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The First Ninety Years



A Sumerian Celebration in Honor of Miguel Civil

Edited by

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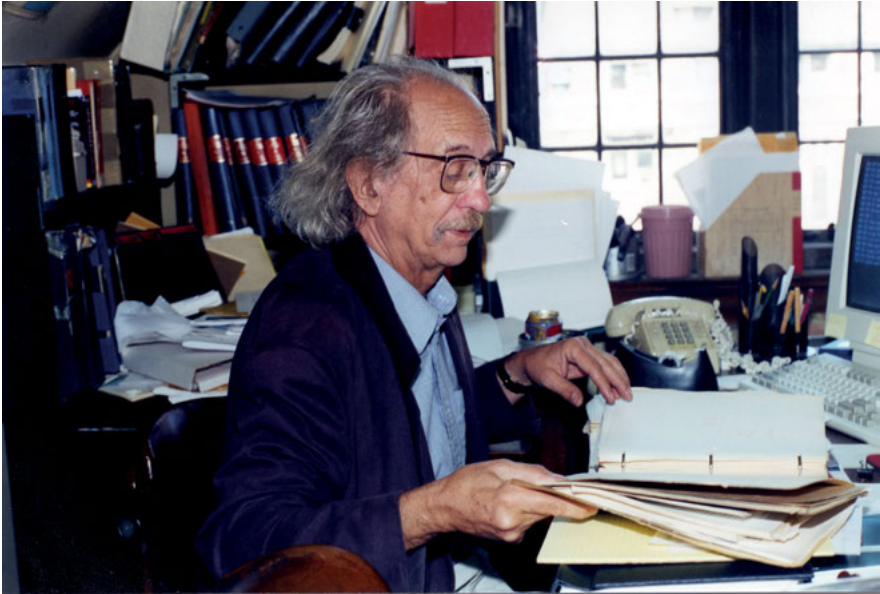
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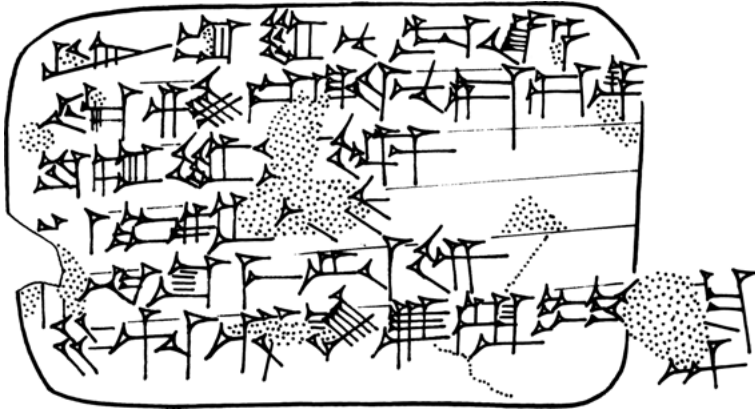
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E tants llibres són estats fets e compilats de gestes e històries antigues,
que no seria suficient l'enteniment humà comprendre e retenir aquelles.

Joanot Martorell, *Tirant lo Blanc*, Pròleg.



Miguel Civil in his office at the Oriental Institute.



MS 3370, courtesy of the Schøyen Collection, Oslo and London

- 1 lú dub-sar nu-da-ki-a
- 2 eme-gi giš-ta nu-gá-gá-e
- 3 ša tup-šar-ru-tám
- 4 ʿlaʿi-ra-ʿmu
- 5 ʿa-na šu-me-ri-im
- 6 uz-nam ú-la i-š[a-k]a-an

One who does not love the scribal art will not pay attention to Sumerian.



Andrew George

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Manuel Molina and Piotr Steinkeller

New Data on GARšana and the Border Zone between Umma and Girsu/Lagaš

1 The Location of GARšana

The recent publication of ca. 1,500 texts stemming from the ancient town of GARšana,¹ done in an exemplary fashion by David I. Owen (CUSAS 3 and 4), has generated a great deal of interest among Sumerologists. Given the fact that these tablets had become available as a result of looting operations, whose place remains unknown, one of the issues that attracted their attention was the question of GARšana's precise location.

GARšana is known to have belonged to the Umma province, but Wolfgang Heimpel (2009: 7–9; 2011) and Piotr Steinkeller (2007: 188; 2011, 2013) have disagreed on where exactly it should be placed. While Heimpel tried to situate GARšana in the northwestern section of the province, near the cities of Umma and Zabalam, Steinkeller argued for a location near the border with the Girsu/Lagaš province, i.e., in Umma's eastern or southeastern part.

Among the arguments given by these two scholars in support of their views, the textual data on the duration of trips between various localities, the topographical relationships between certain places, and some considerations of political nature have played the fundamental role. In this study, which we offer to Miguel as a token of our friendship and great admiration for his extraordinary scholarship, we present a set of new data that, in our view, clearly point to the eastern option as the most plausible one for GARšana's location. The most important among those data is an unpublished tablet from GARšana, which forms part of The Green Collection, Oklahoma City. The tablet in question reads as follows (photographs available at BDTNS under 193423, <http://bdtns.filol.csic.es/193423>):

Green 2013–315²

1	3 guruš sag-t[ag]	3 full-wage workers (and)
2	2 guruš a ₂ ² / ₃ -ta	2 ² / ₃ -wage workers, during 1 day,

¹ The reading of this toponym most likely is **Nig₂-ša(-an)-na^{ki}**. See Steinkeller 2012.

² We are deeply grateful to Lance Allred, the Curator of the Cuneiform Section of The Green Collection, who gave us the permission to publish this tablet and provided us with its photographs. Our warm thanks also go to Marcel Sirgist and Tohru Ozaki, who had told us about the existence of this tablet in the first place, and shared with us their preliminary transliteration of this document.

