

# Der Palast im antiken und islamischen Orient

9. Internationales Colloquium  
der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft  
30. März – 1. April 2016, Frankfurt am Main

Im Auftrag des Vorstands  
der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft  
herausgegeben von  
Dirk Wicke

2019

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Die Bände 1–3 der Reihe sind in der Saarländischen Druckerei & Verlag GmbH, Saarwellingen erschienen.

Gedruckt mit freundlicher Unterstützung der Fritz Thyssen-Stiftung.



Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek  
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet über <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek  
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the internet at <http://dnb.dnb.de>.

Informationen zum Verlagsprogramm finden Sie unter  
<http://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de>

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Gedruckt auf alterungsbeständigem Papier.

Druck und Verarbeitung: Memminger MedienCentrum AG

Printed in Germany

ISSN 1433-7401

ISBN 978-3-447-11071-6

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# The Palace of Adab during the Sargonic period

Manuel Molina\*

## 1. Introduction

As is well known, the unstable political and social situation in Iraq in the last twenty-five years provoked a tragical wave of looting that affected hundreds of archaeological sites. One of them, also widely known because of its intense looting, is Tell Bismaya, the ancient Sumerian city of Adab.

Adab was excavated by Edgar James Banks and Victor Persons between 1903 and 1905. Their excavations brought to light nearly 1,000 Old Akkadian tablets, 600 of which are currently kept at the Istanbul Museum and are still awaiting publication. The majority of these tablets belonged to the so-called Classical Sargonic period. This chronological concentration of texts from Adab profoundly changed after the plundering of the site. The activity of looters affected all the surface of the tell, and tablets from all phases of the Sargonic period were found and sold in the antiquities market.

At too high a price, the publication of these texts has at least provided a corpus of written documentation covering the whole Sargonic period. Adab has thus become, together with Girsu, the best documented city of ancient Mesopotamia during the Sargonic period. Out of the 9,000 Old Akkadian texts today at our disposal, more than 25%, that is, some 2,300 tablets, come from Adab.

Very regrettably, as can be seen in a photograph taken in 2003 (Fig. 1), Tell Bismaya has been mostly destroyed by looters. It will be difficult to excavate it in the future and, consequently, hardly possible to single out the places where the tablets were found. To identify them we need to rely first on the excavations by Banks and Persons, and of course on the new insights on them recently published by Karen Wilson. And secondly, we need to rely on the contents of the tablets and their prosopographical and archival relationships. Considering these two approaches, I estimate that more than half of them belonged to the palace archives or to offices or institutions directly depending on it.<sup>1</sup> This is, however, a very conservative assessment. Many other simple

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\* This research has been made possible thanks to the financial support granted by the Spanish Ministerio de Industria, Economía y Competitividad through the project FFI2015-66790-P. Abbreviations follow the *Reallexikon für Assyriologie und Vorderasiatische Archäologie*, with the following additions: PPAC 1 = Yang 1989; SCTRAH = Molina 2014; TCCBI 1 = Pomponio / Visicato / Westenholz 2006.

1 The identification of Adab tablets coming from the palace archives has been mainly based on their contents, their archival relationships, prosopographic studies, and the offices and institu-

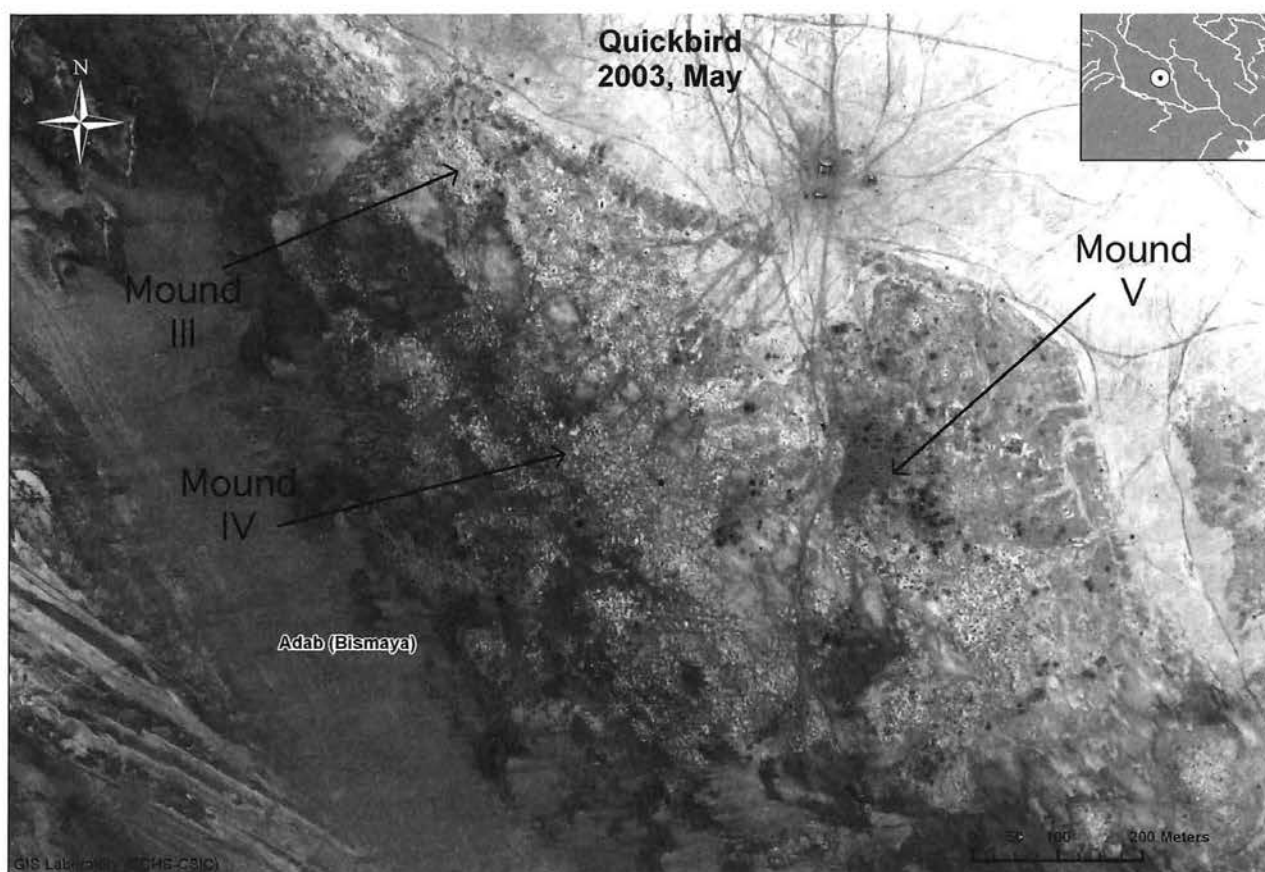


Fig. 1: Tell Bismaya (Adab). Approximate location of Banks' Mounds III, IV, V. Satellite image taken in May 2003.

receipts or tablets recording unidentified people could have also been part of these palace archives.

All these tablets can be dated roughly to three different phases: Early Dynastic IIIb to Early Sargonic, Middle Sargonic and Classical Sargonic.<sup>2</sup> The first of these, dated to the beginning of the Sargonic period, but embracing also some years of Lugalzagesi's reign, was dominated in Adab by the figure of Meskigala.

## 2. Early Dynastic IIIb to Early Sargonic Period

Meskigala was the governor of Adab under the kingship of Lugalzagesi of Uruk (BIN 8 26).<sup>3</sup> He took Sargon's side in the fight against Lugalzagesi for hegemony over Babylonia and participated in Sargon's military campaigns against Uruk and to Upper Mesopotamia. Adab enjoyed some years of prosperity until Meskigala rebelled against

tions mentioned in them. A very good point of departure in this task has also been the important discussion developed by Sallaberger 2013.

2 See Molina 2014, 28, for the criteria followed in the ascription of Adab tablets to the different phases of the Sargonic period.

3 For the governors of Adab during the Sargonic period, see Molina 2014, 32, with previous literature, and Pomponio 2015.

Rīmuš, who defeated and captured both him and the governor of Zabalam (RIME 2.1.2.1 and 2.1.2.4). The duration of Meskigala's rulership is uncertain. We know that he was contemporary with Lugalzagesi, so he would have acceded to the throne at some point between Lugalzagesi 6–7, when Adab was conquered by the king of Uruk,<sup>4</sup> and Lugalzagesi 25, when the latter was defeated by Sargon (who according to USKL ruled for 40 years). The end of Meskigala's rule was marked by his capture after the defeat of Adab and its allies by king Rīmuš, during the first two years of the latter's reign.<sup>5</sup> Thus, accepting that Maništūšu reigned before Rīmuš, as stated by USKL,<sup>6</sup> Meskigala's rulership would have had a maximum of 51 years and a minimum of 31. This long career has led some scholars to suggest that two different rulers named Meskigala ruled Adab consecutively from Presargonic to Sargonic times,<sup>7</sup> although this possibility should most probably be discarded.<sup>8</sup>

Virtually all of the tablets dated to the rulership of Meskigala have been published in recent years and are the results of illegal excavations.<sup>9</sup> However, there is one tablet (OIP 14 68 [A 781]), said to have been excavated by Banks in Mound III (see Fig. 1),<sup>10</sup> that clearly came from the Meskigala archive. This is deduced from its comparison with other tablets from the same archive belonging to the group of the so-called “Beer and bread texts” (“House of the superintendent”, see below §2.2), and from the fact that, like the documents of this group, the tablet excavated by Banks is pierced from obverse to reverse.<sup>11</sup>

OIP 14 68 (photo CDLI P222254)

(i) 60 ninda, – kaš, IM.KI, *Blank space*, (ii) *Blank space*, Nu-mu-na, iti Du<sub>6</sub>-ku<sub>3</sub>, *Rev. uninscribed*

4 Sallaberger / Schrakamp 2015, 88f.

5 Sallaberger / Schrakamp 2015, 94.

6 Cf. Sallaberger / Schrakamp 2015, 95 n. 281; Pomponio 2015, 193.

7 Marchesi 2004, 183 n. 174.

8 Marchesi 2015, 152; Sallaberger / Schrakamp 2015, 95.

9 Tablets from the Meskigala archive were first identified by G. Visicato and Å. Westenholz (Visicato 2010). They have been published by Luckenbill 1930 (OIP 14 63 and 68, and perhaps also 60); Pettinato 1997 (L'uomo 18); Pomponio / Visicato / Westenholz 2006 (TCCBI 1 14, 18, 19, 23, 47, 60, 63, 189; 8 texts); Visicato / Westenholz 2010 (CUSAS 11 77–254, 355–356; 180 texts); Pomponio / Visicato 2015 (CUSAS 20 19, 353–360; 9 texts); Bartash 2013 (CUSAS 23 92, and perhaps 93 and 94); Molina 2014 (SCTRAH 1 and 2); Westenholz 2014 (CUSAS 26 75 and 78); Bartash 2017 (CUSAS 35 13, 14, 22, 36–82, 84–91, 94, 95, 98–102, 106, 109, 120–131, 134–139, 141–145, 150, 151, 156, 158, 159, 162, 175, 176–179, 181–184, 188–192, 194, 199–202, 209, 211–213, 216–218, 221–225, 230, 237, 238, 278; 132 texts); there are also three more unpublished texts in CDLI (P270837, P271229, P271235).

10 Yang 1988, 10; Phillips 2012, 135.

11 There is still another tablet excavated by Banks (OIP 14 63 [A 754]) which is also pierced, and therefore presumably belongs to the Meskigala archive, but no information on the place where it was found is currently available. It records a list of five smiths.



CUSAS 11 211 (iii 1'), CUSAS 11 208 (iii 6–7), CUSAS 35 94 (iii 6–7)

*Bread and beer for deities, households ( $e_2$  dumu,  $e_2$  AH) and individuals, Numuna among them.*<sup>12</sup>

60 ninda, Nu-mu-na, (...),  $u_4$  n (respectively 2, 9 and 24), iti Du<sub>6</sub>-ku<sub>3</sub> (...)

This makes us suspect that the rest of the archive also came from this mound.<sup>13</sup> As Banks reported, under level 1 of Mound III there was a deposit of 11 m above virgin soil,<sup>14</sup> a height that makes plausible the hypothesis of locating the remains of the Early Sargonic central archive there. Three objects apparently dated to this period or to Early Dynastic III were found there: two tablets (OIP 14 62 [A 755] and 60 [A 783]) and one cup (A 605).

The Meskigala archive shows that the palace organization was not exclusively centred around the palace itself ( $e_2$ -gal), but around a conglomerate of institutions or “houses”. In fact, the archive gathered administrative documents issued at different “houses”, all of them economically and administratively interrelated and centrally managed. This is shown by the contents of the texts, that will be discussed below, and by the fact that many of them record at the end the name of the institution where the transaction was made. This apparently means that those records were not kept in the “house” mentioned on them (otherwise there would be no need to indicate its name on the text), but in a different place, a single central archive depending on Meskigala’s rulership, most probably located in his palace.

Besides the palace ( $e_2$ -gal), the three main “houses” operating around it were the “House of the superintendent” ( $e_2$  nu-banda<sub>3</sub>), the “House of the son” ( $e_2$  dumu) and the “House of AH” ( $e_2$  AH). At least the “House of the superintendent” and the “House of the son”, but possibly also the “House of AH” and the palace itself, were managed by the superintendent (nu-banda<sub>3</sub>) of Adab, named Silim-Utu.<sup>15</sup> Although evidence is not yet conclusive, it seems that, as will be shown below, each one of the “houses” specialized in certain activities of production and distribution.

In all, out of the 380 texts from Adab dated to Meskigala’s rulership, more than 250 texts can be ascribed with reasonable certainty to his central archive. Most of them (155 texts) have been easily identified as the result of the economic activities of the palace, the “House of the superintendent”, the “House of the son”, or the “House of AH”; others (97 texts) have been also ascribed to the central archive of Meskigala

12 Other examples of bread deliveries to the same individual, in the same kind of text, but in different months, are found in CUSAS 11 209: r.i 4, 212: iii 5 (month name lost), 356: iii 4, CUSAS 35 84: ii 5, 85: iii 6, 86: iii 8, 87: iii 4, 89: iii 4, 90: iii 4, and 95: r.i 2; cf. also CDLI P270837.

13 Westenholz (2010, 456) wrote that “the Meskigala texts are likely to have been found in deeper strata of Mound IV in Tell Bismaya, where Banks found the ensi’s archive of Sharkalisharri’s time”. Westenholz followed perhaps a commentary by Yang 1989, 16, who suggested that the Early Dynastic administrative centre of Adab was located in Mound IV on the basis of two tablets (A 1118 and A 1131) found there and possibly dated to the rulership of Mugesu (see also Phillips 2012, 137).

14 Wilson 2012, 62.

15 For the reading of this PN, see Steinkeller 2015.

because the tablets are pierced from obverse to reverse (a feature that characterized many of the tablets kept in the Meskigala archive), because of the occurrence of certain officials, mainly Silim-Utu, the superintendent of Adab, or in view of their contents and other prosopographical issues.

Certainly, several of the remaining texts not ascribed to the central archive of Meskigala did also belong to it, although no clear proofs are discernible.

## 2.1. The palace ( $e_2$ -gal)

The palace is rarely mentioned in the texts of the Meskigala archive, perhaps because it was precisely the place where the archive was located. Therefore, it is not easy to identify the documents directly dealing with its activity. Livestock management, under the responsibility of Utu-tešgu, appears to have been an important activity of the palace. According to a few texts, animals were delivered from the palace to the kitchens (CUSAS 11 123), with the occasion of visits to or of important personalities like the king of Uruk (CUSAS 11 124) and the governor of Umma (CUSAS 11 122), or for other purposes (CUSAS 20 19, 359). Likewise, a couple of texts from the palace also document the delivery of hides (CUSAS 11 144, CUSAS 23 88).

Other economic activities developed at the palace could be represented by the administrative texts discussed in §2.5, where tablets of uncertain ascription, but surely produced in the context of the palatial organization, have been collected.

