and dates from Amar-Suen's eighth year to Ibbi-Suen's third. He is given provisions in a messenger text from Girsu and is designated as a **sukkal**.¹⁵⁴³ Elsewhere, he is called a royal **sukkal** and is listed along with two other men who were witnesses to a transaction of grain that bore interest.¹⁵⁴⁴ In Umma, we have an unnamed **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal** who was given 20 liters of medium-quality beer; the transaction was sealed by A'akala the governor of Umma and designated as "**ša₃ bala-a**".¹⁵⁴⁵

An interesting text recording **šuku**-plot allocations given by the king to royal dependents such as cupbearers, sailors (**ma₂-lah₅**), boat-couriers (**ra₂-gaba**), secretaries, and others gives the sizes of the plots that two **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal** received, as well as the sizes of the plots which the highest cultic official of the state (**zabar-dab₅**) and the highest political official of the state (**sukkal-mah₅**) received.¹⁵⁴⁶ One of the **aga₃-us₂ gal-**

¹⁵⁴³ P106942 / MTBM 63.

¹⁵⁴⁴ P332214 / JCS 54, 2 no. 9.

¹⁵⁴⁵ This term seems to denote smaller, miscellaneous expenditures that made up (at least part of) a province's tax payments; Sharlach, *Provincial Taxation and the Ur III State*, 43.

¹⁵⁴⁶ P102275. Maekawa ("The Agricultural Texts of Ur III Lagaš (V)," *ASJ* 9 (1987): 101) notes that **amar-ar-gi₄** in the colophon **gan₂ zi-ga lugal ama-ar-gi₄** "fields (that are) royal expenditures, *reverted*" could possibly refer to land originally taken for royal dependents which then was returned to provincial control, or it could refer to public land managed by the provincial governor that was returned to the king (for the purpose of allotting it to his royal dependents).

gal, Lugal-isag, received about 19 ha of fields, while the other, Lu-Magan, received over twice as much, 41 ha. Lu-Magan received almost as much as the **zabar-dab₅** who received 43 ha, but much less than the secretary-of-state, who obtained almost 260 ha. In comparison, all the people who are called cupbearers received only 13 ha each. Many of the royal beneficiaries in this text were not significant enough to be mentioned by name and their **šuku**-allotments were grouped together under headings such as **aga₃-us₂ lugal-me** or **sipad^den-ki-me**. This suggests the high status of the **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal** and argues against the notion that the “epithet **gal** and **gal-gal** here are specific and have no hierarchical value in connection to the other categories of **aga₃-us₂** soldiers serving in the army.”¹⁵⁴⁷

The designations on seal impressions can give us insight into some of these people. For example, we have two seal impressions of one Tan-Upe who bears the title **aga₃-us₂-gal-gal**.¹⁵⁴⁸ This name occurs only forty-six times in the administrative corpus and all attestations are from texts with a Girsu provenance, thus making it a relatively safe assumption that the occurrences refer to the same person. The vast majority of the occurrences of this name are found in messenger texts and the only designation that ever follows his name is “highlander” (**NIM**), which is not too surprising given that his name is neither Sumerian nor Akkadian. In twenty-eight messenger texts Tan-Upe is the agent (**ĝiri₃**) responsible for the provisioning of the waystation watch/prison (**en-nu**) and the complex (**e₂-gal**) with beer and bread. The **e₂-gal** was always given four liters of beer and six liters of bread,¹⁵⁴⁹ and the **en-nu** was always given twelve liters of beer and

¹⁵⁴⁷ Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 10.

¹⁵⁴⁸ P128584 / DAS 11 and P108806 / DAS 7.

¹⁵⁴⁹ Two occurrences of 2 liters of bread - would need to collate to make sure this isn’t a mistake.

anywhere from thirty-two to fifty-five liters of bread, with fifty-three liters being the most common amount. We know that this provisioning of comestibles was a daily occurrence via the text P132544 / TCTI 2, 3298 obverse lines 1-4: **5(ban₂) 5 sila₃ ninda lugal / ud 1-kam ud 30-še₃ / en-nu / ġiri₃ dan-u₂-pi₂** “55 liters of royal-quality bread per day for thirty days (for) the watch/prison via Tan-Upe.” One text records him providing troops of the watch/prison with 480 liters of medium-quality beer,¹⁵⁵⁰ and another designates him as a highlander (**NIM**).¹⁵⁵¹ In fifteen messenger texts he is a recipient of provisions, sometimes in large quantities, and is often called a highlander.

The appearance of his name in seal impressions on two uninscribed bullae that occur alongside other seal impressions further helps to identify this person. P108806 / DAS 7 also has seal impressions of Gudea the scribe and Lu-Šara the **sukkal**, and P128584 / DAS 11 includes a fourth person, Lu-Ninġirsu the scribe. Together these four people are listed as judges (**di-ku₅**) of a completed legal case, and the fact that this was a regular activity of these men and not simply a single occasion is attested by the occurrence of their names on a tablet basket label:¹⁵⁵²

pisan dub-ba / di til-la i₃-ġal₂ / arad₂-^dnanna sukkal-maġ ensi₂-ka / ġiri₃ lu₂-^dšara₂ / lu₂-^dnin-ġir₂-su / gu₃-de₂-a / tan-u₂-pe / di-ku₅-bi-me / mu ^di-bi₂-^dsuen lugal / u₃ mu en ^dinana / unug^{ki} maš-e i₃-pad₃

“Tablet basket containing completed legal cases of Arad-Nanna the “secretary-of-state” (and) governor, via Lu-Šara, Lu-Ninġirsu, Gudea (and) Tan-upe - they were the judges. Date (IS01 and IS02).”

This text shows that these four men were judges of multiple legal proceedings over a period of two years, and therefore the position of being a judge was probably a significant

¹⁵⁵⁰ P131287 / SAT 1, 178 reverse line 24: **1(aš) 3(barig) gur kaš gen eren₂ en-nu-me ġiri₃ dan-u₂-pi₂**.

¹⁵⁵¹ P127684.

¹⁵⁵² P111234 / NSGU 224.

role for them during this time. However, none of the men's seals label them as judges. A recent study by Zólyomi¹⁵⁵³ has shed more light on one of these men, Lu-Ninĝirsu. He possessed three seals, one was of the **arad₂-zu**-type which was recut to change the name of the current king from Šu-Suen to Ibbi-Suen and which designates him as a scribe and the son of Lu-Bau. Regarding the other two seals, one is a simple seal that states that he is a scribe and the son of Lu-Bau while the other designates him as a brewer of the deity Namnum (**lu₂ lunga^d[nam₂-nun] dumu lu₂-^dba-u₂**).¹⁵⁵⁴ He is primarily attested as a judge, but is also attested as the chief temple administrator (**saĝĝa**) of the god Dumuzid.¹⁵⁵⁵ Therefore we have a person who is primarily attested as a judge, though his seal impressions almost solely designate him as a scribe, with one occurrence of him being designated as a brewer. Twice he is explicitly mentioned as a temple administrator, though the one of these texts that bears his seal simply labels him a scribe. Therefore, just like other officials in the kingdom, such as Lu-Ninĝirsu, Tan-Upe bore multiple titles and performed a variety of functions within the bureaucracy.¹⁵⁵⁶

To summarize, the **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal** was a rare title that, outside of seals or seal impressions, only occurs in messenger texts from Girsu. Unlike the **lu₂-^{ĝi}tukul (gu-la)** and the **aga₃-us₂ gal**, the **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal** are never described as **ĝiri₃**-agents for highlander groups, though they are primarily attested as having traveled from peripheral territories, to the southeast and east of southern Mesopotamia, regions that were known

¹⁵⁵³ Gábor Zólyomi, "The Secret Life of Lu-Ninĝirsu, the Judge," *CDLB* (2017:2): 1-8.

¹⁵⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 1-3.

¹⁵⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 2.

¹⁵⁵⁶ Zólyomi (*Ibid.*, 6) suggests that Lu-Ninĝirsu's function as a judge was a result of his being a high-status official. This is also likely the case for Tan-Upe, who as an **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal** was a relatively high-status official who accrued the responsibilities and title of "judge". For more on the officials responsible for the provisioning of the **e₂-gal** and **en-nu**, see Notizia, *I testi dei messaggeri da Girsu-Lagaš della Terza Dinastia di Ur*, 91-105.

for producing them. Though they are mostly attested as coming from Anšan, none of these texts preserve the year name and therefore it is uncertain how many, if any, of their trips were undertaken in the context of Šulgi's campaign against that polity in his thirty-fourth year. The only missions stated for them revolved around the upkeep of the *siKKum* component of waystations. The few occurrences of this designation limit our ability to understand their role and therefore prosopographical analysis must be undertaken to attempt to isolate these personnel where they occur elsewhere, sometimes with different designations.

IV.5.2: The aga₃-us₂ gal

Perhaps to be glossed as “chief soldier,”¹⁵⁵⁷ the **aga₃-us₂ gal** is a military designation that, like the **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal** and the **lu₂-^{giš}tukul (gu-la)**, is almost solely attested in Girsu messenger texts. In similar vein with the **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal**, Lafont has suggested that this military designation merely refers to soldiers appointed to a special communication service and bears no importance in regards to rank or status.¹⁵⁵⁸

However, there are reasons to doubt this conclusion. One is that a comparison of the personal names shows little overlap among the titles and the overlap that exists occurs with common names that appear frequently in the administrative corpus:

Name	Occurs with aga ₃ -us ₂ gal-gal in MTs	Occurs with aga ₃ -us ₂ in MTs	Occurrence of Name in Entire Corpus
a ₂ -pi ₅ -la-num ₂		x	>300
a-kal-la	x		>5000
DINGIR.KAL (Illum-dan)	x		>300
DINGIR-ba-ni (Illum-bani)	x	x	>400
i-ku-num ₂		x	25
im-ti-da	x		35
ka ₅ -a(-mu ⁹)	x		>800
lu ₂ - ^d inana		x	>500
lu ₂ - ^d nanna		x	>1200
lu ₂ - ^d šara ₂		x	>1900
lu ₂ -ša-lim		x	>300
puzur ₄ -eš ₄ -tar ₂		x	>200
šu- ^d en-lil ₂		x	>200
šu- ^d IŠKUR (Šu-Adad)		x	>500
šu- ^d nin-šubur		x	>400
šu- ^d UTU (Šu-Šamaš)		x	>300
šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂		x	>600
šu-i ₃ -li ₂		x	>500

With the exceptions of Imtida and Ikunum, all of the other names occur with enough frequency to safely posit that personnel with the same name but different titles were

¹⁵⁵⁷ Cf. **nar gal** “chief singer,” **ašgab gal** “chief leatherworker,” **sagi gal** “chief cupbearer,” etc.

¹⁵⁵⁸ Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 10.

different people. The case in which they are more likely to be the same person can be explained by a change in rank or status. Lafont has pointed out that texts from both the administrative and literary genres suggest a basic rank structure of general (**šakkan**₆), captain (**nu-banda**₃), and sergeant (**ugula**),¹⁵⁵⁹ but it should be noted that this is only a basic schema which does not account for intermediary ranks among these major divisions.¹⁵⁶⁰ The rank of **ugula**, though it has a basic meaning of overseer, is more concretely divided into overseers of sixty (**ugula ġeš₂-da**) and overseers of ten (**ugula u**). As noted in the previous chapter, captains (**nu-banda**₃) were taxed at different rates, with “senior captains” taxed double the amount that “junior” captains were, though there is no difference in the terminology used to designate the officers.¹⁵⁶¹

Another reason is that the types of tasks recorded in the messenger texts for the **aga₃-us₂** and the **aga₃-us₂ gal** overlap. This includes the procurement and transport of goods, both agricultural products and livestock and acting as intermediaries between

¹⁵⁵⁹ Lafont, “The Armies of the Kings of Ur,” 14-15.

¹⁵⁶⁰ A modern example with the U.S. Army is the general division of ranks which include privates, sergeants, lieutenants, captains, colonels and major generals, which mimics the basic command sizes within the army’s structure: basic soldier, squad leader (10-12 soldiers), platoon leader (40-60 soldiers), company leader (120-200 troops), brigade commander (1500-3200 troops) and division commander (10,000-16,000 troops). However, there is a much more detailed division based both on the number of men commanded and responsibilities associated with a particular rank:

Basic Soldiers		Non-commissioned Officers		Commissioned Officers	
Title	Rank	Title	Rank	Title	Rank
Private	E1	Sergeant	E5	Second Lieutenant	O1
Private	E2	Staff Sergeant	E6	First Lieutenant	O2
Private First Class	E3	Sergeant First Class	E7	Captain	O3
Specialist	E4	Master Sergeant	E8	Major	O4
Corporal	E4	First Sergeant	E8	Lieutenant Colonel	O5
		Sergeant Major	E9	Colonel	O6
		Command Sergeant Major	E9	Brigadier General	O7
				Major General	O8
				Lieutenant General	O9
				General	O10

E = enlisted, O = officer

¹⁵⁶¹ The generals, taxed at 5 times the senior captains, also fall under the rubric of “captain” (**nu-banda**₃) in **gun₂ ma-da** texts.

bureaus issuing supplies and highlander groups utilizing the provincial waystations as they travel to and from Babylonia. The missions recorded for the **aga₃-us₂ gal** are provided below:

1. Intermediary (**ĝiri₃**) for highlander groups (**NIM**) traveling between the periphery and Babylonia:

Zaul: P123164 / CUSAS 16, 227; P110339 / HSS 4, 66; P112788 / MCS 5, 27;
P406054 / Nisaba 22, 89
Šimaški: P109163 / DoCu Strasbourg 78; P110335 / HSS 4, 62; P315771 / Kaskal
4, 85 no. 2; P115773 / MVN 9, 130;
Kimaš: P110012 / HLC 2, 135; P106949 / MTBM 70; P202109 / Nisaba 3, 33;
P406471 / Nisaba 22, 112
Si'u: P110023 / HLC 3, 148; P110341 / HSS 4, 68; P406467 / Nisaba 22, 108
Giziĥu: P119726 / MVN 17, 132
Anšan: P320489 / Nisaba 3, 27; P128509 / RTC 356; P142527 / ZA 12, 267 no.
66
Maĥili: P127708 / RA 19, 43 no. 95; P110553 / TCTI 1, 684
Marĥaši: P128501 / RTC 348
Siri: P128504 / RTC 351
Ĥuĥnuri: P128505 / RTC 352
Duĥduĥne: P135250 / TSDU 101

2. Traveled to procure and transport supplies:

ma₂ ĝi^š-i₃-ka-da ĝen-na “who went with the sesame boats”
P110008 / ASJ 2, 213

gud udu ki-maš^{ki} bala-e-de₃ ĝen-na “who went to transfer the cattle and sheep
of Kimaš”
P107027 / MTBM 148

mu ku₆ a-ab-ba-ka-še₃ tuš-a-ne-ne “who were stationed for the fish of the sea”
P206204 / MVN 22, 71

ma₂ še-da ĝen-na-ne-ne “who went with the grain boats”
P406470 / Nisaba 22, 111

ma₂ esir₂-da ĝen-na “who went with the bitumen boats”
P127718 / RA 19, 44

udu id₂-de₃ bala-e-de₃ tuš-a “who was stationed to transfer sheep across the river”

P128494 / RTC 341

mu siki sig₅ udu kur-ka-še₃ ġen-na “who went for the good wool of the mountain sheep”

P128500 / RTC 347

ġi^šma-nu igi du₈-de₃ ġen-na “who went to inspect the *manu*-wood”

P128492 / RTC 339

udu gukkal ur₄-de₃ ġen-na “who went to shear the fat-tailed sheep”

P127703 / RA 19, 42 no. 6

3. Traveled to provision bureaus and services:

saġ-da-na anše zi-gum₂-ka anše sum-de₃ tuš-a “who was stationed to provide for the equids for the *sikkum* of Saġdana”

P206127 / BPOA 1, 172

saġ-da-na-ke₄ igi kar₂-kar₂-de₃ ġen-na “who went to provision Saġdana”

P110030 / ASJ 2, 213

ki en-nu-še₃ ġen-na “who went to the guardpost”

P110361 / HSS 4, 88

ki ^den-ki-ke₄ igi kar₂-kar₂-de₃ ġen-na “who went to provision the place of Enki”

P406053 / Nisaba 22, 88

4. Traveled to procure personnel:

mu dumu dab₅-ba sukkal-maḥ-ke₄-ne ġen-na “who went for the conscripted citizens of the secretary-of-state”

P110096 / ASJ 2, 215

aga₃-us₂ lugal dumu urim^{ki}-ma dab₅-dab₅-de₃ ġen-na “who went to conscript the royal soldiers, citizens of Ur”

P110337 / HSS 4, 64

mu azlag₇-ne-še₃ tuš-a “who was stationed for the fullers”

P119722 / MVN 17, 128

šu-ku₆ dab₅-de₃ ġen-na “who went to conscript fishermen”

P128487 / RTC 334

lu₂ al-dab₅-ba id₂-de₃ bala-e-de₃ ġen-na “who went to transfer the conscripted personnel across the river”

P128489 / RTC 336

It should be pointed out that though the missions of both groups overlap, it should not be assumed that they performed the same tasks regarding those missions.

Yet another reason that the **aga₃-us₂ gal** should not be considered solely a special communication service of indistinguishable rank from the regular **aga₃-us₂** is that they are always named individuals who rarely travel in groups of their same kind, while the majority of regular **aga₃-us₂** in the messenger texts are listed as nameless pairs, trios or groups. Thus chief soldiers are treated as individuals in the messenger texts while regular soldiers are generally treated as units. Lastly, that they were in a position of authority over regular soldiers is seen in the text P110337 / HSS 4, 64 in which a chief soldier and secretary travel to conscript royal soldiers who were citizens of Ur. Undoubtedly more reasons could be gleaned from a closer inspection of the texts, though the above observations will suffice for now.

The chief soldier primarily traveled to and from Susa and the other polities in the region of Khuzistan, as well as further afield to Kimaš, Šimaški and Anšan. Interestingly, one traveled to the settlement of Garnene, known to have been a garrison town. This is one of the few instances in which the garrison settlements known from tax documents from Puzriš-Dagan appear in the messenger text genre. Below is the data on the travels of the chief soldier presented in tabular form:

Table 62: Travel Data for the aga₃-us₂ gal

“From GN” (GN-ta)		“To GN” (GN-še ₃)	
Susa	80	Susa	28
Urua	16	AdamDUN	15
AdamDUN	13	Sabum	11
Sabum	12	Urua	7
Kimaš	5	Kimaš	5
Zaul	4	Anšan	5
Ḫuḫnuri	3	Šimaški	4
Šimaški	2	Ḫuḫnuri	2
Si’u	2	Si’u	2
Garnene	1	Duḫduḫne	1
Marḫaši	1		
Duḫduḫne	1		
Giziḫu	1		
Anšan u Nippur	2	ša ₃ uru a-ab-ba	1
kaskal a-ab-ba	2	a-ab-ba	1
a-ab-ba	1	saḫar ^{ki} -ḪAR.ŠINIG ^{ki}	1
Ur	1		
Gu’abba	1		

Outside of the Girsu messenger texts, the term is attested in one text from Umma, one from Ur, in two texts from Iri-Saḡrig and in one document of unknown provenience. It is attested in three seals/seal impressions, one from Girsu, another from Umma and one with an unknown provenience; like the **aga₃-us₂** and the **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal**, its presence on seals suggests that it is an occupational title and not a functional one. The one from Umma is a cylinder seal of the **arad₂-zu** type, which designates one Urmu as an **aga₃-**

us₂-gal.¹⁵⁶² The seal impression from Girsu belongs to Šulgi-ili, who sealed for provisions of semolina (**dabin**) and beer-concentrate (**dida**) for a group of highlanders from Sabum.¹⁵⁶³ The seal impression labels him as an **aga₃-us₂ gal** and the son of Nazida the captain (**nu-banda₃**). P312691 / BPOA 6, 551 is a short, damaged text bearing the seal impression of Šu-Erra who is called **aga₃-us₂-[gal] d¹amar-d¹suen**. It is interesting that this seal impression on a text dating to Amar-Suen's seventh year describes Šu-Erra as an **aga₃-us₂ gal** of Amar-Suen, at a time when the **aga₃-us₂** at Puzriš-Dagan seemed to have been replaced by the **gar₃-du**, which are not uncommonly described as **gar₃-du** of Amar-Suen. It should be kept in mind, though, that in the latter years of Amar-Suen, when the **aga₃-us₂** are not attested in texts from Puzriš-Dagan, they are attested in texts from other locations. Unfortunately, a brief prosopographical survey of these names has shown only limited results. In the case of Šulgi-ili and Šu-Erra, their names are common enough, with over three-hundred attestations each, to hinder attempts at isolating the individuals who bear the designation **aga₃-us₂ gal**. Urmu presents an interesting possibility. The name occurs only fifty-one times, with the majority of those occurrences absent any designation. Twice he is called a judge (**di-ku₅**)¹⁵⁶⁴ and once he is designated as being on royal assignment (**lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lu_{gal}**).¹⁵⁶⁵ However, the most common designation for Ur-mu is general (**šakkan₆**), occurring six times, three of which belong to the messenger text genre.¹⁵⁶⁶ A potentially salient text comes from Girsu and lists provisions for Urmu the general and a couple of groups of soldiers (**aga₃-us₂**) in the

¹⁵⁶² P456393.

¹⁵⁶³ P110917 / TCTI 2, 2737.

¹⁵⁶⁴ P125034 / UCU 16 (4/--/AS07); P318089 / Nisaba 22, 57 (12/--/AS07).

¹⁵⁶⁵ P141236 / UTI 5, 3217 (6/--/ŠS03).

¹⁵⁶⁶ P200077 / Nisaba 1, 23 (Umma, --/13/----); P113054 / MVN 1, 21 (Umma, 2/08/ŠS05); P333668 / Nisaba 15/2, 252 (Iri-Saĝrig, 3/15/ŠS03).

context of the shearing of sheep (**zi-ga zu₂-si-ka**).¹⁵⁶⁷ Perhaps Urmu, as a chief soldier and (promoted to?) general, was in charge of a contingent of soldiers for this task. That he could be designated as chief soldier in some documents and general in others is unproblematic, since the **gun₂ ma-da** tax documents, as we have seen in the previous chapter, labeled all officers under the rubric of “captain” (**nu-banda₃**) regardless if they were merely a junior captain or a top general of the kingdom. Therefore it is possible that Urmu the chief soldier was the same person as Urmu the general, though it is also possible that these were two different men.

The issue of a single person bearing multiple titles and designations as mentioned above introduces difficulty in trying to construct prosopographical sketches of individual chief soldiers, as it does with other officer and troop types. For example, a man by the name of Imtida is thrice attested bearing the designation of chief soldier. His name occurs only thirty-five times in the entire administrative corpus and most occurrences fall into the genre of messenger texts, increasing the likelihood of this referring to either the same person or a limited group of people. However, in the Girsu messenger texts he is not only called a chief soldier (**aga₃-us₂ gal**), but also a secretary (**sukkal**), errand-runner (**lu₂-kas₄**), on royal assignment (**lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal**), on military assignment (**lu₂-ĝi₃tukul**), on greater military assignment (**lu₂-ĝi₃tukul gu-la**) and great chief soldier (**aga₃-us₂ gal-gal**). In the Iri-Saĝrig messenger texts he is primarily designated as being on royal assignment, but is once given the title of soldier (**aga₃-us₂**) and thrice the title of cupbearer (**sagi**). As already discussed, the designations **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal**, **lu₂-ĝi₃tukul** and **lu₂-ĝi₃tukul gu-la** are temporary/functional terms and could be appended to anyone

¹⁵⁶⁷ P132753 / TCTI 2, 3531 (--/--/AS09).

performing duties in their related contexts, regardless of their other titles. That a chief soldier could also be a secretary and an errand-runner is demonstrated by two texts:

P110023 / HLC 3, 148 rev. lines 7-12:

**5 sila₃ kaš 5 sila₃ zi₃ 1 a₂-GAM i₃ / a-bu-ni aga₃-us₂-gal / 1(barig) kaš
1(barig) zi₃ 1 sila₃ i₃ / NIM si-u₃^{ki}-me / ġiri₃ a-bu-ni sukkal /
si-u₃^{ki}-še₃ du-ne₂**

“5 liters of beer, 5 liters of flour (and) 1 vessel of oil (for) Abuni the chief soldier; 60 liters of beer, 60 liters of flour (and) 1 liter of oil (for) the highlanders of Si’u; via Abuni the secretary, when they went to Si’u”

P127690 / RA 19, 41 no. 46 obv. lines 1-8:

**5 sila₃ kaš 3 sila₃ zi₃-gu / 1 a₂-GAM i₃ / il₃-mi-di₃ aga₃-us₂-gal / 5 sila₃
kaš 5 sila₃ zi₃-gu / 10 gin₂ i₃-giš / NIM ħu-li₂-bar-me / ġiri₃ il₃-mi-di₃
lu₂-kas₄ / šušin^{ki}-ta du-ne₂**

“5 liters of beer, 3 liters of flour (and) 1 vessel of oil (for) Ilmidi the chief soldier; 5 liters of beer, 5 liters of flour (and) 10 shekels of *iġiš*-oil (for) the highlanders of Ĥulibar; via Ilmidi the errand runner, when they came from Susa”

In both texts the intermediaries (**ġiri₃**) are given their own travel provisions and designated as chief soldiers and then the provisions given to the highlander groups, with their corresponding intermediary, are listed. These second references to the **ġiri₃**-agents provide different titles from the designation of chief soldier by which they were identified earlier in the text - in the former case he is called a **sukkal** and in the latter a **lu₂-kas₄**. Imtida’s varying designations of soldier (**aga₃-us₂**, **aga₃-us₂ gal**, **aga₃-us₂ gal-gal**) may reflect a change in rank and/or area of responsibility. This leaves the occurrences of Imtida with the designation of cupbearer. However, the example of Beli-arik, who was a cupbearer and also the governor of Susa, demonstrates that the titles chief soldier and cupbearer are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Thus it is possible that most of the occurrences of this personal name refer to the same man who bore multiple occupational

and functional designations. Even with this assumption, data on the activities of Imtida is less abundant than desirable. We learn that Imtida traveled between waystations in Girsu province and the Khuzistan polities of Urua, Sabum and Susa, and was a “man of Zarriq the governor of Susa” (**lu₂ za-ri₂-iq ensi₂ šušin^{ki}**).¹⁵⁶⁸ He also functioned as an intermediary for highlander groups from Anšan and Duḥduḥne, as well as for highlander prisoners-of-war (**NIM ne-ra-aš ak**) who were provisioned with sheep carcasses.¹⁵⁶⁹ Imtida traveled between Iri-Saḡrig and Der, on one occasion to bring livestock to Der for a royal offering (**ud gud udu siškur lugal BAD₃.AN^{ki}-še₃ ba-la-ḥa-ša-a**).¹⁵⁷⁰

There is one occurrence of the term **aga₃-us₂ gal** from Ur, probably dating to Šulgi’s twenty-fifth year:¹⁵⁷¹

**2 gu₂ uruda zi diri / e₂-kišib-ba šabra-ta / ma-sa₂-ab ba-an-du₈-du₈ / ḥa-zi-in
aga₃-us₂-gal u₃ ḥa-bu₃-da-še₃ / lu₂-kiri₃-zal / šu ba-ti / itud gu₄-ra₂-izi-mu₂-
mu₂ / mu kara₂-ḥar^{ki} / ba-ḥul us₂-sa**
“2 talents of copper, an extra expenditure, from the storeroom of the household administrator, (that) were released (in) baskets for the axe(s) of the **aga₃-us₂-gal** and adze(s). Lu-kirizal received. Date.”

This document seems to connect the **aga₃-us₂ gal** with the axe, a common offensive weapon for Mesopotamian troops in this period. It is uncertain if the **aga₃-us₂ gal** was in an authority position and was procuring axes for other troops, perhaps of subordinate rank. Two talents of copper, weighing approximately one hundred and thirty pounds, would be enough to outfit only a few dozen people, especially not knowing how much of the copper was destined for the adzes.

¹⁵⁶⁸ P100198 / CUSAS 16, 230; P202549 / PPAC 5, 1760; P123001 / CUSAS 16, 207; P128478 / RTC 325.

¹⁵⁶⁹ P320489 / Nisaba 3, 27; P114453 / MVN 5, 233; P204462 / Studie Mayer 278.

¹⁵⁷⁰ P453722 / Nisaba 15/2, 238 and P388018 / Nisaba 15/2, 868.

¹⁵⁷¹ P136613 / UET 3, 294.

The two Iri-Saġrig tablets in which the **aga3-us2 gal** occurs are both messenger texts. P453794 / Nisaba 15/2 mentions Nanna-mu the **aga3-us2 gal** receiving provisions along with a boat-courier (**ra2-gaba**), three quilters (**lu2-tug2-niġ2-barag2**), one secretary (**sukkal**), one equerry who was also a secretary (**šuš3 sukkal**), two “chair-bearers” (**lu2-ġi3-gu-za**), a cupbearer (**sagi**) and a shipbuilder (**ma2-gin2**) - “when they came to the ‘feet’ of the king” (**ud ġiri3 lugal-še3 im-e-re-ša-a**). Owen translates **ġiri3** in the messenger texts as “journey”, according well with one of the many-faceted uses of the term.¹⁵⁷²

P355611 / Nisaba 15/2, 21 is similar in that it lists the **aga3-us2 gal** as “coming for the journey of the king” alongside other personnel, such as two throne-bearers (**lu2-gu-za-la2**), two court-yard sweepers (**kisal-luḥ**), a barber (**šu-i**), and two cupbearers. The notable difference is five people called **aga3-us2 gal** coming for the king’s journey, instead of just one. Perhaps this is indicative of a military nature of this particular trip of the king. Three of the personnel listed (Lu-ašani, Aba-etani, Saġkil) do not occur elsewhere in the Ur III administrative corpus. Lu-šalim is a relatively common name occurring close to four hundred times; at Iri-Saġrig the name occurs twenty-seven times, occurring mainly with the designations of “cupbearer” and “on royal assignment” (**lu2-kiġ2-gi4-a**), though in one tablet he occurs as a **nu-banda3 gud** and in another as an equerry (**šuš3**).¹⁵⁷³ Bulamu is much rarer, occurring three times in texts from Puzriš-

¹⁵⁷² For the **ġiri3**-function, see Sallaberger, “Ur III-Zeit,” 248-250 and Heimpel, *Workers and Construction at Garšana*, 27 and 38, who notes that **ġiri3** “responsible person” designates all manner of responsibilities, with a primary one being the responsibility of conveyance of goods and personnel from one location to another. The nuances of the term in various text groups and type are not fully understood and a concrete distinction between **ġiri3** and **maškim** remains elusive. Simple travel to the king in the Iri-Saġrig messenger texts is the most common and is designated by the phrase “to the king’s place” (**ki lugal-še3**; 185x). Reference to the king’s travels is more rare and is denoted by phrases such as: “for the journey of the king” (**ġiri3 lugal-še3**; 13), “for the caravan of the king’s journey” (**kaskal ġiri3 lugal-še3**; 5x. Glossing **kaskal** as caravan follows Owen, *Cuneiform Texts from Iri-Saġrig/Al-Šarrākī*, 168) and “in order to conscript boats (for) the journey of the king” (**ma2 ġiri3 lugal dabs-ba-de3**; 2).

¹⁵⁷³ P412132 / Nisaba 15/2, 228a+b; P387934 / Nisaba 15/2, 757.

Dagan. In two of them he is labeled a “chief herdsman” (**udul**) and in the other text he is not given any designations; in all three documents he provides animals for livestock deliveries, usually alongside high officials of the state.¹⁵⁷⁴ Nanna-mu is not attested elsewhere in the Iri-Saĝrig texts, but does in documents from Girsu, Umma and Puzriš-Dagan. There are a handful of occurrences in the messenger text from Girsu in which he is most often called **sukkal**.¹⁵⁷⁵ Once he is called a cupbearer who traveled to Uruk and once he is called a **lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la** who occurs in the same text as named Šiamškians.¹⁵⁷⁶ Thrice he is named without a title or designation, in one text coming from Ga’eš, the port of Ur, and another text he is listed among personnel, some of who were translators from Marḥaši and Ḫuḥnuri.¹⁵⁷⁷ Nanna-mu occurs in two messenger texts in tablets from Umma, both times receiving the maximum amount of rations.¹⁵⁷⁸ In a text from Puzrish-Dagan,¹⁵⁷⁹ he is called a “throne-bearer” (**gu-za-la₂**) who provided one goat for a livestock delivery alongside other notables.

¹⁵⁷⁴ P320503 / Nisaba 8, 52; P113399 / WMAH 100; P102947 / AUCT 1, 101.

¹⁵⁷⁵ P201267 / Princeton 2, 269; P218274 / Santag 7, 199; P320224 / Nisaba 22, 46 (designated as coming from Susa and going to Ur).

¹⁵⁷⁶ P106903 / MTBM 24 and P115177 / MVN 7, 305.

¹⁵⁷⁷ P127686 and P217712 / MVN 6, 83.

¹⁵⁷⁸ P201834 / Nisaba 3, 203 and P125170. Corresponds to McNeil’s Group D (“The ‘Messenger Texts’ of the Third Ur Dynasty, 113).

¹⁵⁷⁹ P105105 / BCT 1, 3.

IV.6: Conclusion

This chapter aimed to provide the background and context of the messenger text genre, a textual category in which we find the majority of attestations of military designations. It was shown how provincial waystations were more than mere roadhouses, but rather were complexes that house a number of administrative and productive units. These waystations supplied provisions for officials and personnel of the Ur III kingdom as they traveled for tasks within the province and for missions external to the province, often in the peripheral regions to the east of southern Mesopotamia. Provincial waystations seem to have had their own “jurisdictions,” with the stations in Girsu catering to the region of Khuzistan and further south to Anšan, while the station at Iri-Saĝrig dealt with the region of modern Ilam, Kermanshah and Luristan provinces. Undoubtedly Ešnunna had waystations that catered to the regions north of the Diyala River, though the evidence for this is scarce. These waystations also provided for highlander groups traveling from the peripheral territories to southern Mesopotamia in surprisingly substantial numbers and for varying purposes.

The waystations in each province had their own idiosyncratic procedures and terminology in their accounting practices, and an investigation of some of these terms has born some fruit. It was affirmed that the title **lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a (lugal)** was a temporary designation for a person on (royal) assignment and was essentially interchangeable with the errand-runner (**lu₂-kas₄**); personnel designated as such carried out a variety of tasks and thus the gloss of “messenger” is inadequate. It was discovered that the term **lu₂-ĝi₅tukul (gu-la)** was also a temporary designation, though used to denote officials who were engaged in business related to the military in some manner. The classes of soldier

known as the chief soldier and great chief soldier were probably of higher rank than the regular **aga₃-us₂**, though their precise distinction still remains opaque.

Chapter V: Conclusion

This study has been a limited foray into the topic of the Ur III military, though it hopes to show that despite a dearth of historiographic texts (annals, royal inscriptions, and chronicles) and a lack of artistic representations of warfare, a relatively detailed understanding of the Ur III military is quite possible. As Lafont has shown in his overview of the armies of the kings of Ur, upon which this study is built, mining the administrative corpus can allow for insights into the terminology, organization and activities carried out by the soldiers of Ur. Admittedly this investigation lies firmly in the realm of the Old Military History, as necessitated by the current scarcity of studies on this topic. It will help to provide the framework upon which inquiries in the realm of the New Military History can be conducted.

The administrative sources upon which this study is based present both opportunities and challenges. As the records of various offices and institutions within the kingdom, they are not subject to stylistic and informational biases that tend to accompany the historiographical genres, as the latter were commissioned to preserve the deeds of kings before the gods and men, to legitimate their rule and to secure divine approval for their dynasty. Nevertheless, the administrative corpus contains its own biases due to its limited temporal scope and the fact that the majority of the texts stem from the provincial sector instead of from the royal sector, the latter having been the main sector concerned with the military and its activities. Unfortunately, at this point in time, the administrative documentation is our primary source for recovering data on the Ur III military though new discoveries, such as the Tappeh Bormi inscription, continue to add to our textual arsenal. Fortunately, when studied in a more wholistic fashion, the administrative texts

reveal more about the military structure than seems apparent at first glance. Corpus and subcorpus studies have become increasingly manageable with the advent and development of online text corpora and with other tools becoming available in the realm of digital humanities. The combination of these digital tools and continuing contributions of scholars in the field in advancing the understanding of administrative and social structures and their attendant lexicography will provide more opportunities to elucidate what was previously an opaque subject.

This investigation into the Ur III military has proven to be successful in a number of areas. It demonstrated the issues involved with using year-names and plunder texts to construct a framework of the military history of this dynasty, and was able to amass data to create profiles of the various places that were the targets of aggression from the kingdom of Ur. The organization and political relationship to southern Mesopotamia was assessed for each toponym, and a picture emerged that showed a greater degree of complexity than has traditionally been assumed. The nature and roles of the main troop types were fleshed out and the garrison system was elucidated. The varying formats of peripheral tax documents was explored and new garrison settlements were identified. Contextual information on the three corpora of messenger texts was laid out and the examination of this genre demonstrated that waystations in different provinces seem to have had different “jurisdictions,” though there was some overlap. It was also shown that there was a substantial foreign presence traveling to and from southern Mesopotamia that utilized these provincial waystations. Some of the martial terminology found in this text genre was investigated, resulting in the distinction of titles of occupation, rank and function. Overall, much of the Ur III military organization was able to be explicated.

Nevertheless, a topic of this scope cannot be treated exhaustively in a single dissertation. Many terms were not investigated and are in need of comprehensive study. As in Lafont's overview, this study has opted to leave the discussion of the weaponry and equipment of the military for a later time. Terms denoting the army (**ugnim** and **garaš₂**) and classes of laborers, conscripts and officers (**he₂-dab₅**, **dumu nu-banda₃**, etc.) are in need of study as well. A prosopography of high-level military officers is badly needed, as such men often appear in documents without their military designations.¹⁵⁸⁰

More extensive interaction with comparative data from other periods, especially the periods which bracket Ur III times (Old Akkadian and Old Babylonian), may help to further illuminate Neo-Sumerian military practice. Though innovation in military technology and tactics likely did occur over time, as a whole it remained quite conservative.¹⁵⁸¹ The Ur III military undoubtedly drew from or was patterned after the Old Akkadian army and many elements survived well into the Old Babylonian period, the latter being a period when we have military activities featured more extensively in royal inscriptions, as well as the genre of letters being well represented and quite informative on military affairs. However, later periods should not be discounted, for the Neo-

¹⁵⁸⁰ See, for example, the labor conscription document P206473, which lists contingent of **eren₂** under a number of known generals who, in this document, are only given the generic designation "overseer" (**ugula**).

¹⁵⁸¹ For examples of changes in technology and tactics, one can point to the development of the true chariot (light, two-wheeled and horse-drawn) in the Old Babylonian period and the use of horses as a cavalry arm in the Neo-Assyrian period; see P. R. S. Moorey, "The Emergence of the Light, Horse-Drawn Chariot in the Near-East c. 2000-1500 B.C." *WA* 18 (1986): 196-215 and Robin Archer, "Chariotry to Cavalry: Developments in the Early First Millennium," in *New Perspectives on Ancient Warfare*, edited by Garret G. Fagan and Matthew Trundle. Leiden: Brill, 2010, respectively. For an example of conservatism, compare the image of an archer protected by a soldier with a siege shield from mid-third millennium Mari with similar images of Neo-Assyrian siege archers; Paul Collins, "99: Incised Plaque with a Battle Scene," in *Art of the First Cities: The Third Millennium B.C. from the Mediterranean to the Indus*, ed. Joan Aruz (New York: The Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2003): 158-159 and Tamás Dezső, *The Assyrian Army: The Structure of the Neo-Assyrian Army I, Infantry* (Budapest: Eötvös University Press, 2012): 317 plate 32 nos. 102-103, respectively. Thus the equipment and tactic remained relatively static for nearly 2000 years.

Assyrian period had an imperial organizational structure and garrison system that may have been closer to what existed in the Ur III period than at any other time in Mesopotamian history. Even if this is not the case, the Neo-Assyrian system, and even systems of less propinquity such as that of the Roman Empire, can be utilized to generate ideas of possible structures for the Neo-Sumerian military organization.

Overall, this study has been a preliminary investigation into the military structure of the Ur III kingdom and provides a starting point for further investigation into the history and organization of this period.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Catalogue of Texts Referencing the Spoils of War

Plunder Texts during the Reign of Šulgi

Date	Plunder of GN	Items of Plunder
11/--/SH33	Anšan	44 udu ħi-a ba-ug ₇
3,5/--/SH40	kur martu	3 rd month: 15 udu niga sig ₅ / 105 udu niga / 163 udu / 15 sila ₄ / 2 maš ₂ -gal 5 th month: 30 munus aš ₂ -gar ₃
8/--/SH41	----	1 gud ba-uš ₂ mu lu ₂ nam-ra-ak-ne-še ₃
3/--/SH44	kur martu	3 dusu ₂ nita ₂
4/--/SH44	Šuruthum	4 kuš gud / 11 kuš udu / 3 kuš maš ₂
12/--/SH44	----	40 udu nita ₂ / 30 u ₈ / 37 ud ₅ / 8 maš ₂ -gal
7/17/SH45	Urbilum	1 gal kug-babbar / 2 ġir ₂ -udu-uš
11/15/SH45	Urbilum	22 udu
12/02/SH45	Urbilum	5 ½ ġin ₂ kug-babbar al-ħul-a
5/--/SH46	----	10 kuš gud / 4 kuš ab ₂ ġir / 2 kuš amar / 12 kuš udu dug ₃ -gan
12/07/SH46	kur martu	165 gukkal / 13 gukkal ġiš-du ₃ / 2 maš ₂ -gal / 1 sila ₄ gukkal
2/11/SH47	----	1 u ₈ babbar LU ₂ .SU / 1 u ₈ ġi ₆ LU ₂ .SU / 1 u ₈ su ₄ LU ₂ .SU
2/--/SH47	Šimaški	2 u ₈ LU ₂ .SU
2/--/SH47	Šimaški	2 u ₈ LU ₂ .SU
3/20/SH47	kur martu	6 dusu ₂ nita ₂ / 1 dusu ₂ munus
3/22/SH47	kur martu	[x] dusu ₂ [nita ₂] / 2 dusu ₂ munus
5/08/SH47	----	2+ u ₈ gukkal
5/--/SH47	kur martu	17+ dusu ₂ nita ₂ / 4 dusu ₂ nita ₂ mu 2 / 36 dusu ₂ munus / 1 dusu ₂ munus mu 2
5/--/SH47	kur martu Šimaški kur martu Šimaški Šimaški Šimaški	240 munus aš ₂ -gar ₃ / 10 maš ₂ 293 munus aš ₂ -gar ₃ / 7 maš ₂ 110 munus aš ₂ -gar ₃ 227 kir ₁₁ / 32 udu / 38 munus aš ₂ -gar ₃ / 3 maš ₂ 228 kir ₁₁ / 32 udu / 38 munus aš ₂ -gar ₃ / 2 maš ₂ 227 kir ₁₁ / 33 udu / 40 la ₂ 1 munus aš ₂ -gar ₃ / 2 maš ₂
4/14/SH48	Ĥurti	12 gud / 3 dusu ₂ nita ₂ / 2 dusu ₂ munus / 130 udu / 30 u ₈ / 71 maš ₂ / 30 ud ₅ / 2 sila ₄
6/16/SH48	Ĥarši	[x]+7 gud / 3 ab ₂ / 58 udu / 40 u ₈ / 16 maš ₂
7/19/SH48	kur martu	4 dusu ₂ nita ₂ / 2 dusu ₂ munus
7/--/SH48	Kimaš, Ĥarši	165 ab ₂ / 7736 udu / 66 ab ₂ / 3000 udu maš ₂ ħi-a
7/--/SH48	Ĥarši	2 gud
7/--/SH48	Ĥarši	1 gud
10/--/SH48	Šimaški	1 gud / 4 ab ₂
--/20/SH48	kur martu	10 dur ₃ / 1 dur ₃ mu 1 / 11 dusu ₂ munus / 1 dusu ₂ munus mu 1 / 3 gukkal ġiš-du ₃ / 5 udu gukkal / 32 u ₈ gukkal
--/20/SH48	Urbilum	3 gud / 3 ab ₂
--/--/SH48	----	12 geme ₂

Plunder Texts during the Reign of Amar-Suen

Date	Plunder of GN	Items of Plunder
1/--/AS01	kur martu	9 dusu ₂ munus / 2 dusu ₂ nita ₂ amar-ga / 1 dusu ₂ munus amar-ga
5/--/AS01	----	geme ₂ nam-ra-ak-me
2/--/AS03	----	31 ab ₂ / 11 gud
5/--/AS03	kur martu	2 dusu ₂ nita ₂
7/28/AS03	----	22 udu / 134 u ₈ / 106 u ₈ ġi ₆
--/--/AS03	----	NIM* ne-ra-aš-ak Hu-li ₂ -bar-me
--/--/AS03	----	9(aš) 3(barig) še gur
8/22/AS04	----	saġ nam-ra-ak
8/29/AS04	Šašru, Šuruthum	30 maš ₂ -gal su ₄ LU ₂ .SU.A / 20 ud ₅ su ₄ LU ₂ .SU
8/30/AS04	----	saġ nam-ra-ak
8/--/AS04	(uru) Šariphum(?)	172 saġ ħi-a ¹⁵⁸²
12/18/AS04	kur martu	5 udu gukkal ġiš-du ₃ / 120 u ₈ gukkal
--/--/AS04	----	16 ^g bisaġ nam-ra-ak esir ₂ su-ba
--/--/AS04	----	geme ₂ ne-ra-ak-ne
--/--/AS04	----	ša ₃ -gal nam-ra-ak
1/03/AS05	kur martu	3 udu gukkal / 5 udu gukkal ġiš-du ₃ / 1 sila ₄ gukkal
1/20/AS05	uru Nerigal	29 gud / 31 ab ₂
1/20/AS05	uru Meslamtaea	4 gud
2/--/AS05	----	300(aš) 2(ban ₂) 5 sila ₃ še-ba nam-ra-ak
5/--/AS05	----	zi ₃ -bi 5(aš) 4(barig) 2(ban ₂) / 2(aš) 4(barig) 4(ban ₂) kaš-bi / še-ba nam-ra-ak
7/--/AS05 ¹⁵⁸³	----	zi ₃ -bi 5(aš) 4(barig) 2(ban ₂) / 2(aš) 4(barig) 4(ban ₂) kaš-bi / ša ₃ -gal geme ₂ nam-ra-ak
4-8/--/AS05	----	ša ₃ -gal nam-ra-ak
--/--/AS06	----	360 geme ₂ ud 1-še ₃ / a ₂ nam-ra-ak
8/--/AS06	----	[x] gud
9/--/AS--	----	[x] nam-ra-ak-me

Plunder Texts during the Reign of Šu-Suen

Date	Plunder of GN	Items of Plunder
8/--/SS01	----	30 dug gal kaš ne-ra-ak de ₂ -de ₃
8/--/SS01	----	11 dug gal kaš ne-ra-ak ba-an-de ₂
9/--/SS01	----	2 gud / 3 ab ₂
--/--/SS01	----	[x lu ₂] nam-ra-ak-me
--/--/SS01	----	1 saġ nita ₂
6/--/SS03	----	saġ nam-ra-ak-da
10/--/SS06	Simanum Ašaḥar	arad ₂ nam-ra-ak lu ₂ Si-ma-num ₂ ^{ki} -me arad ₂ nam-ra-ak lu ₂ A-ša-ḥa-ar ^{ki} -me
2/--/SS08	----	ša ₃ -gal nam-ra-ak

¹⁵⁸² Three separate copies of this tablet.

¹⁵⁸³ Same text as the one above, just for a different month; one calls it **še-ba** and the other **ša₃-gal**.

Plunder Texts during the Reign of Ibbi-Suen

Date	Plunder of GN	Items of Plunder
5/03/IS01	Urumanšer	Enumra ensi ₂ / 16 dam ra-bi ₂ -a-num ₂ / 60 ĝuruš / 22 geme ₂ / 62 arad ₂ geme ₂ -a
6/14/IS01	----	----
6/--/IS01	----	saĝ nam-ra-ak
8/--/IS01	Simanum	6 ĝuruš
8/28/IS02	----	geme ₂ nam-ra-ak
8/--/IS02	----	----
12/--/IS02	----	----
--/--/IS02	----	3 ĝuruš NIM
3/--/IS03	----	1 ĝuruš(?)
4/--/IS03 or SH25	----	ša ₃ -gal nam-ra-ak

Appendix B: Table of Livestock Expenditures to the Kitchen for the aga₃-us₂ in Texts from Puzriš-Dagan¹⁵⁸⁴

D = offerings for deities;

Ez = e₂-uz-ga

FN = foreign notable

K = errand-runners (kas₄)

N = notable

O = other

* = tablet is fragmentary or has significant damage

Text/Date	Livestock		Troop Strg.	maškim/ġiri ₃	Additional
	Cattle	Sheep			
P123364 --/--/Š41	21 ¹⁵⁸⁵	231	17,640	---	O; ša ₃ kaskal
P332650 1/26/Š42 or AS06	---	10	400	Aradġu (m)	---
P123370 5/12/Š43	---	70	2800	Beli-arik (m)	D; O
P126491 4/--/Š44	---	--- ¹⁵⁸⁶	??		O
P113020 12/--/Š44	---	30	1200	Aradġu (m)	FN; O ša ₃ Nippur
P106304 6/--/Š45	---	--- ¹⁵⁸⁷	??	---	---
P103159* 8/--/Š45	---	62	2480	Aradġu (m)	[...]
P107996 10/22/Š45	5	30	3200	Aradġu (m)	D
P128893	---	6	240	Aradġu (m)	N

¹⁵⁸⁴ In these tables the category of “Cattle” denotes bovines in general and does not distinguish age, gender or species. “Sheep” denotes small livestock without distinguishing age or gender, and includes sheep and goats, as well as gazelles (**maš-da₃**), wild goats (**dara**), and the animal **šego-bar**, though the latter three are quite rare. The estimated number of troops fed by the livestock deliveries is based on Allred’s (Cooks and Kitchens, 65) estimates that a bovine would have yielded 400lbs of meat and ovids/caprids would have yielded 40lbs of meat, and his postulation that one pound of meat could feed 1.5 men. I have adjusted this, assuming that one pound of meat would have fed one man. Therefore, though Allred’s estimates for the number of troops per bovine or ovid/caprid amount to 600 men and 60 men respectively, I am positing a more conservative estimate of 400 men per bovine and 40 men per ovid/caprid.

