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Court Officials at Umma in Ur III Times*

Abstract: The present paper aims at investigating the role of court officials in the judicial system of Umma during the Ur III period. For this purpose, a prosopographical study of judges, commissioners, military men, merchants, and other members of the royal, provincial and local administrations has been made. In conclusion, a judicial system with the governor as the highest authority, but with a strong presence of the royal administration, and particularly of the military, is sketched.

In recent years the corpus of published Umma texts has increased considerably. We now have at our disposal more than 25,500 texts from Umma published in transliteration or handcopy, 2,500 in catalogue, and nearly 2,000 more waiting for publication (see BDTNS). This makes a total of 30,000 tablets coming from the Umma archives, a corpus that doubles what had been published by the end of the 20th century. Consequently, the corpus of juridical documents from this city has notably grown since Adam Falkenstein (1956–57) wrote his admirable study on the Ur III legal texts. All these new data have been recently gathered and reinterpreted by Laura E. Culbertson in her Ph. D. dissertation (2009), where she provided a new and stimulating survey of the Ur III legal system.

This article aims at determining, whenever possible, the identity of court officials at Umma and their position within the provincial and the royal administration, in order to better discern their role in the process of legal decision-making. This prosopographical approach is based on a corpus of 132 legal texts from Umma, 80 of which are kept at the British Museum (see Table 3). As I wrote elsewhere (2008, 127), all these tablets, except one (Text 7), arrived at the British Museum as a single consignment, which suggests that they constituted a homogenous group within the central archive of the Umma government,¹ documenting

the juridical activities of the entire province of Umma.² Litigations involved both royal and provincial dependents, and were developed and resolved within a judicial system not easy to unravel.

1 The governor and the judges

A remarkable peculiarity of the court records from Umma is the fact that they are not as consistent in the rendering of officiators as is usually the case in the Girsu texts. Thus, officials and other participants in court procedures, when mentioned, are presented in Umma texts in the following different ways:

1. Texts mentioning the governor as the only official responsible for the case.³
2. Texts mentioning a commissioner (*maškim*),⁴ a judge (*di-ku*),⁵ or a royal envoy (*lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a*)⁶ as the only official responsible for the case.
3. Texts listing a number of bystanders headed by the governor;⁷ occasionally, the governor is not recorded

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¹ Some possible exceptions are given below on p. 140. For the organization of the Umma archives, see Steinkeller (2003a, esp. p. 41).

² Some court records from Umma explicitly state that the cases concerned citizens (*dumu*) from the city of Umma (Texts 11, 12, 13, 14, 19, 23, 24, 27, 32, 34, 35, and 125) and from other settlements of the province, such as A'ebara (Texts 18 and 25), GARSUDA (Text 22), GARŠANA (Texts 16 and 26), Idulla (Text 17), NAGSU (Text 33), and Zabalani (Text 38).

³ Texts 18, 21, 25, 36 (with a *maškim* “commissioner”), 45, 58, 61, 73, 74, 75, 76 (end of the text lost), 77, 78, 81, 82, 84, 88, 108, 110, 111, 115, 120 (end of the text lost), and 125.

⁴ Texts 19, 28, 40, 44, 90, 94 = 107A, 101, 106, and 124 (*ĝiri₃* “via”).

⁵ Texts 22 (Lu-amana) and 29 (Lu-amana).

⁶ Text 16 (AN-sukkal).

⁷ Texts 1, 3, 13, 15, 24 (and *maškim*), 35, 39, 42 (and m.), 43 (and m.), 46, 47 (and m.), 49, 57 (and m.), 62, 64, 65, 67, 80, 92, 114, 117, and 129. See p. 129 for the distinction between bystanders and witnesses.

among the bystanders, but he is mentioned in the text as the authority conducting the process.⁸

4. Texts listing a number of bystanders with no mention of the governor.⁹
5. Texts not mentioning court officials at all.¹⁰

The first striking feature of this arrangement is the absence of an unequivocal provincial authority in several court procedures. Given the fact that our texts were kept in the provincial archives, and assuming that the governor was the highest judicial authority of the province, we would expect that he presided over the trials, or delegated his responsibility to someone else.¹¹ Although we should take into consideration that not all the texts are well preserved, and not all of them record stages of the process where the attendance of a representative from the provincial administration would be required, it is notheworthy that just 51 of our texts record the governor as the authority conducting the process (see nn. 3, 7 and 8).

Because our tablets were written for the provincial archives, mentioning the role of the governor in some of the legal procedures was perhaps considered unnecessary. Actually, he was recorded in some texts as the authority officiating over the different stages of the process, even if he cannot be found heading the final list of court officials (see n. 8). Likewise, legal texts were not intended to be a faithful description of all the stages of the process,¹² a fact that could explain the absence of officials responsible for the case (see n. 10). Moreover, the degree of involvement of the Umma governor in dispute resolutions was apparently much stronger than in Lagaš. Culbertson (2009, 120) has rightly pointed out that the number of cases attended by a governor at Lagaš account for less than 22% of the total extant cases, while the governor of Umma offici-

ated over about half of the cases. Yet, we should also take into consideration that the governor of Lagaš was usually represented by quite a constant group of officials subordinated to his authority, while the heterogeneity and the identity of the people who attended cases at Umma reveals a different scenario.

The role of the judges in Lagaš illustrates well this contrast.¹³ In this province, collegia of judges appeared during the short governorship of Nanna-zišaḡal (AS3/vi–AS4/xii) as a result of a judicial reform aimed at reinforcing the control of the Crown over the judicial system.¹⁴ Their office was then closely linked to the royal administration, but also to the governors of the province, who, since the time of Nanna-zišaḡal, came from the royal entourage. They occasionally officiated at cases accompanied by Urdu-Nanna, the grand vizier and governor of Girsu (AS7/xii–IS3), but much more frequently the judges bore the principal responsibility for the process.

On the contrary, in Umma, the governor was the only official among those listed at the end of the court record who, starting from AS2, could be identified as a *di-ku*, “judge” (Texts 13, 43, 47, and 49). In accordance with this self-identification of the governor as the only judge of the province, Umma legal texts generally avoided the use of this professional designation with other officials. The only exceptions known to me are the references to the judge Lu-amana as a court official in Text 131 (date lost), to the house of the judge Ki’aḡ in Text 8 (AS1), and the judges listed in texts cited in n. 18 (which recorded trials held outside of Umma);¹⁵ one reference to a group of judges in Text 93 (undated) should also be considered.¹⁶

Besides the abovementioned Lu-amana and Ki’aḡ, Aba-Enlilgen was another court official recorded in Umma legal texts known to be a judge from other sources

⁸ Texts 6, 41, 48, 69 (and two *maškim*), 71, and 83 (and two *m.*).

⁹ Texts 9 (and *maškim*), 12, 17, 23, 31, 37, 50, 51, 52, 53 (and *m.*), 54 (and *m.*), 59, 68, 70, 95, 96 (and *m.*), 99, 100, 109, 119, and 131 (and *m.*). Texts 11 and 27 could also be considered as belonging to this group, although the beginning of the list of bystanders is broken.

¹⁰ Texts where court officials would be expected but no one is mentioned are the following: 10, 14, 20, 26, 30, 32, 33, 34, 38, 55, 56, 60, 63, 66, 72, 89, 91, 93, 98, 102, 103, 104, 107B, 112, 116, 121, 132.

¹¹ For the role of the governor in Ur III court records from Umma and Lagaš, see Falkenstein (1956 I, 27–31); Culbertson (2009, 108–124).

¹² For the correspondence between court records and real procedures, see Culbertson (2009, 23–29). Culbertson also suggests (2009, 76) that the absence of officials from some court records would be explained because “the authority of urban administrators” was not needed in the process. This could be true with regard to provincial administrators, but in such cases some other kind of arbitration, eventually by royal officials, was most probably sought.

¹³ For the role of the judges in Ur III court records from Umma and Lagaš, see also Falkenstein (1956 I, 32–47); Culbertson (2009, 124–132). For the judges of Umma, see also Molina (2008, 203).

¹⁴ The oldest reference to a collegium of judges in court records from Girsu, although without their names being mentioned in the text, is found in Molina, Fs. Pettinato, 182 2 (AS3/xi-xi²); next we have ITT 3, 6577 (= NSGU 95), dated to AS4/xi, which records Allaḡu, Lu-Ibgaḡ, and Lu-diḡira as the judges of the case.

¹⁵ I have not taken into consideration the reference to Ur-sagaḡu, the judge (*di-ku*), in Christie’s 2001xx (= BDTNS 059331; Š48), since the provenance of this tablet is uncertain (Adab seems to me a better possibility than Umma).

¹⁶ NP₁ u₃ NP₂ ... *igi di-ku₅-e-ne-še₃ tum₂-da NP₃-e ib₂-la ḡ₅-e* “NP₃ will bring NP₁ and NP₂ in order to take them before the judges” (TCL 5, 6168 = NSGU 202). Cf. also the letter-order TCS 1, 203 (= Michalowski, Letters, 58 no. 84): *sukkal-maḡ-ra u₃-na-a-du₁₁ di-ku₅ ib-du₂-ru-ne₂-eš u₃ a-ne ib-gub* “tell the chancellor: the judges sat in (court) and he himself was present.”

(NRVN 1, 1). These three judges were probably not representatives of the governor of Umma, or at least their relationship with him was not as strong as that between judges and the governor in Girsu. Among the Umma judges, Ki'aĝ appears as the only clear example of a judge residing in Umma: he is mentioned in three court records in relation to former procedures (Texts 43, 53, and 125), and a group of five people witnessed a promissory oath in his house (Text 8).¹⁷ But although Ki'aĝ resided in Umma, he was connected to the royal court. BPOA 2, 2183 (Umma, Š34) records the working days needed to transport supplies from Ur to Umma on behalf of Ki'aĝ's wife, and PDT 1, 433 (PD, Š44/i/26) records his delivery of animals for the Akiti festival.

The two other judges mentioned in Umma court records were also connected to the capital of the empire. Lu-amana appears in two of our texts (22 and 29) as the only official responsible for the case; identified as a judge he is also recorded with a colonel (perhaps Aia-kala) in Text 131, as well as trying cases at an uncertain place (OrSP 47/49, 145)¹⁸ and at Ur (Text 86).¹⁹ Similarly, Aba-Enlilgen, who was responsible for the case recorded in Text 44, was most probably the same judge who tried cases that took place at Ur (Text 86) and Nippur (NRVN 1, 1).²⁰ The fact that Lu-amana and Aba-Enlilgen performed their duties in cities other than Umma suggests that they were peripatetic judges who would not represent the governor of this province.

2 The commissioner (maškim)

The ascendancy of the provincial administration over the court officials who took part in litigations was also limited in relation to the maškim, a function usually translated as “commissioner.” His duties were basically of three

types:²¹ a) he was commissioned by a higher-ranking authority to investigate a complaint and to prepare the evidence for trial; b) he was in charge of delivering the accused to court for legal proceedings;²² c) he was a kind of institutional witness, who could be called when former procedures related to the current trial needed to be verified (this role was not reserved to him, since witnesses or judges who took part in those preceding court cases could be summoned as well).

As for the first duty, two examples of investigations commissioned by the governor can be found in Texts 69 and 83, already discussed by Falkenstein (1956 I, 53f.). Texts 57 and 90 provide, on the other hand, a good illustration of an investigation commissioned by the king: the first lines of Text 90 state that the investigation was initiated on the command of an envoy of the king, whose name was Šulgi-šillūl.²³ The same Šulgi-šillūl is designated as commissioner at the end of Text 57,²⁴ a record used to compose Text 90, a *Sammelurkunde*. According to these two texts,²⁵ inquiries were coordinated by this official, who entrusted concrete investigations to other people. These two tablets also demonstrate a point that had been already briefly suggested by Falkenstein (1956 I, 47 n. 10), namely that the function of commissioner (maškim) was occasionally expressed as ġiri₃ PN “via PN.”²⁶

²¹ See Falkenstein (1956 I, 47–54, 69f.); Edzard/Wiggenermann (1987–90); Lafont (1996, 43–47); Sallaberger (1993, 17f.; 1999, 248f.); Lafont/Westbrook (2003, 194); Culbertson (2009, 132–137).

²² See for example TCS 1, 128 and Text 69. As Piotr Steinkeller reminds me (personal communication), this function of the maškim (rābišu) surfaces in royal inscriptions, where gods are deputized to act against evildoers (ex. g. RIME 2.1.4.10, 65f. [Narām-Sîn 1]; 2.13.6.4, 64 [Utuḫēgal 4]; and 3/2.1.4.3, vii 16 [Šu-Suen 20 A]); this role would be the reason why the maškim acquired a negative reputation, denoting eventually a demon (see also Edzard/Wiggenermann 1987–90, 453–455).

²³ ⁱ³ inim lu₂-kiġ₂-gi₄-a lugal-ta ... ^{r.ii 13–16} inim-inim-ma e₂ a-bi₂-a-ti ur-^dnin-mug-ga-ke₄ ba-an-de₆ ġiri₃ dšul-gi-ši-lu-ul lu₂-kiġ₂-gi₄-a lugal “On the command of the king’s envoy ... Ur-Ninmuga has brought this case (concerning) the estate of Abi-ati.”

²⁴ ^{r.17f.} di-bi ba-ti^l dšul-gi-ši-lu-ul lu₂-kiġ₂-gi₄-a lugal maškim “This case has been closed. Šulgi-šillūl, envoy of the king, was the commissioner.”

²⁵ A comprehensive study of Texts 57 (BM 105339, unpubl.) and 90 (TCL 5, 6047 = NSGU 214) has been prepared by this author (in press).

²⁶ For the complementary use of maškim and ġiri₃, see also Sallaberger (1993, 16f., 24f.; 1999, 248–250). In our texts, Diġira, who appears as commissioner in Text 42, was perhaps the same official recorded in Text 85 with the function of ġiri₃ “via.” Similarly, Text 114 records a case held “before the governor, before Lu-Nanna, and before five city elders” (iġi en si₂-ka-še₃ iġi lu₂-^dnanna-še₃ u₃ iġi ab-ba iri 5-še₃), while Text 124, a tablet recording that very

¹⁷ See also Veenker/Johnson (2009, 356f.), and Molina (2010, 203).

¹⁸ Probably on the basis of the month name, OrSP 47/49, 145 has been considered a text from Puzriš-Dagān (Schneider, OrSP 47/49, p. 13; Falkenstein 1956 I: 3) or Ur (Widell 2003, no. 16). In view of the listing of Lu-amana among the judges in the final section, the tablet was perhaps kept in the Umma archives, although it most probably recorded a trial held somewhere else. A similar case would be Text 86 (SNAT 541), an Umma tablet recording a process tried at Ur by several judges, Lu-amana among them.

¹⁹ Lu-amana is also attested with his title of di-ku₅ “judge” in MVN 10, 217 (Umma, AS3), OIP 121, 83 (PD, AS4/iii/26), and Ontario 1, 128 (PD, ŠS5/vii/13).

²⁰ It is uncertain whether this Aba-Enlilgen was the high officer attested in Puzriš-Dagān texts from Š36 to IS2: see Sigrist (1992, 312–315); Weiershäuser (2008, 98f.).