3	ud 1-še ₃	towed and floated the boats from
4	GAR-ša-an-na ^{ki} -ta	GARšana to the main [?] Anzagar of
5	An-za-gar ₃ HI-a ³ Umma ^{ki} -še ₃	Umma.
6	ma ₂ gid ₂ -da u ₃ ma ₂ dirig-ga	
7	5 guruš sag-tag	5 full-wage workers (and) 2 ² / ₃ -
8	2 guruš a ₂ ² / ₃ -ta	wage workers, during three days,
9	ud 3-še ₃	flotated the boats from Anzagar-
10	An-za-gar ₃ -Umma ^{ki} -ta	Umma to Girsu, (and) towed the
11	Gir ₂ -su ^{ki} -še ₃ ma ₂ dirig-ga	boats from Girsu to GARšana.
12	Gir ₂ -su ^{ki} -ta GAR-ša-an-na- ^ʾ še ₃ ^ʾ ma ₂ gid ₂ -da	
13	7 guruš sag-tag	7 full-wage workers, 2 ² / ₃ -wage
r. 1	2 guruš a ₂ ² / ₃ -ta	workers, (and) 3 ¹ / ₂ -wage work-
2	3 guruš a ₂ ¹ / ₂ -ta	ers, during 7 days, floated the
3	ud 7-še ₃	boats from GARšana to Udaga,
4	GAR-ša-an-na ^{ki} -ta	(and) hauled reeds and fresh
5	U ₃ -dag-ga ^{ki} -še ₃ ma ₂ dirig-ga	reeds from Udaga to GARšana.
6	U ₃ -dag-ga ^{ki} <<-še ₃ >>-ta	
7	gi u ₃ gi-zi	
8	GAR-ša-an-na ^{ki} -še ₃ la ₂ -a	
9	1 guruš ud 1-še ₃ Dar-ra-um-še ₃	1 worker, during 1 day, (trav-
		elled) to Darra’um.
10	ki Puzur ₄ -a-ku-um-ta	Expended from Puzur-akum.
11	ba-zi	
12	iti ezem-an-na	Month xi.
13	mu ma ₂ -gur ₈ mah ba-ab-du ₈	ŠS8

The interpretation of this text hinges on the relationship between GARšana and the other toponyms mentioned therein, which are Anzagar-Umma, Darra’um, and Udaga. We assume that Anzagar-Umma is identical with the Anzagar fre-

3 The signs HI-a, usually read **hi-a** and meaning “sundry, various,” defy explanation in this context. Since the same toponym is written simply **An-za-gar₃-Umma^{ki}** in line 10, it conceivably is a scribal error. An alternative solution would be to read these signs as **šar₂-a**, “great, important.” See **šar₂** = *rabû*, “great” (CAD R, p. 38 lexical section of *rabû* A). If so, this designation would mean: “the great/main Anzagar of Umma.” As a matter of fact, this particular **an-za-gar₃** happened to be the main “fortified village” of the Umma province (see below).

quently appearing in Umma texts, which belonged to the Umma province, and was situated on the banks of the Girsu/Namhani canal (Steinkeller 2011: 382), upstream from Girsu (UTI 4: 2401).⁴ Although the Umma and GARšana sources name a number of other toponyms that contain the element **an-za-gar₃** “fortified village,” such as **An-za-gar₃-giš^{is}kiri₆-Zabalam₄^{ki}**, **An-za-gar₃-a-šag₄-La₂-mah**, **An-za-gar₃-Da-da**, and **An-za₃-gar₃-Nig₂-ul-pa-e₃**, the name of Anzagar-Umma itself clearly points to a border area, which, as it will be shown below, has to be the eastern frontier of Umma with the Girsu/Lagaš province. Two other texts (CUSAS 3: 553; AICAB 1/3: Bod. S 160) likewise demonstrate a close relationship between Anzagar, GARšana, and Eduru-lumah, the last being an important topographic point for our discussion, whose location will be considered below.

As for Darra’um, recorded in rev. 9, this settlement is documented only in two other texts, both stemming from GARšana (CUSAS 3: 462; 1097). Possibly, therefore, Darra’um was a neighbor of GARšana, but this point must be left open for now.

The third toponym mentioned in Green 2013–15, Udaga, is of particular importance for the understanding of this text. We discuss it in detail in the immediately following section.

2 The Town of Udaga and the Udaga Canal

Udaga was a royal town, which belonged to the Girsu/Lagaš province (MVN 12: 464; 466; TUT 160 obv. iv 24', 29'; SAT 1: 420 rev. i 16). Udaga had a field that was partly in the Girsu/Lagaš province (NATN 447 and 451) and partly in the Umma province, very close to the Gu’edena field, and not faraway from the Ušgida field (MVN 13: 312). The section of the field that belonged to the Umma province was cultivated by members of Umma’s royal sector, as shown by BPOA 1: 852 (AS3), a text recording a court decision regarding the repayment of barley lost due to the flooding of the field; the decision was formally made by the governor of Umma, but it was actually supervised by the crown (with Ur-Nanše acting as a royal deputy), while the plot managers belonged to the royal sector as well (Lugal-ka, plot manager of the **zabar-dab₅**, was among them). This explains why field works and yields from the Udaga field are not attested in the texts from the provincial archives of Umma. Likewise, BPOA 1:

⁴ UTI 4: 2401: 3 guruš ud ṛ 6²⁷-[še₃], An-za-gar₃ id₂ Gir₂-ṛ su^{7ki}-ta, Gir₂-su^{ki}-še₃ ma₂ dirigi-ṛ ga⁷, ma₂ ba-al-la ṛ u₃⁷, ma₂ su₃ gur-ra.

852 shows that the Udaga field was adjacent to the field of Nin-hedu, the wife of the **sukkal-mah**, which is in accordance with the location of Udaga in the Girsu/Lagaš province.

On the other hand, the management of the Udaga field in the Girsu zone was under the responsibility of Ur-Meme, an administrator (**šabra**) of royal households located in the border area between Umma and Girsu/Lagaš during the reign of Šu-Suen (see below).

Texts from GARšana record frequent travels of messengers to Udaga (CUSAS 3: 43, etc.), as well as the supplies of reeds (CUSAS 3: 189; 205) and barley (CUSAS 3: 185) from Udaga to GARšana, which is in agreement with Udaga's belonging to a network of royal towns and rural estates. The records of trips between GARšana and Udaga show that these two localities were connected through a waterway that was most probably the Udaga canal (see below), with GARšana being situated upstream from Udaga (CUSAS 3: 185; Green 2013–315). The distance between them cannot be established with certainty, although a round trip by foot could be covered in one day. This is stated in CUSAS 3: 553 (see below), an account that, given its context, does not record man-days, but an overland trip that took about one day.

Other texts record longer trips, taking between seven to ten days (supply of reeds: Green 2013–315; supplies of barley: CUSAS 3: 261; 287; 288; 289; 290; 414). These accounts cover not only the round trip (cf. Green 2013–315), but also the days spent in Udaga while the workers in question performed various other tasks. In fact, the workers listed in these texts usually not only towed the boats, but they also served in their professional capacities, such as reed workers, leather workers, fullers, felters, female weavers, female millers, and female oil-pressers. These work assignments also show how closely the economic activities of Udaga and GARšana were intertwined. In the case of Green 2013–315, the transported reeds were probably intended for the construction or maintenance of flood-protection structures, operations that were typically performed in March/April (Rost 2015: 56), a period that fits well the date of our text (**iti ezem-an-na** = February/March).