¹⁵⁸⁵ Both cattle and sheep are carcasses (**ad₆**).

¹⁵⁸⁶ 1 anše₁kunga₂ nita₂.

¹⁵⁸⁷ 12 anše₁kunga₂ nita₂, 8 anše₁kunga₂ munus.

1/29/Š46					
P248659 2/03/Š46	---	300	12,000	---	ša ₃ Uruk
2/11/Š46	---	300	12,000	---	
P114070 2/29/Š46	1	6	640	---	
P104759 3/06/Š46	---	180	7200	---	D ša ₃ Uruk
P125585 4/05/Š46	2	30	2000	Aradĝu (m)	D; O
P130386 4/06/Š46	---	60	2400	Aradĝu (m)	D; O
P129462 4/08/Š46	6	87	5880	Aradĝu (m)	D
P103963 4/09/Š46	7	35	4200	Aradĝu (m)	D; O
P130404 4/13/Š46	6	89	5960	Aradĝu (m)	D; O
P123491 4/14/Š46	1	15	1000	---	
P122140 4/15/Š46	4	40	3200	Aradĝu (m)	D
P105820 4/18/Š46	4	39	3160	Aradĝu (m)	D
P122765 4/19/Š46	10	90	7600	Aradĝu (m)	D
P107617 4/21/Š46	12	240	14,400	Aradĝu (m)	D
P106308* 4/25/Š46	[7+]	[32+]	[4080+]	Aradĝu (m)	D
P303691 4/26/Š46	8	20	4000	Aradĝu (m)	D
P123694 4/27/Š46	16	40	8000	Aradĝu (m)	D
P123622 4/28/Š46	6	31	3640	Aradĝu (m)	D

P107612 5/01/Š46	4	40	3200	Aradĝu (m)	D; K
P107623 5/03/Š46	4	38	3120	Aradĝu (m)	D
P106306* 5/19/Š46	[9+]	[35+]	[5000+]	Aradĝu (m)	D
P123612 6/06/Š46	2	26	1840	Aradĝu (m)	Ez
P124636 8/03/Š46	3	68	3920	Aradĝu (m)	FN ša ₃ Nippur
P127300 8/06/Š46	---	[58+] <i>ara 1-kam</i>	[2320+]	Šulgi-kalama- metebi (m)	O; FN
	1	11 <i>ara 2-kam</i>	840	Šulgi-kalama- metebi (m)	
P109530 8/25/Š46	[...]	600	24,000	Naram-ili (m)	šu-gid ₂ aga ₃ -us ₂ -e ĥa-la-a
P124458 9/10/Š46	---	82	3280	Aĥuni (m) Mama-ilšu (ĝ) Adad-illat nu-banda ₃ (ĝ)	O
P124854 10/21/Š46	---	16	640	---	
P118594 10/22/Š46	---	28	1120	---	
P122664 11/06/Š46	---	9	360	Aradĝu (m)	
P122698 12/05/Š46	---	36	1440	---	
P123263 12/13/Š46	1	20	1200	---	
P126456 12/15/Š46	---	12	480	---	
P126418 12/17/Š46	---	5	200	---	
P107668 12/19/Š46	---	6	240	---	

P128895 12/22/Š46	---	5	200	---	
P107665 12/22/Š46	1	17	1080	---	
P118316 1/12/Š47	15	45	7800	---	
P105830 1/27/Š47	---	--- ¹⁵⁸⁸	??	Aradĝu (m)	
P128932* 2/21/Š47	[4+]	[...]	[1600+]	Aradĝu (m) Aḥuni (ĝ)	Ez
P124344 3/09/Š47	4	25	2600	Aradĝu (m)	FN ša ₃ Nippur
P131850 3/17/Š47	---	10	400	Aradĝu (m) Lu-diĝira (ĝ)	
P123511 4/18/Š47	---	10	400	Aradĝu (m)	D; O
P106316 5/10/Š47	5	---	2000	Aradĝu (m)	Ez; D
P107689 6/07/Š47	2	27	1880	Aradĝu (m)	D; Ez; O
P125821 6/10/Š47	2	25	1800	Aradĝu (m)	Ez; O
P122777 6/16/Š47	4	10	2000	Aradĝu (m)	D
P320506 6/19/Š47	6	30	3600	Aradĝu (m)	Ez; D
P126358* 7/08/Š47	[2+]	10	1200+	Aradĝu	D
P135035 7/10/Š47	13	90	8800	Aradĝu (m)	---
P105824 7/12/Š47	3	16	1840	Aradĝu (m)	D
P117190 7/12/Š47	4	---	1200	Aradĝu (m)	---

¹⁵⁸⁸ 3 anše_{si2-si2} nita₂.

P123703 7/15/Š47	4	20	2400	Aradĝu (m)	D
P123535 7/24/Š47	4	20	2400	Aradĝu (m)	D
P123464 7/25/Š47	5	30	3200	Aradĝu (m)	D
P122133 7/30/Š47	6	30	3600	Aradĝu (m)	D; O
P115498 8/05/Š47	9	15	4200	Ur-nigar (št) ¹⁵⁸⁹	Ez; D
P200519 8/06/Š47	11	10	4800	Ur-nigar (št)	D; Ez
P100978 8/11/Š47	6	30	3600	Ur-nigar (št)	D; Ez
P123669 8/15/Š47	13	30	6400	Ur-nigar (št)	D; Ez
P332358 8/18/Š47	1	---	---	Ĥunbanuduk aga ₃ -us ₂ Aradĝu (m)	D; Ez; O
	6	30	3600	Ur-nigar (št)	
P108787 8/22/Š47	6	30	3600	Ur-nigar (št)	D; Ez; O
P117303 9/01/Š47	13	45	7000	Ur-nigar (št)	D; Ez
P107695 9/04/Š47	1	30	1600	Ur-nigar (št)	D; Ez
P106318 9/07/Š47	2	41	2440	Ur-nigar	D
P123580 9/30/Š47	6	70	5200	Aradĝu (m)	Ez; D
P118481 4/14/Š48	4	40	3200	Aradĝu (m)	D; O
P107713 7/20/Š48	---	--- ¹⁵⁹⁰		Aradĝu (m)	---

¹⁵⁸⁹ A handful of tablets has **šu ba-ti** in the place where one would expect **maškim** or **ĝiri₃**, and therefore is noted by the abbreviation (št).

¹⁵⁹⁰ 3 dusu₂ and 2 dusu₂ munus.

P134693 11/11/Š48	1	10 <i>a-ra₂ 1-kam</i>	800	Naram-ili (m)	Ez; D; O
	1	30 <i>a-ra₂ 2-kam</i>	1600		
P143011 11/16/Š48	16	[100+]	10,400	Aradġu (m)	D
P118598 12/02/Š48	---	13	520	---	---
P125924 12/04/Š48	11	125	9400	Aradġu (m)	D; O
P102573 1/17/AS01	[29+]	536	33,040	Aradġu (m)	D; O
P135063 1/26/AS01	7	40	4400	Aradġu (m)	D
P118338 3/22/AS01	6	[15+]	3000+	Lu-diġira (ġ)	D
	24	---	9600	Enlila (ġ)	
	---	60	2400	Ur-kugnuna (ġ) Aradġu (m)	[ud] lugal iri-saġ- rig ^{ki} -ta i ₃ -im-ġen-na
P124162 3/22/AS01	---	5	200	Aradġu (m)	D
P124895 3/27/AS01	14	---	5600	Aradġu (m)	D
P122192 7/21/AS01	---	120	4800	Aradġu (m)	---
P332072 7/23/AS01	---	60	2400	Aradġu (m)	D
P123767 9/16/AS01	---	90	3600	Aradġu (m)	D
P118593 3/14/AS02	1	---	400	Lugal-magure (m)	---
P107766 4/01/AS02	---	5	200	Aradġu (m)	ma ₂ -a ba-na-a-gub
	12	8	5120	Aradġu (m)	---
Ebay 2007 4/06/AS02	---	25	1000	Aradġu (m)	---
P303511	---	24	960	Aradġu (m)	---

5/15/AS02					
P481071 5/16/AS02	---	10	400	Aradĝu (m)	K; FN
P200527 6/08/AS02	---	9	360	Lugal-magure (m)	O; FN
P124902 6/13/AS02	26	50	12,400	Aradĝu (m)	ma ₂ -a ba-a-ĝar
P103263 8/25/AS02	6	180	9600	Aradĝu (m)	O
P124907 8/27/AS02	7	244	12,560	Aradĝu (m)	O
P124909 9/24/AS02	5	223	10,920	Aradĝu (m)	O
P103858 3/23/AS03	---	10	400	Aradĝu (m)	---
P303655 5/18/AS03	1	15 <i>a-ra₂ 1-kam</i>	1000	Aradĝu (m)	---
	2	4 <i>a-ra₂ 2-kam</i>	960		
P124095 11/19/AS03	1	30	1600	Aradĝu (m)	ša ₃ Nippur
P105896 1/24/AS04	---	90	3600	Aradĝu (m)	ma ₂ -a-ĝar-ra ša ₃ Uruk
P123775 2/08/AS04	---	10	400	Aradĝu (m)	---
P128904 4/18/AS04	---	10	400	Aradĝu (m)	---
P235281 4/19/AS04	---	10 <i>a-ra₂ 1-kam</i>	400	Aradĝu (m)	---
	---	5 <i>a-ra₂ 2-kam</i>	200		
P135093 4/26/AS04	---	10	400	Aradĝu (m)	---
P127528 4/27/AS04	---	6	240	Aradĝu (m)	---
P114331 5/09/AS04	---	3 <i>a-ra₂ 1-kam</i>	120	Šulgi-uruĝu ra ₂ -gaba (ĝ)	D; FN

	---	20 <i>a-ra₂ 2-kam</i>	800	Aradĝu (m)	
P131881 10/20/AS04	---	15	600	Aradĝu (m)	---
P115596 10/22/AS04	---	20	800	Aradĝu (m)	O
P122842 11/19/AS04	---	30	1200	Šulgi-uruĝu (m) Puzur-Adad ra ₂ -gaba (ĝ)	K
P127541 11/22/AS04	---	20	800	Šulgi-uruĝu (m)	O
P128925 11/27/AS04	---	15	600	Aradĝu (m)	---
P128926 12/29/AS04	---	45	1800	Aradĝu (m)	gir ₄ -ta ba-šeĝ ₆ ma ₂ -a ba-ĝar
P124182 1/18/AS05	---	45	1800	---	D ša ₃ Nippur
P107824 4/10/AS05	---	10	400	Šul[gi-uruĝu (m)]	o ša ₃ Nippur
P128911 6/03/AS05	2	15	1400	Aradĝu (m) Šulgi-uruĝu (ĝ)	---
P330542 6/09/AS05	---	10	400	Aradĝu (m) Šulgi-uruĝu (ĝ)	---
P104136 12/22AS05	---	32	1280	Ursaga sukkal (m)	D; FN
TCUR 7 1/28/AS06	2	8	1120	Aradĝu (m)	---
P124461 2/16/AS06	---	5	200	Aradĝu (m)	FN; K; O
P320562 3/23/AS06	---	10	400	Aradĝu (m)	---
P122669 3/25/AS06	---	5	200	Aradĝu (m)	O
P126059 4/17/AS06	---	15	600	Aradĝu (m)	ša ₃ Nippur
P104035 5/08/AS06	---	10	400	Aradĝu (m)	ša ₃ Nippur

P106080 5/27/AS06	---	10	400	Aradġu (m)	O ša ₃ Nippur
P133929 6/10/AS06	---	5	200	Aradġu (m)	ša ₃ Nippur
P114335 7/25/AS06	---	155	6200	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	mu aga ₃ -us ₂ kaskal-ta er-ra-ne-še ₃ ; O
	---	30	1200		
P126611 7/27 [?] /AS06	---	[60+]	2400+	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	D; O
P293351 7/--/AS06	---	600 ¹⁵⁹¹	24,000	Dukru (ugula) Humzum (št) Šu-Eštar dumu Ea-rabi (ġ)	ša ₃ Nimzium
P122735 9/23/AS06	---	5	200	Aradġu (m)	---
P135109 11/01/AS06	---	30	1200	Aradġu (m)	---
P126420 11/04/AS06	---	11	440	Šulgi-uruġu (m)	---
P142791 11/19/AS06	---	[...]	[...]	Aradġu (m)	D; o ša ₃ Nippur
P127498 12/20/AS06	---	5	200	Aradġu (m)	---
P218070 2/26/AS09	---	10	400	Aradġu (m)	---
P128921 4/07/AS09	---	21	840	Aradġu (m) Nur-Suen dub-sar (ġ)	---
P124153 4/15/AS09	---	31	1240	Aradġu (m) Nanna-maba dub-sar (ġ)	---
P127527 4/25/AS09	---	26	1040	Ur-Amar-Suen sukkal (m) Nanna-maba dub-sar (ġ)	---
P122861 5/14 [?] /AS09	---	20	800	Aradġu (m) Nur-Suen dub-sar (ġ)	---

¹⁵⁹¹ Sheep carcasses (**ad**₆).

P124154 5/15/AS09	---	29	1160	Aradġu (m) Nur-Suen dub-sar (ġ)	---
P127529 5/19/AS09	---	32	1280	Aradġu (m) Nur-Suen dub-sar (ġ)	K
P101865 5/21/AS09	---	24	960	Aradġu (m) Nur-Suen dub-sar (ġ)	---
P124155 6/02/AS09	---	18	720	Namḥani sukkal (m) Nanna-maba dub-sar (ġ)	K
P124156 6/08/AS09	---	18	720	Aradġu (m) Nanna-maba dub-sar (ġ)	---
P124225 6/10/AS09	---	--- ¹⁵⁹²	120	Aradġu (m) Ursaga (ġ)	---
--- 6/14/AS09	---	26	1040	Aradġu (m) Nanna-maba dub-sar (ġ)	---
P124157 6/22/AS09	---	30	1200	Aradġu (m) Nanna-maba dub-sar (ġ)	ša ₃ Ur
P126495 6/29/AS09	---	13	520	Aradġu (m) Nanna-maba dub-sar (ġ)	o; ša ₃ a ₂ -ki-ti
P124158 7/19/AS09	---	20	800	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad (ġ)	FN; K; O
P127535 8/05/AS09	---	60	2400	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	---
P107909 8/08/AS09	---	22	880	Namḥani sukkal (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	---
P118470 8/21/AS09	---	31	1240	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	FN

¹⁵⁹² 3 lulim nita₂.

P125436 8/25/AS09	---	36	1440	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	---
P107911 9/09/AS09	---	39	1560	Kug-Nanna sukkal (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	---
P101802 9/--/AS09	---	[35+]	1400+	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	---
P113463 10/07/AS09	---	40	1600	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	N; K ša ₃ Ur
P126756 10/10/AS09	---	40	1600	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	ša ₃ Ur
P124160 10/20/AS09	---	20 96 17	800 3840 680	[...]	O lugal nibru ^{ki} -še ₃ du-ni ma ₂ -a ba-a-ĝa ₂ -ar
P135112 10/24/AS09	---	36	1440	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	ša ₃ Uruk
P107912 11/06/AS09	---	16	640	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	---
P135978 11/07/AS09	[10+]	---	[4000+]	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	---
P210369 11/08/AS09	2	---	800	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	---
P104315 11/15/AS09	---	9	360	Aradĝu (m)	N e ₂ -kišib-ba
P117324 11/19/AS09	---	20	800	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	---
P107914 11/23/AS09	---	30		Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	D; K

P125699 12/08/AS09	---	53	2120	---	---
P134173 12/10/AS09	---	22	880	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	---
P104767 12/15/AS09	---	38	1520	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	D
P290996 12/16/AS09	---	10	400	---	N; K
P130314 12/25- 27/AS09	---	31 (25 th day) 40 (26 th day) 30 (27 th day)	1240 1600 1200	---	---
P107916 ¹⁵⁹³ 12/08/AS09 (diri)	---	2	80	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	N
P106241 12/18/AS09 (diri)	---	23		---	---
P124161 12/18- 20/AS09 (diri)	---	20 (18 th day) 25 (19 th day) 27 (20 th day)	800 1000 1080	Aradġu (m)	---
P115595 12/27- 28/AS09 (diri)	---	10 (27 th day) 20 (28 th day)	400 800	---	ša ₃ Saġdana
P125660 1/14/ŠS01	---	6	240	Aradġu (m)	D; K; N
P125907 1/21/ŠS01	1	8	720	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	K

¹⁵⁹³ Copies include P114340 and P144358.

P114341 1/24/ŠS01	1	6	640	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	K
P136304 ¹⁵⁹⁴ 1/25/ŠS01	1	16	1040	Aradġu (m)	D
P117173 1/26- 27/ŠS01	2	1 (26 th day)	840	---	O
	1	5 (27 th day)	600		
P106357 1/28/ŠS01	---	11	440	---	K
P104685 1/29/ŠS01	---	2	80	Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	D
P201160 2/12/ŠS01	2	21	1640	Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	---
P106022 2/18/ŠS01	---	11	440	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	---
P201429 2/29/ŠS01	---	3	120	Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	---
P320566 3/05/ŠS01	---	1	40	Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	---
P104650 4/04/ŠS01	---	11	440	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	O
P104319 4/11/ŠS01	---	8	320	Aradġu (m)	D ša ₃ Nippur
P126758 5/01/ŠS01	---	12	480	---	---
P128188 ¹⁵⁹⁵ 5/07/ŠS01	1	5	600	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	K
P234964 5/08/ŠS01	1	10	800	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	---

¹⁵⁹⁴ This text includes both Arad-Nanna and Aradġu, perhaps suggesting that the latter person who often appears as **maškim** is not the **sukkal-maḥ**.

¹⁵⁹⁵ Seal provides Nur-Adad's full titles of **dub-sar šuš₃ lugal**.

P290414 5/25/ŠS01	4	---	1600	---	---
P126116 6/04/ŠS01	1	5	600	Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	---
Π125616 6/11ŠS01	1	15	1000	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	---
P126376 8/05/ŠS01	5	[...]	2000+	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	N
P126356 8/16/ŠS01	4	10	2000	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	N; K
P125896 9/01/ŠS01	3	9	1560	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	O
P125880 9/06/ŠS01	---	9	360	Anati sukkal (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	N
P125892 ¹⁵⁹⁶ 9/15/ŠS01	2	6	1040	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	N
P125859 9/23/ŠS01	1	21	1240	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	N; K
P126353 9/24/ŠS01	1	20	1200	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	---
P126357 9/26 ⁷ /ŠS01	1	[7+]	680+	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	D; N
P433587 10/13/ŠS01	4	10	2000	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	FN; N ša ₃ Gaeš
P100287 10/26/ŠS01	1	15	1000	---	O
P122181 12/08/ŠS01	1	16	1040	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	N; O

¹⁵⁹⁶ P201172 is a copy of this text.

P332110 12/11- 12/ŠS01	---	15 (11 th day)	600	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	---
	---	33 (12 th day)	1320		
P211363 12/17/ŠS01	[...]	[...]	[...]	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	---
P390802 12/08/ŠS01 (diri)	---	17	680	Aradġu (m)	D
P291907 12/20/ŠS01 (diri)	---	21	840	---	O
P122785 3/11/ŠS02	---	10	400	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	O
P113807 4/10/ŠS02	1	---	400	---	O; N
P126393 5/19/ŠS02	---	[...]	40+	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	---
P104949 7/21- 25/ŠS02	1	--- (21 st day)	400	---	N; O
	1	--- (23 rd day)	400		
	2	--- (25 th day)	800		
P122864 8/09/ŠS02	---	21	840	Aradġu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ġ)	N; K
P107929 9/16/ŠS02	---	23	920	Aradġu (m) Nanna-maba dub-sar (ġ)	---
P115912 10/19/ŠS02	15	---	6000	---	D; O Urim ^{ki} -ta ma ₂ lugal gid ₂ -da-ne-še ₃
P125903 1/25/ŠS03	2	10	1200	Aradġu (m) Hulal dub-sar (ġ)	O; FN

P129479 4/18/ŠS03	2	---	800	Aradĝu (m) Hulal dub-sar (ĝ)	---
P113818 5/29/ŠS03	1	---	400	---	N; O
P135115 7/25/ŠS03	---	11	440	Nannkam sukkal (m) Hulal dub-sar (ĝ)	FN
P127551 10/21/ŠS03	2	110	5200	Aradĝu (m) Hulal dub-sar (ĝ)	urim ^{ki} -ta ma ₂ lugal gid ₂ -da-ne
P103365 11/20/ŠS03	2	---	800	---	---
P128585 11/26/ŠS03	1	5	600	Lamaša sukkal (m) Humni dub-sar (ĝ)	O ¹⁵⁹⁷
P381741 1/11/ŠS04	---	5	200	Hulal dub-sar (m)	D
P416449 5/26/ŠS04	1	8	720	Nannakam sukkal (m)	a-tu ₅ -a-ka e ₂ -gal-la ku ₄ -ra-ne
	---	8	320	Nanna-maba dub-sar (ĝ)	
P112528 7/17/ŠS04	---	13	520	Taram-ilim dub-sar (ĝ)	---
P103129 8/30/ŠS04	---	37	1480	Ur-Šarrugin sukkal (m) Hulal dub-sar (ĝ)	u ₃ lu ₂ šuku-ra-ke ₄ -ne
P124569 9/28/ŠS04	---	40	1600	---	u ₃ lu ₂ šuku-ra-ke ₄ -ne
P105201 10/25/ŠS04	---	10	400	---	O
P102719 11/26/ŠS04	1	5	600	---	K; O a-tu ₅ -a-ka e ₂ -gal ku ₄ -re-ne
	---	6	240	---	

¹⁵⁹⁷ Mentions animals given to **lu₂ šuku-ra-ke₄-ne** separately from the **aga₃-us₂**.

P124929 1/23/ŠS05	1	10	800	Ur-Šarrugin sukkal (m) Hulal dub-sar (ĝ)	u ₃ lu ₂ šuku-ra-ke ₄ -ne
P453076 1/25/ŠS05	---	7	280	Ur-Šarrugin sukkal (m) Hulal dub-sar (ĝ)	u ₃ lu ₂ šuku-ra-ke ₄ -ne
P104415 1/25/ŠS05	[...]	[2+]	80+	Ursaga sukkal (m) Nanna-maba dub-sar (ĝ)	u ₃ lu ₂ šuku-ra-ke ₄ -ne
P144815 1/--/ŠS05	---	40	1600	Ur-Damu ra ₂ -gaba (m) Hulal dub-sar (ĝ)	u ₃ lu ₂ -šuku-ra-ke ₄ -ne
P105203 2/12/ŠS05	---	10	400	Aradĝu (m) Hulal dub-sar (ĝ)	a-tu ₅ -a ka e ₂ -gal-la ku ₄ -ra-ne O ¹⁵⁹⁸
P210566 2/16/ŠS05	---	20	800	Aradĝu (m) Hulal dub-sar (ĝ)	u ₃ lu ₂ -šuku-ra-ke ₄ -ne
P105204 ¹⁵⁹⁹ 2/18/ŠS05	---	20	800	Aradĝu (m) Hulal dub-sar (ĝ)	u ₃ lu ₂ -šuku-ra-ke ₄ -ne D; O
P107948 4/20/ŠS05	2	---	800	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Adad dub-sar (ĝ)	---
P143144 5/03/ŠS05	---	5	200	Aradĝu (m)	---
P105208 5/08/ŠS05	---	10	400	Aradĝu (m) Hulal dub-sar (ĝ)	K
P105209 5/21/ŠS05	1	---	400	Aradĝu (m) Hulal dub-sar (ĝ)	O
P117174 6/11/ŠS05	2	10	1200	---	O ¹⁶⁰⁰

¹⁵⁹⁸ Lists animals for **lu₂ šuku-ra-ke₄-ne** separately from the **aga₃-us₂**.

¹⁵⁹⁹ P144767 is a copy of this tablet.

¹⁶⁰⁰ Lists animals for **lu₂ šuku-ra-ke₄-ne** separately from **aga₃-us₂**.

	1	5	600		a-tu ₅ -a ka e ₂ -gal-la ku ₄ -ra-ne
P106051 6/26/ŠS05	1	5	600	---	a-tu ₅ -a e ₂ -gal-la ku ₄ -ra-ne O ¹⁶⁰¹
P114346 7/01/ŠS05	---	---	160	Aradġu (m) Iphur ša-ra-ab-du (ġ)	---
P433589 11/--/ŠS05	---	10	400	Ur-Šu-Suen sukkal (m)	u ₃ lu ₂ šuku-ra-ke ₄ -ne
P387664 1/02/ŠS06	1	--- ¹⁶⁰²	??	Ur-Šu-Suen sukkal (m) Hulal dub-sar (ġ)	u ₃ lu ₂ šuku-ra-ke ₄ -ne D
P201148 8/06/ŠS06	---	[5+]	200+	---	K
P142910 ¹⁶⁰³ --/--/ŠS06	---	12	480	Nannakam sukkal (m)	---
P125828 1/21/ŠS07	1	---	400	Šu-Ea sukkal (m) Ur-Tummal šar ₂ -ra-ab-du (ġ)	---
P129488 5/26/ŠS07	1	---	400	---	O
P124346 7/14/ŠS07	---	30	1200	Aradġu (m)	urim ₅ ^{ki} -ta ma ₂ lugal gid ₂ -da-ne
P104328 8/25- 26/ŠS07	---	10 (25 th day)	400	Šulgi-urumu (št)	---
	---	11 (26 th day)	440		
P291928 8/28/ŠS07	---	1	40	---	O; K
P135104 1/08/ŠS08	2	20	1600	---	kiġ ₂ -gi ₄ -a gi ₄ -a-ne-še ₃
P368380 1/09/ŠS08	2	20	1600	---	kiġ ₂ -gi ₄ -a gi ₄ -a-ne-še ₃

¹⁶⁰¹ Lists animals for **lu₂ šuku-ra-ke₄-ne** separately from **aga₃-us₂**.

¹⁶⁰² 4 **anše**. Shows that equids could be used for consumption.

¹⁶⁰³ Shows that unmarked, **šu-gid** and **ba-uš₂** are all differentiated

P125427 2/11/ŠS08	---	10	400	Ursaga sukkal (m)	a-tu ₅ -a ka e ₂ -gal-la ku ₄ -ra-ne
P125586 2/30/ŠS08	[x] --- ---	5 (26 th day) --- ¹⁶⁰⁴ (29 th day) --- ¹⁶⁰⁵ (30 th day)	600+ ?? ??	---	a-tu ₅ -a ka e ₂ -gal-la ku ₄ -ra-ne O ¹⁶⁰⁶
P124675 3/10/ŠS08	[x]	---	[...]	---	O
P104326 2/14/ŠS09	---	5	200	---	O
P125651 9/01/ŠS09	1	5	600	Aradĝu (m) Nanna-maba and Lu-šalim (ĝ)	K
P391005 9/08/ŠS09	---	33	1320	[...] (m) Nanna-maba and Lu-šalim (ĝ)	u ₃ lu ₂ šuku-ra-ke ₄ -ne
P126098 9/09/ŠS09	---	18	680	Aradĝu (m) Nanna-maba and Lu-šalim (ĝ)	u ₃ lu ₂ šuku-ra-ke ₄ -ne
P124570 9/22/ŠS09	---	30	1200	Aradĝu (m) Nanna-maba and Lu-šalim (ĝ)	u ₃ lu ₂ šuku-ra-ke ₄ -ne
P118556 9/27/ŠS09	1	5	600	Nur-Suen dub-sar (ĝ)	a-tu ₅ -a ka e ₂ -gal-la ku ₄ -ra-ne O ša ₃ Uruk
P106388 10/23/ŠS09	1	15	1000	Nur-Suen dub-sar (ĝ)	u ₃ lu ₂ šuku-ra-ke ₄ -ne ša ₃ Uruk
P101403 10/30/ŠS09	1	5	600	Nur-Suen dub-sar (ĝ)	O ša ₃ Uruk
P106267	---	10	400	---	a-tu ₅ -a ka e ₂ -gal-la

¹⁶⁰⁴ 1 dusu₂.

¹⁶⁰⁵ 2 dusu₂.

¹⁶⁰⁶ Lists animals for separate groups of **lu₂ šuku-ra-ke₄-ne**.

11/27/ŠS09					ku ₄ -ra-ne O
P125898 12/21/ŠS09	---	2	80	Nur-Suen dub-sar and Ibni-Adad ša-ra-ab-du (ĝ)	---
P106061 2/12/IS01	---	10	400	Šu-Ea sukkal (m) Nur-Suen (ĝ)	a-tu ₅ -a ka e ₂ -gal-la ku ₄ -ra-ne O
P112569 4/28/IS01	---	4	160	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Suen dub-sar (ĝ)	K; O
P212353 9/---/IS01	1	20	1200	Aradĝu (m) Nanna-maba dub-sar (m)	---
P107568 1/17/IS02	---	--- ¹⁶⁰⁷	??	Šu-Ea sukkal (m) Ibni-Adad šar ₂ -ra-ab-du, Nur-Suen ša ₃ -tam and KAumwaqar dub-sar (ĝ)	Ez
P103846 2/--/IS02	---	5	200	[...] Nanna-maba and KAum-waqar dub-sar (ĝ)	---
P106203 7/27/IS02	---	10	400	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Suen and KAumwaqar (ĝ)	a-tu ₅ -a ka e ₂ -gal-la ku ₄ -ra-ne
P130524 11/12/IS02	---	3	120	Aradĝu (m) Aḥuwaqar šar ₂ -ra-ab-du and Duga ša ₃ -tam (ĝ)	O

¹⁶⁰⁷ 1 lulim munus.

Appendix C: The aga₃-us₂ in the Messenger Text Genre

l. = liter (sil₃)

š. = šekel

a. = a₂-GAM (a type of vessel)

References to aga₃-us₂ in the Missions of Other Officials in Girsu Messenger Texts

Text/Date	Person(s) Undertaking Task	Title	Assignment
P108589 4/12/----	^d šil-gi-i ₃ -li ₂	---	a-šag ₄ aga ₃ -us ₂ -ne ġen-na
P110337 9/--/----	i-šar-pa ₂ -dan	skl	aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal dumu urim ₅ ^{ki} -ma dab ₅ -dab ₅ -de ₃ ġen-na
P116124 7/--/----	e-te-el _x -pu ₃ - ^d da-gan	dl	siki ^{u2} URUxA ^{ki} aga ₃ -us ₂ sum-mu-de ₃ ġen-na
P319583 --/--/----	e-te-el _x -pu ₃ - ^d da-gan šu- ^d nisaba	dl skl	siki ^{u2} URUxA ^{ki} aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal sum-mu-de ₃ ġen-na
P206213 9/--/----	a ₂ -[pi ₅ ⁷]-li ₂	[x]	aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal-še ₃ ġen-na
P124372 8/02/----	a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂ -a	skl	mu aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal-ke ₄ -ne-še ₃ ġen-na
P110514 1/--/----	ša-ru-um-i ₃ -li ₂	d škn	mu aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal-ke ₄ -ne-<še ₃ > ġen-na
P132770 3/--/AS06	lugal-nesaġ	lt	še-ba aga ₃ -us ₂ -še ₃ ġen-na
CTPSM 1 227 11/23/----	u ₂ -ar-ti	---	aga ₃ -us ₂ -še ₃ ġen-na

skl = sukkal, dl = dumu lugal, d škn = dumu šakkan₆, lt = lu₂^{ġis}tukul

Table of Individual aga₃-us₂ in the Girsu Messenger Texts¹⁶⁰⁸

Text/Date	Personnel	Amount of Commodities	GN-ta	GN- še ₃	Designation / Additional
P122964 2/--/----	nu-ur ₂ - ^d suen	2 a ₂ -GAM i ₃		Kimaš	aga ₃ -us ₂ u ₃ lu ₂ - ^d nanše (skl)
P100927 6/--/AS07	šu-nir-re	5 l. kaš 5 l. ninda 4 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂
P108938 11/13/----	---	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ mu bala-še ₃ ġen-na
P108943 9/06/----	---	2 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us sukkal-maḥ

¹⁶⁰⁸ The following tables distinguish the **aga₃-us₂** as individuals from those listed as groups. Unfortunately, due to the fact that often individuals often had their personal names omitted and the fact that plural elements on verbs are often missing in this genre, there is a degree of uncertainty in some cases as to whether an individual or a group is being mentioned. Commodity amounts can vary from 1 to 5 liters per person. Therefore judgments are made in uncertain cases based upon the amount of commodities relative to other recipients.

P108944 2/05/----	---	4 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ
P110138 1/--/----	[šu]- ^d nin-šubur	5 l. kaš 5 l. zi ₃ 1 a ₂ -GAM	Susa		aga ₃ -us ₂
P110334 7/--/----	šu-i ₃ -li ₂	5 l. kaš 5 l. zi ₃ 1 a ₂ -GAM	Susa		aga ₃ -us ₂
P110342 8/--/----	šu- ^d nin-šubur	5 l. kaš 5 l. zi ₃ 1 a ₂ -GAM	AdamDUN		aga ₃ -us ₂ u ₃ PU ₃ -KA.KA (skl)
P110351 4/--/----	DINGIR-ba-ni	5 l. kaš (iri) 1 dug dida (kaskal)		Susa	aga ₃ -us ₂
P111525 --/--/----	---	4 l. kaš 4 l. ninda 4 š. i ₃			ma ₂ še-še ₃ ġen
P111790 2/--/----	lu ₂ -na-ba-a	10 l. zi ₃ (2 days, iri) 5 l. kaš (kaskal)		Sabum	aga ₃ -us ₂
P315808 10/--/----	arad ₂ - ^d ba-u ₂	5 l. kaš 5 l. ninda 1 a. i ₃ -ġiš	Nippur		aga ₃ -us ₂
P116248 2/20/----	---	3 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal kišib a ₂ -pi ₅ -la
P116252 1/--/----	ḥu-ba-la	3 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ eden-še ₃ ġen-na
P295848 5/10/----	---	3 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃		Nippur	aga ₃ -us ₂ zabar-dab ₅
P106890 12/--/----	---	3 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal ki ensi ₂ -ta ġen-na
P106891 11/21/----	---	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P106893 11/21/----	---	2 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
(diri)					
P106899 2/07/----	---	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			---
P106901 2/19/----	---	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ ki zabar-dab ₅ -ta ġen-na
P106915 --/--/----	zi-kalam-ma	3 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ ensi ₂
P107046 8/--/----	šu- ^d en-lil ₂	10 l. kaš / 1 dug dida 10 l. zi ₃ / 10 l. zi ₃ 2 a. i ₃ / 2 a. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ u ₃ AB-du ₃ -du ₃ (skl) ma ₂ -a ġar-ra ar-a-ri ₂ -tum du-ne ₂
P107050 10/--/----	inim-sa ₆ -sa ₆	5 l. kaš 5 l. zi ₃ 1 a. i ₃	Susa		aga ₃ -us ₂

P107214 5/--/----	lu ₂ -bala-sa ₆ -ga ---	5 l. ninda 5 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ ḡis ₃ -suḥ ₅ -še ₃ ḡen-na
P114473 11/15/----	---	5 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal zu ₂ -si-še ₃ ḡen-na
P114824 --/--/----	i-din- ^d IŠKUR ša-ru-i ₃ -[lum] a ₂ -da-[x]	10 l. kaš 5 l. kaš 5 l. kaš	Susa Susa		aga ₃ -[us ₂ ...] [aga ₃]-us ₂ aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P115029 8/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d nanše	2 l. zi ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂
P115041 9/--/Š41	lugal-diḡir-ḡu ₁₀	5 l. kaš			aga ₃ -us ₂
P115234 4/--/Š30	arad ₂ - ^d nanna	60 l. dabin 60 l. še			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal nam-šar ₂ -ra duḥ-ḥa-še ₃ ki ur-kisal-še ₃ ḡen-na
P115327 5/--/Š33	su ₁₁ -ga-li	5 l. ninda	Giša		aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P119654 2/16/----	---	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P119671 3/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d inana ur- ^d nin-a-zu	10 l. zi ₃ (2 days) 5 l. zi ₃	Urua	Susa	aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal aga ₃ -us ₂
P120154 11/01/----	---	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P145547 12/21/----	---	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ
P121102 3/--/----	lugal-nesaḡ-e nu-u ₃ -du ₇	100 l. kaš (20 days) 100 l. kaš (20 days)			sukkal --- aga ₃ -us ₂ -me
P202521 11/05/----	---	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ ki ensi ₂ -ta ḡen-na
P202035 1/--/----	DINGIR-ma-a	5 l. zi ₃	Susa		aga ₃ -us ₂
P356012 1/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d šara ₂ šu- ^d IŠKUR	10 l. zi ₃ (2 days; iri) 5 l. zi ₃ (kaskal) 5 l. zi ₃		Susa Anšan	aga ₃ -us ₂ aga ₃ -us ₂
P405868 8/21/----	---	2 l. kaš			aga ₃ -us ₂
P406657 8/27/----	puzur ₄ -eš ₄ -tar ₂	4 l. kaš 4 l. ninda 4 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ lu ₂ inim-ma a-šag ₄ nu-ur ₂ - ^d UTU-še ₃ ḡen
P124372 8/02/----	i-ku-num ₂	1 a. i ₃		Susa	aga ₃ -us ₂
P209823 12/22/----	---	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ kaš ninda-še ₃ ḡen-na
P202551	lu ₂ - ^d nanna	1 a. i ₃		Susa	aga ₃ -us ₂

4/--/----					
P127679 5/--/----	---	2 l. ninda			aga ₃ -uš ₂ ša en-nu
	---	3 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ
P127687 2/24/----	i ₃ -li ₂ -ma-su	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ (^{anše} kunga ₂ -da ġen-na [?])
P127690 7/--/----	ur-mes	3 l. kaš 3 l. zi ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂
P127693 3/09/----	---	5 l. kaš 5 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ [...]
P127990 8/--/----	[...]-še-en ₆	5 l. kaš 5 l. zi ₃ 1 a. i ₃	Susa		aga ₃ -us ₂
P128253 3/--/ŠS02	lu ₂ -na-ba	10 l. zi ₃ (2 days; iri) 5 l. zi ₃ (kaskal)		Sabum	aga ₃ -us ₂
P128543 11/10/----	---	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal ki ba-zi-še ₃ ġen-na
P128547 9/03/----	---	1 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ
P131223 2/--/----	ur- ^d kug-nun	10 l. zi ₃ (2 days; kaskal)		Sabum	aga ₃ -us ₂
P131224 1/--/----	šu-eš-tar ₂	5 l. zi ₃	Urua		aga ₃ -us ₂
P131233 1/--/----	šu- ^d UTU	5 l. zi ₃	Susa		aga ₃ -us ₂
P131246 6/--/----	ba-al-la-a	1 a. i ₃	Urua		aga ₃ -us ₂
P131247 4/--/----	šu-er ₃ -ra	2 a. i ₃	Susa		aga ₃ -us ₂ u ₃ lu ₂ - ^d nanna šeš lukur
P129623 7/15/----	---	2 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ ki-mu ₂ -še ₃ ġen-na
	---	2 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ KI.KUL.TAB-še ₃ ġen-na
P110509 --/--/----	---	1 l. kaš 1 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal ki na-bi ₂ - ^d en-lil ₂ -še ₃ ġen-na
P110548 --/--/----	---	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal ki la-la-a-ta ġen-na
P110583 --/--/----	---	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ (lu ₂) ^{ġi} is tukul-e dab ₅ -ba-še ₃ ġen-na
P132673 7/19/----	---	[x] l. kaš [x] l. ninda [x] š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ
P132674 5/09/----	---	2 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ ša ₃ en-nu
P132934 1/10/----	ad-da	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂

	---	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ na-bi ₂ - ^d suen dumu lugal
P133327 9/20/----	---	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ
P133334 3/16/----	---	4 l. kaš 4 l. ninda 4 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ lu ₂ -gar [?]
P133352 2/27/----	---	4 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ udu-še ₃ ġen-na
P135807 7/--/----	a ₂ -pi ₅ -la-num ₂	5 l. kaš 5 l. zi ₃ 1 a. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P136224 9/07/----	šu- ^d IŠKUR	3 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal-da ġen-na
P113515 2/07/----	---	4 l. kaš 4 l. ninda 4 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ eren ₂ -da ġen-na
	---	4 l. kaš 4 l. ninda 4 š. i ₃		Uruk	aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ
P113526 10/15/----	lu ₂ -ša-lim	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂
	---	3 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ
P113533 11/07/----	---	2 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ ^d dam-gal-nun-an'-ka
P332626 2/--/----	ur-nigar _x ^{gar}	15 l. zi ₃ (3 days) 5 l. zi ₃ (kaskal)			aga ₃ -us ₂ mu ku ₆ -še ₃ ġen-na
CTPSM 1, 149 1/--/----	bu-la-lum	5 l. kaš (iri) 1 dug dida (kaskal)		Kimaš	aga ₃ -us ₂ ġiri ₃ NIM ki-maš ^{ki} -me
CTPSM 1, 156 2/22/----	---	5 l. kaš 5 l. ninda 10 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ ku ₆ saġ-še ₃ ġen-na
	---	3 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ
CTPSM 1 185 4/29/----	---	3 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ zabar-dab ₅ ki lu ₂ -diġir-ra-še ₃ ġen-na
CTPSM 1 194 5/--/----	^d nanna-sa ₆ -ga	10 l. zi ₃ (2 days)	AdamDUN		aga ₃ -us ₂ (u ₃) šu-NI.NE šeš lukur

Table of aga₃-us₂ Groups in the Girsu Messenger Texts

Text/Date	Amount of Commodities	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	Designation / Additional
P122973 10/08/----	6 l. dabin	Sabum		aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal-bi 3-am ₃ ġiri ₃ ur-DUN skl / ltgl
P122997 12/--/----	120 l. kaš ninda lugal ša ₃ iri 200 l. dabin kaskal-še ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ -bi 40-am ₃ aga ₃ -us ₂ alan-da ġen-na-me
P123055 12/--/----	120 l. dabin lugal			ša ₃ -gal aga ₃ -us ₂
P108911 9/14/----	10 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ-bi 3-am ₃ ġiri ₃ lu ₂ - ^d nin-ġir ₂ -su
P108916 11/21/----	10 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P108933 2/06/----	10 l. dabin			aga ₃ -us ₂ -bi 20-am ₃ ¹ [ġiri ₃] lu ₂ - ^d nanna
P108936 2/07/----	5 l. ninda			lu ₂ - ^d nanna aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ-bi 2
P108941 9/09/----	6 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ
P110038 6/04/----	5 l. kaš ninda 4 š. i ₃ <ša ₃ iri> 10 l. kaš ninda kaskal-še ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ ma ₂ -gin ₂ ma ₂ ^d nanše-še ₃ ġen-na
P315785 12/--/----	10 l. kaš ninda lugal			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal-ke ₄ šu ba-ab-ti
P295838 8/27/----	18 l. ninda		Nippur	
P106895 7/16/----	6 l. kaš 4 l. ninda 4 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal šabra-<še ₃ > ġen
P106897 7/20/----	6 l. kaš 4 l. ninda 4 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ zabar-dab ₅
P106900 10/13/----	10 l. ninda			kaš ninda NIM-še ₃ ġen-na
P106904 2/04/----	6 l. kaš 6 l. ninda 6 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ [...] ^{ki} -me
P107048 8/06/----	11 l. kaš 11 l. zi ₃ lugal ½ l. i ₃ -ġiš			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal-bi 10-am ₃ a-šag ₄ ni ₁₀ -ni ₁₀ -de ₃ ġen-na
P114455 1/16/----	30 l. dabin			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal-bi 3
P115175 10/--/----	150 l. zi ₃			30 aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal 5 sila ₃ -ta
P120145 8/21/----	2 l. i ₃ -ġiš		Susa	aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal-bi 7
P202063 4/11/----	11 l. ninda		Saḥar	
P406455 6/30/----	4 dug dida sig ₅ 6 dug dida gen 30 l. kaš gen lugal 120 l. dabin 2 l. i ₃ -ġiš			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal-me
P406452	5 l. kaš sig ₅ 174 l. kaš gen 1 dug dida sig ₅			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal-me

	2 dug dida gen 276 l. ninda ~2/3 š. i ₃			
P315601 6/--/----	40 l. dabin		Ur	
P315940 12/07/----	30 l. (dabin)			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P127675 2/29/----	10 l.		Nippur	aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P127681 7/16/----	10 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ ma ₂ dabin-še ₃ ĝen-na
P127695 3/27/----	20 l. kaš 20 l. ninda ½ l. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal anše šu-gi ₄ <-še ₃ > ĝen-na
P128490 11/--/----	10 l. zu ₃ -gu	Dilmun		aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal tu-ra-me ĝiri ₃ ur- ^d dumu-zi lu ₂ -kas ₄
P128514 6/--/----	5 l. zi ₃ -gu	Marḥaši		aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P234846 3/24/----	6 l. kaš 6 l. ninda 6 š. i ₃			3 aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ ki e ₂ -kišib-ba-še ₃ DU
P110513 --/--/----	10 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal ki nin ₉ sukkal-maḥ-[še ₃] ĝen-na
P110546 --/--/----	10 l. dabin			2 ĝuruš aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal gud šušin ^{ki} -da ĝen-na-me
P110551 --/--/----	15 l. ninda ½ l. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ lu ₂ sa-bu-um
P132232 12/25/----	20 l.			
P132361 11/16/----	8 l. kaš sig ₅ 8 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ NIM-me
P132456 3/--/AS08	180 l. dabin lugal	Susa		18 ĝuruš aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal gud DU.DU-me
P132501 5/--/----	20 l. kaš 20 l. ninda ½ l. i ₃ -ĝiš			aga ₃ -us ₂ lu ₂ -kas ₄ anše lu ₂ -ge-na-[x] ĝen-na
P132968 1/--/----	15 l. ninda			5 aga ₃ -us ₂ e ₂ alan [?] ^d šu- ^d suen kar-ra ru ₂ -de ₂ ĝen-na
P132985 9/--/----	50 l. ninda 60 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ anše ¹ kunga ₂ anše-da DI-de ₃ ĝen-na-me aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P133553 12/--/ŠS08	240 l. zi ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal-me
P133563 12/03/----	10 l. kaš 15 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ e ₂ -kas ₄ NINA ^{ki} -še ₃ eren ₂ -ne-da ĝen-na
P136221 4/29/----	120 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ lu ₂ -an-ni lugal-ma ₂ -gur ₈ -re ĝen-na
P105796 12/06/----	10 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal ki la-a-še ₃ ĝen-na
P108926 2/22/----	[x] l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal ki ba-zi-še ₃ ĝen-na
P295468 9/--/----	[x] l. kaš [x] l. ninda			[x] aga ₃ -us ₂ 4 sila ₃ kaš ninda-ta aga ₃ -us ₂ dumu urim ₃ ^{ki} -me

P106888 1/21/----	5 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ ki sukkal-maḥ ġen-na
P106892 11/02/----	10 l. kaš (kaskal)			aga ₃ -us ₂ ensi ₂ i ₃ -nun-še ₃ ġen-na
P106903 2/06/----	4 l. kaš 4 l. ninda 4 š. i ₃		Uruk	aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ
P107063 9/29/----	5 l. kaš 5 l. zi ₃ 6 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal lu ₂ i ₃ -la-lum
P114470 8/03/----	4 l. kaš 4 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal udu-še ₃ ġen-na
P119650 2/--/Š47	1960 l. dabin		Kimaš	aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal
P123190 2/--/----	9 l. kaš 9 l. ninda 6 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ ensi ₂ -me
P315578 1/19/----	5 l. ninda			ku ₆ -še ₃ ġen-na
P127693 3/09/----	12 l. ninda 12 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ ki al-la-še ₃ ġen-na
P128257 1/14/----	4 l. kaš			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal kaš-a gub-ba
P132674 5/09/----	20 l. dabin			aga ₃ -us ₂ sukkal-maḥ
P132933 8/23/----	5 l. ninda			aga ₃ -us ₂ ki al-la-mu-še ₃ ġen-na
P136218 6/12/----	6 l. kaš 4 l. ninda 4 š. i ₃			aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal

Table of aga₃-us₂ in Umma Messenger Texts

Text/Date	Personnel	Amount of Commodities	Designation / Additional
P145533 7/05/----	arad ₂ -ġu ₁₀	3 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃ 2 š. naga 1 ku ₆ 1 sa sum	aga ₃ -us ₂
P120582 4/--/Š46	šu- ^d en-lil ₂	5 l. kaš 5 l. ninda 3 š. i ₃ 2 š. naga 2 sa sum	aga ₃ -us ₂
	arad ₂ -ġu ₁₀	5 l. kaš 5 l. ninda 3 š. i ₃	aga ₃ -us ₂

	ur- ^d šul-pa-e ₃	2 š. naga 2 sa sum 5 l. kaš 5 l. ninda 3 š. i ₃ 2 š. naga 2 sa sum	aga ₃ -us ₂
P200168 3/11/Š47	lu ₂ - ^d en-ki lugal-an-na-tum ₂ ur- ^d suen al-la	5 l. kaš 5 l. ninda 3 š. i ₃ 2 š. naga 5 š. sum 1 did gen 2/30 dabin 3 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 3 š. i ₃ 2 š. naga 2 š. sum 3 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 3 š. i ₃ 2 š. naga 2 š. sum 3 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 3 š. i ₃ 2 š. naga 2 š. sum	lu ₂ -aga ₃ -us ₂ dumu aga ₃ -us ₂ aga ₃ -us ₂ aga ₃ -us ₂
P145554 --/--/AS03	lugal-sig ₅ lu ₂ -kal-la [...]-u ₂	5 l. kaš 5 l. ninda 3 š. i ₃ 2 š. naga 2 sa sum 5 l. kaš 5 l. ninda 2 sa sum 5 l. kaš 5 l. ninda 3 š. i ₃ 2 š. naga 2 sa sum	aga ₃ -us ₂ aga ₃ -us ₂ aga ₃ -us ₂
P208912 11/14/AS08	ur- ^d en-ki	3 l. kaš 2 l. ninda 2 š. i ₃ 2 š. naga 1 ku ₆ 1 sa sum	aga ₃ -us ₂
P209142 12/12/ŠS05	^d er ₃ -ra-nu-IB	3 l. kaš 2 l. ninda	aga ₃ -us ₂

		2 š. i ₃ 2 š. naga 1 sa sum	
--	--	--	--

The aga₃-us₂ in Iri-Saĝrig Messenger Texts Organized by Mission

Text/Date	Personnel	Amount of Commodities	Designation	Mission
Levyng Conscripts				
P453986 13/28/IS01	---		aga ₃ -us ₂ -me	ud eren ₂ še gur ₁₀ -gur ₁₀ zi-zi-de ₃
P285682 3/09/AS08	---	1 l. tu ₇	aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal	ud eren ₂ še zar ₃ tab-ba zi-zi-de ₃
P387975 1/09/IS02	---	10 l. ninda	aga ₃ -us ₂ -me	
P454011 1/10/IS02	---	2 l. tu ₇	aga ₃ -us ₂ -me	
P453937 4/01/IS01	---	10 l. ninda	aga ₃ -us ₂ -me	
P387965 1/03/IS02	---	10 l. ninda	aga ₃ -us ₂ -lugal-me	ud eren ₂ še ĝiš ra-ra zi-zi-de ₃
P454010 1/05/IS02	---	1 l. tu ₇	aga ₃ -us ₂ -lugal-me	
P414590 1/07/IS02	---	2 l. tu ₇	aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal-me	
Other Missions				
P387968 9/11/AS08	a-ḥu-ni	1 l. tu ₇ 1 ku ₆	aga ₃ -us ₂	ud ĝiri ₃ lugal-še ₃
P411936 13/11/IS01	---	5 l. tu ₇	aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal-me	ud siškur ₂ lugal-še ₃
P454052 6/24/IS02	a-ḥu-ba-qar	1 l. tu ₇ 1 ku ₆		ud kaskal NIM ^{ki} -ta im-e-re-ša-a
	ba-ta	1 l. tu ₇ 1 ku ₆		

Appendix D: Table of Livestock Expenditures to the Kitchen for the gar₃-du in Texts from Puzriš-Dagan¹⁶⁰⁹

D = offerings for deities;

Ez = e₂-uz-ga

FN = foreign notable

K = errand-runners (kas₄)

N = notable

O = other

* = tablet is fragmentary or has significant damage

Text / Date	Livestock		Troop Strg.	maškim / ġiri ₃	Additional
	Cattle	Sheep			
P134172 12/24/AS06	---	6	240	Šulgi-uruġu (m)	
P128174 1/20/AS07	---	5	200	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	ša ₃ Nippur
P126052 2/18/AS07	---	5	200	Aradġu (m)	D; K ša ₃ Nippur
P124245 5/02/AS07	---	4	160	Aradġu (m)	
P391025 6/06/AS07	---	15	600	Šulgi-uruġu (ġ) DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	
P123758 6/06/AS07	---	5	200	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	O
P124246 7/22/AS07	---	2	80	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	
P128914 7/23/AS07	---	5	200	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	
P135098 8/10/AS07	---	60	2400	Aradġu (m)	mu nu-banda ₃ u ₃ gar ₃ -du d ⁴ amar-d ⁴ suen kaskal-ta er-ra-ne-še ₃
	1	31	1640		

¹⁶⁰⁹ In these tables the category of “Cattle” denotes bovines in general and does not distinguish age, gender or species. “Sheep” denotes small livestock without distinguishing age or gender, and includes sheep and goats, as well as gazelles (**maš-da₃**), wild goats (**dara**), and the animal **šego-bar**, though the latter three are quite rare. The estimated number of troops fed by the livestock deliveries is based on Allred’s (Cooks and Kitchens, 65) estimates that a bovine would have yielded 400lbs of meat and ovids/caprids would have yielded 40lbs of meat, and his postulation that one pound of meat could feed 1.5 men. I have adjusted this, assuming that one pound of meat would have fed one man. Therefore, though Allred’s estimates for the number of troops per bovine or ovid/caprid amount to 600 men and 60 men respectively, I am positing a more conservative estimate of 400 men per bovine and 40 men per ovid/caprid.

