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# The Archaic Lists of Professions and Their Relevance for the Late Uruk Period: Observations on Some Officials in Their Administrative Context

Camille Lecompte

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Alter Orient und Altes Testament

Band 440

## **What's in a Name?**

Terminology related to the Work Force  
and Job Categories in the Ancient Near East

Edited by  
Agnès Garcia-Ventura



Garcia-Ventura • What's in a Name?

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Agnès Garcia-Ventura

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Band 440

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Beratergremium

Rainer Albertz • Joachim Bretschneider • Stefan Maul  
Udo Rüterswörden • Walther Sallaberger • Gebhard Selz  
Michael P. Streck



# **What's in a Name?**

Terminology related to the Work Force  
and Job Categories in the Ancient Near East

Agnès Garcia-Ventura

2018  
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Agnès Garcia-Ventura

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and Job Categories in the Ancient Near East

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# The Archaic Lists of Professions and Their Relevance for the Late Uruk Period

## Observations on Some Officials in Their Administrative Context

Camille Lecompte<sup>1</sup>

### 0. Introduction

The terminology related to workforce drew the attention of the Mesopotamian scholars as early as the end of the fourth millennium and the Late Uruk period,<sup>2</sup> when writing was invented and consequently used to record economic operations.<sup>3</sup> As is well known, the earliest lexical lists are contemporary with the beginning of writing.<sup>4</sup> Lexical lists are a series of school texts which were used as glossaries and training exercises by pupils for their education and, according to Niek Veldhuis, are “compilations in which one may find the correct form, usage

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<sup>1</sup> CNRS – Archéologies et Sciences de l'Antiquité – Nanterre. I thank J. Cale Johnson and V. Bartash for their suggestions and comments. I am grateful also to R. K. Englund for having given me a preliminary version of *MSVO* 3. I express my gratitude to A.-C. Parr and E. Clevenstine for having corrected my English. Abbreviations follow the list available on the CDLI website (<http://cdli.ucla.edu/>, accessed April 2016): references used only once are given under abbreviated form; commentaries to publications of texts are also given as follows: Englund / Nissen 1993: 17–22 in contrast with the reference to a text as CUSAS 1, 124. For the texts labeled as *MSVO* 3, see Englund / Damerow forthcoming, Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 11–46, 203–208 and the CDLI website. The unpublished material referred here to is available on the same website. The texts presented here are transliterated according to the usual way adopted for instance in the volumes *ATU* 3–7 and in accordance with the norm of the sign list available on the CDLI website. For the translation and analysis, some archaic terms are also given according to a “conventional” Sumerian form, when it seems suitable, especially in consideration of the evidence from the ED I–II period, and when it enables us to identify a personal name. However, this paper does not intend to take any position on the discussion concerning the language of the Late Uruk texts, since archaic terms can only partly be understood as Sumerian, while many hold out against any “anachronistic” interpretation – at least to me – or do not seem to be “language oriented”, as emphasized by R. K. Englund. See Englund 2009 and Monaco 2014b for new evidence and a reconsideration of this topic.

<sup>2</sup> Namely the Uruk IV and Uruk III / Jemdet Nasr periods, respectively ca. 3200–3100 BC and 3100–3000 BC.

<sup>3</sup> Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990; Englund 1998: 80 ff.

<sup>4</sup> For an overview of the lexical lists, Veldhuis 2014 (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dclt/corpus>).

or reading of a word or a cuneiform sign”.<sup>5</sup> Some of these lists enumerate professional terms and show that job categories were considered to be an unavoidable topic in the school tradition. The main archaic lists recording professions, namely the so-called archaic *Lu<sub>2</sub> A* and *Officials* lists – which could also be named according to their first line, respectively NAMEŠDA and UKKIN –<sup>6</sup> represent indeed the beginnings of a tradition which was maintained for more than two millennia. These lists were still in use in a very different context, both socially and linguistically, during the Early Dynastic period (2950–2350 BC).<sup>7</sup> Later, notably during the second millennium, professional lists experienced such a remarkable evolution that they represent a tradition quite different from their archaic forerunners.<sup>8</sup>

The documentary value of the lists of professions is crucial in Mesopotamian studies: on the one hand, later Akkadian translations of the Sumerian professions hint at the functions ascribed to them, although one should be aware of the limits of such interpretations when they are applied to archaic lists.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, these lists, with their wide range of professions and administrators, provide an insight into Mesopotamian society and a complementary piece of evidence to other types of sources, notably for the Uruk period, a society which is poorly documented. The archaic *Lu<sub>2</sub>* list, notably, has been given a great deal of attention by scholars,<sup>10</sup> who emphasize its significance both for cultural and social history, and rely upon it in order to approach some salient features of Uruk society. However, these archaic lists merely consist of an arid enumeration of professional designations in separate cases, arranged into text columns and devoid of any commentary, such as can be seen in the first lines:

| Archaic <i>Lu<sub>2</sub></i> List    | Possible translations of the terms |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. NAMEŠDA                            | lord of the mace/ruler/counsellor  |
| 2. NAM <sub>2</sub> KAB               | vizier/manager of goods?           |
| 3. NAM <sub>2</sub> DI                | leader of justice/counsellor       |
| 4. NAM <sub>2</sub> NAM <sub>2</sub>  | ?                                  |
| 5. NAM <sub>2</sub> URU <sub>a1</sub> | leader of the town?                |

One way to assess the relevance for social studies of this list is to compare its terminology with the contemporary administrative evidence, especially for some

<sup>5</sup> Veldhuis 2014: 6.

<sup>6</sup> See Johnson 2015: 171. This indeed better conforms to Mesopotamian habits.

<sup>7</sup> Veldhuis 2014: 72–76, 105–107.

<sup>8</sup> The edition of these lists is available in *MSL* 12 as well as on the DCCLT website (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/corpus>). On Proto-*Lu<sub>2</sub>*, see Veldhuis 2014: 159–166.

<sup>9</sup> Englund 2009: fn. 18, clearly warns against the mere transposition of “Akkadian glosses” back to the *Lu<sub>2</sub>* list.

<sup>10</sup> Note the following references: Nissen 1974: 12–14; Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 153–157 and 1993: 110–115; see the remarks of Englund / Nissen 1993: 17–22; Englund 1998: 103–106; Selz 1998: 294–305; Glassner 2000: 45–47; Wilcke 2005; Bourguignon 2012; Johnson 2015; Veldhuis 2014: 34–36; Wagensohn 2010; Wagensohn 2012.

of the professional names whose meaning is still debated, such as KINGAL.<sup>11</sup> The aim of this paper, which can only be limited in its inquiry, will be to focus on a few professional terms mentioned in the archaic lists, more specifically in the Uruk III version of the Lu<sub>2</sub> list, which is better attested than its Uruk IV forerunner.<sup>12</sup> Since the archaic lists are edited in the exemplary volume published by Robert K. Englund and Hans J. Nissen,<sup>13</sup> the present paper will mainly consider the administrative evidence related to these professional designations and attempt to reconstruct their role in their primary context.

In the first place, the historical value of these lists can be estimated by considering to what extent the status or specialization of the professions mentioned therein can be interpreted through a comparison with the contemporary administrative evidence. The present study will focus on this aspect by investigating a limited sample of professional titles selected either because of their significance in scholars' theories, namely NAMEŠDA and KINGAL, or because of their representative character, NAM<sub>2</sub> DI, ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub>, UTUL<sub>a</sub> and SAG SUG<sub>5</sub>. According to the method cursorily applied by Alexandra Bourguignon (2012) to a limited sample of archaic texts, it is also possible to compare the position and the role of some of the professional titles in the administrative texts and in the lexical lists. The method applied here takes into consideration all occurrences of a professional designation by considering the nature of the text, the role of the profession – particularly if it stands in the “core” of a tablet as one of the actors of the administrative operation or in the colophon/subscript, as the main official –, the occurrences of other titles and the amount of goods or food respectively assigned to them.<sup>14</sup> Since many tablets are fragmentary or still not fully understandable, only a few texts will be analysed in detail.<sup>15</sup> On the other hand, the arrangement of professional names in lexical lists not only reflects social data

<sup>11</sup> Veldhuis 2014: 35 fn. 41: “A detailed comparison between archaic Lu<sub>2</sub> and the terminology of the archaic administrative texts, such as Bourguignon as started out to do, is an urgent desideratum”.

<sup>12</sup> On the differences between both versions see Johnson 2015:174–181.

<sup>13</sup> The lists Archaic Lu<sub>2</sub> and *Officials* have been published respectively in Englund / Nissen 1993: 69–86 and 86–89. For the ED manuscripts of those lists, see *MSL* 12, pp. 4–12, Arcari 1982 (Lu<sub>2</sub> A), as well as the edition offered by Petitnato in *MEE* 3: pp. 176–185 (Lista di parole sumerische E = *Officials*). For an overview of the time repartition of the manuscripts, see Englund 1998: 88–89. An edition of both lists is also available on the website DCCLT (<http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/corpus>).

<sup>14</sup> By comparison with Bourguignon 2012, texts with a provenance other than Uruk as well as unpublished material available on the CDLI website were also included within the research. Archaic capacity measures are here converted into modern systems according to the indications given in Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 66 and 1993: 36, on the basis of 1N<sub>39</sub> = about 4.8 litres and 1N<sub>1</sub> = about 24 litres.

<sup>15</sup> For some of the professions studied here, namely NAMEŠDA, KINGAL, NAM<sub>2</sub> DI and SAG SUG<sub>5</sub>, a table of all possible attestations is presented, in which the content of the text, the role of the profession, the presence of other administrators and persons are analyzed. For the sake of convenience, only the texts from the Uruk IV period are indicated with their date; all other texts are from the Uruk III / Jemdet Nasr period.

but also shows the intellectual endeavour of the scribes to classify words and terms within an organizational framework.<sup>16</sup>

### 1. The Archaic Lists of Professions and Their Scope

The Lu<sub>2</sub> and *Officials* lists, which are still not fully understood, refer to many officials, managers, priests, musicians, herdsmen and craftsmen who belong to a hierarchical middle or high level. The analysis of these lists is somewhat impeded by philological uncertainties – more particularly as to the identity of the language represented in archaic texts, if any – and a limited understanding of the signs, as well as by the nature of the archaic writing which was not “language oriented”.<sup>17</sup>

The archaic Lu<sub>2</sub> list, which has drawn a great deal of attention, is thought to reflect the administrative hierarchy of this period, its purpose being “to place each professional title in a context displaying its respective rank in society”.<sup>18</sup> The content of the list, identified as a kind of forerunner to the Lu<sub>2</sub> type, is held to deal with professions and high-ranking officials. The comparison with the administrative evidence has led so far to three conclusions:

- As pointed out by Nissen and other scholars, many of the entries of the list happen to occur only rarely in other documents and are therefore difficult to understand from their original context;<sup>19</sup> in contrast, other officials occur in administrative texts, sometimes in similar clusters.<sup>20</sup>
- Bourguignon (2012) posits that the Lu<sub>2</sub> list refers to the actual social hierarchy of the Late Uruk period but also notices the discrepancies between both kinds of evidence, since officials occurring in different parts of the list can receive the same amount of rations or in inverse proportion to their position, thereby contradicting the idea of a strict decreasing order in the aforementioned text.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> As emphasized by Veldhuis 2014: 16: “the history of research into Mesopotamian lexical texts may be roughly divided into two approaches: the dictionary approach, and the cultural history approach”.

<sup>17</sup> Englund 1998: 79; see also Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 76 and 1993: 30: “The various tablets from the earliest phases of writing therefore bear closer resemblance to such modern documents as punched cards, dockets, clearing checks, balance sheets or many other formalized data carriers than to independently and freely composed manuscripts in the modern sense”.

<sup>18</sup> Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 153 and 1993: 111.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Englund / Nissen 1993: 19: “Hinderlich an der genaueren Bestimmung war allerdings immer gewesen, daß sich kaum einer der dort genannten Titel in den gleichzeitigen Verwaltungstexten aus Uruk wiederfand, so daß man vielleicht anhand der Anordnung auf den Tafeln die Angaben der Liste hätte überprüfen können”.

<sup>20</sup> Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 157 and 1993: 115. Veldhuis 2014: 34–35. As noted by the author, the titles occurring in account texts “come primarily, but not exclusively, from the first part of the list”, cf. also Englund 1998: 105–106.

<sup>21</sup> Bourguignon 2012: 253: “En conclusion, je dirais que la liste Lu<sub>2</sub> A me semble être “globalement” hiérarchique. En effet, malgré les incohérences internes à la liste et malgré les exemples d’absence de correspondance exacte entre la position occupée par chaque

- Klaus Wagensohnner emphasizes the connections and the strong parallels between the lexical lists and the administrative documents, notably with the entries of the *Officials* list: accordingly, such similarities might suggest “a bureaucratic need to better organize the records”.<sup>22</sup>

As regards the meaning of these lists for the political organization and the characteristics of the archaic Mesopotamian state, three elements have been put forward:

- It is assumed that the Lu<sub>2</sub> list reveals a kind of hierarchy:<sup>23</sup> the first official standing at the beginning of the list, NAMEŠDA, is for instance taken to designate the highest ranking position or the ruler.<sup>24</sup>
- Jean-Jacques Glassner, reappraising the theory of primitive democracy defended by Jacobsen, relies on the Lu<sub>2</sub> list to argue that the Uruk period featured a council or an assembly prior to the rise of the royal institution.<sup>25</sup>
- J. Cale Johnson (2015: 173, 204–205), by identifying the two lists of professional names with two different traditions in the evolution of the proto-cuneiform orthography, does not consider them to be the mere reproduction of “monolithic” institutions but demonstrates that the social background of the *Officials* list was the distribution of food to officials of the Late Uruk period.

## 2. NAMEŠDA in the Late Uruk Period

### 2.1. The NAMEŠDA: Ruler or Official?

NAMEŠDA stands in the first position in the Lu<sub>2</sub> list and in the 23<sup>rd</sup> position in the *Officials* list. In consideration of its later lexical attestations as an equivalent to Akkadian *šarrum*, king, and of its meaning as “lord of the mace”, Lambert hypothesized that NAMEŠDA might have been the earliest term for ruler.<sup>26</sup> More recently, Charvát (2012: 265) suggested identifying the famous character called *Mann im Netzrock*, considered to be an important social figure, with the NAMEŠDA, instead of the EN<sub>a</sub>. In contrast to these theories, doubts have arisen as to whether the NAMEŠDA was assigned the highest function in the Uruk state, notably in consideration of the administrative documentation, as already noted by Englund.<sup>27</sup>

---

fonctionnaire dans la liste et la quantité de biens qui lui est octroyée dans les textes économiques [...], on ne peut nier que les dix premiers fonctionnaires, qualifiés de NAM<sub>2</sub>, “maître”, ont comme domaine de compétence les institutions de base [...]”.

<sup>22</sup> Wagensohnner 2012: 815.

<sup>23</sup> Englund 1998: 105; Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 148, 153 and 1993: 106, 111; Bourguignon 2012; Veldhuis 2014: 35 shows some limitations of this interpretation.

<sup>24</sup> Lambert 1980: 94–97 and below for more details.

<sup>25</sup> Glassner 2000: 43–47, cf. Jacobsen 1943. See also the conclusions of the philological inquiry in Wilcke 2005: 442.

<sup>26</sup> Lambert 1980: 94–97; Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 153 and 1993: 111; Glassner 1993: 14–15; Selz 1998: 295 and 300; Glassner 2000: 45–46; Wilcke 2005: 440; Veldhuis 2014: 35.

<sup>27</sup> Englund 1998: 105. “the designations NAMEŠDA cannot in the archaic texts be shown to have qualified a substantial office”; Bourguignon 2012: 250 fn. 6; Veldhuis 2014: 35–36.



In this text, the clause GU<sub>7</sub> for ration concerns not only the recipients of the first column of the obverse but also of the second, this term being set apart as a kind of subscript. Three professional terms can be clearly identified as recipients, NAMEŠDA, UMUN<sub>2</sub> and GAL<sub>a</sub> SANGA<sub>a</sub>. The sign sets associated with the titles NAMEŠDA and UMUN<sub>2</sub> are not clear, but may correspond to terms referring to the nature of the product or to personal names. Note also the possible identification of a fourth recipient as a priestess en of Nanna – unless this term is to be understood as a personal name, En-Nanna –, who stands in a subcase to the right of U<sub>2a</sub> BAR, U<sub>2a</sub> probably relating to the type of container and BAR being either a name or an administrative term.<sup>38</sup> The fifth recipient in O0201 is not clearly distinguishable.

*BagM* 22, W 24021,10, which refers to a disbursement to the NAMEŠDA of two jars, as well as to other administrators, has a similar organization. The ten jars seem to be connected with Inanna's cult (AN MUŠ<sub>3a</sub> U<sub>4</sub> PAP<sub>a</sub> E<sub>2a</sub>), despite the uncertainties underlying the text.

|   |  |
|---|--|
| O0101. [2N <sub>1</sub> ] [...] [NU]N <sub>a</sub>                      | O0201. 1N <sub>14</sub> AN MUŠ <sub>3a</sub> U <sub>4</sub> PAP <sub>a</sub> E <sub>2a</sub> |
| O0102. [2N <sub>1</sub> ] SANGA <sub>a</sub> GAL <sub>a</sub>           | O0202. GU <sub>7</sub>   |
| O0103. 2N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA  |  |
| O0104. 2N <sub>1</sub> EN <sub>a</sub> ME <sub>a</sub> AN ŠU            |  |
| O0105. 2N <sub>1</sub> EN <sub>a</sub> KI AN NUN <sub>a</sub> HI        |  |
| O0106. AN MUŠ <sub>3a</sub> U <sub>4</sub> ZATU756 DUG <sub>a</sub>     |  |
| R0101. 1N <sub>14</sub> ŠU <sub>2</sub> U <sub>4</sub> DUG <sub>a</sub> | R0201. 1N <sub>14</sub> ŠU <sub>2</sub> [...]  |
| R0102. PAP <sub>a</sub> E <sub>2a</sub>                                 |  |

|  |           |  |
|--|-----------|--|
| (List of recipients)                                 | (Total)   |  |
| [2 jars] [...] [NU]N <sub>a</sub>                    | 10 (jars) | Inanna's day/month (?), PAP <sub>a</sub> E <sub>2a</sub>                               |
| [2 jars] the saĝĝa/umbisaĝ-gal (=Lu <sub>2</sub> 47, |           | (Pa <sub>4-e2</sub> /official PAP <sub>a</sub> of the E <sub>2a</sub> ), <sup>39</sup> |

<sup>38</sup> BAR is a polysemic sign which is encountered for instance referring to animals (see below), as “additional” or in the term SAL BAR for a type of cloth or a piece of textile. In this case, BAR is enigmatic.

<sup>39</sup> PAP<sub>a</sub> E<sub>2a</sub> could be a personal name, cf. Pa<sub>4-e2</sub>-kur-pa-e<sub>3</sub> in Fāra, Pomponio 1987: 207. The strongest parallel expression is to be found in *MSVO* 3, 12. O0204. 2N<sub>40</sub> 1N<sub>24a</sub> AN MUŠ<sub>3a</sub> DU PAP<sub>a</sub> E<sub>2a</sub> NUN<sub>a</sub>, which mentions the goddess Inanna: this case may be understood as a PN taken as a whole, so that *BagM* 22, W 24021,10 could also refer to a PN such as Pa<sub>4-e2</sub>-<sup>an/d</sup>Inanna – AN likely referring to a phonetic feature rather than to a determinative, since the latter are not commonly in use at that time –, followed by U<sub>4</sub> to designate an event. In the former AN MUŠ<sub>3a</sub> DU might also be interpreted according a Sumerian meaning as: <sup>an/d</sup>Inanna-gub, “who stands for Inanna”. A similar sign combination occurs in *ATU* 5, W9579,dh. O0101. 2N<sub>7a</sub> 'BA' PAP<sub>a</sub> E<sub>2a</sub> EŠDA. See also *BagM* 22, W 24021,11; *CUSAS* 21, 295 (small tablet also transliterated in 2.5); *MSVO* 4, 28 (see fn. 62). See the colophon of the lexical texts W 24016,1 (Animals), R0101. AB<sub>2</sub> E<sub>2a</sub> NUN<sub>a</sub> PAP<sub>a</sub>, Pa<sub>4-e2</sub>-nun. This assumption may be also confirmed by MS 2437. O0307a. E<sub>2a</sub> PAP<sub>a</sub>, which seems to be associated with a number of SAL and MS 4503. O0101. 2N<sub>1</sub> KIŠ E<sub>2a</sub> PAP<sub>a</sub>: 2 donkeys: Pa<sub>4-e2</sub> (?). It may also be that PAP<sub>a</sub> E<sub>2a/b</sub> is to be understood as a function name, PAP<sub>a</sub> being, according to Monaco (2014b: 265), an equivalent of PA<sub>a</sub>.



|   |   |
|---|---|
| Officials 10)   |   |
| 2 (jars) the namešda (= Lu <sub>2</sub> 1, Officials 23)  | ration (GU <sub>7</sub> )                       |
| 2 (jars) EN.ME.AN.ŠU (a function) <sup>40</sup>   |   |
| 2 (jars) the official EN <sub>a</sub> KI AN NUN <sub>a</sub> ĤI <sup>41</sup>                             |   |
| jars “towards Inanna’s day/month(?)” <sup>42</sup>  |   |
| (Total?) 10 jars ŠU <sub>2</sub> U <sub>4</sub>   | (Total?)  |
| PAP <sub>a</sub> E <sub>2a</sub> (Pa <sub>4-e2</sub> /official PAP <sub>a</sub> of the E <sub>2a</sub> )? | 10 (jars) ŠU <sub>2</sub> ṛx <sup>1</sup> [...] |

In addition to the NAMEŠDA, the other recipients of jars are: a SANGA<sub>a</sub> GAL<sub>a</sub>, another official title, EN<sub>a</sub> KI AN NUN<sub>a</sub> ĤI, similar to an entry of the *Officials* list (EN<sub>a</sub> KI AN NUN<sub>a</sub> ĤI), a possible cultic function, EN<sub>a</sub> ME<sub>a</sub> AN ŠU and a broken name, NUN<sub>a</sub>-x. Though uncertain, the term PAP<sub>a</sub> E<sub>2a</sub> may correspond to the name of the main official responsible of the disbursement, but it can also be contained in the same combination as MUŠ<sub>3a</sub> AN U<sub>4</sub>. The designation of the jars as ŠU<sub>2</sub> U<sub>4</sub> seems unclear and may refer to a variety of products or to their use.<sup>43</sup> The apparent repetition of the total of jars, 10, in three cases seems odd and may be explained either as a qualification of the same amount or as the account of separate and different items.

The stable amount of jars in both texts enables us to infer that also in *ATU* 6, W 15897,c8,<sup>44</sup> jars are in all likelihood implicitly referred to:

|  |  |
|--|--|
| O0101. 2N <sub>1</sub> ENGIZ               | 2 (jars): engiz                                |
| O0102. 2N <sub>1</sub> ENGIZ               | 2 (jars): engiz                                |
| O0103. 2N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA             | 2 (jars): namešda                              |
| O0104. 2N <sub>1</sub> NAM <sub>2</sub> DI | 2 (jars): nam <sub>2</sub> -di/sa <sub>2</sub> |
| O0201. GU <sub>7</sub>                     | ration   |

This term requires a comprehensive study which goes beyond the scope of the present paper.

<sup>40</sup> EN<sub>a</sub> ME<sub>a</sub> AN ŠU occurs also in the unpublished tablet IM 74345. The presence of EN<sub>a</sub> and ME<sub>a</sub> suggests that this term refers to an official, which may be similar to the title Officials 18. ŠU<sub>2</sub>×EN<sub>a</sub> AN, later known as NAB ŠU<sub>2</sub>, see Johnson 2015: 204 (I owe this interpretation of EN<sub>a</sub> ME<sub>a</sub> AN ŠU to Cale Johnson).

<sup>41</sup> Although the interpretation of this name is speculative and cannot be supported by later evidence, it may be interpreted in accordance with the template given by the name Ĝir<sub>2</sub>-nun-ki-du<sub>10</sub>, therefore as En-an-nun-ki-du<sub>10</sub>. Furthermore, it is probably identical with the entry Officials 27. AN ĤI KI NUN<sub>a</sub>, whereby it is also possible that EN<sub>a</sub> is used here as a shortened form of a name for the one who bears the aforementioned title, compare with *ATU* 6, W 15860,a4: O0106. [...] DAĤ KISAL<sub>b1</sub> EN<sub>a</sub> NUN<sub>a</sub> ĤI KI. This official designation is also hard to understand, especially through a consideration of the lexical evidence, since the ED versions of the *Officials* list record it as:

SF 59. Obv. II. 9. EN GI EZEN KI ĤI  
MEE 3, 50. Obv. II. 10. GI EN SIG<sub>7</sub> ĤI U<sub>x</sub>

See *MEE* III: pp. 176 and 180. This could also prove that the complete form is EN<sub>a</sub> ĤI AN NUN<sub>a</sub> KI, which would not be written in the only available manuscript of this part of the *Officials* list, *ATU* 3, W 15895,bv+. This administrator, as shown below, is associated with the NAMEŠDA in other tablets.