The interrelation of the palace with the “House of the son” and the “House of AH” is shown by several texts. They shared workshops like the one of the fullers, as can be appreciated, for example, in CUSAS 11 228 (see below §2.2.1); similarly (CUSAS 35 201), wooden implements delivered for the palace ( $e_2$ -gal-še<sub>3</sub> i<sub>3</sub>-de<sub>6</sub>) were received by the carpenters from the “House of the son” (PN naġar-ra e<sub>2</sub> dumu-ta an-na-šum<sub>2</sub>). According to CDLI P271235 (unpubl.), supplies of foodstuff were sent from the “House of the son” to the palace ( $e_2$ -gal an-de<sub>6</sub>), to be distributed at the “Women’s house” (Lugal-diġir e<sub>2</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub>-še<sub>3</sub> an-na-šum<sub>2</sub> “it was given to L. for the Women’s house”), probably showing also that the “Women’s house” was part of the palace.<sup>16</sup> Deliveries to the palace and to the “Women’s house” from the “House of the superintendent” are also attested in CUSAS 35 84, 87 and 94.

Particularly remarkable is the regular supply of foodstuff sent from the “House of AH” aimed at the maintenance of the guards of the palace, as if the production and distribution of food with this purpose comprised one of the main duties of that “house” (see below §2.4).

<sup>16</sup> For the Women’s house ( $a_2/e_2$ -mi<sub>2</sub>) in Adab, perhaps a building complex of the palace, see Bartash 2014. It was spelled both  $a_2$ -mi<sub>2</sub> (CUSAS 35 84) and  $e_2$ -mi<sub>2</sub> (CUSAS 35 94).

## 2.2. The “House of the superintendent” ( $e_2$ nu-banda<sub>3</sub>):

### 2.2.1. “Beer and bread texts”

A characteristic group of documents known as “Beer and bread texts” is tentatively ascribed to the “House of the superintendent”. It is here suggested that the expenditures recorded in these tablets were made from this “house” because one of them records its name at the end of the text, in the same way as records from the “House of AH” and the “House of the son” did:

CUSAS 35 88

(i) 60 ninda 1 dug, <sup>d</sup>Inanna, 60 ninda 1 <sup>d</sup>Iškur, 60 1 ninda <sup>d</sup>Nin-mug, 60 ninda  $e_2$ -dam, – ninda 2  $e_2$ -AH, – ninda 1 Puzur<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Aš<sub>8</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>, 60 ninda 2 Ma-u<sub>2</sub>, 60 ninda 2 Ur-<sup>d.še3</sup>Ser<sub>7</sub>-da, (ii) 60 ninda 2 Ur-nu, 60 ninda 2 I<sub>3</sub>-la-la, *Blank space*, u<sub>4</sub> 3, iti a<sub>2</sub>-ki-ti,  $e_2$  nu-banda<sub>3</sub>, *Rev. uninscribed*  
60 breads (and) 1 jar (of beer) for the goddess Inanna; 60 breads (and) 1 (jar of beer) for the god Iškur; 60 breads (and) 1 (jar of beer) for the goddess Ninmug; 60 breads for “the House of the spouse”; 0 breads (and) 2 (jars of beer) for the “House of AH”; 0 breads (and) 1 (jar of beer) for Puzur-Ašgi; 60 breads (and) 2 (jars of beer) for Ma’u; 60 breads (and) 2 (jars of beer) for Ur-Šerda; 60 breads (and) 2 (jars of beer) for Urnu; 60 breads (and) 2 (jars of beer) for Ilala.

Day 3. Month Akiti (iv).

“House of the superintendent”.

The “Beer and bread texts” group currently comprises thirty-two tablets apparently compiled on a daily basis, a fact suggested by their dating with day and month-names and their random chronological distribution (Table 1). All the tablets from this group for which there is information from the editors or pictures are available appear to have been pierced,<sup>17</sup> so they were presumably strung and subjected to the same administrative treatment.

In their most complete form, these texts recorded expenditures to all those city institutions with which the “House of the superintendent” maintained a direct economic relationship. Thus, the sanctuaries of the city, the “House of the son”, the “House of AH” and high officials were systematically recorded in them.

The cultic buildings and sanctuaries of the main gods and goddesses of Adab recorded in these texts reflect a slightly diverse cultic horizon than the one found in later Adab texts. They appear in a quite fixed sequence, which probably reveals the

<sup>17</sup> The only exception is CUSAS 11 216, which strictly speaking would not belong to this group, since it records flour and sourdough for the same deities and individuals but in a quite unusual order.

hierarchy of gods and goddesses in the ED IIIB/Early Sargonic Adab pantheon, when Adab was under the sway of Uruk or Akkad.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>d</sup>Inanna

<sup>d</sup>Iškur

<sup>d</sup>Nin-mug<sup>19</sup>

<sup>d</sup>En-ki

(<sup>d</sup>)e<sub>2</sub>-dam<sup>20</sup>

<sup>d</sup>ŠU<sub>2</sub>.HAL-e<sub>2</sub>-si<sup>21</sup>

<sup>d</sup>Bara<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>En-lil<sub>2</sub>-ĝar<sup>22</sup>

<sup>d</sup>Eš<sub>5</sub>-peš<sup>23</sup>

AN.NI<sup>24</sup>

The absence from this list of Ninhursag/Diĝirmah, the main goddess of Adab, is remarkable, which is also in accordance with the fact that her sanctuary, the e<sub>2</sub>-SAR, rarely occurs in the Meskigala archive.<sup>25</sup> This would indicate that, unlike the other sanctuaries, the main temple of Ninhursag was not managed from the palace administration.

The kind of relationship maintained by the “House of the superintendent” with the rest of the sanctuaries and the “House of the son” and the “House of AH”, also recorded as recipients of beer and bread in these texts, is not totally certain. A clue could be provided by a few of these texts apparently recording at the end an explanation for the destiny of the deliveries:

18 For this and other similar sequences in Early Dynastic and Old Akkadian texts from Adab, see Such-Gutiérrez 2005/06, 37–38.

19 For the goddess Ninmug in Adab, see Cavigneaux / Krebernik 1998/2001, 471–473; Such-Gutiérrez 2005/06, 27–28.

20 The nature of the cultic building e<sub>2</sub>-dam, lit. “the (divine) House of the spouse”, occasionally written with the divine determinative (CUSAS 13 141), is uncertain. See Such-Gutiérrez 2005/06, 42–43; Maiocchi 2009, 16 (“tavern”); Schrakamp 2013, 219.

21 For this divine name, exclusively found at Adab, see Such-Gutiérrez 2005/06, 44. For the ligature ŠU<sub>2</sub>.HAL, see also Maiocchi 2009, 150; Steinkeller 2011, 17; Schrakamp 2013, 219. In Classical Sargonic texts it also appears as ŠU<sub>4</sub>.HAL (CUSAS 13 118 and 119).

22 Bara-Enlil-ĝar, “The Sovereign Appointed by Enlil”, was probably another name for Ašgi, the city-god of Adab, who was worshipped in the Emah temple (OIP 14 97): see Marchesi 2011, 113. See also Such-Gutiérrez 2005/06, 42.

23 Ešpeš was a divinity worshipped in the Adab and Keš region: see Such-Gutiérrez 2005/06, 16.

24 For this divinity, see Such-Gutiérrez 2005/06, 5. *Sanga*-administrators of AN.NI are attested in CUSAS 20 364 (ES), CUSAS 20 258 (MS) and CUSAS 20 18 (CS).

25 The e<sub>2</sub>-SAR is attested in CUSAS 11 148, 195 (saĝĝa e<sub>2</sub>-SAR-ta), CUSAS 35 118, 159, 184, and TCCBI 1 189. The e<sub>2</sub>-mah, as was renamed the temple at the end of ED IIIB or in early Sargonic times (Such-Gutiérrez 2005/06, 11), is not attested, to the best of my knowledge, in the Meskigala archive.



- nu-banda<sub>3</sub> aša<sub>5</sub> gaba ġiš-gi-gal-še<sub>3</sub> an-da-de<sub>6</sub> “the superintendent brought it (beer and bread) with him to the field in front of the large cane-brake” (CDLI P271229, CUSAS 11 215)
- nu-banda<sub>3</sub> aša<sub>5</sub> <sup>d</sup>Dam-gal-nun-še<sub>3</sub> an-da-de<sub>6</sub> “the superintendent brought it (beer and bread) with him to the field of Damgalnuna” (CUSAS 35 93)
- i<sub>7</sub> AN.GU<sub>2</sub>×PAP-du<sub>6</sub> [...] “[it was brought to (?)] the canal AN.GU<sub>2</sub>×PAP-du<sub>6</sub>”<sup>26</sup> (CUSAS 35 95)
- gu<sub>2</sub> DU tum<sub>2</sub>-ma-ni-kam al-de<sub>6</sub> “it belongs to the river bank (?) of ..., it was brought (there?)” (CUSAS 35 97)

Beer and bread taken to these fields and canals were perhaps food allotments intended for workers dependent on sanctuaries, the “House of the son” and the “House of AH”, sent there to perform agricultural and irrigation tasks. Well known, in this regard, is the role played by temples in the management and control of agricultural labour. Food distribution for similar purposes and different destinees was recorded in the tablets belonging to the administration of the “House of AH” (§2.4).

“Beer and bread texts” recorded also the supply of food to high officials, who may have been in charge of the supervision of the workers:

Puzur<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Aš<sub>8</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>  
 Ma-u<sub>2</sub>  
 Ur-<sup>d-še</sup>Šer<sub>7</sub>-da  
 E<sub>2</sub>-igi-si<sub>4</sub> (CUSAS 35 98, 100)<sup>27</sup>  
 Ur-nu  
 Nu-mu-na  
 I<sub>3</sub>-la-la

That these high officials were most probably administrators of the sanctuaries is suggested by the plausible identification of Urnu as the overseer (ugula e<sub>2</sub>) of Ninmug’s temple (TCCBI 1 47, CUSAS 35 129, 217, CUSAS 11 182), and of Puzur-Ašgi as the scribe (dub-sar) of Inanna’s temple (CUSAS 35 177).

Some of these officials are also found in CUSAS 11 228, a text that records the delivery of *bardul*-garments (bar-dul<sub>5</sub> uš-bar) to the fullers (azlag<sub>7</sub>). Suppliers include an administrator (ugula) of the “House of the son” (see §2.3), three administrators from sanctuaries (Puzur-Ašgi, Ur-Šerda and E-igisi), and workers from the palace (IL<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-gal). The involvement in the common daily activities of members of

<sup>26</sup> For the reading of this canal name, see Bartash 2017, 229.

<sup>27</sup> E<sub>2</sub>-igi-si<sub>4</sub> is interpreted as a PN in the “Beer and bread texts” CUSAS 35 98 and 100, after its occurrence as a clear PN in CUSAS 11 228 and CUSAS 23 93 (see also commentary to the latter text by Bartash). Nevertheless, one should not rule out an interpretation such as e<sub>2</sub> Igi-si<sub>4</sub> “House of Igisi”, since Igi-si<sub>4</sub> was a high official working for the “House of the son” (CUSAS 11 202, TCCBI 1 50, CUSAS 35 139, 141, 151, 157, 158, 218).



the palace, the “House of the son” and the “House of AH”, has been discussed above (§2.1) and can be appreciated in several other texts (CUSAS 35 183, etc).

### 2.2.2. *Other texts*

Three more tablets from the “House of the superintendent” record supplies of food-stuff to other officials (the chief policeman and the chief herald of the “House of the son”, CUSAS 35 153) and workers (in the forest of Ašgi, and ENGAR-TUM workers,<sup>28</sup> CUSAS 35 134), and on the occasion of the journey of Ur-Ninmug, the scribe (CUSAS 11 204). The travels of Ur-Ninmug, who apparently worked for the “House of the son”, are mentioned elsewhere in the Meskigala archive (CUSAS 35 216, CUSAS 35 178); at least one of these journeys was to Akkade (CUSAS 35 179).

## 2.3. The “House of the son” ( $e_2$ *dumu*)

The “House of the son” was another branch of the palatial administration. Bartash has suggested that the name of this household might be an abbreviated form of  $e_2$  *dumu-saĝ* (CUSAS 35 127), “House of the firstborn son”, interpreted as a reference to the offspring of Ninhursag/Diĝirmah and Ašgi.<sup>29</sup> Because Bara-Enlil-ĝar, probably another name for Ašgi,<sup>30</sup> usually occurs right before  $e_2$  *dumu* in the “Beer and bread texts” (§2.2.1), the hypothesis of Bartash seems plausible. Note also that the text where  $e_2$  *dumu-saĝ* occurs (CUSAS 35 127) records the name of Ur-Ninmug as the recipient of cereals, a well-known official of the “House of the son” (cf. CUSAS 35 153, 177, 178, 179, 183, 216, and see above §2.2). This however does not exclude the interpretation of  $e_2$  *dumu* as the household of Meskigala’s son/children, in a similar way as the  $e_2$  *nam-dumu* of Early Dynastic Girsu, which was part of the larger  $e_2$  *mi*<sub>2</sub> /  $e_2$  *ḫa-u*<sub>2</sub> complex.<sup>31</sup> An abbreviation of  $e_2$  *TUR* for  $e_2$  *nu-ban-da*<sub>3</sub> should be discarded, since both “houses” are attested in the same text (CUSAS 35 99 and 183).

Tablets concerning the administration of the “House of the son” were kept in the Meskigala archive, but in separate baskets or containers, from which bullae were hung, for example CUSAS 35 238: *pisaĝ dub e<sub>2</sub> dumu iti še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>* “Container of tablets (concerning) the ‘House of the son’. Month xii”. Only eight tablets documenting the activities of the “House of the son” were pierced, which probably means that with this archival system tablets were not stored according to their “house” of provenance, but rather according to specific categories of expenditure, like the one represented by the “Beer and bread texts” (§2.2.1).

<sup>28</sup> For ENGUR-TUM, possibly a category of workers attested in texts from Adab of Meskigala times, see Bartash 2017, 101.

<sup>29</sup> Bartash 2017, 148.

<sup>30</sup> Marchesi 2011, 113.

<sup>31</sup> Selz 2011, 280.

The “House of the son” was directly managed by Silim-Utu, the superintendent, who played a key role within the Adab administration, particularly in foreign relations and trade.<sup>32</sup> In fact, out of the sixty-seven documents recording the activity of the “House of the son” (Table 2), twenty-five deal with animals and other food supplies in connection with trips of various types (Table 2.1):

- Visitors to Adab, like the governor of Azabum (CUSAS 35 137), an official from the town of Ezurzur (CUSAS 35 130), or men from Isin (CUSAS 35 142) and Šuruppak (CDLI P270830).
- Trips of boatmen and merchants to Adab, coming from Umma (CUSAS 35 217), Akkade (CUSAS 35 131), or elsewhere (CUSAS 35 150, 157, 133).
- Trips of Adab officials travelling from/to Adab, like Ur-Ninmug (CUSAS 35 178, 179, 216), Igisi (CUSAS 11 202, CUSAS 35 151) and others.
- Trips for cultic purposes, like offerings at Nippur (CUSAS 35 225) or Keš (CUSAS 11 355), or for other reasons (CUSAS 35 138, 175, 182).

These texts could record both the goods transported during the trips, or the allocations given to travellers. In the latter case, basic allotments comprised quantities of flour ( $zi_3$ , dabin), sourdough (bappir), malt ( $munu_4$ ) and groats ( $ni\hat{g}_2$ -ar<sub>3</sub>-ra) (CUSAS 35 131, 133, 137, 143, 144, 150, etc.). Only exceptionally (CUSAS 11 110; see Table 4.4), texts from the Meskigala archive record similar luxury gifts to those given to visitors in later periods, particularly the Middle Sargonic period (see below §3.4), probably revealing low-profile diplomatic relationships with other cities and administrations. These relations were nevertheless fluid and frequent, as is shown by these texts and others discussed below in §2.5.

Texts from the “House of the son” recorded also the expenditure and delivery of raw materials and manufactured goods to and from different workshops and craftsmen (Table 2.2), for example leather-workers (CUSAS 35 188, 192), carpenters (CUSAS 35 199, 201), reed-workers (CUSAS 35 222) or builders (CUSAS 35 213). Some details provided by these tablets also suggest that the activity of these workshops was performed for the benefit of the whole palatial organization, the “House of the son”, the “House of the superintendent” and the “House of AH” included (cf. for example CUSAS 35 201, cited above §2.1).