P118509 8/20/AS07	---	40	1600	Aradġu (m)	D; N; K ša ₃ Tummal
P113795 8/29/AS07	---	5	200	Ur-Bau muḥaldim (m)	D; O; N ša ₃ Tummal
P113631 9/11/AS07	---	4	160	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	
P105944 11/07/AS07	---	20	800	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	
P320578 11/23/AS07	---	10	400	---	
P105184 1/05/AS08	1	---	400	---	
P122767 1/18/AS08	---	20	800	---	K
P106284 1/18/AS08	1	---	400	Šulgi-uruġu (ġ) DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	FN
P125852 1/18/AS08	---	20	800	---	K
P102167 1/22/AS08	---	12	480	---	N; K
P106210 2/26/AS08	---	20	800	Aradġu (m)	N
TCUR 22 2/29/AS08	--- ¹⁶¹⁰		??	Aradġu (m)	
P125960 2/29/AS08	---	20	800	Aradġu (m)	D ša ₃ Nippur
P135088 3/14/AS08	---	5	200	Aradġu (m)	D ša ₃ Nippur
P102712 3/14/AS08	---	5	200	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	
P104667 3/26/AS08	---	10	400	Aradġu (m)	

¹⁶¹⁰ 1 dur₃.

P104560 3/27/AS08	---	16	640	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	
P105976 3/27/AS08	---	8	320	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	O
P126757 3/28/AS08	---	10	400	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	
P124146 4/04/AS08	---	10	400	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	
P124147 4/10/AS08	---	11	440	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	
P126306 4/15/AS08	---	20	800	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m) Šulgi-uruĝu (ĝ)	
P126480 4/26/AS08	---	20	800	---	N
P124148 5/06 ² /AS08	---	10	400	---	
P127312* 5/09 ² /AS08	---	7	280	[...] (m)	FN
P104508 5/14/AS08	---	15	600	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	
P201120 5/25/AS08	---	5	200	Aradĝu (m)	D
P118484 5/28/AS08	---	2	80	Šulgi-uruĝu (ĝ)	D; FN
P114316 5/--/AS08	2	---	800	---	O
P201106 6/09/AS08	---	5	200	Aradĝu (m)	D ša ₃ Nippur
P201117 6/10AS08	---	15	600	---	
P124494 6/17/AS08	---	2	80	---	ša ₃ Uruk
P108736 6/27/AS08	---	10	400	---	N ša ₃ Ur
P142409	---	10	400	---	ša ₃ Ur

7/07/AS08					
P109757 7/12/AS08	---	10	400	---	ša ₃ Uruk
P122788 7/18/AS08	---	8	320	---	ša ₃ Nippur
P210408 7/22/AS08	---	14	560	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	K
P122782 7/27/AS08	---	10	400	Šulgi-uruĝu (ĝ) DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	D ša ₃ Nippur
P125905 8/07/AS08	---	10	400	Nanna-kam sukkal (ĝ) Aradĝu sukkal (m)	D ša ₃ Tummal
P128918 8/13/AS08	---	20	800	---	ša ₃ Tummal
P124149 8/15/AS08	---	11	440	---	ša ₃ Tummal
P124150 8/20/AS08	---	25	1000	---	ša ₃ Tummal
P124151 8/22/AS08	---	26	1040	---	ša ₃ Tummal
P126482 10/13/AS08	---	15	600	Aradĝu (m)	FN ša ₃ Ur
P124312* 11/22 ³ /AS08	---	25	1000	---	O
P248745 11/28/AS08	---	20	800	Aradĝu (m) Dayyati (ĝ)	ša ₃ Nippur
P124287 12/04/AS08	---	15	600	Aradĝu (m) Addakala dub-sar (ĝ)	
P100230 12/16/AS08	---	--- ¹⁶¹¹	??	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	
P102460 12/17/AS08	---	--- ¹⁶¹²	??	Aradĝu (m)	O
P100231 1/17/AS09	---	10	400	Aradĝu (m) Nur-Suen dub-sar (ĝ)	ša ₃ a-ša ₄ Amar-Suen- engar-Enlila

¹⁶¹¹ 1 lulim nita₂.

¹⁶¹² 1 lulim munus.

P126752 1/20/AS09	---	5	200	Ur-Amar-Suen sukkal (m) Nur-Suen dub-sar (ĝ)	
P127523 1/22/AS09	---	5	200	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m) Nur-Suen dub-sar (ĝ)	
P126754 2/18/AS09	---	2	80	Aradĝu (m) Nanna-maba dub-sar (ĝ)	
P124152 2/29/AS09	---	7	280	Aradĝu (m) Nanna-maba dub-sar (ĝ)	
P124496 3/23/AS09	---	11	440	Aradĝu (m) Nanna-maba dub-sar (ĝ)	
P124497 3/29/AS09	---	10	400	Ur-Amar-Suen sukkal (m) Nanna-maba dub-sar (ĝ)	O
P120049* 4/20/----	---	10	400	Nanna-kam sukkal (m)	Issued from En-diĝirĝu ša ₃ Nippur
P210346* 7/21/----	---	15	600	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	D; Ez ša ₃ Nippur
P332595* --/--/----	---	8	320	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	[...]
P368374* --/22/----	---	15	600	DINGIR.KAL sukkal (m)	[aga ₃ -us ₂ [?]] gal-gal-me

Appendix E: Table on Settlements that Paid gun₂ ma-da Duties

Key:

gm. = gun₂ ma-da
g. = gun₂
e. = eren₂
š. = ša₃
šg. = šu-gid₂
u. = udu

Tax Amount:

1 gud and 10 udu = 300 eren₂
1 gud alone = 300 eren₂
10 udu alone = 300 eren₂

Settlement	Date	Livestock Amount		Est. Troop Strength	Overseer	Text	Type
		Cattle (gud/ab ₂)	Sheep (udu/maš ₂)				
Abibana	11/--/AS02	4	40	1200	i-ri-ib-um	P292620	e.
	4/29/IS02	2	20	600	a-ḥu-ni d. Iribum	P108667	e., gm.
Agaz	5/08/AS08	4	---	1200	ki-na-mu-ša-ki	P112104	e.
Arame	8/03/Š48	6	60	1800	a-bu-ni	P124798	e.
Arman	8/13/AS05	5	290 ¹⁶¹³	8700	i ₃ -lal ₃ -lum	P234987	e.
	8/13/AS07	5	290	8700	[i ₃ -lal ₃]-lum	P105945	e.
	--/--/ŠS09	3	---	900	a ₂ -pi-la-ša	P134723	e.
	--/--/----	---	[92]+	[2700]+	šu-ru-uš-ki-in	P126313	[e.]
Arraphum	5/25/AS05	20	300	9000	ḥa-ši-pa ₂ -tal	P125583	e.
	5/08/AS08	20	---	6000	puzur ₄ - ^d šul-gi <i>dumu Ḥašip-atal</i>	P112104	e.

¹⁶¹³ Also sent 2 deer (**lulim**) and 2 bears (**az**).

[Aš]šur [?]	--/--/----	[...]	[...]	[...]	[nu]-ur ₂ -eš ₄ -tar ₂	P134727	[...]
Awal	9/11/Š46 11/--/Š47 9/24/AS05	1 10 6	10 220 200	300 6600 6000	i-šar-ra-ma-aš i-šar-ra-ma-aš i-šar-ra-ma-aš	P145800 P429935 P118615	e. e. e.
Babi	7/02/Š43	1	---	300	nigar _x ^{gar} -ki- du ₁₀ ¹⁶¹⁴	P123271	e.
Balue	10/02/Š39 11/18/Š47	[...] 7	[...] 140	[...] 4200	be-li ₂ -ar-ri ₂ -ik dšul-gi-kalam- ma-me-te-bi	P102850 P116158	e. e.
Barman	7/02/Š43	2	10	600		P123271	e.
Bidadun	8/03/Š48	6	60	1800	a-bu-ni	P124798	e.
Bina	7/--/Š48	[4 [?]]	---	1200	---	P123605	š.
Dašibiwe	7/02/Š43	3	30	900	Nigar _x ^{gar} -ki-du ₁₀	P123271	e.
Dašil	9/24/AS05 --/--/---- --/--/----	5 [...] ---	60 [...] 875	1500-1800 [...] 26,250	i-šar-ra-ma-aš d ⁱ škur-da-ni ---	P118615 P134727 P109322	e. e. š.
Der	9/--/AS01 3/30/AS02	--- ---	131 299	3930 8970	[...] šu-d ^s uen	P320519	šg.
Der	9/--/AS01 3/30/AS02 3/--/AS02	--- --- ---	131 [299] 398	3930 8970 11,940	--- šu-d ^s uen ¹⁶¹⁵ šu-d ^s uen	P320519 P125588 P118295	šg. u. ---

¹⁶¹⁴ Not strictly called ugula, but the captains called lu2 Ningar---me

¹⁶¹⁵ Šu-Suen is always designated as “prince” (**dumu lugal**), never commander (**ugula**) or governor (**ensi**₂). Standard designations are generally absent; usually just states that the animals are from Der (**BAD.AN^{ki}-ta**).

	--/--/----	---	1200	36,000	---	P111927	---
Der-KI.ZI	9/11/AS05	17	400	5100-12,000	DINGIR-i ₃ -li ₂	P129420	š.
Dur-Ebla	6d/--/Š44 5/08/AS08	5 7	50 ---	1500 2100	(nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂) ¹⁶¹⁶ nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂	P123359 P112104	e. e.
Durmaš	5/08/AS08	5	---	1500	šu- ^d šul-gi	P112104	e.
Ebal	9/11/AS05 9/06/ŠS01 --/--/----	15 [...] ---	105 --- 280	3150-4500 [...] 8400	šu-ru-uš-ki-in šu-ru-uš-ki-in šu-ru-uš-ki-in	P129420 P113898 P126313	š. e. e.
Erut	7/02/Š43	4	40	1200	nigar _x ^{gar} -ki-du ₁₀	P123271	e.
Ešnunna	8/03/Š48	6	60	1800	a-bu-ni	P124798	e.
Gablaš	7/02/Š43 5/08/AS08	6 [...]	80 ---	1800-2400 [...]	nigar _x ^{gar} -ki-du ₁₀ i ₃ -la-lum	P123271 P112104	e. e.
Gar-NE.NE	--/--/Š43 7/22/Š48 9/11/AS05 --/13/----	8 4 4 4	--- 300 300 ---	2400 1200-9000 1200-9000 1200	--- nir-i ₃ -da-ġal ₂ nir-i ₃ -da-ġal ₂ ---	P108693 P128820 P129420 P128022	e. e. š. ---
Ḫabura	3/18/ŠS03	23	---	6900	---	P105106	e.
Ḫamazi	4/--/AS07 5/08/AS08 5/16/ŠS08	30 [...] ---	1141 --- 234	34,230 [...] 7020	--- i ₃ -la-lum ---	P111921 P112104 P134742	šg. u. e. šg. u.
Ḫarši	9/06/ŠS01	---	1700 ¹⁶¹⁷	51,000	i-ti- ^d da-gan	P113898	--- ¹⁶¹⁸

¹⁶¹⁶ Not explicitly labeled as **ugula**, but is the only person associated with Dur-Ebla.

¹⁶¹⁷ 2 bears (**az**) were part of the delivery as well.

¹⁶¹⁸ Animals simply noted as coming from the governor of Ḫarši (**i-ši-pi-ir ensi₂ ḫa-ar-ši^{ki}<-ta>**).

Ĥebilat	3/23/ŠS03	5	---	1500	---	P249254	e.
Ĥubni	11/--/Š47 9/22/AS05	10 17	100 170	3000 5100	i-ti- ^d suen i ₃ -lal ₃ -lum	P429935 P123827	e. e.
Ĥurti	1/12/AS01	7	---	2100	---	P125772	e.
Ibbal	7/11/Š46 4/29/IS02	3 3	30 30	900 900	na-ra-am-i ₃ -li ₂ lu ₂ - ^d nanna <i>Zimudar</i>	P142050 P108667	e. e.
Innaba	12/17/Š46	6	27	810-1800	su-ša-nu-um	P123731	e.
Išim-Šulgi	9/11/AS05 3/13/AS08 4/29/IS02	17 17 17	140 --- 170	4200-5100 5100 5100	nu-i ₃ -da nu-i ₃ -da ši-lu-uš- ^d da-gan	P129420 P109321 P108667	š. e. e., gm.
Išum	8/13/AS07 --/--/----	1 ---	26 [23]+	300-780 [690]+	[...] [...]	P105945 P126313	e. e.
Išur	3/13/AS08	10	---	3000	i-ti-ib-ši-na-at	P109321	e.
Kakkulatūm	11/--/AS02 4/29/IS02	4 3	40 30	1200 900	i-ri-bu-um a-ḥu-ni <i>dumu i-ri-bu-um</i>	P292620 P108667	e. e., gm.
Karaḥar	--/--/----	2	---	600	---	P126313	e.
Kimaš	1/--/Š40 2d/--/Š44 4/27/Š45 3/17/Š46	--- 10 16 5	213 --- --- ---	6390 3000 4800 1500	--- --- --- ---	P142367 P303668 P134908 P109521	u. e. e. e.

Kišgati (ki-iš-ga-ti ^{ki})	4/29/IS02	8	80	2400	ši-lu-uš- ^d šul-gi	P108667	e., gm.
Kismar (ki-is-mar ^{ki})	9/--/Š46 6/04/ŠS04	1 ---	10 398	300 11,940	nu-ur ₂ -eš ₄ -tar ₂ ---	P200579 P107943	e. u.
Lullubu (lu-lu-bu ^{ki} , lu ₂ -lu-lu ^{ki})	8/--/Š43 5/08/AS08	72 10	--- ---	21,600 3000	--- da-da <i>dumu lugal</i>	P116225 P112104	e. e.
Maḥazum (ma-ḥa-zum ^{ki})	--/30/----	2	30	600-900	arad ₂ -ḡu ₁₀	P136225	[x]
Marman (mar ₂ -ma-an ^{ki})	7/17/Š47	---	10	300	na-ra-am-i ₃ -li ₂	P117640	e.
Maškan-abi (maš-kan ₂ -a-bi ₂ ^{ki})	3/13/AS08 4/29/IS02	8 8	--- 80	2400 2400	inim- ^d nanna lu ₂ - ^d nanna <i>Maškan-abi</i>	P109321 P108667	e. e., gm.
Maškan-gaeš (maš-kan ₂ - gaeš ^{sar.ki})	--/--/----	1	10	300	a-mur-DINGIR	P134727	e.
Maškan-šarrum (maš-kan ₂ - šar-ru-um ^{ki})	11/01/Š47 3/13/AS08 --/--/----	9 9 ---	180 --- [240+]	2700-5400 2700 [7200+]	in-ta-e ₃ -a na-aḥ-šum-BAL ---	P128095 P109321 P109322	e. e. š.
Maškan-ušuri	8/26/Š48 4/29/IS02	2 1	20 10	600 300	lugal-pa-e ₃ kur-bi-la-ak	P429788 P108667	e. e., gm.
Neber-Amar-Suen	9/09/AS05	35	540	10,500- 16,200	arad-ḡu ₁₀	P116153	e.
Nidarašwe	--/--/----	---	[21]+	630	lugal-ma ₂ -gur ₈ - re	P126313	e.
Nihi	8/--/Š48	3	60	900-1800	arad-ḡu ₁₀	P128619	e.

Ninua	3/18/ŠS03	2	---	600	---	P105106	e.
Nugar	9/09/AS05	2	20	600	du-uk-ra	P116153	e.
Puḫzigar (pu-uḫ ₂ -zi-gar ₃ ^{ki})	12/09/Š47 4/29/IS02	1 1	10 10	300 300	a-mur-e ₂ -a a-ḫu-ni <i>dumu i-ri-bu-um</i>	P125864 P108667	e. e., gm.
Putšadar (pu-ut-ša-dar ^{ki})	4/29/IS02	4	40	1200	ḫu-um-zum	P108667	e., gm.
Puttulium	9/19/Š48 3/13/AS08 3/25/ŠS07	12 8 ---	--- --- 80	3600 2400 2400	--- ḫu-ba-a ib-ni- ^d šul-gi	P103588 P109321 P127555	š. e. e., gm.
Rabi	8/13/AS05 8/13/AS07 --/--/----	6 5 ---	290 264 140	1800-8700 1500-7920 4200	i ₃ -lal ₃ -lum --- šu-ru-uš-ki-in	P234987 P105945 P126313	e. e. [e.]
Šami	4/29/IS02	4	40	1200	lu ₂ - ^d nanna <i>Zimudar</i>	P108667	e., gm.
Šeše'il	7/25/Š46	10	---	3000	a-bi ₂ -ki-in	P126498	e.
Šetirša	7/11/AS05 8/13/ŠS07	5 4	--- ---	1500 1200	ta ₂ -ḫi-še-en arad ₂ -ḡu ₁₀ ¹⁶¹⁹	P123822 P107439	e. e., gm.
Sigan	7/--/Š48	22	---	6600	---	P123605	š.
Si'ummi	8/--/Š48	5	50	1500	ḫu-ba-a	P128619	e.
Šu'aḫi	7/02/Š43 5/08/AS08	4 [3]+	40 ---	1200 [900]+	nigar _x ^{gar} -ki-du ₁₀ i ₃ -la-lum	P123271 P112104	e. e.

¹⁶¹⁹ Taḫišen is still listed as giving an ox and as ḡiri₃-agent.

Šuirḫum	7/02/Š43 5/08/AS08	6 [6]	70 ---	1800-2100 1800	nigar _x ^{gar} -ki-du ₁₀ i ₃ -la-lum	P123271 P112104	e. e.
Šumtium	12/17/Š46	2	---	600	ḫu-ba-a	P123731	e.
Šunti	6/17/Š46	6	---	1800	ḫu-ba-a	P123301	e.
Šu-Suen-idug	9/13/ŠS--	[...]	[35+]	[1050+]	^d nanna-igi-du	P104420	e., gm.
Tablala	6d/--/Š44 7/22/Š48 7/17/AS05 9/11/AS05	[...] 2 1 2	[51+] 120 --- 60	[1530+] 600-3600 300 600-1800	--- nir-i ₃ -da-ĝal ₂ --- nir-i ₃ -da-ĝal ₂	P123359 P128820 P123824 P129420	e. e. š.
Tabra	8/--/Š43	3	---	900	---	P116225	e.
Terga	--/--/----	---	[10]	300	šeš-kal-la	P134727	e.
Tiran (ti-ra-an ^{ki})	8/13/AS05 8/13/AS07 --/--/---- --/--/---- --/--/----	1 1 1 1 ---	[10 [?]] 18 18 18 [19 [?]]	300 300-540 300-540 300-540 [570 [?]]	i ₃ -lal ₃ -lum --- šar-ru-um-ba-ni šar-ru-um-ba-ni [...]	P234987 P105945 P131096 P330685 P126313	e. e. g. e. [e.]
Tutub (tu-tu-ub ^{ki})	4/29/IS02	6	60	1800	lu ₂ - ^d nanna <i>Maškan-abi</i>	P108667	e., gm.
Urbilum	8/13/ŠS07 --/--/----	70 7	--- ---	21,000 2100	u ₂ -na-ap-a-tal ---	P107439 P116193	e., gm. e.
Urguḫalam	--/--/----	3	30	900	a-mur-DINGIR	P134727	e.
Ya'amiš	7/23/Š48	---	60	1800	ur- ^d suen	P124813	e.

Zatum	8/--/Š43 5/08/AS08 --/--/ŠS09	14 10 10	--- --- ---	4200 3000 3000	--- šeš-kal-la šeš-kal-la	P116225 P112104 P131108	e. e. g.
Zibire	9/14/AS05	2	210	600-6300	ma ₂ -sa ₆ -sa ₆	P142632	e.
Zimudar	11/28/Š47 11/--/AS02	[13] 15	130 150	3900 4500	zi-kur-i ₃ -li ₂ zi-kur-i ₃ -li ₂	P124857 P292620	e. e.
Khuzistan Politics							
AdamDUN	12/06/Š45 8/--/Š46 9/30/Š47 --/--/AS08 8/26/AS09 --/30/----	[...] --- 7200 ¹⁶²⁰ --- --- [...]	1680 6190 1618 1200 1200 [...]	[50,400+] 185,700 48,540 36,000 36,000 [...]	u ₁₈ -ba-a u ₁₉ -ba-a ¹⁶²¹ u ₁₈ -ba-a ¹⁶²² u ₁₈ -ba-a u ₁₈ -ba-a u ₁₈ -ba-a	P100971 P122166 P142571 P130415 P130415 P136225	e. šg. g. g., e. g., e. e.
Susa	7/08/Š46	55	1814	54,420	---	P107636	g.
Urua	2/--/Š40 6/30/Š45 6/--/Š46 --/--/----	--- 2 --- 1	821 148 1974 10	24,630 4440 59,220 300	--- --- --- šeš-kal-la	P112147 P117290 P126146 P290500	u. e. šg. u. --- ¹⁶²³
Pašime	6/--/Š43 12/--/ŠS06	3 21	180 [518+]	5400 15,540	--- arad ₂ -ġu ₁₀ ¹⁶²⁴	P124433	e.

¹⁶²⁰ This instance we will go with the lesser number, because basing the troop strength off of the cattle delivery gives a troop strength of over 2 million men.

¹⁶²¹ Uba'a is called **ensi₂** in this text, though the previous one simply labeled him as **ugula**.

¹⁶²² Uba'a does not bear a designation; livestock simply noted as coming from him (**ki u₁₈-ba-a-ta**).

¹⁶²³ **aga₃-us₂ URUxA^{ki}-me-eš₂**.

¹⁶²⁴ Text simply states “from the secretary-of-state” (**ki sukkal-mah-ta**) whom we know was Arad-Nanna/ġu during the reign of Šu-Suen and whose seal impression gives him the title of “general of Pašime.”

Sabum	9/19/Š48	29	---	8700	---	P103588	š.
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Deliveries made from Tax Contributions of Garrison Settlements

Place	Cattle	Sheep	Designation	Date	Text
Abibana	1	20	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ Abibana	10/04/AS04	P105907 ¹⁶²⁵
AdamDUN	---	384	ša ₃ udu AdamDUN udu AdamDUN	8/--/Š46	P125455 ¹⁶²⁶ P135041 P134871
	---	225	ša ₃ gun ₂ AdamDUN	9/--/Š47	P125434 ¹⁶²⁷
	20	210	mu AdamDUN-še ₃	--/--/----	P128944 ¹⁶²⁸
Aššur	1	10	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ Aššur	12/16/AS--	P126176
Balue	1	12	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ Balue	10/30/AS02	P143924
Der	---	2	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ Der	7/16/Š48	P123346
	---	5	ša ₃ mu-ku _x aga ₃ -us ₂ lu ₂ Der	8/28/AS02	P104103
	---	60	ša ₃ mu-ku _x aga ₃ -us ₂ lu ₂ Der	9/--/AS04	P116227
	---	154	udu Der	--/07/----	P202540
Ebal	---	5	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ Ebal	9/20/AS04	P102016
Eduru-Šulgi	1	4	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ Eduru-Šulgi	--/29/----	P125945
Garnene	---	2	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ Garnene	8/03/AS01	P103997

¹⁶²⁵ P116195 is the same delivery though on a summary tablet.

¹⁶²⁶ The two texts listed below are copies with variant formats of this text and they list the dead sheep (**ba-ug₇**) that comprised part of the delivery found in P122166.

¹⁶²⁷ Lists the dead sheep which comprised part of the delivery found in P142571.

¹⁶²⁸ Forms part of a list of available capital (**saĝ-niĝ₂-gur₁₁-ra-kam**) in which Uba'a delivered the animals on behalf (**mu...GN-še₃**) of AdamDUN and Hupum.

Harši	---	3	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ Harši	4/14/Š47	P303355
Ḫupum	2	20	mu Ḫupum-še ₃	--/--/----	P128944
Ibbal	5	50	mu-ku _x eren ₂ Ibbal	8/14/AS07	P124920
Maškan-šarrum	---	2	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ Maškan-šarrum	9/10/AS01	P124897
Neberum	---	10	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ Neberum	8/11/AS02	P124905
NIdarašwe	---	2	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ NIdarašwe	8/06/AS02	P105179
	---	7	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ NIdarašwe	8/16/AS04	P102015
Sabum	3	6	ša ₃ gun ₂ Sabum	8/03/AS01	P103997
	---	600	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ Sabum	6/22/AS04	P112129
Susa	---	1	ša ₃ mu-ku _x gun ₂ Susa	7/12/Š48	P123619
	---	132	ša ₃ gun ₂ Susa	4/07/IS02	P105219
Šanidat	---	1	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ Šanidat	5/--/AS01	P143863
	---	1	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ Šanidat	--/29/----	P125945
Tutub	1	10	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ Tutub	2/25/AS04	P104096
Urua	3	---	ša ₃ mu-ku _x eren ₂ Urua	10/30/AS02	P143924
	3	180	mu-ku _x eren ₂ Urua	9/13/AS06	P144114

Appendix F: Highlander Groups in Messenger Texts

Abbreviations:

Amounts:

l. = liters (sila₃), j. = jars (dug), sh. = shekels (gin₂), a. = a₂-GAM (vessel)

Titles/Designations:

skl = sukkal; k = lu₂-kas₄; rg = ra₂-gaba; lk(l) = lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a (lugal); m = mar-tu

au = aga₃-us₂; aug = aga₃-us₂ gal; augg = aga₃-us₂ gal-gal; lt(gl) = lu₂-ĝi^štukul (gu-la);

dnb = dumu nu-banda₃; PN = personal name

(!) refers to implied instead of explicit origins/destinations

* refers to fragmentary or damaged tablets

Girsu Messenger Texts

Šimaški

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ĝiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P100201 7/--/----	---	---	60 l.	---	---	---	Šimaški	---	šeš-ba	---
P100313 5/--/----	40 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Šimaški	---	dnb	---
P315536 12/--/----	40 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		---	---
P206555 8/--/----	1 j.	1 j.	10 l.	---	---	---	Urim (!)	Kimaš (!)	---	---
CTPSM 211 7/11/----	40 l.	---	---	30 l.	1 l.	---	---	---	skl	---
CTPSM 213 7/--/----	---	---	80 l.	---	---	---	Šimaški	---	skl	---
CTPSM 214 7/--/----	[...]	---	[...]	---	[...]	---	Anšan (!)	---	---	---
CTPSM 224 9/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	1 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Šimaški	skl	---

CTPSM 249 ¹⁶²⁹ --/--/---- --/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P123162 1/--/----	---	2 j.	40 l.	---	3 a.	---	---	---	skl	---
P123048 4/29/----	---	---	2 l.	---	1 a.	---	---	---	---	---
P123079 4/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	40 l.	1 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru	---	skl	---
P123059 5/02/----	120 l.	---	---	120 l.	2 l.	---	Nibru	---	skl	NIM Šimaški u ₃ Duḫduḫne
P122949 7/--/----	[...]	---	[...]	---	5/6 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru	---	skl	---
P123011 9/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	2 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru	---	skl	---
P108833 8/--/ŠS01	---	1 j.	---	60 l.	1 l.	1 udu u ₂	---	---	lkl/k	---
P108940 8/29/----	20 l.	---	---	20 l.	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
P109162 7/--/----	---	---	90 l.	---	---	---	Šimaški	---	skl skl	---
P109163 12/--/----	---	---	---	10 l.	½ l.	---	Šimaši	---	aug	---
P109999 12/--/---- 12/--/----	---	---	25 l. 20 l.	---	---	---	---	Šimaški	skl	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
	---	---	45 l. 40 l.	---	---	---	---	Šimaški	dnb	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
P110012 5/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Šimaški	skl	---
P110036 5/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Šimaški	skl	---
P110101 9/--/----	---	---	70 l. 70 l.	---	---	---	---	Šimaški	dnb	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃

¹⁶²⁹ Summary messenger text.

P110157 ¹⁶³⁰ 4/--/----	---	---	---	---	1 l.	---	Šimaši	---	k	---
P110209 7/--/----	---	1 j.	---	---	---	---	---	Urim	skl	---
P110329 5/--/----	270 l.	---	270 l.	---	2 l.	---	---	Šimaški	lt	---
P110335 7/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Šimaški	aug	---
P110340 8/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Šimaški	skl	---
P110347 12/--/----	20 l.	---	15 l.	---	3 a.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P110355 6/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1 l.	---	Šimaški	---	skl	---
P110369 10/--/----	10 l.	---	20 l.	---	5 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru	---	skl	---
P111500 9/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	lt	u ₃ -na-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ-ta
P315771 7/--/----	---	---	---	210 l.	---	---	---	Šimaški	---	NIM dab ₅ -ba
P315776 12/--/----	30 l.	---	25 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	PN	ma ₂ -ta ġen-na-me
P315812 8/--/----	---	1 j.	---	60 l.	---	---	---	---	skl	NIM tuš-ba ma ₂ -ta ġen-na
P116249 2/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	Šimaški	k	---
P320142 7/12/ŠS01	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Šimaški	lt	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ
P317781 ¹⁶³¹ 11/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Šimaški	lt	---
11/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	½ l.	---	Šimaški	---	lt	---
	70 l.	3 j.	70 l.	---	1 ½ l.	---	---	---	---	---

¹⁶³⁰ The ġirī3-agent is Šu-Suen, possibly the prince.

¹⁶³¹ Summary messenger text.

P206877 ¹⁶³²										
9/--/----	40 l.	---	30 l.	---	2/3 l.	---	---	---	---	---
10/--/----	---	2 j.	35 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	skl	---
10/--/----	40 l.	---	35 l.	---	¾ l.	---	---	---	---	---
10/--/----	---	2 j.	40 l.	---	5 a.	---	---	---	skl	---
10/--/----	40 l.	---	30 l.	---	5 a.	---	---	---	skl	---
10/--/----	---	2 j.	40 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	skl	---
10/--/----	---	3 j.	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	skl	---
11/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	5 a.	---	---	---	---	---
11/--/----										
P412670 ¹⁶³³	[...]	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	PN	---
10/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	3 l.	---	---	Šimaški	skl	---
10/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
11/--/----										
--/--/----	[...]	---	[...]	---	[...]	---	Šimaški	---	dnb	NIM Šimaški u ₃ Anšan-me
--/--/----	180 l.	---	(190 l.)	---	2 l.	---	---	---	skl	ša ₃ uru-še ₃
--/--/----	90 l.	---	90 l.	---	1 l.	---	Šimaški	---	dnb	NIM Šimaški u ₃ Anšan-me
P295828	---	2 j.	---	35 l.	---	5 a.	Nibru u ₃ Anšan	---	skl	---
7/--/----										
P106919	---	2 j.	---	40 l.	---	---	---	Urim	skl	---

¹⁶³² Summary messenger text.

¹⁶³³ Summary messenger text.

3/--/----										
P106931 7/--/----	---	2 j.	40 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
P106950 2/--/----	---	2 j.	---	40 l.	½ l.	---	Anšan (!)	---	---	---
P106969 4/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	10 sh.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		---	---
P106974 1/--/----	---	2 j.	---	40 l.	4 a.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P106975 1/--/----	---	1 j.	20 l.	---	5 a.	---	Anšan	---	---	---
P106983 1/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	2 a.	---	Anšan	---	rg	---
P106985 2/--/----	30 l.	---	50 l.	---	3 a.	---	Anšan	---	---	---
2/--/----	---	1 j.	---	30 l.	3 a.	---	Nibru	---	---	---
P106989 5/--/----	---	3 j.	65 l.	---	5 a.	---	Anšan (!)	---	PN	---
P106990 5/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		PN	---
P106993 5/--/----	---	1 j.	---	20 l.	6 a.	---	Anšan (!)	---	---	---
P106999 8/--/----	---	2 j.	---	30 l.	5 a.	---	Nibru	---	skl	ma ₂ -ta
P107007 9/--/----	---	2 j.	---	40 l.	2/3 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P107010 10/--/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	2 a.	---	Nibru	---	k	---
P107012 10/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	5 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P107049 10/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Šimaški	skl	---
P107065 6/--/----	20 l.	---	15 l.	---	3 a.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P107068	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	Urim	skl	---

5/--/----										
P107074 1/--/----	25 l.	---	20 l.	---	5 a.	---	Anšan	---	---	---
P114453 ¹⁶³⁴ 1/--/----	30 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	(k)	---
1/--/----	50 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	skl	---
2/--/----	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	k skl	---
3/--/----	90 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	k	---
P114454 1/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	4 a.	---	Nibru (!)	---	skl	---
P114504 6/07/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1 l.	---	Nibru	---	PN	---
P115177 6/02/Š44	---	1 j.	---	10 l.	8 sh.	---	---	---	---	<i>the NIM are 2 named individuals</i>
P115265 9/--/----	20 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Anšan (!)	---	---	NIM 11
P115773 4/--/----	10 l.	---	40 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Šimaški	aug	---
P115778 7/--/----	---	---	---	75 l. 150 l.	---	---	---	Šimaški	skl	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
P115931 5/--/----	[...]	---	---	30 l.	2/3 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		---	---
P116124 7/--/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	1 l.	---			skl	Šimaški -[?] du-ni
P120132 1/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1 a.	---	Nibru	---	ltgl	---
P120157 5/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Urim	PN	---
P206220 6/--/----	---	---	---	---	1 l.	---	Šimaški	---	dnb	---

¹⁶³⁴ Summary messenger text.

P206214 5/--/----	40 l.	---	35 l.	---	---	---	Nibru (!)	---	---	---
P206212 9/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Šimaški	skl	---
P121105 10/18/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Nibru	---	PN	---
P202058 4/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	5 a.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P2020105 11/--/----	---	3 j.	40 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		---	---
P202069 5/10/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	PN PN	---
P202080 6/--/----	---	2 j.	---	35 l.	5 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P202049 3/--/----	---	2 j.	40 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P202036 1/--/----	---	3 j.	---	60 l.	½ l.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P356029 9/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Šimaški	rg	---
P356029 9/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Šimaški	ltgl	---
P356034 1/--/----	---	1 j.	---	20 l.	---	---	Anšan	---	---	---
P405816 12/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		PN	---
P405932 4/--/----	30 l.	1 j.	20 l.	---	½ l.	---	Nibru	---	skl	---
P406056 6/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	5 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		---	---
P406415 ¹⁶³⁵ 12/--/----	90 l.	[...]	130 l.	---	2 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P406513 11d/--/----	---	3 j.	---	40 l.	5 a.	---	Anšan (!)	---	PN	ma ₂ -ta ġen-na-me

¹⁶³⁵ Summary messenger text.

P123062 5/--/----	---	---	---	70 l.	---	---	Šimaški	---	k	---
P209838 ¹⁶³⁶ --/--/----	120 l.	---	120 l.	---	1 ½ l.	---	---	Šimaški	skl	---
P209826 7/--/----	---	---	---	---	---	1 udu	---	---	---	šku ensi ₂
P315620 4/23/----	60 l.	---	---	60 l.	1 l.	---	---	---	PN	---
P379234 5/--/----	[...]	---	---	---	---	---	---	Šimaški	skl	---
P127709 7/--/----	10 l.	---	---	10 l.	10 sh.	---	Šušin	---	k	---
P127714 7/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---			---	Anšan u ₃ Šimaški-[x] du-ne-ne
P128007 1/--/----	---	2 j.	35 l.	---	5 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P128009 6/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	1 a.	---	Anšan (!)	---	skl	---
P131229 --/--/----	---	---	150 l. 120 l.	---	---	---	---	---	skl	---
P131252 6/--/----	---	---	---	---	1 l.	---	Šimaški	---	k	---
P131254 1/--/----	---	---	---	---	1 l.	---	---	Šimaški	skl	---
P131262 5/--/----	100 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	Šimaški	dnb	---
P131268 6/--/----	60 l. 60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	Šimaški	skl	---
P131317 1/06/ŠS08	---	---	---	---	---	7 udu	---	---	dub- sar	---
P129620 9/--/----	---	---	---	60 l. 60 l.	---	---	---	Šimaški	skl	---

¹⁶³⁶ Summary messenger text.

P234823 9/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Šimaški u ₃ Anšan	---	skl	NIM Šimaški u ₃ Anšan
P110535 --/--/----	30 l.	---	---	30 l.	1 l.	---	---	Šušin	dnb	---
P110543 --/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	½ l.	---	Šušin	---	k	---
P110587 7/--/ŠS04	20 l.	2 j. 3 j.	20 l. 60 l.	40 l.	1 l.	---	---	Urim	lt	ša ₃ Kinunir
P110745 ¹⁶³⁷ 6/--/---- 7/--/---- 8/--/---- 9/--/----	120 l.	---	---	120 l.	2 l.	---	---	---	---	---
	150 l.	---	---	150 l.	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
	120 l.	---	120 l.	---	2 l.	---	---	---	---	---
	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
P110891 --/--/----	---	3 j.	---	60 l.	1 l.	1 udu	---	---	---	---
P132439 3/--/----	40 l.	---	---	40 l.	---	1 udu	---	Šimaški	lt	---
P132453 10/--/----	120 l.	---	120 l.	---	½ l.	---	Urim	---	ltgl	---
P132550 3/17/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	Šimaški	lt	---
P132678 8/16/----	60 l.	---	---	60 l.	1 l.	---			lt	Šimaški-[x] u ₃ -na-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ
P133350 2/08/----	60 l.	---	---	60 l.	1 l.	1 udu	---	---	PN	---
P133559 7/--/----	120 l.	---	120 l.	---	2 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Šimaški	---	---	---
P133560 8/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---			lt	Šimaški-[x] u ₃ -na-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ

¹⁶³⁷ Summary messenger text.

P135791 9/--/----	---	2 j.	30 l.	---	1 a.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P135792 1/--/----	15 l.	1 j.	---	20 l.	6 a.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P135807 7/--/-----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Šimaški	---	skl	---
P113517 6/--/----	40 l.	---	25 l.	---	6 a.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P113524 10/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---			lt	Šimaši-[x] u ₃ -na-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ-ta
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				

Anšan

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P100198 7/--/----	60 l. 60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	Anšan	skl	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
P105311 11/20/----	60 l.	---	---	60 l.	1 l.	---	Nibru	---	skl	---
CTPSM 149 1/--/----	20 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Anšan	---	rg	---
CTPSM 159 2/--/----	---	---	60 l. 60 l.	---	---	---	---	Anšan	dnb	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
P123003 1/--/----	---	---	60 l. 40 l.	---	---	---	---	Anšan	k	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
P122976 5/--/----	---	2 j.	25 l.	---	12 sh.	---	---	Urim	skl	---
P122970 8/--/----	15 l.	---	15 l.	---	---	---	Anšan	---	PN	---
P108861 11/30/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---

P109999 12/--/----	---	---	45 l. 40 l.	---	---	---	---	Šimaški	---	NIM Šimaški u ₃ Anšan-me
P110008 1/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	½ l.	---	Anšan	---	rg	---
P110023 1/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Anšan	skl	---
P110043 3/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	Anšan	---	k	---
P110086 ¹⁶³⁸ 9/--/----	---	---	---	70 l.	---	---	Šušin	---	šakkan ₆	---
P110096 5/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	2 l.	---	---	Anšan	skl	---
P110163 4/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	10 sh.	---	Anšan	---	dnb	---
P110215 7/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Anšan	skl	---
P110226 7/--/----	---	---	---	---	1 l. 1 l.	---	---	Anšan	skl	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
P110361 10/--/----	---	---	30 l.	---	---	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P111791 1/--/----	60 l. 60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	Anšan	skl	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
P315783 6/--/----	---	---	---	300 l.	---	---	---	Anšan	lt	kaskal-še ₃
P317781 ¹⁶³⁹ 11/--/----	---	3 j.	---	60 l.	½ l.	---	---	Anšan	lt	---
P206877 ¹⁶⁴⁰ 10/--/----	20 l.	---	---	40 l.	5 a.	---	---	---	---	---
	30 l.	---	35 l.	---	5 a.	---	---	---	---	---
P412670 ¹⁶⁴¹	70 l.	---	---	70 l.	---	---	Šušin	---	šakkan ₆	---

¹⁶³⁸ Individual receipt tallied in the summary text P412670.

¹⁶³⁹ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁴⁰ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁴¹ Summary messenger text.

9/--/----										
11/--/----	120 l.	---	120 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
--/--/----	[...]	---	[...]	---	[...]	---	Šimaški	---	dnb	NIM Šimaški u ₃ Anšan-me
--/--/----	90 l.	---	90 l.	---	1 l.	---	Šimaški	---	dnb	NIM Šimaški u ₃ Anšan-me
P106958 10/--/----	30 l.	---	15 l.	---	10 sh.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P106964 12/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	2 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P106967 --/--/----	20 l.	---	15 l.	---	---	---	Anšan	---	k	---
P106984 8/--/----	20 l.	---	---	20 l.	1 l.	1 udu	---	Anšan	skl	---
P106986 4/--/----	---	2 j.	---	40 l.	2/3 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		---	---
P107014 12/--/----	---	1 j.	---	20 l.	---	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P107017 10/--/----	30 l.	---	40 l.	---	5 a.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P107022 2/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Anšan	dnb	---
P107039 9/--/----	60 l.	4 j.	150 l.	---	2 l.	---	---	---	rg	NIM lu ₂ Anšan ġen-na-me
P107050 10/--/----	70 l.	---	70 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	Anšan	dnb	---
P107054 11/12/----	20 l.	---	---	20 l.	3 a.	---	---	---	---	---
P114453 ¹⁶⁴² 1/--/----	90 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	k	---
3/--/----	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	k	---

¹⁶⁴² Summary messenger text.

P114466 7/--/----	---	1 j.	---	20 l.	3 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		---	---
P115095 12/--/----	---	---	25 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	NIM Anšan dab ₅ -ba 25
P115300 1/--/----	---	---	10 l.	---	---	---	---	Šušin	k	---
P115771 4/--/----	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Anšan	---	dnb	---
P115778 7/--/----	---	---	130 l.	130 l.	---	---	---	Anšan	skl	---
P119726 1/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Anšan	---	dnb	---
P206228 7/--/----	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	k	---
P202098 10/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	5 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P202062 9/--/----	40 l.	---	30 l.	---	---	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P320489 --/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Anšan	aug	---
P356008 9/--/----	30 l.	---	20 l.	---	---	---	Anšan	---	k	---
P406053 2/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Anšan	---	k	---
P406415 ¹⁶⁴³ 12/--/----	60 l.	---	35 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	PN	---
P406464 10/13/----	---	---	120 l. 120 l.	---	---	---	---	Anšan	skl	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
P406466 6/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Anšan	ltgl	---
P406467 3/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P406469 1/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Anšan	skl	---

¹⁶⁴³ Summary messenger text.

P406473 1/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	Anšan	---	rg	---
P499514 2/--/----	---	2 j.	---	20 l.	---	---	---	---	PN	---
P315568 11/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	1 a.	---	---	---	---	---
P127676 5/10/----	---	1 j.	10 l.	---	---	---	---	---	PN	---
P127684 7/08/----	90 l.	---	---	90 l.	2 l.	2 udu	---	---	PN	---
P127712 6/--/AS09	20 l.	2 j.	60 l.	---	½ l.	---	Urim	---	lt	---
P127714 7/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	--	Anšan u ₃ Šimaški-[x]
P128509 11/--/----	10 l.	1 j.	---	---	---	---	Anšan	---	aug	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
P133571 ¹⁶⁴⁴ --/--/----	90 l.	---	90 l.	---	1 l. 2 sh.	---	---	---	---	---
P131245 1/--/----	---	2 j.	---	40 l.	1/3 l.	---	---	Anšan	---	---
P131246 6/--/----	---	---	---	---	2 l.	---	---	Anšan	ltgl	---
P131248 3/--/----	---	---	---	---	1 a.	---	---	Anšan	skl	---
P204462 --/--/AS03	---	---	---	---	---	30 ad ₇ udu	---	---	lkl	---
P234823 9/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Šimaški u ₃ Anšan	---	skl skl	---
P110509 --/--/----	25 l.	---	25 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
P110536 --/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	Anšan	---	k	---
P110745 ¹⁶⁴⁵	15 l.	---	15 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

¹⁶⁴⁴ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁴⁵ Summary messenger text.