<sup>42</sup> According to Green and Nissen, ZATU756 might be compared with EŠ<sub>2</sub> and ŠE<sub>3</sub>. The sign combination might be very speculatively understood as: u<sub>4</sub> <sup>d</sup>Inanna-ZATU756 =še<sub>x</sub>.

<sup>43</sup> Compare with Archaic Vessels 53. ŠU<sub>2</sub> DUG<sub>b</sub>+DIN.

<sup>44</sup> On this text see also Charvát 2012: 265 and Veldhuis 2014: 36.

In *MSVO* 3, 19, a fragmentary tablet also featuring the clause GU<sub>7</sub>, NAMEŠDA TUR MUŠEN BU<sub>a</sub> TUR, which may be interpreted as a personal name, ̘u-bu-tur,<sup>45</sup> is associated with a relatively high amount of grain, 5N<sub>14</sub> = 720 litres.<sup>46</sup> Few other administrators and names are preserved, but in respect to the total appearing on the reverse, 3N<sub>34</sub> 1N<sub>1</sub> 1N<sub>39a</sub> (4348,8 litres), other persons in the broken cases may have been connected with a higher amount of barley. The name of the main person responsible is not preserved, if there was any.<sup>47</sup> The other texts referring to “ration” and involving the NAMEŠDA are either not as clear as the preceding examples or too fragmentary (*ATU* 7, W 20274,<sup>39</sup> a large tablet badly preserved and recording dairy product,<sup>48</sup> *MSVO* 3, 46). In the unpublished and fragmentary document IM 134325,<sup>49</sup> which is concluded by the term GU<sub>7</sub> GA<sub>a</sub>+ZATU753 – probably ration of a dairy product, the meaning of ZATU753 being unknown – the NAMEŠDA seems to be included in two lists of individuals sharing an amount of a vessel whose name is not preserved but was written in the first entry:

|  |   |
|--|---|
| O0902a. 4N <sub>1</sub> [...]  | 4 [vessels?]  |
| O0902b1. 1N <sub>57</sub> [...]  | 1 is (for): [...]   |
| O0902b2. 1N <sub>57</sub> NAMEŠDA  | 1 is (for): the namešda official                              |
| O0902b3. 1N <sub>57</sub> ̘I <sup>?</sup> <sub>50</sub> E <sub>2a</sub> NUN <sub>a</sub> | 1 is (for): ̘I <sup>?</sup> E <sub>2a</sub> NUN <sub>a</sub>  |
| O0902b4. 1N <sub>57</sub> ̘I E <sub>2a</sub> NUN <sub>a</sub>                            | 1 is (for): ̘I E <sub>2a</sub> NUN <sub>a</sub> <sup>51</sup> |
| O0903a. 3N <sub>1</sub> [...]  | 3 [vessels?]  |
| O0903b1. 1N <sub>57</sub> MAR <sub>a</sub> [...]   | 1 is (for): MAR <sub>a</sub> x                                |
| O0903b2. 1N <sub>57</sub> ̘I AN KI NUN <sub>a</sub>                                      | 1 is (for): the official ̘I AN KI NUN <sub>a</sub>            |
| O0903b3. 1N <sub>57</sub> NAMEŠDA  | 1 is (for): the namešda official                              |

This organization reminds us another unpublished tablet, W 20511,<sup>2,52</sup> which features in the last case the same product GA<sub>a</sub>+ZATU753<sup>53</sup> and includes

<sup>45</sup> Since NAMEŠDA AL is encountered in CUSAS 21, 196, it is tempting to interpret the two remaining signs, NAMEŠDA TUR, as namešda banda<sub>3</sub>.

<sup>46</sup> The interpretation of this name is speculative but relies on the terms written during the ED period as ̘u-bu<sup>bu</sup>, Lu<sub>2</sub>-̘u-bu<sup>bu</sup>-(da), Niĝ<sub>2</sub>-bu<sup>bu</sup>, ̘u-bu<sup>bu</sup>-la, ̘u-bu<sup>bu</sup>-maĝ, etc., cf. Pomponio 1987: 111, 121, 148.

<sup>47</sup> See Englund / Damerow forthcoming.

<sup>48</sup> Cf. *ATU* 7: p. 21: “große Abrechnung über Zuteilungen von Kuhmilchfettbehältern”.

<sup>49</sup> = P003655 ([http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival\\_view.php?ObjectID=P003655](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P003655)).

<sup>50</sup> On the photograph available on the CDLI website, faint traces possibly matching ̘I are visible, though this is speculative.

<sup>51</sup> Since E<sub>2</sub>-nun is part of several personal names in the ED I–II documentation, it might here be understood as a similar name to En-du<sub>10</sub>-e<sub>2</sub>-nun, PN 286 in *UET* 2 and, therefore, as E<sub>2</sub>-nun-du<sub>10</sub>. On this term as a temple name, cf. Szaryńska 1992: 275–276 and 282, fn. 22, though the references mentioned by her can be identified with personal names. Cf. also the so-called NINLIL sign, mentioned as Archaic Cities 38. E<sub>2a</sub> NUN<sub>a</sub>.

<sup>52</sup> = P003808 ([http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival\\_view.php?ObjectID=P003808](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P003808)).

<sup>53</sup> Though broken, this tablet may belong to the same group as IM 134325 and fea-

NAMEŠDA in a subsection recording six containers SILA<sub>3</sub>×GARA<sub>2a</sub>, each associated with a different person:

|   |   |
|---|---|
| O0602b1A. 6N <sub>1</sub> SILA <sub>3</sub> ×GARA <sub>2a</sub>       | 6 containers SILA <sub>3</sub> ×GARA <sub>2a</sub> (dairy fat)                |
| O0602b1B1. 1N <sub>57</sub> 'EN <sub>a</sub> ' 'SAG'                  | 1 is (for): EN <sub>a</sub> SAG <sup>54</sup>                                 |
| O0602b1B2. 1N <sub>57</sub> 𒄩 E <sub>2a</sub> DILMUN NUN <sub>a</sub> | 1 is (for): 𒄩 E <sub>2a</sub> NUN <sub>a</sub> (and) DILMUN (?) <sup>55</sup> |
| O0602b1B3. 1N <sub>57</sub> NAMEŠDA                                   | 1 is (for): the namešda official  |
| O0602b1B4. 1N <sub>57</sub> GEŠTU <sub>a</sub> DIM <sub>a</sub>       | 1 is (for): the official GEŠTU <sub>a</sub> DIM <sub>a</sub>                  |
| O0602b1B5. 1N <sub>57</sub> ŠA ŠU                                     | 1 is (for): ŠA ŠU   |
| O0602b1B6. 1N <sub>57</sub> GI BAD                                    | 1 is (for): GI BAD  |

In both tablets, are encountered official designations which occur with the NAMEŠDA in other texts, namely 𒄩 E<sub>2a</sub> NUN<sub>a</sub> and 𒄩 AN KI NUN<sub>a</sub>, (see below 2.5.).

### 2.3. NAMEŠDA in the Archaic Texts from Uruk: Texts Dealing with Textile

NAMEŠDA occurs in a few accounts of textiles, notably *ATU* 7, W 20274,94, which may refer to a distribution (BA) of pieces of cloth:<sup>56</sup>

|   |   |
|---|---|
| O0101. 2N <sub>1</sub> 𒄩 𒄩 SIG <sub>2b</sub> 5N <sub>57</sub>                                     | 2 pieces of cloth 𒄩 𒄩, <sup>57</sup><br>fifth quality/delivery (?)  |
| O0102. 5N <sub>1</sub> TUG <sub>2a</sub>  | 5 pieces of cloth   |
| O0103. 1N <sub>1</sub> E <sub>2a</sub> +KUR <sub>a</sub> TU[G <sub>2a</sub> ] BU[R <sub>2</sub> ] | 1 piece of cloth tug <sub>2</sub> -bur <sub>2</sub> . <sup>58</sup> E <sub>2a</sub> +KUR <sub>a</sub> <sup>59</sup> |
| O0104. '3N <sub>1</sub> ' [...]   | 3 [...]   |
| O0201. 1N <sub>1</sub> 'E <sub>2a</sub> +KUR <sub>a</sub> ' <sup>21</sup> [...]                   | 1 [...]:E <sub>2a</sub> +KUR <sub>a</sub>   |
| O0202. '2N <sub>1</sub> ' [...]   | 2 [...]   |
| R0101. [...] 'SIMUG' <sup>21</sup> 'IB <sub>a</sub> ' <sup>21</sup> X 'ŠUBUR' <sup>21</sup>       | ?   |
| R0201. 1N <sub>1</sub> EN <sub>a</sub> 'TUG <sub>2a</sub> ' LA <sub>2</sub> SUG <sub>5</sub>      | 1 piece of cloth EN <sub>a</sub> (?): <sup>60</sup> LA <sub>2</sub> SUG <sub>5</sub>                                |
| R0202. 1N <sub>1</sub> BA TUG <sub>2a</sub> NAMEŠDA E <sub>2a</sub>                               | 1 piece of cloth distributed: E <sub>2a</sub> NAMEŠDA   |
| R0203. '2N <sub>1</sub> ' TUG <sub>2a</sub> [...]   | 2 pieces of cloth   |

ture by a seemingly absent GU<sub>7</sub> sign.

<sup>54</sup> EN<sub>a</sub> SAG, Officials 22, can be interpreted as Saĝ-en and compared with later names Saĝ-en-ne<sub>2</sub>-su (cf. Bauer 1972: 556), Lugal-saĝ and Lugal-saĝ-rib (cf. Andersson 2012: 382).

<sup>55</sup> DILMUN corresponds to PN 564 in *UET* 2.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *ATU* 7: p. 22: “Abrechnung über Textilprodukte”. The fragmentary tablet W 20511,3, which seems to associate NAMEŠDA with a TUG<sub>2</sub>+BAD.BAD (see Englund 1998: 153, 178–179, 180 fn. 412 for this type of textile), is not discussed here due to its state.

<sup>57</sup> Compare this term with the later Sumerian process in the treatment of wool 𒄩-𒄩, cf. Waetzoldt 1972: 120 and Waetzoldt 2010: 207.

<sup>58</sup> This term can be compared with the type of textile later attested during the Old Akkadian period (perhaps a mantle, according to Maiocchi 2011: 180, 245, 252; compare with Molina 2014: 133–134), though one may of course doubt whether they are identical.

<sup>59</sup> Cf. Szarzyńska 1992: 274–275 for the temple name. Here it is unclear whether this sign set, E<sub>2</sub>-kur, corresponds to a religious institution or to a personal name, though the latter possibility seems more suiting.

<sup>60</sup> Cf. Archaic Vessels 90. EN<sub>a</sub> TUG<sub>2a</sub>.

The same NAMEŠDA E<sub>2a</sub> (namešda of the household/E<sub>2</sub> namešda?) occurs seemingly in an unpublished text, W 20274,43, in which he is once again the recipient of distributed garments: O0107a. 1N<sub>1</sub> [...] BA TUG<sub>2a</sub> UR<sub>a</sub>? / O0107b. NAMEŠDA E<sub>2a</sub>.

Another unpublished text, IM 74345,<sup>61</sup> deals with several kinds of cloths: U<sub>4</sub> DARA<sub>4c2</sub>, NE<sub>a</sub>, GUN<sub>3a</sub> and GI<sub>6</sub> GI, which correspond to categories also mentioned in the lexical list *Vessels* and are likely to refer to colours (U<sub>4</sub> DARA<sub>4c2</sub>, a white cloth, perhaps with fleece, NE<sub>a</sub> for red, GUN<sub>3</sub> for coloured, GI GI<sub>6</sub> maybe for dark yellowish).<sup>62</sup> All these types of textiles seem to be designated as DARA<sub>4c2</sub> in the final sum of the tablet.<sup>63</sup> NAMEŠDA is connected with the first category, occurring in a shortened form U<sub>4</sub>, and another type of textile, not preserved:

|   |  |
|---|--|
| O0103a. 1N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub> U <sub>4</sub> NAMEŠDA | 10 white DARA <sub>4c2</sub> pieces of cloth (with fleece?): namešda |
| O0103b. 9N <sub>1</sub> [...]                                   | 9 pieces of cloth (DARA <sub>4c2</sub> ) [...]                       |

Most of the other persons are assigned a higher amount of textiles, such as shown by the following example:

|   |  |
|---|--|
| O0101a. 4N <sub>34</sub> 2N <sub>14</sub> U <sub>4</sub> DARA <sub>4c2</sub> 𒄩 E <sub>2a</sub> NUN <sub>a</sub> | 260 pieces of white cloth DARA <sub>4c2</sub> (with fleece?): 𒄩 E <sub>2a</sub> NUN <sub>a</sub> |
| O0101b. 3N <sub>34</sub> 2N <sub>14</sub> 5N <sub>1</sub> NE <sub>a</sub>                                       | 205 pieces of red cloth (?) (DARA <sub>4c2</sub> ) (?)   |
| O0101c. 2N <sub>34</sub> (?) 4N <sub>14</sub> 5N <sub>1</sub> G[I GI <sub>6</sub> ]                             | 165 pieces of dark yellowish cloth(?) (DARA <sub>4c2</sub> ) (?)                                 |

These three cases record textiles associated with the same administrator, 𒄩 E<sub>2</sub> NUN<sub>a</sub>. Only EN<sub>a</sub> SAG is assigned a similar quantity to the NAMEŠDA.<sup>64</sup>

|   |  |
|---|--|
| O0102a. 1N <sub>14</sub> U <sub>4</sub> EN <sub>a</sub> SAG | 10 pieces of white cloth (DARA <sub>4c2</sub> ): EN <sub>a</sub> SAG |
| O0102b. 2N <sub>1</sub> NE <sub>a</sub>                     | 2 pieces of red cloth (?) (DARA <sub>4c2</sub> ) (?)                 |
| O0102c. 7N <sub>1</sub> [...]                               | 7 pieces of cloth [...]  |

<sup>61</sup> = P004430 ([http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival\\_view.php?ObjectID=P004430](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P004430)).

<sup>62</sup> Pientka-Hinz 2011: 333–341 for the interpretation of U<sub>4</sub>, GI<sub>6</sub>, GI and DARA<sub>4c2</sub>. DARA<sub>4c2</sub>, here tentatively translated as “fleecy”, may also refer to a kind of belt or tie, such as in the Sumerian myth Inanna and Šukaletuda. On NE<sub>a</sub> (= IZI, also mentioned in Archaic Vessels, more precisely in the section related to garments, cf. Archaic Vessels 97. NE<sub>a</sub> TUG<sub>2a</sub>), see Englund 1998: 70, 98, 153 fn. 350 and 170. The interpretation of GUN<sub>3</sub> seems also justified by the later values of the sign. Compare with the Ur III terminology, Waetzoldt 2010: 201–202.

<sup>63</sup> R0201. 4N<sub>48</sub> 7N<sub>34</sub> 5N<sub>14</sub> 4N<sub>1</sub>, this total tallying with the sub-total of DARA<sub>4c2</sub> U<sub>4</sub>, NE<sub>a</sub>, GUN<sub>3a</sub> and GI GI<sub>6</sub> in the first column of the reverse. By contrast, the textile ZATU749<sub>c</sub> is counted separately.

<sup>64</sup> Other names of administrators preserved are: ZATU651?, NIR<sub>a</sub>×AN and NUN<sub>a</sub> BAD<sub>3b2</sub>.

Both aforementioned persons can be compared with the “colleagues” of the NAMEŠDA listed in the section of W 20511,2 described above, which records six containers SILA<sub>3</sub>×GARA<sub>2a</sub>.<sup>65</sup>

Similarly, two other persons, EN<sub>a</sub> ME AN ŠU and SANGA<sub>a</sub> GAL<sub>a</sub>, following the NAMEŠDA in the same document, IM 74345, also occur in *BagM* 22, W 24021,10, another text related to GU<sub>7</sub> ration (see above):

|  |   |
|--|---|
| O0104a. 2N <sub>34</sub> 4N <sub>14</sub> 3N <sub>1</sub> EN <sub>a</sub> AN ŠU ME <sub>a</sub>            | 163 (pieces of white cloth DARA <sub>4c2</sub> ?):<br>EN.ME.AN.ŠU               |
| O0104b. 3N <sub>34</sub> 5N <sub>1</sub> NE <sub>a</sub>   | 185 pieces of red cloth (?) (DARA <sub>4c2</sub> ) (?)                          |
| O0104c. 2N <sub>34</sub> GUN <sub>3</sub>  | 120 pieces of coloured cloth (?)<br>(DARA <sub>4c2</sub> ) (?)                  |
| O0104d. 2N <sub>34</sub> 2N <sub>14</sub> 4N <sub>1</sub> <sup>66</sup> GI GI <sub>6</sub>                 | 144 pieces of dark yellowish cloth<br>(DARA <sub>4c2</sub> ) (?)                |
| O0104e. 1N <sub>34</sub> † 3N <sub>14</sub> <sup>1</sup> [...] ZATU749 <sub>c</sub>                        | +90 pieces of cloth ZATU749 <sub>c</sub>  |
| O0105a. 1N <sub>48</sub> <sup>67</sup> 3N <sub>14</sub> U <sub>4</sub> SANGA <sub>a</sub> GAL <sub>a</sub> | 630 pieces of white cloth (DARA <sub>4c2</sub> ):<br>saĝĝa/umbisaĝ-gal official |
| O0105b. 3N <sub>14</sub> NE <sub>a</sub>   | 30 pieces of red cloth (DARA <sub>4c2</sub> ) (?)                               |
| O0105c. †1N <sub>34</sub> <sup>1</sup> 1N <sub>14</sub> GI GI <sub>6</sub>                                 | 70 pieces of dark yellowish cloth<br>(DARA <sub>4c2</sub> ) (?)                 |
| O0105d. 4N <sub>14</sub> 5N <sub>1</sub> GUN <sub>3</sub>  | 45 pieces of coloured cloth (DARA <sub>4c2</sub> ) (?)                          |

Therefore, the NAMEŠDA and some other administrators or individuals, such as SANGA<sub>a</sub> GAL<sub>a</sub> and EN<sub>a</sub> ME AN ŠU, take part in two different administrative operations together and seem to belong to the same administrative unit: one can also speculate that these texts were written within a short span of time.

In none of the documents related to textile does the NAMEŠDA seem to have been assigned a significant amount or to have fulfilled any noteworthy functions, since he is merely one of the recipients.

#### 2.4. NAMEŠDA in the Rest of the Archaic Texts from Uruk

The following types of occurrences can be distinguished:

1. The only tablet in which a NAMEŠDA occurs at the end as a colophon or a subscript set apart from the rest of the text is a document recording vases of GAN type, *BagM* 22, W 24214,3. Though fragmentary, this tablet seems to have a rather big format, with more than five columns on the obverse, each containing at least ten cases. Most of the cases preserved refer to one or two vases,<sup>68</sup> some of them being sufficiently preserved to read possible personal names.<sup>69</sup> The re-

<sup>65</sup> In W 20511,2, EN<sub>a</sub> SAG occurs in an identical form, whereas E<sub>2a</sub> ĤI NUN<sub>a</sub> seems to be associated with DILMUN. See below 2.2.

<sup>66</sup> The two last numerals seem damaged.

<sup>67</sup> Although the photograph available on the CDLI website ([http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival\\_view.php?ObjectID=P04430](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P04430)) seems to indicate the numeral 1N<sub>48</sub>, this amount seems nevertheless excessive compared to the other entries and more particularly with the total of U<sub>4</sub> DARA<sub>4c2</sub> featuring on the reverse: 2N<sub>48</sub> 1N<sub>34</sub> = 1260.

<sup>68</sup> The minimal amount seems to be O0307'. +2N<sub>8</sub> (?) ŠITA<sub>a1</sub>+E<sub>2a</sub> 2N<sub>57</sub> KUR<sub>a</sub>.

<sup>69</sup> O0203. 1N<sub>1</sub> GAN<sub>c</sub> TI AB<sub>a</sub>. O0205. 2N<sub>1</sub> UKKIN<sub>b</sub>? BUR<sub>b</sub> NUNUZ<sub>a1</sub>. O0408. 1N<sub>1</sub> AN

verse, consisting of signs not arranged in a case, can be read:  $\text{r}\check{\text{S}}\text{U}^1$  GIBIL NUN<sub>a</sub>  $\text{r}\check{\text{x}}^1$  3N<sub>57</sub>+SAL+E<sub>2a</sub> NAMEŠDA  $\text{r}\check{\text{x}}^1$ , which is uncertain but can be partly understood as “ŠU in the month (?) of the ‘new Enki/prince/Eridu’, 3<sup>rd</sup> (delivery), E<sub>2</sub>-SAL (PN/institution?) the namešda x”.<sup>70</sup> Due to the position of the NAMEŠDA in this tablet, this official is likely to have been the main official of the delivery or distribution of vases.

2. Other accounts of cereals or vessels also quote the NAMEŠDA. The most striking occurrence, *MSVO* 3, 55, analysed below (see 3.2.), records a rather low amount of grain assigned to this very official but managed by the KINGAL, who stands at a lower position in the Lu<sub>2</sub> list. *MSVO* 3, 16 is an unclear account which associates NAMEŠDA and ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub> in the same case following the mention of a quantity of malt calculated with the system Š'.<sup>71</sup> *MSVO* 3, 8, a fragmentary tablet, seems to be consistent with the former and also mentions this official in connection with the same type of cereal:

|  |  |
|--|--|
| O0101. [...]   | [...]  |
| O0102. +2N <sub>14</sub> $\text{r}\check{\text{D}}\text{UG}_a^{?1}$                    | +20? jars?   |
| O0103. 4N <sub>3</sub> 1N <sub>40</sub> $\text{r}\check{\text{S}}\text{I}_4\text{r}^1$ |  |
| NAMEŠDA $\text{r}\check{\text{S}}\text{E}_a+\text{NAM}_2^{?2}$                         | 76 .8 litres (malt): SI <sub>4r</sub> , the namešda and (?) the šušx (?) |
| O0201. 3N <sub>3</sub>   | 72 litres (malt)   |
| O0202. 1N <sub>3</sub> 1N <sub>40</sub>  | 28.8 litres (malt)   |
| O0203. 2N <sub>3</sub> SAL $\check{\text{H}}\text{I}$ KA <sub>a</sub>                  | 48 litres (malt): Munus-inim-du <sub>10</sub> (?) <sup>73</sup>          |
| O0204. 2N <sub>3</sub> 1N <sub>40</sub> MUD NUN <sub>a</sub>                           | 52.8 litres (malt): Mud-nun <sup>74</sup>                                |
| Reverse blank  |  |

$\text{r}\check{\text{G}}\text{A}_{2a1}^1$   $\text{r}\check{\text{E}}\text{N}_a^1$ .

<sup>70</sup> This sentence can be understood as ŠU x Enki/Eridu/nun gibil E<sub>2</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub> namešda 3N<sub>57</sub> x. On GIBIL NUN<sub>a</sub> as a month name, see Englund 1998: 127; see also Wu 2005: 447, “the new growth of Enki” and Englund 2001: 20–21; this term occurs in the unpublished tablet IM 134288, which quotes also NAMEŠDA in an uncertain and fragmentary context. 3N<sub>57</sub>+SAL+E<sub>2a</sub> recalls a personal name mentioned in the archaic texts from Ur from the ED I–II period, PN 273 and 621 in *UET* 2, Munus+e<sub>2</sub>-ti. The numeral 3N<sub>57</sub> does not seem clear, but it may refer to the “3<sup>rd</sup> delivery” as postulated by Bartash 2014: 13. SAL+E<sub>2a</sub>, which is nevertheless ambiguous, has been interpreted by Bartash 2014: 13 as a reference to the e<sub>2</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub> as an institution, but by the same author in the article of the present volume, section 2 as a personnel name, which is supported by the parallel from Ur as well as the archaic evidence presented by him (notably CUSAS 1, 198 and *MSVO* 1, 191).

<sup>71</sup> See also Englund / Damerow forthcoming, who observe that the role of these agents is unclear.

<sup>72</sup> The reading SAR<sup>?</sup> on the CDLI website seems less convincing than ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub> with regard to the parallel in *MSVO* 3, 16. See also Englund / Damerow forthcoming.

<sup>73</sup> This name can be compared with other similar personal names: Ama-inim-du<sub>10</sub>, PN 116 in *UET* II and Lugal-inim-du<sub>10</sub>, Lecompte 2013: 168.