Unfortunately, we do not have many other occurrences of commissioners in Umma texts. Unlike the legal procedures of Girsu, this official in Umma is only recorded in about 20 % of cases. There are in all, in our corpus, 23 different commissioners mentioned by name,²⁷ concentrated between AS2 and AS8. When we are able to identify them, in at least eight cases they acted as representatives of or had been probably appointed by the military or the royal administration: Erra-nu_{IB} (Text 94 = 107A), Šulgi-šil-lū_l (57 = 90), and Ur-Nanše (36), the three of them identified as royal envoys (lu₂-ki-ĝ₂-gi₄-a lu_{gal}); Iššur-Suen, commissioner of general Ilallum (47);²⁸ Ilumma, colonel (nu-banda₃: 69);²⁹ Inima-AN (43);³⁰ Lu-Nanna, “secretary” (sukka₁: 114 = 124);³¹ and Ur-ku, elite soldier (aga₃-us₂: 24, 40, 96, and 101).³²

In some instances, the designation of the commissioner clearly depended on the legal confrontation between the provincial and the royal administrations. Thus, the identity of a commissioner on behalf of the governor can be ascertained in two cases in which the royal administration had also appointed its own commissioner: Ur-Mami was the commissioner called by the governor in a process concerning a robbery (69), while colonel Ilumma (see above) played that role on behalf of the Crown; and

same case, refers to Lu-Nanna, the “secretary” (sukka₁), as ĝiri₃ lu₂-^dnanna “via Lu-Nanna” (see also p. 137); if as it seems Lu-Nanna acted in this case as a commissioner, this kind of official could occasionally be “hidden” in the list of bystanders of other texts.

The word ĝiri₃ could also be used to designate the function of the judge in some pišaĝ-dub-ba documents from Girsu: ITT 3, 6588 (= NSGU 219), ITT 2, 3401 (= NSGU 220), ITT 3, 5629 (= NSGU 222), ITT 3, 6046 (= NSGU 223), ITT 3, 6032 (= NSGU 224). For these texts, see Falkenstein (1956 I, 17f., and II, 393–399).

27 Ali (Texts 70 and 106), Apilia (33), Dadu (19), Diĝira (42 and 85 [ĝiri₃]), Erra-nu_{IB} (94 = 107A), Iššur-Suen (47), Ilumma (69), Inima-AN (43), Lu-duga (125), Lu-Nanna (124 [ĝiri₃]), Lu-Suen (99), Lu-Šara₂ (47), Lugal-niĝlagare (28), Namḥani (97), ^dŠulgi-šillū_l (57 = 90 [ĝiri₃]), Ti-abzuta (54), Tirgu (70), Ur-Ĝeštinanka (53), Ur-ku (24, 40, 96, and 101), Ur-Mami (69), Ur-Nanše (36), Ur-niĝar (44), and Urdu-Nanna (131); unnamed commissioners (maškim) are mentioned in Texts 9 (kas₄) and 83.

28 For Ilallum, see n. 118; for a comment on this text, see also Steinkeller (2013, 354f.).

29 According to Text 69, Ilumma would have been a colonel of NAGsu.

30 Inima-AN was no doubt the merchant attested as bystander in other court records: see p. 137.

31 For this Lu-Nanna, possibly the foreman of the merchants (ugula dam-gara₃), see p. 137.

32 Ur-ku, the elite soldier, is known to have supervised (ĝiri₃), very likely as a Crown agent, shipments to Esaĝdana/Puzriš-Daĝan as part of Umma’s ba₁a obligation (MVN 13, 289; CM 26, no. 11). See Sharlach (2004, 37f.) for this kind of text.

Lu-Šara (47), rather paradoxically a royal singer, was the governor’s commissioner in a litigation about the transfer of royal land in Amrima, while Iššur-Suen was the commissioner of the general (see above).

The identity of a commissioner designated by the provincial administration could also be proposed for the case of Urdu-Nanna, the “throne-bearer” (gu-za-la₂), who played that role in a litigation concerning the ownership of equids (131).³³ Finally, an anonymous commissioner was also appointed by the governor in a litigation over the ownership of sheep (83). Occasionally, the activity of the commissioner is said to be linked to a process conducted by a judge, which probably meant that it was the latter who appointed the commissioner (Texts 44³⁴ and 53³⁵).

3 Bystanders

Besides the governor, judges, and commissioners, many other people attended the trials: they are commonly known as “bystanders” and are attested in 51 court records. Bystanders were listed at the end of the text, sometimes identified as lu₂ ki-ba gu₂ b-ba “the persons who were present,” and preceded by the sign DIŠ;³⁶ alternatively, they were recorded with the adverbial clause igi

33 A certain Urdu-Nanna, the “throne-bearer,” was an officer in charge of a prison at Umma (DAS 58, 8 [-/-]; Santag 6, 115: 5 [AS2/ix]), apparently subordinated to the governor (BPOA 7, 2587: 7f. [AS7]; Nisaba 24, 16 r. i 6f. [-/-]). He used two different seals: a) urdu₂-^dnanna / gu-za-la₂ / dumu lu_{gal}-u_šur_x (BPOA 1, 1675 [Š38/i]; MVN 13, 674 [Š46/x; see Mayr 2005, no. 304A]; MVN 16, 1476 [AS6]); b) urdu₂-^dnanna / dumu lu_{gal}-u_šur_x / gu-za-la₂ / um ma^{ki} (Torino 2, 644 [AS6/vii]; BPOA 1, 751 [ŠS4/i]). He also appears as a bystander in Texts 54, 59, and possibly 50 (see also n. 107).

34 Ur-niĝar, commissioner of Aba-Enlilgen (ur-niĝar_x^{gar} maškim a-ba-den-lil₂-gen₇). For Aba-Enlilgen, a peripatetic judge who also tried cases at Ur and Nippur, see above p. 127.

35 Ur-Ĝeštinanka, commissioner of the closed case of Ki’aĝ (ur-^dĝeštin-an-ka maškim di-til-la ki-aĝ₂); for Ki’aĝ, see above p. 127.

36 Texts 1, 9, 11, 12, 23, 27, 41, 43, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 53, 54, 62, 80, 83, 95, 100, 109, and 129. Exceptions in the use of this formula are: Text 50 (names preceded by DIŠ but not identified as lu₂ ki-ba gu₂ b-ba) and 97 (lu₂ ki-ba gu₂ b-ba recorded with the adverbial clause igi PN-še₃ “before PN”); note also that in Text 100 the scribe erased the igi ...-še₃ formula in favor of DIŠ for a group of people identified as lu₂ ki-ba gu₂ b-ba. On the other hand, it is remarkable that, occasionally, the governor was distinguished from the rest of the bystanders, preceded by DIŠ, by means of the adverbial clause igi ensi₂-ka-še₃ “before the governor” (Texts 1, 41, 62, and 80) or his qualification as di-ku₅ “judge” (Text 47).

PN-še₃ “before PN,” but in such case with no further qualification.³⁷ The same bystanders could be recorded in different texts using either of the two formulae.

The attempt to identify them and to ascertain their role in the legal procedures of Umma faces the problem of our incomplete knowledge of the trial background. Although we may understand the reason for the litigation and how it ended up, a broader context and the relationships among the people involved in the process frequently remain obscure. Occasionally, the appearance of a new tablet provides unexpected additional data. This is the case for the related Texts 57 and 90 (see p. 127). Text 57 (BM 105339, unpubl.³⁸) records among the bystanders a certain Abum-ilum, the vice-general (egir šakkan₆) who, according to Text 90 (TCL 5, 6047 = NSGU 214), was in charge of bringing in those responsible for the destruction of Abi-ati’s orchard. Thanks to these two texts we also know that the term lu₂ ki-ba gub-ba could even conceal people who played the role of the defendant in the trial process: Text 90 records among the defendants a certain Lugal-melam, probably an official from the military of Nagsu who was accused of having taken hold of the field of Abi-ati’s wife and of a yoked ox that was the property of Abi-ati. The PN Lugal-melam is never attested among the bystanders of our corpus except in Text 57, the court record on which the *Sammelurkunde* (Text 90) was partly based. Similarly, the related Texts 114 (Sollberger, AOAT 25, 444 9) and 124 (BM 110306, unpubl.) show that the list of bystanders could include a commissioner (see n. 26 and p. 137). In other cases, the professions of the bystanders may explain their relationship to the dispute, as for example could be the case for merchants (e.g. Texts 39, 114 = 124, and see below p. 137).

Ordinarily, the involvement of the bystanders in the case they attended is not obvious, although it is quite clear that they had a different function to that of the standard witnesses known as lu₂ (ki) inim-ma.³⁹ The latter are mentioned in Umma legal texts either as witnesses to the current or related procedures, transactions or events, or giving oral testimony and/or taking an oath

concerning the procedures, transactions or events they attended.⁴⁰ On their side, bystanders at Umma could also be considered as observing witnesses of the trial,⁴¹ so hypothetically they could be summoned as well to testify in case of future legal challenges to the verdict,⁴² but their function was no doubt more complex and heterogeneous. The role they played has been generally considered similar to the one played by the lu₂ mar-za ki-ba gub-ba / tuš-ša in Girsu,⁴³ and by other people identified

⁴⁰ lu₂-inim-ma is a term that appeared in Sargonic times and prevailed in the Neo-Sumerian period. In Ur III legal texts it was used as a simplified form of lu₂ ki inim-ma, attested since the Fara period. Both are terms with the same meaning, as has been suggested by Krecher (1973, 160f.); Steinkeller (1989, 108f.); Gelb et al. (1991, 233–236); Yoda (1993, 142f.). Oh’e (1979), followed by Culbertson (2009, 144–146), has argued that Umma legal texts made a distinction between lu₂ ki inim-ma, allegedly a witness to the legal case who eventually could be summoned concerning that case, and lu₂-inim-ma, a witness who actually gave oral testimony in legal procedures. Nevertheless, my close examination of Umma legal texts does not seem to confirm Oh’e’s hypothesis. Attestations of lu₂ ki inim-ma in our corpus show them playing different roles: a) as witnesses to the current court procedure (Texts 2, 14, 7, 54, and 96); b) as witnesses to related procedures, transactions or events (Texts 48, 50, 51, 53, 62, and 65); c) as witnesses to related procedures, transactions or events, some of them summoned to take an oath (Texts 64 and 109). On the other hand, lu₂-inim-ma are mentioned in Umma court records: a) as witnesses to the current court procedure (Texts 10 and 85); b) as witnesses to related procedures, transactions or events (Texts 43, 58, 80, 93, and 119); c) as witnesses to related procedures, transactions or events, summoned to give oral testimony (Texts 23, 32, 33, 62, 90, 96, 111, 114, and 122); d) as witnesses to related procedures, transactions or events, some of them summoned to take an oath (Texts 40, 47, 49, 55, 91, and 94 = 107A); e) as witnesses to related procedures, transactions or events, summoned to testify and to take an oath (Texts 13, 15, 17, 20, 22, 29, 50, 66, 76, 83, and 89). No substantial differences can be thus appreciated between lu₂ ki inim-ma and lu₂-inim-ma in Umma court records, except for the fact that the term lu₂ ki inim-ma “persons (who stood) at the place of the legal case / transaction” (Krecher 1973, 160; see also Gelb et al. 1991, 233), provides an additional sense of proximity to the facts observed by the witnesses. That would explain the occasional use of lu₂ ki inim-ma and lu₂-inim-ma in the same court record (Texts 50, 62, and 96).

⁴¹ Actually, there are two tablets (Texts 2 and 96) recording as lu₂ ki inim-ma a group of people usually identified as bystanders (see n. 37).

⁴² For the distinction between observing and testifying witnesses in legal and judiciary praxis, see most recently Ponchia (2009, 236–246).

⁴³ Falkenstein (1956 I, 54–58); Krecher (1973, 160f.); Oh’e (1980, 126–140); Steinkeller (1989, 107f.); Culbertson (2009, 139f.); Pomponio (2009, 38).

Note also that a few bystanders attested in Umma court records also attended legal procedures at Girsu in the role of lu₂ mar-za: see nn. 108, 110, and 114. See below n. 46 for a Girsu text in which two of-

³⁷ Texts 3, 6, 13, 15, 17, 24, 31, 35, 37, 39, 42, 46, 57, 59, 64, 65, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 92, 99, 117, 119, and 131. See above for the exception of Text 97; note also that in Text 96 a group of bystanders recorded with the adverbial clause igi PN-še₃ are identified as lu₂ ki inim-ma where lu₂ ki-ba gub-ba is expected (see n. 41).

³⁸ I wish to thank the Trustees of the British Museum for the kind permission to cite this and other unpublished tablets.

³⁹ Note, for example, Text 54, where lu₂ ki inim-ma and lu₂ ki-ba gub-ba are identified as two separate groups, obviously with different functions.

with similar terms,⁴⁴ so it would be worthwhile to briefly reexamine the function of these court attendants.

3.1 lu_2 mar-za at Girsu

The use of the term lu_2 mar-za in court records from Girsu was chronologically restricted to the governorship of Urdu-Nanna (AS7/xii to IS3). Before this period, during the governorship of Ur-Lamma (Š32 to AS3/xi), only the governor and a commissioner heard cases. In the context of the political changes in Lagaš, and probably as an answer to the accumulation of power gained by Ur-Lamma's family, new participants were introduced in the trials by the end of AS3, when the za-bar-da-b₅ Nanna-zišaḡal held the governorship of the province. The collegium of judges first appears in AS3/xi (see n. 14), always accompanied by a commissioner, and a new group of individuals designated as lu_2 ki di-da-ka gub-ba⁴⁵ is found in AS5 (ITT 2, 925), now with Šarakam as governor of the province. The name of this group of people was fixed as lu_2 mar-za⁴⁶ starting from the first year of Šu-Suen's reign,⁴⁷ coinciding with the governorship of Urdu-Nanna.

The lu_2 mar-za, a term almost exclusively found in Girsu, were identified by Falkenstein (1956 I: 54–58) as a kind of witness (*Publizitätszeugen*) with a cultic function on the basis of the relationship between mar-za and Akkadian *paršum* (cf. n. 63). For O'he (1980, 136), they “might have been in court to observe the judiciary procedure and perhaps to give authority to the judgement.” Culbertson (2009, 142) has suggested that the term “is perhaps rather to be associated with mar-sa ‘dockyard,’ indicating that

these groups were possibly a kind of ‘court’ in their own right, and reminds of the *kārum*, ‘port authority,’ of the Old Babylonian period;” yet this possibility should be discarded (Culbertson herself recognizes that “the philological basis of their association limits its merit”). On his side, Steinkeller (1999, 558–564) reconsidered Falkenstein's interpretation, assuming that in Ur III court records lu_2 mar-za was a term used to designate “members of the Lagaš administration that were required *ex officio* to attend court proceedings, especially in cases involving members of their own institutions.” On the basis of earlier texts discussed in the same contribution, Steinkeller also concluded that lu_2 mar-za was a term for “temple administrator.”

