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The Cult of the Deified King in Ur III Mesopotamia

A dissertation presented

by

Audrey Pitts

to

The Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations

in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the subject of

Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations

Harvard University

Cambridge, Massachusetts

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The Cult of the Deified King in Ur III Mesopotamia

Abstract

The topic of divine kingship in Mesopotamia, and in the Ur III period (ca. 2112-2004 B.C. E.) in particular, has been the subject of studies focused on aspects such as its ideology, rhetoric, political motivation, and place in the history of religion. This dissertation is concerned with more pragmatic aspects of the phenomenon, and investigates what, if any, effect the institution of divine kingship had on day-to-day life. The Ur III period was selected both because four of its five kings were deified during their lifetime, and over 95,000 administrative, i.e. non-ideologically oriented, records dating to this period are available for analysis. The main focus of this thesis is on cult, the essential signifier of divinity in that society, and, specifically, on the manner in which the cult of the deified king was established, extended, and popularized. The primary source utilized was the Base de Datos de Textos Neo-Sumerios (BDTNS).

The first chapter demonstrates that at the center of the cult of the deified king were effigies that underwent numerous ritual treatments and were housed in both their own and in other deities' temples, and that in these respects the king's cult was identical to those of the traditional gods. A list of the individual statues and their locations is provided, in chronological order of attestation. Areas where ramifications of the king's godhood might be identified outside of cult are also addressed. The chapter is bracketed by discussions of divine kingship as manifested in the immediately succeeding (Sargonic) and following (Isin-Larsa) periods, for comparative purposes.

The second chapter provides evidence that processions of cult statues by boat and chariot, and offerings before them at specific festivals and at sites outside of temples were relatively

common events. As cult images of the deified kings were among those so treated, it is clear that the Ur III kings saw the benefit of these practices, with their concomitant festivities, banquets and entertainment, for publicizing their own cult among the largely illiterate populace. In addition, I analyzed the movements and activities of the king himself, as recorded in the administrative archives. These show that the kings were frequently in the public eye as they travelled, mainly by boat, among the cities of southern Babylonia, to ritual events both in- and outside of temple settings.

The third chapter addresses the issue of the effect of the concerted efforts to publicize the king's cult on the population at large, settling on onomastics as the best proxy for determining the public's reaction available. Two hundred and sixty-seven individual names in which the name of a deified king was used as a theophoric element are identified, with Šulgi, the second Ur III king and the first of that dynasty to be deified during his life, the most popular honorée by far. I examine the statements that the holders of these names are making about a particular divine king, and show that virtually all such names have a counterpart incorporating the name of a traditional deity. I also provide a representative sampling of the people who were given or had adopted such names in terms of their sex, ethnicity, and job title or function in order to determine if this practice was limited to a particular demographic, and conclude that it was widespread, affecting all levels of society. From this I deduce that the deliberate efforts of the kings to popularize their cult may be termed successful.

An appendix contains two tables summarizing the onomastic material. Table A lists all of the names in which the king's was incorporated as the theophoric element, along with their translation. Table B provides the data that was used to differentiate among the individual persons who bore one of the names listed in Table A.

Table of Contents

i. General Introduction 1

1. The Deified King: the Concept and its Establishment in Cult

1.1 Naram-Suen vis-à-vis Šulgi 10

1.2 Cult Statues and Temples of the Deified King in the Ur III Period 29

1.3 Reflections of the King's Godhood in Other Areas

1.3.1 Seals 59

1.3.2 Royal Hymns 62

1.3.3 The King's Consorts 65

1.3.4 Death and Afterlife of the Deified King 76

1.4 Deified Kings between the Ur III and Hammurabi Dynasties 85

1.5 Summation 90

2. Public Display

2.1 The Public Face of Cult 92

2.1.1 Chariots and Boats of the Gods 94

2.1.2 Cult Statues at External Rituals 101

2.1.3 Major Festivals and Annual Rituals 106

2.1.4 The Festival of the Deified King 118

2.2 The Deified King, in his Body 123

2.2.1 The Reign of Ur-Namma 126

2.2.2 The Reign of Šulgi

2.2.2.1 Years Š01-20 130

2.2.2.2 Years Š21-37 133

2.2.2.3 Years Š38-48 138

2.2.3. The Reign of Amar-Suen

2.2.3.1 Years AS01-08 150

2.2.3.2 The Death of Amar-Suen and the Year AS09 167

2.2.4 The Reign of Šu-Suen

2.2.4.1 Years ŠS01-08 169

2.2.4.2 The Death of Šu-Suen and the Year ŠS09 192

2.2.5 The Reign of Ibbi-Suen 200

2.2.5.1 Years IS01-02 205

2.2.5.2 Years IS03-24 215

2.3 Summation 221

3. Popular Response

3.1 Introduction 227

3.1.1 Private Devotions 228

3.2 Onomastics 230

3.2.1 Personal Names Incorporating the King's Name as their Theophoric Element 235

3.3 Demographics - Who Incorporated the King's Name in their Own? 243

3.3.1 The Royal Family and their Personal Retainers 246

3.3.2 Governors, Governor-Generals, and Foreign Dignitaries 250

3.3.3 Lower Military Ranks and Security 253

3.3.4 Diplomatic Corps and Couriers 255
3.3.5 Administration and Accounting 259
3.3.6 Cult Officials and Servitors 261
3.3.7 Entertainers 264
3.3.8 Health and Hygiene 264
3.3.9 Craftsmen 265
3.3.10 Forestry and Building Materials 266
3.3.11 Animal Husbandry 266
3.3.12 Textiles 267
3.3.13 Transport and Storage 269
3.3.14 Food Production and Service 269
3.3.15 Agriculture 270
3.3.16 Corvée Labor, Servants and Slaves 272
3.3.17 Miscellaneous Titles 276
3.4 The King's Name as Theophoric Element in Succeeding Periods 276

4. General Conclusion 282

5. Appendices
5.1 Table A - Onomastic 291
5.2 Table B - Demographic 311
6. Bibliography 422

The Cult of the Divine King in the Ur III Period

General Introduction

In the middle of the twenty-first century BCE, sometime before the twenty-first year of his forty-eight year reign, Šulgi, the second king of the Ur III dynasty of Sumer (c.2112-2004), became a god. While extraordinary, the self-deification of a ruler was not unprecedented in Mesopotamia, having, from all evidence, been pioneered by Narām-Suen, the fourth king of the earlier Sargonic dynasty (c2334-2195).[1] That this innovation proved expedient in the conditions of the late Sargonic period is shown by its adoption by Narām-Suen's son and heir, Šar-kali-šarrī, whose translation into godhood officially occurred at the moment of his accession to the throne. Whether the latter's heirs would have continued the practice of self-deification and thereby, perhaps, normalized it, is moot, as Šar-kali-šarrī turned out to be the last of his dynasty to rule. Indeed, the apotheosis of a living king would have remained a historical oddity for Mesopotamia had it not been reinvigorated by Šulgi and subsequently embraced by both his immediate successors as well as many, if not all, of the kings of the following Isin-Larsa dynasties. Nonetheless, in the long span of Mesopotamian history, with its myriad of polities and styles of ruling, a setup in which the highest human authority, a king, was defined and presented explicitly as a deity is a relatively rare phenomenon that, as such, invites closer investigation.

It was scholarly notice of particular textual and glyptic practices that first led to analysis and attempted systematization of the phenomenon of divine kingship in third-millennium Mesopotamia. In the case of textual evidence, the most immediately perceptible clue was the prefixation to the written name of certain kings of the so-called divine determinative (the "dingir" sign), the conventional signifier that the referent of the word immediately following had been imputed

[1] According to the Middle Chronology for dating, which I use throughout this thesis, Šulgi ruled from approximately 2094-2047, Narām-Suen from approximately 2254-2218.

godhood.[2] The kings so treated were on occasion explicitly termed a god while they were still alive, and that in a variety of media, including cylinder seals, votive offerings, and regnal year formulae.[3] The advent of royal hymns in the Ur III period, a variation on the traditional hymns to gods and their temples, was motivated by royal deification, as the composition of such hymns ceased in tandem with that practice.[4] Administrative and economic texts, notably the copious archives dating to the Ur III period, provide scattered but significant evidence of an official cult of the deified king, in references to his cult images, temples, cultic personnel, and festivals and offerings in his honor.[5] The visual evidence, although much scantier than the textual, confirms that something unusual was going on in relation to kings identified elsewhere as gods. e.g. Narām-Suen depicted wearing the horned crown that had been otherwise reserved for deities, and the figures of Ur III kings carved on presentation seals in the seat traditionally occupied by a god.[6]

The more recent scholarly analyses that deal with the deified kings of the Sargonic, Ur III and Isin-Larsa periods follow from earlier historical studies of "divine" kingship in general, including periods in which the men on the throne were not expressly termed gods. Mark Garrison has provided a useful and succinct overview of the state of the field in regard to the topic of ruler cults in the ancient Near East, which he characterizes as "a constant feature of scholarly investigations" since the emergence of Assyriology as an academic discipline, and an "especially favored topic" through the first half of the twentieth century, after which it went into a decline from which it recently

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[2] Klein (2006), p. 120, characterized this as the main evidence for the deification of Mesopotamian kings.

[3] See Chapter 1 for specific examples, with citations.

[4] Royal hymns are extant for most of the Ur III and a handful of the Isin and Larsa kings.

[5] The ruins of the actual structure of a temple to a deified king has also been found, e.g. see Reichel (2008).

[6] For Narām-Suen, see Winter (1996); for Ur III seals, see Winter (1986) and Mayr and Owen (2004); for images of the Ur III kings in general, see Suter (2010). On the horned crown of divinity, see Asher-Greve (1995-96).

appears to be reviving.[7] Two of the most influential, earlier works were penned by James Frazer, who interpreted the ancient institution of kingship in every culture as in essence a concrete result of magical thinking attempting to control nature, and Henri Frankfort, who saw ancient Near Eastern kingship specifically as the prime locus for mediation between both humanity and nature and humanity and the gods.[8] Both men entertained an evolutionary perspective on social institutions and, in particular, religious beliefs, as well as an inclination to the grand narrative, intellectual habits that have since either been discredited or fallen for one reason or another into desuetude.[9]

Scholarship on Mesopotamian kingship of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century routinely ignores Frazer and neglects to credit Frankfort, although the latter's conception of the king as mediator between heaven and earth seems to have been generally assimilated into the frameworks of analysis. Certain other tendencies or approaches to the material are repeatedly encountered as well. It is, for example, notable that many of the recent analyses are based upon representations, such as statues or images on stelae and seal impressions, while those that work with texts concentrate mainly on royal inscriptions and hymns, genres that presumably reflect a court agenda and are thus amenable to treatment as reflections of ideology or even outright propaganda.[10] A more semantic approach has sometimes been favored, with the aim of exploring the very concept of divinity in particular historical periods via analysis of the types of beings, items and/or phenomena to which the divine determinative was applied, or of certain words or tropes such

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[7] Garrison (2011), pp. 27-29, in the section "Kingship and the divine: the study of ruler cults in ancient Western Asia".

[8] Frazer (1890-1915) and Frankfort (1948). Frazer received degrees in classics and law, but was generally identified as a social anthropologist, and Frankfort originally trained as a historian and Egyptologist, although he did have experience in archaeological excavations, for example, in Iraq as the Field Director of the Oriental Institute of Chicago in 1929.

[9] Another author of this period, Engnell (1947), in his chapter on "Sumero-Accadian Divine Kingship" (pp. 16-51), both conflated evidence from periods and gave no shrift to metaphorical language, concluding that every Mesopotamian king had been divinized from nativity.

[10] For recent art-historical approaches, see Winter (1989, 1992, 1996, 2008), Ornan (2007), Bonatz (2007), Suter (2010). For "royal" texts, see Klein (1981a, 1981b, 1985, 1990), Brisch (2007), Vacin (2011).

as divine parentage.[11] Although there is currently no overarching theory of divine kingship, a consensus of sorts seems to have emerged, consisting of several, somewhat overlapping streams.

One common contemporary premise concerns the limitations of the modern world's notions of godhood and the divine and its tendency to binarism, to such a degree that herculean efforts are required in order for us to even begin to think our way into any ancient Mesopotamian mindset and its system of classifications.[12] Another premise, almost universally asserted, is that the locus of divinity was the office of kingship and not the king himself. Accordingly, any man placed in that office was sanctified to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the particular historical-political circumstances surrounding his accession and obtaining throughout his reign. In any event, the figure of the king, occupying the pivotal position between his subjects and the pantheon, possessed an inherent duality that might be articulated without contradiction as mortal *and* godlike, the former expressing his position in relation to the gods, the latter in relation to other human beings.[13] Studies on the sacred office of kingship that deal with the Ur III god-kings are, however, at times weakened by equivalencies posited between them and rulers of later periods who were either deified only after their deaths or whose godlike self-presentations were of necessity colored and limited by the official monotheism of their society.[14]

One of the strongest areas of agreement in recent scholarship is an insistence that divinity in ancient Mesopotamia was not an either-or proposition, but encompassed a range of behaviors

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[11] Selz (1997, 2008), Machinist (2006).

[12] Skepticism of the ability of the modern mind to grasp ancient religious beliefs was expressed already by Oppenheim (1977), pp. 182-183.

[13] This view is evidently related to Frankfurt's figure of the king as mediator. See also Sallaberger (1999a), pp. 155-156, Hoffner (2006), Klein (2006), p. 131, Machinist (2006), Vacin (2011), pp. 189-191.

[14] The most frequent comparanda are with the cults of kingship of the Roman emperors or of European kings, in particular of France. Recent works on the cult of the former are Weinstock (1971), Gradel (2002), Woolf (2008), and Koortbojian (2013), and on the latter Kantorowicz (1957) and Boureau (1988).

and representations, from unspoken hints in the assimilation of the king's image to that of a traditional god, to claims of divine parentage which may or may not have been understood metaphorically, to the "functional" or "circumstantial" divinity posited by Selz, wherein the king and, often, other members of his immediate family fulfilled the roles of gods, to the extreme of the overtly verbalized godhood of a small number of kings, with its attendant cult and public affirmation.[15]

While such approaches have generated thought-provoking theories and valuable insights, they nonetheless incline on the whole toward abstraction, using the institution(s) of divine kingship to derive such intangibles as habits of mind, Weltanschauung, and systems of control. The lack of any comprehensive analysis of what I would term the more practical side of the office of divine kingship, that is, on the effects and repercussions of its development and praxis, is no doubt due, at least in part, to the types of evidence that have been favored for review. With the exceptions of works by Walther Sallaberger and Mark Cohen that include some material on the deified Ur III king in their discussions of the cultic calendar and festivals of the period, the administrative archives of the Ur III period have been largely scanted as a source of information for this topic.[16] This is unfortunate, as these archives not only coincide with the reigns of four of those rare Mesopotamian rulers who were overtly deified during their lifetime, but also contain the largest number of extant Sumerian-language texts of any period, and so would appear to offer a rich trove of relevant data.[17] Researchers on divine kingship are, of course, aware of these archives and have sometimes cited them as the source of contemporary evidence of a particular feature of the cult of the deified king,

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[15] On divine-like properties and assimilation to images of other deities, see Bonatz (2007), Ornan (2007), on a familial relationship with gods, see Klein (2006), pp. 123-126, Michalowski (2008), pp. 36-37, on functional divinity (Selz, 2002).

[16] Sallaberger (1993) and Cohen (1993). See also Michalowski (1991), pp. 51-52, who is quite familiar with the Ur III administrative archives, but adduced only a fraction of the relevant data to make his points.

[17] It must be noted that, before the recent advent of on-line databases of Sumerian textual materials, collecting sufficient material for worthwhile analysis was a time-consuming process that, in addition, inevitably missed crucial data, due to the scattered nature of the publication of the sources.

but it seems clear that many have not worked with the archives extensively or even directly, and thus may not have appreciated the existence or incidence of certain cult practices.

This dissertation is based primarily on data contained in the documents of the Ur III administrative archives, as accessed through the on-line database, Base de Datos de Textos Neo-Sumerios (BDTNS), which holds over 95,000 records dating to that period.[18] There are several advantages that this material presents over other genres as an object of study. First, the majority of the documents in these archives provides a locale and a date of inscription that endow the information contained therein with a definitiveness that is lacking in, for example, royal hymns, which may have been edited or even composed hundreds of years after the kings they celebrated had died. Secondly, the purpose of the archives, which were maintained by facilities operated on behalf of the crown or provincial managers, was to record individual instances of various types of economic activity: the delivery and expenditure of numerous commodities, and the assignment of labor. The scribes who produced the actual tablets were tasked with accuracy, far from the concerns with rhetorical flourishes or ideologically approved representations. In utilizing their product today, then, one is spared the exercise of attempting to disentangle the factual from embellishments, flattery or outright lies that is so often prudent when working with, say, royal inscriptions. Finally, in relation to the topic of divine kingship, two of the main recipients of the disbursement of goods recorded in the administrative archives were the religious cults and the royal family. I had anticipated from this --- accurately, as it turned out --- that that I should be able not only to extrapolate details concerning the king's cult and to compare them with the cults of the more traditional deities, but also to track the king himself as he participated in ritual and other events.

This thesis is divided into three chapters, each of which contains several sections. The opening chapter begins and ends with information about the deification of kings of the preceding

[18] These administrative texts were supplemented when needed by the chronologically more extensive on-line database, Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI). Texts from the genres of royal hymns, votive and building inscriptions were also mined for information on the relation of the Ur III king to cult, both his own and those of other gods.

Sargonic and the following Isin-Larsa dynasties, respectively, which is relatively sparse in comparison with that of the Ur III period. The bulk of the chapter is taken up a) with demonstrating that a cult of the king did exist in three-dimensional space in the form of cult effigies and dedicated cult centers, personnel, and offerings, and b) with a discussion of other evidence that might be reflective of these kings' deification, such as their representation in images, the royal hymns composed in their honor, the re-entitlement of their spouses as a type of "priestess" (lukur), and their treatment at and after death. In the first section I also collect comparable points of data on the variety and the ritualized treatment of the cult statues of both the traditional deities and the kings, and find no differences between them, an indication that the Ur III kings closely modeled their new cult on the existing paradigm. In addition, evidence for the institution of offerings to the royal cult effigies in numerous venues and the attestation of their own cult centers throughout the Ur III polity is presented chronologically, so that one might trace the spread of the cult both over time and geographically.

The second chapter is concerned with deliberate efforts to publicize the stature of the king as a god. Utilizing the BDTNS database and the prior work mentioned above by Sallaberger and Cohen, I first present evidence for public outings of cult statues of both traditional deities and the deified rulers, such as dedicated means of transport, offerings to them in settings outside of temples, their involvement in processions and circumambulations, and their presence at public festivals. The coincident features of banquets that typically proffered huge amounts of beer and beef (a rarity in the daily diet), music, athletic competitions, and other forms of entertainment indicate that planning and a willingness to expend resources to attract celebrants were involved. Once again, no difference can be detected between the royal and the traditional cults in this area. I then analyze the activities of the king himself (as opposed to his cult image), using votive and building inscriptions and references to his person in the BDTNS database, with an eye to gauging his interest and participation in various aspects of the idealized roles of Mesopotamian kings. It so turns out that the active engagement of the Ur III kings in rituals and offerings predominates. The most frequently attested royal offerings went to Enlil and the other deities housed in the Ekur

complex in Nippur, to Nanna in Ur, and to Inana in both Uruk and Nippur, while the most frequently attested rituals in which the king became personally involved were the mid-year Akiti and the Great Festival (Ezem-mah) at Ur, the Gudsisu at Nippur, the Boat Ride of Ninlil from Nippur to Tummal and back, and the Festivals of the deified kings, primarily in Girsu and Umma. While one might suspect that the deification of a living ruler would have affected his performance of kingship, a detailed comparison with a dynasty of another era would have to be made before anything could be said with certainty; such a comparison, however, lies outside of the scope of the present work.[19]

The copious evidence for publicizing the cult of the divine king by various means and in numerous venues leads to the question of the success of these efforts at popularization, which I address in the third chapter. One is most unlikely to gauge popular opinion or response using the standard sources, as the more literary textual genres and representational artifacts may be construed as reflecting elite values, and the genre of administrative texts, though by-and-large factual, resulted from elite economic interests. The latter, however, does provide a wealth of onomastic data concerning thousands of individuals from a full array of social classes, professions, and ethnicities. Using onomastics as a proxy for popular response to the cult of the divine king is further recommended by the fact that Mesopotamian names most typically include a theophoric element which scholars studying the topic consider a reflection of popular (as contrasted with official or State) religion.[20] For this chapter, then, in the first section I review the arguments on the nature of Mesopotamian onomastics, followed by an analysis of the statement made by the personal names in which the name of an Ur III king was used as the theophoric element, of which there are 267 unique patterns. In the second section I discuss the particulars of individuals bearing such names, where these were given in the records, demonstrating that the adoption of the name of the divine king was widespread and popular among all groups, whether defined by class, job, sex, or

[19] The most promising comparanda would seem to be the dynasties of Sumerian Lagaš, of either the Early Dynastic or Lagaš II periods, although neither provides anything like the amount of documentation available in the Ur III archives.

[20] Di Vito (1993), Nakate (1995), p.1, Hilgert (2002a).

ethnicity. I thus conclude that the onomastic practices of this period support interpreting the crown's efforts at popularizing the cult of the divine king as successful.

Chapter 1.

The Deified King: the Concept and its Establishment in Cult

1.1 Naram-Suen vis-à-vis Šulgi

According to the normative paradigm of kingship in ancient Mesopotamia, the office had its origin in heaven and constituted one of the principles (in Sumerian, *me*) without which no people could count themselves civilized.[21] Despite kingship's transcendent root, the king himself was viewed and treated as a mortal, albeit of such notable character that his selection for office was frequently portrayed as resulting from the intervention of a particular deity.[22] This model was shattered in the second half of the third millennium when it was made known that Narām-Suen, the fourth ruler of the Sargonic dynasty of Akkade, had become a god while in the office of king, an

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[21] Sumerian King List, line 1: "after kingship had descended from heaven" ([nam]-lugal an-ta ed_3-de_3-a-ba); on the *me*, Gertrud Farber-Flügge (1973), Der Mythos "Inanna und Enki" unter besondere Berücksichtigung der Liste der me, Studia Pohl, vol. 10, Rome: Biblical Institute Press.

[22] One of the earliest rulers to announce divine favor for his tenure in office was Eanatum of Lagaš (ca. 25th century BCE). In one inscription (RIME 1.9.3.1) he claimed that the god Ningirsu gave him kingship (v.13-16: ^{d}Nin-gir_2-su_2-ke_4 nam-ga-hul_2-da [nam-lug]al [Lagaš^{ki} mu-na-sum]), and even intimated an element of prenatal predestination, as that same god was credited with placing the semen that helped to create Eanatum in the womb (iv.9-12: [^{d}Ni]ngir_2-su_2-[k]e_4 [a] E_2-[an]-na-tum_2-[ma] [$šag_4$-g]a [šu b]a-ni-dug_4). In another inscription (RIME 1.9.3.4) Eanatum utilized what was to become a common metaphor of divine selection for kingship, that of being discovered by a particular deity's heart --- in this instance, Nanše's (i. 6-8: $šag_4$-kug-ge pad-da ^{d}Nanše). In yet another, Eanatum was "nominated" for his position by the god Enlil (RIME 1.9.3.5 i. 5-6: mu-pad_3-da ^{d}En-lil_2-ke_4). Although not explicitly stated, knowledge of a god's will in the matter of kingship would have involved some form of divination.

These conceits were able to coexist with the notion of divine kingship without, apparently, causing intolerable cognitive dissonance. See Steinkeller (forthcoming b), p. 25: "Most remarkable of all is the fact that the Ur III kingship managed to combine the principle of divine selection with the idea of the king's divinity". For example, the Ur III ruler Šu-Suen, who achieved godhood as soon as he ascended the throne, nonetheless also contended that he had been nominated by An and discovered by the heart of Enlil for the office of king (RIME 3.2.1.4.3 i. 5-6, 9-11: mu-pad-da An-na. . . lugal ^{d}En-lil_2-le $šag_4$-fa-na in-pad).

See Vacin (2011) pp. 178, for detailed discussion of these notions, which he terms "*legitimation topoi*".

elevation in status that his son and heir maintained.[23] This innovation was later reprised by Šulgi, the second ruler of the succeeding Ur III dynasty, and continued by the three men who followed him on the throne. Self-representation as a god-king persisted into the early second millennium, consistently in the practice of the Isin dynasts and sporadically among rulers of other, territorially limited states that had sprung up in the wake of the destruction of the Ur III polity, whereafter the conception and praxis of the office and its holder reverted to the norm.

While the focus of this thesis is on the phenomenon of divine kingship as it manifested itself in the Ur III period, the likelihood that Šulgi's decision to promote himself as a god was inspired by Narām-Suen's example makes a review of the latter advisable. Definite conclusions are unlikely, given the relative imbalance in published records dating to the reign of Narām-Suen vis-à-vis those dating to the Ur III dynasts (about 500 vs. over 100,000). Nonetheless, a comparison might illuminate broader issues, such as the motivation for and aims of royal deification, as well as its working-out in practice.

Narām-Suen was a grandson of Sargon the Great, the founder of the Sargonic dynasty of Akkade. Later romances portrayed Sargon as a relative nobody who usurped power in Kiš under the aegis of the goddess Inana/Ištar, and then battled his way to rulership over a large territory that included the Sumerian city-states to his south.[24] Royal inscriptions from Sargon's reign confirm his

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[23] A cylinder seal that was offered to Narām-Suen's immediate predecessor, Man-ištušu, on which the latter's name was inscribed with the divine determinative (^{d}*Ma-ni-iš$_2$-ti-su*), is apparently of Ur III date, that is, reflects posthumous deification. See the commentary in RIME 2.1.3.2003, p. 83.

More problematic for the issue of which king exactly innovated his own godhood is the personal name "Sargon-is-my-god" that occurs on the Maništušu Obelisk, that is, it dates to the Sargonic period. A. Westenholz (1999, p. 40, fn. 23) characterized this as evidence that Sargon "so impressed his contemporaries that to some, especially among the Akkadians, he appeared to partake of the divine". In any event, no evidence for other signs of an official cult of a deified king has yet been uncovered for Sargon, and there are no signs whatsoever for the two sons who succeeded him.

[24] See J. G. Westenholz (1997), pp. 36-55, and J. Cooper and W. Heimpel (1983), pp. 67-82.

martial exploits as well as his administrative incorporation of Sumer.[25] Resistance in the formerly independent city-states to the Akkadian takeover boiled over into active rebellion during the reign of Sargon's son and successor Rīmuš, several of whose inscriptions detail his response, which involved slaughter, enslavement, and deportation of thousands of citizens of Adab, Zabalam, Umma, KI.AN, Ur and Lagaš, along with the destruction of their city walls and the confiscation of temple land.[26] Dissatisfaction with Sargonic rule also erupted into open revolt in the northern Babylonian city of Kazallu, to which Rīmuš responded in a similar manner.[27]

During the reign of Rīmuš' brother and successor Man-ištūšu, overt opposition to the Akkadian dynasts seems to have subsided, only to flare up again under Man-ištūšu's son, Narām-Suen. Known as the Great Revolt, it entailed virtually every city in both northern and southern Babylonia rising against Narām-Suen's rule in a concerted and sustained effort.[28] Despite the terrible odds, Narām-Suen managed to defeat all of his rivals in a series of nine consecutive battles that took place within a single year. The king's ultimate victory was generally perceived as miraculous, and was ascribed as the proximate cause of his deification in an inscription:

> Narām-Suen, the mighty, king of Akkade,
> when the four quarters together revolted against him,
> through the love which the goddess Inana showed him,
> he was victorious in nine battles in one year,
> and the kings whom they had raised [against him] he captured.
> (Because) as a result of the dire straits of this city, he secured

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[25] An inscription (RIME 2.1.1.1) reports Sargon's victories over the Sumerian territories of Uruk, Ur, Eninmar, Lagaš, and Umma, as well as his subsequent appointment of Akkadians to serve as governors ($ensi_2$) there.

[26] RIME 2.1.2.1 through 2.1.2.4.

[27] RIME 2.1.2.4 through 2.1.2.5. See also Steinkeller (forthcoming b), p. 5: "In a related development, the holdings of arable land owned by the southern temple states were often confiscated, and turned into the king's property. . . such land was then distributed among the king's dependents in exchange for services."

[28] RIME 2.1.4.9 through 2.1.4.13.

the foundations of all his cities,
(the citizens of) his city, requested from Inana in Eanna,
Enlil in Nippur, Dagan in Tuttul, Ninhursag in Keš,
Ea in Eridug, Suen in Ur, Šamaš in Sippar, and
Nergal in Gudua, requested [Narām-Suen] as the god of their city,
and they built in the very midst of Akkade his temple.[29]

Deification of a man heretofore understood as mortal had a number of concrete manifestations that parallel the treatment of traditional gods, traces of which are still discernible. In the first place, as the inscription providing the ostensible reason for Narām-Suen's deification makes clear, the king now merited his own temple, and thus, implicitly, his own priesthood, rituals, and offerings, as required by any god's cult. This temple was located in the city of Akkade, subsequent to which the king became known as the god of Akkade, and thus implicitly that city's patron deity and owner.[30] However, a name in a tablet, the ductus of which inarguably dates it to the reign of either Narām-Suen or his son, may indicate that the cult of the deified Akkadian ruler had spread to Girsu in the Sumerian south: men were listed as belonging to the temple of Annunitum (a warlike aspect of Inana), the temple of Ištar (INANA), and that of the "God of Akkade" (DINGIR A-ga-de$_3^{[KI]}$).[31] Two towns mentioned in texts from the second half of the Sargonic period would also appear to have incorporated the king's new status in their names: the Settlement of the God of

[29] RIME 2.1.4.1 lines 1-55: *Na-ra-am-*^{d}EN.ZU *da-num$_2$* LUGAL *A-ka$_3$-de$_3^{KI}$ i$_3$-nu ki-ib-ra-tum ar-ba-um is$_2$-ti-ni-is$_2$ i-*KIR*-ni-su$_4$ in ri$_2$-ma-ti* ^{d}INANA *tar$_2$-a-mu-su$_4$* 10 LAL 1 REC 169 *in* MU 1 *iš$_{11}$-ar-ma u$_3$* LUGAL-*ri$_2$ šu-ut i-si$_{11}$-<u$_3$>-nim i-ik-mi al ši in pu-uš-qi$_2$-im* SUHUŠ.SUHUŠ URU^{KI}-*li$_2$-su u-ki$_2$-nu* URU^{KI}-*su is$_2$-te$_4$* ^{d}INANA *in E$_2$-an-na-ki-im is$_2$-te$_4$* ^{d}EN.LIL$_2$ *in* NIBRU^{KI} *is$_2$-te$_4$* ^{d}*Da-gan in Tu-tu-li*^{KI} *is$_2$-te$_4$* ^{d}NIN.HUR.SAG *in Keš$_3^{KI}$ is$_2$-te$_4$* ^{d}EN.KI *in* ERIDUG^{KI} *is$_2$-te$_4$* ^{d}EN.ZU *in* URI$_3^{KI}$ *is$_2$-te$_4$* ^{d}UTU *in* ZIMBIR^{KI} *is$_2$-te$_4$* ^{d}NERGAL *in Gu$_2$-du$_8$-a*^{KI} *i$_3$-li-is$_2$* URU^{KI}-*su-nu A-ka$_3$-de$_3^{KI}$ i-tar$_2$-su-ni-is$_2$-ma qab$_2$-li-ma A-ka$_3$-de$_3^{KI}$* E$_2$-*su ib-ni-u$_3$.*

[30] It is unclear whether Narām-Suen supplanted Ilaba, the traditional patron deity of the city of Akkade, or supplemented him in this role.

[31] ITT 5 09289: 4 *šu-ut* E$_2$ An-[nu]-ni-tum, 6 *šu-ut* E$_2$ ^{d}*Ištar* [INANA], and 9 *šu-ut* E$_2$ DINGIR A-ga-de$_3^{[KI]}$; the reverse of the tablet ends: Gir$_2$-su^{ki}-a nig$_2$-ŠID-bi ba-ak. I thank P. Steinkeller for this reference.

Akkade (Maškan-DINGIR-Akkade), possibly sited between Adab and Urusagrig, and the Fortified Site of the God of Akkade (Dur-DINGIR-Akkade), referred to on a tablet from Susa.[32]

Though still termed "king" (lugal), Narām-Suen was overtly recognized as god (dingir) of Akkade on cylinder seals and votive offerings of relatives and underlings.[33] Deriving from this was the addition of the divine determinative to the king's name, an orthographic practice that had been reserved up to this point for incorporeal deities.[34] Although these latter two features would have been meaningful only to the literate, other expressions of the king's godhood, such as the existence of physical cult establishments, were more generally accessible. None of the cult statues of the deified Akkadian kings have survived, but a bas-relief of Narām-Suen on a victory stele explicitly depicts him as a god, for he is wearing the horned crown, a traditional visual symbol of divinity in Mesopotamian art.[35] In addition, the pose adopted by Narām-Suen on this stele, that of ascending a mountain, is strikingly similar to the typical stance of the sun-god Utu on Akkadian period seals.[36]

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[32] Discussed in Steinkeller (forthcoming d), p. 8 and fn. 47. The first, spelled MAŠ.GAN$_2$[KI]-*ni*-DINGIR-*A-ga-de$_3$*[KI], occurs in an unpublished tablet from the Schoyen collection (MS 4267B), whereas the second, BAD$_3$-DINGIR-*A-ga-de$_3$*, can be found in MDP 14 8 rev. 8.

[33] "Naram-Suen, god of Akkade" ([d]*Na-ar-am-*[d]EN.ZU DINGIR *A-ka$_3$-de$_3$*[KI]) on the seal of his son Ukīn-ulmaš (RIME 2.1.4.53) and on seal impressions of his son Bin-kali-šarrī (RIME 2.1.4.2022), of his daughter Enmenana, the en-priestess of Nanna of Ur (RIME 2.1.4.2019), of the scribe and governor of Lagaš, Lugal-ušumgal (RIME 2.1.4.2004), of two of his scribes and servants, Šarriš-takal and Urda (RIME 2.1.4.2002; RIME 2.1.4.2013), of Abi-išar, a scribe of his son Bin-kali-šarrī (RIME 2.1.4.2123), of the captain of men-at-arms Mama-šadûm (RIME 2.1.4.2007), of his royal cook and servant Na-[x] (RIME 2.1.4.2009), and on a plaque of Išṭup-ilum, major-domo of the king's daughter Enmenana (RIME 2.1..4.2018).

[34] In addition to gods and goddesses, one occasionally finds the divine determinative written before the names of tangible objects that were important to them and/or their cults, such as weapons and musical instruments, e.g. the deified throne of Enlil (CDLJ 2009: 2 FSU 5, AS03-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan), the deified balag instrument in the Temple of Ninlil (BIN 3 586, ŠS09-06-21, Puzriš-Dagan). However, in no instance had it been used for a *being* who was not a transcendent deity.

[35] The stele commemorates the king's victory in Lullubum in the Zagros range.

Winter (1996), p. 24, fn. 35, notes that his crown contains only one set of horns, as opposed to the multiple tiers on the headpieces of the major deities. This may connote a (relative) humility within his self-deification, at least in the earlier stages, intended, perhaps, to make it more palatable.

[36] Fischer (2002), p. 131. The frequent depiction of Utu ascending a mountain was a visual pun on the dual meaning of the Sumerian word kur, "mountain" and "Netherworld", the latter in its role as the place from which Utu rose every dawn.

That an equivalence was intentional may be surmised from the fact that the Victory Stele was erected in a temple of the sun-god in Sippar.[37] In 2003 another work of Mesopotamian art was first made public, featuring a ruler who so strongly resembles the Narām-Suen of the Victory Stele that it must be the same man.[38] A fragment of what may have been a mold for a shield boss, it depicts a finely muscled, bare-chested male wearing the horned crown of divinity and seated on a platform at the same level as, and of equal size to, the figure of an armed Inana. The man holds the regalia of the ring in his left hand, the wrist of which Inana grasps with her right, while her left controls ropes that culminate in nose rings. These are secured in a number of smaller figures below, who represent various foreign lands now in submission to Narām-Suen and his divine patron.[39] The parity of the king and the goddess in type of headgear, size and placement in the scene provide clear visual signals of the king's equivalence to Inana, that is to say, his godhood. Finally, being a god also added the king's name to the pool of theophoric elements available for use in personal names, and although there is only one example extant for the Akkadian divine kings, its message is telling: "Narām-Suen is my god".[40]

The religious aspects of Narām-Suen's self-deification cannot, of course, be separated from political and economic issues, and these seem to have become especially problematic in the south. Sumer had been composed of independent city-states that presented themselves as essentially estates of their patron deities, managed by rulers who were, rhetorically at least, mere pious

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[37] A reinscription by the twelfth century BCE Elamite ruler Šutruk-Nahhunte states that he had appropriated and transported this stela from Sippar to Susa, which suggests that Šulgi had the opportunity to view it in Sippar one thousand years earlier. See Winter (1996), p. 19.

[38] This unprovenanced limestone fragment was exhibited by the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York as part of its show "Art of the First Cities" that opened in May 2003. A reproduction may be viewed in Aruz and Wallenfels (2003), no. 133, pp. 206-207. Steinkeller (forthcoming a), p. 5 fn. 13, presents and counters the arguments for this piece being a forgery.

[39] Hansen (2002) surmised the piece's function. Steinkeller (forthcoming a), p. 6, characterized it as a mold for a roundlet, in which the scene of the king and the goddess comprised the central hub, around which radiated eight or nine spokes within which were encapsulated smaller figures.

[40] Foster (1982), p. 342. See also the Old Akkadian texts MCS 9, 235 and USP 31, both from Umma: ^{d}*Na-ra-am-*^{d}EN.ZU-i_3-li_2.

stewards. The Akkadian dynasts, outsiders with a different tradition and ideology, quashed their independence, slaughtered thousands, confiscated land and other forms of wealth, and imposed a layer of Akkadian bureaucrats using a foreign language for administrative purposes. Sumerian resentment exploded into violent opposition twice, and the second instance, during the reign of Narām-Suen, came close to costing him his throne. By his subsequent elevation of himself to the status of a god and his institutionalization of that status in an official cult, Narām-Suen re-presented himself to the battered Sumerians as an equal in the company of the gods, and thus justified, like them, in owning the Sumerian city states and their territory.[41]

Marek Stepien has categorized Narām-Suen's deification as part of the king's response to the Great Revolt against him, and thus "of strongly internal character", that is, of import mainly to Akkade and Sumer.[42] However, Piotr Michalowski has argued that the Dynasty of Akkade conceptualized their realm not as the core, or "us", withstanding the "them" of the periphery, as had been and was thereafter common, but as the *axis mundi* of a universal state, of which the Victory Stele of Narām-Suen was one expression.[43] With such an expansive view, in which there was, in effect, no differentiation between the domestic and the foreign, the significance of the divinity of the king would have no geographical limits. The presence of a temple to the God of Akkade in Girsu, as well as the existence of other towns somewhere in greater Mesopotamia that include this identity of the king in their name, would mesh with this view; indeed, one might expect that other such temples had been erected in other locations beyond Akkade, and have simply not been rediscovered yet.

Narām-Suen's radical innovation was continued by his son and successor, Šar-kali-šarrī, who assumed godhood upon his accession to the throne, as is shown by the addition of the divine

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41 Steinkeller (forthcoming b), pp. 6-8; Stepien (2009); Vacin (2011), pp. 192-194.

42 Stepien (2009), p. 250.

43 Michalowski (2010), pp. 152-156.

determinative to his name, although it was applied inconsistently.[44] As with his father, he was overtly characterized as a god, of both Akkade and the territory of Akkade, on a seal impression and a votive offering of subordinates.[45] Further, it is possible that the temples and towns in Sumer and elsewhere that may be referring to the deified king as a God of Akkade were in fact have been founded by Šar-kali-šarrī rather than by his father.

One is naturally curious as to whether Narām-Suen came up on his own with the concept of self-divinization, unprecedented for his homeland, or whether it trickled in via Egyptians, whose culture was the sole contemporary one in which the king was considered a living god. The Egyptians had some presence in Mesopotamia in earlier periods. By the late fourth millennium Egypt was running ships to the ports of what is now Lebanon and points north. These ports served as the termini of long-distance trade networks ultimately leading to the lapis lazuli production centers of Afghanistan, via Syrian intermediaries and Urukean colonies in northern Mesopotamia and Elam.[46] A few centuries later, Egyptian artifacts clearly intended for trade were discovered in the ruins of Palace G at Ebla, dating to a period when that polity had close diplomatic and commercial ties with Mari, Kiš, Adab, and Akšak, cities which were soon to come under Akkadian hegemony.[47] As international trade is generally accompanied by some degree of cultural

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[44] Of the ten inscriptions in RIME 2 that mention Šar-kali-šarrī the king, four include the divine determinative before his name: 2.1.5.2, 2.1.5.4, 2.1.5.6, and 2.1.5.10. The determinative also precedes his name on seal impressions of his queen Tūta-šar-libbiš (RIME 2.1.5.2001), his scribe Ibni-šarrum (RIME 2.1.5. 2010), and his servant Išar-dayyānī (RIME 2.1.5.2012).

[45] Šar-kali-šarrī, god of the land of Akkade" (DINGIR *ma-ti* URI^{ki}) on a votive inscription by Išar-dayyani, his chamberlain (RIME 2.1.5.2012);
"Šar-kali-šarrī, god and hero of Akkade" (DINGIR UR.SAG *A-ka$_3$-de$_3$*^{KI}) on a seal impression of Lugal-giš, scribe and governor of Adab (RIME 2.1.5.2005).

[46] Richard L. Smith (2009), Premodern Trade in World History, NY: Routledge, pp. 40-42; W. Hamblin (2006), pp. 40-41.

[47] According to M. Astour, "History of Ebla" [in Cyrus Gordon (ed.), Eblaitica, vol. 4 (2002), pp. 72-75], twenty alabaster vases of Egyptian make were unearthed in a single room in the palace complex. Astour presents arguments for the palace's burning as the result of accident, not military conquest, and for dating this event to no more than thirty years before the ascension of Sargon.

information flow, it would not be necessary for any Sargonic king to have conversed with actual Egyptians to have learned of their god-pharaohs.

If, however, Narām-Suen was in fact inspired by the Egyptian practice, he must have heard the most abbreviated and superficial exposition of it, for Egyptian divine kingship had a salient feature notably absent from Narām-Suen's performance of it. Although the beginnings of this conception in Egypt are not recoverable, and variations occurred over time and by place, one characteristic of Egyptian kingship is fairly constant, namely that, once enthroned, the pharaoh was understood and named, both during his tenure in office and after his death, as the embodiment of particular gods, ones who already existed in the pantheon.[48] The two divine Akkadian kings, conversely, were never identified in language as the avatars or incarnations of other deities, but as gods in their own right, specifically, as a new god of the city (Narām-Suen) or of the territory (Šar-kali-šarrī) of Akkade. Unfortunately, at this time we lack the material needed to compare the divinized Akkadian kings' treatment at and after death with that both of the pharaohs and of non-deified Mesopotamian rulers.

In the following Ur III period, memory of three of the Akkadian dynasts persisted in the Sumerian landscape itself: a field before the throne of Sargon in Girsu, a canal Man-ištišu in Umma, near Garšana, and a canal, weir and field of Narām-Suen in Umma.[49] A Puzriš-Dagan text with a date otherwise attested only in Ešnuna records an offering before a gate of Narām-Suen.[50]

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[48] For the complexities of the subject, see Byron Shafer (ed.), Religion in Ancient Egypt (1991, Cornell); David O'Connor and David Silverman (eds.), Ancient Egyptian Kingship, (1994, Brill); Toby Wilkinson, Early Dynastic Egypt, (1999, Routledge).

[49] The field before the throne of Sargon (a-šag$_4$ igi barag Šar-ru-gen$_7$) appears in Š43-00-00 (CT 07 25 BM 013164) and ŠS01-00-00 (SNAT 126). The canal of Man-ištušu (id$_2$ Ma-an-iš-ti-šu) occurs in an undated text from Garšana, CUSAS 3 0561; note that this ruler's name is always spelled Man-ištišu in Ur III sources. The canal (id$_2$) of Narām-Suen occurs in Š48-00-00 (BPOA 7 1655) and AS09-00-00 (UTI 5 3499); the weir (kab$_2$-ku$_5$) in his name is mentioned in thirteen texts, from Š46-00-00 (Syracuse 180) to ŠS05 (UTI 3 1732); the field in his name in six texts from AS09-00-00 (UTI 5 3482) to ŠS03-04-00 (BPOA 1 1737).

[50] 1 gukkal ka$_2$ *Na-ra-am-*^{d}EN.ZU (AnOr 07 052, Š32-00-00), month zu$_2$-si.

While the kings' names in these instances did not bear the divine determinative, it does appear before those of Narām-Suen and Sargon when they received one sheep apiece in the temple of Enlil, from which one may deduce that their images had been installed there for worship.[51] Furthermore, the Akkadian ruler Man-ištušu is recalled in the Ur III personal name, Ur-Man-ištisu, where it is always deified, though this king predated the first Mesopotamian to be deified during life, Narām-Suen.[52] Apparently, there was a cult to Man-ištušu operative in Umma during the reign of the Ur III king Šu-Suen, if not before: vegetable offerings were provided to him immediately after the same had been offered in the temple of Šara, deliveries of garments for an effigy of his were made in Umma, and there existed a hamlet called Man-ištišu.[53] The very late, posthumous deification of Sargon, whose own descendants never accorded him that honor, doubtless speaks to the reverence the Ur III kings felt toward their own dynasty's founder, Ur-Namma, though they contrarily neglected to deify him after his death.[54] Once effected, it seemingly justified the similarly baseless deification of Sargon's son Man-ištušu at least a century after his death. The absence of

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[51] PDT 1 605, ŠS01-04-00, Puzriš-Dagan. The deification of Sargon would seem to have been modeled on that of his grandson, and applied retroactively and inconsistently. See, for example, the Ur III minister (sukkal) Ur-Šargon, who occurs twenty times in the archives (nineteen in Puzriš-Dagan, once in Umma), from AS02-09-25 to ŠS05-01-24. His name is spelled Ur-Šar-ru-gen$_7$ fourteen times, and Ur-^{d}Šar-ru-gen$_7$ six times.

[52] Ur-^{d}Ma-an-iš-ti$_2$-su occurs in five texts dating from AS04-12d-00 (Studies Owen 211 08) through AS09-08-00 (UTI 3 1829), all Umma.

[53] CDLJ 2007: 1 33, no date, Umma, for offerings to Ma-an-iš-ti-su; note the name lacks the divine determinative here, though it does occur before the hamlet ^{d}Ma-an-iš-ti$_2$-su (UTI 5 3416, ŠS03-00-00, Umma, and on an unpublished tablet owned by Mrs. Greyzel of Cambridge, MA; I thank P. Steinkeller for these references) as well as before his name as recipient of garments (RA 86 97, AS07-00-00; and NYPL 006, ŠS06-11-00, both Umma), the former of which was subsumed under the heading "deliveries to Šara of Apisal".

[54] There is a single administrative tablet from the Ur III period in which the dead Ur-Namma's name is preceded by the divine determinative (UET 3 0076, nd, Ur). The text, which is broken, records offerings in the Throne House (e$_2$-gu-za) as well as in the New Palace (e$_2$-gal gibil) for the kianag of ^{d}Ur-^{d}Namma, during the first fruits festival of ezem-mah. This may simply reflect a thoughtless moment on the part of a scribe who was used to inserting the determinative before the names of the dead kings receiving funerary offerings.

As far as dating this tablet, further on, immediately after a mention of month 7 day 15, oil was distributed for the boat cabin of the barge of an en "doing" a temple banquet hall (giš-hum ma$_2$-gur$_8$-re en e$_2$-unu$_6$-ak-a). Perhaps this refers to a procession by canal involving that en of Inana of Uruk who had taken the cult name "The En of the Great Heavenly Banquet Hall of Inana" (En-unu$_6$-gal-an-na-^{d}Inana), installed in office in AS05, and replaced by En-am-gal-an-na in IS02.

any mention of Šar-kali-šarrī, the actually deified king closest in time to the Ur III dynasty, begs for an explanation which, however, a lack of evidence on the matter currently precludes.

Šulgi, the second king of the Ur III dynasty, who boasted of his literacy, had the opportunity to note the divine determinative before the Akkadian god-kings' names on the various statues, stelae, and votive offerings which the latter and their subordinates had deposited in temples throughout Mesopotamia.[55] One might reasonably suppose that, in addition, tales that mentioned Narām-Suen's godhood were in general circulation, and that Šulgi would have been aware of them.[56] And it's possible that Šulgi had seen the Victory Stele of Narām-Suen, whereupon that king was depicted wearing the horned crown of divinity, in its likely home in Utu's temple in Sippar. Šulgi, like Narām-Suen, was not transubstantiated by the mere act of acceding to the throne, and, like him, came to his (self)-deification at a later point in his reign. But whereas Narām-Suen's apotheosis was the end-result of external events that he could not have anticipated, Šulgi's seems to have occurred as an essential component of a deliberate, long-term strategy. Šulgi left us no narrative explaining the reasons for his sudden divinity, the first sign of which (the god determinative) appeared in the year formula of his 21st year.[57] A perusal of the formulae for each of Šulgi's 48 regnal years shows that the first twenty-one primarily commemorate cultic events, such as the rebuilding of temples and the crafting of special items for the gods, whereas the last twenty-seven are dominated by military campaigns. The notice of the king's deification, appearing as it

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[55] For Šulgi's claim of literacy, which included reading, writing, mathematics, and musical composition, see the royal hymns Šulgi B and C, available in the on-line Oxford Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature.

[56] The earliest fragments of The Curse of Akkade, a story focused on Narām-Suen, date to the Ur III period; see J. Cooper (1983), pp. 41-43, Alster (1993), pp. 1-3.

[57] It took a while for the divine determinative to be written consistently before Šulgi's name. After its initial appearance in the formula for his twenty-first regnal year, it occurs next in Š24 in the name of a cook, ^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu (NATN 740, Nippur). The following year it shows up only three times: once in as part of a field name (a-šag$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi-ra) in Umma (RIAA 187), once in the month named the Festival of Šulgi (MVN 13 866, Girsu), and once in the name of Šul-gi-ba-ni, whose seal impression identified him as a son of the general Kurub-UTU and a runner (lu$_2$-kaš$_4$), although in the body of the text he had been promoted to a royal envoy (lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal) (ITT 2 00763, Girsu [seal]. This orthographic convention doesn't occur in an Ur text until Š28, in the name of the king's consort ^{d}Šul-gi-si$_2$-im-tum (UET 3 0289).

does at his pivot from domestic to military affairs, may be reasonably connected to this shift in focus.

Piotr Steinkeller has argued that the sequence of events memorialized in Šulgi's year formulae correspond with the king's overall and deliberate "grand strategy", to consolidate power internally first, before setting off to secure his kingdom's access to the Great Khurasan Road, one of the major trade routes of the time and vital to Sumer's economic health.[58] The event of Šulgi's year 21 formula --- "the year when Ninurta, the chief farmer of Enlil, pronounced an ominous decision in the temple of Enlil and Ninlil, and Šulgi, king of Ur, (re)-organized the fields and the accounts in the temple for Enlil and Ninlil" --- was the culmination of the king's internal efforts.[59] Concomitant with receiving the divine approval of an oracle, the recently deified Šulgi made his move to take over the operation of the main temple complex of the land, the E-kur in Nippur, by "re-organizing" both the traditional base of a temple's wealth (agriculture, i.e. its fields) and the assets deposited therein (treasury, i.e. its accounts). His success in this endeavor set the stage for his entitlement to the assets of all the other, lesser temples of the land.[60] As with Narām-Suen, Šulgi's apotheosis provided him with the traditional right of ownership enjoyed by Sumerian deities.[61]

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[58] Steinkeller (forthcoming c), The Grand Strategy of the Ur III Empire. This route corresponds roughly with the later Silk Road.

[59] mu ^{d}Nin-urta ensi$_2$-gal ^{d}En-lil$_2$-la$_2$-ke$_4$ e$_2$ ^{d}En-lil$_2$ ^{d}Nin-lil$_2$-la$_2$-ke$_4$ eš-bar-kin ba-an-dug$_4$-ga ^{d}Šul-gi lugal-Uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ke$_4$ gan$_2$ nig$_3$-ka$_9$ šag$_4$ e$_2$ ^{d}En-lil$_2$ ^{d}Nin-lil$_2$-la$_2$-ke$_4$ si bi-sa$_2$-a.

[60] Steinkeller (1991), p. 17: "the most significant of Šulgi's reforms was that the possessions of the temple households, as well as the households themselves, all now became *de facto* state property. . . the surplus revenues of the temple households, which in the past had been retained in the province, were now delivered to the central government."

Selz (2010), pp. 15-17, contends that Šulgi's reorganization of the E-kur falls within a historical Sumerian tradition, paralleled by the reorganization of the E-MI$_2$ of Lagaš in the late Pre-Sargonic period. There is no evidence, however, that the enlargement of the E-MI$_2$ was a forerunner to royal assertion of ownership of every temple's assets.

[61] Steinkeller (forthcoming b), p. 25: Šulgi "cleverly embedded within the divine families of all the southern city-state, thereby legitimizing his claim to their individual kingships."

In order to fully understand the import of this 21st year formula, one must consider the role of the city of Nippur in Mesopotamian history up to this point. Originally the bailiwick of the agriculture and warrior god, Ninurta, by the Fara period the city had become the primary cult center for the head of the Sumerian pantheon, Enlil, along with his wife, Ninlil. This usurpation did not, however, shunt Ninurta aside. On the contrary, he evolved a new identity as son of Enlil, and retained a major temple, the E-šumeša, in the center of Nippur, north of Enlil's temple complex, the E-kur. A new power dynamic within the city also evolved, with the E-kur maintaining independence from, and probably a certain authority over, the civic and cultic officials running the city itself and the temples of Ninurta and Inana.[62] In the Ur III period, the connection between some of the civic and religious officials was familial, with each of the governors of Nippur and the chief administrators of Inana's temple being blood relatives.[63]

With Enlil ensconced there, the E-kur of Nippur became the site of pilgrimage for those men who aspired to the title of king of Sumer (and, occasionally, Akkade), the legitimacy of which was clearly considered to be dependent to a significant degree on the support of Enlil.[64] The list is long, and includes several men who ruled various city-states during the Early Dynastic period, as well as such luminaries as the founder of the Akkadian dynasty, Sargon, his grandson Narām-Suen, Utu-hegal, the king of Uruk whom Ur-Namma served before establishing his own dynasty, Ur-Namma

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[62] Inana's temple in Nippur was even closer to the E-kur than Ninurta's, lying slightly to the SW of it. See Zettler (1992).

[63] On the descendants of Ur-Meme and their roles in the administration of the city of Nippur and its temple of Inana, see W. Hallo (1972) and R. Zettler (1984). Michalowski (1981), p. 175, pointed out that such an intertwining of positions of authority existed already in the Sargonic period, when a governor of Nippur, one Lugal-nigzu, served simultaneously as a very high-level temple administrator (sanga) of Enlil.

[64] Nippur was rivaled in its aspiration to be king-maker by the city of Kiš, a pretension that the Akkadian dynasts utilized in adopting the title "King of Everything", *šar kiššatim*, "a neologism that involves a bilingual play of words. It started life as a Sumerian epithet LUGAL.KIŠ, "king of (the city) of Kish", which was used by rulers of that city, but also by others who did not control it, but had pretensions to some form of hegemony in Sumer and Akkad." (P. Michalowski, 2010, p. 153).

himself, and his son Šulgi.[65] In return for Enlil's support of their claim, these kings kept the temples of Nippur in good repair and showered the E-kur in particular with luxury objects, booty from successful campaigns, votives, and copious provisions for operating the cult. Reading between the lines, one can envision a powerful priesthood that could withhold or bestow a crucial endorsement for rulers aspiring to a larger arena than their individual city-states, and, consequently, a priesthood whose members might be "encouraged" in their interpretation of their god's pronouncements, whether by bribery or threat, but who might in turn select on their own initiative and for their own reasons candidates for promotion to kingship. That Narām-Suen managed to get his daughter Tūta-napšum installed as the highest cultic officiant (the en-priestess) of Enlil in Nippur suggests

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[65] In the ED III period En-metena of Lagaš stated that he was given the scepter by Enlil (RIME 1.9.5.1), Ikūn-Šamaš of Mari was termed king of Mari and main governor ($ensi_2$-gal) of Enlil on a votive offering by a courtier (RIME 1 .10.7.5), and a seal impression of Išgi-Mari claimed those same titles (E 1.10.17.3). Giša-kidug of Umma called himself "the mighty governor" ($ensi_2$-kalag-ga) of Enlil (E 1.12.6.2). Fragments of numerous vessels found near the E-kur in Nippur bear an identical inscription of Lugal-kigine-dudu of Uruk, which state that Enlil had summoned him and combined the offices of enship and kingship for him, so that he might now rule as en of Uruk and king (lugal) of Ur (RIME 1.14.14.2). One of his successors, Lugal-zagesi, reported that Enlil, king of all the lands (lugal-kur-kur-ra) gave him kingship of the motherland (nam-lugal kalam-ma) (RIME 1.14.20.1).

All of the Sargonic kings claimed special authority from Enlil. Sargon, who called himself the governor ($ensi_2$) of Enlil, asserted that Enlil had given him the scepter, authorized him, via omen, to attack Uruk, and instructed him to conquer the lands around the Upper and Lower Seas (RIME 2.1.1.15, 2.1.1.6 and 2.1.1.13). His son Rīmuš stated that Enlil had granted him kingship (RIME 2.1.2.4), showed him how to conquer Elam (RIME 2.1.2.6), and further, that he himself held all the lands on Enlil's behalf (RIME 2.1.2.9). His successor Man-ištušu also averred that he had been given the scepter of kingship by Enlil (RIME 2.1.3.1).

D. Frayne (RIME 3, p. 85) interprets a Narām-Suen year formula first published by Civil (1961, p. 80, N236 rev.) --- "(the year) Narām-Suen received the weapon of An/heaven in the temple of Enlil" ([mu] Na-ra-am-^{d}EN.ZU e_2 ^{d}En-lil_2-ta tukul-An-na šu ba-ti-a) --- as his first, and thus as implicitly crediting Enlil with his kingship. As for his successor, note texts concerning a trip by king Šar-kali-šarrī and members of his family to Nippur, discussed by B. Foster (1980, pp. 36-40), which he characterized as "important enough to have been commemorated in at least two year dates. . . I suggest that the occasion for this journey was his [Šar-kali-šarrī's] coronation as king of Sumer and Akkad." (p. 40). P. Steinkeller's conclusion (1992, pp. 56-57) that three of the Umma texts that refer to this king's journey to Nippur date to year 1 in the mu-iti system supports Foster's suggestion.

Utu-hegal expelled the Gutian dynasty that was centered around Adab, the success of which endeavor set him up to claim kingship over Sumer as a whole. In the text describing this exploit, Utu-hegal, termed king of Uruk when directly enjoined by Enlil to extirpate the Gutians from Sumer (^{d}En-lil_2 lugal-kur-kur-ra-ke_4 mu-bi ha-lam-e-de_3 ^{d}Utu-he_2-gal_2. . . lugal-Unug^{ki}-ga. . . a_2-bi mu-da-an-ag_2), after accepting this command became "the king granted power by Enlil" (lugal ^{d}En-lil_2-la_2 a_2 sum-ma).

The expressed dependence of the Ur III dynasts on the support of Enlil for their claims to hegemony over Sumer is discussed in the body of the text.

that the kings were well aware of the power of the E-kur, and had an interest in trying to gain some personal control over it.[66]

If the reconstruction of a crucial inscription is correct, Šulgi's father Ur-Namma first entered the historical record as a general of Utu-hegal, king of Uruk, also serving as military governor of Ur under him.[67] On Utu-hegal's death, Ur-Namma declared himself as independent king of Ur, in

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[66] For the inscriptions of Tūta-napšum, see RIME 2.1.4.18-20. In the first she has no title, in the second it's given as ereš-dingir [^{d}En-lil$_2$], and in the third as "en NIN ^{d}En-lil$_2$. In an Akkadian language seal of her servant Aman-Aštar, her office is spelled EN-*na-at* ^{d}EN.LIL$_2$" (RIME 2.1.4.2017). Tūta-napšum is likely the referent of the "NIN ^{d}En-lil$_2$" who participated in a royal progression to Gašur in the Diyala region (Visicato [2001], pp. 467).

Michalowski (1981), pp. 174-175, mentions two Narām-Suen year formulae, commemorating the selections of an ereš-dingir and an en of Enlil, and suggests that they involve two different offices, although, I would add, that would not necessarily have involved two different individuals. J. G. Westenholz, on the other hand, considers these year formulae to concern the same office, which was written using "two different orthographic systems, the Sumerian and the Akkadian of the northern so-called Kish tradition." (1992, p. 302), a solution I find difficult to accept in view of the fact that neither en nor ereš-dingir (spelled NIN-dingir) is an Akkadian word. In further support of her contention Westenholz notes that, traditionally, Mesopotamian cults had either an en or an ereš-dingir, so that, were the en and ereš-dingir of Enlil in the Narām-Suen year formulae two different offices, this would be unique. However, data from Ur III archives shows that such a situation was not exactly unique --- ereš-dingir are attested for the following cults, that were also served by an en: ereš-dingir Enki (UET 3 1120, IS07, Ur); the "man of" (lu$_2$) the ereš-dingir Gula (WMAH 222, nd, Girsu); ereš-dingir Inana Zabalam (Torino 2 524, ŠS01, Umma); seal impression of Geme-Lamma ereš-dingir Nanše (TCS 1 081, nd, Girsu); and Tulid-Šamši, who is called ereš-dingir Suen except on her seal, where she is the ereš-dingir Nanna (NATN 036, AS01, Nippur; Princeton 1 381, AS03-05-00, Girsu).

Note also Steinkeller (1999), pp. 120, 128-129, who holds that the ereš-dingir priestess "counted as a female form of the en" beginning in the Sargonic period, influenced by the introduction of female ens into Sumerian cult at that time.

Finally, Huber Vuillet (2010) argues that the Sargonic cultic title spelled NIN should not be corrected to ereš-dingir (NIN-dingir), as it is in fact a logogram for the Sumerian word "en", and should be read as "en" or its Akkadian equivalent, "*entum*". However, if an author of that period meant to convey that a certain person was an en, and further to do so utilizing a logogram, why would he not use the already existing logogram EN, which does in fact mean "en"?

An option as yet unmentioned is that Tūtu-napšum was made, first, an ereš-dingir priestess of Enlil, and that her father then succeeded in propelling her into the higher office of that god's en-ship, as opposed to the view that the Akkadian word *entum* was used to translate two different Sumerian cult titles, i.e. en and ereš-dingir, or that NIN in this circumstance alone really means EN. Thus, the two Narām-Suen year formulae might involve one individual, but two different events.

[67] UET 1 30, a fragment of a stele excavated at Ur, and containing a dedicatory inscription to Utu-hegal, king of Uruk, by one "Ur-[x] / KIŠ-[x] / Uri$_5$-[x-x] / ama-[x-x] / E$_2$-[x-x-]gal$_2$-[x] / š[x-x-x] / [x-x-x]". Gadd and Legrain, who first published the text, surmised that the dedicator was Ur-Namma, the military governor [KIŠ.NITA] of Ur, a conclusion that has been widely accepted. Sollberger (1951-6), p. 12, fn. 8, suggested that Ur-Namma may have been Utu-hegal's son. Wilcke (1974), pp. 192-194, fn. 67, has shown that the penultimate line in similar inscriptions from the reigns of Ur-Namma

which capacity he apparently also gained control early on over Uruk. At some point in the first half of his 18-year reign, his aspirations led him to seek out support from Enlil in Nippur for rulership over a larger domain, whose approval Ur-Namma did in fact obtain, as commemorated in one of his year formulae: "the year when the king received the kingship from Nippur" (mu lugal-e Nibru^{ki}-ta nam-lugal šu ba-ti-a). Indeed, in the royal hymn Ur-Namma C, it is spelled out that Enlil revealed that Ur-Namma was to be king by the medium of extispicy.[68] In response, Ur-Namma undertook the major project of rebuilding Enlil's E-kur, a job that was finished by his son Šulgi.[69]

Once king, in addition to completing his father's restoration of the E-kur, Šulgi undertook other actions on behalf of the main gods of Nippur, several of which were considered significant enough to have years named after them. In the first half of his reign, before his deification, Šulgi had a lapis lazuli throne made for Enlil (year 3) and a ceremonial barge and a bed crafted for his spouse Ninlil (years 8 and 17). In his attentions to Nippur, Šulgi did not neglect Enlil's son Ninurta, for the king started the work of rebuilding his temple there in his third regnal year, for which deed he named his fourth year. And two years after the ominous decision of Ninurta (year 21), the now-deified Šulgi announced by means of his year formula that Enlil had granted him supreme power (mu ^{d}Šulgi lugal-e a_2-mah ^{d}En-lil$_2$ sum-ma-ni. . .)[70].