<sup>74</sup> This name is also attested in the archaic texts from Ur, PN 538 in *UET* II. NAMEŠDA and MUD NUN<sub>a</sub> might also be connected in *ATU* 7, W 20274,39.

*ATU* 5, W 9656,ib1, dating to the Uruk IV period, deals also with KAŠ<sub>b</sub>, interpreted by Englund (2009: 35) as a possible container of dairy fat, for a quantity of 1N<sub>14</sub> 2N<sub>1</sub>, 12.<sup>75</sup>

3. One unpublished text, IM 73409,2, designated by Johnson as a “subordinate staff list”, refers according to his analysis (2015: 186–192) to “cuts of sheep and goat (*Kleinvieh*) meat and dried fish”, ŠITA<sub>a1</sub> UDU<sub>a</sub> and ŠITA<sub>a1</sub> SUḪUR. This document quotes several designations from the *Officials* list.

4. A few texts are related to animals: in *ATU* 7, W 20274,61<sup>76</sup> the NAMEŠDA occurs in a case following the mention of more than eleven rams and is associated therein with other professional titles, ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub> and PA<sub>a</sub> NAM<sub>2</sub> RAD<sub>a</sub> (see below).<sup>77</sup>

5. NAMEŠDA occurs also as a colophon of lexical lists:

*ATU* 3, W 20495. Archaic Wood. R0101. 1N<sub>34</sub> 3N<sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA E<sub>2b</sub> ZATU648  
*ATU* 3, W 20044,45. Archaic Wood. R0101. [...] 'NAMEŠDA' E<sub>2b</sub><sup>1</sup>  
*ATU* 3, W 20266,58. Archaic Vessels. R0101. 1N<sub>34</sub> 2N<sub>1</sub> 'NAMEŠDA' [...]  
*ATU* 3, W 21208,5. Archaic Metal. R0101. 1N<sub>34</sub> 1N<sub>14</sub> NAMEŠ[DA]  
 2N<sub>57</sub>+KI[Da] [...]

The combination of the signs NAMEŠDA and E<sub>2a/b</sub> recalls the tablets associating the NAMEŠDA official with textile articles (see 2.3.), but nothing proves that the same individual is referred to. Furthermore, despite the distinction between the signs E<sub>2</sub> and KID,<sup>78</sup> it seems here that the colophon of W 21208,5 might be the same as the others, since, according to the observations of Steinkeller (1995: 700), KID<sub>a</sub> is indeed a variant of E<sub>2</sub>.<sup>79</sup> The sign ZATU648 was interpreted as a possible cult symbol or temple household by Krystyna Szarzyńska (1987–1988)<sup>80</sup> and might be connected with E<sub>2a</sub>, therefore forming a name, E<sub>2b</sub>-ZATU648 or a function: namešda of the temple ZATU648, or, more probably, the place name where NAMEŠDA E<sub>2a</sub> acts as an official.<sup>81</sup> Whatever the situation is, the presence of a NAMEŠDA in the colophon might show that he was also involved in school life, either as a student or as a master.

<sup>75</sup> See also Charvát 2012: 265.

<sup>76</sup> *ATU* 7: p. 22: “Abrechnung über eine Herde von Schafen”.

<sup>77</sup> Note also the observations of Charvát 2012: 265 on *ATU* 7, W 11985,d, albeit its fragmentary state.

<sup>78</sup> On these signs, cf. Englund 1998: 75–76 and Wang 2011: 41–59.

<sup>79</sup> See also Steinkeller 2010: 241.

<sup>80</sup> See also Englund 1998: 102 and 166.

<sup>81</sup> Since ZATU648 does not seem to be associated with E<sub>2a/b</sub> and may indeed represent on its own a temple name, cf. Englund 1998: 102, the sign set NAMEŠDA E<sub>2b</sub> ZATU648 is therefore more likely to refer to NAMEŠDA E<sub>2b</sub> of the (place/temple name) ZATU648.

## 2.5. NAMEŠDA in the Archaic Documentation from Uruk: Some Conclusions

With the exception of one text (*BagM* 22, W 24214,3), the NAMEŠDA, though occurring in the first position in the Lu<sub>2</sub> list, is generally included in the documentation in accounts of grain, textile and animals, as one of the recipients, assigned a “standard” or “average” quantity. All that is known of the NAMEŠDA suggests his integration within the distributive system of the Late Uruk period, notably exemplified by the texts featuring the GU<sub>7</sub> sign. Yet, according to *MSVO* 3, 54, he is even the recipient of grain controlled by the KINGAL. Though the position as well as the functions of the NAMEŠDA can therefore not be easily defined, it appears that this official was probably given rations and textiles as a wage for the performance of a service. In some instances, it may be speculated that his activity was even connected with cultic events, especially through the term GIBIL NUN<sub>a</sub>, if it implies any religious dimension. Only in one instance, *MSVO* 3, 19, is the amount of cereal big enough to have sustained other persons than himself and perhaps people working under the responsibility of the NAMEŠDA, therefore representing a significant group of workers. According to the textual documentation, the NAMEŠDA can hardly be identified as a ruler but is instead an official of either important or intermediate rank.<sup>82</sup> It also may be that several persons of different hierarchical positions bore the title NAMEŠDA, which explains its rather low status in *MSVO* 3, 54. This may also be inferred from the combination of NAMEŠDA with other signs, such as NAMEŠDA E<sub>2a/b</sub>, NAMEŠDA KISAL in *ATU* 5, W 9168, a rather unclear text<sup>83</sup> and NAMEŠDA PIRIG<sub>b1</sub> in W 20511,3.<sup>84</sup> Another interesting aspect concerns the prosopography of the texts: as was noticed above, some officials occur regularly in the same documents as the NAMEŠDA, though they concern different topics. On the basis of IM 134325, it is possible to distinguish two groups of persons or agents with whom the NAMEŠDA interacted and perhaps formed an administrative unit (see table 1).

Since SANGA<sub>a</sub> GAL<sub>a</sub> is included in one of these groups, these agents may indeed belong to a homogeneous social level, which is either high or intermediate in rank. The titles of these groups, such as 𒄩 AN KI NUN<sub>a</sub>, seem to point to the same decisional level as the *Officials* list and the “subordinate staff list” and may show that the NAMEŠDA took part in the same transactions as his peers.<sup>85</sup>

<sup>82</sup> See also the conclusions of Veldhuis 2014: 35–36 relying on the tablet *ATU* 6, W 15897,c8.

<sup>83</sup> *ATU* 5: p. 39: “unclear relationship between the numerical notations of the subcases in the text (N<sub>14</sub> to N<sub>1</sub>, 2N<sub>14</sub> to N<sub>1</sub> N<sub>8</sub>). See also Charvát 2012: 265.

<sup>84</sup> Cf. also NAMEŠDA TE, in *ATU* 6, W 11985,d (Charvát 2012: 265) and maybe in *ATU* 7, W 20274,37 (see above).

<sup>85</sup> There are several ways to explain that such administrators are involved in transactions which do not seem to tally with their social significance: 1. Administrative practice may have split the full transactions controlled by the NAMEŠDA and his peers into different tablets representing treatment of the affairs by different layers of bureaucracy. 2. NAMEŠDA may stand in the archaic texts for his subordinates and may indeed be inter-



## 2.6. NAMEŠDA in the Archaic Texts of Other Provenance: an Overview

Unfortunately, the term NAMEŠDA occurs in only two of the documents uncovered in Jemdet Nasr<sup>86</sup> and only once in the documentation ascribed to Uqair,<sup>87</sup> so the role that it represents cannot, therefore, be well understood. Note that *MSVO* 1, 112 is another example of a “subordinate staff list” already studied by Johnson (2015: 186–192) and seemingly recording pieces of meat.

In the tablets of unknown provenance, mainly housed in the Cornell Collection, NAMEŠDA is mentioned several times in accounts of grains or animals. NAMEŠDA in accounts of grain:

- CUSAS 1, 124. O0102a. +4N<sub>14</sub> AN NAMEŠDA (572 litres).  
 O0102b. +5N<sub>19</sub> (720 litres grain groats)  
 CUSAS 1, 158. O0202. 5N<sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA ŠITA<sub>a1</sub> (120 litres)  
 O0302. 5N<sub>1</sub> 1N<sub>39</sub> ŠITA<sub>a1</sub> NAMEŠDA (124,8 litres)  
 CUSAS 1, 162. O0202. 2N<sub>14</sub> 5N<sub>1</sub> ŠITA<sub>a1</sub> NAMEŠDA 'X' (408 litres)  
 CUSAS 1, 166. O0101. 3N<sub>14</sub> 4N<sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA AN (528 litres)

In all these attestations, NAMEŠDA is associated with another sign. AN NAMEŠDA occurs in two of these texts. CUSAS 1, 166 is fragmentary and does not contain other information. In CUSAS 1, 124, another name at least is mentioned, EN<sub>a</sub> ŠE<sub>a</sub> NE<sub>a</sub>, assigned a lower amount 1N<sub>14</sub> (144 litres). On the other hand, NAMEŠDA ŠITA<sub>a1</sub>, which probably corresponds to a function, is mentioned in the two remaining accounts. CUSAS 1, 158 is a large account of provision for three days,<sup>88</sup> which contains the clause GU<sub>7</sub> – therefore to be compared with the documentation from Uruk – as well as several possible names, such as SAL ḪAL, EN<sub>2</sub>.E<sub>2a</sub> MU, some of them associated with higher, others with lower amounts. CUSAS 1, 162 is also fragmentary and NAMEŠDA ŠITA<sub>a1</sub> is mentioned with the highest amount of grain among those preserved. These accounts are too fragmentary to enable us to draw any firm conclusion.

NAMEŠDA seems also to occur in two tablets dealing with asses, KIŠ. CUSAS 31, 43 is an account of asses classifying them within two groups designated as BA and ŠU, two administrative terms which nevertheless seem to refer to two unrelated concepts, since the former may mean that the asses are “given”, while the latter could be connected with their age, “old one”, šu-(gi<sub>4</sub>). The NAMEŠDA RU belongs to the BA section and is associated with 60 donkeys, one of the highest amounts among those preserved – only SANGA<sub>a</sub>

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preted as: “a representative /worker under the responsibility of the NAMEŠDA”. 3. The extant tablets related to the NAMEŠDA (and his colleagues) may also deal with specific transactions, especially with religious offerings, which did not involve a high amount of grain. 4. These administrators, who are recorded in the *Officials* list, may not be high-ranking officials. Since NAMEŠDA and SANGA<sub>a</sub> GAL<sub>a</sub> stand both in the lists Lu<sub>2</sub> and Officials, their functions and significance may vary.

<sup>86</sup> *MSVO* 1, 112. O0306. 1N<sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA ŠITA<sub>a1</sub>. See Johnson 2015: 186–192 and Johnson 2016. *MSVO* 1, 121. O0102a. [...] 'NAMEŠDA'. R0103. X 'NAMEŠDA' AN.

<sup>87</sup> *MSVO* 4, 28. R0101- BU<sub>a</sub> PAP<sub>a</sub> ZATU776 E<sub>2b</sub> NAMEŠDA. Interestingly, this is the only sign set on the reverse and may therefore refer to the main administrator.

<sup>88</sup> Monaco 2007: 34.

KIŠ BA is connected with the same amount in the BA section. In CUSAS 31, 41, which seemingly only records asses of the ŠU type, NAMEŠDA occurs two times in connection with other signs, NAMEŠDA TAK<sub>4a</sub> A and KI<sup>7</sup> NAMEŠDA, both of them being associated with only 2 donkeys.

Lastly, NAMEŠDA occurs in the “archive of small tablets”, which Monaco holds to be school texts. In all these attestations, NAMEŠDA is part of a sign set:

CUSAS 21, 192. 1N<sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA E<sub>2b</sub>  
 CUSAS 21, 196. 1N<sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA AL<sup>89</sup>  
 CUSAS 21, 288. 1N<sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA MUŠEN TUR NUN<sub>a</sub>  
 CUSAS 21, 295. 1N<sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA E<sub>2b</sub> IB<sub>a</sub> ZI<sub>a</sub> PAP<sub>a</sub>

Among these entries, it is striking that two of them can be compared with other NAMEŠDA encountered in the documentation, namely NAMEŠDA E<sub>2b</sub>, which is mentioned as a colophon of lexical lists as well as in the textile documents (see 2.2. and 2.3.), and NAMEŠDA MUŠEN TUR NUN<sub>a</sub> which recalls NAMEŠDA MUŠEN TUR BU<sub>a</sub> of *MSVO* 3, 19.<sup>90</sup>

In the archaic administrative documentation, the NAMEŠDA can occur in several types of texts – except field recording – but is more often mentioned in accounts of beer or grain, notably featuring the term GU<sub>7</sub>. He seems also to have been the recipient of textiles, though only occasionally. The NAMEŠDA may have been integrated within a distributive system and have received staples in exchange for a service, though his exact function is not clear. On the other hand, it is striking that he does not even act as the main administrator in most of the available records, except in one text. He is rarely mentioned with other administrators recorded in the Lu<sub>2</sub> list but does appear slightly more regularly with the professions mentioned in the *Officials* list; in the few relevant documents, he does not seem to have held a function superior to his colleagues. Notably the amounts of food, textile or animals associated with him are generally “average”, if compared with the other persons, and rarely correspond to a quantity of grain which would have been redistributed to any “household”. The evidence offered by the documents CUSAS 1, 124, 158, 162 and 166, in which the NAMEŠDA receives a more significant amount of grain, seems nevertheless to be consistent with *MSVO* 3, 19, and could hint at a role as a high-ranking official – perhaps the distribution of cereals as wages to workers under his responsibility. According to the evidence analysed here, it seems also that several individuals bearing the title NAMEŠDA can be identified, notably NAMEŠDA E<sub>2a/b</sub> and NAMEŠDA MUŠEN BU<sub>a</sub>.

Since the available documentation does not provide any evidence as to the existence of an office managed by the NAMEŠDA and includes him instead among other persons or officials in standard accounts, it can be inferred that the

<sup>89</sup> It might be understood as namešda mah<sub>2</sub>, in contrast with NAMEŠDA TUR.

<sup>90</sup> That both are identical could be inferred from the fact that BU has a value nun<sub>3</sub> and that in the later corpus of the UD.GAL.NUN texts, BU can represent NUN, cf. Krebernik 1998: 299.

individuals bearing this title and encountered in the texts studied here were not in all likelihood rulers but merely administrators of different ranks.

### 3. The Role of the KINGAL According to the Administrative Documentation

#### 3.1. KINGAL: Leader of the Council, Commander or Official?

In his analysis of the meaning of the term KINGAL as kiĝgal, Gebhard Selz has shown that it may not refer to a combination of gal, “lord”, and unken, “assembly”, but instead to the word kiĝ<sub>2</sub>, “work”, that would imply that this official was a kind of “commander”.<sup>91</sup> KINGAL is therefore more likely to be a high-ranking official than the leader of an assembly whose existence is hard to prove, despite the conclusions of Glassner (2000: 45–46) and Claus Wilcke (2005: 442), who interpret this term as unken-gal. However, this term remains ambiguous.

#### 3.2. KINGAL in the Archaic Cereal Accounts

The role of the KINGAL can mostly be approached through the texts assumed to come from Uruk and published in *MSVO* 3 (Englund / Damerow forthcoming), which are studied here. In the first place, six tablets (*MSVO* 3, 55, 60, 61, 63, 64 and 85) simply include the KINGAL in the list of persons – most probably recipients<sup>92</sup> – associated with an amount of grain, generally high, such as exemplified by the three following texts:

##### **MSVO 3, 61 = P005372**

|   |  |                                |
|---|--|--------------------------------|
| O0101. 2N <sub>34</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub> 1N <sub>39a</sub> GAL <sub>a</sub> TE                | 9100.8 litres: tiru official                       | = Lu <sub>2</sub> 17           |
| O0102. 2N <sub>34</sub> KINGAL  | 8640 litres: kiĝgal official                       | = Lu <sub>2</sub> 16           |
| O0103. 2N <sub>45</sub> SAL EN <sub>c</sub>   | 2880 litres: SAL EN <sup>93</sup>                  |                                |
| O0104. 1N <sub>45</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub> 1N <sub>39a</sub> NAM <sub>2</sub> URU <sub>a1</sub> | 1900.8 l.: nam <sub>2</sub> -iri                   | = Lu <sub>2</sub> 5/<br>Off 24 |
| O0201. 1N <sub>45</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub> 1N <sub>39a</sub> GAL <sub>a</sub> SUKKAL            | 1900.8 l.: sukkal /LUĜ-gal<br>(vizier/purificator) | = Lu <sub>2</sub> 18           |
| O0202. 1N <sub>45</sub> <sup>1</sup> 2N <sub>14</sub> NIR <sub>a</sub> TE                                     | 1728 l.: NIR <sub>a</sub> TE                       |                                |
| O0203. 7N <sub>14</sub> KUR <sub>a</sub> TE   | 1008 l.: KUR <sub>a</sub> TE                       |                                |

<sup>91</sup> Selz 1998: 296: “Befehlshaber”, 301–305; *CAD* M/2: 180 also emphasizes that the kiĝgal “has nothing to do with the assembly”. Glassner 2000: 45–46, suggests that there were also two different occupations during the Old Babylonian period. Marchesi in Marchetti / Marchesi 2011: 103, fn. 53, also shows that it denotes a military official. However, the identification of the kiĝgal as the “leader of the council” is a conventional one, see *AHW* 2: 667, Glassner 2000, Charvát 1979: 19, Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 156 and 1993: 111 (“Leiter der Ratsversammlung?” “leader of the assembly?”); Wilcke 2005: 440, seems to suggest reading unken-gal. In the archaic texts from Ur, the kiĝgal seems mainly to be a high ranking official, responsible for field allotments and food distribution, Benati / Lecompte 2016: 23.

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Englund / Damerow forthcoming.

<sup>93</sup> Following interpretations are possible: En munus, as an administrator in charge of women, or Munus-en (compare with Pomponio 1987: 180, Munus-en-kalam) and Munus-uru<sub>16</sub>.

|   |   |
|---|---|
| O0204. 6N <sub>14</sub> 3N <sub>1</sub> 3N <sub>39a</sub> ZAG <sub>a</sub> GAL <sub>a</sub> BARA <sub>3</sub>   | 950.4 l.: ZAG <sub>a</sub> GAL <sub>a</sub> BARA <sub>3</sub> official<br>cf. Lu <sub>2</sub> 84? |
| O0205. ʾ1N <sub>45</sub> +2N <sub>14</sub> ʾX <sup>94</sup>   | 1728 l.: [...]  |
| R0101. ʾ6N <sub>34</sub> ʾ1N <sub>45</sub> 5N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub> 1N <sub>39a</sub> <sup>95</sup> ŠE <sub>a</sub> KU <sub>b1</sub> ŠIM <sub>a</sub> | 28108 l.: barley, KU <sub>b1</sub><br>ŠIM <sub>a</sub> (first administrator)                      |
| R0201. SI <sub>4f</sub> NI <sub>a</sub> SA <sub>c</sub>   | SI <sub>4f</sub> , NI <sub>a</sub> SA <sub>c</sub> (second administrator?)                        |

**MSVO 3, 63 = P005374**

|  |  |                      |
|--|--|----------------------|
| O0101. ʾ1N <sub>34</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub> ʾGAL <sub>a</sub> ʾTE <sup>1</sup>   | 4752 litres: tiru official   | = Lu <sub>2</sub> 17 |
| O0102. 1N <sub>34</sub> 2N <sub>45</sub> 4N <sub>14</sub> GAL <sub>a</sub> ʾSA <sub>c</sub> <sup>1</sup>   | 7776 litres: GAL <sub>a</sub> SA <sub>c</sub>  |                      |
| O0103. ʾ7N <sub>14</sub> ʾEN <sub>c</sub> ʾSAL <sup>1</sup>  | 1008 litres: SAL EN  |                      |
| O0104. 8N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub> ZAG <sub>a</sub> E <sub>2b</sub>   | 1176 litres: ZAG <sub>a</sub> BARA <sub>3</sub> <sup>96</sup>  | = Lu <sub>2</sub> 84 |
| O0201. ʾ7N <sub>14</sub> ʾKINGAL <sup>1</sup>  | 1008 litres: kiĝgal official   | = Lu <sub>2</sub> 16 |
| O0202. ʾ5N <sub>14</sub> ʾKINGAL <sup>1</sup>  | 720 litres: kiĝgal official  | = Lu <sub>2</sub> 16 |
| O0203. ʾ3N <sub>14</sub> ʾGAL <sub>a</sub> ʾTE <sup>1</sup>  | 432 litres: tiru official  | = Lu <sub>2</sub> 17 |
| O0204. ʾ5N <sub>1</sub> GAL <sub>a</sub> SA <sub>c</sub>   | 72 litres: GAL <sub>a</sub> SA <sub>c</sub>  |                      |
| R0101. 3N <sub>34</sub> 2N <sub>45</sub> 8N <sub>14</sub> KU <sub>b2</sub> ŠIM <sub>a</sub> ŠE <sub>a</sub> SI <sub>4f</sub> NI <sub>a</sub> SA <sub>c</sub> | 16992 litres: SI <sub>4f</sub> , KU <sub>b1</sub> ŠIM <sub>a</sub><br>(first administrator),<br>NI <sub>a</sub> SA <sub>c</sub> (second official?) |                      |

**MSVO 3, 64 = P005375**

|   |   |                       |
|---|---|-----------------------|
| O0101. 1N <sub>34</sub> 2N <sub>45</sub> 4N <sub>14</sub> KINGAL  | 7200 litres: kiĝgal   | = Lu <sub>2</sub> 16  |
| O0102. 8N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub> ZAG <sub>a</sub> BARA <sub>3</sub>  | 1176 litre: ZAG <sub>a</sub> BARA <sub>3</sub> official                                 | = Lu <sub>2</sub> 84? |
| O0103. 7N <sub>14</sub> EN <sub>c</sub> SAL   | 1008 litres: SAL EN   |                       |
| O0104. 1N <sub>34</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub> GAL <sub>a</sub> TE  | 4752 litres: tiru official  | = Lu <sub>2</sub> 17  |
| O0201. SI <sub>4f</sub> BA NI <sub>a</sub> SA <sub>c</sub>  | Distribution (?), SI <sub>4f</sub> , NI <sub>a</sub> SA <sub>c</sub> (second official?) |                       |
| R0101. 3N <sub>34</sub> 1N <sub>45</sub> 2N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub> ŠE <sub>a</sub> KU <sub>b2</sub> ŠIM <sub>a</sub> | 14712 litres barley (?)<br>KU <sub>b2</sub> ŠIM <sub>a</sub> (main official),           |                       |
| SI <sub>4f</sub> BA NI <sub>a</sub> SA <sub>c</sub>   | Distribution (?), SI <sub>4f</sub> , NI <sub>a</sub> SA <sub>c</sub> (second official?) |                       |

These documents show a similar organization, also shared by the three other tablets of the same group: in the main part of the text, each entry associates an individual or official with an amount of cereal:

- Some of the officials occur in the lexical lists of professions, notably KINGAL, GAL<sub>a</sub> TE and GAL<sub>a</sub> SUKKAL, Lu<sub>2</sub> 16–18.
- As observed by Englund and Damerow, the same individuals occur in this group of tablets and function, therefore, as an agent cluster.<sup>97</sup>

<sup>94</sup> A comparison with *MSVO* 3, 60 shows that the amount allocated to the AB<sub>a</sub> TE is the same as in this case. Since this official is missing in *MSVO* 3, 60, its title may be an acceptable suggestion here.

<sup>95</sup> The calculation of the total amount was checked with reference to the data in each line.

<sup>96</sup> E<sub>2b</sub> is very likely to appear here for BARA<sub>3</sub>, as suggested by Englund / Damerow forthcoming. Other attestations of ZAG<sub>a</sub> E<sub>2a/b</sub> might have to be interpreted as ZAG<sub>a</sub> BARA<sub>3</sub>, cf. CUSAS 31, 22. O102a; *ATU* 6, W, 14804,a+.

<sup>97</sup> Englund / Damerow forthcoming, “Agent cluster 1”.