As is strongly indicated by Green 2013–315, GARšana and Udaga lay on the same waterway, which, in all probability, was the Udaga canal. The Umma documentation shows that Udaga was one of the largest canals of the Umma province, possibly the main artificial waterway that branched from the Tigris. This canal is likely mentioned in MVN 10: 105, an incompletely preserved text describing the excavation or dredging of a canal that branched from the Tigris: [...] **id₂-Idigna¹-ta 705 nindan gid₂ id₂ ba-al-la** (lines 1'–3'). The canal in question was very long; the preserved sections of MVN 10: 105 record 991 **nindan** = 5,946 m of an excavated/dredged waterway. That the canal in question

was the Udaga is indicated by the fact that one of the points along the waterway described in MVN 10: 105 was ^{giš}šinig ki-su, ^dšul-pa-e₃, “the tamarisk grove at the threshing floor of (the field of) Šulpa’e” (rev. 3’). As we discuss it below (see also map 1), the field of Šulpa’e was situated near Apišal, precisely in the area where the Udaga is expected to have flown. On the other hand, the “tamarisk grove” associated with that threshing floor may be connected with the **kab₂-kud** ^{giš}šinig, “canal regulator of the tamarisk grove,” which likewise was situated in the same general area.⁵ Importantly, this canal regulator is mentioned together with that of **Inim-ma-AN** (Nik. 2: 114; SAT 3: 1654), the latter toponym also appearing in MVN 10: 105 rev. 16’ (‘x’ ^dNin-ur₄-ra igi ga₂-udu Inim-ma-AN). It is independently known that **Inim-ma-AN** was situated in the area of Apišal, near a village called **E₂-duru₅-A-bu₃** or simply **A-bu₃**.⁶

Apart from the sheer number of the Udaga’s attestations (102⁷), its importance may be deduced, for example, from the large quantities of reed bundles needed to repair a barrage (**kun-zi-da**) controlling the Udaga’s water level (UTI 5: 3499), very similar to the quantity required for a similar barrage situated in the Tigris (SAT 2: 323) (cf. Rost 2015: 103). On the other hand, the fact that the Udaga canal had at least three separate barrages, which were situated “opposite the village of Eduru-Šilašu” (Nisaba 24: 10 rev. v 21; cf. Rost 2015: 106), “opposite Anzagar-Nigulpa’e” (Nisaba 24: 10 rev. vi 12–13), and near the village of Eduru-lumah (CUSAS 3: 553) respectively, is also an indication of its importance and considerable length. The maintenance of these barrages was the responsibility of the Umma provincial administration (MCS 3, p. 92 BM 113089; SACT 2: 26, CDLJ 2003/1 1 v 7; MVN 18: 404; 689, etc.).

As demonstrated by our sources, both the inlet (**ka**) and the outlet (**kun**) of the Udaga were located within the borders of the Umma province. The maintenance of the canal inlet, where the *nakabtum* was found (BPOA 7: 1893; MVN 14: 312; BPOA 7: 1721; BPOA 2: 2545), likewise was the responsibility of the

⁵ See further YBC 3882 = SAT 2: 292 (collations kindly provided by Agnete Lassen), which reads: 3600+600+300 **sa gi / kab₂-kud** ^{giš}šinig **E₂-dag-ga-a** (ii 7’–8’); 1200+300 **sa gi / gu₂nigin₂ a-ša₃ ^dšara₂-ka E₂-dag-ga-a** (ii 5’–6’). If **E₂-dag-ga** (which is not otherwise attested) is a variant spelling of **U₃-dag-ga**, these examples would conclusively place the “tamarisk grove” on the Udaga canal. Note in this regard that the PN **E₂-dag-ga**, rarely attested in Ur III sources (SAT 2: 1051 and 1053; Nisaba 23: 7 and 33), could also be considered a variant spelling of the well known PN **U₃-dag-ga**.

⁶ See, especially, RA 12, p. 49: **a-ša₃ A-bu₃ Inim-ma-AN**. In turn, the Eduru-Abu and its field were situated near the *nakabtum* establishment (Nik. 2: 141; BPOA 1: 918; UTI 4: 2836), which belonged to this region as well (see below).

⁷ According to the data collected in BDTNS. This figure includes the attestations of the town Udaga, excluding those of the PN Udaga.



Map 1: Border zone between Umma and Girsu/Lagaš.

provincial administration (UCP 9/2/1: 44; MCS 3, p. 84 BM 113032; Princeton 1: 509). The inlet was in the vicinity of a village called Eduru-Šilašu (MCS 6, p. 82 HSM 7165), directly connected with Apišal (UTI 4: 2881; MCS 6, p. 82 HSM 7165), downstream but not too far from it (UTI 4: 2881). The ancient Tigris showed a marked anastomosing configuration in the area of Apišal, with multiple branches that made it more prone to flooding. This might explain the concentration of major flood-protection works in that region (Rost 2015: 241). Thus, in close proximity to a barrage on the Udaga (probably the one near Eduru-Šilašu), several other barrages are documented: on the Sisa, Ubada, and E-anše canals (Hom. Lenoble no. 44; MVN 16: 1593; MVN 18: 404; SAT 3: 1657; UTI 5: 3499, etc.; cf. Rost 2015: 98 n. 64). Because of the complicated nature of this geomorphological context, it is difficult to say whether the Girsu/Namhani canal branched from the Udaga canal or one of the Tigris branches, but any of the alternatives would fit well the expeditions described in our texts.

Texts frequently qualify the Udaga canal by the adjective “old” (**sumun**) (UTI 3: 1910, etc.), which suggests that, at some point in time, the bed of the canal was rehabilitated and extended further south. The “Old Udaga” canal terminated in the area of Eduru-lumah (UTI 4: 2372), a village located on the east bank of the canal, very close to Anzagar-Umma. In that locality, a barrage

and a flow-divider (**kab₂-kud**), situated at the outlet of the Udaga, supplied irrigation water for the fields of Eduru-lumah. This location is also mentioned in CUSAS 3: 553, for which see below. Another canal taking off from the Udaga (most probably from its west bank) in that region was the Šara-pada, which provided water for the Šara-pada field (Nisaba 24: 10 rev. ii 9; SAT 3: 1733). Another topographic feature found in the same general area was the Agam (SAT 3: 1733), a type of lake used to drain flood and excess irrigation waters (Civil 1994: 130 f.; Rost 2015: 164 f.).