Considering Šulgi's year 21 formula within the context of Nippurean politics, it appears to me that the fact that Ninurta delivered his oracle not in his own, nearby temple but in Enlil's E-kur is quite significant. It indicates, for one, that the ultimate authority for the pronouncement was

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and Šulgi was reserved for kinship terms, and proposed restoring that line here as "his [Utu-hegal's] brother" (šeš-a-ne$_2$). See also Hallo (1966), pp. 136-138.

[68] Ur-Namma C, 58: "Enlil chose me by extispicy on a day most favorable for him" (^{d}En-lil$_2$-le ud-dug$_3$-dug$_3$-ga-na maš$_2$-e bi$_2$-in-pad$_3$-en).

[69] This has a parallel in the preceding Sargonic period, when Narām-Suen started, and his son Šar-kali-ărrī completed, another reconstruction of the E-kur of Nippur.

[70] The end of the formula is missing. What remains reads: "The year when Šulgi the king, upon his being given supreme power [by] Enlil, . . .". It is most unfortunate that we are deprived of knowing what Šulgi then did thanks to this new, supreme power.

implicitly the head of the pantheon, Enlil, on whose behalf an effigy of his son Ninurta within the E-kur conveyed the message, likely by an omen that was provoked (extispicy), such as Šulgi's father Ur-Namma had claimed in relation to his own elevation to kingship. That Enlil did not directly pronounce the omen in Šulgi's case means, in practical terms, that the priests in charge of his cult would not cooperate. However, this omen was of such import that it needed to be revealed in the most important sanctuary of the land, and a way was found around Enlil's cult administrators.

I would like to propose the possibility that the omen commemorated in Šulgi's year 21 formula provided public notification of the fact that, not only had Enlil authorized the king's right to manage the E-kur, but also that the god recognized, and perhaps even commanded, Šulgi's divine status, whether it was determined to be inherent from birth or the king had earned it by his actions. I further suggest that it was Šulgi who had ordered this "omen", the content of which had been scripted in advance, to be provoked, but, unable to get the officials who controlled Enlil's main shrine to go along with having Enlil pronounce it, settled for the cella of a lesser god within the complex. Of supreme importance was that the oracle be issued from inside the E-kur, so that it might be ultimately attributable to Enlil. Concomitant with receiving this oracle, Šulgi made his move to take over the operation of the E-kur, by "re-organizing" both the traditional base of a temple's wealth (agriculture, i.e. its fields) and the assets deposited therein (treasury, i.e. its accounts).[71] In order to accomplish this, he would, of course, have had to co-opt those temple officials who were amenable and depose and replace the remainder, a coup of sorts that one would not expect to be mentioned by scribes who were ultimately answerable to the king.

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[71] Such an interpretation can also be supported by the grammar of the formula, which occurs in full in a single text (Iraq 22, pl. 18 5 NT 490, Š21-02-00, Nippur): mu ^{d}Nin-urta ensi$_2$-gal ^{d}En-lil$_2$-la$_2$-ke$_4$ e$_2$ ^{d}En-lil$_2$ ^{d}Nin-lil$_2$-la$_2$-ke$_4$ eš-bar-kin ba-an-dug$_4$-ga ^{d}Šul-gi lugal-Uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ke$_4$ gan$_2$ nig$_3$-kas$_7$ šag$_4$ e$_2$ ^{d}En-lil$_2$ ^{d}Nin-lil$_2$-la$_2$-ke$_4$ si bi$_2$-sa$_2$-a. This is generally translated as a double subordination, i.e. "when, *after* ^{d}Ninurta had X. . . *then* ^{d}Šulgi did Y", understanding the king's actions as a direct result of a command of the god Ninurta which had been relayed by ominous means. Yet the structure of the verbs in the phrase (ba-an-dug$_4$-ga and bi$_2$-sa$_2$-a) shows that they are morphologically and functionally equivalent. That is, they are parallel parts of a single compound sentence that is subordinated as a whole to the word "year" (mu). That these two actions were mentioned in a single year formula does, of course, indicate some relation between them, but to assume that the first (the omen) commanded the second (the takeover) is reading more into the phrase than it allows.

The virtual absence of an en-priestess of Enlil of Nippur in the Ur III corpus might be related to this event. The sole mention of the office in the Ur III period occurs on a tablet dated to AS07, where the en ^{d}En-lil$_2$-la$_2$ and a person entitled SAL.ME.HUB ^{d}En-lil$_2$-la$_2$ received boots in Nippur.[72] In her study of the clergy of Nippur and their relationship with the secular power structure, J. G. Westenholz construed the situation there in the late Sargonic and early Ur III periods as consisting of two factions headed by, respectively, the highest administrator (sanga) of the E-kur and the governor of Nippur. She argued further that the reorganization commemorated in Šulgi's twenty-first year formula meant in practical terms that not only were all the temples made *de facto* property of the state, but also "that the two divisions of Nippur were now organized under one political hierarchy headed by the ensi of Nippur while stripping the sanga of Enlil of his power,"[73] one result of which was a downgrading in the status of Enlil's en. It certainly cannot have been due to a downgrading of ens in general, as the Ur III kings named years after their selection and installation of their own children as ens of Nanna of Ur, Enki of Eridug, and Inana of Uruk.[74] Given the relative prominence

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[72] OIP 121 497, AS07-09-00, Puzriš-Dagan. SAL.ME.HUB$_2$ is likely a variant spelling of lagar$_3$ (SAL.HUB$_2$, also readable as MI$_2$.HUB). The lagar is a high-level cultic office attested for Enlil's cult in Nippur from the ED III period, and often paired with the en of Nippur; see J. G. Westenholz (1992), pp. 299-304.

Regarding the en, note the following seal found in a drain from the Parthian level of the Inana temple in Uruk: KA-kugani, en of Enlil, his/her spouse Inana-ka(m) (KA-kug-ga-ni en ^{d}En-lil$_2$-la$_2$ ^{d}Inana-ka dam-ni), RIME 3 2.1.2. 2025. This seal is generally taken to be of Ur III date, and the en mentioned to be a man, which assumptions are then used to support the contention that in the Ur III period the ens of Enlil were male. See, for example, Hallo (1972), pp. 91-92, who does, however, admit that this seal has been dated as OB by others.

Were this seal to be securely dated to the Ur III period, it would indeed constitute proof of a male en of Enlil, as the name KA-kugani (usually transliterated as Inim-kug[ani]) was restricted at that time to men, e.g. Inim-kug engar, "plowman" (ASJ 08 113 30, Š40, Girsu); Inim-kugani gaba$_2$-us$_2$, "herding assistant" (CT 09 23 BM 019055, AS01, Girsu); Inim-kug gudug, "cult functionary" (BPOA 6 0363, AS04-11-00, Umma); Inim-kug damgar, "merchant" (SAT 3 2219, nd, Umma).

[73] J. G. Westenholz (1992), p. 306.

[74] Ur-Namma named one year after the selection of a son to be en of Inana of Uruk, and another after the selection of a daughter to be en of Nanna of Ur. Šulgi's twenty-eighth year formula commemorates the installation of a daughter as en of Enki of Eridug. Although the remainder of the formulae mentioning ens do not explicitly call them prince/sses, it is probable that most, if not all, were members of the royal family. They are: Š15, the selection of an en of Nanna of Ur; Š43, the selection of an en of Nanna of Ur; AS04, the selection and installation of an en of Nanna; AS05, the installlation of an en of Inana of Uruk; AS08, the installation of an en of Enki of Eridug; AS09, the installation of an en of Nanna of Karzida-Gaeš; IS02, the selection of an en of Inana of Uruk; IS04,

in the record of the other ens of important deities, one would expect to see many more references to an en of the highest god in the pantheon, barring some abnormal circumstance.

But, howsoever Šulgi achieved and rationalized his deification, its manifestations differed in two major ways from that of Narām-Suen and his successor. Narām-Suen was designated a god of his city Akkade, and his cult, by way of a dedicated temple, was from all evidence limited to his own temples. Šulgi became a god of the motherland (kalam) as a whole, inserting his worship into existing cults of other deities as well as building a number of temples centered on himself alone. In fact, this self-representation was explicitly verbalized in two texts from Umma, in which the usual start of the year formula for Š42, "Šulgi, the king", was changed to "Šulgi, god of the motherland".[75] This wording also occurs on various votive objects that were offered by or on behalf of this king during his reign.[76] Additionally, the role of communal cultic events in a largely illiterate society, as "the main means of disseminating ideological messages" and in strengthening "social cohesion, thereby significantly contributing toward the creation of a sense of national identity and a unified ideological system" was evidently not only recognized, but also fully exploited by Šulgi, in his institution of an annual public festival replete with processions, banquets, music, and other forms of entertainment, and dedicated exclusively to his divine self.[77]

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the installation of an en of Inana of Uruk; IS10, the selection of an en of Inana of Uruk; and S11, the selection and installation of an en of Enki of Eridug.

[75] ^{d}Šul-gi dingir kalam-ma in YOS 04 092, Š42-02-06, Umma; and Aleppo 497, Š42-04-00, Umma vs. ^{d}Šul-gi lugal-e in BPOA 6 0959, Š42-00-00, Umma.

[76] RIME 3 2.1.2.58: on a carnelian bead dedicated to Ningal, Šulgi called himself "the god of his motherland" (^{d}Šul-gi dingir kalam-ma-na); RIME 3 2.1.2.2038; on a seal for Meslamtaea, Šulgi again called himself "god of his motherland"; RIME 3 2.1.2.83: in the inscription on a bowl that Šulgi's consort Ninkala offered on his behalf, the king is termed "god of his motherland" (dingir kalam-na-na); RIME 3 2.1.2.2046: a broken inscription on a plate unearthed in the Larsa level of the Gipar in Ur named Šulgi "god of his motherland". The findspot of the latter indicates that the presenter was likely an en of Nanna, and thus, a royal princess.

[77] Steinkeller (2015), p. 203.

Administrative and economic records show that the cult of the divine Šulgi, as measured by the treatment and manipulations of the main object of its focus, his cult image, was identical in all respects to the cults of the traditional gods. The practices Šulgi instituted were followed and even expanded upon by his successors on the throne, and the penumbra of the king's divinity came to fall on other members of the royal family as well.

1.2 Cult Statues and Temples of the Deified King in the Ur III Period

The focus of prayers and offerings to gods were in fact their effigies, located in cellae in their own and other gods' temples.[78] That this was the case during the Ur III period is demonstrated by two texts dealing with the Great Offering at Enlil's temple complex in Nippur. The earlier text (from Š46) lists eight individual deities and the ziggurat stairs (Hursag-galama) in the temple of Ninlil, along with another eight deities and the holy mound (Du_6-kug) in an unspecified locale inside the E-kur, as recipients of sacrifices classified as the Great Offering ($siskur_2$ gu-la). The later text (ŠS09) condenses the Great Offering in the same complex to twenty sheep to individual statues (alan dil-dil) in the temple of Enlil and seventeen sheep to individual statues in the temple of Ninlil.[79] In the earlier account, with one exception, each deity received one animal, so that the twenty and seventeen sheep of the later text likely went to individual representations of approximately thirty-seven gods. That references to deities in cultic settings were actually signifying their statues is further demonstrated by several administrative documents from this period that identify the gods IM-dugud-babbar, the deified ruler Gudea, Šakkan, and Ur-gu, an entity associated with Ninmug, as statues (alan).[80] The well-known ceremony of mouth-opening, by means of which divine statues

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[78] Key studies on the appearance, import and treatment of divine effigies include A. Leo Oppenheim (1977), especially "The Care and Feeding of the Gods", pp. 183-198; Agnes Spycket (1968, 1981); William A. Hallo (1983, 1988); Irene Winter (1992, 2000). A recent work focused on the Ur III kings is Claudia Suter (2010).

[79] NYPL 348, Š46-02-22, Puzriš-Dagan; Anr 07 106, ŠS09-10-30, Puzriš-Dagan.

[80] UET 3 0328, Š47-03-00, Ur: a wing fashioned for ^{d}IM-dugud^{mušen}-[babbar];
STA 08, AS05-10-00, Girsu: mouth-opening ceremony on Gudea's statue ("alan $^{d}Gu_3$-du_2-a-ke_4 ka-duh-ha";

were ritually animated, is mentioned as having occurred in several texts.[81] The deities involved were Lugal-kurdub, Ningišzida, Nungal, Lugal-kura, and the deified mortal, Gudea, in one instance specified as "the statue of Gudea".[82]

In relation to anthropomorphic representations, although both the physical and textual evidence is sparse, it appears that gods might have different aspects that could be represented by different models of statues, related perhaps to the type of rite in which these statues participated. Most notable is a statue in Girsu called Bau-ea, or "Bau Brought Forth", involved in a ritual of the same name, which would seem to have entailed the removal of this statue from its temple niche.[83] Also attested are statues named "Armed Inana" at Nippur, "Inana the Path of Šu-Suen", and the closely related if not identical "Inana the Highway of Šu-Suen".[84] Šulgi, too, had statues individuated by particular epithets, although the records do not indicate if these were among his effigies receiving worship or comprised votive offerings to be set before the statues of other

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UET 3 0727, no date, Ur: "^{d}Šakkan alan";
TLB 3 168, no date, Umma?: a stone bowl for "alan Ur-gu_2-ke_4", which was part of a large delivery summarized as "mu-DU ^{d}Nin-mug-ga Ur-gu_2-ka".

[81] Walker and Dick (2001). Their examples are primarily from the Neo-Assyrian and Neo-Babylonian periods. However, though the details of the various rituals involved would doubtless differ in many instances from third millennium practices, the theological framework behind them was likely quite similar.

[82] CT 07 16 BM 017765, AS01-08-00: ^{d}Lugal-kur-dub_2 ka-duh-ha;
Berens 71, XX-05-00, Girsu: ^{d}Lugal-ku_4-ra ka-duh-ha;
MVN 22 226, IS03-00-00, Girsu: ^{d}Ningišzida, ^{d}Nungal, ^{d}Lugal-ku_4-ra, and ^{d}Gudea ka-duh-ha;
STA 08, AS05-09-00, Girsu: alan ^{d}Gudea ka-duh-ha; MVN 13 138, AS08-03-00; ITT 5 06927, ŠS02-03-00; ITT 3 05271, XX-06-00, all Girsu: ^{d}Gudea ka-duh-ha.

[83] See especially TCTI 2 03336, AS08-11-00, Girsu, where Dada, the chief gala, went to bring forth Bau-ea (^{d}Ba-u_2-e_3-<a> e_3-de_3 gen-na). Note the similarly named variant of the goddess Gula, ^{d}Gu-la-e_3-a (Nisaba 24 24, ŠS08-00-00, Umma).

[84] Trouvaille 77, Š34-12-20, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}Inana-^{giš}-tukul; Seri, CDLJ 2007:1 26, ŠS07-02-25, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}Inana-^{giš}tukul $šag_4$ e_2-tur_3; and BIN 3 571, ŠS04-12-05, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}Inana KA-gir_3-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen; CT 32 50 BM 103409, XX-00-29, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}Inana-kaskal-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen". Suter (2010), p. 330, suggests that the latter designated not an individual statue of the goddess, but rather her image on the pedestal of a statue of king Šu-Suen; accordingly, she translated the epithet as "Inana of the Road (and) Šu-Suen". I would counter her interpretation with the fact that the sole mention of ^{d}Inana-kaskal-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen occurs in a list of offerings to the statues of various deities. It would be strikingly odd for a lamb to be sacrificed to a bas-relief on a statue's pedestal rather than to deity represented by the statue itself.

deifies.[85] An Ur tablet records metalwork done on the statues "The King, Running (in front of) the Chariot", and "The King at Prayer".[86] The former no doubt comprised a memorial in the third dimension to Šulgi's long-distance run from Nippur to Ur and back, an achievement that was also commemorated verbally, in a year formula as well as in the hymn, Šulgi A. Another of this king's statues, the lower half of which has been preserved, bears a votive inscription that also gives its name: "Šulgi, given power by Nindara, is the life-breath of his city".[87] The inscription makes it clear that this item had been dedicated during the king's lifetime.

In the reign of Amar-Suen, Šulgi's immediate successor, a bronze statue called "The King Installed at the Four Quarters" is attested, along with another named "Amar-Suen in the Temple of Enlil", which was located in the E-kur in Nippur.[88] During the tenure of Šu-Suen one finds the statues "The King Subjugating the South and the North",[89] "Amar-Suen at the Royal Quay", "Šu-

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[85] Suter (2010), pp. 331-332, discusses the difficulties in many instances of determining whether a three-dimensional representation of the deified king was his cult image or a votive offering placed before other deities, especially as there is no notable distinction in the king's depiction in the two, as far as we can discern from extant evidence. See also Winter (1992), who differentiates between royal statues set up a) as votives before other deities' effigies, to serve as a constant reminder of the king's pious deeds; b) as representations of the deceased king in his mortuary chapel (kianag) to preside over offerings made there; and c) as cult statues proper of the deified king in his own or other gods' temples.

[86] UET 3 0310, Š43-06-00, Ur: "alan Lugal $kaš_4$ ^{giš}gigir" and "alan Lugal $siskur_2$". Suter (2010), p. 330, translates the former as "the king riding on a chariot", but this is unlikely, as $kaš_4$ has the primary meaning of "to run". The word for riding a vehicle is u_5. A charioteer may be denoted by ra_2-gaba, the "mounted courier", attestations of which are frequent in the Ur III corpus, or by the rarer lu_2-^{giš}gigir. For the latter, see, for example, ^{d}Nanna-kug-zu lu_2-^{giš}gigir (Nisaba 22 055, AS05-10-00, Girsu); Gu-a-a lu_2-^{giš}gigir (MTBM 028, ŠS05-07-00, Girsu); and also the royal charioteer (lu_2-^{giš}gigir-lugal) Lu_2-^{d}Damu (CT 09 18 BM 017748, nd, Girsu).

[87] RIME 3 2.1.2.2031. This statue (^{d}Šul-gi-a_2-sum-ma-^{d}Nin-dar-a-zi-$šag_4$-gal_2-uru-na) had been fashioned and offered to Nindara for the life of Šulgi by a man in charge of sacrifices (lu_2-giš-tag-ga) who also bore a name honoring the king, ^{d}Šulgi-ki-ur_5-$šag_5$-kalam-ma-ka.

[88] UET 9 0366, AS07-03-00, Ur: alan Lugal-an-ub-da-$lummu_2$-ba gub-ba; U. 30117 (unpubl.), XX-07-00, Ur: gold and lapis lazuli for a copper statue of the King Installed at the Four Quarters (^{uruda}alan-lugal-an-ub-da-$limmu_2$-ba-gub-ba) and for three copper statues of a suckling child (^{uruda}alan-SAL dumu-ga); AUCT 1 336, AS02-15-12, Puzriš-Dagan: "^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-e_2-^{d}En-lil_2-ta".

[89] Sollberger (1983), p. 74, calculated that if the three pound (eight mana) chunk of lapis lazuli issued for this statue was used to craft a single item, such as a beard, "This would imply a statue of virtually life-size proportions."

Suen Beloved of Nanna", and "Šu-Suen (with) the Mace".[90] Under Ibbi-Suen there appear statues named "Amar-Suen at the Lapis Lazuli Quay" and "Šu-Suen Beloved of Ninsun".[91] In addition, there are numerous records concerning statues of the kings classified by pose, size, and/or material, e.g. the new copper statue of Amar-Suen, a small statue of the king (made of) gold, a carnelian statue of Šu-Suen, a large statue of Ibbi-Suen, and a lapis lazuli statue of the seated king.[92] One text shows that tortoise-shell was incorporated into a royal statue, another that silver, lead and an alloy were used for the finishing touches on a statue of Šu-Suen.[93]

Other records detail various accoutrements intended for the royal effigies: fine garments, leather hides, bracelets, gemstones, a crown, throwsticks, a mace-strap, a drum, and pedestals.[94]

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[90] AnSt 33 74, ŠS01-06-00, unknown provenience: "alan Lugal a-ab-ba igi-nim da gu_2 <gar>"; Studies Levine 132-138, ŠS09-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-kar-re-lugal"; Rochester 086, ŠS03-07-10, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ki-ag_2-^{d}Nanna, in Ur; and SAT 3 1908, ŠS09-05-00, Umma: "^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen alan ^{giš}tukul".

[91] UET 3 0105, IS05-04-00, Ur: "alan ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen Kar-za-gin_3"; and CST 453, ŠS09-10-09, Puzriš-Dagan: "^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ki-ag_2-^{d}Nin-sun_2"; note king Šu-^{d}Suen died before the 10th month of his last regnal year.

[92] AUCT 1 661, AS05-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan: "uruda gibil ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen"; UET 3 0400, IS08-09-20, Ur: "alan-lugal kug-sig_{17} si-sa_2 tur"; CT 32 12 BM 103436, ŠS03-11-29, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{na4}gug-a-nu_2 ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen; UET 3 0267, IS13-08-00, Ur: "alan ^{d}I-bi_2-^{d}Suen gu-la"; and UET 3 0520, IS15-07-05, Ur: "alan-lugal-tuš-a ^{na4}za-gin_3".

[93] TLC 5 5680, ŠS02-00-00, Umma: four tortoise-shells ($murgu_2$-ba) for alan ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen; TLB 3 163, ŠS08-00-00, Girsu: kug-babbar, a-gar_3 and nig_2-hi alan ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen šu du_7-du_7-de_3.

[94] Nisaba 11 25, Š34-00-00, Umma: a garment (^{tug2}guz-za-gen) for the deified Šulgi at the temple of the divine white IM-dugud bird and at Apisal; NYPL 331, Š47-12-00, Umma: a garment (tug_2) for the deified Šulgi in the IM-dugud-babbar temple; MVN 04 122, Š47-12-00, Umma: ten lbs. of wool (eight ma-na siki) to fashion items for ^{d}Šul-gi IM-dugud-babbar; Nisaba 09 352, AS01-00-00, Umma: men and materials to ready (sa gi_4-a) a garment for ^{d}Šulgi; Nisaba 15 141, Urusagrig: a garment for ^{d}Šul-gi; TCTI 2 04033, no date, Girsu: large linen for the statue of Šu-Suen (gada-mah alan ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ka);

TCL 5 5672, Š40-12-00, Umma: a sixteen-month account of ox-hides provided to over twenty deities, including Šulgi, who had temples in the province, summarized as regular offerings (sa_2-dug_4) of the gods. Hides could be used in the manufacture of a variety of items, e.g. doors, musical instruments, boats, bags, weapons, shoes. The divine Šulgi received the second most (159) after Šara of the city of Umma (800).

BCT 2 071, Š34-00-00, Umma: silver bracelets for the king's statue (har alan-lugal);

MVN 04 147, Š45-00-00, Umma: carnelian (gug), *hurizum*, and "eye" stones (nir_3-igi), classified as items of the chamber of Šulgi (nig_2-da-ga ^{d}Šul-gi) of the temple of Šulgi in KI.AN^{ki};

ITT 2 03390, ŠS05-01-00, Girsu: crown for a statue of Šu-Suen (aga alan ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen);

One may profitably compare these to a number of texts from this period listing similar accoutrements (e.g. garments, jewelry, crowns, headbands, mirrors, seals, utensils, weapons) designated for statues of traditional gods:

- Allatum in Anzagar and GARšana (Umma)[95]
- Annunitum in Ereš and Ur[96]
- Ašnan in Umma[97]
- Azia in Umma[98]
- Bau in Girsu[99]
- Dingir-erim in Urusagrig[100]
- Enki in Amrima (Umma)[101]

MVN 05 123, ŠS01-09-22, Puzriš-Dagan: throwstick for the new statue of Šu-Suen (^{giš}šub-nu$_2$ alan ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen gibil);

UET 3 0560, IS 15-08-20, Ur: a mace strap and a throwstick to be attached to a statue of the king (^{giš}tukul ga-li$_2$-a-tum. . . ^{giš}ilar. . . alan-lugal-ba ga$_2$-ga$_2$-de$_3$);

BPOA 1 1734, Š32-10-00, Girsu: copper for a drum of Šulgi (ub$_3$ ^{d}Šul-gi-ra-še$_3$); it's possible that this drum is for the living king and not his cult statue;

UET 3 0310, Š43-06-00, Ur: pedestal for the statue "The King, Running (in front of) the Chariot"; ITT 2 00795, AS09-00-00, Girsu: pedestal for a statue of Šu-Suen (ki-gal alan-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen); UET 3 0582, IS15-09-24, Ur: pedestal of a statue of the king seated (ki-gal alan-lugal-tuš-a); Nisaba 15, 0368, ŠS06-03-00, Urusagrig: bitumen for the throne of the dais (gu-za barag) of Ninhursag and for the pedestal of the statue of the king (u$_3$ ki-gal alan-lugal), in Neber-Šu-Suen.

[95] CDLI P432482, ŠS05-01-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one silver and seventy copper sun-discs (*šamšatum*), one copper disc (*kamkammatum*), carnelian and other beads, seven copper toggle-pins, a stone seal, summarized as "the assemblage of the First Fruits, on hand, property of ^{d}Al-la-tum in Anzagar"; CUSAS 3 0584, ŠS06-04-00, GARšana: one multi-colored garment (tug$_2$ gun $_3$-a) for ^{d}Al-la-tum; CUSAS 3 0715, ŠS09-05-00, GARšana: one garment (tug$_2$) of ^{d}Al-la-tum.

[96] MVN 03 152, Š37-03-00, Puzriš-Dagan: garments, vessels, carnelian, lapis and other beads, silver and gold bracelets, silver and gold earrings, seals, a copper headband or turban set with gold, termed the property (nig$_2$-gur$_{11}$) of Annunitum in Ereš; Princeton 1 562, Š23-00-00, Umma: a pair of silver bracelets for An-nu-ni-tum in Ur.

[97] UTI 5 3485+3509, AS07-00-00, Umma: one garment (tug$_2$) for ^{d}Ašnan.

[98] UTI 5 3485+3509, AS07-00-00, Umma: one garment for ^{d}A-zi-a.

[99] CT 05 39 BM 017753, AS02-00-00, Girsu: twenty-four mana of wool for garments (tug$_2$) of ^{d}Ba-u$_2$.

[100] Nisaba 15 341, ŠS05-01-00, Urusagrig: bronze and copper vessels, a copper scepter, property of Dingir-erim$_4$.

- Geštinana in Maškan (Umma)[102]
- Inana in Anzagar, Diniktum, Nippur, Uruk, and Zabalam (Umma)[103]
- Inana and Ninkugnuna in Uruk[104]
- Inana, Ninšubur and Nanaa in Zabalam (Umma)[105]
- Inana, A-alimmah, Ninšubur and Nanaa in Zabalam (Umma)[106]
- Išhara in Urusagrig[107]
- Išmagan in Urusagrig[108]
- Lamma-igi-du in Nippur[109]
- Lugaledena in Urusagrig[110]
- Musitum of Marad in Nippur[111]

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[101] UTI 5 3485+3509, AS07-00-00, Umma: one garment (tug_2) for ^{d}En-ki of Am-[ri_2]-ma^{ki}.

[102] UTI 5 3485+3509, AS07-00-00, Umma: [x] garments (tug_2) for ^{d}Geštin-an-[na] of Maš-kan_2^{ki}.

[103] Nisaba 15/2 339, ŠS05-01-00, Urusagrig: bronze mirror and goblet, copper vessel, bronze and copper toggle-pins, twelve seals, gems, property of ^{d}Inana in Anzagar; Nisaba 15/2 176, AS09-12-00, Urusagrig: a pair of bracelets inlaid with silver, property (nig_2-gur_{11}) of ^{d}Inana, in Di_3-ni-ik-tum^{ki}; Ni. 2044, no date, Nippur: ring, garment for ^{d}Inana; AUCT 2 178, AS02-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: saddle hooks (^{giš}da-ak-si) for ^{d}Inana in Uruk; BIN 5 163, no date, Umma: forty three plus garments (tug_2) of ^{d}Inana of $Zabalam_4^{ki}$.

[104] JCS 54 07 52, ŠSxx-00-00, unk. prov.: jewelry of ^{d}Nin-kug-nun-na and of Inana in Uruk.

[105] AAICAB 1/1, Ashm. 1911-240, ŠS05-00-00, Umma: jewelry, seals, utensils, garments, as deliveries (mu-DU) to ^{d}Inana, ^{d}Nin-šubur, and ^{d}Na-na-a, subsumed under the classification of delivery to ^{d}Inana in Zabalam.

[106] Nisaba 24 34, IS01-09-00, Umma: jewelry and garments, termed deliveries, for ^{d}Inana, $^{d}A_2$-alim-mah, ^{d}Nin-šubur, ^{d}Na-na-a, summarized as delivery to ^{d}Inana Zabalam.

[107] Nisaba 15/2 493, ŠS09-09-00, Urusagrig: linen (gada) for ^{d}Iš-<ha>-ra, appropriation for the festival (nig_2-dab_5 ezem-ma).

[108] Nisaba 15/2 342, ŠS05-01-00, Urusagrig: bronze and copper vessels, a bronze goblet, a copper scepter, a silver-inlaid comb (^{giš}suhur), a copper turban, copper pegs, gold and silver bracelets, a bronze hatchet, carnelian beads, a bronze mace, a copper flute, thirteen seals, property of ^{d}Iš-ma_2-gan_2.

[109] NATN 852, no date, Nippur: garment of ^{d}Lamma-igi-du.

[110] Nisaba 15/2 344, ŠS05-01-00, Urusagrig: bronze hatchets, bronze and copper vessels, a bronze sword set with silver, silver coils, a bronze mirror, a bronze dagger blade, property of ^{d}Lugal-eden-na.

- Nanna and Ningal in Ur[112]
- Nanše in Girsu[113]
- Nergal in Anzagar and Id-dula, Dintir and Hardahi (Umma)[114]
- Ninanki in Umma[115]
- Nindara in Girsu[116]
- Ninegal in Anzagar, Ereš, and unknown location[117]
- Ninhursag in Anzagar, Ereš, Aebara, Du-karsag, Kamari (Umma), and Urusagrig[118]
- Nin-Isin in Ursu[119]
- Nin-Ištaran in Diniktum[120]

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[111] TCL 2 5589, AS04-12d-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one bronze mirror (na-ma-ru-um) for ^{d}Mu-si-tum Mar$_2$-da^{ki}, in Nippur.

[112] UET 3 0377, IS05-07-00, Ur: crowns (aga) for ^{d}Nanna and ^{d}Nin-gal. The text, which is broken, mentions the Boat of the Akiti and the Akiti festival. Apparently, these crowns were placed on statues of the two deities for their trip to and/or from the Akiti House during that festival.

[113] UNT 016, no date, Girsu: [x] wool for garments (tug$_2$) for ^{d}Nanše.

[114] Nisaba 15/2 177, AS09-12-00, Urusagrig: one copper bucket and three silver beads, of the Temple of ^{d}Ne-eri$_{11}$-gal in An-za-gar$_3^{ki}$; UTI 5 3485+3509, AS07-00-00, Umma: one garment (tug$_2$) for [^{d}Ne$_3$]-eri$_{11}$-gal of Id$_2$-dul$_9$-la^{ki}, one garment for ^{d}Ne$_3$-eri$_{11}$-gal ki-šeš, one garment for ^{d}Ne$_3$-eri$_{11}$-gal of Din-tir^{ki}, and three garments for ^{d}Ne-eri$_{11}$-gal of Har-da-hi^{ki}.

[115] UTI 5 3485+3509, AS07-00-00, Umma: two garments (tug$_2$) for $^{[d]}$Nin-an-ki.

[116] TCTI 2 03348, AS08-00-00, Girsu: gold and silver mirrors (ma-ša-lum) and gold and silver axes (^{giš}aga) for ^{d}Nin-dar-a.

[117] Nisaba 15/2 177, AS09-12-00, Urusagrig: a lapis lazuli stone inlaid with silver, in An-za-gar$_3^{ki}$; Nisaba 15 342, ŠS05-01-00, Urusagrig: bronze bracelets, bronze earrings, ring and toggle-pins, and various gems, the property of ^{d}Nin-e$_2$-gal in Anzagar; YOS 04 296, Š37-03-00, Puzriš-Dagan: jewelry, seals, utensils, garments, the property of ^{d}Nin-e$_2$-gal in Ereš; UTI 6 3800, ŠSxx-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan: two red-gold earrings in the shape of a standing Lamma for ^{d}Nin-e$_2$-gal in the palace (nig$_2$-geštug ^{d}Lamma-gub-ba kug-sig$_{17}$-huš-a).

[118] Nisaba 15/2 338, ŠS05-01-00, Urusagrig: several vessels of silver, bronze, and copper, silver toggle-pins, a bronze mirror, a string of lapis and carnelian, property of ^{d}Nin-hur-sag in Anzagar; OIP 115 483, Š37-03-00, Puzriš-Dagan: jewelry and seals, the property of ^{d}Nin-hur-sag in Ereš; UTI 5 3485+3509, AS07-00-00, Umma: two garments for ^{d}Nin-hur-sag in the donkey field (a-šag$_4$ anše), two garments for ^{d}Nin-hur-sag of Ka-ma-ri$_2^{ki}$, one garment for ^{d}N[in]-hur-sag of Du$_6$-kar-sag-[ka], and one garment for ^{d}Nin-hur-sag of A-e-bar-ra-ka; Nisaba 15/2 0048, AS07-03-00, Urusagrig: two garments (tug$_2$) for ^{d}Nin-hur-sag.

[119] Nisaba 15/2 504, ŠS09-05-00, Urusagrig: bronze vessels, dagger, and toggle pin; seal, various stones, property (nig$_2$-gur$_{11}$) of ^{d}Nin-Isin$_2$ in Ur-su$_2^{ki}$.

- Ninkarak in Urusagrig[121]
- Ninlil in Umma[122]
- Ninmarki in Girsu[123]
- Ninmena in Umma,[124]
- Ninsiana in Umma[125]
- Ninsun in Usuh[126]
- Nintinuga in Nippur and Puzriš-Dagan[127]
- Ninura in Umma[128]
- Šešda-edena in Umma[129]
- Šulgi-pae in Urusagrig[130]

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[120] Nisaba 15/2 176, AS09-12-00, Urusagrig: one pair of bracelets inlaid with silver, property (nig_2-gur_{11}) of ^{d}Nin-Ištaran?, in Di_3-ni-ik-tum^{ki}.

[121] Nisaba 15/2 293, ŠS05-12-00, Urusagrig: silver and tin earrings; bronze vessels, toggle-pins, and bracelets; tin bracelets and rings; carnelian and other gemstones, property (nig_2-gur_{11}) ^{d}Nin-kar-ak.

[122] UTI 5 3485+3509, AS07-00-00, Umma: three garments (tug_2) for ^{d}Nin-lil_2 nimgir-za.

[123] PPAC 5 1586, no date, Girsu: eight talents (gu_2) and thirty-five mana of woo l for garments (tug_2) of ^{d}Nin-mar-ki.

[124] TCL 5 6055, AS03-04-00, Umma: jewelry and gemstones, bronze and copper utensils, garments, called the treasure (gil-sa) of ^{d}Nin-me-en.

[125] BPOA 1 0425, ŠS04-11-00, Umma: various stones, a toggle-pin with the head of an aurochs (tu-di-da sag-da-alim), a tin bracelet, a shawl (tug_2-gu_2-la_2), and three unknown items set with or of gold (kug-sig_{17} gar), summarized as treasury (gil-sa) of ^{d}Nin-$^{d}Si_4$-an-na.

[126] AUCT 1 457, ŠS02-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan: silver bracelets, a bronze basket with a copper bottom, and another type of bronze vessel (tun_3-la_2) for ^{d}Nin-sun_2 U_3-suh_5^{ki}.

[127] TCL 2 5550, ŠS06-12-23, Puzriš-Dagan: silver vessel (tun_3-la_2) for ^{d}Nin-ti-ug_5-gu, royal votive (a-ru-a-lugal), conveyed by Šu-Kabta the physician (a-zu), in Nippur; AUCT 2 279, Š42-04-00 [or AS06), Puzriš-Dagan: silver vessel for ^{d}Nin-ti-nu-ga.

[128] Nisaba 24 11, no date, Umma: six mana of wool for a garments (tug_2) of ^{d}Nin-ur_4-ra, for the first fruits festival (ezem-nesag).

[129] UTI 5 3485+3509, AS07-00-00, Umma: one garment (tug_2) for ^{d}Šeš-da-eden-na.

[130] Nisaba 15/2 340, ŠS05-01-00, Urusagrig: various bronze bowls and vessels, a bronze mirror, a bronze battle-axe (aga-silig), a šagan bowl set with silver and gold, a stone bowl, an egg-bead, three seals, various gems, property of ^{d}Šul-gi-pa-e_3.

- U_3-ME-LA in Diniktum and Urusagrig[131]

In addition, excavations have unearthed inscribed beads, an agate seal, and a gold earring that had been dedicated individually to various deities (Inana, Ninlil, Nusku, Lamma, Gatumdug, Nanna, and Geštinana), as well as a votive inscription copied from a temple, revealing that a stone wig had been crafted and donated to a Lamma.[132]

Besides being dressed and adorned, statues representing a divine essence also underwent ritual bathing (a-tu_5-a). This rite is most frequently attested for the goddess Nintinuga of Nippur.[133] In fact, all of the ritual bathing of gods' statues in Šulgi's reign --- of Nintinuga, Nanna, Ninurta, and Lugal-Gudua --- occurred in Nippur, but whether this reflects the accidence of discovery or the rite

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[131] Nisaba 15/2 178, AS09-12-00, Urusagrig: bronze goblet, vessels, bowls, mirrors, toggle-pins, scepter, dagger, and axe; copper scepters and bowls; lapis lazuli, carnelian and gold beads, lapis lazuli seals, a gold cauldron, silver and tin rings, a pair of gold earrings, silver, bronze, and tin dangling? earrings (nig_2-gid_2-a), property (nig_2-gur_{11}) $^{d}U_3$-ME-LA in Di_3-ni-ik-tum^{ki}; Nisaba 15 345, ŠS05-01-00, Urusagrig: sockets set with silver, gold or bronze, bronze flowers, bronze toggle-pins, copper sun-disks, copper goblets, strings of lapis, property of $^{d}U_3$-ME-LA.

[132] Hilprecht, BE 1/1 no. 15: an inscribed agate bead to ^{d}Inana from SI.A-tum (possibly Šulgi's mother);
Bromski, RO 2, pp. 188-189: another bead to Ninlil from Šulgi for the life of his daughter Nin-tur-tur;
De Clerq, Collection I, pp. 67-68 and pl. 10 no. 86: a white agate seal to Nusku for the life of Šulgi from Ur-Nanibgal governor of Nippur;
Scheil, RA 13, p. 180: a brown and white agate bead to Lamma for the life of Amar-Suen from Hala-Bau, wife of Ur-Lamma the scribe;
Stephens, YOS 9, no. 69: a yellow marble bead to Gatumdug for Ibbi-Suen from an otherwise unidentifiable individual named E-hegal;
Sollberger, RA 61, pp. 69-70: an agate eyestone to Bau for the life of Ibbi-Suen from Aman-ili, wife of the sukkal-mah and governor of Girsu, Aradmu;
Legrain, RA 7, p. 49: an agate bead to Nanna from Ibbi-Suen the king;
RIME 3.2.1.2.62, a gold earring inscribed "To Geštinana, Šulgi, her child (dumu-ni), the strong man, the king of Ur, the king of the four quarters, dedicated (this) for his life."
Winckler, Untersuchungen, p. 157 no. 9: a wig of stone to Lamma on behalf of Šulgi, apparently dating to before his deification, from Bau-nin-am, cupbearer of Ur-Nigirsu, the en-priest of Nanše.

[133] A-tu_5-a ^{d}Nin-tin-ug_5-ga in Nippur, from Š42-12-00 (JCS 14 112 16, Puzriš-Dagan) through ŠS09-11-00 (MVN 06 228, Girsu).

was at this time limited to the religious capital cannot be determined from the data.[134] During Amar-Suen's reign, in addition to lustrations of Nintinuga and Ninurta in Nippur, one finds records of the ritual performed on the effigies of various gods in the province of Umma: Šara, Gula of Umma, Ninibgal, Dumuzi of URUxA, Enki, Nin-e-e, Nin-Da-Lagaš, and Enlil.[135] Under his successor, the first references to a-tu$_5$-a of Ninazu in Ur and of Nintiluga in Umma occur, and under the last king of the dynasty we first read of ritual bathings of Inana in Uruk and of Ningišzida, Nanna, and Ensi-mah in Ur.[136] As with the identical treatment in matters of adornment between statues of the deified kings and those of the traditional gods, so too might effigies of the divine rulers, both dead and alive, be subjected to ritual lustration. Texts dated to the reign of Amar-Suen show that statues of himself and of Šulgi were bathed at the First Fruits and during the festival of Šulgi.[137]

Statues of deities might also be anointed with fine oils, such as happened when a statue of the goddess Ningipar travelled from her temple in Umma to the fields for the ritual of the "early grass" (u$_2$-sag).[138] A text from Umma lists the disbursement of oil to sixty-one deities, including to

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[134] MVN 03 198, Š42-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan: a-tu$_5$-a ^{d}Nanna; NYPL 348, Š46-02-22, Puzriš-Dagan: a-tu$_5$-a ^{d}Nin-urta; and SNAP 071 DC 82.45, Š47-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan: a-tu$_5$-a ^{d}Lugal-Gu$_2$-du$_8$-a^{ki}.
Note also the hymn Šulgi R, where "the great gods all bathe in the holy water of Nippur" (line 43: Nibru^{ki}-a dingir-gal-gal-e-ne a-kug mu-tu$_{17}$-tu$_{17}$-u$_3$-eš$_2$).

[135] AUCT 1 787, AS01-05-02, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}Nin-tin-ug$_5$-ga;
CST 355, AS07-02-22, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}Nin-urta;
StOr 09-1 14, AS05-04-00, Umma: ^{d}Šara$_2$;
Santag 6 137, AS05-04-00, Umma: ^{d}Gu-la Umma^{ki};
CuCa p. 181 RBC 2540: ^{d}Nin-ib-gal;
Nisaba 11 41, AS06-04-00, Umma: ^{d}Dumu-zi URUxA in KI.AN^{ki};
Nik. 2 375, AS06-08-00, Umma: ^{d}En-ki, ^{d}Nin-E$_{11}$-e, ^{d}Nin-^{d}Da-Lagaš^{ki};
UTI 3 2155, AS08-11-00, Umma: ^{d}En-lil$_2$.

[136] Princeton 2 454, ŠS01-05-15, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}Nin-a-zu in Ur; BIN 3 380, AS09-08-00, Umma: ^{d}Nin-ti-lu$_2$-ga; AnOr 07 160, ŠS09?-10-02, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}Inana, in Uruk?; UET 3 1685, IS04-08-00, Ur: ^{d}Nin-giš-zi-da; UET 3 1521, IS06-10-00, Ur: ^{d}Nanna; and UET 3 0166, IS06-12-15, Ur: ^{d}Ensi$_2$-mah.

[137] Santag 6 137, AS05-04-00, Umma: lustration of ^{d}Šulgi, ^{d}Gula of Umma, and ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen, iti nesag; OrSP 47-49 372, AS07-08-00, Umma: lustration, zag-mu, ^{d}Šulgi, and lustration ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen; MVN 16 0695, AS08-11-00, Umma: lustration, nig$_2$-ezem-ma ^{d}Šulgi, and lustration ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen.

[138] UTI 4 2563, AS08-00-00, Umma.

one statue of Šulgi in the Temple of Šara, and another of him that was designated specifically for the All Festivals.[139] Oil might also be applied to gods' accoutrements, such as their chariot or boat, as well as to the vehicles that were dedicated for use in particular rituals. For example, oil was disbursed on separate occasions for a chariot, barge, and standard of Šara.[140] An offering (siskur$_2$) to the goddess Gula involved anointing an item, possibly a net (sa), for a boat, oil was issued for pedestals in the Temple of Šulgi in KI.AN, and oil was dispatched directly to Šulgi for use on the Boat of Dawn.[141] Top-quality oils were among the items required for the mouth-opening ceremony on a statue of the posthumously deified Gudea, the former ruler of Lagaš.[142]

After his deification Šulgi had statues of himself fashioned and then inserted into a number of cult locales in the religious capital Nippur, where his effigies were accorded the same types of offerings as the images of the other gods situated therein. The earliest attested offering to the deified Šulgi in Nippur occurred in Inana's temple in Š30, as part of the First Fruits ceremony (^{d}Šul-gi nindaba$_2$ nesag ^{d}Inana-kam).[143] In Š37, in the temple of Ningagia in Nippur, a sheep was sacrificed before a statue of the deified Šulgi that had itself been deified (^{d}Alan-lugal), on the occasion of the Gud-gansi festival.[144] Another Puzriš-Dagan text dating to Š40 records sacrifices in the temple of Ninlil, along with others in unspecified locations to Alla-gula, Nintinuga, the king's

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[139] ZA 91 224, AS01-00-00, Umma: "alan ^{d}Šul-gi. . . šag$_4$ e$_2$ ^{d}Šara$_2$-ka", and "alan ^{d}Šul-gi-ra eš$_3$-eš$_3$-a".

[140] UTI 4 2615, AS05-00-00, Umma: oil for ^{giš}gigir ^{d}Šara$_2$;
OrSP 47-49 420, ŠS04-00-00, Umma: i$_3$-nun ma$_2$-gur$_8$ ^{d}Šara$_2$ ba-ra-ab-du$_8$;
BPOA 7 2411, ŠS02-00-00, Umma: i$_3$ šu-nir ^{d}Šara$_2$ A-pi$_4$-sal$_4^{ki}$.

[141] UTI 5 3477, ŠS02-00-00, Umma: i$_3$-nun ma$_2$-e sa bi$_2$-ak. . . siskur$_2$ ^{d}Gu-la;
UTI 3 2132, ŠS02-00-00, Umma: i$_3$-nun-dug$_3$-ga giš-gal-gal. . . nig$_2$-dirig ^{d}Šul-gi KI.AN^{ki};
CDLI P209999, Š41-09-00, and SAT 1 087, Š47-09-00, both Girsu: oil was sent to the king (ki lugal-še$_3$) for anointing the Boat of Dawn (ma$_2$-ud-zal-la).

[142] ITT 5 06927, ŠS02-03-00, Girsu: i$_3$-nun and i$_3$-nun-dug$_3$-ga. . . ^{d}Gu$_3$-de$_2$-a ka-duh-ha.

[143] ZA 101 34 6 NT 089, Š30-00-00, Nippur. Other deities whose names can be read on this broken tablet, and who were also participants in this ritual, are Inana, Ninurta, and Nuska.

[144] OIP 115 032, Š37-01-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep ^{d}Alan-lugal, one sheep two goats e$_2$-^{d}Nin-ga$_2$-gi$_4$-a, ezem Gud-gan$_2$-si, in Nippur, conveyed by the queen (gir$_3$ nin-ga$_2$).

statue, Damgalnuna, Nintu, and Nintummala.[145] An offering to the throne of the divine Šulgi was made in Š42, on the occasion of the king's presence in Nippur for a festival (^{giš}gu-za ^{d}Šul-[gi]-ra? nig$_2$-ezem dab$_5$ ud ^{d}Šul-gi-ra šag$_4$ Nibru^{ki}), presumably that of the text's month name, ezem-An-na, an assumption supported by the fact that it was an administrator (šabra) of An who took charge of the lambs to be sacrificed.[146] Whether Šulgi's sacralized throne had been set up in another deity's temple is unclear.[147] Šulgi's statue was also among a large number of gods and deified items that were recipients of the Great Offering in both the temple of Enlil and that of Ninlil within the E-kur.[148]

Statues of the deified Šulgi were also set up in Umma, in the temple of IM-dugud (aka Anzud) and an unspecified temple in Apisal.[149] Šulgi is included in a list of deities who received sacrifices, categorized as "regular offerings of the gods", in Umma, although the location of these gods' statues is not mentioned.[150] He also occurs in another list of seventy-six gods in Umma who were offered black sheep or goats.[151] One of Šulgi's statues had been set up in the city of Ur, possibly within the temple of Annunitum and Ulmašitum there.[152] Given the similarities in placement, offerings, care, and accoutrements, it cannot be doubted that the cult statues of the

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[145] Tel-Aviv 1, 56, Š40-08-05, Puzriš-Dagan.

[146] UDT 177, Š42-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan.

[147] This text is unique in that this king was living when an offering was made to his throne. In all other instances, a sacrifice to the royal throne is a sure sign that the king in question is dead. See, for example, Boese and Sallaberger (1996), p. 31: "Der Kult am "Thron" (^{giš}gu-za) eines Herrschers setzt nach dessen Tode ein und steht neben den Opfern am ki-a-nag, der eigentlichen Todenopferstätte."

[148] MVN 15 146, Š47-02-21, Puzriš-Dagan.

[149] Nisaba 11 25, Š34-00-00, Umma: ^{d}Šul-gi ^{d}IM-dugud^{mušen}bar$_6$-bar$_6$ and ^{d}Šul-gi A-pi$_4$-sal^{ki}.

[150] MVN 11 Y, Š35-00-00, Umma: sa$_2$-dug$_4$-dingir-re-ne. Šulgi's was the only statue to merit an ox. The other deities in the list are ^{d}E$_{11}$-e, ^{d}Da-Lagaš^{ki}, ^{d}Ib-gal, ^{d}En-lil$_2$-la$_2$, ^{d}Nanše Umma^{ki}, ^{d}Gu-la KI.AN^{ki}, and ^{d}Nin-e$_2$-gal, who all received sheep and/or goats.

[151] TCL 5 6053, Š41-05-30, Umma: udu-gi$_6$-kam.

[152] AnOr 07 061, Š37-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan. The text includes a sacrifice to the king's statue (alan-lugal) in the middle of rites focused on Annunitum and Ulmašitum (the geranum and banquets) which took place both in their temples and in the palace at Ur, so that one cannot say with certainty exactly where the king's statue had been erected.

deified kings were conceived as no different from those of all other gods, and that they were afforded the same reverential, ritualized treatment.

Having an effigy of his divine person venerated as one among many in the temples of other gods was apparently insufficient for Šulgi's purposes, for within ten years of his deification we see temples dedicated exclusively to the god-king himself pop up. The earliest attested Temple of the divine Šulgi (Š29) was located in the province of Umma, although the exact sector in which it had been constructed is not stated.[153] Ultimately, this king's temples were spread throughout the province, in the city of Umma itself, in KI.AN, and in Maškan.[154] As was the case with other gods' temples, Šulgi's in Umma employed both personnel to tend to the cult itself, and a secondary workforce to deal with the temple's assets, primarily agricultural. The former consisted of lower rank cultic offices, the išib and gudug, who concerned themselves with issues of purification and the care and feeding of the cult icon, as well as singer-musicians.[155] A tablet from a much later date lists one Ennum-Eštar as an ereš-dingir priestess of the divine Šulgi, which is a fairly prestigious cultic office, but without the specific cult center named.[156]

Temples devoted to Šulgi in the province of Girsu were not far behind. A tablet dated Š33 concerns construction work done on the e_2 ^{d}Šul-gi in Girsu over the course of two years.[157] Again,

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[153] Nisaba 06 17, Š29-00-00, Umma. The text also mentions the Temple of ^{d}Nin-ur_4-ra. This deity had temples in the province of Umma in the city itself (SET 199, Š25-00-00, Umma), in KI.AN (MVN 15 390, Š37-07-00, Umma), and in Apisal (TCL 5 5671, Š45-01-00, Umma).

[154] MVN 15 390, Š47-07-00, Umma: cultic personnel of ^{d}Šul-gi in the city of Umma; MVN 08 243, Š40-00-00, Umma: items to construct a door for the Temple of ^{d}Šul-gi-ra KI.AN^{ki}; personnel (gir_3-se_3-ga) of ^{d}Šul-gi in Maš-kan_2^{ki} (YBC 13679, AS08-12-00, Umma).

[155] MVN 15 390, Š37-07-00, Umma: four gudug ^{d}Šulgi; MVN 13 187, Š48-03-06, Umma: Šeš-ani, gudug ^{d}Šulgi; BRM 3 135, Š48-00-00, Umma: Ur-^{giš}Gigir, gudug ^{d}Šulgi; MVN 03 213, Š45-00-00, Umma: Ur-^{giš}Gigir, išib ^{d}Šulgi; HSS 04 003, AS01-12-00, Girsu: nar-^{d}Šul-gi-ra-ke_4-ne; OLP 08 22 20, AS07-05-00, Umma: nar ^{d}Šulgi.

[156] RA 49 86 02, ŠS02-10-29, Puzriš-Dagan: Ennum-Eštar delivered a lamb to the Puzriš-Dagan facility.

[157] RA 5 91 AO 03450, Š33-11-00, Girsu.

it is unclear which of the temples Šulgi eventually had built for himself in this province --- in Lagaš, Nina, Kiešsa, Kinunir, and Guabba --- was meant.[158] These temples had similar cultic personnel as those in Umma: gudug and singer-musicians, as well as gala, "entertainers" (ud-da-tuš), and snake handlers.[159] There are no temples to Šulgi attested during his reign in Ur, Uruk, or Nippur, but in some instances the administrative complex he built at Puzriš-Dagan (i.e. Drehem), located about ten miles south of Nippur, was called the house/temple (e_2) of Šulgi.[160] Due to the ambiguity of the word e_2, one cannot tell whether a temple or a residence was intended. However, from the fact that around this same time Šulgi completed work on a complex at Tummal, located about ten miles south of Puzriš-Dagan, that included a new palace, one might reasonably infer that the e_2 ^{d}Šulgi in Puzriš-Dagan was in fact a temple.[161]

In the reign of his successors, one finds a slight expansion in the locales where Šulgi's cult was operative, although it cannot be definitively stated that this was in fact an act undertaken by his successors; that is, Šulgi's cult may have already existed in these places during his lifetime, but documentation is lacking. In any case, in AS01 a statue of Šulgi received offerings in Uruk along with those to Inana, Gula, Nanaa and Ninsun, which suggests that his effigy was located in the

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[158] HLC 2 010 (pl. 053), Š41-07-00, Girsu: singers, termed personnel of ^{d}Šulgi, in Lagaš^{ki}; Janneau, *Dynastie Chald*. p. 32 07, Š46-01-00, Girsu: temple of ^{d}Šulgi in Guabba^{ki}; StOr 46 44, no date, Girsu: list of singer-musicians of e_2 ^{d}Šul-gi in the cities of Lagaš, Nina, Kiešsa, Kinunir, and Guabba.

[159] For gudug of ^{d}Šulgi in Girsu, see three sealings: Nisaba 17 135, IS02-00-00, Girsu; RA 58 107 106, IS03-06-00, Girsu; and MVN 22 283, no date, Girsu. For singer-musicians (nar), the earliest text is HLC 2 010 (pl. 053), Š41-07-00, Girsu. For ud-da-tuš, gala and nar of the Temple of ^{d}Šulgi: HLC 2 002 (pl. 052), AS01-00-00, Girsu. OrAnt 15 143, Š47-00-00, Girsu: muš-lah$_5$ . . . e_2 ^{d}Šul-gi in Guabba.

[160] In certain formulations of the year name for Š39 the two were conflated: mu Puzriš-^{d}Da-gan e_2 ^{d}Šul-gi-ra ba-du$_3$. This is found in seven texts from Girsu and one from Puzriš-Dagan. In two texts from Girsu the following year was termed "The year after the house/temple of ^{d}Šulgi was built". A text from Umma (Aleppo 156, Š40-00-00) records corvée work baskets given out in "the year Puzriš-^{d}Dagan was built" and "he year after Puzriš-^{d}Dagan was built" in order to "build the house/temple of ^{d}Šulgi" (e_2 ^{d}Šul-gi-ra du$_3$-de$_3$).

[161] Note also that in the Ur III administrative texts, it was the norm to refer to the residence of the king as the palace (e_2-gal). The references are too numerous to list. The pattern E_2 + ^{d}RN in the majority of cases clearly designated a cult site.

temple of ^{d}Inana there.[162] Also in AS01, a festival of at least two days duration was celebrated in the shrine of the "emergence" or "bringing forth" of Šulgi in Nippur, and oil anointed two of his statues in Umma, one in the temple of Šara and the other apparently earmarked for attendance at the festivals.[163] In AS03 animals were offered to Šulgi and Asarluhi in Kuara, a small town near Ur.[164] This was doubtless in the Temple of Asarluhi in Kuara, in which Šulgi was again honored in IS01.[165] A year later Šulgi appears among other deities receiving offerings in a temple of Ninsun in the Ur area.[166]

In addition to statues representing Šulgi himself, there also existed a variant of a divine entity called "the royal Lamma" (^{d}Lamma-lugal). The Sumerian Lamma is somewhat like the goddess Fortuna, as the Romans imagined her. In both cultures she could be depicted as an autonomous female deity, but for men aspiring to power, she was a protective spirit of good luck that was somehow connected to these men's intrinsic worth and strength of character (*virtus* in Latin).[167] That is, the Lamma could be seen as emanating from the man in question, and thus might be used to represent him. In the Ur III period it occurs as both the Lamma of a particular king and the more generic Lamma-lugal. During Šulgi's reign, Lamma-lugal were set up to receive offerings

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[162] Aegyptus 10, 272 31, AS01-10-21, Puzriš-Dagan.

[163] Rochester 029, AS01-10-27, Puzriš-Dagan: six sheep and goats on the twenty-sixth, and six on the twenty-seventh, items of the festival in the shrine of the bringing forth of Šulgi (nig$_2$-ezem-ma eš$_3$-e$_3$ ^{d}Šul-gi-ra), in Nippur; MVAG 21 22 FH 5, AS01-00-00, Umma: alan ^{d}Šul-gi in e$_2$ ^{d}Šara$_2$ and alan ^{d}Šul-gi eš$_3$-eš$_3$-a.

[164] AUCT 1 488, AS03-10-14, Puzriš-Dagan.

[165] TCL 2 5482, IS01-07-13, Puzriš-Dagan.

[166] TCL 2 5514, IS02-10-03 Puzriš-Dagan. Ninsun had temples in Ur and Kuara; see MVN 15 282, ŠS04-03-20, Puzriš-Dagan.

[167] The Sumerian Lamma as an autonomous deity was most frequently depicted on cylinder seals of the presentation scene variety. In late Republican Rome, it became necessary for generals in particular that Fortuna be seen as their personal (patron) god, starting with Marius, "the first Roman general openly considered Fortuna's favorite by his peers" (p. 165) in Darius Arya (2002), The Goddess Fortuna and Imperial Rome, Phd Diss. U. Texas, Austin, pp. 165-210.

in Puzriš-Dagan, Umma, and KI.AN.[168] It is not until his successor's reign that we see statues called Lamma-Šulgi, all in the province of Umma: one in Apisal and one in Umma itself.[169] In addition to animal sacrifices, each type of Lamma might be appareled and undergo lustration, as with all other divine statues.[170]

C. Suter has what I find to be a rather confused discussion of the Lamma-lugal and the Lamma in general in the Ur III period. While acknowledging that offerings were made to the Lamma-lugal, and that these were most likely "assigned to a statue", she nevertheless asserts that "the king's Lama cannot be reduced to a cult statue of the divine king --- whether royal, divine or of another type."[171] I hesitantly interpret this to be saying that the Lamma-lugal to which offerings were made *was* a statue, but not one that could be recognized in any way as a depiction of the king. Suter also explicitly states that the Lamma in general was not a god, "but the embodiment of divine protection, a function that any deity could assume", so that subsequently, the conventional depiction of a Lamma as a female wearing the horned crown of divinity in visual media of the period is merely "the personification" of the function of divine protection.[172] Finally, in relation to the Lamma-lugal, Suter holds that "the deification of Ur III kings applied to the royal office rather than to the person of the king", and thus the deified Lamma of any king was in reality the Lamma of deified kingship.[173]

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[168] OIP 115 214, Š43-01-06, Puzriš-Dagan; BPOA 6 1291, Š43-00-00, Umma; and BPOA 6 0929, Š46-00-00, Umma, ^{d}Lamma-lugal KI.AN^{ki}.

[169] SET 130, AS04-00-00, Umma; and BPOA 2 2488, AS04-00-00, Umma.

[170] Nisaba 09 220, Š44-00-00, Umma: large linen (gada-mah) of the ^{d}Lamma-lugal; BPOA 2 2488, AS04-00-00, Umma: two niglam garments and one of linen for ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Šul-gi-ra Umma$^{ki;}$ SA 153 (pl. 147), AS06-12-00, Umma: one niglam garment ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Šul-gi-ra; and BPOA 7 2414, ŠS04-00-00, Umma: two niglam garments for ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Šul-gi-ra.
For earrings and lustration of a Lamma, see below under Amar-Suen.

[171] Suter (2010), p. 332.

[172] Ibid., pp. 332-333.

[173] Ibid., p. 332. This accords with the view expressed by Sallaberger (1993), p. 86, that offerings to the deified Lamma-lugal were a "further indication" (weiteren Hinweis) that it was not the person of the king but rather the kingly office he held that had divine status.

As should be obvious from the information already presented, Suter's last contention may be readily countered. Of course, every king was exalted by his installation in an office that descended from the sky, for which he claimed various gods' approval, patronage, and sometimes even kinship. However, there is no ^{d}Nam-lugal, no deified kingship or personification of the same to which offerings were ever made in any cult center. If this were the case, not only would one expect to see the divine determinative before the name of every Mesopotamian who had acceded to the allegedly holy office of kingship but also, more germanely, that a genuine cult had been established for each, complete with the standard dedicated attendants and paraphernalia. As to a Lamma not being a divinity, the horned crown that she routinely wore argues the contrary, for it served as a visual clue that the entity --- any entity --- wearing it was an individuated god, as gods were understood in that time and place, which was certainly not as the deliberated and constructed personification of some natural phenomenon or particular function such as certain schools of modern thought would reduce all gods to.

There is evidence from Ur III administrative texts, albeit sparse, to support Suter's statement that individual deities might, as she put it, assume the function of protection as personified by a Lamma, though I would restate that, rather, as that they extrude their own Lamma. Only two personal names (PN) are attested that follow the pattern Lamma+DN (divine name), which suggests that the Lamma of a god was not a popular object of worship: "The Lamma of Bau has come" (^{d}Lamma-^{d}Ba-u$_2$-i$_3$-gen) and "The Lamma of Šulgi" (^{d}Lamma-^{d}Šul-gi-ra).[174] One might also come to this same conclusion when considering sacrifices to a Lamma, the majority of which were offered before a generic Lamma, the Lamma-lugal, and the Lamma of the individual divine kings. The sole exceptions are one-time offerings to a Lamma-Bau and a Lamma-Inana, both in Girsu.[175]

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[174] Atiqot 4 pl. 07-08 9, AS05-04-00, Girsu: ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Ba-u$_2$-i$_3$-gen; ASJ 18 163 6, nd, Umma: ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Šul-gi-ra-ke$_4$.

[175] RevSem 11 27 5, ŠS04-02-00: ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Ba-u$_2$, along with ^{d}Igalim and ^{d}Šulšagana, which were listed after a summary of offerings made in the Temple of Bau, so that these statues must have been erected elsewhere; and UNT 016, nd, Girsu: ^{d}Inana and ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Inana, the one immediately following the other.

As the clothing and earrings issued to Lamma of the king make clear, the recipient was a three-dimensional effigy. The question remains as to how much, if at all, the Lamma-lugal was differentiated from statues of the god-king, on the one hand, and from statues of the generic Lamma, on the other.