6/--/----										
	520 l.	---	540 l.	---	10 l.	---	---	---	---	---
7/--/----										
	120 l.	---	120 l.	---	2 l.	---	---	---	---	---
8/--/----										
	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
9/--/----										
P110891 ¹⁶⁴⁶ --/--/----	[...]	---	[...]	---	[...]	---	---	---	---	---
P110899 ¹⁶⁴⁷ 2/--/----	---	---	---	---	---	2 udu	---	---	PN	---
P132377 2/--/----	30 l.	---	---	30 l.	1 l.	4 udu	---	Anšan	skl	ud 3-kam
P132661 2/--/----	110 l.	---	---	180 l.	---	---	Anšan	---	šakkan ₆	---
P133200 3/24/----	20 l.	---	---	40 l.	1 l.	1 udu	---	Anšan	lt	---
P133351 ¹⁶⁴⁸ 3/03/----	120 l.	---	30 l.	90 l.	2 l.	---	---	---	nubanda	---
P133410 2/--/----	210 l.	---	80 l.	130 l.	---	3 udu	---	---	šakkan ₆	---
P133553 ¹⁶⁴⁹ --/--/ŠS08	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P133559 7/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Šimaški	---	---	---
P135678 --/--/----	---	---	---	---	1 l.	---	Anšan	---	ltgl	---
P113518 7/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	lu ₂ -gigir	u ₃ -na-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ
P142527 --/--/----	---	---	---	---	1 l. 1 l.	---	---	Kimaš	aug	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃

¹⁶⁴⁶ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁴⁷ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁴⁸ Abu-tab is “captain” (**nu-banda**₃) in this text and “general” (**šakkan**₆) in P132661; this could be the same man.

¹⁶⁴⁹ Summary messenger text.

	kaš	dida	ninda/zi₃	dabin	i₃	other				
--	------------	-------------	-----------------------------	--------------	----------------------	--------------	--	--	--	--

Kimaš

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P100200 5/--/----	---	---	---	60 l.	---	---	Kimaš	---	skl	---
P100901 6/--/----	15 l.	1 j.	15 l.	---	4 sh.	---	Urim	---	skl	---
P108490 1/--/----	---	2 j.	---	40 l.	½ l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
CTPSM 149 1/--/---	20 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Anšan	---	rg	---
CTPSM 164 2/--/----	20 l.	---	---	40 l.	5 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
CTPSM 175 3/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	4 a.	---	---	---	---	---
CTPSM 249 --/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	au	---
P122992 3/--/----	---	---	150 l.	---	---	---	Kimaš	---	skl	NIM ne-ra-aš ak Kimaš-me
P123044 11/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	skl	---
P110002 5/--/----	---	---	---	---	1 l.	---	---	Kimaš	skl	ša ₃ uru
P110012 5/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	[...]	---	au	---
P110037 11/--/----	---	---	---	60 l.	---	---	Kimaš	---	skl	---
P315784 4/--/----	120 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Kimaš	---	skl	---
P317743 12/--/AS02	20 l. 40 l.	2 j. 1 j.	---	60 l. 60 l.	½ l.	---	---	---	skl	---

P412670 ¹⁶⁵⁰ --/--/----	[...]	---	[...]	---	[...]	---	---	---	---	---
--/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	---
--/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P106948 1/--/----	40 l.	---	20 l.	---	5 a.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P106949 4/--/----	60 l.	---	---	60 l.	1 l.	---	Kimaš	---	aug	---
P106976 2/--/----	---	2 j.	35 l.	---	2/3 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P106970 2/--/----	---	3 j.	63 l.	---	½ l.	---	Nibru u ₃ Anšan		skl	---
P106981 4/--/----	120 l.	---	120 l.	---	4 l.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P106999 8/--/----	---	2 j.	---	20 l.	5 a.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P107007 9/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	3 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P107008 9/--/----	---	2 j.	---	40 l.	½ l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		PN	---
P107016 --/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	2 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		PN	---
P107027 5/--/----	240 l.	---	480 l.	---	---	---	Kimaš	---	aug	ud 7-kam ša ₃ uru gud udu Kimaš bala-e-de ₃ ġen
P107035 7/--/----	30 l.	---	---	30 l.	½ l.	---	---	Kimaš	k	---
P114453 ¹⁶⁵¹ 1/--/----	100 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	skl	---
	40 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	k	---

¹⁶⁵⁰ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁵¹ Summary messenger text.

2/--/----										
3/--/----	120 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	skl	---
4/--/----	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	skl	---
4/--/----	120 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
P114457 2/--/----	---	1 j.	---	20 l.	3 a.	---	Anšan (!)	---	---	---
P116124 7/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Kimaš	dnb	---
P117509 8/--/----	---	2 j.	40 l.	---	½ l.	---	Nibru	---	ltgl	---
P206214 5/--/----	20 l.	2 j.	---	40 l.	½ l.	---	Anšan	---	---	---
P206199 1/--/----	---	2 j.	---	30 l.	3 a.	---	---	---	skl	---
P206229 7/--/----	---	---	---	---	1 l.	---	Kimaš	---	skl	---
P202040 2/--/----	---	2 j.	---	30 l.	1 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		---	---
P202042 12/--/----	---	3 j.	---	45 l.	---	---	---	Urim	skl	---
P202068 5/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P202032 1/--/----	20 l.	2 j.	---	40 l.	5 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P202109 12/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Kimaš	---	aug	---
P202101 10/--/----	---	3 j.	35 l.	---	---	---	Kimaš	---	skl	---
P202064 9/--/----	---	2 j.	---	40 l.	3 a.	---	Kimaš	---	skl	ma ₂ -gur ₈ -me
P202053 3/--/----	---	2 j.	35 l.	---	3 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		---	---
P356005	---	---	70 l.	---	---	---	Kimaš	---	skl	---

8/--/----										
P356022 1/--/----	---	2 j.	---	40 l.	5 a.	---	Anšan (!)	---	skl	---
P356025 8/--/----	---	2 j.	---	50 l.	1 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P406055 3/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---			skl	Kimaš-[...]
P406471 12/--/----	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	Kimaš	aug	---
P406509 11d/--/----	20 l.	2 j.	---	40 l.	2/3 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P406577 2/--/----	---	---	120 l.	---	---	---	Kimaš	---	dnb	---
P123170 4/--/----	---	---	---	---	---	1 udu	Kimaš	---	skl	---
P315780 6/--/----	---	---	150 l.	---	---	---	Kimaš	---	rg	ša ₃ -gal NIM dab ₅ -ba Kimaš
P202558 7/--/----	40 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Kimaš	---	skl	---
P127949 3/--/----	---	---	60 l.	---	---	---	Kimaš	---	dnb	---
P135249 4/--/----	---	---	60 l.	---	---	---	Kimaš	---	skl	---
P131260 3/--/----	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Kimaš	---	dnb	---
P131267 3/--/----	120 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	Kimaš	skl	---
P110745 7/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
8/--/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
P135806 8/--/----	---	---	45 l.	---	---	---	Kimaš	---	skl	---
P135814 --/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	---	---	Kimaš	---	skl	---
P136215	---	---	---	120 l.	---	---	---	Kimaš	skl	---

3/--/----										
CTPSM 213 7/--/----	---	---	100 l.	---	---	---	Kimaš	---	PN	---
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi₃	dabin	i₃	other				

Zaul

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
CTPSM 249 ¹⁶⁵² --/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P123003 1/--/----	---	---	40 l. 60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	skl	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃ Šušin-[x]
1/--/----	---	---	60 l. 60 l.	---	---	---	---	Zaul	skl	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
P123003 1/--/----	---	---	70 l.	---	---	---	Zaul	---	aug	---
P110009 3/--/----	---	---	---	---	2 l.	---	---	Zaul	skl	---
P110012 5/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Zaul	---	skl	---
P110339 10/--/----	---	---	70 l.	---	---	---	Zaul	---	aug	---
P112788 12/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	½ l.	---	Zaul	---	aug	---
P317743 ¹⁶⁵³ 12/--/AS02	20 l.	2 j.	---	60 l.	½ l.	---	---	Urim	skl	NIM Kimaš u ₃ Zaul de ₆ -a-me
12/--/AS02	40 l.	1 j.	---	60 l.	---	---	Urim		skl	NIM Kimaš u ₃ Zaul de ₆ -a-me

¹⁶⁵² Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁵³ Summary messenger text

P205696 10/--/ŠS08	110 l.	3 j.	110 l.	60 l.	3 l.	1 udu	---	Urim	ltgl	ša ₃ Nunira kaskal-še ₃
P206877 ¹⁶⁵⁴ 9/--/----	40 l.	---	---	30 l.	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
11/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P412670 ¹⁶⁵⁵ --/--/----	90 l.	---	90 l.	---	1 1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P106922 4/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	½ l.	---	Anšan	---	PN	---
P106953 7/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Zaul	skl	---
P106973 1/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	3 a.	---	Anšan (!)	---	skl	---
P106986 4/--/----	30 l.	---	25 l.	---	[x]	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P106991 5/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	---	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P107013 1/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	½ l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P114453 ¹⁶⁵⁶ 1/--/----	100 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	k	---
1/--/----	120 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	skl	---
1/--/----	30 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	k	---
1/--/----	30 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	k	---
3/--/----	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	k	---
P114454 1/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	1 a.	---	Nibru	---	skl	---

¹⁶⁵⁴ Summary messenger text

¹⁶⁵⁵ Summary messenger text

¹⁶⁵⁶ Summary messenger text

P115773 4/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Zaul	dnb	---
P115782 3/--/----	---	---	30 l.	---	---	---	---	Zaul	k	---
P119702 1/--/----	---	---	20 l.	---	---	---	Zaul	---	k	---
P206205 3/--/----	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Zaul	---	k	---
P202109 12/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	½ l.	---	Zaul	---	dnb	---
P356024 2/--/---	40 l.	---	30 l.	---	---	---	Anšan (!)	---	skl	---
P406054 10/16/----	---	---	60 l.	---	---	---	Zaul	---	aug	---
P406415 12/--/----	40 l.	---	30 l.	---	2/3 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P123008 1/--/----	---	3 j.	---	40 l.	5 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru	---	skl	---
P315723 4/--/----	40 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	Zaul	skl	---
P128529 4/--/----	30 l.	---	20 l.	---	3 a.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P131231 7/--/----	---	---	90 l.	70 l.	---	---	---	Zaul	k	---
P135809 2/--/----	40 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	Anšan (!)	---	skl	---
P414529 2/--/----	20 l.	---	15 l.	---	½ l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru	---	PN	---

Sabum

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P123051	60 l.	---	---	60 l.	1 l.	---	Nibru	---	skl	---

10/07/----										
P108858 2/--/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	---	---	---	Sabum	lt	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ-ta
P110215 7/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	Sabum	---	k	---
P110917 ¹⁶⁵⁷ 3/--/----	---	3 j.	---	80 l.	1 l.	---	---	---	aug	
P315784 4/--/----	30 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	Sabum	k	---
P317781 ¹⁶⁵⁸ 11d/--/Š48 11d/--/Š48	60 l. 60 l.	---	60 l. ---	---	1 l. ---	---	---	Sabum	ltgl lt	---
P295906 ¹⁶⁵⁹ --/--/----	5 l.	---	5 l.	---	10 sh.	---	---	---	---	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ ensi ₂ Sabum
P106901 2/19/----	80 l.	---	80 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	PN	---
P106907 5/--/ŠS07	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P106957 10/--/----	20 l.	3 j.	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Nibru (!)	---	skl	---
P107044 ¹⁶⁶⁰ 9/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	1/2 l.	---			skl	Sabum-[?] du- ni
P107062 --/22/----	6 l.	---	4 l.	---	4 sh.	---	---	---	---	---
P114453 2/--/----	[...] .	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
3/--/----	90 l	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
P120133 11d/--/----	60 l.	---	---	60 l.	1 l.	---	---	Sabum	ltgl	---

¹⁶⁵⁷ In place of the **ĝiri₃**-agent is **kišib** (received/sealed for).

¹⁶⁵⁸ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁵⁹ The ensi₂ is Abu/ḥum-elum.

¹⁶⁶⁰ The **ĝiri₃**-agent, Šu-Suen **sukkal**, might be the prince.

P206214 5/--/----	5 l.	---	5 l.	---	1 a.	---	Nibru	---	skl	---
P206212 9/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Sabum	skl	---
P378716 11/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	---	1 1/3 l. sum	---	Sabum	PN	---
P127707 11/--/----	5 l.	---	5 l.	---	---	---	Sabum	---	---	---
P128521 2/--/----	11 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Šušin	---	k	11 NIM
P135249 4/--/----	---	---	30 l.	---	---	---	---	Sabum	k	---
P110509 --/--/----	15 l.	---	15 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	kišib sukkal-maḥ
P110537 --/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	Sabum	lt	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ
P110745 ¹⁶⁶¹ 7/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
P110891 --/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
	4 l.	---	10 l.	---	2 sh.	---	---	---	---	---
P132358 6/--/----	5 l.	---	5 l.	---	---	---	---	Sabum	---	---
P132455 8/--/----	---	---	---	300 l.	---	---	---	---	PN	Sabum-[?] du- ni u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ
P132486 7/--/----	3 l.	---	2 l.	---	2 sh.	---	Sabum	---	lt	---
P132669 11/--/----	---	---	[...]	---	[...]	---	---	Sabum	lt	---
P132945 5/02/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P132974	10 l.	---	50 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	NIM dab ₅ -ba

¹⁶⁶¹ Summary messenger text.

11/26/----										kišib sukkal-maḥ
P133148 5/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	Sabum	---	---	---
P133553 ¹⁶⁶² --/--/ŠS08	80 l.	---	80 l.	---	1 1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P135789 11/--/----	90 l.	---	80 l.	---	1 ½ l.	---	Anšan (!)	---	skl	---
P113521 8/02/----	10 l.	---	20 l.	---	10 sh.	---	---	---	---	NIM udu Sabum-da ĝen-na-me
P113522 9/05/----	15 l.	---	15 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	Sabum	---	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ
P128051 9/--/----	15 l.	---	15 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	---	lt	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ

Duḥduḥne

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ĝiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P105795 1/30/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	lt	---
P123059 5/02/----	120 l.	---	---	120 l.	2 l.	---	Nibru	---	skl	NIM Šimaški u ₃ Duḥduḥne
P110092 10/--/----	60 l. 60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	Duḥduḥne	dnb	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
P315860 ¹⁶⁶³ 6/--/AS05	90 l.	3 j.	90 l.	60 l.	1/3 l.	---	---	---	skl	ša ₃ Kinunir kaskal-še ₃
P206877 ¹⁶⁶⁴	40 l.	---	---	30 l.	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---

¹⁶⁶² Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁶³ Connects the **ĝiri₃**-agent as one who travels with them: **NIM-da ĝen-na**

¹⁶⁶⁴ Summary messenger text.

9/--/----										
10/--/----	90 l.	---	90 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
10/--/----	---	3 j.	60 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
11/--/----	---	2 j.	35 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
P412670 ¹⁶⁶⁵ --/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	2 l.	---	---	---	PN	---
11/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P106917 2/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	5 a.	---	Anšan	---	---	---
P114453 ¹⁶⁶⁶ 2/--/----	40 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	k	---
2/--/----	120 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	m	---
2/--/----	100 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	au	---
2/--/----	100 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	skl	
3/--/----	80 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	k	---
P114504 6/07/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1 l.	---	Nibru (!)	---	PN	<i>also with NIM Šimaški</i>
P119717 11/--/----	[...] 60 l.	---	---	60 l. 60 l.	1 l. 1 l.	---	---	Duḥduḥne	skl	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
P206221 6/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P120693 6/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	---	---	---	Duḥduḥne	lt	---
P405816 12/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---

¹⁶⁶⁵ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁶⁶ Summary messenger text. Amur-Šamaš is called both **aga₃-us₂** and **sukkal**.

P406415 ¹⁶⁶⁷ 12/--/----	65 l.	2 j.	80 l.	---	1 ½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
P406476 4/--/----	330 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Duħduħne	---	skl	---
P414455 2/16/----	---	---	---	---	---	1 udu	---	---	---	---
P123049 1/--/----	---	3 j.	60 l.	---	½ l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P135250 11/--/----	---	---	---	---	½ l.	---	---	Duħduħne	aug	---
P131266 6/--/----	180 l. 180 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	Duħduħne	rg	---
P109336 11/24/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	PN	---
P132377 2/--/----	180 l.	---	---	120 l.	---	2 udu	---	Duħduħne	PN lt	---
P135798 3/--/----	---	2 j.	---	20 l.	---	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P234806 10/18/----	180 l.	---	120 l.	---	2 l.	---	---	---	k	---
P113537 12/25/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P274567 4/--/----	20 l.	---	---	20 l.	1/3 l.	---	---	Šušin	aug	---
CTPSM 224 9/--/----	40 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P106895 7/16/----	50 l.	---	50 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Nibru	PN	---
P110679 --/--/----	---	---	---	60 l.	½ l.	---	Duħduħne	---	lt	---

¹⁶⁶⁷ Summary messenger text.

Huḥnuri

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P111711 --/--/SS01	75 l.	---	75 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Huḥnuri	PN	NIM Huḥnuri u ₃ Pašime
P204832* 6/--/AS05	[...]	---	[...]	---	½ l.	---	---	---		ġiri ₃ ensi ₂ Šušin
P317781 ¹⁶⁶⁸ 11d/--/Š48	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	Huḥnuri	---	ltgl	---
12/--/Š48	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	8 sh.	---	Huḥnuri	---	lt	---
P206877 ¹⁶⁶⁹ 9/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
10/--/----	---	2 j.	45 l.	---	5 a.	---	---	---	PN	---
11/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
P295905 --/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Huḥnuri	---	lt	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ ensi ₂ Sabum ¹⁶⁷⁰
P106988 5/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Nibru u ₃ Anšan		skl	---
P107020 2/--/----	---	3 j.	---	60 l.	1 l.	---	---	---	PN	---
P107027 5/--/----	[...]	---	---	[...]	1 l.	---	---	---	k	---
P107044 9/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Huḥnuri	skl	---
P114453 3/--/----	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	skl	---
P120137 7/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	---	---	Anšan (!)	---	skl	---
P202057 4/--/----	---	2 j.	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P406388	---	---	90 l.	---	---	---	---	Huḥnuri	dnb	---

¹⁶⁶⁸ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁶⁹ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁷⁰ The **ensi₂** is Abum-ilum.

10/--/----			120 l.							
P406415 ¹⁶⁷¹ 12/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	[...]	---	---	---	---	---
P208251 8/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	---	---	[...]	---	PN	---
P127690 7/--/----	10 l.	---	---	10 l.	10 sh.	---	---	---	---	---
P128505 5/--/----	---	---	48 l. 32 l.	---	---	---	---	Ĥuĥnuri	aug	16 ġuruš ša ₃ uru 16 ġuruš kaskal
P128507 12/--/----	---	---	26 l.	---	---	---	AdamDUN	---	k	13 ġuruš NIM dab ₅ -ba
P132603 4/--/----	5 l.	---	5 l.	---	---	---	Ĥuĥnuri	---	---	---
P133320 7/--/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	---	---	Ĥuĥnuri	---	---	---
P133345 8/--/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	10 sh.	---	Ĥuĥnuri	---	---	---
P133533 ¹⁶⁷² 12/--/ŠS08	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
P135678 11/--/----	---	---	---	---	1 l.	---	---	---	ltgl	---

Giša

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P317639 10/--/Š42 or AS06	---	2 j.	---	30 l.	---	---	---	---	ltgl	---
P133191 6/--/AS09	25 l.	---	25 l.	20 l.	½ l.	---	---	Urim	lt (!)	---

¹⁶⁷¹ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁷² Summary messenger text.

P248725 4/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1 l.	---	Giša	---	ltgl	---
P122957 8/02/----	---	---	80 l. 90 l.	---	---	---	---	Giša	skl	ša ₃ uru kaškal-še ₃
CTPSM 196 5/--/----	35 l.	---	30 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
CTPSM 249 --/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P122968 5/--/----	20 l.	---	30 l.	---	---	---	---	Urim	skl	---
P109161* 6/--/----	---	---	32 l.	---	---	---	Giša	---	[...]	NIM dab ₅ -ba
P110013 9/--/----	---	---	---	---	½ l.	---	---	Giša	skl	---
P110332 4/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	10 sh.	---	Giša	---	ltgl	---
P110342 8/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Giša	ltgl	---
P206877 ¹⁶⁷³ 11/--/----	---	2 j.	35 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
P412670 ¹⁶⁷⁴ --/--/----	45 l.	---	45 l.	---	½ l.	---	??	??	skl	---
P106917 2/--/----	30 l.	3 j.	---	---	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
P114453 ¹⁶⁷⁵ 4/--/----	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	PN 1676	---
	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	skl	---
P115781 4/--/----	---	---	80 l.	60 l.	---	---	---	Giša	ltgl	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃

¹⁶⁷³ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁷⁴ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁷⁵ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁷⁶ Šu-Dumuzid is called **lu₂-kaš₄** as the **ĝiri₃**-agent of Giša highlanders in P136215 / UDT 81.

P119702 1/--/----	---	---	20 l.	---	---	---	Giša	---	lt ¹⁶⁷⁷	---
P356011 8/--/----	40 l.	---	35 l.	---	2/3 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		---	---
P406577 2/--/----	---	---	90 l. 90 l.	---	---	---	---	Giša	skl	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
P123170 4/--/----	---	---	---	---	---	1 maš ₂	---	Giša	skl	---
P127672 1/03/----	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Giša	---	skl	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ
P128511 4/--/----	---	---	26 l.	---	---	---	---	Šušin	k	13 NIM
P131267 3/--/----	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Giša	---	k	---
P135788 6/--/----	---	3 j.	30 l.	---	---	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P136215 3/--/----	---	---	---	60 l.	---	---	Giša	---	k	---
P131232 3/--/----	---	---	90 l.	---	---	---	---	Urua	uk	---

Si'u(m)

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ĝiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
CTPSM 159 2/--/----	---	---	30 l.	---	---	---	Si'u	---	skl	---
CTPSM 212 7/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Si'u	---	skl	---

¹⁶⁷⁷ Lugal-Utu the **ĝiri₃** agent is called **mar-tu** when he receives his provisions, but **lu₂** as **ĝiri₃**-agent. This is probably an apocopated form of **lu₂-ĝi₃tukul**.

P123064 1/--/----	---	---	30 l.	---	---	---	Si'u	---	k	---
P123000 2/--/----	---	---	---	---	½ l.	---	Si'u	---	k	---
P110023 1/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Si'u	skl 1678	---
P110184 11/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	---	---	---	---	skl	30 NIM libir ša ₃ Kinunir
P110341 7/--/----	30 l.	---	20 l.	---	½ l.	---	Si'u	---	aug	---
P412670 ¹⁶⁷⁹ --/--/---- 11/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P107022 2/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Si'u	---	skl	---
P114453 ¹⁶⁸⁰ 1/--/---- 1/--/---- 2/--/----	30 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	k	---
	30 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	k	---
	30 l.	2 j.	---	---	---	---	---	---	k	---
P143058 12/--/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	Si'u	---	k	NIM ra-gaba
P120693 6/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Si'u	lt	---
P406467 3/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Si'u	---	aug	---
P406507 3/--/----	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Si'u	---	k	---
P406567 8/--/---	---	---	---	---	---	1 maš ₂ 1 maš ₂	---	Si'u	skl	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃

¹⁶⁷⁸ Abuni, who is called **sukkal** when designated as the **ġiri₃**-agent, is called **aga₃-us₂ gal** three lines previously.

¹⁶⁷⁹ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁸⁰ Summary messenger text.

P131226 7/--/----	---	---	45 l.	---	---	---	Si'u	---	skl	---
P131261 2/--/----	30 l. 60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	Si'u		ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃ ġiri ₃ šeš lukur
P131289 1/--/----	30 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Si'u	---	k	---

Marḥaši

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
CTPSM 249 ¹⁶⁸¹ --/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Marḥaši	dnb	---
P110342 8/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Marḥaši	dnb	---
P106995 6/--/----	20 l.	---	35 l.	---	5 a.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P107005 9/--/----	30 l.	---	25 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	Anšan (!)	---	skl	---
P107011 10/--/----	15 l.	---	10 l.	---	---	---	Anšan	---	PN	---
P120135 6/--/----	---	2 j.	40 l.	---	5/6 l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P406510 11d/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	½ l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		ltgl	---
P131431 6/--/----	30 l.	---	20 l.	---	5 a.	---	---	---	---	---
P110745 7/--/----	60 l.	---	---	60 l.	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
	120 l.	---	120 l.	---	2 l.	---	---	---	---	---

¹⁶⁸¹ Summary messenger text.

8/--/----										
	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
9/--/----										
P128538 5/05/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	Maraḥši	---	rg	---

Ma(n)ḥili

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ḡiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P109963 11/18/----	15 l.	---	15 l.	---	10 sh.	---	Maḥili	---	lt	---
P112851 9/05/ŠS01	---	---	---	---	---	1 udu	Maḥili	---	lt	---
P127708 ¹⁶⁸² 4/--/----	60 l. 40 l.	---	60 l.	40 l.	3 l.	---	---	Šušin	aug	ensi ₂ u ₃ NIM Maḥili
P110553 --/--/----	10 l.	---	---	10 l.	10 sh.	---	---	Šušin	aug	---
CTPSM 146 1/14/----	20 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
P295936 12/13/----	100 l.	---	150 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P117484 10/19/---	60 l.	---	---	60 l.	1 l.	---	---	---	skl	---
P110745 ¹⁶⁸³ 6/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
P132232 12/25/----	100 l.	---	150 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P133350 2/08/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	10 sh.	---	---	---	lt	---

¹⁶⁸² The **ensi₂** is Ši-da-ag-gu₂-gur.

¹⁶⁸³ Summary messenger text.

AdamDUN

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
CTPSM 175 3/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	3 a.	---	Nibru	---	PN	---
P123009 5/--/----	90 l.	---	90 l.	---	½ l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P108855 9/--/----	2 l.	1 j.	2 l. 5 l.	---	1 a.	---	---	AdamDUN	---	NIM lukiġġia ensi ₂ AdamDUN inim Elagrad
P315783 6/--/----	---	---	210 l.	---	---	---	AdamDUN	---	rg	---
P107010 10/--/----	15 l.	---	10 l.	---	2 a.	---	---	---	k	---
P356013 2/--/----	15 l.	---	15 l.	---	1 a.	---	---	---	PN	---
P406471 12/--/----	60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	AdamDUN	rg	---
P131243 5/--/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Ħurti

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P109985 5/--/----	---	---	---	---	1 ½ l.	---	Ħurti	---	k	---
P317639 10/--/Š42 or AS06	10 l.	1 j.	[...]	---	---	---	---	---	lt	---

P406496 7/--/AS01	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	skl	ša ₃ Kinunir
P209838 12/05/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	½ l.	---	Ĥurti	---		ġiri ₃ nu-banda ₃
P110192 1/--/----	---	1 j.	---	20 l.	---	---	Urim (!)	---	---	---
P315752 11/--/----	---	600 l. ¹⁶⁸⁴	35 l.	---	---	---	Ĥurti	---	skl	---
P142529 6/--/AS09	50 l.	2 j.	50 l.	40 l.	1 l.	1 udu	---	Urim	PN	50 NIM ša ₃ Kinunir

Ĥupum

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P340502 4/--/AS01	60 l.	3 j.	60 l.	60 l.	1 l.	---	---	Urim	PN	ša ₃ Kinunir
P316029 10/--/AS05	---	4 j. 3 j.	---	80 l. 60 l.	2/3 l. 1/3 l.	---	---	---	PN	ša ₃ Kinunir kaskal-še ₃
P203805 11/--/Š47	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	12 sh.	---	--	---	---	---
P123170 4/--/----	---	---	---	---	---	1 udu	---	Ĥupum	k	---
P128522 3/--/----	15 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	Šušin	k	15 NIM
P132546 6/--/AS08	84 l.	---	84 l.	---	2/3 l. 2 sh.	---	---	Urim	---	42 NIM

Ulum

¹⁶⁸⁴ Seems a bit high; would need to collate.

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P122954 4/--/----	---	---	---	---	2 l.	---	---	Ulum	k	---
P412670 ¹⁶⁸⁵ --/--/----	160 l.	---	160 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	skl	---
P114453 ¹⁶⁸⁶ 4/--/----	120 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	k	---
P128523 2/--/----	36 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Ulum	---	k	18 NIM
P113516 4/--/----	60 l. 60 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	Ulum	k	---

Ħarši

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda / zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P107002 9/--/----	35 l	2 j.	---	---	½ l.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		---	---
P122854 12/--/----	---	3 j.	80 l.	---	5/6 l.	---	Anšan	---	skl	---
P128525 11/--/----	20 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Ħarši	---	skl	NIM 10

Sigreš

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda / zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				

¹⁶⁸⁵ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁸⁶ Summary messenger text.

P106996 6/--/----	---	1 j.	---	25 l.	5 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P202154 8/--/----	40 l.	---	30 l.	---	6 a.	---	Anšan u ₃ Nibru		skl	---
P135810 5/--/---	---	3 j.	30 l.	30 l.	---	---	Urim	---	skl	---

Zurbati

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P295801 9/25/----	15 l.	---	15 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	Zurbati	lt	---
P110507 --/--/----	6 l.	---	6 l.	---	6 sh.	---	---	---	---	---
P110673 --/--/----	30 l.	---	---	30 l.	½ l.	---	Šušin (!)	---	k	---

Sitin-rubum

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P111492* --/--/----	15 l.	---	15 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
P110745 ¹⁶⁸⁷ 5/--/----- 6/--/----	5 l.	---	5 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

¹⁶⁸⁷ Summary messenger text.

A₂.NI.GI₄

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P112775 7/--/AS09	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	1 l.	1 udu	Urim	---	skl	---
P114453 ¹⁶⁸⁸ 4/--/----	70 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Siri

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P315997 6/--/----	80 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Siri	---	k	---
P128504 9/--/----	---	---	38 l.	---	---	---	AdamDUN	---	aug	3 NIM ra-gaba 16 NIM

Gizili

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P110335 7/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Gizili	skl	---
P111700 9/--/ŠS08	---	3 j.	---	60 l.	1 l.	---	Urim	Ga'eš	lt	---

¹⁶⁸⁸ Summary messenger text.

Pašime

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P111711 --/--ŠS01	75 l.	---	75 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Ħuĥnuri	PN	NIM Ħuĥnuri u ₃ Pašime

Giziĥu

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P119726 1/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ a.	---	Giziĥu	---	aug	---

Urre

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P128516 12/--/----	---	---	24 l.	---	---	---	Urre	---	skl	24 NIM

Arau'e

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P406664 11/--/----	20 l.	---	---	5 l.	---	---			PN	Araue-[?] du-ni u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maĥ

Dudašu'in

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P120134 2/29/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	1 sh.	---	---	---	PN	---

Hu'uša'umtum

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P202071 5/--/----	---	1 j.	---	10 l.	5 a.	---	Anšan (!)	---	---	---

Tablala

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P107547 ¹⁶⁸⁹ 5/--/----	20 l.	---	30 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---

Barbarraħuba

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P133553 ¹⁶⁹⁰ 1/--/ŠS08	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---

¹⁶⁸⁹ Summary messenger text.

¹⁶⁹⁰ Summary messenger text.

Unspecified

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P100934 11/--/----	2 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Anšan	---	---	NIM 2-am ₃
P100954 12/--/----	---	3 j.	---	---	---	---	Anšan (!)	---	skl	NIM 40
	25 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Anšan (!)	---	k	NIM lu ₂ -dab ₅ 25
	---	2 j.	---	---	---	---	Anšan	---	---	NIM 20
P100959 9/--/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	---	---	Kimaš	---	PN	10 NIM
P206646 6/--/AS01	88 l.	---	88 l.	---	---	---	Urim	Marḥaši		44 NIM ġ. šakkan ₆
P340502 4/--/AS01	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	PN	ša ₃ Kinunir
P108643 3/23/----	5 l.	---	5 l.	---	5 sh.	---	---	---	---	---
	4 l.	---	---	---	10 sh.	---	---	---	PN	---
P108865 9/--/AS09	72 l.	---	72 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	lt	ša ₃ Kinunir
					12 sh.					
P109164 --/--/----	---	---	120 l.	---	---	---	---	Sabum	aug	ensi ₂ Sabum ¹⁶⁹¹
	---	---	60 l.	---	---	---	---	Sabum		NIM ra-gaba
P109986 ¹⁶⁹² 10/24/----	---	---	30 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	NIM dab ₅ -ba-me
P110360 12/--/Š48	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	Urim	---	k	30 NIM ¹⁶⁹³
P112791 6/--/AS02	---	2 j.	20 l.	20 l.	---	---	---	---	PN	---
P320387	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	Urim	---	---	40 NIM

¹⁶⁹¹ The **ensi₂** is Šelebum.

¹⁶⁹² This text seems to differentiate between **NIM dab₅-ba** and **nam-ra-ak**.

¹⁶⁹³ Also mentions rations for **Si-im-mu lu₂ IGI-ra-aḫ-ši^{ki}**.

6/--/Š42 or AS06										
P315958 12/--/Š48	40 l.	1 j.	40 l.	20 l.	½ l.	---	---	Urim	skl	20 NIM ša ₃ Kinunir
P204267 ¹⁶⁹⁴ 6/--/AS01	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	---	---	Urim	Šušin	PN	30 NIM
P295468 9/--/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	---	---	Pašime	---	---	NIM ra-gaba
P106904 2/04/----	10 l. 20 l.	---	10 l. 20 l.	---	10 sh. 1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	NIM ra-gaba NIM [...]
P106953 7/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	Si'u	aug	---
P114985 8/--/Š34	20 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Pašime	---	---	NIM-bi 20
P115005 5/--/----	---	---	20 l. 30 l. 47 l.	---	8 sh. ---	---	Anšan (!) Anšan (!) Anšan	---	---	NIM 20 NIM 10 NIM 10
P115172 5/--/----	---	---	25 l.	---	---	---	Anšan (!)	---	---	NIM dab ₅ -ba u ₃ ba-ug ₇ -me
P115175 10/--/----	---	---	20 l.	---	---	---	---	---	PN	---
P204501 ¹⁶⁹⁵ --/--/AS03	90 l.	---	90 l.	---	1 ½ l.	---	---	Urim	skl lugal	45 NIM
P406015 10/--/----	---	1 j. 1 j.	---	---	---	---	Anšan (!) Anšan (!)	---	PN	NIM 10 NIM 7
P406490 12/--/Š48	20 l.	1 j.	20 l.	20 l.	½ l.	---	Urim	---	skl	ša ₃ Kinunir
P406620 10/--/----	---	3 [j.]	65 l.	---	---	---	Anšan (!)	---	ltgl	NIM dab ₅ -ba uru hul-ke ₄
P315578 1/19/----	---	---	10 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	NIM-me ud 5-kam
P315940 12/07/----	---	---	---	30 l.	½ l.	---			skl	NIM Šušin-[] ġen-na

¹⁶⁹⁴ Lists the man (**lu**₂) of Šimaški, **Zi-ri₂-mu** and **IGI-ra-aḫ-ši**; mentions **ġiri₃ lugal urim₅^{ki}-ma tuš-a**.

¹⁶⁹⁵ Another text which shows that the **ġiri₃**-agent goes with NIM groups: **NIM-da urim₅^{ki}-še DU-a**.

P204251 3/--/AS01	20 l.	1 j.	20 l.	10 l.	---	---	Huḥnuri	Urim	skl	10 NIM
P127218 ¹⁶⁹⁶ 10/--/----	15 l.	1 j.	---	---	---	---	Nibru	---	---	NIM 5
P127676 5/10/----	---	---	5 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	NIM dab ₅ -bar ġiri ₃ ġen-na
P128481 ¹⁶⁹⁷ 11/--/----	---	---	11 l.	---	---	---	Anšan (!)	---	---	NIM 11
P128498 ¹⁶⁹⁸ 11/--/----	---	---	80 l. ¹⁶⁹⁹ 20 l.	---	---	---	Anšan (!) Anšan	---	---	NIM 80 NIM 20
P128526 9/--/----	---	1 j.	---	---	---	---	Anšan	---	---	NIM-bi 20
P127951 11/--/----	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Anšan	---	---	NIM 2
P135253 10/--/----	15 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Nibru	---	---	NIM 5
P128533 ¹⁷⁰⁰ 12/--/AS08	5 l.	---	5 l.	---	---	---	---	---		5 dab ₅ -ba-a-me
P128550 2/11/----	---	---	5 l.	---	2 sh.	---	---	---	PN	NIM-bi 2
P131214 6/--/----	5 l.	---	---	---	---	---	Nibru	---	---	NIM 2-am ₃ lu ₂ sug ₄ bu ₃ -re- me
P131273 11/--/---	---	1 j. 25 j. 20 j. 60 l.	---	---	---	---	Anšan (!) Anšan (!) Anšan (!) Anšan	---	PN PN PN PN	NIM 2 NIM 6 NIM 7 NIM 25
P131274 10/--/----	---	---	10 l.	---	---	---	Anšan	---	skl	NIM 10
P129616	[35 l.]	---	35 l.	---	5 a.	---	---	---	skl	---

¹⁶⁹⁶ This text and P135253 are copies.

¹⁶⁹⁷ Also mentions the **ra₂-gaba** of Libum the **ens₂** of Anšan and Ahuni the **lu₂** of Ur-gigir the **ens₂** of AdamDUN.

¹⁶⁹⁸ Mentions Ili-Anum the **lu₂** of Zarriq.

¹⁶⁹⁹ 40 l. **zi₃** and 40 l. **ninda**.

¹⁷⁰⁰ Mentions Eguša the **lu₂** Hulibar and a **lu₂-^{ġi}s** **tukul** who **NIM dab₅-ba-da mu-da-ġen-na-me**.

--/--/----										
P234846 3/24/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	---	---	---	---	ltgl	NIM dab ₅ -ba
P110890 8/--/----	8 l.	---	8 l.	---	8 sh.	---	---	---	k	---
P132361 11/16/----	8 l.	---	8 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	aga ₃ -us ₂ NIM-me kišib U ₁₈ -ba-a
P132575 10/04/----	40 l.	---	20 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	NIM didli-me
P132933 8/23/----	---	---	20 l.	---	---	---			---	NIM ia ₃ -ab-ra ġen-na
P133334 3/16/----	---	---	10 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	NIM dab ₅ -ba
P133352 2/27/---	---	---	10 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	NIM dab ₅ -ba
P206504 7/--/IS03	---	---	---	---	---	60 l. zu ₂ -lum	Šušin	---	PN	NIM si ₁₂ -a
P108931 3/13/----	6 l.	---	3 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	NIM dab ₅ -ba-bi 3-am ₃

*Hulibar*¹⁷⁰¹

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P105791 6/--/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	Šušin	rg	---
CTPSM 188 4/--/----	40 l.	---	---	40 l.	½ l.	1 udu	Duḥduḥne	---	au	NIM ra-gaba
CTPSM 221 9/--/----	60 l.	---	---	60 l.	1 l.	1 udu	---	Šušin	dnb	---
P108856 2/28/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	---	---	Duḥduḥne	---	---	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ-ta

¹⁷⁰¹ This and the following tables list highlander groups of persons rather than cities.

P108860 12/17/----	30 l.	---	---	30 l.	½ l.	---	Duḥduḥne	---	lt	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ-ta
P108911 9/14/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	kišib Abum- ilum
P110626 4/04/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	5 sh.	---	---	---	---	kišib egir ensi ₂ Sabum
P111296 12/17/----	60 l.	---	---	60 l.	1 l.	---	Duḥduḥne	---	lt	u ₃ -na-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ-ta
P116252 1/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	skl	---
P108888 6/--/AS09	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1 l.	---	Urim	---	lt	30 NIM
P205223 1/17/ŠS01	4 l.	---	4 l.	---	1 a.	---	Sabum	---	---	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ ensi ₂ Sabum ¹⁷⁰²
P319868* --/--/Š42 or AS 06	[...] 10 l.	6 j.	[...] ---	--- 120 l.	1 l. 1 l.	1 udu 1 udu	--- Urim	Urim ---	--- ---	ša ₃ Kinunir ---
P206877 ¹⁷⁰³ 9/--/----	40 l.	---	---	40 l.	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
	30 l.	2 j.	35 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
P114455 1/16/----	3 l.	---	2 l.	---	5 sh.	---	---	---	---	---
P114463 5/26/----	20 l.	---	15 l.	---	---	---	---	---	PN	---
P120154 11/01/----	3 l.	---	2 l.	---	1 sh.	---	---	---	---	---
P206215 5/--/----	---	---	---	---	1 l.	---	Duḥduḥne	---	aug	---
P202063 4/11/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	10 sh.	---	---	---	---	---

¹⁷⁰² This **ensi₂** is Abum-ilum.

¹⁷⁰³ Summary messenger text.

P123062 5/--/----	---	---	---	40 l. 60 l.	---	---	---	Duḥduḥ ne	skl	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
P127672 1/03/----	10 l.	---	---	10 l.	---	---	Duḥduḥne	---	lt	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ-ta
P127674 4/07/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	10 sh.	---	---	---	---	NIM 5-am ₃
P127677 4/04/----	---	---	3 l.	---	---	---	---	---	ltgl	---
4/04/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	10 sh.	---	---	---	---	---
P127680 5/--/----	6 l.	---	---	7 l.	---	---	Šušin (!)	---	---	---
5/--/----	5 l.	---	3 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	NIM igi-du Ḥulibar mu eren ₂ -na-še ₃ ḡen-ne-me
P127686 4/22/----	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	10 sh.	---	---	---	---	kišib sukka- maḥ
P127690 7/--/----	5 l.	---	5 l.	---	10 sh.	---	Šušin	---	k	---
P127691 12/--/----	10 l.	---	---	10 l.	10 sh.	---	---	Duḥduḥ ne	---	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ-ta
P127702 6/--/----	10 l.	---	---	[10 l.]	10 sh.	---	Šušin	---	k	ra-gaba Ḥulibar
P128535 --/--/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	10 sh.	---	Sabum	---		u-na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ
P128536 5/--/----	2 l.	---	2 l.	---	2 sh.	---	Ḥuḥnuri (!)	Urim (!)	---	še-il-ḥa lu ₂ Ḥulibar
P128539 11/07/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	½ l.	1 udu	---	---	---	kišib sukka- maḥ
P128542 12/--/----	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	1 l.	---	Duḥduḥne	---	lt	---
P128549 1/--/----	30 l.	---	---	30 l.	½ l.	---	---	Šušin	lt	---
P218275* 9/26/----	15 l.	---	10 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	---	kišib Nanna-[x]

P110507 --/--/----	3 l.	---	2 l.	---	5 sh.	---	---	---	---	---
P110552 --/--/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	10 sh.	---	---	---	---	kišib sikkal- maḥ
P110577 3/07/----	20 l.	---	10 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	kišib sukkal- maḥ
P110649 10/--/----	20 l.	---	---	20 l.	10 sh.	---	Šušin	---	lt	---
	15 l.	---	---	15 l.	1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P110745 ¹⁷⁰⁴ 6/--/----	1500 l.	---	1500 l.	---	10 l.	---	---	---	---	<i>Ḫulibar</i>
	120 l.	---	120 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	dam <i>Ḫulibar</i>
	35 l.	---	50 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	---
	1110 l.	---	1110 l.	---	5 l.	---	---	---	---	<i>Ḫulibar</i>
	40 l.	---	40 l.	---	½ l. 4 sh.	---	---	---	---	---
	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
P110891 ¹⁷⁰⁵ --/--/----	73 l.	---	21 l.	60 l.	1 ½ l. 2 sh.	1 udu	---	---	---	---
P132248 --/--/----	30 l. 20 l.	---	30 l. 20 l.	---	½ l. ½ l.	---	---	Šušin	dnb	ša ₃ uru kaskal-še ₃
P132490 11/10/----	40 l.	---	---	40 l.	½ l.	---	---	Duḫduḫ ne	lt	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ

¹⁷⁰⁴ Summary messenger text.

¹⁷⁰⁵ Summary messenger text.

P132639 12/28/AS09	30 l.	---	---	30 l.	1/3 l.	---	---	Duḥduḥ ne	lt	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ
P133189 6/--/AS08	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	½ l.	1 udu	---	---	k	---
P133327 9/20/----	7 l.	---	8 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	kišib <i>Abum-ilum</i>
P133351 3/03/----	5 l.	---	5 l.	---	10 sh.	---	---	---	PN	---
P133562 11/03/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	Duḥduḥne (!)	---	---	u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal
P135822 9/--/----	120 l.	---	---	120 l.	1 l.	---	Šušin	---	skl	---
P113519 7/12/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	kišib sukka- maḥ
P113524 10/--/----	30 l.	---	30 l.	---	2/3 l.	---	---	---	---	u ₃ -na-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ
P274569 --/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	1 udu	---	---	PN	---
P111317 11/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	---	---	---	---	NIM ḥu-mi'-bar-me
P405910 12d/--/----	---	3 j.	60 l.	---	1 l.	1 udu	---	---	lk	NIM lu ₂ ḥu-un-li ₂ -bar
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi₃	dabin	i₃	other				

Abum-ilum

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P105794 12/06/----	3 l.	---	3 l.	---	10 sh.	---	---	---	---	NIM lu ₂ <i>Abum-ilum</i>
P108936 2/07/----	5 l.	---	5 l.	---	10 sh.	---	---	---	---	---
P128541 2/01/----	3 l.	---	15 l.	---	1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	kišib <i>Abum- ilum</i>

Yabrat

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P132933 8/23/----	---	---	20 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---	---
P133553 1/--/ŠS08	120 l.	---	120 l.	---	2 l.	---	---	---	---	NIM ia ₃ -ab-ra-at ^{ki} -me

Uba'a

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P132297 11/--/----	10 l.	---	10 l.	---	5 sh.	---	---	Šušin (!)	lt	---

Umma Messenger Texts

Huḫnuri

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P132096 2/--/AS07	---	2 j.	---	60 l.	1 l.	1 [udu] 1 ^{gi} gur-dub	---	---	PN	---
P114196 11/--/AS07	---	2 j.	---	90 l.	1 l.	1 udu 1 ^{gi} gur-dub	---	---	PN	---
P101601 3/21/ŠS03	30 l.	3 j.	---	120 l.	2 l.	30 l. zu ₂ -lum	---	---	---	---
P120617 11/--/ŠS04	10 l.	1 j.	---	30 l.	1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P292192 2/--/ŠS05	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	---	---	Huḫnuri	---	---	---
P200057 8/16/ŠS04	20 l.	1 j.	---	10 l.	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P200258 11/22/ŠS04	---	---	10 l.	80 l.	2 l.	---	Huḫnuri	---	---	---
P209134 6/--/ŠS05	---	4 j.	30 l.	20 l.	5 l.	2 udu 3 l. ^{gi} gur-dub	---	---	---	---
P363032 8/21/ŠS05	---	1 j.	---	50 l.	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P363040 8/09/ŠS05	---	2 j.	20 l.	100 l.	1 l.	1 udu	---	---	---	---
P407663 11/28/ŠS04	20 l.	1 j.	---	60 l.	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
P407678 1/05/ŠS06	---	2 j.	---	60 l.	½ l.	---	---	---	PN	---
P304125 4/19/ŠS05	---	1 j.	---	30 l.	1 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P117936 2/--/ŠS06	---	8 j.	30 l.	270 l.	12 l.	2 udu 1 maš ₂	---	---	---	---

Sabum

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P109793 3/--/----	---	2 j.	---	90 l.	1 l.	1 udu ½ gu ₂ pa-ku ₅ gi ₅ asal _x 1 l. igi-saġ- sum-gaz	Sabum	---	PN	---
P109826 3/17/Š48	15 l.	---	10 l.	---	½ l.	---	Sabum	---	---	NIM lu ₂ Sabum-ta
P118471 ¹⁷⁰⁶ 3/--/AS07	---	2 j.	60 l.	---	1 l.	1 udu	Sabum	---		ġiri ₃ Abum- ilum
	---	4 j.	120 l.	---	1 l.	1 udu 1 l. igi-saġ- sum-gaz 20 sa gi	e ₂ -gal	---	PN	---
P200246 5/18/AS07	---	1 j.	---	30 l.	---	---	Sabum	---	---	---

AdamDUN

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P122023 1/--/IS01	120 l.	---	120 l.	---	5 l.	4 udu	---	---		ki ensi ₂ Umma-ta ba-zi kišib nu-banda ₃

¹⁷⁰⁶ This also lists NIM who came from palace and thus is sort of a mini summary text over just one group. Or this is a summary text for all the NIM that came through the waystation in a month and would then be two different groups

P122046 1/11/----	---	1 j.	---	40 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---
P200337 1/20/AS07	---	1 j.	---	20 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---

Anšan

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P208858 11/23/AS07	---	2 j.	---	40 l.	½ l.	---	Anšan	---	---	---
P118841 7/--/IS01	360 l.	---	360 l.	---	6 l.	4 udu 30 l. zu ₂ -lum	---	---	---	---

Šimaški

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P304031 7/07/ŠS05	---	2 j.	---	60 l.	1 l.	1 udu	---	---	---	---

Marḥaši¹⁷⁰⁷

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P144926 12/--/ŠS06	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	2 l.	2 udu	---	---	PN	---

¹⁷⁰⁷ Note that there are three other texts (P118021 / MVN 14, 341; P118255 / MVN 14, 575; P141673 / UTI 6, 3676) outside of the messenger text genre which mention **NIM lu₂** Marḥaši; in all three texts the foreigners were purchasing bundles of reeds with grain.