The Udaga canal flowed further south for a few kilometers, more or less along the border between the Girsu/Lagaš and Umma provinces, down to its outlet, which was likewise located within the limits of the Umma province, close to the Agartur field (MVN 18: 644). Like its inlet and all the barrages, the outlet of the Udaga canal was maintained by the provincial administration of Umma (UTI 4: 2585; BPOA 7: 1831; Nisaba 23: 10).

In consideration of these data, the trip described in Green 2013–315 may be reconstructed as follows: from GARšana the boat was towed upstream on the Udaga canal to the junction with the Girsu/Namhani canal; from there, it was floated down on the Girsu/Namhani canal, via Anzagar-Umma, to Girsu. It appears that the boat was loaded at Girsu (possibly with barley), and then, following the opposite route, it was brought back to GARšana. Probably the same towers traveled subsequently downstream from GARšana to Udaga, hauled reeds back to GARšana, and worked there for a few days on a flood-protection project.

Similar trips are described in CUSAS 3: 553,⁸ a text that provides additional evidence on this route:

obv. i. 1	[n guruš ud n-še ₃]	<i>n</i> workers tied sacks during <i>n</i> days.
2	[^{kuš} a-g]a ₂ -l[a ₂] keš ₂ -ra ₂	
3	[n]+1 ⁷ guruš ud 1-še ₃	<i>n</i> +1 workers walked from
4	[GA]R-ša-an-na ^{ki} -ta	GARšana to Udaga during 1 day.
5	U ₃ -dag-ga ^{ki} -še ₃ / gen-na	
6	6 ² / ₃ guruš arad ₂ e ₂ -a	6 ² / ₃ palace workers, 14 hired
7	14 guruš hun-ga ₂	workers, 1 10- <i>gur</i> boat (its wage
8	1 ma ₂ 10.0.0 gur 0.0.2	is) 20 <i>sila</i> , 1 8- <i>gur</i> boat (its rental

⁸ This tablet was collated from the photographs kindly supplied by Laura W. Johnson-Kelly. The text has been partially discussed by Heimpel 2009: 309 f.

9	1 ma ₂ 8.0.0 gur 0.0.1 5 sila ₃	fee is) 15 <i>sila</i> , [1] 5- <i>gur</i> boat (its
10	[1] ma ₂ 5.0.0 gur 5 sila ₃	rental fee is) 5 <i>sila</i> , for 3 days. ⁹
11	ʽudʽ 3-še ₃	
12	[...] ʽx.x.xʽ [g]ur ʽGARʽ xʽ	From [...] of Anzagar to the
13	[x (x)] An-za-gar ₃ -ta	barrage of the canal at the
14	kun-zi-da id ₂ / a-gar ₃ us ₂ -sa	agricultural tract, next to the
15	a-šag ₄ / lu ₂ -mah-še ₃	(Eduru-)Lumah field, they carried
16	ib ₂ -ga ₆	(the barley) and then loaded it on
17	u ₃ ma ₂ -a si-ga	boats. The distance was of 216
17	[u]s ₂ -bi 36 nindan	meters.
17	[ku]n-zi-da / An-za-gar ₃ -ta	From the barrage of Anzagar
	[...] (3 lines lost)	...
ii. 1	[...]	they towed the boats with the
2	ma ₂ še gid ₂ -[da ...]	barley. The distance was of 1,740
3	us ₂ -bi 290 [nindan]	meters.
4	22 ½ guruš ud-[1-še ₃]	22 ½ workers tied sacks during [1]
5	^{kuš} a-ga ₂ -la ₂ keš ₂ -[ra ₂]	day.
6	22 ½ guruš ud-1-[še ₃]	22 ½ workers walked [from]
7	GAR-ša-an-na ^{ki} -[ta]	GARšana [to] Udaga during 1 day.
8	U ₃ -dag-ga ^{ki} -[še ₃ gen-na]	
9	29 10 gin ₂ g[uruš]	29 ⅙ workers [floated down?]
10	6 ma ₂ 15.0.0 gur [0.0.2 5 sila ₃]	empty boats [from] Apišal [to]
11	10 ma ₂ 10.0.0 gur [0.0.2.]	Udaga: 6 15- <i>gur</i> boats (whose
12	ud 2-[še ₃]	rental fee is) 25 <i>sila</i> each and 10
13	A-pi ₄ -sal ₄ -[la ^{ki} -ta]	10- <i>gur</i> boats (whose rental fee is)
14	U ₃ -dag-[ga ^{ki} -še ₃]	20 <i>sila</i> each, during 2 days, and
15	ma ₂ su ₃ [dirig-ga?]	they loaded them with barley.
16	še ma ₂ -[a si-ga]	

⁹ Wages might be calculated on the basis of CUSAS 3: 561 (cf. Heimpel 2009: 122):

6²/₃ **guruš arad**, e₂-a × 2 **sila**₃/day × 3 days = 40 **sila**₃

15 **guruš hun-ga**₂ × 8 **sila**₃/day × 3 days = 360 **sila**₃

1 10-*gur* boat × 20 **sila**₃ × 3 days = 60 **sila**₃

1 8-*gur* boat × 15 **sila**₃ × 3 days = 45 **sila**₃

1 5-*gur* boat × 5 **sila**₃ × 3 days = 15 **sila**₃

Total: 520 **sila**₃.

17	U ₃ -dag-[ga ^{ki} -ta]	They [towed] the boats [from]
18	kun-zi-[da]	Udaga [to] the weir of Apišal ...
19	A-pi ₄ -[sal ₄ -la ^{ki} -še ₃]	
20	ma ₂ še [gid ₂ -da] [...] (3 lines lost)	
rev. i.	[...] (5 lines lost)	...
1'	4 m[a ₂ x.0.0 gur ...]	4 n-gur boats, 1 n-gur boat. They
2'	1 m[a ₂ x.0.0 gur ...]	loaded the boats. The boats with
3'	ud [n-še ₃]	the barley were towed [from] the
4'	še ma ₂ -a [si-ga]	weir of Apišal [to] GARšana.
5'	kun-zi-d[a (...)] / A-pi ₄ -sal ₄ -la ^{ki} - [ta]	
6'	GAR-ša-an-na ^{ki} -[še ₃]	
7'	ma ₂ še [g]id ₂ -da	
8'	[...] ᵀ x x ᵀ [...] (rest of col. lost)	...
ii.	[...] (ca. 4 lines lost)	
1'	0.1.0 8 s[ila ₃ š]e / kaš sa ₁₀ ma ₂ - lah ₅ -/e-ne	68 <i>sila</i> of barley (and) beer, purchased for the boatmen.
2'	6.1.1 4 sila ₃ / še gur	6 <i>gur</i> and 74 <i>sila</i> of barley, trans- ported [from] Udaga [to]
3'	še U ₃ -dag-ga ^{ki} -ta]	GARšana.
4'	[GAR]-ša-an-na ^{ki} -še ₃]	
5'	de ₆ -[a]	
6'	[gi]ri ₃ ᵀIŠKUR.[ILLAT]	Under the responsibility of Adad- illat.
7'	[it]i zah _x -da-[gu ₇]	Month iii.
8'	mu ᵀ[Šu-ᵀSuen ...]	ŠŠ ...