In fact, a text dated to the reign of Šarkališarri (ITT 2, 5798+5893 = Steinkeller 1999, 558–562, no. 1) records a purchase of land by the king from a group of *be-le* BAR.ZA, a denomination that includes temple administrators (saḡḡa) of the temple-estates of Nanše, Nin-MARKI, and Utu, scribes (dub-sar), and field registrars (saḡ-du₅). Other tablets dated to the Old Akkadian period and mentioning lu_2 mar-za are: MVN 15, 378 (see Steinkeller 1999, 563f.), a record of boats assigned to a group of lu_2 mar-za, two of them bearing the title of prefect (šabra) and “supervisor of choice oxen” (nu-banda₃ gu₄ du₇); USP 65, a receipt for barley from three people and a lu_2 mar-za; and ITT 2, 4684, a text that, according to the cataloguing data provided by H. de Genouillac (ITT 2, p. 38), lists a group of lu_2 mar-za, including a potter (baḥar₂ = “edin-na”), a prefect (šabra = “pa-al”), a surveyor (probably a lu_2 -eš₂-gid₂, “cordier”), a herdsman (“u₂-du”), and priests (gu₄ du₄ = “šutug”).

To my knowledge, there are only two texts dated to the Gudea Dynasty mentioning lu_2 mar-za: MVN 6, 432 records deliveries of fat for high-status individuals (priestesses, provincial governors, and a temple administrator) and a lu_2 mar-za; RTC 211 (see Steinkeller 1999, 564) records the payment of quantities of silver from a group of lu_2 mar-za, a temple administrator (saḡḡa), a priest (gu₄ du₄), and a foreman (ugula) among them.

Apart from the court records, the documentation concerning the lu_2 mar-za during the Ur III period is not abundant, although quite significant. The term, attested from Š30 (MVN 10, 93) to IS2 (ITT 3, 6547), is recorded in a group of “messenger texts”: two of them mention equids (anše-kunga₂) of the lu_2 mar-za (ITT 5, 6815, TCTI 2, 3785), while in another one a lu_2 mar-za is said to be a lu_2 -ḡištukul “soldier” (DAS 98); on the other hand, high-status individuals such as a son of the king and a judge (na-bi₂-den-lil₂ dumu lugal, ur-ḡu₁₀ di-ku₅; Nisaba 22, 57), or a general (puzur₄-eš₄-tar₂

officials usually designated as lu_2 mar-za are said to be lu_2 ki-ba gub-ba.

⁴⁴ See Steinkeller (1989, 107f.). These terms are, for example, *muz-zāzu* (Oakk: Molina, Fs. Civil, 142 no. 5, iii 7 [= AnOr 7, 372]), or PN ki ... tuš (UET 3, 19 = Sale Documents 67, pictured in BDTNS 010324; NSGU 18).

⁴⁵ The expression lu_2 ki di-da-ka gub-ba “men who stood at the place of the process,” is also found in MVN 11, 185, an undated tablet of uncertain provenience.

⁴⁶ Just in one case (ITT 2, 3542 = NSGU 170), two persons (Lu-kirizal and Lu-Girsu) usually designated as lu_2 mar-za ki-ba gub-ba are said to be lu_2 ki-ba gub-ba.

⁴⁷ An earlier occurrence of lu_2 mar-za ki-ba gub-ba in AS7 is uncertain, but possible, according to the collation of ITT 3, 6599 by Falkenstein, NSGU 149. Belonging to this period of changing would also be ITT 2, 963 = NSGU 194, where the responsibility of the verdict is assigned to a judge and a city elder (di-til-la ur-dištaran di-ku₅ u₃ gu₃-de₂-a ab-ba iri), both adscribed to the group of the lu_2 mar-za in later years (see notes 50 and 53).

šakkan₆: Nisaba 22, 74), in this case together with two elite soldiers of the king (aga₃-us₂ lugal: urdu₂-ġu₁₀ aga₃-us₂ gal-gal and an-ne₂-ba-du₇ dumu nu-banda₃), are designated as lu₂ mar-za and said to have received rations when they moved for plucking (zu₂-si udu gukkal-še₃ ġen-na); a similar record is BPOA 1, 283 (14 udu sa₂-du₁₁ lu₂ mar-za udu gukkal ur₄-de₃ ġen-na-me).

Other Ur III tablets record supplies of commodities for the lu₂ mar-za (BBVO 11, 265 5N-T435; MVN 13, 380 + AAICAB 1/2, Ashm. 1974–580, r. iii 13). Nisaba 24, 29 is a remarkable text in this group. It records supplies (igi-ka₂) of animals, beer, foodstuff, garments and other commodities to a wide range of individuals who travelled to Umma. These people, globally designated lu₂ mar-za, had all kinds of occupations: we find among them the chancellor (sukkal-maġ), his brother (šeš sukkal-maġ), the vice-chancellor (egir sukkal-maġ), the zabar-dab₅, members of the royal family (šu-^dsuen dumu lugal), provincial governors (ensi₂), a military general (šakkan₆), a colonel (nu-banda₃), an elite soldier (aga₃-us₂), a lancer (lu₂-ġiš-gid₂-da), “secretaries” (sukkal), scribes (dub-sar), mounted messengers (ra₂-gaba), a doctor (a-zu), singers (nar), a snake charmer (muš-laġ₅), a diviner (maš-šu-gid₂-gid₂), cooks (muġaldim), cupbearers (sagi), doorkeepers (i₃-du₈), and kennelmen (sipa ur-ra).

In Ur III court records, there are at least 27 different people acting as lu₂ mar-za. Although it is not always easy to determine their professions or activities, we can identify a son of a military governor,⁴⁸ a colonel,⁴⁹ a city elder⁵⁰, a provincial governor,⁵¹ the son of the former gov-

ernor Ur-Lamma,⁵² two judges,⁵³ the son of a judge,⁵⁴ the “chief bookkeeper,”⁵⁵ a mounted messenger,⁵⁶ a chief mason,⁵⁷ a field-recorder,⁵⁸ and other people of indeterminate professions who could belong to the state⁵⁹ or the provincial administration.⁶⁰

To sum up, the broad range of professions and activities of the lu₂ mar-za in third millennium texts seems

52 Lugal-zuluġu, son of the governor (dumu ensi₂): ITT 2, 3538 = NSGU 131; ITT 2, 3541 = NSGU 83 (dumu AN.T[...]); Sigrist, *Studies Greenfield*, 616 5.

53 Ur-Nanše, (judge of) Nanna’s temple (ur-^dnanše (di-ku₅) e₂ ^dnanša): DAS 332bis. Cf. Molina, Fs. Pettinato, 184: 6 (AS8/xi), where ur-^dnanše di-ku₅ e₂ ^dnanša is mentioned after the collegium of judges as “being present at the process” (di-ba in-gub-a m₃). He is probably the same Ur-Nanše frequently mentioned as lu₂ mar-za (ITT 5, 6831 = NSGU 147; ITT 5, 6836 = NSGU 8; ITT 2, 920 = NSGU 106; ZA 53, 93; BM 95539 [unpubl.]), sometimes as son of Lu-Igimaše (ITT 2, 3523 = NSGU 3; ITT 2, 3538 = NSGU 131; Sollberger, AOAT 25, 442 BM 15839).

Ur-Ištaran: ITT 3, 5286 = NSGU 205. He is most probably the judge recorded at the end of ITT 2, 963 = NSGU 194: di-til-la ur-^dištaran di-ku₅ u₃ gu₃-de₂-a ab-ba iri; see also n. 47.

54 Ur-Bawu, son of Ur-saga, the judge (ur-^dba-u₂ dumu ur-sa₆-ga di-ku₅): ITT 2, 3523 = NSGU 3. According to AAICAB 1/1, Ashm. 1924–693, Ur-saga was a judge of Gu’abba.

55 Nani, the chief bookkeeper (pisaġ-dub-ba): ITT 3, 5286 = NSGU 205; ITT 3, 6599 = NSGU 149.

56 Niġ-urum, the mounted messenger (ra₂-gaba): ITT 3, 6521 = NSGU 154.

57 Ur-Igalim, the (chief) mason (šidim): ITT 2, 3541 = NSGU 83. He is recorded as chief mason (šidim-gal) and lu₂ ki-ba gub-ba in NSGU 138, a court record from Umma. This fact, and UTI 5, 3174, an allocation of masons (Ur-Igalim, the chief mason, among them) and workers who came from the palace to work in the construction of the temple of Šara (e₂-gal-ta e₂ ^dšara du₃-de₃ ġen-na), suggest that he belonged to the royal administration.

58 Ur-Lamma, the field registrar (saġ-du₅): ITT 3, 6599 = NSGU 149. According to UET 3, 179, Ur-Lamma was a field registrar of Girsu.

59 Lu-diġira, son of Lugal-barabe: ITT 3, 5286 = NSGU 205. This lu₂ mar-za is most probably the same Lu-diġira, son of Lugal-barabe, who appears as lu₂ ki-ba gub-ba in court records from Umma (see n. 110). The fact that he attends legal procedures both in Umma and Girsu makes it unlikely that he belonged to the provincial administration.

Lu-kirizal, son of A-tu: ITT 3, 6597 = NSGU 155; ITT 5, 6831 = NSGU 147; TÉL 110; Sollberger, AOAT 25, 442 7; BM 95539 (unpubl.). He was probably connected with the royal administration, since he is recorded receiving barley issued for a group of royal settlers (e ren₂) in CM 26, 123 and Legrain, RA 10, 63 12, r ii 7.

Gudea, son of Lali: ITT 3, 6566 = NSGU 102. Similarly to the former case, this lu₂ mar-za is also recorded issuing barley for a group of royal settlers (e ren₂) in SAT 1, 5.

60 Lu-Utu, son of Bazi: ITT 3, 6597 = NSGU 155; TÉL 110. Lu-Utu, most probably a merchant himself, was employed by the provincial administration in organizing the activity of merchants: see S. Garfinkle (2010a, 190f.).

48 [PN] dumu šakkan₆: Pelagaud, *Babyl.* 3, pl. 8, 17 = NSGU 89. In case the restoration of the PN as Gudea proposed by A. Falkenstein proves to be correct (cf. Falkenstein 1956 II, 147), he could be identified with one of the commissioners (maškim) of the transaction under dispute, as suggested by ITT 3, 6575 = NSGU 112 (gu₃-de₂-a ab-[ba iri dumu ša]kkan₆ [maškim?]); see also n. 47 and 50.

49 Lu-Niġen: Sigrist, *Studies Greenfield*, 616, 5.

50 Gudea, city elder (ab-ba iri): ITT 5, 6836 = NSGU 8. This lu₂ mar-za is also said to have been the one responsible of a di-til-la (see n. 47), and perhaps a commissioner of a transaction together with Lu-Girsu (an also well-known lu₂ mar-za), in Pelagaud, *Babyl.* 3, pl. 8, 17 = NSGU 89; see also n. 48.

51 Lu-saga (?): ITT 3, 6566 = NSGU 102. Although restored by Falkenstein after collation, this unique attestation of this governor should perhaps be considered doubtful. Cf. in any case lu₂-sa₆-ga ab-ba iri ^{ensi}₂ (SNAT 211) and lu₂-bala-sa₆-ga ^{ensi}₂ šurup-pa g^{ki} (attested in AS5).

to point to *mar-za* as a generic term for “office;” *lu₂ mar-za* would thus be a designation for a function, not a profession, meaning something like “person in office, on duty.” When called to attend legal procedures, they were mainly chosen from among high ranking officers (judges included), and to a great extent from royal administrators. Later on, in Old Babylonian Ur⁶¹ (spelled *mar-za*) and Nippur⁶² (spelled *ġarza*₍₂₎⁶³) /*marza*/ was a word used to designate prebends, temple offices that could be negotiated or subdivided in the course of time.

3.2 Bystanders at Umma

The generic meaning of *lu₂ mar-za* fits well with the expression *lu₂ ki-ba gub-ba*, used at Umma. These terms were intentionally vague, since they designated people related to the legal procedure in very diverse manners. Their actual relationship with the case can sometimes be ascertained (see above p. 129), but their high number in Umma – between 102 and 114 different individuals (judges, commissioner, and governor excluded) listed in 52 court records (see Table 4) – requires that we also consider their identification. The prosopographical analysis below, assuming that some uncertainties and doubtful attributions remain, allows the grouping of the bystanders attested in Umma court records as follows:

- 3.2.1 Members of the royal administration, mainly from the military: 36–41
- 3.2.2 Members of the provincial administration: 5–14
- 3.2.3 Peripatetic officials: 7
- 3.2.4 Members of the local administrations: 4
- 3.2.5 Merchants: 3
- 3.2.6 Judges: 1
- 3.2.7 Bystanders of uncertain affiliation: 33–37

3.2.1 Members of the royal administration

3.2.1.1 Military:

Among the members of the royal administration the most numerous are military officials. Every rank, from the general to the elite soldier, is attested. When their identification has been possible, it appears that in most cases they belong, as expected, to the military stationed in the Umma province.

Official	Texts	Dates
Ea-ilī, general (šakkan ₆) (of Umma) ⁶⁴	13, 37, 92	AS2-AS3
Lu-Nanna, (general of NAGsu) ⁶⁵	37, 92	AS3
Abum-ilum, vice-general (egir šakkan ₆) (of NAGsu) ⁶⁶	57	AS6
Ur-niġar, vice-general ⁶⁷	43, 47	AS5/iv
<PN> vice-general ⁶⁸	71	AS8/v
Gudea, colonel (nubanda ₃) ⁶⁹	9, 39, 100	AS2-AS3/xi
Šarrum-ilī, colonel (of Girsu) ⁷⁰	52, 57	AS5/ix-AS6
Šu-Ninšubur, colonel (of GARšana ⁷¹)	9, 27 ⁷² , 100	AS2
Ubar, colonel	57	AS6
Ur-giġir, colonel (of Umma) ⁷²	39, 95	AS3/xi
Ur-niġar, colonel of NAGsu ⁷³	52	AS5/ix
Zuluġu, colonel ⁷⁴	6	Š44
Adaga, captain of sixty men (ugula ġeš ₂ -da)	50, 52	AS5/viii-AS5/ix
Arši-aġ, captain of sixty men ⁷⁵	83	ŠS6/x

⁶⁴ Cf. TCL 5, 5488 (Š46/iv), 6041 (AS2), BPOA 1, 1162 (AS2), and see Steinkeller (2013, 317 n. 16).

⁶⁵ Cf. TCL 5, 5488 (Š46/iv) and TIM 6, 36 (Š46/iii); see Paoletti (2012, 204 and 225), and Steinkeller (2013, 387).

⁶⁶ Cf. Text 90 and see Steinkeller (2013, 355f.).

⁶⁷ This Ur-niġar, the vice-general, was perhaps later promoted to the rank of general of NAGsu, if he is the same Ur-niġar, general of NAGsu, attested in BPOA 6, 112 (ŠS5); another possibility is that this general of NAGsu (BPOA 6, 112) was promoted from the rank of colonel of NAGsu, attested in Text 52 (AS5/ix). A promotion of Ur-niġar from colonel to vice-general and general should be disregarded, since the text recording Ur-niġar as colonel of NAGsu (Text 52, AS5/ix) is dated later than the one recording Ur-niġar, the vice-general (Text 47, AS5/v). See also Molina (2010, 204).

⁶⁸ Texts 43 and 47 list consecutively ur-niġar_x^{ġar} egir šakkan₆ and ur-niġar_x^{ġar} ab-ba iri; Text 71 also lists a city elder after a vice-general, although in this case their personal names are not recorded. It could be then tentatively suggested that Ur-niġar was the name of both the vice-general and the city elder of Text 71. See also n. 120.