The three kings who followed Šulgi, each of whom was deified immediately upon accession to the throne, also followed his example in establishing their individual cults. In the first year of Amar-Suen, a craftsman who fashioned a statue of the new king in Girsu received oil.[176] The next year a statue of Amar-Suen appeared in the E-kur in Nippur, and the year after that, in the Temples of Nanna and of Ninezem in Ur.[177] By the end of his reign, Amar-Suen had installed a statue of himself in the temple of Enki in Eridug and another in an unspecified cult center of KI.AN, while those of his Lamma had been set up in Umma and Nippur.[178] Two votive inscriptions dating to his reign concern his crafting two statues of himself, one called "Amar-Suen beloved in Ur" and the

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Note also offerings to ^{d}Lamma-lugal and ^{d}Lamma-gu_2-en-na (ITT 3 05280, ŠS01-01-00, Girsu), attested only here. The literal meaning of the gu_2-en-na is "assembly of the en(s)", although it is usually translated as "throne room" or "chamber of the assembly". In Nippur the gu_2-en-na was a section of the E-kur, the function of which is, however, not well understood (Huber-Vulliet, 2020, p. 135 and fn. 54). It had some association with the Throne House of the deceased Ur-Namma (Boese and Sallaberger, 1996, p. 31). In Girsu, an otherwise unlocalized gu_2-en-na was served by a gala (CDLI P210018, nd). There were also gu_2-en-nas in the Temples of Bau and of Šulgi in that province, each likewise employing gala (HLC 2 002 [pl/ 052], AS01-00-00, Girsu). A barber (šu-i) of the gu_2-en-na was listed among the personnel of the goddess Lisi in Ur (UET 3 1150, IS07-03-00).

[176] CT 07 16 BM 017765, AS01-08-00, Girsu: oil for Šu-^{d}Iškur tibira alan-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen dim_2-ma; HSS 04 003, AS01-12-00, Girsu: oil for Šu-^{d}Iškur tibira alan-lugal in-dim_2-ma.

[177] AUCT 1 336, AS02-05-12, Puzriš-Dagan: a sheep to the new cult center/oven? (gu_2-NE-gibil-$še_3$), appropriation of Amar-Suen-in-the-Temple-of-Enlil (nig_2-dab_5 ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-e_2-^{d}En-lil_2-ta); and SET 116, AS03-07-00, Puzriš-Dagan: a lamb to Amar-Suen in the Temple of Nanna, and a lamb to Amar-Suen in the Temple of Ninezem, in Ur.

[178] AUCT 1 948, AS07-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan: four silver coils to the en of Eridug Mu-gi_4 (for nugig?) and one for En-nam-šita-^{d}Šul-gi-ra-ke_4-ba-gub the en of Enki of Eridug for delivering the statue of the king (mu alan-lugal in-de_6-ša-a-$še_3$), in Eridug; SAKF 097, AS05-04-00, Umma: a sheep and goat to Amar-Suen, in KI.AN^{ki}; BPOA 2 2488, AS04-00-00, Umma: one niglam, one ušbar and one linen garment for the Lamma-Amar-Suen; and OrSP 47-49 345, AS05-12-00, Umma: a sheep and goat as an offering ($siskur_2$) to the Lamma-Amar-Suen in Nippur.
Note also a ^{d}Lamma-lugal of an unspecified king in the first month of Amar-Suen's reign (BIN 5 005, Š48-12-09, Puzriš-Dagan).

other "Called by Suen, beloved of Ur".[179] As Nanna and Ningal were invoked to destroy anyone who dared to tear down the first statue, and as a statue of Ningal was created and commemorated along with the second statue of Amar-Suen, it would appear that both of these effigies of the king were set up in Ur. In addition to this king's Lamma, his fate (Namtar) was also now deified.[180] Records show disbursements of garments and earrings to some of his effigies, and the ritual bathing of statues of both the deified king and of his Lamma are also attested.[181] Like Šulgi, Amar-Suen eventually founded temples centered on his own person in the provinces of Girsu and Umma, the latter of which was serviced by gudug and singer-musicians.[182]

The succeeding king Šu-Suen inserted his own cult into the temples of Ningirsu and Bau in the province of Lagaš, and also set up effigies of himself in Nippur and Umma, at unspecified sites.[183] The Temple of Šara in Umma also held a statue of this king, for which a banquet was

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[179] RIME 3 2.1.3.10 and 3 2.1.3.11.

[180] A man named Umani occurs in Umma texts as a gudug of ^{d}Namtar in AS07 (Nisaba 23 068), and a gudug of ^{d}Namtar-lugal (the royal fate) in ŠS04 (SAT 3 1507). The first is likely an abbreviation of the second.

[181] BPOA 2 2488, AS04-00-00, Umma: one niglam, one ušbar and one linen garment to ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen; Santag 6 191, AS08-04-00, Umma: one niglam and one linen garment for ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen; SACT 2 119, AS05-00-00, Umma: gold earrings for ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen; and BPOA 7 2414, ŠS04-00-00, Umma: one niglam and one linen for ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen.
For the lustrations: Santag 6 137, AS05-04-00, Umma: one sheep each for a-tu$_5$-a of ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen, ^{d}Šul-gi, and ^{d}Gu-la Umma^{ki}; Ledgers pl. 17 10, AS07-07-00, Umma: alkali a-tu$_{17}$-a ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen; and SAT 3 1941, IS01-05-00, Umma: alkali ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen a-tu$_5$-a-ke$_4$.

[182] TCTI 1 00941, AS04-00-00, Girsu; e$_2$ ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen; AOS 32 C16, AS04-00-00, Umma: Ur-gi$_6$-par$_4$ gudug, personnel of (gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga) ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen; OrSP 47-49 370, AS07-06-00, Umma: A-kal-la gudug ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen; JCS 24, 159 48, ŠS07-12-00, Umma: nar ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen; and Nisaba 23 047, no date, Umma: singer-musicians (nar-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ka-me).

[183] ITT 2 03256, ŠS05-05-00, Girsu: four baskets of dates each for the statue (alan) of Šu-Suen in the Temple of Ningirsu and the statue (alan) of Šu-Suen in the Temple of Bau, in Lagaš; MVN 13 639, AS09-09-11, Puzriš-Dagan: black sheep for Enlil, ^{d}Gu-za, Ninlil, and alan-lugal, in Nippur; MVN 05 123, ŠS01-09-22, Puzriš-Dagan: an ox and two sheep for the throwstick (gešbu-nu$_2$. . . gibil) of the new statue (alan. . . gibil) of Šu-Suen, in Nippur; TCL 5 5680, ŠS02-00-00, Umma: four tortoise-shells (murgu$_2$-ba) for the statue (alan) of Šu-Suen, in the city (uru) of Umma.

held.[184] Undated texts show that the statue "Šu-Suen Beloved of Nanna" was located in the temple of Ninsun, and that of "Šu-Suen Beloved of Ninsun" in the temple of Gula, both in Ur.[185] A Lamma-Šu-Suen and one named ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-tu-da existed in the province of Umma.[186] A sacrificial animal provided by the king served as the offering to a statue of the king (siskur$_2$ alan-lugal) in a Puzriš-Dagan text, and another shows that he had effigies located in the temples of Enlil and of Ninlil.[187]

Temples dedicated to Šu-Suen himself were constructed in Urusagrig, in Umma, at least one of which was close to the royal estate at Garšana, as well as in Girsu, and were serviced by gudug.[188] The sukkal-mah and governor of the province of Lagaš, Arad-Nanna, left an inscription relating his construction of a temple for Šu-Suen in Girsu, although it cannot be determined if this is included among or in addition to the Girsu temple(s) of that king mentioned in administrative

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[184] BPOA 1 0516, ŠS09-01-00, Umma: gišbun$_x$ alan-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen e$_2$ ^{d}Šara$_2$-ka. Note, this regnal year was named for the king's reconstruction of the Temple of Šara in Umma, for which this banquet might be part of the celebrations.

[185] Rochester 086, ŠS03-07-10, Puzriš-Dagan: a sheep to ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}Nanna, in Ur; AUCT 2 097, no date, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep to ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}Nanna in e$_2$ ^{d}Nin-sun$_2$, and three sheep to ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}Nin-sun$_2$ in e$_2$ ^{d}Gu-la, both in Ur.

[186] Santag 6 332, ŠSXX-00-00, Umma; two lambs to ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen; BPOA 1 0732, ŠS02-00-00, Umma: one ušbar garment for ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-tu-da.

[187] PDT 1 170, ŠSxx-11-25, Puzriš-Dagan: goats siskur$_2$ alan-lugal, zi-ga lugal; BCT 1 102, ŠS05-02-18, Puzriš-Dagan: seventeen sheep for the statue of the king (alan-lugal) in the Temple of Ninlil. The king represented by these statues is unnamed, though it seems likely to be current ruler. In the latter document, the offerings were made in conjunction with the ezem-Gudsisu, an important annual festival in Nippur.

[188] Nisaba 15 207, ŠS02-02-03, Urusagrig: provisions for a builder (šidim) "when he went to build the Temple of Šu-Suen" (ud e$_2$ ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen du$_3$-de$_3$ im-gen-na-a); Nisaba 716, IS02-01-00, Urusagrig: flour for ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen to Ašgi-bani gudug;

BPOA 7 2414, ŠS04-00-00, Umma: gudug ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen; BPOA 1 0479, IS02-01-00, Umma: gudug ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen; CUSAS 3 0220, ŠS05-03-00, Garšana: e$_2$ ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen, which was not on the royal estate but close enough to have frequent economic interactions with it; CUSAS 3 1012, ŠS07-12-00, Garšana: a goat for alan-lugal;

RT 19 186, ŠS05-04-00, Girsu: a statue (alan) of ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen in the temple (e$_2$) of ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen somewhere in the province of Lagaš.

records.[189] Indeed, having local officials honor him in such an expensive and visible fashion seems to have been one of the hallmarks of Šu-Suen's style of divine kingship. Habaluge, governor of Adab, had a temple to Šu-Suen built, likely in the environs of the city he managed, and Lugal-magure, a captain of the watch who was simultaneously serving as governor of Ur, did likewise in Ur.[190] An inscription on a door socket excavated in the gipar at Ur commemorates the construction of yet another temple to the deified Šu-Suen in the dynasty's home city, undertaken by a general whose name is, unfortunately, illegible.[191]

The most striking move of this ruler in relation to his cult was to extend it into foreign territories that had over time been absorbed by or allied with the Ur III state. Two statues of Šu-Suen were transported from Girsu over long distances, one to be set up on the quay in Susa (Elam), the second to Duhduhli, somewhere to the northeast of Sumer in the Zagros range.[192] Susa and the regions immediately surrounding it had been incorporated into the Ur III realm already in Ur-Namma's reign, likely as one result of his successful war against Puzur-Inšušinak, and the area remained a stable sector of the dynasty's foreign territory until Ibbi-Suen's 13th year.[193] Throughout this time, Susa regularly provided Sumer with vast quantities of grain and animals, and received animals from the Puzriš-Dagan facility in return.[194] Some records indicate that its governors

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[189] Arad-Nanna: RIME 3 2.1.4.12. This inscription had been written on four door sockets found in Girsu.

[190] Habaluge: RIME 3 2.1.4.11. An inscription commemorating the act of construction was inscribed on a brick found on the banks of the Bismaya river.
Lugal-magure: RIME 3 2 1.4.15. It's possible that this is the man of the same name who was married to an unnamed princess; see CTMMA 1 17, AS04-07-00, Puzriš-Dagan.

[191] RIME 3 2.1.14. The inscription was dedicated by [x]-kal-la šagina.

[192] ITT 2 03390, ŠS05-01-00, Girsu: aga alan ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen kar Šušin^{ki} du_3-de_3; and RTC 390, ŠSXX-11-10, Girsu: alan Šu-^{d}Suen-ka ^{de3}Duh-hu-li_2^{ki}-$še_3$ gen-na.

[193] See Steinkeller (forthcoming), Grand Strategy, pp. 23-24. The Susiana, broadly construed, covers Susa, Urua, Sabum, Bašime, Adamšah and Awan. Ibbi-^{d}Suen's 14th year formula is named after his campaign against Susa, Adamšah, and the territories (ma-da) Awan^{ki}.

[194] For example, MVN 06 130, Š35-00-00, Girsu: delivery of 922 gur of grain and 10.6.0 gur of pulses from the granary (i_3-dub) of Susa; SACT 1 189, no date, Puzriš-Dagan: delivery of forty oxen, 629 sheep and forty-one goats from Beli-arik, $ensi_2$ Šušin^{ki}; Nik. 2 479, AS06-03-09, Puzriš-Dagan:

participated in the bala system imposed on provinces considered part of the core, while others classify their payments as the tax (gu_2) taken from peripheral zones.[195] Elite members of Sumerian society also maintained estates or business interests in the Susiana area, into the reign of the last king of the dynasty.[196] The land of Duhduhli first entered Ur III records obliquely, in Š34, when Elamites (NIM) of a man with the Hurrian name of Hulibar are mentioned.[197] In Š43, Hulibar, now called ruler ($ensi_2$) of Duhduhli, received largesse from the crown in preparation for his return home. At some point he had married an Ur III princess, possibly Šat-Šulgi.[198] Hulibar apparently worked out a compact with Šulgi that proved satisfactory to that king's successors, for into the reign of Šu-Suen Hulibar sent animals to the Puzriš-Dagan facility on occasion, provided troops (termed NIM) for the Ur III army, for which he received a generalship, and kept his area from causing problems for the kings of Sumer.[199]

3586 sheep and fourteen goats brought to the fattening house in Susa by a royal envoy (lu_2-kin-gi_4-a lugal).

[195] PDT 1 557, AS04-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan: disbursement of eleven oxen, termed the bala Zariq $ensi_2$ Šušin^{ki}; CST 124, Š46-07-08, Puzriš-Dagan: delivery of 1728 sheep and eighty-six goats, the gu_2 Šušin^{ki}; BCT 1 117, IS02-04-07, Puzriš-Dagan: 132 sheep gu_2 Šušin^{ki} on hand.

[196] UET 3 1284, IS01-11-00, Ur: an estate closure summary concerning 198 hides (kuš e_2-dul-la), property of Dada gala and Tahišatal (spelled Ta_2-ah-ša-tal) in Susa and Adamšah. Dada was a highly placed cultic functionary whose daughter had married into the Ur III royal family. Tahišatal is a Hurrian name. The earliest attested man of this name was affiliated with troops ($erin_2$) based in various, obscure foreign locales (Šu-a-hi^{ki}, Šu-sa-hu-um^{ki}, E-ru-ut^{ki}, Gab_2-la-aš^{ki}, Da-ši-bi_2-we^{ki}, Bar-ma-an^{ki}, and Ba-a-bi_2^{ki}), all categorized as men (lu_2) of one $Nigar_x^{gar}$-ki-dug_3 (OIP 115 158, Š43-07-02, Puzriš-Dagan). This is likely not that Tahišatal who worked in the Puzriš-Dagan animal facility, but may be the mounted courier (ra_2-gaba) of this name, concerning whose grain in Nippur another estate closure summary was completed (UET 3 0950, IS01-01-00, Ur).

[197] WMAH 088, Š34-00-00, Girsu.

[198] SAT 2 0316, Š43-01-09, Puzriš-Dagan: Hulibar $ensi_2$ of Duhduhli^{ki} terminated a visit to the Nippur area, receiving animals for his use during the return trip to his own city. In the same transaction, which was authorized by Aradmu, Ša-at-^{d}Šul-gi dumu-munus-lugal also received a fattened sheep. Then again, the sole other attestation of a Šat-Šulgi in the archives is that of the wife of A-bi_2-a-mu-ti Mar-tu (TRU 267, Š46-08-05, Puzriš-Dagan). That Hulibar was married to *a* princess is demonstrated by MVN 13 725, no date, Girsu: a sheep for dumu-lugal dam Hu-li_2-bar. On Hulibar in general, see Goetze (1953), Notizia (2010).

[199] For example, OrSP 05 53 17 Wengler 25, Š48-07-23, Puzriš-Dagan, in which Hulibar sent twenty-four oxen, twelve black sheep and 175 adult goats to Puzriš-Dagan. For NIM, see Nisaba 22 003, AS05-06-00, Girsu, in which NIM Duh-duh-li_2^{ki} received beer, bread and oil in Kinunir, and flour for the road/campaign. In NYPL 113, AS06-12-00, Umma, we find Hu-li-bar šagina (general).

Another temple dedicated to Šu-Suen was founded in the conquered territory of Urbilum: in ŠS07 thirty two conifer beams belonging to the sukkal-mah Aradmu were conveyed there specifically for its construction.[200] Urbilum, which corresponds to modern-day Erbil in Kurdistan in the upper Zagros, had been invaded and subjugated by Šulgi, an act for which he named his 45th year. The zone appears to have remained militarized for the remainder of Šulgi's term in office: it was ruled by a military governor, Lu-Nanna, booty and "gifts" were collected, and some items were conveyed to Puzriš-Dagan by the general Igirumah.[201] In the first year of his reign Amar-Suen was compelled to undertake a new campaign against Urbilum; this may have been due to a revolt in that land when news of Šulgi's death reached there.[202] Thereafter, the most prominent man from Urbilum was one Nanip-atal, who may well have been its governor.[203]

One Ituria, a governor of Ešnuna, a city in the Diyala region that had been under the control of the Ur III kings since at least the reign of Šulgi, erected a temple to Šu-Suen in that city, attached

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The last dated attestation of the man occurs in ŠS03 (CST 423, ŠS03-08-18, Puzriš-Dagan: Hu-li$_2$-bar ensi$_2$ Duh-duh-li^{ki}).

[200] SAT 1 377, ŠS07-00-00, Girsu: 32 ur$_2$ ^{giš}u$_3$-suh$_5$ sukkal-mah e$_2$ ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ka Ur-bi$_2$-lum^{ki}-še$_3$.

[201] BPOA 6 0644, Š47-03-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Lu$_2$-^{d}Nanna šagina Ur-bi$_2$-lum^{ki}, who may the prince of that same name; AUCT 2 326+336, Š45-12-02, Puzriš-Dagan: silver, booty (nam-ra-ak) of [Ur]-bi$_2$-lum^{ki}; Ontario 1 053, Š48-XX-20, Puzriš-Dagan: cattle nam-ra-ak Ur-bi$_2$-lum^{ki}; BIN 3 018, Š47-01-00, Puzriš-Dagan: cattle, gift (maš-da-ri-a) of the territory (ma-da) of Ur-bi$_2$-lum^{ki}, royal delivery; and AUCT 2 384, Š47-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan: bronze items from the "man" or ruler (lu$_2$) of Urbilum, conveyed to Ur by Igi-ru-mah šagina.

[202] The year formula for Amar-Suen's second regnal year commemorated this campaign. See also Steinkeller (forthcoming), Grand Strategy, pp. 39-40: "This military operation was probably necessitated by Urbilum's revolt, which may have been provoked by the news of Šulgi's death and the uncertain political situation that arose thereafter. The pacification of Urbilum at the hands of Amar-Suen was to all the [sic] appearances successful, since this land presented no further problems to the Ur III kings."

[203] Nanipātal, from AS06-003-01 (BIN 3 466, Puzriš-Dagan) to ŠS01-10-20 (SNAT 271, Puzriš-Dagan). In the latter text, his betrothed daughter-in-law, Migir-Ninliltum, received animals from the crown in Ur, along with dignitaries from Simurrum, Iabilu, and Mahli. The last dated attestation of this land occurred in ŠS07, when men from Urbilum received beer (TCTI 2 03899, ŠS07-09-00, Girsu).

to the governor's palace.[204] Yet another temple of Šu-Suen existed at a settlement named Neber-Šu-Suen, the exact location of which is unknown. A tablet attests to the anointing of this king's statue in his temple, and another to work done on both this statue's pedestal and a throne of the dais of Ninhursag, whose effigy apparently had a place of honor there.[205] Finally, in or after his third regnal year Šu-Suen instituted a mass deportation of a portion of the defeated population of Šimanum to the border of Nippur, where he established a settlement for them, of which he named himself the god.[206]

Under Ibbi-Suen, the final king of the Ur III dynasty, documents show that the placements of statues of his two immediate predecessors mushroomed. At the start of Ibbi-Suen's reign, a new statue of Amar-Suen was completed and brought by its craftsmen into the Temple Fitting for its God in Urusagrig.[207] In the city of Ur the statue "Amar-Suen at the Lapis Lazuli Quay" had been set up in the temple of Nanna, and another called "Amar-Suen at the Royal Quay" in the vicinity of one of

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[204] See Reichel (2008) for the details. The evidence consists of the building inscription along with remains of the actual temple.

An earlier governor of Ešnuna, Bamu, is attested in Š45 (PDT 2 1246, Š45-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan), and troops ($eren_2$) from Ešnuna sending livestock to the central facility in Puzriš-Dagan a few years later show that the city was under royal control (OrSP 02 62 6 Wengler 22, Š48-08-03, Puzriš-Dagan).

[205] Nisaba 15 359, ŠS06-01-00, Urusagrig: oil for the offering ($siskur_2$) to the statue (alan) of Šu-Suen, and oil used to anoint the Temple of the statue of Šu-Suen, in Ne-be_6-er-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen; and Nisaba 15, 0368, ŠS06-03-00, Urusagrig: bitumen for the throne of the dais (gu-za barag) of Ninhursag and for the pedestal of the statue of the king (u_3 ki-gal alan-lugal), in Neber-Šu-Suen.

[206] RIME 2.1.4.1. Note especially line col. iv. lines 44-46: uru^{ki}-ba ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen dingir-bi-im ("of their city Šu-Suen was its god"). Šu-Suen's campaign against Šimanum was commemorated in the regnal formula for ŠS03.

[207] Nisaba 15 531, ŠS09-12-00, Urusagrig: two white oxhides, bitumen, and the labor of [x] carpenters (nagar) and one currier (ašgab) for one day in the house of the singer (nar) to complete the second? statue of the king (alan-lugal min? šu dug_4-dug_4-ga), when the statue of Amar-Suen was brought from the throne room of inspection to the Temple Fitting for its God (ud alan ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen barag $gurum_2$-ta e_2-dingir-si-im-ti-ša-$še_3$ ba-an-ku_4-ra-a), conveyed by three royal joiners (tibira-lugal-me).

A regular offering to the gods (sa_2-dug_4) included flour to ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen and the throne-dais (barag) in Urusagrig; it was received by Adalal the gudug (Nisaba 15/2 716, IS02-01-00, Urusagrig).

the main city gates and the Throne House.[208] An unnamed statue of this same king had been installed in the chariot house there.[209] Still another statue of Amar-Suen was receiving regular offerings in the kianag chapel of Ur-Namma in Umma.[210] By this time, if not before, the cult of Šu-Suen had spread in Umma to the temples of Šara and Gula, and temples to this king could also be found in the probable vicinity of Nippur and in the Guabba sector of the province of Lagaš.[211] Statues of Šu-Suen also stood at the gates (ka_2) of Šulgi and Utu in Uruk, and a Lamma-lugal now sat in the temple of Nintinuga in Nippur as well.[212] In profound contradistinction to the attention paid to the cult images and sites of his predecessors, the extant archives show Ibbi-Suen erecting only two statues of himself, that of the big statue of Ibbi-Suen, which received offerings as a cult effigy somewhere in Ur, and a Lamma-Ibbi-Suen in Girsu.[213] In a similar vein, only one temple dedicated to this king is known, from a Nippur document.[214]

Despite the lack of references to statues of Ibbi-Suen in cult locations, there was a notable increase in the number of statues of the king (alan-lugal) that were created during his reign. Precious metals were measured out for two such statues in IS05 and IS08, a quantity that exploded

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[208] UET 3 0105, IS05-04-00, Ur; Studies Levine 132-138, ka_2 gu-la ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-kar-re-lugal e_2-gu-za.

[209] SET 057, IS02-10-09, Puzriš-Dagan: lamb to ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen $šag_4$ e_2 ^{giš}gigir in Ur.

[210] OrSP 47-49 465, ISXX-00-00, Umma: reeds for the kianag of Ur-Namma and as a regular offering to Apil-kin (of Mari, probably Amar-Suen's maternal grandfather) and to ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen in the house (e_2) of Ur-Namma.

[211] ZA 95 175, ISXX-00-00, Umma: silver coil to a cup-bearer (sagi) when a statue of Šu-Suen entered the Temple of Šara, and silver coil to a servitor of a professional soldier (lu_2-aga_3-us_2) when a statue of Šu-Suen entered the Temple of Gula; TCCBI 2-2 41, IS02-00-00, Aradmu archive: account of animals e_2 ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen; and RIAA 194, no date, Girsu: garments, e_2 ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen $šag_4$ Gu_2-ab-ba-^{ki}-ka. See also ITT 2 00696, IS01-06-00, Girsu: one niglam garment for Šu-Suen.

[212] PDT 1 563, ŠS09-10-21, Puzriš-Dagan; MVN 10 144, IS02-09-03, Puzriš-Dagan.

[213] UET 3 0267, IS13-08-00, Ur: [x] to alan ^{d}I-bi_2-^{d}Suen gu-la, part of a long list summarized as regular offerings to individual deities, shrines and kianags (sa_2-dug_4 dingir $eš_3$ didli u_3 ki-a-nag didli); TCTI 2 03667, IS02-01-00, Girsu.

[214] SAT 3 2001, IS03-06-04, Nippur: e_2 ^{d}I-bi_2-^{d}Suen-ka. The text involves workers and their overseers who were involved with some sort of tax ([nig_2]-ku_5 šu-dim_2-ma).

to sixteen alan-lugal in IS15 alone.[215] Long before this time, however, Ibbi-Suen had lost control over major portions of his realm. The king's year formulae, a sign of his authority, went out of usage in Ešnuna in his second regnal year, in Susa in his third, in Lagaš in his fifth, in Umma in his sixth, and in Nippur in his seventh.[216] In addition, the gun_2 ma-da tax from the peripheral zone stopped being delivered to Puzriš-Dagan in IS03; the loss of these territories meant that the center also lost unproblematic access to crucial international trade routes.[217] In other words, by IS15 the great Ur III polity had been reduced to the cities of Ur and Uruk and their immediate surroundings, yet it was in just such straitened circumstances that the last king approved the expenditure of rare materials, ones obtainable solely through long-distance trade, on a plethora of images affirming the godhood of his, and possibly his predecessors', person. These statues could not have been crafted as royal gifts, since by this point Ibbi-Suen's stature was so diminished that no foreign dignitary would be flattered by one.[218] Perhaps a significant number of these images were intended as votive offerings, to increase the symbolic presence of the king before the gods in the hope of provoking their sympathy for his difficult situation.

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[215] None of these texts make explicit how many of these statues were of the divine Ibbi-Suen and how many of his divine predecessors. I assume that statues of unnamed kings represent the current ruler. The texts are: UET 3 0372, IS05-00-00, Ur: gold for a seated bronze alan-lugal; UET 3 0400, IS08-09-20, Ur: a small gold alan-lugal; UET 3 0425, IS15-02-00, Ur: gold for four alan-lugal; UET 3 0489, IS15-05-10, Ur: gold for two alan-lugal; UET 3 0494, IS15-05-16, Ur: small seated lapis lazuli alan-lugal; UET 3 0502, IS15-06-06, Ur: red gold for alan-lugal; UET 3 0520, IS15-07-05, Ur: a seated lapis lazuli alan-lugal; UET 3 0559, IS15-08-20, Ur: gold for two alan-lugal; UET 3 0560, IS05-08-20, Ur: gold for a mace strap and a silver throwstick to be placed on an alan-lugal; UET 3 0566, IS15-08-27, Ur: a silver throwstick for a gold alan-lugal; UET 3 0568, IS15-09-03, Ur: red gold for a small alan-lugal; UET 3 0582, IS15-09-24, Ur: red gold for a pedestal of a small, seated lapis lazuli alan-lugal; and UET 3 0613, IS15-11-14, Ur: red gold for alan-lugal.

[216] Jacobsen, JCS 7 (1953), p. 38.

[217] Steinkeller (forthcoming c), Grand Strategy, p. 53.

[218] Notice of gifts of a king's statue are in any case rare. See UTI 6 3800 (ŠSxx-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan) wherein four small gold statues of the king were brought to Lu-Nanna, the general of Zimudar, and three other generals at their camp (one alan-lugal kug-sig_{17} si-sa_2 tur-bi-ta, Lu_2-^{d}Nanna Zi-mu-dar^{ki}, one La-la-a, one Ki-nam-uš-si, one A-tar-da šagina-me, $ugnim_x$-$še_3$ Da-a-a aga_3-us_2 lu_2-dun-a Šeš-kal-la šagina-ke_4 i_3-ne0de_6, Ara_2-^{d}Nanna sukkal-mah maškim).

In addition to the Ur III kings, there are four other individuals who, while exceptional, even quite so, were never elevated to godhood in life, yet to whose effigies offerings were made in temples. The rarity of affording people who were never identified as gods during their lifetime treatment reserved for gods speaks, perhaps, to special circumstances. One was the founder of the Akkadian dynasty, Sargon, mentioned previously, for whom a single sacrifice is attested, in Enlil's temple.[219] This was accompanied by a simultaneous sacrifice to his grandson, Narām-Suen, who had been a living god, and one suspects a process of assimilation.

Most frequently encountered in the Ur III records is Gudea, who had ruled the province of Lagaš when it was still an independent city-state, and whose tenure overlapped in part with the reign of Ur-Namma. There are numerous inscriptions and administrative records dating to Gudea's reign, and no indication in any of them that this king was treated as other than a mortal ruler during his lifetime. His subsequent cult and veneration as a god did not occur until after his death, and appear to have been restricted to Girsu, from which all texts that mention it derive.[220] The fact that the Ur III kings tolerated the cult, which could be construed as implicitly undermining their claims to special divine status, may indicate that it arose and had become entrenched before the first Ur III dynast had himself deified, i.e. before Š21. The earliest reference to Gudea as a god dates to Š34, in the personal name "The Man of the Deified Gudea", which demonstrates that Gudea's name had by this time entered the list of theophoric elements acceptable for use in naming children, or in renaming oneself.[221] It doesn't crop up again until Š46, in the seal impression of one Mani, a "cup-bearer" (sagi) in Gudea's cult.[222] Multiple statues of this ruler were crafted, which, as divine effigies, underwent the mouth-opening ritual, received offerings and accoutrements, and were serviced by

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[219] PDT 1 605, ŠS01-04-00, Puzriš-Dagan.

[220] MVN 14 502, nd, Puzriš-Dagan is the sole exception, but the Lu_2-$^{d}Gu_3$-de_2-a in this text is doubtless the man of the same name who appears in multiple texts from Girsu.

[221] MVN 07 184, Š34-00-00, Girsu: Lu_2-$^{d}Gu_3$-de_2-a.

[222] ASJ 03 176 179, Š46-00-00, Girsu.

cult functionaries.[223] At least one of these statues would have been housed in the temple dedicated to Gudea.[224]

The other two individuals who were afforded treatment otherwise reserved for gods are anomalous in that their apparent veneration was not connected with their tenure as ruler, nor was it routine. Twice in Š47, once AS01, and once in an undated text, an Ur-Suen was included among the customary deities and cult objects in the temple of Ninlil, as one of the recipients of the Great Offering.[225] In the instances dating to Šulgi's reign his name was preceded by the divine determinative. I suspect that this Ur-Suen was the prince, who is attested explicitly as such from

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[223] STA 08, AS05-10-00, Girsu: alan $^{d}Gu_3$-de_2-a ka-duh-ha; ITT 3 06586, AS07-03-00, Girsu; MVN 13 138, AS08-03-00, Girsu; and ITT 5 06927, ŠS02-03-00, Girsu: $^{d}Gu_3$-de_2-a ka-duh-ha;
TLB 3 035, AS08-06-12, Girsu: regular offerings (sa_2-dug_4) $^{d}Gu_3$-de_2-a; HSS 5 052, ŠS02-00-00, Girsu: oxhide (kuš-gud) for a bronze musical instrument (sa-zabar) $^{d}Gu_3$-de_2-a;
RTC 401, IS02-00-00, Girsu: gudug $^{d}Gu_3$-de_2-a.

[224] ITT 3 06369, nd, Girsu: men to build (du_3-a) a temple of Gudea (e_2 $^{d}Gu_3$-de_2-a).

[225] MVN 15 146, Š47-02-21; TCL 2 5501, Š47-02-22; OIP 115 306, Š47-02-00; PDT 2 1173, AS01-05-00, all Puzriš-Dagan. In the earliest text, the offerings to a deified Ur-Suen were made in the king's presence. The order of offerands was abzu-^{d}Ninlila, ^{d}Ninlil, ^{d}Nanna, ^{giš}bad (furniture leg), ^{d}Nisaba, ^{d}Nintinuga, ^{giš}$šu_4$-a, balag (musical instrument), ^{giš}gigir (chariot), ^{d}Ur-^{d}Suen, ^{d}Enlila-zi, ^{giš}apin (plow), alan-lugal (statue of the king). In the remaining texts, the order is identical, except for the reversal of Ur-Suen and Enlila-zi in the third, and the reversal of Nisaba and Nintinuga and the insertions of ^{d}Šu-mah between them in the fourth. More significant is the fact that the divine determinative that was inserted before Ur-Suen's name in the records dating from Šulgi's reign has been dropped in the document from his successor's.
Note also a broken, undatable tablet (NATN 879, Nippur) with sacrifices to Enlil, Ninlil, Ninurta, Nusku, Iškur, Nin-Isina, HU Inana, Nanna, Utu, Enki, Enlilazi, and a deified Ur-Suen, whose name is followed by a phrase that is, unfortunately, only partially legible: "[x-x] AB ŠU? / [x-x] SAG MAH?
However, Michalowski (2013), pp. 307-308, identifies the ^{d}Ur-^{d}Suen of these lists of offerings not as "the son of Šulgi, but a homonymous minor deity who, according to later tradition, was the 'herald of the Outer Shrine'" [in An = *Anum*], noting that this deity occurs also "in the Old Babylonian 'de Genouillac' and 'Isin' god lists, in the later An=Anum, but not in the Nippur God List, nor, as far as I can determine, in the commonly used school Weidner list." Supporting this interpretation is the fact that the ^{d}Ur-^{d}Suen of the An=*Anum* list was immediately preceded on that list by ^{d}Enlila-zi, termed the "lieutenant of the E-kur" (nu-$banda_3$ E_2-kur-ra), and it is this same god who co-occurs with the ^{d}Ur-^{d}Suen of the offerings. This is a compelling argument, yet I would still like to at least present the alternative, as a) these are the sole texts in which ^{d}Ur-Suen appears, whereas b) Enlilazi appears in five further documents both before and after those in which ^{d}Ur-Suen co-occurs, in the company of other Nippur deities (ZA 101 42 6 NT 233, Š year illegible, Nippur; TCL 5 6053, Š41-05-30, Umma; TCL 2 5513, Š43-08-00, Puzriš-Dagan; AUCT 1 960, Š45-11-07; and MVN 10 144, IS02-09-03, Puzriš-Dagan); and c) the timing of the decision to sacrifice to a deified Ur-Suen on two consecutive days late in Šulgi's reign, but never before and thereafter only once at the start of Amar-Suen's is a bit suspicious, given all of the questions that surround the succession to Šulgi.

Š34 through Š47-02-07.[226] It is likely that he was at one point the intended heir, as he served as military governor of Uruk and Der, positions that seem to have functioned as a sort of dauphinage.[227] If it were indeed he whom Šulgi had included in the Great Offering as a god, as I suggest, this might be a sign that the prince was being elevated to divine royal status prior to his anticipated coronation due, perhaps, to the increasingly debilitated state of the current king and concerns about potential opposition to his choice of successor. Thus, Ur-Suen's short-lived deification before his disappearance from the records would hint at factional strife surrounding Šulgi's death.[228] That Amar-Suen wound up as Šulgi's successor gives weight to the hypothesis that the prince Ur-Suen had died, whether naturally or by violence, and it is telling that very shortly after his installation as king, Amar-Suen, while still permitting at least one offering to this same Ur-Suen, simultaneously demoted him to mortal status in the process. In any event, the cult of the deified Ur-Suen did not catch on, and no further offerings to him are in evidence.

The second person who was neither god, divine king, nor any king whatsoever, to receive offerings in a temple during the Ur III period is a woman named Ninkala, a name also borne by one of Šulgi's consorts. Though the latter woman is never attested as one of Šulgi's lukurs, she frequently occurs with the king and/or other royal consorts.[229] Furthermore, four texts term her

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[226] MVN 10 149, Š34-08-00, Girsu; MVN 05 105, Š47-02-07, Puzriš-Dagan: Ur-^{d}Suen dumu-lugal. Michalowski (2013), p. 318, who has argued that the Ur-Suen who delivered bears from Der during Šulgi's reign was the prince of that name, even when that honorific is not specified, lists the last attested delivery of a bear in his name as having occurred on Š48-12-05 (OIP 115, 191).

[227] Seals that name Ur-Suen as šagina Unug^{ki} u_3 Der^{ki}: RA 13 020 7, Š48-00-00; Trouvaille 74, AS01-01-00, both Puzriš-Dagan; BIN 5 316, no date, Umma. It was Michalowski (1977a) who first suggested that this position might indicate the selection of an heir. In a more recent article (2013), he has revisited the issue and offered further arguments for the possibility that Ur-Suen was in fact the heir presumptive.

[228] Michalowski (1977b) proposed that the deaths of two of Šulgi's consorts shortly after his, in conjunction with the extra bodies discovered in that king's mausoleum, might be indicative of a clash between factions. He revisits and expands on this proposition in 2013.

[229] RA 17 212 4, Š37-11-00, Puzriš-Dagan: a Ninkala received gold jewelry on the road (or campaign) along with Geme-Ninlila and Taddin-Eštar; OrNS 55 134, Malter 10, Š41-00-00, Umma: provided (mašdaria) gold and silver for cultic items, while the king provided silver for the same; PDT 1 434, Š41-08-00, Puzriš-Dagan: received leather boots, along with Šulgi-simtum; BIN 5 004, Š42-00-00, Umma: participated in a beer libation, or party (kašdea) with the king; ASJ 04 133 03, Š43-

queen (ereš), although the two that date from the reign of Šulgi may in fact date instead to Amar-Suen, in which case this title would indicate that she was Dowager Queen, without her necessarily having co-ruled with Šulgi-simtum as reigning queens during Šulgi's lifetime.[230] However, a tablet from Š44 mentioning queens in the plural (ereš-e-ne) tends to support the proposition that Šulgi had two, Šulgi-simtum and Ninkala, whose terms of office overlapped.[231] It seems likely that it is this Ninkala, the queen, who received a sacrifice along with primarily female deities, during the reign of Ibbi-Suen.[232] The offerings are summarized as appropriations for NE.izi-gar, a festival centered on ceremonies for the dead, and the presence of Ningišzida, a chthonic deity, among the offerands, most likely indicates that Ninkala was dead.[233] In relation to the nature of this festival, M. E. Cohen cited the following passage from the Death of Gilgameš: "Without him (^{d}Utu) no light would be there during the month NE.izi-gar, during the festival of the ghosts (^{iti}NE.izi-gar ezem-gidim?-ma-ke$_4$-ne)", and likened it to the Roman *paternalia*, when the ghosts of dead ancestors were feted. If this comparison holds true, then the fact that Ibbi-Suen decided to honor a decidedly never-deified woman with a sacrifice otherwise reserved for gods may mean that she was one of his direct ancestors, perhaps only recently deceased, or that she had passed on in the reign of a preceding

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09-00, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep were delivered for sacrifices on behalf of the king, Geme-Ninlila, Ninkala, and ME-Ea; JCS 24, 170 91, Š44-00-00, Umma: beer sent to the queens, for a kašdea of Ninkala, and for a kašdea of the king; Trouvaille 85, Š47-02-00, Puzriš-Dagan: silver bracelets were presented to a female singer of Ninkala and a nursemaid of Šat-Suen the princess on their successful return from the river ordeal; Phillips 13, Šxx-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Ninkala accompanied the king, Šulgi-simtum, ME-Ea, Eaniša, Šu-Suen, Šagtašaga, and the ens of Nanna, Inana, and Enki when Šulgi went to drink beer at Šarrum-bani's. In addition, an inscription copied in the OB period from the shoulder of a statue of Šulgi reads: Ninkala, his beloved citizen of Nippur, had this statue of him crafted (OrNS 54, Šxx-00-00, Nippur).

[230] CT 07 27 BM 018376, Š42-00-00 (or AS06); ASJ 11 129 59, Š48-00-00; MVN 22 108, AS04-00-00; ASJ 09 126 57, no date, all Girsu: Nin$_9$-kal-la ereš. The first text has an ambiguous year formula that was used by both Šulgi and Amar-Suen. The second, with no month listed, may have occurred in the last two months of Š48, when the king was dead.

[231] JCS 24, 170 91, Š44-00-00, Umma.

[232] MVN 15 118, IS01-05-11, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep for ^{d}Ninsun, ^{d}Inana, ^{d}Nin-egal, [x], Nin$_9$-kal-la, ^{d}Inana e$_2$-mah?, ^{d}Geštinana-lugal, ^{d}Ningišzida in e$_2$-geštin?, ^{d}Nin-egal in e$_2$-URI?, nig$_2$-dab$_5$ NE.izi-gar.

[233] Cohen (1993) p. 103.

king, and Ibbi-Suen was dissatisfied with whatever rituals had been afforded her. In either case, it was a singular honor.[234]

1.3 Reflections of the King's Godhood in Other Areas

1.3.1 Seals

Extant images of the Ur III kings, as of the Sargonic rulers, are scant.[235] The only item of similar size and impact to Narām-Suen's Victory Stele involves the first Ur III king, Ur-Namma. On this multi-registered, two-sided stele, the fragments of which were discovered in Ur, Ur-Namma is depicted wearing the en cap as he goes about in his role of pious steward, rebuilding a temple and making offerings.[236] A rock relief in Darband-i-Gawr in the Zagros may also represent an Ur III king, and, if so, probably Šulgi, who had undertaken a number of military campaigns in that region. Like the earlier Narām-Suen Victory Stele, it shows an oversized, armed, bearded king ascending a mountain, over the smaller corpses of defeated enemies, but differs significantly in that this king wears not the horned crown but the en's cap.[237]

Of the surviving artifacts, impressions from cylinder seals comprise the bulk of the representations of Ur-Namma's successors. Special significance may be accorded the in-na-ba seal, the designation of a subgroup that had been presented personally by the king to favored

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[234] Michalowski (2013), pp. 301-302, reviews the proposals to date for the identity of Ibbi-Suen's mother, that she was either an otherwise unknown woman named Šu-mama or Šu-Suen's consort Kubatum, and puts forth arguments for a new one, that she was Šulgi's consort Šulgi-simti. He also provides evidence that Šulgi's consort Ninkala survived until Amar-Suen's fourth regnal year (pp. 293-294 and fn. 36, p. 310).

[235] Suter (2010) presents a comprehensive account of the various types of images of the Ur III rulers.

[236] See Canby (2001) for a detailed study.

[237] Suter (2010), p. 335, provides a drawing of this relief alongside Narām-Suen's Victory Stele for comparison. See Steinkeller (2012), p. 310 fn. 108, for sources on the possible dating and subject of this relief.

subordinates, and on which the portrayal of the king in question may be assumed to have reflected his preferred self-image.[238] The design of these seals uniformly followed the pattern of a pre-existing type known as "presentation", on which the bearer of the seal was typically shown being introduced by a minor god, often his or her Lamma, to a seated deity. On the royal in-na-ba seals, while the figure of the king was substituted for that of the more traditional god, other graphic indications of his divinity such as the horned crown were avoided. This item, then, may be seen as both asserting the king's godhood by his placement in the position of the expected transcendental god, and softening the boldness of that implicit claim by adorning him with the en cap typical of mortal kings.

The sole seal of this type mentioning Ur-Namma is not, strictly speaking, an in-na-ba, as those words do not occur in the seal legend, which reads: Ur-Namma, the mighty hero, king of Ur, Hašhamer, governor ($ensi_2$) of Iškun-Suen, (is) your servant.[239] The seal depicts a bearded man wearing an odd cap, somewhat like the en's but with a much wider brim, seated on a bull-legged throne. Another man, evidently Hašhamer, approaches, with his right hand in the prayerful position before his face, accompanied by two Lammas, one of whom is leading him by the left wrist. Between the seated figure and the supplicant appears a crescent moon. Due to the legend on the seal, the seated figure has been universally taken as Ur-Namma. If this is indeed the case, then it would undercut the argument that the Ur III innovation of substituting the figure of a god with that of the king in presentation seal scenes resulted from the king's deification, as in both life and death Ur-Namma was never treated as a god. However, I do wonder if the seated figure might rather represent an admittedly unusual form of the god Nanna-Suen, based on the prayerful position of the supplicant's right hand, as well as the bull-legs (the bull being a symbol of the moon god) on the

[238] Detailed discussion of these seals, their usage and import are provided by Winter (1986) and Mayr and Owen (2004).

[239] The seal itself is in the British Museum, accession number ME 89126.

throne together with the crescent moon and the fact that Hašhamer's territory was dedicated to Suen.[240]

The in-na-ba seal type seems to have been introduced by Šulgi.[241] While some slight variation of figuration in this seal was allowed, such as whether the king sat or was standing, whether the presentee was alone or accompanied by one or two deities (Lamma), and the presence or absence of a star, the overall impression is that a convention had been achieved. All the more striking then is a seal presented by Šulgi to his consort Geme-Ninlila, on which the king is depicted in an animal skin, holding the triple lion-headed mace that normally adhered to gods, as he ascends a mountain.[242] The similarity to the stance and underlying action (an invasion of Lullubum, in the Zagros) of Narām-Suen on his Victory Stele cannot be accidental.[243] One must conclude that Šulgi was both familiar with the Victory Stele and that he was deliberately likening himself to the first self-deified king in Mesopotamian history.[244] Nonetheless, the reluctance on the part of the Ur III kings to ever be portrayed in a god's horned crown, an accoutrement that Narām-Suen evidently had no problem appropriating, may indicate a residual anxiety as to their claims of mortal godhood, as well

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[240] Of the twenty nine Ur III in-na-ba seals identified and discussed by Mayr and Owen (2004), the figure of the presentee is clear in eighteen, in only one of which is he holding his hand before his face, the stereotypical position for approaching the traditional gods in glyptic art (p. 167, no. 10, seal of Šu-kabta). The authors note that this seal is "the only known royal gift seal that shows an introduction scene", that is, that features a leading Lamma.
In addition, in none of the in-na-ba seals does the deified king sit on a bull-legged throne, or indeed on a chair with the legs of any type of animal. At most, his seat is flanked by lions. Winter (1991, p. 63, fn. 18) recommended that "it seems wisest not to draw any significant conclusions" from this seal, due to both its numerous anomalies and its undocumented provenance.

[241] Mayr and Owen (2004), p. 155: "Šulgi, who probably originated this seal type".

[242] FS. Pettinato 160, 167 02, 169 02, Š46-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan.
On maces, see for example the 3-headed lion mace ($šita_x$-ur-sag-$eš_5$) Gudea had crafted for the god Ningirsu's cult (RIME 3.1.1.7, Statue B).

[243] In addition, Šulgi's bare chest, short skirt and en's cap here are quite similar to those worn by the anonymous victor carved on the relief at Darband-i-Gawr, in the general area of Lullubum. Mayr and Owen (2004), p. 149, have also pointed out the similarity of this seal to both the Victory Stele and the rock relief.

[244] Mayr and Owen (2004), pp. 149-150, characterize this depiction of Šulgi as especially god-like: "The king's demeanor may be more god-like on this seal than on any other known monument"; and "her [Geme-Ninlila's] husband, assuming the guise of a god in her presence".

as a conscious attempt to differentiate themselves somewhat from the deified Sargonic dynasts who preceded them.

1.3.2 Royal Hymns

Hymn is a modern scholarly category name for Mesopotamian poetry in praise of temples, deities and kings.[245] Examples involving the first two subject matters are attested from the mid-third millennium on, whereas the royal hymns appear to have been an innovation of the kings of the Ur III dynasty. Currently identified as such are eight hymns of or to Ur-Namma, twenty-one of Šulgi, eight of Šu-Suen, and five of Ibbi-Suen.[246] Given the presence of hymns to Ur-Namma, one cannot say that the royal hymns as a whole were a consequence of the kings' apotheosis --- unless, of course, Šulgi had this set composed posthumously on behalf of his undeified father, a suggestion that cannot be verified with the current evidence.

Nonetheless, the hymns to Šulgi, like the king himself, have features that differentiate them from the royal hymns of the other kings. In the first place, the hymns to Šulgi are notable for their excessive number. In addition, many of them focus on the king's godlike superiority in virtually every human endeavor: writing, mathematics, astronomy, hymnal composition, musical talent, foreign languages, natural expertise in various forms of divination, athletic prowess, skill in a wide variety of weapons used in hunting and battle, and deliberation, planning and wisdom in matters of law and administration. It is difficult not to connect these outsized claims, voiced in both the first and third persons, and unique to Šulgi, with his elevation to godhood. Indeed, one might surmise

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[245] See Brisch (2010) for a summary of the "hymns" dating to the OB period and earlier, discussion of the terminology, and a brief history of scholarly opinion on the possible musical performance of said hymns.

[246] The content of two works generally included as royal hymns is rather negative, leading to my dropping them from the count: Ur-Namma A, is a combination of narrative and lament for that ruler's death, and the sole "hymn" involving Amar-Suen relates his repeated failure to receive divine approval for rebuilding a temple.

that the main purpose of Šulgi's praise poems was to help spread notice of his deification in an easily comprehensible and portable medium.

It is the case that few examples of any type of hymn are firmly datable to the third millennium, so that our copies, which derive mainly from the Old Babylonian period, may not be the exact versions utilized by the Ur III court. In addition, terminology widely interpreted as instructions for performance, and that frequently occurs at the close of stanzas on OB exemplars, is missing from third millennium versions. Nicole Brisch has argued that consequently, while there is no doubt that music and song were performed in temple and court settings in the Ur III period, the OB copies of the royal hymns should not be taken as performance pieces, but rather, as literature to be read.[247] While this is a prudent approach, I would counter that, regardless of the date of the tablets and the lack of "musical notation" thereon, the numerous references in Šulgi's hymns to appropriate times and places for their performance, as well as his repeatedly expressed desire that they add to his everlasting fame, strongly indicate that some variation of these works were enacted in public settings and not used simply as tools in scribal education.

In his hymns, Šulgi made known that he had established Houses of the Wisdom of Nisaba, the patron of writing, in Ur and Nippur, so that scribes might take down older hymns that the king wished to have preserved and added to the singers' repertoire, as well as those that the king himself had composed.[248] These scribes were also charged with providing training in these songs to singer-musicians.[249] The compositions dedicated to the divine king are specified as spanning numerous musical genres: adab, arnamlugala, balbale, gigid, kungar, malgatum, širgida, šumunsa,

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[247] Brisch (2010).

[248] On the establishment of institutions for song: Šulgi B, 308-310. On the discovery and preservation of older hymns: lines 270-280. On adding them to the singer's repertoire (line 279): šu nam-nar-ra-ke$_4$ ḫe$_2$-bi$_2$-la$_2$-la$_2$, literally "let them be bound to musicianship".

[249] On the scribe teaching the singer-musician: Šulgi E, 249: "Let the singer-musician be worthy of the scribe, let him pay attention (to him)" (nar-e dub-sar ḫe$_2$-en-ši-tum$_2$ igi ḫe$_2$-en-ni-in-bar-re).

tigi, zami, and zamzam.[250] In addition, the range for performing praise hymns of the deified Sumerian king was to extend to the four quarters of the known world, whose peoples Šulgi was now "taking care of", as well as to those foreign lands where Sumerians had heretofore been unknown.[251]

Several of the hymns also note locations for performance. Šulgi A relates that a tigi-composition praising the king was sung as he drank with Utu and enjoyed a banquet with Inana, in the palace founded by An in Uruk.[252] Šulgi E states that songs about this king were to be performed ceaselessly, in Enlil's main temple the E-kur, in the shrine of the New Moon, in the "music room" (ga_2-tigi) of Enlil and Ninlil, at the morning and evening meals of Nanna, at the All Festivals ($eš_3$-$eš_3$), and, indeed, at all the cult places (ki-šu-ki-šu).[253] One should note also that the events celebrated in two hymns have a correspondence in other items or means created to publicize those same events. The royal hymn Šulgi A relates in the most boastful terms the king's overnight run from Nippur to Ur and back in stormy conditions. This same event was also commemorated in the year formula for Šulgi's seventh regnal year, and by the creation of a statue called "The King Running (in front of) the Chariot".[254] The royal hymn Šulgi R, which narrates the king's construction of a ceremonial barge for Ninlil and his institution of an annual festival and rites to accompany its usage, was resumed by a festival that we know from administrative records was indeed implemented, as well as commemorated in the name given to Šulgi's eighth regnal year.[255] It is

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[250] Šulgi A, 81: tigi; Šulgi E, 22: adab, tigi, malgatum; Šulgi E, 29-30: širgida, arnamlugala, šumunsa, kungar, balbale; Šulgi E, 38: gigid, zamzam; Šulgi E, 53-56: adab, tigi, malgatum, širgida, arnamlugala, šumunsa, kungar, balbale, gigid, zamzam.

[251] Šulgi A 92-93: the four quarters; "their people taken care of" ug_3 sag-sig_{10}-ga-a-ba"; Šulgi B 359, 364: the foreign lands not knowing Sumerians.

[252] Šulgi A, 79-83.

[253] Šulgi E, 53-62: the E-kur, the Shrine of the New Moon, the All Festivals; Šulgi E, 253-257: all the cult places, the Shrine of the New Moon, the "music room", and the meals of ^{d}Nanna.

[254] UET 3 0310, Š43-06-00, Ur: "alan Lugal $kaš_4$ ^{giš}gigir"; see also fn. 63 above.

[255] The hymn is as much about Šulgi's awesomeness as it is about the new cultic barge. See, for the actual festival, e.g. JCS 57 027, AS09-09-03, Puzriš-Dagan.

reasonable to assume that the performance of these hymns, whether using the exact wording of the OB copies or not, played a part in the festivities that they record. One might conclude that the genre of the royal hymn, whether instituted by Ur-Namma or Šulgi, was seen by Šulgi as another method of glorifying himself in cult and festive settings such that his unique stature would be broadcast among groups outside of the elite court circle, and in a form that was accessible even to the illiterate.

1.3.3 The King's Consorts

The Sumerian word for spouse, "dam", which is gender-neutral, was applied to the individuals in a marriage regardless of their social standing. We find it in relation to the wives of rulers in the ED, Sargonic, and intermediate periods, and this usage was still in effect for royals during the first half of the Ur III era.[256] The sole attested spouse of Ur-Namma, one SI.A-tum, was called his "dam", as was Geme-Suen, the only wife of Šulgi recorded from the time before his deification.[257] Thereafter, this word fell out of use in reference to the kings' consorts, to be replaced with "royal lukur" (lukur-lugal), the lukur on its own being the title of a type of female cult functionary attested for the deities Ningirsu and Bau of Lagaš, Šara of Umma, and Ninurta of Nippur.[258] It

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[256] From ED inscriptions and seal impressions: the wife and children (dam-dumu-ne-ne) of Meskigal ruler ($ensi_2$) of Adab (RIME 1.1.9.2001); Ašurmen, wife (dam) of Enanatum ruler ($ensi_2$) of Lagaš (RIME 1.9.4.16; Baragnamtara, wife (dam) of Lugalanda, ruler ($ensi_2$) of Lagaš (RIME 1.9.8.2); Pa-UN wife (dam) of Nammah ruler ($ensi_2$) of Nippur (RIME 1.11.1); Akalam and Amar-Iškur, each a wife (dam) of Abzukidu ruler ($ensi_2$) of Nippur (RIME 1.11.3.1-2); Baragirnum, wife (dam) of Gišakidug king (lugal) of Umma (RIME 1.12.6.1); Ašusililam wife (dam) of Akalamdug king (lugal) of Ur (RIME 1.13.4.1); Nintur the queen (ereš), wife (dam) of Mesanepada, a ruler of Ur who called himself king (lugal) of Kiš (RIME 1.13.3.3).

For the Sargonic period: Tašlultum wife (dam) of Sargon (RIME 2.1.1.2001).

For the intermediate period: Ninalla wife (dam) of Gudea ruler ($ensi_2$) of Lagaš (RIME 3.1.7.98); Ninhedu wife (dam) of Namhani ruler ($ensi_2$) of Lagaš.

[257] SI.A-tum wife (dam) of Ur-Namma on a seal impression of her "lieutenant" ($nu\text{-}banda_2$) (RIME 2.1.1.51); Geme-Suen wife (dam) of Šulgi on two seal impressions of her mounted courier ($ra\text{-}gaba_2$) Šukubum (JCS 31 333 01, Š28-12-00, and JCS 28 169, Š32-10-00, both possibly Umma). Šulgi's name lacks the divine determinative in this seal.

[258] See Steinkeller (1981), Michalowski (1976, 1979, 1982), Sharlach (2008) for this phenomenon. Steinkeller, p. 84-85, fn, 47 presents details on the lukurs before the Ur III period. Sharlach (p. 177

seems clear that application of this modified priestly title to the king's consorts was motivated and justified by his elevation to godhood, and this innovation of Šulgi's became the convention for all three of his successors.

Not every woman whom scholars suspect of having been a royal consort is mentioned in the sources with a title.[259] Others are known as queen (ereš) only, while a few are referred to as both lukur-lugal and queen, or as lukur-lugal and "lukur of the road" (lukur-kaskala), although never at the same time.[260] The royal consorts of the deified kings, known or suspected to date, in chronological order of first occurrence in the records, are:

Name	Husband	Title(s)
Šulgi-simtum[261]	Šulgi	ereš, lukur-ki-ag$_2$-lugal, lukur-kaskal-la-la-ka-ni[262]
ME-Ea	Šulgi	no title attested[263]
Taddin-Eštar	Šulgi	no title attested[264]

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and fn. 1) points out that the spelling of lukur, MUNUS.ME, might also be read MUNUS.IŠIB, so that the lukur might have constituted, at least at her origin, a female išib, or purification priest.

[259] Michalowski (1979) laid out reasons for suspecting that Geme-Ninlila was a consort of Šulgi: co-occurrence in texts with the king and/or other members of the royal family; participation in rituals, either in a temple or in public; receipt of items similar or identical to those distributed to known royal consorts; authorized goods by Aradmu "who occurs in this role only when persons of high social status are involved" (p. 174). These considerations may, of course, be applied to other women in the royal circle.

[260] Lukur-kaskal-la, "lukur of the road", was an additional title borne exclusively by two royal consorts of Šulgi. It is usually presumed to showcase the woman's function as his traveling companion.

The only exception to the avoidance of use of multiple titles simultaneously occurs on an inscription of Eaniša, in which she calls herself both Šulgi's "lukur of the road" and his "beloved lukur" (OrNS 54, Š-nd, Nippur).

[261] This woman's name was written both Šulgi-simtum and Šulgi-simti.

[262] "Queen" (MVN 08 097 Š32-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan), "Beloved Royal Lukur" (OIP 115 460, Š35-08-00, and PDT 1 530, Š46-08-00, both Puzriš-Dagan), and "His Lukur of the Road" (RT 37 130 mi. 8, Š46-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan).

[263] Information on the likelihood of her being a lukur is presented in Michalowski (1982), pp. 133-136.

Ninkala	Šulgi	"dumu-Nibru^{ki}-ki-ag$_2$-ga$_2$-ni",[265] ereš
Eaniša	Šulgi	lukur-ki-ag$_2$-lugal, lukur-ki-ag$_2$-a-ni, lukur-kaskal-la, lukur-kaskal-la-ka-ni[266]
Geme-Ninlila	Šulgi	"ki-ag$_2$-ga$_2$-ni"[267]
Agua-simti	Šulgi	no title attested[268]
Libur-simti	Šulgi	no title attested[269]
Šuqurtum	Šulgi	"lukur-ki-ag$_2$-ga$_2$-ni"[270]
Abi-simti	Amar-Suen	no title attested[271]
[X]-na-tum	Amar-Suen	lukur-lugal[272]
Puzur-uša	Amar-Suen	lukur-lugal[273]

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[264] There was a woman of this name, evidently part of the royal family, attested from Š39-12-00 (OIP 115 056, Puzriš-Dagan) through AS08-12-25 (Ontario 1 086 Puzriš-Dagan). Not until the reign of Amar-Suen was she mentioned with a title, princess. M. Molina (2011) has set forth the case that there were two royal Taddin-Eštars, the earlier one a consort of Šulgi.

[265] "His Beloved Citizen of Nippur" (UET 8 25, nd, Ur). Before the references to Ninkala as queen (ereš) were noticed, this epithet, occurring in an inscription on a votive bowl that she dedicated to Šulgi, was thought to, perhaps, serve as a title. She is called "queen" in four texts: CT 07 27 BM 018376, Š42-00-00 or AS06-00-00, Girsu; ASJ 11 129 59, Š48-00-00, Girsu; MVN 22 108, AS04-00-00, Girsu; and ASJ 09 126 57, nd, Girsu.

[266] "Beloved Royal Lukur" (AUCT 3 321, Š45-12-00, and MVN 15 357, Š46-00-00, both Puzriš-Dagan), "His Beloved Lukur" (SAT 2 0234, Š39-00-00, Umma; and OrNS 54, nd, Nippur), "Lukur of the Road" (Orientalia NS 54, nd, probably Nippur), and "His Lukur of the Road" (AAICAB 1/2, Ashm. 1971-346, Š44-03m-00, Puzriš-Dagan).

[267] "His Beloved". The sole epithet so far attested for Geme-Ninlila; it occurs on a seal given to her personally by Šulgi (FS Pettinato 160, 167 02, 169 02, Š46-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan).

[268] Michalowski (2013), p. 294, suggests that this woman, whose name he transcribed as Ahua-simti, was a royal consort, for reasons similar to Geme-Ninila's ascription to this class.

[269] Ibid.

[270] "His Beloved Lukur". The title was appended to Šuqurtum's name on a vase that she dedicated to Šulgi (UET 1 57, nd, Ur).

[271] Three texts in which term Abi-simti "queen" (ereš) are undated, and thus may possibly derive from the period of Amar-Suen's reign: ITT 2 03802, nd, Girsu; UET 3 1757, nd, Ur; JCS 57 029 09, nd, unknown prov.

[272] "Royal Lukur" (MVN 05 113, AS05-07-05, Puzriš-Dagan).

[273] "Royal Lukur" (Nik. 2 484, AS05-09-25, Puzriš-Dagan).

Udat-šinat	Amar-Suen	lukur-lugal[274]
Za-ga-an-BI	Amar-Suen	lukur-lugal[275]
Abi-simti	Šu-Suen	ereš, ereš-GAR[276]
Kubatum	Šu-Suen	lukur-lugal, lukur-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}Šu-Suen, ereš[277]
Abi-bašti[278]	Šu-Suen	lukur-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen[279]
Takun-matum	Šu-Suen	lukur-lugal[280]
Šagta-šaga	Šu-Suen	lukur-gal-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen[281]
Šalim-ni-AŠ	Šu-Suen	lukur-lugal[282]
Gene-Nanna	Šu-Suen	lukur-lugal[283]
Geme-Enlila	Ibbi-Suen	ereš[284]
ME-Nisaba	Ibbi-Suen	lukur-lugal[285]

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[274] "Royal Lukur" (BIN 3 134, AS07-04-01, Puzriš-Dagan).

[275] "Royal Lukur" (Smith CS 38 24, AS08-01-22, Puzriš-Dagan).

[276] "Queen": UTI 3 2003, AS09-00-00, Umma; UTI 4 2605, ŠS01-00-00, Umma; BIN 5 031, ŠS03-00-00, Umma; MVN 16 0916, ŠS03-00-00, Umma; MVN 16 0960, ŠS03-00-00, Umma; AnOr 07 325, ŠS03-02-00, Umma; MVN 16 0713, ŠS04-00-00, Umma; AnOr 07 241, ŠS04-09-25, Umma; Nisaba 15 458, ŠS08-00-00, Urusagrig; and ereš-GAR, possibly "Dowager Queen": SET 288, ŠS01-04-00, Umma.

[277] "Royal Lukur" (SAT 3 1277, ŠS02-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan), "Beloved Lukur of Šu-Suen" on a necklace bead (RIME 3.2.1.4.28, nd, Uruk), and "Queen" (MVN 16 0960, ŠS03-00-00, Umma; MVN 09 165, ŠS05-00-00, Girsu).

[278] This woman's name, spelled A.AB.BA-ba-aš$_2$-ti, is frequently transliterated as Tiamat-bašti.

[279] "Beloved Lukur of Šu-Suen" inscribed on a necklace bead found in Uruk (RIME 3.2.1.4.29, nd).