Unfortunately, the interpretation of this text is not free of difficulties. The main problem is the fact that the endings of lines in columns obv. ii and rev. i are missing, which makes it difficult confidently to reconstruct the directions of trips. Still, it appears certain that CUSAS 3: 553 describes four separate operations, which were conducted along the same waterway:

- a) A group of workers walked from GARšana to Udaga and filled there sacks with barley. They then transported the boats (with barley) via Anzagar to an unspecified location (possibly Girsu). It appears that the boats had to

- be unloaded – and then loaded again – at the barrage of Anzagar (obv. i 1–ii 3).
- b) A group of workers walked from GARšana to Udaga and filled there sacks with barley. Another group of workers brought empty boats to Udaga from Apišal. Subsequently, they loaded the boats with barley and transported them back to Apišal (obv. ii 4–20).
- c) A number of boats were loaded with barley, to be then transported from Apišal to GARšana (rev. i 1'–ii 1').¹⁰
- d) A volume of barley was carried on foot from Udaga to GARšana (rev. ii 2'–5').

3 The Settlement of Dusabara

The political and economic reality behind these operations will be better understood if one considers the fact that, during the reign of Šu-Suen, the fields surrounding Udaga belonged to the household of Lugal-kugzu, whose properties were administered by Ur-Meme. As it will be seen below, Lugal-kugzu most probably belonged to the royal entourage, and Ur-Meme managed his household using Dusabara (**Du₆-sa-bar-ra^(ki)**), a rural settlement, as a storage and distribution center. Its grain-storing facilities (**i₃-dub, guru₇**) are frequently mentioned in the surviving texts.

Dusabara was located somewhere between Girsu and the ancient course of the Tigris, a short distance away from the border with the Umma province. This can be deduced from the following data:

- a) The field of Šulpa'e was controlled from Dusabara by Ur-Meme, who utilized the **šuku** plots of their holders as a means of repaying their personal debts (TMH NF 1/2: 247; 249; 250; 253; 254; NATN 748; PDT 2: 932; 933; cf. Steinkeller 2002: 122 f.). The field of Šulpa'e, not faraway from Apišal (*RA* 79: 30 no. 23), was located along the border between the Umma and Lagaš provinces, and was therefore administered both by the governor of Girsu (MVN 11: 90, Š33) and by the provincial administration of Umma (passim).
- b) Dusabara was located close to Eduru-Ninazida (PPAC 5: 619; Nisaba 7: 12), a hamlet with a grain silo and a field. Eduru-Ninazida lay on the Tigris

¹⁰ Since the second operation involved the shipping of barley to Apišal, it is strange that the barley should now be transported from Apišal to GARšana. This difficulty could be removed if one reconstructs **A-pi₄-sal₄-la^{ki}-[še₃] / GAR-ša-an-na^{ki}-[ta]** in rev. i 5'–6'. But this would violate the pattern by which directions usually are expressed.

(TCTI 1: 742 rev. i 5), not faraway from Girsu (Nisaba 7: 12) and close to Apišal, possibly on the confluence with the Nadu'a-igidu-canal (ASJ 13: 224 no. 70; 225 no. 71).

- c) Dusabara was situated in the Girsu area (PPAC 5: 984).

Documents mentioning Dusabara can be divided into two groups, which provide an interesting diachronic view of its history:

- a) The first group consists of some fifteen texts coming from Girsu dated from Š45 (TUT 177) or Š46 (MVN 10: 128) to AS1. Texts from this group record deliveries of barley mostly from Bazi, an official who worked for the provincial administration (his seal, dedicated to the governor Ur-Lamma, was rolled on CBT 3: BM 27084 and MVN 6: 257). The activities of Bazi are mainly attested from Š35 (MVN 7: 175) to AS2 (ASJ 14: 241 no. 89), although he occasionally appears also in the sources from AS7 to AS9. Bazi was responsible for the delivery of loans of barley to **eren₂** people (MVN 10: 128; MVN 12: 245; Nisaba 10: 87; 74; AAICAB 1/3: Bod. A 37 obv. iii 3), most probably royal dependents, since the deliveries were frequently received or supervised by members of the military (Nisaba 10: 61–62; PPAC 5: 1117; Nisaba 17: 81). Cereals were also supplied by Bazi (and occasionally by other officials, such as Lugal-zuluhu), from the silo of Dusabara, as barley allotments and for other purposes (**zi₃-KA-še₃** [MVN 12: 84; MVN 12: 102], **sa₂-du₁₁ še-ba** [MVN 12: 100], **šag₄-gal he₂-dab₅** [MVN 9: 6], **še-ba a-bala du₃-a-kud, še-numun** [BM 13002A unpubl.; PPAC 5: 964], **še-ba didli** [MTBM 327], etc. [PPAC 5: 619; CT 10, pl. 38 BM 15296]).

During those years, goods stored at the silo of Dusabara were administered together with those from other silos of the same area, namely the silos of Eduru-Ninazida (PPAC 5: 619), the city of Girsu, Eduru-Inanna, Kiri-zuhara, Sipa-dari, and the Sugan field, as shown by PPAC 5: 984, a balanced account of barley belonging to Hala-Lamma, most probably the daughter of the governor Lu-kirizal (RIM E3/2.1.2. 2012). This text, dated to Š47, records the expenditures of barley from the above-mentioned silos for the governor of the province and for a certain Dudu, no doubt identical with the **šabra** of the household of Ningirsu (cf. Borrelli 2014: 140 f.).