⁶⁹ A bystander also named Gudea, but with no title, is mentioned in Texts 1 (Š37/xii) and 27 (AS2).

⁷⁰ See Molina (2010, 209).

⁷¹ Cf. Text 91 and see Steinkeller (2013, 356).

⁷² Cf. Text 92 and see Steinkeller (2013, 355).

⁷³ See n. 67.

⁷⁴ See nn. 115 and 116.

⁷⁵ Arši-aġ, captain of sixty men (ugula ġeš₂-da), is also attested in a sale document from Nippur (Delaporte, RA 8, 185 4 = Sale Documents 10), where he is said to be “a man from Šamme” (lu₂ šame^{ki}), a town in the Diyala region (see Steinkeller 1989, 178).

⁶¹ References in UET 5, p. 72. See Charpin (1986, 251f.).

⁶² MC 3, 29: 12; 30: 12; 35: 16; SAOC 44, 80: 6; 84: 8, 13; 89: 12, 15.

⁶³ Besides OB documents, the spelling *ġarza*₍₂₎ as designation of an office is well attested in lexical sources: *lu₂-ġarza*₍₂₎ = *bēl paṣi*, in Lú = ša 95a, OB Lu-Series A 374, C5 4 (MSL 12, 131: 95a; 169: 374; 195, 4); cf. also *lu₂-ġarza* = *ša pilludē*, in OB Lu-Series A 375, C5 5 (MSL 12, 169: 375; 195: 5). For the relationship between *mar-za*/*ġarza*₍₂₎ and Akk. *paṣum*, see Steinkeller (1984, 141f. n. 34), and Schretter (1990, 210).

Lu-lbga, captain of sixty men	83	ŠS6/x
Lugal-ezem, captain of sixty men	50	AS5/viii
Lugal-ḫili, captain (of sixty men?) (u g u l a) ⁷⁶	109	–/–
Nabasa, captain of sixty men (of Maškan) ⁷⁷	50, 51	AS5/viii-AS5/ix
Ur-lugal, captain of sixty men	51	AS5/ix
Ur-Damu, elite soldier (a g a ₃ -u s ₂) ⁷⁸	1, 6	Š37/iv-Š44
Ur-ku, elite soldier ⁷⁹	6	Š44
Urdu-Inanna, u ₃ -k u l ⁸⁰	119	–/–

3.2.1.2 Royal envoys (lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal) and other royal representatives:

In addition to the commissioners who are occasionally said to be lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal (Texts 94 = 107A, 57 = 90, 36), we have the attestations of six more royal envoys. Each of them occur only once in the Umma corpus, and they were probably sent by the Crown invested with a special authority to conduct or to take part in the process.

Royal envoy (lu ₂ -kiĝ ₂ -gi ₄ -a lugal)	Texts	Dates
AN-sukkal	16	AS2
Erra-qurād	37	AS3
Nanna-saga, son of Šada, the Amorite	31	AS2/xi
Ili-imitti ⁸¹	50	AS5/viii
Ur-Nanše	95	–/–
Ur-Nungal	59	AS6/i

The following individuals also belonged to the royal entourage, although we are not always certain about where they actually resided:

Royal representative	Texts	Dates
Basaga, son of the chief lamentation singer (g a l a -m a h) ⁸²	99	–/–
Ennum-Adad, son of Tappan-daraḥ ⁸³	31	AS2/xi

⁷⁶ Cf. BPOA 1, 1512 (AS4).

⁷⁷ Cf. BPOA 1, 1196 and see Steinkeller (2013, 401). Two more texts (68 [AS7/xii] and 100) mention Nabasa, with no title, as a bystander.

⁷⁸ The assignment of this elite soldier to the royal administration is based on his appearance among other bystanders belonging to the royal military organization (Text 6).

⁷⁹ See n. 32.

⁸⁰ For u₃-k u l, a professional designation closely connected with the army, see Michalowski (2006, 53); see also Notizia (2010, 111).

⁸¹ Ili-imitti was one of the judges in a trial that took place at Ur (Text 86).

⁸² Basaga should be the son of the well-known chief lamentation singer Dada (Š42 to ŠS9), for whom see Michalowski (2006, 49f.).

⁸³ Tappan-daraḥ was a ruler of Simurru settled in Ur as part of the royal court, at least between Š33 (Princeton 1, 93) and Š38 (MVN 18, 40); he was transferred again to Simurru by ŠS1, now as a high-ranking official of the governor of Simurru (see Molina 2012; in the view of Steinkeller, forthcoming-a, the Tappan-daraḥ of Šu-Suen sources was a different person).

Ġirine-isa, the “secretary” (s u k k a l) ⁸⁴	69	AS8/v
Lu-duga, son of the king (d u m u l u g a l) ⁸⁵	64, 65	AS6/xii ²
Lu-Nanna, son of Inim-Šara ⁸⁶	39	AS3/xi
Lugal-barabe, major-domo of the chan- cellor (š a b r a s u k k a l -m a h) ⁸⁷	3	Š39/i
Šarakam, son of Inim-Šara, the field registrar (s a ĝ -d u ₅) ⁸⁸	13	AS2
Šu-Suen, son of Geme-e’anna ⁸⁹	31	AS2/xi
Ur-kununa, son of Urdudani ⁹⁰	39	AS3/xi

⁸⁴ Ġirine-isa was a diplomatic official (see Sharlach 2005, 19) who, according to TCL 5, 6166 (see p. 137), resided in Umma; he is attested as a litigant in Text 125 (see Veenker/Johnson 2009, 355f.).

⁸⁵ Lu-duga was probably a son of Šulgi who carried over his title through the reign of Amar-Suen: see Molina (2008, 136).

⁸⁶ Inim-Šara was the head keeper of the real estate records of the king (s a ĝ -d u₅ l u g a l), in office at least from Š28 (Maekawa, ASJ 19, 135 120) to Š42 (RTC 416). His son Lu-Nanna was a functionary in Puzriš-Dagān who apparently succeeded his brother Šarakam (see below n. 88); his seal (d a m a r -d s u e n / n i t a k a l a -g a / l u g a l u r i₅ k i -m a / l u g a l a n -u b -d a l i m m u₂ -b a // l u₂ -d n a n n a / d u b -s a r / d u m u i n i m -d š a r a₂ / s a ĝ -d u₅ l u g a l -k a / u r d u₂ -z u) is attested on three bullae from Puzriš-Dagān (MVN 13, 910 [AS4/ix]; CBCY 3, NBC 11683 [AS4/x]; BCT 1, 138 [AS5/i]), and on one tablet from Umma recording a disbursement of barley from the governor of Umma (CBCY 3, NBC 8116 [AS4]).

⁸⁷ Lugal-barabe, the major-domo of the chancellor, is also attested in Text 1 as the buyer of an orchard in a tablet recording a conflict over its sale.

⁸⁸ For Inim-Šara, see above n. 86. Šarakam used three different seals: a) d š a r a₂ -k a m / d u b -s a r / d u m u i n i m -d š a r a₂ / s a ĝ -d u₅ (BPOA 1, 896 [Umma, Š34]); b) d š u l -g i / n i t a k a l a -g a / l u g a l u r i₅ k i -m a / d š a r a₂ -k a m // d u b -s a r / d u m u i n i m -d š a r a₂ / s a ĝ -d u₅ l u g a l -k a / u r d u₂ -z u (MVN 15, 119 [PD, Š44/v]; MVN 5, 110 [PD, AS3/i]; BRM 3, 72 [AS3/vi/30]; PDT 1, 391 [PD, AS4/vii]; SNAT 91 [PD², AS4/viii]; AUCT 3, 422 [PD, date lost]; ENES 660 [= YBC 3647, PD, -/-]); c) d a m a r -d s u e n / n i t a k a l a -g a / l u g a l u r i₅ k i -m a / l u g a l a n -u b -d a l i m m u₂ -b a // d š a r a₂ -k a m / d u b -s a r / d u m u i n i m -d š a r a₂ / s a ĝ -d u₅ l u g a l -k a / u r d u₂ -z u (ITT 5, 6895 [Girsu, AS7]; ITT 3, 6629 [Girsu, date lost?]). According to these texts and their chronological distribution, Šarakam was first a high functionary in Puzriš-Dagān in charge of the sealing of bullae; by the end of AS4 he was succeeded in this office by his brother Lu-Nanna (see n. 86); following Maekawa (1996, 121) and Fischer (1997, 145), Šarakam then assumed the governorship of Girsu from AS4/xi or xii to AS6/xii²; in AS7 he appears again as a sealing official in texts from Girsu.

⁸⁹ Geme-e’anna was a daughter of king Šulgi and the daughter-in-law of Urdu-Nanna, the chancellor (see Sharlach 2006, 388f.; Weiershäuser 2008, 265). Her son Šu-Suen, not to be confused with king Šu-Suen, was perhaps the same š u -d s u e n d i -k u₅ attested in BM 108952 (PD, Š44; unpubl., courtesy P. Notizia), SAT 2, 681 (PD, AS1/ii/21), TAD 68 (PD, AS2/i/22), MVN 1, 127 (PD, AS5/i/29), SAT 2, 1062 (PD, AS7), and MTBM 74 (Girsu, -/vii).

⁹⁰ Cf. Ur-kununa’s well-attested personal seals, dedicated to Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen, in tablets and clay sealings from Ur: d a m a r -d s u e n / l u g a l k a l a -g a / l u g a l u r i₅ k i -m a / l u g a l a n -

The assignment of four more bystanders to the royal administration is possible but doubtful:

Royal representative	Texts	Dates
Lu-Ninšubur, son of Inim-Šara ⁹¹	64	AS6/xii ²
Lu-Šara, son of Inim-Šara ⁹²	62	AS6/vi
[Lu ³]-Suen, the fattener (kurušda) ⁹³	6	Š44
Nanna-kuzu, son of Lu-Nanna, the overseer of Nanna's temple (nu-banda ₃ e ₂ dNanna-ka) ⁹⁴	67	AS7/xii

3.2.2 Members of the provincial administration

On behalf of the provincial administration, and in addition to the governor of Umma (see p. 125), we first examine the appearance of Aia-kala. In six court records he heads the list of bystanders,⁹⁵ so he was most probably Ur-Lisi's brother in his office of colonel (nu-banda₃),⁹⁶ acting as the governor's delegate.

Among the rest of the bystanders in this group, five more individuals could be identified as provincial officers with a reasonable degree of certainty:

ub-da limmu₂-ba // ur-ku₃-nun-na sukkal / dumu urdu₂-da-ni / di-ku₅ / urdu₂-zu (UET 3, 1784. 1803; UE 10, 428. 429. 431); dšu-dsuen / lugal kala-ga / lugal uri₅/ki-ma / lugal an-ub-/da limmu₂-ba // ur-ku₃-nun-na sukkal / dumu urdu₂-da-ni / di-ku₅ / urdu₂-zu (UET 3, 1782. 1783; UE 10, 430). He is probably the same ur-ku₃-nun-na sukkal/dumu urdu₂-da-ni sent for the inspection of fishermen, together with royal scribes, recorded in messenger texts from Girsu (MVN 22, 73. 133. 148).

91 Lu-Ninšubur could be tentatively identified as the offspring of Inim-Šara, the head keeper of the real estate records of the king (see above n. 86); this may also have been the case for Kalaḡu and Ur-Enlila, who have been counted among the peripatetic officials (see nn. 109 and 113). Lu-Ninšubur, son of Inim-Šara, is also attested in Gomi, Orient 16, 77 112 (Girsu, date lost), and Ontario 2, 309 (Umma, ŠS7).

92 Lu-Šara₂ was a field registrar whose seal (lu₂-dšara₂ / dub-sar / dumu inim-dšara₂ / saḡ-du₅) is attested from Š33/iii (BPOA 1, 1384) to AS4 (CST 583); in these texts a certain A'abba is always recorded as the receiving official. Lu-Šara's title of field registrar (saḡ-du₅) is known through the seal legends of his sons Egale-si, Id-pa'e and Lu-TUG.AN-ka; his possible assignment to the royal administration is just a hypothesis based on his patronymic (for Inim-Šara see n. 86).

93 [Lu³]-Suen was perhaps the son of Ur-niḡar, the fattener (kurušda), for whom see Dahl (2007, 123 n. 427).

94 Lu-Nanna, father of Nanna-kuzu, was an overseer of Nanna's temple, possibly located at Ur. He could be the same lu₂-dnanna nu-banda₃ attested in a few texts from Puzriš-Dagān dated from Š46/v/21 (Nik 2, 465) to AS4/ix/24 (UDT 118).

95 Texts 27 (AS2), 39 (AS3/xi), 95, 96, 99, and 100.

96 According to Dahl (2007, 64), Aia-kala used the title of nu-banda₃ from Š40 until AS8, when he became governor of Umma.

Provincial officer	Texts	Dates
A'abba, the prefect (šabra) ⁹⁷	64, 99 ³ , 109 ³	AS6/xii ²
Lu-duga, son of Niḡar-kidu ⁹⁸	67	AS7/xii
Lugal-emahe, brother of Lugal-kiri ⁹⁹	129	[...]
Ur-gigir, son of Bara-AN ¹⁰⁰	6	Š44
Ur-Šara, the chief bookkeeper (pisaḡ-dub-ba) ¹⁰¹	1	Š37/xii

Nine more officials may have also belonged to the provincial administration, although their ascription should be considered doubtful.

Provincial? officer	Texts	Dates
Atu, the "throne-bearer" (gu-za-la ₂) ¹⁰²	129	[...]

97 A'abba, the prefect (possibly the same A'abba mentioned with no title in Texts 99 and 109), is recorded in MVN 15, 390, vi 57, r. ii 41, r. x 8, as one of the provincial administrators responsible for providing workers for the Tummal project (cf. Steinkeller, 2013, 363–369).

98 Niḡar-kidu, brother of Ur-niḡar and son of Ġirine, was the head of Umma's police force (gal₅-la₂-gal). The seals of his son Lu-duga were rolled from Š33 (SAT 2, 70) to AS5 (Peters, AR RIM 4, 18; SAT 3, 1610, dated to ŠS5, needs collation) by his uncle Dadaga, or by his cousin Gududu. For this reason, Dahl (2007, 48) has suggested that Lu-duga did not partake in the administration; be that as it may, he no doubt had a close relationship with the ruling family of Umma and the provincial administration. For the problem of his identity with one of the sons of Ur-niḡar, see Dahl (2007, 71) and Pomponio (2013, 229).

99 Lugal-emahe was in charge of fields within the Da-Umma district; his brother Lugal-kiri was the prefect of the Mušbi'ana district, and his father Lugal-kugani was the prefect of Apisal (see Studevent-Hickman 2006, 31–34). As A'abba, the prefect (see n. 97), he is recorded in MVN 15, 390, iv 19, ix 37, r. v 42.

100 Ur-gigir, son of Bara-AN, was a prefect (šabra) whose seal is attested from Š33/xii (Princeton 1, 392) to ŠS4/ix (MVN 13, 226). He worked as oxen manager (nu-banda₃ gu₄; Torino 2, 473 i 2') of the Da-Umma district under the supervision of Egale-si: see Studevent-Hickman (2006, 31 and 35–37); see also Hilgert (2008, § 2.20.1.1).