[280] "Royal Lukur" (AR RIM 0203, ŠS06-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan).

[281] "Chief Lukur of Šu-Suen" (NATN 768, nd, Nippur).

[282] "Royal Lukur" (UTI 6 3800, ŠS-nd, Umma).

[283] "Royal Lukur" (JCS 54 07 52, ŠS-nd, unk. prov.).

[284] "Queen" (PDT 1 563, ŠS09-10-21, Puzriš-Dagan; UET 3 0376, IS05-06-00, Ur; SAT 3 2025, IS08-12-00, Ur; ITT 2 04184, nd, Girsu).

[285] "Royal Lukur" (Ontario 2 000 910x209.56, IS01-00-00, Umma).

It is impossible to say if the adoption of a title derived from an existing priesthood implied that novel cultic duties were now expected of these women, particularly in relation to the king. In the first place, we have no clear evidence concerning the responsibilities of the lukurs of the traditional gods, and thus lack a crucial comparandum. The issue is further complicated by the fact that several of the royal consorts for whom we have evidence of participation in cult also bore the title of queen, so that one cannot disentangle whether any ritual act they did perform devolved from their role as lukur or as queen. To muddy the picture even further, there are instances of presumed royal consorts not yet attested with any title, as well as of royal daughters performing rituals similar to those engaged in by some of the royal **l**ukurs and queens.

Although the issue of whether the royal lukurs had duties specific to the king's cult is not resolvable at present, his divinity seems to have elevated the treatment accorded at least one of them closer, perhaps even scandalously so, to that of himself. Šu-Suen's lukur and queen Kubatum received the rare honor of having a statue of herself erected in public, at the gate of Enlil in Nippur, before which a sheep was sacrificed.[286] This effigy must have been life-size, or close to it, and its placement in such a prominent location is remarkable. As Steinkeller put it: "The significance of this reference is self-evident, since we know that in Ur III this particular type of offering was accorded only to deified kings."[287]

There is also documentation for work on statues of two other Ur III royal consorts. However, their size is difficult to estimate and no additional information was given as to their intended siting. The earlier involved the provision of material for arms for a statue of one of Šulgi's queens.[288] The second, dating to AS05, concerned the creation of a copper statue of a queen

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[286] BiOr 09 173 1, ŠS08-01-21, Puzriš-Dagan: alan-gibil Ku-ba-tum ka_2 En-lil_2-la_2, in Nippur.

[287] Steinkeller (1981), p. 80.

[288] U. 18815 (unpubl.), Š24-05-00, Ur: two a_2 alan-ereš Ab-ba i_3-la_2.

along with another of a suckling child and a handle in the shape of a grape cluster.[289] The queen of Amar-Suen was never named in records dating to his reign, only referred to by her title, but she is generally assumed to have been Abi-simti. But, as Abi-simti is also taken to have been the mother of Šu-Suen, and he was an adult at the start of Amar-Suen's tenure, it seems unlikely that Abi-simti would still have been able to give birth at the time this statue was created.[290]

Ur-Namma's wife SI.A-tum may have been afforded extraordinary treatment after her death, due not to her status as royal consort but as mother to the first deified king of the dynasty. Steinkeller has presented arguments that Šulgi had SI.A.-tum deified posthumously, thereby instituting an official cult for her.[291] Steinkeller posited that the deity designated ^{d}Geštinana-SI.A-tum, to whom offerings were made beginning in Šulgi's reign, was a variant of the traditional

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[289] UET 3 0329, AS05-08-00, Ur: 2 1/4 troy ounces of gold for a copper statue of a suckling child (^{uruda}alan-dumu-ga) and twelve šuba gemstones for a copper statue of the queen (^{uruda}alan-ereš) were crafted, and another seventy-nine grains of gold were applied to this same statue of the queen, to a copper handle made in the shape of a grape cluster (^{uruda}kul geštin-ga-ra-na), and to the statue of the suckling child.

Note also an undated Ur record (U. 30117 [unpubl.], XX-07-00) of gold and lapis lazuli for a copper statue of the King Installed at the Four Quarters (^{uruda}alan-lugal-an-ub-da-limmu$_2$-ba-gub-ba), as well as for three individual copper statues of a suckling child (^{uruda}alan-SAL dumu-ga), one of which is further identified as "the suckling child (of?) Abisatum held? at the breast? (dumu-ga A-bi$_2$-sa-tu[m] [x]-gaba gub-ba). Is this the name of the child, or perhaps the child's mother? Could it be a mistransliteration of Abi-simti? There is, unfortunately, no hand-copy available to check it against. A dated record that mentions this statue of the king shows that it existed during Amar-Suen's reign (UET 9 0366, AS07-03-00, Ur: alan Lugal-an-ub-da-lummu$_2$-ba gub-ba).

[290] The conclusion that Abi-simti was Šu-Suen's mother is based on the Babati seal. See Whiting (1976) and Walker (1983) for copies and discussion.

In the earliest attestation of Šu-Suen the prince (dumu-lugal) in Amar-Suen's reign, he received twelve onagers from the booty of the Amorites (nam-ra-ak kur-Mar-tu) (RA 62 08 11, AS01-01-00, Puzriš-Dagan). The very next month the prince was in Der, from where he sent 298 sheep and 120 goats to the Puzriš-Dagan facility (JCS 24, 152 15, AS02-03-00, Puzriš-Dagan). Thus, he was clearly an adult with responsibilities at this time.

Relative to infants, note in addition a text from AS08, in which beer and bread were sent to the palace, to the king, the queen, and a suckling child (PDT 2 1177, AS08-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan). We don't know how long children were suckled in the Ur III period, but the three years between the two mentions of a suckling child (dating from the child's statue in AS05 to this text of AS08) seems a bit excessive. If children were weaned earlier than three years, this would mean a second infant born to Amar-Suen's queen while he was king, at which time Abi-simti would have been even older. Perhaps Amar-Suen's queen was another of his consorts or, like Šulgi, he had two queens simultaneously?

[291] Steinkeller (1981), pp. 77-78.

goddess Geštinana, sister of Dumuzi, brought into play to represent the deceased dowager. Geštinana-SI-A-tum primarily occurred in texts dealing with the provisioning of the mortuary chapels of deceased members of the royal family (Ur-Namma, Ur-Namma's mother Damiqtum), or with a parallel goddess with a special tie to the king: Geštinana-lugal ("The King's Geštinana").[292] The existence of a "Geštinana (of) the Mother of the King" (^{d}Geštin-an-na-ama-lugal) may well signify the same deity as Geštinana-SI.A-tum, identifying the woman by her familial role rather than by her name.[293] In addition, a variation to which was appended the otherwise unattested Akkadian word *zibnātum* is also known, appearing once as ^{d}Geštin-an-na-zi-ib-na-tum, in the company of Geštinana-lugal and Dumuzi, and once (possibly) as zi-ib-na-tum ^{d}Geštin-an-na-lugal.[294] Regarding this last variation, Michalowski wrote: "it cannot be excluded that *zibnātum*, whatever it means, may in fact be the reading of the complex SI.A-tum whenever it applies to Geštinana. Whether or not it is also the proper reading of Ur-Nammu's spouse is another matter."[295]

I would like to make several observations, grounded in accepting the congruence in identity of Geštinana-SI.A-tum, Geštinana-ama-lugal, and Geštinana-*zibnātum*. It is notable how often the context in which they occur has Netherworld connections. These include not only the offerings to Ur-Namma and his mother in their mortuary chapels, but also the performance of a mourning ritual (elunum), and the presence of the deities Dumuzi, Alla, Meslamtaea, Ištar-of-the-Doors, Annunitum,

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[292] ^{d}Geštin-an-na-SI.A-tum, along with Ur-Namma, Geštinana-lugal, Enki, Damiqtum, the first time; for the elunum ritual of ^{d}Geštin-an-na-SI.A-tum, and for Geštinana-lugal, in Ur (MVN 15 162, Š33-06-00, Umma);
^{d}Geštin-an-na-SI-A-tum, Geštinana-lugal, Išhara, ^{d}En-ki-nin-UL-IL$_2$, and Suen, in Ur (Santag 6 038, Š41-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan);
^{d}Geštin-an-na-SI.A-tum, in Ur (OrSP 18 pl. 07 24, Š47-02-00, Umma);
^{d}Geštin-an-na-SI.A-tum, along with the kianag of Ur-Namma and the deities Išhara, Belat-nabi, Alla, Mestamtaea, Ninkugnuna, and Lugal-uda, in Ur (TCL 2 5524, IS02-10-03, Puzriš-Dagan).

[293] ^{d}Geštin-an-na-ama-lugal, with Ištar-dalatum, Annunitum, and Kilili in the Temple of Inana (SACT 2 258, nd, Umma).
See Gelb (1987), p. 127: ^{d}Geštin-an-na + ama- + lugal [=] "Geštinana of the king's mother".

[294] Zi-ib-na-tum ^{d}Geštin-an-na-lugal (BPOA 6 0213, ŠS01-05-13, Puzriš-Dagan);
^{d}Geštin-an-na zi-ib-na-tum, with Geštinana-lugal and Dumuzi (ASJ 04 140 01, nd, Puzriš-Dagan).

[295] Michalowski (1982), p. 132.

and/or Kilili, the Owl goddess. These last three were provided sacrifices, along with Geštinana-ama-lugal, in a Temple of Inana, and this particular conglomeration of goddesses surely has to do with the narrative of the Descent of Inana to the Netherworld. The "doors" referred to in Inana's epithet (i.e. Ištar-of-the-Doors) here may stand not only for the ones through which she entered the Netherworld, but also for those through which she, as the planet Venus, escaped to achieve her reappearance in the sky.[296] The chthonic god Dumuzi likewise has strong astral connotations.[297] Given, then, that the Netherworld deities among whom we find the three Geštinanas under discussion also have a strong astral flavor, one might consider whether the appended *zibnātum* is a variation of *zibānu* or *zibānītum*, Akkadian words which were used interchangeably to denote the constellation Libra, and whether Geštinana-*zibnātum* might embody an astral manifestation of the king's deified mother.[298] As I will discuss further in the next section, it appears that the deified Ur III kings themselves underwent catasterism after death. It would not be much of a stretch, then, for one of their posthumously deified progenitors to be reconfigured after death as a star.

As with the anomalous sacrifices in temples to mortals, lukurs were on rare occasion associated with males who were neither deities nor deified kings. The other men attested to date as having lukurs are Ur-nigar, Arad-Nanna aka Aradmu, the governor of Umma, Ur-Lisi, and a physician named Nawir-DINGIR. Ur-nigar was a general during Šulgi's reign, whose otherwise unnamed lukur provided one ox and ten sheep for the Akiti festival.[299] There is a good probability that this is the prince of the same name who served as the military governor-cum-general of

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[296] Gelb (1987), p. 129, interpreted the element added to Ištar's name, spelled Da-la-tum, as "a feminine personal name Dallatum meaning 'Praiseworthy'", and compared it to an OB masculine personal name, *Dallum*. While possible, I believe the context of the offering and Ištar's astral aspect make the translation "doors" more likely.

Note also Horowitz (1998), p. 266: "The Moon, Sun, stars, gods and others pass through gates when entering and leaving the heavens." The Sumerian word for gate (ka_2) may equally be translated as door.

[297] Foxvog (1993).

[298] Gelb (1987), p. 130, could find no evidence of *zibnātum* ever being used as or in a personal name.

[299] Nik. 2 466, Š43-06-21, Puzriš-Dagan: lukur Ur-nigar$_x^{gar}$ šagina.

Uruk.[300] If so, the fact that he, like the newly divine king, had been afforded a lukur instead of or in addition to a wife (dam) might indicate that Ur-nigar was at that point in time the designated heir.[301]

Arad-Nanna, also known as Aradmu, was the most prominent man in the realm after the kings. His grandfather and father served as sukkal-mah, a position that Arad-Nanna inherited and which he expanded into a combination of prime minister, chief financial officer, and secretary of state and defense.[302] He managed to step into a number of other civic, military and religious positions along the way, which he held simultaneously, by the reign of Šu-Suen being attested as governor (ensi$_2$) of Lagaš, Sabum and the territory of Gutebum, Al-Šu-Suen, Hamazi and Karahar, military governor (šagina) of Pašime, Dimat-Enlil, Urbilum, NI.HI, and Šimaški and the territory of Karda, and temple administrator (sanga) of Enki, on top of retaining his role as sukkal-mah.[303] Early in the tenure of Amar-Suen, Arad-Nanna seems to have managed to marry both himself and at least one son into the royal family.[304] An undated tablet from the reign of Šu-Suen mentions a lukur of

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[300] BIN 5 011, Š32-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Ur-nigar$_x^{gar}$ dumu-lugal; CBCY 0, YBC 03644 (unpubl.), Š42-04-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Ur-nigar$_x^{gar}$ šagina Unug^{ki}; Princeton 2 001, Š43-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Ur-nigar$_x^{gar}$ šagina.

On the position of the (military)-governorship of Uruk serving as a sort of dauphinage for sons of the Ur III kings, see Michalowski (1977a and 2013).

[301] There was a wife (dam) of an Ur-nigar who was responsible for deliveries of small quantities of animals to queen Šulgi-simtum's department in the central facility at Puzriš-Dagan during Šulgi's reign (BPOA 6 0187, Š31-06-00; CST 042, Š33-05-00; OIP 115 021, Š34-02-00; AnOr 07 002, Š36-09-00; YOS 18 006, Š44-02-00; and RA 19 192 07, Š44-02-00; all Puzriš-Dagan). While It's impossible to determine if her husband is the same man who had a lukur, this woman was clearly of high status, co-occurring as a deliverer with the princess Tezin-Mama (BPOA 6 0187), the general Hubaa (CST 042), Šulgi's consorts ME-Ea and Ninkala and the sukkal-mah Ur-Šulpae (AnOr 07 002), and the prince Šu-Eštar (RA 19 192 07).

[302] Seal, La-NI sukkal-mah (TCL 2 5537, Š29-12-00, Puzriš-Dagan); Ur-^{d}Šul-pa-e$_3$ sukkal-mah (AnOr 07 002, Š36-09-00, Puzriš-Dagan); seal, Ur-^{d}Šul-pa-e$_3$ sukkal-mah dumu La-NI sukkal-mah (NATN 388, Š-nd, Nippur); seal, Arad$_2$-[^{d}Nanna] dumu Ur-^{d}[Šul]-pa-e$_3$ sukkal-[mah] (BagM 16 217 2, Š45-09-00, Girsu); and Arad$_2$-mu sukkal-mah (OIP 121 009, AS02-12-10, Puzriš-Dagan).

[303] RA 5 99 (1902). The undated inscription records Arad-Nanna's building of a temple for Šu-Suen in Girsu.

[304] MVN 11 192, AS02-08-00, Puzriš-Dagan, records the disbursement of oxen from the bridal gift (nig$_2$-mussa^{sa2}) of the sukkal-mah, who at this time was Arad-Nanna, to Niridagal and Šat-Mami. These two individuals have the same names as a general (e.g. Christie's 20001207:15, AS03-00-00, Umma: šagina), who later married a daughter into the royal family, and a princess: Šat-Mami was one of the names of the twelve princesses [dumu-munus-lugal) listed in CTMMA 1 17, AS04-

Arad-Nanna the sukkal-mah, on the occasion of her "entering the house".[305] That he was allowed his own lukur may signify a royal grant to emphasize his status further, as a public sign of the importance attached by the king to his many services to the state.

In the reigns of Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen, a lukur of the governor of the province of Umma is attested, in each instance in relation to her children with the governor, Lukala and Ninekugta.[306] The governor in question was Ur-Lisi, who served in that position from Š33 to some period between AS06 and AS08, at which time he appears to have been forcibly removed from office.[307] Given that the children he had with his lukur were adults in their attestations in the records, Ur-Lisi must have conceived them during Šulgi's reign --- that is, Šulgi either extended the innovation of having a spouse who was entitled lukur to Ur-Lisi, or else did not object to a practice that already existed for

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07-00, Puzriš-Dagan. The type of gift this pair received was traditionally provided by the groom or his family to the bride's parents. Thus, this tablet demonstrates a marriage between Arad-Nanna or one of his sons to an unnamed woman who appears to have been the daughter of a general and a royal princess. Note that the king's drinking beer at the general Niridagal's house a few months prior to this (AUCT 1 942, AS02-02-00, Puzriš-Dagan) suggests a certain favor, and may have been one of the signs of a marital alliance being negotiated. Similar texts include king Šulgi drinking beer at the house of one Šarrum-bani (Phillips 13, Š-nd, Puzriš-Dagan) in view of another of the princesses listed in CTMMA 1 17 being identified as the wife (dam) of a Šarrum-bani; and king Amar-Suen drinking beer at the house of Dada the gala (AUCT 1 918, AS02-01-00, Puzriš-Dagan), seven months after which cattle from the bridal gift of prince Amir-Šulgi were sent to the house of Dada the gala (AUCT 1 418, AS02-08-25, Puzriš-Dagan), a clear sign of a marriage between this prince and one of the gala's daughters.

A second woman with the same name as one of the princesses listed on CTMMA 1 17, Ninhedu, is termed the wife (dam) of the sukkal-mah on an undated tablet (ASJ 09 126 57, nd, Girsu). She co-occurs there with Ninkala the queen (ereš), which dates this text to the reign of either Šulgi or Amar-Suen, and this in turn would make Ninhedu the wife of either Ur-Šulpae, last attested as sukkal-mah in Š36 (AnOr 07 002, Š36-09-00, Puzriš-Dagan) or his son and successor Arad-Nanna.

Another tablet (OIP 121 009, AS02-12-10, Puzriš-Dagan) concerns sheep sent to the cookhouse for Geme-eana the daughter-in-law (e_2-gi_4-a) of Aradmu the sukkal-mah. Geme-eana is the name of yet another of the princesses in CTMMA 1 17, noted above.

[305] JCS 54 07 52, ŠS-nd, Puzriš-Dagan: one [šu-gur?] ME-^{d}[x] mu-DU $Arad_2$-^{d}[Nanna sukkal]-mah / lukur $Arad_2$-^{d}Nanna [sukkal-mah?] / [$šag_4$?] e_2-a!-$še_3$. That this tablet dates to Šu-Suen is confirmed by the mention in the text of his queen Abi-simti along with his lukurs Kubatum and Geme-Nanna.

[306] Lu_2-kal-la dumu lukur-$ensi_2$ (Santag 6 192, AS08-07-00, Umma); Lu_2-kal-la dumu lukur Ur-$^{d}Li_9$-si_4 $ensi_2$-ka (UTI 3 2139, probably AS08, Umma); and [Nin]-e_2-kug-ta dumu lukur-$ensi_2$-ka (ASJ 18 163 6, ŠŠ-04-00-00, Umma). The latter text also mentions Ninmelam wife of the governor (dam-$ensi_2$), whose seal, impressed elsewhere, identifies her as wife of the governor Ur-Lisi (BIN 5 203, AS02-08-00, Umma).

[307] See Dahl (2007) for detailed discussion of the ruling family of the province of Umma.

the local ruler of Umma. The documentation is too scanty to make a determination. In any event, the governor of Umma's having a lukur did not survive Ur-Lisi's tenure.

The fourth man to have his own lukur was Nawir-DINGIR, a physician (a-zu) attested in the reigns of Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen. In AS09, Anaa, lukur of Nawir-DINGIR, and two boatmen were given silver coils on the occasion of Nawir-DINGIR's performance of a ritual, the cuneiform signs for which are unfortunately illegible.[308] That these gifts were provided by the central facility at Puzriš-Dagan and that the queen's mounted courier Riṣ-DINGIR authorized their release to the boatmen implies that whatever Nawir-DINGIR was participating in was of interest to, and likely on behalf of, the crown.[309] In fact, according to P. Steinkeller, information on Ur III physicians in general shows that most, and perhaps all, worked for the crown, not for individual temples or deities, that they frequently enjoyed high social status, and that Nawir-DINGIR fits this pattern.[310] On other occasions this physician received supplies on traveling to his city from the royal center of Tummal, and as a royal gift.[311] He also once conveyed a royal votive of silver coils to the deities Nintinuga, Šumah, Damu and Gunura in Nippur.[312] His involvement seems apposite, as Nintinuga was a god of healing, and this action perhaps increases the likelihood that the Nawir-DINGIR who authorized a sacrifice to Enki, the god in charge of the incantations that were used for medical purposes, was this same physician.[313] It is tempting to speculate that it was the successful practice of his craft in relation to an ailing king or other members of the royal family that led to the honor of a lukur for

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[308] SMS 2-3, p. 13 8, AS09-04-00, Puzriš-Dagan: A-na-a lukur NA-wi-ir-DINGIR a-zu; on the occasion: ud ki ^{d}KIŠ-[x] [x] ba-[x] [x] u_3 Na-wi-ir-[DINGIR a-zu] ba-a-ak-a. Note that, despite the year formula, the king on this date was Šu-Suen.

[309] Ibid.: Ri-iṣ-DINGIR ra_2-gaba-ereš maškim.

[310] Steinkeller (forthcoming e), pp. 18-19.

[311] MVN 15 244, AS07-08-20, and JCS 39 122 06, AS07-08-23, both Puzriš-Dagan: Na-wi-ir-DINGIR a-zu ud uru-ni-$še_3$ i_3-gen-na-a.
Santag 6 228, ŠS01-00-00, Umma: five sheep Na-wi-ir-DINGIR a-zu nig_2-ba-lugal; RIAA 115, ŠS03-09-00, Umma: fruits and fish nig_2-ba-lugal Na-wi-ir-DINGIR a-zu.

[312] AUCT 1 241, ŠS02-07-00, Puzriš-Dagan: a-ru-a-lugal gir_3 Na-wi-ir-DINGIR a-zu.

[313] CST 399, AS09-11-23, Puzriš-Dagan: one udu ^{d}En-ki Na-wi-ir-DINGIR maškim.

Nawir-DINGIR, for in other respects he was not of the same status or degree of proximity to the royals as the other men for whom non-royal lukurs are attested.[314]

1.3.4 Death and Afterlife of the Deified King

One might expect the death of a ruler who had put himself forward as a god to have elicited extraordinary rituals to accompany his entombment. But, as William Hallo remarked, even an accounting of the death of a ruler, deified or not, was exceedingly rare within the entire Mesopotamian corpus, and may have been taboo.[315] It was essentially limited to the genre of omen texts, where the rulers named were long dead and the reported manners of their dying often rather fanciful. An exception is a literary piece known as Ur-Namma A.[316] Here, the reader is regaled with details, of how Ur-Namma was ambushed, left for dead, but then carried home to his palace, where in a state of paralysis he perished.[317] That some variant of this narrative was extant within eighty years after the king's demise lends it a certain degree of verisimilitude, but there is no corroborating evidence for this particular sequence of events.[318]

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[314] Note, however, the contention of Steinkeller (forthcoming e, p. 18) that Nawir-DINGIR was "undoubtedly Šu-kabta's close relative (either his uncle or brother)", Šu-kabta being a physician, general, and possible spouse of the princess ME-Ištaran.

[315] Hallo (1991). I would add that, among the tens of thousands of administrative texts of the Ur III period, not one provides the actual death date of any of the kings, although other important events, such as births and betrothals, are occasionally mentioned.

[316] See Flückiger-Hawker (1999) for a transliteration, with a score of individual text lines for sources that vary. One might also be inclined to include the composition The Death of Gilgameš, though that was written centuries after Gilgameš's death, if he even existed outside of legend.

[317] The interpretation of the events narrated is overwhelmingly that Ur-Namma fell on the battlefield and died there, a reading with which I cannot agree, in view of the following lines of the text: Ur-Namma had been felled during an ambush (ki-lul-la) and abandoned on the field like a broken pot (ln. 58); Ur-Namma was carried home to his palace in Ur (lns. 40-42); and Ur-Namma lay, ailing, in bed (lns. 35, 42), unable to lift his head (ln. 43) or move his arms and legs (lns. 36-37).

[318] Flückiger-Hawker (1999), p. 17, in a major study of all the Ur-Namma hymns, among which Ur-Namma A is classified, considers them to be "almost certainly genuine Ur III. . . compositions."

Archaeological expeditions have succeeded in uncovering several royal burial areas in southern Iraq. The so-called Royal Cemetery of Ur contained numerous death chambers, among whose occupants was a queen, Pu-abi.[319] Dating to the ED period, these graves were remarkable for two reasons: 1) the quantity and quality of the goods buried with the dead, and 2) the large number of skeletons, presumably of retainers or slaves, that had been entombed with some of the graves' main occupants.[320] The skeletons had been found lying in such a uniform fashion, on their side with a small bowl near one hand, that it looked like a tableau arranged after they had expired. The theory was that, upon the demise of a prominent local figure, a number of underlings had been persuaded or coerced to join him (or her) in death by imbibing poison. However, a recent analysis of the skulls of two of the "underlings" detected signs of battery, most likely inflicted with a spiked battleaxe.[321] Not only that, traces of heating and cinnabar on the bone implicate mummification, bolstering the initial impression that the scene had been staged. It would appear that people had been selected and murdered before the funeral, which must have involved lengthy rituals; thus the need to preserve the corpses beforehand.

Not too far from this cemetery the same excavator, C. Leonard Woolley, discovered the subterranean mausolea of two of the Ur III dynasts, Šulgi and Amar-Suen, the former of which consisted of two tomb chambers, the latter of five. W. Sallaberger has presented evidence that the chambers of Amar-Suen, which Woolley split into groupings that he categorized as the southeastern and northwestern annexes, actually enclose the mausolea of both Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen, with the latter having been interred in the northwestern annex.[322] These tombs had been robbed already before the end of the Ur III period, and were bereft of grave goods, but some bones had been left

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[319] Moorey (1977); Marchesi (2004).

[320] The "extra" dead were concentrated in two tombs: PG 789, in which they numbered sixty-three, and PG 1237, which had seventy-four.

[321] Baadsgaard et al (2011).

[322] Sallaberger, (2003), pp. 7-8.

behind in each burial chamber, the majority of which were clearly not the kings'.[323] Woolley enumerated his finds in Šulgi's mausoleum as bones on the floor belonging to an indeterminate number of people, except for a set of limb bones identifiable as those of a single man, "some of which had been exposed to fire", and four skulls on a ledge in the first chamber, and in the second the scattered remains of at least three individuals: an adult male "of small stature and slender build", a woman, and a child aged ten to twelve.[324] One chamber of the southeast annex of Amar-Suen's tomb complex held a few bones of an adult male, while in another lay "a few small fragments".[325] The northwest annex of this complex, which may have comprised Šu-Suen's mausoleum, had one tomb chamber in which were found the skeletal remains of at least five women, "subjected to fire after the fleshy parts had decayed."[326] These discoveries are even more sensational in that Woolley was adamant that the state of the site, as revealed at the start and throughout the course of excavation, proved that the burials of all of these people could not have been consecutive: "It is certain that the bodies in each vault were put there all on the same occasion."[327] In other words, Šulgi, Amar-Suen, and Šu-Suen had been buried with company.

P. Michalowski has proposed that two of the extra remains in Šulgi's tomb belonged to his consorts Šulgi-simtum and Geme-Ninlila.[328] The first notice of Šulgi's death occurred in a reference to offerings at his kianag, the permanent funerary chapel erected over a subterranean burial vault,

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[323] Woolley (1974), pp. 7-8. Robbers had managed to enter the tombs before the collapse of the Ur III dynasty, as well as during the final Elamite invasion, in the process disturbing and even removing some of the bones, so that there may well have been more corpses interred originally than Woolley found.

[324] Woolley (1974), pp. 17 (the first, i.e. NW, chamber), 19 (the second, i.e. SE, chamber). In addition, two "plain silver bangles" were mixed in with the bones on the floor of the first chamber.

[325] Ibid., pp. 28-29.

[326] Ibid, pp. 34-35. Regarding the state of this chamber, Wooley adds: "The facts prove that the tomb was finished and occupied before the superstructure was built; but the manner in which the foundation of the latter were laid virtually proves that the superstructure was built immediately after the occupation of the tomb".

[327] Ibid, p. 7.

[328] Michalowski (1977b), p. 223.

which took place on Š48-11-02.[329] Five months later, on AS01-03-28, further offerings were provided in Ur, not only to Šulgi's kianag, but also to those of his two aforementioned consorts, an indisputable indication that they, too, had died and been interred in that city. The first offerings recorded are not necessarily the earliest that were made; that is, the latter text provides the *terminus ante quem* for the deaths of these women, which may well have been closer to the *terminus ante quem* for Šulgi's. To these one should now add for consideration two texts from the reign of Šu-Suen recording regular offerings (sa_2-dug_4) to Šulgi, Amar-Suen, SI.A-tum, and "the children" (dumu-dumu-ne) in Ur. The items earmarked for the kings had doubtless been delivered to their mortuary chapels over those same underground mausolea that millennia later were unearthed by Woolley.[330] The question is, were SI.A-tum and these children also in one or both of these kings' tombs, fragments of whose skeletons had been left behind by looters, or had they been afforded their own kianag? In either case, it seems eminently reasonable to conclude that this SI.A-tum must have been Šulgi's mother. However, if the goddess Geštinana-SI.A-tum did in fact represent a posthumous deification of the mortal SI.A-tum, then this woman cannot be one of those buried with Šulgi, for the earliest attestation of Geštinan-SI.A-tum occurs over twenty-one months before the earliest mention of Šulgi's permanent funerary chapel. Such a co-burial would only have been possible if SI.A-tum's corpse had been mummified and reserved for future interment with her son for a remarkably long time, or if Šulgi's mother had been deified before her death.

Evidence from which one might deduce the reasoning behind the co-burials in both the ED and Ur III royal tombs is non-existent, so that one cannot guess at the connection, if any, between them, nor what role deification may or may not have played in the phenomenon. However, the kianag --- both the mortuary chapel and the rituals performed therein --- was not limited to the kings and their immediate families, and so could not have been connected to their deification. Other

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[329] OrNS 46 225, Š48-11-02.

[330] PDT 1 573, ŠS02-09-00, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep each to [x-x]-ra, ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ka, SI.A-tum, [x] sheep to dumu-dumu-ne, in Ur; AR RIM 01 27 X73-839, ŠS03-02-00, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep each to ^{d}Šul-gi-ra and ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen, thirty sheep to dumu-dumu-ne, three sheep to SI.A-tum. If minors received the same quantity as adults, then the latter text indicates ten dead children.

tablets from this period record similar offering sites for provincial governors, their wives, ereš-dingir priestesses, their families, and a few individuals unclassifiable by profession, the common denominator being wealth and/or high status. Information about the funerary rites of king Šu-Suen and of princess Tezin-Mama indicate that a temporary funerary structure, called a gišanag for the ghost (gidim), might be erected.[331] It may be that the gišanag constituted a routine stage in the standard funeral procedures of the elite, though it's also possible that a gišanag was necessitated by a sudden death and that, like the Egyptian pharaohs, the Ur III kings otherwise prepared their permanent funerary chapels well in advance. Like the kianag, though, the gišanag itself does not seem to have been motivated by the kings' deification.

One posthumous event in which the king's godhood during life is definitely implicated involves catasterism, for which to date we have definitive evidence solely regarding Šulgi. A seven-day ritual was performed sometime in the eleventh month of Š48, the same month of this king's first recorded kianag, for "when [the divine] Šulgi ascended in heaven."[332] This unusual rite was noted and discussed by Claus Wilcke shortly after the text's initial publication, and Wayne Horowitz and P. J. Watson brought up the likely relevance of the star, or constellation, named Šulgi, attested in OB lexical sources.[333] Recently P. Steinkeller has offered a new analysis of the ascension text in which he adduced evidence that Šulgi was envisaged as ascending from the Netherworld into the sky by means of the Boat of Heaven, a cult object strongly associated with Inana, the goddess with whose husband Dumuzi --- a mortal who underwent catasterism himself --- the Ur III kings identified.[334]

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[331] TIM 6 10, ŠS07-03-08, Puzriš-Dagan: the giš-a-nag for the ghost (gidim) of Tezin-Mama, in Ur; Studies Levine 132-138, ŠS09-10-16, Puzriš-Dagan: giš-a-nag for gidim of Šu-Suen.
Sallaberger (2003), p. 8, proposes that the gišanag was the wooden substructure over which a permanent mortuary chapel of brick, the kianag, would be built. Thus the gišanag would have served as both "a temporary ki-a-nag and a monumental coffin".

[332] BCT 1 132, Š48-11-00, Unk. Prov.: ud ^{d}Šul-gi an-na ba-a-e_{11}-da-a.

[333] Wilcke (1988a); Horowitz and Watson (1991). p. 413. The lexical texts are MSL 11, 133 viii 41 and MSL 138 rev. ii 2'.

[334] Steinkeller (2013); he notes that this was probably one of several functions assigned to the Boat of Heaven in Sumerian religious thought and practice.

Such a function for the Boat of Heaven might explain its presence in two texts in which SI.A-tum also appears: in the earlier, animals were sacrificed to SI.A-tum, the Boat of Heaven, Eštar-ummia, the gate of Narām-Suen, an unnamed recipient in the garden, and Libur-simti. Eštar-ummia's social status is unclear, but Libur-simti may be a consort of Šulgi. In the second such text, animals were again presented to the Boat of Heaven in Uruk, as well as to SI.A-tum, Inana in the garden, and the prince Etel-pu-Dagan.[335] One should note, though, that living royal women are attested as participating in rituals involving the Boat of Heaven, so that the co-occurrence of SI.A-tum and this boat in these texts does not necessarily imply that we are dealing with posthumous rites for her.[336]

Two tablets that list offerings surrounding the death of the king Šu-Suen provide the most comprehensive account of the variety, locations, and duration of the rituals afforded. As with the other kings, we do not know the exact date of his death. His successor Ibbi-Suen is first recorded as having received the crown on ŠS09-10-01, at which point he traveled from Nippur to Uruk.[337] What occurred in Uruk is unknown as yet, but two days later Ibbi-Suen popped up in Ur, at a pre-dawn offering to the gods Ninkugnuna and Nanna-emurinabak, along with a slew of deities associated with the Netherworld: Ulmašitum, Annunitum, Allatum, Meslamtaea, as well as the sky god An.[338] The sacrifices to these gods were characterized as occasioned "when Ibbi-Suen received the crown".[339] The new king's name was preceded by the divine determinative in both of

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[335] AnOr 07 052, Š32-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan; PDT 1 459, Š34-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan.

[336] JCS 31 174 F, Š43-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Geme-Ninlila and the Boat of Heaven in Uruk; : ZA 80 32, AS04-07-22, Puzriš-Dagan; Šelebutum, a princess, and the Boat of Heaven; Ontario 1 164, IS01-07-20, Puzriš-Dagan: Šulgi-simti (probably a princess) and the Boat of Heaven in Ur.

[337] JCS 07 048, ŠS09-10-01, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen to Ninsun evening offering in the king's presence on the king's going from Nippur to Uruk when Ibbi-Suen received the crown (two gud ^{d}Nin-sun a_2-ud-te-na lugal ku_4-ra lugal Nibru^{ki}-ta Unug^{ki}-$še_3$ du-ni ud ^{d}I-bi_2-^{d}Suen aga_3 šu ba-an-ti-a). E-mu-ri-na-ba-AK! (tentatively transliterated in the source as šu?) would appear to be a variant spelling of e_2-mu-ri-a-na-ba-AK, a sanctuary of Nanna's in Ur.

[338] UDT 100, ŠS09-10-03, Puzriš-Dagan.

[339] Note also an undated Umma text, ZA 95 175, that speaks to how important news was conveyed. In it which one Habat, a royal envoy, received a silver coil from the local governor for bringing the good news that Ibbi-Suen had received the kingship (2/3 ma-na har kug-babbar nig_2-ba Ha-ba-at lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal a_2-ag_2-ga_2 sig_5 ^{d}I-bi_2-^{d}Suen-e nam-lugal šu ti-a de_6-a, kišib-ensi$_2$-ka).

these documents, although the first of them is not the earliest in which that mark occurred: one text dating to ŠS09-09-18 records a deified Ibbi-Suen, and this should be taken as the *terminus ante quem* for Šu-Suen's death.[340]

The funeral celebrations for Šu-Suen commenced on ŠS09-10-15 and lasted through the end of the month, moving from Ur to smaller settlements nearby (Enegi and Gišbanda) and back to Ur.[341] All of the activities were summarized as "(when) the gišanag of the ghost of Šu-Suen was made/done".[342] Numerous sacrifices to various gods were offered over this period, notably to those with Netherworld connections, including the only attested offering in the whole Ur III corpus to Ereškigal, the ruler of the Netherworld. Sacrifices were made in temples as well as more public locales: at the city gates of the throne, of the king, and of Ningal, at the gate of Gula, before the thrones of Ur-Namma, Šulgi and Amar-Suen, at the entrance to the crafts house, by the wall of the Akiti House, at the quay, in the sheep pen, and during a lamentation in an orchard. Central were offerings at the gišanag, which was created on the sixteenth, at which time the wood out of which it was constructed was hewn or dressed by an axe before dawn.[343] That evening goats were sacrificed to the lamentation instruments (balag) of Nanna and Ninsun, and to Utu at the edge of the grave pit, after which a lamb and a goat were released into the pit while an unnamed and

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[340] SAT 3 1892, ŠS09-09-18, Puzriš-Dagan: a broken arad-zu seal of a scribe of ^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Suen was rolled on a tablet with the year formula of ŠS09, on the eighteenth day of month Ezem-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen, which was then the ninth month.

[341] Studies Levine 132-138, ŠS09-xx-29, Puzriš-Dagan. Unfortunately, a number of lines in this fascinating tablet are missing, so that the full extent of the rituals performed must of necessity remain unknown.
That the giš-a-nag gidim for Šu-Suen occurred in the tenth month is corroborated by another text: MVN 10 172, ŠS09-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan, which records the delivery of cows, some of which went for this purpose (mu giš-a-nag ^{d}Gidim ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-še$_3$).

[342] Ibid: ^{giš}gi-a-nag gidim ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen ba-ak.

[343] Ibid: one maš$_2$ ^{giš}gi-a-nag gidim im-a-[ak?-a?], one sila$_4$ ^{giš}gi-a-nag gidim aga$_3$ [GIN$_2$] bar-ra a$_2$-gi$_6$-ba-a.

unnumbered group of people sat in attendance around the gišanag of Šu-Suen's ghost.[344] Next in the sequence, although the exact day and time of offering are missing, sheep were offered at the gišanag gidim during a ritual called ki-Utu, undertaken as the sun rose in the east, immediately followed by what appears to be a bringing forth (e_3-e_3) of the gišanag itself, perhaps a dismantling of the original wooden structure, now overlaid on top with a brick vault.[345] Pre-dawn activities on the seventeenth ended with various offerings related to closing up the grave itself: a sacrifice at the door of the gravepit, more for covering up the door-bolt, a large number of animals to fill the pit, and a sacrifice while a balag was played to the ladder that had been used to access the pit.[346] On the penultimate day of the funerary observance, an incantation priest conveyed goats to the palace for a rite of hammering or striking some object in order to drive out evil.[347]

Another tablet records additional offerings in Uruk on the twenty-first of this same month, which, although not explicitly termed giš-a-nag gidim for the deceased king, would nonetheless seem to be connected with his death.[348] Sacrifices were made to Inana and An in the temple of Inana in Ibbi-Suen's presence, followed by others to Ningišzida, Šulgi, Šu-Suen at the gates of both

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[344] Ibid: one $maš_2$ balag ^{d}Nanna, one $maš_2$ balag ^{d}Nin-sun_2, one $maš_2$ ^{d}Utu gu_2 sur_3-ra, one $sila_4$ one $maš_2$ sur_3-ra šu-bar-ra giš-a-nag gidim tu-ru-na a_2-ud-te-na, on the sixteenth.

[345] Ibid: 1 udu ki-^{d}Utu giš-a-nag gidim, 1 udu giš-a-nag gidim e_3-e_3.

[346] Ibid., a lamb to the door of the pit (ka_2 sur $_3$-ra), a lamb and a goat to the covering of the door-bolt (dul giš-gan-na), three oxen, seven cows, twenty-one sheep, seven suckling lambs, and twenty-nine goats to fill the pit (sur_3-ra ba-an-si), a sheep and a goat to the ladder (kun_2) and a goat for the balag of Ninsun as "traversal of the place where the ladder was?" (nig_2-dib ki-kun_3-na), pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a), on the seventeenth.

Sallaberger (2003), p. 5, though using "at midnight", the conventional translation of a_2-gi_6-ba-a, wonders "if the time notation refers to the sacred time in ancient Mesopotamia, the time before sunrise." I think Sallaberger is onto something here, given the importance for divinatory rituals of the moment of the daily rise of the sun, whose name may be read as either the god Utu or ud, "time", and specifically "the future", and who has just spent the night in the Netherworld. For detailed discussion of the symbolic and ritual meanings of the sun's rising, see Polonsky (1997), Steinkeller (2005), Woods (2009). Therefore, I have adopted throughout this thesis the term "pre-dawn" for what others have been translating as "midnight".

[347] Ibid., two goats hul-dub_2 $šag_4$ e_2-gal gir_3 Lu_2-sukkal-an-ka lu_2-mu_{13}-mu_{13}, on the twenty-eighth. Sallaberger (2003), p. 9, considers this as part of the coronation rites for Ibbi-Suen, not the on-going funerary rites of Šu-Suen.

[348] PDT 1 563, ŠS09-10-21, Puzriš-Dagan.

Šugi and Utu, Utu, Ganzer (the main gate of the Netherworld), and the "Lady of the Bridge" (Belat-titurim). Offerings were also presented to Nanaa, to Ganšura on behalf of Ibbi-Suen and his queen Geme-Enlila, to Geštinana, at the Place of Disappearance in the temple, and to the deified throne of Enlil. P. Steinkeller has remarked on the prominence of deities who dwell in or pass through the Netherworld as astral bodies in this series: Ningišzida, Geštinana, Utu, Šulgi (as a star), Inana, Nanaa and Ganšura, the latter two of whom represent Inana as the planet Venus in its visible and invisible phases, respectively.[349] He further suggested that "The Lady of the Bridge" (or Crossing), who occurs only here, may be "another netherworld deity, who probably functioned as a kind of Sumerian Charon", and that the gates of Šulgi and Utu referred to their astral positions in the sky.[350] Given the earlier catasterism of Šulgi, the recent demise of Šu-Suen, and the character of the offerands on ŠS09-10-21, during the period when the latter king's major funerary rituals were taking place in Ur, it is plausible to interpret this series of sacrifices in Uruk as symbolizing "the passage of Šu-Suen's spirit (gidim) through the netherworld on his way to the upper sky,"[351] that is, as the catasterism of the divine Šu-Suen. This, in turn, would argue for catasterism having become the norm for all of the deified Ur III regents upon their demise.

A minor point: if Steinkeller's interpretation of the gates of Utu and Šulgi is correct, then I must ask whether every door (or gate) before which a sacrifice was offered should be taken as referring to a celestial phenomenon, or whether this interpretation should apply only to gates of deities with an astral aspect. It is not as if a word for the astronomical position or station of a celestial body did not otherwise occur in Ur III records, namely, the Akkadian *manzaštum*, most frequently in connection with Inana, whose astral identity was the planet Venus.[352] In one such text,

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[349] Steinkeller (2013), pp. 467-469.

[350] Ibid, p. 467.

[351] Ibid., pp. 469-470.

[352] MVN 03 235, AS07-08-29, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep for *manzaštum* (and) sacrifice to Inana in the palace, in Tummal; PDT 1 273, ŠS03-11-28, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep for *manzaštum* Inana; PDT 2 0907, nd, Puzriš-Dagane: sheep, pre-dawn offering, for Nanaa *manzaštum* Inana.

sheep were also sacrificed to the constellation "Nanny-Goat" ($^{mul}uz_3$), our Lyra, the earliest mention of this star cluster in recorded history that I know of.[353] Other texts refer to the station of an unnamed star/constellation, and to a deified Station allied with the rituals or sites known as ki-Utu and ki-Suen, each notably concerning a planetary deity.[354]

Regardless of the interpretation of gate in relation to gods, the texts surrounding the funeral of Šu-Suen show that the coronation of the new king preceded the death rites of the old, and that both coronation and funeral rituals were carried out over several days in multiple cities: Nippur, Uruk, and Ur for the coronation; Ur, Enegi, Gišbanda, and Uruk for the funeral. Due to the lack of sources relating events around the coronation and death of other Sumerian kings, one cannot determine if Ibbi-Suen's coronation and Šu-Suen's funerary rituals were typical for all kings or if they had been affected by royal deification.[355]

1.4 Deified Kings between the Ur III and Hammurabi Dynasties

Not very long into Ibbi-Suen's reign, cities were already breaking away from his control, setting up their own dynasties the members of which, in a number of cases, adopted the divine determinative in the writing of their names. For the bulk of these individuals, we have little evidence beyond a few mentions in inscriptions, seal impressions and/or king lists. For that number whose spelling of their names indicates that they were claiming divine status for themselves, sources

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[353] PDT 1 544, AS08-02-29, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep for *manzaštum* Inana, ki-Suen, Inana, $siskur_2$ $^{mul}uz_3$, in the palace in Nippur.

The exact stars that made up the Nanny-Goat may not, of course, have agreed one-to-one with those that have been assigned to the modern Lyra.

[354] MVN 14 0075, Š38-00-00, Umma, reeds for $siskur_2$ $mul\text{-}še_3$; UTI 6 2662, ŠS03-00-00, Umma: reeds for $siskur_2$ ^{d}Ma-za-aš?-tum [ki]-^{d}Utu ki-^{d}Suen.

[355] Hallo (1966), pp. 133, 135-136, and Klein (1991), p. 297, argue that certain lines in two royal hymns (Ur-Namma D and Šulgi G, respectively) reflect the actual coronation ceremonies of those two rulers. In each, the ritual occurred in the E-kur in Nippur, where the new kings were handed the insignia of rule (crown, scepter, shepherd's crook, and nose-rope) and sat on the throne. Šulgi was additionally depicted as donning the garment that signifies enship.

regarding the expected establishment and operation of a cult and its ramifications in other areas are virtually nonexistent.[356] The major exception involves the dynasty of Isin, which quite clearly took the practices of the Ur III divine kings as paradigmatic.

Sometime after IS07, two cities of the Ur III realm, Isin and Nippur, were declared independent territory by and under one Išbi-Erra.[357] This was the start of the so-called Isin Dynasty of Babylonia. The details leading up to Išbi-Erra's takeover, --- that as a courtier of Ibbi-Suen he was promoted to the governorship of Isin and Nippur during a crisis --- as well as Išbi-Erra's alleged Mariote ancestry, were related in literary letters, a genre that is not reliable as a historical source.[358] Recently, however, a hitherto unknown fragment of one of Išbi-Erra's royal hymns confirms that he was indeed from Mari, a fact that may bear on his relationship to the Ur III dynasty.[359] For the royal family of Mari had allied themselves with that of Ur already in Ur-Namma's reign, sending one of their princesses to wed one of Ur-Namma's sons.[360] The third Ur III king Amar-Suen was evidently

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[356] For Larsa, the divine determinative was written before the names of a) the seventh king of the dynasty, Sūmû-El, on two building inscriptions (RIME 4 2.7.1 and 2.7.2); the eight king Nūr-Adad, on a building inscription (RIME 4 2.8.2); and the thirteenth and last king, Rīm-Sîn, on several inscriptons (RIME 4 2.14.12-13, 4.2.14.15, 4.2.14.18-19), on inscriptions from two wives (RIME 4.2.14.16-17, 4 2.14.23) and the seal impression of another (RIME 4 2.14.22), and on a number of brief votive inscriptions. Note that neither of his wives used the term lukur, but rather the usual "spouse" (dam).

For Ešnuna: the second ruler of this dynasty, Šū-ilīya, on four seal impressions (RIME 3 2.3.1.1-4).

For Karahar: the first ruler, Tiš-atal, on a seal impression (RIME 3 2.5.1); the second, Zardamu, also on a seal impression (RIME 3 2.5.2).

For Malgium: the first ruler, Ipiq-Eštar, on a cone (RIME 4 11.1); the second, Takil-ilissu, on an inscription (RIME 4 11.2).

[357] The IS06 year formula commemorates Ibbi-Suen's building, or rebuilding, a defensive wall for the cities of Nippur and Ur. As noted previously, his year formulae stopped being used in Nippur in his seventh regnal year, a sign that Nippur was no longer under his control. Fitzgerald (2002), p. 5, supports the synchronism of Išbi-Erra 01 = Ibbi-Suen 08, which had previously been argued by Van de Mieroop (1987) and Lafont (1995).

[358] Michalowski (2005), pp. 199-200.

[359] Michalowski (2005), p. 206-208, Išbi-Erra G (BM 88492), ln. 11: ^{d}Iš-bi-Er$_3$-ra lugal kalam-ma-še$_3$ Ma$_2$-ri$_2^{ki}$-ta mu-u[n-suh-eš].

[360] Civil (1968). The princess, daughter of Apil-kin, king of Mari, was renamed "She Loves Ur" (Taram-Uram) upon her betrothal.

a son of this princess.[361] During Amar-Suen's reign, the Mari prince Puzur-Erra served as a high-level temple administrator in the Sumerian city of Larsa, located about twelve miles southeast of Uruk, an unusual elevation for a foreigner but typical for those considered royal family members.[362] Therefore, it seems at least within the realm of possibility that Išbi-Erra was a member of the extended Mariote royal family who had gone into service with one of his relatives-by-marriage, Ibbi-Suen, only to rebel when it became clear that the king was floundering. After the defeat of the remnant of the Ur polity by a combined army of Elamites and Šimaškians and the forcible removal of Ibbi-Suen, Išbi-Erra retained control of his area, eventually expanding his territory by expelling the Elamites from Ur.[363]

Išbi-Erra and his successors modeled themselves closely on the Ur III rulers, doubtlessly as a way of emphasizing their legitimacy at a time of political turmoil, in a culture that valued tradition. A familial relationship with the Ur III kings would only have enhanced the Isin dynasts' sense that they were the rightful heirs of the Ur III system, and of the prestige that came along with it. Sumerian remained the language of the court, even as it died out among the population. Išbi-Erra became deified, as is evident from the dingir determinative that occurs before his name in royal inscriptions, year formulae and administrative records, although the event that precipitated him into godhood is unknown, as is its exact date. It is important to note that this practice was initiated at a time when Ibbi-Suen still occupied the throne at Ur. That is, Išbi-Erra presented himself as a king equal to Ibbi-Suen in the manner in which the majority of rulers of the Ur III dynasty had embodied kingship, as gods. While Išbi-Erra occurred in seals of subordinates as mighty king (lugal kalag-ga), king of the land or the motherland (lugal ma-da, lugal kalam-ma), lord of his land (*bēl matīšu*), and once as king of the four quarters (lugal an-ub-da-limmu-ba), the seal of his servant Išbi-Erra-malik

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[361] Boese and Sallaberger (1996) present the evidence for this relationship.

[362] Sharlach (2001), pp. 62-64. Puzur-Erra, son of the ruler (*šakkanakku*) of Mari, was termed both šabra and sanga of Utu of Larsa. The two titles were often interchangeable in the Ur III period.

[363] Steinkeller (2008) uses administrative texts and Isin year formulae to make the case that for the synchronization of Išbi-Erra 15 or 16 equals Ibbi-Suen 24 or 25. This would make Išbi-Erra's eventual expulsion of the Elamites from Ur occur in his 26th regnal year.

explicitly calls him god of the motherland (dingir kalam-ma).[364] Note also that this servant, or his parents, used the king's name as a theophoric element, a practice for which we have additional evidence, which I will discuss in Chapter 3. Finally, it appears that upon his death, Išbi-Erra was perceived as having undergone catasterism.[365]

All of the Isin kings who succeeded Išbi-Erra were deified, it would appear, immediately upon accession. His son and successor, Šu-ilīšu, was the first to take on the title of King of Ur. On the school copy of an inscription excavated at Ur, Šu-ilīšu is called "the god of the motherland" (dingir kalam-ma), and his name served as the theophoric element for various individuals.

The third king of this dynasty, Iddin-Dagan, expanded the royal titulature to include King of Isin, King of Sumer and Akkade, and En of Uruk. Like Šulgi, he had a daughter married off to the ruler of Anšan and commemorated the event in a year formula.[366] He was the first of his dynasty to have a royal hymn composed in which his personal qualities and suitability for kingship, rather than a particular deity, were the focus, again like Šulgi.[367] In this same hymn he was also explicitly termed a god.[368] However, it was the fourth king, Išme-Dagan, who seems to have been particularly taken with Šulgi's style of rule and performance of godhood. Išme-Dagan's hymn of self-praise is even closer to Šulgi's than Iddin-Dagan's in terms of the number and types of outstanding qualities enumerated: physical attractiveness, the handling of weapons, stamina in running, the scribal arts, mathematics, measurements, singing and the playing of musical

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[364] RIME 4.1.1.2009.

[365] BIN 10 190: [e]r_2 gu-la ud lugal an-še$_3$ ba-a-da (a great lamentation when the king ascended [or sailed] to heaven). The tablet is from Isin, and undated. See Steinkeller (2013) pp. 462-464, for more detailed argument and a comparison with Šulgi's after-death ascension-by-sailing.

[366] Cf. Š30: the year the king's daughter was married to the ruler (ensi$_2$) of Anšan; and ID02: the year Matum-niatum, daughter of Iddin-Dagan, was married to the "man" of Anšan.

[367] Iddin-Dagan B.

[368] Iddin-Dagan B, ln 172: lugal dingir-am$_3$.

instruments.[369] Išme-Dagan likewise named specific locations in temples as well as throughout the land, up to its very borders, for the performance of his hymns, indicating a deliberate effort to amplify awareness of his divinity.[370]

J. Klein read all of Išme-Dagan's hymns as signs that he "aspired to compare to the great Šulgi in fame and popularity", and considered three of them to be "direct imitations of specifically known Šulgi hymns."[371] The emulation is especially striking in Išme-Dagan S, a composition commemorating this king's erection of a statue of himself as a runner.[372] The other notable imitations are Išme-Dagan I and V, which closely follow Šulgi R and E in content, structure, and even wording. The former pair describe the crafting of cult objects, Enlil's chariot and Ninlil's barge, respectively, the latter the writing, purpose and setting for each king's hymns. Another interesting parallel occurs in one of Išme-Dagan's year formulae, which resonates strongly with that of Šulgi 21, the first year in which that king's name occurred with the divine determinative: "the year Išme-Dagan the king discovered by means of an omen the en of Enlil, and Ninurta put in order all the field (and) accounts of Sumer and Akkade."[373] I had suggested earlier in this chapter that Šulgi's "reorganization" was a euphemism for his takeover of, first, the assets of the E-kur, then of all the other temple households in the land, and that his ability to do this was predicated on his stature as a god. Perhaps the Isin kings, at some point between the reigns of the first and the fourth, had lost

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[369] Išme-Dagan A vis-à-vis Šulgi B and E.

[370] Išme-Dagan A, lns 384-387: e_2-a $šir_3$-mu $giri_{17}$?-zal-le-eš he_2-em-me / en_3-du-mu šu-a hu-mu-un-bal-e / la-la-bi $šag_4$ kalam-ma-ka hu-[mu]-gal_2 / zag-bi-a inim ka-ge-e he_2-em-tum_3.

[371] Klein (1990), p. 87.

[372] Išme-Dagan S in light of Šulgi V, the latter an abbreviated form of Šulgi A, which narrated Šulgi's overnight run from Nippur to Ur and back. Both Išme-Dagan S and Šulgi V were inscribed on the same OB tablet (SRT 13), the earlier on the obverse and the later on the reverse. Klein (1985), pp. 8-14, goes over the arguments that the two sides of the tablet are referring to one and the same run and statue, those of Šulgi, and concludes that it is more likely that each side deals with a different king.

[373] Išme-Dagan E: mu ^{d}Iš-me-^{d}Da-gan lugal en-^{d}En-lil_2-la_2 $maš_2$-e in-pad_3 ^{d}Nin-urta gan_2 nig_2-ka_9 Ki-en-gi Ki-uri si bi_2-in-sa_2-sa_2-a.

Cf. Š21: mu ^{d}Nin-urta $ensi_2$-gal ^{d}En-lil_2-la_2-ke_4 eš-bar kin ba-an-dug_4-ga a-$šag_4$ nig_2-ka_9 ^{d}En-lil_2 ^{d}Nin-lil_2-ra si bi_2-in-sa_2-sa_2-a (the year when Ninurta, the chief farmer of Enlil, pronounced an ominous decision in the temple of Enlil and Ninlil, and Šulgi, king of Ur, (re)-organized the fields and the accounts in the temple for Enlil and Ninlil.)

some of the shine of godhood and the subsequent control over temple wealth it was used to justify, and this year formula of Išme-Dagan relates to his successful effort to regain those assets.

Evidence that the Ur III practice of terming the wives of their deified kings their priestesses (lukur) had been adopted by the Isin dynasty is first encountered in relation to the seventh king of that dynasty, Būr-Sîn, on whose behalf his "beloved lukur of the road", Nanaa-ibsa, dedicated a small plaque.[374] That the Isin royal lukurs were indeed royal wives and not the more traditional cultic functionaries is demonstrated by the assertion of Nuṭuptum, a lukur of the penultimate king of the Isin dynasty, Sîn-māgir, that she had given birth to his heir (ibila).[375]

1.5 Summation

The divine determinative prefixed before the names of a number of Mesopotamian kings in the third and early second millennia, in records dating to their lifetimes, serves as a clear indicator that the men whose names were so adorned had been classified as deities while alive. Other signs of this status also existed: the divine horned crown worn by Narām-Suen, the reclassification of the wives of Šulgi under a title heretofore used only by junior wives of the god Ningirsu in myth and by a type of female cult functionary --- a practice continued not only by his dynastic successors, but also by certain rulers in the Isin dynasty immediately following ---, the adaption of the hymn form for praise of the deified king, and the catasterism of several kings of the Ur III and possibly also the Isin dynasty. All of these developments were innovations, and without doubt related to the king's new status as a god. The most unequivocal sign of the king's godhood, however, was the establishment of a cult of the divine king, with its attendant statue of the deity, shrine, offerings, and functionaries. Indications of such a cult are known, to varying degrees, for the first two dynasties in which a deified ruler is attested.

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[374] RIME 4 1.7.3: ^{d}Na-na-a-ib$_2$-sa$_2$ lukur-ki-ag$_2$-kaskal-la-ka.

[375] RIME 4 1.14.2: Nu-ṭu$_3$-up-tum lukur-ki-ag$_2$-[kaskal-l]a-ka-ni [ama ibi]la-na-ke$_4$.

The overwhelming bulk of the evidence for a royal cult relates to the Ur III kings. The records incontrovertibly show that statues were the focus of cult in the Ur III period, and that this applied to cults of both the traditional deities and the deified kings. Šulgi, when initiating and further developing his cult, found it most efficacious to utilize the existing template, which had the benefit of familiarity and could be "read" without any ambiguity by even the illiterate: a statue serviced by cultic personnel and receiving offerings in a temple could represent only a god. The precious materials used in crafting the divine king's statues, along with the construction of numerous temples to house them throughout the polity, and the continuous provisioning of his cult, demonstrate that the Ur III kings' godhood was no mere rhetorical device. Planning, coordination and on-going expenditures were necessary for its manifestation in more than ideological space. Šulgi and his successors did not stop here, but took further steps to deliberately expand the awareness of the cult of their divinity among broader swathes of the population than those limited groups permitted access to the interiors of temples. And, once again, they closely followed practices familiar from the cults of the already existing gods.

Chapter 2.

Public Display

2.1 The Public Face of Cult

The statue of any deity, including those of the deified kings, was the focal point of his or her cult, and ordinarily remained in a niche or cella in a temple or shrine. As members of the general public had limited-to-nonexistent access to the interior of temples, they might well have lived unaffected by knowledge of the devotions transpiring therein, or even of the deities so served. Popularization of cult was thus undertaken, primarily by means of the display of a statue of a cult's god during processions, rituals, outdoor sacrifices, and festivals, for which purposes it was removed from its niche and transported by means of a dedicated chariot or barge. These events, out-of-the-ordinary by design, were accompanied by some combination of music and singing, athletic display and competitions, entertainers, animal performances, and the free distribution of food and alcohol.[376] The prominence of beef as the meat served at a large percent of festivities that included

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[376] See Gelb (1975) on the ludic nature of many cultic personnel and rituals.

References to the singers and musicians of particular deities or temples would take an enormous amount of space to enumerate fully here; instead, specific examples will be cited when relevant to the topic at hand;

Wrestling (gešba$_2$) and athletics (lirum$_{1-3}$): BPOA 7 2856, AS04-12-00, Puzriš-Dagan; and UET 9 1050, IS05-07-00, Ur: a house of wrestling and athletics (e$_2$ gešba$_2$-lirum$_3$-ma) in the Akiti complex in Gaeš; OIP 121 474, AS07-09-04, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil as the boat sailed to the quay ([ma$_2$?] kar da-a), with wrestling and athletics (gešba$_2$ lirum); MVN 03 331, IS05-01-00, Ur: wrestling and athletics (lirum$_3$) in the courtyard (kisal) of the Akiti House, in Ur; UET 3 1137, IS06-01-00, Ur: beer (kaš) for wrestling and athletics (lirum$_3$-ma) in Gaeš; TCL 5 6040, no date, Umma: grain to the courtyards for wrestling of Ibgal and E$_{11}$-e during the festival of Dumuzi; Nisaba 24 11, no date, Umma: flour to the courtyard for wrestling during the festivals of the first fruits (nesag), of e$_2$-iti-6, and of pa$_4$-u$_2$-e.

The rhetorical display or competition, known as Disputation (a-da-min): SACT 1 155, AS04-12-05, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep for cooks for the performance of a Disputation (a-da-min ak), in Ur; ASJ 11 204-216, AS09-00-00, Umma: alkali (naga) and aromatic resins (šim and li) for a Disputation; BPOA 6 0037, nd, Girsu: a 60 gur boat of the Disputation (ma$_2$ a-da-min), subsumed under the category "boats of the gods" (ma$_2$-dingir-e-ne). Given the size of this boat, it's possible that Disputations were staged onboard and viewed from the shore.