Ebal

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P200289 10/07/AS07	---	1 j.	---	30 l.	---	---	---	---	---	---

Susa

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P144926 12/--/ŠS06	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	2 l.	1 udu	---	---	PN	---

Uba'a

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P363095 6/27/ŠS03	20 l.	1 j.	20 l.	40 l.	1 l.	1 maš ₂	---	---	---	---
P363102 6/18/ŠS03	20 l.	1 j.	---	60 l.	1 l. 10 sh.	---	---	---	---	20 ⁷ NIM
P407699 6/03/ŠS05	---	1 j.	---	30 l.	1 l.	1 udu	---	---	---	---
P304051 8/24/ŠS05	---	1 j.	---	20 l.	1/3 l.	---	---	---	---	---
P363112 3/29/ŠS04	5 l.	3 j.	20 l.	---	1 l.	1 maš ₂	---	---	---	---
OrNS 81, 4 6/14/ŠS05	---	1 j.	---	4 l.	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---

Hulibar

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P362972 6/20/ŠS03	20 l.	1 j.	---	40 l.	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---

Unspecified

Text/Date	Provisions						GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃	Additional
	kaš	dida	ninda/zi ₃	dabin	i ₃	other				
P101238 --/--/----	60 l.	---	60 l.	---	1 l.	1 udu	---	---	skl	---
P101290 2/--/----	---	3 j.	---	60 l.	1 l.	---	---	---		ġiri ₃ ensi ₂ Sabum
P250788 7/--/----	---	3 j.	120 l.	---	2 l.	1 udu	---	---	skl	---
P304067 11/10/ŠS04	20 l.	1 j.	---	60 l.	1 l.	20 l. še	[...]	---	---	a ₂ ma ₂ huġ-ġa ₂
P120614 6/--/ŠS04	10 l.	1 j.	---	40 l.	½ l.	---	---	---	---	---
P201764 3/08/AS07	---	1 j.	---	30 l.	---	---	e ₂ -gal	---	---	---
P124870 ¹⁷⁰⁸ 3/10/ŠS02	20 l.	---	20 l.	---	10 sh.	½ l. sum 3 sh. naga	---	---	---	---
P201949 11/--/AS07	---	1 j.	---	30 l.	---	---	e-gal	---	---	---

¹⁷⁰⁸ After the **NIM-e-ne**, some **mar-tu-ne** are listed as well.

Iri-Saĝrig Messenger Texts

lu₂ Šimaški

Text	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ĝiri ₃ -agent	Provisions (sila ₃)	Other
P412127 1/--/AS08	Šimaški	ki lugal	nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂ (lkl)	60 liters kaš 60 linters ninda	
P272814 1/--/ŠS06	---	Šimaški	[...]	60 liters kaš 60 liters ninda 1 udu [šeĝ ₆ -ĝa ₂]	
P387918 6/--/IS01	---	Šimaški	u ₃ -šur-ba-šu	60 liters kaš 60 liters ninda	
P388024 13/--/IS01	---	Šimaški	sa ₆ -a-ga (lkl)	60 liters kaš 60 liters ninda	ud kišib sukkal-maḥ uru ^{ki} -ta uru ^{ki} -še ₃ mu-de ₆ -ša-a
P333712 3/--/IS01	---	Šimaški	sa ₆ -a-ga (lkl)	60 liters kaš 60 liters ninda	ud kišib sukkal-maḥ uru ^{ki} -ta uru ^{ki} -še ₃ mu-de ₆ -ša-a
P454019 1/--/IS02	Šimaški	ki lugal	sa ₆ -a-ga (lkl)	½ udu šeĝ ₆ -ĝa ₂ 20 liters tu ₇ 2 30-liter jars	
P333749 5/--/IS02	---	Šimaški	sa ₆ -a-ga (lkl)	[x] udu šaĝ ₆ -ĝa ₂ 20 liters tu ₇ 5 10-liter jars	ud kišib sukkal-maḥ uru ^{ki} -ta uru ^{ki} -še ₃ mu-de ₆ -ša-a
P454072 8/--/IS02	Šimaški	ki lugal	zu-la-lum (lkl)	½ udu šeĝ ₆ -ĝa ₂ 3 liters tu ₇	

lu₂ Hurti

Text	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃ -agent	Provisions (sila ₃)	Other
P453631 2/--/AS08	Hurti	ki lugal	nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂ (lkl)	[x] liters tu ₇ [x] ku ₆	
P453675 1/--/AS09	Hurti	ki lugal	i-ti-er ₃ -ra	5 sila ₃ tu ₇ 6 ku ₆	
P387910 4/--/IS02	---	Hurti	a-ĥu-DUG ₃ (lkl)	1 udu šaġ ₆ -ġa ₂ 7 liters tu ₇	ud kišib sukkal-maḥ uru ^{ki} -ta uru ^{ki} -še ₃ mu-de ₆ -ša-a
P454079 3/--/IS02	Hurti	ki lugal	pu-su ₂ (lkl) ¹⁷⁰⁹	120 liters kaš 120 liters ninda	
P454087 10/--/IS02	---	Hurti	nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂ (lkl) ¹⁷¹⁰	30 liters kaš 30 liters ninda	ud kišib sukkal-maḥ uru ^{ki} -ta uru ^{ki} -še ₃ mu-de ₆ -ša-a

lu₂ Huttum

Text	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ġiri ₃ -agent	Provisions (sila ₃)	Other
P453889 5/--/ŠS09	---	Huttum	sa ₆ -a-kam (lkl)	1 liters i ₃ -ġiš	

¹⁷⁰⁹ Seal impression labels Pusu as **aga₃-us₂**.

¹⁷¹⁰ Seal impression labels Nur-ili as **šakkan₆ lugal**.

P453962 8/13/IS01	---	---	i-ti- ^d suen (lkl)	2 liters i ₃ -ĝiš	ud kišib sukkal-maḥ uru ^{ki} -ta uru ^{ki} -še ₃ mu-de ₆ -ša-a
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lu₂ Sigreš

Text	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ĝiri ₃ -agent	Provisions (sila ₃)	Other
P454018 1/--/IS02	Sigreš	ki lugal	nu-ur- ^d suen (lkl) ¹⁷¹¹	30 liters kaš 30 liters ninda	
P453962 8/13/IS01	---	---	i-ti- ^d suen (lkl)	2 liters i ₃ -ĝiš	ud kišib sukkal-maḥ uru ^{ki} -ta uru ^{ki} -še ₃ mu-de ₆ -ša-a

lu₂ Maza

Text	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ĝiri ₃ -agent	Provisions (sila ₃)	Other
P333694 10/--/IS02	---	Maza	nu-ḥi ⁷ -DINGIR	6 liters tu ₇	

lu₂ Buli

Text	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ĝiri ₃ -agent	Provisions (sila ₃)	Other
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¹⁷¹¹ Seal impression labels Nur-Suen as **lu₂-kas₄**.

P453962 8/13/IS01	---	---	i-ti- ^d suen (lkl)	2 liters i ₃ -ĝiš	ud kišib sukkal-maḥ uru ^{ki} -ta uru ^{ki} -še ₃ mu-de ₆ -ša-a
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lu₂ Zitian

Text	GN-ta	GN-še ₃	ĝiri ₃ -agent	Provisions (sila ₃)	Other
P453962 8/13/IS01	---	---	i-ti- ^d suen (lkl)	2 liters i ₃ -ĝiš	ud kišib sukkal-maḥ uru ^{ki} -ta uru ^{ki} -še ₃ mu-de ₆ -ša-a

Appendices G-I

Note on Appendices for the lu_2 - $\hat{g}i^x$ tukul (gu-la) and aga_3 - us_2 gal(-gal)

The following appendices consist of two tables per term under discussion. One table shows the number and types of designations included on a tablet. The other table is concerned with the names qualified by the term as well as any travel or missional data included. A few words about the methodology of the compilation of the latter table will preface the appendices.

There is some uncertainty in which personnel are designated as coming from or to a location. One of the issues is that often the non-finite verb is given affixes in the singular, or at least appears to be written as such, which would suggest that the verb only applies to the immediately preceding person in the text. This would lead to the idea that some personnel had their travel itinerary recorded, while others did not, perhaps suggesting local assignments. However, there are clues that this is often not the case. There are multiple cases in which the rations of two personnel are totaled together and their names are connected with the conjunction u_3 , but the verb appears to be in the singular. For example, P100199 / CUSAS 16, 233 obverse lines 5-9: **2(ban₂) zi₃ ud 2-kam ša₃ uru / 1(ban₂) zi₃ kaskal-še₃ / ba-za-mu aga₃-us₂ gal / u₃ i-tar₃-qi₂-li₂ šeš-ba / sa-bu-um^{ki}-ta du-ni** “20 liters of flour for 2 days in the city, 10 liters of flour for the road - (for) Bazamu the **aga₃-us₂-gal** and Itarq-ili the **šešba** when *he* comes from Sabum.” Therefore the singular verb seems to govern two nouns. There are examples in which a list of personnel and their rations are followed by the non-finite verb in the

plural: **šušin^{ki}-še₃ du-ne-ne** “when they go to Susa.”¹⁷¹² So why was not the first verb written as a plural when the use of the plural is well attested in these texts? The answer may come from P110929 / TCTI 2, 3193 which lists two personnel and their rations and notes their travel information: **šušin^{ki}-ta du-ne**. The use of the NE-sign is an obvious indicator of the plural, though it is an apocopated form of the third person plural possessive suffix **-(a)-ne-ne**. Therefore in our first example the **-ni** of **du-ni** should be read **ne₂** to represent **du-(a)-ne(-ne)**. Naturally this anticipates the question of how to determine when **du-ni** should be read **du-ne₂**. It cannot be based solely on the amount of rations given to a person, since those of higher rank and especially “princes” (**dumu lugal**) usually received higher amounts than others, which is indicative of status rather than length of journey. It is uncertain whether the designation of provisions for various numbers of days prohibits the notion that they came or went to the same place, for a certain location could be the ultimate destination for one person but another might continue on to a further location.

A similar issue is the non-finite construction **ġen-na** “who went” which itself does not account for singular or plural subjects. To indicate multiple personnel engaged in a trip or mission, the Girsu messenger texts attach the third person apocopated enclitic copula: **ġen-na-me(-eš)** “they are ones who went.” However, as is commonly found in administrative documents, scribes often wrote in a sort of shorthand which could omit case markers, plural markers, the copula, and other grammatical elements. Although there are plenty of occurrences where **ġen-na** explicitly refers to a single person,¹⁷¹³ there

¹⁷¹² P110175 / HLC 3, 304.

¹⁷¹³ For example, P102778 which records only one person on the tablet and P106902 / MTBM 23 which lists multiple people but provides travel or mission data for each individual.

are other instances where forms without the copula must still refer to multiple people. An obvious example is P122964 / CUSAS 16, 195 obv. lines 5-8, which uses the non-finite verb without the copula, but lists two personnel conjoined with the conjunction **u3**:

2 a2-GAM i3-ĝiš / NE.NE-a aga3-us2 gal / u3 DINGIR.KAL sukkal / a-dam-DUN^{ki}-še3 ĝen-na

“2 vessels of *iĝiš*-oil (for) NE.NEa the chief soldier and Ilum-dan the secretary, (they are ones) who went to AdamDUN”

As less explicit example is the following document, which lists five itinerary and mission statements for eleven individuals and which lists two personnel between some of the statements:

P108589 / MTBM 335 rev. lines 23-35:

3 sila3 kaš 2 sila3 ninda / 2 gin2 i3 / lu2-^dna-ru2-a ma2-gin2

3 sila3 kaš 2 sila3 ninda / 2 gin2 i3 / ĥa-la-a šušin^{ki}-še3 ĝen-na /

3 sila3 kaš 2 sila3 ninda / 2 gin2 i3 / mi-da-a sukkal

3 sila3 kaš 2 sila3 ninda / 2 gin2 i3 / šu-^dUTU ĝiš-še3 ĝen-na /

ĝiri3 ur-nigar^xgar

“3 liters of beer, 2 liters of bread (and) 2 shekels of oil (for) Lu-Narua the ship-builder; 3 liters of beer, 2 liters of bread (and) 2 shekels of oil (for) Hala’a - (they are ones) who went to Susa; 3 liters of beer, 2 liters of bread (and) 2 shekels of oil (for) Mida’a the secretary; 3 liters of beer, 2 liters of bread (and) 2 shekels of oil (for) Šu-Šamaš - (they are ones) who went for timber. Via Ur-Nigar”

It seems far more probable, in light of the fact that the ration amounts are the same and there is no discernable reason for them to list itineraries and missions for some personnel and not for others, that both people in the first section went to Susa and both in the second went for timber instead of the statements applying only to the people after whom they are immediately listed. There are other formats such as texts which list provisions for a number of people with the only travel or missional information in the document

listed at the bottom of the text. This format occurs with the copula both included and excluded:

P132729 / TCTI 2, 3500

1(aš) kaš gen gur
 2(barig) 3(ban₂) dabin
 1 sila₃ i₃-ĝi_š
 a-a-ni-šu lu₂-gi_štukul
 1(barig) kaš 1(barig) dabin
 1 sila₃ i₃-ĝi_š
 i-ti-i₃-lum lu₂-gi_štukul
 1(barig) kaš 1(barig) dabin
 1 sila₃ i₃-ĝi_š
 ma-aš₂ lu₂-gi_štukul
 1(barig) kaš 1 (barig) dabin
 1 sila₃ i₃-ĝi_š
DINGIR.KAL lu₂-gi_štukul
 lu₂-gi_štukul ma₂ / mušen-na ĝen-na-me
 itud šu-numun

“300 liters of beer,
 150 liters of semolina
 (and) 1 liter of *iĝi_š*-oil
 (for) Aya-nišu, on military assignment;
 60 liters of beer, 60 liters of semolina
 (and) 1 liter of *iĝi_š*-oil
 (for) Itti-ilum, on military assignment;
 60 liters of beer, 60 liters of semolina
 (and) 1 liter of *iĝi_š*-oil
 (for) Maš, on military assignment;
 60 liters of beer, 60 liters of semolina
 (and) 1 liter of *iĝi_š*-oil
 (for) Ilum-dan, on military assignment;
 they are ones on military assignment
 who went (for) the boat(s) of birds.
DATE.”

P318891 / Nisaba 22, 6

2 sila₃ kaš 2 sila₃ ninda
 2 gin₂ i₃-ĝi_š
 šu-e-li lu₂-kas₄
 2 sila₃ kaš 2 sila₃ ninda
 2 gin₂ i₃-ĝi_š
 nu-ur₂-su lu₂-kas₄
 2 sila₃ kaš 2 sila₃ ninda
 2 gin₂ i₃-ĝi_š
 šu-eš₄-tar₂ lu₂-kas₄
 2 sila₃ kaš 2 sila₃ ninda
 2 gin₂ i₃-ĝi_š
 zi₂-za-na-lum lu₂-gi_štukul
 šušin^{ki}-še₃ ĝen-na
 zi-ga a-kal-la
 itud še-kin-kud
 mu en eridu^{ki} ba-ĥuĝ

“2 liters of beer, 2 liters of bread
 (and) 2 shekels of *iĝi_š*-oil
 (for) Šu-eli the errand-runner;
 2 liters of beer, 2 liters of bread
 (and) 2 shekels of *iĝi_š*-oil
 (for) Nursu the errand-runner;
 2 liters of beer, 2 liters of bread
 (and) 2 shekels of *iĝi_š*-oil
 (for) Šu-Eštar the errand-runner;
 2 liters of beer, 2 liters of bread
 (for) Zizanalum, on military
 assignment; (they are ones) who
 went to Susa.
 Expenditures of Akala.
DATE.”

Here we see that these texts have identical formats and that we should read the second text with the non-finite verb *sans* copula in light of the first text which includes it.

Though how to understand the situation of these texts is not always as straight forward as presented above, we will assume that personnel that are not explicitly given either a notation of travel or a description of mission has their notation of travel or mission in the nearest succeeding non-finite verbal clause. This will be noted by placing the origin/destination of travel or the mission in parentheses to allow the reader to know that this data is not explicit to that person, and the inclusion of a question mark suggests uncertainty as to whether this person belongs with the given notation. It should be kept in mind that there are texts which list commodities given to personnel whose origin, destination or mission are not recorded. More work needs to be done on this.

Appendix G: The lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la in Messenger Texts

Abbreviations:

ltgl = lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la, lt = lu₂-ĝi^štukul, skl = sukkal, au = aga₃-us₂,
 aug = aga₃-us₂ gal, augg = aga₃-us₂ gal-gal, dnb = dumu nu-banda₃,
 k = lu₂-kas₄, rg = ra₂-gaba, m = mar-tu
 ĝ. = ĝiri₃-agent

Key:

* = significant portion of text missing
 ^ = lugal (thus 1 aga₃-us₂ lugal = 1^)
 ~ = sukkal-maĥ (thus 1 aga₃-us₂ sukkal-maĥ = 1~)
 # = zabar-dab₅ (thus 1 aga₃-us₂ zabar-dab₅ = 1#)
 + = ensi₂ (thus 1 aga₃-us₂ ensi₂ = 1+)
 NIM in the “other” section means a person labeled as NIM
 unspec. = unspecified; a personal name without any other qualification

Table of Titles and Designations alongside lu₂-ĝi^štukul gu-la in Individual Messenger Texts

<i>Text/Date</i>	<i>ltgl</i>	<i>lt</i>	<i>skl</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>aug</i>	<i>augg</i>	<i>dnb</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>rg</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>unspec</i>	<i>NIM group</i>	<i>Other</i>
P114469 7/12/----	1		1					1			2		1 dam ensi ₂ Šušin
P248725 4/--/----	3		1		2			1				Giša (ĝ. ltgl)	
P100153 11/23/---	1									1	9		
P122957 8/02/----	1		2		2							Giša (ĝ. skl)	1 u ₃ -kul
P100201 7/--/----	1		3		1		3					Šimaški (ĝ. šeš-ba)	2 šeš-ba
P100204 12/09/---	1		1					3		1	2		
P100312 5/15/----	1		2					4			2		
P100313 5/--/----	1						1				2	Šimaški (ĝ. unspec)	lu ₂ ^d gu-la
P145532	1							1	1				

2/--/SH42													
P100906 11/-/AS03	1											munus Sabum-me	
P100944 5/--/----	1							1					
P100947 7/--/----	1		2								1		
P100950 5/--/----	1							1					
P102128 11/18/----	1		4					3			1		
P102423 5/--/----	1										1		
P105311 11/20/----	1		3					1			2	Anšan u ₃ Nippur (ĝ. skl)	
P105480 --/--/----	2		1					4		1	1		
P105794* 12/06/----	1								1		4	lu ₂ Abum-ilum	
P105796* 12/06/----	1			1^							3		
P315536 12/--/----	2		1					1				Šimaški	
P340624 8/--/----	1												
P108589 4/12/----	2		1								6		ma ₂ -gin ₂ sipad ur-ra
P108643 3/23/----	3							2		2	3	NIM (ĝ. ltgl)	
CTPSM 149	1			1				1	1			Anšan (ĝ. rg) Kimaš (ĝ. au)	
CTPSM 151	2		1	1	2			2			1	Šimaški (ĝ. k)	
CTPSM 156	1			2~						2	5		nagar

CTPSM 158	3									1		
CTPSM 172	1		2					1		1		
CTPSM 181	1							2		1		
CTPSM 195	2		3									dumu lugal
CTPSM 202	1		3									
CTPSM 205	4		1					1		1		NIM
CTPSM 211	1		2								Šimaški (ĝ. skl)	1 maškim 1 lu ₂ <i>Nabi-Enlil</i>
CTPSM 227	2							1		3		1 dam ensi ₂ 1 dub-sar lugal
CTPSM 228	1		3									
CTPSM 251	1		2				3	1				
P122991 1/29/----	1							1		1		ŠIM
P123160 3/14/----	1		1					4		2		
P122974 3/--/----	6				1					2		
P122988 4/18/----	1							2		1		
P123048 4/29/----	2		1							2	Šimaški	
P123079 4/--/----	1		4							2	Šimaški	
P123001 4/--/----	3		3				1				lu ₂ KA _x ŠU(?) (ĝ. ltgl)	
P123125 5/24/----	1									3		(14) dub-sar

P122995 5/--/---	1		3					1			1		
P122989 6/--/----	1		1										(30) lu ₂ dab ₅ -ba uru didli
P123126 7/08/----	1							1			3		ḥa-za-num ₂
P123165 9/13/----	1										3		
P122945 9/24/----	1		1					2		2			
P123051 10/07/----	1		3					2			1	Sabum (ḡ. skl)	
P122973 10/08/----	1		1								3		
P122943 10/28/----	1										4		
P123161 10/--/----	1		5										
P122987 11/19/----	3		3					1					
P123057 11/--/----	1	1	3										
P123056 11/--/----	1		5										
P122996 12/10/----	1		4					2		3	1		
P123054 12/--/----	1	2											
P122984* --/--/----	1		2					4					
P108889 1/19/----	2	1									2		
P108891 9/--/----	1										2		
P108894 3/09/----	1										1		1 lu ₂ zabar-dab ₅ 1 ma ₂ -gin ₂

												ma ₂ -gan ₂
P108905 11/28/----	1							1		1	2	
P108906 1/29/----	2										4	
P108916 11/21/----	1			1^				1			2	lu ₂ al-dab ₅ -ba (ĝ. dumu sklmḥ)
P108917 9/18/----	1							3			2	ša ₃ en-nu <i>and</i> ša ₃ e ₂ -gal (ĝ. unspec) 1 NIM
P108927 2/22/----	1										7	ša ₃ en-nu <i>and</i> ša ₃ e ₂ -gal (ĝ. nb) 1 nu-banda ₃
P108932 11/05/----	1							1	1		2	1 šu-i 1 dumu lugal 1 di-ku ₅
P108933 2/06/----	1		1	20					1	1	5	gu-za-la ₂ ša ₃ en-nu
P108936 2/07/----	1		1	2~				1			5	<i>Abum-ilum</i> ša ₃ en-nu-me (ĝ. unspec)
P108939 3/12/----	2									1	3	ša ₃ en-nu-me <i>and</i> ša ₃ e ₂ -gal-me (ĝ. unspec)
P108942 2/26/----	2		1					2			7	ša ₃ en-nu <i>and</i> ša ₃ e ₂ -gal (ĝ. unspec) kišib <i>Apilaša</i>
P108945 2/10/----	1		1					1			3	ša ₃ en-nu-me
P108947 9/02/----	1							4		1	3	ša ₃ en-nu <i>and</i> ša ₃ e ₂ -gal lu ₂ u ₄ -sakar-me
P108948* 11/24/----	1										4	
P108949 2/22/----	2		1				1	2			5	ša ₃ en-nu <i>and</i> ša ₃ e ₂ -gal (ĝ. dnb)
P108951	2		2					2		1	1	ša ₃ en-nu <i>and</i> ša ₃

6/11/----													e ₂ -gal (ĝ. unsec) 1 NIM 1 lu ₂ -SAR 1 sipa ur-ra
P109979 9/07/----	1		2					6		2	3		
P109984 3/--/----	4		2		2		1						1 šeš lukur
P110008 1/--/----	1		2		3		1	1	1			Anšan (ĝ. rg)	
P110030 3/--/----	2		1		4			1					
P110040 1714 11/--/----	1		4										
P110043 3/--/----	2	1	1		3			1				Anšan (ĝ. k)	1 šeš lukur
P110086 9/--/----	1		1				1			1		Anšan (ĝ. šakkan ₆)	1 šakkan ₆
P110138 1/--/----	1		3	1	2		2	2					
P110153 5/--/----	1		3		2		1						
P110157 4/--/----	1		2		1			1	1	1		Šimaški (ĝ. k)	
P110163 4/--/----	6		1		1		1					Anšan (ĝ. dnb)	
P110173 12/--/----	1		2					3			1		
P110181 6/--/----	1		1										
P110186 12/29/----	1							1		1	6		
P110197	1		3					1			3		tibira-me

¹⁷¹⁴ All personnel are labeled lu₂ a-tu₅-me

5/24/----													
P110202 6/--/AS05	1							1					
P110215 7/--/----	1		1				2	1		1		Anšan (ĝ. skl) Sabum (ĝ. k)	
P110224 12/--/----	3		1					2			2		
P110228 9/--/SS08	1							3					
P110332 4/--/----	6		3										
P110335 7/--/----	1		3		1		1					Šimaški (ĝ. aug) Gizili (ĝ. skl)	
P110338 3/--/----	6		1										
P110340 8/--/----	1		3		3							Šimaški (ĝ. skl)	
P110341 7/--/----	2				1			2				Si'u(m) (ĝ. aug)	
P110342 8/--/----	2		2	1			1	1				Marḥaši (ĝ. dnb) Giša (ĝ. ltgl)	
P110350 8/--/----	1							1					
P110351 4/--/----	1		3	1									
P110359 1/--/----	1	1	3								1		
P110364 12/20/----	2		1								2		1 dumu šakkan ₆
P110626 4/04/----	2							1			3		1 dumu lugal 1 sipa ur
P110992 5/12/----	1	1											1 dumu-munus lugal
P111791 1/--/----	1		4		1		2					Anšan (ĝ. skl)	
P111792	1		1									30 geme ₂	1 ensi ₂

8/--/----												ne-ra-aš ak Ḫuḥnuri-me	1 PA.DAG. KIŠIM ₅
P315770 11/13/----	1		2					3			1	Šimaški (ġ. skl)	
P315771 7/--/----	2		1		1			1					
P315772 6/--/----	3		1								1	Giša (ġ. šeš-ba)	1 šeš-ba
P315774 7/--/----	2		4										
P315813 3/--/----	1		4										
P112783 3/--/SS01	1		1					1					
P112784 3/--/SS01	1							2					
P112785 12/-/AS08	1	1											
P112786 5/--/SS01	2							2					
P116248 2/20/----	1			1 [^] 1			1	1		1	8		ša ₃ en-nu <i>and</i> ša ₃ e ₂ - gal (ġ. dnb)
P116249 2/--/----	2		1	2				5				Šimaški (ġ. k)	1 ensi ₂
P116250 --/--/----	1		5				2						1 šeš lukur
P204730* 6/--/AS05	1							1					
P316788 7/--/AS06 /SH42	1		2					1					
P317639 10/-/AS06 /SH42	1	1										Ḫurti (ġ. lt) Giša (ġ. ltgl)	
P204234 10/-/AS02	1	1											

P316273 12/-/AS02	1							1			2		
P205696 10/-/SS08	1											Zaul (ġ. ltgl)	
P295838 8/27/----	1		1	1							5		
P295839 2/--/----	1		1								1		
P295903 --/--/----	3		3					1					
P106881 6/--/----	1										3		
P106884 5/--/----	1		1						1		5		
P106888 1/21/----	1			1						2	1	1 dub-sar zi ₃ -da 1 nu-banda ₃	
P106890 12/--/----	1			2^							1		
P106891 11/21/----	1		1	1^							2	1 lu ₂ ba-ba-mu	
P106899 2/07/----	2		2	1							11		
P106900 10/13/----	1		1	3 [?]				1			8	1 lu ₂ ħu-bu ₇	
P106901 2/19/----	1			1				1			1	Sabum (ġ. unsp.)	1 sipa uz tur
P106904 2/04/----	1		1	2				1			6	1 u ₃ -gu 1 šuš ₃ 1 šidim 2 NIM ra-gaba	
P106907 5/--/SS07	1	3										Sabum	1 lu ₂ - ^{ġis} gigir
P106908 5/--/AS01	2												
P106915	1			1+				1					

--/--/----													
P106923 5/--/----	1												
P106930 7/11/----	1									2		1 nu-banda ₃ ensi ₂ Umma ^{ki} 1 sagi ensi ₂	
P106940 6/--/AS05	1						1						
P106951 5/--/----	2		4										
P106956 10/--/----	1		5										
P106959 10/--/----	1		3							2			
P106960 10/--/----	2		4							2			
P106963 12/07/----	1	1											
P106970 --/--/----	1		4								Kimaš		
P106977 2/--/----	1		2				1						
P106978 3/--/----	1		2							1			
P106980* 3/--/----	1		3							1			
P106986 4/--/----	1		3								Anšan Zaul		
P106988 5/--/----	1		3								Ĥuĥnuri (ĝ. skl)	1 zabar-dab ₅	
P106991 5/--/----	1		5							1	Zaul (ĝ. skl)		
P106992 5/--/----	1		3										
P106996 6/--/----	2		4								Sigreš (ĝ. skl)		

P106997 7/--/----	2		3										
P106998 7/--/----	1		3										
P107006 9/--/----	2		1							1			
P107011 10/--/----	1		3							1	Marḥaši (ġ. unsp.)		
P107014 12/--/----	1		4								Anšan (ġ. skl)		
P107020 2/--/----	1		1						1	2	Ḥuḥnuri (ġ. unsp.)		
P107023 2/23/----	1								1	1		1 muḥaldim	
P107025 2/17/----	1		1							1			
P107029 3/30/----	2		2					1	2	1			
P107032 7/03/----	2		2							2			
P107033 4/23/----	1		1					3		1			
P107037 7/23/----	1		3							1			
P107039 9/--/----	1							2	1		Anšan (ġ. rg)		
P107041 9/22/----	2		5						2	1		1 šuš ₃	
P107042 8/22/----	1							3		1			
P107043 9/--/----	1		4							1			
P107045 9/17/----	1		1					5		2		1 lu ₂ maškīm	
P107046 8/--/----	1		5	1			1	2					

P107047 8/21/----	1							2			1		
P107051 10/22/----	1		4					3			2		
P107053 11/26/----	2		1					2			4		1 dumu-lugal
P107061 2/21/----	1							2		1			1 sipad uz-tur
P107062 --/22/----	2							1			2	Sabum	
P107063 9/29/----	2		2	1^							1		
P107064 6/24/----	1										5		
P114463 5/26/----	1		2					2			2	<i>Hulibar</i> (ĝ. k)	1 nagar
P114466 7/--/----	2							1				Anšan	
P114470 8/03/----	1		3	2^				2	1		3		1 ugula zi-gum ₂
P114473 11/15/----	1		1	1^							4		1 ugula zi-gum ₂ 1 šar ₂ -ra-ab-du
P114479 12/--/----	1		5								1		
P114481 --/--/----	1	1	1								2		1 NIM
P114504 6/07/----	1										3	Duḫduḫne Šimaški (ĝ. unspc.)	
P114928 2/--/----	1												
P114973 3/--/----	1												
P115015 11/04/----	1		1										lu ₂ -u ₄ -sakar-me
P115064	1		2										

3/10/----													
P115177 6/02/SH44	1		1									Šimaški	
P115190 1/--/SH46 or AS03	1		2										
P115771 4/--/----	4	1	1		1		1					Anšan (ĝ. dnb)	
P115774* --/--/----	3		2				1						1 saĝĝa
P115775* 2/--/----	3							4		1			
P115776* 1/--/----	1									1	4		1 šar ₂ -ra-ab-du
P115781 4/--/----	1		1				1	1				Giša (ĝ. ltgl)	
P115931 5/--/----	1		5									Šimaški	
P116122 2/--/----	1		5						1	3			
P116123 12/-/SH48	1							1			3		
P117509 8/--/----	2											Kimaš (ĝ. ltgl)	
P118467 10/-/SS08	1												ensi ₂ Sabum ^{ki}
P119654 2/16/----	1		2	1^							11		šeš sukkal-maḥ ša ₃ en-nu-me sipad ur-ra
P119702 1/--/----	2							2		2		Zaul (ĝ. k) Giša (ĝ. m)	
P119724 3/02/----	1										5		1 sagi
P119725 12/22/----	1										4		1 lu ₂ -ĝi ^š gigir gu-la 2 dumu lugal
P119726	1		2		3		2					Anšan (ĝ. dnb)	

1/--/----												Giziĥu (ĝ. aug)	
P119750* --/--/----	1		1										
P119763* 12/--/----	2		1							2			
P120129* 1/12/----	1		1					1		1			
P120132 1/--/----	1		2									Šimaški (ĝ. ltgl)	
P120133 13/--/----	1							1				Sabum (ĝ. ltgl)	
P120140 11/07/----	1		1					3					1 šidim
P120143* 7/27/----	1									2			
P120149 2/05/----	1		1							2			
P120154 11/01/----	1			1^				1		2		<i>Ĥulibar</i>	1 dumu lugal
P206235 10/--/----	1		2				1			1			
P206220 6/--/----	1		2			1	1					Šimaški (ĝ. dnb)	
P206202 2/--/----	1		5			1							
P208483 1715 --/--/----	1		2							1			
P206237 10/--/----	1									1	2		
P206238 10/--/----	1		3				1						
P206243 10/06/----	1		1							3			

¹⁷¹⁵ The *sukkals* and *mar-tu* are called *lu₂-ĝi₃tukul ma₂ ĝi₃-i₃-me*.

P204595 11/-/AS03	1							1					
P145547 12/21/----	1		1	1~				2		1	1		1 šar ₂ -ra-ab-du 2 dub-sar lugal-me
P121102 3/--/----	1		4								1 ¹⁷¹⁶		1 mušen-du ₃ 1 ugula zi-gum ₂
P202075 5/14/----	2		1							1	2		3 sipad udu gud-me
P202106 11/13/----	1							1			5		1 dumu lugal
P202090 6/27/----	2		2					2		1	2		
P202099 12/--/----	1		1					2					1 dumu lugal
P202057 4/--/----	2		4									Ḫuḫnuri (ĝ. skl)	
P202108 12/--/----	3		2										
P201987* --/--/----	1		3										
P201988* --/--/----	1		5										
P202058 4/--/----	1		5		1							Šimaški (ĝ. skl)	
P202079 6/--/----	1		5										
P202069 5/10/----	1	1	2								2	Šimaški (ĝ. unsp. and skl)	
P202063 4/11/----	1		1	1						1	3	Ḫulibar	ša ₃ en-nu ša ₃ e ₂ -gal
P202070 5/--/----	3		1 ¹⁷¹⁷										
P202521	1			1							1		2 lu ₂ u ₄ -sakar-me

¹⁷¹⁶ A **sukkal** and the unnamed are called **aga₃-us₂-me**.

¹⁷¹⁷ The **sukkal** is listed twice (**a-ra₂ 2-kam**).

11/05/----													
P202109 12/--/----	2		2		1		3					Kimaš (ġ. aug) Zaul (ġ. dnb)	
P202112* 12/03/----	1		1	1^					1	6			
P202038* 1/--/----	1		2							1			
P207542 3/22/----	1									4			
P207658 11/28/----	3									2			
P356005 8/--/----	1		3		2							Kimaš (ġ. skl)	2 šeš lukur 1 u ₃ -kul
P356015 3/15/----	3		1					3			4		
P356020 9/22/----	1		1					3		1	2		
P356029 9/--/----	2		3						1			Šimaški (ġ. rg) Šimaški (ġ. ltgl)	
P356031 3/--/----	2		1					1			1		
P374532 3/--/----	1												
P405816 12/--/----	1		2								1	Duḥduḥne (ġ. skl) Šimaški (ġ. unsp.)	1 ugula zi-gum ₂
P405867* 12/--/----	1									1	6		1 NIM
P405868 8/21/----	1			1					1	1	2		1 NIM
P406051 7/--/----	1	2	6				1						
P406053 2/--/----	2		1		3			3			1	Anšan (ġ. k)	
P406055 3/--/----	2		3		1		2					Kimaš (ġ. skl)	
P406056	2		1								1	Šimaški ^{ki}	

6/--/----													
P406466 6/--/----	2		3									Anšan (ĝ. ltgl)	
P406467 3/--/----	1		2		1			4				Anšan (ĝ. skl) Si'u(m) (ĝ. aug)	
P406469 1/--/----	2		3					3				Anšan (ĝ. skl)	ensi ₂ Sabum ^{ki}
P406479 4/--/----	1		3		1								
P406480 5/--/----	2		1		2			2					
P406473 1/--/----	1		1		3				1			Anšan (ĝ. rg)	
P406498 8/--/----	1							1			2		
P406499 5/--/----	1												
P406503 13/--/----	2		2										
P406504 6/10/----	1	1	3							1	2		
P406506 11/03/----	1		3					3					
P406507 3/--/----	5							3				Si'u(m) (ĝ. k)	
P406508 6/17/----	1		2					3			3		
P406510 13/--/----	1		2					1			1	Marḥaši (ĝ. ltgl)	
P406513 13/--/----	1		3								1	Šimaški	
P406515 7/23/----	2						1			1	2		
P406620 10/--/----	1										1	NIM dab ₅ -ba uru ḫul-ke ₄ šu ba-ti	

P124730* --/--/----	2						5 ?			4		2 lu ₂ -kin-gi ₄ -a
P315567 12/10/----	1		1				2		1	2		
P315578 1/19/----	1		2	1						5	NIM-me	
P315618 3/21/----	2						4			1		
P315620 4/23/----	1		1				1			2	Šimaški	
P315625 3/25/----	2		1				2			2		
P315650* 1/--/----	1									3		
P315750 2/--/----	2		1				5		1			
P315752 11/--/----	1		4								Ḫurti (ĝ. skl)	
P315828 3/30/----	1		1						1			
P315940 12/07/----	3		6	n^			1		1	1	Šušin (ĝ. skl)	
P380571* 6/--/----	1						1			1		1 ĝa ₂ -nun kas ₄
P202549 4/--/----	3		1		2		5					
P202551 4/--/----	1		2	1		1	1					1 šeš lukur 1 u ₃ -kul
P201263 5/--/----	1		2					1		4		
P201265 9/--/SS01	2	3										
P201269* 5/--/----	2		1									
P127603 9/01/----	1		1				3			1		

P127673 2/--/----	1						2			4		1 šar ₂ -ra-ab-du 1 sipad ur-ra
P127674 4/07/----	1						1			4	<i>Hulibar</i> 5-am ₃	1 ma ₂ -gin ₂ 1 sipad ur-ra
P127675 2/29/----	1			n^			1	1				2 NIM 1 šar ₂ -ra-ab-du 1 dub-sar lugal 1 nu-banda ₃ ša ₃ -gal ur-ra
P127676 5/10/----	1		1				1			3	NIM dab ₅ -ba Anšan (ĝ. unspec)	1 dumu lugal 1 sipad ur
P127677 4/04 [?] /----	2		2				1			4	<i>Hulibar</i> (ĝ. ltgl)	3 gu-za-la ₂ 1 sipad ur-ra
P127679 5/--/----	1 ¹⁷¹⁸			2				1		3	NIM-me	ša ₃ en-nu 2 šakkan ₆ 1 u ₃ -kul [?]
P127683* --/19/----	1						4			1		1 šeš [lukur]
P127686 4/22/----	1		1				2			2	<i>Hulibar</i>	1 sipad ur
P127717 4/09/----	1						2			1		1 nu-banda ₃ Šušin 1 ma ₂ -gin ₂ 1 sipad ur
P128504 9/--/----	2		2		2		1				19 ¹⁷¹⁹ Siri (ĝ. aug)	
P128508 1/--/----	1		4				1					1 šeš lukur 2 u ₃ -kul
P128526 9/--/----	1		3			1					20 NIM Anšan	
P128529 4/--/----	1		5								Zaul (ĝ. skl)	
P128530 5/--/----	2		2		6		1			2		

¹⁷¹⁸ One person is specifically labelled **lu₂-^{ĝi}tukul gu-la**, but the two generals and two other people are called **lu₂-^{ĝi}tukul-gu-la-me**.

¹⁷¹⁹ 3 NIM are **ra₂-gaba**, 16 NIM are unspecified.

P127949 3/--/----	1		2		1		3	1				Kimaš (ġ. dnb)	1 šeš lukur
P127990* 8/--/----	1		3	1			1				1		
P128011 3/12/----	1		1							1			
P128091 6/--/----	1		4										
P128256 8/--/----	1		1					1				30 geme ₂ ne-ra-aš ak Huḫnuri (ġ. k)	ensi ₂ AdamDUN
P128257 1/14/----	1		2	1^				1			2		1 šar ₂ -ra-ab-du 1 dumu lugal 1 sipad ur 1 simug ša ₃ en-nu ša ₃ -gal ur-ra
P128527 10/--/----	2		1		2			3					lu ₂ a-tu ₅ -me
P128543 11/10/----	1			1^				1			3		
P128544 --/--/----	1										4		1 NIM
P128545 9/10/----	1							2			5		ša ₃ en-nu <i>and</i> ša ₃ e ₂ -gal 1 NIM
P128550 2/11/----	1		1						1		4	2 NIM (ġ. ltgl)	1 nu-banda ₃ ša ₃ en-nu-me
P131214 6/--/----	1		1									2 NIM lu ₂ sig ₄ bu ₃ -re-me	
P131215 7/07/----	3		1								1		ma ₂ -<gin ₂ >? 1 šeš lukur
P131220 10/18/----	1		1		2		1	1					1 šeš lukur
P131231 7/--/----	1		1		2			1				Zaul (ġ. k)	2 šeš lukur
P131236* --/--/----	1									1	1		

P131240 3/--/----	1		3					1			1		
P131246 6/--/----	2		2	1				1	1		1	Anšan (ĝ. ltgl)	
P131247 4/--/----	2		3	1			2	1					1 šeš lukur
P131249 7/--/----	2							1	2	1			1 dub-sar lugal
P131250 5/--/----	2		1		1		1						
P131253 5/--/----	1		3		2		2						
P131255 4/--/----	3						1	2		1			
P131256 2/--/----	1		2		2			2					
P131260 3/--/----	1		2		2		2	1				Kimaš (ĝ. dnb)	1 šeš lukur
P131261 2/--/----	1		3					2				Si'u(m) (ĝ. šeš lukur)	1 šeš lukur
P131263 7/--/----	1		4		1		1						
P131275 7/--/----	1												
P129615 5/--/----	1	1											
P129623 ¹⁷²⁰ 7/15/----	2			2					2		4		ša ₃ en-nu <i>and</i> ša ₃ e ₂ -gal 2 named lu ₂ -SAR and 2 groups of lu ₂ -SAR
P129657* --/24/----	1										1		1 sipad ur-gir ₁₅
P207719 1/--/----	1											Duḫduḫne (ĝ. ltgl)	

¹⁷²⁰ Interesting text that puts varying rations for the same people twice.

P109337 1/--/----	1	2	2					1	1				
P234839													
P234845 4/--/----	1		3								1		
P234846 3/24/----	2			3~					1		6	NIM dab ₅ -ba (ĝ. ltgl)	
P110507 --/--/----	3									1	8	Ĥulibar Zurba (ĝ. unsp.)	1 šar ₂ -ra-ab-du 1 ugula zi-gum ₂
P110509 --/--/----	1			1^				2			1	Sabum Anšan	1 ensi ₂ (Sabum)
P110513 --/--/----	1			5^ 1721				3		1	1		1 sagi 3 lu ₂ -ŠIM
P110519 --/--/----	1										3		1 šabra <i>Enki</i> 1 dumu lugal 1 sipad ur-ra
P110690 5/--/SS03	1	2											
P110895 --/--/----	1		3					1			3		3 lu ₂ -ĥu-bu ₇ ^{bu}
P132205 10/28/----	1	1	2										
P132361* 11/16/----	1										4		4 aga ₃ -us ₂ NIM-me 4 lu ₂ -ĥu-bu ₇ ^{bu}
P132453 10/--/----	1											Šimaški (ĝ. ltgl)	
P132546 6/--/AS08	1	1										Ĥupum	
P200642* --/--/----	1												
P132634 6/--/----	1	2											
P132674 5/09/----	1		1	10~				1			5		ša ₃ en-nu 1 aga ₃ -us ₂ ša ₃ en-nu

¹⁷²¹ This number is based on ration amounts.

												1 šuš ₃ 1 šakkan ₆
P132733 4/30/----	1		1					1			4	1 sipad ur-ra 1 bir ₃ ^{anše} kunga ₂
P132738* 2/06/----	1										7	ša ₃ en-nu 1 azlag ₇ 1 ma ₂ -lah ₅ 1 lu ₂ -ur ₃ -ra
P132747 2/19/----	3		1					1			10	ša ₃ en-nu ša ₃ e ₂ -gal 1 NIM 1 nu-banda ₃
P132775 5/--/AS08	1		1					2				
P132785 5/22/----	1		2					1			1	
P132841 10/--/----	1		1								1	NIM kug maš ₂ - da-ri-a-da-a ġen- na (ġ. ltgl)
P132933 8/23/----	1		1	1							7	<i>labrat</i> 1 sipad anše sukkal- maḥ
P133212 8/07/----	2										1	1 sipad ur-ra
P133231 10/--/----	2											
P133269 11/-/AS08	1							4				
P133317 5/01/----	1		1					1		1	3	2 lu ₂ -u ₄ -sakar-me 1 sipad ur-ra
P133327 9/20/----	2		1	1~				2			7	<i>Ḥulibar</i> ensi ₂ Sabum ^{ki} 1 NIM
P133329 10/21/----	1		2					3			3	1 šeš sukkal-maḥ
P133332 8/08/----	1		1								1	1 sipad ur-ra
P133350*	2	2									12	Manḥili ša ₃ en-nu-me

2/08/----													
P133351 3/03/----	3		1					1			3	Ḫulibar (ḡ. ltgl) Anšan (ḡ. nu-banda ₃)	1 nu-banda ₃ 1 dub-sar lugal ša ₃ -gal ur-ra
P133546 11/-/AS09	1							3					
P133562 11/03/----	1 ¹⁷²²	1										Ḫulibar	
P135786 6/24/----	1		3										1 sagi
P135788 6/--/----	2		2								2	Giša (ḡ. skl)	
P135790 11/--/----	1		5										1 ugula
P135795 3/18/----	2							1		1	3		1 NIM
P135798 3/--/----	2		2									Duḫduḫne (ḡ. skl)	
P135818 10/13/----	1		1					1					
P136218 6/12/----	1			1^							4		
P136224* 9/07/----	1			1							2		
P113515 2/07/----	1		1	2~							8		
P113521 8/02/----	1		1	1~						1	6	Sabum	1 dumu sukkal-maḫ 1 šuš ₃ 1 šuš ₃ lugal 1 lu ₂ nin-diḡir ^d gu-la
P113525 10/--/----	1										1		
P113526 10/15/----	1			1 1~					1		3		1 NIM 2 šar ₂ -ra-ab-du

¹⁷²² The person is called **ra₂-gaba lu₂-^{ḡi}š^ttukul gu-la**.