- Barley is clearly managed by a main official called  $KU_{b1} \check{S}IM_a$ , who might have been “entrusted with the administration of a storage facility”.<sup>98</sup>  $KU_{a/b} \check{S}IM_a$ , who is specified as a  $SANGA_a$ , might also have been responsible for a redistributive unit delivering basic ingredients for beer.
- The sign set  $NI_a SA_c$ , held to correspond to a possible personal name, either occurs with the former administrator or in another case devoid of any numeral, even twice times in *MSVO* 3, 64. The function carried out by such an individual is not clear but he is assumed to be a “second signing official”.<sup>99</sup>

In the first two tablets, the purpose of the account is not indicated. Relying upon the presence of the sign  $BA^{100}$  in *MSVO* 3, 64, Damerow / Englund / Nissen (1990: 67–68 and 1993: 37–38) concluded that it “records the allocation of barley to the officials quoted on the obverse”. Another hint might be given, according to the same authors, by the  $\check{S}AM_2$  sign in *MSVO* 3, 60, also belonging to the  $KU_{a/b} \check{S}IM_a$  “archive”, though its meaning in this document cannot be taken for granted. Therefore, both documents *MSVO* 3, 61 and 63 in all probability deal also with the same kind of distribution, as was already stated by Englund concerning the former (1998: 109).<sup>101</sup> However, these texts, devoid of any clause, as well as the administrative terms themselves are rather ambiguous and *MSVO* 3, 55 seems to be different.<sup>102</sup>

Although the general context of these accounts is left unexplained, the mention in *MSVO* 3, 55, on the first line, of  $AN MU\check{S}_{3a} AN SIG U_4 NAGAR$  might be connected with Inanna’s cult.<sup>103</sup> Furthermore, in *MSVO* 3, 60, the presence of a time notation of one year could show that these accounts were carried out yearly.

The comparison of the amounts of grain assigned to the officials and administrators in five tablets of the relevant corpus shows that *MSVO* 3, 60–61, on the one hand and *MSVO* 3, 63–64, on the other hand are two different groups. In *MSVO* 3, 60–61, the entries related to the  $GAL_a TE$  (tiru) and  $GAL_a SUKKAL$  officials as well as to  $EN_c SAL$  display the same amount, while the  $KINGAL$  seems to be associated with a higher quantity in the latter document, which nonetheless corresponds to the addition of his share and that of the  $GAL_a SA_c$  from *MSVO* 3, 60. In *MSVO* 3, 63–64, the amount assigned to three of the administrators mentioned is also stable; in *MSVO* 3, 64, the  $GAL_a SA_c$  does not occur, while the  $GAL_a TE$ ,  $EN_c SAL$  and the  $KINGAL$  are assigned a quantity of grain of grain, which might be explained as a delivery partly compensating the

<sup>98</sup> Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 66 and 1993: 36.

<sup>99</sup> Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 68 and 1993: 38.

<sup>100</sup> Cf. Englund 1998: 184.

<sup>101</sup> See also Englund / Damerow forthcoming.

<sup>102</sup> Englund 2014: 340 (*CTMMA* 181 = *MSVO* 3, 55) translates this tablet according to a different interpretation: the amount of barley is intended for the brewer, while the function  $KINGAL$  is left without translation, like an administrative term. See Englund / Damerow forthcoming.

<sup>103</sup> By comparison, in another text, W 21671, Wu 2005: 447 interprets  $NAGAR EN_a UR_{3a}+[NA_a?]$  as “bulug festival of En-anna”. The term  $NAGAR$  in *MSVO* 3, 55, may also be interpreted accordingly as bulug.

loss of the GAL<sub>a</sub> SA<sub>c</sub>. The order of these professions shows slight discrepancies with the lexical lists, as shown in table 2 (see below).

By comparison, in three other tablets in *MSVO* 3 (44, 49 and 54), KINGAL stands at the end of the tablet, in a colophon or a subscript which in all likelihood points toward his role as the main administrator.<sup>104</sup> *MSVO* 3, 49(= P005360), a small tablet, can be compared to the preceding texts:

|  |   |
|--|---|
| O0101. 1N <sub>34</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub> BA KI                                   | 4752 litres (barley): KI BA <sup>105</sup>                            |
| O0102. 1N <sub>45</sub> KALAM <sub>b</sub> BULUG <sub>3</sub> PA <sub>a</sub>    | 1440 litres malt: Ugula-kalam <sup>106</sup>                          |
| O0103. 7N <sub>14</sub> 3N <sub>1</sub> BULUG <sub>3</sub> ŠURUPPAK <sub>b</sub> | 1032 litres malt: ŠURUPPAK <sub>b2</sub> <sup>107</sup>               |
| O0104. 1N <sub>45</sub> UZ <sub>a</sub> (MUŠEN ŠE <sub>a</sub> )                 | 1440 litres (barley): UZ / 1440 litres barley: MUŠEN <sup>108</sup>   |
| O0201. SI <sub>4f</sub> NI <sub>a</sub> SA <sub>c</sub>                          | SI <sub>4f</sub> , NI <sub>a</sub> SA <sub>c</sub> (second official?) |
| R0101. 2N <sub>34</sub> 3N <sub>1</sub> ŠE <sub>a</sub> KINGAL                   | 8712 litres: kiĝgal   |

This document follows the same organization as the preceding ones, but here the KINGAL stands at the final stage of the account process and has a similar role to KU<sub>a/b</sub> ŠIM<sub>a</sub> in other tablets. If one applies the interpretation suggested above, the KINGAL logically appears here as the person responsible for cereal distribution. The persons who are mentioned in the tablet do not correspond to official titles and might therefore belong to a lower social level, but still high enough as to receive a significant amount, since BA KI is associated with 4752 litres, an amount therefore superior to what we know about the NAMEŠDA in the texts studied above. It is striking that the total amount managed by the KINGAL in this text is almost equal to that assigned to him in *MSVO* 3, 61, with a slight difference of 72 litres (respectively 8712 and 8640 litres). Since KINGAL probably receives cereal in the aforementioned tablet but is responsible for distribution in *MSVO* 3, 49, we can suppose here the existence of a redistributive level and of an office managed by this official: therefore, he might have been ascribed a certain amount of grain which he later distributed to other persons, who might have belonged to personnel controlled by him or to any structure connected to him. This makes a good deal of sense, since such amounts of barley as those

<sup>104</sup> According to Englund / Damerow forthcoming, these tablets refer to a specific “agent cluster” (Agent Cluster 2c), therefore to recipients partly similar, and are also connected with five other documents devoid of any mention of KINGAL.

<sup>105</sup> Compare with the PN E<sub>2</sub>-ki-ba, cf. Pomponio 1987: 50–51, also with Ki-ba, idem: 135. However, in the archaic documentation, this term also seems to be an administrative designation, cf. *MSVO* 3, R0101c2 and R0102c2.

<sup>106</sup> This agent occurs in other texts from *MSVO* 3. This official’s title is notably mentioned in the third millennium statuary from Mari, cf. *FAOS* 7, MP 2.

<sup>107</sup> ŠURUPPAK<sub>b2</sub> may be understood as a personal name. Sud<sub>3</sub> or Šuruppak, see Pomponio 1987: 215.

<sup>108</sup> The sign set can be understood in two ways: either as barley for MUŠEN, which might therefore refer to MUŠEN BU<sub>a</sub> TUR, 𒄩u-bu-tur, or as UZ<sub>a</sub>, which might be for its own a personal name, cf. MS 3035. O0201b1; MS 2840. O0101, in which this possible personal name is associated with a surface, similarly to the official ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub> and LA<sub>2</sub> SUG<sub>5</sub>.

associated with the KINGAL cannot have been intended only for him but must rather have been managed by his possible office. Furthermore, the existence of redistributive levels and of state administrations managing food is also supported by archaeological data and underlies the interpretation of the famous bevelled rim bowls.<sup>109</sup> The KINGAL might therefore have been a part of this administrative machinery. *MSVO* 3, 54 (= P005365) is a longer list of cereal amounts with several entries corresponding to possible personal names or official titles:<sup>110</sup>

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| O0101. 1N <sub>45</sub> 7N <sub>14</sub> MEN <sub>a</sub> TAK <sub>4c</sub> | O0201. 1N <sub>14</sub> 3N <sub>1</sub> 3N <sub>57</sub>  | O0301. 1N <sub>14</sub> 3N <sub>1</sub> DAḪ TUR  |
| O0102. 6N <sub>14</sub> 3N <sub>1</sub> ŠU ZI <sub>a</sub>                  | O0202. 1N <sub>14</sub> 4N <sub>1</sub> 'KU <sub>b1</sub> ' DUB <sub>b</sub>                            | O0302. 3N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA   |
| O0103. 9N <sub>14</sub> ḪI EN <sub>a</sub> NAGA <sub>a</sub>                | O0203. 2N <sub>14</sub> [...] 'X'   | O0303. 3N <sub>14</sub> IŠ <sub>b</sub> 3N <sub>57</sub> EN <sub>2</sub> +E <sub>2b</sub>            |
| O0104. [...] '1N <sub>1</sub> ' 'x' SAL                                     | O0204. GUM <sub>b</sub> ' 'ME <sub>a</sub> ' <sup>111</sup>   | O0304. 1N <sub>14</sub> 5N <sub>1</sub><br>ZATU749 <sub>b</sub> ' <sup>111</sup> SAG                 |
| O0105. 5N <sub>1</sub> ZATU659  | O0205. 1N <sub>14</sub> 3N <sub>1</sub><br>'MUŠEN' <sup>111</sup> 'BU <sub>a</sub> ' <sup>111</sup> TUR | O0305. 3N <sub>14</sub> ŠURUPPAK <sub>b</sub>  |
| O0106. 2N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub> ḪI DUG <sub>a</sub> BU <sub>a</sub> | O0206. 1N <sub>14</sub> 3N <sub>1</sub> BU <sub>3</sub>   | O0306. 2N <sub>14</sub> 3N <sub>1</sub> PAP <sub>a</sub> PI<br>RIG <sub>b1</sub> 'RU' <sup>111</sup> |
| O0107. 2N <sub>1</sub> IM <sub>a</sub>                                      | O0207. '1N <sub>19</sub> ' '4N <sub>4</sub> ' SAG   | O0307. 5N <sub>1</sub> 2N <sub>57</sub> PIRIG <sub>b1</sub> E <sub>2a</sub>                          |
| O0108. 2N <sub>14</sub> 3N <sub>1</sub> ' [N]E <sub>a</sub> 'x'             | O0208. 3N <sub>14</sub> ZI <sub>a</sub> A   | O0308. 3N <sub>14</sub> ME <sub>a</sub> TUN <sub>3a</sub>  |
|   | O0209. 1N <sub>14</sub> 3N <sub>1</sub> NA <sub>a</sub> PIRIG <sub>b1</sub>                             | O0309. 1N <sub>45</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub> DU EN <sub>a</sub><br>BU <sub>b</sub> U <sub>2b</sub>       |
|   | O0210. 5N <sub>14</sub> 4N <sub>1</sub> ZI <sub>a</sub> NA <sub>a</sub>                                 | O0310. 1N <sub>14</sub> ' <sup>112</sup> E <sub>2a</sub> ŠU  |

<sup>109</sup> Two examples suffice here. Johnson and Wright (1975) have interpreted the archaeological data from Southwest Iran during the Uruk period in the framework of state formation. Relying on the settlement pattern and site distribution, they “assume three or more levels of administrative task organization indicating a state organization” (Johnson / Wright 1975: 273). This concerns the circulation of goods and information within the Susa plain, characterized by a hierarchical pattern of settlements controlled by a large centre and the presence of administrations in the smaller ones. More recently in Arslan Tepe, d’Anna and Guarino 2010: 199–200 have also clearly demonstrated that the site experiences “during the transition from the LC 4 and LC 5 periods” “a stronger economic centralisation and the pervasiveness of administrative control”. This conclusion relies on their study of public buildings forming a multi-functional complex: for instance, the Temple A “was probably used to store goods and possibly also to redistribute them”. Therefore, “food storage, preparation and redistribution were performed within an organised controlled environment”. Both examples show that also in Uruk, during the Uruk III phase, the administrative system featured a complex organizational framework which required several levels of management. Accordingly, it can be speculated that the KINGAL was part of such a complex system with its different levels of local management of offices. KINGAL may have belonged to that *élite* described by Forest 1996: 140 for the Uruk period, which managed the labour force: according to this author, the system relied mostly on the workforce control, which would also fit for the KINGAL, though of course this aspect concerns all the high-ranking administrators.

<sup>110</sup> A photograph of this tablet (AO 29563) is also available on the website of the Louvre museum, see the following link: [http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=crt\\_fm\\_rs&langue=fr&initCritere=true](http://cartelfr.louvre.fr/cartelfr/visite?srv=crt_fm_rs&langue=fr&initCritere=true) [accessed April 2016].

<sup>111</sup> The sign preceding SAG seems to feature four horizontal strokes instead of two according to the regular pattern of ZATU749<sub>b</sub>. Furthermore, since ZATU749<sub>b</sub> is more specifically connected with clothes, its meaning here is puzzling.

<sup>112</sup> On the CDLI website ([http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival\\_view.php?ObjectID=P005365](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P005365)), as well as in *MSVO* 3 (Englund / Damerow forthcoming) this sign is interpreted as LAGAB<sub>b</sub><sup>2</sup>, which seems to fit better. However, on R0102, the first sign representing 1N<sub>14</sub>

SAG<sub>gunû</sub>O0211. 5N<sub>1</sub> EN<sub>a</sub> KISAL<sub>b1</sub> DU

R0101. 5N<sub>1</sub> MUŠEN BU<sub>a</sub> TUR      R0201a. ʾ3N<sub>34</sub>ʾ ʾ3N<sub>1</sub>ʾ ŠE<sub>a</sub> KINGAL  
 R0102. 2N<sub>14</sub> 3N<sub>1</sub> BAĦAR<sub>2</sub>      R0201b1. 3N<sub>57</sub>+PIRIG<sub>b1</sub> TUR  
 R0103. ʾKIʾ RU      R0201b2. MUŠEN TUR BU<sub>a</sub>

The data offered by this text can be interpreted as follows:

| List of recipients   |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| 5328 litres: MEN TAK <sub>4</sub><br>936 litres: ŠU ZI<br>1296 litres: En-ereš <sub>2</sub> -du <sub>10</sub> <sup>113</sup><br>+ 24 litres SAL<br>120 litres: ZATU659<br>312 litres: ĦI DUG <sub>a</sub> BU <sub>a</sub><br>48 litres: IM<br>360 litres: x-NE | 216 litres: 3N <sub>57</sub> (?) <sup>114</sup><br>240 litres: KU <sub>b1</sub> DUB <sub>a</sub><br>288 litres: x<br>GUM <sub>b</sub> ME <sub>a</sub> ? (crushed?)<br>216 litres: Ħu-bu tur (?)<br>216 litres: BU <sub>3</sub> <sup>115</sup><br>240 litres (emmer?): SAg <sup>116</sup><br>432 litres: Aya <sub>2</sub> -zi (?) <sup>117</sup><br>216 litres: NA <sub>a</sub> PIRIG <sub>b1</sub><br>816 litres: ZI <sub>a</sub> NA <sub>a</sub> SAG <sub>gunû</sub> <sup>118</sup><br>120 litres: En-kisal-gub <sup>119</sup> | 216 litres: DaĦ dumu<br>72 litres: namešda (Lu <sub>2</sub> 1 – Off 23)<br>432 litres: En <sub>2</sub> -e <sub>2</sub> kuš <sub>7</sub> official third<br>delivery (?) <sup>120</sup><br>264 litres: ZATU749 <sub>b</sub> ? SAG<br>432 litres: Sud <sub>3</sub> (?)<br>360 litres: PAP <sub>a</sub> PIRIG <sub>b1</sub> RU (?)<br>120 litres: 2N <sub>57</sub> PIRIG <sub>b1</sub> E <sub>2a</sub><br>432 litres: ME <sub>a</sub> TUN <sub>3a</sub> <sup>121</sup><br>1872 litres: EN <sub>a</sub> DU BU <sub>b</sub> U <sub>2b</sub><br>144 litres (?): E <sub>2</sub> -ŠU |
|  | Two persons as second ranking<br>officials?   |   |
| 120 litres: Ħu-bu tur (?)<br>360 litres: the potter<br>KI RU (ki-ru, ki-šub, as-<br>signment?)   | Ħu-bu tur (?)<br>Piriġ-tur (?) <sup>122</sup>   |   |
| 13032 litres barley: kiġgal  |   |   |

is not fully incised and looks slightly like our very sign. Therefore, it can be speculated that in O0310, the first sign is a numeral.

<sup>113</sup> This name can be compared with En-unu-du<sub>10</sub>, cf. Lecompte 2013: 105.

<sup>114</sup> This numeral might either refer to a third distribution in an unknown context or refer to a personal name, such as KUR, since 3N<sub>57</sub> can stand for KUR<sub>a</sub> in the sign ŠURUPPAK<sub>b</sub>.

<sup>115</sup> If the value of the sign is BU<sub>3</sub>, which was challenged by Steinkeller 1995: 99, this term can be compared with such names as BU<sub>3</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>, BU<sub>3</sub>-bu<sub>3</sub>-ni-du<sub>10</sub> and Puzurs.

<sup>116</sup> It seems unlikely that this sign refers here to an administrative category of personnel. See Bartash in this volume.

<sup>117</sup> Cf. Pomponio 1987: 14.

<sup>118</sup> SAG<sub>gunû</sub> is strikingly identical in shape with a variant of UGU in the inscriptions of Ur-Ba-U<sub>2</sub>, although its value seems enigmatic. The two other signs can be compared with the personal name mentioned in the archaic texts from Ur, Na-zi, PN 542 in *UET* II. However, NA SAG<sub>gunû</sub> also occurs in *MSVO* 4, 79, an archaic text originating from Ešnunna, and is followed by the sign SANGA<sub>a</sub>.

<sup>119</sup> A close and well-known parallel is of course En-kisal-si, but the sign DU is here ambiguous. See also nin-kisal-še<sub>3</sub>. It could be interpreted as si<sub>x</sub>, še<sub>x</sub> or, according to a value of DU, gub, En-kisal-gub, in accordance with the name Lugal-kisal-a-gub, cf. Andersson 2012: 355 d.

<sup>120</sup> The interpretation of 3N<sub>57</sub> is speculative. Numerals could merely be 2N<sub>57</sub> based on the photographs available.

<sup>121</sup> Could this term be interpreted as Aga<sub>3</sub>-me, with ME for me<sub>3</sub>, like in Ur-Nanše's inscriptions?

<sup>122</sup> This name can also be interpreted as Nemur.



This document is divided into the following sections:

1. The columns of the obverse and the first one on the reverse record the amount of barley associated with sign sets which can be confidently interpreted in most cases as personal names or as officials. Two cases do not have any numeral and may correspond to administrative clauses or to specific designations: O0204. GUM<sub>b</sub>? ME<sub>a</sub>?<sup>123</sup>, which cannot be safely read, might refer to a process related to barley, such as encountered in the archaic texts from Ur, although it can hardly be supported by the archaic evidence. The last case, KI RU, seems to be an administrative term, if one relies upon the meaning of Sumerian šub, “to fall” or to a possible value “ru”, “to lay down”, or “ri”, “to direct”. If understood according to the later value of the signs as ki-ru or ki-šub, it might refer to the delivery of barley at a certain place. However, both terms are interpreted by Englund and Damerow (forthcoming) as “agents involved in the transaction”. Similarly to the documents of the KU<sub>a/b</sub> ŠIM<sub>a</sub> corpus, persons quoted in each case may be the recipients of cereal. Only one of them is also attested in *MSVO* 3, 49, ŠURUPPAK<sub>b</sub>, with a lower amount.

2. On the reverse, two names are not associated with numerals and might have been overseers or administrators supporting the kiĝgal. Their role might be the same as the one assumed for NI<sub>a</sub> SA<sub>c</sub> in other documents and they surely are officials. One of them, MUŠEN BU<sub>a</sub> TUR seems to appear two times in the core of the text. This agent seems to be designated in *MSVO* 3, 21, as a SANGA<sub>a</sub> and is associated, in the same case, with the signs NAMEŠDA TUR in *MSVO* 3, 19.

3. The last line contains the final entry and is probably some sort of total although it appears to be inferior to the sum of the preceding amounts. According to the equivalences established with modern capacity measures, it attains 13032 litres, a considerable amount which supports the idea that the KINGAL also was at the head of an office of cereal distribution.

The persons assigned a certain amount of grain seemingly did not pertain to the hierarchy of the Lu<sub>2</sub> list nor to the “subordinate staff” – with the exception of the NAMEŠDA who receives a low amount – and may be considered of a lower status than the KINGAL, although they do not belong to the dependent personnel either. A comparison with the personal names from the “slave” accounts enlisted by Englund (2009) shows a few matches which are of interest for the archaic onomasticon: BU<sub>a</sub> MUŠEN TUR, ŠU ZI<sub>a</sub>, maybe ĦI NAGA – if it is a shortened form for EN<sub>a</sub> ĦI NAGA –, and a few names consisting of the sign PIRIG<sub>b1</sub>.

The last document quoting the KINGAL at the end of the tablet, therefore as the possible main person responsible, *MSVO* 3, 44 (= P005355), is fragmentary:

O0101. 5N<sub>14</sub> SAG<sup>1</sup> [...] 720 litres: Saĝ [...?]  
 O0102. 2N<sub>19</sub> EN<sub>a</sub> GA<sub>2a1</sub><sup>1</sup> ME<sub>a</sub> X<sup>1</sup> 288 litres (emmer?): En-GA<sub>2a1</sub> ME<sub>a</sub><sup>123</sup>

<sup>123</sup> It may be speculated that the name would be similar to the later Lugal-ĝe<sub>26</sub>, cf. Andersson 2012: 331, while ME<sub>a</sub> would refer to his function.

|  |  |
|--|--|
| O0103. 2N <sub>14</sub> PA <sub>a</sub> [...]            | 288 litres: ugula/Pa-x                                       |
| O0201. 2N <sub>14</sub> <sup>124</sup> [...]             | 288 litres: [...]  |
| O0202. 1N <sub>14</sub> NE <sub>a</sub> PAP <sub>a</sub> | 144 litres: NE <sub>a</sub> PAP <sub>a</sub> <sup>125</sup>  |
| O0203. 4N <sub>4</sub> GIŠ+TE E[N <sub>a</sub> ]         | 96 litres (emmer) GIŠ+TE <sup>126</sup> : E[N <sub>a</sub> ] |
| R0101. [...]   | [...]  |
| R0201. KINGAL  | kiĝgal   |

The document may have followed the same inner structure as the former and have referred to the final amount before the mention of the KINGAL, which was inferior and reaches, for the preserved cases, 1824 litres. The name in the first case of the obverse can be compared with another case of *MSVO* 3, 54, O0207, SAG, though both may refer to different personal names as well. Similarly, it is possible to compare the mention of the sign PA<sub>a</sub> in O0103 with the term of *MSVO* 3, 49. O0102. PA<sub>a</sub> KALAM, which would provide another bridge between those texts. Note also the presence of the expression GIŠ+TE / LAGAB<sub>b</sub> TE, whose meaning is unknown.

As can be inferred from the observations of Englund and Damerow (forthcoming), some of the “agents” of the transactions seemingly controlled by the KINGAL occur also in other tablets, in which the main person responsible may be a different official. For instance, the sign combination MEN<sub>a</sub> TAK<sub>4c</sub> is encountered in *MSVO* 3, 54 (see above) and 67, the latter text containing a reference to offices or officials designated as AZ SI<sub>4f</sub> and SANGA<sub>a</sub> GAL<sub>a</sub> SANGA<sub>a</sub> ŠE+NAM<sub>2</sub>. Likewise, in *MSVO* 3, 58, MUŠEN BU<sub>a</sub> TUR is involved in a transaction managed by KU<sub>b2</sub> ŠIM<sub>a</sub>.<sup>127</sup> Therefore, the persons allocated cereals cannot be considered to be only dependent on an office managed by the KINGAL but are also connected to other administrators (see graphic 1).<sup>128</sup>

### 3.3. General Observations on the KINGAL

In other documents originating from Uruk, the role of the KINGAL is less clearly identifiable. KINGAL occurs in two unclear tablets dating to the Uruk IV period, IM 81243, which refers to ḪAŠḪUR, and *ATU* 5, W 9655,aq. Since these are the only administrative attestations from the Uruk IV period, it can be

<sup>124</sup> The photograph available on the CDLI website seems to show a second numeral 1N<sub>14</sub> ([http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival\\_view.php?ObjectID=P005355](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P005355)).

<sup>125</sup> Although it is tempting to interpret this agent’s name as Pa<sub>4</sub>-bil, the signs NE<sub>a</sub> PAP<sub>a</sub> are combined with other signs in many other instances.

<sup>126</sup> Also transliterated LAGAB<sub>b</sub> TE, see Englund / Damerow forthcoming and Bramanti 2015. Note that in this text, the sign may refer to any kind of product but does not seem to designate any total.

<sup>127</sup> Note also that KALAM<sub>b</sub> PA<sub>a</sub> occurs in *MSVO* 3, 1, 20, 22, 31. The sign combination NE<sub>a</sub> PAP<sub>a</sub> is also encountered, in addition to *MSVO* 3, 44, in several other texts in *MSVO* 3, 23, 31, 40, 43, 67. ZI<sub>a</sub> A occurs in *MSVO* 3, 31. On the NAMEŠDA, see the tables below.