A cult position that was, possibly, a self-flagellating ecstatic (kur-ga$_2$-ra / kur-gar-a): Sumer 55 124 5, IS02-00-00, unk. prov.: along with a snake-charmer, rations for the New Year; CUSAS 3 0541, IS03-03-29, GARšana: rations for gala and "ecstatics", from princess ME-Ištaran;

Entertainer-cum-jester (ud-da-tuš): TUT 164-22, AS01-04-00, Girsu: assigned to an unnamed god's chariot; HLC 2 002 (pl. 052), AS01-00-00, Girsu: four entertainers belonging to Šulgi's temple; see also StOr 46 44 below, under "snake-charmers";

Entertainers with bears: CST 494, Š46-03-13, Puzriš-Dagan: 1 bear cub (amar-az) for the entertainer, accepted by a singer-musician (nar); CST 248, AS02-01-08, nd MVN 03 225, AS02-01-14, both Puzriš-Dagan: one bear cub for the entertainer; RSO 83 345 13, AS04-11-00, Puzriš-Dagan: five bear cubs for entertainment (nam-ud-da-tuš-še$_2$); SACT 1 023, AS05-11-28, Puzriš-Dagan: three bear cubs for entertainment, received by Dada the gala priest; MVN 11 209, ŠS06-03-00, both Puzriš-Dagan: one bear (az) and three bear cubs for entertainment; MVN 03 329, XX-03-16, Puzriš-Dagan: one bear cub for entertainment;

Snake-charmer or handler (muš-lah$_{4-5}$): Journal Asiatique 11-3, 619 1, Š42-11-00, Umma: one among large group of servitors at an apparent banquet given by Šulgi in KI.AN; Nebraska 37, Š43-00-00; and Studies Tadmor 2 209-220, ŠS03-00-00, both Umma: as personnel (gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga) of Ninurra; HLC 2 002 (pl. 052), AS01-00-00, Girsu: of Nanše; AnOr 01 088, AS05-00-00, Umma: as personnel of Inana of Zabalam; TCL 5 6038, AS07-00-00, Umma: as personnel of Šara at Apisal; AnBiblica 12 276, IS02-01-00, Umma: of Nanna; StOr 46 44, nd, Girsu: a list of singer-musicians and gala of the temples of Lagaš, in which the snake-charmers and entertainers are subsumed into the category "nar"; for a total of four+ snake-charmers and four+ entertainers dispersed among the temples in Girsu, the Temple of Bagara in Lagaš, the Temple of Nindara in Kiešša, the Temple of Dumuzi in Kinunir, and the Temple of Ninmarki in Guabba;

Banquet (gišbun$_x$): OrSP 47-49 177, Š34-07-00, Umma: reeds for banquet at the observation of the Full Moon; SET 122, Š42-00-07, Umma: beer for banquet of the divine Šulgi; TCL 5 5671, Š45-01-00, Umma: twenty oxen in total for (a) a royal sacrifice (giš-tag-ga-lugal), (b) for when Šulgi entered the new palace, (c) for a banquet of Šulgi, (d) for a banquet of Šulgi of KI.AN (probably a reference to his cult there); and (e) for a royal beer libation; SAT 2 0517, Š46-04-23; and Ontario 1 044, Š48-04-24, both Puzriš-Dagan: banquet in the Temple of Enlil; OIP 115 428, Š46-05-03, Puzriš-Dagan: seventeen oxen and eight suckling lambs for a banquet of Enlil and Ninlil when the ruler (ensi$_2$) of Kimaš was captured (in-ma-dab$_5$-ba-a); Aleppo 360, Š46-10-00, Umma: an ox for a banquet of the deified Lamma-lugal in Ummal; Nisaba 06 20, Š48-00-00, Umma: two oxen for a banquet of the Lamma-lugal in Umma; Princeton 1 159, AS01-00-00, Umma: one ox for a banquet of Lamma-Šulgi; SAT 2 0693, AS02-01-01, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Annunitum and Nanaa, conveyed by Abi-simti, and to Annunitum and Nanaa in the king's presence, during a banquet in the palace; Santag 6 149, AS05-00-00, Umma: two oxen for a banquet of Šulgi and a banquet of Amar-Suen; OrSP 47-49 344, AS05-12-00, Umma: nine sheep and six goats as a regular offering (sa$_2$-dug$_4$) for a banquet of Amar-Suen; MVN 20 022, AS05-12-00, Umma: six sheep and five goats for a banquet of Amar-Suen; RA 09 050 SA 163 (pl. 4), AS06-05-23, Puzriš-Dagan: a banquet in the Temple of Suen; MVN 20 014, AS06-10-08, Umma?" [x] oxen for a banquet of Šulgi during the Festival of Šulgi; StOr 09-1 39 (pl. 17), AS07-06-05, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil during a banquet in the palace; Santag 6 178, AS07-07-00, Umma: two oxen for a banquet of Amar-Suen; BPOA 1 0539, AS08-07-00, Umma: sacrifices to Šara and Ninurra, during a banquet of Amar-Suen; SACT 1 117, AS08-10-00, Umma: two oxen for a banquet of Šulgi and a banquet of Amar-Suen; BPOA 7 2731, AS09-08-00, Nippur: a sacrifice (siskur$_2$) to Inana during a banquet in Tummal; OIP 121 429, AS09-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan: forty-two sheep and eighteen goats for the men who brought the special offerings (lu$_2$-maš$_2$-da-ri-a-ke$_4$-ne), termed a banquet of lamentation (gišbun$_x$ er$_2$ [su$_3$]-a), in Ur; UTI 3 1915, ŠS04-06-05, Umma: forty-two bundles of kindling (u$_2$ ^{giš}asal$_x$) for a banquet of Ninlil; UTI 3 1662, ŠS04-10-00, Umma: an ox for a banquet of Šulgi; NATN 883, ŠS06-08-00, Nippur: beer for a banquet in Tummal; BPOA 1 0516, ŠS09-01-00, Umma: [x] for a banquet of the statue of Šu-Suen in the Temple of Šara; AnOr 07 108, ŠS09-10-30, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen, two cows, forty-three sheep and forty-seven goats for men who brought the special offerings (lu$_2$-maš$_2$-da-ri-a-ke$_4$-ne), termed a banquet of lamentation (gišbun$_x$ er$_2$ [su$_3$]-a), in Ur; Nisaba 15/2 0648, IS01-12-00, Urusagrig: seven sheep one lamb for a banquet of Nanaa in

banquets is notable, as beef was a luxury item that was virtually never otherwise available to the mass of the population.[377] Not only would the festive commensality have achieved enhanced feelings of good will toward the provisioner but, in the case of the kings' cult in particular, such events might also be expected to foster a sense of national unity among the increasingly ethnically diverse population, with the figure of the beneficent god-king positioned as the crucial linch-pin.

2.1.1 Chariots and Boats of the Gods

The manufacture of various means of transportation for the statues of deities was important enough to have been commemorated in regnal year formulae and in royal hymns.[378] The luxurious appointments of these items would have made quite an impression on the gathered crowds, e.g. a gold sun-disk on the barge Šulgi had built for Ninlil, the 360 gold sun-disks on Ninhursag's boat in

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Esagdana; TMH NF 1-2 113, IS03-06-00, Nippur: 30 gur of grain for malt for beer for a banquet in Tummal; Nisaba 09 020, nd, Umma: reeds for a banquet of Ur-Namma, from the Akiti bala-delivery; TCTI 2 02721, XX-07-00, Girsu: beer, flour, groats and oil for the banquet of Šulgi seated at the festival.

[377] Note also that, using Allred's calculations (one ox feeds approximately 600, one sheep sixty people), one can estimate the number of banqueters expected by the authorities, e.g. at the banquet held in Š46-05-03 upon the capture of the ruler of Kimaš, the seventeen oxen and eight lambs provided were sufficient to feed roughly 10,500 people. Allred (2006), p. 65, explains his calculations, which he based on modern beef processing, minus 10% from the cattle's total weight on the assumption that Mesopotamian animals were probably smaller. This leaves approximately 400 pounds of edible beef per animal, with one pound serving to feed 1.5 men. Allred used a similar methold for calculating the feeding capacity of a sheep or goat.

For beer, Lafont (2009), §2.10, estimates an average of two liters of beer per person per occasion.

[378] UN year formula "j" (RIME 3/2) or "o" (CDLI): "the year the chariot of Ninlil was crafted"; Š08 formula: "the year the barge of Ninlil was caulked"; ŠS02 formula: "the year Šu-Suen the king of Ur crafted and caulked the boat of Enki [called] Wild Ibex of the Abzu"; ŠS08 formula: "the year Šu-Suen the king of Ur crafted a huge barge for Enlil and Ninlil";

Šulgi R, on the construction of a barge for Ninlil.

Urusagrig.[379] Boats were even replicated in miniature and presented as votive offerings to various cult establishments.[380]

Chariots (^{giš}gigir) are attested for the traditional deities Ninlil, Šara, Ningirsu, Bau, Imdugud-babbar, Ašgi and Alla, and Ningišzida.[381] A subset of singer-musicians of Ningirsu's and Bau's temples in Girsu was assigned to their chariots, and an unnamed deity's chariot in this same city had its own "entertainer".[382] These would have performed alongside the chariot as it made its way down the processional route. It is unlikely that such colorful accompaniments were limited to the gods of Girsu. An account of work done on an "old chariot" (^{giš}gigir-sumun) of Šulgi must be referring to a chariot of his statue, as Šulgi had been dead for years then.[383] Another undated text concerns hides for a chariot of Šulgi, though without a date it cannot be determined if this was a chariot of the king himself or of one of his effigies.[384] The means of land transport for gods' statues, however, were far outnumbered by their water crafts.

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[379] Šulgi R, ln. 23: aš-me kug-sig$_{17}$-ga; Nisaba 15 404b, ŠS07-00-00, Urusagrig: 360 ^{uruda}ša-am-ša-tum kug-sig$_{17}$.

[380] BCT 2 143, Š48-00-00, Umma: a silver barge, weighing ten shekels, to Šara of KI.AN^{ki}; MVN 15 226, AS01-03-00, Puzriš-Dagan: two bronze barges, votives from the king, in the treasury of Ninmen; RA 08 187 05, AS01-07-00, Puzriš-Dagan: a bronze barge for Enki in the House of Wisdom (e$_2$ umum-ma), a votive from the king; MVN 15 226, AS01-07-00, Puzriš-Dagan: a royal votive of a bronze barge for Annunitum in Ur.

[381] UN year formula j (Frayne RIME 3/2): "the year the chariot of Ninlil was crafted"; BPOA 1 1732, Š33-07-00, Umma: chariot of Šara; UTI 4 2615, AS05-00-00, Umma: chariot of Šara; UNT 016, no date, Girsu: chariot of Ningirsu; HSS 04 052, ŠS02-00-00, Girsu: chariots of Ningirsu and Bau; UTI 3 1804, ŠS02-00-00, Umma: chariot of Imdugud-babbar; Nisaba 15 488, ŠS09-00-00; Nisaba 15 569, IS01-00-00, both Urusagrig: chariot of Ašgi and Alla; Ontario 2 435, ŠS09-00-00, Umma; DAS 050, IS03-00-00, Girsu: chariot of Ningišzida.

[382] HLC 2 002 (pl. 052), AS01-00-00, Girsu: nar ^{giš}gigir nar ^{d}Nin-gir$_2$-su u$_3$ ^{d}Ba-u$_2$. Note also an entertainer or jester assigned to a chariot: TUT 164-22, AS01-04-00, Girsu: Hu-wa-wa ud-da-tuš ^{giš}gigir$_2$.

Further, a listing of various cultic personnel in the province of Lagaš shows thirty-one able-bodied men (guruš) as nar-^{giš}gigir-me in the city of Girsu (St Or 46 44, no date, Girsu).

[383] BPOA 1 1736, AS06-00-00, Umma.

[384] SAT 3 2201, XX-08-00, Umma.

Boats or barges are attested in the Ur III period for statues of the following deities:

Bau: in Girsu (ŠS02), and an eighty gur[385] boat in Girsu (nd);[386]

Dumuzi: a boat named Ninhilisu in Girsu (Š36), an unnamed boat in Girsu (AS09), an eighty gur boat and its sixty gur "docking" boat in Kinunir (nd);[387]

Enki: at Ur (Š28; IS07), a boat of offering of Enki on the Mušbiana canal in Girsu (AS01), a boat named Wild Ibex of the Abzu (ŠS02), and a thirty gur boat in Nina (nd);[388]

Enlil and Ninlil: a barge, in year formula (ŠŠ08);[389]

Geštinana: in Urusagrig (nd);[390]

Gula: in Umma (AS03, ŠS02, ŠS03);[391]

Hendursag: a forty gur boat in Nina (nd);[392]

Inana: of Uruk in Umma (AS07), a barge in Umma (AS08);[393]

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[385] A gur is a volume measure that contains 300 $sila_3$, or approximately 252.6 liters, which may be converted into 0.25 cubic meters (m^3). According to an internet article, "Tonnage Measurement of Ships" by Steamship Mutual, (http://www.steamshipmutual.com/publications/Articles/Articles/Tonnage.asp), a "shipping" or "freight" ton is the equivalent of 1 m^3, which converts to 4 gur. Thus, the modern weight capacity of the Sumerian boats and barges mentioned in this section would be: 7.5 tons (30 gur), 10 tons (40 gur), 15 tons (60 gur), 20 tons (80 gur), 30 tons (120 gur), and 45 tons (180 gur) --- all fairly large craft.

[386] HSS 04 052, ŠS02-00-00, Girsu: ma_2 ^{d}Ba-u_2; BPOA 6 0037, nd, Girsu: ma_2 80.0.0 gur ^{d}Bau-u_2.

[387] NFT p. 185 AO 4209, Š36-05-03, Girsu: ma_2 Nin-hi-li-su_3 ^{d}Dumu-zi; ITT 2 03488, AS09-03-00, Girsu: ma_2 ^{d}Dumu-zi; BPOA 6 0037, nd, Girsu: ma_2 80.0.0 gur ^{d}Dumu-zi and ma_2 60.0.0 gur ma_2-us_2-bi $šag_4$ Ki-nu-nir^{ki}.

[388] UET 3 0785, Š28-11-00, and UET 3 0190, IS-7-07-00, both Ur: ma_2 ^{d}En-ki; ASJ 18 224 HSM 6434, AS01-02-30, Girsu: ma_2 $siskur_2$ ^{d}En-ki id_2 Muš-bi-an-na-ka; AUCT 2 088, ŠS02-02-15, Puzriš-Dagan: ma_2 $Dara_4$-Ab-zu ma_2 ^{d}En-ki-ka; BPOA 6 0037, nd, Girsu: ma_2 30.0.0 gur ^{d}En-ki $šag_4$ Nina^{ki}.

[389] Princeton 1 056, ŠS08-04-00, Puzriš-Dagan: mu ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen lugal $Urim_3^{ki}$-ma-ke_4 ma_2-gur_8 ^{d}En-lil_2 ^{d}Nin-lil_2 mu-ne-dim_2.

[390] Nisaba 15/2 0892, nd, Urusagrig: ma_2 ^{d}Geštin-an-na.

[391] SAT 2 0741, AS03-00-00; BPOA 6 1436, ŠS02-00-00; and UTI 3 1613, ŠS03-00-00, all Umma: ma_2 ^{d}Gu-la-(ka).

[392] BPOA 6 0037, nd, Girsu: ma_2 40.0.0 gur ^{d}Hendur-sag $šag_4$ Nina^{ki}.

[393] BPOA 7 2819, AS07-00-00, Umma: ma_2 ^{d}Inana Unug^{ki}; UTI 4 2877, AS08-00-00, Umma: ma_2-[gur_8] ^{d}Inana.

Lamma-Amar-Suen: in Umma (AS07);[394]

Lamma-igidu: in Girsu (AS01);[395]

Lamma-kiuršag: in Girsu (AS01);[396]

Nanna: of Karzida (Š42, AS06), in the Akiti House in Gaeš/Karzida (Š46, AS04), three boats of Nanna in Ur (AS06), a barge in Umma (ŠS03), and a boat of Suen in Umma (AS07);[397]

Nanše: a torch-carrying boat and a boat called Nindalla in Girsu (Š36), three boats in Girsu (AS06), and a 120 gur boat and a "docking" boat in Nina (nd);[398]

Nadua: at Girsu (Š35), a thirty gur boat in Guabba (nd);[399]

Nindara: a boat called Ešhegal in Girsu (Š36), an eighty gur boat and its sixty gur "docking" boat in Kiešša (nd), and a thirty gur boat in Guabba (nd);[400]

Ningirsu: in Girsu (Š42, AS06, AS09, ŠS02, nd), and a 180 gur boat in Girsu (nd);[401]

Ningišzida: a barge in Girsu (ŠS08);[402]

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[394] Snell, Ledgers pl. 17 10, AS07-07-00, Umma: ma_2 ^{d}Lamma-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ka.

[395] WMAH 003, AS01-00-00, Girsu: ma_2 ^{d}Lamma-igi-du.

[396] WMAH 003, AS01-00-00, Girsu: ma_2 ^{d}Lamma-ki-ur_5-$šag_5$.

[397] UET 3 0306, Š42-02-00, and UET 3 0332, AS06-04-00, both Ur: ma_2 ^{d}Nanna Kar-zi-da-(ka); NYPL 048, Š46-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: ma_2 ^{d}Nanna A_2-ki-ti; ma_2 ^{d}Nanna $šag_4$ A_2-ki-ti BM U. 30188 (unpubl.), AS06-01-06, Ur: ma_2 ^{d}Nanna 3-a-ba; BPOA 1 1400, ŠS03-12-00, Umma: ma_2-gur_8 ^{d}Nanna; MVN 01 255, AS07-00-00, Umma: ma_2 ^{d}Suen.

[398] NFT p. 185 AO 4209, Š36-05-03, Girsu: ma_2 gi-izi-la_2 ^{d}Nanše, and ma_2 Nin-dalla ^{d}Nanše; MVN 09 075, AS06-04-00, Girsu: ma_2 ^{d}Nanše 3-a-ba; BPOA 6 0037, nd, Girsu: ma_2 120.0.0 gur ^{d}Nanše and ma_2 120.0.0 ma_2-us_2 ^{d}Nanše $šag_4$ Nina^{ki}.

[399] BPOA 6 0037, nd, Girsu: ma_2 30.0.0 gur ^{d}Na-du3-a $šag_4$ Gu_2-ab-ba^{ki}-ka.

[400] NFT p. 185 AO 4209, Š36-05-03, Girsu: ma_2 $Eš_3$-he_2-gal_2 ^{d}Nin-dar-a; BPOA 6 0037, nd, Girsu: ma_2 80.0.0 gur ^{d}Nin-dar-a, ma_2 60.0.0 gur ma_2-us_2-bi $šag_4$ Ki-$eš_3$-$ša_2$^{ki}, and ma_2 30.0.0 ^{d}Nin-dar-a $šag_4$ Gu_2-ab-ba^{ki}-ka.

[401] RA 80 15 12, Š42-00-00; TCTI 2 03285, AS06-10-00; ITT 3 05364, AS09; HSS 04 052, ŠS02-00-00; TUT 189, nd; and MVN 07 455, nd, all Girsu: ma_2 ^{d}Nin-gir_2-su; and BPOA 6 0037, nd, Girsu: ma_2 180.0.0 gur ^{d}Nin-gir_2-su.

[402] ITT 5 06823, ŠS08-06-16, Girsu: ga_2 ma_2-gur_8-ra ^{d}Nin-giš-zi-da.

Ninhursag: in Urusagrig (ŠS07), and in Nippur (nd);[403]

Ninlil: year formula (Š08), from Tummal to Nippur (AS09);[404]

Ninmarki: in Girsu (Š46), and a 120 gur boat and its sixty gur "docking" boat in Guabba (nd)[405]

Sud: in Šuruppag (ŠS01)[406]

Šara: a barge (Umma)[407]

Šulgi: a thirty gur boat in Guabba (nd)[408]

Šunir (the deified standard): in Nippur (nd)[409]

Šuzianka in Nippur (ŠS04)[410]

In addition, boats for a statue of the king (alan-lugal) in Umma and for other unspecified statues in Umma and Girsu are also attested.[411]

The sources enumerate so many trips of divine statues by boat that one can reasonably conclude that such processions, along with the festivities that accompanied them, constituted a fairly common event in the public space of the Ur III core state. A series of trips to multiple points

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[403] Nisaba 15, 0404, ŠS07-02-00, Urusagrig: a copper sun-disk implanted in a gold sun-disk (^{uruda}ša-am-ša-tum šag$_4$-DU ša-am-ša-tum kug-sig$_{17}$), weighing over one talent, for the boat of Ninhursag; NRVN 1 246, xx-11-05, Nippur: a boat-tower, Ad-da-kal-la ma$_2$-gid$_2$ ^{d}Nin-hur-sag.

[404] JAOS 98 252 C, Š08-02-18, Nippur: mu ma$_2$ ^{d}Nin-lil$_2$ ba-ab-du$_8$; JCS 57 027 03, AS09-09-03, Puzriš-Dagan: ma$_2$ ^{d}Nin-lil$_2$ Tum-ma-al^{ki}-ta ku$_4$-ra šag$_4$ Nibru^{ki}.

[405] BPOA 6 0037, nd, Girsu: ma$_2$ 120.0.0 gur ^{d}Nin-mar-ki and ma$_2$ 60.0.0 gur ma$_2$-us$_2$-bi šag$_4$ Gu$_2$-ab-ba^{ki}-ka.

[406] JAOS 52 113-114, ŠS01-04-00, Šuruppag: ma$_2$ ^{d}Sud$_3$-da.

[407] Aleppo 138, AS03-04-00; and OrSP 47-49 420, ŠS04-00-00, both Umma: ma$_2$-gur$_8$ ^{d}Šara$_2$.

[408] BPOA 6 0037, nd, Girsu: ma$_2$ 30.0.0 gur ^{d}Šul-gi šag$_4$ Gu$_2$-ab-ba^{ki}-ka. This vessel is included in a list of boats of fourteen deities which are categorized as "boats of the gods" (ma$_2$ dingir-re-ne), and thus most likely refers to a boat for Šulgi's cult statue and not for the king himself.

[409] BBVO 11 257 4N-T197, nd, Nippur: ma$_2$ ^{d}Šu?-nir?.

[410] BBVO 11 270 6N-T113, nd, Nippur: ma$_2$ ^{d}Šu-zi-[an]-ka.

[411] AUCT 1 540, Š39-00-00, Umma: ma$_2$ alan-lugal; MVN 16 1356, ŠS01-08-00, Umma: ma$_2$ alan-ka; and RTC 254, nd, Girsu: two ma$_2$ alan.

within a short period of time involved a statue of Nin-Isin that went from Isin to Larak on the seventh day of the eleventh month of AS09, returned to Isin on the twenty-fifth, whence it again travelled by boat to Umma on AS09-12-15. At some point in the next year what appears to be this same statue was recorded as entering the temple of Ninlil in Nippur with silver bracelets.[412] R. Kutscher has written about a torchlight festival in Lagaš during which three boats belonging to the deities Dumuzi, Nanše, and Nindara and a fourth boat that carried torches went on a three-day procession by canal through the countryside.[413] The quay at Gudua was the site of an animal sacrifice to Meslamtaea.[414] A quay seems to have been a fairly popular spot for the erection of divine statues, although one cannot always determine from the data if such statues had a permanent berth there, or their erection was a temporary measure undertaken when a boat conveying a particular statue had docked after its travels. The statues called "Amar-Suen at the Royal Quay" and "Amar-Suen at the Lapis Lazuli Quay" would appear to have been of the former category, while the latter would cover a statue of Šu-Suen, transported of necessity by boat from Girsu to Susa and set up on the quay there.[415]

In some cases, while the fact that cult effigies were on the move is indisputable, there is not enough information to determine whether this was accomplished by boat or chariot. For example, at Umma an annual festival called for the participation of statues of one or more of the female gods Gula, Nin-gipar, Nin-ibgal and Inana, and of Inana's deified balag instrument Igizibara, which travelled by an unstated means to Zabalam where they went out to the "early grass" (u_2-sag-še$_3$).[416]

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[412] SACT 1 169, AS09-11-07, Puzriš-Dagan; Rochester 077, AS9-11-25, Puzriš-Dagan; Babyl. 7 77 09, AS09-12-15, Puzriš-Dagan; and SACT 1 172, ŠS01-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan.

[413] Kutscher (1983).

[414] SET 041, Š35-09-00, Puzriš-Dagan.

[415] Studies Levine 132-138, ŠS09-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-kar-re-lugal"; UET 3 0105, IS05-04-00, Ur: alan ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen Kar-za-gin$_3$; ITT 2 03390, ŠS05-01-00, Girsu: a crown (aga) for the statue (alan) of Šu-Suen to be erected at the quay of Susa (kar Šušin^{ki} du$_3$-de$_3$.

[416] Accounts of sheep sacrificed to the individual statues involved in this festival range from Š40-12-00 (TCL 5 5672, Umma) through ŠS06-01-00 (SAT 3 1651, Umma).

This festival has a further reference in the literary text Lugal-e.[417] Th. Jacobsen considered "that the most natural way to interpret these [Ur III] entries would seem to be that they relate to a ritual procession with statues of the goddesses in question --- in the case of Igi-zi-bar-ra she presumably came in her form as sacred harp --- out into the desert to lament the dead Dumuzi."[418] Another Umma text concerning provisions over the course of a year for Nin-Zabalam, an avatar of Inana, shows that her statue was moved on several different occasions, stopping at the Temples of Enlil and Šara on its way to the ritual of the early grass, as well as travelling to a sheep field, to the quay of the first fruits, and to Zabalam.[419] A Girsu tablet dating to the reign of Amar-Suen is the sole witness for a ritual involving a statue of the king going to the seeding during the month Šu-numun ("seed"), evidently to bless this important, if symbolic, agricultural event by its presence.[420]

Available records show Gula of Umma going to and coming from Nippur, Nintinugga of Nippur going to and returning from Isin, Lugal-Gudua departing for Gudua from Nippur, Dumu-zi visiting an en-priest/ess, Utu and Suen going to a cattle-pen, Allatum coming to Puzriš-Dagan from Zimudar, and Ninurua-muDU returning to Durum from Gaeš.[421] Inana received a sacrifice on the road or, perhaps, on campaign.[422]

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[417] M. E. Cohen (1993), pp. 163-164.

[418] Jacobsen, Unity and Diversity, p. 85 fn. 17, cited by M. E. Cohen (1993), p. 164.

[419] Nisaba 24 11, no date, Umma: a section of this twelve month account lists expenditures per month for Nin-Zabalam, which include one set to the Temple of Enlil and another to the Temple of Šara for the god going out to the early grass (dingir u_2-sag-$še_3$ e_3-a), a third for the god going out to the sheep field (dingir gan_2 udu-$še_3$ e_3-a), a fourth when the god went to the first fruits quay (dingir kar-nesag-$še_3$ gen-na), and a final set when the god went to Zabalam (dingir $Zabalam_3^{ki}$-$še_3$ gen-na).

[420] STA 08, AS05-10-00, Girsu: alan-lugal šu-numun-$še_3$ gen-na. . . iti Šu-numun. The tablet is an account of several months' activities.

[421] SAT 2 0956, Š42-05-00, Umma: Gula to Nippur; UTI 3 1843, ŠS04-03-00, Umma: Gula to and from Nippur; AUCT 2 279, Š42-04-00, Trouvaille 80, Š43-03-24, both Puzriš-Dagan: Nintinuga from Isin; PTS 1389, ŠS01-04-10, Puzriš-Dagan: Nintinuga from Nippur to Isin; PDT 1 528, ŠS06-04-10, Puzriš-Dagan: Nintinuga to Isin; MVN 10 225, ŠS07-04-23, Puzriš-Dagan: Nintinuga from Isin; SNSAP 071 DC 82.45, Š47-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan; lustration (a-tu_5-a) of ^{d}Lugal-Gu_2-du_8-a^{ki} Gu_2-du_8-a^{ki}-$še_3$; OIP 121 041, AS03-09-10, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Lugal-Gu_2-du_8-a Gu_2-du_8-a^{ki}; NYPL 203, ŠS02-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan: regular offering (sa_2-dug_4) to Lugal-Gu_2-du_8-a Gu_2-du_8-a-$še_3$ received by the governor ($ensi_2$) of Gu_2-du_8-a^{ki}; OrSP 47-49 344, AS05-12-00, Umma; CuCa p. 074,

2.1.2 Cult Statues at External Rituals

Offerings to gods at other outdoor settings were not uncommon. One finds sacrifices to Malkum and to Enlil and Ninlil in a field, and to Inana, Inana and Nanaa, Belat-suhnir and Belat-terraban, Nanna, Utu, Dagan and Išhara, and Dagan, Išhara, Inana, and Nin-nigar in an orchard.[423] Further offerings might occur in smaller structures outside of the temples, like cattle-pens (Suen, Nanna, Armed-Inana), breeding barns (Inana, Nanna), a hostelry-cum-stable (statue of the king), workshops (Enki, Damgalnuna, Asarluhi, Ur-sag-7), an ostrich house (Ninhursag), and gates (Ninhursag, Gilgameš).[424] A kid was offered to Nanaa at the intake of the royal canal, and a throne

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109 YBC 16661, ŠS04-07-27, Puzriš-Dagan: Utu and Suen to cattle pen (e_2-tur_3); ASJ 04 140 01, ŠSXX-00-13, Puzriš-Dagan; ^{d}Al-la-tum ud Zi-mu-dar^{k}-ta i_3-im-gen-na-a; BPOA 6 0111, IS02-10-11, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}Nin-uru-a-mu-DU BAD_3^{ki}-$še_3$ from Gaeš^{ki}.

422 Aegyptus 10, 272 31, AS01-10-21, Puzriš-Dagan: $siskur_2$ ^{d}Inana $šag_4$ kaskal-la.

423 SAT 2 0316, Š43-01-09, Puzriš-Dagan: Malkum in the field (a-$šag_4$) of Igitum; TRU 324, AS08-03-14, Puzriš-Dagan: Enlil and Ninlil in the field of Amar-Suen-farmer-of-Enlil (^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-engar-^{d}En-lil_2-la_2) in Nippur;

PDT 1 459, Š34-10-00; AUCT 1 960, Š45-11-07; BCT 1 070, Š47-12-01; BPOA 7 2897, ŠS07-06-08, all Puzriš-Dagan: Inana in the orchard (^{giš}$kiri_6$); PDT 2 0980, Š35-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Belat-suhnir and Belat-suhnir in the orchard; MVN 10 169, Š44-01-00; YOS 18 012, both Puzriš-Dagan: black sheep to Nanna in the orchard; Hilgert, www.ripon.edu 1, ŠS-no date, Puzriš-Dagan: Nanna in the orchard; CST 203, Š48-08-04, Puzriš-Dagan: Utu in the orchard; MVN 13 139, AS08-02-07, Puzriš-Dagan: Utu in the orchard of the House of the Quarter Moon (e_2-ud-7); BIN 5 029, ŠS04-01-18, Puzriš-Dagan: Dagan and Išhara in the orchard; MVN 05 125, ŠS04-03-04, Puzriš-Dagan: Dagan, Išhara, Inana and Nin-nigar in the orchard; Nisaba 08 378, IS02-11-03, Puzriš-Dagan: Inana and Nanaa in the orchard.

424 Princeton 2 008, ŠS01-01-29; BPOA 6 0090, ŠS01-05-06, both Puzriš-Dagan: Suen in the cattle-pen (e_2-tur_3) in Nippur; BIN 3 571; PDT 1 164, ŠS08-02-23; CST 446, ŠS08-07-18; Hilgert, www. ripon.edu 1, ŠS-no date; CT 32 41 BM 103407, IS01-13-04, all Puzriš-Dagan: Nanna in the cattle-pen; Princeton 2 002, ŠS05-01-00; MVN 13 128, IS02-10-25, both Puzriš-Dagan: Nanna in the cattle-pen in the king's presence; AUCT 3 413, ŠS09-11-15; SAT 3 1882, ŠS09-11-20, both Puzriš-Dagan: Nanna in the cattle-pen in Nippur; Seri, CDLJ 2007:1 26, ŠS07-02-24, Puzriš-Dagan: the statue called "Armed Inana" (^{d}Inana ^{giš}tukul) in the cattle-pen;

JEOL 26 51 10, Š47-10-15, Puzriš-Dagan: a beer libation (kaš-de_2-a) for Inana in the breeding barn (na-kab-tum);

UTI 6 3650, AS09-11-00, Umma: an offering ($siskur_2$) of sheep to the king's statue (alan-lugal), sent to the hostelry-cum-stable (zi-gu_5-um-$še_3$);

MVN 05 123, ŠS01-09-22, Puzriš-Dagan: Nanna in the breeding barn; MVN 03 344, AS03-09-16; AUCT 1 647, IS-2-11-20, both Puzriš-Dagan: Enki in the workshop (giš-kin-ti); SAT 3 1882, ŠS09-11-20, Puzriš-Dagan: Enki, Damgalnuna, Asarluhi and the divine 7-headed dog (^{d}Ur-sag-7) in the workshop; PDT 2 1056, ISXX-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Enki in the workshop, Ninhursag in the ostrich-

dais of Ninhursag is attested on the bank of a canal, presumably to be filled by a statue of that deity preparatory to some rite or festival.[425] A sacrifice at the edge of the draining ditch to the god Utu during funerary rituals for Šu-Suen in Ur was probably to one of his effigies.[426] A statue of the deified Gilgameš received oil for anointing at the Gate of the Approach in Umma.[427] It's not clear, however, whether every instance just cited involved cult statues that were normally housed in temples but temporarily moved outdoors, or whether these sites had their own particular statues permanently installed.

For a few references to gods outside of a temple setting, it is impossible to tell not only the method of transportation used, but also even to be certain that a statue of the deity named was present. The wailing ritual called geranum, identified with various female gods (Annunitum and Ulmašitum, Belat-suhnir and Belat-terraban, and Inana), is recorded in the reign of Šulgi as having been performed outdoors at portals, such as the gate of Geštinana and a gate named A-us, and in the orchard of the House of the First Quarter Moon.[428] Another geranum of Inana and one of Belat-suhnir were celebrated in the orchard of the House of the Full Moon.[429] A geranum of ^{d}Inana-da-bad in Ur suggests, by its name, that it was carried out at the side of the city wall.[430]

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house (e_2-ga-nu_{11} ^{mušen}), and Ninhursag at the gate of a canal (ka_2 id-da); MVAG 21 22 FH 5, AS01-00-00, Umma: ^{d}Bil_3-[ga-mes] at the gate of the approach (ka_2-sir_2-ra).

[425] CT 32 41 BM 103407, IS 01-13-04, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}Na-na-a ka id_2-lugal-ka-$še_3$; SAT 2 1081, AS08-03-19, Puzriš-Dagan: barag ^{d}Nin-hur-sag gu_2 id_2-da NE.KU.KU.

[426] Studies Levine 132-138, ŠS09-xx-29, Puzriš-Dagan: a goat ^{d}Utu gu_2 sur_3-ra. . . giš-a-nag gidim ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen ba-ak, in Ur.

[427] MVAG 21 22 FH 5, AS01-00-00, Umma: ^{d}Bil_3-[ga-mes] ka_2-sir_2-ra.

[428] OIP 115 128, Š32-04-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Annunitum and Ulmašitum at the gate (ka_2) of Geštinana; SAT 2 0047, Š32-09-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Belat-suhnir and Belat-terraban at the gate of Geštinana; OIP 115 031, Š37-01-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Inana at the ka_2 A_2-us_2; BPOA 6 0061, Š37-02-00, Puzriš-Dagan: ge-ra-num_2 ^{d}Inana ge-ra-num_2 ^{d}Be-lat-suh-nir in ^{giš}$kiri_6$ e_2-ud-7.

[429] BPOA 6 0061, Š37-02-00, Puzriš-Dagan: $šag_4$ ^{giš}$kiri_6$ e_2-ud-15.

[430] PDT 2 1017, Š33-05-00; AnOr 07 053, Š33-09-00; AnOr 07 057, Š36-01-00; AnOr 07 060, Š36-09-02, all Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}Inana-da-bad_3-da in Ur.

In some cases the initial movement of a cult statue, by itself, triggered its own ritual. In Girsu, a special statue named "Bau Brought Forth" participated in a ritual of the same name, which involved drinking, eating, and, given the presence at least once of a gala, music.[431] A similarly named statue, "Gula Brought Forth", in the province of Umma was apparently set in a boat after her emergence from the temple E-mah.[432] In AS01 animals were set aside in Nippur for the festival in the shrine of the bringing forth or emergence of what must have been a statue of Šulgi.[433] During the Akiti festival in Ur, sacrifices were offered to Belat-suhnir and Belat-terraban "when the boat came forth", presumably the boat transporting them to the Akiti House in Gaeš.[434] The re-entry of deities to their temples from outdoor sites might also be honored with its own ritual sacrifice, called "The Entering" (erubatum). It is attested for Ulmašitum and Annunitum in Ur, and Dagan and Išhara, possibly in the Nippur area.[435] In the case of the former, this ritual was often appended with

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[431] CT 10 20 BM 014308, Š48-12-00, Girsu: numerous types of flour, groats, pulse, aromatics and beer when the ereš-dingir priestess performed "Bau Brought Forth" (ereš-dingir-e ^{d}Ba-u$_2$-e$_3$-a); MVN 12 322, AS01-01-00, Girsu: broken text involving brewers (lu$_2$-šim-ke$_4$-ne) of the "Bau Brought Forth" of the ereš-dingir; ASJ 09 325, AS01-09-00, Girsu: hired potters (a$_2$-hug-ga$_2$ bahar$_2$) to make items for the ereš-dingir performing "Bau Brought Forth; TCTI 2 03336, AS08-11-00, Girsu: beer and flour to Dada the chief gala (gala-mah) when he went to bring forth "Bau Brought Forth" (^{d}Ba-u$_2$-e$_3$-<a> e$_3$-de$_3$ gen-na); MVN 05 219, IS01-08-00, Girsu: 47.1.2 gur of grain for bread (ninda) for "Bau Brought Forth"; TCTI 2 02700, IS01-00-00, Girsu: 36.0.0 gur of groats for the "Bau Brought Forth" of the wife (dam) of the sukkal-mah; BPOA 1 0011, IS02-10-00, Girsu: 15.0.0 gur of bitumen to "Bau Brought Forth" in the E$_2$-mah; MVN 15 172, nd-Girsu: garments for two sons of the governor (ensi$_2$), termed provisions for "Bau Brought Forth" (igi-kar$_2$ ^{d}Ba-u$_2$-e$_3$-a).

Note also the eight Girsu tablets dating to ŠS03, with no month but covering the third through the twenty-fifth day, involving the assignment of men of the boatyard (lu$_2$-mar-sa-me) to perform tasks like crushing malt and carrying wood for the "Bau Brought Forth" of the wife of the sukkal-mah, i.e. TCTI 1 01028, ŠS03-00-03, Girsu to WMAH 133, ŠS03-00-25, Girsu.

[432] MVN 16 0942, ŠS03-00-00, Umma: goats to three men called goats for ^{d}Gu-la-e$_3$-a; Nisaba 24 24, ŠS08-00-00, Umma: goats place in a barge (ma$_2$-gur$_8$ra) and goats for ^{d}Gu-la-e$_3$-a.

[433] Rochester 029, AS01-10-27, Puzriš-Dagan: six sheep and goats on the twenty-sixth, and six on the twenty-seventh, items of the festival in the shrine of the bringing forth of Šulgi (nig$_2$-ezem-ma eš$_3$-e$_3$ ^{d}Šul-gi-ra), in Nippur.

[434] OIP 115 130, Š35-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep to Belat-suhnir and Belat-terrban ud ma$_2$ e$_3$-a. See also NYPL 048, Š46-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: a ewe and a goat (in) the Temple of Belat-suhnir "when she went in the boat of/to Nanna Akiti" (ma$_2$ ^{d}Nanna A$_2$-ki-ti du-a-ni).

[435] CST 041, Š36-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep for Ulmašitum, three as an offering (siskur$_2$) to Annunitum "day of the entering of the god entering/sleeping?" (ud e-ru-ba-tum dingir gu$_4$-gu$_4$-ka); AnOr 07 167, Š41-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep for Annunitum, one for Ulmašitum "on the day of entering" (ud e$_3$-ru-ba-tum-ka) in Ur;

or substituted by a reference to a god or gods "ku-ku".[436] M. E. Cohen has suggested that ku-ku might be a variant spelling of ku_4-ku_4, "to enter" and thus synonymous with erubatum, but I have not been able to find the substitution of "ku" for "ku_4" elsewhere in the Ur III administrative archives. Cohen had also noted an alternate explanation from P. Steinkeller, that this is rather the verb ku-(ku), "to sleep", that is, that the cult of these deities went into a period of dormancy upon their gods' return from external rituals.[437]

Additionally, those who conveyed a divine statue to its destination might be rewarded in some fashion. In AS07, En-namšita-Šulgirake-baguba, the en of Enki of Eridug after whose appointment Šulgi had named one of his regnal years (Š28), and a second en of Enki, possibly also a nugig-priestess, were presented with silver bracelets in Eridug on account of their having delivered a statue of the king, one imagines to Enki's temple there.[438] In ŠS06 the much humbler gift of soup and fish was provided to four royal envoys (lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal) when they went on either

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JCS 57 028 05, AS08-09-12, Puzriš-Dagan: six sheep for "the entering (into) the Temple of Dagan and Išhara" (e-ru-ba-tum e_2 ^{d}Da-gan u_3 ^{d}Iš-ha-ra); and duplicate JCS 46 030 A 4401, AS08-09-12, Puzriš-Dagan.

[436] OrSP 18 pl. 01 01, Š34-03-00, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Belat-suhnir and Belat-Terraban, an offering ($siskur_2$) to Nanna, an ox for the festival (ezem) dingir-ku-ku, sacrifices to the Place of Disappearance of Belat-suhnir and Belat-Terraban, and at the Dubla-mah, in Ur; AnOr 07 063, Š40-03-01, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices for the šeršerum ("chains") of Belat-suhnir and Belat-terraban and for Ulmašitum and Annunitum festival of the gods entering (ezem dingir-ku_4-ku_4), in Ur; TRU 273, Š40-07-07, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices for a wailing ritual (geranum) of Annunitum and Ulmašitum, for when the god ku_4-ku_4-da-ni, and a beer libation for Annunitum "when the god went to her temple" (dingir e_2-a-ni du-a-ni"; AUCT 1 312, AS02-04-01, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep to Annunitum and Ulmašitum, festival dingir-ku-ku-$še_3$, in Ur; PDT 2 1093, AS05-05-01, Puzriš-Dagan: an ox to Annunitum "when the dingir-ku-ku entered" (dingir ku-ku ku_4-ra"; BCT 1 091, AS09-05-30, Puzriš-Dagan: an ox to Annunitum for the festival of dingir-ku-ku brought into the temple (e_2-a ku_4-ra), in Ur; AUCT 2 082, ŠS01-03-30, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox each to Annunitum and Ulmašitum, festival ku-ku; MVN 08 133, ŠS02-05-28, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox "when the god ku-ku entered her temple" (dingir-ku-ku e_2-a-na ku_4-ra), in Ur; TCL 2 5552, ŠS03-03-02, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox each to Ulmašitum and Annunitum festival ku-ku-$še_3$, in Ur.

[437] Cohen (1993), p. 139.

[438] AUCT 1 948, AS07-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan: four har kug-babbar. . . en Eridug^{ki} mu-gi_4, one (to) En-nam-šita-^{d}Šul-gi-ra-ke_4-ba-gub en ^{d}En-ki Eridug^{ki} mu-alan-lugal in-de_6-ša-a-$še_3$ in-be_6-e-$eš_2$, [$Arad_2$-^{d}]Nanna sukkal-maškim, in Eridug. Mu-gi_4 may be another variant of the Emesal word for nugig, which is otherwise attested as mu-gi_{17}-ib and mu-gib_3. It is unlikely to be this woman's name as it follows her position, in a text where only one line below the name of the second en precedes *her* position.

a campaign or a journey by foot to the king, as well as to an unspecified number of slaves who accompanied them with a statue of the king.[439] Perhaps this text deals with the passage of a statue of Šu-Suen to one of the numerous foreign territories in which he is known to have established his cult. Another text specifies that the statue that one Ubar received provisions for accompanying was the statue of Šu-Suen on its way to Duhduhli.[440] Three undated Girsu tablets records provisions for traveling with a statue or statues, once to forty professional soldiers and their commander, and once to three craftsmen.[441]

Circumambulations in public space, possibly with an effigy of a deity in tow, were a feature of city life. They were frequently a part of ritual lamentation. In Uruk, offerings to the quintessential instrument of lamentation, the balag, were followed by a lament circling the gate of the residence of the en of Inana (the gipar), by a cultic activity called "the waving of the palm fronds" (zi-ga-ze$_2$-na), and a sacrifice to Nanaa at the Place of Disappearance.[442] In Nippur, lamenters circumambulated the temple of Allagula.[443] Girsu celebrated a rite wherein "the city was repeatedly circumabulated

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[439] CUSAS 3 1478, ŠS06-02-17, Urusagrig: to the royal envoys when they went on campaign/a journey by foot to the king (ud kaskal giri$_3$ lugal-še$_3$ im-e-re-ša-a), and to slaves (arad-me) when they went with them with a statue of the king (ud alan-lugal-ta im-da-e-re-ša-a).

[440] RTC 390, xx-11-10, Girsu: beer, flour, oil and sheep "when the statue of Šu-Suen went to Duhduhli" (alan Šu-^{d}Suen-ka Du$_{17}$-duh-hu-li$_2^{ki}$-še$_3$ gen-na), and the same for U-bar alan-da gen-na.

[441] CUSAS 16 262, xx-12-00, Girsu: beer and bread for in the city and on the road for forty aga$_2$-us$_2$, when ugula alan-da gen-na (and) aga$_3$-us$_2$ alan-da gen-na-me; RTC 395, xx-09-00, Girsu: beer and flour for three tibira alan-da gen-na-me; DAS 183, xx-09-23, Girsu: beer and bread for three tibira alan-da gen-na-me.

[442] AnOr 07 058, Š36-01-00, Puzriš-Dagan: offerings to ^{d}Nin-igi-zi-bar-ra, er$_2$ nigin$_2$-na ka gi$_6$-par$_4$-ra, siskur$_2$ ud zi-ga-ze-na-a, lamb nig$_2$-ki-zah$_3$ ^{d}Na-na-a, in Uruk. ^{d}Nin-igi-zi-bar-ra is a balag of Inana; note, Ibbi-Suen named his 21st year after the crafting of a balag for Inana called ^{d}Nin-igi-zi-bar-ra. See also CTNMC 09, Š37-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan, where the order of events was a sacrifice at the gate of the shrine (eš$_3$), a lament during circumambulation of the city, the waving of palm fronds, and sacrifices at the gate of the gipar and in the temple of Nanaa.

[443] JEOL 26 51 13, Š38-11-00, Puzriš-Dagan.

and a lamentation for Ningišzida filled the streets."[444] A similar ritual in Girsu called for the balag of the storm (balag ud-da) to circle the city.[445]

Another publically enacted ritual in Girsu had animals and other items required for the offering of "milk eating" (siskur$_2$ ga-gu$_7$-še$_3$) to be brought out to the city gates (abul) named the throne-dais (barag) of Utu, Bau, Nanše, and the palace. Sacrifices at this event were also made to some combination of the deities Ningišzida, Šulpae, and the deified ruler Gudea, and in one instance, to the shed of the barge of Ningišzida.[446]

2.1.3 Major Festivals and Annual Rituals

Administrative sources for the major festivals entailing the movement of gods' effigies by chariot or boat tend to provide more detail than those that mention the various processions and outdoor rituals outlined above. Perhaps the most documented festival of ancient Mesopotamia, the Akiti, occurred in multiple cities over several millennia. That of the city of Ur, which seems to have been its point of origination, may be construed as the quintessential festival of the Ur III regime.[447] There were two Akiti in Ur, differentiated as Akiti-šesagku, celebrated in the first month, and Akiti-

[444] ITT 3 04994, AS08-03-00, Girsu: er$_2$ sila si-ga ^{d}Nin-giš-zi-da uru nigin$_2$-nigin$_2$-na. See also TCTI 2 0391, AS08-03-00, Girsu; BPOA 2 1851, XX-02-00, Girsu; ITT 5 06918, XX-02-00, Girsu; and TCTI 1 00893, no date, Girsu. The aetiology of this event may be related in two literary works: for "In the Desert by the Early Grass", see the introduction by Th. Jacobsen (1987), pp. 56-60; for "Ningišzida's Boatride to Hades", see Th. Jacobsen and B. Alster (2000). Note the seal impression of one Ur-Alla, a boatman (ma$_2$-lah$_x$) of Ningišzida (MVN 06 190, Š40-00-00, Girsu).

[445] Amherst 065, XX-06-00, Girsu; HLC 2 023 (pl. 062), XX-12-00, Girsu.

[446] This ritual is attested from Š34-10-00 (MVN 07 014, Girsu) through IS02-12-00 (Zinbun 18 098 03, Girsu). For Ningišzida's boat, see ITT 5 06823, ŠS08-06-16, Girsu: sheep to abul barag ^{d}Utu, abul ^{d}Bau, abul e$_2$-gal, abul ^{d}Nanše, e$_2$-Unug^{ki}-še$_3$, ga$_2$ ma$_2$-gur$_8$-ra ^{d}Ningišzida, ^{d}Gudea, and Ur-Lamma the ensi, siskur$_2$ ga-gu$_7$-še$_3$.
On the ritual termed ga-gu$_7$, see Sallaberger (1993), vol. 1, pp. 299-300.

[447] Cohen (1993), pp. 400-453, presents detailed evidence for this festival from the Ur III through the Neo-Babylonian periods. See also his recapitulation of the Ur III data on pp. 140-144 and 150-153.

šunumun, in the seventh, with the latter being the more documented of the two.[448] Their occurrence in the equinoctial months and their focus on the moon-god Nanna, patron of Ur, led M. E. Cohen to surmise that the relative weight given to the Akiti-šunumun reflected its calendrical position as the start of the season when the hours of night (the moon-god Nanna) exceeded, or triumphed over, those of daylight (the sun-god Utu).[449] The Akiti-šunumun celebration, which lasted for at least the first eleven days of the month, entailed a variety of ritual actions in both the city of Ur and in the Akiti complex located at Gaeš/Karzida, a harbor outside the city walls. The main event was the triumphal re-entry of the city's patron deity, Nanna, into the city by boat from the Akiti House, to which his cult statue had earlier been dispatched, also by boat.[450] While in temporary residence at the Akiti complex, Nanna was visited by the statues of other deities that had also traveled by boat or chariot from their various home temples.[451]

The festive nature of these ostentatiously public doings is evident from the banquets, musical performances, and athletic competitions that took place then.[452] The presence and

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[448] The basic idea of the Akiti festival was adopted also at Nippur, where as Akiti-šunumun it was celebrated in the fourth and as Akiti-šekinkud in the twelfth; see Cohen (1993), pp. 98-100.
It is important to note that, before ŠS03, Akiti was month six in texts from Puzriš-Dagan, from which center a large number of the supplies for the Akiti festival in Ur were issued or tracked.

[449] Cohen (1996). Note, however, Rochberg's objection to this theory, in that "the nights do not become progressively longer from month VII to I, but rather from month IV to XII, i.e. between the solstices" (2009, p. 53, fn. 47).

[450] Cohen (1993), p. 409, suggests that the Boat of Heaven was "perhaps Nanna's transport from Gaeš", citing SET 59, AS03-01-03, Puzriš-Dagan, wherein sheep were sacrificed to the Boat of Heaven and Nanna in the Akiti complex in the king's presence.
See TRU 370, nd, Puzriš-Dagan: oxen to Nanna in the Akiti House, followed immediately by oxen to Nanna when his boat entered (Ur) from the Akiti House.

[451] NYPL 048, Š46-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: the temple of Belat-suhnir she came in the boat of Nanna Akiti; OIP 115, 130, Š35-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: a sacrifice to Belat-suhnir and Belat-Terraban when the boat came out (ud ma_2 e_3-a); BCT 1 068, Š47-07-05, Puzriš-Dagan: offerings in Ur to Inana and Nanaa in the Akiti House, and to Enlil, Ninlil, Nanna, Inana, Ninsun and Lugalbanda "on the road" ($šag_4$ kaskal-[la]).

[452] Nisaba 08 020, ISxx-07-08, Puzriš-Dagan: cooked meat for the "men of the special offerings" (lu_2-$maš_2$-[da]-ri-a-ke_4-ne) for a banquet during the Akiti-šunumun; UET 3 1641, XX-07-00, Ur: garments for female child singer-musicians (nar-munus-tur); UET 9 1050, IS05-07-00, oxen to the house of wrestling and athletics (e_2-$gešba_2^{ba}$ $lirum_3$) in the A_2-ki-ti [house] in Gaeš. The latter activities also took place during the first month Akiti festival in Ur: MVN 03 331, IS05-01-00, Ur: 51

participation of the king in a festival dedicated to the patron of the city in which his dynasty rose to power is only to be expected.[453] The foregrounding of the royal connection to the god of Ur was sharpened by other members of the royal family taking on a public role in rituals surrounding the Akiti.[454] The ideological centrality of this extended event to the claimed supremacy of the dynasty, and its luxurious playing-out on an annual basis was reflected in the attendance of resident and visiting foreign dignitaries at the Akiti, whose witnessing of royal pomp may have been mandatory before they were allowed to depart for their local villages or distant homelands.[455] One may note

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"supporting" garments (^{tug2}sag-us$_2$) as a ration (tug$_2$-ba) for wrestling and athletics (gešba$_2^{ba}$ lirum$_3$) disbursed in the courtyard of the Akiti house in Ur (kisal šag$_4$ A$_2$-ki-ti Uri$_5^{ki}$-ma).

[453] NYPL 048, Š46-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep, birds and a piglet to the king in Karzida, month Akiti; AnOr 07 084, Š47-06-22, Puzriš-Dagan: a goat for the king (lugal-ra) when he came from Karzida to Ur; OrSP 47-49 014, AS02-06-13, Puzriš-Dagan: the king traveled by boat from Nippur to Ur; MVN 08 221, AS04-07-05, Puzriš-Dagan: the king traveled by boat to Gaeš; BPOA 06-07-01, AS06-07-01, Puzriš-Dagan: festival offerings (nig$_2$-ezem-ma) for Nanna, the Holy Mound (du$_6$-ur$_3$), and the throne of An in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra); RA 101 39 06, AS08-07-01, Puzriš-Dagan: offering to Nanna in Ur in the king's presence; PDT 1 298, ŠS01-06-30, Puzriš-Dagan: a ritual called Ki-Suen and an offering to Nanna in the Akiti House in the king's presence; MVN 13 103, ŠS01-07-06, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Nanna in Ur in the king's presence; JCS 52 11 51, IS01-07-10, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Nanna in Gaeš in the king's presence; Nisaba 08 020, IS00-07-11, Puzriš-Dagan: the king went to Gaeš from Ur by boat on the 11th, and back from there on the 12th.

[454] PDT 1 610, ŠS07-07-04, Puzriš-Dagan: queen Abi-simti conveyed a sacrificial animal to Ur, for Ninkugnuna, a local variant of Inana, in the month of Akiti; Nisaba 08 020, IS00-07-29, Puzriš-Dagan: a beer libation, or drinking party (kaš [i$_3$-na]-de$_2$-a), by queen Geme-Enlila in Ur on the 9th; Ontario 1 164, IS01-07-20, Puzriš-Dagan: two animals for a Šulgi-simti when she went in the Boat of Heaven (ud ma$_2$-an-na i$_3$-gen-na-a) in Ur during the month Akiti. This woman cannot be Šulgi's consort, but may be a princess of the same name. For this, see two undated texts in which mašdaria donations for the Akiti festival were distributed in Ur to the king, the queen, and a Šulgi-simti (UET 9, 1004, XX-07-00, Ur; UET 9 1022, XX-07-00, Ur). The only parallels to these, in which similar Akiti-mašdaria were provided to the king and queen alone, occur during the reign of Ibbi-Suen (UET 3 0096, IS04-07-30; UET 3 0099, IS04-08-07; and UET 3 0100, IS04-08-12+, all Ur).

[455] Sharlach (2005).

For foreigners at the Akiti (where "man of" typically represents a local ruler or his envoy), see, among others, BCT 1 068, Š47-07-05, Puzriš-Dagan: a "man" of Šimanum and a "man" of Nineveh, disbursed in Ur; CTMMA 1 17, AS04-07-00, Puzriš-Dagan: animals, termed "from the Akiti-šunumun delivery", were distributed to a large number of foreigners, including Amorites (Mar-tu), Wedum, envoy of the ruler (ensi$_2$) of Makkan, Maza, the envoy of the "man" of Dariba, Šibaraq the "man" of Zidahri, Šedakuku the "man" of Mari, and Zinugi the "man" of Hibilati; Rochester 086, ŠS03-07-10, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to numerous gods and a sheep to Nimzi the envoy of Iabrat of Šimaški, in Ur.

For foreigners dispersing after attending the festival, see RSO 83 344 09, AS01-06-08, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep to the envoys of the ruler of Marhaši and of Hulibar of Duhduli, to their hamlets (e$_2$-duru$_5$-ne-ne-še$_3$). The latter word is the typical designation for enclaves of foreigners in Sumer.

the perhaps intended parallel of the visiting statues of gods paying homage to Nanna to the visiting foreign dignitaries via-à-vis the king of Ur. Indeed, the pageantry on one occasion included the public display of submission to the god-king of Ur by a foreign envoy with a Hurrian name.[456] The role of this festival in fostering a sense of national identity may be inferred from the assignment there of workers from provinces outside of Ur.[457]

While such detail has not been preserved concerning other annual festivals, the mid-year Akiti festival at Ur would appear to be the model for all other major ones, for which the manipulation of cult statues as well as the presence of the king and often other high-status figures can still usually be detected. The festival of the Boat of Heaven, originating in Uruk, the "second city" of the realm, and celebrated in both the seventh and eleventh months of the year, is one such.[458] The name of the cultic boat, ma_2-an-na, is ambiguous, relating the item to either the god An or the sky (an). The cult of the former in Uruk had long been conjoined with that of Inana, "sharing the same sacred spaces and partaking in the same set of offerings".[459] By the Ur III period, beyond his co-identity with Inana of Uruk and his rather spotty appearances in myths, An was almost invisible in cult,

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[456] SAT 2 1075, AS08-07-07, Puzriš-Dagan: It-hi-pa_2-tal lu_2 HI-bi-la-a-at^{ki} "when he took the oath of loyalty" (ud nam-$erim_2$ in-kud-da), in Ur.

[457] SAT 1 026, AS08-05-00, Girsu: provision of grain rations from Girsu to workers assigned to various shrines in Gaeš as corvée ($eren_2$ $eš_3$-didle bala tuš-a. . . $šag_4$ Ga-eš^{ki}).
Goods from other areas were also directed to Gaeš, e.g. over 5,000 meters^2 of bricks for construction in Gaeš which were advanced by the governor of Umma to the rulers ($ensi_2$) of Adab, Marad, and Kazallu, and the administrators (šabra) of An, Ningublaga, Enki and NinamuDU (RA 12 164, AS04-00-00, Umma). See also potters in Umma making forty-nine jugs to be sent to Gaeš (WO 6 25 001, AS04-00-00, Umma), and the governor of Umma supplying 6 doors, 225 rafters, forty÷ lintels, and 13,263 reed mats for the gipar at Gaeš (SNAT 534, nd, Umma). See Steinkeller (forthcoming f), pp. 53-61, for details on these and similar texts, as well as on the importance of Gaeš in relation to the Akiti festival and the nature of the work there as a national building project.

[458] The first city, Ur, had served as the base for this dynasty's political power. It seems as if the dynasty's founder had links to the contemporary rulers of Uruk, a city of stature due to its antiquity, size, former hegemony, divine patron Inana, and legendary rulers Lugalbanda and Gilgameš. Uruk was also the first major addition to the Ur III realm outside of their home area. Nippur, the "third city", was the home of Enlil, head of the Sumerian pantheon and approver of kingship, as discussed in the previous chapter. The importance of these three cities to the Ur III kings can be seen in their coronation rituals, as well as in the resources they poured into them.

[459] Steinkeller (2013), p. 468, fn. 43.

having only a barely mentioned temple in Girsu and one other, appearing very late in the records, in Ur.[460] Due perhaps to An's apparently otiose nature at this time, most translators have chosen to interpret the "an" of the cultic boat's name as the location and not the god. It is notable, however, that the word selected is more likely to be "heaven", its nuances sacralizing the space, rather than the more neutral "sky".

The Boat of Heaven received offerings as early as Š32, first occurring as the name of a festival in Š41.[461] This festival took place in both Uruk and Ur, and gave its name to a month.[462] M. Cohen has suggested that its aetiology may be found in the myth "Inana and Enki", wherein Inana successfully stole the *me* from Enki in Eridug and returned with them in the Boat of Heaven to Uruk.[463] Though this text is broken in places, one can see that Inana called for the docking of her boat at Uruk to be followed by its procession through the streets, copious sacrifice and beer libations to be carried out by the king personally, and music.[464] P. Steinkeller, however, would connect this festival with the periodic disappearance of the planet Venus from the sky, as symbolized in the narrative of Inana's descent to the Netherworld, in relation to which he interprets

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[460] Temple of An (e_2-an-na): MVN 22 145, Š36-11d-00, Girsu; ASJ 20 1016 6, Š48-11-10, Girsu; MVN 22 177, nd, Girsu; UET 3 1056, IS21-05-00, Ur;
Gudug of the Temple of An: MVN 17 059, nd, Girsu;
Išib of An: AuOr 17-18 220 09, nd, Girsu.

[461] Sacrifice (siskur$_2$) to the Boat of Heaven: AnOr 07 052, Š32-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan. This text does not give the location of the ritual; however, the very next mention (TCS 251, Š33-07-00, Puzriš-Dagan) refers to a similar sacrifice in Uruk.
Month of the Festival of the Boat of Heaven (ezem-ma$_2$-an-na): OIP 115 065, Š41-10-11, Puzriš-Dagan. M Cohen (1993) pp. 217-218, surmised that the rituals related in this text most likely took place in Uruk, due to the recipients of the offerings.

[462] In Uruk and in the Puzriš-Dagan calendar, month ten and, after ŠS03, month eleven; in Ur month eleven. Its name occurs as month of the Festival of the Boat of Heaven (iti ezem ma$_2$-an-na), month of the Festival of Heaven (iti ezem-an-na), and month of Heaven (iti an-na).

[463] Cohen (1993), pp. 216-217.

[464] "Inana and Enki". lns. 224-256, with numerous lines missing.

the Boat of Heaven as the means of Inana-Venus's transport during her recurrent cycling from a state of invisibility to one of visibility and back.[465]

Several Ur III tablets record offerings during this festival, though none adhere to the details that survive in the myth "Inana and Enki". The fullest accounting relates sacrifices occurring for the Festival of the Boat of Heaven in Uruk over the course of five days: a Great Offering to Inana, pre-dawn and evening offerings to the same while her statue was actually in the Boat of Heaven, and further offerings to Inana as well as to Ninsun "in the city".[466] Others show the enactment of a wailing ceremony (geranum), and use of the boat itself to convey pomegranates.[467]

Offerings to the Boat of Heaven were not restricted to the time of its festival, and are recorded throughout the year. The boat had multiple functions, being utilized in the first month Akiti festival as well as, apparently, the funerary rites of the deified kings, where its role as the means of both Inana's escape from the Netherworld and her ascent, as the planet Venus, to the heavens allowed it to also serve as the means for the deceased king's catasterism.[468] The co-occurrence of offerings to the boat and to Nanaa, Inana's avatar as morning star, doubtless relates to the latter function.[469] As remarked in the previous chapter, there was a notable connection between the Boat

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[465] Steinkeller (2013), pp. 470-472.

[466] SET 083, ŠS09-11-26, Puzriš-Dagan.

[467] Ge-ra-num$_2$: Nisaba 08 045, Š46-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan;
^{giš}nu-ur$_2$-ma gir$_3$ ma$_2$-an-na: AnOr 07 158, Š44-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan.

[468] SET 059, AS03-01-03, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to the Boat of Heaven and Nanna in the king's presence, in the Akiti House; for the connection of this boat with Šu-Suen's funeral and its symbolism see Steinkeller (2013), pp. 467-469.

[469] AnOr 07 062, Š37-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to the Boat of Heaven, in the Temple of Nanaa and the Shrine of the Nighttime (eš$_3$ gi$_6$-zal), at the Place of Disappearance in the Temple of Nanaa, and at or for the new moon, in Uruk; TRU 275, Š41-07-26, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Inana and in the Temple of Nanaa and the Shrine of the Nighttime in Uruk, as well as to the Boat of Heaven and for a geranum of Inana, and animals to two, possibly royal women, Libur-simti and Eštar-ummi, in Esagdana, i.e. Puzriš-Dagan; Torino 1 189, Š44-06-25, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to the Boat of Heaven, the Shrine of Nighttime, and Nanaa; SumRecDreh. 12, Š47-11-25, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices for a geranum of Inana, to Inana and Nanaa, in the palace ^{d}Igi-kur, and for the hired hands of the Boat of Heaven, in Uruk.

of Heaven and elite women, in particular royals: Šulgi's mother SI.A-tum and his consort Geme-Ninlila, the princesses Šelebutum and Šulgi-simti, and the wife of the sukkal-mah.[470] This may be due, at least in part, to the status of Uruk, home port of the Boat of Heaven, as the "city of queens", with a palace of the queen located there.[471]

In relation to the "third city" of the Ur III polity, Nippur, several important festivals may be noted, one of which was initiated in the Ur III period. As mentioned in the last chapter, Šulgi had a ceremonial barge constructed for Ninlil in order to transport her statue from the E-kur in Nippur to her temple in Tummal and back again, an act that he commemorated in both a regnal year name and a hymn.[472] Administrative records show that this trip became a regular annual festival, occurring in the eighth month, at which time the cult statues of Ninlil, her spouse Enlil, and Nippur's traditional patron Ninurta traveled in her barge down the canal to Tummal, where they were joined by the statues of other deities.[473] Although the presence of the king at the Tummal end of the

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[470] AnOr 07 052, Š32-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan; and PDT 1 459, Š34-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan: SI.A-tum. Note in the earlier text the presence also of the same two women, Libur-simti and Eštar-ummi, who occur in another text mentioning the Boat of Heaven, TRU 275, referenced in fn. 54.
JCS 31 174 F, Š43-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Geme-Ninlila, disbursed in Uruk;
ZA 80 32, AS04-07-22, Puzriš-Dagan: Šelebutum the princess (dumu-munus-lugal);
Ontario 1 164, IS01-07-20, Puzriš-Dagan: Šulgi-simti, disbursed in Ur;
CST 043, Š35-11-00, Puzriš-Dagan: the wife (dam) of the sukkal-mah.