Finally, several other texts from the “House of the son” record the expenditure of foodstuffs (Table 2.3) and animals (Table 2.4) with various destinations, although it is difficult to draw from them a more precise administrative organization and structure.

32 The duration of Silim-Utu’s office is uncertain, although it probably covered most, if not all, of the rulership of Meskigala. Such-Gutiérrez (2015, 435 n. 9) writes that his office “ist seit der prä-sargonischen Zeit, CUSAS 11 113 Rs. 1 (Mes-kigala / ix -) – hier ohne Berufsangabe –, bis zur Regierungszeit von Maništušu oder Rīmuš, CUSAS 11 122: II 1–2 (- / [] -), belegt”. Although this is plausible, note that: a) CUSAS 11 113 could also be dated to Early Sargonic times; b) CUSAS 11 122 mentions  $Su-us_2$ -gi ensi<sub>2</sub> Umma<sup>ki</sup>, who might have also been contemporary with Sargon (see Marchesi 2011, 20).

## 2.4 The “House of AH” (e<sub>2</sub> AH)<sup>33</sup>

Just as for the “House of the son”, the documents resulting from the activity of the “House of AH” were also kept in the central archive of Meskigala. We have forty-seven texts (Table 3) attesting to the activity of the “House of AH”, virtually all of them pierced in the same way as the “Beer and bread texts”, and therefore subject to the same method of classification and archiving. No clear evidence on the identity of the official in charge of the administration of the “House of AH” is provided by the texts, although the option of Silim-Utu seems plausible in view of the central role he played in the Adab administration.

Twenty-eight texts from this group (Table 3.1) provide testimony of an activity focused on supplies of bread and beer for personnel of the palace, particularly guards (aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-gal). Other tablets from the “House of AH” (Table 3.2) record beer and bread allotments for workers on duty at fields (aša<sub>5</sub> <sup>d</sup>Dam-gal-nun [CUSAS 35 41]) and gardens (kiri<sub>6</sub> Ur<sub>5</sub>-tu-<sup>d</sup>Aš<sub>8</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub> [CUSAS 35 44 and 69], kiri<sub>6</sub> <sup>d</sup>Aš<sub>8</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>-pa-e<sub>3</sub> [CUSAS 35 65]), and for religious ceremonies at canals (ka i<sub>7</sub> ensi<sub>2</sub> [CUSAS 35 56], ka i<sub>7</sub> dumu [CUSAS 35 39],<sup>34</sup> ka i<sub>7</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-DUN [CUSAS 35 37], i<sub>7</sub> gibil [CUSAS 35 50]), or on boats (ma<sub>2</sub>-ku<sub>3</sub>-za:gin<sub>3</sub> [CUSAS 35 42 and 48]). The “House of AH” also contributed to the provision of foodstuff (bread and beer, Tables 3.3 and 3.4) given on the occasion of the visits of the governors of Umma and Lagaš (CUSAS 35 64) and a king’s envoy (CUSAS 35 82).

## 2.5. Additional data on Meskigala’s palace organization

Nearly one hundred more texts (Table 4) definitely from the Meskigala central archive, but not ascribable with certainty to any of the above-mentioned “houses” in particular, provide a more complete picture of the activities of the palace organization in this period, although their place within its administrative structure remains partly uncertain.

The first group of texts worth mentioning are CUSAS 35 275, 276, 277 and 278 (Table 4.1). These tablets record allotments of bread for a large number of dependents of the palace organization, including personnel of the king of Akkade. The former included the superintendent (Silim-<sup>d</sup>Utu nu-banda<sub>3</sub>), overseers (ugula), a *seda’um*-official (*su-da-um*), soldiers (aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>), scribes (dub-sar), cupbearers (sagi), donkey-herders (sipa anše), a veterinarian (a-zu anše), a “shekel-weigher” (gin<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>), field registrars (saĝ-du<sub>5</sub>), gardeners (nu-kiri<sub>6</sub>), a vegetable grower (lu<sub>2</sub>-nisig), reed workers (ad-KID), fullers (azlag<sub>7</sub>), fishermen (šu-ku<sub>6</sub>), boatmen (ma<sub>2</sub>-lah<sub>5</sub>), a physician (a-zu<sub>5</sub>), barbers (šu-i), throne-bearers (<sup>ĝi</sup>šgu-za-la<sub>2</sub>), a

33 I cannot offer a fully satisfactory explanation for AH. It could be a PN, as attested in CUSAS 11 82 and 177 (dam-gar<sub>3</sub>), 279 (sipa), 113 and 254.

34 This is probably the same ceremony as the one mentioned in SCTRAH 1. In this case it was the chief cupbearer who was responsible for the expenditure, so the “house” supplying the foodstuff was possibly the palace itself.



janitor ( $i_3$ -du<sub>8</sub>), a lamentation singer (gala), musicians (nar), a jester (u<sub>4</sub>-da-tuš) and *hedab*-workers (he<sub>2</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub>).

Among the personnel of the king of Akkade (we are uncertain whether with temporary or permanent functions at Meskigala's court) we find livestock administrators (šuš<sub>3</sub>), a DUR<sub>2</sub>-lugal, a scribe (dub-sar) and soldiers (aga<sub>3</sub>-us<sub>2</sub>). Their presence in these records shows that, to some extent, Meskigala recognized Akkadian sovereignty.<sup>35</sup>

Particularly important in one of these texts is the record of 1,080 la<sub>2</sub> 10 nin-da lu<sub>2</sub> niĝ<sub>2</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub>-me “1,070 breads (for) those entitled to receive something”<sup>36</sup> (CUSAS 35 278: r. iii 12–13), which provides an interesting datum on the size of the palace organization and the personnel depending on it: if we assume that these “recipients” were allotted a low number of breads (higher allotments were recorded with more detail in these texts), then a figure of between 300 to 1,000 low status workers dependent on the palatial organization emerges from the records.

This figure could well embrace the skilled workers (ĝiš-kiĝ<sub>2</sub>-ti) recorded with an exceedingly high number in CUSAS 11 93: iii 2',<sup>37</sup> a tablet that no doubt belonged to the same dossier as CUSAS 35 275, 276, 277 and 278.<sup>38</sup> In this tablet, 320 craftsmen (ĝiš-kiĝ<sub>2</sub>-ti) receiving three breads each are recorded, a number of workers that is closer to the size of the craft workshops of the Ebla palace,<sup>39</sup> than to the dimensions of the Adab craft workshops of the Middle Sargonic period (see below §3.3). At least in this period, craftsmen (smiths, carpenters, leather workers, rope makers/braiders and joiners?) and other skilled workers, such as fullers (azlag<sub>7</sub>) or weavers ((geme<sub>2</sub>) ki siki-ka),<sup>40</sup> were clearly distinguished and employed in different workshops ((e<sub>2</sub>) ĝiš-kiĝ<sub>2</sub>-ti, e<sub>2</sub> azlag<sub>7</sub>-ge-ne and ki siki). It is possible, nevertheless, that in the Meskigala administration ĝiš-kiĝ<sub>2</sub>-ti included not only craftsmen, but also fullers (as in ED IIIb Girsu)<sup>41</sup> and weavers: the figure of 320 skilled workers (ĝiš-kiĝ<sub>2</sub>-ti) of CUSAS 11 93 fits surprisingly well with the sum of workers on duty in the craft workshop, the fullers' workshop and the weaving house during the Middle Sargonic period (see below §3.3).

35 Schrakamp 2017, 92.

36 Bartash (2017, 255) translates lu<sub>2</sub> niĝ<sub>2</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub>-(ba) as “requisitioners”, and writes that “it is one of the general terms for household employees or dependents”. In view of the high number of lu<sub>2</sub> niĝ<sub>2</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub>-(ba) denoted by our text, other interpretations such as “storekeepers” (cf. Cripps 2017, §7.2.1.4 and n. 10, with previous literature) should be discarded here. The interpretation of the term as “those entitled to receive something” has been taken from Zettler / Sallaberger 2011, 58.

37 I thank David I. Owen for having put at my disposal photos of CUSAS 11 93 (= CUNES 48-10-061).

38 See photos in CDLI P250833, P250834, P250835 and P250836.

39 See Paoletti 2016.

40 See Maiocchi 2016, 93, who suggests that during the Sargonic period this term refers to “personnel primarily (but not exclusively) belonging to a specific workshop”, while uš-bar was “used as a generic term for weaver”.

41 See Paoletti 2016, 56.

As suggested above (§2.3), it is plausible that single workshops of craftsmen, fullers and weavers covered the needs of the whole palace administration. These workshops were again under the responsibility of Silim-Utu, the superintendent (Table 4.2), and their general way of operation seems similar to the one documented for the Middle Sargonic period (§3.3). Nevertheless, textiles, and ordinary and luxury objects produced in them are scarcely represented, possibly because the administrative archive documenting their activity was independent of the archive devoted to keeping records concerning the activity of the “houses” discussed above. What remains seems in any case sufficient to indicate a lack of luxury goods in the palace economy, in contrast to what texts show for later periods in the history of the city. Silver appears only in its typical use as currency in economic transactions and as a unit of conversion, with merchants playing a role subordinate to the palace (Table 4.3), while gold is almost absent from the textual record of this period. There is only one text (CUSAS 35 260) that apparently recorded the payment of silver taxes from various individuals, although it is not possible to relate it to a specific institution.

Finally, several texts (Table 4.4), probably some of them produced in relation to the activity of the “House of the son” (see also above §2.2), attest to fluid relationships with other cities of Babylonia. Likewise, relevant trips made by Meskigala or Silim-Utu were recalled in kinds of date-formulae (“*when this and that happened...*”) that cannot be considered proper year-names.<sup>42</sup> The king of Akkade or his representatives also counted among the visitors to Adab (TCCBI 1 63, CUSAS 35 107), possibly in a context of a military coalition rather than of Adab’s subordination to Akkade. It is true, in this respect, that no clear hints of political, administrative or economic dominance over Adab by the Sargonic king can be clearly deduced from the texts. Only in a few documents mentioned above (CUSAS 35 275, 276, 277 and 278), are personnel of the king of Akkade recorded along with other officials and workers at Meskigala’s palace organization, revealing that Adab recognized in some way the Akkadian sovereignty and leadership.

### 3. Middle Sargonic Period

After the defeat suffered by Meskigala, some things changed in Adab. We now enter to the so-called Middle Sargonic period, which would extend over ca. forty years,<sup>43</sup> until the Great Revolt. About eight hundred tablets dated to this period can be ascribed

42 CUSAS 11 108 and 176 (when Silim-Utu stayed at Azabum); CUSAS 11 119, 250 and 228 (when Meskigala stayed at Azabum); CUSAS 11 187 (when M. returned from Azabum); CUSAS 11 249 (when M. returned from Abzani); CUSAS 11 109 (when M. [traveled to/from] Abzani); CUSAS 11 113 (when M. stayed at Uruk); CUSAS 11 124 (when M. returned from Girsu); CUSAS 11 165 and TCCBI 1 23 (when M. returned from the land of cedars); CUSAS 11 188 (when M. stayed at RU.LA<sup>ki</sup>); CUSAS 11 234 (when Girsu was destroyed and M. went to Akkade); CUSAS 11 243 (when M. stayed at APIN-[...]).

43 This is an approximate calculation. Meskigala is said to have been captured when Rīmuš, who ruled for fifteen years, suppressed a revolt by several Sumerian cities immediately after he

with a high degree of certainty to the city of Adab as their place of origin. Mainly based on palaeographical observations and the shape of the tablets, distinctions into Early to Middle Sargonic, Middle Sargonic or Middle to Classical Sargonic have been made for these documents. Nevertheless, for the time being, a reliable relative chronology of the Middle Sargonic period is difficult to establish and will have to wait for a detailed prosopographical analysis and progress in palaeographical studies.

Considering that the Middle Sargonic period would correspond to the years between the defeat of Meskigala and the Great Revolt, the remarks that follow will be focused around the peak of Adab's splendour, i.e. during the governorships of Šarru-ālī, who most probably was appointed by the Sargonic king,<sup>44</sup> and Lugal-ajaĝu, who plausibly ruled just a few years before the Great Revolt.<sup>45</sup>

It is difficult to identify either a continuity or a breakdown between the Middle Sargonic period and the time of Meskigala in social terms. The lack of certain types of information that do exist for later periods, such as seal impressions or the frequent use of patronymics, and of course the scarce recourse to year-names, make it very complicated to trace the presence of middle- and high-ranking families in Adab through long periods. In any case, the deep change suffered by the palace organization after Meskigala's defeat from an economic and administrative point of view is beyond question. Nevertheless, even though Naram-Suen was known to have been the driving force behind important administrative reforms in the Sumerian lands,<sup>46</sup> the texts are not clear enough as to whether he or possibly Rīmuš was responsible for the new scenario we find now in Adab. Be that as it may, the fact is that the conglomerate of "houses" grouped around the palace, administratively and economically interrelated, disappear from the record. Likewise, the superintendent (nu-banda<sub>3</sub>) was no longer an influential office in the life of the palace, and no more mentions are found of a female quarter. But above all, the documentation at our disposal shows a picture of a palace whose activities are qualitatively different from those attested for the time of Meskigala.

Out of the nearly one thousand texts that could be assigned to some point of the Middle Sargonic period, about six hundred can be confidently considered as coming from the palace archives. Many other short documents, whose provenance cannot be established in any way, no doubt also originated from there.

From an archival point of view, two large groups can be singled out for the texts from the palace of Adab dated to this period. On the one hand, all the activities concerning the storage and production of foodstuff and manufactured goods were recorded in an interconnected batch of texts that with all probability were archived in a single repository. The second group concerned the administration of livestock: the records that resulted from its management do not show any archival links with

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ascended the throne (Sallaberger / Schrakamp 2015, 94). Nevertheless, the date of the Great Revolt faced by Naram-Suen is still uncertain (cf. Molina 2014, 31–32).

44 Cf. Schrakamp 2017, 91 n. 8 and 95.

45 Molina 2014, 29–32; Maiocchi 2016, 97–99.

46 See Foster 2016, 17ff.



the first group, nor did the officials in charge have apparent relationships with it. This does not mean, however, that the two groups of texts were kept in different places: as the excavations at Palace G at Ebla have shown, very different and apparently unrelated groups of texts could be kept in the same room.<sup>47</sup> Additionally, a few texts recording the allocation of clothes and bread to palace dependents provide important insights on the hierarchy of palatial offices in Adab during this period.

### 3.1. The palace administrators

After Meskigala's defeat, the internal organization of the palace changed, and apparently a new office replaced the figure of the superintendent (nu-banda<sub>3</sub>), who had held the highest office in the palace administration during Meskigala's rulership. It seems probable that in the Middle Sargonic period, his responsibilities were assumed by the "chief steward" (ensi<sub>2</sub>-gal),<sup>48</sup> who however is scarcely attested in the MS corpus. He only appears in relation to the delivery of a hide (CUAS 20 195), and notably, in first place in a long text recording the allocation of clothes to the main dependents of the palace (CUSAS 35 300).

The second office recorded by this text is the "land surveyor" (lu<sub>2</sub>-eš<sub>2</sub>-aša<sub>5</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub>), a high office in the Middle Sargonic palace administration whose holder was most probably Muni, known to have played a primary role at least in the management of the goods kept in the storehouse of the palace.<sup>49</sup> The basic nature of this office, related to land administration, makes it plausible that he was appointed by the crown.<sup>50</sup>

Then follows a series of some eighty personal names and offices. Most of the personal names are well known from the texts, but their exact function within the palace administration is difficult to define, and an eventual prosopographic study of all of them is beyond the scope of this contribution. Still, there are in this text people recorded by their office that help us to have an idea of the activities performed by palace dependents, some of them described with more detail in the paragraphs below: the (chief) farmers "of the other side (of the river)" (engar bala-a-ri<sub>2</sub>),<sup>51</sup> the chief boatman (ma<sub>2</sub>-lah<sub>5</sub> gal), the chief cupbearer (sagi mah),<sup>52</sup> the official in charge of the fisheries (enku),<sup>53</sup> the overseer of fishermen (ugula šu-ku<sub>6</sub>), the *šita-uru*-official (šita-uru),<sup>54</sup> the *lu-igi*-official (lu<sub>2</sub>-igi),<sup>55</sup> the superintendent (nu-ban-

47 Cf. Archi 2003.

48 For the office of ensi<sub>2</sub>-gal, see Jacobsen 1991, 113f.; Beld 2002, 70 n. 65; Marchesi / Marchetti 2011, 109; Schrakamp 2015, 313.