<sup>128</sup> The administrative organization of the “agents” allocated cereals features a more complex pattern, since, as demonstrated above, the same individual can receive his amount from the KINGAL or directly from KU<sub>a/b1-2</sub> ŠIM<sub>a</sub>.

hypothesized that the KINGAL rose later through the hierarchy.<sup>129</sup> In another unpublished tablet, W 21662,2, an account of SAG, therefore related to personnel of low status, a KINGAL SANGA<sub>a</sub> might be associated with the impressive amount of 1N<sub>48</sub> 2N<sub>34</sub> 3N<sub>14</sub> (750 in Sexagesimal System S), but the interpretation of this document is uncertain. Similarly, in texts from other provenance, KINGAL occurs less frequently, so that his role cannot be determined.<sup>130</sup>

The role of the KINGAL can therefore only be assessed in the documents published as *MSVO* 3. By contrast with the NAMEŠDA, the official KINGAL is assigned high quantities of grain, which he probably distributed as rations to workers under his responsibility in exchange for performed services. He is also more “specialized” in grain distribution and less involved in other types of activities. Furthermore, the KINGAL acts in three tablets as the main administrator in charge of the management of significant quantities of cereal. Such facts may point to the existence of an office headed by the KINGAL official, who had in charge the retribution of a personnel – perhaps connected to the meaning of this title as commander. In other texts, the KINGAL seems to be involved in accounts whose main administrator is KU<sub>a/b</sub> ŠIM<sub>a</sub>,<sup>131</sup> whose office therefore supplied cereals to several of the officials mentioned in the Lu<sub>2</sub> list, as proven by *MSVO* 3, 60. The quantity of cereals assigned to other recipients is generally lower than the amount for the KINGAL, only the GAL<sub>a</sub> TE receives higher quantities, which, as already noticed by Bourguignon (2012: 251), is contradictory with their respective positions in the Lu<sub>2</sub> list. This does not, however, necessarily mean that the proportion of grain received tallies with their position: for instance, in *MSVO* 3, 64, the amount assigned to the KINGAL is superior to that of the GAL<sub>a</sub> TE. As uncertain as it remains, one may speculate that the circulation of food hints at a general distributive system, in which the KINGAL at first receives cereal from a storage facility controlled by KU<sub>a/b</sub> ŠIM<sub>a</sub> and then issues it to subordinate workers. This idea is supported by the similarity between the amount of cereals seemingly managed by the KINGAL in *MSVO* 3, 49 and that received by the same official in *MSVO* 3, 61. KINGAL seems therefore to have pertained to the top of the administrative hierarchy of the Uruk III period, being one of the high-ranking officials at that time (see graphic 2).

#### 4. Observations on Other Professions

Since a systematic or exhaustive study of other names, such as carried out for the NAMEŠDA and the KINGAL, would go far beyond the scope of the present

<sup>129</sup> Note also that, in the Uruk IV version of the Lu<sub>2</sub> list, KINGAL is followed by UKKIN GEŠTU<sub>b</sub> and UKKIN NUN<sub>a</sub>, which disappear later.

<sup>130</sup> *MSVO* 4, 37, from Uqair, an unclear account. For texts of unknown provenance, I am aware of following attestations: CUSAS 1, 110, an account of grain, in which the KINGAL is associated with the same amount as NIN URU<sub>a1</sub>, 1N<sub>19</sub>, that is 144 litres of emmer; MS 4503, an account of 48 sheep, in which the KINGAL is associated with one sheep, while other persons are mentioned with one to five animals, such as ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub> (one animal) and UMUN<sub>2</sub> SANGA<sub>a</sub> (number not preserved), the main official being a GURUŠDA.

<sup>131</sup> See the analysis of Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 66–75 and 1993: 36–46.

article, four professions are more briefly addressed. The first entries of the Lu<sub>2</sub> list as well as four entries of the *Officials* list feature the sign NAM<sub>2</sub>. Among those, there stands in the second position a good example of the difficulty of matching administrative and lexical evidence, the NAM<sub>2</sub> KAB, whose meaning, though rather ambiguous,<sup>132</sup> was interpreted by Wilcke, as a “counsellor”, relying upon a reading nam<sub>2</sub>-lagar<sub>x</sub>.<sup>133</sup> This term, which was studied by Szarzyńska,<sup>134</sup> occurs frequently in the administrative documentation from Uruk, albeit in unclear or broken contexts and in tablets dating back to the Uruk IV levels – therefore difficult to understand. As already observed by Szarzyńska, it is hard to say more about NAM<sub>2</sub> KAB than that it “designates an official of the central administration” since “the range of his activities is not richly documented”.<sup>135</sup> Nevertheless this official seems to have been ascribed a certain role in the cult of Inanna since he acts as the main person responsible in two tablets referring to offerings made during the festival EZEN<sub>b</sub>, of Inanna-UD and SIG, interpreted as two aspects of this goddess.<sup>136</sup> Although NAM<sub>2</sub> KAB is scarcely mentioned with other titles from the Lu<sub>2</sub> or *Officials* lists, there is need for a new study relying upon tablets published after Szarzyńska’s article.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>132</sup> The archaic sign KAB was later reinterpreted as 𒄩<sub>2</sub> or TUKU, see Pettinato 1981: 21; the latter might indicate an official in charge of the management of goods.

<sup>133</sup> Wilcke 2005: 440–441. The term is accordingly understood as umuš on grounds of the Ebla lexical material. This hypothesis is also justified by the use of the sign 𒄩<sub>2</sub>: on the SAL.𒄩<sub>2</sub>, see more recently Cavigneaux and Wiggerman 2014 (with bibliographical references), who suggest translating it as “vizier”. As suggested by Michalowski and observed by both authors, this very sign combination, read lagar<sub>x</sub>, might also be ascribed the value sukkal<sub>x</sub>, which could also make a good deal of sense here, since the former, lagar<sub>x</sub>, is a feminine one whereas the latter is masculine, see Cavigneaux and Wiggerman 2014: 28. One should, however, be aware that the sign 𒄩<sub>2</sub> may have several values, like in Ebla, where it designates a dancer and is a shortened form for 𒄩<sub>2</sub>.KI. This is why we follow the precaution of Cavigneaux / Wiggerman 2014: 31, as to the hypothesis of Wilcke, who deem it “une possibilité qui doit encore être confirmée”.

<sup>134</sup> Szarzyńska 1980.

<sup>135</sup> Szarzyńska 1980: 129.

<sup>136</sup> Englund 1988: 168 fn. 39; Szarzyńska 1993: 8. According to Englund 1998: 127 as well as Monaco 2007: 14, such designations may indeed correspond to month names.

<sup>137</sup> It should notably be addressed whether this profession is associated with amounts of grain or numbers of jars which do not exceed quantities assigned to other persons. In a few tablets, NAM<sub>2</sub> KAB seems to be connected with the management of labour force. In two tablets of unknown provenance NAM<sub>2</sub> KAB seems to be in charge of animals: in CUSAS 31, 43, he is even associated with the ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub> – unless that term refers to a technical description; in CUSAS 1, 40, a NAM<sub>2</sub> KAB – mentioned with the sign set U<sub>2b</sub> DIN, maybe a personal name – acts as the main person responsible for an account related to asses.

## 4.1. On Some of the NAM<sub>2</sub> Designations

### 4.1.1. NAM<sub>2</sub> DI

Though the term is generally considered to be an official in charge of justice in respect to the sign DI,<sup>138</sup> the administrative records do not suggest which functions were fulfilled by the NAM<sub>2</sub> DI, since it is only attested in the standard archaic documents dealing with cereal distribution, the management of herds and fields. Attestations in the Uruk texts are unfortunately scarce and provide little information, but it has to be noticed that this administrator occurs in one small account related to sheep. Another tablet, also to be interpreted as an example of a “subordinate staff list”, refers to pieces of meat and fish designated as ŠITA<sub>a1</sub>,<sup>139</sup> with nine pieces allocated to the NAM<sub>2</sub> DI, who is therefore in that instance one of the recipients of this distribution. A small corpus of texts from Jemdet Nasr provides a complementary piece of evidence, since NAM<sub>2</sub> DI is in charge of vast field areas, with a range from 476.28 ha to 10.8 ha.<sup>140</sup> This official is therefore involved within the management of an agricultural domain probably belonging to the institution housed in the “main building” of the site.<sup>141</sup> According to the information given in those texts, the officials entrusted with lands were probably responsible for the cultivation of large parcels designated as ŠE<sub>a</sub>+ŠE<sub>a</sub>, and KI<sub>a</sub> A, as well as of the distribution of small plots of land to possible workers, GURUŠ<sub>a</sub> and SAL.<sup>142</sup> This shows at least that the NAM<sub>2</sub> DI’s responsibility reached beyond the scope of court cases and included other functions. In the Jemdet Nasr documents, the primary role of the NAM<sub>2</sub> DI seems therefore to be the administration of agricultural estate. Such data can be compared with Wilcke’s hypothesis that this administrator, to be read as nam<sub>2</sub>-sa<sub>2</sub>, was a “Ratsamt”, “counsellor”.<sup>143</sup>

### 4.1.2. ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub>

As for the official ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub>, which is assigned the value šuš<sub>x</sub>, Green and Steinkeller thought that the sign expressing it may have been “used both as a description of some technical operation involving animals and an occupation or title”,<sup>144</sup> since it occurs in several texts dealing with herds and cattle. However, as assumed by Englund, ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub> is likely to have represented in the husbandry texts from Uruk “a professional name designating a feeder”,<sup>145</sup> which can also

<sup>138</sup> Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 148, 156 and 1993: 106, 111; Bourguignon 2012: 253.

<sup>139</sup> IM 134966, for which we apply here the interpretation in Johnson 2015: 192–196.

<sup>140</sup> See Friberg 1997 / 1998 and the table below.

<sup>141</sup> On the “main building” in Jemdet Nasr, cf. Englund 1998: 24–27.

<sup>142</sup> See the discussion of Bartash (section 2) in the present volume.

<sup>143</sup> Wilcke 2005: 443.

<sup>144</sup> Steinkeller 1984: 140. See also Green 1980: 2, 7–8.

<sup>145</sup> Englund 1998: 146, cf. also Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 135 and 1993: 92: “fattener or fattening stall”. Compare also with the direct translation of the signs suggested by Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 148 and 1993: 106, as “leader of barley”. Wilcke 2005: 441 and 443 fn. 54, on grounds of the variant of the sign ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub> in an ED manuscript from Fāra which he interprets as KU<sub>4</sub> – the Sumerian verb “to enter” – and of a possible shift between šu.š, šu.r with the former verb, suggests translating the official

be argued on the basis of the reading of the term as ŠUŠ.<sup>146</sup> As regards its role within the relevant tablets from Uruk, the term ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub> is regularly associated with another official, also mentioned in the Lu<sub>2</sub> list, the NAM<sub>2</sub> PA<sub>a</sub> RAD<sub>a</sub> (Lu<sub>2</sub> 10): both officials' names generally occur together as a subscript on a case set apart on the column and devoid of any numeral, therefore Green inferred that ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub> was used as a technical term for the sum of animals.<sup>147</sup> They were involved with both herds and cattle.

Texts related to ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub> and PA<sub>a</sub> NAM<sub>2</sub> RAD<sub>a</sub> have already been analysed and schematically explained by Englund, whose commentary is followed here;<sup>148</sup> two tablets related to herds suffice to be presented here for our purpose:

**ATU 7, W 20274,15**

|   |  |
|---|--|
| O0101. [3N <sub>14</sub> ] U <sub>8</sub>   | 30 ewes  |
| O0102. 2N <sub>14</sub> 5N <sub>1</sub> UDUNITA <sub>a</sub>  | 25 rams  |
| O0103. NE <sub>a</sub> PAP <sub>a</sub> HAL ŠURUPPAK <sub>a</sub> /<br>PA <sub>a</sub> NAM <sub>2</sub> RAD <sub>a</sub> ŠE <sub>a</sub> +NAM <sub>2</sub> RAD <sub>a</sub> | Pa <sub>4</sub> -bil-HAL (?) (and?) Sud <sub>3</sub> (?), the official PA <sub>a</sub> NAM <sub>2</sub> (and?) the official šuš <sub>x</sub> (?) |
| O0201. 5N <sub>1</sub> SAL SILA <sub>4c</sub>   | 5 female lambs   |
| O0202. 5N <sub>1</sub> SILANITA   | 5 male lambs   |
| O0203. U <sub>4</sub> ×1N <sub>57</sub> BAR   | additional animals in the current year <sup>149</sup>  |
| R0101a. ʿ5N <sub>14</sub> ʿ ʿ5N <sub>1</sub> ʿ ʿUDU <sub>a</sub> ʿ  | 55 sheep   |
| R0101b. ʿ1N <sub>14</sub> ʿ U <sub>4</sub> ×1N <sub>57</sub> BAR  | 10 additional (lambs) in the current year  |
| R0102. 1N <sub>1</sub> 1N <sub>8</sub> KISIM <sub>a</sub>   | 1 ½ vessel of butter KISIM   |

**ATU 7, W 20274,61**

|   |   |
|---|---|
| O0101. [2N <sub>14</sub> ʷ U <sub>8</sub> ]   | 20 ewes   |
| O0102. 1N <sub>14</sub> ʿ5N <sub>1</sub> ʷ UDU[NITA <sub>a</sub> ]  | 15 rams   |
| O0103. NAMEŠDA ʿE <sub>2a</sub> ʿ ŠURUPPAK <sub>a</sub> /<br>ʿPA <sub>a</sub> ʿ NAM <sub>2</sub> RAD <sub>a</sub> ŠE <sub>a</sub> +NAM <sub>2</sub> | E <sub>2</sub> NAMEŠDA, Sud <sub>3</sub> (?) the PA <sub>a</sub> NAM <sub>2</sub> RAD <sub>a</sub> official (?) and the official šuš <sub>x</sub> (?) |
| O0201. [2N <sub>1</sub> SAL SILA <sub>4c</sub> ]  | 2 female lambs  |
| O0202. 2N <sub>1</sub> SILANITA   | 2 male lambs  |
| O0203. U <sub>4</sub> ×1N <sub>57</sub> BAR   | additional animals in the current year  |
| R0101a. ʿ3N <sub>14</sub> ʿ 5N <sub>1</sub> UDU <sub>a</sub> BA   | 35 sheep “distributed” (?) <sup>150</sup>   |
| R0101b. 4N <sub>1</sub> U <sub>4</sub> ×1N <sub>57</sub> BAR  | 4 additional (lambs) in the current year  |
| R0102. 1N <sub>1</sub> KISIM <sub>a</sub>   | 1 vessel of butter KISIM  |

Since in the text *ATU 7, W 20274,61*,<sup>151</sup> is also encountered the NAMEŠDA in the same case as ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub> and PA<sub>a</sub> NAM<sub>2</sub> RAD<sub>a</sub>, they all may have acted as

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name as “Eintretender”, “the entering one”, which unfortunately hardly tallies with the administrative evidence from the Late Uruk period.

<sup>146</sup> Selz 1998: 295.

<sup>147</sup> On the role of the NAM<sub>2</sub> RAD<sub>a</sub> PA<sub>a</sub>, see more specifically Green 1980: 9–10.

<sup>148</sup> Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990:131–136 and 1993: 89–93; and Englund 1998: 144–145.

<sup>149</sup> For the translation of the term U<sub>4</sub>×1N<sub>57</sub> BAR, see Green 1980: 6–7 and Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 135 and 1993: 92, whose interpretation is applied here.

<sup>150</sup> See Green 1980: 7.

officials.<sup>152</sup> Similarly, the mention of two possible personal names in *ATU* 7, W 20274,15, in the same case as  $\check{S}E_a+NAM_2$  and  $PA_a NAM_2 RAD_a$ , may be interpreted as their respective names. A further hint at the function of the  $\check{S}E_a+NAM_2$  may also be given in the fragment *BagM* 22, W 23998,2b, in which the association with the sign  $APIN_a$  may refer to a responsibility for the ploughing of fields and draught animals. In an unpublished document of unknown origin,  $\check{S}E_a+NAM_2$  is one of the three subscripts which stand at the end of a column containing a list of animals and seem to refer to personal names or officials, the two other being  $EN_a 1N_{58}+BAD_a$  and  $NIN SIG$ .<sup>153</sup> Some evidence nevertheless seems to conform to Green's assumption and to show that  $\check{S}E_a+NAM_2$  referred to a technical term related to animals, more particularly with the plucking of wool or, according to Steinkeller (1984: 141), to the flaying of skins: in the unpublished text MS 4492, the term  $\check{S}E_a+NAM_2 DARA_{4c2} UDU_a$  might indicate a specific category of wool  $DARA_{4c2}$ .  $\check{S}E_a+NAM_2$  occurs less frequently in texts dealing with topics other than animals, but interestingly in *MSVO* 3, 67, concerning cereal distribution,<sup>154</sup> this term is associated with  $SANGA_a GAL_a SANGA_a$  in the final subscript, therefore representing perhaps the two main administrators.<sup>155</sup> Note also that  $\check{S}E_a+NAM_2$  seems to be allocated a field plot in the unpublished tablet MS 2840.<sup>156</sup>

## 4.2. Observations on Some Professional Categories

### 4.2.1. Animal Manager: $UTUL_a$

The profession  $UTUL_a$  (*Officials* 59) is well represented in the archaic documentation and, as expected, is associated with herds and animals, though generally with low amounts, except in *ATU* 5, W 9123,f+. Furthermore, since this official seems to have managed herds and cattle, he may have fulfilled a similar role to the Sumerian *udul*, “chief herdsman”, who was responsible for several kinds of animals – despite the presence of the sign  $AB_2$ . A small group of tablets from the Uruk IV period seems to exemplify the role of  $UTUL_a$ :

#### *ATU* 5, W 9123,f+ (Uruk IV)

|   |  |
|---|--|
| O0101. $\check{r}4N_{14}^1 KAB UTUL_a \check{r}UDU_a^1$ [...] | 40 sheep: <i>udul</i> official - KAB (?) |
| O0102. $5N_1 MU\check{S}_{3a}$ [...]                          | 5 (sheep): $MU\check{S}_{3a}$ (Inanna?)  |

<sup>151</sup> Formerly published in Green 1980, 24, number 9.

<sup>152</sup> Note also that, as a commentary to *ATU* 7, W 20274,12, Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 132 and 1993: 90–91 and Englund 1998: 144, described the case containing  $PA_a NAM_2 RAD_a$  and  $\check{S}E_a+NAM_2$  as a “responsible herdsman”.

<sup>153</sup> MS 2841; see also MS 2839.

<sup>154</sup> See also the unclear tablets ascribed to the Uruk IV level, *ATU* 5, W 9578,d and W 9579,ci, which record an amount of  $SU_{a/b}$  (skins?) and in which the  $\check{S}E_a+NAM_2$  is associated with a quantity identical to the other entries. See the observations above on *MSVO* 3, 8 and 16.

<sup>155</sup> Compare with Englund 2014: 340 (*CTMMA* 180 = *MSVO* 3, 79).

<sup>156</sup> O0101.  $1N_{50} 2N_{22} \check{S}E_a+NAM_2 = 69.12$  ha.

**ATU 5, W 9579, do.**

O0101. 1N<sub>1</sub> 'UNUG<sub>a</sub> GU<sub>4</sub> AN<sup>?</sup> UTUL<sub>a</sub><sup>1</sup> 1 ox (to/from) Uruk: the udul official  
AN (?)

**ATU 5, W 9579, br.**

Archaic tag.<sup>157</sup> UTUL<sub>c</sub>

The official UTUL<sub>a</sub> is also to be found in texts related to rations and to textile distribution, notably *MSVO* 3, 21, which designates the disbursement as GU<sub>7</sub>; in this text, the UTUL<sub>a</sub> DUB<sub>a</sub> SANGA<sub>a</sub>, maybe correlating the udul with an umbisaĝ dub,<sup>158</sup> is assigned an amount of 1N<sub>3</sub>, therefore 24 litres of malt, which represents the standard quantity. The UTUL<sub>a</sub> occurs rarely in the same text as other administrators recorded in the archaic lexical lists – see however *ATU* 5, W 9206,h and W 20511,2: in the former, UTUL<sub>a</sub> is associated with a number of oxen (?) smaller than that of the ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub> (Lu<sub>2</sub> 9) but equal to the UMUN<sub>2</sub> (*Officials* 109 in the ED version). Apart from the Uruk texts, the term UTUL<sub>a</sub> occurs only rarely in documents of other provenance in which the UTUL<sub>a</sub> GAL<sub>a</sub> (Lu<sub>2</sub> 91) is encountered more frequently: only two tablets of unknown provenance refer to UTUL<sub>a</sub> AB<sub>a</sub>, therefore a “cowherd” and to UTUL<sub>a</sub> URU<sub>a1</sub>, which is unclear.<sup>159</sup> GAL<sub>a</sub> UTUL<sub>a</sub> (Lu<sub>2</sub> 91) occurs by contrast rarely in Uruk,<sup>160</sup> but a bit more frequently in texts of other provenance though the official is not systematically associated with cattle and herds.<sup>161</sup>

**4.2.2. Field Administrator: SAG SUG<sub>5</sub>**

This well-known term refers in Sumerian to a person in charge of the field management – sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub> –, but occurs in the archaic documentation seldom in connection to the task expected from such an official. Surprisingly, SAG SUG<sub>5</sub> might occur in only one text related to field management, while he seems to act as the main administrator in tablets dealing with grain distribution, wool and textiles or even with sheep assignment. Similarly to the other professions studied, SAG SUG<sub>5</sub> is therefore not documented in the functions primarily assigned to the same term in later periods.

<sup>157</sup> Szarzyńska 1994: 2.

<sup>158</sup> The reading of the sign SANGA<sub>a</sub> as umbisaĝ in the Uruk documents was suggested by several authors, see Damerow / Englund / Nissen 1990: 147, 180 and 1993: 106, 134 and Visicato 2000: 3, 4 fn. 14, 18 for bibliographical references, and is justified here by the sign DUB.

<sup>159</sup> MS 2684 and MS 2998.

<sup>160</sup> *ATU* 6, W 14361, an account related to “two- through five-year-old bulls”, Englund 1998: 156 and 157.

<sup>161</sup> CUSAS 1, 14, which might be “a list of personnel (?)”, Monaco 2007: 25. MS 4558, which deals with field surfaces. *MSVO* 1, 145, a mixed account with cows and sheep, seemingly under the responsibility of the UTUL<sub>a</sub> GAL<sub>a</sub>. *MSVO* 4, 32.



## 5. The Limits of the Lexical and Administrative Evidence

Some of the officials mentioned in the Lu<sub>2</sub> list seldom or never occur in the administrative documentation, which is, therefore, hardly conclusive.<sup>162</sup>

- GAL<sub>a</sub> ŠUBUR, with the uncertain exception of an unpublished small tablet, AOST 109.
- ERIN UMUN<sub>2</sub><sup>163</sup>, GAL<sub>a</sub> UMUN<sub>2</sub> KU<sub>3a</sub> and AB<sub>a</sub> UMUN<sub>2</sub> KU<sub>3a</sub>.<sup>164</sup>
- UŠUMGAL, with the possible exception of two unpublished fragments.<sup>165</sup>
- GAL<sub>a</sub> GIŠGAL.<sup>166</sup>
- Two of the professions consisting of UTUL<sub>a</sub>, EN<sub>a</sub>+NUN<sub>a</sub> UTUL<sub>a</sub> and TAR<sub>a</sub> UTUL<sub>a</sub>, are seemingly not attested so far in the archaic documents.<sup>167</sup>
- ENDIB, ENKUM and NINKUM are also absent or rare.<sup>168</sup>

On the other hand, it should be stressed that the archaic lexical lists did not intend to give an exhaustive description of society and therefore did not record many professional terms which are encountered in the administrative texts, such as some terms consisting of EN, for instance EN<sub>a</sub> UKKIN, or SUKKAL IB<sub>a</sub>, though the latter titles are mentioned along with those of the Lu<sub>2</sub> list. Some professions are also only found in one of the two relevant lists, such as EN<sub>s</sub> AN RU or LAGAR<sub>a</sub>, mentioned in the *Officials* list but not in archaic Lu<sub>2</sub>.<sup>169</sup> The lack of the EN in the archaic lists, apart from the priest EN<sub>a</sub> IB<sub>a</sub>, is also striking in consideration of the functions which are generally ascribed to him.<sup>170</sup> Furthermore, Johnson has demonstrated that the Lu<sub>2</sub> list underwent an important “reconfiguration” after the Uruk IV period “on the basis of phonological connections be-

<sup>162</sup> The discrepancy between both types of texts was also observed by other scholars, see above.

<sup>163</sup> See also the unpublished tablet MS 2869/02, a manuscript of the Lu<sub>2</sub> list.