													1 sagi
P113535 12/--/----	1		3					1		1			
P113537 12/25/----	2							1	1		2	Duḥduḥne	2 dumu lugal 1 nar lugal 1 uš-bar? 1 sipad 1 šar ₂ -ra-ab-du 2 ³ dub-sar
	ltgl	lt	skl	au	aug	augg	dnb	k	rg	m	unsp.	NIM group	other

Travel and Missional Data on Individuals designated as lu₂-ġiš³tukul gu-la

<i>Text/Date</i>	<i>Personnel qualified by lu₂-ġiš³tukul gu-la</i>	<i>“From GN” GN-ta</i>	<i>“To GN” GN-še₃</i>	<i>Additional</i>
P114469 7/12/----	lu ₂ -ma ₂ -gan-na	---	---	(ša ₃ ġiš-kin-ti-da ġen-na)
P248725 4/--/----	ur- ^d en-lil ₂ šu-ma-si IGI.A-a	--- Giša Susa	Susa --- ---	--- ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM gi-ša ^{ki} ---
P100153 11/23/----	PU ₃ -KA šu-u ₂ -u ₂	--- ---	[...] [...]	--- ---
P112957 8/02/----	er ₃ -ra-KAL	---	Kimaš	---
P100201 7/--/----	ba-sag ₉ -ga	---	AdamDUN	---
P100204 12/09/----	lu ₂ -ša-lim	---	---	(eren ₂ ŠE.KIN-še ₃ ġen-na)
P100312 5/15/----	ba-ba-a	---	---	(abzu am-da ġen-na)
P100313 5/--/----	a-mur- ^d UTU	---	Anšan	---
P145532 2/--/SH42	ḫu-wa-wa	---	---	(siki ma ₂ ġa ₂ -ġa ₂ -de ₃ ġen-na)
P100906 11/-/AS03	šu- ^d suen	---	---	ġiri ₃ ? <i>for</i> munus sa-bu-um ^{ki} -me
P100944 5/--/----	nu-ḫa-lum	---	---	---
P100947 7/--/----	šu-ma-ma	---	---	---
P100950 5/--/----	ab-za-lum	---	---	---
P102128 11/18/----	ir ₃ -ib	---	---	(egir ki-tuš-lu ₂ DU)
P102423 5/--/----	ab-za-lum	---	---	---
P105311	lugal-ma ₂ -gur ₈ -re	---	---	---

11/20/----				
P105480 --/--/----	zi ₂ -na-ti u ₃ -zu-nu-ru-um	Zabalam Susa	--- ---	---
P105794 12/06/----	lu ₂ -ša-lim	---	---	---
P105796 12/06/----	[...]	---	---	---
P315536 12/--/----	lu ₂ [?] -u ₂ [?] -du-ma šu-e-li	(Anšan u₃ Nippur)	---	---
P340624 8/--/----	ib-mi-ni-il ₃	---	Susa	---
P108589 4/-12/----	a-dar-šen i-ti-a	--- ---	--- ---	(^{ĝi₅} u ₂ -bil ₂ -še ₃ ĝen-na) (a-šag ₄ aga ₃ -us ₂ -ne ĝen-na)
P108643 3/23/----	ma-aš ₂ HI- ^d šul-gi šu- ^d en-lil ₂	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- --- ĝiri ₃ for NIM
CTPSM 149	puzur ₄ -a-ša	---	Sabum	---
CTPSM 151	ḥu-wa-wa še-le-e- ^d šul-gi	--- Susa	Susa ---	--- ---
CTPSM 156	ir ₃ -re-eb	---	---	(ku ₆ -saĝ-še ₃ ĝen-na)
CTPSM 158	a-gu-a lugal-nesaĝ-e i ₃ -kal-la	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- --- ---
CTPSM 172	lu ₂ - ^d en-ki	---	---	---
CTPSM 181	bu-bu-ni	---	---	(lu ₂ šabra ^d nanna-da ĝen-na)
CTPSM 195	la-qi ₃ -pu-um la-la-a	Susa ---	--- Urua	--- ---
CTPSM 202	nu-ri ₂ -li ₂	Nippur u₃ Anšan	---	---
CTPSM 205	ba-sag ₉ -ga ur- ^d en-lil ₂ a-da-lal ₃	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- --- ---

CTPSM 211	ša-<ru>-um-i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	---
CTPSM 227	^d utu-i ₃ -dug ₃ arad ₂ -ĝu ₁₀	---	---	(aga ₃ -us ₂ -še ₃ ĝen-na) (gukkal še ₃ DU)
CTPSM 228	puzur ₄ -ra-bi	(Anšan u₃ Nippur)	---	---
CTPSM 251*	šu-ma-ma	Susa	---	---
P122991 1/29/----	i-ti-a	---	---	(ŠIM anše-še ₃ ĝen-na)
P123160 3/14/----	i-šar-pa ₂ -dan	---	---	(nar-da ĝen-na)
P122974 3/--/----	a-gu-a bur-ma-ma lugal-a ₂ -zi-da lugal-nesaĝ-e a-gu-a ad-da-na-bi	Susa --- --- --- --- Susa	--- (Susa) Susa (Susa) Susa ---	--- --- --- --- ---
P122988 4/18/----	ur- ^d šul-pa-e ₃	(Susa)	---	---
P123048 4/29/----	ur- ^d šul-pa-e ₃ mi-da-a	--- ---	--- ---	(šabra ^d šul-gi-a-bi ₂ -da ĝen-na) (šabra ^d šul-gi-a-bi ₂ -da ĝen-na)
P123079 4/--/----	e ₂ -tar ₂ -qi ₄ -li ₂	(Anšan)	(u₃ Nippur)	---
P123001 4/--/----	si-mu i-ba-ni-NI	Susa ---	--- Susa	ĝiri ₃ lu ₂ KA _x ŠU (?) ---
P123125 5/24/----	lugal-a ₂ -zi-da	---	(Gu'abba)	---
P122995 5/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d da-mu	gu ₂ a-ab-ba ki ensi ₂	---	---
P122989 6/--/----	u ₂ -tul ₂ -ma-ma	Susa	---	---
P123126 7/08/----	a-da-lal ₃	Saḥar	---	---
P123165 9/13/----	i-ti-lum	---	---	(šabra an-na-še ₃ ĝen-na)

P122945 9/24/----	a-kal-la	---	---	(ab-ba-da ġen-na)
P123051 10/07/----	i ₃ -li ₂ -[...]	---	[...]	---
P122973 10/08/----	ur-DUN	(Sabum)	---	
P122943 10/28/----	ĥu-NI.NI	---	---	(ġiš-i ₃ -še ₃ ġen-na)
P123161 10/--/----	bur-ma-ma	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P122987 11/19/----	šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂ dšul-gi-i ₃ -li ₂ šu-i ₃ -li ₂	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	(tug ₂ -še ₃ ġen-na) (tug ₂ -še ₃ ġen-na) (tug ₂ -še ₃ ġen-na)
P123057 11/--/----	a-da-lal ₃	(Anšan)	---	---
P123056 11/--/----	lu ₂ -diġir	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P122996 12/10/----	šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂	---	---	(e ₂ ur- ^d ig-alim-še ₃ ġen-na)
P123054 12/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d šul-gi	---	---	---
P122984* --/--/----	ur-kisal	---	---	---
P108889 1/19/----	E-ŠID-ra su-sag ₉	--- ---	--- ---	---
P108891 9/--/----	u-bar	---	---	(gurdub-še ₃ ġen-na)
P108894 3/09/----	šu- ^d UTU	---	---	(ki lu ₂ -diġir-ra-še ₃ ġen-na)
P108905 11/28/----	PU ₃ -KA-a	---	---	---
P108906 1/29/----	šu-er ₃ -ra lu ₂ -ge-na	--- ---	--- ---	---
P108916 11/21/----	ep-qu ₂ -ša	---	---	---
P108917	lu ₂ -kalag-ga	---	---	---

9/18/----				
P108927 2/22/----	KAL- ^d šul-gi	---	---	---
P108932 11/05/----	na-ra-me-a	---	---	---
P108933 2/06/----	ib ₂ -dub [?] -šen	---	---	---
P108936 2/07/----	ma-aš ₂	---	---	---
P108939 3/12/----	nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂ šu-bu ₃ -du	---	---	---
P108942 2/26/----	KAL- ^d šul-gi an-ta-ḫe ₂ -ḡal ₂	---	---	---
P108945 2/10/----	a-bu-ni	---	---	---
P108947 9/02/----	ma-aš ₂ -tum	---	---	---
P108948 11/24/----	ur- ^d lu ₂ -lal ₃	---	---	---
P108949 2/22/----	lu ₂ - ^d ašnan šu-er ₃ -ra	---	---	(^{anše} kunga ₂ -še ₃ ḡen-na)
P108951 6/11/----	ma-aš ₂ -šum šu- ^d nisaba	---	---	---
P109979 9/07/----	arad ₂ -[...]	---	---	(ki gu ₃ -de ₂ -a uru-a ḡen-na)
P109984 3/--/----	bi ₂ -la-a a-i ₃ -li ₂ -šu puzur ₄ -ga-ga ša-al-ma-um	--- Susa --- Susa	Sabum --- Susa ---	--- --- --- ---
P110008 1/--/----	nur-i ₃ -li ₂	(Urua)	---	---
P110030 3/--/----	ip-ḫur la-mu-ša	--- Susa	Sabum ---	--- ---
P11040 11/--/----	a ₂ -pi ₅ -la-num ₂	(Anšan)	---	---
P110043	a-i ₃ -li ₂ -šu	---	Susa	---

3/--/----	ur-DUN	---	Susa	---
P110086 9/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d nin-šubur	---	Sabum	---
P110138 1/--/----	la-NI-a	---	---	---
P110153 5/--/---	lugal-zi-mu	Anšan	---	---
P110157 4/--/----	lu ₂ -diĝir-ra	---	Susa	---
P110163 4/--/----	bur-ma-am ₃ šu- ^d DUMU.ZI lugal-a ₂ -zi-da bu ₃ -ba-ti u-bar šu- ^d en-lil ₂	Susa --- --- (Susa) Susa ---	--- --- --- --- --- Susa	--- (zi-ga ša ₃ -ta du-ni) zi-ga ša ₃ -ta du-ni --- --- ---
P110173 12/--/----	e ₂ -an-ne ₂	(Anšan)	---	---
P110181 6/--/----	lu ₂ -ma ₂ -ga-na	Anšan	---	---
P110186 12/29/----	gin ₂ -sa ₆ -sa ₆	---	---	---
P110197 5/24/----	za-la-a	---	---	---
P110202 6/--/AS05	arad ₂ - ^d nanna	---	(Ur)	---
P110215 7/--/----	lu ₂ -ša-lim	---	AdamDUN	---
P110224 12/--/----	nir-ĝal ₂ NE.NE lu ₂ - ^d utu	(Anšan) (Anšan) (Nippur)	--- --- ---	--- --- ---
P110228 9/--/SS08	ki-na	---	---	---
P110332 4/--/----	ur-DUN bu ₃ -ba-ti šu-gur-si ^d nanna-kam	(Susa) Susa Giša ---	--- --- --- ---	--- --- ĝiri ₃ for NIM gi-ša ^{ki} -me mu ku ₆ -niĝ ₂ ki inim- ^d nin-dar<-še ₃ > tuš-a

	gu ₃ -de ₂ -a	Susa	---	---
P110335 7/--/----	ne-mur	Kimaš	---	---
P110338 3/--/----	a-gu-a ad-da-na-UD lugal-nesaĝ-e puzur ₄ -ga-ga lugal-a ₂ -zi-da bur-ma-ma	Susa --- Susa --- Susa ---	--- Susa --- Susa --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---
P110340 8/--/----	puzur ₄ -na-a	---	(Susa)	---
P110341 7/--/----	an-ne ₂ -ba-du ₇ puzur ₄ -na-a	--- ---	Susa Susa	--- ---
P110342 8/--/----	bur-ma-ma šu- ^d nin-šubur	--- ---	Urua Giša	--- ĝiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM gi-ša ^{ki} -me
P110350 8/--/----	^d nanna-ki-aĝ ₂	Susa	---	---
P110351 4/--/----	lugal-an-ne ₂	---	Susa	---
P110359 1/--/----	puzur ₄ -ra-bi ₂	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P110364 12/20/----	šu- ^d nin-šubur šu- ^d UTU	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
P110626 4/04/----	Nimgir-inim-ge-na a-gu-a	--- ---	--- ---	(^{ĝi} šal IL ₂ -še ₃ ĝen-na)
P110992 5/12/----	a-ma-an-ne-en	AdumDUN	---	ĝiri ₃ kaš/ninda/i ₃ -ĝiš <i>for</i> dumu-munus lugal
P111791 1/--/----	la-NI-a	(Sabum)	---	---
P111792 8/--/----	šu-gar ₃ -ti	---	---	ma ₂ id ₂ -ta e ₃ -e ₃ -de ₃ tuš-a
P315770 11/13/----	ar-ši-aḥ	---	---	---
P315771 7/--/----	ur- ^d si ₄ -<an-na> a-li ₂ -a	Susa Susa	--- ---	--- ---
P315772	DINGIR-ba-ni	---	Kimaš	---

6/--/----	šu-e ₂ -a a-a-kal-la	Susa ---	--- Sabum	---
P315774 7/--/----	a-bu ₃ -ni šu- ^d UTU	(Anšan) (Anšan)	---	---
P315813 3/--/----	ti-ti-a	(Anšan u₃ Nippur)	---	---
P112783 3/--/SS01	ad-da-bi-li-ir	---	---	---
P112784 3/--/SS01	na-na	---	---	---
P112785 12/-/AS08	da-a	---	(Gu'abba)	--- (<i>mentions food for equids</i>)
P112786 5/--/SS01	<i>unnamed</i> da-a	--- ---	--- ---	---
P116248 2/20/----	za-na-ti	---	---	---
P116249 2/--/----	ḥu-wa-wa li-bur- ^d šul-gi	Susa ---	--- Susa	---
P116250 --/--/----	DINGIR.KAL	a-ab-ba	---	---
P204730* 6/--/AS05	PU ₃ -KA	---	Susa	---
P316788 7/--/AS06 [?]	da-ba-ti	---	---	---
P317639 10/-/AS06	i ₃ -DUB-ši-na	---	---	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM gi-ša ^{ki} -ke ₄ -ne
P204234 10/-/AS02	IGI.NE.NI-ri ₂ -tum	---	Susa	---
P316273 12/-/AS02	a-pi ₅ -la-ti	---	Ur	---
P205696 10/-/SS08	lu ₂ - ^d en-ki	---	Ur	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM za-u ₂ -ul ^{ki} -me (<i>possibly originating from nu-nir-ra^{ki}</i>)
P295838 8/27/----	šu-eš-tar ₂	---	---	(lu ₂ e ₂ ^d nanna-da DU)
P295839 2/--/----	šu-i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	(še sukkal-maḥ-še ₃ DU)

P295903 --/--/----	šu- ^d IŠKUR lu ₂ - ^d nin-šubur na-bi ₂ - ^d suen	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P106881 6/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d nanna	---	---	(ma ₂ ġiš-še ₃ ġen-na)
P106884 5/--/----	a-kal-la	---	---	---
P106888 1/21/----	da-a-a	---	---	---
P106890 12/--/----	i-ti-zu	---	---	---
P106891 11/21/----	šu-eš-tar ₂	---	---	---
P106899 2/07/----	šu- ^d UTU la-qi ₂ -ip	---	---	ud sukkal-maḥ tuš-a ud sukkal-maḥ tuš-a
P106900 10/13/----	šu-i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	---
P106901 2/19/----	u-bar	---	---	---
P106904 2/04/----	a-ḥu-ni	---	---	---
P106907 5/--/SS07	lu ₂ -um-ši-na	---	---	---
P106908 5/--/AS01	puzur ₄ -a ₂ -bi ₂ u ₂ -du-LU	---	---	(urim ₅ ^{ki} -ma tuš-a) urim ₅ ^{ki} -ma tuš-a
P106915 --/--/----	im-ti-da	---	---	---
P106923 5/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d en-ki	---	Anšan	---
P106930 7/11/----	da-a-a	---	---	---
P106940 6/--/AS05	arad ₂ - ^d nanna	---	Susa	---
P106951 5/--/----	šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂ i ₃ -ku-num ₂	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P106956	šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂	---	---	---

10/--/----				
P106959 10/--/----	u-bar	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P106960 10/--/----	a-ḥu-um-lum u-bar	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P106963 12/07/----	DINGIR-šu-ra-bi	---	AdamDUN	---
P106970 --/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d nin-gublaga	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P106977 2/--/----	u ₂ -du-ma-ma	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P106978 3/--/----	ki-aĝ ₂ -mu	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P106980 3/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d ašnan	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P106986 4/--/----	a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P106988 5/--/----	puzur ₄ -ra-bi ₂	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P106991 5/--/----	ur- ^d en-ki	(Nippur)	---	---
P106992 5/--/----	puzur ₄ -ra-bi	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P106996 6/--/----	AN.GAR ₃ lu ₂ -ša-lim	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P106997 7/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d nin-šubur lu ₂ - ^d nin-šubur	(Nippur) a-ab-ba <i>and</i> Anšan	---	---
P106998 7/--/----	du ₁₁ -ga-LAK_227	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P107006 9/--/----	da-num ₂ lugal- ^d utu	(Nippur) Nippur	---	---
P107011 10/--/----	lugal-ma ₂ -gur ₈ -re	(Anšan)	---	---
P107014 12/--/----	bur-ra	(Anšan)	---	---

P107020 2/--/----	a-ḥu-ma	---	---	---
P107023 2/23/----	ur- ^d nin-gublaga	---	---	---
P107025 2/17/----	a ₂ -pi ₅ -la-NI	---	---	(e ₂ -lal ₃ -da ġen-na)
P107029 3/30/----	ša-al-maḥ iš-du ₁₁ - ^{gi} gin ₇	--- ---	--- ---	(sig ₄ du ₈ -de ₃)? (sig ₄ du ₈ -de ₃)?
P107032 7/03/----	lugal-nesaġ-e e-lu-dan	--- ---	--- ---	
P107033 4/23/----	puzur ₄ -i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	ġiri ₃ u ₃ -ba-a<-še ₃ ?> ġen-na-me
P107037 7/23/----	e-lu-dan	---	---	(^u 2ninni ₅ -ta ġen-na)
P107039 9/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d nanna	---		(Anšan-[x])
P107041 9/22/----	ir ₃ -ib iš-du ₁₁ - ^{gi} gin ₇	--- ---	--- ---	(ki ḥa-iš-še ₃ ġen-na) (ki ḥa-iš-še ₃ ġen-na)
P107042 8/22/----	ba-ba-a	---	(Susa)	---
P107043 9/--/----	la-lum	Sabum	---	---
P107045 9/17/----	ur-nigar _x ^{gar}	---	---	(dumu lu ₂ - ^d ba-u ₂ mar-tu-da ġen-na)
P107046 8/--/----	DINGIR.KAL	---	Susa	---
P107047 8/21/----	iš-du ₁₁ - ^{gi} gin ₇	---	---	---
P107051 10/22/----	ga-pu-pu	---	---	---
P107053 11/26/----	^d šul-gi šu-i ₃ -li ₂	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
P107061 2/21/----	za-na-ti	---	---	---
P107062 --/22/----	la-qi ₂ -ip lu ₂ - ^d en-ki	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---

P107063 9/29/----	lu ₂ - ^d nanna DINGIR-ki-bi-ri	---	---	(ki lugal-ma ₂ -gur ₈ -re sukkal-še ₃ ĝen-na-me)
P107064 6/24/----	ur-dub-la ₂	---	---	---
P114463 5/26/----	igi-an-na-ke ₄ -zu	---	---	---
P114466 7/--/----	zi ₂ -na-ti a-gu-a	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P114470 8/03/----	lu ₂ -kar-zi-da	---	---	---
P114473 11/15/----	ka-la-a	---	---	---
P114479 12/--/----	šu- ^d en-lil ₂	(Nippur)	---	---
P114481 --/--/----	u ₂ -ar-ti-a	---	---	---
P114504 6/07/----	^d šul-gi-ba-ni	---	---	---
P114928 2/--/----	bur-ma-ma	Susa	---	---
P114973 3/--/----	pu ₁₁ -pu ₁₁ -mu	Susa	---	---
P115015 11/04/----	i-ti-en-ra	---	---	---
P115064 3/10/----	nu-ur ₂ -zu	---	---	---
P115177 6/2/SH44	^d nanna-mu	---	---	---
P115190 1/--/SH46	puzur ₄ -dug ₄ -ga	---	(gu ₂ -ab- ba)?	---
P115771 4/--/----	šu- ^d DUMU.ZI bu ₃ -ba-ti [...]	---	---	---
P115774 --/--/----	puzur ₄ -a-a puzur ₄ -a-bi ₂ bu ₃ -a-a	Susa ---	Susa ---	---

P115775 2/--/----	za-na-ti u ₃ -ZU [?] -nu-ub-ra ib-ba-za-ar	--- Susa Susa	Sabum --- ---	---
P115776* 1/--/----	a ₂ -[x]-ra	---	---	---
P115781 4/--/----	šu-i ₃ -li ₂	---	Giša	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM gi-ša ^{ki} -me
P115931 5/--/----	^d nanna-MAŠ.KU	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P116122 2/--/----	u ₂ -ku-ma-ma	---	Susa	---
P116123 12/-/SH48	puzur ₄ -ha-ia ₃	---	---	---
P117509 8/--/----	a-da-lal ₃ lu ₂ -ša-lim	(Nippur) Nippur	--- ---	
P118467 10/-/SS08	da-an-num ₂	---	---	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> a-ḥu-um-me-lum ensi ₂ sa-bu-um ^{ki} -ma
P119654 2/16/----	na-bi ₂ - ^d suen	---	---	---
P119702 1/--/----	zi-na-ti šu-ma-ma	--- ---	Susa Susa	--- ---
P119724 3/02/----	lu ₂ - ^d nanše	---	---	---
P119725 12/22/----	da-a-a	---	---	---
P119726 1/--/----	šu- ^d en-lil ₂	---	---	---
P119750 --/--/----	bur-ma-am ₃	Susa	---	---
P119763 12/--/----	puzur ₄ -ga-ga [...]-sag ₉	--- ---	Susa ---	--- ---
P120129 1/12/----	lu ₂ - ^d nanna	---	---	---
P120123 1/--/----	u ₂ -du-ma-ma	Nippur	---	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM ši-ma-aš-ki-ke ₄
P120133	la-muš-e	---	Sabum	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM sa-bu-um ^{ki} -me

11/--/----				
P120140 11/07/----	in-zu	---	Susa	---
P120143 7/27/----	ur- ^d en-ki	---	---	---
P120149 2/05/----	šu-i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	---
P120154 11/01/----	maš	---	---	---
P206235 10/--/----	lu ₂ -ri ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂	---	Susa	---
P206220 6/--/----	i-ti-bu-um	---	Kimaš	---
P206202 2/--/----	la-qi ₃ -ip	(Nippur)?	---	---
P208483* --/--/----	ur-...]	---	---	---
P206237 10/--/----	ur- ^{giš} gigir	---	Susa	--- (may list multiple rations for him, both going to and from Susa)
P206238 10/--/----	puzur ₄ -a-bi ₂	Susa	---	---
P206243 10/06/----	^d šul-gi-ba-ni	---	---	ki ku ₆ -še ₃ ĝen-na
P204595 11/-/AS03	a-kal-la	---	---	---
P145547 12/21/----	ma-aš ₂	---	---	---
P121102 3/--/----	ur-...]	---	---	---
P202075 5/14/----	DINGIR.KAL nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	---
P202106 11/13/----	[...]	---	---	---
P202090 6/27/----	bur-ma-ma lugal-nesaĝ-e	---	---	---
P202099	šar-ru-NE-ti	(Anšan	---	---

12/--/----		u ₃ Nippur)		
P202057 4/--/----	a ₂ -pi ₅ -la-a šu- ^d IŠKUR	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P202108 12/--/----	šim-mu puzur ₄ -UNKEN.NE lu ₂ - ^d nanna	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P201987 --/--/----	šu-e ₂ -a	---	---	---
P201988 --/--/----	NIM e-ba-ab-du ₇	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P202058 4/--/----	^d suen-ba-ni	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P202079 6/--/----	an-ne ₂ -ba-du ₇	Nippur	---	---
P202069 5/10/----	DINGIR.KAL	---	---	---
P202063 4/11/----	ur-ab-zu	---	---	---
P202070 5/--/----	PU ₃ -KA-na-a lu ₂ - ^d nanna u-bar	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P202521 11/05/----	^d šul-gi-ba-ni	---	---	---
P202109 12/--/----	šu-eš-tar ₂ e ₂ -sa ₉	Susa ---	---	---
P202112 12/03/----	[...]	Šimaški	---	---
P202038 1/--/----	a ₂ -pi ₅ -la-num ₂	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P207542 3/22/----	bur- ^d IŠKUR	---	---	---
P207658 11/28/----	^d utu-i ₃ -dug ₃ ur- ^d ig-alim i-ti-zu	---	---	---
P356005 8/--/----	me-ri ₂ -iš	Susa	---	---

P356015 3/15/----	si-mu ₂ e ₂ -ma-li ₂ -ik puzur ₄ -ma-ma	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	---
P356020 9/22/----	er ₃ -<ra-nu>	---	---	---
P356029 9/--/----	la-muš DINGIR.KAL	--- ---	Susa Šimaški	--- <i>ĝiri₃ for NIM ši-ma-aš-ki-me</i>
P356031 3/--/----	a-ḥu-šu-ni šu- ^d nanna	--- Anšan	--- ---	--- ---
P374532 3/--/----	a-gu-a	Susa	---	---
P405816 12/--/----	šu- ^d en-ki	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P405867 12/--/----	ep-qu ₂ -ša	---	---	---
P405868 8/21/----	^d šara ₂ -kam	---	---	---
P406051 7/--/----	a ₂ -bu-um	---	AdamDUN	---
P406053 2/--/----	ad-da-na-pir lu ₂ - ^d nanna	--- ---	Susa ---	--- ---
P406055 3/--/----	ka-la-a da-da	--- Susa	Susa ---	--- ---
P406056 6/--/----	an-ne ₂ -ba-du ₇ ur- ^d šul-gi	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	--- ---	--- ---
P406466 6/--/----	lugal-ma ₂ -gur ₈ -re šu-i ₃ -li ₂	--- ---	Susa Anšan	--- <i>ĝiri₃ for NIM an-ša-an^{ki}-me</i>
P406467 3/--/----	^d šul-gi-uru-mu	---	---	NIM an-ša-an ^{ki} -ka <i>ĝiri₃ sum-de₃ ĝen-na</i>
P406469 1/--/----	e ₂ -sag ₉ ḥu-pa ₃	Susa Susa	--- ---	--- ---
P406479 4/--/----	lugal-an-ne ₂	---	Susa	---
P406480 5/--/----	na-ra-am-e ₂ -a ur-eš ₃ -lil ₂ -la ₂	--- Susa	--- ---	--- ---
P406473	ḥu-wa-wa	---	Susa	---

1/--/----				
P406498 8/--/----	e-lu-KAL	---	---	---
P406499 5/--/----	i ₃ -KA-ši-na	Ur	Susa	--- (<i>ĝiri₃ lugal urim₅^{ki}-a tuš-a</i>)
P406503 13/--/----	bur-ma-ma an-ne ₂ -ba-ab-du ₇	(Anšan u₃ Nippur)	---	---
P406504 6/10/----	lu ₂ -ša-lim	---	---	niĝ ₂ -kas ₇ ^d šul-gi-a-bi ₂ -še ₃ ĝen-na
P406506 11/03/----	ur- ^d nin-gublaga	---	(Sabum)?	---
P406507 3/--/----	puzur ₄ -ga-ga bu ₃ -ba-ti ša-al-ma-um šu- ^d DUMU.ZI puzur ₄ -ga-ga	--- --- --- Susa ---	--- Susa --- --- Susa	--- --- --- --- ---
P406508 6/17/----	lu ₂ -ša-lim	---	---	---
P406510 13/--/----	^d šul-gi-zi-mu	(Anšan u₃ Nippur)	---	---
P406513 13/--/----	a ₂ -pi ₅ -la-ti	(Anšan)?	---	---
P406515 7/23/----	ur- ^d suen ur-ma-ma	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
P406620 10/--/----	šu- ^d nin- [...]	(Anšan)	---	ĝiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM dab ₅ -ba uru ĥul-ke ₄
P124730 --/--/----	dan-num ₂ -ma-an-gi-ad DINGIR.KAL	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
P315567 12/10/----	ir ₃ -ib	---	---	---
P315578 1/19/----	nu-ur ₂ -eš ₄ -tar ₂	---	---	---
P315618 3/21/----	il-ma-zu šu- ^d DUMU.ZI	(Sabum)?	---	---
P315620 4/23/----	puzur ₄ -i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	---

P315625 3/25/----	šu- ^d DUMU.ZI lugal-an-na-tum ₂	---	---	---
P315650 1/--/----	da-a-a	---	---	da-da anše-[x] ġen-na
P315750 2/--/----	zi ₂ -na-ti u ₃ -zu-nu-ru-um	Susa Susa	---	---
P315752 11/--/----	a-ḥu-a-qar	---	---	---
P315828 3/30/----	ir ₃ -ib	---	---	---
P315940 12/07/----	[...]-ma-LUM [Ba]-ba-a šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂	---	---	---
P380571* 6/--/----	a-da-lal ₃	Sabum	---	---
P202549 4/--/----	bu ₃ -ba-ti ur-DUN ur-DUN	---	Susa ---	---
P202551 4/--/----	ba-ba-a	---	Susa	---
P201263 5/--/----	za-ba-ti	---	---	--- (references to sukkals going to the zigum)
P201265 9/--/SS01	ur-de ₃ -mu-na lu ₂ - ^d nanna	---	---	---
P201269 5/--/----	a-da-lal ₃ u ₂ -du-ma-ma	---	---	---
P127603 9/01/----	da-da	(AdamDUN)?	---	---
P127673 2/--/----	lugal-kug-zu	---	---	---
P127674 4/07/----	lu ₂ - ^d nanna	---	---	---
P127675 2/29/----	ur-sag ₉ -ga	---	---	---
P127676 5/10/----	kur-in-daḥ	---	---	---

P127677 4/04/----	na-a-na a-mur- ^d UTU	---	---	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM ħu-li ₂ -bar
P127679 5/--/----	in-daḥ-še-ri IR lugal-TUG ₂ .MAH	---	---	---
P127683* --/19/----	i-ti-[x]-zu	---	---	---
P127686 4/22/----	DINGIR-ba-ni	---	---	---
P127717 4/09/----	šu-gu-du	---	---	
P128504 9/--/----	šu- ^d IŠKUR ^d nanna-sag ₉ -ga	---	Sabum ---	--- AdamDUN-[x]
P128508 1/--/----	lu ₂ -ša-lim	---	Susa	---
P128526 9/--/----	a-ḥu-ni	(Nippur)	---	---
P128529 4/--/----	^d IŠKUR-ba-ni	---	---	---
P128530 5/--/----	^d nanna-sag ₉ -ga šu- ^d UTU	Susa ---	--- Susa	--- ---
P127949 3/--/----	da-da-a	---	Sabum	---
P127990 8/--/----	u-bar	Sabum	---	---
P128011 3/12/----	lu ₂ -ša-lim	---	---	---
P128091 6/--/----	šu- ^d en-lil ₂	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P128256 8/--/----	šu-ga-ti	---	---	ma ₂ id ₂ -ta e ₃ -e ₃ -de ₃ tuš-a
P128257 1/14/----	da-a-num ₂	---	---	---
P128527 10/--/----	maḥ-gi-in [...]-ki-ti	---	Susa Susa	--- ---
P128543	u-bar	---	---	---

11/10/----				
P128544 --/--/----	a-bu-DUG ₃	---	---	---
P128545 9/10/----	ur-abzu	---	---	---
P128550 2/11/----	bur-ma-ma	---	---	ĝiri ₃ 2 NIM
P131214 6/--/----	ba-a-a	Nippur	---	---
P131215 7/07/----	lu ₂ -ma ₂ -gan ur-kug-nun DINGIR.KAL	--- --- ---	--- --- AdamDUN	a-ab-ba-ka gi-gid ₂ bur ₂ -de ₃ a-ab-ba-še ₃ mu ku ₆ ĝen-na ---
P131220 10/18/----	a-ad-da	Šimaškii	---	---
P131231 7/--/----	DINGIR.KAL	---	Kimaš	---
P131236* --/--/----	a-mur- ^d UTU	---	---	---
P131240 3/--/----	ša-al-maḥ	---	---	---
P131246 6/--/----	a-da-lal ₃ ^d šul-gi-da-an-ga-da	Sabum ---	--- Anšan	--- ĝiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM an-ša-an-na-me
P131247 4/--/----	šu-er ₃ -ra diĝir-ra-mu	--- ---	AdamDUN Sabum	--- ---
P131249 7/--/----	sa ₆ -a-ga la-muš-e	--- Susa	Susa ---	--- ---
P131250 5/--/----	DINGIR.KAL nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂	--- ---	Susa Susa	--- ---
P131253 5/--/----	lugal-kug-zu	---	AdamDUN	---
P131255 4/--/----	en-na-ti šu-ma-ma zi-na-ti	Susa Susa ---	--- --- Susa	--- --- ---
P131256 2/--/----	ur- ^d da-mu	---	Susa	---
P131260	da-da-a	Sabum	---	---

3/--/----				
P131261 2/--/----	bur-ma-ma	Susa	---	---
P131263 7/--/----	a-bi ₂ -a	---	Susa	---
P131275 7/--/----	lu ₂ -[igi-sa ₆ -sa ₆]	---	---	---
P129615 5/--/----	ri ₂ -ki-bi [...]	---	---	---
P129623 7/15/----	^d hanna-kug-zu ^d hanna-kug-zu	---	---	---
P129657* --/24/----	puzur ₄ - ^d en-lil ₂	---	---	---
P207719 1/--/----	u ₂ -tul ₂ -ma-ma	Duḫduḫne	---	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM daḫ-daḫ ^{ki} -me
P109337 1/--/----	lu ₂ -ša-lim	Susa	---	---
P234839 12/25/----	i-ti-zu	---	---	---
P234845 4/--/----	U ₂ -DU-[ma-ma]	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P234846 3/24/----	a-ḫu-a i-din- ^d IŠKUR	---	---	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM dab ₅ -ba ---
P110507 --/--/----	zi ₂ - ^d IŠKUR u-bar a-ġi ₄ -a	---	---	---
P110509 --/--/----	e-lag-ra	---	---	---
P110513 --/--/----	al-la-mu	---	---	---
P110519 --/--/----	ša-al-maḫ	---	---	---
P110690 5/--/SS03	SI-A	---	---	---
P110895 --/--/----	a-da-lal ₃	---	---	---

P132205 10/28/----	šu- ^d UTU	---	---	---
P132361* 11/16/----	šu-er ₃ -ra	---	---	---
P132453 10/--/----	^d suen-ba-ni	---	---	---
P132546 9/--/AS08	e ₃ -ru-ba-ni	---	Ur	---
P200642* --/--/----	e-lag-ra	---	---	---
P132634 6/--/----	^d šul-gi-i ₃ -ri ₂ -su	Susa	---	---
P132674 5/09/----	šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂	---	---	---
P132733 4/30/----	iš-me-a	---	---	ki ša-ru-um-ba-ni-še ₃ ĝen-na
P132738 2/06/----	nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	---
P132747 2/19/----	nu-ur ₂ -su a-gu-a ma-aš ₂	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- --- ---
P132775 5/--/AS08	da-a	---	---	---
P132785 5/22/----	giri ₃ -ne ₂ -i ₃ -sag ₉	---	---	---
P132841 10/--/----	dan-num ₂	---	---	ĝiri ₃ NIM [?] kug maš ₂ -da-ri-a-da-a ĝen-na
P132933 8/23/----	dan-num ₂	---	---	---
P133212 8/07/----	e-lag-ra la-a-a	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
P133231 10/--/----	DINGIR.KAL šeš-šeš	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
P133269 11/-/AS08	^d nanna-i ₃ -sag ₉	---	---	---
P133317	šu-eš-tar ₂	---	---	---

5/01/----				
P133327 9/20/----	zi ₂ - ^d IŠKUR u ₂ -e-li	---	---	---
P133329 10/21/----	bur-am ₃	---	---	---
P133332 8/08/----	e-lag-ra	---	---	---
P133350 2/08/----	šu-ku-ri ₂ -daḥ IB ₂ .IGI.DU	---	---	---
P133351 3/03/----	da-num ₂ ^{um} a-da-lal ₃ a-mur- ^d UTU	---	---	---
P133546 11/-/AS09	ša-lim	---	---	---
P133562 11/03/----	kur-bi-la-ak	---	Duḥduḥne	ra ₂ -gaba lu ₂ - ^{ḡiṣ} tukul gu-la
P135786 6/24/----	DINGIR.KAL	---	---	---
P135788 6/--/----	^d nanna-i ₃ -sag ₉ PU ₃ -KA-ra	(Anšan)?	---	---
P135790 11/--/----	lu ₂ -AN	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P135795 3/18/----	puzur ₄ -ga bu-ba-ti	---	---	---
P135798 3/--/----	puzur ₄ -ra-a-bi ₂ ḥu-ne-šar ₂ -ra	(Anšan)?	---	---
P135818 10/13/----	a-gu-a	---	---	---
P136218 6/12/----	za-na-ti	---	---	---
P136224 9/07/----	lu ₂ - ^d nanna	---	---	---
P113515 2/07/----	ur- ^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂	---	---	---
P113521 8/02/----	da-[x]-num ₂	---	---	---

P113525 10/--/----	šu-ra-ra	---	---	---
P113526 10/15/----	la-qi ₃ -ip	---	---	---
P113535 12/--/----	ur- ^d suen	---	---	mu ma ₂ -ĝiš-ka-še ₃ du-ni
P113537 12/25/----	la-qi ₃ -ip i-ti-lum	---	---	---

Appendix H: The $lu_2\text{-}\hat{g}i\check{s}$ tukul in Messenger Texts

Abbreviations:

lt = $lu_2\text{-}\hat{g}i\check{s}$ tukul, ltgl = $lu_2\text{-}\hat{g}i\check{s}$ tukul gu-la, skl = sukkal, au = $aga_3\text{-}us_2$,
 aug = $aga_3\text{-}us_2$ gal, augg = $aga_3\text{-}us_2$ gal-gal, dnb = dumu nu-banda₃,
 uk = $u_3\text{-}kul$, k = $lu_2\text{-}kas_4$, rg = $ra_2\text{-}gaba$, m = mar-tu
 $\hat{g}.$ = $\hat{g}iri_3\text{-}agent$

Key:

* = significant portion of text missing
 ^ = lugal (thus 1 $aga_3\text{-}us_2$ lugal = 1^)
 ~ = sukkal-mah (thus 1 $aga_3\text{-}us_2$ sukkal-mah = 1~)
 # = zabar-dab₅ (thus 1 $aga_3\text{-}us_2$ zabar-dab₅ = 1#)
 + = ensi₂ (thus 1 $aga_3\text{-}us_2$ ensi₂ = 1+)
 NIM in the “other” section means a person labeled as NIM
 unsp. = unspecified; a personal name without any other qualification

Table of Titles and Designations alongside $lu_2\text{-}\hat{g}i\check{s}$ tukul in Individual Messenger Texts

Text	lt	ltgl	skl	au	aug	augg	dnb	k	rg	uk	m	unsp	NIM group	Other
P105753 5/--/AS08	1		1					1						
P105760 6/--/SS03	4													
P105788 4/--/----	2													
P105792 10/08/----	4													
P105795* 1/30/----	4												Duḥduḥne ($\hat{g}.$ lt)	
P107423 9/--/AS09	3											1		
P368378 --/--/SS06	6													
CTPSM 1, 133	2							1						

6/--/AS05														
CTPSM 1, 136 9/--/AS09	3													
CTPSM 1, 163	1^													
CTPSM 1, 179 4/02/----	12										1			
CTPSM 1, 198 6/--/----	1										1			
CTPSM 1, 207 7/06/----	1										3		1 saĝ-du ₅ lu ₂ bisaĝ-dub-ba	
CTPSM 1, 238 12/--/----	2													
P122983 5/--/SH44	1^													
P123057 11/--/----	1	1	3											
P123054 12/--/----	2	1												
P108852 10/--/----	2													
P108854* 12/26/----	3		1^								1			
P108856 2/28/----	2										1	<i>Ĥulibar</i>		
P108857 2/28/----	3							3 [?]						
P108858 2/--/----	3										1	Sabum (ĝ. lt)		
P108859* --/--/----	1													

P108860 12/17/----	1												Duğduğne (ğ. lt)	
P108865 9/--/AS09	1												36 NIM (ğ. lt)	
P108866 9/--/AS09	3													
P108867 9/--/AS09	3													
P108868 9/--/AS09	3													
P108869 6/--/AS09	3													
P108870 6/--/AS09	4													
P108871 6/--/AS09	4													
P108872 6/--/AS09	3													
P108873 6/--/AS09	2													
P108874 6/--/AS09	4													
P108875 6/--/AS09	2													
P108876 6/--/AS09	3													
P108877 6/--/AS09	2													
P108878 6/--/AS09	2													
P108879 6/--/AS09	2													
P108880 6/--/AS09	4													
P108881 9/--/AS09	3													

P108882 6/--/AS09	3													
P108883 9/--/AS09	5													
P108885* --/--/----	1										1			
P108886 6/--/AS09	4													
P108887 9/--/AS09	4													
P108889 1/19/----	1	2												1 ša ₃ en-nu
P108890 6/--/AS09	4													
P108892 9/--/AS09	3													
P108893 9/--/AS09	2										2			
P108895 6/--/AS09	3													
P108896 6/--/AS09	3													
P108897 9/--/AS09	3													
P108898 6/--/AS09	3													
P108899 9/--/AS09	3													
P108901 6/--/AS09	4													
P108902 6/--/AS09	4													
P108903 6/--/AS09	3													
P108907 9/--/AS09	3													

P108910 1/12/----	2													1 dumu lugal
P108934 3/22/----	1									1	5			ša ₃ en-nu ša ₃ e ₂ -gal 1 NIM
P109296 6/--/AS09	3													
P109297 8/15/----	1													
P109160 4/02/----	12										1			
P416116 3/--/----	2							1						
P110216 11/-/SH48	1		2							1				
P109963 11/18/----	2												Ma(n)ḫili (ḡ. lt)	
P110026 6/--/----	1		2											
P110043 3/--/----	1	2	1		3			1					Anšan (ḡ. k)	1 šeš lukur
P110329 5/--/----	4												Šimaški (ḡ. lt)	
P110359 1/--/----	1	1	3								1			
P110929 9/--/----	2													
P110979 10/--/----	1													ensi ₂ Sabum
P110992 5/12/----	1	2												
P111122 1/--/SS01	2													
P111132 5/--/----	1							1	1					
P111149	3													ensi ₂ šušin ^{ki}

9/--/----														
P111274 9/--/----	1													2 ⁷ lu ₂ a-tu ₅ -a lugal
P111296 12/17/----	1												Ḫulibar (ġ. lt)	
P111492* --/--/----	2													
P111500 9/--/----	1												Šimaški (ġ. lt)	
P111700 9/--/SS08	2												Gizili (ġ. lt)	
P111911 9/--/----	2													
P315776 12/--/----	2		4									2	Šimaški (ġ. unsp)	
P315783 6/--/----	2								1				Anšan (ġ. lt) AdamDUN (ġ. rg)	
P315797 9/--/SS04	3							3						
P112774 6/--/AS09	1												ši-maš-DARA ₄ .SI	
P112776 9/--/AS09	1											1		
P122777 9/--/AS09	1		1					1						
P112781 12/-/AS08	1							4						
P112782 9/--/AS09	2		2											1 lu ₂ -kiġ ₂ -gi ₄ -a
P112785 12/-/AS08	1	1												anše ₁ kunga ₂
P108888 1723	1												30 NIM Ḫulibar (ġ. lt)	

¹⁷²³ Direct evidence that a person named **lu₂-ġiš** is really a **lu₂-ġiš**tukul.

6/--/AS09														
P412635 9/--/AS08	1													
P318891 11/-/AS08	1							3						
P317930 9/--/SS02	6													
P318898* 10/-/SS02	2													
P320230 6/--/SS03	3							1						
P318878 6/--/SS03	6													
P412637 10/-/SS08	5													
P207303 --/--/----	2^													
P317639\ 10/-/SH42 or AS06	1	1											Ḫurti (ḡ. lt) Giša (ḡ. ltgl)	
P315832 10/-/SH45 or AS02	6													
P319621 10/-/AS02	1													
P204234 10/-/AS02	1	1												
P320203 11/-/AS03	1													
P205902 10/-/AS05	5? 1724													1 lu ₂ -ḡi ^s gigir
P317445 3/--/AS07	1		1					1				1		
P205060	1		1									1		

¹⁷²⁴ Other than the **lu₂-ḡi^sgigir**, all other personnel are either labeled **lu₂-ḡi^s**, are unlabeled, or there are lacunae in the relevant parts.

1/--/AS08														
P320142 7/12/SS01	2												Šimaški (ġ. lt)	
P205415 9/--/SS03	3	1												
P295467 6/--/----	2 1725						1				1			
P295801 9/25/----	3												Zurbati (ġ. lt)	
P295905 --/--/----	1												Ħuĥnuri (ġ. lt)	
P295906 --/--/----	2												Sabum	
P295935 10/--/----	1													
P295937 9/--/----	1													
P106882 6/--/----	4							1						
P106887 --/--/AS08	1		3											
P106896 7/--/----	1													1 nu-banda ₃ zi- gum ₂ -ma 1 lu ₂ - ^{ġis} gigir
P106898 7/--/----	3 1726							1						
P106905 7/--/SS03	6													
P106906 --/--/AS08	1		1											
P106907 5/--/SS07	3	1											Sabum	1 lu ₂ - ^{ġis} gigir
P106911	2													

¹⁷²⁵ This texts list a **nar** and a **sukkal** who are labeled as **lu₂-^{ġis}tukul NIG₂.SUR-še₃ du-me**.

¹⁷²⁶ All the **lu₂-^{ġis}tukuls** are PN **sukkal lu₂-^{ġis}tukul**.

9/--/AS02														
P106933 --/--/SH46	1													
P106935 5/--/AS01	1		1										2 sagi 1 lu ₂ kug-sig ₁₇	
P106938 4/--/AS03	1		1											
P106939 11/-/AS03	1		1					1						
P106963 12/07/----	1	1												
P107000 8/--/----	4													
P107001 9/--/----	1		2					1						
P107040 9/04/----	10? ¹⁷²⁷													
P114390 9/--/SS01	7													
P114456 2/--/----	3											lu ₂ Šimaški u ₃ lu ₂ si-ge-eš-a-sa ₂ -me (ĝ. lt)		
P114464 6/16/----	3												2 dub-sar lugal	
P114465 6/--/----	2		1										ensi ₂ Sabum	
P114478 12/28/----	3							1					1 lu ₂ zi-gum ₂ -ma	
P114481 --/--/----	1	1	1								2		1 NIM	
P114507* --/--/----	4													
P114508* --/--/----	4		1											

¹⁷²⁷ There are 10 named persons labeled individually as **sukkal** who seemed to be lumped together in the label of **lu₂-^{ĝi}š₄tukul**.

P115004 9/--/----	1 1728													
P115375 10/--/-----	2 1729													
P115771 4/--/----	1	3	1		1		2					1		
P116695 1/--/AS07	1													
P117111 9/--/SS03	6													
P117458 5/--/----	1													
P119721* 12/29/----	1		3					4						
P119729 5/--/----	4													
P120139* --/--/AS06	5													
P120141* 10/-/SS03	3													
P120151 1/29/----	1							1				1		
P120152 2/--/----	1											3		
P143061 12/--/----	2													
P208483 --/--/----	3 1730	1												
P206174* 12/--/----	1		1											
P120693 6/--/----	3												Si'u(m) (ĝ. lt) Duḥduḥne (ĝ. lt)	

¹⁷²⁸ This text has PN **mar-tu lu₂-ĝi^štukul**.

¹⁷²⁹ Has 2 **sukkal** who are called **lu₂-ĝi^štukul anše zi-gum₂ šu ur₃-me**.

¹⁷³⁰ At least 2 **sukkal** and possibly 1 **mar-tu** are called **lu₂-ĝi^štukul ma₂ ĝi^š-i₃-me**.

P202105 11/--/----	1		4		1								Šimaški	
P202069 5/10/----	1	1	2									2	Šimaški (ĝ. unsp.)	
P202047 2/--/----	1							2				2		lu ₂ u ₄ -sakar-me
P202074 1731 5/--/----	5													
P202087 6/--/----	2											1		
P202048 2/04/----	2 1732		1^											
P320490 9/--/SS05	4													
P356004 13/04/----	4												dam <i>Hulibar</i> (ĝ. lt)	1 šakkan ₆
P356010 3/--/----	2													
P356023 7/29/SS01	3							1						
P356041 12/-/SH46	1 1733													
P356042 9/--/AS02	1													
P405874* 10/--/----	3													2 nu-banda ₃
P405876* --/--/----	1							1						
P406051 7/--/----	2	1	6				1							lu ₂ -zi-gum ₂ -ma
P406096	4													

¹⁷³¹ References a **ĝiri₃**-agent who is a **ĝir₃-se₃-ga** **ĝi₃**tukul-a.

¹⁷³² Mentions a **sukkal lu₂-ĝi₃**tukul.

¹⁷³³ Unnamed person called **lu₂-ĝi₃**tukul šakkan₆-ka.

9/--/SS01														
P406445 6/30/----	1		1	n ₁₇₃₄				3			1	4		2 sagi 1 dumu lugal nu-kiri ₆ -me
P404464 10/13/----	1^		12		1		1			2		1	Anšan (ĝ. skl)	
P406482 11/02/----	2 ₁₇₃₅													1 lu ₂ KAxAŠ ₂
P406483 4/--/----	4													
P406487 2/--/AS02	1		1											1 lu ₂ -maškim
P406495 6/--/----	2											2		
P406504 6/10/----	1	1	3								1	2		
P406657 8/27/----	n ₁₇₃₆			1				1	2			5		3 [?] lu ₂ -ĥu-bu ₇
P406664 13/23/----	1		1										Arau'e (ĝ. skl)	
P406666 5/--/SS03	4											1		
P406667 6/--/SS03	6													
P406578* 3/--/----	2 ₁₇₃₇		1											
P315780 6/--/----	1 ₁₇₃₈		1				1		1				NIM dab ₅ -ba Kimaš (ĝ. rg)	
P378716 11/--/----	1												Sabum (ĝ. unsp.)	

¹⁷³⁴ n = unspecified number: aga₃-us₂ lugal-me.

¹⁷³⁵ The lu₂-ĝi^xtukuls are called lu₂ a-tu₅-a-me.

¹⁷³⁶ lu₂-ĝi^xtukul i₇-da gub-ba-me.

¹⁷³⁷ Called lu₂-ĝi^xtukul-la ma₂ mušen-še₃ id₂-da gub-ba-[me].

¹⁷³⁸ He is the ĝiri₃-agent for fodder for fattened cattle.

P202054 3/24/----	1													
P201265 9/--/SS01	3	2												
P201274 6/--/AS01	1		1					1						
P127672 1/03/----	4		1										Giša (ĝ. skl) Hulibar (ĝ. lt)	
P127678 --/--/----	5											1		
P127688 8/03/----	4											1		
P127691 12/--/----	3													
P127692 9/--/----	4 ¹⁷³⁹							2						
P127696 7/03/----	4													
P127697* 8/23/----	1													
P127701 6/02/SS08	5													
P127706* 10/--/----	3													
P127707* 11/--/----	6												Sabum	
P127710 4/--/----	4													
P127712 6/--/AS09	1												Anšan (ĝ. lt)	
P127714 7/--/----	2								1			1	Anšan Šimaški	
P127715* 11/--/----	1							n						1 lu ₂ - ^{ĝiš} gigir

¹⁷³⁹ The lu₂-GIŠ.ŠU in BDTNS should be read lu₂-^{ĝiš}tukul.