- b) In the second group of texts, dated between ŠS4 and ŠS5 and apparently stemming from Nippur, Dusabara likewise appears as a rural center with storage facilities. During this period, one of the chief officials in charge of Dusabara was Ur-Meme, also known for his role as administrator (**šabra**) of the households of Lugal-kugzu, Amar-Suen, Nin-munuszida, and Šat-Šu-Suen (NATN 59; TMH NF 1/2 171; 316). Part of the activities of Ur-Meme at Dusabara involved his private business activities, as shown by some

fifty documents recording transactions related to loans privately made by himself (Steinkeller 2001b: 54; 2002: 122 f.). Therefore, it appears that Ur-Meme took advantage of a pre-existing distribution network, based at Dusabara, which had earlier been managed by the provincial administration, and from which loans of barley and other types of expenditures were being issued since the time of Šulgi. Besides, Dusabara retained its role of a storage and redistribution center, from where cereals were sent to other localities such as Uruk or Ur (NATN 461; TMH NF 1/2 131; 293). It is possible that Ur-Meme was administratively responsible for that kind of activity as well, but no proof of this exists.

During both periods, the Dusabara center was associated with similar agricultural areas. This can be deduced, for example, from the fact that Bazi was responsible for the Aballa field (BPOA 1: 207; CT 7, pl. 14 BM 12945; MTBM 329; BM 94502, unpubl. letter-order), whose administration fell under the authority of the provincial administration and the **sanga**'s of the temple households at least since Š33 (CT 9, pl. 17 BM 12917; MVN 6: 539; ASJ 8: 113 no. 30; PPAC 5: 605; MVN 2: 8). Later on, the Aballa field became part of the household of Lugal-kugzu (ŠS1–5: JCS 24: 163 no. 68; JCS 54: 6 no. 41; NATN 444; 447; 451; TMH NF 1/2 88; 126), who very likely belonged to the royal entourage.

The field of Aballa was located within the district of Girsu (CT 5, pl. 36 obv. ii 10), in the vicinity of the Ukunuti field (SNAT 511), and therefore very close to the border with the Umma province (cf. Steinkeller 2013: 305). The overall size of the Aballa field was around 140 **bur**₃ 1 **eše**₃ 4 **iku**, roughly 910 ha = 9 km² (Borrelli 2013: 153).¹¹

A similar land-tenancy shift occurred in the case of other fields and properties situated in the area of Dusabara that had earlier been managed by temple households and the provincial administration. Thus, the household of Lugal-kugzu controlled also the fields of Kiri-zuhara, Sagub, Udaga (NATN 447; 451), Lu-Haia, Nag-esira, Sukan, and Sipa-dari (NATN 35; 104; 727; 739; 568; PDT 2: 921+), extensive gardens and orchards (NATN 568, etc.), and herds of sheep and cattle. Most of these properties (if not all of them) were managed by Ur-Meme, whose duties are particularly well described in two **pisan-dub-ba** texts (TMH NF 1/2: 316; NATN 451): he was supposed to provide fodder for draught animals, seed for sowing, and wages for the hirelings performing hoeing and

¹¹ The distance (Farmer's Instructions 7.06) from the Aballa field to the field of Hazi was of 4 **da-na** (43.2 km), and from Barasiga to the Aballa field the distance was of 2 **da-na** (21.6 km). For the time being Hazi cannot be located. Barasiga, probably identical with Barasiga of Hurim (RTC 399; Fs. Sjöberg: 61 rev. ii 8', etc.), belonged to the district of Gu'abba.

weeding; barley allotments for gardeners and orphans; wool, oil and date allotments for shepherds and gardeners; wages for the conscripts and hirelings involved in the maintenance of irrigation canals; and the allotments of subsistence land.

It appears that Ur-Meme was the owner of a seal that reads: **Ur-Me-me, dub-sar, dumu Ur-^dSaman_x**(BU.NUN.ŠE.ŠE₃)-[ka²] (NATN 455; 757; TMH NF 1/2: 148; cf. TMH NF 1/2: 82+, etc.), which is also found on a tablet from the Aradmu archive (no. 59, to be published by Studevent-Hickman), in a small locality in the vicinity of Nippur. In this text Ur-Meme bears the title of **šabra**, which makes the identification very likely. This occurrence and the fact that most of the texts dealing with Ur-Meme's activities were recorded in the museums as coming from Nippur suggest that Ur-Meme lived and/or had his private archive there. The dating of his texts with the *Reichskalender* (rather than with the Girsu month names) is explained by the fact that, as pertaining to the royal economy, they did not belong to the provincial archives.

The identity of Lugal-kugzu is more difficult to ascertain. He no doubt was a member of the royal circle, but no explicit links with the royal family are traceable. He may tentatively be identified as the important chief archivist of the Puzriš-Dagān treasure archive (cf. Sallaberger 1999: 246 f.; Paoletti 2012: 106–109), who at least once hosted the king (AUCT 1: 793), but there are no clear data supporting this identification.

Apart from the household of Lugal-kugzu, Ur-Meme also managed the estates of Nin-munuszida, Šat-Šu-Suen, and Amar-Suen (NATN 35; 59; 739; PDT 2: 921+; TMH NF 1/2: 171). These four households shared at least some of the above-mentioned fields, i.e., Kiri-zuhara, Sagub, Udaga, Lu-Haia, Nag-esira, Sugan, and Sipa-dari.

Šat-Šu-Suen was an **eres-dingir** priestess of Šu-Suen (JAOS 126: 166–67 KM 89100; CT 32, pl. 12 BM 103436 obv. ii 6), whose name was occasionally abbreviated as Šat-Suen (NATN 59; TCS 1: 237). Conceivably, she could be identical with Šat-Suen, daughter of Šulgi (BPOA 7: 2668, etc.). Concerning Nin-munuszida, because of the proximity of their respective households, she probably was a relative of Šat-Suen and/or Lugal-kugzu, but our texts do not provide further details about her identity. Finally, it is highly likely that the estate of Amar-Suen (NATN 35; TMH NF 1/2: 171) was identical with the important household of Namhani (Maekawa 1986: 96 f.), which was situated along the eastern border of the Umma province (Steinkeller 2011: 381 f.).

In fact, these rural royal estates and Dusabara were all located within the same broad area, which extended from the ancient course of the Tigris southwards along the border between the Umma and Girsu/Lagaš provinces, not faraway from the city of Girsu. This is also the area where GARšana, a royal

settlement on the other side of the border, evidently was situated. Texts show that during the second half of Šulgi's reign, until Aradmu assumed the governorship of the Girsu/Lagaš province (by the end of AS7 at the latest, but probably considerably earlier), this zone was administered by temple households and the provincial administration. It appears that it was around that time that the chancellor and the new governor instituted a policy by which large areas of agricultural land were taken away from the provincial domain, to be distributed among the various types of royal dependents.¹² The area most affected by this new policy apparently was the stretch of land extending along the border with Umma, which directly adjoined the town of GARšana and its surrounding territories. This development no doubt was part of a larger strategic scheme, since GARšana not only was the biggest royal settlement in the Umma province, but it also was governed by the same Aradmu, being economically supported from Girsu (Steinkeller 2011: 376 f.). Since Zabalam likewise was a royal settlement, it is not surprising that it too shared a close relationship with GARšana, both economically and administratively. However, against Heimpel,¹³ there are no textual data indicating in any way a geographical proximity between these two towns.