[471] Vacin (2011), p. 15.

[472] Tummal was approximately 20 km (12 miles) from Nippur.

[473] See Steinkeller (forthcoming f), p. 23, who characterizes this as "one of the most important cultic observanes in Ur III times".
Sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil in Tummal: AUCT 1 686, Š42-08-22; OLP 04 14-70 no, 30, Š47-08-04; CST 181, Š47-08-09; Ebla 1975-1985 287 D, Š47-08-28; JCS 52 08 12, AS01-08-04; SNSAP 057 DC 95.45, AS01-08-10; OIP 121 006, AS02-08-03; SmithCS 38 15, AS02-0-09; OIP 121 040, AS03-08-06; PPAC 4 062, AS04-08-04; Hirose 162, AS04-08-06; CUT CUA 117; MVN 15 244, AS07-08-20, all Puzriš-Dagan;
Sacrifices to Ninlil and [X] in Tummal: UCP 9-2-1 079, Š47-08-01, Puzriš-Dagan;
Sacrifices to Ninlil and Suen in Tummal: OIP 115 441, Š47-08-05, Puzriš-Dagan;
Sacrifices to Enlil, Ninil and Nanna in Tummal: ZA 72 241 n. 16, Š48-08-00, Puzriš-Dagan; ZA 80 28, AS05-08-03; JOAS 108 120 Kelsey 89210, AS05-08-12; MVN 20 028, AS07-08-05; PDT 2 1170, AS07-08-07; ASJ 04 067 14, AS07-08-14; HUCA 29 077 06, AS07-08-16; JCS 39 122 06, AS07-08-23; OIP 121 472, AS07-08-25,
Sacrifices to Enlil, Ninlil, and a cult servitor called the lumah (lu_2-mah) of Inana of Girsu, in Tummal: MVN 01 124, AS01-08-17, Puzriš-Dagan;

procession is not noted until later in Amar-Suen's reign, one might deduce that earlier, Šulgi at least participated in person, as his hymn relating the creation of this barge also tells of his establishment of its festival and attendant rituals, along with his active role in the proceedings.[474] These rituals called for, first, a lustration of unnamed deities in Nippur, after which statues of Ninlil and Enlil were displaced to her barge, with a statue of Ninurta set in the prow.[475] On landing at Tummal, they were greeted by the "ancestors" (ama? a-a) of Enlil and the god An, and all were seated at a banquet, with Šulgi himself serving.[476] After a day and night of feasting, they would decree a fate for the king, and at dawn the barge returned the gods to Nippur.[477] The deities Nanna, Utu, and Enki are also mentioned in the body of the hymn.[478] The details of the corresponding administrative records, while focused on the activities at the Tummal end, do not contradict Šulgi's narrative, referring as they do to Ninlil, Enlil, Nanna-Suen, Ninurta, and Enmešara, the last of whom may represent the "ancestor" of Enlil of Šulgi's hymn.[479] One should note also the presence of foreign dignitaries, generals, and associates of the royal family in Tummal during the period when, as a multitude of

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Sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil, the House of the Returned? Harp (e_2-balag-gi_4) of the Holy Mound, and Enmešara, in Tummal: PDT 1 545, ŠS07-08-13, Puzriš-Dagan.

Sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil in Tummal, in the king's presence: CUCT 117, AS07-08-20; PDT 2 1264, AS08-08-19; CT 32 23 BM 104458, AS08-08-21; TCS 143, AS09-08-10; SumRecDreh 29, ŠS07-08-01, all Puzriš-Dagan;

Sacrifices to Enlil, Ninlil, and Nanna in Tummal, in the king's presence: SACT 1 160, AS07-08-01; SumRecDreh 17, AS07-08-02; MVN 15 244, AS07-08-20; PDT 1 489, AS08-08-07, all Puzriš-Dagan;

Sacrifices to Enlil, Ninlil, Nanna and Ninurta in Tummal, in the king's presence: OIP 121 475, AS08-08-16, Puzriš-Dagan.

Sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil in Tummal, and to Enlil and Ninlil when the boat of Ninlil entered from Tummal into Nippur (ma_2 ^{d}Nin-lil_2-la_2 Tum-ma-al^{ki}-ta ku_4-ra $šag_4$ Nibru^{ki}), in the king's presence: JCS 57 027 03, AS09-09-03, Puzriš-Dagan.

[474] Šulgi R, lns. 41-42.

[475] Šulgi R, lns. 43-47, 51.

[476] Šulgi R, lns. 65-67.

[477] Šulgi R, lns. 68-71, 81.

[478] Šulgi R, lns. 37, 77, 88: Nanna; lns. 38, 71: Utu; ln 76, 87: Enki.

[479] Per Jacobsen (1975), p. 72: "he [Enmešara] is an underworld deity and a remote ancestor of Enlil".

other records show, this ritual was underway.[480] On one occasion, after sacrifices to Enlil, Ninlil and Nanna had been performed, the gala priest and musician Dada received sheep when the king circumambulated the cattle breeding pen (nakabtum) in Tummal, though whether the animals were required for that ritual or they constituted a payment to Dada is unclear.[481] It seems plausible that the hymn Šulgi had composed about the construction of Ninlil's boat and its attendant rituals was performed at some point during the event, even if not in the exact wording of later preserved copies.

Indeed, the narratives of a fair proportion of what have been classified as Sumerian "literary" texts appear to have had counterparts in actual festivals, for which one might surmise they had originally been composed. Songs, hymns and descriptions concerning a king and/or god and a plow, such as the "Song of the Plow", the "Disputation between the Hoe and the Plow", and the royal hymns "Išme-Dagan and Enlil's Chariot" and "Lipit-Eštar and the Plow", correlate with and supplement what is known from elsewhere about a second major Nippur festival, Gudsisu, occurring annually in the second month of the year.[482] The primary actor was the traditional patron of Nippur, the agricultural god Ninurta, also known as "King Gudsisu" (Lugal-gudsisu), a title also applied to one of that city's gates. The action symbolized the start of the agricultural year and, from the texts cited above, involved the removal of a ritual plow from Ninurta's temple, most likely through the Gudsisu gate, with its transportation to a preselected field, presumably by means of the Boat of

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[480] SA 026 (Pl. 030), AS06-08-05, Puzriš-Dagan: Marhuni the "man" of Harši and Ithapatal the "man" of Hipilati, in Tummal; OIP 121 470, AS06-08-26, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil in Tummal, on behalf of a nursemaid of the princess ME-Ištaran. This woman's name is broken but is probably [Ku]-ba-tum, a known nurse of this princess and later a lukur and queen of king Šu-Suen. A second transaction on this same tablet went to the generals when they sat down for a banquet (mu šagina gišbun$_x$ tuš-ša-ne-še$_3$), and a third to Marhuni of Harši, Itabatal of Hibilat, and Ili-Dagan the "man" of Ebla, all in Tummal.
Note also the next year (SACT 1 160, AS07-08-01, Puzriš-Dagan), when sacrifices to Enlil, Ninlil and Nanna, made in the king's presence, were followed by the gift of a sheep and a goat to Dungat the "man" of Zidahri, all in Tummal.

[481] PDT 2 1170, AS07-08-07, Puzriš-Dagan: ud lugal na-kab-tum mu-nigin$_2$-na-a, in Tummal.

[482] For this festival see Cohen (1993), pp. 83-92. For the "Song of the Plow" see Civil (1987), for "Išme-Dagan and Enlil's Chariot" Civil (1976). Both Išme-Dagan and Lipit-Eštar ruled in Isin during the period immediately following the Ur III. However, they closely modeled themselves and their self-presentation on the Ur III kings. Thus, while every detail of the rituals they describe may not correspond exactly to the earlier practice, it is unlikely to have been far off.

Gudsisu.[483] A lustrated statue of Ninurta and possibly those of other deities accompanied the plow.[484] A synopsis of the literary texts presents a picture of various gods, including the divine king, selecting the proper oxen to yoke and then ceremonially furrowing a section of field, thereby blessing the upcoming year's eventual harvest. The presence of persons or items worthy of seats of honor (e.g. statues of gods) and music during the ritual is also mentioned.[485]

The literary composition "Nanna-Suen's Journey to Nippur" provides the aetiology of a ritual involving the first fruits boat (ma_2-nesag) of Nanna. According to the story, Nanna decided to construct a boat in order to bring first fruits offerings, which consisted not of fruit but of animals, eggs and reeds, from Ur to his father Enlil in Nippur. Nanna, who piloted the boat, stopped along the way in the cities of Enegi, Larsa, Uruk, Šuruppag, and Tummal, where the local deities tried to con him out of the cargo, before successfully docking at Enlil's E-kur. In the Ur III period a Boat of First Fruits is attested in texts from Puzriš-Dagan and Umma. From the former, a tablet with a Šulgi date records offerings from the ma_2-nesag disbursed to Enlil, Ninlil, the Holy Mound (du_6-kug), Suen, and Nintinuga.[486] First fruits offerings belonging to Inana's temple in Nippur were offered to a number of deities, including Šulgi.[487] Another, broken tablet from the reign Šu-^{d}Suen shows that animals that had been sacrificed to Nintinuga in the temple of Ninlil, to Nanna in the cattle-pen (e_2-tur_3), and to Suen in the city ($šag_4$ uru) had been conveyed to Nippur by the first fruits boat.[488] It

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[483] This boat is attested not in a literary, but in an Ur III administrative document: BBVO 11 288 6N-T479, XX-02-00, Nippur.

[484] Ibid., beer and grain offerings to the "march" (danna) of Ninurta, immediately followed by the same as provisions (igi-kar_2) for the boat (ma_2 Gud-si-su). For the lustration (a-tu_5-a) of Ninurta, in the king's presence: NYPL 348, Š46-02-22, Puzriš-Dagan.

[485] Disputation between the Hoe and the Plow, lns 28, 31: $^{kuš}ub_3$ $^{kuš}a_2$-la_2-e $šeg_{11}$ ši-im-ma-gi_4-gi_4. . . barag-barag gal-gal zag-mu-ta im-da-sug_2-sug_2-ge-eš ("the ub-drum and kettledrum resound. . all the greatest seats of honor are present at my side").

[486] OIP 115, 391, Š45-12-07, Puzriš-Dagan.

[487] ZA 101 34 6 NT 089, Š30-00-00, Nippur: first fruits offerings (nindaba$_2$-nesag) of Inana (^{d}Inana-kam) to Inana, Ninurta, Nusku, and Šulgi.

[488] Rochester 079, ŠSXX-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan.

was apparently towed from a quay of Nippur into the E-kur by oxen.[489] A ma_2-nesag once brought offerings into the E-kur from Umma, but it is unclear whether this was the first fruits boat of Nanna or a different one housed in that province.[490] However, a festival of the first fruits in Umma, during which a statue of Šulgi and its likely means of conveyance, a boat of Šara, were anointed with oil on going to KI.AN, suggests that the original nesag of Ur had been adopted and modified.[491] Umma texts also record the involvement of a first fruits boat and a chariot, along with the accumulation of different types of incense (šim) and ibex horns for lustrations of divine statues in their version of this festival.[492] Local lukur-priestesses and singers participated, and a courtyard for wrestling was purified.[493] According to a reconstruction of the sequence of the Umma festival by M. E. Cohen, offerings were made at various cult places, especially those associated with water, and lustrations were performed in the temple in the king's presence, after which chariots conveyed a cult statue of the king to a barge of Šara, which then made the trip to KI.AN and back.[494] This double procession, by both chariot and barge, with the divine figure of the king prominent, must have attracted an audience. Indeed, the copious amount of fish alone that was collected for the festival points to a large public banquet.[495]

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[489] YOS 04 094, Š47-01-00, Puzriš-Dagan: fodder for oxen ($šag_4$-gal gud) bringing the boat of the first fruits into the temple of Enlil (ma_2-nesag e_2-^{d}En-lil_2-la_2-$še_3$ ku_4-ra).

[490] JCS 24, 171 93, ŠS05-00-00, Umma.

[491] TCL 5 6040, no date, Umma: ^{d}Šul-gi KI.AN^{ki} gen-na, ma_2-gur_8 ^{d}Šara$_2$-ka. The text also mentions the temple of Amar-Suen, so that the reference to Šulgi must be to a statue of him. See fn. 56 for the transference of another original Ur festival, the Akiti, to Nippur.

[492] MVN 16 0739, Š41-00-00, Umma: various animals, fish, birds, cheese and oil as an offering for the first fruits boat (nindaba$_2$ ma_2-nesag); Torino 2 648, Š40-04-00, Umma: the hide of the chariot of the first fruits festival (kuš ^{giš}gigir ezem-nesag); Münzen. . . Auktion 1879: 1766, Š39-00-00; BPOA 6 0200, Š40-00-00, both Umma: numerous kinds of aromatic resins and 2 horns (a_2-$dara_3$) as appropriations for the festival (nig_2-dab_5 ezem-nesag).

[493] TCL 5 6040, nd, Umma: appropriations for the lukurs and singers (nig_2-dab_5 lukur-e-ne. . . nig_2-dab_5 nar-e-ne), first fruits festival (ezem-nesag); Nisaba 24 11, nd, Umma: a courtyard for wrestling (kisal gešba$_2^{ba}$ ezem-nesag).

[494] Cohen (1993), pp. 170-172.

[495] TCL 5 6046, AS04-00-00, Umma: 16,200 fish (ku_6 gir_2-us_2), fish for the first fruits (ku_6 nesag-$še_3$)

The ritual marriage of divine couples, which appears to be of significant antiquity, finds mention in both literary and administrative texts.[496] In the course of the ceremony gifts (nig_2-$mussa_x^{sa2}$) from the groom were sent by barge from his temple to that of his bride. In the Ur III period, three such annually celebrated marriages are known: between Ningirsu and Bau at Lagaš, between Nindara and Nanše at Nina/Sirara, and between Dumuzi and Inana of Zabalam in Umma.[497] In mortal society bridal gifts were conveyed to the bride's house by one or more friends of the groom (the paranymph[s]), and the practice as conceived in divine society would seem to have been modeled on the human, e.g. during the reign of Gudea of Lagaš, the god Ningišzida accompanied the gifts of Ningirsu to Bau, that is, his statue travelled in the boat with them, and in the Hendursag Hymn, that god acccompanied the gifts from Nindara to the temple of his wife, Nanše.[498] An inscription from the reign of Gudea shows large amounts of various foodstuffs assembled for Bau's bridal gift, and such largesse carried down into Ur III times, as numerous able-bodied men were hired to handle the goods.[499] We have some evidence that even the Ur III king participated in bringing the bridal gifts of Bau into the temple.[500]

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[496] See Greengus (1990), p. 24 and fn. 88, for arguments on its antiquity in Mesopotamia. The literary texts are Dumuzi's Dream for Dumuzi and Inana, and the Hendursag Hymn for Nindara and Nanše.

[497] The Ur III sources refer to the bridewealth (nig_2-$mussa_x^{sa2}$) involved and not to the ceremony itself. The earliest attestation are: for Bau: MVN 09 163, Š31-08-00, Girsu; for Nanše: CT 03 26 BM 018958, AS04-00-00, Girsu; and for Dumuzi: Nik. 2 204, AS01-00-00, Umma.

[498] Greengus (1990), p. 72 and foonote 203, on the role of the paranymph; p. 60, Hendursag Hymn; Gudea Statue G ii 8-10: "his [Gudea's] personal god ^{d}Ningišzida followed after it [the bridewealth going to the temple of ^{d}Bau from the temple of ^{d}Ningirsu]".

[499] Gudea Statue E, for a list of Bau's bridal wealth; MVN 11 106, AS04-10-00, Girsu: in a record of fish distributed to workers (guruš) 470 creels of carp and 778 individual fish went to those assigned to the nig_2-$mussa_x$ of Bau, while 240 creels and 1,200 fish went to those assigned to the nig_2-$mussa_x$ of Nanše.

[500] ITT 3 05271, no date, Girsu, sprinkling flour for when the bridal gifts were brought in with the king (the nig_2-$mussa^{sa2}$ lugal-da ku_4-ra). A statue of king Šu-Suen in this same text gives a terminus post quem.

2.1.4 The Festival of the Deified King

Festivals of various gods of might give their names to the months in which they occurred, e.g. the Festivals of Bau, Dumuzi, Lisi, Mekigal, and Ninazu. By the Ur III period, most of these festivals had become obsolete and, in one case (Mekigal), even the deity commemorated had disappeared from the contemporary pantheon, and yet the month names persisted. They provided the obvious inspiration for the innovation, in Š25, of a festival of the divine Šulgi (ezem ^{d}Šul-gi), instituted in Nippur and Lagaš in the seventh month, Ur in the eighth, and Umma in the tenth, for the last four of which it also replaced the existing provincial month names.[501] Not only did the succeeding kings maintain this festival through the end of the dynasty, but Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen added festival months in their own honor to the calendar: in Umma the festival of the divine Amar-Suen was established around AS06, occurring in and replacing the name of the seventh month (iti min-eš$_3$), while in ŠS03 that king renamed the ninth month (iti šu-eš$_5$-ša) in Puzriš-Dagan and Ur for the festival of Šu-Suen.[502]

This innovation by Šulgi, within ten years of his deification, testifies to a considered strategy on the king's part to introduce a wide swathe of the populace to his cult in the most efficacious, albeit expensive, manner possible, piggybacking on a template already familiar to the public. An undated text from Umma. listing expenditures for various cultic purposes throughout the year, reveals an enormous quantity of barley for the festivals of both Šulgi and Amar-Suen, even more

[501] See M. Cohen (1993), pp. 67-69, 110-111, 153, 202, 208-210. The month it replaced --- iti ur --- was the seventh month in Lagaš and the tenth in Umma. In Ur it became the eighth month, the prior name of which is unattested. This month name is also attested for Adab, although which prior name it replaced has not been determined. In Nippur the festival ezem-Šulgi occurred in the seventh month, iti du$_6$-kug, which, however, sometimes retained its older name. The roster of Uruk month names is incomplete.

The earliest attestations of this festival date to Š25-07-00 in Girsu (MVN 13 866), Š26-07-00 in Esagdana-Nippur (OIP 115 001), and Š26-10-00 in Umma (BPOA 7 1617).

[502] Cohen (1993), pp. 154-156,175-177. According to Cohen, there are a few anomalous records listing the ezem-Šu-Suen in month twelve in Ur, leading him to suggest that this festival was initially instituted for month twelve and later moved to month nine.

telling in that they swamped the amounts disbursed for other events.[503] In addition to copious food, the festival of the divine king also provided music and singing, which, in Girsu, included a circumambulation of that city's sacred district by a gala-priest with a balag.[504] A statue of the king would be brought out of its cult setting to preside (tuš) over the festivities.[505] In fact, the centrality of the king's cult image is shown by a document from Girsu dated to the month of the Festival of Šulgi, where sacrifices were offered for the "chief festival of the statue of the king".[506] A list of garments, oil and other items from the reign of Amar-Suen provides a remarkable overview of the types of people involved (elite, military, diplomatic, cult, ludic, catering), and suggests some pressure for their attendance. These items had been disbursed to "men of religious obligation" (lu_2 mar-za-ke_4-ne) who went to Umma for the festival of Šulgi, among whom numbered the prince Šu-Suen, the chief minister of the state (sukkal-mah), his second (egir) and his brother, several generals, the ruler ($ensi_2$) of Pašime, envoys and ministers, mounted couriers, professional soldiers and sailors, singers, a snake-handler, extispicers, a physician, certain cultic functionaries, and cooks.[507]

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[503] TCL 5 6040, nd, Umma: 13.2.2 and 71/3 $sila_3$ še gur for the festival of Šulgi, and 14.1.4 and 4 $sila_3$ še gur for the festival of Amar-Suen (over 3,900 and 4,200 liters respectively).

[504] SAT 1 081, Š41-07-00, Girsu: oil to anoint and wool to be hung on the balag-instrument going to the festival of Šulgi (^{d}Šul-gi ezem-ma-$še_3$); HSS 04 095, XX-07-00, Girsu: oil to anoint singers and gala of Šulgi (nar gala ^{d}Šul-gi-ke_4 ba-ab-$šeš_4$); OBTR 092, XX-07-00, Girsu: Utubara the gala conveyed sprinkling flour for the Balag-of-the-Storm (Balag-ud-da-ke_4) circumambulating the city (uru $nigin_2$-$nigin_2$-na); MCS 8 65 Liv 51 63 44, XX-07-00, Girsu: flour for the Balag-of the Storm before the Temple of Uruk (igi e_2-$Unug^{ki}$-$še_3$).

[505] MVN 17 004, Š47-08-00, Girsu: Šulgi seated at the festival, month ezem-^{d}Šulgi --- note, this may be the actual king and not his effigy; HSS 04 003, AS01-12-00, Girsu: oil for ^{d}Šul-gi ezem-ma tuš-a, a 12 month account; ZA 91 101, AS04-11-00, Girsu: oil and beer ^{d}Šul-gi ezem-ma tuš-a, iti ezem ^{d}Šul-gi, a seven month account; AUCT 1 661, AS05-00-00, Girsu: beer for ^{d}Šul-gi ezem-ma tuš-a, iti ezem-^{d}Šul-gi; Nisaba 07 13, XX-12-00, Girsu: beer ^{d}Šul-gi ezem-ma tuš-a, a 13 month account; TCTI 2 02721, XX-07-00, Girsu: a banquet ($gišbun_x$) with Šulgi seated at the festival (ezem-ma tuš-a) during iti ezem-^{d}Šul-gi; ITT 3 06258, ŠS03-07-03, Girsu: oil and fruit strewn when the statue of Šu-Suen was installed at the festival (during the month ezem-^{d}Sulgi): "alan ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen ezem tuš-a".

[506] MVN 19 108, XX-07-00: two sheep and two goats ezem-gal alan-lugal.

[507] Nisaba 24 29, AS03-10-00, Umma: items as provisions (igi-kar_2) for, among others, Šu-Suen the prince (dumu-lugal), the chief minister (sukkal-mah), his second (egir sukkal-mah) and his brother Ahuni (šeš sukkal-mah), the generals Šeškala and Lu-Nanna (šagina), the ruler of Pašime ($ensi_2$ Pa-šim-e^{ki}), envoys (lu-kin-gi_4-a), ministers (sukkal), mounted couriers (ra $_2$-gaba), professional soldiers (aga_3-us_2) and sailors (aga_3-us_2 ma-la-hum-ma), singers (nar), a snake-handler ($muš$-lah_5), extispicers ($maš_2$-šu-gid_2-gid_2), the physician Šu-Dada (a-zu), cultic functionaries (sagi), and cooks

The festival of Šulgi in the Lagaš province entailed a processional lament centered on a stela, identified by M. E. Cohen as the one named Šulgi-the-Aurochs (^{d}Šul-gi-alim), erected by that king in an unidentified hamlet (e_2-$duru_5$), possibly in the Guabba region.[508] One texts lists beer and bread, categorized as "things for the festival of Šulgi" (nig_2-ezem-ma ^{d}Šul-gi-ra), distributed to a number of foreign allies and their troops, along with fodder for their donkeys. Present were Elamites (NIM) of Hulibar and of the territories of Sabum, Anšan, Šimaški, Kimaš, and Marhaši, along with the generals Hulibar and Iddin-Suen, various runners, the mounted courier Kurbilak, and the minister Daaa (sukkal). This was immediately followed by sprinkling flour for the statue of the king that went in lamentation to the Stela, in which procession it seems likely most if not all of the foreign visitors participated.[509] However, as this same tablet records monthly provisions for these and other highlanders for five other months of this year, it would seem that they did not come to Sumer specifically to attend this festival, but rather were enticed or coerced into participating while they were there.[510]

An interesting document of unknown provenance, which must date to the reign of Šulgi as the king participated directly in the action, that of erecting a statue, deals with a multi-event public

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(muhaldim). Other men listed without titles given, but who have the same names as known generals, are Ilalum, Ṣilluš-Dagan, and Hubaa.

Ĝarza, typically spelled mar-za in the Ur III period, are religious customs, rites, obligations, or ordinances. The Akkadian translation, *parṣu*, also meant an official office, post or role. The expression "man" (lu_2) of the marza was used in court cases to denote a type of functionary or witness, which would not seem to apply here.

[508] Cohen (1993), p. 74, re: MVN 07 374, XX-07-03, Girsu. See also SAT 1 167, no date, Girsu: when the king went to the Nadua and presided over the festival (lugal ezem-ma tuš-a).

MTBM 260, ŠS01-07-07, Girsu: Šulgi in Guabba-gula er_2 su_3-a ^{d}Na-du_3-a, ^{d}Šul-gi ezem-ma tuš-a; TCTI 1 00875, no date Girsu: alan-lugal er_2-su_3-a ^{d}Na-du_3-a-$še_3$ gen-na, iti ezem-^{d}Šul-gi.

[509] TCTI 1 0087, nd, Girsu.

[510] Note that the goods provided are merely summarized by month (months five through six and eight through ten), except for the month of the festival of Šulgi, where they are specifically termed items for the festival.

celebration that anticipated a massive audience.[511] The text breaks down over one million liters (or 30,000 bushels) of beer and bread distributed to the governors of Umma, Adab, Urusagrig, and Šuruppag, the temple administrators (šabra) of the deities Allatum, Utu of Larsa, Nanaa, and Inana, a šabra of the city of Ur, the šabra Ribaa, and three men with no title given: Imid-DINGIR, Ur-Bau, and Šulgi-ili.[512] The summary of expenditures also mentions a mašdaria-gift of gold, silver, oxen and sheep, all disbursed on the following occasion:

ud alan ^{d}Šul-gi-e
in-gub-ba-gim-am$_3$ tum$_3$-dam
ezem-mah-še$_3$ tum$_3$-dam
gu$_2$ id$_2$-Idigna gu$_2$ id$_2$-Buranun-na-še$_3$

I read the clause, the grammar of which is rather convoluted, as: "[the aforementioned items] when the statue was to be brought by Šulgi as if he were erecting (it), to be brought to the Great Festival,

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[511] YOS 04 056, Šxx-00-00, unk. prov. The editors assigned this tablet to the eighth month, though there is no month written in the text.

[512] 1 guru$_7$ 1127.0.0 kaš ninda gur.

A šabra named Imid-DINGIR is attested in texts dating from the reigns of Šulgi (OIP 115 069, Š42-02-26, Puzriš-Dagan) through Šu-Suen (Kyoto 35, ŠS05-11-19, Puzriš-Dagan). All texts come from Puzriš-Dagan. The temple and/or deity he served was never mentioned.

A šabra named Ur-Bau occurs in tablets from Girsu, Puzriš-Dagan and Umma. One or more men of this name in Girsu served as šabra for the temple of Ningirsu (Nisaba 13 024, Š48-05-00, Girsu), the temple of Ninmarki (RIAA 171, ŠS02-04-04, Girsu), and the craftsmen (gašam-me) (TCTI 2 03521, IS02-00-00, Girsu). It is also unclear if the Ur-Bau in the Puzriš-Dagan texts signifies a single man. Usually the šabra of this name was referred to without any temple (e.g. BCT 1 040, AS01-05-05, Puzriš-Dagan), but in a number of instances he took charge of regular offerings (sa$_2$-dug$_4$) for Inana of Uruk (e.g. PDT 1 557, AS04-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan), and in one he was the šabra of the house of the calves (e$_2$-amar) (AR RIM 04 25, ŠS02-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan). The šabra Ur-Bau of Umma, who is attested only three times in the reign of Šu-Suen, was never mentioned with his place of employment (e.g. Hirose 373, ŠS01-00-00, Umma).

As for Šulgi-ili, that name was quite common in the Ur III period after Šulgi's deification, and thus, without further information, the identity of this man cannot be ascertained. There was a Šulgi-ili who supplied oxen to Puzriš-Dagan along with other men, and whose deliveries are subsumed as "from the šabras" (ki-šabra-e-ne-ta) (ASJ 15 143 28, AS02-08-24, Puzriš-Dagan). I would note that a Šulgi-ili, with no title, recurs in one text with a šabra Imid-DINGIR, each delivering a lamb (UDT 112, AS09-03-00, Puzriš-Dagan), and in another with a šabra Ur-Bau, in which they each receive oxen taken as booty (MVN 13 428, XX-12-14, Puzriš-Dagan) --- all three, presumably, the same men who attended the king's erection of a statue.

[and to be brought] to the bank of the Tigris and the bank of the Euphrates."[513] It seems clear, from the ergative case-ending on Šulgi's name and the ergative infix on the verb gub ("to erect"), that the king was both present and active in the proceedings. Whether the item he set up --- or simulated setting up --- was his own cult statue cannot be determined from the text. If not the king's, though, one would expect it to have been a statue of the major deity honored during the Great Festival alluded to in the text.

Although the Great Festival gave its name to the ninth month in Puzriš-Dagan and the tenth month in Ur, the event itself took place in Ur. It was dedicated to that city's patron deity, the moon-god Nanna, and centered around the fifteenth of the month, that is, when the moon was full. M. E. Cohen describes the Great Festival in Ur as a "large scale affair, necessitating months to gather the provisions and offerings. . . references [to which] indicate that throughout Sumer cities were responsible for supplying offerings at Ur for this major festival".[514]

In summation, if the erection of the statue by Šulgi was connected with the festival of the month in which it occurred, then it would seem most likely that he set it up in Ur, and it may or may not have been his own statue. However, if the site was in fact elsewhere, then, due to the relative lack of routinely performed rituals in other cities for any of the major gods during ezem-mah, it seems a reasonable inference that this statue, erected by Šulgi and then transported to the banks of both the Tigris and Euphrates, was a cult statue of the king. The dignitaries present and the amount of food distributed show that it would have been a major, if possibly one-time, event, concentrated around a concrete display of the king's divine stature.

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[513] The suffixes -am_3 and -gim on the first verb allow for different readings. I take the -am_3 as a relative clause marker and its antecedent as Šulgi, e.g. "by Šulgi (who was) as if erecting". The suffix -gim on a verb can mean "as if", "just as", "during", or "instead of". Another possible translation, which elides the grammar somewhat, but avoids the notion of a simulated erection (if such a ritual action seems implausible), could be: "The statue which, just as Šulgi had (finished) setting it up, was to be brought. . .".

[514] M. E. Cohen (1993), pp. 156-157.

2.2 The Deified King, in his Body

The remains of statues of Mesopotamian deities in the round are scarce. We tend to assume that they would have looked similar, if not identical, to their images on other media, such as seals and bas-reliefs, in which their primary distinguishing feature was a crown bearing one or more horns. In any case, as transcendent beings, the gods would never have been available for comparison with their representations on tangible items as imagined and crafted by human artisans. But, whatever the details, each statue served as a center of concentrated power, a locus wherein the god portrayed was invited, and understood as most likely to manifest his or her essence in this dimension.

In the crafting of the image of a ruler deified after his death, the issue of balancing representation of his features with details intended to signify divinity had to be faced. We do not know what, if any, such details may have encompassed, and so come to an end in this line of inquiry. However, a recent study focused on likenesses of Julius Caesar and Augustus after their postmortem deifications suggests anxieties raised in trying to match the appearance of the recently living man with traditional signs of the status of a god, with different styles and models being tried and discarded before acceptable representations were achieved.[515]

In the case of the small number of Mesopotamian kings who claimed divine status during their lifetime, and who further set up a cult to themselves as gods, closely following the traditional cult model, we encounter the interesting situation of a god-man who was directly comparable to his cult image. Indeed, we have seen the divine king Šulgi presiding over a festival alongside his cult image, so that the attendees might simultaneously witness and compare the crafted locus for the manifestation of the god Šulgi's essence (i.e. his statue) with his embodiment in the flesh.[516] There

[515] Koortbojian (2013).

[516] MVN 17 004, Š47-08-00, Girsu: groats for Šulgi, seated at the festival (^{d}Šul-gi ezem-ma tuš-a) during the Festival of Šulgi in Guabba; the Šulgi mentioned here may refer to the king or to his

are no sources whatsoever that mention, or even hint at, the reactions to this double vision and the comparison it invited. In those instances where the living god-king was aged, or simply not an impressive or alluring specimen physically, one can only wonder what psychic turmoil may have been engendered in an audience seeing him in proximity to his idealized cult image, and whether such a mismatch may have provoked doubts as to his actual claim to divine status.

However that may be, the possibility that a serious mismatch between man and statue might undermine belief in the assertion of royal godhood did not induce the Ur III god-kings to hide themselves, or to limit their audience to court circles, for the records indicate numerous appearances, both beside their cult image at festivals and on their own, mainly at ritualized events performed in the public eye. In fact, sources suggest that, after Šulgi had initiated and worked out the model for royal godhood, the most visible role of the Ur III kings who succeeded him devolved more and more into their participation in ritual acts. It is difficult to attribute this perceived shift definitively to these kings' deification, as participation in ritual was even before this period a typical responsibility of Mesopotamian rulers, along with building activity, provisioning of the gods' cults, appointment of important cult figures, civic and judicial administration, foreign affairs, and military campaigns. Whether royal deification had reduced the kings' bailiwick might be discernible if there were significant differences between the official actions of the deified Ur III kings and those of their predecessors. The long-term view in itself is difficult to achieve, given the gross imbalance in the

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statue; SAT 1 167, nd, Girsu; CUSAS 16 112, XX-07-00, Girsu: beer for the king on going to the Stele (lugal ki-^{d}Na-du$_{3}$-a gen-na) and for the king seated at the festival (lugal ezem-ma tuš-a) during the Festival of Šulgi; this king is most likely Šulgi, as the ritual involving the Stele is so far attested on datable tablets only during his reign, and the second source listed specifies Šulgi (lugal ezem-ma tuš-a / ^{d}Šul-gi); TCTI 1 0087, nd, Girsu: Šulgi, setting up a statue outdoors, probably of himself; see pp. 36-38; PDT1 572, ŠS01-02-22, Puzriš-Dagan: animals sacrificed to numerous deities, including Šu-Suen, at the Festival Gudsisu in Nippur, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_{4}$-ra); BIN 3 213, ŠS01-07-12, Puzriš-Dagan: oxen sacrificed to a number of deities, including Šu-Suen, in the shrine of the House of the Full Moon in Nippur, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_{4}$-ra); BIN 3 221, ŠS02-06-30, Puzriš-Dagan: animals sacrificed to various deities, including Šu-Suen, in the shrine of the House of the New Moon in Nippur, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_{4}$-ra); Princeton 2 475, ŠS04-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to deities, including Šu-Suen, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_{4}$-ra); MVN 13 108, ŠS08-06-13, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to deities, including Šu-Suen, in the shrine of the House of the Full Moon, and to Nin-imma when she was brought into her new temple, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_{4}$-ra).

amount of source material available for the Ur III polity versus that of earlier dynasties. However, a comparison between the duties undertaken by the non-deified Ur III rulers, i.e. Ur-Namma and Šulgi during the first half of his reign, with the later god-kings of the dynasty could prove fruitful. Another angle that might shed some light on the issue would involve analyzing the degree to which the numerous, traditionally royal responsibilities had been ceded by the deified Ur III kings to non-royal institutions or persons.

The abundance of Ur III material does allow one to pull together a fairly comprehensive picture of what the kings were doing that required central provisioning, although the amount of data varies quite a bit among the individual rulers. In addition to royal inscriptions, which are also available for many preceding dynasts, the Ur III kings left royal hymns that recount acts they considered significant. The potential for hyberbole this genre may at times have invited, as well as the lack of specific temporal markers for the acts narrated therein, may be counterbalanced by the non-ideological bureaucratic documents, which are primarily concerned with recording the intake and outlay of resources for particular events.[517] Furthermore, the majority of these texts, and thus the actions detailed therein, are at least roughly datable, due to the fact that the texts usually included a regnal year formula. Thus, when the king himself appears in administrative documents, it is most frequently at a specific time and place and, often, engaged in a specific activity.[518]

[517] See Frayne (1981) for an attempt at matching the royal hymns with more-or-less datable events.

[518] The potential of the administrative archives, especially those texts recording transactions in Puzriš-Dagan, for tracking the king has been noted by B. Lafont, referring specifically to texts concerning meat cooked for the professional soldiers, but this type of analysis would of course be applicable to any texts in which the king was mentioned. See Lafont (2009), p. 17, fn. 91: "once the Drehem e_2-muhaldim texts are collected and put in order, especially chronological order, it should then be possible to conduct detailed investigations to find out where the king was at any given time, since all texts are dated to the day."

2.2.1 The Reign of Ur-Namma

The regnal year names for the eighteen years of Ur-Namma's tenure are known, although their internal order has not yet been worked out. By combining the events commemorated in these formulae with the royal hymns and building and other inscriptions from Ur-Namma's reign, one gains an impression of the king's major accomplishments, which revolved around cult and construction work. In Ur, where he rose to power, Ur-Namma rebuilt the Ekishnugal, Nanna's main temple, the ziggurat of which still stands.[519] He also installed an en-priestess for that god and rebuilt her dwelling, the gipar, restored temples of Ninsun, Inana-Ninkugnuna, Ninšagepada, and (possibly) Ningublaga, planted an orchard for An, fortified the city walls, and had a canal dug.[520] Votive offerings from this king to Nanna and Ningal were also excavated in the city.[521] In the territory immediately surrounding Ur, the king rebuilt the temple of Enki in Eridug and that of Ninsun in Kuara, and dedicated a marble vase to Gilgameš of Enegi.[522] In an inscription mentioning the king's construction of a temple of Ninutul, his title is given solely as "king of Ur", an indication of a date

[519] UN year "g" (RIME 3 2 and CDLI): the year the Temple of Nanna was built.

[520] UN year "b" (RIME 3 2) or "h" (CDLI): the year the en of Nanna was chosen by extispicy; RIME 3 2.1.1.13: inscriptions on door sockets on building of the gipar of Ningal, found in the gipar at Ur; RIME 3 2.1.1.14: inscription on door sockets on building the Temple of Ninegal, found in the gipar at Ur;

UN year "k" (RIME 3 2) or "l" (CDLI): the year the Temple of Ninsun was built in Ur; RIME 3 2.1.1.23: foundation tablet on the construction of the Temple of Ninsun, found near the Ehursag in Ur; RIME 3 2.1.1.16: brick and door inscriptions on the construction of the shrine Ešbur for Inana-Ninkugnuna; RIME 3 2.1.1.6: foundation tablet for the construction of a temple for the goddess (nin-a-ni) Ninšagepada, found in the fill of the Ur III kings' mausolea in Ur. The inscription on a macehead dedicated to one Nin-[x], excavated in Ur, has been restored as Nin-gublaga; see RIME 3 2.1.1.46. RIME 3 2.1.1.5: brick insciption on Ur-Namma's planting of an orchard with a dais for An; UN year "p" (RIME 3 2) or "e" (CDLI): the year the city wall (bad_3) of Ur was built; UN year "q" (RIME 3 2) or "i" (CDLI): the year the A-Nintu canal was dug; RIME 3 2.1.1.19: cone inscription on the creation of the canal Aba-Nannagim near Ur.

[521] RIME 3 2.1.1.45: a mace-head dedicated to Nanna, from Ur; RIME 3 2.1.1.41 and 42: two vessel fragments to Nanna, from the Enunmah in Ur; RIME 3 2.1.1.43: a plaque to Ningal, found in the gipar at Ur.

[522] RIME 3 2.1.1.31: inscription on door socket regarding construction of the Temple of Enki; RIME 3 2.1.1.10: brick inscription on building of the Temple of Enki in Eridug. The vase to Gilgameš of Enegi, although most likely first deposited in Enegi, was found in the mausoleum of king Amar-Suen in Ur (RIME 3 2.1.1.47).

from the earlier part of his reign when he controlled essentially Ur and Uruk; however, there is not a single mention of this deity in the Ur III archives, not just in those two cities but in any city.[523] In Uruk, Ur-Namma rebuilt Inana's temple and installed her en-priest.[524] In Larsa, the king constructed a temple for Utu, while at an unknown site, probably around Urusagrig, he restored a temple of Ninhursag.[525] A marble vessel dedicated by the king to Šara was unearthed in Umma.[526] In Nippur Ur-Namma undertook the major task of rebuilding the E-kur of Enlil, and also had a storehouse for Ninlil and a city wall constructed.[527] An ereš-dingir priestess of Iškur was also selected, although the location of this particular cult is not provided.[528] Several projects encompassed areas larger than a single city: the digging of the Iturungal and the Nanna-gugal canals, the clearing of the land's roads and the establishment of waystations with gardens along them.[529] The most significant act of this king that falls outside of his engagement with cult and construction was the promulgation of a law code, the structure of which served as a model for all later such codes.[530]

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[523] RIME 3 2.1.1.8: an inscription on a door socket, last seen in Mosul.

[524] RIME 3 2.1.1.33: inscription on tablets and bronze canephores inside foundation boxes found in the Eanna Temple precinct in Uruk; UN year "i" (RIME 3 2) or "d"(CDLI): the year the en of Inana, a son of Ur-Namma, was chosen by extispicy.

[525] RIME 3 2.1.1.35: brick inscription on construction of Temple of Utu, found in Larsa; RIME 3 2.1.1.36: foundation tablet for Emah Temple of Ninhursag.

[526] RIME 3 2.1.1.44.

[527] UN year "l" (RIME 3 2) or "m" (CDLI): the year the Temple of Enlil was built; RIME 3 2.1.1.25: inscription on doorsocket recording the construction of Enlil's temple, the E-kur; the royal hymn Ur-Namma B concerns the construction of the E-kur; RIME 3 2.1.1.37: inscription on two door sockets for construction of warehouse (e_2-šu-tum) of Ninlil; RIME 3 2.1.1.38: foundation tablet for the wall (bad_3) of Nippur, dedicated to Enlil.

[528] Un year "n" (RIME 3 2) or "j" (CDLI): the year the ereš-dingir of Iškur was chosen by extispicy.

[529] UN year "m" (RIME 3 2) or "n" (CDLI): the year the Iturungal canal was dug. The Iturungal was the longest canal in Sumer, running southwest from Adab on the Tigris, through the province of Umma, to the Euphrates just south of Uruk. RIME 3 2.1.1.28: the excavation of the Nanna-gugal canal as a boundary canal extending to the sea.

UN year "h" (RIME 3 2) or "b" (CDLI): the year Ur-Namma the king straightened out the roads from the south to the north. RIME 3 2.1.1.20: claim that Ur-Namma had established road stations? (ExKASKAL?) and planted orchards.

[530] The controversy as to the author of this law code (Ur-Namma or Šulgi) is summarized in Frayne, RIME 3 2.1.1.20, p. 44. The most recent advocate for Šulgi's authorship is P. Steinkeller, who follows J. Van Dijk and S. Kramer.

Foreign policy initiatives included the restoration of sea trade to Sumer and military campaigns against the Guti, who remained a problem despite Ur-Namma's predecessor's battle against them, and against Puzur-Inšušinak, Elam and Anšan.[531] Victories enabled Ur-Namma to annex land in northern Mesopotamia, the Diyala region, and the Susiana.[532] He also interfered in the internal politics of the then independent state of Lagaš, by installing one Namhani as its governor, before eventually incorporating Lagaš as a province.[533]

While one might reasonably surmise that Ur-Namma was personally present when his votive gifts were offered, as well as at significant points during construction projects, e.g. their start, finish and, for temples, the reintroduction of their cult statues, the sources above do not make this explicit. Although the king was in command, and thus at the head of the army, as B. Lafont put it, "at least virtually and in propaganda" as "notably suggested by the year names, the iconography and the royal inscriptions and hymns", in the inscriptions that relate Ur-Namma's campaigns against Puzur-Inšušinak and the Guti, the king does not appear as an actor during either the battles or their aftermath.[534] Therefore, an analysis of the king's movements, as recorded in the bureaucratic documents from his reign, might be able to clear this up.

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[531] UN year "d" (RIME 3 2) or "k" (CDLI): the year the land of Gutium was destroyed. On Ur-Namma's interactions with Puzur-Inšušinak et al., see Steinkeller (2012). Several royal inscriptions mention Ur-Namma's wars, i.e. against Elam, found in Isin (RIME 3 2.1.1.29), against Elam, Guti and Simudar, found in Nippur (RIME 3 2.1.1.30).

[532] RIME 3 2.1.1.21: a cadaster text of boundaries set by Ur-Namma on territory he had acquired; and RIME 3 2.1.1.20: mention of the lands of Umma, Marad, GIRkal, Kazallu, and Ušarum, which Ur-Namma had liberated from Anšan, some of which also occur in the cadester list.

[533] From the Prologue to the Ur-Namma Law Code (RIME 3 2.1.1.20). The sign now read as the verb "to elevate" (il_2) had earlier been restored as "to kill " (ug_5).

[534] Lafont (2009), §5.

For the reigns of all the Ur III kings, I have utilized the on-line database of Ur III tablets, Base de Datos de Textos Neo-Sumerios (BDTNS), edited by Manuel Molina.[535] The total number of texts in the BDTNS database adds up to 87,241, of which 75,836 have an established provenance, and 57,236 a known regnal year date.[536] The last figure should in actuality be somewhat higher, as tablets missing a year formula may sometimes be dated by other, internal information. For the purposes of this analysis, in addition to the king's name itself occurring in the body of the text (outside of the year formula), I also tabulated records that included the following, fairly standard phases: "in the king's presence", literally "the king having entered" (lugal ku_4-ra); "at court", literally "before (the eyes) of the king" (igi lugal-$še_3$); x items put into a boat "when the king went to GN" (lugal GN-$še_3$ du-ni); "for the king's eating" (ki lugal-gu_7-$še_3$); "to where the king is" (ki lugal-$še_3$), as well as more variable phrasings used to express such instances as the king personally killing a sacrifice, pouring a libation, circumabulating an area, attending a drinking party, et al.. I counted texts that mention a "royal offering" (nig_2-giš-tag-ga-lugal and $siskur_2$-lugal), "royal libation" (kaš-de_6-a-lugal), or "royal lustration" (a-tu_5-a-lugal), although it is conceivable that the adjective "royal" refers to the source, i.e. the king's personal assets, or to the intended beneficiary of the ritual, and the king's actual presence may not have been required.[537] B. Lafont recently suggested that in texts recording banquets of generals and/or their troops, the king's presence should be automatically assumed.[538] I have not, however, included such texts, as troops dining without the king may equally as well have been an accepted practice.

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[535] This database was developed at the Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales of the Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas in Madrid.

[536] Molina (2008). One should also subtract 389 tablets dating to the Lagaš II period from the total (p. 45). As of October 2014 this database numbers more than 95,300 administrative tablets; however, the overall distribution in time and location should not vary significantly.

[537] The difference between the giš-tag-ga and the $siskur_2$ types of offerings is unclear.

[538] Lafont (2009), §2.10: texts recording banquets for military members returning from the "road/campaign" (kaskal-ta) "could be related to the well attested custom of the banquet offered by the king to his troops after return from a victorious campaign", and ibid., p. 17 fn. 91: "My opinion is that any dated Drehem text with the expression 'šu-gid_2 e_2-muhaldim mu-aga_3-us_2-e-ne-$še_3$' means that the king is present with his soldiers."

In relation to Ur-Namma's reign, it is disappointing, then, to find that, beyond regnal year formulae, the king himself did not appear in a single administrative record. We learn only that the king had a boat that was, on a particular date, in Nippur, and that an unnamed prince was once in Girsu.[539] The apparent absence of the king from the bureaucratic records of his reign is due to both the rather shocking shortage of their total number as well as their geographic distribution. A mere twenty-nine tablets, or less than one percent of the total in the database used, bear an Ur-Namma year formula, with twenty-eight of those stemming from Girsu.[540] It is understandable that no administrative document that caught the king as he prepared for or participated in the cultic and building activities related in his inscriptions and hymns --- especially in the major cities of Ur, Uruk, and Nippur --- or in military campaigns exists in this tiny number from a single province.

2.2.2 The Reign of Šulgi

2.2.2.1 Years Š01-20

Similar issues arise regarding the texts dating to the period before Šulgi's deification (Š01-20). Four of Šulgi's year formulae during this period are not attested at all, and of the remaining years, only 113 tablets have been excavated.[541] In the earlier years of Šulgi's reign, domestic temple, cult and construction work predominated. His first ten years' formulae give prominence to events that took place in Ur and Nippur. In the former city, he began building a temple for Ningublaga (Š02), finished another for Nanna in Ur's port, Karzida (Š09), and erected a royal

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[539] ITT 5 06708, Girsu: cloth for lining the royal boat (ma_2-lugal) in Nippur, month 3, the year the A-Nintud canal was dug.
NFT p. 185, AO 4308, Girsu: new wool for a garment for a prince (dumu-lugal), month 11, the year the Iturungal canal was dug.

[540] The year formulae attested on these tablets account for only eleven years of Ur-Namma's eighteen-year reign.

[541] There are no attested tablets for Š13, 14, 15, and 20.

palace, the E-hursag (Š10).[542] In Nippur Šulgi rebuilt a temple for Ninurta (Š04), and had cult items crafted: a throne for Enlil (Š03) and a barge for Ninlil (Š08). He also had a wall built for Inana's temple in Uruk (Š05). Similarly to his father, Šulgi "straightened out" the Nippur road, establishing rest stops and gardens (Š06), after which year he made his famous run from Nippur to Ur and back (Š07).[543]

The second decade of Šulgi's year formulae show that, while not neglecting the cults of Ur and Nippur, the king had expanded his activities to other towns. He started off this decade by bringing the statues of two gods, Ištaran and Numušda, into their respective temples in Der and Kazallu (Š11 and Š12), which implies that reconstruction on their temples had been completed. The broken formula for Š19 shows him restoring something unreadable in Kisig^{ki} (EZEMxKASKAL^{ki}) and Durum (BAD^{ki}). In Ur the king had an "ice-house" (e_2-hal-bi) constructed (Š13), installed an en-priestess for Nanna (Š15), and brought a statue of Ninhursag into her temple in nearby Nutur (Š20).[544] He also had a statue of Nanna brought into his temple in Nippur (Š14), and a bed crafted for Nippur's deity Ninlil (Š16).

The many building and votive inscriptions of this king, in which his name lacks the divine determinative, may also be tentatively attributable to his first two decades in office.[545] These show his building of temples for Nimin-taba in Ur, Nin-Urima in Karzida, Nin-SAR, the butcher of the E-kur in Nippur (found in Ur), Inana and Damgalnuna in Nippur, Inana in Uruk, Ninšubur, probably in Uruk

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[542] RIME 3 2.1.2.3: brick inscription on the king's building of the E-hursag, found in Ur.

[543] Compare with his father: UN year "h" (RIME 3 2) or "b" (CDLI): the year Ur-Namma the king straightened out the roads from the south to the north. RIME 3 2.1.1.20: claim that Ur-Namma had established road stations? (ExKASKAL?) and planted orchards.

[544] The formula for Š15 commemorates the selection by extispicy of En-nirsiana, en of Nanna of Ur, while that of Š17 is for her installation (hug, literally "hiring").

[545] These attributions in time should not be taken as absolute, as the adoption of the divine determinative before Šulgi's name was not uniformly executed in the years immediately following his deification.

(unprovenanced), Nanše in Girsu, and Enki (unprovenanced).[546] Šulgi's temple-building program in these years was carried into areas outside of Sumer; he erected cult centers to the deified River (^{d}Id) in Sippar-Amnanum, Meslamtaea-Nergal in Gudua, Ninazu-Tišpak in Ešnuna, Inšušinak in Susa, and Šullat and Haniš (unprovenanced).[547] Šulgi also had a shrine constructed for Ennugi inside Inana's temple in Nippur, as well as weirs for Enlil in Nippur and Ninhursag in Adab.[548] Votive offerings presented by Šulgi before his self-deification include a three-headed mace to an unmentioned deity in Nippur, a statuette of himself to Nanna in the Temple of Nimin-taba in Ur, and a macehead to Nanše, gold earrings for Geštinana, and a bead to Ninlil for his life and that of his daughter Ninturtur (all unprovenanced).[549]

Attention to military affairs and foreign policy first pops up in Šulgi's second decade of rule: in his eighteenth year Šulgi married a daughter to the king of Marhaši, and in the twentieth had the

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[546] RIME 3 2.1.2.4: inscription on construction of temple of Nimin-taba, found in Ur; RIME 3 2.1.2.5: foundation tablet recording construction of temple of Nin-Urima in Karzida; RIME 3 2.1.2.2: tablet inscription on construction of temple of Nin-SAR, found in Ur; RIME 3 2.1.2.20: inscription on various items found in numerous foundation deposits in temple of Inana in Nippur, regarding the construction of said temple, called E-duranki; RIME 3 2.1.2.17: tablet inscription on construction of Damgalnuna's Nippur temple; RIME 3 2.1.1.6: inscription on foundation tablets and bronze canephores on construction of Inana's temple, E-anna, in Uruk; RIME 3 2.1.2.7: tablet inscription on building of temple of Ninšubur; RIME 3 2.1.2.9: inscription on foundation tablets and figurine on building of Nanše's temple, E-šeššeše-gara, in Girsu; RIME 3 2.1.2.1: inscription on tablet on construction of a temple of Enki.

[547] RIME 3 2.1.2.28: fragmentary foundation tablet inscription in Akkadian mentioning the deified river (^{d}ID) and Šulgi, found at Tell ed-Dēr (Sippar-Amnanum); RIME 3 2.1.2.23: inscription in Akkadian on foundation tablet, on construction of the temple E-meslam in Gudua for Nergal; RIME 3 2.1.2.24: inscription in Sumerian on tablet recording construction of the temple E-meslam in Gudua for Meslamtaea; RIME 3 2.1.2.26: brick inscription in Akkadian on construction of the E-sikil temple of Tišpak in Ešnuna; RIME 3 2.1.2.28: brick inscription in Sumerian on construction of the E-sikil temple of Ninazu in Ešnuna; RIME 3 2.1.2.31: brick inscription on Šulgi's restoration of the Temple of Inšušinak, found in his temple at Susa; RIME 3 2.1.2.34: inscription on foundation tablet on construction of Temple of Šullat and Haniš.

[548] RIME 3 2.1.2.19: inscription on a brick fragment found in a foundation deposit inside the temple of Inana in Nippur, to the deity Ennugi; RIME 3 2.1.2.18: brick inscriptions on construction of weir (GIŠ-keš$_2$-ra$_2$) for Enlil, found in Nippur; RIME 3 2.1.1.16: brick inscription on construction of weir (GIŠ-keš$_2$-ra$_2$) for Ninhursag, found in Adab.

[549] RIME 3 2.1.2.56: inscription on statue dedicated to Nanna, but found in the temple of Nimin-taba in Ur; RIME 3 2.1.2.61: a macehead dedicated to Nanše; RIME 3 2.1.2.62: a gold earring dedicated to Geštinana by "her son" (dumu-ni) Šulgi; RIME 3 2.1.2.88: bead dedicated by Šulgi to Ninlil, for his own life and that of his daughter Ninturturmu.

citizens of Ur conscripted as spearmen.[550] These two events not only presage the king's almost exclusive focus on foreign military campaigns for the duration of his reign, but were, it would seem, anticipated by his eleventh year activities in Der, a town that would come to serve as a major launching point for invasions into territories in the Zagros Mountain range and for access to Elam.

As with Ur-Namma, there is no mention of Šulgi himself in the administrative records dating to his first two decades of rule due, again, to their paucity (113) and their almost exclusive limitation to the province of Lagaš. Three documents from Girsu dealing with garments refer obliquely to the king and to one or more princes. In his seventh regnal year, a garment was issued as "provision" for the king (igi-kar$_2$-lugal), and in his eleventh year two garments as provisions for a prince (igi-kar$_2$ dumu-lugal).[551] In this same year and month, eight garments were disbursed for the funeral of a prince (ki-hul dumu-lugal), but it cannot be determined if this is the same prince who received a provision at roughly the same time, or even if he was a son or a brother to the current king, Šulgi.[552]

2.2.2.2 Years Š21-37

The years including and after that of the king's deification are best divided into the period before the construction of the distribution center at Puzriš-Dagan (Š38) and those following it. Datable tablets for the period Š21 through Š37 number 3,622, while those from Š38 through his final year, Š48, number 13,024. It is at this time that we begin to encounter the phenomenon of ambiguous year formulae, that is, abbreviated names that could be referring to two or more different regnal years. For the tablets from Š21-37, there are 733 ambiguous datings, and from Š38-48, 1,234.

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[550] Š20 has alternate formulae: the year the citizens of Ur were conscripted as spearmen, and the year Ninhursag of Nutur was brought into her temple.

[551] RTC 278, Š07-00-00, Girsu; and RA 5 84 AO 03341, Š11-07-00, Girsu.

[552] ITT 5 06803, Š11-07-00, Girsu.

Šulgi started off his third decade of rule by taking over the operation of the E-kur in Nippur, as attested by that year's formula (Š21) which also includes the first instance of the divine determinative written before this king's name. He then attacked, in quick succession, Der (Š21), Karahar (Š24), Šimurrum (Š25), Šimurrum again (Š26), and Harši (Š27), before taking a break to install one of his children as the en of Enki in Eridug. In Š30 he married a daughter to the king of Anšan. The following year he attacked Karahar once more (Š31), followed by a third assault against Šimurrum (Š32), and an invasion of Anšan (Š34) --- evidently, Šulgi's earlier rapprochement by means of a diplomatic marriage had not gotten him the results he had intended. Finally, the king returned to domestic concerns, restoring a statue of Nanna to his temple in Karzida (Š36) and building a "wall of the land" (bad_3 ma-da).[553]

Šulgi did not make many appearances in the administrative documents from this period, though a few texts imply his whereabouts or activity. The earliest reference to the king's direct presence occurred in the fifth month of his twenty-fourth year: an ox, sheep, fish, pulse, beer and bread were provided when the king traveled from Esagdana (i.e. Puzriš-Dagan) to Ur, perhaps in preparation of the Akiti festival that would occur in Ur in the next month.[554] In the final month of this same year, three sheep were conveyed "to the king" (ki-lugal-$še_3$).[555] As the tablet comes from Umma, that may well be where Šulgi was also, but it is not certain. In the eleventh month of Š32, the king's boat shows up in a record, though this doesn't necessarily mean that the king himself was in it.[556] In the sixth month of Šulgi's thirty-third regnal year, sheep were sacrificed at the Dubla-mah in Ur on the occasion of an unnamed queen of Šulgi's "coming out", apparently to participate in the

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[553] These particular events are named in the formulae for the regnal years placed in parentheses.

[554] BPOA 7 1662, Š24-05-00, Umma: lugal E_2-sag-da-na-ta Uri_5^{ki}-$še_3$ [x-x] gen-na.

[555] OrSP 20 81 IB 125, Š24-12-00, Umma.

[556] MVN 21 284, Š32-11-00, Umma: ma_2-lugal.
Note also wood for building a "royal boat of the uzga (ma_2-uz-ga-lugal) in Girsu (TLB 3 055, Š35-00-00). The uzga was a common destination for animals, frequently supplied by members of the royal family and of the military, but its exact function is unknown.

ceremony, and in the seventh month oil was sent to Šulgi in Nippur from Girsu.[557] Given that this was the month called the Festival of Šulgi, one might infer that the oil was meant for some related ritual requiring the king's participation.

In the first month of Šulgi's thirty-fourth year, hides were distributed to make ten pairs of shields, four for the king and six for unnamed generals.[558] These were undoubtedly part of the preparation for the invasion of Anšan, for which this year was eventually named, and the inclusion of the king with generals, as well as the nature of the items provided, strongly suggests that Šulgi was to go on this campaign himself.[559] In the sixth month a woman named SI-A-tum, presumably Šulgi's mother, participated in the Boat of Heaven ritual in Uruk.[560] In the seventh month of this same year, the leather boots and a type of cloth for leather boots that were issued to the king and one Šu-Ea, respectively, may, perhaps, be a sign that the Anšan campaign was still ongoing. However, their distribution in the month of the Festival of Šulgi may point to a use during ritual

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[557] UCP 9-2-2 037, Š33-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep to the Dubla-mah nin-mu e_3-da-ni, in Ur; MVN 07 018, Š33-07-00 Girsu: 5 $sila_3$ i_3-nun $Nibru^{ki}$ ki-lugal-$še_3$.

[558] MVN 03 139, Š34-01-00, Puzriš-Dagan: 4 kuš du_{10}-uk-si-um lugal du_8-ši-a e_2-ba-an, 4 kuš du_{10}-uk-si-um šagina du_8-ši-a tug_2-du_8-a siki-kur kuš-a ra-a e_2-ba-an, 2 kuš du_{10}-uk-si-um šagina bar_6-bar_6 e_2-ba-an, kin ak-e-de_3.
Note that texts assigned Puzriš-Dagan provenance before the Puzriš-Dagan complex had been built most probably stem from Esagdana, a manufacturing center on or near which Puzriš-Dagan was erected. In the body of many such texts, in fact, Esagdana or Esagdana of Nippur is mentioned. See Wilcke (1988b).

[559] Although the regnal year formulae generally commemorate events that occurred in the previous year, in some cases they refer to current year undertakings. It is especially noticeable when a regnal year has two or more accepted names, and the alternate names all used the pattern "year after + earlier year name". It indicates that a prior year's name was continued into the new year, until such time as an event occurred that was considered significant enough to be formally commemorated. In the case of Š34, it was called both "the year after Karahar was destroyed for the third time", which happened in Š33, and "the year after the year that Šimurrum was destroyed for the third time", which occurred in Š32, until Šulgi invaded Anšan, after which point it became known as "the year Anšan was destroyed".

[560] PDT 1 459, Š34-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox two goats ma_2-an-na $Unug^{ki}$-$še_3$ SI-A-tum.

instead, as was made explicit for the pair of leather shoes disbursed in Umma for a royal lustration at the observation of the first quarter moon in the twelfth month of this same year.[561]

The following year (Š35) a fattener in Umma issued one ox, more than seventy sheep, and forty-two goats as items for a royal sacrifice, though the lack of a month makes it impossible to narrow down the occasion of such a large holocaust.[562] Šulgi appears to have been in Umma in the twelfth month of this year, when thirteen workers were assigned for two days while the king participated in a circumambulation.[563] Also in the twelfth month, we come across a rare example of the word for son-in-law in relation to a royal relative (mussa^{sa2}-lugal), one Ahuma, though the princess he'd married is not named.[564] In the final month of the succeeding year (Š36), 240 barbed spikes and arrows for "the hand of the king" and 29,789 similar weapons for unattributed use were received at Esagdana.[565] As there was no major campaign noted for this, the preceding or the following year, these items were likely either unexpended leftovers or booty from the war with Anšan. In the fifth month of Š37, Šulgi's lukur ME-Ea was provided animals in Ur for "when she ate in the storehouse" which, given the location of the meal, sounds like it may have been a ritual

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[561] TRU 292, Š34-07-00, Puzriš-Dagan: 1 ^{kuš}šuhub$_2$ du$_8$-ši-a e$_2$-ba-an lugal, 1 tug$_2$ šag$_4$ ^{kuš}šuhub$_2$ e$_2$-ba-an Šu-E$_2$-a. . . ba-zi E$_2$-sag-da-na Nibru^{ki}-ka.
MVN 02 357, Š34-12-00, Puzriš-Dagan: 1 ^{kuš}[x], 1 ^{kuš}e-sir$_2$ e$_2$-ba-an, e$_2$-ud-7-na-ka a-tu$_5$-a-lugal. . . ba-zi [E$_2$]-sag-da-na Nibru^{ki}-ka.

[562] MVN 11 Y, Š35-00-00, Umma: nig$_2$ giš-tag-ga-lugal.

[563] BPOA 2 2425, Š35-12-00, Umma: 13 guruš ud-2-še$_3$ lugal nig$_2$-kas$_7$-ta [. . .] nigin-a. The missing lines in this text make it impossible to discern what exactly was going on, but it may in fact not be referring to a circumambulation, as nig$_9$-kas$_7$ is not a place, as one would expect, but the act or result of accounting, and the verb nigin, in addition to "circumambulation", may also mean "total, sum".

[564] MVN 13 380, Š35-12-00, Girsu: beer provision (igi-kar$_2$) A-hu-ma mussa^{sa2}-lugal.
Note that the govenor (ensi$_2$) of Puš, an office suitable for a member of the royal family, was one Ahuma, attested from Š47-02-21 (MVN 15 146, Puzriš-Dagan) to ŠS04-09-17 (OrSP 47-49 123, Puzriš-Dagan), although one can't state with certainty that these were the same man.