101 Ur-Šara, son of Lugal-ušur and chief bookkeeper (pisaḡ-dub-ba), held a high position in the provincial administration; he was in office at least from Š27 (BPOA 7, 2399) to ŠS2/iv (SNAT 470); his different seals are attested from Š31 (SAT 2, 41) to AS7/xi (BPOA 7, 2639). See Grégoire (1970, 44–47) and Neumann (2010, 265).

102 Atu, the "throne-bearer," is recorded in a few texts as conveyor (ḡiri₃) of precious objects and metals to the Fiscal Office between ŠS6 and IS1: Malul, JCS 39, 126 15 (ŠS6/viii); Maekawa, ASJ 8, 345 1 (ŠS8/vii); Santag 6, 333 (IS1/v). The transaction recorded in Santag 6, 333 was later booked in the balanced-account published by D'Agostino/Pomponio, ZA 95, 101, iv 6'f.; similarly, the transaction recorded in Maekawa, ASJ 8, 345 1 was later booked in BM 110126, r. i 6–8 (unpublished). He also appears as witness to the purchase of slaves in Nebraska 63 (= Sale Documents 99; IS2/xii) and Schollmeyer, MAOG 4, 191 3 (= Sale Documents 121; ŠS9), and as witness to an indeterminate legal procedure in Text 126. A few years earlier (Š46) Atu, the "throne-bearer," was apparently an officer in charge of a prison (Nisaba 9, 305), as was Urdu-Nanna, the "throne-bearer" (see n. 33).

Dudu, brother of the <i>lumaḥ</i> -priest ¹⁰³	23	AS2
Du-udug, the seer (<i>igi-du</i>) ¹⁰⁴	3	Š39/i
Inim-Inanna, son of Gududu ¹⁰⁵	39	ŠS3/xi
Lu-Šara, son of Šamaš-šillī ¹⁰⁶	49, 67	AS5/vii-AS7/xii
Ur-Bawu, son of Gududu	43, 52, 57, 62	AS5/ix-AS6/vi
Ur-lugal, son of Gududu	53	AS5/ix
Ur-Suen, son of Gududu	39	AS3/xi
Urdu-Nanna, the “throne-bearer” (<i>gu-za-la</i>) ¹⁰⁷	54, 59	AS5/ix-AS6/i

Kalaḡu, son of Inim-Šara ¹⁰⁹	43	AS5
Lu-diḡira, son of Lugal-barabe ¹¹⁰	41, 46, 48, 49, 70, 99	AS4/xii-AS8/v
Nidamu, scribe ¹¹¹	15, 42, 43, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 57, 59, 62, 68, 95, 99	AS2-AS7/xii
Tete ¹¹²	42	AS5
Ur-Enlila, son of Inim-Šara ¹¹³	51	AS5/ix
Ur-Igalim, the chief mason (<i>šidim-gal</i>) ¹¹⁴	83	ŠS6

3.2.3 Peripatetic officials

Some of the bystanders who took part in trials held in Umma, also attended legal procedures in the courts of other places, mainly Girsu. A number of them show clear connections with the royal administration and were probably appointed by the Crown. They are the following:

<i>Peripatetic official</i>	<i>Texts</i>	<i>Dates</i>
Amu’a ¹⁰⁸	42, 46, 69	AS5-AS8/v

103 The ascription of Dudu to the group of provincial dependents is only tentative and based on the office of *lu₂-maḥ* held by his brother; for the *lumaḥ*-priest, see Steinkeller (2003b, 632–637). In the Umma province the *lumaḥ*-priest of the god Šara is only known by name in seal inscriptions: *lugal-^dištaran / dub-sar šabra / dumu lu₂-^dšara₂ / lu₂-maḥ ^dšara₂* (Princeton 1, 254 [Š48] and 436 [Š48]); *ur-e₂-maḥ / lu₂-maḥ ^dšara₂ / nam-lu₂-i₃-du₁₀ / ša₃-tam urdu₂-zu* (BPOA 1, 905 [ŠS6]); two more *lumaḥ*-priests are attested by name in Umma texts, but with no specification of the deity to which they were attached: Ka (*ka₅^a*) (Nisaba 11, 50 ii 26 [AS1]) and Ur-ḡepar (UTI 3, 1856, -/-; cf. Steinkeller 2003b, 634).

104 Du-udug, the seer (*igi-du*), was responsible for rituals performed at the temple of Šara in Umma: see Sallaberger (1993, 90–92).

105 Among the four persons naming Gududu as their patronymic, Ur-Bawu seems the most plausible candidate as a son of Gududu, the son of Dadaga, governor of Umma; besides the texts recording Ur-Bawu as a bystander, he is also attested in YOS 4, 29 (= Text 117, -/-), UCP 9/2–2, 51 (PD, Š43/ix/16), SAT 2, 374 (Umma, Š44/viii), and 423 (Umma, Š45). Inim-Inanna, Ur-Suen, and Ur-lugal are otherwise never attested as sons of Gududu. See Dahl (2007, 82 and n. 297).

106 Šamaš-šillī (^dUTU.MI), father of Lu₂-Šara, could be tentatively identified with a well-known fattener (*kurušda*), father of Anna-ḫilibi (seal from Š46/xii² [OrSP 47/49, 275] to ŠS4/ii [SAT 3, 1412]) and of Lu-saga (seal attested from Š39/x [NYPL 319] to Š41/xii² [BPOA 2, 2312]). For Anna-ḫilibi, one of the most important fatteners of Umma, see Dahl (2007, 116f.).

107 Urdu-Nanna, the “throne-bearer,” has been mentioned above (p. 128 and n. 33) as a commissioner (*maškim*) probably appointed by the provincial administration (Text 131); he is perhaps the same Urdu-Nanna recorded as bystander with no professional designation in Text 50 (AS5/viii).

108 Amu’a attended a trial held in Girsu together with Tete and Nidamu (ITT 3, 652 = NSGU 134); he is probably the same Amu’a mentioned in other tablets from Puzriš-Dagān and Umma as *nu-banda₃* (MVN 10, 130 [PD, AS4/xi/3]; AUCT 3, 198 [PD, ŠSX/ix/13];

3.2.4 Members of the local administrations

The participation of local authorities in legal procedures is not as prominent as expected, probably because they mostly intervened at a previous stage of the litigation (cf. Culbertson 2009, 73–75). City elders (*ab-ba iri*) and “mayors” (*ḡa-za-num₂*) are attested as bystanders in a few court records from Umma, in close relationship with the military. Thus, a certain Zuluḡu, an unfrequent personal name in Ur III texts, is recorded in the list of bystanders on five occasions with three different functions: colonel, city elder, and “mayor.”¹¹⁵ We do not know the

UTI 5, 3188, ii 21 [Umma, -/-] or *u₃-kul* (Englund, ASJ 14, 102 4 [PD, Š46/ix]; Freedman, JANES 9, 21 3 [PD, AS5/ii/17]); both titles indicate military professions (see p. 133 and n. 80).

109 Kalaḡu, son of Inim-Šara, is also found in a court record of uncertain provenance together with Ur-Enlila, son of Inim-Šara² (TRU 376; AS3 or Š46), and in other texts from from Puzriš-Dagān (TCL 2, 5498, r. i 26 [AS2/xii/30]; YBC 13087 r. iv 13, with Ur-Enlila, son of Inim-Šara in r. v 17) and Umma (YOS 4, 207); his father Inim-Šara was perhaps the head keeper of the real estate records of the king (cf. n. 86, 91, and 113).

110 Lu-diḡira, son of Lugal-barabe, is also attested as a *lu₂ mar-za* in one court record from Girsu (ITT 3, 5286; see n. 59); he is possibly the same Lu-diḡira recorded without patronymic or title in Texts 11 (AS2), 24 (AS2), and 100. His father Lugal-barabe could be tentatively identified with the Lugal-barabe, major-domo of the chancellor (*šabra sukka₁-maḥ*) attested as bystander in Text 3 (Š39/i); see n. 87.

111 See n. 108.

112 See n. 108.

113 Ur-Enlila, son of Inim-Šara², is also found in a court record of uncertain provenance together with Kalaḡu, son of Inim-Šara (TRU 376; AS3 or Š46); his father could be tentatively identified with the head keeper of the real estate records of the king (cf. n. 86, 91, and 109). Ur-Enlila, son of Inim-Šara, is also attested in BIN 3, 491 (PD, Š43/v), SET 47 (PD, Š43/vi), and BPOA 6, 186 (Umma, -/-), and together with Kalaḡu, son of Inim-Šara in YBC 13087 r. iv 13 and r. v 17.

114 Ur-Igalim, the mason (*šidim*), is also attested as a *lu₂ mar-za* in one court record from Girsu (ITT 2, 3541 = NSGU 83); see n. 57.

115 Zuluḡu, colonel (*nu-banda₃*; Text 6, Š44); Zuluḡu, city elder (*ab-ba iri*; Text 67, AS7/xii); Zuluḡu, “mayor” (*ḡa-za-num₂*;

name of the town where he held his office, but if he is always the same person who changed his position through the years, his career would be a good example of the close ties between royal and local administrations.¹¹⁶ Two more “mayors” are known to have attended legal procedures as bystanders: Lu-duga and Aza’a;¹¹⁷ the latter shows a similar connection with the royal administration when in the list of bystanders of Text 95 he is said to be the supervisor (u g u l a) of a royal envoy.

The “mayor” in the Ur III period was in fact subordinated to the local military officials and acted as their representative.¹¹⁸ Mainly on the basis of Texts 60, 61 and 111,

Text 95, -/-); and Zuluḥu, with no professional designation (Texts 80 [ŠS4/ix] and 100 [-/-]); Zuluḥu is also recorded as “mayor” in two other undated texts from Umma: Text 124 (PN geme₂ zuluḥu₂ ḥa-za-num₂-ma) and Princeton 1, 36 (where he is said to be in charge of bringing a fugitive). See also Taylor (2010, 216–218).

116 Text 80 (ŠS4/ix) lists the governor and four bystanders, two merchants (Lu-Nanna and Inima-AN), Lu-duga the “mayor,” and Zuluḥu. If Zuluḥu is in this text also a “mayor”, and assuming that we are always dealing with the same man, one could speculate that as part of the local elite, Zuluḥu joined the military, where he held the rank of colonel (Š44); his career led him then to his home town as city elder (AS7), and finally to the office of “mayor” (ŠS4). A similar “promotion” from the rank of city elder to the office of *rabiānum* has been discussed for the Old Babylonian period by Seri (2006, 75–77).

117 Lu-duga: Text 80 (ŠS4/ix). Aza’a: Texts 12 (AS2), 95 (-/-), 100 (-/-), and 109 (-/-).

118 See Steinkeller (2007, 201f.), Taylor (2010), Lafont (2011, 271f.). Most recently, Steinkeller (2013, 352) has provided additional data that clearly show the subordination of local self-governments, composed of “mayors” and city elders, to the military.

Another remarkable source in this regard is YBC 13087, a text from the Yale Babylonian Collection quoted here by the kind permission of Ulla Kasten; the transliteration was made from pictures kindly taken by Enrique Jiménez; my transliteration was then collated by Marcel Sigrist, to whom I am most grateful. In this text (iii 38-iv 45) city elders, “mayors,” captains of sixty men, and colonels appear to be under the authority of general Ilallum:

12 udu niga gu₄-e us₂-sa, ¹⁴1 udu 2 kir₁₁

a-lum, [x] maš₂-gal

2 gu₄ niga 6 udu, 1 sila₄ 3 maš₂-gal

2 gu₄ 12+[(2⁷)] udu, 1 sila₄ 3 maš₂-gal

2 gu₄ 16 udu, 1 sila₄ 3 maš₂-gal

2 gu₄ 17 udu, 1 ¹ sila₄ 2 maš₂-gal

1 gu₄ 7 udu, 1 sila₄ 2 maš₂-gal

1 [gu₄] 6 udu, 1 sila₄ [(x)]+2 maš₂-gal

1 gu₄ 5 udu, 1 sila₄ 2 [(+2)] maš₂-gal

1 gu₄ 8 [(+1)] udu, 1 sila₄ 1 maš₂-gal

[x] gu₄ 10 la₂ 1 m[aš₂-gal], [x] maš₂

1 gu₄ 8 udu, 1 sila₄ 1 maš₂-gal

1 gu₄ [x]+3 udu, 1 sila₄ 2 maš₂-gal

1 gu₄ [x]+4 udu, 1 sila₄ ¹²2 maš₂-gal

1 gu₄ 10 la₂ 1 maš₂-gal, 1 maš₂

1 gu₄ 10 la₂ 1 udu, 1 sila₄

1 gu₄ 10 la₂ 1 udu, 1 sila₄

i₃-lal₃-lum

e₂-a-KA[L] **nu-banda₃**

i-šar-i₃-li₂

zu-ga-a

ba-a-a

¹lu₂^{1.d}-nanna

lu₂^d-nanna MIN

lugal-[x]-¹x¹

urdu₂-d[am²]

¹ḥu-ba-ni-(x) ¹

ur^dsi₄-an-na

ur-¹x¹

mu-ur₂-tin-gaba

da-ḥi-še-en₆

e₂-a-KAL MIN

i-din-e₂-a

Taylor (2010, 220) has suggested that in legal matters the “mayor” was subordinated to the governor, since the latter could summon the “mayor” and ask him to bring people involved in the process or make him responsible for misplaced or lost animals. It is certainly clear that the governor conducted or supervised the litigations, but this fact did not always guarantee his effective control of the process. The “mayor” and the military officials were most probably placed in a similarly tense relationship with the provincial administration, according to which the governor could ask the “mayor” to bring the accused before the court, as Text 111 shows, but that kind of request could hypothetically be answered in the negative, as was the case with a vice-general in Text 45.

Among the city elders also subordinated to the military authority,¹¹⁹ the only one mentioned by name, besides Zuluḥu, is Ur-niḡar. This bystander, who in two or three texts was listed after the vice-general (egir

2 gu₄ 17 udu, 3 maš₂-gal

203 udu, 23 sila₄, ¹⁴⁰1+7 maš₂-gal, 65 maš₂

30 udu 10+5 maš₂-gal

ab-ba iri-me

ugula ḡeš₂-da-bi 113-me

ḥa-za-num₂-bi 15-me

ugula i₃-lal₃-lum

According to this text, Ilallum had authority over fifteen colonels, 113 captains of sixty men (which gives a ratio of 7–8 captains for each colonel), fifteen “mayors” and the city elders of his territory. From these data it could also be suggested that each colonel controlled an average of one town in the land under the authority of the general, who commanded about 6,780 men.

Following the new reading proposed by Steinkeller (forthcoming a) of TCL 5, 6041, iii 18f. (1800 eren₂ larsam^{ki}, ugula i₃-[al₃-lum]), Ilallum was the general of Larsam and its dependency Ašdaba (iii 15f.). This tablet is dated to AS2, which is also the date of BPOA 7, 2806, the only text known to me where the title of šakkan₆ “general” for Ilallum is recorded (PD, AS2/xii; the title of šakkan₆ was omitted in the transliteration of BPOA 7, 2806, and corrected in a new edition of the text by Paoletti, BPOA 10, 398 and Taf. 21). For Ilallum, see also Goetze (1963, 5f. and 12); Paoletti (2008, 134); Steinkeller (2013, 377).