49 Molina 2014, 77 and 135.

50 Cf. Foster 2016, 17.

51 For the interpretation of bala-a-ri<sub>2</sub> as "the opposite side (of the river)", see Molina 2014, 115.

52 For the role of the cupbearer in the Adab administration of the Classical Sargonic period, see Maiocchi 2010.

53 For the meaning of enku, see Steinkeller 2017, 48.

54 See Schrakamp 2012, 278.

55 For the office of lu<sub>2</sub>-igi, see Schrakamp 2008, 702.

da<sub>3</sub>), the *kiĝgal*-supervisor (kiĝ<sub>2</sub>-gal),<sup>56</sup> the *ešdu*-official (eš<sub>3</sub>-du),<sup>57</sup> the chief potter (bahar<sub>x</sub> gal), the garden administrator (santana), the garden administrator (and) overseer (santana ugula), the overseer of female workers (ugula geme<sub>2</sub>), the chief builder (šidim gal), the overseer of craftsmen (and) overseer of weavers (ugula ĝiš-kiĝ<sub>2</sub>-ti, ugula ki siki-ka), the scribe (dub-sar), and the temple administrators of the Emah and the sanctuaries of Iškur and Ašgi (saĝĝa e<sub>2</sub>-mah, saĝĝa <sup>d</sup>[Iškur], saĝĝa <sup>d</sup>[Aš<sub>7</sub>-gi<sub>4</sub>])<sup>58</sup>. In fact, as this and other texts (SCTRAH 63, 73 and 74) show, the main sanctuaries of Adab, the temple of Ninhursag/Diĝirmah included, were also managed by the palace administration.

Complementary rosters like CUSAS 35 283 and 284 record the allocation of bread and beer to a different group of palace dependents, including the consort (ereš) and female servants (geme<sub>2</sub>) of the ruler (ensi<sub>2</sub>), musicians (nar), a jester (u<sub>4</sub>-datuš), and other workers not holding a supervisory function (*hedab*-workers, carpenters, barbers, fullers, reed workers, boatmen, fishermen, etc.).

### 3.2. Administration of livestock

The cattle administration in Adab was apparently managed by Imid-ilum.<sup>59</sup> Imid-ilum's influence on the economic and religious life of Adab is shown by the contents and the “year-name”<sup>60</sup> of an interesting text:

Molina / Notizia 2012, 48 no. 1

[...] [x], [x]+193 [x], 30 gukkal, 80 la<sub>2</sub> 2 maš<sub>2</sub> sa<sub>6</sub>, Ur-nu, ka-guru<sub>7</sub>-da, e-da-se<sub>12</sub>, I-mi-DIĜIR-e, (rev.) pisaĝ tur-ra, niĝ<sub>2</sub>-kas<sub>7</sub>-bi, e-da-ak, iti ĝa<sub>2</sub>-udu-ur<sub>4</sub>, mu I-mi-DIĜIR-e, en-en Diĝir-mah, maš<sub>2</sub>-e bi<sub>2</sub>-dab<sub>5</sub>-ba-am<sub>3</sub>

..., [x]+193 ..., 30 fat-tailed sheep, (and) 78 top quality goats were in the custody of Urnu, the chief of the granary. Imid-ilum made with him (= Urnu) the balanced account of the small (tablet) basket(s). Month vii. The year Imid-ilum chose the *en*-priests of Diĝirmah by omens.

56 For the office of kiĝ<sub>2</sub>-gal, see Molina 2014, 116 and 124.

57 For the professional name eš<sub>3</sub>-(a-ab)-du, lit. “the one who walks into the sanctuary”, see Steinkeller 1989, 81 n. 238; Selz 1993, 274; Such-Gutiérrez 2005/06, 42

58 For the restoration of Iškur and Ašgi in this text, cf. a similar list dated to the Classical Sargonic period in CUSAS 35 360 (commented in §4.1).

59 Molina / Notizia 2012, 49–53. It is uncertain whether he should be identified with the Imid-ilum, son of Ilī-aḥī the general (šakkan<sub>6</sub>), who received several gifts as recorded in SCTRAH 28. Likewise, it is plausible, but difficult to ascertain whether his household is the one attested as e<sub>2</sub> I-mi-DIĜIR<sup>ki</sup>, together with Ma-an-iš-t[i-su]<sup>ki</sup>, in a text from Adab dated to the Classical Sargonic period (OIP 14 114).

60 An abbreviated formula of this “year-name” was probably recorded in CUSAS 20 185 (mu en-en al-dab<sub>5</sub>-a).



Imid-ilum was in charge of collecting the *mašdari'a*-contribution of livestock,<sup>61</sup> attested in a remarkable group of texts dated to this period.<sup>62</sup> These sorts of delivery were made by livestock administrators (*šuš<sub>3</sub>*) and other people associated with the city administration.<sup>63</sup> Imid-ilum also supervised the sheep assigned to other officials (CUSAS 35 293) or expended for other purposes (CUSAS 20 131, 133, CUSAS 35 294), and was responsible for the inspection of cattle (CUSAS 19 14, CUSAS 35 291).

The fact that Imid-ilum and other cattle administrators, like Gala or Imta,<sup>64</sup> do not appear in the texts cited in §3.1 or in clear relation with other dossiers discussed in this section, suggests that cattle administration was quite an independent branch of the palace economy.

### 3.3. Workshops, foodstuff production and storage

Most of the features denoting a strong centre of political power are represented in a large group of texts related to the palace of Adab that concern the storing and production of foodstuff and manufactured goods. The rich activity documented by these tablets revolved around the storage facilities of the palace (*e<sub>2</sub>-niĝ<sub>2</sub>-gur<sub>11</sub>*).<sup>65</sup> Raw materials were brought in by merchants working for the palace administration, by other cities of the Adab province, and by palace dependents, such as farmers, herdsmen, animal flayers, reed or flax collectors, etc. All kind of products and commodities were temporarily stored there and later redistributed or sent to the kitchens of the palace or to the workshops depending on it.

The following products are explicitly attested in relation to the storehouse (*e<sub>2</sub>-niĝ<sub>2</sub>-gur<sub>11</sub>*) of the palace:

Cereals and by-products: CUSAS 20 90, 94, 97, 99, 334, 335

Wool: CUSAS 20 215 to 223, SCTRAH 119, 120, TCCBI 1 131

Clothes: CUSAS 20 242, TCCBI 1 145

Oils: CUSAS 20 206, SCTRAH 85, 91, TCCBI 1 102

Hides: CUSAS 20 187, 190, 200, SCTRAH 150, 151, 261

Reeds: CUSAS 20 273

Agricultural implements: CUSAS 20 291

Weapons: SCTRAH 157, 158

The activity of the workshops, which is very well documented in our texts, reveals a concentration of artisans typical of a solid palatial economy. The largest of these

61 CUSAS 20 137, 154 to 158, 165, 169 to 171, TCCBI 1 114 and 115.

62 CUSAS 19 9, CUSAS 20 20, 137, 154 to 159, 161, 162, 164 to 171, 175, CUSAS 23 102, SCTRAH 300, and TCCBI 1 114 to 116.

63 On the *mašdari'a*-texts from Adab, see Yang 1989, 239f.; Such-Gutiérrez 2005/2006, 37 and 41f.; Civil 2003, 49–54; Visicato / Westenholz 2010, 8; Maiocchi / Visicato 2012, 23.

64 CUSAS 19 14, 58, CUSAS 20 132, 148, 150, 160, 162 and 181.

65 Molina 2014, 34f., 68–151.

workshops was, as expected, the one devoted to textile production (ki siki-(k)),<sup>66</sup> whose activity continued during the Classical Sargonic period.<sup>67</sup> Its internal organization and composition, as well as its relationships with other workshops, the storehouse and the needs of the palace and its dependents are well documented by a large dossier of tablets also known as the “Mama-ummī archive”. According to CUSAS 35 265, the workshop employed some 170 women, divided into eight gangs, each one supervised by a forewoman (ugula):<sup>68</sup>

[25] geme<sub>2</sub>, Ma-ma-um-mi, 20 la<sub>2</sub> 1 Geme<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>En-lil<sub>2</sub>-la<sub>2</sub>, 41 Aš-tar<sub>2</sub>, 16 Ta<sub>2</sub>-ni<sub>2</sub>-a, 19 Nin-ad<sub>2</sub>-gal, 22 Niĝ<sub>2</sub>-banda<sub>3</sub><sup>da</sup>, 12 Me-niĝin<sub>3</sub>-ta, 14 Nin-niĝ<sub>2</sub>-zu, [4] Še<sub>2</sub>-be<sub>2</sub>-tum, (rev.) *Blank space*, [šu-niĝin<sub>2</sub>] 172 geme<sub>2</sub> gub-ba, uš-bar-me, Lugal-a-ĝu<sub>10</sub>, ensi<sub>2</sub>

25 female workers, (their forewoman is) Mama-ummī; 19 (female workers, their forewoman is) Geme-Enlila; 41 (female workers, their forewoman is) Aštar; 16 (female workers, their forewoman is) Tāniā; 19 (female workers, their forewoman is) Nin-adgal; 22 (female workers, their forewoman is) Niĝbanda; 12 (female workers, their forewoman is) Me-niĝinta; 14 (female workers, their forewoman is) Nin-niĝzu; [4] (female workers, their forewoman is) Šebettum. Total, 16 female workers.

[Total:] 172 female workers in service.

They are weavers.

Lugal-ajaĝu (is) the governor.

Rosters like this one, recording the number (or eventually the names) of weavers with their respective forewomen, are particularly numerous and well preserved.<sup>69</sup> Forewomen were responsible for the work performed by weavers and for the distribution of food intended for them.<sup>70</sup> They also received the wool needed for the manufacture of garments,<sup>71</sup> supervised the supply of finished products,<sup>72</sup> and gave back unused poor-quality wool<sup>73</sup>. They could also receive quantities of silver,<sup>74</sup> probably intended to acquire more wool or other materials needed in the textile workshop.

66 Molina 2014, 35, 151–172; Maiocchi 2016.

67 Maiocchi 2016, 99.

68 Maiocchi (2016, 96) has estimated that the regular number of gangs was nine, and the workers employed in the workshop numbered 180, as attested for example in CUSAS 20 227, SCTRAH 275, 184, etc.

69 CDLI P271226, CUSAS 20 61, 64 to 67, 252, CUSAS 35 264, 265, and SCTRAH 275 to 284.

70 SCTRAH 209 to 211.

71 CUSAS 20 226 to 228, 252, CUSAS 35 299, SCTRAH 174 to 185, 188 to 190, TCCBI 1 132, and 138 to 140.

72 CUSAS 13 37, CUSAS 20 241, 245 to 248, 250, CUSAS 26 107, CUSAS 35 301, 303 to 305, SCTRAH 191 to 208, TCCBI 1 141 and 142.

73 SCTRAH 186 and 187.

74 SCTARH 188 to 190.

Production at the textile workshop consisted of clothes that would be used as military equipment, as ceremonial gifts, or as ordinary garments.<sup>75</sup> Once manufactured, before their final distribution, these clothes were turned over to the textile depository, in some cases after they had been treated at the fuller's workshop.

From its dimensions, the fuller's ( $e_2$  azlag<sub>7</sub>-ge-ne, SCTRAH 223) was the second most important workshop at the palace of Adab.<sup>76</sup> According to SCTRAH 285, the fullers' workshop was under the general responsibility of a head fuller (azlag<sub>7</sub> gal), who supervised the activity of two pairs of fullers, each of them working respectively with gangs of seven and ten blind/mutilated workers (most probably prisoners of war). Additionally, a number of men, women and their children worked for or depended on this workshop and received various barley allotments per month. The text reads as follows:

84 geme<sub>2</sub> 1 (bariga), 3 ġuruš 1 (bariga) 2 (ban<sub>2</sub>), 3 [(+ n)] dumu-nita 1 (bariga), 4 dumu-[nita] 2 (ban<sub>2</sub>), 2 dumu-munus 2 (ban<sub>2</sub>), 7 dumu-nita-ga 1 (ban<sub>2</sub>), 6 dumu-munus-ga 1 (ban<sub>2</sub>), libir-me, (rev.) 42 [dumu-nita] 1 (bariga), [5] dumu-nita-[gal] 1 (ban<sub>2</sub>), [4] dumu-munus-ga 1 (ban<sub>2</sub>), [dumu] gibil-me, [2] azlag<sub>7</sub> 1 (bariga) 2 (ban<sub>2</sub>) 7 si<sub>12</sub> za<sub>3</sub>-šu<sub>4</sub> 1 (bariga) 2 (ban<sub>2</sub>), 1 i<sub>3</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>, [2] azlag<sub>7</sub> 10 si<sub>12</sub> 1 (bariga) 2 (ban<sub>2</sub>), azlag<sub>7</sub> gal

84 female workers (each receiving) 60 *silā* (of barley), 3 male workers (each receiving) 80 *silā* (of barley), 3 [(+ n)] boys (each receiving) 60 *silā* (of barley), 4 boys (each receiving) 20 *silā* (of barley), 2 girls (each receiving) 20 *silā* (of barley), 7 baby boys (each receiving) 10 *silā* (of barley), 6 baby girls (each receiving) 10 *silā* (of barley), they are (people listed in) former (accounts); 42 boys (each receiving) 60 *silā* (of barley), 5 baby boys (each receiving) 10 *silā* (of barley), 4 baby girls (each receiving) 10 *silā* (of barley), they are new boys and girls (in this account); 2 fullers (each receiving) 80 *silā* (of barley), 7 blind (workers bearing) identifying marks (each receiving) 80 *silā* (of barley) (and) 1 janitor; 2 fullers (and) 10 blind (workers) (each receiving) 80 *silā* (of barley). (They are all under the supervision of) the chief fuller.

The third workshop whose production was devoted to the needs of the palace and its dependents was the craft workshop.<sup>77</sup> It involved metal workers (*simug*), carpenters (*naġar*), leather workers (*ašgab*), reed workers (*ad-KID*), rope-makers/braid-ers (*tug<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>*) and joiners<sup>7</sup> (*ġiš-šu-RI-RI*). The affiliation of all these craftsmen to a single workshop is assured by different personnel lists, which administratively

75 Military equipment:  $^{tug2}ni\hat{g}_2-la_2$  ( $NI\hat{G}_2.SU-a$ ),  $^{tug2}NI\hat{G}_2.SU-a$ ,  $^{tug2}\check{s}a_3-ga-du_3$  ( $NI\hat{G}_2.SU-a$ ).

Ceremonial gifts:  $^{tug2}bala$ ,  $^{tug2}na-a\check{s}_2-pa_2-ru$ ,  $^{tug2}ni\hat{g}_2-lam_2$ ,  $^{tug2}\check{s}a_3-ga-du_3$ ,  $^{tug2}\check{s}a_3-ge-dab_6$ .

Ordinary garments:  $^{tug2}bar-dul_5$  uš-bar,  $^{tug2}bar-sig_9$ ,  $^{tug2}ni\hat{g}_2-lam_2$  uš-bar,  $^{tug2}bur_2$ .