[565] PDT 1 635, Š36-12-00, Puzriš-Dagan: 180 gag-zu$_2$-zabar šu-lugal, 60 gag-si-sa$_2$ šu-lugal, 1440 gag-zu$_2$-zabar, 5700 gag-zu$_2$-uruda, 900 gag-zu$_2$-na$_4$ TAR si-ga, 18,149 gag-zu$_2$-na$_4$, 3,600 gag-si-sa$_2$. . . šu ba-ti E$_2$-sag-da-na Nibru^{ki}-ka.
"Gag" is translated as peg, nail, spike, arrowhead; "zu$_2$" means tooth, as well as blade of a hoe, point of a battering ram. I wonder if gag-zu$_2$ might be better translated as a barbed arrow, rather than some type of spike. This, in fact, is how Lafont (2009), §3.5, understood this term.

action.[566] In the eleventh month Šulgi's consorts Geme-Ninlila, Taddin-Eštar, and Ninkala received, variously, red-gold seals, diadems and precious stones belonging to the palace, while on the road ($šag_4$ kaskal-la).[567] This would seem to be related to another text from this year, with no month noted, in which a red-gold diadem was brought to Šulgi somewhere "on the road" (kaskal-$še_3$).[568] This could equally as well be translated as "on campaign", though no military actions are known for this period. Perhaps the king took several of his consorts along on a diplomatic mission, for which they needed to dress to impress.

Mention should be made of the rather famous tablet, Phillips 13, which describes luxury items taken by Šulgi, various members of his family, and other high status people, to a drinking party in Ur.[569] Originally, the text, which is broken in spots, was understood to refer to a party at one Šarrum-bani's house. Šarrum-bani was the name borne by the husband of an unknown princess, so that, if this were the same man, one might surmise that the event was a betrothal or wedding party.[570] Recently, however, P. Paoletti has reviewed the tablet, restoring the party's host's

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[566] SET 042, Š37-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan: an ox and nine sheep as provisions (igi-kar_2) for ME-E_2-a ud e_2-nig_2 bi-gu_7-a, in Ur.

[567] RA 17 212 4, Š37-11-00, Puzriš-Dagan: two red-gold seals, one dušia stone set with gold, one bead ($ellag_2$) with a precious stone (nir_7) to Geme-Ninlila, one red-gold diadem (aga_3), one crystal (nir_7-igi) to Taddin-Eštar, one red-gold diadem to Ninkala, one toggle-pin for the wife of Naram-ili, they received what belongs to the palace (e_2-gal-kam šu ba-ti-$eš_2$) on the road ($šag_4$ kaskal-la).
The wife of Naram-ili is unknown. He may be the man of that name who was frequently involved with the receipt and redistribution of booty during Šulgi's reign.

[568] BPOA 1 1693, Š37-00-00, Umma: one aga_3 [GIN_2] kug-sig_{17}-huš-a kaskal-$še_3$ lugal-ra ba-na-de_6 gir_3 Še-ir-ha-an. The conveyor, whose name is also transliterated as Še-er-ha-an, occurs overwhelmingly in texts from Umma, in one of which he is identified as a professional soldier (SAT 2 0185, Š38-00-00: aga_3-us_2), in another as a mounted courier (Torino 2 601, Š46-00-00: ra_2-gaba), and in a third as the recipient of three garments for a royal beer libation or drinking party (SAT 2 0190, Š38-00-00: tug_2 kaš-de_2-a-lugal-ka).

[569] Phillips 13, Š-nd, Puzriš-Dagan. The text lists jewelry, vessels of precious metals, and garments for the king, his queen Šulgi-simtum, his consorts Ninkala, ME-Ea, and Eaniša, his possible consorts Libur-simti and Eštar-ummi, the ens of Nanna, Inana, and Enki of Eridug --- all of whom were most likely the king's children --- the ereš-dingir Tulid-Šamši, Šu-Suen, probably the prince and future king of that name, and one Šagtašaga, who bears the same name as a future lukur of Šu-Suen, along with others not yet further identified. Both the king and Šulgi-simtum also received a luxurious throne, table and bed for the outing.

[570] CTMMA 1 17.

name as Šarrum-ili, and even tentatively dating this text to Š26.[571] If the first is confirmed, then this may be the prince Šarrum-ili, who also served for a time as governor of Uruk.[572] As to the second, while the tablet may still date to relatively early in Šulgi's reign, his twenty-sixth year is impossible, due to the fact that Ennamšita-^{d}Šulgirakeguba, the en of Enki mentioned in the text, was not appointed to that position until Š27 at the earliest.[573]

2.2.2.3 Years Š38-48

In the years from the construction of the Puzriš-Dagan center (Š38) to the end of his tenure (Š48), Šulgi once again concentrated on military excursions, although acts focused on cult are not absent. The king commemorated the building of Puzriš-Dagan (Š39) and the selection of an en-priestess for Nanna (Š43), the second of his reign. Military campaigns were conducted against Šašrum (Š42), Šimurrum and Lullubum (Š44), Urbilum, Šimurrum, Lullubum and Karahar (Š45), Kimaš, Hurti and their lands (Š46), and both Kimaš and Harši for the second time (Š48).[574]

Royal inscriptions that refer to cult activities and in which the king's name is preceded by the divine determinative celebrate events that could have occurred anywhere between Š21 and Š48. During this period Šulgi rebuilt temples for Ninsiana, possibly in Uruk (unprovenanced), Ningirsu in Lagaš, Ningirsu, Nanše, and Ninmarki in Girsu, and Ninhursag in Susa.[575] A copy of a

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[571] BPOA 10 (2012), p. 479.

[572] PDT 1 475, Š45-05-22, Puzriš-Dagan: Šarrum-ili governor (ensi$_2$); BPOA 6 1306, Š47-07-06, Puzriš-Dagan: Šarrum-ili military governor (šagina); Mesopotamia 12 93 B, Š48-10-00,Puzriš-Dagan: Šarrum-ili governor (ensi$_2$) of Uruk; Mesopotamia 12 94 C, AS05-09-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Šarrum-ili governor (ensi$_2$) of Uruk.

[573] The year formula for Š28 commemorates this installation. The event may thus have occurred in Š28, or Š27 at the earliest.

[574] The events listed were commemorated in the formulae for the regnal year shown in parentheses.

[575] RIME 3 2.1.2.7: inscription on tablet on construction of temple of Ninsiana; RIME 3 2.1.2 15: foundation tablet on construction of Nin-Girsu's temple, E-Bagara, in Lagaš; RIME 3 2.1.2.11:

billingual inscription on a now lost monumental stele states that it had been set up for Iškur by Šulgi, although the site of its erection is unknown.[576] Among votive objects, a statuette was provided to Igalim by the king, as was another to Ninsun in Ur.[577] The latter possibly relates to Šulgi's year twenty-one formula, as the broken text of the inscription may be referring to fields being put in order.[578] The king also dedicated beads to Ningal (discovered in Susa), Ninhursag and Ninlil (both unprovenanced), and a bronze axe with a Šulgi inscription but with its dedicatee unmentioned that was found in a sarcophagus in Susa.[579] A military campaign of the king is commemorated on a brick inscription detailing Šulgi's victory against Kimaš and Hurti, and his subsequent piling of the corpses of the defeated into mounds, an event commemorated in the king's regnal formula for his forty-sixth year.[580]

The number of bureaucratic records rose noticeably after the center at Puzriš-Dagan went into operation, not only here but also in the provinces. The amount of times the king was mentioned in documents from this decade rose correspondingly, although not in exact proportion to the increase in total records. Almost all of Šulgi's documented activities were connected with ritual or partying, the majority of them taking place in and around Nippur, followed in frequency by Uruk, Ur and Umma. The earliest mention of the king in this final decade of his rule occurred in texts from

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inscription on copper canephors and a foundation tablet on the construction of Nin-Girsu's temple, E-ninni, in Girsu; RIME 3 2.1.2.13: inscription on foundation tablets and a bronze canephore on building of Ninmarki's temple, E-munus-gilsa, in Girsu; RIME 3 2.1.2.30: inscription on foundation tablets and canephores regarding construction of temple of Ninhursag of Susa, excavated at acropolis at Susa.

[576] RIME 3 2.1.2.38.

[577] RIME 3 2.1.2.55: inscription on statuette dedicated to Igalim, found in Girsu; RIME 3 2.1.2.57: inscription on statue dedicated to Ninsun, found in the gipar at Ur.

[578] Frayne, RIME 3 2.1.2.57, p. 159. The line, which the first three signs are partially, and the second two and last three signs are fully restored, may read: u_3 a_2-šuku!-[ra-ke_4] si m[u-sa_2-a].

[579] RIME 3 2.1.2.58: a carnelian bead dedicated to Ningal; RIME 3 2.1.2.59: a carnelian bead dedicated to Ninhursag; RIME 3 2.1.2.60: a carnelian bead dedicated to Ninlil; RIME 3 2.1.2.49: inscription on bronze axe found in Susa.

[580] RIME 3 2.1.2.33.

Umma, where a number of items, including foodstuff, drink, nose-rings for oxen, and silver and gold bracelets were issued for royal drinking party, presumably in that same province.[581] One document from Š38, but without a month noted, lists garments distributed for royal drinking parties in Umma, Ur, and Nippur, in the latter instance to the king and to a large number of generals.[582] Two Umma texts from the ninth month of this year deal with a royal kaš-de$_2$-a. In the first, the large quantity of different types of flour, plus beer and wine, would indicate that this kašdea was a party as opposed to a ritual libation, as would the 387 animals recorded as expended in the second, but for the fact that the latter kašdea took place in a cattle abattoir (e$_2$-gud-gaz).[583]

In the first month of Š40, six birds were expended for another royal drinking party somewhere in the Nippur vicinity. As, on this same tablet, the delivery of a duckling to the palace preceded the party by only two days, one might reasonably assume both the presence of the king and the non-ritual nature of the provisions.[584] In the ninth month of Š40, animals were disbursed as sacrifices to the "Side of the Throne" and to Allatum, for a processional lamentation of Nanna, and as food for the king.[585] While one cannot state with certainty that Šulgi was involved in any of the rites mentioned, or where exactly these rites occurred, it is clear that the king was in Sumer on this date. In the second month of Š41 Šulgi's consort Geme-Ninlila received oxen for the performance

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[581] BPOA 6 0944, Š38-00-00, Umma: silver for the standard (šu-nir) of Gu-edena, gold and silver for bracelets and nose-rings for oxen (kiri$_3$-gud), for kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal; twenty-five oxen, 322 sheep and forty goats kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal; Note that this document has an ambiguous year formula that could also apply to ŠS05.

[582] SAT 2 0190, Š38-00-00, Umma: a total of 504 garments (tug$_2$) of the royal drinking party (tug$_2$ kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal-ka), including three to the king and 113 to generals in Nippur, others in Umma, and yet others sent to Ur.

[583] AnOr 01 040, Š38-09-00, Umma: various flours, pulse, dates, oil, beer and wine for kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal; BIN 5 061, Š38-09-00, Umma: fifteen oxen, 120 sheep and thirty goats, a maš-da-ri-a (a type of donation intended for a specific, usually ritual event of major import), and ten oxen, 202 sheep, and ten goats (in) the cattle slaughter house (e$_2$-gud-gaz), a royal libation (kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal).

[584] AnOr 01 002, Š40-01-22, Puzriš-Dagan: one dead duckling brought into the palace, on the twentieth, one duckling and five birds for a royal drinking party (kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal) on the twenty-second.

[585] MVN 03 178, Š40-09-05, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep zag-gu$_2$-la$_2$-še$_3$, two lambs nig$_2$-gu$_7$-lugal-še$_3$, two sheep er$_2$-su$_3$-a ^{d}Nanna, and one sheep siskur$_2$ ^{d}Al-la-tum.

of a ritual associated with various goddesses, called the elunum.[586] In the ninth month oil and cheese were sent to the king, at an undisclosed location, in or as part of a ritual concerning the Boat of the Dawn. A later Girsu text dating to Š48 specified that a Boat of Dawn rite involving the king was held in Ur, but it's not clear if all such rites to this boat also took place there.[587]

The king does not occur in the records for the next year (Š42) until the seventh month, when he was sent a lamb as food on the same day that he went out to the sheep shed, an act that was the culmination of four stages of offerings during the month of the Festival of Šulgi.[588] As a similar text dating to Š47 and involving both king and queen most likely took place in Uruk, the events described in this Š42 document may also have unfolded there. In the tenth month of this same year, sacrifices were made to the Throne of Šulgi as appropriations for a festival when the king himself was in Nippur.[589] These animals were taken in charge by an administrator of An during the month of the Festival of An, so that one suspects that Šulgi and his throne played some part in that festival's rituals. Unfortunately, as this tablet does not include a day, it is impossible to tell whether Šulgi was in Nippur before or after the thirteenth of that same month, when sheep were provided for a beer libation (or party) when the king and his party returned from Urusagrig to Uruk.[590] An Umma text from the eleventh month lists disbursement of 2,760 breads and twelve jugs of beer, of which Šulgi received three breads and one jug, with an unexpended amount of 1,860

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[586] YOS 04 240, Š41-02-17, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen e_3-lu-num_2 Geme-Ninlila.

[587] CDLI P209999, Š41-09-00, Girsu: oil and cheese ma_2-ud-zal-la ki lugal-$še_3$.
See also DAS 347, Š48-06-00, Girsu.

[588] OIP 115 079, Š42-07-09, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheeps $siskur_2$-$še_3$, a lamb nig_2-gu_7-lugal-$še_3$ as the fourth stage of the ritual (ud-4-kam) of ga_2-udu-$še_3$ e_3-a, on the ninth of the month. For the first stage (ud-1-kam) sheep were provided for an offering ($siskur_2$), for the second animals were sacrificed in the sheep shed, to Ninsun, and on going to the "side" (zag-DU-de_3), and for the third at the Place of Disappearance (nig_2 ki-zah_3-$še_3$).

[589] UDT 177, Š42-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan: three lambs ^{giš}gu-za ^{d}Šul-gi-ra, nig_2-ezem dab_5 ud ^{d}Šul-gi-ra $šag_4$ Nibru^{ki}.

[590] TRU 284, Š42-10-14, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep royal libation (kaš-de_2-a-lugal) when they came from Urusagrig (ud Uru-sag-rig_7^{ki}-ta mu-er-ra), on the thirteenth; one sheep nig_2-gu_7-lugal-$še_2$ $šag_4$ e_2-gal-ka, in Uruk on the fourteenth.

breads and one jug of beer termed "things on hand, items of the chamber, in KI.AN".[591] That many of the other recipients were local leaders (the governor, his son and his minister, the elders, the mayor) and cult personnel (the lumah, egizi-mah, nugig-gal, lukur, gudug, gudug of the chamber, snake handler, and singer) might imply that some large-scale ritual, perhaps accompanied by a banquet, was involved, but the text is mute on this point. At some time in Š42 the king also threw drinking parties in Umma, one of which was co-hosted by his consort Ninkala and served enough meat to feed 21,600 participants, if at one sitting.[592]

Šulgi's next appearance occurs in the second month of Š43, when the king was present during the votive offering of seventy cattle in the temple of Enlil.[593] Twice between the third and the sixth month the king's consort Geme-Ninlila received hides for an unspecified offering (siskur$_2$) and for a ritual in Uruk involving the Boat of Heaven.[594] Also in the sixth month, oxen were provided for the king's trip to the Holy Mound in Ur, apparently in connection with the Akiti festival.[595] An undated text from Š43 records a large quantity of apples sent to the king at an unnoted location from Girsu, and another such text from Umma documents a banquet for Šulgi of KI.AN.[596] In

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[591] Journal Asiatique 11-3, 619 1, Š42-11-00, Umma: three ninda and one dug kaš ^{d}Šul-gi. . .šu-nigin$_2$ 2,760 ninda, šu-nigin$_2$ twelve dug kaš. . . zi-ga-am$_3$, 1,860 ninda, one dug kaš nig$_2$-gal$_2$-la nig$_2$-dag-ga KI.AN^{ki}.

[592] BIN 5 004, Š42-00-00, Umma: twenty oxen, ninety-eight sheep and sixty-two goats, kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal u$_3$ Nin-kal-la, plus seven oxen for a royal sacrifice (nig$_2$ giš-tag-ga-lugal); TLB 3 037, Š42-00-00, Umma: thirty sheep and seventeen goats kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal; Ledgers pl. 34 19, Š42-00-00, Umma: one gold vessel (gal kug-sig$_{17}$), one item of lapis lazuli inlaid with gold (^{giš}a-gud za-gin$_3$ kug-sig$_{17}$ gar), for a royal drinking party (kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal).

[593] Torino 1 205, Š43-02-22, Puzriš-Dagan: twenty-nine cows and forty-one oxen, a votive offering (a-ru-a) to the Temple of Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra).

[594] JCS 31 175 G, Š43-03-00, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheephides for siskur$_2$ Geme-Ninlila; JCS 31 174 F, Š43-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one oxhide, five sheephidea, one goathide, and one lambhide, hides of oxen and sheep for the ma$_2$-an-na of Geme-Ninlila, in Uruk.

[595] SET 048, Š43-06-28, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen as provisions (igi-kar$_2$), one ox lugal Du$_6$-kug-še$_3$.

[596] MVN 22 180, Š43-00-00, Girsu: 1.4.4 gur of apples ki lugal-še$_3$; TCL 5 5667, Š45-01-00 to Š46-04-00, Umma: even though this document is summarized as a sixteen month text between these two dates, two lines record an earlier banquet of ^{d}Šul-gi KI.AN^{ki} the year the en of Nanna was chosen by extispicy, which happened two years before, in Š43.

otherwise undated texts from Š44, a royal lustration was performed in Umma, and a large quantity of beer for a royal drinking party was disbursed, some of it to "the queens".[597] In the tenth month of this year, in Girsu, grain was released for fodder of oxen and sheep for a royal libation or drinking party; the text is too uninformative to determine which was meant.[598] Two months later, also in Girsu, several types of flour were sent to the king as mašdaria, a type of gift or tax that Walther Sallaberger has described as "deliveries to the royal court which are spent there during the state festivals, especially those of Ur."[599] There did exist in Girsu a festival še-il$_2$-la, the month in which Šulgi was sent the flour.[600] However, it would not seem to rise to the level of a state festival, so perhaps the king was in one of the cities closest to the crown: Ur, Uruk or Nippur.

Šulgi next reappears in Umma in the first month of Š45, where he sacrificed six oxen on the occasion of either he or one of his statues entering his new palace. This event was also marked by a banquet of the deified Šulgi, another for his statue in KI.AN, and a royal beer libation or, more likely, drinking party, given that five oxen were expended for it.[601] In the third month of Š45 the king was present for sacrifices to Inana, although in which of her temple was not stated.[602] P. Steinkeller

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[597] CDLI P387650, Š44-00-00, Umma: four hoes (^{giš}al) for a-tu$_5$-a-lugal; JCS 24 17 91, Š44-00-00, Umma: 52.3.1 gur of beer (kaš), plus 1.2.4 gur to the queens (ki ereš-e-ne-še$_3$) for a kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal, and a jug of beer (dida) for the kaš-de$_2$-a of Ninkala.

[598] SAT 1 034, Š44-10-00, Girsu: 15.0.0 še gur, šag$_4$-gal gud udu kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal-še$_3$.

[599] Nisaba 17 066, Š44-12-00, Girsu: flour (zid$_2$) maš-da-ri-a ki lugal-še$_3$, iti še-il$_2$-la. See Sallaberger (unpubl.), p. 10.

[600] An undated tablet from Girsu, HLC 2 023 (pl. 062), records flour, bread, beer and oil summarized as "items of the offerings" (nig$_2$-siskur-ra) for month še-ila-la, which consist of offerings in the irrigated field on the bank of the Pirig-gen canal and the Tigris, for the ritual coming forth to the "milk eating" (ga-gu$_7$-še$_3$ e$_3$-a), for the Balag of the Storm circumambulating the city (Balag-ud-da uru nigin$_2$-na), for the boat of Makkan, at the inlet of the Muš canal, for a cow NE-ra going to Antasura, as food for the king in the Holy City (nig$_2$-gu$_7$-a-lugal šag$_4$ uru-kug-ga), as food for doves, as food for the singer of the canebrake, and as an offering in the bird-house. One might suspect that Šulgi had been involved in one of these events in Š44-12-00 in Girsu.

[601] TCL 5671, Š45-01-00 to Š46-04-00, Umma: a sixteen month account, with year Š45 including six oxen for nig$_2$-giš-tag-ga-lugal, two oxen when ^{d}Šul-gi e$_2$-gibil-na ku$_4$-ra, two oxen for gišbun$_x$ ^{d}Šul-gi-ra, one ox for gišbun$_x$ ^{d}Šul-gi KI.AN^{ki}, and five oxen for kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal. See also duplicate TCL 5 5667, Š45-01-00 to Š46-04-00, Umma.

[602] Torino 1 223, Š45-03-00, Puzriš-Dagan: lugal ku$_4$-ra.

has characterized the language of Šulgi's year 45 formula as emphasizing the king's "personal participation" in the "all-encompassing military operation" it commemorates, against Šimurrum, Lullubum, Karahar and Urbilum.[603] This may well be factual, as Šulgi does not recur in the records of this year until the tenth month, when he and one of his queens were issued animals as food. However, it cannot be determined from the text what city they were abiding in then.[604] A month later, on the seventh, Šulgi was in Nippur, where two sheep each were sacrificed to Enlil and Ninlil while the king performed a beer libation for Enlil in the E-kur.[605] The fifteenth of this same month found Šulgi and a queen in what would seem to be Uruk, given that Nanaa was prominent among those receiving offerings during a rite that continued over three days.[606]

Šulgi's forty-sixth regnal year opened with the king present during a sacrifice to Inana at an unspecified site.[607] The next month the king attended a series of offerings and a lustration (a-tu_5-a) of a statue of Ninurta that were undertaken over the course of five days in the temples of Enlil and

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[603] Steinkeller (forthcoming c), Grand Strategy, p. 34.
The same may be said of the king's succeeding campaign, against Kimaš and Hurti, which seems to have been undertaken in Š45 and to have spilled over into the first few months of Š46, for which event the latter year was eventually named (Steinkeller [ ], Grand-Strategy, pp. 93-94). Note, for example, the language of RIME 3.2.1.2.33, an Akkadian-language inscription on a brick, believed to have come from Susa, that deals with this campaign. It reads in full: ^{d}Šul-gi DINGIR *ma-ti-šu da-nam$_2$* LUGAL URI_5^{KI} LUGAL *ki-ib-ra-tim ar-ba-im, i-nu ma-at* KI.MAŠ^{KI} *u$_3$ Hu-ur-tim^{KI} u$_3$-ha-li-qu$_2$-na hi-ri-tam$_2$ iš-ku-un u$_3$ bi$_2$-ru-tam$_2$ ib-ni*. (Šulgi, the god of his land, the mighty, the king of Ur, the king of the four quarters, when he destroyed the land of Kimaš and Hurti, set out a ditch and built a mound [of their corpses].)

[604] Nisaba 08 374, Š45-10-15: one sheep, one lamb, one wild boar, one duckling, one pigeon, and six doves nig_2-gu_7-lugal-$še_3$, on the tenth; one wild boar nig_2-gu_7-nin-ga_2-$še_3$ on the fifteenth.
Note also a Girsu text recording oil and cheese sent as a mašdaria "to where the king is" (ki lugal-$še_3$), which could have been anywhere, even on campaign: ASJ 03 167 148, Š45-05-00, Girsu.

[605] AUCT 1 960, Š45-11-07, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}En-lil_2-ra ^{d}Šul-gi-re kaš-de_2-a.

[606] PDT 1 582, Š45-11-17, Puzriš-Dagan: one kid nig_2-gu_7-lugal-$še_3$, one ox three sheep one lamb ^{d}Na-na-a, and one sheep ^{d}Šul-gi, pre-dawn offerings, and one kid $siskur_2$ ^{d}Gibil on the first day; two sheep one lamb ^{d}Na-na-a, and one sheep ^{d}Šul-gi, pre-dawn offerings, one kid $siskur_2$ ^{d}Gibil and one lamb to "the night thing" (nig_2-gi_6-$še_3$) on the second day; and two sheep and one lamb at a beer libation to Nanaa in the palace, conveyed by Milady (gir_3 nin-ga_2) on the third day.

[607] SET 051, Š46-01-13, Puzriš-Dagan: [x] oxen and eight sheep to Inana, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

Ninlil.[608] The month in which these rites were performed, as well as the attention to Ninurta, suggests that the Gudsisu festival was involved. The day after these rites ended, apparently still in Nippur, the king and his likely consort Taddin-Eštar each received animals during a royal lustration of Nintinuga.[609] Also in the second month began a series of drinking parties and banquets celebrating Šulgi's victory over Kimaš and Hurti that went on for the next several months. Although none of these texts mention the king, it seems highly unlikely that he would have absented himself from his own victory parties.[610] The earliest attested occurred in the second month, probably in Nippur, when twenty-nine oxen (for 17,400 people in one sitting) were disbursed for a drinking party when Kimaš was destroyed.[611] A similar party took place the next month, featuring fifty-one oxen (30,600 celebrants if one meal) for when Hurti was destroyed.[612] Hurti was again the named enemy in the fourth month, when a series of sacrifices over several days were characterized as a celebratory banquet in the temple of Enlil.[613] During the same month apples from Girsu were sent

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[608] NYPL 348, Š46-02-22, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep each to Hendursag and Ninlil, one ox one cow one lamb to Enlil, onelamb to Hursag-galama, one ox one cow one lamb to Ninlil, one sheep one lamb to Nanna, one sheep each to Nisaba, Nintinuga and Ninhursag, in the Temple of Ninlil, two lambs to the Holy Mound, one sheep each to Ninhursag and Nusku, one goat each to Ninurta and Inana, one sheep to Ninsun, one goat each to Lugalbanda, Enki and Nintinuga, great offering ($sisku r_2$-gu-la), two oxen four sheep one lamb and one goat to Ninurta at the lustration (a-tu_5-a) of Ninurta in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one lamb to Ninlil, when the lamb was brought in with the delivery ($sila_4$ mu-du-da ku_4-ra), Aradmu cupbearer (sagi), authorized it, from the bala of the governor ($ensi_2$) of Puš; and TRU 293, Š46-02-26, Puzriš-Dagan: one goat each to Nusku and Ninurta, one lamb each to Enlil and Hursag-galama, two lambs to Ninlil, one sheep one lamb to Nanna, one lamb each to Nisaba and Nintinuga, in the Temple of Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one ox two lambs to Utu, from the bala of the governor of Puš.

[609] MVN 13 653, Š46-02-27, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox one goat mu-lugal-$še_3$, one goat Ta_2-din-$Eš_4$-tar_2, one sheep ^{d}Nin-tin-ug_5-ga a-tu_5-a-lugal, from the bala of the governor ($ensi_2$) of Puš.

[610] See Steinkeller (forthcoming c), Grand Strategy, pp. 92-94, for an analysis of these texts.

[611] YOS 04 074, Š46-02-00, Puzriš-Dagan: kaš-de_2-a ud Ki-maš^{ki} ba-hul.

[612] AUCT 1 683, Š46-03-00: kaš-de_2-a ud Hu-ur_5-ti^{ki} ba-hul.

[613] SAT 2 0517, Š46-04-23, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep to Ninlil, Suen, Nintinuga, Dumuzi, and Nisaba in the Temple of Ninlil, and sheep to the Holy Mound (Du_6-kug), classified as a banquet ($gišbun_x$) in the Temple of Enlil when Hurti was destroyed for the second time; Ontario 1 044, Š46-04-24, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep to Ninlil and an unspecified amount of baked bread (ninda du_8-a) as a banquet in the Temple of Enlil when Hurti was destroyed for the second time.

See also BPOA 7 2852, XX-04-00, Puzriš-Dagan: nine oxen for a banquet in Nippur when Hurti was destroyed for the second time.

to the king and an unnamed queen for the Boat of Dawn ritual at an unknown location, and a royal sacrifice was performed in Umma for the festival of the first fruits.[614] The final victory party over Hurti occurred in the fifth month, with a banquet given in the temple of Enlil and Ninlil "when the ruler of Kimaš was captured".[615] The sixteen oxen and eight suckling lambs provided for this celebration would have fed approximately 9,800 revelers. During the Akiti festival of the sixth month, between offerings in the Temple of Belat-suhnir when her statue went in the boat of Nanna to the Akiti House and to Nanna in the Akiti House, and offerings at the the temple site where the statues of Belat-sunhir and Belat-terraban were now absent, sheep, pigeons, a duckling and a wild boar were sent to the king in Karzida, apparently as food.[616] In the tenth month of this same year (Š46) a beer libation was poured for Inana in Šulgi's presence.[617] In the year's final month, Šulgi poured a beer libation for Enlil, presumably in the E-kur, and was also on site in Uruk where beer was provided for a royal drinking party.[618] The king had also been in Umma this year, on otherwise unspecified dates, for either libations or drinking parties, as well as for a sacrifice at a festival of the gathering of the grain.[619]

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[614] SAT 1 404, Š46-04-00, Girsu: apples ki lugal-še$_3$ and ki ereš-še$_3$ ma$_2$-ud-zal-la; TCL 5 5671, Š45-01-00 to Š46-04-00, Umma: a sixteen month account, including two oxen for a royal sacrifice (nig$_2$ giš-tag-ga-lugal) at the festival of the first fruits (ezem-nesag).

[615] OIP 115, Š46-05-03, Puzriš-Dagan: gišbun$_x$ e$_2$ ^{d}En-lil$_2$ ^{d}Nin-lil$_2$ ud ensi$_2$ Ki-maš^{ki} in-ma-dab$_5$-ba-a. This event was accompanied or immediately followed by a lustration to Nintinuga, the goddess of health.

[616] NYPL 048, Š46-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one ewe one goat in the Temple of Belat-suhnir when she went in the boat of Nanna to the Akiti House, one sheep an offering (siskur$_2$) to Nanna when he reached? the Akiti House (ud A$_2$-ki-ti), two fattend sheep, one duckling, two pigeons, five doves, and a wild boar (zahda$_x^{zah}$-nita giš-gi) to the king (ki lugal-še$_3$) to Karzida, two lambs to the place of absence of Belat-suhnir and Belat-terraban [five lines broken], month Akiti.

[617] SAT 2 0051, Š46-10-15, Puzriš-Dagan: kaš-de$_2$-a ^{d}Inana lugal ku$_4$-ra.

[618] OIP 115 433, Š46-12-07, Puzriš-Dagan: ^{d}En-lil$_2$-ra ^{d}Šul-gi-re kaš-de$_2$-a; PPAC 5 1127, Š46-12-00, Girsu: 1.1.1 gur of beer for a royal drinking party (kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal) in Uruk.

[619] MVN 14 0120, Š46-00-00, Umma: 300 baskets for kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal; MVN 15 342, Š46-00-00, Umma: grain for flour rations (še zid$_2$-munu$_4$) for kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal; TCL 5 5671, Š45-01-00 to Š46-04-00: a sixteen month account, in year Š46 including one ox for a royal sacrifice (nig$_2$ giš-tag-ga-lugal) for the festival of the gathering of the grain (ezem še-ur$_4$-ra).

The king was once again in Nippur in the second month of Š47, for sacrifices to a wide variety of deities in the E-kur over the course of two days, doubtless as part of the Gudsisu festival.[620] An interesting text from this same month records the presentation of silver bracelets to Taddin-kiza, a female singer of Šulgi's consort Ninkala, and to Tariš-matum, a nursemaid of the princess Šat-Suen, after those two women had managed to return successfully from the River Ordeal.[621] The River Ordeal was the last, drastic step in court disputes in which neither of the opposing parties would back down. As it was possible for the influential and wealthy to hire, otherwise persuade, and perhaps even coerce subordinates into acting as substitutes for them in various unpleasant matters, one wonders if someone had dared not only to sue one of the reigning queens and a princess, but also to persist through the final measure, for which these noble women

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[620] MVN 15 146, Š47-02-21, Puzriš-Dagan: one lamb each to Nusku, Ninurta, Enlil, and Hursag-galama, two lambs to Ninlil, one ewe one lamb to Nanna, one ewe each to Nisaba, Nintinuga and Ninhursag, in the Temple of Ninlil, two lambs to the Holy Mound (Du_6-kug), one ewe each to Ninhursag, Nusku, Ninurta, Inana, Ninsun, Lugalbanda, Enki and Nintinuga, great offering ($siskur_2$-gu-la), one lamb at the big gate (ka_2-gu-la), four ewes at the encircling walls? (suh-suh) of the Temple of Enlil, one ewe for igi-gal_2, one ewe one goat each for Ningagia, an item of cedar (^{giš}eren-KU), and the yonder throne dais (barag-ri-a), offering ($siskur_2$) of the encircling wall, one ewe one lamb each to Nusku and Sadirnuna in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one lamb each to Nusku, Ninurta, and Ninlila, two goats at the gate (ka_2) of Enlil, one ewe to Kalkal, one lamb one goat at the abzu of Enlil, forty-eight ewes one lamb and one goat to Enlil, two ewes one lamb to Hursag-galama, two ewes to the king's statue (alan-lugal) in the Temple of Enlil, one lamb one goat to the abzu of Ninlil, thirty-six sheep thirteen goats and one lamb to Ninlil, two sheep one lamb to Nanna, one goat to the threshing sledge (giš-bad), one sheep each to Nisaba and Nintinuga, two goats to the stool? (giš-$šu_4$-a), one goat each to the balag and the chariot, one sheep each to Ur-Suen and Enlilazi, one goat to the plow, three sheep to the king's statue (alan-lugal) in the Temple of Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) for the third time, five sheep three lambs four kids to the Holy Mound, one lamb each to Nanna and Inana when he came in with the wine (geštin-da ku_4-ra), banquet in the house of Aradmu, one lamb at the House-where-fish-is-not-eaten (e_2-ku_6-nu-gu_7) of Ninurta, En-Nanšekiag the cupbearer (sagi) authorized it, from the bala of the governor ($ensi_2$) of Puš; Ontario 1 040, Š47-02-22, Puzriš-Dagan: one lamb each to Nusku, Ninurta, Enlil, Hursag-galama and Ninlil, one ewe and one lamb to Nanna, one ewe each to Nisaba, Nintinuga and Ninhursag in the Temple of Ninlil, one ewe each to Ninhursag, Nusku, Ninurta, Inana, Ninsun, Lugalbanda, Enki, [three lines missing] in the king's presence ([lugal]-ku_4-ra), one sheep each to Lugal-gudsisu and Memešaga, En-Nanšekiag the cupbearer authorized it, from the bala of the governor of Puš; and TCL 2 5501, Š47-02-21 and 22, Puzriš-Dagan: exact duplicate of text for Š47-02-21 above; for text of Š47-02-22 above, the same through the TEample of Ninlil, then: one ewe each to Ninhursag, Nusku, Ninurta, Inana, Ninsun, and Lugalbanda, one goat each to Enki and Nintinuga, great offering ($siskur_2$-gu-la), one ewe one lamb to Ninurta and Nin-Nibru, one lamb each to Nusku and Sadirnuna in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one sheep each to Lugal-gudsisu and Memešaga, En-Nanšekiag the cupbearer authorized it.

[621] Trouvaille 85, Š47-02-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one silver bracelet each to Ta_2-di_3-ki-za nar-munus Nin-kal-la and to Ta_2-ri_2-iš-ma-tum ummeda Ša-at-^{d}Suen dumu-munus-lugal-ka, ud ^{d}Id_2-lu_2-ru-gu_2-ta i_3-im-e-re-$eš_2$-ša-a, authorized by Arad-Nanna.

then provided their servitors as stand-ins. The following month Šulgi was present during an offering to Inana, possibly in Uruk.[622] In the fifth month of this year animals were distributed as food for the king and as provisions for the princess Tezin-Mama and (possibly) the prince Šarrum-ili, although their location isn't mentioned.[623] During the Akiti festival of the next month, animals were issued to the king in Ur when he came from Karzida.[624] In the ninth month both Šulgi and one of his queens were, apparently, in Uruk, where he received food, and animals were sacrificed to Inana when the queen went out to the sheep shed.[625] It is unclear where the king was when oil was sent to him from the ereš-dingir priestess, presumably of Bau, for the Boat of Dawn, per a Girsu text of this same month.[626] The king's exact whereabouts are also not mentioned in month ten, when he attended a libation to Inana.[627] In addition, Šulgi threw one or more large drinking parties this year, the month of which was not provided, with supplies provided by the individuals in Girsu.[628]

Šulgi's last regnal year opened with the king receiving food in a field where sacrifices to the Tigris and to Ninlil were taking place.[629] In the second month, following a sacrifice to Nanaa, the

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[622] Torino 1 223, Š47-03-00, Puzriš-Dagan: four sheep to Inana lugal ku_4-ra. The only other item on this tablet is a sacrifice to Nanaa.

[623] OIP 115 117, Š47-05-20, Puzriš-Dagan: one wild boar nig_2-gu_7-lugal-$še_3$, one wild boar, one duckling igi-kar_2 Te-zi_2-in-Ma-Ma, one wild boar [igi?]-[x] [x] Šar-ru-um-i_3-li_2.

[624] AnOr 07 084, Š47-06-22, Puzriš-Dagan: lugal-ra. . . Kar-zi-da^{ki}-ta gen-na $šag_4$ Uri$_5^{ki}$-ma.

[625] DoCu EPHE 299, Š47-09-20, Puzriš-Dagan: two lambs one kid nig_2-gu_7-lugal-$še_3$, followed by a sheep to Ninsun, a lamb to the Place of Disappearance in the sheep shed (ga_2-udu-ka), and two sheep as an offering ($siskur_2$) to Inana in the palace nin-mu e_2-udu-$še_3$ e_3-a.

[626] SAT 1 087, Š47-09-00, Girsu: oil ma_2-ud-zal-la ki lugal-$še_3$, expenditure of the ereš-dingir priestess.

[627] SAT 2 0551, Š47-10-15, Puzriš-Dagan: fifteen sheep libation (kaš-de_2-a) Inana in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[628] CT 07 35 BM 018414, Š47-00-00, Girsu: 23.0.4 gur of bread (ninda) for kaš-de_2-a-lugal; TUT 104, Š47-00-00, Girsu: 44.3.3 gur of flour (dabin) kaš-de_2-a-lugal; PPAC 5 1041, Š47-00-00, Girsu: 8.0.2 gur of bread for a kaš-de_2-a-lugal.

[629] Rochester 022, Š48-01-10, Puzriš-Dagan: one kid ^{d}Id-Idigna, one sheep ^{d}Nin-lil_2, one sheep and one lamb nig_2-gu_7-lugal-$še_3$, zi-ga $šag_4$ a-$šag_4$ a-$gara_2$.

king received a suckling lamb as food at an unknown location.[630] Šulgi was in Nippur in the fourth month, where animals for food and as "items for the festival" of seeding (šu-numun) were sent to him, and in the sixth month he was in Ur, involved somehow with the Boat of Dawn.[631] In the seventh month, a large quantity of groats were expended for a royal drinking party in Girsu.[632] Three texts from this year, with no month recorded, that mention an unnamed king have about an eighty percent chance of that king being Šulgi.[633] One lists beer for the Boat of Dawn and flour as a provision for the king, disbursed in Ur but under the seal of the governor of Girsu.[634] Another records that sixteen sheep carcasses were sent from Girsu to Tummal for a royal drinking party.[635] The third documents five oxen disbursed for a royal sacrifice (nig_2-giš-tag-ga-lugal) in Umma "for the third time", although the first two times were not recorded.[636] Finally, in what would seem to be Šulgi's last direct attestation in the records, a lustration of Nanna was performed before the king and a number of military men and foreigners on Š48-09-06.[637] Šulgi died before Š48-11-02, when the earliest rite at his mortuary chapel was recorded.[638]

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[630] PDT 1 339, Š48-02-10, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep Nanaa, one suckling lamb nig_2-gu_7-lugal-$še_3$.

[631] NATN 416, Š48-04-14, Nippur: two sheep and one lamb as food (nig_2-gu_7-a) thirteen sheep and one goat, maš-da-ri-a items of the festival of šu-numun (nig_2-ezem-ma-šu-numun-ka) were brought in to the king (ki lugal-$še_3$).
DAS 347, Š48-06-00, Girsu: one [x] ma-ud-[zal]-la ki lugal-$še_3$ in Ur.

[632] Nisaba 13 036, Š48-07-00, Girsu: 7.0.3 groats kaš-de_2-a-lugal-$še_3$.

[633] From the extant records it appears that Šulgi was alive for the first nine or ten months of this regnal year.

[634] CT 05 47 BM 019742, Š48-00-00, Girsu: ma_2 ud-zal-la, igi-kar_4-lugal $šag_4$ Uri_5^{ki}, kišib $ensi_2$.

[635] HLC 3 395 (pl. 151), Š48-00-00, Girsu: sixteen ad_6-udu kaš-de_2-a-lugal Tum-ma-al^{ki}-$še_3$.

[636] Nisaba 06 20, Š48-00-00, Umma: five oxen nig_2-giš-tag-ga-lugal a-ra_2-3-kam.

[637] Nik. 2 474, Š48-09-06, Puzriš-Dagan: eight oxen a-tu_5-a ^{d}Nanna lugal ku_4-ra. Present also, and receiving one ox each, were Lu-Nanna, possibly the prince and general of that name, Šusala, elsewhere characterized as an "easterner" (OLP 08 09 06, Š47-03-09, Puzriš-Dagan: sa_{12}-ti-um), En-ili, who was among a number of foreigners, including Šusala, who received oxen earlier (JCS 31 035 BMC 02, Š46-09-02, Puzriš-Dagan) --- note also the seal of a son of En-ili the general (MVN 03 294, ŠS09-08-00, Puzriš-Dagan: šagina) --- a man with the Hurrian name Tišan-dahi, and Šulgi-ili, a name borne by a number of men, including an Amorite. An ox was also sacrificed to Gula on this occasion. These expenditures were listed together and approved by Aradmu.

2.2.3 The Reign of Amar-Suen

2.2.3.1 Years AS01-08

By the time of Šulgi's successor, Amar-Suen, the establishment of a central redistribution center at Puzriš-Dagan, which had now been in place for ten years, seems to have motivated, if not outright required, an increase in administrative record-keeping in the provinces also, leading to 19,930 documents attributable to Amar-Suen's reign, with only 935 of those having ambiguous year names. Moreover, in contrast to the forty-eight year span for the 16,751 administrative documents of Šulgi's reign, those dating to the years of Amar-Suen's kingship cover only nine years.[639] It is not surprising, then, that the figure of the king himself made much more frequent appearances during Amar-Suen's tenure.

Amar-Suen's regnal year formulae commemorate cultic and military activities typically considered significant by the Ur III kings. Amar-Suen was especially busy with the installation of ens, putting in place an en of Nanna of Ur (AS04) and two ens of Nanna of Gaeš/Karzida (AS02, AS09).[640] While the first, named En-mahgalana, was a replacement for the en of Nanna of Ur appointed by Šulgi in his forty-third year, the latter office would appear to have been an innovation

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This text may give us a *terminus post quem* for Šulgi's death, with the first ki-a-nag attested for him, on Š48-11-02, serving as the *terminus ante quem*. It is, however, possible --- though I believe, only remotely --- that the king attending the lustration of Nanna was Šulgi's successor Amar-Suen.

[638] OrNS 46 225, Š48-11-02, Puzriš-Dagan.

[639] Although Amar-Suen's regnal year formulae apply to nine years, the king was dead by the second month of his ninth year and, as I will argue further on, his death date should be moved up by at least one year.

[640] Sallaberger (1992), pp. 132-133, has argued, I believe plausibly, that the en of Nanna of Karzida, En-agaziana, named only in an undated inscription (RIME 3.2.3.17), is identical with the first such en Amar-Suen appointed to this position. It is clear that the second en had a different name: En-Amar-Suenra-kiag-ana. Note that the earlier appointment was not commemorated in a regnal year formula, but is known rather from administrative texts concerning the installation of an unnamed en of Nanna of Karzida in AS02.

of Amar-Suen's.[641] This king also installed a new en for Inana of Uruk, who took the name En-unugalana (AS05), and another for Enki of Eridug (AS08).[642] The sole cult object for which a year was named was the crafting of a throne for Enlil (AS03).

Military campaigns are reflected in several year formulae. Amar-Suen's second regnal year was named for a campaign against Urbilum, a territory pacified previously by Šulgi. AS06 was called the year the king destroyed Šašrum for the second time, the first "conquest" recorded in administrative texts dating to AS04 that mention a victory over Šašrum and Šuruthum. A campaign launched against the rather trifling foes, Bītum-rabi'um and Iabru, along with the more formidable lands of Huhnuri, was commemorated in Amar-Suen's seventh year formula.[643]

The king's inscriptions deal exclusively with cult matters. In Nippur he built or rebuilt the ziggurat and the small shrine for Enlil in the E-kur complex.[644] In Ur Amar-Suen restored the temenos wall of Nanna's temple, the great portico (Dublah-mah), as well as the gipar of the ens of Nanna both there and at Gaeš/Karzida.[645] The last-named was a major building project, accounts of which peak during the years AS07-AS08.[646] He also presented gold statues of Ningal and of

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[641] On a brick inscription relating Amar-Suen's construction of a gipar for the en of Nanna at Karzida (RIME 3.2.1.3.16), he asserts "from ancient times in Karzida no gipar had been built, no en had lived (there)" (Kar-zi-da ud-ul-li_2-a-ta gi_6-par_4-bi nu-du_3-am_3 en nu-un-ti-la-am_3).

[642] The full name of this en of Enki is unknown, occurring in three abbreviated versions: En-nune-Amar-Suen-kiag, En-nune-kiag, and En-nungalana.

[643] Ancient Huhnuri is identical with the site Tappeh Bormi, near Ramhormoz, in Iran; see Steinkeller (forthcoming c), Grand-Strategy, p. 86.

[644] RIME 3 2.1.3.3: brick inscription on the construction of E-kuraigigal, the ziggurat of Enlil, found in the Inana temple in Nippur; RIME 3 21.3.6: door socket inscription on building a temple for Enlil, found in the small shrine of Enlil in Nippur.

[645] RIME 3 2.1.3.7: inscription on tablet on construction of E-temen-niguru, the temenos wall of Nanna's temple in Ur; RIME 3 2.1.3.9: door socket inscriptions on the construction of the Dubla-mah, found in Ur; RIME 3 2.1.3.8: inscriptions on door sockets and steles found in Ninlil's gipar in Ur, recording its construction; RIME 3 2.1.3.17: inscription on foundation tablets and a canephor on construction of a gipar for Nanna of Karzida and introduction of its en-priestess, En-agaziana.

[646] See Steinkeller (forthcoming f), p. 56.

himself, the latter named "Amar-Suen, discovered by the god, beloved of Ur" and large enough to be placed on a pedestal, most likely to the gipar at Ur, which adjoined Ningal's temple there.[647] In addition, the king built a structure, the "ki-en-nu-ga$_2$-Uri$_5$^{ki}-ma, which can be translated as the watchtower, guardhouse, or prison of Ur.[648] In Uruk Amar-Suen constructed a temple to Inana under her identity as Ninsiana, and dedicated a bronze cult object called an *argibilu* to Inana's gipar.[649] One of the king's major projects was the restoration of Enki's temple in Eridug, an event related in a later composition, in which Amar-Suen's failure to receive permission via extispicy, inability to read other omens, heed advice from sages, and find the temple plans, over the course of eight years is mocked.[650]

The first clear reference to Amar-Suen in administrative sources occurs in a text dated to the last month of Š48, in which beer was conveyed by runners in Guabba to a soldier who was going to the Boat of Royal Blessing, as well as to the king when he went to Enki.[651] By this point in the Ur III period, in addition to his main temple in Eridug, Enki also enjoyed cult service in or near Nippur, in Girsu, on the banks of the Tigris (Lagaš province), and in Umma, so that one cannot

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[647] Two inscriptions mention what would appear to be the same Amar-Suen statue, the first called "Amar-Suen, beloved in Ur", the second "Amar-Suen, nominated by the deity, beloved in Ur". The former (RIME 3.2.1.3.11) occurs on a number of bricks found at various locations in Ur, and provides the detail of the pedestal. The former (RIME 3.2.1.3.12) occurs on a copy of an earlier inscription excavated in the Nabonidus level of Ur's gipar, and mentions the statue of Ninlil as well as the fact that both statues were made of gold.

[648] RIME 3 2.1.3.12: brick inscription on the construction of a structure, possibly a watchtower or prison, called Amar-Suen-beloved-of-Nanna, in Ur.

[649] RIME 3 2.1.3.13: brick inscription on the construction of an "ar-gi-bil-lu" for Inana, Lady of Battle (Nin me$_3$), found in the Eanna Temple in Uruk; RIME 3 1.2.3.14: inscription on foundation tablets and canephores on construction of temple for Inana-Ninsiana in Uruk.

[650] RIME 3 2.1.3.15: brick inscription on the construction of Enki's temple, the Abzu, in Eridug. On this Old Babylonian composition, see Michalowski (1977c), p. 156, who characterized it as "the beginnings of the historiographical tradition of the 'Unheilsherrscher', the calamitous ruler who by his impiety brings destruction upon the land."

[651] Nisaba 22 071, Š48-12d-00, Girsu: beer to Ur-^{d}Da-mu lu$_2$-^{giš}tukul ma$_2$-silim-ma-lugal-še$_3$ du-ni, and to lugal ^{d}En-ki-še$_3$ du-ni. The Boat of Royal Blessing might also be translated as the Boat of Royal Health, Royal Well-being or Royal Welcome.

determine where exactly the newly crowned king was going.[652] If the translation of the boat's name is correct (ma$_2$-silim-ma-lugal), this trip would seem to be part of the king's coronation, perhaps the means by which he introduced himself to various localities. The presence of men from Ebla, Uršu, and Mari in Sumer during the second month of AS01 may have been related to Amar-Suen's accession to the throne, as may the voyage of Naplanum the Amorite by boat to the foreign land (kur) of the Amorites.[653] Amar-Suen himself was in Ur at some point in the third month of his first year, where he presented a bronze boat to as a votive to Annunitum during a beer libation in the palace there.[654] On the twenty-second of this same month animals sufficient to feed 22,500 (if at one sitting) were prepared for professional soldiers when the king returned from Urusagrig to the Nippur area.[655] As Amar-Suen's campaign against Urbilum began sometime in his first regnal year, these men might represent a gathering of the professional army prior to its departure. If so, then it's clear Amar-Suen did not go with them, for the very next month the king was present at a sacrifice in Uruk to Ninsun of Kankal (a sector of Uruk), and in the fifth month he twice attended offerings to numerous deities in Nippur.[656] In the sixth month of this year (AS01) various items were sent from

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[652] Š28 year formula, installing the en of Enki of Eridug; PDT 1 519, Š38-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan: e$_2$-kišib-ba e$_2$ ^{d}En-ki-ka; MVN 12 271, Š48-00-00, Girsu: i$_3$-dub e$_2$ ^{d}En-ki; WMAH 176, Š48-07-00, Girsu: e$_2$ ^{d}En-ki gu$_2$ ^{id2}Idigna; AAICAB 1/1, Ashm. 1911-229, Š28-08-00, Umma: e$_2$ ^{d}En-ki; BPOA 2 2508, Š40-09-00, Umma: a regular offering to Enki, sealed by a gudug of Enki.

[653] AUCT 1 244, AS01-02-02, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep and a goat to Ak-ba-ni lu$_2$ Ma-ri$_2^{ki}$; JCS 57 028 04, AS01-02-23, Puzriš-Dagan: one goat each to I$_3$-li$_2$-^{d}Da-gan lu$_2$ Eb-la^{ki}, Bu-du-ur$_2$ lu$_2$ Ur-šu^{ki}, and Iš-me-^{d}Da-gan lu$_2$ Ma-ri$_2^{ki}$; Ebla 1975-1985 289 K, AS01-02-26, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox and five sheep ki-Na-ap-la-num$_2$-še$_3$ kur-Mar-tu-še$_3$ ma$_2$-a ba-a-gub, one sheep to I$_3$-li$_2$-^{d}Da-gan lu$_2$ Eb-la^{ki}, one goaat each to Bud-u-ur$_2$ lu$_2$ Ur-šu^{ki} and Iš-me-^{d}Da-gan lu$_2$ Ma-ri$_2^{ki}$.

[654] MVN 15 226, AS01-03-00, Puzriš-Dagan: 1 ^{zabar}ma$_2$-gur$_8$-zabar An-nu-ni-tum a-ru-a-lugal, ud lugal-mu šag$_4$ e$_2$-gal kaš i$_3$-na-ni-de$_2$-a, in Ur.

[655] JCS 24, 161 58, AS01-03-22, Puzriš-Dagan: twenty oxen and ten cows, plus twenty-three sheep and fifty-two plus goats to the cookhouse for professional soldiers (aga$_3$-us$_2$-e-ne) ud lugal Uru-sag-rig$_7^{ki}$-ta i$_3$-im-gen-na, authorized by Aradmu.

[656] PDT 2 1114, AS01-04-07, Puzriš-Dagan: four sheep in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), two sheep to Ninsun of KI.KAL^{ki}, in Uruk; PDT 2 1173, AS01-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one lamb each to Nusku, Ninurta and Šulgi, one sheep to Lumma, two goats at the gate (ka$_2$) of Enlil, one sheep to Kalkal, one cow one lamb and one goat to the abzu of Enlil, six oxen one cow eight sheep twenty-five goats and one lamb to Enlil, two sheep one lamb to Hursag-galama, two sheep to the statue of the king (alan-lugal) in the Temple of Enlil, one cow sixty-two sheep to the abzu of Ninlil, six oxen one cow ten sheep twenty-four goats and one lamb to Ninlil, two sheep one lamb to Nanna, one goat to the threshing sledge (giš-bad), one lamb each to Nintinuga and Šumah, one sheep to

Girsu to Tummal for a royal drinking party or libation.[657] The eleventh month found Amar-Suen in Urusagrig, drinking beer in a facility called the brewery (e_2-šim) of Šulgi, at which occasion silver bracelets were awarded to one Uta-mišaram, from the central depository at Puzriš-Dagan.[658] This is the first of numerous instances of Amar-Suen attending drinking parties and presenting the hosts or guests with jewelry.

In fact, the king's second year opened with a drinking party and a banquet. On the first day of the first month sacrifices were offered to Annunitum and Nanaa in the king's presence during a banquet in the palace. In addition, Abi-simti, assumed to be his queen, had conveyed additional animals as sacrifices to those same deities, who make it likely that the palace in question was either in Uruk or Ur.[659] On an unnoted day this same month, silver coils were presented to Arad-Nanna, son of Dada the gala, when the king drank beer with him in Ur. The partying continued in the second month of this year, with the king drinking beer in the house of Lu-Nanna, son of Namhani the governor of Hamazi, in Puzriš-Dagan.[660] The tablet is badly chipped, but lines that relate the gift

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Nisaba, two sheep to the stool? (giš-$šu_4$-a), one goat each to the balag and the chariot, one lamb each to Enlilazi and Ur-Suen, one sheep to the plow, three sheep to the king's statue (alan-lugal) in the Temple of Ninlil, one sheep one lamb to Ningagia, one ox two sheep one lamb to Ninhursag, pme goat each to Šulpae and Ištaran, one lamb to Nusku, one goat to Sadirnuna, one lamb to Ninurta, one goat to Nin-Nibru, one lamb to An, one ox two sheep one goat to Inana, one lamb each to ^{d}Da-da, and Ninšubur in the Temple of Inana in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) in Nippur; OIP 121 034, AS01-05-25, Puzriš-Dagan: one lamb each to Nusku, Ninurta, Šulgi, Enlil, and Hursag-galama, two lambs to Ninlil and one ewe one lamb to Nanna in Nippur, lugal ku_4-ra, from the bala of the governor ($ensi_2$) Adab.

[657] MTBM 317, AS01-06-00, Girsu: bitumen and aromatics to Tummal, kaš-de_2-a-lugal. See also a multi-month account, HSS 04 003, AS01-12-00, Girsu, with oil and lard sent for a kaš-de_2-a-lugal in Tummal, with the particular month unnoted.

[658] SMS 2-3 12, AS01-11-00, Puzriš-Dagan: two silver bracelets were disbursed to one Uta-mišaram ud lugal-mu e_2-šim-^{d}Šul-gi-ra-ka-$še_3$ kaš i_3-nag-ga_2-a. An e_2-šim is probably a brewery. Uta-mišaram may be the mounted courier (ra_2-gaba) of that name attested only in the reign of Amar-Suen, e.g. ASJ 03 075, AS04-09-20, Puzriš-Dagan.

[659] SAT 2 0693, AS02-01-01, Puzriš-Dagan: two lambs to Annunitum, one lamb to Nanaa, conveyed by Abi-simti, two lambs each to Annunitum and Nanaa in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), gišbun$_x$ $šag_4$ e_2-gal.

[660] AUCT 1 918, AS02-01-00, Puzriš-Dagan: four har kug-babbar $Arad_2$-^{d}Nanna dumu Da-da gala ud lugal-mu kaš i_3-nag-ga_2-a, in Ur; JCS 10 31 12, AS02-01-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one har kug-babbar

of silver coils to an ruler (ensi$_2$) with a Hurrian name, and others whose names are lost, show the presence of foreign dignitaries in Puzriš-Dagan, as well as suggesting an underlying diplomatic purpose to the king's sociability, perhaps having to do with the campaign against Urbilum. This same month found Amar-Suen at a drinking party at the house of Nir-idagal, the general, in Puzriš-Dagan, in which a foreigner also took part. On this occasion silver coils were awarded to Anume-ilum, an Amorite, on his arrival from the land of Martu, and to singer-musicians under the supervision of Dada the gala when they brought in a musical instrument associated with Mari (ma-ri$_2$-tum).[661] In addition, two Umma documents in which the month was not recorded mention royal drinking parties this year, for one of which 8,528 loaves of various types of bread were disbursed.[662] Another text from Girsu lists cattle and sheep sufficient to feed 9,480, earmarked for a royal drinking party and conveyed to the king in a town called Urudug.[663]

Amar-Suen's second regnal year also saw a number of betrothals of younger members of the royal family which, in line with his diplomatic efforts, one might see as attempts to consolidate alliances. These efforts, in fact, had begun the year before, at the very start of Amar-Suen's reign, when the prince Inim-Nanna had been betrothed to a daughter of one Hubaa, probably the general of that name.[664] Toward the end of this year, a bridal gift was sent on behalf of an otherwise

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[. . .] Hu-un-x] ensi$_2$ [x]-ma^{ki} [x]-um^{ki} [. . .] ud lugal-mu e$_2$ Lu$_2$-^{d}Nanna dumu Nam-ha-ni ensi$_2$ Ha-ma-zi^{ki}-ka kaš i$_3$-nag-ga$_2$-a, in Puzriš-Dagan.

[661] OrNS 48 32-33, AS02-02-00, Puzriš-Dagan: A-num$_2$-me-il-lum Mar-tu ud kur Mar-tu-ta i$_3$-im-gen-na-a, ^{d}Šul-gi-nu-ri nar-munus Ba-la-la dumu A-ga-lum ud ma-ri$_2$-tum mu-ni-ku$_4$-re-ša ugula Da-da gala, ud lugal-mu e$_2$ Nir-i$_3$-da-gal$_2$ šagina kaš i$_3$-nag-ga$_2$-a, in Puzriš-Dagan. Agalum is probably the same person as A-ga-num$_2$ nar (MVN 03 179, Š41-09-14, Puzriš-Dagan), which increases the possibility that his son/daughter Balala was also a nar. One of Dada the gala's duties was supervision of singer-musicians; see BPOA 1 0601 (ŠS09-00-00, Umma), where grain rations were issued in Ur for singer-musicians under his supervision.
Mārītum would seem to be a variant of *mērītum*, "musical instrument from Mari".

[662] SNAT 330, AS02-00-00, Umma: ninda kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal; BPOA 7 1634, AS02-00-00, reed bundles kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal.

[663] CDLI P210064, AS02-00-00, Girsu: seven varied oxen and cows, thirty-one sheep, fifty-seven goats kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal. . . Uru-dug$_3$-še$_3$ lugal-ra ba-an-DU.

[664] TCL 2 5563, AS01-01-30, Puzriš-Dagan: the central facility provided twenty sheep as a bridal gift (nig$_2$-mussa^{sa2}) of Inim-Nanna the prince (dumu-lugal) to the house of Hu-ba-a, under the

unknown man with the apparently foreign name of Tupu-tupu to the house of Šelebutum the princess.[665] In AS02 the prince Ahuni was betrothed to a daughter of the zabar-dab$_5$, a high level official in charge of such cult personnel as the "cup-bearers" (sagi) and extispicers (lu$_2$-maš-šu-gid$_2$).[666] Another text from this year suggests that a daughter of the general Nir-idagal and the princess Šat-Mami was betrothed to a son of the powerful sukkal-mah Aradmu.[667] Around this same time, the prince Amir-Šulgi sent a bridal gift to the house of Dada the gala. [668] A fourth text mentions the princess Geme-eana as the betrothed or daughter-in-law of that same sukkal-mah Aradmu.[669]

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authorization of Aradmu. A general (šagina) Hubaa is mentioned as early as Š33 (CST 042, Š33-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan). At various times he had been placed in command (ugula) of the troops (eren$_2$) of the foreign or borderland localities of Su-un-ti^{ki} (OIP 115 185, Š46-06-17, Puzriš-Dagan), TAG-tu-um^{ki} (OIP 115 195, Š46-12-17, Puzriš-Dagan), Si-um-mi^{ki} (SA 001d [Pl. 036], Š48-08-00, Puzriš-Dagan), and Dab$_6$-ru-um^{ki} (TCL 5 6041, AS02-00-00, Umma), and was in charge (ugula) of booty (nam-ra-ak) from Harši (SAT 2 0611, Š48-07-00, Umma).

[665] AUCT 1 110, AS01-11-02, Puzriš-Dagan: sixty-one sheep and goats were sent as the bridal gift (nig$_2$-mussa^{sa2}) of Tu-pu-tu-pu to the house of Še-le-bu-tum-ma. Šelebutum is termed a princess (dumu-munus-lugal) in, among others, ZA 80 32 (AS04-07-22, Puzriš-Dagan).

[666] Aegyptus 10, 275 37, AS02-04-10, Puzriš-Dagan: three oxen as the bridal gift (nig$_2$-mi$_2$-us$_2$-ša) of A-hu-ni dumu-lugal-ka e$_2$ zabar-dab$_5$-še$_3$, authorized by Aradmu. A further fifty sheep sent as a bridal gift to the house of the zabar-dab$_5$ six months later might indicate a long term for engagements, if for the same betrothal (AUCT 2 342, AS02-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan). The fact that the crown, by means of the institution of its central redistribution facility, provided this gift suggests that it was for the prince.

On the office of the zabar-dab$_5$, see Lafont (1983).

[667] MVN 11 192, AS02-08-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox each to Nir-i$_3$-da-gal$_2$ and Ša-at-Ma-mi from the bridal gift (nig$_2$-mussa^{sa2}) of the sukkal-mah. The bridal gift typically went from the groom or his father to the parents of the bride. Šat-Mami may be the same woman as the princess and mother of one Šu-Iškur mentioned in SA 007 (Pl. 007, AS05-06-05, Puzriš-Dagan).

[668] AUCT 1 418, AS02-08-25, Puzriš-Dagan: ten cattle as the bridal gift (nig$_2$-mussa^{sa2}) of A-mi-ir-^{d}Šul-gi dumu-lugal to the house of Da-da gala.

[669] OIP 121 009, AS02-12-10, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep to the cookhouse for Geme$_2$-e$_2$-an-na e$_2$-gi$_4$-a Arad$_2$-mu sukkal-mah. Geme-eana is classified as a princess in CTMMA 1 17 (AS04-07-00, Puzriš-Dagan). For the egia, see Greengus (1990). The word denotes the female counterpart of mussa^{sa2}, as the name of either the betrothed or the son- or daughter-in-law. Thus, Geme-eana might be construed as either the intended bride for one of Aradmu's sons, or as the betrothed of Aradmu himself.