P127994 1/2/AS08	1		1											
P128531 9/--/AS09	1										1			
P128533 12/-/AS08	1												1 lu ₂ <i>Ḫulibar</i>	
P128535 --/--/----	2												<i>Ḫulibar</i>	
P128542 12/--/----	4												<i>Ḫulibar</i> (ĝ. lt) [...] (ĝ. lt)	
P128549 1/--/----	3												<i>Ḫulibar</i> (ĝ. lt)	
P129615 5/--/----	1	1												
P129619 --/--/----	2		1								2			
P109337 1/--/----	2	1	2					1	1					
P234826 5/--/----	1													
P234860* --/--/----	4													
P110525 --/--/----	2										1			
P110537 --/--/----	5												Sabum (ĝ. lt)	
P110549 6/--/AS09	1										1			
P110587 7/--/SS03	1												Šimaški	
P110588 9/--/AS09	3													
P110648 --/--/----	4													
P110649 --/--/----	1							2					<i>Ḫulibar</i> (ĝ. lt)	

P110671 2/--/SS02	4													
P110679 --/--/----	1												Duḥduḥne (ḡ. lt)	
P110690 5/--/SS03	2	1												
P110696 5/--/SS03	5													
P110697 --/--/----	4													
P110809 --/--/----	1		2					1				10		1 dumu lugal 1 ma ₂ -gin ₂
P110836* --/--/----	3													
P110841 3/26/----	1											2		
P110894 --/--/----	7													
P132206 6/--/SS05	4													
P132230 6/--/AS09	3													
P132234 8/--/----	4													
P132269* 10/-/SS02	1		1											
P132270 4/04/----	1													lu ₂ -KAxŠU-ka
P132274 7/--/----	1													
P132282 5/--/----	2													
P132297 11/--/----	2												Uba'a	
P132301 1/16/----	2													

P132319 5/03/SS01	2								1					
P132333	1												du ₆ -ba-al-me (ĝ. lt)	1 lu ₂ zi-gum ₂ -ma
P132358 6/--/----	2												Sabum	
P132360 2/--/----	3											2		
P132362 4/--/----	2													1 dumu sukkal-maḥ
P132364 6/--/----	2								1			1		
P132367 6/--/----	6										n			
P132377 2/--/----	4		1^										Duḥduḥne (ĝ. lt) Anšan (ĝ. skl)	
P132424 9/--/----	1													
P132439 3/--/----	1												Šimaški (ĝ. lt)	
P132465 11/21/----	1													
P132486 7/--/----	1												Sabum	
P132490 11/10/----	1												Ḫulibar (ĝ. lt)	
P132546 6/--/AS08	1	1											Ḫupum	
P132550 3/17/----	2												Šimaški (ĝ. lt)	
P132572 11/15/----	2													
P132574 7/--/----	1													
P132585 1/--/----	1													

P132603 4/--/----	1													
P132616 9/--/SS01	1		5											
P132634 6/--/----	2	1												
P132639 12/28/AS 09	1												Ĥulibar (ĝ. lt)	
P132650 12/27/----	4													
P132666 --/--/----	1													
P132668 3/--/----	2							1						
P132669 11/--/----	1												Sabum (ĝ. lt)	ensi ₂ sa-bu-um ^{ki}
P132670 4/--/----	2 ¹⁷⁴⁰													1 lu ₂ ^{ĝi₈} ar-gi ₄ - <bil [?] >-lum-ma
P132672 8/--/----	3 ¹⁷⁴¹													
P132675 11/--/----	4							45 ? ¹⁷⁴²						
P132676 6/--/----	3													2 lu ₂ a-tu ₅ lugal
P132678 8/16/----	2												Šimaški (ĝ. lt)	
P132679 --/--/SS08	4													
P132729 4/--/----	4													

¹⁷⁴⁰ One of the lu₂-^{ĝi₈}tukul is called a ra₂-gaba.

¹⁷⁴¹ One of the lu₂-^{ĝi₈}tukul is called a sukkal.

¹⁷⁴² 90 liters of beer and bread for mar-tu lu₂-kas₄-me, assuming same rate as lu₂-^{ĝi₈}tukul who were given 2 liters of beer and bread.

P132731 10/--/----	6													1 šakkan ₆
P132746 13/--/----	6													
P132767 6/--/AS09	3													
P132769 6/--/AS09	3													
P132781 9/--/----	1													
P132784 3/--/AS08	1		1								2			
P132788 9/--/----	1													
P132790 7/--/SS08	5													
P132806 1/--/SS02	1													
P132810 1/28/----	1													
P132811 2/--/SS01	4 ¹⁷⁴³													
P132816 2/--/----	1													
P132822 12/13/AS 09	1													
P132840 10/--/----	6													
P132850 12/19/----	2													
P132856 1/25/----	1													
P132916	2													1 šeš sukkal-maḥ

¹⁷⁴³ All simply called **lu₂-ĝiš**.

4/21/----														
P132918 5/--/----	4													
P132919 6/--/SS08	5													
P132923 8/--/----	3													
P132946 7/--/----	3													
P132948 12/--/----	1													1 ensi ₂ sa-bu-um ^{ki}
P132951 --/--/----	2													2 lu ₂ a-tu ₅ -a lugal
P132968 1/--/----	1			5							1			šidim nagar-me
P132983 8/30/----	3													
P132991 9/--/----	5 ¹⁷⁴⁴													
P132994* 3/--/SS01	3													
P132995 7/--/----	5													
P133093 3/--/----	3													
P133113 2/--/----	4													
P133124 5/--/----	6													
P133148 5/--/----	4											Sabum		1 ugula zi-gum ₂ - ma
P133158 1/--/----	4													
P133191	1												Giša	

¹⁷⁴⁴ Four are explicitly labeled, one has a lacuna where the label would be.

6/--/AS09														
P133192 6/--/AS09	2													
P133198 10/-/SS01	1													
P133199 11/20/----	1													
P133200 3/24/----	1											Anšan (ġ. lt)		
P133201 13/03/----	2												1 maškim	
P133221 9/--/AS09	1		2											
P133223 5/01/AS0 6	1										1			
P133227 6/--/AS09	3												1 lu ₂ - ^{ġis} gigir	
P133235 4/28/SS01	1										2			
P133237 11/-/AS08	1						4							
P133261 9/--/AS09	2		2					1						
P133270 5/--/AS06	3													
P133272 4/18/----	2													
P133294 8/16/----	2												1 dumu lugal	
P133301 9/04/----	3													
P133319 12/19/AS 09	3													
P133328	8										3		1 NIM	

10/-/SS01															1 lu ₂ -SAR lu ₂ ħu-bu ₇ ^{bu}
P133338 7/27/----	3														
P133345 8/--/----	4												Ĥuĥnuri		
P133350 2/08/----	1	2										12	Šimaški	ša ₃ en-nu-me	
P133500 10/-/SS09	8														
P133545 6/--/AS09	2														
P133548 --/--/SS03	6											1			
P133549* 9/--/SS03	3														
P133550 5/--/SS04	5														
P133551 6/--/SS05	5														
P133552 9/--/SS05	4													1 ugula	
P133557 6/02/----	2													1 lu ₂ KA-inim	
P133558 6/18/----	2										1	2		1 NIM	
P133559 7/--/----	2								1			1	Anšan Šimaški		
P133560 8/--/----	2												Šimaški (ġ. lt)	2 ² šu-ku ₆	
P133562 11/03/----	1								1 1745				Ĥulibar		
P133564 --/--/----	3														

¹⁷⁴⁵ Kur-bi-la-ak ra₂-gaba lu₂-^{ġis}tukul-gu-la.

P133565 --/--/----	3													
P135796* --/--/----	2								1			2		
P135816 2/--/AS08	1											3		
P136220 6/--/SH46 or A02	5													
P113508 6/--/AS09	3													
P113509 1/--/SS01	3													
P113510 9/--/SS01	4													
P113511 4/--/SS03	5													
P113512 9/--/SS04	5													
P113514 1/30/----	5													
P113519 7/12/----	1							1			1	6		
P113520 8/--/----	1							4						
P113522 9/05/----	1												Sabum	
P113524 10/--/----	5												Šimaški (ġ. lt) <i>Ħulibar</i>	
P113530 11/04/----	1													
P128051 9/--/----	1												Sabum	
Text	lt	ltgl	skl	au	aug	augg	dnb	k	rg	uk	m	unsp	NIM group	other

Travel and Missional Data on Individuals designated as lu_2 - $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ tukul

<i>Text</i>	<i>Personnel qualified by lu_2-$\hat{g}i\check{s}$tukul</i>	<i>“From GN” GN-ta</i>	<i>“To GN” GN-še₃</i>	<i>Additional</i>
P105753 5/--/AS08	ep-qu ₂ -ša	---	---	---
P105760 6/--/SS03	gi-[x] lugal- ^d utu lu_2 - ^d šara ₂	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- --- ---
P105788 4/--/----	šu-il ₂ -tum a-tu	--- ---	Sabum AdamDUN	--- ---
P105792 10/08/----	ur- ^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂ ba-lu ₅ -lu ₅ ab [?] -ba ur- ^d ištaran [?]	--- --- --- ---	Ḫuḫnuri Susa --- ---	--- --- ki al-la-mu-še ₃ ḡen-na-me ki al-la-mu-še ₃ ḡen-na-me
P105795* 1/30/----	^d šul-gi-zi-mu [...] a [?] -da-lal ₃ [?] in-da	--- --- AdamDUN ---	--- Susa --- AdamDUN	ḡiri ₃ for NIM duḫ-duḫ-NI ^{ki} --- --- ---
P107423 9/--/AS09	ur ₂ -ni-šu-ḫi (?) gaba-ri-nu-tuku nu-ri-ki-ag ₂ (?)	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- (simply called lu_2 - $\hat{g}i\check{s}$) --- --- (simply called lu_2 - $\hat{g}i\check{s}$)
P368378 --/--/SS06	kur-ra-e IGI.A-a ur-tur lu_2 - ^d nanna HAR-[x] ur-mes	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---
CTPSM 133 6/--/AS05	DINGIR-ba-ni DINGIR-SUKKAL	--- Gu’abba	--- ---	--- ---
CTPSM 136 9/--/AS09	bu ₃ -bu ₃ -da lugal-ḫe ₂ -ḡal ₂ a-ḫu-ba-ḫar	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- --- ---
CTPSM 163 2/--/----	ur- ^d utu	---	---	Susa-[x] --- (called lu_2 - $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ tukul lugal)
CTPSM 179	(unnamed - 12 personnel)	---	---	lu_2 - $\hat{g}i\check{s}$ tukul egir u ₃ -ma-ni-še ₃

4/02/----				
CTPSM 198 6/--/----	NE-ša-LUM	---	---	---
CTPSM 207 7/06/----	lu ₂ -diġir-ra	---	---	---
CTPSM 238 12/--/----	ša-ru-ba-an-ni a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂	--- ---	Ur (Ur)?	--- ---
P122983 5/--/SH44	(unnamed)	---	---	--- (called lu ₂ - ^{ġi} š tukul lugal)
P123057 11/--/----	šu-e-li	Anšan	---	---
P123054 12/--/----	arad ₂ - ^d nanna	---	---	---
P108852 10/--/----	ar-ši-ḥa ur- ^d ḥa-ia ₃	--- Susa	--- ---	mu šu-ku ₆ -e-ne-še ₃ ġen-na ---
P108854* 12/26/----	šu-lu ₂ -šeššig nu-na-KA.UM bu ₃ -bu ₃ -a	--- --- ---	--- Susa ---	--- --- ---
P108856 2/28/----	šu- ^d IŠKUR da-a-a	--- ---	Susa ---	--- zi-gum ₂ -e igi kar ₂ -kar ₂ -de ₃ ġen-na
P108857 2/28/----	šu- ^d IŠKUR ur- ^d nanna i-ti-li ₂	--- Susa Susa	Susa --- ---	--- --- ---
P108858 2/--/----	KAL.UR ₂ -ma-an-zi si-im-ḥu-li ₂ KAL-ša-ša	--- --- ---	--- --- Sabum	--- --- ġiri ₃ for NIM sa-bu-um ^{ki} -me u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ-ta
P108859* --/--/----	u-bar	---	Susa	---
P108860 12/17/----	AN-mi-li ₂ -ti	---	---	ġiri ₃ for NIM ḥu-li ₂ -bar-me duḥ-duḥ-NI ^{ki} ġen-na u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ-ta
P108865 9/--/AS09	arad ₂ - ^d nanna arad ₂ - ^d nanna	--- ---	--- ---	ša ₃ ki-nu-nir ^{ki} ġiri ₃
P108866 9/--/AS09	lugal-en-nu (?) lu ₂ -unug ^{ki} lu ₂ -NI.TUKU-a (?)	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- (simply called lu ₂ -ġiš) --- --- (simply called lu ₂ -ġiš)

P108867 9/--/AS09	ḥa-ti ur-lugal gi-ni	---	---	---
P108868 9/--/AS09	kur-ra-a ₂ -[x] lu ₂ -mar-za zu-a	---	---	---
P108869 6/--/AS09	lugal-kalam lugal-i ₃ -bi ₂ -la lugal-SUR-nam-ni	---	---	---
P108870 6/--/AS09	me-en-ra (?) er-i ₃ -li ₂ lugal-ezem (?) igi-mu (?)	---	---	--- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš) --- --- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš) --- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš)
P108871 6/--/AS09	šu-dur-rum a-ḥu-šu-ni šu- ^d UTU a-gu-a	---	---	--- --- --- ---
P108872 6/--/AS09	ba-za-mu (?) diĝir-mu lu ₂ -kal-la	---	---	--- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš) --- ---
P108873 6/--/AS09	ur- ^d al šeš-zi-mu	---	---	--- ---
P108874 6/--/AS09	ba-mu u ₄ -gaba šul-mi (?) lu ₂ -ulu ₃ (?)	---	---	--- --- --- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš) --- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš)
P108875 6/--/AS09	lu ₂ -GIR ₃ -sa-sa ₂ bi ₂ -la-la	Ur ---	---	--- ---
P108876 6/--/AS09	zi-mu ga-a lu ₂ -eridu ^{ki} (?)	---	---	--- --- ---
P108877 6/--/AS09	šu- ^d nin-šubur bu-zu-zu	---	---	--- ---
P108878 6/--/AS09	i ₃ -saĝ ₉ -ga šu- ^d ISKUR (?)	---	---	--- --- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš) lu ₂ la-ga-aš ₂ im-ši-ĝen

P108879 6/--/AS09	^d suen-bur-šu ₄ im-ti-da	---	---	---
P108880 6/--/AS09	lugal- ^d lamma-mu ^d nanna-ba-zi-ge (?) puzur ₄ -ma-ma na-mu	---	---	--- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš)
P108881 9/--/AS09	kal-kal-a en-E ₃ .E ₃ HAR-sa ₆ -sa ₆	---	---	---
P108882 6/--/AS09	ba-gi nam-zi (?) a ₂ -la-a	---	---	--- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš)
P108883 9/--/AS09	lugal- ^d en-ki lu ₂ -ta-a-zi (?) lu ₂ -saĝ? ba-NI-NI ša-ru-i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	--- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš)
P108885* --/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d nanna	---	Susa	---
P108886 6/--/AS09	^d šara ₂ -kam šu-u ₂ -u ₂ gu ₄ -KU pa-ti	---	---	---
P108887 9/--/AS09	šu-i ₃ -li ₂ šu-dur-um u-bar šu-a-a	---	---	---
P108889 1/19/----	šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂	---	---	---
P108890 6/--/AS09	lu ₂ -igi-sa ₆ -sa ₆ lu ₂ -zu si-du ₃ gu-e	---	---	---
P108892 9/--/AS09	^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂ -mu a ₂ -da-da lugal-i ₃ -maḥ	---	---	---
P108893	lu ₂ - ^d inana	---	---	---

9/--/AS09	nam-lugal-ni-dug ₃	---	---	---
P108895 6/--/AS09	^d utu-mu la-gaba ti-ti (?)	---	---	---
P108896 6/--/AS09	i ₃ -li ₂ -MU ḥu-da-ti a-sag ₉ -ga	---	---	---
P108897 9/--/AS09	i ₃ -ti-a šu-NE ab-ba-ba-a	---	---	---
P108898 6/--/AS09	pa-ti a-bu ₃ -ni šu-u ₂ -u ₂	---	---	---
P108899 9/--/AS09	lu ₂ -ša-lim ^{li2} lu ₂ - ^d suen ^d nanna-a ₂ -daḥ	---	---	---
P108901 6/--/AS09	u-bar-tum IGI.A-a lugal-sukkal (?) ^d nanna-teš ₂	---	---	---
P108902 6/--/AS09	šu-UD.DU šu- ^d nin-šubur puzur ₄ - ^d UTU (?) a-bu ₃ -ni	---	---	---
P108903 6/--/AS09	šu-zu šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂ šu-dur-um	---	---	---
P108907 9/--/AS09	puzur ₄ - ^d ḥa-ia ₃ ^d šul-gi[...]-an-gara ₂ puzur ₄ -eš ₄ -tar ₂	---	---	---
P108910 1/12/----	il ₃ -ma-su ₂ šu-eš-tar ₂	---	Susa	---
P108934 3/22/----	(unnamed)	---	---	ġiš-še ₃ ? ġen-na
P109296 6/--/AS09	kur-ba-gen ₇ -nu ₂ en-ra-bi ₂	---	---	---

	i ₃ -li ₂ -ŠID	---	---	---
P109297 8/15/----	ša-ru-um-be-li ₂	---	Susa	---
P109160 4/02/----	(12 unnamed personnel)	---	---	lu ₂ - ^{ḡi} š ^ḡ tukul egir u ₃ -ma-ni-še ₃
P416116 3/--/----	DINGIR-qu ₆ -ra-ad dšul-gi-a-gu-ni	---	---	ma ₂ ḡiš-i ₃ -ka šušin ^{ki} -še ₃ ḡen-na ḡiš a-dam-DUN ^{ki} zi-zi-de ₃ ḡen-na
P110216 11/--/SH48	(unnamed)	---	---	a-šag ₄ -še ₃ im-ši-DU-a
P109963 11/18/----	dšul-gi-i ₃ -li ₂ puzur ₄ - ^{as} aš ₇ -gi ₄	Ma(n)ḫili ---	---	ḡiri ₃ for NIM ma-ḫi-li ^{ki}
P110026 6/--/----	lugal-ḫe ₂ -ḡal ₂	Ur	Susa	---
P110043 3/--/----	ša-al-[x]-um	---	Susa	---
P110329 ¹⁷⁴⁶ 5/--/----	KAL-i ₃ -li ₂ ḫu-ba-ti-a su-ḫu-sa ₆ la-ma-ša	---	AdamDUN Susa ---	---
P110359 1/--/----	e-la-gar ₃	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	---
P110929 9/--/----	i-bi ₂ - ^d suen na-DI	Susa Susa	---	---
P110979 10/--/----	da-num ₂ -ma-an-zi-ad	---	---	---
P110992 5/12/----	šu-ma-<ma>	AdamDUN	---	---
P111122 1/--/SS01	šu- ^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂ šar-ru-um-i ₃ -li ₂	Susa AdamDUN	---	---
P111132 5/--/----	ur- ^d ba-u ₂	---	a-ab-ba	lu ₂ a-tu ₅ -a lugal-me
P111149 9/--/----	lu ₂ -ge-na IGI.A-a lu ₂ -ša-lim	---	Susa Susa ---	---

¹⁷⁴⁶ Example of ḡiri₃-agent with same travel data as NIM.

P111274 9/--/----	ba-lu ₅ -lu ₅	---	---	ki dumu dab ₅ -ba ġen-na
P111296 12/17/----	DINGIR-ba-ni	---	---	Duḥduḥne-[x] ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM ḥu-li ₂ -bar-me u ₃ -na-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ
P111492* --/--/----	^d nanna-si-sa ₂ ma-šum	Susa Susa	--- ---	---
P111500 9/--/----	kug- ^d nanna	---	---	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM ši-ma-aš-gi ₄ ^{ki} -me u ₃ -na- dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ
P111700 9/--/SS08	ša-ar-NI da-num ₂	--- ---	--- ---	---
P111911 9/--/----	šu-e-li	---	---	Susa-[x]
P315776 12/--/----	šu-gu-du ^d IŠKUR-ba-ni	--- ---	--- ---	---
P315783 6/--/----	la-muš-e ^d šul-gi-da-ga-da	--- ---	Nippur Anšan	---
P315797 9/--/SS04	ur-a ₂ ur-mes na-mu	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	---
P112774 6/--/AS09	a-pi ₅ -la-ti	---	Ur	---
P112776 9/--/AS09	AN- ^d en-lil ₂ -i ₃ -sag ₉	---	---	---
P112777 9/--/AS09	a-li-aḥ	---	---	---
P112781 12/--/AS08	a-ḥu-ni	---	(Susa)?	---
P112782 9/--/AS09	lu ₂ -ša-lim šu- ^d IŠKUR	--- ---	--- ---	---
P112785 12/--/AS08	al-la-mu	---	Gu'abba	---
P108888 ¹⁷⁴⁷ 6/--/AS09	zu-a	Ur	---	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> 30 NIM ḥu-li ₂ -bar-me

¹⁷⁴⁷ Evidence that the phrase **lu₂-ġiš** equals **lu₂-^{ġi}š**^{tukul}.

P412635 9/--/AS08	en-u ₂ -mi-li ₂	---	---	---
P318891 11/--/AS08	zi ₂ -za-na-lum	---	Susa	---
P317930 9/--/SS02	ur-diĝir-ra ur-bi ti-a NIM-mu DAR.MU ur-e ₂ -an-na	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---
P318898* 10/--/SS02	lu ₂ - ^d utu kur-ba	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
P320230 6/--/SS03	e ₂ -da-kisal ur- ^d šara ₂ ti-ti	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- a-šag ₄ ĝen-na ---
P318878 6/--/SS03	lugal kalag-ga gi ₄ -gi ₄ lugal-di-ku ₅ SI.A ur- ^d en-ki šu-e ₂ -a	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---
P412637 10/--/SS08	la-qi ₃ -ip ep-qu ₂ -ša qu ₂ -ra-di ₃ -li ₂ ^d nanna-i ₃ -sa ₆ a-a-kal-la	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---
P207303 --/--/----	(unnamed) (unnamed)	--- ---	--- ---	^{id2} idigna i ₃ -gub ---
P317639 10/--/SH42 or AS06	er ₃ -ra-ba-ni	---	---	ĝiri ₃ for NIM-e-ne ħu-ur ₅ -ti ^{ki} -ke ₄ -ne
P315832 10/--/SH45 or AS02	lugal-[uru]-da [x]-ga [...]-la ba-sa ₆ KA.KU diĝir-mu	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---

P319621 10/--/AS02	AN.UL.GAL	---	---	--- (provisioned for 17 days)
P204234 10/--/AS02	puzur ₄ -eš ₄ -tar ₂	---	---	ki dumu lugal-ka-še ₃ ġen-na
P320203 11/--/AS03	puzur ₄ -dug ₄ -ga	---	---	zu ₂ -si udu-še ₃ de ₆ -a
P205902 10/--/AS05	i ₃ -la-la (!) ur- ^d suen (!) kug- ^d nanna (!)	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- (simply called lu ₂ -ġiš) --- (simply called lu ₂ -ġiš) --- (simply called lu ₂ -ġiš)
P317445 3/--/AS07	ŠE.NI	Ur	---	---
P205060 1/--/AS08	lu ₂ - ^d suen	---	---	---
P320142 7/12/SS01	i ₃ -zu a-bi ₂ -sa ₆ -sa ₆	--- ---	Šimaški Susa	ġiri ₃ NIM ši-ma-aš-ġi ₄ ^{ki} -me u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ
P205415 9/--/SS03	ur-ġi lu ₂ -kal-la lugal-e SI.A	--- --- --- ---	--- --- --- ---	--- --- --- še bar-ra de ₆ -a
P295467 6/--/----	ur-kug-nun nar a ₂ -ba-ti-li ₂ sukkal	--- ---	--- ---	lu ₂ - ^{ġi} ₃ tukul NIG ₂ .SUR-še ₃ du-me
P295801 ¹⁷⁴⁸ 9/25/----	ma-šum a-kal-la ur-eš ₃ -li ₂ -la ₂	--- AdamDUN Susa	Sabum --- ---	ġiri ₃ for NIM zu-ur ₂ -ba-ti ^{ki} -me --- ---
P295905 --/--/----	DINGIR-ba-ni	Ḥuḥnuri	---	ġiri ₃ for NIM ḥu-ḥu-nu-ri ^{ki} -me u ₃ -na-a- dug ₄ a-bu-um-DINGIR ensi ₂ sa-bu-um ^{ki} - <ta>
P295906 --/--/----	ma-šum tu-ra-i ₃ -li ₂	--- ---	--- Susa	--- ---
P295935 10/--/----	ma-šum	---	Sabum	---
P295937 9/--/----	lugal-igi-ḥuš	---	Susa	---
P106882	i-ti-lu-lu	AdamDUN	---	---

¹⁷⁴⁸ Example of ġiri₃-agent having different travel data than NIM group.

6/--/----	DINGIR-šu-ba-ni dšul-gi-ad-lal ₃ i ₃ -li ₂ -bi-la-ni	--- --- ---	AdamDUN Sabum Urua	--- --- ---
P106887 --/--/AS08	d ⁿ nanna-i ₃ -gi	---	---	---
P106896 7/--/----	al-ba-ni	---	Ḫuḫnuri	---
P106898 7/--/----	bu ₃ -lu ₅ -lu ₅ sukkal a-ḫu-DUG ₃ sukkal a-ḫu-šu-ni	--- Sabum ---	--- --- ---	--- --- ---
P106905 7/--/SS03	šu-e ₃ -a eš ₄ -tar ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂ u-bar a-da-lal ₃ IGI.A-a šu-i ₃ -li ₂	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---
P106906 --/--/AS08	puzur ₄ -d ^U TU	---	(Susa)?	---
P106907 5/--/SS07	lu ₂ -d ^U tu dug ₄ -ga-ga ba-ga-ga	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- --- ---
P106911 9/--/AS02	ur-d ^U da-mu lu ₂ -d ^U suen	--- ---	--- ---	e ₂ uš-bar e ₂ uš-bar šu sum-de ₃ ġen-na
P106933 --/--/SH46	ep-qu ₂ -ša	---	---	---
P106935 5/--/AS01	šu-eš-tar ₂	---	---	---
P106938 4/--/AS03	(unnamed)	---	---	e ₂ -ta e ₃ sig ₄ -du ₈ eren ₂ GA.ŠEŠ-še ₃ im-ši-ġen-a
P106939 11/--/AS03	an-na-bi ₂ -kuš ₂	---	---	---
P106963 12/07/----	puzur ₄ -i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	ki šu-ku ₆ e ₂ d ⁿ nin-gal-še ₃ du-ni
P107000 8/--/----	lu ₂ -d ^U inana-zu ad-ni-ad a-ḫi-ma	--- Sabum ---	Susa --- Sabum	--- --- ---

	in-du ₈ -[?]	---	AdamDUN	---
P107001 9/--/----	u ₄ -ga sukkal	---	---	ḥa-za-num ₂ -še ₃ im-ši-ĝen-na
P107040 9/04/----	(unnamed)	---	---	ma ₂ ĝiš-i ₃ -ka-da ĝen-na
P114390 9/--/SS01	ur-zu ku-li lu ₂ -adab ^{ki} lugal-gur ₈ ? ba-ta-e ₁₁ ka-gu-u ₂ igi- ^d nanna-še ₃ (!)	--- --- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- --- --- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš)
P114456 2/--/----	gibil-ti- ^d IŠKUR i-ti-na- ^d IŠKUR lu ₂ - ^d nanna da-e-da	--- --- --- Duḥduḥne	--- --- Susa ---	--- Šimaški-[x] ĝiri ₃ for lu ₂ ši-ma-aš-gi ^{ki} u ₃ lu ₂ si-ge-eš-a-sa ₂ -me u ₃ -na-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ --- ---
P114464 6/16/----	ka ₅ ^a -mu nu-ur ₂ - ^d suen	Ḫuḥnuri ---	--- Susa	--- ---
P114465 6/--/----	ma-aš ₂ ša-ru-<um>-i ₃ -li ₂	--- ---	Sabum Susa	--- ---
P114478 12/28/----	lu ₂ - ^d nanna da-da-ni	--- ---	--- Susa	ur- ^d nun-gal-da ĝen-na mu la ₂ -i ₃ -še ₃ ---
P114481 --/--/----	šu-na-gar ₃	---	---	---
P114507* --/--/----	na-na lu ₂ - ^d inana šu-ma-ma lugal-inim [?] -dug ₃	--- --- --- ---	--- --- --- ---	--- --- --- ---
P114508* --/--/----	še-le-bu bu ₃ -za-ni	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
P115004 9/--/----	ša ₃ -da mar-tu	---	---	kin id ₂ -ka si ₃ -ga
P115375 10/--/----	a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂ sukkal	(Nippur)?	---	anše zi-gum ₂ šu ur ₃ -me

P115771 4/--/----	lugal-a ₂ -zi-da	Giša	---	---
P116695 1/--/AS07	ku-u ₂ -a	---	---	muḥaldim-da ġen-na
P117111 9/--/SS03	lu ₂ - ^d iškur kar-zi-da [...] -TE-RI [...] he ₂ -na-sa ₆ šeš-bi	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- (simply called lu ₂ -ġiš) --- (simply called lu ₂ -ġiš) --- (simply called lu ₂ -ġiš) --- (simply called lu ₂ -ġiš) ---
P117458 5/--/----	bu ₃ -u ₂ -KAL.LA	---	---	Sabum-[x]
P119721* 1749 12/29/----	ur- ^d suen	---	---	---
P119729 5/--/----	i-ti-ġa ₂ -a puzur ₄ - ^d šul [?] -gi nu-ur ₂ -eš-tar ₂ i ₃ -li ₂ -bi-la-ni	Sabum --- --- ---	--- Susa AdamDUN Susa	--- --- --- ---
P120139* --/--/AS06	šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂ da-na i-ti-na-ri kug- ^d nin-gal gu-gu-a	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---
P120141* 10/--/SS03	ur- ^d nanna lu ₂ - ^d eridu ^{ki} da-a zu-[...] la-[...]	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- (simply called lu ₂ -ġiš) --- (simply called lu ₂ -ġiš) --- --- ---
P120151 1/29/----	DINGIR-ba-ni (!)	---	Sabum	--- (simply called lu ₂ -ġiš)
P120152 2/--/----	ur-nigar _x ^{gar}	---	---	---
P143061	nu-ur ₂ - ^d suen	---	Sabum	---

¹⁷⁴⁹ Mentions lu₂ ma₂ ^{ġiš}tukul-da gub-ba.

13/--/----	an-ga-za-ni	---	Sabum	---
P208483 --/--/----	še-le-bu-um sukkal	Susa	---	---
P206174* 12/--/----	DINGIR-ra-bi ₂	---	---	a-ša ₄ [...] du-ni
P120693 6/--/----	^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂ -kam ^d nanna-bi ₂ -dug ₄ DINGIR-ba-ni	--- --- ---	Si'u(m) Duḫduḫne Susa	ġiri ₃ for NIM si-um ^{ki} -me ġiri ₃ for NIM duḫ-duḫ-NI ^{ki} -me ---
P202105 11/--/----	šu- ^d nin-šubur (!)	(Anšan u ₃ Nippur)	---	--- (simply called lu ₂ -ġiš)
P202069 5/10/----	a-ḫu-ma	---	---	---
P202047 2/--/----	(unnamed)	---	---	lu ₂ - ^{ġiš} tukul id ₂ idigna
P202074 5/--/----	gu ₃ -de ₂ -a ba-a-a lugal-me-lam ₂ a-ḫu-wa-qar	--- --- --- ---	--- --- Sabum Susa	ku ₆ -še ₃ ġen-na ġiri ₃ for gi-LUM-ma gir ₃ -se ₃ -ga ^{ġiš} tukul-a --- ---
P202087 6/--/----	na-ra-am-i ₃ -li ₂ PI.PI	--- ---	Susa ---	--- ki ġiš-i ₃ -še ₃ ġen-na
P202048 2/04/----	[...]-ur ₂ -ga [?] NI.TI.NA.DA.AD	AdamDUN Susa	--- ---	--- ---
P320490 9/--/SS05	eš-eš-[...] um-mi-<a> tab-bi-li ₂ da-da-a	--- --- --- ---	--- --- --- ---	--- --- --- ---
P356004 13/04/----	ur-šu da-num ₂ -ma-zi-ad ep-qu ₂ -ša [x]-NI-ak	--- --- --- ---	--- Sabum Duḫduḫne ---	--- ġiri ₃ for dam ḫu-li ₂ -bar u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḫ anše di-de ₃ ġen-na ša ₃ -gal anše-še ₃ anše sum-de ₃ ġen-na
P356010 3/--/----	šu-i ₃ -li ₂ a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂ -a	--- ---	Susa Sabum	--- ---
P356023 7/29/SS01	ma-at-i ₃ -li ₂ me-lam ₂ ^d nanna-ma-an-sum	Susa Susa Sabum	--- --- ---	--- --- ---

P356041 12/--/SH46	(unnamed)	---	---	lu ₂ - ^{ĝi} š ₄ tukul šakkan ₆ -ka mu-ku _x
P356042 9/--/AS02	gu-na-a	---	---	ša ₃ ki-nu-nir ^{ki} // dab ₅ -dab ₅ -še ₃ ĝen-na
P405874* 10/--/----	da-num ₂ -ma-an-zi-ad [...] lu ₂ -ša-lim	--- --- ---	--- --- Susa	Duḥduḥne-[x] gud nam-ra-ak ĝen-na-me [...] nam-ra-ak gaba-ri ---
P405876* --/--/----	šu-bu ₃ --tum	Susa	---	---
P406051 7/--/----	šu-i ₃ -li ₂	Sabum	---	---
P406096 9/--/SS01	lu ₂ -ba-a i-ku ₈ -num ₂ gu-gu la-la-a	--- --- --- ---	--- --- --- ---	--- --- --- ---
P406445 6/30/----	šu- ^d ISKUR	---	---	---
P406464 10/13/----	^d utu-ba-e ₃	---	---	---
P406482 11/02/----	ar-ši-aḥ šu-i ₃ -li ₂	--- ---	Susa a-ab-ba	--- lu ₂ a-tu ₅ -a-me
P406483 4/--/----	na-bi ₂ -li ₂ -šu ki-ni-a-ti U ₂ .U ₂ .A LI.NI.NI	--- --- --- ---	Susa Susa --- Susa	--- --- Sabum-[x] ---
P406487 2/--/AS02	ur- ^d da-mu	---	---	lu ₂ - ^{ĝi} š ₄ tukul e ₂ uš-bar
P406495 6/--/----	i-ti-a ba-ba-a	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
P406504 6/10/----	an-ne ₂ -ba-du ₇	---	---	---
P406657 8/27/----	(unnamed)	---	---	lu ₂ - ^{ĝi} š ₄ tukul id ₂ -da gub-ba-me
P406664 11/23/----	i-ti-su	---	Susa	---

P406666 5/--/SS03	[x]-da ka ₅ -a AŠ.NI Niĝ ₂ -du ₇	--- --- --- ---	--- --- --- ---	--- --- --- ---
P406667 6/--/SS03	ma-ma saĝ-kal-la gu ₄ -KU šu-e ₂ -a en-kas ₄ LUGAL-i ₃ -de ₃	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---
P406578* 3/--/----	la-a [?] -a-ga sukkal [?] ur- ^{ĝi} gi ^š gir sukkal	--- ---	--- ---	lu ₂ - ^{ĝi} š ^š tukul-la ma ₂ mušen-še ₃ id ₂ -da gu-ba-[me [?]]
P315780 6/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d dumu-zi	Sabum	---	ĝiri ₃ 3(barig) še ša ₃ -gal gud niga
P378716 11/--/----	da-a-a	---	---	---
P202054 3/24/----	lugal-me ₃	---	---	---
P201265 9/--/SS01	na-di ur-kug-nun i-ta-e ₃ -a	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- --- ---
P201274 6/--/AS01	ep-qu ₂ -ša	---	---	---
P127672 1/03/----	lu ₂ - ^d nanna a-kal-la ḥu-ba ur-e ₂ -babbar ₂	Urua --- Duḥduḥne ---	--- Susa --- Susa	--- --- ĝiri ₃ for NIM ḥu-li ₂ -bar-me u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ ---
P127678 --/--/----	(unnamed) lu ₂ -banda ₃ ^{da} (unnamed)	--- --- ---	--- gu ₂ -ab-ba ---	an ^{še} kunga ₂ amar-ku ₅ -še ₃ ĝen-na --- Ga'eš-[x]
P127688 8/03/----	lugal- ^d en-ki šu-ma-ma tu-ra-i ₃ -li ₂ ši-la-da-ad	--- --- --- ---	Susa Sabum --- ---	--- --- nu- ^{ĝi} š ^š kiri ₆ ĝeštin ĝen-na ĝi ^š ma ₂ -a ĝa ₂ -ĝa ₂ -de ₃ ĝen-na
P127691 12/--/----	ur- ^d da-mu KAL-i ₃ -li ₂	--- ---	--- ---	mu geme ₂ uš-bar-še ₃ ĝen-na maškim-še ₃ ĝen-na

	sa ₆ -da	---	---	e ₂ uš ġen-na
P127692 9/--/----	i-ka-a u ₄ -en ₃ -šu-na i-ti-zu	--- --- a-ab-ba	--- --- ---	--- dabin-KA ma ₂ -a si-ge-de ₃ ġen-na ---
P127696 7/03/----	šu-na-ni-iš-ne er ₃ -ra-ba-ni ba-za-za ġa ₂ -aš ₂	--- --- --- Susa	Susa Susa --- ---	--- --- id ₂ nin-piriġ-banda ₃ ---
P127697* 8/23/----	daġal-la-num ₂	Sabum	---	---
P127701 6/02/SS08	šu-ma-ma bur-ma-am ₃ nu-ur ₂ - ^d IŠKUR ḫu-UD a-da-lal ₃	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---
P127706* 10/--/----	lugal-urub _x ^{ki} šu- ^d IŠKUR a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂	--- Susa ---	--- --- AdamDUN	šu [?] e ₂ [?] uš-bar-še ₃ ġen-na --- ---
P127707 11/--/----	il-zi-ni da-ga PU ₃ -KA in-da-[x] bur-ma-ma a-ḫu-ni	Susa Susa AdamDUN AdamDUN AdamDUN Susa	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---
P127710 4/--/----	a-da-lal ₃ [x]-bar šu-e-li PU ₃ -KA-i ₃ -lu ₂	--- [...] Susa ---	Susa --- --- AdamDUN	--- --- --- ---
P127712 6/--/AS09	a-a-ni-šu	Ur	---	ġiri ₃ for NIM an-ša-na
P127714 7/--/----	i-šim- ^d šul-gi dan-ni-li ₂	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
P127715* 11/--/----	a-bi ₂	---	Susa	
P127994 1/02/AS08	i-ša-ar-ba-da-an	---	Ur	---

P128531 9/--/AS09	uru-ki-ri (!)	---	---	--- (<i>simply called</i> lu_2 - $\hat{g}i\check{s}$)
P128533 12/--/AS08	ba-a	---	---	---
P128535 --/--/----	^d dam-gal-nun-ka-ni-sa ₆ bu ₃ -a	Sabum ---	---	---
P128542 12/--/----	er ₃ -ra-ba-ni maš-um lu ₂ - ^d nanna i-ti-i ₃ -li ₂	--- (Duḥduḥne) --- ---	Susa --- Susa ---	--- $\hat{g}iri_3$ <i>for</i> NIM ḥu-li ₂ -bar-me $\hat{g}iri_3$ <i>for</i> NIM [...] an-ša-an ^{ki} -ta du-ni ---
P128549 1/--/----	a-na-ti šu-eš-tar ₂ a-ḥu-ni	--- --- Susa	(Susa) Susa ---	$\hat{g}iri_3$ <i>for</i> NIM ḥu-li ₂ -bar --- ---
P129615 5/--/----	[...]-a	---	---	---
P129619 --/--/----	a-ḥu-a-DUG ₃ ša-lim-ri-ḥa	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
P109337 1/--/----	la-qi ₂ -ip [...]-gi	--- AdamDUN	Susa ---	--- ---
P234826 5/--/----	lugal-TUG ₂ .MAH	---	---	sa ₂ -dug ₄ -ga lu ₂ ma ₂ gal-gal-<ke ₄ >-ne-še ₃ $\hat{g}en$ -na
P234860* --/--/----	li-bur- ^d šul-gi ur- ^d nanna kur-bi-la-ak [...]-lum	--- --- --- [...]	Susa Susa AdamDUN [...]	--- --- --- ---
P110525 --/--/----	ur-ba-gara ₂ šu- ^d IŠKUR	--- Sabum	Susa ---	--- ---
P110537 --/--/----	a-ḥu-ni lu ₂ - ^d nanna šu-u ₂ -u ₂ la-qi ₂ -ip u ₂ -e-li	--- Susa --- --- ---	--- --- Urua (Sabum) --- EdamDUN	Duḥduḥne-[x] --- --- $\hat{g}iri_3$ <i>for</i> NIM sa-bu-um ^{ki} -me u ₃ -na-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ-ta ---
P110549 6/--/AS09	šu-i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	---
P110587	da-a	---	---	---

7/--/SS03				
P110588 9/--/AS09	a-li-na-ze ₂ ḥum-zi lu ₂ -du-du	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- --- ---
P110648 --/--/----	ib-ni-e ₃ -a ur ₂ -in-daḥ KU-NAR-a-a-ti nu-ur ₂ - ^d šul-gi	Sabum Sabum --- Urub	--- --- AdamDUN ---	mar-tu-da ḡen-na mar-tu-da ḡen-na --- ---
P110649 --/--/----	ba-al-tu ₂ -ša-ru-um	(Susa)	---	ḡiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM ḥu-li ₂ -bar-me
P110671 2/--/SS02	DINGIR-ba-ni lu-lu-ba-ni er ₃ -ra-nu-id i-šar-pa ₂ -dan	Sabum --- --- ---	--- Susa AdamDUN Sabum	--- --- --- ---
P110679 --/--/----	er ₃ -ra-qu ₂ -ra-ad	(Duḥduḥne)	---	ḡiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM NE-duḥ-ḥul-NE ^{ki} -me
P110690 5/--/SS03	lal ₃ -la (!) im-ti (!)	--- ---	--- ---	--- (<i>simply called</i> lu ₂ -ḡiš) --- (<i>simply called</i> lu ₂ -ḡiš)
P110696 5/--/SS03	GIŠ-NI [...] (!) GIŠ-BI (!) lugal-eren ₂ (!) gu ₂ -gu ₂ -ni	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- (<i>simply called</i> lu ₂ -ḡiš) --- (<i>simply called</i> lu ₂ -ḡiš) --- (<i>simply called</i> lu ₂ -ḡiš)
P110697 --/--/----	lu ₂ -ge-na i-šar- ^d šul-gi ur ₂ -in-daḥ šu-tum ₂	--- --- --- Susa	Sabum Sabum Sabum ---	--- --- --- ---
P110809 --/--/----	i ₃ -li ₂ -mi-ša	---	---	---
P110836* --/--/----	i-ku-mi ₃ -šar puzur ₄ - ^d nin-[x] u ₂ -tul ₂ -ma-ma	--- --- ---	AdamDUN Susa ---	--- --- ---
P110841 3/26/----	puzur ₄ - ^d suen	---	Sabum	---
P110894 --/--/----	niḡ ₂ -u ₂ -rum ur- ^d nanna	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---

	e ₂ -me-lam ₂ šu-u ₂ -u ₂ lu-lu [x]-a-zi [...] -AN	---	---	---
P132206 6/--/SS05	a-na-ni-šu lam-me-šum tur-tur kur-giri ₃ -ni-še ₃	---	---	---
P132230 6/--/AS09	kur-duḥ-IG (!) lugal-duḥ ne ₂ -ti (!)	---	---	--- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš) --- --- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš)
P132234 8/--/----	[...] -šu ḥu-zu-ḥi šar-ru-i ₃ -li ₂ i-pa ₂ -li ₂	---	AdamDUN AdamDUN Ḥuḥnuri Sabum	---
P132269* 10/--/SS02	u-bar-tum	---	---	---
P132270 4/04/----	ur-nigar _x ^{gar}	---	a-ab-ba	lu ₂ a-tu ₅ -a lugal-me
P132274 7/--/----	su-ba-di	---	Susa	---
P132282 5/--/----	^d šul-gi-i ₃ -ti-iš i-din-e ₂ -a	---	AdamDUN Sabum	---
P132297 11/--/----	[ba [?]]-zi a-ḥu-wa-qar	---	---	---
P132301 1/16/----	u-bar-ri ₂ lu ₂ -x-NI	Susa ---	---	---
P132319 5/03/SS01	puzur ₄ -eš-tar ₂ e ₂ -a-ra-bi ₂	---	---	inim u ₃ -ma-ni-še ₃ ĝen-na ---
P132333 4/04/----	šu-ma-ma	---	---	ĝiri ₃ for du ₆ ba-al-me u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ-ta
P132358 6/--/----	u-bar a-bi ₂ -a	---	Sabum Susa	---
P132360 2/--/----	ma-aš ₂ AN-pu ₃ -tum ₂	---	Sabum Susa	---

	gur-ra-ti-i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	udu e ₂ ^d en-ki-še ₃ ġen-na
P132362 4/--/----	lu ₂ -diġir-ra lu ₂ -ša-lim	--- ---	a-ab-ba Susa	--- ---
P132364 6/--/----	DINGIR.KAL a-ġa-ni-šu	--- Sabum	Urub ---	--- ---
P132367 6/--/----	ur-KU ma-šum šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂ šar-ru-um-i ₃ -li ₂ IGI.A-a ġu-bu-ti	--- Susa [...] --- --- Urua	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- sig ₄ -ta ur ₅ -ra-še ₃ ġen-na ma ₂ ġiš-i ₃ -ka tuš-a ---
P132377 2/--/----	ku-ku-ri-daġ mu-uš-da-an daġ-in-daġ maš-šum	--- --- --- ---	(Duġduġne) (Duġduġne) Susa Sabum	ġiri ₃ for NIM duġ-duġ-NI ^{ki} -me ġiri ₃ for NIM duġ-duġ-NI ^{ki} -me --- ---
P132424 9/--/----	a-ra ₂ -a	---	---	Susa-[x]
P132439 3/--/----	i-ti-NI-a	---	(Šimaški)	ġiri ₃ for NIM ši-ma-aš-ki-me
P132465 11/21/----	puzur ₄ -ma-ma	---	Susa	---
P132486 7/--/----	ma-šu	(Sabum)	---	---
P132490 11/10/----	AN.NI-ba	---	(Duġduġne)	ġiri ₃ for NIM ġu-li ₂ -bar-me u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maġ-kam
P132546 6/--/AS08	a-ġu-ni	---	---	---
P132550 3/17/----	NI-zu a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂	--- ---	Šimaški ---	ġiri ₃ for NIM ši-ma-aš-ġi ^{ki} -me ---
P132572 11/15/----	ur- ^d suen šu-kab-ta ₂	Susa ---	--- Sabum	--- ---
P132574 7/--/----	KA-gu-ti	AdamDUN	---	ġiri ₃ for niġ ₂ siškur ₂ -ra uruda [?] / še lugal ša ₃ -gal mušen
P132585 1/--/----	iš-du-ki-in	---	---	(ma ₂ ġar-ra) gaba a-ab-ba-ta im-ma-da ₅ -ba mu tu-ra i ₃ -me-a-še ₃
P132603	a-ġu-wa-qar	---	Susa	---

4/--/----				
P132616 9/--/SS01	pa-bil ₃	---	---	---
P132634 6/--/----	in-da-ši-ir ₁₁ šeš-kal-la	Ħuḥnuri Ħuḥnuri	---	---
P132639 12/28/AS09	qur-ra-ad-i ₃ -li ₂	---	(Duḥduḥne)	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM ḥu-li ₂ -bar-me u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ
P132650 12/27/----	šu-i ₃ -li ₂ puzur ₄ -ma-ma ma-at-i ₃ -li ₂ er ₃ -ra-nu-id	AdamDUN --- --- ---	--- Susa Ħuḥnuri Sabum	--- --- --- ---
P132666 --/--/----	ku ₅ -ku ₅ -da-a	---	---	id ₂ -nin-piriġ-banda ₃ -še ₃ ġen-na / tur-re-dam-ta mu itud 4-am ₃
P132668 3/--/----	a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂ -a li-bur- ^d šul-gi	--- Sabum	Susa ---	--- ---
P132669 11/--/----	da-num ₂ -ma-an-zi-at	---	(Sabum)	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM sa-bu-um ^{ki} -me
P132670 4/--/----	a-bu-um-DINGIR ba-ba-a ra ₂ -gaba	Sabum ---	--- Susa	--- ---
P132672 8/--/----	ur- ^d šul-pa-e ₃ sukkal šu- ^d ba-u ₂ gu-ga-lum	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	ma ₂ zi ₃ -da u ₃ ma ₂ tug ₂ -gada a ₂ ġa ₂ -ġa ₂ -de ₃ ġen-na tug ₂ gada ma ₂ -a ġa ₂ -ġa ₂ -de ₃ ġen-na-me tug ₂ gada ma ₂ -a ġa ₂ -ġa ₂ -de ₃ ġen-na-me
P132675 11/--/----	ir ₁₁ -re-eb šu-eš-tar ₂ ti-dim ₂	--- --- Susa	(Sabum) --- ---	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> mar-tu lu ₂ -kas ₄ -me u ₃ -na-a-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ-ta --- ---
P132676 6/--/----	DINGIR-šu-ra-bi i ₃ -li ₂ -aš ₂ -ra-ni nu-ur ₂ - ^d suen	--- --- ---	Susa AdamDUN Sabum	--- --- ---
P132678 8/16/----	lu ₂ -uru-ni ur- ^d ištaran	--- ---	--- Susa	Šimaški-[x] ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM ši-ma-aš-ki-me u ₃ -na-dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ ---
P132679 --/--/SS08	za-a-lum NE-li-[...]	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---

	i-šar-be-li ₂ ba-la-la	---	---	---
P132729 4/--/----	a-a-ni-šu i-ti-i ₃ -lum ma-aš ₂ DINGIR.KAL	---	---	(all fall under) lu ₂ - ^{ĝi} š tukul ma ₂ mušen-na ĝen-na-me
P132731 10/--/----	daḥ-da-me-ni in-da-še-er šu-er ₃ -ra a-ḥu-ṭa-ab a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂ nu-ur ₂ - ^d suen	---	---	zi-gum ₂ igi kar ₂ -kar ₂ -de ₃ du-ni
		Susa	AdamDUN	---
		---	Urua	---
		---	Sabum	---
		Susa	---	---
P132746 13/--/----	ša-ar-i ₃ -li ₂ ši-a-la-šu u-bar i ₃ -pad ₃ -da in-da-še-er [...] ti-i ₃ -ti	---	Ḫuḥnuri Ḫuḥnuri ---	---
		---	AdamDUN	---
		---	Ḫuḥnuri	---
P132767 6/--/AS09	a-ḥu-ni na-DI lu ₂ -kiri ₃ -zal	---	---	---
P132769 6/--/AS09	kur-šu-ni-še ₃ amar-šuba za-ba-ti	---	Ur	---
P132781 9/--/----	e-la-li ₂	Susa	---	---
P132784 3/--/AS08	DUG ₃ -i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	---
P132788 9/--/----	šeš-kal-la	---	---	uruda-da a-dam-DUN-ta im-da-ĝen-na
P132790 7/--/SS08	a-um-e a-ḥu-ma nu-nir-a-ti ^d nanna-zi a-ḥu-ni	---	---	---
P132806	ab-ba-kal-la	---	---	lu ₂ -zah ₃ -a dab ₅ -de ₃ i ₃ -im-ĝen-na