¹² Similar developments took place, likewise in the beginning of Amar-Suen's reign, in the province of Umma. See Steinkeller forthcoming.

¹³ The distance from GARšana to Zabalam is deduced by Heimpel (2011) from CUSAS 3: 258 and 246, where one-day trips by foot are apparently recorded: 4 **geme₂ ud 1-še₃, nig₂-gu₂-na Zabalam₄[^{ki}]-še₃ d[e₆-a]** (CUSAS 3: 258); 2 **guruš ud 1-[še₃], gi Zabalam₄[^{ki}]-še₃ de₆-[a]** (CUSAS 3: 246). Heimpel's interpretation appears to be incorrect: first, because man-days are most probably meant in these two texts (Steinkeller 2011: 389); second, because the verb **de₆** does not necessarily imply a transportation by foot; and third, because texts do not specify what kind of operation did these workers perform.

The same may be said regarding GARšana's geographical position vis-à-vis Karkar, which likewise was a royal settlement. Heimpel (2011: 153) estimates that the distance between GARšana and Karkar was covered on foot in one day on the basis of CUSAS 3: 884 and 237. As Steinkeller (2011: 388) wrote, the days recorded in these texts were abstract notations (man-days), and Heimpel accepted the plausibility of this argument for CUSAS 3: 884. He nevertheless rejected it on the basis of CUSAS 3: 237, where workers were recorded as receiving full wage (**sag-tag**), $\frac{2}{3}$ wage and $\frac{1}{3}$ wage, notations that would not be compatible with the expression **n guruš ud 1-še₃** understood as "n man-days." Nevertheless, a photo of the latter text (CDLI P324424) shows that the transliteration of **ud 1-še₃** for line 5 of the tablet was a misreading in CUSAS 3: 237, being **ud 2-še₃**, or more probably **ud 3-še₃**, the correct reading: 9 **guruš sag-tag**, 1 **guruš a₂ $\frac{2}{3}$** , 1 **guruš a₂ $\frac{1}{3}$** , **azlag₇-me-eš₂, ud 3(or 2)-še₃, še E₂-kab-ba^{ki}, [Kar]kar^{ki}-ta, [GA]R-š[a-a]n-n[a]^{ki}-še₃ de₆-a**. "9 full-wage workers, 1 $\frac{2}{3}$ -wage worker, 1 $\frac{1}{3}$ -wage worker. They are fullers. During 3 (or 2) days they brought the barley of E(duru)-Kabba from Karkar to Garšana." (CUSAS 3: 237 = CDLI P324424)

On the other hand, it is not entirely clear that a trip by foot is being recorded in these texts. CUSAS 3: 884 records in fact a transportation of grain on foot, but it could also refer to

From a geopolitical point of view, it is clear that there was no neat cut between the provinces of Umma and Girsu/Lagaš. Large fields extended over the border and were managed by the administrations of both provinces. This was demonstrated by Steinkeller for the Ukunuti field (2011), which laid to the north-northeast of Anzagar, and for the Ušgida field (2013), located to the south of the Ukunuti field. The same can now be said also about the Šulpa'e and the Udaga fields. The situation of GARšana, close to the Ušgida field and upstream from Udaga, no doubt was similar. As concerns GARšana's exact location, all that can be said at this point is that it could be identical with Tell Baridiyah or any other site located in that general area (Steinkeller 2013: 306–307): the

a transportation from the quay of GARšana to the storehouse, as in CUSAS 3: 235 (see below): 1 **guruš ud 1-še₃ še ga₆-g[a₂]**, 3 **guruš ud 1-še₃, še E₂-kab-[ba^{ki}]**, **Karkar^{ki}-t[a (...)]**, **GAR-ša-an-na^{ki}-[še₃]**, **ib₂-ga₆**. “1 worker during 1 day (= 1 man-day) carried barley. 3 workers during 1 day (= 3 man-days) carried the barley of E(duru)-Kabba, (on the occasion of a trip?) from Karkar to GARšana.” (CUSAS 3: 884)

Except for this text, trips are recorded as being made by boats towed from GARšana to Karkar, and abstract notations (*n* workers **ud 1-še₃**) are used (CUSAS 3: 235; 884). There is nevertheless one exception that needs to be explained. CUSAS 3: 236 reads: 52 **guruš ugula Ba-zi**, 24 **guruš ugula Za-la-a**, **šu-nigin₂**, 76 **guruš, šag₄-bi-ta**, 76 **guruš**, 4 **ma₂ 10.0.0 gur-ta**, **GAR-ša-an-na^{ki}-ta**, **Karkar^{ki}-še₃ gid₂-da, ud 1-am₃ ma₂ gar-ra, ud 2/3-am₃ ma₂ dirig-ga, gu-kilib-bi 647 1/2**. “52 workers (= man-days) whose foreman is Bazi, 24 workers (= man-days) whose foreman is Zala'a; total 76 workers (= man-days). Out of them: 76 workers (= man-days) towed 4 boats of 10 *gur* of capacity each from GARšana to Karkar, loaded the boats at full wage, floated the boats at 2/3 wage. The bales (of *shok* they cutted², loaded and transported) were 647 1/2.”

In Heimpel's view (2009: 300 f.), this text complements CUSAS 3: 235, which reads: 10 **gu-kilib** ^{giš.u₂}**kiši₁₇**, **a₂ guruš-a 4 gu-kilib-ta, a₂-bi 2 1/2 ud 1-še₃, a-šag₄ Karkar^{ki}-še₃** ^{giš.u₂}**kiši₁₇ kud-ra₂**, 4 **guruš ud 1-še₃ GAR-ša-an-na^{ki}-ta, Karkar^{ki}-še₃ ma₂ gid₂-da, 4 guruš ud 1-še₃ m[a₂ ga]r²-ra, 4 guruš ud 1-še₃, Kar[kar^{ki}-ta (...)]**, **GAR-ša-an-na^{ki}-še₃, 4 guruš ud 1-še₃, kar-ta ga₂-nun-še₃ ga₆-g[a₂]**, **ugula Šu-dDumu-zi**. “10 bales of *shok*, the wage of a worker is for 4 bales each, the wage is for 2 1/2 days. (The workers went) to Karkar (and) cut *shok*. 4 workers during 1 day (= 4 man-days) towed the boat(s) from GARšana to Karkar. 4 workers during 1 day (= 4 man-days) loaded² the boat(s). 4 workers during 1 day (= 4 man-days) (floated de boat) from Karkar to GARšana. 4 workers during 1 day (= 4 man-days) carried (the *shok*) from the quay to the storehouse.”