<sup>164</sup> Compare, however, with the three attestations of UMUN<sub>2</sub> KU<sub>3a</sub> available to me: MS 2395, *MSVO* 4, 16, W 20511,2.

<sup>165</sup> , O0201b. 3N<sub>57</sub> AMAR GAL UŠ[UM?]. IM 74319. O00403a. 1N<sub>1</sub> 'BUR<sub>2</sub>' [X].

<sup>166</sup> The only possible exception may be the unpublished tablet MS 2869/02, O0403. 1N<sub>1</sub> GAL<sub>a</sub> GIŠGAL?

<sup>167</sup> According to the transliteration available on the CDLI website of the tablet W 19361,4 (Uruk IV), the official NUN<sub>a</sub>+EN<sub>a</sub> UTUL<sub>a</sub> might be attested therein, but this is far from certain ([http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival\\_view.php?ObjectID=P002925](http://cdli.ucla.edu/search/archival_view.php?ObjectID=P002925)).

<sup>168</sup> ENDIB occurs seemingly in only three administrative texts: *ATU* 6, W 15775,w, *ATU* 6, W 16731 (see Johnson 2016) and *CUSAS* 1, 18. ENKUM seems to occur in four unpublished documents, and in partly uncertain contexts, since only in W 20274,43 and W 20274,59 (see Green / Nissen 1993: 199 = *ZATU* 141), are seemingly safely identifiable. The former text deals with textiles, and ENKUM GUL seems to receive 1 piece of cloth (1N<sub>1</sub>). In the latter, dealing with the dairy fat product GA<sub>a</sub>+ZATU753, ENKUM is assigned a quantity of 5N<sub>1</sub>. NINKUM occurs only in the lexical evidence.

<sup>169</sup> Another element to address is the fact that some professional names can also be found in other lists dealing with completely different topics, such as SIG<sub>7</sub> NIMGIR in the archaic list of *Cities* (*Cities* 45).

<sup>170</sup> Cf. Charvát 1997: 41–70, Steinkeller 1999: 104–129. The EN sign may be merely replaced by the NAM<sub>a</sub> entries.

tween different groups of proto-cuneiform signs”.<sup>171</sup> This reminds us that the lexical lists are not exclusively connected to social features or to a political organization.

As was emphasized above, the officials recorded in the Lu<sub>2</sub> list are mentioned in administrative tablets which do not give clear indications of their functions. For some of them, there seems even to be a discrepancy between their expected role and their integration within the administrative system, such as for the NAM<sub>2</sub> DI in Jemdet Nasr, who was seemingly in charge of huge agricultural estates and whose responsibility in juridical matters cannot be proven. Similarly, SAG SUG<sub>5</sub> is rarely mentioned in tablets dealing with fields. This situation can be explained by the nature and scope of the administrative documents. Since offices and institutions were only interested in recording expenses and distribution of goods, there was no need to indicate the functions of the persons and administrators mentioned, whether they are recipients or donors. Furthermore, unlike later documents, some intermediary professions in an administrative process are not indicated: it is therefore possible that the SAG SUG<sub>5</sub> was in charge of the measurement of fields or of some related administrative tasks but that only the main officials responsible for field management or the persons assigned to a plot of land were mentioned. Similarly, in the later Lagaš/Girsu archive from the Early Dynastic period (ca. 2350 BC) and originating from the e<sub>2</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub>/e<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Ba-U<sub>2</sub>, the temple of the goddess Ba-U<sub>2</sub>, which includes an important group of agricultural texts, the sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub> does not occur in his activity of field measurement. This official is mentioned in the “milk and malt documents”, in which the wife of an unnamed sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub> receives milk and malt from two individuals from the aforementioned institution,<sup>172</sup> and in texts recording the contribution of a sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub> for the maš-da-ri-a, a kind of tax.<sup>173</sup> Other attestations of sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub> are to be found in sale contracts which are not directly connected with the institution of the e<sub>2</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub> / e<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Ba-U<sub>2</sub>.<sup>174</sup> Lugal-nim-ĝen, mentioned in the field sale known as the En-ĥe<sub>2</sub>-ĝal<sub>2</sub> tablet, is the only land recorder who might positively be connected with his professions.<sup>175</sup> By comparison, SAG SUG<sub>5</sub> does not seem to occur in the archaic *kudurrus* and sale documents. Administrative documents of the Late Uruk period only refer to this very official in contexts related to disbursements made by a

<sup>171</sup> Johnson 2015: 180.

<sup>172</sup> These documents record “the giving of pure milk and pure malt by individuals of importance in the e<sub>2</sub>-MI<sub>2</sub>/e<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Ba-U<sub>2</sub> (and acting as representatives of the e<sub>2</sub>-MI<sub>2</sub>/e<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Ba-U<sub>2</sub>) to the wives of high ranking persons from other institutions”, Prentice 2010: 181. The two individuals giving to the wife of a sa<sub>12</sub>-du<sub>5</sub> who does not belong to the e<sub>2</sub>-MI<sub>2</sub> / e<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Ba-U<sub>2</sub> are En-da-gal-di (*DP* 132, *DP* 226, *VS* 14, 173) and <sup>d</sup>Ba-U<sub>2</sub>-teš<sub>2</sub>-mu (*DP* 133, *TSA* 5).

<sup>173</sup> *Nik* 1, 176, *RTC* 44, *VS* 14, 179. See also Prentice 2010: 198.

<sup>174</sup> A certain Ur-<sup>d</sup>Ba-U<sub>2</sub> is a witness in a house sale, OrNs 42, 236.

<sup>175</sup> This land recorder appears together with Maš, who bears the title NUN.GU.SUR, a “field assessor”, and ŠEŠ+IB-ĝeštin, a farmer engar, see *OIP* 104, no. 20 p. 71 and Wilcke 1996: 30–31. However, according to the authors of *OIP* 104, these persons may also be “authorizing/witnessing officials” cf. p. 70, but see p. 238 for the uncertainty of their role.

central institution and therefore never specify his functions, similarly to the e<sub>2</sub>-mi<sub>2</sub> / e<sub>2</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Ba-U<sub>2</sub> archive.

Some conclusions of this limited inquiry can be highlighted here:

- The lexical lists give useful hints as to the hierarchy of the archaic period in general.
- However, they do not reproduce it exhaustively and the importance of a function is not merely reflected by its order in the list: for instance, the NAMEŠDA cannot be considered to be the ruler.
- The understanding of the role of the officials recorded in the lists can partly rely upon the later meaning of a term, such as UTUL<sub>a</sub> which designates a herdsman.
- Nevertheless, the role of the officials as recorded in the administrative documents clearly shows that they also could fulfil different or supplementary functions other than what may be expected from their name: NAM<sub>2</sub> DI is responsible, in the Jemdet Nasr texts, for a significant agricultural estate, KINGAL is never mentioned in connection with an assembly but appears as one of the members of the aristocracy at the top of society.
- The reconstruction of the functions of the officials recorded in the archaic lists is also hampered by the limited evidence offered by the administrative texts, which focus on their integration within the general system of redistribution and therefore do not give hints as to their daily work, such as for the SAG SUG<sub>5</sub>.
- The hierarchical order of the professions can also hardly be identified by checking the information provided by the administrative documents: for instance, the amount of cereals assigned to the official is not stable enough to reflect their hierarchical importance.

## 6. Arrangement Patterns of Lexical Lists and Clusters of Professions

The internal structure of the archaic lists not only provides us with a general explanation of the order of the entries but is also a key for understanding which terms could tally with the arrangement pattern of a list and, therefore, their position therein. As recently emphasised by Wagenonner, “a hierarchic arrangement” of the archaic lists of professions “is not provable”, since the pattern followed by these texts mainly relies upon sequences consisting of consistent signs or sign combinations.<sup>176</sup> Nevertheless, as suggested by the same author, the arrangement of the professional terms can also be determined by other criteria, as shown by the following examples.

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<sup>176</sup> Wagenonner 2010: 289. However, Johnson 2015: 174–177, emphasized that some sequences of the Uruk IV forerunners of those lists seem to be determined by the succession of three offices, GEŠTU<sub>b</sub>, GAL<sub>a</sub> and NUN<sub>a</sub>: though those signs are also similar in shape, such arrangement seems to refer to a hierarchical order.

1. Though one should be cautious with the identification of this type of classification, especially in the archaic texts,<sup>177</sup> phonological connections may also have influenced the arrangement of entries:<sup>178</sup> as already stressed, the sequence containing ABGAL (NUN ME),<sup>179</sup> KINGAL and GAL<sub>a</sub> TE (tiru) may have relied upon the phonological feature GAL.<sup>180</sup> Other similar connections are seemingly less striking but one may speculate that Lu<sub>2</sub> 5 and 6, NAM<sub>2</sub> URU<sub>a1</sub> and NAM<sub>2</sub> ERIN, as well as Lu<sub>2</sub> 48–49: DUB<sub>a</sub> SANGA<sub>a</sub> and SAG SUG<sub>5</sub>, may also have shared phonetic similarities, respectively iri/eren on the one hand and saĝĝa-umbisaĝ/saĝ on the other.<sup>181</sup>

2. The consistency of the order of entries in the professional lists and administrative texts can highlight semantic or thematic clusters: for instance, as seen above, Lu<sub>2</sub> 9–10, ŠE<sub>a</sub>+NAM<sub>2</sub> and NAM<sub>2</sub> PA<sub>a</sub> RAD<sub>a</sub> are often associated in the Uruk texts related to animals in the same subscript<sup>182</sup> and may therefore have succeeded one another in the Lu<sub>2</sub> list according to their role in the administration.<sup>183</sup> Also striking is the fact that the entries 91–97 are all related to pastoral professions, if one relies upon the later Sumerian meaning of the three “key” terms of the section, UTUL<sub>a</sub>, “herdsman”, SIPA, shepherd, and GURUŠDA<sub>a</sub>, “animal fattener”. Since it has been demonstrated above that UTUL<sub>a</sub> in all probability designated in the archaic texts a profession of herdsman, the meaning of the following signs cannot be questioned in the context of this list, although a more precise study on the SIPA and GURUŠDA professions is required. Therefore the classification of the professions in the Lu<sub>2</sub> list may contain several groups arranged according to the consistency of their occupations, whereby the meaning of these job designations was a central feature of the whole pattern of a lexical text. Note also the succession of three professions “related to prayer and (cultic) music”,<sup>184</sup> Lu<sub>2</sub> 105–107: GAL<sub>a</sub> NAR, GAL<sub>a</sub> BALAG and GAL<sub>a</sub> ŠU<sub>12</sub> (see table 3).

3. Archaic lexical lists may also have featured a flexible organization, mixing different arrangement patterns, such as in the following section:<sup>185</sup>

<sup>177</sup> Cf. Englund 2009.

<sup>178</sup> See also the considerations offered by Johnson 2015: 177–180.

<sup>179</sup> For the arrangement of ABGAL, see Krebernik 2007: 43.

<sup>180</sup> Wilcke 2005: 444.

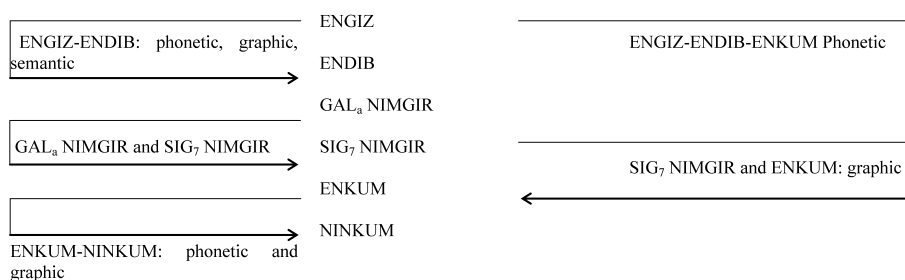
<sup>181</sup> The latter may therefore explain the elusive succession of the long SANGA<sub>a</sub> section – a term likely to be read saĝĝa or umbisaĝ – and the pair of entries consisting of SAG, SAG SUG<sub>5</sub> and UB SAG.

<sup>182</sup> See above, 3.3.3.

<sup>183</sup> This association proves to be more complex than described by Wagensohnner 2010: 291 and 305. If we look further, it even appears that Lu<sub>2</sub> 7–10 might share a common feature with animals, including NAM<sub>2</sub> APIN<sub>a</sub>, an official responsible for “ploughing”, which includes the use of draught animals; see also Green 1980: 10, for the role of this official in husbandry texts from Uruk.

<sup>184</sup> Veldhuis 2014: 35.

<sup>185</sup> Cf. Wagensohnner 2010: 305.



The connections and interrelations between these entries prove to be complex and to combine the three expected patterns, relying upon graphic, phonetic and semantic similarities: ENGIZ and ENDIB share two signs in their logogram (EN<sub>a</sub> and ME<sub>a</sub>), feature similar spellings and are both related to cooking.<sup>186</sup> Both entries present also a graphic similarity with ENKUM, which is to be found two entries later, namely the sign EN<sub>a</sub>, their initial sound. Between ENDIB and ENKUM, there is a gap which can indeed be interpreted as a bridge: the entry SIG<sub>7</sub> NIMGIR shares a sign related to SIG<sub>7</sub> with ENKUM (EN+NUN+ME+EZENš<sub>essig</sub>+SIG<sub>7</sub>),<sup>187</sup> which explains why it was inserted between the pair ENGIZ-ENDIB and ENKUM-NINKUM. The profession GAL<sub>a</sub> NIMGIR is attracted by SIG<sub>7</sub> NIMGIR, so that both form another pair representing the only professions with the sign NIMGIR in the Lu<sub>2</sub> list. It should nonetheless be recalled that the organization of the archaic lists partly relies upon entries clustered in pairs or triads.

When dealing with the professional names mentioned in lexical lists, one has to remember that these are not merely job designations, including social functions, which claim the attention of the scribes but also sign components and phonetic features: lexical lists are first and foremost catalogues made by and for scholars, featuring a classification displaying several patterns. This might explain the position of the NAMEŠDA official in the Lu<sub>2</sub> list, which would stand in the first position following a scholastic logic.<sup>188</sup> However, cross-referencing lexical and administrative evidence is necessary for any attempt at defining the types of professions represented in the lists: as demonstrated here, studies on lexical lists and administrative texts bring reciprocal contributions.

## 7. Concluding Remarks

The archaic lists of professions prove to be important but also ambiguous pieces of evidence for the definition of job categories during the Late Uruk period. Their social significance is not simply a function of the large number of professional designations that they enumerate but must also be gauged by a systematic

<sup>186</sup> Cf. Krebernik 2007: 43; Johnson 2015: 178.

<sup>187</sup> Cf. Green in Englund / Nissen 1993: 199 and 271.

<sup>188</sup> NAMEŠDA may be in the first position on grounds of its sign shape or because it was ascribed a specific value by the scribes in consideration of its meaning or of some other reference, as suggested to me by J. Cale Johnson.

comparison with the contemporary administrative records. Although most of the professions included in those lists only occur in standard documents basically dealing with the distribution of staples, the management of herds and agricultural estates, which do not provide any clue as to their functions, a systematic study enables us to better apprehend their position and their role within the administrative hierarchy. On the other hand, the Lu<sub>2</sub> list probably was neither intended to describe the exact hierarchical order of those administrators<sup>189</sup> nor to provide a precise picture of any office, organization or institution. Its internal structure clearly shows that the classification of the entries first of all relies upon graphical, phonological and thematic connections, making it a tool of self-representation of the upper social categories intended for an intellectual elite of scribes.<sup>190</sup> Interrelations between lists of professions and administrative documents nevertheless remind us that lexical texts were anchored in social practices.

The present paper has attempted to sketch some perspectives on the professional names mentioned in those lists by reconsidering them within their administrative context: by this means, it appears that the use of the terms identifying job categories can be better understood despite the limits of textual information. New and systematic studies on job categories, starting from the professions mentioned in the lexical lists and making use of a systematic method, may therefore offer a sound basis for our understanding of the administrative system of the Late Uruk period. For instance, the role of the KINGAL, if the analysis presented here is correct, may be illustrative of the management of cereal stocks and the circulation of goods. He seems to have been at the head of an office which received significant quantities of barley from the storage facility controlled by KU<sub>a/b</sub> ŠIM<sub>a</sub> and redistributed it to several persons, perhaps depending on him. The variety of contexts in which the NAMEŠDA is known as well as the less significant role he plays in the extant texts also demonstrate that administrators generally held to belong to the top of the hierarchy and appearing at the beginning of the Lu<sub>2</sub> list were involved in daily accounts and were assigned standard rations.

A more systematic and exhaustive attempt at approaching all the professions and officials recorded in the lists is nonetheless still required before any firm conclusion can be drawn as regards their relevance for Late Uruk social organization. So far, it is possible to observe that these lists seem to encompass a variety of professions, since the study achieved here has shown the presence of probably high-ranking administrators, such as the KINGAL, as well as other kinds of officials responsible for agricultural estate, herds, or whose role is more implicit, such as the NAMEŠDA. A second topic to address in future studies is the kind of social levels which are evidenced in those lists: the Lu<sub>2</sub> list in particular seems to reflect several responsible administrators who could have formed a decisional

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<sup>189</sup> This is consistent with the observations of Veldhuis 2014: 160, about the Proto-Lu<sub>2</sub> list from the Old Babylonian period: “Although the king and his close associates thus appear in the opening section, he does not actually head the list and there is no overall hierarchical ordering to the composition”.

<sup>190</sup> Veldhuis 2014: 58 and 425–429.

level and seem to represent a part of the elite.<sup>191</sup> The significance of the administrative titles mentioned in those lists could also be addressed one day: for instance, one could ask what their value was within the society,<sup>192</sup> notably when one considers that seemingly important administrators, such as the EN<sub>c</sub> SAL,<sup>193</sup> who is assigned high quantities of grain and was also involved in the management of vast fields, are not mentioned. Both lists may also not represent the same ranks of administrators and have been conceived as two distinct inventories of professional terms according to distinct purposes, therefore related to different social levels.<sup>194</sup> The Lu<sub>2</sub> and *Officials* lists therefore offer great promise for further study.

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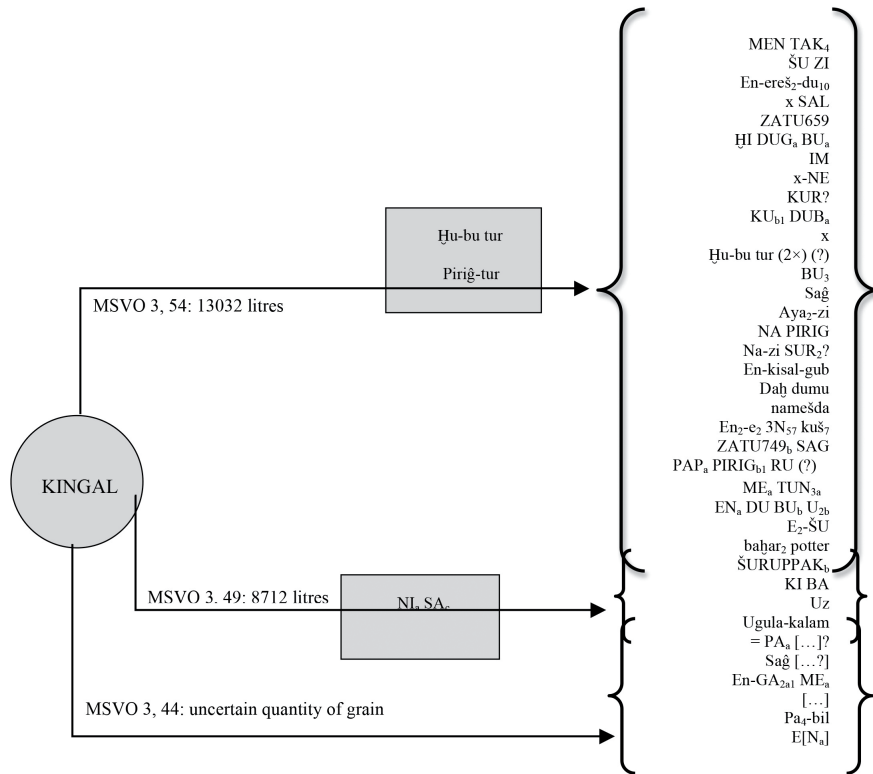
<sup>191</sup> This question would reach beyond our scope, but the considerations offered by Forest 1996: 140–154 can be recalled here: accordingly, a kind of dominant group would appear, “l’élite gère, organise, anime la vie de la communauté”, “[elle] apparaît comme la composante la plus spécialisée du corps social, vraisemblablement la seule à être totalement déchargée des tâches agricoles et à exercer à plein temps une activité spécifique” (Forest 1996: 149).

<sup>192</sup> Cf. Forest 1996: 148: “la définition des statuts (et donc le partage des fonctions et des avantages afférents) se heurte ainsi au souci de transmettre au plus près un patrimoine et des acquis, pour créer une situation susceptible d’aboutir à la formation de dynasties”. This raises the question of the way administrative titles were given, of their symbolic and political significance.

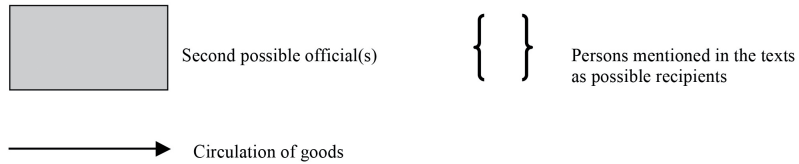
<sup>193</sup> In contrast, as was shown below, the NAMEŠDA and partly his colleagues also mentioned in the Lu<sub>2</sub> and *Officials* lists (SANGA<sub>a</sub> GAL<sub>a</sub> and 𒀭 AN KI NUN<sub>a</sub>), do not seem to be assigned a significant role.

<sup>194</sup> This can notably be inferred from the observations of Johnson 2015.

Graphics and Tables

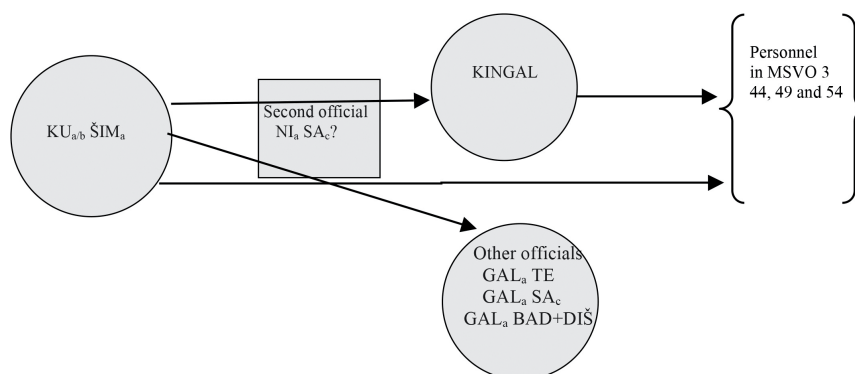


KINGAL as a manager of cereal amounts in MSVO 3, 44, 49 and 54



Graphic 1: KINGAL in MSVO 3, 44,49 and 54.