76 Molina 2014, 35f. 172–176.

77 Molina 2014, 36–38. 177–203; Paoletti 2016, 57.

manage them as a single contingent and group them under the generic designation of *ġiš-kiġ<sub>2</sub>-ti*, “craftsmen”.<sup>78</sup> The dimensions of the craft workshop are more difficult to estimate, but personnel lists suggest that it employed at least fifty craftsmen.<sup>79</sup>

The work carried out by these artisans is very well documented by some ninety texts. The smithy was under the responsibility of a foreman (*ugula*), who was also dubbed chief smith (*simug gal*).<sup>80</sup> He controlled the activity of at least seven more smiths working there, who are mentioned by name in the texts.<sup>81</sup> The chief smith (or one of his representatives) received from the storage facilities of the palace the material needed at the workshop, mainly different types of copper and tin<sup>82</sup> and additives.<sup>83</sup> He could also receive quantities of silver for the acquisition of material,<sup>84</sup> possibly supplied by merchants.<sup>85</sup> Smiths produced objects of copper and bronze, and very occasionally also of silver and gold. They were mainly weapons (lances, spears, axes, helmets and throwsticks) and agricultural implements, like saws for reaping. Once the objects were manufactured, they were turned over to the storehouse, waiting for their final distribution.<sup>86</sup>

Carpenters were also under the general supervision of a chief carpenter (*naġar gal*),<sup>87</sup> who worked with at least one other foreman and four carpenters.<sup>88</sup> They manufactured handles, spear shafts, and components of wagons and boats.<sup>89</sup>

Leather workers worked under the supervision of a chief leather worker (*ašgab gal*)<sup>90</sup> and four foremen,<sup>91</sup> who oversaw the activity of at least seventeen more leather workers.<sup>92</sup> They worked with hides first delivered to the storehouse by animal flayers,<sup>93</sup> and later distributed among them.<sup>94</sup> They were employed in the manufacture of wagons, yokes, military equipment, leather bags, waterskins and sandals.<sup>95</sup>

78 CUSAS 20 49, 69, 323, CUSAS 23 97, and SCTRAH 287 to 294.

79 Cf. the calculations made by Paoletti 2016, 57.

80 See Molina 2014, 177.

81 CUSAS 20 292, SCTRAH 228, 229, 237, 287, 289, 293, and TCCBI I 94.

82 SCTRAH 224 to 229, and TCCBI I 94.

83 SCTRAH 226 and TCCBI I 181.

84 SCTRAH 230.

85 SCTRAH 227 and 238.

86 CUSAS 20 294, 296, 297, SCTRAH 231 to 236, TCCBI I 92 and 93.

87 SCTRAH 274. See Molina 2014, 142.

88 SCTRAH 274 and 287 to 289.

89 SCTRAH 158, 239 to 242, and TCCBI I 106.

90 See Molina 2014, 189.

91 See Molina 2014 188 and 189.

92 CUSAS 20 69, 191, SCTRAH 152, 233, 287, 288, 290, 291, 293 and 294.

93 CUSAS 20 189, 190, SCTRAH 150, 261, TCCBI I 124, 231 and 232.

94 CUSAS 20 191, 193, 194, 199, CUSAS 35 295, SCTRAH 244, 247, 248, 253, 261, TCCBI I 124, 231 and 233.

95 SCTRAH 244, 246, 249 to 256, 258, 259.



Rope-makers/braiders were supervised by a chief rope-maker/braider (*tug<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub> gal*),<sup>96</sup> who worked with at least five more artisans.<sup>97</sup> They received wool and other materials like alkali and gypsum,<sup>98</sup> and worked in the manufacture of ropes and straps, cloths for vehicles, boats and various cultic objects, and clothes for soldiers.<sup>99</sup>

Reed workers were also supervised by a chief reed worker (*ad-KID gal*),<sup>100</sup> who worked with at least one other foreman and five reed workers.<sup>101</sup> Merchants supplied the bitumen needed for their work.<sup>102</sup> For the rest, texts are not very explicit on the process of production and the objects manufactured by reed workers.

Finally, the last skilled job listed among craftsmen was the *ĝiš-šū-RI-RI*, perhaps to be interpreted as a “joiner”.<sup>103</sup> These men certainly worked with timber, but are poorly attested in the Adab corpus (which probably means that they were reduced in number).<sup>104</sup>

As to the location of the workshops within the city of Adab, everything points again to Mound III.<sup>105</sup> It was there where, according to Wilson,<sup>106</sup> Banks unearthed, in Level 1, a centre of craft administration and production possibly managed by *Urtur*, a governor of Adab who ruled under the reign of *Šarkališarrī*. This was most probably the same workshop complex that was active during the Middle Sargonic period.<sup>107</sup> The structures found there were comparable with those found at al-Hiba and the Northern Palace at Tell Asmar, where a workshop complex could be identified.<sup>108</sup> The fact that the workshop complex of the Main Northern Palace at Tell Asmar was connected with a residential area, possibly for the ruler’s family,<sup>109</sup> makes it plausible that the residential area of the palace of Adab and the workshops depending on it were also close together.<sup>110</sup> This would fit well with the close relationship of the workshops with the storage facilities of the palace of Adab and their organization under a single administration. Likewise, as the central archives of Meskigala were also located in Mound III (see §2), conceivably the palace was there, and in that case a continuity of use as a residential building during the Middle Sargonic period would be plausible. Note also that Mound III was in the northwestern area of the city (Fig. 1), a location

96 See Molina 2014, 197.

97 SCTRAH 291, 293, 294, TCCBI I 127, and possibly CUSAS 20 49.

98 CUSAS 35 317, SCTRAH 262 to 264, and TCCBI I 181,

99 CUSAS 13 40, CUSAS 20 211, 212, 213, 306, 315, SCTRAH 264, 265, and 268 to 271.

100 CUSAS 20 274, SCTRAH 100 and 288

101 CUSAS 35 306, SCTRAH 106, 288, 289, and TCCBI I 201.

102 CUSAS 35 306.

103 Molina 2014, 37.

104 CUSAS 20 69, 395, CUSAS 35 3: x 1, SCTRAH 273, 290, and TCCBI I 61.

105 Molina 2014, 27f.; Maiocchi 2016, 92.

106 Wilson 2012, 60.

107 Cf. Maiocchi 2016, 99.

108 A different interpretation for the Tell Asmar structures was offered by Foster 2010, 119.

109 Henrickson 1982.

110 A different view, rejecting the possibility of locating workshops in Bronze Age oriental palaces had been discussed by Margueron 1979.

chosen also for the palaces of Tell Asmar, Khafaje, Tell al-Wilayah, and the temple of Ištar in Aššur.<sup>111</sup>

Later on, during the reign of Šarkališarrī, and probably even before, during the reign of Naram-Suen, the residence of the city ruler moved to Mound IV (see below §4).

### 3.4. Luxury goods, precious metals and taxes

From its structure, the craft workshop of Adab was very similar to others, although in comparison with those depending on stronger palatial economies, the craft workshop at Adab lacked artisans devoted to the manufacture of the most precious and delicate objects, such as jewellers or sculptors. In fact, SCTRAH 24 records the welcome at Adab of a sculptor bringing a statue of the king, who on that occasion was honoured with precious gifts:

1 <sup>ku</sup>3har hu-la, ki-la<sub>2</sub>-bi <sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub><sup>ša</sup>, 1 <sup>tug</sup>2na-aš<sub>2</sub>-pa<sub>2</sub>-ru, 1 <sup>tug</sup>2us<sub>2</sub> bala, En-na-num<sub>2</sub>, [ti]bira ([DU]B.NAĠAR), (rev.) [al]an lugal-da, [iml-d[a<sup>?</sup>-g]en-na, a[n]-mu<sub>4</sub>, *Blank line*, <sup>tug</sup>2zi-ga-a, iti du<sub>6</sub>-ku<sub>3</sub>

1 medallion of silver weighing <sup>1</sup>/<sub>3</sub> (*mana*), 1 *našparum*-bag, 1 second-quality piece of cloth made from *bala*-fabric: They were put on Ennanum, the sculptor, who came with the statue of the king. The clothes were expended. Month viii.

Nonetheless, the production and distribution of some luxury goods, so characteristic of palatial economies,<sup>112</sup> were also customary at Adab during the Middle Sargonic period. Thus, the production of silver objects, precious garments, oils and delicacies is frequently attested in our corpus, usually given as presents to visitors to Adab or used in religious ceremonies.

Gift texts are, in fact, a distinctive feature of the palace archive from Middle Sargonic Adab. They constitute a remarkable group of documents,<sup>113</sup> very similar to some uncommon gift texts from Girsu and Umma dated to the Old Akkadian period,<sup>114</sup> that reveal an extended way of honouring people by the ruler in southern Babylonia.<sup>115</sup>

111 Foster 2016, 56.

112 Sallaberger 2013.

113 See Molina 2014, 68–82. Middle Sargonic documents recording gifts are: CDLI P272598, CUSAS 19 38, CUSAS 20 123, 207, CUSAS 35 318 (MS/CS), and SCTRAH 20 to 40.

114 Foster 2010, 137 RBC 3015 (ES Umma); CUSAS 35 458 (MS Umma region); MVN 6 108 (CS Girsu); BM 26416 (CS Girsu, unpublished, courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum); MCS 9 260 (CS unknown prov.).

115 According to Sallaberger 2007, 272f., personal gifts from rulers could be received by: a) the family of the ruler; b) members of other courts; c) high dignitaries of the palace; d) members of the military; e) messengers bringing good news; f) administrative personnel of the palace (occasionally); g) cultic personnel (rarely); h) performing artists (singers, musicians, dancers and acrobats). Most of these types of recipients of gifts are represented in the MS Adab texts.

What is exceptional in Adab is the extension of this gift-giving habit, more characteristic of royal courts,<sup>116</sup> which one could perhaps connect with Lugal-ajaĝu's rulership and his possible disaffection with the royal administration prior to the Great Revolt.

The most valuable item of such sets of presents was a silver medallion, weighing fifteen or, more frequently, twenty shekels, slightly more than the standard pairs of silver rings, each of eight shekels, offered to dignitaries and envoys during the Ur III period and considered a gift of enormous value.<sup>117</sup> A good example among these gift texts is SCTRAH 22:

[1] <sup>ku3</sup>-babbar har hu-la, ki-la<sub>2</sub>-bi 15 gin<sub>2</sub>, 1 <sup>tug2</sup>na-aš<sub>2</sub>-pa<sub>2</sub>-ru, 2 <sup>tug2</sup>niĝ<sub>2</sub>-lam<sub>2</sub> saga<sub>10</sub>, 1 <sup>tug2</sup>ša<sub>3</sub>-ga-du<sub>3</sub>, 1 <sup>tug2</sup>ša<sub>3</sub>-ge-dab<sub>6</sub>, 1 <sup>kuš</sup>esir<sub>5</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-ba, 1 i<sub>3</sub> du<sub>10</sub>-ga saman<sub>4</sub> 1 sila<sub>3</sub>, (rev.) Puzur<sub>4</sub>-<sup>d</sup>EN.ZU, dumu En-bu-diĝir, GA-ri<sub>2</sub>-um-še<sub>3</sub>, im-ši-gen-na, e-na-šum<sub>2</sub>, Šar-ru-uru<sup>ki.li2</sup>, ensi<sub>2</sub>, Lugal-a-ĝu<sub>10</sub>, saĝĝa<sup>d</sup>Iškur

[1] medallion of silver weighing 15 shekels, 1 *našparum*-bag, 2 *niĝlam*-gaments of good quality, 1 loin-band?, 1 toga-garment, 1 pair of sandals (and) 1 flask of 1 *sila* (of capacity) of aromatic oil. It was given to Puzur-Suen, the son of Enbu-ilī, who came to (meet) GArum. Šarru-ālī, governor; Lugal-ajaĝu, temple administrator of god Iškur.

The flow of silver and gold<sup>118</sup> towards the palace economy is also well documented. These precious metals were received from all kinds of palace dependents, either as outstanding obligations or as taxes for grazing and for the usufruct of agricultural land. Records of incomes of silver identify, for example, farmers, shepherds, and craftsmen as suppliers.<sup>119</sup> Two typical texts of this kind are the following:

#### CUSAS 20 274

3 ku<sub>3</sub> gin<sub>2</sub>, azlag<sub>7</sub> gal, 1 Ur-lu<sub>2</sub>, azlag<sub>7</sub>, 1 ½ Gala naĝar, 2 Bur-gul, 1 gin<sub>2</sub> la<sub>2</sub> igi-3-gal<sub>2</sub> Inim-ma-ni-zi, 2 ad-KID gal, 2 ašgab gal, (rev.) 2 Mu-ni, 2 ½ azlag<sub>7</sub> gal, 1 su-si, *Blank line*, šu+niĝin<sub>2</sub> 17 ku<sub>3</sub> gin<sub>2</sub> igi-6-gal<sub>2</sub>, ku<sub>3</sub> e<sub>2</sub>-gal-la, ku<sub>4</sub>-ra<sub>2</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>, iti ab-e<sub>3</sub>-[zil-g[a]

3 shekels of silver (from) the chief fuller; 1 (shekel of silver from) Ur-lu, the fuller; 1½ (shekels of silver from) Gala, the carpenter; 2 (shekels of silver from) Burgul (the rope-maker/braider); 1 shekel minus ⅔ (of silver from) Inimanizi (the reed worker); 2 (shekels of silver from) the chief reed worker; 2 (shekels of silver from) the chief

116 Sallaberger 2013, 228.

117 For these gifts in the Ur III period, see Michalowski 1978; Sallaberger 2013, 234.

118 CUSAS 20 285 and TCCBI 1 84.

119 CUSAS 13 3, 4, CUSAS 20 109, 274 to 277, 279, 280, 283, 284, CUSAS 23 104, TCCBI 1 87, 88 and 197.

leather worker; 2 (shekels of silver from) Muni; 2½ (shekels of silver from) the chief fuller; 1 (shekel of silver from) the animal flayer.

Total: 17⅙ shekels of silver.

It is silver that was entered into the palace.

Month vi.

#### CUSAS 20 277

10 ku<sub>3</sub> gin<sub>2</sub>, maš aša<sub>5</sub>, aša<sub>5</sub> Lugal-abba<sub>2</sub>-ka-kam, Du<sub>11</sub>-ga-ni engar,  
(rev.) ku<sub>3</sub> an-ta-e<sub>3</sub>-am<sub>3</sub>, AN-gu<sub>2</sub>, *Blank line*, iti ĝa<sub>2</sub>-udu-ur<sub>4</sub>

10 shekels of silver (as) the tax of the field. It is (the tax) of the field of Lugal-abba. (From) Dugani, the farmer. It is the silver that was collected.

(Under the responsibility of) Angu.

Month vii.

The circulation of this and other kinds of goods was obviously fuelled by the activity of merchants, who worked directly under the control of the palace administration. We cannot say with certainty how many merchants were in this situation, but there were at least ten, as recorded in the following personnel list (SCTRAH 299):

1 Inim-ma-ni-zi, 1 Gala, dumu Ur-ba, 1 E<sub>2</sub>-dam, 1 Lugal-al-kal, 1 Da-da, 1 Ĝiri<sub>3</sub>-ne<sub>2</sub>, dumu Lugal-al-<kal>-me, (rev.) [1] Gala, dumu Ur-<sup>d</sup>Na-du<sub>3</sub>-a, [1] Ur-<sup>d</sup>Ištaran, 1 Ur-ur, 1 Az, dumu A-ba-mu-na, *Blank line*, šu+niĝin<sub>2</sub> 10 dam-gar<sub>3</sub>

Inimanizi (and) Gala, sons of Urba; Edam, Lugal-alkal, Dada (and) Ĝirine, sons of Lugal-alkal; Gala, son of Ur-Nadu'a; Ur-Ištaran, Ur-ur (and) Az, sons of Abamuna. Total: 10 merchants.

Merchants and other envoys frequently travelled to other cities of southern and central Babylonia,<sup>120</sup> and particularly to Akkade,<sup>121</sup> carrying all kind of products. Nevertheless, despite the good number of texts attesting to these trips, no clear traces of regular shipments of goods to Akkade as evidence for a kind of taxation system are discernible. However, it is probable that the abovementioned payments in silver made to the palace were also done to the benefit of the crown. This is also suggested by the fact that at least one of these payments was supervised by a certain ANGU (CUSAS 20 277), most probably a royal agent (see below §4.1).

120 CUSAS 13 13, 27, CUSAS 20 29, 81, 99, 100, 118, 119, 136, 140, 319, 320, 96, 101, CUSAS 26 111 (= L'uomo 15), SCTRAH 44 to 53, 56, 57, 59, 60, 259, TCCBI 1 66, 102 and 104. Add also the texts quoted in the following footnote.

121 Texts explicitly mentioning Akkade as the destination of the trip are CUSAS 13 29, CUSAS 20 122, 186, 208, 243, CUSAS 26 102 (= L'uomo 17), CUSAS 35 296, SCTRAH 41, 42, 43, 54, 55, 58, 61, TCCBI 1 146, 172 and 177.