119 The city elders in the Ur III period have not been yet studied in detail. Their role would probably have been similar to the one described by Seri (2006, 121–134) for the city elders of Babylon during the Old Babylonian period. The attestations of city elders in Ur III Umma are virtually restricted to court records, a fact that is consistent with the small relationship they would have maintained with the provincial administration. The main documentation on city elders comes from Girsu, and is particularly concentrated on the activities of Gudea and A’abba. From these two provinces and a few occurrences in Puzriš-Dagān texts, it is worth noting some references to ab-ba GN: ab-ba gar₃-NE.NE^{ki} (MVN 8, 195, PD), ab-ba i-šim^dšū^d-dsuen^{ki} (AUCT 3, 188, PD), ab-ba maš-kan₂-ka₃-la-tum^{ki} (Owen, ASJ 3, 681, PD), ab-ba-ab-ba sa-bu-um^{ki} (TCTI 1 2030 r. ii 2’), ab-ba ta₂-ši-il^{ki} (Owen, ASJ 3, 681, PD), [ab-ba] tab-la-la^{ki} (MVN 8, 195, PD), and [ab]-¹ba¹ tu-tu-ub^{ki} (Owen, ASJ 3, 681, PD).

šakkan₆),¹²⁰ came from an unknown site probably located at the Da-Umma district.¹²¹ Another five unnamed city elders are mentioned in Text 114 (igi ab-ba iri 5-še₃), which records a trial also held before the governor and Lu-Nanna “the secretary” (sukkal).

3.2.5 Merchants

Three different merchants are recorded among the bystanders of eleven court records: Inima-AN, Ur-Ninsu, and Lu-Nanna. Inima-AN, the most regular of them, took part in eight legal procedures.¹²² He is known to have worked with the Fiscal Office of Umma,¹²³ as NYPL 358 shows (Umma, ŠS2/v);¹²⁴ according to this text, Inima-AN delivered a quantity of gold to the Fiscal Office, whose head Lu-kala gave it to the well-known goldsmith Ur-Šulpa'e. On their side, Ur-Ninsu and Lu-Nanna¹²⁵ were also merchants who operated with the Fiscal Office and Ur-Dumuzida, one of the most famous Ur III merchants.¹²⁶

Lu-Nanna is described in one of the court records (Text 39, AS3/xi) as “the foreman of the merchants” (ugula dam-gara₃), an office that could denote the existence of some kind of organization or association of merchants.¹²⁷ As Garfinkle (2008, 68; 2010, 312) and Paoletti (2012, 219–223) have suggested, he was most probably identical with the Lu-Nanna responsible for the purchase of gold for the royal treasury of Puzriš-Dagān.¹²⁸ His ascendancy over the merchants is clear from the fact that he

was called to attend a litigation about the property of merchants (Text 39). Similarly, a case concerning the purchase of gold from a merchant was supervised by Lu-Nanna, the “secretary” (identified with the function of ġiri₃ “via” in Text 124: see n. 26), who is said to have attended that very same case, together with the governor and five city elders, in Text 114: most probably, this “secretary” (sukkal) was the same (ugula) dam-gara₃ “merchant / foreman of the merchants” recorded in Texts 39 and 80.

Lu-Nanna is a good illustration of the dual relationship of merchants with the provincial administration and the central government, already pointed out by Steinkeller (2004, 103).¹²⁹ Nevertheless, the activities of our three merchants in connection with the provincial administration seem to have been infrequent, making it likely that they enjoyed much stronger ties to the royal administration. Perhaps the Crown was responsible for their appointment as members of the Umma benches; but be that as it may, it seems that their presence in court was mostly due to their belonging to the socially and economically influential group of merchants. It is from this perspective that we should see their participation both in litigations that concerned the interests of merchants (e.g. Texts 39, 114 = 124) and in others that apparently did not (e.g. Texts 67, 68, 96).

3.2.6 Judges

Lu-amana is the only judge who occasionally appears among the bystanders (Texts 22, 29, and 131). For the role of the judges in Umma court records, see p. 126f.

3.2.7 Bystanders of uncertain affiliation

About one third (between 33 and 37) of the 114 bystanders in our corpus cannot be identified with a reasonable degree of certainty. Nevertheless, some of their names are significantly concentrated in TCL 5, 6166, a text that was studied by Steinkeller in his as yet unpublished research on the urban demography of the city of Umma (Steinkeller forthcoming-b). The tablet records quantities of silver that the éren₂ population of Umma had to pay to the Crown, so the document could be considered, in words of Steinkeller, “a tax census of the éren population of the city of Umma.” Besides the groups of éren₂ described as be-

¹²⁰ ur-niġar_xġar ab-ba iri follows ur-niġar_xġar egir šakkan₆ in Texts 43 and 47, and possibly also in Text 71 (see n. 68); he is also recorded as bystander in Text 23. See also Veenker/Johnson (2009, 352 and 355).

¹²¹ According to SET 243 ii 14, Ur-niġar, the city elder, held a plot of rental land in the field of Sipā-ne, located at the Da-Umma district (cf. SAT 2, 114, OrSP 47/49, 500, and Farmer's Instructions 8.3.2).

¹²² Texts 12, 53, 67, 68, 70, 80, 96, and 99, dated from AS2 to ŠS4/ix. He also acted as a commissioner (maškim) in Text 43.

¹²³ For the so-called Fiscal Office of Umma and its relationship with merchants, see Steinkeller (2004, 97–103 and 108).

¹²⁴ For this text, see Neumann (1993a, 126f.).

¹²⁵ Ur-Ninsu: Text 109 (-/-). Lu-Nanna: Texts 39 (AS3/xi), 80 (ŠS4/ix), and possibly 114 (-/-) and 124 (-/-).

¹²⁶ For Ur-Ninsu, cf. Young, *Studies Jones* 216 i 4 (Umma, AS3/i); Ur-Ninsu, the merchant, is also attested in OrSP 47/49, 484. For Lu-Nanna, cf. Santag 6, 119. For Ur-Dumuzida, see Neumann (1993b; 1999, 48–50).

¹²⁷ For this kind of organization, see Steinkeller (2004, 102f.); Garfinkle (2010b, 310–313); Paoletti (2012, 221f.).

¹²⁸ Lu-Nanna appears involved in the purchase of gold in MVN 3, 285; MVN 3, 290; Ledgers pl. 40 23; BPOA 10, 447 NBC 6501; BPOA 10, 452 NBC 10040.

¹²⁹ See also Garfinkle (2010b, 313–316), and Paoletti (2012, 221–223).

Table 1: Bystanders from Umma and TCL 5, 6166.

<i>TCL 5, 6166</i>	<i>Court officials in Umma</i>	<i>Group</i>	<i>Text No.</i>
i 1 2,580 <i>eren</i> ₂ of Umma	—		
i 4 600 (<i>eren</i> ₂) of the governor	—		
i 6 67 merchants	Inima-AN, merchant	Merchant	12, 43, 53, 67, 68, 70, 80, 96, 99
	Lu-Nanna, merchant / foreman of the merchants	Merchant	39, 80
	Ur-Ninsu, merchant	Merchant	109
i 8 5 (men of) Ur-gigir, “secretary”	—		
i 10 9 sons of Gududu	Inim-Inanna, son of Gududu	Provincial?	39
	Ur-Bawu, son of Gududu	Provincial?	43, 52, 57, 62
	Ur-lugal, son of Gududu	Provincial?	39
	Ur-Suen, son of Gududu	Provincial?	53
i 12 20 royal elite soldiers	Ur-Damu, (royal) elite soldier	Military	6
	Ur-ku, elite soldier	Military	6, 24, 40, 96, 101
i 14 10 royal singers	Lu-Enki, singer	Uncertain	117
	Lu-Šara, royal singer, commissioner of the governor	Provincial?	47
i 16 5 (men of) Niġar-kidu, chief policeman	Lu-duga, son of Niġar-kidu	Provincial	67
i 18 5 (men of) the household of Lugal-barabe	Lu-diġira, son of Lugal-barabe	Peripatetic	41, 46, 48, 49, 70, 99
ii 1 Daddamu	Daddamu	Uncertain	41, 46, 53, 70
ii 2 3 sons of Ĥabaluke	Lugalkuzu, son of Ĥabaluke	Uncertain	47, 49, 109
	Ur-niġar, son of Ĥabaluke	Uncertain	41, 48, 49, 64
ii 4 3 (men of) Alla, sculptor	—		
ii 6 6 royal carpenters	—		
ii 8 6 sons of Lugal-šuba	—		
ii 10 5 sons of Lugal-itida	Aia-kala, son of Lugal-itida	Uncertain	43
ii 12 Ur-diġira	—		
ii 13 Lugal-magure	—		
ii 14 3 sons of Ur-gigir, colonel	Ur-gigir, colonel	Military	39, 95
ii 16 Urduġu, fuller	—		
ii 17 Ur-SIGAR	—		
ii 18 3 sons of Ur-teš	—		
ii 20 Maš, leatherworker	—		
r. i 1 Ĥunuri	—		
r. i 2 Ġirine-isa, “secretary”	Ġirine-isa, “secretary”	Royal repr.	69
r. i 3 Amar-si	Amar-si, son of Ur-e’anna	Uncertain	47
r. i 4 30 gardeners of god Nanna	Nanna-kuzu, son of Lu-Nanna, the overseer of Nanna’s temple (?)	Royal repr.?	67
r. i 6 3 men of the <i>en</i> -priest of Uruk	—		
r. i 8 Ur-Lisi, elite soldier	—		
r. i 9 2 gardeners of Nin-turtur	—		
r. i 11 4 royal potters	—		
r. i 13 6 various shepherds	—		
r. i 15 3? (men of) Nabi-Enlil	—		
r. i 16 60 (men of) the household of Inim-Šara	Kalaġu, son of Inim-Šara	Peripatetic	43
	Lu-Nanna, son of Inim-Šara	Royal repr.	39
	Lu-Ninšubur, son of Inim-Šara	Royal repr.?	64
	Lu-Šara, son of Inim-Šara	Royal repr.?	62
	Šarakam, son of Inim-Šara	Royal repr.	13
	Ur-Enlila, son of Inim-Šara	Peripatetic	51
r. ii 1 3? (men of) Ĥumati	—		
r. ii 2 30 royal scribes? (DUB.ŠE)	—		
r. ii 4 33 physicians	—		

longing to the royal or the provincial administrations, the tablet records 500 *eren₂* distributed in professional groups or identified by name or by family or household affiliation. In Table 1 I have listed the groups and the individuals recorded in TCL 5, 6166, together with the names and the ascription of the bystanders that could correspond to them.

The correspondence between some of the *eren₂* recorded in this tablet and the bystanders of our corpus, even if this is occasionally coincidental, suggests that many of the bystanders of uncertain ascription belonged to the *eren₂* population of the city of Umma. The fact that, despite the enormous quantity of texts we have from the provincial archives, these bystanders cannot be counted in a clear way among the institutional administrators, would perhaps point to their belonging, in several cases, to the royal administration.

4 The Crown and the provincial administration in the Umma judicial system

As we have demonstrated in the preceding pages, the term *lu₂ ki-ba gub-ba* and equivalent expressions used in our corpus to identify the bystanders were generic characterizations of people involved in legal proceedings in more than one way. They designated assemblages of people who took part in the preliminary investigation, experts in the matter of the case, judges, mediators, prominent citizens, royal dependents, and representatives of the local and the provincial administrations. Responsibility for the case, at least nominally, fell to the governorship of the province, but an image of conflicting positions and spheres of influence, debates, and sometimes perhaps collegiality is also suggested by the several and heterogeneous occurrences of these bystanders.

On the other hand, our texts show that the administration of justice in the Umma province was strongly pervaded by the influence of the royal administration. Military men, royal envoys and other royal representatives, commissioners in charge of the investigation, members of the local administrations, and peripatetic officials appointed by the Crown no doubt exercised their authority during the process. The case of the military is especially significant: members of the military organization frequently took part in court procedures, and when the case was important enough to require the presence of the generals, their authority likely prevailed over that of the gov-

ernor. This is what can be inferred, for example, from Text 92, where generals and governor are simultaneously recorded: in this document, the first position in the list of attendants, always reserved to the governor, is on this occasion given to the generals. Such limits to the authority of the governor when dealing with the military could also be deduced from the case recorded in Texts 57 and 90. In this case, the governor did not have the power to compel the colonel *Ur-niġar* to appear in court. The colonel had been accused of misappropriation, but as he was on a military expedition, the governor considered the case closed.¹³⁰ Another example is found in Text 45, when the governor of Umma unsuccessfully addressed the vice-general of *GARšana* asking him to turn over a thief.

The presence of royal dependents in the judicial organization of the Umma province was strong and also continuous over time. As Table 2 shows, royal dependents attended court procedures from the last years of *Šulgi* until the last years of *Šu-Suen*, always in a higher proportion than provincial officers (note furthermore that half of the attestations of the latter correspond to the governor). Yet the number of texts dated to the reigns of *Šulgi* and *Šu-Suen* is not very significant, so this and other conclusions on chronological developments should be taken with caution.

From a general point of view, and in contrast to the situation at *Girsu*,¹³¹ we cannot observe any clear development in the composition of benches in Umma in connection with royal succession or changing of governorship. Table 2 shows that, while our corpus covers the governorships of *Ur-Lisi* (Š33 to AS8) and *Aia-kala* (AS8 to ŠS7/ii),¹³² the greatest concentration of court officials seems to be linked to the reign of *Amar-Suen*; nevertheless, such concentration is not accompanied by specific changes in the responsibility of the Umma judicial system (although we should again note that court records dated to the reigns of *Šulgi* and *Šu-Suen* are scanty). Likewise, we cannot appreciate substantial differences within *Amar-Suen*'s reign,¹³³ except for the fact that court records

¹³⁰ This *Ur-niġar*, colonel of *NAGsu*, could have even been promoted to the rank of general of *NAGsu*, if he is the same *ur-niġar_x^{gar} šakka_n₆ NAG-su^{ki}* attested in BPOA 6, 112 (ŠS5): see n. 67.

¹³¹ See p. 130. On the changing role of the governors of *Girsu* in the judicial system of the province, see Culbertson (2009, 110f.); on the status of *Lagaš* in Ur III administration and its relationship with the Crown, see Michalowski (2013).

¹³² Later court records are represented at least by Text 126, whose date is not preserved; this tablet mentions *da-da-ga en₂si*, so it should be dated to his governorship (ŠS7/ii to at least IS3).

¹³³ Culbertson (2009, 121) has written that “coinciding with the onset of *Ur-Lisi*'s probable demise and starting around *Amar-Sin* 5,

Table 2: Chronological distribution of court officials at Umma.