CUSAS 3: 236 shows an unusual formulation. Heimpel interprets it as “a plan of operation drawn up by Adad-tillati,” in which the expression **ud 2/3-am₃ ma₂ dirig-ga** denoted a trip from Karkar to GARšana that took 2/3 of a day. Be it a “plan of operation” or a real account of work credited to two foremen (which seems to be more plausible), man-days were probably also accounted in this text. Thus, besides the anomaly of not specifying the duration of the trip from GARšana to Karkar, 76 workers towing four 10-*gur* boats would make a total of 19 workers per boat, which seems to involve too many people. It would be better to assume that 76 man-days due by two foremen were wholly satisfied on the basis of full wages for towing the boats from GARšana to Karkar and loading them, and of 2/3 wages for floating the boats back to GARšana. The operation resulted in the transportation of 647 1/2 bales of *shok* to GARšana.

stretch of land extending a few kilometers northward along the Udaga canal, and not too faraway from the Girsu/Namhani canal.¹⁴

14 The proximity of Garšana to the Girsu/Namhani canal was proved by Steinkeller (2011) on the basis of OrSP 47/49: 382 (see Steinkeller 1987), where the Umma forests appear grouped in three big sections controlled by three foremen, reflecting their geographical distribution within the Umma province:

11	E ₂ -lugal	Šeškala
12	Kar-ra	"
13	Ma-sar	"
14	Tu-ru-da	"
15	NAG-su ^{ki}	"
16	Gir ₁₃ -giš ^{ki}	"
17	Ka-e ₃	"
18	Bala-a-ti-im-KU.KU	"
19	ki-sur-ra Adab ^{ki}	"
20	Zabalam ^{ki}	"
21	Id ₂ -gal-la	Ur-Šara
22	tir GAR-ša-na-ka ^{ki}	"
23	tir eren ₂ GAR-ša-na-ka ^{ki}	"
24	tir Šag ₄ -nin ₉ -ti-na	"
25a	tir gaba-ri GAR-ša-na-ka ^{ki}	"
25b	tir ma ₂ -PAD-dirig gu ₂ id ₂ Nam-ha-ni	"
26	tir Uku ₂ -nu-ti gu ₂ id ₂ dŠul-gi-he ₂ -gal ₂	"
27	tir URU-bu ₃ -ra	"
28	tir A-du ₁₀ -ga-NIGIN	"
29	tir Nig ₂ -su ₄ -da	"
30	tir Maš:gan ₂ ^{ki}	"

Heimpel (2011: 154–56) has questioned the validity of Steinkeller's hypothesis aducing the existence of a double ruling between 25a and 25b, verified after collation. This blank line would have corresponded to the person in charge of forest 25b, who for some reason was not recorded. Therefore – Heimpel argued – forests 25a and 25b were not conflated into a single one and their proximity would not be proven. This would also be supported by BPOA 2: 2685, where the forests are listed in a different order. Nevertheless, the existence of a blank line between the name of forests 25a and 25b does not affect Steinkeller's position: the fact that the verbal form **i₃-dab₅** was written after the forest name 25b would indicate that the latter was under the responsibility of the same family as forest 25a, and therefore the two forests were conceivably in the same area. They have been identified by Steinkeller (2011: 389) as the forests on the opposite sides of the Girsu/Namhani canal recorded in BPOA 2: 2685 (**tir gu₂ id₂ Nam-ha-ni gu₂ a₂ 2-a-bi**). On the other hand, for its structure, purpose, and contents, OrSP 47/49: 382 was clearly arranged on a geographical basis (Steinkeller 1987: 76 f.), while BPOA 2: 2685, a list of allotment fields held by Umma foresters, was written with a different motivation and with a different structure. BPOA 2: 2685 (BM 114689) was collated from the photographs kindly provided by Enrique Jiménez.



Fig. 1a: Green Collection, Tablet 2013-315 obv.

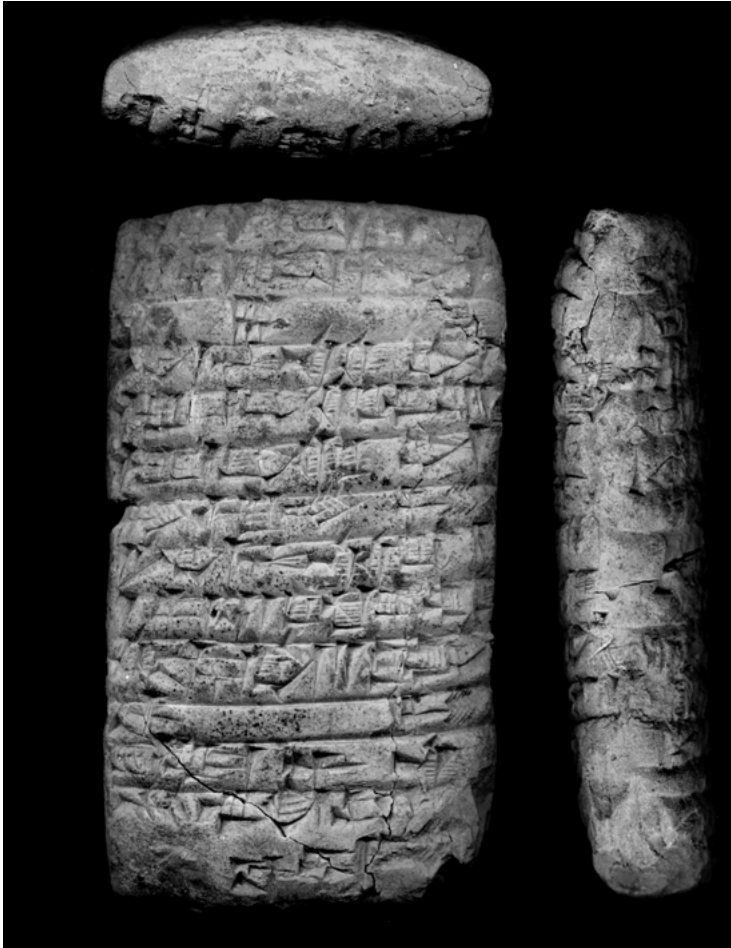


Fig. 1b: Green Collection, Tablet 2013-315 rev.

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