## 4. Classical Sargonic Period

After the Great Revolt, the palace of the governor moved to Mound IV (Fig. 1), where Banks found a deposit of hundreds of tablets dated to the reign of Šarkališarrī.<sup>122</sup> As mentioned above, the workshops would have remained in Mound III, a fact that would explain the scarcely represented activity of artisans in the Classical Sargonic tablets found by Banks, and also among those found by looters. Putting all these tablets together, we have at our disposal about 850 documents dated to the Classical Sargonic period, of which more than a half can be confidently identified as coming from the palace archives.

It is important to point out first that, as in the case of the Middle Sargonic texts, it is complicated to trace out a relative chronology. Texts from Mound IV excavated by Banks seem to correspond to the governorship of Lugal-ĝiš, who preceded Ur-tur and was contemporary with Šarkališarrī, while texts found by looters can also be dated to the second half of Naram-Suen's reign. Several prosopographical connections between both large groups of tablets can be established, although frequently they cannot be considered proper archival connections. As a result, and of course pending new and deeper investigations, we are able to identify a miscellany of offices and economic areas from which it is not easy to draw a coherent administrative picture. The information is in any case very rich, and some general conclusions can be drawn.

### 4.1. The palace administrators

The main administrators of the palace are mentioned in a group of texts dated to the second half of Naram-Suen's reign, which recorded land allotments,<sup>123</sup> deliveries of rental fees and taxes given in gold, and deliveries of other kinds of goods.

OIP 14 171

10.0.0<sup>GAN2</sup> dub-sar-mah, 10.0.0 ensi<sub>2</sub>-gal, 10.0.0 sagi-mah, 6.0.0 Ur-mes dam-gar<sub>3</sub>, [x.x.x l]u<sub>2</sub>-eš<sub>2</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub>, [...] (2 lines lost), (rev.) [...] (2 lines lost), Blank line, iz-zi A.[xl] [x (x)] [pa<sub>3</sub>]-da, Blank space, šu-niĝin<sub>2</sub> 80 la<sub>2</sub> 1.0.0<sup>GAN2</sup>, uš hi-a ki-duru<sub>5</sub>, aša<sub>5</sub> [(x) xl] NUN-še<sub>3</sub> sal-la

CUSAS 13 46

[5] gin<sub>2</sub> [ku<sub>3</sub>-sig<sub>17</sub>], dub-sar-[mah], 5 lu<sub>2</sub>-eš<sub>2</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub>, 2 ½ ensi<sub>2</sub>-[gal], <x> šabra [e<sub>2</sub>], 1 sagi-mah, 1 išib sukkal-mah, 1 saĝĝa e<sub>2</sub>-[mah], 1 saĝĝa d.aš Aš<sub>7</sub>-[g]i<sub>4</sub>, [n] abba<sub>2</sub>-uru, Rev. uninscribed

122 Many of these tablets, currently kept in the Istanbul Museum, remain unpublished (see above §1).

123 On the size of these land allotments, see Foster 2016, 67.

## CUSAS 23 165

[n] [kuš] gu<sub>4</sub>, [dub]l-sar-mah, [n] lu<sub>2</sub>-eš<sub>2</sub>-aša<sub>5</sub>-[gid<sub>2</sub>], [n] ensi<sub>2</sub>-gal, [...] -[x], [...] (*rest lost*), (*rev.*) [...] (*beginning lost*), [n da]m-gar<sub>3</sub> gal, *Blank line*, [n]+26 kuš gu<sub>4</sub>, [e<sub>2</sub>] -a ab-ġar-ra-a

## CUSAS 13 49

25.0.0 še gur, lu<sub>2</sub>-eš<sub>2</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub>, 1.2.3 dub-sar-mah, 1.1.4 ½<sup>GANA2</sup>, maš-bi 2 igi-3 gin<sub>2</sub> 7 ½ še ku<sub>3</sub> 1 udu, [d]ub-sar-mah, 0.1.3 ½<sup>GANA2</sup>, [...] (*ca. 1-2 lines lost*), (*rev.*) [...] (*ca. 1-2 lines lost*), 1.[x.x]<sup>GANA2</sup>, maš-bi [1] [...] [gin<sub>2</sub>], Lugal-[e<sub>2</sub>]-[x]-e, *Blank line*, šu-niġin<sub>2</sub> 26.2.3 še gur, 5 la<sub>2</sub> igi 3 gin<sub>2</sub> ku<sub>3</sub> 1 udu, la<sub>2</sub>-i<sub>3</sub> nu-ta-e<sub>3</sub>

## CUSAS 23 169

[n] [gu] [gu<sub>2</sub>], [dub]l-[sar]-[mah], [n]+2 [ensi<sub>2</sub>]l-gal, [n] [šita]l-uru, [n] [kiġ<sub>2</sub>]l-gal, [2] [x]-DA×ġiš<sup>temu</sup><sup>ki</sup>, 2+[n] Du-du nar, 3 ugula [uru] En-na-DU, 2 A-zu-[(x)]-gal, 2 gala [x]l-BU, [...] (*rest lost*), (*rev.*) *Blank space*, šu-niġin<sub>2</sub> 66 gu gu<sub>2</sub>

According to these texts, the chief scribe (dub-sar-mah), the land surveyor (lu<sub>2</sub>-eš<sub>2</sub>-aša<sub>5</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub>), the chief steward (ensi<sub>2</sub>-gal), the majordomo (šabra e<sub>2</sub>) and the chief cupbearer (sagi-mah) held the highest responsibilities in the palace administration.

The chief scribe (dub-sar-mah) in this period was Mezi (CUSAS 13 125). He was the sender<sup>124</sup> or addressee<sup>125</sup> of four interesting letter-orders, which show that he was an interlocutor with the royal administration.<sup>126</sup> His functions are not well defined in the texts, but it seems that he was in charge of personnel, crafts and goods distribution,<sup>127</sup> a duty that in the Middle Sargonic period partly corresponded to the land surveyor (lu<sub>2</sub>-eš<sub>2</sub>-aša<sub>5</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub>). He also supervised the issuing of gifts to visitors of the type we saw for the Middle Sargonic period (§3.4), but be it by the chance of discovery, or actually because these were no longer times for gifts of this kind, the fact is that just a few of these records are so far preserved, one of them a delivery of gifts to a certain Zarbu[...] made under the responsibility of Mezi.<sup>128</sup>

The majordomo (šabra e<sub>2</sub>) was ANGU (AN-gu<sub>2</sub>),<sup>129</sup> who also held the position of “general” (šakkan<sub>6</sub>).<sup>130</sup> He appears as the sender of a letter-order addressed to the

124 PPAC 1, p. 127 A 868 = FAOS 19 Ad 2; PPAC 1, p. 125 A 708 = FAOS 19 Ad 3; PPAC 1, p. 337 A 830 = FAOS 19 Ad 4.

125 PPAC 1, p. 129 A 942 = FAOS 19 Ad 1.

126 On the relationship between local officials and royal administrators implied from these letter-orders, see Schrakamp 2016, 103.

127 Cf. CUSAS 19 99, CUSAS 13 125, and the letter-orders cited above.

128 OIP 14 160. Other gift texts of this period are CUSAS 13 124 and 151.

129 CUSAS 13 4, and probably also CUSAS 20 106 and TCCBI I 196 = CUSAS 26 95: i 3.

130 PPAC 1, p. 179 A 1007. There is even the possibility that ANGU assumed also the function of the chief steward (ensi<sub>2</sub>-gal), if we interpret 2½ ensi<sub>2</sub>-gal, šabra e<sub>2</sub> (CUSAS 13 46: 4-5) as “2½ (shekels of gold from) the chief steward (and) majordomo” (thus Maiocchi 2009, 72). Nevertheless, the clear distinction made in CUSAS 35 360 and CUSAS 20 282 between both

chief scribe.<sup>131</sup> In the Middle Sargonic period, a certain ANGU was also responsible for the collection of silver taxes for the usufruct of agricultural land,<sup>132</sup> so it is plausible that we are dealing with the same individual who held a high administrative position through the reign of Naram-Suen. During Šarkališarrī's reign, ANGU was probably replaced by Uda.<sup>133</sup>

Despite the relative position of the majordomo in some texts like CUSAS 13 46 (see above) and CUSAS 35 360 (see below), and in accordance with his pre-eminent position in others (TCCBI I 196 = CUSAS 26 95), it seems that the majordomo had authority over the chief scribe, or at least this is what can be deduced from the peremptory letter he wrote to the latter as if he were his superior.<sup>134</sup> This fits well with his role as a royal agent holding high responsibilities, and would also fit with the role of tax collector that ANGU had some years before, in Middle Sargonic times.

Finally, the chief cupbearer (*sagi-mah*) could be tentatively identified with Mes-ag, the cupbearer responsible for the brewery and the kitchen of the governor studied by M. Maiocchi.<sup>135</sup> I cannot propose an identification for the land surveyor (*lu<sub>2</sub>-eš<sub>2</sub>-aša<sub>5</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub>*), although he was probably appointed by the royal administration (see above §3.1).

Besides the texts cited above, others provide a panoramic view of additional dependents of the palace and the sanctuaries that were under the control of the governor. The most important one is no doubt CUSAS 35 360,<sup>136</sup> which besides the highest administrators also records other high-ranking officials, like the administrators (*saĝĝa*) of different sanctuaries, the chief secretary (*sukkal-mah*), the city elder (*abba<sub>2</sub> uru*), the chief herald (*niĝir gal*) and the chief policeman (*gal<sub>5</sub>-la<sub>2</sub> gal*), plus several other minor officials working for the palatial administration. As in the Middle Sargonic period, there was a craft workshop with sections commanded by overseers, like the chief leather-worker (*ašgab gal*), the chief reed-worker (*ad-KID gal*), or the chief rope-maker/braider (*tug<sub>2</sub>-du<sub>8</sub> gal*). We also find the chief potter (*bahar<sub>x</sub> gal*), the chief builder (*šidim gal*), the chief boatman (*ma<sub>2</sub>-lah<sub>5</sub> gal*), the overseer of the chariot (*ugula ĝi<sup>is</sup>gigir*), the overseer of the throne (*ugula ĝi<sup>is</sup>guza*), the chief cook (*muhaldim gal*), the chief of the granary (*ka-guru<sub>7</sub>*), the official in charge of the fisheries (*enku*), the garden administrator (*santana-SAR*), the chief bookkeeper of the storehouse (*pisaĝ-dub ĝanun*), chief and junior farmers

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charges is more likely to point to an interpretation like “2½ (shekels of gold from) the chief steward, (and 2½ (?) shekels of gold from) the majordomo”.

131 PPAC 1, p. 129 A 942 = FAOS 19 Ad 1.

132 CUSAS 20 277, see above §3.4.

133 OIP 14 151 (*U<sub>2</sub>-da šabra e<sub>2</sub>*).

134 PPAC 1, p. 129 A 942 = FAOS 19 Ad 1. On the relationship between local functionaries and representatives of the royal administration, like the majordomo, see Schrakamp 2017, 103; see also Foster 1993, 28f.

135 Maiocchi 2010. For the “Kitchen archive” (and the related “Meat archive”) and the “Brewery archive”, see also Maiocchi 2009, 7–10; id. 2012, 20–24.

136 Other important texts listing, for various purposes, high officials of the palace are: CUSAS 20 282 and TCCBI I 196 = CUSAS 26 95; see also CUSAS 13 2 and PPAC 1, p. 220 A 863.

(engar mah, engar tur), the chief physician (a-zu gal), a merchant (gaeš<sub>2</sub>), and others. In all, there were more than eighty officials and courtiers, temple administrators included, who had responsibilities towards the palace. For the officials employed in them, then, the dimensions of the palaces of the Middle Sargonic and the Classical Sargonic periods were very similar (cf. §3.1). Although it is very difficult to assess with certainty the total number of palace dependents, in view of the number of officials, it was probably close to the size of the administrative centre of Ešnunna, estimated as 700 workers.<sup>137</sup>

## 4.2. The payment of taxes and obligations

In addition to providing us with a remarkable list of palace dependents, this tablet (CUSAS 35 360) deals also with the delivery, from all of them, of quantities of gold and silver. This is an important feature of some Classical Sargonic texts from Adab, which document a constant supply of precious metals to the palace, both of gold and silver. It is unclear how this metal was later redistributed, but the fact that in Middle Sargonic times the one responsible for the collection of these taxes was apparently a royal agent (§4.1), and obviously the political dependence of Adab after the Great Revolt, indicate that it was mainly destined for the crown. What is unexpected and would deserve a special treatment in future studies is the relatively high number of payments in gold,<sup>138</sup> since taxes and other obligations were mostly paid in silver in 3rd millennium Babylonian economies.<sup>139</sup> Documents dealing with incomes of silver and gold were of the following type:

- Deliveries of gold or silver from palace dependents for unspecified or unclear purposes: CUSAS 13 46 (gold), CUSAS 13 47 (gold and silver), CUSAS 13 48 (silver and “bronze-copper”), CUSAS 13 125 (gold and silver), CUSAS 20 282 (gold), CUSAS 20 285 (gold), CUSAS 23 128 (gold), CUSAS 35 360 (gold and silver), OIP 14 197 (gold and silver), TCCBI 1 196 = CUSAS 26 95 (silver), TCCBI 1 210 (gold).
- Deliveries of gold or silver as field taxes: CUSAS 13 2 (gold with its value in silver), CUSAS 13 7 (silver), TCCBI 1 197 (silver), TCCBI 1 212 (silver)
- Deliveries of gold or silver as *mašdari’a*-contributions: OIP 14 111 (silver and copper), OIP 14 159 (gold).

## 4.3. The administration of the sanctuaries

As in the preceding periods (§2.2.1, §3.1), the administration of the main sanctuaries of Adab was under the control of the governor of the province. They were the Emah, dedicated to Ninhursag/Diğirmah, and the temples of Iškur, Ašgi, Inanna and Enki.

<sup>137</sup> Foster 2016, 57.

<sup>138</sup> Already noted by Maiocchi 2009, 6.

<sup>139</sup> Cf. Sallaberger 2013, 218–220.



They were all managed by temple administrators (*saĝĝa*), who directly depended upon the palace administration.<sup>140</sup> They are listed among other palace dependents in some of the texts cited in §4.1,<sup>141</sup> usually in the same order, and on one occasion together with other “minor temple administrators” (*saĝĝa tur-tur*, CUSAS 20 282: i 10).

It is remarkable that no administrative tablets were found by Banks in Mound V (Fig. 1), where the Emah was located, nor have I been able to identify any administrative tablets as clearly coming from a temple archive among those illegally excavated by looters. This could mean that even some of the temple accounts were kept in the palace archives. This possibility may perhaps be indicated by a small group of five texts,<sup>142</sup> that record the payment to a priest of taxes on shipments of barley: two of these tablets (A. 793 and A. 825) came from the tablet layer of Mound IV,<sup>143</sup> where the palace archive was found.

## 5. Conclusions

The corpus of Adab tablets excavated by Banks and Persons in the beginning of the 20th century, plus the extraordinary quantity of documents tragically looted in the aftermath of the First and Second Gulf Wars, offer for the first time quite a complete view of a Sumerian city during the whole Sargonic period. The study of this enormous corpus, amounting to more than 2,300 tablets, is still beginning, and will presumably continue during many years. Because of the scarce information at our disposal on the archaeological context of the tablets, basic studies on prosopography and palaeography are needed in order to arrange them in relative chronological order and to understand their archival relationships. For this reason, this contribution must be considered nothing but a first approach to the palace organization at Adab through the Sargonic period.