Date	Provincial officers ¹³⁴		Royal dependents		All groups		No. Texts
	Attestations	Average / text	Attestations	Average / text	Attestations	Average / text	
Š37	2 [1]	2 [1]	2	2	6	6	1
Š38							
Š39	2 [1]	2 [1]	1	1	3	3	1
Š40							
Š41							
Š42							
Š43							
Š44	2 [1]	2 [1]			8	8	1
Š45							
Š46							
Š47							
Š48							
AS1	1 [0]	1 [0]			1	1	1
AS2	9 [7]	0,47 [0,36]	20	1,05	45	2,36	19
AS3	5 [2]	1,66 [0,66]	9	3	15	5	3
AS4	1 [1]	0,5 [0,5]	2	1	5	2,5	2
AS5	27 [7]	2,07 [0,53]	31	2,38	68	5,23	13
AS6	10 [6]	1,42 [0,85]	12	1,71	26	3,71	7
AS7	3 [1]	1,5 [0,5]	4	2	13	6,5	2
AS8	4 [3]	1,33 [1]	6	2	19	6,33	3
AS9							
ŠS1							
ŠS2	1 [1]	1 [1]			1	1	1
ŠS3	1 [1]	1 [1]			1	1	1
ŠS4	2 [2]	1 [1]	2	1	6	3	2
ŠS5	1 [1]	1 [1]			1	1	1
ŠS6	2 [1]	2 [1]	3	3	5	5	1
Total	73 [36]	1,23 [0,61]	92	1,55	223	3,78	59

are almost absent from the first and last years of his reign. This could be explained in terms of political instability, which would have been deeper in AS8, coinciding with the changing of governorship from Ur-Lisi to Aia-kala. In

the evidence exhibits a sudden and substantial increase in the average number of officials who served on cases at Umma.” The data at our disposal do not seem to support this hypothesis: no substantial differences can be perceived, for example, between AS3 and AS5 (see Table 2), although the limited number of texts under consideration in some of the regnal years of Amar-Suen could distort this understanding of the situation.

134 “Provincial officers” include the governor, whose attestations are given in brackets; “Royal dependents” include members of the military, royal envoys and other royal representatives, peripatetic officials, and local administrators; doubtful attributions to any of these groups have been tentatively considered as certain; “All groups” include provincial officers, royal dependents, merchants, and officials of uncertain ascription; the texts taken into consideration to calculate the average number of officials per year are those recording at least one court official.

fact, court records suddenly stop by the middle of AS8, the year in which Ur-Lisi most probably died,¹³⁵ and they reappear only in ŠS2, when the political situation at Umma had become more stable. After this date, legal texts dated to the governorship of Aia-kala could be divided in two groups: a) legal cases that concerned provincial officers and their activities (Texts 74, 77, 78, 79, 81, 84), all of them sealed and possibly filed in a different place; b) texts that followed a similar pattern and recorded the same kind of officials as those written during the governorship of Ur-Lisi (Texts 75, 76, 80, 82, 83, 129).

The intense and persistent presence of royal dependents in legal procedures at Umma seems then to have been linked less to changing political issues, than to structural

135 See Dahl (2007, 61f.); Stępień (2012, 29 n. 56) writes that “a study of the whole Umma archive seems to suggest that [the firing of Ur-Lisi] took place in the middle of the year AS. 8, somewhere between the month V and the month IX.” Note in this regard that court records from Umma stop precisely in the fifth month of AS8 (see Table 3).

reasons, or at least this is what can be inferred from the extant data. Likewise, their involvement in legal issues could be linked to conflicts with the provincial administration, but that was not always the case, or at least such tension cannot always be deduced from the texts. Actually, the participation of royal dependents in legal procedures conducted under the authority of the governor was in the first place due to their subordination to the provincial jurisdiction in legal matters, at least formally. In this scenario, the king could intervene through his envoys or representatives whenever he considered it necessary.¹³⁶ His interests within the Umma society were shared by the military, and intersected with those of the local ad-

ministrators and the families more or less closely connected with the royal household and in any case considered as royal dependents (*eren₂ Umma^{ki}*). Their influence in the Umma legal system was a result of their penetration of the provincial networks of power, and this fits in well with the demographic reality of Umma. Steinkeller (forthcoming-b) has shown that the royal *eren₂* that resided in the province of Umma were much more numerous than the governor's *eren₂*, in a proportional ratio of 3 to 1. Therefore, we can logically expect conflicts concerning the royal dependents to have been more frequent, as was their involvement in legal procedures and resolutions.

Table 3: Court Records from Umma

No.	Museum no.	Date	Publication
1	BM 106466	Š37/xii	Fs. Owen 205 3
2	SM 1911.5.11	Š38/xii // Š55/xii	RA 57, 95 6 = MVN 11, 162
3	BM 110603	Š39/i	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
4	BM 106537	Š41/xiid	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
5	BM 110193	Š42	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
6	YBC 1816	Š44	YOS 4, 1
7	BM 85441	Š48/vi	Fs. Sigrist 130 3
8	A.1255–1982	AS1	BCT 2, 156
9	BM 105369	AS2	Fs. Sigrist 132 5
10	BM 105384	AS2	AnOr 12, 103 5 = NSGU 132 (*Orient 21, 7; *BDTNS 009156)
11	BM 106209	AS2	SNAT 320 (*BDTNS 033784)
12	BM 106218	AS2	SNAT 321 (*BDTNS 033785)
13	BM 106614	AS2	Fs. Sigrist 136 9
14	BM 106641	AS2	BPOA 1, 365 (*BDTNS 058053)
15	BM 106658	AS2	BPOA 1, 382 (*BDTNS 058070)
16	BM 106880	AS2	BPOA 1, 602 (*BDTNS 058288)
17	BM 106944	AS2	BPOA 1, 664 (*BDTNS 058352)
18	BM 106945	AS2	BPOA 1, 665 (*BDTNS 058353)
19	BM 107277	AS2	BPOA 1, 972 (*BDTNS 058666)
20	BM 107626	AS2	BPOA 1, 1285 (*BDTNS 058989)
21	BM 107955	AS2	JNES 63, 3
22	BM 111032	AS2	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
23	BM 111148	AS2	Fs. Sigrist 137 10
24	BM 111186	AS2	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
25	BM 113035	AS2	AnOr 12, 104 8 = NSGU 48 (*Orient 21, 7; *BDTNS 009159)
26	IES 134	AS2	TJAMC IES 134 (pl. 68) = Sale Documents 100
27	IM 54370	AS2	ZA 55, 79

136 The nature of the archives from Umma leaves, in general, little space for evidence of a direct involvement of the king in the socio-economic activities of the province, although this no doubt happened. For example, Steinkeller calls my attention to the letter-order BPOA 1, 563 (BM 106841), which records a visit of the king to Umma in order to establish a field for his runners within the Abagal field: *lugal-ĝu₁₀ u₃-na-a-du₁₁ a-ba-gal a-ša₃ kas₄ zi-zi-da saĝ-bi mu-ba šuku ensi₂-ka us₂-sa pad₃-de₃-da¹ ma-an-du₁₁ u₄ lugal-ĝu₁₀ ba-ĝen-na-ta 4.1.3^{GANA₂} gana₂-gu₄ 6.0.0^{GANA₂} ensi₂ 0.1.3^{GANA₂} ur-am₃-ma 1.0.0^{GANA₂} lu₂-ib-gal 2.0.0^{GANA₂} diĝir-bi₂-la-ni 1.0.0^{GANA₂} lu₂-diĝir-ra nu-banda₃ gu₄ 1.0.0^{GANA₂} lu₂-du₁₀-ga nu-banda₃ gu₄ 0.1.3^{GANA₂} šeš-tab-*

ba-ni 1.0.0^{GANA₂} a-ab-ba saĝ-du₅ us₂-a i₃-pad₃ kiĝ₂ bi₂-in-ak-eš₂ “Tell My Lord: He has told me to find in the Abagal field, in this year, the end (plots) of the field that have to be issued for the runners, next to the subsistence field of the governor. Since My Lord departed, 81 *iku* of domain land, 108 *iku* of the governor, 9 *iku* of U., 18 *iku* of L., 36 *iku* of D., 18 *iku* of L. the oxen manager, 18 *iku* of L. the oxen manager, 9 *iku* of his assistant, 18 *iku* of A. the field registrar, (these nine plots) I found next (to the subsistence field of the governor); they have done the (necessary) work.” I am grateful to Piotr Steinkeller and Walther Sallaberger for their suggestions in the interpretation of this text. My collations were based on pictures kindly taken by Ignacio Márquez Rowe.

No.	Museum no.	Date	Publication
28	IM 54358	AS2	ZA 55, 87
29	MM 495	AS2	AnOr 7, 321 (*OrAnt 22, 111) = NSGU 49 = Montserrat 321
30	BM 111009	AS2/iv	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
31	BM 106430	AS2/xi	SNAT 333 (*BDTNS 033797)
32	BM 106773	AS2/xi	BPOA 1, 495 (*BDTNS 058183)
33	BM 106427	AS2/xii	SNAT 334 (*BDTNS 033798)
34	BM 112804	AS2/xii	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
35	BM 106550	AS2/xiid	Fs. Sigrist 129 2
36	BM 107141	AS3	BPOA 1, 852 (*BDTNS 058542)
37	YBC 277	AS3	YOS 4, 31 = NSGU 130
38	AO 6170	AS3/iv	TCL 5, 6170 = NSGU 144
39	–	AS3/xi	Nik. 2, 447
40	BM 105377	AS4/xiid	MCS 2, 75 (*BDTNS 012442)
41	BM 106479	AS4/xiid	Fs. Owen 211 8 = Dispute Resolution 207 6
42	AO 6169	AS5	TCL 5, 6169 = NSGU 137
43	BM 106470	AS5	Fs. Owen 203 2
44	BM 106527	AS5	Fs. Sigrist 127 1
45	BM 106536	AS5	Fs. Owen 210 7
46	BM 106878	AS5 ² /i	BPOA 1, 600 (*BDTNS 058286)
47	AO 6058	AS5/iv	TCL 5, 6058 = NSGU 110
48	BM 106161	AS5/vii	SNAT 373 (*BDTNS 033837)
49	BM 106439	AS5/vii	Fs. Sigrist 134 6
50	AO 6167	AS5/viii	TCL 5, 6167 = NSGU 51
51	BM 106170	AS5/ix	SNAT 360 (*BDTNS 033824)
52	BM 106482	AS5/ix	Fs. Owen 208 6
53	BM 106495	AS5/ix	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
54	M.d.S. 2	AS5/ix	RA 11, 27 = AAICAB 1/4, M.d.S. 2
55	BM 106498	AS5/xii	Fs. Owen, 214 10 = Dispute Resolution 205 4
56	BM 107315	AS5/[...]	BPOA 1, 1002 (*BDTNS 058697)
57	BM 105339	AS6	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
58	YBC 3884	AS6	YOS 4, 208 = NSGU 212
59	BM 106551	AS6/i	Fs. Sigrist 136 8
60	AO 6163	AS6/vi	TCL 5, 6163 = NSGU 120b
61	BM 105393	AS6/vi	Iraq 5, 168 BM 105393 = NSGU 120a (*BDTNS 012110)
62	BM 106172	AS6/vi	SNAT 372 (*BDTNS 033836)
63	Erm 7730	AS6/vii/13	Santag 6, 154
64	BM 106404	AS6/xiid	SNAT 374 (*BDTNS 033838)
65	BM 106540	AS6/xiid	Fs. Sigrist 135 7
66	AO 6164	AS7/xii	TCL 5, 6164 = NSGU 127
67	BM 110171	AS7/xii	Fs. Owen 206 4
68	MM 710b	AS7/xii	Montserrat 515
69	AO 6165	AS8/v	TCL 5, 6165 = NSGU 121
70	BM 106442	AS8/v	Dispute Resolution 204 3 (= Molina, forthcoming)
71	BM 110614	AS8/v	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
72	MM 605b	AS[...]	Montserrat 412
73	Bar-am 366	ŠS2	ASJ 11, 154
74	BM 106457	ŠS2/[...]	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
75	BM 106476	ŠS3/iv	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
76	MM 344	ŠS4 // ŠS5	AnOr 7, 326 (*OrAnt 22, 112) = NSGU 40 = Montserrat 326
77	MM 393	ŠS4	AnOr 7, 325 (*OrAnt 22, 111) = Montserrat 325
78	MM 557	ŠS4	AnOr 7, 367 (*OrAnt 22, 115) = Montserrat 367
79	MM 711a	ŠS4	Montserrat 516
80	BM 105347	ŠS4/ix	AnOr 12, 101 1 = NSGU 62 (*Orient 21, 7; *BDTNS 009152)
81	BM 107002	ŠS5	BPOA 1, 720 (*BDTNS 058410)
82	BM 105346	ŠS5/xi	Iraq 6, 185 = NSGU 189 (*BDTNS 012179)
83	UIOM 938	ŠS6/x	NSGU 138
84	BM 106239	ŠS7/iii	SNAT 519 (*BDTNS 033983)
85	KM 89331	-/viii	MVN 9, 185
86	BM 106428	-/xi	SNAT 541 (*BDTNS 034005)

No.	Museum no.	Date	Publication
87	MM 701	[...]/iii?	Montserrat 505
88	ASM 68	[...]/vi	JCS 52, 17 92
89	–	[...]/xi	Politi 1 unpubl. (=BDTNS 170849)
90	AO 6047	-/-	TCL 5, 6047 = NSGU 214
91	AO 6048	-/-	TCL 5, 6048 = NSGU 215
92	AO 6059	-/-	TCL 5, 6059 = NSGU 201
93	AO 6168	-/-	TCL 5, 6168 = NSGU 202
94	BM 105379	-/-	AnOr 12, 102 2 = NSGU 60 = Dispute Resolution 209 8 (*Orient 21, 7; *BDTNS 009153)
95	BM 105381	-/-	AnOr 12, 102 3 = NSGU 69 (*Orient 21, 7; *BDTNS 009154)
96	BM 105382	-/-	AnOr 12, 103 4 = NSGU 30 (*Orient 21, 7; *BDTNS 009155)
97	BM 112949	-/-	AnOr 12, 104 7 = NSGU 122 (*Orient 21, 7; *BDTNS 009158)
98	BM 106219	-/-	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
99	BM 106451	-/-	Fs. Owen 201 1 = Dispute Resolution 206 5
100	BM 106468	-/-	Fs. Owen 215 11 = Dispute Resolution 208 7
101	BM 106509	-/-	Fs. Owen 208 5
102	BM 107073	-/-	BPOA 1, 786 (*BDTNS 058476)
103	BM 107379	-/-	BPOA 1, 1055 (*BDTNS 058755)
104	BM 107413	-/-	BPOA 1, 1086 (*BDTNS 058788)
105	BM 107531	-/-	BPOA 1, 1196 (*BDTNS 058900)
106	BM 110223	-/-	Nisaba 23, 18
107	BM 110379	-/-	Fs. Sigrist 131 4
108	BM 110490	-/-	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
109	BM 111052	-/-	Fs. Owen 213 9
110	BM 111173	-/-	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
111	Michail –	-/-	L'uomo 45
112	MM 522	-/-	AnOr 7, 322 (*OrAnt 22, 111) = NSGU 111 = Montserrat 322
113	ROM 967.287.59	-/-	Ontario 2, 156
114	RSM –	-/-	AOAT 25, 444 9
115	SE 26	-/-	Studies Leichty 392 = TJSASE 266
116	YBC 1401	-/-	SAT 3, 2166
117	YBC 1416	-/-	YOS 4 29
118	YBC 1810	-/-	YOS 4 294
119	YBC 12562	-/-	SAT 3, 2217
120	BM 103895	[...]	Unpublished; Umma?
121	BM 106097	[...]	Unpublished
122	BM 106157	[...]	SNAT 535 (*AoF 23, 260 n. 32; *BDTNS 033999)
123	BM 110140	[...]	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
124	BM 110306	[...]	Unpublished (Molina, forthcoming)
125	Brooky 1	[...]	AoF 36, 363
126	CFC 12	[...]	AAS 79
127	JRL 882	[...]	CST 882 = MVN 12, CVIII 882
128	MM 417	[...]	AnOr 7, 320 (*OrAnt 22, 111) = Montserrat 320
129	MM 426	[...]	AnOr 7, 342 = Montserrat 342
130	MM 715	[...]	Montserrat 521
131	MM 928(+)943	[...]	Montserrat 635
132	NBC 11465	[...]	SAT 3, 2005