Graphic 2: Offices and Administrators in *MSVO* 3, 44, 49 and 54.

| Genre of texts                             | Texts                                   | First hypothetical group   | Second hypothetical group  |
|--|---|--|--|
| GU <sub>7</sub> texts, jars and containers | BagM 22, W 24021,10                     | EN <sub>a</sub> KI AN NUN <sub>a</sub> ĤI<br>(= Officials 27)<br>SANGA <sub>a</sub> GAL <sub>a</sub><br>(= Lu <sub>2</sub> 47 - Officials 10)<br>EN <sub>a</sub> ME <sub>a</sub> AN ŠU |  |
|  | IM 134325                               | Second subsection:<br>ĤI AN KI NUN <sub>a</sub><br>(= Officials 27)  | First subsection:<br>E <sub>2a</sub> NUN <sub>a</sub> [...]<br>E <sub>2a</sub> ĤI NUN <sub>a</sub> |
|  | W 20511,2<br>(GA <sub>a</sub> +ZATU753) |  | ĤI E <sub>2a</sub> NUN <sub>a</sub> (and?) DILMUN<br>EN <sub>a</sub> SAG (= Officials 22)          |
| ŠITA <sub>a1</sub> UDU <sub>a</sub>        | IM 73409,2                              |  | EN <sub>a</sub> SAG (= Officials 22)   |
| Clothes and textiles                       | IM 74345                                | SANGA <sub>a</sub> GAL <sub>a</sub><br>(= Lu <sub>2</sub> 47 – Officials 10)<br>EN <sub>a</sub> ME <sub>a</sub> AN ŠU  | EN <sub>a</sub> SAG (= Officials 22)<br>ĤI E <sub>2a</sub> NUN <sub>a</sub>                        |

Table 1: Administrators interacting with the NAMEŠDA.

|   | MSVO 3, 60  | MSVO 3, 61  | MSVO 3, 63   | MSVO 3, 64  | MSVO 3, 85                       |
|---|---|---|--|---|----------------------------------|
| GAL <sub>a</sub> TE<br>= Lu <sub>2</sub> 17 | 2N <sub>34</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub><br>1N <sub>39a</sub><br>= 9100,8 litres | 2N <sub>34</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub><br>1N <sub>39a</sub><br>= 9100,8 litres | 1N <sub>34</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub><br>= 4752 litres<br>ʿ3N <sub>14</sub> <sup>1</sup><br>= 432 litres | 1N <sub>34</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub><br>= 4752 litres                  |                                  |
| KINGAL<br>= Lu <sub>2</sub> 16              | [1N <sub>34</sub> ]<br>= 4320 litres  | 2N <sub>34</sub><br>= 8640 litres   | 7N <sub>14</sub><br>= 1008 litres<br>ʿ5N <sub>14</sub> <sup>1</sup><br>= 720 litres                  | 1N <sub>34</sub> 2N <sub>45</sub> 4N <sub>14</sub><br>= 7200 litres | 6N <sub>14</sub><br>= 864 litres |
| GAL <sub>a</sub> SA <sub>c</sub>            | 1N <sub>34</sub><br>= 4320 litres   |   | 1N <sub>34</sub> 2N <sub>45</sub> 4N <sub>14</sub><br>= 7776 litres                                  |   |                                  |
| EN <sub>c</sub> SAL                         | 2N <sub>45</sub><br>= 2880 litres   | 2N <sub>45</sub><br>= 2880 litres   | 7N <sub>14</sub><br>= 1008 litres<br>5N <sub>1</sub><br>= 72 litres                                  | 7N <sub>14</sub><br>= 1008 litres                                   |                                  |

|  | MSVO 3, 60  | MSVO 3, 61  | MSVO 3, 63  | MSVO 3, 64  | MSVO 3, 85   |
|--|---|---|---|---|--|
| AB <sub>a</sub> TE   | [1N <sub>45</sub> ] 2N <sub>14</sub><br>= 1728 litres<br>2N <sub>14</sub><br>= 288 litres |   |   |   |  |
| KUR <sub>a</sub> TE  | 1N <sub>45</sub> 2N <sub>14</sub><br>= 1728 litres<br>2N <sub>14</sub><br>= 288 litres    | 7N <sub>14</sub><br>= 1008 litres   |   |   |  |
| TE NIR <sub>a</sub>  | 9N <sub>14</sub> 2N <sub>1</sub><br>= 1320 litres   | 1N <sub>45</sub> 2N <sub>14</sub><br>= 1728 litres  |   |   |  |
| ZATU651×<br>EN <sub>a</sub> TE   | 9N <sub>14</sub> = 1296<br>litres   |   |   |   |  |
| GAL <sub>a</sub><br>BAD+DIŠ <sub>a</sub><br>= Lu <sub>2</sub> 12               | 1N <sub>45</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub><br>= 1872 litres  |   |   |   |  |
| GAL <sub>a</sub> SUKKAL<br>= Lu <sub>2</sub> 18                                | 1N <sub>45</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub><br>1N <sub>39a</sub><br>= 1900,8 litres | 1N <sub>45</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub><br>1N <sub>39a</sub><br>= 1900,8 litres |   |   | 2N <sub>1</sub> = 48 litres<br>(GAL <sub>a</sub><br>SU[KKAL?])<br><sup>195</sup> |
| NAM <sub>2</sub> URU <sub>a1</sub><br>= Lu <sub>2</sub> 5<br>= Officials 24    |   | 1N <sub>45</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub><br>= 1900,8 litres                                      |   |   |  |
| ZAG <sub>a</sub> GAL <sub>a</sub><br>BARA <sub>3</sub>                         |   | 6N <sub>14</sub> 3N <sub>1</sub> 3N <sub>39a</sub><br>= 950,4 litres                      |   |   |  |
| = ZAG <sub>a</sub> E <sub>2b</sub> ?   |   |   | 8N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub><br>= 1176 litres |   |  |
| = ZAG <sub>a</sub> BARA <sub>3</sub><br>(= Lu <sub>2</sub> 84)? <sup>196</sup> |   |   |   | 8N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub><br>= 1176 litres |  |
| IŠ <sub>b</sub> GAL <sub>a</sub>   |   |   |   |   | 1N <sub>14</sub> 3N <sub>1</sub><br>= 216 litres                                 |
| ‘X’  |   | 1N <sub>45</sub> 2N <sub>14</sub><br>= 1728 litres  |   |   |  |

Table 2: Amounts of grain associated with officials in *MSVO 3*.

| Professions related to herds and cattle                                 | Prayer and music                                       |
|---|--|
| Lu <sub>2</sub> 91. GAL <sub>a</sub> UTUL <sub>a</sub>                  | Lu <sub>2</sub> 105. GAL <sub>a</sub> NAR              |
| Lu <sub>2</sub> 92. EN <sub>a</sub> ×NUN <sub>a</sub> UTUL <sub>a</sub> | Lu <sub>2</sub> 106. GAL <sub>a</sub> BALAG            |
| Lu <sub>2</sub> 93. TAR <sub>a</sub> UTUL <sub>a</sub>                  | Lu <sub>2</sub> 107. GAL <sub>a</sub> ŠU <sub>12</sub> |
| Lu <sub>2</sub> 94. ZATU647? [...]                                      |  |
| Lu <sub>2</sub> 95. GAL <sub>a</sub> SIPA X X                           |  |
| Lu <sub>2</sub> 96. GAL <sub>a</sub> GURUŠDA <sub>a</sub>               |  |
| Lu <sub>2</sub> 97. SANGA <sub>a</sub> GURUŠDA                          |  |

Table 3: Some professions which can be understood according to their position in the Lu<sub>2</sub> list.

<sup>195</sup> The reconstruction of the official title is of course hypothetical.

<sup>196</sup> The identical amount proves that ZAG<sub>a</sub> BARA<sub>3</sub> and ZAG<sub>a</sub> E<sub>2b</sub> are probably the same, cf. Englund / Damerow forthcoming.

## Appendix

Professional terms from the Lu<sub>2</sub> and *Officials* list mentioned in the administrative records

| Texts from Uruk               | Bibliographical references   | Nature of the text  | Role / attestation of the NAMEŠDA   | Mention of other administrators and persons  |
|-------------------------------|--|---|---|--|
| ATU 5, W 9168.a               | ATU 1: 582<br>ATU 5: pp. 39, 76, Plate 38<br>Charvát 2012: 265                               | Unclear, list with equivalences   | O0105a. 1N <sub>14</sub> NAMEŠDA KISAL <sub>61</sub><br>O0105b. 1N <sub>1</sub><br>Similar amount to the other persons  | 2N <sub>1</sub> SĀGAN / 1N <sub>1</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub><br>1N <sub>14</sub> EN, NUN, ERIM/ 1N <sub>1</sub> (compare with Officials 14)<br>1N <sub>14</sub> GEŠTU <sub>1</sub> TE / 1N <sub>1</sub><br>1N <sub>14</sub> AB, 5N <sub>17</sub> GURUŠ <sub>1</sub> / [...]<br>2N <sub>14</sub> UMUN <sub>2</sub> KUŠ <sub>17</sub> / 1N <sub>1</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub> (cf. Lu <sub>2</sub> 32-33)<br>etc.             |
| ATU 5, W 9656.jb1<br>Uruk IV  | ATU 1: 533<br>ATU 5: pp. 54, 104, Plate 113<br>Charvát 2012: 265                             | Dairy product KAŠ <sub>1</sub>  | O0101. 1N <sub>14</sub> 2N <sub>1</sub> NA[MEŠDA]   | 5N <sub>1</sub> MUŠ <sub>3a</sub><br>(+)1N <sub>1</sub> [...]  |
| ATU 6, W 11985.d              | ATU 6: pp. 17, 36-37, Plate 16<br>Charvát 2012: 265  | Unclear   | O0102. '1N <sub>1</sub> ' NAMEŠDA TE  | 1N <sub>1</sub> NIR <sub>17</sub> AN. Context too fragmentary  |
| ATU 6, W 15897.e8             | ATU 6: 28, 66, Plate 81<br>Charvát 2012: 265<br>Veldhuis 2014: 36                            | Rations GU <sub>1</sub> , probably jars   | O0103. 2N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA  | All administrators are also assigned 2N <sub>1</sub> : ENGI <sub>2</sub> (two times, Lu <sub>2</sub> 63), NAM <sub>2</sub> DI (Lu <sub>2</sub> 3). See 2.2.  |
| ATU 7, W 19948.72             | ATU 7: pp. 20, 42, Plate 30  | Fragment  | O0201. 1N <sub>1</sub> 'NAMEŠDA'  |  |
| ATU 7, W 20274.37             | ATU 2: Plate 30<br>ATU 7: pp. 21, 46, Plate 43<br>Damerow/Englund/Nissen 1990: 176 (131-132) | Distribution of vessels, ration GU <sub>1</sub>   | O0101. 2N <sub>1</sub> DUG <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA ĤI BIR <sub>14</sub> TE   | Other administrators and persons occurring also receive 1 or 2 pots: UMUN <sub>2</sub> DUGUD; SANGA <sub>1</sub> ZATU753; EN <sub>1</sub> NANNA, AN. See 2.2.  |
| ATU 7, W 20274.39             | ATU 7: pp. 21, 47, Plate 44<br>Englund 1998: 166-167   | Distribution of vessels for dairy fat, ration GU <sub>1</sub><br>Last case:<br>1N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>14</sub> 5N <sub>1</sub> DUG <sub>1</sub> GU <sub>1</sub> GI+GI ZATU648<br>Large fragmentary tablet   | O0502a. 1N <sub>1</sub> x x MUD NUN <sub>1</sub><br>O0502b1. '5N <sub>17</sub> ' NAMEŠDA'<br>O0502b2. 1N <sub>1</sub> GA <sub>1</sub> +ZATU758 MIR <sub>1</sub> '   | Presence of other persons and administrators, like SANGA <sub>1</sub> GA <sub>1</sub> SI U <sub>1</sub> AB <sub>1</sub> EN, AB <sub>1</sub> ZATU686, MUD NUN <sub>1</sub> (?) etc.   |
| ATU 7, W 20274.61             | ATU 7: pp. 22, 48, Plate 47<br>Green 1980: 24  | Animals   | O0103. NAMEŠDA ŠURUPPAK <sub>1</sub> x 'E <sub>23</sub> ' PA <sub>1</sub> ' NAM <sub>2</sub> RAD, ŠE <sub>1</sub> +NAM <sub>2</sub>   | see 4.1.2.   |
| ATU 7, W 20274.94             | ATU 7: pp. 22, 49, Plate 50  | Clothes and textiles  | O0201. 1N <sub>1</sub> BA TUG <sub>21</sub> NAMEŠDA E <sub>2a</sub>   | 1N <sub>1</sub> TUG <sub>21</sub> EN, LA <sub>2</sub> SUG <sub>1</sub> ,<br>1N <sub>1</sub> KUR <sub>1</sub> +E <sub>2b</sub> ,<br>1N <sub>1</sub> KUR <sub>1</sub> +E <sub>2b</sub> ,<br>Maybe another administrator<br>See 2.3.  |
| BagM 22, W 24021.10           |  | Rations GU <sub>1</sub> distributed as vessels,   | O0103. 2N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA  | Each person seems to receive the same amount of 2 pots, SANGA <sub>1</sub> GAL <sub>1a</sub> EN <sub>1</sub> ME <sub>1</sub> AN ŠU, EN, KI AN NUN <sub>1</sub> ĤI (cf. Officials 27)<br>See 2.1.   |
| BagM 22, W 24214.3            |  | Distribution of GAN-like vessels, probably at the occasion of GIBIL NUN <sub>1</sub>  | The NAMEŠDA stands as the main official: 3N <sub>17</sub> +SAL E <sub>23</sub> NAMEŠDA x  | Amount of vessels ranging from +2N <sub>1</sub> (?) to 2N <sub>1</sub> . See 2.4.  |
| IM 73409.2 = P004499          | Johnson 2015: 186-192  | Piece of meat (ŠITA <sub>14</sub> UDU <sub>1</sub> ) and fish (ŠITA <sub>14</sub> SUĤUR)<br>"Subordinate staff list"  | O0209. 1N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA  | Several titles: SUKKAL GADA <sub>1</sub> (Lu <sub>2</sub> 19), KINGAL (Lu <sub>2</sub> 16), EN <sub>1</sub> UKKIN, EN <sub>1</sub> AMAR (Officials 17), x ŠU UKKIN (cf. Lu <sub>2</sub> 104), EN, AN RU (Officials 21).<br>Context too fragmentary   |
| IM 74209 = P004077<br>Uruk IV |  | Fragment  | O0201. 1N <sub>14</sub> [...] KI AN SI NA <sub>1</sub><br>O0202. NAMEŠDA  |  |
| IM 74345 = P004430            | UVB 24   | Unclear, wool and textile (DARA <sub>10</sub> and ZATU749 <sub>1</sub> ).   | O0103a. 1N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub> U <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA<br>O0103b. 9N <sub>1</sub> [...]  | Most of the persons and administrators mentioned are associated with a higher amount. Presence of EN, ME, AN ŠU and GAL <sub>1a</sub> SANGA <sub>1</sub> .<br>See 2.3.   |
| IM 133717 = P003337           |  | Fragment  | R0101. [...] NAMEŠDA  |  |
| IM 133839 = P003367           |  | Fragment, mention of 2N <sub>14</sub> [...] GUG <sub>1</sub> GUG <sub>2</sub>   | O0102. [...] 'NAMEŠDA'  |  |
| IM 134288 = P003573           |  | Fragment, jars?<br>Mention of GIBIL NUN <sub>1</sub> , a cultic event?  | O0105a. 2N <sub>14</sub> BIR <sub>14</sub> TE ĤI PA <sub>1</sub> '<br>GIBIL SU <sub>1</sub> NUN <sub>1</sub><br>O0105b1. NAMEŠDA LAGAB <sub>1</sub><br>O0105b2. LAGAB <sub>1</sub> SANGA <sub>1</sub> GAL <sub>1a</sub> |  |
| IM 134325 = P003655           | ATU 2: Plate 34<br>Green 1981: 354   | Ration GU <sub>1</sub> , unclear<br>GU <sub>1</sub> GA <sub>1</sub> +ZATU753<br><br>List of possible cultic events:<br>ŠU TAK <sub>10</sub> U <sub>1</sub> EZEN <sub>1</sub> AN MUŠ <sub>3a</sub><br>X GA <sub>1</sub> EZEN <sub>1</sub> PAP <sub>1</sub> [...]<br>NAGAR <sub>1</sub> EN <sub>1</sub> URI <sub>1a</sub> | O0902b2. 1N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA<br>O0903b3. 1N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA<br>Each time these cases follow the mention of an unpreserved object   | Presence of other possible administrators, SUKKAL ID <sub>1</sub> (amount associated not preserved), 3N <sub>17</sub> PRIG <sub>11</sub> SANGA <sub>1</sub> (1N <sub>1</sub> ), etc.<br>Note the presence in the first sub-column mentioning NAMEŠDA of ĤI AN KI NUN <sub>1</sub> (probably the same as in BagM 22, 24021.10) and in the second one of ĤI E <sub>23</sub> NUN <sub>1</sub> attested in IM 74345. |
| IM 134400 = P003779           |  | Fragment  | O0101. 1N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA  | 1N <sub>1</sub> EN <sub>1</sub> ŠE <sub>1</sub> +NAM <sub>2</sub>  |
| IM 134770 = P004300           |  | Fragment  | O0101. [...] NAMEŠDA ŠITA <sub>14</sub>   | GAA SANGA <sub>1</sub>   |
| W 20274.43 = P003541          |  | Textiles  | O0107a. 1N <sub>1</sub> [...] BA TUG <sub>21</sub> UR <sub>1</sub> '<br>O0107b. NAMEŠDA E <sub>23</sub>   | Other persons and administrators: EN <sub>1</sub> GURUŠDA (amount not preserved), EN <sub>1</sub> AB, DUG <sub>1</sub> (1N <sub>1</sub> SIG <sub>2</sub> x HAL and 1N <sub>1</sub> SIG <sub>2</sub> ), GEŠTU <sub>1</sub> ŠITA <sub>14</sub> ZATU696 (?) (1N <sub>1</sub> BA TUG <sub>2</sub> ), ENKUM (?) GUL (1N <sub>1</sub> TUG <sub>2a</sub> ).   |

|                        |  |   |   |  |
|------------------------|--|---|---|--|
| W 20511,2<br>= P003808 |  | Account of vessels and containers<br>1N <sub>34</sub> 5N <sub>14</sub> 6N <sub>1</sub> [...] X NA <sub>1</sub><br>[GU <sub>1</sub> ] GA <sub>1</sub> +ZATU753 [...] | O0602b1.B3. 1N <sub>27</sub> NAMEŠDA<br>= one of the six names following 6N <sub>1</sub> ,<br>SILA <sub>34</sub> +GARA <sub>24</sub> = 1 container with<br>dairy fat <sup>1</sup>       | Several personal names and<br>administrators.<br>NAMEŠDA is associated in the subsection<br>where he is mentioned with five other<br>persons, notably HI E <sub>20</sub> , DILMUN NUN,<br>and EN, SAG, see 2.3.<br>1N <sub>1</sub> SAL AMA <sub>2</sub> ; 4N <sub>1</sub> MEN <sub>6</sub> NUNUZ <sub>2</sub><br>DU; 1N <sub>1</sub> PAP <sub>6</sub> GA <sub>24</sub> 1B <sub>3</sub><br>3N <sub>57</sub> EN <sub>6</sub> BAD AB <sub>6</sub> gum <sub>1</sub> and 1N <sub>57</sub> PAP,<br>SIG <sub>7</sub> NUN, GUL in one section related to<br>DU <sub>6</sub> .<br>1N <sub>1</sub> ŠAKIR, ZATU752 BA E <sub>20</sub> GIBIL<br>NUN / GEŠTU <sub>10</sub> ŠITA <sub>31</sub> ZATU686;<br>1N <sub>1</sub> SANGA, GA, AB / 1N <sub>1</sub> GAL <sub>4</sub><br>ZATU687 AB / 1N <sub>1</sub> GAL, ARARMA <sub>24</sub><br>1N <sub>1</sub> KAŠ <sub>2</sub> URI, AN MUŠ <sub>14</sub> / MUD NUN, |
| W 20511,3<br>= P003809 |  | Mixed account: vessels and textiles<br>Fragmentary<br>Two main clauses:<br>SUG, SAG<br>AB, E <sub>20</sub> SANGA <sub>1</sub>                                       | O0206a. [...] *PIRIG <sub>6</sub> NAMEŠDA<br>O0206b1. 6N <sub>1</sub> [...]<br>O0206b2. 1N <sub>1</sub> 1N <sub>57</sub> SAL BAR<br>O0206b3. 1N <sub>1</sub> TUG <sub>22</sub> +BAD.BAD | Several other personal names and<br>administrators:<br>U, NUN, E <sub>20</sub> (?): 3N <sub>1</sub> KISIM 1N <sub>1</sub> BU <sub>4</sub> /<br>1N <sub>1</sub> 1N <sub>57</sub> SAL BAR / 1N <sub>14</sub> MAŠ SE <sub>3</sub><br>2N <sub>1</sub> GIR <sub>10</sub> EN, PA / 1N <sub>14</sub> 9N <sub>1</sub> ZATU749 <sub>6</sub> /<br>2N <sub>1</sub> TUG <sub>22</sub> BUR <sub>2</sub><br>GAL <sub>3</sub> SANGA <sub>1</sub>  |

| Texts published in MSVO 3 – Uruk? |   |   |   |   |
|-----------------------------------|---|---|---|---|
| MSVO 3, 8                         | Damerow/Englund/Nissen<br>1990: 15 and 203                      | Account of grain (System S <sup>2</sup> for<br>malt in beer brewing) and beer   | O0103. 4N <sub>1</sub> 1N <sub>10</sub> / *SIL <sub>17</sub> NAMEŠDA<br>SAR <sub>1</sub> (101 litres) | See 2.4.  |
| MSVO 3,<br>16                     | ZA 53, 3 number 5<br>Damerow/Englund/Nissen<br>1990: 19 and 204 | Account of grain (System S <sup>2</sup> for<br>malt in beer brewing)<br>Organization unclear  | NAMEŠDA and SE <sub>7</sub> +NAM <sub>2</sub> together<br>without numeral (O0102a1)                   | 2N <sub>1</sub> 2N <sub>40</sub> 1N <sub>24</sub> SAL HI KA <sub>1</sub> (= 52,8 litres)<br>3N <sub>1</sub> NINDA <sub>2</sub> +y MUD *3N <sub>57</sub> +TE <sup>1</sup> (= 72<br>litres)   |
| MSVO 3,<br>19                     | Damerow/Englund/Nissen<br>1990: 20 and 204                      | Account of grain, ration GU <sub>7</sub> ;<br>Total 3N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub> 1N <sub>39a</sub> ŠE <sub>4</sub> [...] =<br>4348,8 litres<br>Main official not preserved<br>Fragmentary | O0103. *5N <sub>14</sub> NAMEŠDA TUR<br>MUŠEN BU <sub>4</sub> TUR <sup>2</sup> (720 litres)           | Other personal names and administrators,<br>lower amounts:<br>2N <sub>14</sub> [...]<br>[...] 2N <sub>1</sub> 2N <sub>39a</sub> UŠ, 1N <sub>57</sub> +ŠUBUR (=+57,6<br>litres)<br>[...] 3N <sub>14</sub> [...]<br>4N <sub>14</sub> 2N <sub>1</sub> *LAM <sub>6</sub> X (= 624 litres)<br>1N <sub>14</sub> HAL ME <sub>2</sub> SUKKAL (= 144 litres)<br>1N <sub>14</sub> PAP, BAHAR <sub>30</sub> (= 144 litres) |
| MSVO 3,<br>46                     | Damerow/Englund/Nissen<br>1990: 28 and 206                      | Fragment. Barley, GU <sub>7</sub>   | O0101. [...] 1N <sub>14</sub> [...] NAMEŠDA   |   |
| MSVO 3,<br>54                     | Damerow/Englund/Nissen<br>1990: 30, 206-207                     | Account of grain. Main official:<br>KINGAL  | 3N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA (72 litres)   | See 3.2.  |
| MSVO 3,<br>56                     | Damerow/Englund/Nissen<br>1990: 31 and 207                      | Fragment with only one entry  | O0101. 3N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA  |   |

| Texts of uncertain provenience   | Nature of the text  | Role / attestation of the NAMEŠDA   | Mention of other administrators and persons  |
|--|---|---|--|
| CUSAS 1, 20<br>(Uruk?)   | Unclear, System S (personnel?)  | O0102. [...] NAMEŠDA *NAGAR <sub>6</sub> <sup>1</sup><br>O0301. 1N <sub>1</sub> EN, NAMEŠDA   | Presence of other administrators: 5N <sub>14</sub> EN <sub>6</sub> UNUG <sub>6</sub> , 2N <sub>1</sub><br>E <sub>20</sub> , KASKAL etc.  |
| CUSAS 1, 61  | Nanny goats   | 1N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA AN  | Presence of other persons also preceded by the numeral<br>1N <sub>1</sub> (RU, TUR BU <sub>2</sub> , UB ZI <sub>1</sub> )  |
| CUSAS 1, 124   | Account of grain. Fragmentary   | 4N <sub>14</sub> AN NAMEŠDA / +5N <sub>19</sub>   | Fragment with only one other preserved name: EN, NE <sub>4</sub><br>(1N <sub>14</sub> )  |
| CUSAS 1, 158   | Account of grain, ration GU <sub>7</sub> ; with time<br>notations (provision for three days)  | O0202. 5N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA ŠITA <sub>31</sub><br>O0302. 5N <sub>1</sub> 1N <sub>39a</sub> ŠITA <sub>31</sub> NAMEŠDA <sup>3</sup><br>Respectively 120 and 124,8 litres, an<br>average quantity                        | Presence of several personal names or administrators:<br>1N <sub>42a</sub> , 1N <sub>22</sub> ; EN <sub>2</sub> E <sub>20</sub> MU (7,2 litres)<br>5N <sub>14</sub> SAL ĦAL (720 litres)   |
| CUSAS 1, 162   | Account of grain. Fragment  | O0202. 2N <sub>14</sub> 5N <sub>1</sub> ŠITA <sub>31</sub> NAMEŠDA X<br>(408 litres)  | Other possible personal names with lower amounts of<br>grain<br>2N <sub>14</sub> TUR ĦAL SAL<br>2N <sub>1</sub> U <sub>2</sub> DU <sub>10</sub><br>3N <sub>1</sub> U, SAL ĦAL<br>2N <sub>1</sub> EN, TU, GIŠ+ŠU <sub>2</sub>   |
| CUSAS 1, 166   | Account of grain. Fragment  | O0101. 3N <sub>14</sub> 4N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA AN (528<br>litres)  | No other name preserved, another case with 1N <sub>48</sub> 1N <sub>14</sub><br>2N <sub>1</sub>  |
| CUSAS 21<br>CUSAS 21, 192<br>CUSAS 21, 196<br>CUSAS 21, 288<br>CUSAS 21, 295 | NAMEŠDA with other sign clusters (probably all personal names of individuals) in the “archive of small tablets”; school texts. <sup>4</sup> | 1N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA E <sub>20</sub><br>1N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA AL<br>1N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA MUŠEN TUR NUN <sub>1</sub><br>1N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA E <sub>20</sub> 1B <sub>3</sub> , ZI <sub>1</sub> PAP <sub>6</sub> |  |
| CUSAS 31, 41   | Asses? Sum with the sign KIŠ (ZATU<br>197, maybe for this animal) <sup>5</sup> ŠU, total: 54,<br>responsible SANGA <sub>1</sub> .           | O0206. 2N <sub>1</sub> NAMEŠDA TAK <sub>14</sub> A<br>O0207. 2N <sub>1</sub> KI <sup>1</sup> NAMEŠDA  | Other possible names are mentioned (UR <sub>4</sub> ADAB).<br>Number of asses assigned to people ranges from 9N <sub>1</sub> to<br>1N <sub>1</sub> .   |
| CUSAS 31, 43   | Idem, final case concluding as 8N <sub>14</sub> 1N <sub>14</sub><br>1N <sub>1</sub> BA KIŠ [...]. Two kinds of KIŠ, ŠU<br>and BA.           | O0301. 1N <sub>14</sub> NAMEŠDA RU (60)<br>Asses of BA type.<br>One of the three highest amounts.   | Other administrators associated with a wide range of<br>amount: EN, AMAR (Officials 17, 1N <sub>14</sub> ), AN ŠU <sub>2</sub> +EN <sub>2</sub><br>(Officials 18, 3N <sub>1</sub> ), NAM <sub>2</sub> KAB (Officials 19, 1N <sub>14</sub> 2N <sub>1</sub> ),<br>SANGA, KIŠ BA (1N <sub>14</sub> ) etc. |

<sup>1</sup> Englund 1998: 165.