1/--/SS02				
P132810 1/28/----	ad-da	---	---	ki nu-banda ₃ -ne-še ₃ ġen-na
P132811 2/--/SS01	im-ti-da šu-e ₂ -a ur- ^d nin-ġiš-zi-da NE-ba	--- --- --- ---	--- --- --- ---	--- --- --- ---
P132816 2/--/----	a-a-i ₃ -li ₂ -šu	---	---	ma ₂ mušen-ka
P132822 12/13/AS09	nam-ĥa-ni	---	Susa	---
P132840 10/--/----	ur-nigar _x ^{gar} šu-u ₂ -u ₂ i-ti-um ^d nanna-kug-zu na-a [?] -ti ad-ni-ad	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- ---
P132850 12/19/----	i ₃ -li ₂ -NE-ti mi-da-a	--- ---	--- ---	TE-da tuš-a / ša ₃ -gal ud 14-kam
P132856 1/25/----	ur- ^d nin-ġiš-zi-da	u ² URUxA ^{ki}	---	---
P132916 4/21/----	^d nanna-ki-aġ ₂ šu-eš-tar ₂	--- ---	AdamDUN AdamDUN	--- ---
P132918 5/--/----	ša-ru-um-ba-ni la [?] -ti-ni ga-na-ti ur- ^d šul-pa-e ₃	--- --- Susa ---	Susa Sabum --- AdamDUN	--- --- --- ---
P132919 6/--/SS08	la-a i-ti-ša ₃ šu-eš-tar ₂ lu ₂ - ^d utu šu-ma-ma	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---
P132923 8/--/----	la-qi ₃ -pu-um (!) er ₃ -ra-<AN>.DUL ₃ u ₃ -ši-nu-ru-um	Susa --- ---	--- AdamDUN Huḥnuri	--- (simply called lu ₂ -ġiš) --- ---
P132946	puzur ₄ -eš ₄ -tar ₂	---	Sabum	---

7/--/----	nu-ḫi-DINGIR i-pa ₂ -li ₂ -is	--- ---	Sabum Susa	--- ---
P132948 12/--/----	šu-bu ₃ --tum	---	---	Sabum-[x]
P132951 --/--/----	šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂ kug- ^d nanna	--- ---	Susa ---	--- KA inim-ma lugal-kug-zu-še ₃ ġen-na
P132968 1/--/----	^d šul-gi-i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	e ₂ alan [?] ^d šu- ^d suen kar-ra du ₃ -de ₃ ġen-na
P132983 8/30/----	DINGIR-qa ₂ -ra-ad da-da lu ₂ -kiri ₃ -zal	Susa Susa Susa	--- --- ---	--- --- ---
P132991 9/--/----	ur- ^d šul-pa-e ₃ šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂ šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂ (2u) ur ₂ -in-daḥ (?) ep-qu ₂ -ša	Susa Susa Susa --- ---	--- --- --- AdamDUN ---	mu zi ₃ -ka-še ₃ ġen-na --- --- --- ---
P132994* 3/--/SS01	a-na-ḫi-li pu ₃ -šu-ki-in [...]	Ḫuḫnuri --- ---	--- --- ---	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> ša ₃ -gal ir ₇ ^{mušen} ḫu-ḫu-nu-ri ^{ki} -ta er- ra
P132995 7/--/----	bur-ma PU ₃ -ga-lum ab-ba-kal-la u-[bar-u]m ^d šul-gi-i ₃ -li ₂	--- Susa --- --- Sabum	Susa --- --- EdamDUN ---	--- --- --- KU [?] -KU [?] -še ₃ ---
P133093 3/--/----	ad-da ir ₃ -re-eb u ₂ -e-li	--- Sabum ---	--- --- AdamDUN	e ₂ -uš-bar-še ₃ ġen-na --- ---
P133113 2/--/----	ir ₃ -re-eb ma-aš ₂ AN a-ki [?] -a	--- --- --- ---	Sabum --- --- ---	--- --- Ḫuḫnuri-[x] Ḫuḫnuri-[x]
P133124 5/--/----	^d šul-gi-ba-ni i-šar-pa ₂ -dan ir ₃ ad-da-NIM ur ₂ -in-daḥ ma-at-i ₃ -li ₂	--- --- --- --- AdamDUN AdamDUN	Susa AdamDUN Sabum --- --- ---	--- --- --- la ₂ -i ₃ še-niġ ₂ -ġal ₂ -la-še ₃ du-ni --- ---

P133148 5/--/----	ma-aš ₂ ḥu-bu-ti-a dšul-gi-uru-mu ur ₂ -in-daḥ	Sabum --- AdamDUN AdamDUN	--- --- --- ---	--- ġeštin ⁷ u ² URUxA ^{ki} anše sum-de ₃ du-ni --- ---
P133158 1/--/----	a-li-aḥ DINGIR-gar ₃ ba-za šu-kab-ta ₂	--- --- --- ---	Susa Susa --- ---	--- --- mu anše 1-še ₃ du-ni Susa-[x]
P133191 6/--/AS09	en-u ₂ -mi (!)	---	---	--- (<i>simply called lu₂-ġiš</i>)
P133192 6/--/AS09	dšul-gi-dutu-mu a-pi ₅ -la-<ša>	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
P133198 10/--/SS01	puzur ₄ -eš-tar ₂	---	---	lu ₂ -ġiš ⁸ tukul ZU
P133199 11/20/----	lu ₂ -uru-ni	---	Susa	---
P133200 3/24/----	in-da-daḥ-ḥu	---	(Anšan)	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM an-ša-an-na-me
P133201 13/03/----	NE.NI-ak sa ₆ -da	--- ---	--- ---	lu ₂ ma ₂ saġ-še ₃ ġen-na e ₂ -uš-bar-še ₃ ġen-na
P133221 9/--/AS09	en-dug ₄ -ga-ni	---	---	---
P133223 5/01/AS06	DINGIR-ba-ni	---	---	sipad udu-gukkal-še ₃ ġen-na ša ₃ KU-ki-niġ ₂ -du ₁₀
P133227 6/--/AS09	šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂ a-ḥu-ni za-zu-an-ša	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- --- ---
P133235 4/28/SS01	lugal-ezem	---	---	---
P133237 11/--/AS08	da-gi	---	---	---
P133261 9/--/AS09	e-lu ₂ -bi-GIŠ šu-u ₂ -u ₂	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
P133270 5/--/AS06	kug-d ⁿ nanna pu ₃ -na-lum ar-ši-aḥ	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	ma ₂ ġiš-še ₃ ġen-na lu ₂ -zah ₃ -še ₃ ġen-na anše zuḥ-a-še ₃ ġen-na

P133272 4/18/----	a-ḥu-ni ma-at-i ₃ -li ₂	Susa ---	--- AdamDUN	---
P133294 8/16/----	ša-ru-um-i ₃ -li ₂ an-ne ₂ -ba-du ₇	--- Susa	---	---
P133301 9/04/----	šu-eš-tar ₂ lu ₂ -ma-ma PU ₃ -KA	Susa Susa Susa	---	---
P133319 12/29/AS09	da-a-a šu- ^d IŠKUR da-num ₂	--- AdamDUN ---	---	ḡiš-ur ₃ ma ₂ -a ḡa ₂ -ḡa ₂ -de ₃ ḡen-na --- la ₂ -i ₃ še-ḡiš-i ₃ e ₃ -de ₃ ḡen-na
P133328 10/--/SS01	(unnamed)	---	---	lu ₂ - ^{ḡiš} tukul-bi 8-am ₃ id ₂ -da gub-ba-me
P133338 7/27/----	puzur ₄ -i ₃ -li ₂ ur- ^d šul-pa-e ₃ ^d šul-gi-i ₃ -li ₂	--- --- ---	Susa Ḥuḥnuri AdamDUN	---
P133345 8/--/----	a-gu-a IGI.A-a ir ₃ -re-eb e ₂ -a-ba-ni	Susa --- --- ---	--- --- --- Susa	--- ma ₂ še-ḡiš-i ₃ dub ₂ -dub ₂ -še ₃ du-ni ---
P133350 2/08/----	ša-ru-um-i ₃ -li ₂ [?]	--- ---	---	lu ₂ - ^{ḡiš} tukul NIM-da ḡen-na
P133500 10/--/SS09	nam-uru-na da-a a-da-lal ₃ da-bi a-gu-a u ₂ -e-li nu-nir-ra-a la-a	--- --- --- --- --- --- ---	---	---
P133545 6/--/AS09	lu ₂ -bi-bi za ₃ -mu	Ur ---	---	---
P133548 --/--/SS03	ḥal-ḥal-li ₂ lugal-ḥe ₂ -ḡal ₂ ib ₂ -ta-e ₃ ka-ka ur- ^d inana	--- --- --- ---	---	dumu mi-mi lu ₂ - ^{ḡiš} tukul ---
P133549*	dug ₃ -dug ₃ -ga	---	---	---

9/--/SS03	ša-ša lugal-e	---	---	---
P133550 5/--/SS04	lu ₂ -tu-a i ₃ -sag ₉ gi-ni šu-lu um-bu	---	---	---
P133551 6/--/SS05	eš ₄ -tar ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂ ar-ši-aḥ ga-bu ₃ -um lugal-ti gi-u ₂ -ul-um	---	---	---
P133552 9/--/SS05	šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂ lu ₂ -gu-la lu ₂ -kalag-ga [...] -RI	---	---	---
P133557 6/02/----	il ₃ -lu ₂ -da-an šu-i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	lu ₂ KA inim lu ₂ u ₄ -sakar lu ₂ -[...] a-ab-ba-še ₃ du-ne-ne ---
P133558 6/18/----	la-qi ₃ -ip šu-er ₃ -ra	---	Sabum	---
P133559 7/--/----	i-pi ₂ -iš- ^d šul-gi KAL-i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	---
P133560 8/--/----	dumu- ^d iškur a ₂ -gu-gu	---	---	Šimaški-[x] ġiri ₃ for NIM ši-ma-aš-gi ^{ki} -me u ₃ -na-a- dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ-ra lu ₂ - ^{ġi} štukul šu-ku ₆ -ne
P133562 11/03/----	niġ ₂ - ^d ba-u ₂	---	Urua	---
P133564 --/--/----	ša-ru-um-i ₃ -li ₂ lu ₂ - ^d nin-ġir ₂ -su šu-i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	a-mur ₇ -al-kar ₃ (?) šu sum-de ₃ ġen-na ---
P133565 --/--/----	im-ti-lam ₃ a-bu-ni a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂ -a	---	Susa Sabum AdamDUN	---
P135796* --/--/----	a-da-lal ₃ šu-er ₃ -ra	Nippur	---	---

P135816 2/--/AS08	ku-ku-a	---	---	---
P136220 6/-- /SH46/AS03	ur-bara ₂ -si-ga šu-na [...] ti-ti du-du (!)	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš)
P113508 6/--/AS09	su-a nu-ri-lum ĥu-NE-re	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- --- ---
P113509 1/--/SS01	niĝ ₂ -sag ₉ -ga-ni (!) ĥu-ba-a ur-nigar _x ^{gar} (!)	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	--- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš) --- --- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš)
P113510 9/--/SS01	šu-eš-tar ₂ šu-lu-lu diĝir-igi-mu bu ₃ -u ₂	--- --- --- ---	--- --- --- ---	--- --- --- ---
P113511 4/--/SS03	lu ₂ -ga maš ₂ -a ur-du ₆ giri ₃ -ne ₂ GABA.KIN	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---
P113512 9/--/SS04	ma-an-sum ur-lu ₂ ur-šu [...] [...] (!)	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---	--- --- --- --- --- (simply called lu ₂ -ĝiš)
P113514 1/30/----	i-din- ^d IŠKUR ur- ^d inana u-bar šu-ma-mi-tum e ₂ -ki-bi	--- --- --- --- ---	Susa Susa --- --- ---	--- --- mu ma ₂ -laḥ ₅ -še ₃ ĝen-na ma ₂ ^{ĝiš} dara ₃ -a bi ₂ -tuš-a KU.KU ĝen-na
P113519 7/12/----	nu-ur ₂ - ^d IŠKUR	---	---	---
P113520 8/--/----	šu-ku-bu-um	---	---	gu ₂ u ₃ id ₂ gibil ₄ bala-še ₃ ĝen-na
P113522	puzur ₄ - ^d en-lil ₂ -la ₂	---	AdamDUN	---

9/05/----				
P113524 10/--/----	a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂ da-ga a-ḥu-ni [...] d ^š ul-gi-i ₃ -li ₂	--- --- --- ---	(Šimaški) --- Susa --- Susa	ḡiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM ši-ma-aš-gi ₄ ^{ki} -me u ₃ -na- dug ₄ sukkal-maḥ-ta Ḫuḥnuri-[x] --- Duḥduḥne-[x] ---
P113530 11/04/----	e-la-ga-ak	---	---	ku ₆ ninda-na ḡen-na
P128051 9/--/----	er ₃ -ra-<AN.>DUL ₃	---	---	---

Appendix I: The aga-us₂ gal in Messenger Texts

Abbreviations:

aug = aga₃-us₂ gal, au = aga₃-us₂, augg = aga₃-us₂ gal-gal, lt = lu₂-^{ĝi}sukul,
ltgl = lu₂-^{ĝi}sukul gu-la, skl = sukkal, dnb = dumu nu-banda₃,
uk = u₃-kul, k = lu₂-kas₄, rg = ra₂-gaba, m = mar-tu
ĝ. = ĝiri₃-agent

Key:

* = significant portion of text missing
^ = lugal (thus 1 aga₃-us₂ lugal = 1^)
~ = sukkal-maĥ (thus 1 aga₃-us₂ sukkal-maĥ = 1~)
= zabar-dab₅ (thus 1 aga₃-us₂ zabar-dab₅ = 1#)
+ = ensi₂ (thus 1 aga₃-us₂ ensi₂ = 1+)
NIM in the “other” section means a person labeled as NIM, not a highlander group
unsp. = unspecified; a personal name without any other qualification

Table of Titles and Designations alongside aga₃-us₂ gal in Individual Messenger Texts

Text	aug	au	augg	lt	ltgl	skl	dnb	k	rg	uk	m	unsp	NIM group	Other
P248725 4/--/----	2				3	1		1					Ĝiša (ĝ. ltgl)	
P100146 1/--/----	1						1							
P100149* 2/--/----	2					1	2	1						
P100199 8/02/----	4					2		1		2				2 šeš-ba
P122957 8/02/----	2				1	2				1			Ĝiša (ĝ. skl)	
P100201 7/--/----	1				1	3	3						Šimaški (ĝ. šeš-ba)	2 šeš-ba
P105803 11/--/----	1					1	1	1						
P206127	1					4	2			1				

12/--/----														
P429694 4/--/----	1	1				1								
CTPSM 151 1/--/----	2	1			2	1		2				1	Šimaški (ġ. k)	
CTPSM 189 4/--/----	2					3	3	1						
CTPSM 212 7/--/----	2					3	1				1		Si'u (ġ. skl)	
CTPSM 213 7/--/----	1					2				3		2	Šimaški (ġ. skl) Kimaš (ġ. unsp)	
P122964 2/--/----	2	1				3								
P122974 3/--/----	1				6							2		
P123002 5/--/----	1					1		1		1				2 šeš-ba
P123164 7/--/----	2					3		1		1				2 šeš-ba
P123063* 12/--/----	1	1				1	1	1				1		1 šeš lukur
P109162 7/--/----	3					3	2						Šimaški (ġ. skl)	
P109163 12/--/----	1					1			1			1	Šimaški (ġ. aug)	
P109164 --/--/----	1					1		1		1		2	ensi ₂ Sabum (ġ. aug)	
P109984 3/--/----	2				4	2	1							1 šeš lukur
P109999 12/--/----	1					1	1						Šimaški (ġ. skl) Šimaški and Anšan-me	

P110002 5/--/----	1					3				1			Kimaš (ĝ. skl)	
P110008 1/--/----	3				1	2	1	1	1				Anšan (ĝ. rg)	
P110009 3/--/----	1					2	2	1		2			Zaul (ĝ. skl)	1 šeš lukur
P110012 5/--/----	2	1				3							Šimaški (ĝ. skl) Zaul (ĝ. skl) Kimaš (ĝ. au)	
P110023 ¹⁷⁵⁰ 1/--/----	1					4			3				Anšan (ĝ. skl) Si'u (ĝ. skl)!	
P110030 3/--/----	4				2	1			1					
P110036 5/--/----	1					4							Šimaški (ĝ. skl)	1 šeš lukur
P110037 11/--/----	1					1	1						Kimaš (ĝ. skl)	1 mar lugal 1 šakkan ₆
P110041 3/--/----	4					3			3	1			Anšan (ĝ. rg)	
P110043 3/--/----	3			1	2	1			1				Anšan (ĝ. k)	1 šeš lukur
P110092 10/--/----	2					1	3						Duḥduḥne (ĝ. dnb)	
P110096 5/--/----	3					1	1		2				Anšan (ĝ. skl)	
P110107 5/--/----	2					3			1					
P110138 1/--/----	2	1			1	3	2		2					
P110153 5/--/----	2				1	3	1							
P110157 4/--/----	1				1	2			1	1		1	Šimaški (ĝ. k)	

¹⁷⁵⁰ This text labels Abuni as **aga-us₂ gal** but then calls him a **sukkal** as the **ĝiri₃**-agent of **NIM**.

P110163 4/--/----	1				6	1	1						Anšan (ĝ. dnb)	
P110192 1/--/----	1					3		1						
P110331 1/--/----	3						2	3						
P110333 8/--/----	1					3	2	1		1				
P110334 7/--/----	1	1				5								
P110335 7/--/----	1				1	3	1						Šimaški (ĝ. aug) Gizili (ĝ. skl)	
P110337 ¹⁷⁵¹ 9/--/----	3					3	1	1						
P110339 10/--/----	1					1	2							1 šeš lukur 1 dumu-munus lugal
P110340 8/--/----	3				1	3							Šimaški (ĝ. skl)	
P110341 7/--/----	1				2			2					Si'u (ĝ. aug)	
P110355 6/--/----	2					1	1	1			1		Šimaški (ĝ. skl)	
P110361 10/--/----	2					3	2	1		1			Anšan (ĝ. skl)	
P111791 1/--/----	1				1	4	2						Anšan (ĝ. skl)	
P315771 7/--/----	1				2	1		1						
P112788	2					2	4			1			Zaul (ĝ. aug)	1 šeš lukur

¹⁷⁵¹ Could possibly reference a **sukkal** as an **aga₃-us₂ lugal**, though this is not incontestable:

PN **sukkal** / **aga₃-us₂ lugal dumu urim₅^{ki}-ma dab₅-dab₅-de₃ ĝen-na**: 2 options:

“PN the secretary (and) royal soldier who went to seize the citizens of Ur”

“PN the secretary who went to seize the royal soldiers, citizens of Ur” (I favor this option)

12/--/----														
P116249 2/--/----	2				2	1		5						1 ensi ₂ AdamDUN
P106949 4/--/----	1												Kimaš (ġ. aug)	
P106953 7/--/----	2					2	1						Si'u (ġ. aug) Zaul (ġ. skl)	1 di-ku ₅
P107027 5/--/----	1							1					Kimaš (ġ. aug) Huḫnuri (ġ. k)	
P107058* --/--/----	2					3	1					1		
P114922 11/--/----	1							1						
P114946 5/02/----	1													
P114948 2/--/SH34	1													
P114981 9/--/----	1													
P115240* 1/--/----	1					3								
P115241 8/--/----	3					2	2	2		2				1 šeš lukur
P115245* 1/--/----	1	1 [?]					2	4				3		
P115301 9/--/SH34	1									1				
P115317 2/--/----	1													
P115352 7/--/SH34	2					1	1							
P115771 4/--/----	1			1	3	1	1					1	Anšan (ġ. dnb)	
P115772 8/--/----	1					8								
P115773	3						1	3					Šimaški	

4/--/----													(ġ. aug) Zaul (ġ. dnb)	
P115779* 8/--/----	1					3	1			1				2 šeš lukur
P119711* 2/--/----	1	1+				2		2						1 nu-banda
P119722 4/--/----	2					2	1							
P119726 1/--/----	3				1	2	2						Anšan (ġ. dnb) Giziġu (ġ. aug)	
P206204* 3/--/----	2+ ²					1	2							
P206215 5/--/----	1					2		3					ra-gaba Hulibar (ġ. aug)	
P206222 6/--/----	1					1								
P201986 7/--/----	3					2		1						1 šeš-ni
P202058 4/--/----	1				1	5							Šimaški (ġ. skl)	
P202105 11/--/----	1			1		4								
P320489* --/--/----	2					3	1						Anšan (ġ. aug)	
P202109 12/--/----	1				2	2	3						Kimaš (ġ. aug) Zaul (ġ. dnb)	
P202035 1/--/----	1	1				1	2	2						
P356003 7/--/----	1					1				4				1 šakkan ₆
P356005 8/--/----	2				1	3				1			Kimaš (ġ. skl)	2 šeš lukur
P356016 1/--/----	3					2	1	1						
P356017	1					2	2			1		1		1 šeš lukur

2/--/----														
P406050 12/--/----	1					4	2			1				
P406053 ¹⁷⁵² 2/--/----	3				2	1		2				1	Anšan (ĝ. k)	
P406054 10/16/----	2					4	1			1		1	Zaul (ĝ. aug)	
P406055 3/--/----	1				2	3	2						Kimaš (ĝ. skl)	
P406121 8/--/----	2					1	1				1			
P406388 10/--/----	3					3	1						Ĥuḥnuri (ĝ. dnb)	1 šeš lukur
P406464 10/13/----	1			1 1753		12	1			2		1	Anšan (ĝ. skl)	
P406467 ¹⁷⁵⁴ 3/--/----	1				1	2		4					Anšan (ĝ. skl) Si'u (ĝ. aug)	
P406470 9/--/----	3					4	1							
P406471 12/--/----	1								1					1 šakkan ₆
P406472 7/--/----	1					5		1						
P406476 4/--/----	1					2			1					
P406478 12/--/----	1					1	3							
P406479 4/--/----	1				1	3								
P406480 5/--/----	2				2	1		2						
P406481	3					3	2							

¹⁷⁵² Occurrence where the same person is listed twice with different assignments on the same tablet

¹⁷⁵³ **lu₂-^{ĝi}š tukul lugal.**

¹⁷⁵⁴ Multiple examples of a singular verb governing plural objects.

12/--/----														
P406473 1/--/----	3				1	1			1				Anšan (ĝ. rg)	
P406505 5/--/----	1					7	1							
P406577 2/--/----	1					1	1			1			Kimaš (ĝ. dnb) Giša (ĝ. skl)	
P124372 8/02/----	1	1				5	1				2			
P124393 5/--/----	1					3	1	1						2 šeš lukur
P202549 ¹⁷⁵⁵ 4/--/----	2				3	1		5						
P127680 5/--/----	1						1	1						1 šakkan ₆ ra-gaba <i>Ḫulibar</i> - me igi-du <i>Ḫulibar</i>
P127690 ¹⁷⁵⁶ 7/--/----	1	1						2					<i>Ḫulibar</i> (ĝ. k)	
P127703 --/--/----	1						1	3						ra-gaba Maḫili-me
P127708 4/--/----	1											1	ensi ₂ and NIM Maḫili-me (ĝ. aug)	
P127711 3/--/----	1													
P110512 4/--/----	1						1	2	1					
P110514 1/--/----	4						1							1 šakkan ₆
P127718 11/--/----	4					1	3				1			
P128487	1													

¹⁷⁵⁵ Another occurrence of the same person listed twice.

¹⁷⁵⁶ The person called an **aga₃-us₂ gal** is also called a **lu₂-ka₄**.

12/--/----														
P128488 4/--/----	1										1			1 šar ₂ -ab-du
P128489 5/--/----	1													
P128492 7/--/----	1													
P128494 4/--/----	1													
P128500 11/--/----	3													1 šeš lukur 1 lu ₂ -kiĝ ₂ -gi ₄ -a lugal
P128501 1/--/----	1													lu ₂ Marḥaši-me
P128502 8/--/----	1					2	1	1						1 šeš lukur
P128504 9/--/----	2				2	2	1						Siri (ĝ. aug)	
P128505 5/--/----	2						1						Ḫuḥnuri (ĝ. aug)	1 ĝiš-gag-du ₈ 5 aga ₃ -us ₂ (ĝ. aug)
P128506 11/--/----	3					2		2						
P128507 12/--/----	1					1	1	2		1			Ḫuḥnuri (ĝ. k)	
P128509 11/--/----	1												Anšan (ĝ. aug)	
P128528 12/--/----	2					2		3					Duḥduḥne (ĝ. skl)	
P128530 5/--/----	5	1			2	2	1					2		
P127949 3/--/----	1				1	2	3	1					Kimaš (ĝ. dnb)	1 šeš lukur
P135250 11/--/----	4					2		1				1	Duḥduḥne (ĝ. aug)	
P135247	1					3	2	1				1		

--/--/----														
P128527 10/--/----	2				2	1		3						
P131216 2/--/----	1					2	3	2						
P131220 10/18/----	2				1	1	1	1						1 šeš lukur
P131221 1/--/----	1					2	2	2				1		
P131222 2/--/----	1					2	2	2						
P131225 10/10/----	3					9 ¹⁷⁵⁷	4							
P131226 7/--/----	1					2	1	1	1					
P131231 7/--/----	2				1	1		1					Zaul (ġ. k)	2 šeš lukur
P131232 3/--/----	2					1	2	1		2			Giša (ġ. uk)	
P131233 1/--/----	2	1				1	1	2						
P131248 3/--/----	2					2	2	1					Anšan (ġ. skl)	
P131250 5/--/----	1				1	1	1					1		
P131253 5/--/----	2				1	3	2							
P131254 1/--/----	1					2	1	1					Šimaški (ġ. skl)	1 šeš lukur
P131256 2/--/----	2				1	2		2						
P131257 7/--/----	1					2	3							1 šeš lukur
P131260	2				1	2	2	1					Kimaš (ġ. dnb)	1 šeš lukur

¹⁷⁵⁷ One of these is called a **muḥaldim sukkal**.

3/--/----														
P131262 5/--/----	1					1	2						Šimaški (ġ. dnb)	
P131263 7/--/----	1				1	4	1							
P131265 4/--/----	2					3		2		1				1 nu-banda 1 šeš lukur
P131270 1/--/----	1					1	3	1		2				1 šeš lukur
P129622 --/--/----	2					1	2							1 šeš lukur 1 lukur
P110522 --/--/----	1							1						ra-gaba <i>Ħulibar</i> (ġ. aug) ra-gaba Šimaški (ġ. k)
P110535 --/--/----	2						1	1					Šimaški (ġ. dnb)	
P110553 --/--/----	3						1		1				Ma(n)ħili (ġ. aug)	
P110755* --/--/----	1						2	1			1			
P132795 1/--/----	1							1						
P135805* --/--/----	1					1	1					1	Si'u (ġ. skl)	
P135806 8/--/----	1					2				1		2	Kimaš (ġ. skl)	1 šeš lukur
P142527* --/--/----	1												Anšan (ġ. aug)	

Travel and Missional Data on Individuals designated as aga-us₂ gal

<i>Text/Date</i>	<i>Name</i>	<i>“From GN” GN-ta</i>	<i>“To GN” GN-še₃</i>	<i>Additional</i>
P248725 4/--/----	ša-ru-um-i ₃ -li ₂ šu-a-ba	Susa (Susa)	--- ---	---
P100146 1/--/----	ur- ^d nanše	---	(Susa)?	---
P100149* 2/--/----	kal-la-mu šu-ku-bu-um	[...] ---	--- Susa	---
P100199 8/02/----	ba-za-mu a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂ arad ₂ - ^d nanna da-gu-nir	Sabum Susa --- (Susa)	--- --- AdamDUN ---	---
P122957 8/02/----	^d nanna-kam šu-na-a	--- Susa	Sabum ---	---
P100201 7/--/----	šu-ni-tum	---	AdamDUN	---
P105803 11/--/----	ia-ra-am ₃ -e ₃ -a	Susa	---	---
P206127 12/--/----	lugal-TUG ₂ .MAH	---	---	(saĝ-da-na anše zi-gum ₂ -ka anše sum-de ₃ <tuš-a>)
P429694 4/--/----	šu-i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	ki ensi ₂ -ka ĝen-na-ne-ne
CTPSM 151 1/--/----	a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂ [x]-ra-a	--- AdamDUN	Susa ---	---
CTPSM 189 4/--/----	la-a-mu DINGIR-a ₂ -li ₂ -ik	Ĥuĥnuri ---	--- Sabum	---
CTPSM 212 7/--/----	šu- ^d nisaba i-ti-a	Susa ---	--- Susa	---
CTPSM 213 7/--/----	en-u ₂ -mi-li ₂	Urua	---	---
P122964 2/--/----	NE.NE-a i-ti-šu-ni-im	--- ---	AdamDUN Ĥuĥnuri	---
P122974 3/--/----	nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂	Susa	---	---
P123002	kal-IGI-a	---	Sabum	---

5/--/----				
P123164 7/--/----	nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂ iš-du ₁₁ -gin ₇	Sabum Zaul	---	---
P123063 12/--/----	šu- ^d UTU	Susa	---	---
P109162 7/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d dumu-zi a-mur- ^d suen i-šar-pa ₂ -dan	Urua --- (Susa)	--- Sabum ---	---
P109163 12/--/----	su ₃ -la-num ₂	(Šimaški)	---	ĝiri ₃ for NIM ši-ma-aš-gi ₄ ^{ki} -me
P109164 --/--/----	puzur ₄ -a-bi ₂	(Sabum)	---	ĝiri ₃ for še-le-bu-um ensi ₂ sa-bu-um ^{ki}
P109984 3/--/----	a-mur-DINGIR igi-sa ₆ -sa ₆	Susa Susa	---	---
P109999 12/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d inana	---	Susa	---
P110002 5/--/----	da-gu	Susa	---	---
P110008 1/--/----	šu- ^d UTU i-zu-a im-ti-da	AdamDUN --- (Urua)	---	---
P110009 3/--/----	a-bu-ni	(Urua)	---	---
P110012 5/--/----	u-bar šu-i ₃ -li ₂	(Susa) Susa	---	---
P110023 ¹⁷⁵⁸ 1/--/----	a-bu-ni	---	(Si'u(m))	ĝiri ₃ for NIM si-u ₃ ^{ki} -me
P110030 3/--/----	lam-ma-a DINGIR.KAL nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂ šu- ^d dumu-zi	Susa --- --- ---	--- --- Sabum Susa	---
P110036 5/--/----	lu ₂ -ša-lim	---	Sabum	---
P110037	arad ₂ -mu	---	---	igi-du udu ur ₄ -da-me

¹⁷⁵⁸ He is listed as **aga₃-us₂ gal** as a provision recipient and as **sukkal** as the **ĝiri₃**-agent.

11/--/----				
P110041 3/--/----	ša-lim-be-li ₂ ur- ^d šul-pa-e ₃ šu- ^d UTU i-zu-a	(Susa) --- --- ---	--- AdamDUN AdamDUN Susa	--- --- --- ---
P110043 3/--/----	šu-ku-bu-um nu-ur-i ₃ -li ₂ a-mur-DINGIR	Susa --- Susa	--- --- ---	--- ma ₂ ar-gi ₄ -LUM-da ġen-na ---
P110092 10/--/----	lu ₂ -ša-lim iš-me-NE	Susa Sabum	--- ---	--- ---
P110096 5/--/----	a-gu-a u-bar puzur ₄ -eš-tar ₂	--- Susa Susa	--- --- ---	mu dumu dab ₅ -ba sukkal-maḥ-ke ₄ -ne ġen-na --- ---
P110107 5/--/----	i ₃ -li ₂ -a-num ₂ a-ḥu-DUG ₃	AdamDUN Sabum	--- ---	--- ---
P110138 1/--/----	ur- ^d šara ₂ -si i ₃ -li ₂ -a-zu	(Susa) (Susa)	--- ---	--- ---
P110153 5/--/----	i-mar-i ₃ -li ₂ ur- ^d šara ₂	--- Urua	Urua ---	--- ---
P110157 4/--/----	egir-dub-ni	Susa	---	---
P110163 4/--/----	šu-a-ba	Susa	---	---
P110192 1/--/----	be-li ₂	(Ur)	---	---
P110331 1/--/----	šu-i ₃ -li ₂ šu- ^d IŠKUR DINGIR	--- Kimaš ---	Susa --- Susa	--- --- ---
P110333 8/--/----	šu- ^d UTU	---	Susa	---
P110334 7/--/----	a-ḥu-a	Urua	---	---
P110335 7/--/----	a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂	---	(Šimaški)	ġiri ₃ for NIM ši-ma-aš-ki-me
P110337	šu-i ₃ -li ₂	(Susa)	---	---

9/--/----	DINGIR-ba-ni šu- ^d UTU	AdamDUN ---	---	---
P110339 10/--/----	iš-me-a	(Zaul)	---	aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal dumu urim ₅ ^{ki} -ma dab ₅ -dab ₅ -de ₃ ġen-na
P110340 8/--/----	GIŠ.GA.TI da-da-ga a ₂ -pi ₅ -la-num ₂ a ₂ -pi ₅ -la-num ₂	--- --- --- (Susa)	Susa Susa Susa ---	---
P110341 7/--/----	ša-lim-be-li ₂	(Si'u(m))	---	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM si-u ₃ ^{ki} -me
P110355 6/--/----	i-ti-a šu- ^d IŠKUR	--- Susa	Susa ---	---
P110361 10/--/----	dan-ki-i ₃ -li ₂ arad ₂ -mu	--- ---	--- Susa	ki en-nu-še ₃ ġen-na ---
P111791 1/--/----	ur- ^d IGI.ŠI	Susa	---	---
P315771 7/--/----	i-ku-num ₂	---	---	(ġiri ₃ <i>for</i>) NIM dab ₅ -ba ši-ma-aš-gi ₄ -še ₃ du-ni
P112788 12/--/----	šu-ma-ma puzur ₄ -ma-am ₃	(Gu'abba) (Zaul)	--- ---	---
P116249 2/--/----	ur- ^d utu nu-ra-a	--- ---	AdamDUN AdamDUN	---
P106949 4/--/----	lu ₂ -ri ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂	(Kimaš)	---	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM ki-maš ^{ki} -me
P106953 7/--/----	šu- ^d UTU ip-ḫur	--- ---	(Si'u(m)) Sabum	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM-me ---
P107027 5/--/----	i-su-ba-ni	(Kimaš)	---	gud udu ki-maš ^{ki} bala-e-de ₃ ġen-na
P107058* --/--/----	ir ₃ -re-eb ^d IŠKUR-ba-ni	--- ---	Kimaš Susa	---
P114922 11/--/----	a-ḫu-ni	Susa	---	---
P114946 5/02/----	me-ri ₂ -iš	---	AdamDUN	---
P114948	lu ₂ - ^d suen	---	---	---

2/--/SH34				
P114981 9/--/----	e-mu-du ₇ -um	---	---	Susa-[x]
P115240 1/--/----	puzur ₄ -ur-lul	Susa	---	---
P115241 8/--/----	ba-sag ₉ -ga i ₃ -li ₂ -a-num ₂ šu- ^d UTU	--- Sabum Kimaš	Urua --- ---	--- --- ---
P115245 1/--/----	[x]-kur-gu ₄ -um	---	Susa	---
P115301 9/--/SH34	i-mi-mi	---	---	---
P115317 2/--/----	al-la	---	Anšan	---
P115352 7/--/SH34	lugal-ezem a-ḫu-ni	--- ---	--- ---	--- ---
P115771 4/--/----	šu-a-ba	Susa	---	---
P115772 8/--/----	bu ₃ -bu ₃ -a	---	---	(ma ₂ -a ḡar-ra) a-ab-ba-še ₃ du-ni
P115773 4/--/----	šu-a-zi e-mu-gu ₂ -um šu-am ₃	--- Susa ---	(Šimaški) --- Susa	ḡiri ₃ for NIM ši-ma-aš-ki-me --- ---
P115779 8/--/----	da-da-a	---	AdamDUN	---
P119711* 2/--/----	KAL-i ₃ -li ₂	---	---	3 e ₂ -duru ₅ -[x] du-ni
P119722 4/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d nanna ur- ^d nin-ḡiš-zi-da	--- ---	Kimaš ---	--- mu azlag ₇ -ne-še ₃ tuš-a
P119726 1/--/----	šu-a-zi e-ba-zum er ₃ -ra-ba-ni	Susa (Susa) (Giziḫu)	--- --- ---	--- --- ḡiri ₃ for NIM gi-zi-ḫu ^{ki} -me
P206204* 3/--/----	lu ₂ -pa ₂ -li ₂ -is [...]	AdamDUN ---	--- ---	--- mu ku ₆ a-ab-ba-ka-še ₃ tuš-a-ne-ne
P206215 5/--/----	i-na-zi	(Duḫduḫne)	---	ḡiri ₃ for NIM ra-gaba ḫu-li ₂ -bar-me

P206222 6/--/----	šeš-šeš	Susa	---	---
P201986 7/--/----	ba-za arad ₂ - ^d nanna da-gu-nir	--- --- (Susa)	Sabum AdamDUN ---	--- (<i>u₃ i-tar₃-qi₂-li₂ šeš-ni</i>) --- ---
P202058 4/--/----	a-kal-la	(Anšan u₃ Nippur)	---	---
P202105 11/--/---	lu ₂ - ^d utu	(Anšan u₃ Nippur)	---	---
P320489 --/--/----	šu- ^d UTU im-ti-da	Šušin ---	--- (Anšan)	--- <i>ĝiri₃ for NIM an-ša-an^{ki}-me</i>
P202109 12/--/----	i-pa ₂ -li ₂ -is	(Kimaš)	---	<i>ĝiri₃ for NIM ki-maš^{ki}-me</i>
P202035 1/--/----	zi-zi-ig	AdamDUN	---	---
P356003 7/--/----	igi-AN	Susa	---	---
P356005 8/--/----	nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂ lu ₂ -ša-lim	--- Susa	Urua ---	--- ---
P356016 1/--/----	a-da-lal ₃ ḥu-u ₂ -a i-ti- ^d IŠKUR	Susa Susa Urua	--- --- ---	--- --- ---
P356017 2/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d nanna	(Urua)	---	---
P406050 12/--/----	lugal-TUG ₂ .MAH	---	---	saĝ-da-na anše zi-gum ₂ -ka ĝiri ₃ sum-de ₃ tuš-a
P406053 2/--/----	[...] ku ₅ -da-mu [x]-ma-a	[...] --- ---	--- --- Susa	--- ki ^d en-ki-ke ₄ igi kar ₂ -kar ₂ -de ₃ ĝen-na ---
P406054 10/16/----	DINGIR-ma-su ^d nanna-kam	AdamDUN (Zaul)	--- ---	--- <i>ĝiri₃ for NIM za-ul^{ki}-me</i>
P406055 3/--/----	šu-a-zi	Susa	---	---
P406121 8/--/----	šu-ma-ma DINGIR.KAL	(Susa) ---	--- Susa	--- ---
P406388	šu- ^d UTU	(Susa)	---	---

10/--/----	SUḪUŠ-ki ₂ -in ur- ^d en-ki	(Susa) ---	---	---
P406464 10/13/----	IGI.ŠA.DU	AdamDUN	---	---
P406467 3/--/----	a-bu-ni	(Si'u(m))	---	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM si-u ₃ ^{ki} -me
P406470 9/--/----	ḥu-la-li ₂ šu- ^d IŠKUR za-na-ti	Urua Urua Susa	--- --- ---	ma ₂ še-da ġen-na-ne-ne ma ₂ še-da ġen-na-ne-ne ---
P406471 12/--/----	i ₃ -li ₂ -la	---	(Kimaš)	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM ki-maš ^{ki} -me
P406472 7/--/----	GIŠ.GA.TI	Susa	---	---
P406476 4/--/----	i-ku-num ₂	---	---	Susa-[x]
P406478 12/--/----	DINGIR-ba-ni	(Susa)	---	---
P406479 4/--/----	DINGIR-ba-ni	---	Susa	---
P406480 5/--/----	lugal-ma ₂ -gur ₈ -re ša-lim-be-li ₂ -li ₂	(Susa) ---	--- Susa	--- ---
P406481 12/--/----	ur- ^d ba-u ₂ ur- ^d nin-ġiš-zi-da lu ₂ - ^d inana	--- --- Susa	--- --- ---	ki ensi ₂ -še ₃ ġen-na mu šu-ku ₆ -re-še ₃ ġen-na ---
P406473 1/--/----	šu- ^d IŠKUR nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂ e-zu-a	AdamDUN Susa Susa	--- --- ---	--- --- ---
P406505 5/--/----	a-mur- ^d UTU	---	AdamDUN	---
P406577 2/--/----	šu-a-zi	---	Sabum	---
P124372 8/02/----	šu-eš ₄ -tar ₂	Urua	---	---
P124393 5/--/----	kal-IGI-a	Sabum	---	---
P202549	ša-ru-um-i ₃ -li ₂	(Susa)	---	---

4/--/----	im-ti-da	Sabum	---	---
P127680 5/--/----	šu- ^d nin-šubur	---	Susa	---
P127690 ¹⁷⁵⁹ 7/--/----	il ₃ -mi-di ₃	(Susa)	---	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM ħu-li ₂ -bar-me
P127703 --/--/----	ša-ru-um-i ₃ -li ₂	---	Urua	udu gukkal ¹⁷ ur ₄ -de ₃ ġen-na
P127708 4/--/----	da-num ₂	---	(Susa)	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> ensi ₂ u ₃ NIM ma-ħi-li ^{ki} -me
P127711* 3/--/----	lugal [?] -dun [?] -kal	Susa	---	---
P110512 4/--/----	šu-na-du ₃ -SAHAR-NE	Susa	---	---
P110514 1/--/----	nu-ur ₂ - ^d UTU šu-e ₂ -a a ₂ -pi ₅ -li ₂ -a šu-na-gar ₃	--- --- Susa Susa	AdamDUN Urua --- ---	--- --- --- ---
P127718 11/--/----	ur- ^d nanše ka-ba-ti en-u ₂ -mi-i ₃ -li ₂ ku-lu-a	Susa Garnene --- (Sabum)	--- --- Anšan ---	--- ma ₂ esir ₂ -da ġen-na --- ---
P128487 12/--/----	šu-ku-bu-um	---	---	šu-ku ₆ dab ₅ -de ₃ ġen-na
P128488 4/--/----	ur- ^d amma	---	---	ki ensi ₂ -še ₃ ġen-na-ne-ne
P128489 5/--/----	KA-la-a	---	---	lu ₂ al-dab ₅ -ba id ₂ -de ₃ bala-e-de ₃ ġen-na
P128492 7/--/----	a-ħu-ni	---	AdamDUN	ġis ^{ma} -nu igi du ₈ -de ₃ ġen-na
P128494 4/--/----	lugal-mas-su	---	---	udu id ₂ -de ₃ bala-e-de ₃ tuš-a
P128500 11/--/----	a-gu-a lu ₂ - ^d šara ₂ lugal-mas-su	--- --- Susa	--- --- ---	ši-ma-na-ta du-ne-ne mu siki sig ₅ udu kur-ka-še ₃ ġen-na ---

¹⁷⁵⁹ He is called **aga₃-us₂ gal** as a provision recipient and **lu-kas₄** as the **ġiri₃**-agent.

P128501 1/--/----	ka ₅ -a	(Marḥaši)	---	(ġiri ₃) lu ₂ mar-ḥa-ši ^{ki} -me
P128502 8/--/----	lu ₂ -diġir-ra	Urua	---	---
P128504 9/--/----	e ₂ -ni-šu kal-IGI-a	(AdamDUN) Susa	---	ġiri ₃ for NIM si-ri ^{ki} -me
P128505 5/--/----	šu- ^d nin-šubur ^d nanna-ki-aġ ₂	(Susa) ---	---	ġiri ₃ for 5 aga ₃ -us ₂ lugal ġiri ₃ for NIM ḥu-ḥu-nu-ri ^{ki} -me
P128506 11/--/----	ur-ma-mi DINGIR-ba-ni a-kal-la	--- --- ---	--- --- ---	mu ib ₂ -bur-e ₂ -ni-BI-ka-še ₃ ġen-na mu ensi ₂ -ka-še ₃ ġen-na Urua-[x]
P128507 12/--/----	da-da	Susa	---	---
P128509 11/--/----	bu ₃ -u ₂ -a	---	(Anšan)	ġiri ₃ for NIM an-ša-an ^{ki} -me
P128528 12/--/----	mi-iḥ [...] -i ₃ -li ₂	Urua [...]	--- ---	--- ---
P128530 5/--/----	na-ra-am-e ₃ ši-im-da-gu-ni DINGIR-mi-ti ša-i ₃ -li ₂ ba-ba-a	--- Si'u(m) --- Ḥuḥnuri Ḥuḥnuri	Šimaški --- Kimaš --- ---	--- --- --- --- ---
P127949 3/--/----	šu-a-zi	---	(Susa)	---
P135250 11/--/----	IGI.A-a šu-a-ġi maš-um ^d IŠKUR-ba-ni	kaskal a-ab-ba kaskal a-ab-ba Sabum ---	ša ₃ uru a-ab-ba ša ₃ uru a-ab-ba --- (Duḥduḥne)	lu ₂ a-tu ₅ -me lu ₂ a-tu ₅ -me --- ġiri ₃ for NIM duḥ-duḥ-NE ^{ki} -me
P135247 --/--/----	šu- ^d nisaba	Susa	---	---
P128527 10/--/----	šu- ^d UTU a-da-lal ₃	(Susa) ---	--- Sabum	--- ---
P131216 2/--/----	a-ḥu-a	---	Sabum	---
P131220 10/18/----	a-bu-ni puzur ₄ -šu	--- ---	--- Anšan	Kimaš-[x] ---

P131221 1/--/----	i-mar-i ₃ -li ₂	Sabum	---	---
P131222 2/--/----	e ₂ -ki-bi	(Susa)	---	---
P131225 10/10/----	ma-a-ti lu ₂ - ^d nanna šu- ^d UTU	Sabum --- ---	--- --- ---	--- (mu ku ₆ dab ₅ -<še ₃ > tuš-a) (mu ma ₂ ġiš-ka-še ₃ tuš-a)
P131226 7/--/----	nu-ur ₂ -su	Urua	---	---
P131231 7/--/----	šu- ^d UTU nu-ur ₂ -ne	Susa Urua	--- ---	--- ---
P131232 3/--/----	ba-a-mu da-da-ni	Sabum Susa	--- ---	--- ---
P131233 1/--/----	ur- ^d nisaba puzur ₄	Kimaš Urua	--- ---	--- ---
P131248 3/--/----	a-bu-ṭa-ab iš-me-ne	--- ---	sahar ^{ki} -ḪAR.ŠINIG ^k ---	--- (mu mušen-še ₃ tuš-a)
P131250 5/--/----	a-bu-ni-a	---	Šimaški	---
P131253 5/--/----	DINGIR-ba-ni šu-eš-tar ₂	Šimaški ---	--- Urua	--- ---
P131254 1/--/----	ur- ^d šara ₂	Susa	---	---
P131256 2/--/----	ša-lim-be-li ₂ ur- ^d šul-pa-e ₃	(Susa) ---	--- AdamDUN	--- ---
P131257 7/--/----	ur-sukkal	Kimaš	---	---
P131260 3/--/----	šu-a-gi e ₂ -ki-bi	Susa Susa	--- ---	--- ---
P131262 5/--/----	lu ₂ - ^d nanna	AdamDUN	---	---
P131263 7/--/----	^d šul-gi-zi-mu	Susa	---	---
P131265 4/--/----	ze ₂ -la-a da-da-a	--- Susa	Sabum ---	--- ---
P131270	šu- ^d en-lil ₂	(Kimaš)	---	---

1/--/----				
P129622 --/--/----	a-ḥu-a šu- ^d nin-šubur	Susa ---	--- AdamDUN	---
P110522 --/--/----	a-da-lal ₃	(Susa)	---	ġiri ₃ ra-gaba ḥu-li-bar
P110535 --/--/----	bur-ma-ma ^d UTU-ILLAT	AdamDUN ---	--- Susa	---
P110553 --/--/----	nu-ur ₂ -i ₃ -li ₂ da-gu-gu da-a-mu	--- Susa ---	Šušin --- (Susa)	--- --- ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM ma-ḥi-li ^{ki} -me
P110755* --/--/----	i-tar ₃ -qi ₂ -li ₂	a-ab-ba	a-ab-ba	lu ₂ -a-tu ₅ -me
P132795 1/--/----	šu-i ₃ -li ₂	---	Urua	---
P135805 --/--/----	a-ḥu-a	Susa	---	---
P135806 8/--/----	šu-ma-ma	AdamDUN	---	---
P142527 --/--/----	šu- ^d en-lil ₂	---	(Kimaš)	ġiri ₃ <i>for</i> NIM an-ša-an ^{ki}

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