Table 4: Court Officials at Umma*

Official	Group	Dates	Texts
A'abba	Provincial?	-/-	100, 109
A'abba, prefect (š a b r a)	Provincial	AS6/xii ²	64
Aba-Enlilgen, judge (d i - k u ₅ *)	Judge	AS5	44, 86*
Abum-ilum, vice-general (e g i r š a k k a n ₆) (of NAGsu)	Military	AS6	57
Adaga, captain of sixty men (u g u l a ĝ e š ₂ - d a)	Military	AS5/viii–AS5/ix	50, 52
Aia-kala, son of Lugal-iti-da	Uncertain	AS5	43
Aia-kala, colonel	Provincial	AS2–AS3/xi	27 ² , 39, 95, 96, 99, 100
Ali, commissioner (maškim)	Uncertain	AS8/v	70, 106
Amu'a	Peripatetic	AS5–AS8/v	42, 46, 69
Amar-si, son of Ur-e'anna	Uncertain	AS5/iv	47
AN-sukkal, royal envoy (l u ₂ - k i ĝ ₂ - g i ₄ - a l u g a l)	Royal envoy	AS2	16
Apilia	Uncertain	AS2/xii	33 (P)
Api[...]	Uncertain	AS7/xii	68
Arši-aḥ, captain of sixty men (u g u l a ĝ e š ₂ - d a)	Military	ŠS6/x	83
Atu, son of Urdu-ḥula	Uncertain	AS8/v	70
Atu, "throne-bearer" (g u - z a - l a ₂)	Provincial?	[...] (AS8→)	129
Aza'a, "mayor" (ḥ a - z a - n u m ₂ *)	Local	AS2	12*, 95 (ugula), 100*, 109*
A-[...]-iša	Uncertain	AS7/xii	67
Balnimu	Uncertain	AS6/xii ²	64
Basaga, son of the chief lamentation singer (d u m u g a l a - m a ḥ)	Royal repr.	-/-	99
Erra-qurād, royal envoy (l u ₂ - k i ĝ ₂ - g i ₄ - a l u g a l)	Royal envoy	AS3	37
Dada, scribe (d u b - s a r)	Uncertain	Š37/xii	1
Daddaḡu	Uncertain	AS4/xii ² –AS8/v	41, 46, 53, 70
Dadu, commissioner (maškim)	Uncertain	AS2	19
Dati	Uncertain	AS8/v	69, 95
Dati, son of Lugal-sa	Uncertain	AS2	12
Diġira, commissioner (maškim / ĝ i r i ₃ *)	Uncertain	AS5	42, 85*
Dudu, brother of the <i>lumaḥ</i> -priest (š e š l u ₂ - m a ḥ)	Provincial?	AS2	23
Du-udug, seer (i g i - d u ₈)	Provincial?	Š39/i	3
Ea-ilī, general (š a k k a n ₆ *) (of Umma)	Military	AS2–AS3	13*, 37, 92
Ennum-Adad, son of Tappan-darah	Royal repr.	AS2/xi	31
Erra-nuīb, royal envoy, commissioner (l u ₂ - k i ĝ ₂ - g i ₄ - a l u g a l m a š k i m)	Royal envoy	-/-	94 = 107A
Ġirine-isa, "secretary" (s u k k a l)	Royal repr.	AS8/v	69
Gudea	Military?	Š37/xii, AS2	1, 27
Gudea, colonel (n u - b a n d a ₃)	Military	AS2–AS3/xi	9, 39, 100
Ḥenasa	Uncertain	AS8/v	70
Iššur-Suen, son of Baia, commissioner (maškim) of Ilallum	Military	AS5/iv	47
Ilī-imittī, royal envoy (l u ₂ - k i ĝ ₂ - g i ₄ - a l u g a l)	Royal envoy	AS5/viii	50
Ilumma, commissioner (maškim)	Military	AS8/v	69
Inim-Inanna, son of Gududu	Provincial?	AS3/xi	39
Inima-AN, merchant / commissioner (d a m - g a r a ₃ * / m a š k i m **)	Merchant	AS2–ŠS4/ix	12*, 43**, 53*, 67*, 68, 70, 80, 96, 99*
Kalaḡu, son of Inim-Šara	Peripatetic	AS5	43
Ki'aḡ, judge (d i - k u ₅ *)	Judge	AS1–AS5/ix	8*, 43 (P), 53 (P), 99 (P), 125 (P)
Lu-amana, judge (d i - k u ₅ *)	Judge	AS2	22, 29, 86*, 131*
Lu-diġira	Peripatetic?	AS2	11, 24, 100
Lu-diġira, son of Lugal-barabe	Peripatetic	AS4/xii ² –AS8/v	41, 46, 48, 49, 70, 99
Lu-duga, son of the king (d u m u l u g a l)	Royal repr.	AS6/xii ²	64, 65
Lu-duga, son of Niġar-kidu	Provincial	AS7/xii	67
Lu-duga, son of [...]	Uncertain	AS7/xii	68
Lu-duga, "mayor" (ḥ a - z a - n u m ₂)	Local	ŠS4/ix	80
Lu-duga, commissioner (maškim)	Uncertain	[...]	125
Lu-Enki, singer (n a r)	Uncertain	-/-	117

* (P) = Official cited in case prehistory.

Official	Group	Dates	Texts
Lu-gena, scribe (dub-sar)	Uncertain	-/-	119
Lu-lbga, captain of sixty men (ugula ġeš ₂ -da)	Military	ŠS6/x	83
Lu-kala	Uncertain	[...] (AS8→)	129
Lu-Nanna	Uncertain	AS2/xii ²	35
Lu-Nanna, (general of Nagsu)	Military	AS3	37, 92
Lu-Nanna, merchant, foreman of the merchants, commissioner, "secretary" (dam-gara ₃ / ugula dam-gara ₃ -ne* / (ġiri ₃) PN sukkal**)	Merchant	AS3/xi, ŠS4/ix	39*, 80, 114=124**
Lu-Nanna, son of Inim-Šara	Royal repr.	AS3/xi	39
Lu-Ninšubur, son of Inim-Šara	Royal repr.?	AS6/xii ²	64
[Lu?]-Suen, fattener (kurušda)	Royal repr.?	Š44	6
Lu-Suen, commissioner (maškim)	Uncertain	-/-	99 (P)
Lu-Šara	Uncertain	AS2/xii ²	35
Lu-Šara, son of Inim-Šara	Royal repr.?	AS6/vi	62
Lu-Šara, assistant of the head gardener (dumu um-mi-a)	Uncertain	AS5/vii-AS6	48, 49, 50, 51, 57
Lu-Šara, son of Šamaš-šilli	Provincial?	AS5/vii-AS7/xii	49, 67
Lu-Šara, royal singer, commissioner of the governor (nar lugal maškim ensi ₂ -ka)	Provincial?	AS5/iv	47
Lugal-barabe, major-domo of the chancellor (šabra sukkal-maḥ)	Royal repr.	Š39/i	3
Lugal-emaḥe, brother of Lugal-kiri	Provincial	[...] (AS8→)	129
Lugal-ezem, captain of sixty men (ugula ġeš ₂ -da)	Military	AS5/viii	50
Lugal-ḫili, captain (of sixty men?) (ugula)	Military?	-/-	109
Lugal-kuzu	Uncertain	AS2	9, 17, 35
Lugal-kuzu, son of Ḫabalu	Uncertain	AS5/iv-AS5/vii	47, 49, 109
Lugal-melam	Uncertain	AS6	57
Lugal-niḡlagare, son of Manidu	Uncertain	AS5/ix	54
Lugal-niḡlagare, commissioner (maškim)	Uncertain	AS2	28
Nabasa	Military?	AS7	68, 100
Nabasa, captain of sixty men (ugula ġeš ₂ -da) (of Maškan)	Military	AS5/viii-AS5/ix	50, 51
N[a-...]-x ¹	Uncertain	AS8/v	69
Namḫani, commissioner (maškim)	Uncertain	-/-	97
Nanna-kuzu, son of Lu-Nanna, the overseer of Nanna's temple (nu-banda ₃ e ₂ dNanna-ka)	Royal repr.?	AS7/xii	67
Nanna-saga, son of Šada, the Amorite, royal envoy (lu ₂ -kiġ ₂ -gi ₄ -a lugal)	Royal envoy	AS2/xi	31
Nidamu, scribe (dub-sar*)	Peripatetic	AS2-AS7/xii	15, 42, 43, 46, 48*, 49*, 50, 51, 57, 59 ² , 62, 68, 95, 99
Sipa-kuge, son of Urdu-ḫula	Uncertain	AS3/xi	39
Šilli-Adad	Uncertain	AS5/vii	48
Šarrum-ilī, colonel (nu-banda ₃) (of Girsu?)	Military	AS5/ix-AS6	52, 57
Šarakam, son of Inim-Šara, field registrar (saġ-du ₃)	Royal repr.	AS2	13
Šelebia	Uncertain	AS5/viii	50
Šu-Ninšubur, colonel (nu-banda ₃) (of GARšana?)	Military	AS2	9, 27 ² , 100
Šu-Suen, son of Geme-e'anna	Royal repr.	AS2/xi	31
Šulgi-šillūl, royal envoy, commissioner (lu ₂ -kiġ ₂ -gi ₄ -a lugal maškim / ġiri ₃ PN lu ₂ -kiġ ₂ -gi ₄ -a lugal*)	Royal envoy	AS6	57 = 90*
Tete	Peripatetic	AS5	42
Ti-abzuta, commissioner (maškim)	Uncertain	AS5/ix	54
Tirgu, commissioner (maškim)	Uncertain	AS8/v	70
Ubar, colonel (nu-banda ₃)	Military	AS6	57
Ur-abzu	Uncertain	AS2	15
Ur-Bawu, son of Gududu	Provincial?	AS5/ix-AS6/vi	43, 52, 57, 62
Ur-Bilgames, son of Abbaḡu	Uncertain	AS5/ix	54
Ur-Damu, elite soldier (aga ₃ -us ₂)	Military	Š37/xii-Š44	1, 6
Ur-Enlila, son of Inim-Šara	Peripatetic	AS5/ix	51
Ur-Ġeštīnanka, commissioner (maškim)	Provincial?	AS5/ix	53 (P)
Ur-gigir, son of Bara-AN	Provincial	Š44	6

Official	Group	Dates	Texts
Ur-gigir, colonel (n u - b a n d a ₃) (of Umma?)	Military	AS3/xi	39, 95
Ur-Igalim, chief mason (š i d i m - g a l)	Peripatetic	ŠS6/x	83
Ur-ku, elite soldier, commissioner (a g a ₃ -u s ₂ / m a š k i m * / a g a ₃ -u s ₂ m a š k i m **)	Military	Š44	6, 24*, 40*, 96*, 101**
Ur-kununa, son of Urdudani	Royal repr.	AS3/xi	39
Ur-Lamma	Uncertain	AS8/v	70
Ur-lugal, son of Gududu	Provincial?	AS5/ix	53
Ur-lugal, captain of sixty men (u g u l a ḡ e š ₂ -d a)	Military	AS5/ix	51
Ur-Mami, commissioner (m a š k i m)	Provincial	AS8/v	69
Ur-Nanše, royal envoy, commissioner (l u ₂ -k i ḡ ₂ -g i ₄ -a l u g a l / l u ₂ -k i ḡ ₂ -<g i ₄ -a> l u g a l m a š k i m *)	Royal envoy	AS3	36*, 95
Ur-niḡar	Uncertain	AS2	11, 17, 35, 96
Ur-niḡar, city elder (a b - b a i r i)	Local	AS2-AS8/v	23, 43 (<Ur-niḡar _x ^{ḡar} ab-ba> iri), 47, 71 (<Ur-niḡar _x ^{ḡar} ? ab-ba> iri)
Ur-niḡar, son of Ḥabaluke	Uncertain	AS4/xii ² -AS6/xii ²	41, 48, 49, 64
Ur-niḡar, vice-general (e g i r š a k k a n ₆)	Military	AS5-AS8/v	43 (e g i r <š a k k a n ₆ >), 47, 71 (<Ur-niḡar _x ^{ḡar} ?>)
Ur-niḡar, commissioner (m a š k i m) of Aba-Enlilgen	Royal repr.?	AS5	44
Ur-niḡar, colonel (n u - b a n d a ₃) of Nagsu	Military	AS5/ix	52
Ur-Ninsu, merchant (d a m - g a r a ₃)	Merchant	-/-	109
Ur-Nisaba, scribe (d u b - s a r)	Uncertain	Š37/xii	1
Ur-Numušda	Uncertain	AS2	12
Ur-Nungal, royal envoy (l u ₂ -k i ḡ ₂ -g i ₄ -a l u g a l)	Royal envoy	AS6/i	59
Ur-Suen, son of Gududu	Provincial?	AS3/xi	39
Ur-Šara, chief bookkeeper (p i s a ḡ - d u b - b a)	Provincial	Š37/xii	1
Ur-Šara, foreman (u g u l a)	Uncertain	AS2	11
Ur-[...]	Uncertain	AS7/xii	67
Urdu-Inanna, u ₃ -k u l	Military	-/-	119
Urdu-Nanna	Provincial?	AS5/viii	50
Urdu-Nanna, “throne-bearer,” commissioner (g u - z a - l a ₂ / g u - z a - l a ₂ m a š k i m *)	Provincial?	AS5/ix-AS6/i	54, 59, 131*
Zuluḥu	Local	ŠS4/ix	80, 100
Zuluḥu, city elder (a b - b a i r i)	Local	AS7/xii	67
Zuluḥu, “mayor” (ḥ a - z a - n u m ₂)	Local	-/-	95
Zuluḥu, colonel (n u - b a n d a ₃)	Military	Š44	6
[...-a]b ² -ba	Uncertain	AS2	11
[...]-banda	Uncertain	Š44	6
[...], colonel (n u - b a n d a ₃)	Military?	[...]	131
<PNs>, 5 city elders (a b - b a i r i 5)	Local	-/-	114
<PN>, runner, commissioner (k a s ₄ m a š k i m)	Royal envoy	AS2	9
<PN>, commissioner (m a š k i m)	Provincial	ŠS6/x	83
Governor of Umma	Provincial	Š37/xii-ŠS7/iii	1, 3, 6, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24, 25, 35, 36, 39, 41, 42, 43, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 57, 58, 61, 62, 64, 65, 67, 69, 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 88, 92, 108, 110, 111, 114, 115, 117, 120, 125, 129

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