<sup>2</sup> This name is strikingly identical to one of the personal names corresponding to slaves detected by Englund 2009.

<sup>3</sup> Since the sign ŠITA<sub>31</sub> features only the NAMEŠDA, it may have been welded as soon as the Uruk period to this official, instead of referring to a vessel, cf. Johnson 2015: 196-200.

<sup>4</sup> See Monaco 2007: 6-8.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Monaco 2007: 10 interprets twelve tablets (CUSAS 1 29-40) referring to the term KIŠ as “account of asses”.

## KINGAL

| Texts from Uruk                   | Bibliographical references  | Nature of the text   | Role / attestation of the KINGAL  | Mention of other administrators and persons  |
|-----------------------------------|---|--|---|--|
| ATU 5, W 9168.d                   | ATU 1: 584<br>ATU 5: pp. 39, 76, Plate 39   | Fragment   | O0103. [...] x KINGAL   |  |
| ATU 5, W 9655.aq<br>Uruk IV       | ATU 1: 387<br>ATU 5: pp. 49, 92-93, Plate 84  | Cereals and animals?   | IN <sub>7</sub> KINGAL  | Fragmentary tablet, unclear  |
| IM 73409.2 = P004499              | Johnson 2015: 186-192   | Piece of meat (ŠITA <sub>21</sub> UDU <sub>2</sub> ) and fish (ŠITA <sub>21</sub> SUHUR)<br>"Subordinate staff list" | [...] KINGAL/GAL <sub>2</sub> UKKIN   | Several titles: SUKKAL GADA <sub>2</sub> (Lu <sub>2</sub> 19), NAMEŠDA (Lu <sub>2</sub> 1), EN <sub>2</sub> UKKIN, EN <sub>2</sub> AMAR (Officials 17), x ŠU UKKIN (cf. Lu <sub>2</sub> 104), EN <sub>2</sub> AN RU (Officials 21). See Johnson 2015.  |
| IM 81243 = P004359<br>Uruk IV     | ATU 2: Plate 1  | Unclear  | 2N <sub>1</sub> KINGAL  |  |
| IM 133677 = P003373               |   | Fragment, unclear  | R0101. [...] x KINGAL   | IN <sub>1</sub> MUD NUN <sub>2</sub> PAP <sub>2</sub>  |
| W 21662.2 = P004431               | UVB 24  | Product GA <sub>2</sub> +ZATU753 and SAG (personnel?). System S.   | O0101. 4N <sub>18</sub> 2N <sub>34</sub> 3N <sub>14</sub> KINGAL SANGA <sub>2</sub>   | Other officials associated with lower amounts:<br>2N <sub>14</sub> 9N <sub>1</sub> BAHAR <sub>2</sub> ZATU629 UMUN <sub>2</sub> ,<br>1N <sub>14</sub> EN <sub>2</sub> SAG TE   |
| Texts published in MSVO 3 – Uruk? |   |  |   |  |
| MSVO 3, 44                        | Damerow/Englund/Nissen 1990: 28 and 206   | Account of grain   | KINGAL mentioned at the end of the tablet, probably as the main official  | 2N <sub>19</sub> EN <sub>2</sub> GA <sub>201</sub> ME <sub>2</sub> and other administrators<br>see 3.2.  |
| MSVO 3, 49                        | Damerow/Englund/Nissen 1990: 29 and 206   | Account of grain   | KINGAL mentioned at the end of the tablet   | Second official: NI <sub>2</sub> SA <sub>2</sub><br>See 3.2.   |
| MSVO 3, 54                        | Damerow/Englund/Nissen 1990: 30 and 206-207   | Account of grain   | KINGAL mentioned at the end of the tablet as main official.   | Several administrators and personal names.<br>See 3.2.   |
| MSVO 3, 55                        | Damerow/Englund/Nissen 1990:31 and 207<br>Englund 2014: 340 = CTMMA 181                         | Account of grain<br>Main administrator: KU <sub>12</sub> ŠIM <sub>2</sub>  | 1N <sub>14</sub> 4N <sub>1</sub> 1N <sub>28</sub> (241 litres of barley groat) and 4N <sub>2</sub> 1N <sub>40</sub> (76.8 litres of malt) | Another line with a lower amount of grain, AN U <sub>1</sub> SIG MUŠ <sub>2</sub> NAGAR <sub>2</sub> EZEN <sub>2</sub> (an official or an event?).   |
| MSVO 3, 60                        | Bourguignon 2012: 251<br>Damerow/Englund/Nissen 1990: 32, 157 and 207<br>Englund 1998: 108      | Account of grain<br>Main administrators: KU <sub>16</sub> ŠIM <sub>2</sub> and NI <sub>2</sub> SA <sub>2</sub>       | [1N <sub>34</sub> ] KINGAL (= 4320 litres)  | Other administrators with higher or lower amounts: GAL <sub>2</sub> TE (= tin), GAL <sub>2</sub> SA <sub>2</sub> , EN <sub>2</sub> SAL <sub>2</sub> AB <sub>2</sub> TE, KUR <sub>2</sub> TE, TE NIR <sub>2</sub> , GAL <sub>2</sub> SUKKAL.<br>See 3.2. for the amount of each person                  |
| MSVO 3, 61                        | Bourguignon 2012: 251<br>Damerow/Englund/Nissen 1990: 33, 157 and 207<br>Englund 1998: 108      | Account of grain<br>Main persons responsible KU <sub>12</sub> ŠIM <sub>2</sub> and NI <sub>2</sub> SA <sub>2</sub>   | 2N <sub>34</sub> KINGAL (8640 litres)   | Administrators with lower or higher amounts: GAL <sub>2</sub> TE, SAL <sub>2</sub> EN <sub>2</sub> , NAM <sub>2</sub> URU <sub>11</sub> , GAL <sub>2</sub> SUKKAL and so on.<br>See 3.2. for the amount of each person   |
| MSVO 3, 63                        | Damerow/Englund/Nissen 1990: 34 and 207   | Account of grain<br>Main persons responsible KU <sub>12</sub> ŠIM <sub>2</sub> and NI <sub>2</sub> SA <sub>2</sub>   | 7N <sub>14</sub> KINGAL and 5N <sub>14</sub> KINGAL (respectively 1008 and 720 litres)  | Other administrators; superior amounts allocated to: GAL <sub>2</sub> TE, GAL <sub>2</sub> SA <sub>2</sub> , SAL <sub>2</sub> EN <sub>2</sub> , ZAG <sub>2</sub> E <sub>20</sub> ; lower amount to: GAL <sub>2</sub> TE, GAL <sub>2</sub> SA <sub>2</sub> .<br>See 3.2. for the amount of each person. |
| MSVO 3, 64                        | Bourguignon 2012: 250<br>Damerow/Englund/Nissen 1990: 35 and 207<br>Englund 1998: 108, 184, 186 | Account of grain<br>Main persons responsible KU <sub>12</sub> ŠIM <sub>2</sub> and NI <sub>2</sub> SA <sub>2</sub>   | 1N <sub>34</sub> 2N <sub>18</sub> 4N <sub>14</sub> KINGAL (7776 litres)   | Lower amounts allocated to other administrators: ZAG <sub>2</sub> BARA <sub>2</sub> , EN <sub>2</sub> SAL <sub>2</sub> , GAL <sub>2</sub> TE.<br>See 3.2. for the amount of each person  |
| MSVO 3, 85                        | Bourguignon 2012: 250<br>MVN 10, 81   | Account of grain<br>Main person responsible KU <sub>12</sub> ŠIM <sub>2</sub>  | 6N <sub>14</sub> (864 litres)   | Other administrator receiving lower amounts of grain, KU <sub>12</sub> ŠIM <sub>2</sub> x GAL <sub>2</sub> , SA <sub>2</sub> NI <sub>2</sub> , Š <sub>2</sub> GAL <sub>2</sub> .   |

| NAM <sub>2</sub> DI                                      |  |  |   |   |
|--|--|--|---|---|
| Texts from Uruk  | Bibliographical references   | Nature of the text   | Role / attestation of the NAM <sub>2</sub> DI   | Mention of other administrators and persons   |
| Texts from Uruk  |  |  |   |   |
| ATU 5, W 9335.b<br>Uruk IV                               | ATU 1: 15<br>ATU 5: pp. 43, 82, Plate 53<br>BagM 21: 100   | Small tablet, goats  | 2N <sub>1</sub> MAŠ SAL NAM <sub>2</sub> DI GURUŠDA UNUG <sub>2</sub>   |   |
| ATU 5, W 9656.be<br>Uruk IV                              | ATU 1: 409<br>ATU 5: pp. 50, 96, Plate 92  | Fragment   | 00101. [...] 3N <sub>1</sub> NAM <sub>2</sub> DI GI <sub>16</sub> <sup>6</sup>  |   |
| ATU 6, W15897.c8   | ATU 6: pp. 28, 66, Plate 81<br>Charvát 2012: 265<br>Veldhuis 2014: 36  | Rations GU <sub>7</sub>  | 00103. 2N <sub>1</sub> NAM <sub>2</sub> DI  | All administrators are also allocated to a quantity of 2N <sub>1</sub> : ENGLZ (two times, Lu <sub>2</sub> 63), NAMESDA. See 2.2.   |
| IM 45988<br>= P002715                                    |  | Unclear, fragment  | 00204a. 5N <sub>1</sub> NAM <sub>2</sub> DI [...]   | The other administrators and persons are allocated a lower amount, generally 1N <sub>1</sub> : E <sub>2</sub> , SANGA <sub>2</sub> , SAR, SUBUR 3N <sub>1</sub> EN <sub>1</sub> IB <sub>2</sub> (Lu <sub>2</sub> 13).   |
| IM 46009<br>= P002819                                    |  | Unclear, fragment  | 00202b2. 1N <sub>1</sub> NAM <sub>2</sub> DI x  |   |
| IM 134966<br>= P004501                                   |  | Account of UDU <sub>1</sub> ŠITA <sub>11</sub> (pieces of meat and dried fish). Subordinate staff list? <sup>6</sup> | 00101a. 4N <sub>1</sub> NAM <sub>2</sub> DI UDU <sub>1</sub> ŠITA <sub>11</sub><br>00101b. 5N <sub>1</sub> ŠITA <sub>11</sub> SUHUR | Amount of UDU <sub>1</sub> ŠITA <sub>11</sub> from 1 to 5: 4N <sub>1</sub> NAM <sub>2</sub> PA <sub>2</sub> A + 5N <sub>1</sub> ŠITA <sub>11</sub> (cf. Lu <sub>2</sub> 10)<br>1N <sub>1</sub> ABGAL + 4N <sub>1</sub> ŠITA <sub>11</sub><br>1N <sub>1</sub> KALAM, PA <sub>2</sub> + 1N <sub>1</sub> ŠITA <sub>11</sub>  |
| W 17729.i<br>= P002635                                   |  | Fragment   | 00101. [...] 'GU <sub>7</sub> ' NAM <sub>2</sub> DI GIBIL   |   |
| Texts from Jemdet Nasr                                   |  |  |   |   |
| MSVO 1, 1  | Englund 1998: 211-213<br>Friberg 1997/1998: 28-29<br>Steinkeller 1997-1998: 13   | Account of fields  | 73 bur <sub>3</sub> 1 cše <sub>3</sub> 3 iku (476,28 ha) <sup>7</sup><br>assigned in total to the NAM <sub>2</sub> DI               | Smaller areas associated with other officials:<br>GAL <sub>2</sub> ŠAB <sub>1</sub> (Lu <sub>2</sub> 25): 73 bur <sub>3</sub> 4 iku (474,36 ha)<br>PA <sub>2</sub> GIR <sub>2</sub> gum <sub>1</sub> (cf. Lu <sub>2</sub> 26b): 66 bur <sub>3</sub> 1 cše <sub>3</sub> 3 iku (431,28 ha)<br>EN <sub>2</sub> SAL: 64 bur <sub>3</sub> 2 iku<br>ME <sub>2</sub> NI <sub>1</sub> +RU <sub>2</sub> : 56 bur <sub>3</sub> 2 cše <sub>3</sub> 3 iku |
| MSVO 1, 2  | Damerow/Englund/Nissen 1990: 96-99 (55-57)<br>Englund 1998: 206-209<br>Friberg 1997/1998: 19-21<br>Liverani 1996: 11-13<br>Steinkeller 1997-1998: 13 | Account of fields  | 15 bur <sub>3</sub> of field  | Areas associated with other officials:<br>GAL <sub>2</sub> ŠAB <sub>1</sub> (Lu <sub>2</sub> 25): 16 bur <sub>3</sub> 2 iku<br>PA <sub>2</sub> GIR <sub>2</sub> gum <sub>1</sub> (cf. Lu <sub>2</sub> 26b): 15 bur <sub>3</sub> 1 cše <sub>3</sub> 4 iku<br>ME <sub>2</sub> : 10 bur <sub>3</sub><br>EN <sub>2</sub> SAL: 18 bur <sub>3</sub> 1 iku   |
| MSVO 1, 3  | Damerow/Englund/Nissen 1990: 96-99 (55-57)<br>Friberg 1997/1998: 25, Table 5.4<br>Liverani 1996: 11-13<br>Steinkeller 1997-1998: 13                  | Account of fields  | 3 bur <sub>3</sub> 2 cše <sub>3</sub> (?)   | EN <sub>2</sub> SAL: 5 bur <sub>3</sub> 2 cše <sub>3</sub><br>PA <sub>2</sub> GIR <sub>2</sub> gum <sub>1</sub> (cf. Lu <sub>2</sub> 26b): 5 bur <sub>3</sub> 2 cše <sub>3</sub><br>GAL <sub>2</sub> ŠAB <sub>1</sub> (Lu <sub>2</sub> 25): 5 bur <sub>3</sub> 2 cše <sub>3</sub><br>ME <sub>2</sub> : 2 bur <sub>3</sub>   |
| MSVO 1, 4  | Friberg 1997/1998: 24, Table 5.3<br>Liverani 1996: 11-13<br>Steinkeller 1997-1998: 13  | Account of fields  | 7 bur <sub>3</sub> 5 iku  | GAL <sub>2</sub> ŠAB <sub>1</sub> (Lu <sub>2</sub> 25): 7 bur <sub>3</sub> 1 cše <sub>3</sub> 2 4/10 iku<br>PA <sub>2</sub> GIR <sub>2</sub> gum <sub>1</sub> (cf. Lu <sub>2</sub> 26b): 8 bur <sub>3</sub><br>[EN <sub>2</sub> SAL]: 7 bur <sub>3</sub> iku<br>[ME <sub>2</sub> ]: 2+ bur <sub>3</sub> 1 7/10 iku  |
| MSVO 1, 5+6 <sup>8</sup>                                 | Englund 2014 (CDLI comment)<br>Friberg 1997/1998: 26-27, table 5.5 and 5.6<br>Steinkeller 1997-1998: 13  | Account of fields  | Area probably equal to 40 bur <sub>3</sub>  | Areas not preserved<br>EN <sub>2</sub> SAL: 40 bur <sub>3</sub>   |
| MSVO 1, 112  | Johnson 2015: 186-192  | "Subordinate staff list" ŠITA <sub>11</sub> and UKKIN <sub>2</sub>   | 00302. 1N <sub>1</sub> NAM <sub>2</sub> DI ŠITA <sub>11</sub> <sup>9</sup>  | All entries preceded by 1N <sub>1</sub> ; presence of some of the administrators mentioned in the Officials list. <sup>10</sup>   |
| Texts of uncertain or unknown proveniences <sup>11</sup> |  |  |   |   |
| CUSAS 1, 220   |  | Account of sheep   | R0202. 3N <sub>1</sub> AN UR <sub>5</sub> NAM <sub>2</sub> DI   | [1N <sub>1</sub> ] 7N <sub>1</sub> IDIGNA GAL <sub>2</sub> SANGA <sub>2</sub><br>1N <sub>1</sub> 1N <sub>1</sub> DI RAD <sub>2</sub><br>5N <sub>1</sub> UR <sub>1</sub> IB <sub>2</sub><br>3N <sub>1</sub> SANGA <sub>2</sub> GAL <sub>2</sub> AN UR <sub>5</sub>   |

<sup>6</sup> According to the convincing interpretation suggested by Johnson 2015: 192.

<sup>7</sup> Result of the addition of the land plot directly associated with the official with the plots assigned to workers and the plot called KI, A.

<sup>8</sup> According to the commentary left by R.K. Englund on the CDLI website, "the join MSVO 1, 005+006 seems now unavoidable", in contrast with former opinions, MSVO 1, p. 17 and Friberg 1997/1998: 26-27.

<sup>9</sup> On ŠITA<sub>11</sub>, see Johnson 2015.

<sup>10</sup> Englund / Grégoire 1991: 23.

<sup>11</sup> Add the fragmentary tablet MS 2782/10.

| SAG SUG <sub>5</sub>                      |   |  |  |
|---|---|--|--|
| Texts                                     | Nature of the text  | Role / attestation of the SAG SUG <sub>5</sub>   | Mention of other administrators and persons  |
| Texts from Uruk<br>BagM 22, W<br>24212.2  | Fragment  | O0201. [...] 'x' S[AG] SU[G <sub>5</sub> ]   |  |
| W 20511.3<br>= P003809                    | Mixed account: vessels and textiles<br>Fragmentary<br>Two main clauses:<br>SUG <sub>5</sub> SAG<br>AB <sub>5</sub> E <sub>23</sub> SANGA <sub>4</sub><br><br>U <sub>4</sub> +IN <sub>4</sub> 'GALGA <sub>6</sub> ' <sup>12</sup> E <sub>23</sub> BA<br>EZEN <sub>4</sub> +U <sub>23</sub> -A SURUPPAK <sub>5</sub><br>ZATU752 | O0401. EN, IB, [ZATU753?]<br>O0402. 'SUG <sub>5</sub> ' SAG<br>O0403. AB <sub>5</sub> E <sub>23</sub> SANGA <sub>4</sub><br><br>R0301. SUG <sub>5</sub> SAG<br>R0302. AB <sub>5</sub> E <sub>23</sub> SANGA <sub>4</sub><br>Probably an official in charge<br>Final sum:<br>IN <sub>14</sub> [...]<br>IN <sub>14</sub> 7N <sub>1</sub> ZATU749 <sub>6</sub>        | Several other personal names and administrators:<br>U <sub>1</sub> NUN, E <sub>24</sub> (?); 3N <sub>1</sub> KISIM IN, BU <sub>5</sub> / IN <sub>1</sub> IN <sub>17</sub> SAL BAR<br>/ IN <sub>14</sub> MAŠ ŠE;<br>2N <sub>1</sub> GIR <sub>3</sub> EN <sub>4</sub> PA <sub>4</sub> / IN <sub>14</sub> 9N <sub>1</sub> ZATU749 <sub>6</sub> / 2N <sub>1</sub> TUG <sub>23</sub><br>BUR;<br>GAL, SANGA,<br>O0206a. [...] 'PRIG <sub>5</sub> ' NAMEŠDA<br>O0206b1. 6N <sub>1</sub> [...]<br>O0206b2. IN <sub>1</sub> IN <sub>17</sub> SAL BAR<br>O0206b3. IN <sub>1</sub> TUG <sub>23</sub> +BAD.BAD |
| IM 45981.1<br>= P002738                   | Fragment. Dairy fat product.<br>GA <sub>5</sub> +ZATU753  | O0101. '2N <sub>12</sub> ' SUG <sub>5</sub> SAG  | EN, AMAR SANGA,<br>EN <sub>1</sub> ANŠE <sub>5</sub> ' SANGA <sub>4</sub> 'BUR <sub>2</sub> ' 'x'<br>Amount not clear  |
| Texts of unknown or uncertain provenience |   |  |  |
| CUSAS 31, 94                              | Account of grain, ration GU <sub>7</sub> (from<br>AB, AN?)  | Occurs at the end of the tablet (R0201)<br>without numerals, probably as the main<br>administrator   | No clear name or official title seem to occur  |
| CUSAS 1, 48                               | Account of sheep, damaged<br>fragment<br>NI, BA <sup>7</sup>  | R0101. 2N <sub>14</sub> UDU <sub>1</sub> SAG SUG <sub>5</sub> ADAB PA <sub>10</sub> ,<br>maybe the main administrator  |  |
| CUSAS 1, 68                               | Account of wool and textile   | O0201. ZATU749 <sub>6</sub> , <sup>13</sup> DARA <sub>10</sub> UDU <sub>1</sub> SAG<br>SA <sub>13</sub> UR <sub>2</sub> HI DA <sub>3</sub> PA <sub>1</sub> AK <sub>1</sub><br>R0101. 7N <sub>14</sub> DARA <sub>42</sub> UDU <sub>2</sub> ZATU749 <sub>6</sub><br>SUG <sub>5</sub> SAG<br>SAG SUG <sub>5</sub> acts probably as the main<br>official <sup>13</sup> |  |
| CUSAS 1, 131                              | Account of grain, rations GU <sub>7</sub>   | 2N <sub>14</sub> KAŠ <sub>6</sub> SAG SUG <sub>5</sub> KALAM <sub>6</sub> (288<br>litres?)   | IN <sub>1</sub> IN <sub>13</sub> AB, ZATU714<br>Several mentions of UB ZI:<br>IN, ZATU710 PAP, UB ZI,<br>2N <sub>42</sub> ZATU710 UB ZI, KU <sub>13</sub> AD,<br>3N <sub>42</sub> ZATU710 UNUG,<br>3N <sub>42</sub> ZATU710 UB ZI, UNUG,<br>On the reverse stands MUD NA, BU <sub>10</sub> , probably the official<br>in charge <sup>14</sup>  |
| MS 4482                                   | Field account? Small tablet, IN <sub>14</sub><br>GAN <sub>2</sub> ZATU624 <sub>4</sub> , GI SE <sub>2</sub> NUMUN<br>NIM <sub>11</sub> PAP, DUG <sub>4</sub>  | SUG <sub>5</sub> SAG without numeral, probably one<br>responsible  | Another possible personal name stands without numeral:<br>UB GI  |

<sup>12</sup> Despite Monaco's transliteration as IB, the sign seems to be a variant of ZATU749 which refers to clothes.

<sup>13</sup> According to Monaco 2007: 28, the main person responsible is DA, PA<sub>10</sub>, mentioned in association with SAG SUG<sub>5</sub>; therefore it is either the personal name of the SAG SUG<sub>5</sub> or another person but less important than this official.

<sup>14</sup> Monaco 2007: 32.

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