The material has been roughly divided into three periods: Early Dynastic IIIb to Early Sargonic, Middle Sargonic and Classical Sargonic. The first one was dominated by the figure of Meskigala, whose palace was probably in Mound III. The structure of Meskigala's palatial organization was in some way close to the one known for Girsu in Early Dynastic IIIb times. It consisted of a conglomerate of institutions or “houses” that were economically interrelated and centrally managed from the palace: they were the palace itself (*e<sub>2</sub>-gal*), the “House of the superintendent” (*e<sub>2</sub> nu-banda<sub>3</sub>*), the “House of the son” (*e<sub>2</sub> dumu*) and the “House of AH” (*e<sub>2</sub> AH*). Some specialization in their respective functions within the palace economy can be appreciated. Food supplies to the other “houses” and to sanctuaries and their workers, assigned to agricultural and irrigation activities, were the responsibility of the “House of the

140 See also the commentaries by Maiocchi 2009, 12–15.

141 CUSAS 13 46, CUSAS 20 282, CUSAS 35 360 and TCCBI 1 196.

142 See Yang 1989, 232–239. The texts are the following: PPAC 1, p. 295 A 658; PPAC 1, p. 324 A 751; PPAC 1, p. 330 A 793; PPAC 1, p. 336 A 825; PPAC 1, p. 336 A 828.

143 Wilson 2012, 179.

superintendent". The "House of the son" seems to have been particularly devoted to foreign relationships and the provision of messengers, travellers and visitors to Adab; it was also closely related to the activity of workshops and craftsmen. Finally, the "House of AH" seems to have been focused on supplies of bread and beer for personnel of the palace, particularly guards.

In all likelihood, workshops were shared by all the "houses" belonging to the palace organization. The dimensions of these workshops were stable through the years and remained in Mound III until the end of the Sargonic period. However, their vigorous production lacked prestige goods, in accordance with an economic and political status similar to other city-states of southern Babylonia, with which Adab maintained close relationships.

The internal organization of the palace of Adab in this period was headed by Silim-Utu, the superintendent (nu-banda<sub>3</sub>). Neither Silim-Utu, nor any other high administrators can be identified as royal agents. Likewise, no clear signs of political, administrative or economic interference on behalf of the Sargonic kings are discernible in the texts. One could only mention some personnel of the king recorded in four tablets along with other officials and workers at Meskigala's palace organization, showing that in some way Adab recognized Akkadian sovereignty. Other textual references to visits at Adab of very high representatives of the crown, Sargon included, should be better interpreted in the light of a military coalition with the Sargonic king.

After the defeat of Adab and its allies by king Rīmuš, the palace organization changed profoundly. Its structure into "houses" disappeared, and the crown intervened in the appointment of the governors, plausibly at least in the case of Šarru-ālī. The functions of the superintendent (nu-banda<sub>3</sub>) as the highest administrator in the palace organization, were assumed by the "chief steward" (ensi<sub>2</sub>-gal) and the "land surveyor" (lu<sub>2</sub>-eš<sub>2</sub>-aša<sub>5</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub>), very likely also appointed by the crown. Major changes affected as well the management of the sanctuaries: while the e<sub>2</sub>-SAR, the temple of Ninhursaĝ/Diĝirmah, the major divinity of Adab, probably enjoyed an independent administration with the rulership of Meskigala, during the Middle Sargonic period it was managed from the palace organization under its new name e<sub>2</sub>-mah. An incipient system of taxation seems also to be documented in texts recording the delivery of quantities of silver (and occasionally of gold) from all kinds of palace dependents. The possible supervision on these deliveries by someone who was probably a royal agent would point to an involvement of the royal administration in the taxation system.

Texts from this period also provide detailed information about the internal organization of the workshops of craftsmen, fullers and weavers. Again, these workshops lack artisans devoted to the manufacture of the most precious and delicate objects, such as jewellers or sculptors. Nevertheless, under the rulership of Lugal-ajaĝu, they did produce several luxury goods, like silver medallions, precious garments, oils and delicacies that were given as presents to visitors at Adab or used in religious ceremonies. These gifts attest to a new scenario of diplomatic relationships and point to Adab as an important political centre, possibly foreshadowing its involvement in

the Great Revolt against Naram-Suen. Conceivably, the remarkable production of weapons and military equipment documented by our texts is connected with this pre-war context.

The victory of Naram-Suen against Adab and its allies in the Great Revolt represented a new step towards the control of the city by the Sargonic king. The palace moved to Mound IV during the reign of Šarkališarrī, or probably even before, during the reign of Naram-Suen, and its offices and high administrators changed again. There is now a chief scribe (dub-sar-mah) heading the palace administration, which was also managed by the land surveyor ( $lu_2$ -eš<sub>2</sub>-aša<sub>5</sub>-gid<sub>2</sub>), the chief steward (ensi<sub>2</sub>-gal), the majordomo (šabra e<sub>2</sub>) and the chief cupbearer (sagi-mah). Some of them can be identified as royal administrators, and it was the majordomo among them who seems to have held the highest authority. The new political situation and the new offices, nevertheless, were not accompanied by a significant change in the size of the palace in terms of dependent personnel. Qualitative differences are instead appreciated in the flow of precious metals, particularly of gold, towards the palace administration, which now increases substantially to the benefit of the crown. With regard to the sanctuaries, including the one dedicated to Ninhursag/Diġirmah, they are managed by temple administrators (saġġa) who worked for the palace, to such an extent that documents recording temple activities were plausibly kept, partly at least, in the palace archive.

The Late Sargonic period at Adab is scarcely documented. Just one tablet dated to the first year of Šu-Durul's reign (TCCBI 1 235), probably from Adab, is worth mentioning. In those years, the Gutians were able to establish a political hegemony over Babylonia, and indeed maintained it by ruling from Adab.

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Tab. 1: "Beer and bread texts", Meskigala archive<sup>144</sup>.

Text		Month	Day
CUSAS 35 93	i	iti aša <sub>5</sub> -il <sub>2</sub> -šu-ĝar	1
CUSAS 35 87	i	iti aša <sub>5</sub> -il <sub>2</sub> -šu-ĝar	20
CUSAS 35 100	i	iti aša <sub>5</sub> -il <sub>2</sub> -šu-ĝar	23
CUSAS 11 209	ii	iti še-sag-sa <sub>6</sub> -ga	9
CUSAS 11 206	ii	iti še-s[ag-sa <sub>6</sub> -ga]	28
CDLI P271229	iii	iti šu-ĝar	---
CUSAS 11 215	iii	iti šu-ĝar	---
CUSAS 35 88	iv	iti a <sub>2</sub> -ki-ti	3
CUSAS 35 101	v	iti ab-e <sub>3</sub> -zi-ga	4?
CUSAS 35 97	v	iti ab-e <sub>3</sub> -zi-ga	27
CUSAS 11 211	vii	iti du <sub>6</sub> -ku <sub>3</sub>	2
CUSAS 35 92	vii	iti du <sub>6</sub> -ku <sub>3</sub>	3
CUSAS 11 208	vii	iti du <sub>6</sub> -ku <sub>3</sub>	9
CUSAS 35 94	vii	iti du <sub>6</sub> -ku <sub>3</sub>	24
OIP 14 68	vii	iti du <sub>6</sub> -ku <sub>3</sub>	---
CUSAS 35 90	viii	iti niĝ <sub>2</sub> -sar	14
CUSAS 11 213	ix	iti mu-tir	10
CUSAS 35 95	x	iti iti <sup>d</sup> Šuba <sub>3</sub> ×KUR	7
CUSAS 35 84	x	iti <sup>d</sup> Šuba <sub>3</sub> -nun	20
CUSAS 35 89	x	iti <sup>d</sup> Šuba <sub>3</sub> -nun	25
CUSAS 35 91	xi	iti še-KIN-ku <sub>5</sub>	1
CUSAS 35 98	xi	[iti še]-KIN-ku <sub>5</sub>	21 [(+x)]
CDLI P270837	xii	iti še- ŠE.ŠE .KIN	7

144 For the Early Dynastic / Early Sargonic calendar of Adab, see Such-Gutiérrez 2013. All tablets of this group are pierced, except for CUSAS 23 92, CUSAS 11 206 and 216; it is uncertain whether they were pierced or not for the cases of CUSAS 11 207 (fragment), 210 (no photos available) and 356 (no photos available).

Text	Month		Day
CUSAS 35 85	xii	iti  šE.šE .KIN	23
CUSAS 11 356	xii	iti še- šE.[šE .KIN]	28
CUSAS 23 92	---	---	---
CUSAS 11 212		[...]	[...]
CUSAS 11 216		[...]	[...]
CUSAS 11 207		[...]	[...]
CUSAS 11 210		[...]	[...]
CUSAS 35 86		[...]	[...]
CUSAS 35 96		[...]	[...]

Tab. 2: Texts from the “House of the son”, Meskigala archive<sup>145</sup>.

Trips	
Visitors to Adab	
CUSAS 35 137	(Expenditure of) foodstuff on the occasion of the trip of the governor of Azabum
CUSAS 35 144	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of foodstuff (on the occasion of the trip) of Šešbad, the cupbearer, who visited the superintendent
CUSAS 35 130	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of barley for an official of the town of Ezurzur
CUSAS 35 142	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> , e <sub>3</sub> - a) of semolina for various people, including men who came from Isin among them
CDLI P270830	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of semolina for a man from Šuruppag
Trips of boatmen and merchants to Adab	
CUSAS 35 217	Expenditure (z i - g a) of onions for a merchant (coming from) Umma

<sup>145</sup> Asterisk indicates that the ascription of the text to the “House of the son” is not certain; (P) indicates that the tablet is pierced.



<b>Trips</b>	
CUSAS 35 131	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of foodstuff for a boatman (coming from) Akkade
CUSAS 35 150	Expenditure (a n - n e - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of foodstuff for boatmen (on the occasion of a trip)
CUSAS 35 157	Expenditure (z i - g a) of barley and semolina for boatmen (on the occasion of a trip)
CUSAS 35 133	(Expenditure of foodstuff) to boatman and other individuals (on the occasion of a trip)
<b>Adab officials travelling from/to Adab</b>	
CUSAS 35 216	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of onions on the occasion of the trip of Ur-Ninmug
CUSAS 35 178	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> , al-zi) of ... on the occasion of the trip of Ur-Ninmug
CUSAS 35 179	(Expenditure of) sheep and goats taken (a l - l a h <sub>5</sub> ) to Akkade on the occasion of the trip of Ur-Ninmug
CUSAS 11 126	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> , mašdari'a) of sheep on the occasion of the trip of Nani.
CUSAS 35 151	(Expenditure of) barley for various individuals on the occasion of the trip of Igisi.
CUSAS 11 202*	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of foodstuff (on the occasion of the trip) of Igisi
CUSAS 35 176	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of sheep on the occasion of the trip of Enlila to Akkade
CUSAS 35 181	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of sheep on the occasion of the trip of Utu-tešgu
CUSAS 35 212	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of fruit on the occasion of the trip of Ur-Enlil (to) Akkade.
CUSAS 35 143	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of foodstuff (on the occasion of the trip) of Abba
<b>Other</b>	
CUSAS 35 225	(Expenditure of) fish on the occasion of offerings at Nippur
CUSAS 11 355	(Expenditure of) foodstuff on the occasion of offerings to Enlil and at Keš

Trips	
CUSAS 35 138	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of semolina on the occasion of the trip of a shepherd (to) Akkade
CUSAS 35 175	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of a sheep for a man (going to?) Šuruppag
CUSAS 35 182	[Expenditure] of sheep on the occasion of the trip of ...
Workshops	
CUSAS 35 152	Expenditure (a n - n e - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of flour for leather-workers
CUSAS 35 188 (P)	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of hides for a leather-worker
CUSAS 35 192	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of hides with various destinations (the “House of the superintendent”, the chief leather-worker, [...])
CUSAS 35 199 (P)	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of wooden implements for the carpenters
CUSAS 35 201	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of wooden implements for the carpenter. They were brought (i <sub>3</sub> - d e <sub>6</sub> ) by PN for the palace (e <sub>2</sub> - g a l - š e <sub>3</sub> )
CUSAS 35 202	Delivery (a n - d e <sub>6</sub> ) of wagon accessories
CUSAS 35 213	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of reed baskets to the chief builder
CUSAS 35 222	(Handing over) of bitumen and reed basket
CUSAS 35 230 (P)	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of boat parts
CUSAS 35 211	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of reed mats for boatmen
Foodstuff	
CUSAS 11 220	Deliveries (a n - n a - d e <sub>6</sub> , a l - d e <sub>6</sub> ) of foodstuff for the governor
CUSAS 35 129	Delivery (a n - d e <sub>6</sub> ) of flour (from?) the new palace (e <sub>2</sub> - g a l g i b i l)
CDLI P271235	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of flour for the “Women’s house”
CUSAS 35 158	Expenditure (z i - g a) of flour and foodstuff for the superintendent, the palace and other individuals

**Foodstuff**

CUSAS 35 141	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> , z i - g a) of semolina for the cupbearer
CUSAS 11 195	Delivery (a n - n a - d e <sub>6</sub> ) of foodstuff for the <i>saĝĝa</i> -administrator of the Esar
CUSAS 11 194 (P)	Delivery (a l - d e <sub>6</sub> ) of foodstuff for the temple of Šagan
TCCBI 1 50*	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of barley for a high official (Igisi)
CUSAS 35 128	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of semolina for a female worker of the superintendent
CUSAS 35 125	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of semolina for a lamentation singer
CUSAS 35 124 (P)	Expenditure (P N i n - [ n e - š u m <sub>2</sub> ]) of barley for various individuals
CUSAS 35 126	Expenditure (z i - g a) of flour for various people
CUSAS 35 156	Expenditure (a n - n e - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) and delivery (b a - d e <sub>6</sub> ) of flour for various workers and individuals
CUSAS 11 174	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of fodder for the donkeys of the amorites of the king
CUSAS 11 197	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of semolina (and?) mice
CUSAS 35 106	Expenditure (i n - n a - g u r u <sub>17</sub> ) of beer
CUSAS 35 123 (P)	Expenditure (P N i n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of barley
CUSAS 35 135	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of emmer
CUSAS 35 145	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> , z i - g a) of semolina
CUSAS 35 13	Purchase (n i ĝ <sub>2</sub> - s a m <sub>2</sub> ) of barley for the “House of the son”

**Animals**

CUSAS 35 183	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> , z i - g a) of one sheep for the House of the superintendent
CUSAS 35 177	Delivery (i <sub>3</sub> - d e <sub>6</sub> , z i - g a) of one sheep for the temple of Inanna
CUSAS 11 146	Delivery (m u - d e <sub>6</sub> ) of meat and a goat (from?) Ur-ešlila and the scribe
CUSAS 35 189	Handing over (š u - a g i <sub>4</sub> - a) of hides and meat

Animals	
CUSAS 35 190	Handing over (š u - a g i <sub>4</sub> - a) of hides and meat
CUSAS 35 191	Handing over (š u - a g i <sub>4</sub> - a) of hides and meat
Others	
CUSAS 35 218	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of flax
CUSAS 35 139	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of seeds of <i>GU.LUL</i> -plant
CUSAS 35 221 (P)	Expenditure (z i - g a) of bitumen
CUSAS 35 224	Expenditure (a n - n a - š u m <sub>2</sub> ) of buckets for a gardener
Bulla	
CUSAS 35 238	Bulla of basket containing tablets concerning the “House of the son”

Tab. 3: Texts from the “House of AH”, Meskigala archive<sup>146</sup>.

Guards of the palace		
CUSAS 35 52	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti aša <sub>5</sub> - IL <sub>2</sub> -š u - ĝ ar
CUSAS 35 58	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti aša <sub>5</sub> - IL <sub>2</sub> -š u - ĝ ar
CUSAS 35 60	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti aša <sub>5</sub> - IL <sub>2</sub> -š u - ĝ ar
CUSAS 35 62	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti aša <sub>5</sub> - IL <sub>2</sub> -š u - ĝ ar
CUSAS 35 73	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti aša <sub>5</sub> - IL <sub>2</sub> -š u - ĝ ar
CUSAS 35 79	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti aša <sub>5</sub> - IL <sub>2</sub> -š u - ĝ ar
CUSAS 35 76	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for (guards of) the palace	iti še - sa ĝ - sig <sub>15</sub> - ga
CUSAS 35 78	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for (guards of) the palace	iti še - sa ĝ - sig <sub>15</sub> - ga

146 All tablets from this group are pierced, except for CUSAS 35 81 and 82.



Guards of the palace		
CUSAS 35 38	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti a <sub>2</sub> -ki-ti
CUSAS 35 40	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti a <sub>2</sub> -ki-ti
CUSAS 35 43	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti a <sub>2</sub> -ki-ti
CUSAS 35 49	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti a <sub>2</sub> -ki-ti
CUSAS 35 54	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti a <sub>2</sub> -ki-ti
CUSAS 35 55	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti a <sub>2</sub> -ki-ti
CUSAS 35 63	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti a <sub>2</sub> -ki-ti
CUSAS 35 36	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti ab-e <sub>3</sub> -zi-ga
CUSAS 35 47	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the “New palace” (e <sub>2</sub> -gal gibil)	iti ab-e <sub>3</sub> -zi-ga
CUSAS 35 70	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for (guards of) the palace	iti ab-e <sub>3</sub> -zi-ga
CUSAS 35 80	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti ab-e <sub>3</sub> -zi-ga
CUSAS 35 57	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for (guards of) the palace	iti du <sub>6</sub> -ku <sub>3</sub>
CUSAS 35 72	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for (guards of) the palace	iti du <sub>6</sub> -ku <sub>3</sub>
CUSAS 35 51	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti niĝ <sub>2</sub> -kiri <sub>6</sub>
CUSAS 35 59	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti niĝ <sub>2</sub> -kiri <sub>6</sub>
CUSAS 35 61	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti niĝ <sub>2</sub> -kiri <sub>6</sub>
CUSAS 35 67	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti niĝ <sub>2</sub> -kiri <sub>6</sub>

Guards of the palace		
CUSAS 35 71	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti niĝ <sub>2</sub> -kiri <sub>6</sub>
CUSAS 35 68	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	iti <sup>d</sup> Šuba <sub>3</sub> -nun
CUSAS 35 74	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for guards of the palace	---
Fields, gardens and canals		
CUSAS 35 41	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for workers <sup>7</sup> at the field of Damgalnun	iti šu-ĝar
CUSAS 35 69	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for (the personnel at) the Garden of Urtu-Ašgi	iti aša <sub>5</sub> - il <sub>2</sub> -šu-ĝar
CUSAS 35 44	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for (the personnel at) the Garden of Urtu-Ašgi	iti <sup>d</sup> Šuba <sub>3</sub> -nun
CUSAS 35 65	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for (the personnel at) the Garden of Ašgi-pa'e	iti <sup>d</sup> Šuba <sub>3</sub> -nun
CUSAS 35 56	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for (a ceremony) at the inlet of the "Governor's Canal"	iti ab-e <sub>3</sub> -zi-ga
CUSAS 35 37	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for (a ceremony) at the inlet of the e <sub>2</sub> -DUN-canal	iti-še- še. še .KIN-a
CUSAS 35 39	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for (a ceremony) at the inlet of the "Small Canal"	iti-še- še. še .KIN-a
CUSAS 35 50	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for (a ceremony) at the "New Canal"	iti-še- še. še .KIN-a
CUSAS 35 48	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for a ceremonial boat	iti-še- še. še .KIN-a
CUSAS 35 42	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for a ceremonial boat	iti šu-ĝar
CUSAS 35 45	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for boatmen (lu <sub>2</sub> ma <sub>2</sub> -gur <sub>8</sub> )	iti šu-ĝar
CUSAS 35 53	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for boatmen (lu <sub>2</sub> ma <sub>2</sub> -gur <sub>8</sub> )	iti niĝ <sub>2</sub> -kiri <sub>6</sub>

Visitors		
CUSAS 35 64	(Expenditure of) beer and bread on the occasion of a visit of the governors of Umma and Lagaš	iti-še- še. še .KIN-a
CUSAS 35 82	Expenditure (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> , zi-ga) of semolina for a man (lu <sub>2</sub> -KU) of the king	iti niĝ <sub>2</sub> -kiri <sub>6</sub>
Other individuals (visitors?)		
CUSAS 35 81	Expenditure (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> , zi-ga) of foodstuff for PN	iti-še- še. še .KIN-a
CUSAS 35 46	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for PN	iti-še- še. še .KIN-a
CUSAS 35 66	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for PN	iti du <sub>6</sub> -ku <sub>3</sub>
CUSAS 35 75	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for PN	iti še-saĝ- sig <sub>15</sub> -ga
Uncertain		
CUSAS 35 77	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for [...]	iti niĝ <sub>2</sub> -kiri <sub>6</sub>

Tab. 4: Texts from the palace of organization, but from an indeterminate “house”, Meskigala archive<sup>147</sup>.

Foodstuff		
CUSAS 35 275	(Expenditure of) bread for a large number of dependents of the palace organization (officials and workers) and personnel of the king of Akkade	
CUSAS 35 276	(Expenditure of) bread for a large number of dependents of the palace organization (officials and workers) and personnel of the king of Akkade	
CUSAS 35 277	(Expenditure of) bread for a large number of dependents of the palace organization (officials and workers) and personnel of the king of Akkade	

147 (P) indicates that the tablet is pierced. When Silim-Utu appears as responsible for the transaction, it is indicated on the third column.

Foodstuff		
CUSAS 35 278	(Expenditure of) bread for a large number of dependents of the palace organization (officials and workers) and personnel of the king of Akkade	
CUSAS 35 162	(Expenditure? of) barley for various individuals, the palace, and craftsmen	
CUSAS 11 93	(Expenditure of bread) for various individuals, craftsmen ( <i>ĝiš-kin-ti</i> ) and guards	
CUSAS 11 98	(Expenditure of) beer <sup>7</sup> for craftsmen and other workers, personnel on duty at the “House of the son” and guards	
CUSAS 35 83	(Expenditure of) barley for sanctuaries and officials	
CUSAS 11 96	(Expenditure of) beer and bread for craftsmen and others	
CUSAS 11 97	(Expenditure of) barley for workers of the superintendent, the “House of the son”, the sanctuary of Ašgi, and others	
CUSAS 35 159	(Expenditure? of) barley for high officials, sanctuaries and the “House of the son”	
CUSAS 35 99 (P)	Expenditure ( <i>al-zi</i> ) of bread for (workers on duty at) orchard(s), sculptors and (workers on duty at) the “House of the superintendent” and the “House of the son”.	Silim-Utu
CUSAS 11 150	Expenditure ( <i>an-na-šum<sub>2</sub></i> ) of barley for people from various places (the “House of the son” among them)	Silim-Utu
CUSAS 11 189	(Expenditure of) barley with various destinations (the “House of the son” among them)	
CUSAS 35 127	Expenditure ( <i>an-na-šum<sub>2</sub></i> ) of cereals for the “House of the firstborn son” from the field of MarMA.	Silim-Utu
CUSAS 11 175	(Delivery?) of barley from the house of Belili for the palace, as fodder, and for other purposes	Silim-Utu



Foodstuff		
CUSAS 35 102	(Expenditure of) bread, beer and stew for the "House of ..."	
CUSAS 11 177	Expenditure (zi-ga) of barley for various individuals (hired men, smith, <i>išib</i> -priest, merchant, etc.) and as fodder	
CUSAS 35 111 (P)	Expenditure (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> ) of barley for (workers on duty at) the field of Damgalnuna	
CUSAS 35 115 (P)	Expenditure (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> ) of barley for (workers on duty at) the field of Damgalnuna and at the "House of Meme"	
CUSAS 35 121 (P)	(Expenditure of) barley for female workers and a child	
CUSAS 35 117 (P)	(Delivery? of) large quantity of barley (from?) the field of Munumah	Silim-Utu
CUSAS 35 118 (P)	(Expenditure of) emmer for sanctuaries	Silim-Utu
SCTRAH 1	Expenditure (zi-ga) of bread and beer for (a ceremony) at the inlet of the "Small Canal"	
CUSAS 35 120 (P)	Expenditure (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> ) of barley for the granary (supervisor?)	
CUSAS 11 163 (P)	(Expenditure of) of barley for various individuals	
CUSAS 35 114 (P)	(Expenditure of) flour for various individuals	
CUSAS 35 170 (P)	(Expenditure? of) flour for various individuals	
CUSAS 11 167 (P)	Expenditure (zi-ga) of barley for the rent of a wagon and for various individuals	
CUSAS 11 166 (P)	Expenditure (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> ) of barley for uncertain purposes	
CUSAS 11 182	Delivery (mu-de <sub>6</sub> ) of barley with various destinations (fragmentary)	
CUSAS 11 235 (P)	Account (PN u <sub>3</sub> -mu-da-ġal <sub>2</sub> ) of cream and cheese	

<b>Foodstuff</b>		
CUSAS 35 108	Account of flour, beer and wooden objects	Silim-Utu
<b>Workshop</b>		
<b>Crafts</b>		
CUSAS 11 113	Handing over (šu-a gi <sub>4</sub> -a) of saws for reaping	Silim-Utu
CUSAS 11 243	Expenditure (an-na-[šum <sub>2</sub> ]) of material for rope makers/braiders	Silim-Utu
CUSAS 35 220 (P)	(Expenditure of) bitumen for reed-workers	
CUSAS 35 194	Delivery (al-de <sub>6</sub> ) and expenditure (zi-ga) of one waterskin for the governor and hides for a wagon	Silim-Utu
CUSAS 11 120	Handing over (šu-a gi <sub>4</sub> -a) of hides for the house <sup>7</sup> of the governor	
CUSAS 11 133	Handing over (šu-a gi <sub>4</sub> -am <sub>3</sub> ) of hides	
CUSAS 11 136	Handing over (šu-a gi <sub>4</sub> -a) of hides	
CUSAS 11 137	Handing over (šu-a gi <sub>4</sub> -a) of hides	
CUSAS 11 138	(Handing over of) hides	
TCCBI 1 19	Handing over (šu-a gi <sub>4</sub> -a) of hides	
CUSAS 11 143	Handing over (šu-a gi <sub>4</sub> -a) and expenditure (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> ) of hides	Silim-Utu
CUSAS 11 135	Delivery (mu-de <sub>6</sub> ) of hides	
CUSAS 11 142	(Delivery of) hides and animals from a shepherd of Urusağrig	Silim-Utu
<b>Fullers</b>		
CUSAS 11 228	Delivery of garments from various individuals (temple administrators, palace dependants, etc), received (šu ba-ti-am <sub>3</sub> ) by the fullers	

Merchants		
CUSAS 11 106	Expenditure (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> ) of silver for a merchant	
CUSAS 35 109	Expenditure (i <sub>3</sub> -na-šum <sub>2</sub> , zi-ga) of large quantity of barley for a merchant	Silim-Utu
CUSAS 35 116 (P)	Expenditure (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> ) of barley for a merchant	
CUSAS 35 209	Expenditure (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> ) of dates for a merchant	Silim-Utu
CUSAS 26 80	Expenditure (an-ne-šum <sub>2</sub> ) of flour for merchants on the occasion of their trip to Gasur	Silim-Utu
CUSAS 35 12 (P)	Delivery (ba-de <sub>6</sub> ) of silver for a purchase	
CUSAS 20 354	Purchase (niĝ <sub>2</sub> -sam <sub>2</sub> ) of copper	
Gifts and other goods given to visitors and travelers		
TCCBI 1 63	(Expenditure of) ... on the occasion of trips (visits of Sargon and other governors among them)	
CUSAS 35 107	(Expenditure of) beer for a banquet on the occasion of the visit of the livestock administrator of the king of Kiš (=Sargon) and the chief cook of Lagaš	
CUSAS 11 130 (P)	Expenditure (e <sub>3</sub> -a) of animals (on the occasion of the visit) of the governors of Šuruppak and (Bad)tibira	
CUSAS 11 242	Delivery (in-na-de <sub>6</sub> ) of dates and copper for visitors (governor of [...] and governor of Marada)	
CUSAS 35 173 (P)	Expenditure (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> , zi-ga) of sheep on the occasion of the visit of a man from (Bad)tibira	Silim-Utu
CUSAS 35 104 (P)	(Expenditure of) beer for merchants and/or visitors from U <sub>4</sub> .URI.SAR, Isin, Umma and Ur	

### Gifts and other goods given to visitors and travelers

CUSAS 11 141	Handing over (š <sub>u</sub> -a gi <sub>4</sub> -a) of hide and meat (on the occasion of the visit of) an official of the city of Ezurzur	
CUSAS 11 253	Expenditure (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> ) of ... on the occasion of a visit of a man from Šuruppag (fragmentary), and other expenditures (fragmentary)	Silim-Utu
CUSAS 11 110	[Expenditure of] gifts (clothes and metal objects) on the occasion of a trip of the governor	
CUSAS 26 78	Account of sheep taken to Akkade on the occasion of a trip of the governor	
CUSAS 11 233	(Expenditure of) oil for various individuals and purposes (a trip of the governor among them)	
CUSAS 11 145	Expenditure (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> ) of hides on the occasion of the trip of the superintendent to Akkade	
CUSAS 11 250	Handing over (š <sub>u</sub> -a gi <sub>4</sub> -a) of ... on the occasion of a trip of the superintendent	
TCCBI 1 47	Expenditure (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> ) of barley on the occasion of the trip of Urnu, supervisor of the temple of Ninmug	Silim-Utu
CUSAS 11 160	(Expenditure of) a large quantity of barley sent to Lagaš on the occasion of the trip of U <sub>3</sub> -mu-NI.NI	
CUSAS 11 127	Handing over (š <sub>u</sub> -a gi <sub>4</sub> -a) of sheep and goats on the occasion of the trip of Ilum-nu'id	
CUSAS 11 165	(Expenditure of) a large quantity of barley sent by boat on the occasion of the trip of Ur-Suen	
CUSAS 35 184	Expenditure (a-ba-šum <sub>2</sub> ) of one sheep on the occasion of a trip of Ur-Ninmug?	Silim-Utu
<b>Oils</b>		
TCCBI 1 60	Expenditure (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> ) of oil for Lugal-kura	Silim-Utu



**Oils**

CUSAS 11 234	Handing over (š <sub>u</sub> -a gi <sub>4</sub> -a) and pouring out (in-na-de <sub>2</sub> ) of oil for the perfume-maker	Silim-Utu
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**Livestock management**

CUSAS 11 119	Handing over (š <sub>u</sub> -a gi <sub>4</sub> -a) of animals given (an-na-šum <sub>2</sub> ) as <i>šuku</i> -allotments	Silim-Utu
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CUSAS 20 356	Account of sheep from the palace transferred to a shepherd	
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CUSAS 35 174 (P)	(Expenditure? of) a goat (for? the sanctuary of) Inanna	
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CUSAS 35 187 (P)	Handing over (š <sub>u</sub> -a gi <sub>4</sub> -a) and delivery (ba-de <sub>6</sub> ) of hides and meat	
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**Personnel management**

CUSAS 35 22	Assignment of agricultural workers to various individuals	Silim-Utu
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CUSAS 11 99	List of guards of the superintendent, travelling or located in the city	
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OIP 14 63 (P)	List of smiths	
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**Land management**

CUSAS 35 33 (P)	Account of land allotments	
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CUSAS 11 118 (P)	Fodder for equids working in the field of Agar-Inanna	Silim-Utu
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CUSAS 11 176	(Expenditure of) of barley for agricultural activities and as fodder for equids	
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CUSAS 11 181	(Expenditure of) barley for donkey-teams	
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CUSAS 11 183	Balance-account of barley from the Agar-Inanna field	
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**Letter-orders and legal procedures**

CUSAS 11 86	Barley loans to cultic personnel and others	
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CUSAS 11 108	Legal text concerning the theft of silver	
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CUSAS 26 74 (P)	Legal text (claim) on a loan and purchases	
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**Letter-orders and legal procedures**

CUSAS 20 355 Letter-order on the transfer of barley

**Other**

CUSAS 35 14 (P) Account of barley and silver issued or received by the superintendent Silim-Utu

CUSAS 11 109 Delivery (mu-de<sub>6</sub>) of golden objects by the goldsmith of Keš

CUSAS 35 223 (P) Expenditure (an-na-šum<sub>2</sub>) of buckets for a gardener

CUSAS 35 260 Account of silver taxes from various individuals

CUSAS 35 210 (P) Delivery (an-de<sub>6</sub>) of rushes to the “House of the outer city”

CUSAS 35 200 (P) Deliveries (mu-de<sub>6</sub>) of beams (school text?)

CUSAS 35 237 (Bulla) Bulla recording barley of different qualities