Amar-Suen participated in other types of activities in his second regnal year as well. In the middle of the sixth month of AS02 the king went to Ur by boat, doubtless to participate in the Akiti festival.[670] Cooked meat was provided for his bodyguard, professional soldiers who were to accompany him, sufficient to feed 18,600 in one sitting, though one suspects that it was meant to cover several days of eating and that his personal retinue was thus smaller than this number. Two weeks later Amar-Suen was present at a sacrifice to Enki in Eridug.[671] In the ninth month the king was recorded as personally driving in a peg (^{giš}gag bi$_2$-in-ra), an action typically associated with building projects, although exactly which building was involved here isn't noted.[672] The end of the tenth month found the Amar-Suen once more traveling to Ur by boat, with enough roasted meat to feed 34,200![673] Again, one would surmise that such a large amount of food was intended to last for several days. It does, however, suggest that the boat conveying the meat was exceptionally large.

Amar-Suen's third regnal year started out with the king attending a sacrifice to Nanna in the Akiti house.[674] In the third month the king was present at an offering of oxen to Enki in Eridug.[675] Amar-Suen was then absent from the record until the tenth month, the Festival of Heaven, when he attended, first, sacrifices at the kianag (presumably, of Šulgi) and to Ninšubur, Ninpumuna, and Ištaran in Ur, secondly sacrifices to various other deities in the temple of Ninsun, and others to

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[670] OrSP 47-49 014, AS02-06-13, Puzriš-Dagan: twenty-six cattle, thirty-nine sheep and eleven cooked for the professional soldier were put in a boat when the king went to Ur (lugal Uri$_5^{ki}$-še$_3$ du-ni).

[671] BCT 1 076, AS02-07-01, Puzriš-Dagan: four oxen for the first time and two oxen for the second time sacrificed to Enki in Eridug in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra).

[672] OIP 121 482, AS02-09-15, Puzriš-Dagan: seventeen gazelles (maš-da$_3$) lugal-e ^{giš}gag bi$_2$-in-ra, ki Lu$_2$-dingir-ra ba-zi. The transliteration misreads the second line as "lugal-e giš du$_3$-de$_3$ in-ra).

[673] SAT 2 0724, AS02-10-27, Puzriš-Dagan: thirty cattle, 210 sheep and sixty goats roasted and put in a boat when the king went to Ur (lugal Uri$_5^{ki}$-še$_3$ i$_3$-du-a).

[674] SET 059, AS03-01-03, Puzriš-Dagan: nine sheep to ^{d}Nanna lugal ku$_4$-ra šag$_4$ A$_2$-ki-ti.

[675] AUCT 1 741, AS03-03-07, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen ^{d}En-ki šag$_4$ Eridug^{ki} lugal ku$_4$-ra.

Asarluhi and Šulgi in nearby Kuara.[676] Later in this same month a roasted suckling lamb was delivered to him first in Umma, on the twentieth, and again in Nippur on the twenty-ninth.[677] A royal betrothal was also not lacking this year. The simultaneous release of animals as bridal gifts to the house of the prince Etel-pu-Dagan, who is attested early enough that he was more likely Šulgi's son than Amar-Suen's, and the house of Lu-Ninšubur, administrator (šabra) of An, who served as one of a consortium of cult administrators that had replaced the office of governor ($ensi_2$) in Ur, might indicate a double marital alliance made between those two households.[678] At the very least, it indicates that a daughter of prince Etel-pu-Dagan had been betrothed. In the twelfth month a large quantity of beer bread was provided for a royal drinking party in Girsu, and workers brought a boat to Umma for the arrival of the king for another party.[679] In addition to this, there are a number of records without month names from Umma for this year, in which labor or materials were provided for a kašdea-lugal. Several of these appear to have been libations that took place either in the e-maš, an important cult site in Umma, or during a royal offering.[680] The others were likely royal

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[676] AUCT 1 488, AS03-10-14, Puzriš-Dagan: [x] sheep at the ki-a-nag, [x] sheep one goat one lamb to ^{d}Nin-šubur, [x] sheep one lamb ^{d}Nin-pu_2-mun-na, [x] goat ^{d}Ištaran, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), in Ur, and [x] goat in e_2 ^{d}Nin-sun_2, [x] oxen six sheep two lambs to ^{d}Nin-sun_4, [x] lamb to ^{d}Lugal-us_2-zi, [x] goat to ^{d}Geštin-an-na in the temple of Ninsun, and [x] oxen three sheep one lamb to ^{d}Asar-lu_2-hi and [x] lamb to ^{d}Šul-gi in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), all in Ku_6-a^{ki}.

[677] RA 09 048 SA 107 (pl. 3), AS03-10-29, Puzriš-Dagan: one $sila_4$-ga Umma^{ki}-$še_3$, on the twentieth, one $sila_4$-ga Nibru^{ki}-$še_3$, on the twenty-ninth, ne-mur-ta ba-$šeg_6$ ki lugal-$še_3$ ba-de_6.

[678] AUCT 1 327, AS03-01-05, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen, fifteen sheep and five goats distributed as a bridal gift (nig_2-mussa^{sa2}) to the house of E-te-el_2-pu_3-^{d}Da-gan, and five oxen, forty-five sheep and five goats as a bridal gift to the house of Lu_2-Nin-šubur šabra An-na, released under a single authorization and conveyed to the two households by the same minister (sukkal); TAD 47, AS03-01-05, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen to the house of Etel-pu-Dagan and five to the house of Lu-Ninšubur šabra of An, a royal expenditure. I am suggesting a double wedding may be a possibility, with a daughter of each household married a son of the other.

Etel-pu-Dagan is attested as early as Š29 (OIP 115 016, Š29-11-00, Puzriš-Dagan. See Notizia (2013) for more on this prince.

[679] MVN 12 387, AS03-12-00, Girsu: 5.0.3 $bappir_2$, kaš-de_2-a-lugal du-$še_3$; five mean for six days to bring a boat with straw (ma_2 in-u-da de_6-a) to Umma when (the king) came for a royal drinking party (kaš-de_2-a-lugal Umma^{ki}-$še_3$ gen-na).

[680] SNAT 336, AS03-00-00, Umma: 220 men for one day for kaš-de_2-a-lugal; MVN 13 300, AS03-00-00, Umma: twenty-five men for one day for making the royal libation and the e-maš (kaš-de_2-a-lugal-ka u_3 e_2-maš-e-ka dug_4-ga); BIN 5 272, AS03-00-00, Umma: twenty-five men for one day to prepare everything for the kaš-de_2-a lugal at the e-maš (kaš-de_2-a-lugal e_2-maš-e šu dug_4-dug_4-ga);

drinking parties held to celebrate the king's arrival in the province, at least one of which took place in the palace there.[681]

In Amar-Suen's fourth regnal year, the first month saw the governor of Girsu sending both the king and his unnamed queen oil, cheese, dried boar meat, apples, bird eggs and a variety of jugs for the Boat of Dawn.[682] All of these items were brought into the palace, but whether it was the royal couple's local home in Girsu, or one of their main residences in Ur, Tummal, or Uruk is not made clear. The king himself was in Uruk before the twenty-fourth of this month, where he was sent an oven-roasted suckling lamb from Puzriš-Dagan.[683] It's unclear if it was this or another suckling lamb that was brought into him on the twenty-fifth, and whether the king was served in the royal boat mentioned in the text, or the lamb had been delivered in it.[684] An additional oven-roasted suckling lamb was sent to Amar-Suen on the twenty-sixth, but this time in Nippur.[685] In the second month of AS04 a garment was given out for a royal libation or drinking party in Ur.[686] Amar-Suen does not show up again in the administrative records until the seventh month. This is the year of

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garments for a cup-bearer (sagi) for a royal offering (siskur$_2$-lugal) and a beer libation (kaš-de$_2$-a).

[681] AnOr 62 245 I 876, AS03-00-00, Umma: six men for eight days for the kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal when (he) came to Umma (Umma^{ki}-še$_3$ gen-na); MVN 113 299, AS03-00-00, Umma: ten men for one day for the kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal when (he) came to Umma (Umma^{ki}-še$_3$ du-a); MVN 15 108, AS03-00-00, Umma: yogurt for the kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal when (he) came to Umma (Umma^{ki}-še$_3$ gen-na); MVN 13 616, AS03-00-00, Umma: reed bundles brought into the palace for the kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal.

[682] SAT 1 066, AS04-01-00, Girsu: oil, cheese twenty jugs, apples, four jugs, seven dried boat meat (mu-du-lum šah$_2$-giš-gi), nine leather cords (kuš-la$_2$-a) for the boar meat, and seventy-six bird eggs to the king (ki lugal-še$_3$), and nine jugs, four bird eggs, another jig, one dried boat meat and one leather cord for boar meat to the queen (ki ereš-še$_3$), maš-da-ri-a ensi$_2$, e$_2$-gal-la ba-an-ku$_4$, ma$_2$-ud-zal-la.

Note also another Girsu text from this month, where a mašdaria of one lamb apiece was sent to the king and to a queen, but the line that might explain the ritual purpose is missing: PPAC 5 1416, AS04-01-00, Girsu.

[683] Nisaba 08 188, AS04-01-24+, Puzriš-Dagan: one sila$_4$-ga ne-mur-ta ba-šeg$_6$ Unug^{ki}-še$_3$ ki lugal-še$_3$ ba-de$_6$.

[684] OIP 121 044, AS04-01-25, Puzriš-Dagan: one sila$_4$-ga ki lugal-še$_3$ ku$_4$-ra. . . šag$_4$ ma$_2$-lugal-ka.

[685] BIN 3 074, AS04-01-26, Puzriš-Dagan: one sila$_4$-ga ne-mur-ta ba-šeg$_6$ Nibru^{ki}-še$_3$ ki lugal-še$_3$ ba-gen.

[686] UET 3 0077, AS04-02-00, Ur: one garment (tug$_2$) kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal.

the first campaign against Šašrum, and his absence might, perhaps, be a sign that the king himself was abroad at war. In fact, one of his actions in the seventh month of this year was attendance at a Great Offering in Ur, which was subsumed, along with the other activities recorded, as "a beer libation of Nanna when Amar-Suen destroyed Šašrum and Šuruthum", the grammar of which implicates the king as the direct agent of the destruction.[687] It would appear that Amar-Suen had arrived earlier, from Gaeš, where a boat setting off from the Nippur area had taken him on the fifth day of month seven.[688] A separate record of this same day concerns the disbursement of an oven-roasted suckling lamb brought in to the king at some unspecified site in Ur.[689] It would also appear that the celebration of the victory over Šašrum happened sometime between the fifth and the nineteenth, for on the latter date the king was in Uruk, where roasted meat was put in a boat as he was about to travel to Nippur.[690] This same month the king was at some point also in Girsu, where he went to a ritual called the ki-Ana, which Richard Zettler and Walter Sallaberger propose was a type of "elevation".[691] A second party for the victory over Šašrum and Šuruthum took place in Nippur in the eighth month, as a beer libation of Enlil and Ninlil and, again, the language used

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[687] RA 10 209 BM 103435, AS04-07-00, Puzriš-Dagan: twenty-seven sheep siskur$_2$ gu-la in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), two sheep two lambs at the Holy Mound (Du$_6$-ur$_3$), two oxen one deer (šeg$_9$-bar) eight sheep one goat one gazelle and one lamb to the Abzu, six oxen one deer (lulim) fifty-four sheep one goat one gazelle and one lamb to a field for the first time, and two sheep two lambs for the second time to Nanna, under one authorization (maškim); and one sheep to the cookhouse for the gudug of the temple of Nanna, all characterized as kaš-de$_2$-a ^{d}Nanna ud ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ke$_4$ Ša-aš-ru^{ki} u$_3$ Šu-ru-ut-hu-um^{ki} mu-hul-a.
The Du$_6$-ur$_3$ is the name of the Holy Mound in Ur. In the phrase "when Amar-Suen destroyed, etc." the king's name has the ergative case ending, and the verb the conjugation prefix that emphasizes the agent.

[688] MVN 08 221, AS04-07-05, Puzriš-Dagan: twenty-five sheep and five goats, cooked, placed in the boat when the king went to Gaeš (lugal Ga-eš^{ki}-še$_3$ du-ni).

[689] TRU 327, AS04-10-05, Puzriš-Dagan: one sila$_4$-ga ne-mur-ta ba-šag$_6$ ki lugal-še$_3$ ba-an-ku$_4$. . . in Ur.

[690] OIP 121, p. 52, AS04-07-19, Puzriš-Dagan: 40 sheep and 40 goats, roasted, put in a boat in Uruk "on the king's going to Nippur" (lugal Nibru^{ki}-še$_3$ du-ni).

[691] ZA 91 010, AS04-07-00, Girsu: oil, lugal ki-An-na-še$_3$ gen-na, iti ezem Šulgi. See Zettler and Sallaberger (2011) on the ki-An-na.

suggests that the king was present.[692] Amar-Suen is again unnoted in the records until the eleventh month, when he performed a ritual circumambulation of a sheep shed, the location of which was not recorded.[693] The end of the year found the king moving around quite a bit: from Uruk to Nippur by boat on the twentieth, where he remained until at least the twenty-seventh; to Ur, also by boat, with his bodyguard travelling in a second boat, on the twenty-ninth, and in Uruk once more in the first month of his fifth regnal year, where he attended sacrifices to Inana.[694]

The pattern of Amar-Suen's appearances in the records of his fifth regnal year is similar to that of his fourth. After a single showing early in the year, at an offering to Inana in Uruk, the king's presence was unrecorded until the ninth month, when he attended sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil, presumably in Nippur.[695] In the interim, however, his presumed queen Abi-simti was busy, going to a location written as DU^{ki} by boat in the first month, performing an elunum ritual for Inana-Haburitum in the second.[696] In addition, a lukur of Amar-Suen, whose name is incomplete on the tablet (X-na-

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[692] Trouvaille 02, AS04-08-00, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrificial animals to Enlil and Ninlil, forty sheep to the kitchen, subsumed under the phrase "beer libation for Enlil and Ninlil when Amar-Suen (^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ke$_4$) destroyed Šašrum and Šuruthum".

[693] RA 09 051 SAT, AS04-11-22, Puzriš-Dagan: twenty sheep ud lugal-e e$_2$-udu mu-nigin$_2$-na-a, authorized by Aradmu.

[694] PDT 1 478, AS04-12-20, Puzriš-Dagan: one cow, thirty-eight sheep and seventeen goats, cooked, put in the boat in Uruk when the king went to Nippur (lugal Nibru^{ki}-še$_3$ du-ni); NATN 895, AS04-12-27, Nippur: ten jugs (dug) to where the king is (ki lugal-še$_3$), the administrator (šabra) came in with them (ib-da-ku$_4$); SACT 1 190, AS04-12-25+, Puzriš-Dagan: three oxen, thirty-one plus sheep and twenty-nine goats, cooked, put in the boat when the king went to Ur (lugal Uri$_5^{ki}$-še$_3$ du-ni), on an broken date after the twenty-fifth; SACT 2 272, AS04-12-29, Puzriš-Dagan: fifteen sheep and thirty goats, roasted, for the royal soldiers/bodyguard (aga$_3$-us$_2$-e-ne), put in a boat when the king was going to Ur (lugal Uri$_5^{ki}$-še$_3$ du-ni); TRU 322, AS05-01-15, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Inana in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra) in Uruk.

[695] TRU 322, AS05-01-15, Puzriš-Dagan: three goats four sheep to Inana in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), in Uruk; OIP 121 276, AS05-09-15, Puzriš-Dagan: three oxen in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), three sheep two goats to Enlil and Ninlil; Freemark 3 (unpubl.), AS05-09-26+, Puzriš-Dagan: one she-ass one gazelle to Enlil, one she-ass one [x] calf to Ninlil, offering (siskur$_2$) [x], in the king's presence (lugal k[u$_4$-ra]).

[696] MVN 13 849, AS05-01-26, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep put in a boat A-bi$_2$-si$_2$-im-ti DU^{ki}-še$_3$ du-ni; MVN 20 031, AS05-02-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one bronze vessel (šu-ša-gar), one bronze libation vessel (kun-ru$_2$), one bronze flute (gi-gid$_2$), one bronze nozzled libation vessel (šen-dili$_2$-kun-ru$_2$), sixteen bronze cups (gal), six bronze basins (za-hum), and four bronze hand-held bowls (šu-ša-la$_2$) to Abi-simti

tum), offered a sacrifice in a Temple of Išhara in the seventh month of AS05.[697] In the tenth month Amar-Suen was in Ur for the ezem-mah, where he received silver and animals as a mašdaria for that festival.[698] A month later, he is recorded as having taken a trip to Urusagrig by boat.[699] On both the twelfth and the twentieth of the twelfth month the king was present for a libation to Enlil and sacrifices in the temple of Ninlil in Nippur, two days after which he travelled to Ur by boat.[700] A text dated to the twelfth month that records the Standard of the Weapon going on campaign with the general Abuni indicates that some military action was taking place, though it was apparently too minor to merit mention elsewhere.[701]

In AS06, there is only one reference to the king in the records, when he attended a sacrifice to Ninhursag of Nutur during the month seven Akiti celebrations in Ur.[702] This absence may be due to the fact that the campaign against Huhnuri for which Amar-Suen's seventh regnal year was named seems to have been undertaken in his sixth year, and it's possible the king participated

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when she performed the elunum of Inana-Haburitum (ud e_3-lu-num_2 ^{d}Inana Ha-bu-ri-tum-ma in-ak-a).

[697] MVN 05 113, AS05-07-05, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep for [X]-na-tum lukur-lugal e_2 ^{d}Išhara-$še_3$ i_3-gen-na.

[698] AUCt 2 185, AS05-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one mana of silver, one ox, eight sheep, one goat, and one lamb, $maš_2$-da-ri-a ezem-mah ki lugal-$še_3$.

[699] OIP 121 404, AS05-11-07, Puzriš-Dagan: thirty-one goats put in the boat when the king went to Urusagrig (lugal Uru-sag-rig_7^{ki}-$še_3$ du-ni).

[700] PPAC 4 099, AS05-12-08, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep to Ninlil at? the opening of the bowls (bur-du_8-a), summarized as "to Enlil (when) Amar-Suen (poured) a libation (^{d}En-lil_2-ra ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ke_4 kaš-de_2-a), in Nippur; RA 79 22 08, AS05-12-20, Puzriš-Dagan: one goat each to Nusku and Ninurta, one lamb each to Šulgi, Enlil, Hursag-galama, and [x]-Enlila in the Temple of Enlil, two lambs to Ninlil, one lamb to Nanna in the temple of Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); OIP 121 056, AS05-12-22, Puzriš-Dagan: thirty-five sheep and twenty-five goats, roasted, put in the boat when the king went to Ur (lugal Uri_5^{ki}-$še_3$ du-ni).

[701] OrSP 47-49 344, AS05-12-00, Umma: one goat to the Standard (of) the Weapon when it went on campaign (šu-nir-^{giš}tukul kaskal-$še_3$ gen-na), conveyed by Abuni šagina.

[702] BPOA 7 2202, AS06-07-01, Puzriš-Dagan: [x] sheep to Nanna and at the Du_6-ur_3, one sheep to the throne of An, three sheep to Ninhursag (of) Nutur in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), expended in Ur.

personally.[703] Two texts concerning a standard going on campaign, conveyed by the general Abuni, in the third and sixth months of this year doubtless relate to the campaign against Huhnuri.[704] The year saw the betrothal of prince Ur-Bau, to a daughter of Lu-Ninšubur, that same administrator of An who may have previously intermarried with the royals through the family of prince Etel-pu-Dagan.[705]

In the second month of AS07, Amar-Suen was present for the Gudsisu festival in Nippur, where he observed sacrifices to Enlil on one day and a lustration to Ninurta on another.[706] A month later the king was present when gazelles were sacrificed to Enlil and Ninlil, presumably in Nippur.[707] The sixth month found him back in Nippur, where a suckling lamb was delivered to him on the fourth, while on the eleventh he attended sacrifices during the festival Kin-Inana to Enlil, Ninlil, Inana, and the deified Throne.[708] Also in the sixth month, the king was sent items for the Boat of Dawn from Girsu, but the city of delivery was not specified.[709] Amar-Suen spent most of the eighth month in Tummal, where he attended sacrifices in the evening to Enlil, Ninlil and Nanna on the first and second, circumambulated a breeding barn (nakabtum) with the participation of Dada the gala, which implies musical accompaniment, on the seventh, and twice attended sacrifices to several

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[703] Steinkeller (forthcoming c), Grand Strategy, pp. 41-42 fn. 67.

[704] MVN 20 052, AS06-03-00, Umma: one lamb to the standard going on campaign (šu-nir-kaskal-še$_3$ gen-na), conveyed by Abuni šagina; MVN 05 046, AS06-06-00, Umma: one goat to the standard going on campaign, convyed by Abuni šagina.

[705] MVN 03 232, AS06-10-14, Puzriš-Dagan: six sheep and nine goats as the bridal gift (nig$_2$-mussa^{sa2}) of Ur-Bau the prince (dumu-lugal) to the house of Lu-Ninšubur, šabra of An.

[706] Torino 1 252, AS07-02-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox and one goat to Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), ezem Gud-si-su; CST 355, AS07-02-22, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep to Ninlil, great offering (siskur$_2$-gu-la), one sheep at the lustration (a-tu$_5$-a) of ^{d}Nin-urta in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), ezem Gud-si-su.

[707] BIN 3 430, AS07-03-20, Puzriš-Dagan: one gazelle calf each to Enlil and Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra).

[708] Torino 1 253, AS07-06-04, Puzriš-Dagan: one sila$_4$-ga ki lugal-še$_3$ ku$_4$-ra in Nippur; TRU 323, AS07-06-11, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep each to ^{d}[X] and Inana lugal ku$_4$-ra, ezem-Kin-^{d}Inana, in Nippur.

[709] DAS 235, AS07-06-00, Girsu: dates ma$_2$-ud-zal-la ki lugal-še$_3$.

gods, once in the evening, on the twentieth.[710] These proceedings would seem to have been part of the rituals that Šulgi professed to have created after having crafted a ceremonial barge for Ninlil by means of which a statue of the goddess could make an annual round-trip between Nippur and Tummal.[711] A rather confusing text from the ninth month of this year records a suckling lamb being brought into the king, in or in relation to the Boat of Taboo (ma_2 uz-ga), which was apparently in Nippur but about to go to Tummal, on the occasion of an unnamed queen going to Uruk.[712] The reverse of this situation occurred toward the end of the eleventh month of AS07, when another suckling lamb was brought in to the king in a place called Šulgi-Ninlila when the queen arrived from Uruk. The Boat of Taboo is also mentioned in the middle of this text, where it's unclear if it was the means of conveyance for the king or the queen, or the point of an unstated ritual.[713]

In AS08 we find the king at sacrifices to Enlil, the deified Throne, and the Hursag-galama in Nippur in the first month, at Nippur again later in the second month, attending rituals for the Gudsisu

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[710] SACT 1 160, AS07-08-01, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep to Enlil and Ninlil, one sheep to Nanna, pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a), four sheep to Enlil and Ninlil, one goat to Nanna, in the evening (a_2-ud-te-na) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) in Tummal; SumRecDreh. 17, AS07-08-02, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep to Enlil and Ninlil, one sheep to Nanna, pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a) in theking's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) in Tummal; PDT 2 1170, AS07-08-07, Puzriš-Dagan: five sheep to Dada the gala when the king circumambulated the warehouse (ud lugal na-kab-tum mu-$nigin_2$-na) in Tummal; MVN 15 244, AS07-08-20, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep to Enlil and Ninlil, and one sheep to Nanna, pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a), three sheep one goat to Enlil and Ninlil, and one sheep to Nanna in the evening (a_2-ud-te-na) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) in Tummal; CUCT 117, AS07-08-20, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep two goats to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) in Tummal.

[711] See the royal hymn Šulgi R, along with the formula of his eighth regnal year.

[712] Nisaba 08 139, AS07-09-19, Puzriš-Dagan: one suckling lamb brought in to the king (ki lugal-$še_3$ ku_4-ra), conveyed ($giri_3$) by En-dingirmu, the Boat of Taboo (ma_2-uz-ga), from Ur-Bau, in Esagdana-Nippur ($šag_4$ E_2-da-na) to Tummal (Tum-ma-al^{ki}-$še_3$), when the queen went to Uruk (ud ereš Unug^{ki}-$še_3$ i_3-gen-na-a).

[713] TRU 288, AS07-11-23, Puzriš-Dagan: one suckling lamb brought into the king (ki lugal-$še_3$ ku_4-ra), when the queen came from Uruk (ereš Unug^{ki}-ta du-ni) conveyed by En-dingirmu, the Boat of Taboo (ma_2-uz-ga), from Ur-Bau, in ^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Nin-lil_2-la. This is sole reference to Šulgi-Ninlila in the corpus.

festival, and in the fourth month on his way from the Nippur area to Šuruppag by boat.[714] At the end of the fifth month of this year, Amar-Suen was present during sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil in Nippur.[715] In the sixth month a large quantity of beer and bread were brought into the palace, probably in the Nippur area, to the king, an unnamed queen, and an unnamed suckling child (dumu-ga), recapitulated as "items of the harvest" (nig_2-$buru_{14}$).[716] Amar-Suen started the seventh month at the Akiti festival in Ur, went at some unknown point to Uruk where he took a boat to Nippur, and ended the month there at sacrifices at the festival in the House of the Crescent Moon.[717] For most of the eighth month the king was in Tummal and, apparently, Nippur, for the Šulgi-initiated rituals surrounding Ninlil's barge.[718] In the ninth month he attended sacrifices for Enlil and Ninlil, after

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[714] TRU 316, AS08-01-03, Puzriš-Dagan: a gazelle calf to Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); BIN 3 547, AS08-01-16, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep to Enlil, one sheep each to the deified Throne and Hursag-galama, two sheep to ^{d}[X] in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), in Nippur;

JANES 21 76 09, AS08-02-21 to 22, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox each to Enlil and Ninlil, at the festival Gudsisu, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), on the twenty-first, and one ox to Enlil at the festival Gudsisu in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) on the twenty-second;

BPOA 8 183, AS08-04-02, Puzriš-Dagan: twenty goats, cooked, put in a boat when the king went to Šuruppag (lugal Šuruppag^{ki}-$še_3$ du-ni); and BIN 3 169, AS08-04-02, Puzriš-Dagan: two cattle, cooked, put in a boat when the king went to Šuruppag (lugal Šuruppag^{ki}-$še_3$ du-ni).

[715] MVN 15 204, AS08-05-28, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep one goat each to Enlil and Ninlil, lugal ku_4-ra, in Nippur.

[716] PDT 2 1177, AS08-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: [broken[ki lugal-$še_3$, 5.0.0 gur kas-gen 5.0.0 gur ninda-gen ki ereš-$še_3$, 2.2.3 gur kas-gen 7.2.3 gur ninda-gen ki dumu-ga-$še_3$, nig_2-$buru_{14}$-$še_3$ e_2-gal ba-ku_4.

[717] RA 101 39 06, AS08-07-01, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen to Nanna in the evening (a_2-ud-te-na) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), in Ur; AUCT 1 890, AS08-07-15, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox, cooked, put in the boat in Uruk when the king went to Nippur (lugal Nibru^{ki} du-ni); AUCT 3 490, AS08-07-15, Puzriš-Dagan: sixty-three sheep and twenty-two goats, cooked, put in the boat in Uruk when the king went to Nippur (lugal Nibru^{ki} du-ni); JCS 52 09 31, AS08-07-30, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil $eš_2$-$eš_2$ e_2-ud-sakar in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[718] PDT 1 489, AS08-08-07, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep to Enlil and Ninlil, and one sheep to Nanna, pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), in Tummal; OIP 121 475, AS08-08-16, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep to Enlil and Ninlil, one sheep each to Nanna and Ninurta, pre-dawn offering, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), in Tummal; PDT 2 1264, AS08-08-19, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep and one goat to Enlil and Ninlil, pre-dawn offering, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), in Tummal; Nisaba 08 075, AS08-08-21, Puzriš-Dagan: an ox three sheep and two goats to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

which a bear was tendered to dogs at the court.[719] A few days later the king was at hand for sacrifices to a white barge (ma_2-gur_8-babbar), to Enlil, and to Ninlil.[720] On an unrecorded date in the tenth month, lambs were disbursed in Ur for an activity called "on the king inspecting" (lugal-e igi-du_8-a), a lamentation (er_2-su_3-a), and an entry into an unnamed cult center with fish and vegatables (ku_6 nisig-da ku_4-ra)[721] These were doubltless connected with the Great Festival of Nanna, and with further sacrifices in Ur at the Dubla-mah portico in the middle of the month, offered before dawn in the king's presence.[722] As part of this same transaction, animals were provided for a large number of foreigners: Gadabi and his son Dan-Amar-Suen of Tikitihum, Indadapi of Iabibum, Aridubuk of Šašru, Kidani of Šarithum, Šulgi-atal of Gumaraši, Nakdamar of Mardaman, Šedakgugu of Mahili, Kirib-ulme of Šimurrum, Hulibar of Duhduhli, Naplanum the Amorite, and the Hurrians Hun-Šulgi and Nanip-atal, the latter probably from Urbilum, along with twenty-four runners.[723] Some of these men were already in Ur, before this date, and later in this same month Šulgi-abi, a son of Naplanum, poured a beer libation for his father.[724] Note that among these foreign dignitaries were men representing countries subjugated by Šulgi (Šimurrum in Š25, 26, 33, 44, and 45; Urbilum in Š45) and recently reconquered by Amar-Suen (Šašrum in AS06-07), as well as longer-term allies

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[719] UDT 123, AS08-09-19, Puzriš-Dagan: ox and sheep to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), and one bear (az) seized by dogs (ur-gir_{15}-re ib_2-dab_5) at the court ("before the king", igi lugal-$še_3$).

[720] Nisaba 08 044, AS08-09-24, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen to the white barge (ma_2-gur-babbar), two sheep each to Enlil and Ninlil, lugal ku_4-ra. See Steinkeller (forthcoming f), on the barge as a symbol specifically of the Moon-god in his gibbous phase.

[721] BPOA 6 0925, AS08-10-00, Umma. These animals were provided by the governor ($ensi_2$) of Umma.

[722] TCL 2 5500, AS08-10-17, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox and seven sheep at Dub-la_2-mah, pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra). This, along with the animals distributed to the foreigner dignitaries, were authorized by Aradmu. The Dubla-mah was located in Ur.

[723] Nisaba 08 070, AS07-05-02, Puzriš-Dagan: a daughter-in-law (e_2-gi_4-a) of one Nanip-atal received sheep on going to Urbilum.

[724] PDT 2 1147, AS08-10-13, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep each for Gadabi man of (lu_2) Tiktihi, Indadap man of Iabibum, Kirib-ulme man of Šimurrum, Naplanum the Amorite, Hulibar man of Duhduhli, and the man of Mardaman, in Ur; BCT 1 085, AS08-10-22, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox for Šulgi-abi when he poured a beer libation (kaš in-na-ni-de_6-a) for Naplanum his father (ab-ba-ni-ir), in Ur.

(Hulibar), some of whom worked directly for the crown in a primarily military capacity (Naplanum, Hun-Šulgi).

A little less than two weeks later (AS08-10-29), Amar-Suen was apparently in the Nippur area, where he witnessed the sacrifice of deer and gazelles to Enlil and Ninlil at the festival of the crescent moon.[725] He seems to have remained around Nippur for most of the succeeding month, attending offerings to Enlil and/or Ninlil, once when the wine was brought in.[726]

2.2.3.2 The Death of Amar-Suen and the Year AS09

The regnal year AS09 opened with a lion being fed an adult goat at the court.[727] The first sign of Amar-Suen's death occurs on the ninth day of the following month, when sheep were offered to the Throne of Amar-Suen, a standard indicator that the named king was no longer among the living.[728] Šu-Suen, the man who succeeded Amar-Suen, was also in Umma at some point during this same month, for the local government had issued provisions for him there.[729] Provisions might also be tendered to a deceased king, as can be seen in the towing of a boat of the provisions of Amar-Suen from Umma to Nippur on an otherwise unspecified date in AS09.[730]

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[725] NPL 248, AS08-10-29, Puzriš-Dagan: a stag (lulim) and a gazelle to Enlil, a deer ($šeg_9$-bar) and a gazelle to Ninlil, $eš_3$-$eš_3$-ud-sakar, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[726] AUCT 1 020, AS08-11-11, Puzriš-Dagan: two lambs to Enlil and Ninlil when (someone) entered with the wine (geštin-da ku_4-ra), on the tenth; six sheep in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) and two lambs when he came in with the wine on the eleventh; BPOA 7 2911, AS08-11-22, Puzriš-Dagan: an ox to Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[727] TAD 44, AS09-01-14, Puzriš-Dagan: one adult goat ($maš_2$-gal) a lion seized (ur-mah-e ib_2-dab_5) at court ("before the king", igi lugal-$še_3$).

[728] SumRecDreh 20, AS09-02-09, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep three times to ^{giš}gu-za ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen.

[729] MVN 01 050, AS09-02-00, Umma: flour, provisions for the king (igi-kar_2-lugal), seal of the governor (kišib $ensi_2$).

[730] UTI 5, 3433, AS09-00-00, Umma: six men (guruš) for four days to tow the boat of the provisions of Amar-Suen to Nippur (Nibru^{ki}-$še_3$ ma_2 igi-kar_2 ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ka [gid_2-da]).

At the start of the third month Šu-Suen traveled to Ur by boat, whence he went on to Uruk by mid-month, apparently accompanied by his queen Abi-simti, for once in Uruk he attended the Great Offering to Inana, while she was listed as the conveyor of sheep to be sacrificed at the gate of the gipar and to Nanaa.[731] The king was then absent from the records until the eighth month, which he spent in Tummal participating in the rituals surrounding the procession from Nippur and back of Ninlil's barge.[732] In the ninth month Šu-Suen attended a sacrifice to Nanna in an unspecified location, and a week later seems to have been in Uruk, which he left by boat, accompanied by professional soldiers, for Nippur, where he witnessed sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil at the crescent moon.[733] That the king was already engaged in nurturing diplomatic alliances is shown by four texts dating to the eleventh month concerning a ritualized setting-up of the marriage bed of princess Tabbur-hattum, who had been betrothed to a son of the governor of Hamazi.[734] There was an intercalary month added at the end of AS09, and documents from both the regular and the intercalary twelfth month show Šu-Suen at various offerings either specifically stated or most likely,

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[731] RA 09 051 SA 187 (pl. 5), AS09-03-03, Puzriš-Dagan: eight sheep and seventeen goats, cooked, put in a boat when the king went to Ur (lugal Uri_5^{ki}-$še_3$ du-ni); AOS 32 E06, AS09-03-15, Puzriš-Dagan: eight sheep ^{d}Inana $sisku r_2$-gu-la in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), and three sheep at ka_2-gi_6-par_4 and two sheep ^{d}Na-na-a gir_3 A-bi_2-si_2-im-ti, in Uruk.

[732] TCS 143, AS09-08-10, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen as pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a) and two oxen as evening offering (a_2-ud-te-na) to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) in Tummal; JCS 24, 159 50, AS09-08-22, Puzriš-Dagan: same as preceding; JCS 57 027 03, AS09-09-03, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen pre-dawn offering to Enlil and Ninlil in Tummal, one ox each for Enlil and Ninlil when the boat of Ninlil entered from Tummal to Nippur, evening offering, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[733] SET 084, AS09-10-08, Puzriš-Dagan: eight oxen for ^{d}Nanna in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); OIP 121 430, AS09-10-20, Puzriš-Dagan: twenty sheep, cooked, for the aga_3-us_2, and seventy sheep twenty-six lambs, cooked, for the aga_3-us_2 when the king went to Nippur (lugal $Nibru^{ki}$-$še_3$ du-ni) put in a boat, on the seventeenth. On the twentieth the latter tablet records sheep provided to the women and children of Inana, which may imply that these expenditures were made in Uruk.

AOS 32 H37, AS09-10-29, Puzriš-Dagan: one deer (lulim) one deer ($šeg_9$-bar) and two gazelles to Enlil and Ninlil, $eš_3$-$eš_3$-ud-sakar in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[734] AUCT 3 084, AS09-11-15: sheep, cooked, for when Ur-Iškur governor ($ensi_2$) brought his daughter-in-law (e_2-gi_4-a); OIP 121 576, AS09-11-17 and duplicate BIN 3 382: one ox and two sheep, offering for the setting up of the bed of the e_2-gi_4-a of Ur-Iškur governor of Hamazi; Ontario 1 160, AS09-11-18: sheep as provisions (igi-kar_2) for the e_2-gi_4-a of Ur-Iškur governor of Hamazi; and Aegyptus 17 53 070, AS09-11-19: animals as provisions for the e_2-gi_4-a of Ur-Iškur governor of Hamazi; all Puzriš-Dagan.

That this woman was Tabbur-hattum is demonstrated by Trouvaille 87, ŠS02-12d-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Ta_2-bur-hat-tum e_2-gi_4-a Ur-^{d}Iškur.

due to the offerands, to have occurred in or near Nippur. Of the six relevant texts dating to these two months, the primary recipients of the sacrifices at which the king was present in five of them were Enlil and/or Ninlil.[735] The sixth tablet records Šu-Suen's attendance at a sacrifice to Dagan and Išhara.[736]

2.2.4 The Reign of Šu-Suen

2.2.4.1 Years ŠS01-08

The archives now begin to officially date records using Šu-Suen's own regnal formulae, of which there were nine. The king constructed several cult objects: a boat for Enki, named the "Wild Ibex of the Abzu" (ŠS02), a huge stele for Enlil and Ninlil (ŠS06), and a replacement of the great barge of Ninlil used in the Tummal rites initiated by Šulgi (ŠS08).[737] Šu-Suen also commemorated the rebuilding of Šara's temple in Umma in the formula for his ninth regnal year, although the work on it seems to have begun in ŠS02.[738] He is the sole king of the Ur III dynasty whose formulae did not commemorate the installation of any en priest/esses, although it would appear that he had the opportunity. In Šu-Suen's first year a kianag for an en was carried out in Uruk, accompanied over the course of four days by such rituals as to imply that this en was recently deceased, e.g. a

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[735] MVN 13 107, AS09-12-03?, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep each to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), five sheep in Nippur; UCP 9-2-1 082, AS09-12-23, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep to Enlil, the deified Throne and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, and to Ninlil and Nanna in the Temple of Ninlil, pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); Ontario 1 115, AS09-12d-14, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox to Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); BPOA 7 1608, AS09-12d-17, Puzriš-Dagan: one gazelle to Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); Princeton 2 201, AS09-12d-22, Puzriš-Dagan: one gazelle each to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[736] AUCT 3 083, AS09-12-15, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen $siskur_2$ ^{d}Da-gan u_3 ^{d}Iš-ha-ra in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[737] ŠS02: ma_2-$dara_3$-abzu ^{d}En-ki; ŠS06: na-du_3-a-mah ^{d}En-lil_2 ^{d}Nin-lil_2-ra; RIME 3 2.1.4.8: inscription from "huge stele" dedicated to Enlil; ŠS08: ma_2-gur_8-mah ^{d}En-lil_2 ^{d}Nin-lil_2; RIME 3 2.1.4.9: inscription relating king's construction of barge for Enlil and Ninlil.

[738] RIME 3 2.1.4.16: inscription on door sockets and stone blocks on construction of E-šagepada, the temple of Šara in Umma.

lustration of the Boat of Heaven, a sacrifice to the gate of the Netherworld, Ganzer, and a pre-dawn lamentation at the gate of the en's residence, the gipar.[739] The deceased must be En-unugalana, appointed by Amar-Suen as en of Inana of Uruk in his fifth regnal year, a fact that may explain why a sacrifice at the mortuary chapel of Amar-Suen was included in this en's funerary rites in ŠS01.[740] Whoever Šu-Suen installed as successor, his enthronement name is never recorded, and he himself died by IS02, when that king selected his replacement.[741]

Šu-Suen also undertook several military campaigns, which were commemorated in both regnal year formulae and in inscriptions on statues of the king, some with captive enemy leaders, set up in the main temple of the land in Nippur. In ŠS03 the king led a campaign against Šimanum in the far northwest, in response to an insurrection that had ousted the local ruling family into which his daughter, Kunši-matum, had been married.[742] In administrative documents from the reign of Amar-Suen and later, the ruler of Šimanum was attested as one Bušam, who had two sons, Iphuha and Arib-atal and a son-in-law Puhizi.[743] Kunši-matum was termed the e_2-gi_4-a (usually, "daughter-

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[739] TIM 6 08, ŠS01-07-24, Puziš-Dagan: 1 sheep each to the ki-a-nag en-na-$še_3$, as an offering at the lustration of the Boat of Heaven ($siskur_2$ a-tu_5-a ma_2-an-na-ka), and the ki-a-nag ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-$še_3$, on the twenty-first; an ox three sheep an a lamb to ^{d}Inana pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a), a kid for the offering to An ($siskur_2$ An-ne), and one sheep each to ^{d}Ganzer$_3$ (^{d}IGI.KUR), Annunitum, and Ulmašitum, on the twenty-second; a sheep to the shrine ($eš_3$) of Inana on the twenty-third; and one sheep each for the night lamentation (ge-ra-num_2-gi_6) and the gate of the gipar (ka_2-gi_6-par_4), pre-dawn offering, on the twenty-fourth, disbursed in Uruk.

[740] This inclusion would be even more apt if Amar-Suen were En-unugalana's father, which is likely.

[741] Ibbi-Suen's second year formula commemorates the selection of an en of Inana of Uruk by extispicy. This en is never named in the records, whereas an en of Inana of Uruk with the throne-name En-amgalana, was seated (ba-hun) in IS04. It is not clear if these are the same person and there was some unusual circumstance that delayed his actual enthronization, or if the en initially selected had died before he could be installed and a second en was chosen in IS04.

[742] In addition to the regnal formula for ŠS03, this campaign was described on a statue of the king, which is known from an OB copy of royal inscriptions in Nippur. The OB copy was first published by Civil (1967), with additional fragments and a revised translation in RIME 3.2.1.4.1. It was Michalowski (1975) who figured out that the unnamed princess of the inscription was the Kunši-matum who occurs in several Ur III administrative texts.

[743] Trouvaille 84, AS06-04-00, Puziš-Dagan: 1 silver bracelet to Puzur-Aššur, envoy (lu_2-kin-gi_4-a) of Bušam ruler ($ensi_2$) of Šimanum; SA 035 (Pl. 058), AS05-06-12, Puziš-Dagan: Bu-ša-am, Ip-hu-ha dumu-ni, and Pu-hi-i_3-zi mi_2-us_2-sa_2-a-ni; UDT 092, AS08-12-29, Puziš-Dagan: A-ri-ib-a-tal dumu Bu-ša-am lu_2 Ši-ma-nu-um^{ki}.

in-law") of both Bušam and Arib-atal, so that it is unclear exactly which member of the family she had married.[744] P. Michalowski deduced that the betrothal of this princess occurred in the reign of Šulgi, based on an "Old Babylonian bilingual copy of a letter from the chancellor Aradmu to king Šulgi" in which Kunši-matum is mentioned.[745] And, in fact, in Š45, one of the princes of the Šimanum royal family, Arib-atal, was already known to the Ur III administration, having sent one or more bear cubs to the Puzriš-Dagan facility.[746] Two years later, an expedition that went from Sumer to Šimanum, offering sacrifices termed "offerings on the road" (siskur$_2$ šag$_4$ kaskal-ka-še$_3$) at the bank of the river Titin, in a locale called Kinihuma, and in Šimanum itself, may perhaps have constituted a wedding party escorting the bride to her new home.[747]

Bušam, Arib-atal and unnamed men from Šimanum recur intermittently in records from Puzriš-Dagan through the reign of Amar-Suen, virtually always as the recipients of animals from the crown, in various cities throughout the south (Nippur, Tummal, Ur and Uruk), and frequently in the company of other foreign rulers or their envoys.[748] The occasional presence of the king of Šimanun

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[744] SA 035 (Pl. 058), AS05-06-12, Puzriš-Dagan: Bu-ša-am, Ip-hu-ha dumu-ni, and Ku-un-ši-ma-tum e$_2$-gi$_4$-a-ni; CDLI P429765, ŠS01-02-19, Puzriš-Dagan: Ku-un-ši-ma-tum e$_2$-gi$_4$-a Ar-ba-(tal) lu$_2$ Ši-ma-num$_2^{ki}$.

[745] Michalowski (1975), p. 717-718. Note that if Šu-Suen was old enough to have a marriageable daughter in the reign of Šulgi, then his presumed mother, Abi-simti, must have been close to fifty at that time, which would add to the arguments I presented in Chapter 1 against her being the queen who bore one or more suckling children during the reign of Amar-Suen.

[746] MVN 13 710, Š45-12-24, Puzriš-Dagan: [x amar] az A-[ri$_2$]-ib-a-tal lu$_2$ Si-ma-nu-um^{ki}, mu-DU.

[747] BPOA 7 2488, Š47-02-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox gu$_2$ ^{id2}Ti-ti-in, six sheep šag$_4$ Ki-ni-hu-um-ma^{ki}, and numerous sheep six times šag$_4$ Si-ma-nu-um^{ki}, siskur$_2$ šag$_4$ kaskal-ka-še$_3$, conveyed by Lu-Nanna cup-bearer (sagi).

[748] BCT 1 068, Š47-07-05, Puzriš-Dagan: five sheep and five goats, cooked, for the man of Šimanun and the man of Nineveh (lu$_2$ Ši-ma-nu-um u$_3$ lu$_2$ Ni-nu-a-še$_3$), Aradmu maškim, in Ur; CST 193, Š47-10-25, Puzriš-Dagan: six sheep and four goats, cooked, for Zariq the man of Ašsur, Šu-Šulgi, Tišan-Dahi, and men of Šimanum (lu$_2$ Ši-ma-nu-um^{ki}-ke$_4$-ne), Aradmu maškim, in Nippur; AUCT 1 110, AS01-11-02, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox five sheep to Raši the man of Zidanum, two sheep two goats to [. . .]-na the man of Šimanum (lu$_2$ Ši-ma-nu-um^{ki}), 1 sheep one goat Ti-[x]-ti the man of Harši, Aradmu maškim; Orient 16 045 22, AS02-01-16, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep one goat Bušam the man of Šimanum (lu$_2$ Ši-ma-ni-um^{ki}), Aradmu maškim, in Uruk; Nisaba 08 156, AS02-01-20, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep Bušam the man of Šimanum (lu$_2$ Ši-ma-ni-um^{ki}, Aradmu maškim, in Nippur; PDT 2 1092, AS02-01-30, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep Bušam the man of Šimanum (lu$_2$ Ši-

and his son in Sumer, doubtless --- given their companions --- to attend to matters of trade and common defense, demonstrates that the diplomatic alliance that Kunši-matum's marriage was intended to cement turned out to be a successful on-going affair. When Kunši-matum herself turns up in Sumer for several months in ŠS01, one wonders if her extended visit resulted from her having been chased from her residence in Šimanum, as the royal inscription detailing this campaign put it.[749] The regnal year formula that matches this inscription came into use as the name for ŠS03 during that year, indicating that the campaign had not been concluded until that time, although it might have begun earlier, in ŠS02. Perhaps, if the royal family of Šimanum actually had been deposed by the start of ŠS01, it took somewhere between one and two years to organize the campaign against the rebels? As a further note to this matter, the inscription portrays Šu-Suen as a direct participant in the events in Šimanum, yet the administrative records show that the king was in Sumer in virtually every month of the year ŠS01 and absent in ŠS02 for only four non-consecutive months. Lack of evidence for Šu-Suen's whereabouts from ŠS02-12 through ŠS03-03, and again

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ma-ni-um^{ki}), Aradmu maškim, in Nippur; MVN 05 113, AS05-07-05, Puzriš-Dagan: 1 sheep to Libanaš-gubi envoy (lu_2-kin-gi_4-a) of Libanug-šabaš ruler ($ensi_2$) of Marhaši, 1 sheep to Bušam the man of Šimanum (lu_2 Ši-ma-nu-um), [x] to Naplanum the Amorite (Mar-tu), Aradmu maškim; ZA 80 28, AS05-08-03, Puzriš-Dagan: 1 goat to Libanaš-gubi envoy (lu_2-kin-gi_4-a) of Libanug-šabaš ruler ($ensi_2$) of Marhaši, 1 sheep to Bušam the man of Šimanum (lu_2 Ši-ma-num_2^{ki}), Aradmu maškim, in Tummal; MVN 15 199, AS05-08-12, Puzriš-Dagan: 1 sheep to Libanaš-gubi envoy (lu_2-kin-gi_4-a) of Libanug-šabaš ruler ($ensi_2$) of Marhaši, 1 sheep to Bušam the man of Šimanum (lu_2 Ši-ma-num_2^{ki}), 1 sheep Addagena ruler ($ensi_2$) of Harši, Aradmu maškim, in Tummal; OIP 121 458, AS07-07-09, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep Bušam man of Šimanum (lu_2 Ši-ma-nu-[um]), Aradmu maškim, in Ur; UDT 092, AS08-12-29, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen twelve sheep five goats to Naplanum the Amorite, four sheep one goat A-ri-ib-a-tal son of Bušam the man of Šimanum (lu_2 Ši-ma-nu-um^{ki}), two sheep Arib-huppi the man of Talmuš, [x] sheep Guzuzu the man of Mardaman, four sheep and one goat to the man of Nikab, Aradmu maškim, in Ur; MVN 13 639, AS09-09-11, Puzriš-Dagan: four sheep, cooked, for the runners, one sheep for Ar-ba-tal the man of Šimanum (lu_2 Ši-ma-nu-um^{ki}).

[749] BPOA 7 2927, ŠS01-02-11, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep Ar-ba-tal man of Šimanum (lu_2 Si-ma-num_2^{ki}), in Nippur; CDLI P429765, ŠS01-02-19, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep Kunšimatum e_2-gi_4-a Ar-ba-[tal] lu_2 Ši-ma-num_2^{ki}, in Nippur; PDT 1 572, ŠS01-02-22, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep Kunši-matum e_2-[gi_4-a] Ar-ba-tal lu_2 [Šimanum]^{ki}, Ard-mu maškim, in Nippur; Syracuse 480, ŠS01-03-09, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen five sheep, cooked, for the runners, one ox 6 sheep Hulibar ruler ($ensi_2$) of Duhduhli, one ox five sheep I_3-u_3-ša-a-nag_2 son of Mešanunu, three sheep I_3-a-ab-ni-šu, three sheep Nim-zi-na, they are Šimaškians (LU.SU_2^{ki}-me), one sheep Bil_2-li envoy (lu_2-kin-gi_4-a) of Susuwadar man of Iabru (lu_2 I_3-a-ab-ru^{ki}, one sheep Kunši-matum e_2-gi_4-a A-ar-ba-tal lu_2 Ši-ma-nu-um^{ki}, Aradmu maškim; AUCT 3 294, ŠS01-04-01, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox each Enlil and Ninlil $sikur_2$-gu-la in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one ox for the lustration (a-tu_5-a) of Nintinuga, one sheep Ar-ba-tal lu_2 [Šimanum^{ki}], one sheep Kunši-matum e_2-gi_4-a Ar-ba-tal lu_2 Ši-ma-num_2^{ki}, in Nippur.

RIME 3.2.1.4.1 col. iv 8'-10': dumu-munus-a-ni / e_2-ki-tuš-a-ni / [s]ag_2 im-ta-eš-am_3.

from ŠS03-03 into ŠS03-06, might be due to his campaigning in Šimanum at those times, if the royal inscription is accurate on this point.[750]

The year after the attack against Šimanum was named for the construction of a defensive wall against marauding tribal Amorites, termed *Tidnum*. The work seems to have gone on into ŠS04, as the formula was not adopted until after that year was underway. Three years later Šu-Suen named the year (ŠS07) for his conquest of Zabšali, a land that his related royal inscriptions define as Šimaški, from Anšan in the south to the upper sea, evidently the Caspian. The king fought and defeated a coalition of Šimaškian states, which were listed on several inscriptions as Alumidatum, Arahir, Azahar, Bulma, Garta, Lullubum, Nibulmat, Nušgalenum, Nušušimar, Sigiriš, Šatilu, Tirmi'um, Zabšali, and Zizirtum.[751] Once again, the royal inscriptions present Šu-Suen as directly involved in the military actions and, if accurate, his campaigning would have to have occurred in ŠS06, when the king was absent from the administrative records from the third to the sixth month, and again from shortly after the seventh month began through the twelfth month, as opposed to in ŠS07, when he was recorded as being in Sumer for all but the last month of that year.

In contrast to his predecessors, Šu-Suen left few inscriptions regarding construction or cult objects. There are a number of OB tablets purporting to record inscriptions that had been on statues that no longer exist, in Nippur. These were a statue of the king dedicated to Inana in the aftermath of his campaign against Šimanum; a silver statue of the king with the bound, captive ruler of Zabšali, cast from silver taken as booty from the lands of Šimaški, and dedicated to Enlil; a statue of the king, in celebration of his victories in the Šimaškian lands, dedicated to Ninlil; and a statue of the king made from gold booty, dedicated to Enlil and accompanied by statues of at least ten of the

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[750] In ŠS01, the presence of the king is unnoted only in month eleven, in ŠS02 in months one, four, seven and twelve.

In addition, for the year of victory see MVN 16 0960, ŠS03-00-00, Umma, wherein a mounted courier named Lugalsisa was given five garments on bringing the good news that Šimanum had been destroyed (a_2-ag_2-ga_2-sig_5 Si-ma-num_2^{ki} hul-a de_6-a).

[751] RIME 3 2.1.4.3 and RIME 3 2.1.1.5.

rulers taken captive in the Šimaškian war, one of whom is described as being trampled underfoot by Šu-Suen.[752] From the booty garnered in this campaign Šu-Suen also had a large goat fashioned and dedicated to a goddess, presumably Ninlil.[753] In addition, a stone statue of the king was dedicated to Enlil and Ninlil, without mention made on its inscription of either of Šu-Suen's campaigns.[754]

Šu-Suen's inscriptions show that he also rebuilt several cult buildings in Ur: the gipar of the en of Nanna, the Temple of Annunitum, and the E-murianabak temple of Nanna.[755] In this same city, a fragment of a diorite statue of Šu-Suen was excavated in the courtyard of the Dubla-mah, with its dedicatee lost.[756]

There are 16,928 documents bearing Šu-Suen year formulae or datable by internal criteria to these nine years, with eighty-five ambiguous dates. In the administrative records dating to Šu-Suen's first regnal year, the king occurs frequently, almost always in connection with offerings to Enlil and Ninlil in Nippur, the location either stated explicitly or deducible inferentially. In the first month of the year the king was present for sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil on the fourteenth, while his royal lukur A-ab-ba-bašti was involved in a ritualized emergence from a sheepfold, and he was once

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[752] RIME 3 2.1.4.1: inscription on statue dedicated to Inana, Lady of Battle and Combat (Nin me_3 šen-šen-na); RIME 3 2.1.4.3: inscription on statues of king and captive ruler of Zabšali, dedicated to Enlil; RIME 3 2.1.4.4: inscriptions on statue of king dedicated to Ninlil; RIME 3 2.1.4.5: bilingual inscriptions on statues of king and captive rulers.

[753] RIME 3 2.1.4.6: inscription on tablet, from statue of goat.

[754] RIME 3 2.1.4.7: inscriptions taken from statue of king dedicated to Enlil and Ninlil.

[755] RIME 3 2.1.4.19: inscription on door sockets on construction of a temple, found in the gipar in Ur; RIME 3 2.1.4.20: door socket inscription on construction of Temple of Annunitum in Ur; RIME 3 2.1.4.21: inscription on a door socket on construction of the E-murianabak Temple of Nanna in Ur.

[756] RIME 3 2.1.4.26: broken inscription on fragment of statue found in the courtyard of the Dubla-mah in Ur.

more at an offering to those same deities on the twenty-ninth.[757] On a tablet from the same month with no day noted, Šu-Suen attended an offering called the ki-Iškur comprised of sacrifices to numerous deities, followed by further sacrifices in the Temple of Ninlil.[758] During the second month of the year, Šu-Suen witnessed various offerings on six separate days, from the eighth to the thirtieth, including those for the Nippur Festival of Gudsisu and the festival of the crescent moon, all of them including Enlil and/or Ninlil.[759]

Both the third and the fourth month of ŠS01 show a similar pattern in the king's activities. In month three of ŠS01 the king's presence was noted at six sacrifices to Enlil and/or Ninlil, from the first of the month through the thirtieth, broken only by a trip by boat to Urusagrig on the nineteenth.[760] The king opened the fourth month by attending the Great Offering to Enlil and Ninlil in the E-kur, an offering that was reprised, again in his presence, on the eighth of the month. Two

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[757] PDT 1 244, ŠS01-01-14, Puzriš-Dagan: five sheep each Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), and six white sheep A-ab-ba-ba-aš-ti e_2-udu-šu-tum-ta e_3-a; AUCT 3 478, ŠS01-01-29, Puzriš-Dagan: two gazelle calves to Enlil, one to Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[758] SACT 1 172, ŠS01-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep and goats to An, Iškur, Enlil, Ninlil, Ninhursag, Enki and Nanna, categorized as offering ($siskur_2$) ki-^{d}Iškur, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), and animals to Ninlil, Enlil and Nintinuga in the Temple of Ninlil.

[759] AUCT 3 266, ŠS01-02-08, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep each Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); BIN 3 436, ŠS01-02-11, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox for Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); PDT 1 572, ŠS01-02-22, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox each Enlil and Ninlil $siskur_2$-gu-la, one ox each Ninhursag, the Du_6-kug, and Utu, two oxen for a lustration (a-tu_5-a) Ninurta, two oxen each of Šu-Suen, Suen, Šulgi, Ninsun, Lugalbanda, Ninimma, Lugal-gudsisu, Enki, and Nintinuga, summarized as Festival Gudsisu, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), in Nippur; MVN 13 525, ŠS01-02-23, Puzriš-Dagan: three oxen two sheep Enlil, two sheep each the throne (gu-za) and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); Syracuse 278, ŠS01-02-29, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep to Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); BIN 3 218, ŠS01-02-30, Puzriš-Dagan: one deer (lulim) and one gazelle to Enlil, one deer ($šeg_9$-bar) and one gazelle to Ninlil, the shrines of the House of the Crescent Moon ($eš_3$-$eš_3$ e_2-ud-sakar) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[760] BPOA 6 0879, ŠS01-03-01, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep one goat to Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); AUCT 3 089, ŠS01-03-05, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep each to Enlil and Ninlil $siskur_2$-gu-la, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); PDT 2 0906, ŠS01-03-08, Puzriš-Dagan: five sheep one goat to Enlil $siskur_2$-gu-la, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); BPOA 6 0771, ŠS03-03-08, Puzriš-Dagan: three gazelles each to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); Ontario 1 148, ŠS01-03-19, Puzriš-Dagan: twenty sheep and three goats, cooked, put in a boat on the king's going to Urusagrig (lugal Uru-sag-rig_7^{ki}-$še_3$ du-ni); Princeton 2 441, ŠS01-03-27, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep to Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); AUCT 1 559, ŠS01-03-30, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep each to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

days later the king viewed both pre-dawn and evening sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil in Nippur, and on the twentieth of the month more offerings in the Temple of Ninlil.[761]

In the fifth month of Šu-Suen's first regnal year the king appears only once, at a Great Offering to Enlil and Ninlil during the Full Moon celebration, presumably in Nippur.[762] At the mid-point of the next month, a large number of cooked animals were placed in a boat on the king's going to Uruk.[763] Troops or corvée workers from Šuruppag were involved, but the phrase used is obscure. The very next day Šu-Suen is recorded at offerings to Enlil and Ninlil at an undisclosed location which, it would seem, must have been Uruk.[764] The next two sightings of the king happened in Ur in relation to the Akiti festival, after which he returned to Nippur where, on the twelfth day of month seven, he witnessed a large number of sacrifices to various deities in relation to the Full Moon festival, while sheep were sacrificed to Enlil and Ninil on behalf of his lukur

[761] AUCT 3 294, ŠS01-04-01, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox each Enlil and Ninlil $siskur_2$-gu-la in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) in Nippur; Princeton 2 175, ŠS01-04-08, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox each Enlil and Ninlil $siskur_2$-gu-la in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); Princeton 1 453, ŠS01-04-10, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a), one ox evening offering (a_2-ud-te-na), to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) in Nippur; AUCt 3 399, ŠS01-04-20, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep to Ninlil, one to Suen in the Temple of Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[762] PDT 1 612, ŠS01-05-12, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep each Enlil and Ninlil $siskur_2$-gu-la, three sheep each Enlil and Ninlil $eš_3$-$eš_3$ e_2-ud-15 in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[763] NABU 2001 no. 064, ŠS01-06-15, Puzriš-Dagan: eight cattle, forty-five sheep and twelve goats, cooked, were put in a boat in the roadhouse? (E_2-da-na) of? the troops ($eren_2$) of Šuruppag on the king's going to Uruk (lugal $Unug^{ki}$-$še_3$ du-ni).

[764] Princeton 2 026, ŠS01-06-16, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep to Enlil, one to Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

Kubatum.[765] Šu-Suen participated in one further sacrifice to the main deities of Nippur before the seventh month ended.[766]

In the course of the next two months two separate drinking parties were held to honor Šu-Suen. On ŠS01-08-05 queen Abi-simti received one hundred and forty animals to host one such party, and a bit more than a month later one Ilabu, son of the mounted courier Gadu, was authorized thirty sheep for the same.[767] One wonders if a bamboo couch with hooved feet of oak inlaid and dotted with gold that "Milord [i.e. the king] released" at some point in the eighth month was intended for one of these parties.[768] About a week after the second party, Šu-Suen was in Nippur where, on one and the same day, he attended sacrifices in the Temple of Ninlil while elsewhere in Nippur a throwstick was attached to his new cult statue.[769] Also of interest is that one of the deities in Ninlil's temple whose offering he witnessed at that time was Nintud, the variant of Ninhursag in charge of childbirth --- perhaps one of his consorts had recently become pregnant? At the end of the tenth month Šu-Suen went by boat to Nippur, although the point from which he

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[765] PDT 1 298, ŠS01-06-30, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox for a ki-Suen, six to Nanna [broken] in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) in the Akiti House in Ur; MVN 13 103, ŠS01-07-06, Puzriš-Dagan: ten sheep nine goats to Nanna in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) in Ur; BIN 3 213, ŠS01-07-12, Puzriš-Dagan: six cattle to Enlil, one ox each to Gula and Hursag-galama, in the Temple of Enlil, seven cattle to Ninil, one ox each to Ninhursag, Nusku, Ninurta, Inana, Šu-Suen, Suen, Šulgi, Ninlil, Lugalbanda, and Nintinuga, $eš_3$-$eš_3$ e_2-ud-15 in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); one sheep to Enlil and two to Ninlil on behalf of Kubatum, in Nippur.

[766] MVN 18 480, ŠS01-07-27, Puzriš-Dagan: one gazelle each to Enlil and Ninlil in the Temple of [x] in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[767] PDT 2 1036, ŠS01-08-05, Puzriš-Dagan: twenty-one [x] thirty-five [x] sixty-four goats and twenty [x] A-bi_2-si_2-im-ti ud lugal-ra [kaš in]-na-[de_2-a], $Arad_2$-mu maškim; PDT 1 476, ŠS01-09-15, Puzriš-Dagan; thirty sheep I-la-bu dumu Ga-du ra_2-gaba ud lugal-ra kaš in-na-ni-de_2-a, $Arad_2$-mu maškim.
Because the types of most of the animals the queen was issued are missing, one cannot guess the approximate size of the guest list, but can only say it was substantial; Ilabu's meat budget would have fed 1,800 revelers at one sitting.

[768] PDT 1 543, ŠS01-08-00, Puzriš-Dagan: giš-nu_2 gi-Ma_2-gan^{ki} umbin-gud-bi ^{giš}ha-lu_2-ub_2 kug-sig_{17} gar-ra u_3 gun_3 kug-sig_{17}. . . lugal-mu šu in-na-ba, Ribagada maškim, Lugal kug-zu šu ba-ti in Puzriš-Dagan.

[769] MVN 05 123, ŠS01-09-22, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox six sheep to Ninlil, two sheep to Nanna, one sheep to Nintud in the Temple of Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); one ox and two sheep for the recumbent? throwstick (^{giš}šub-nu_2) of the new statue of Šu-Suen (alan ^{d}Šu-Suen gibil). . . set up (gub-ba) in Nippur.

launched was unrecorded.[770] In both the regular and the intercalary twelfth months the king was noted at seven different sacrificial rites to the main deities of Nippur, once for a little-attested festival of the Carnelian Statue.[771] Finally, an undated tablet from ŠS01 lists a number of interesting offerings, including a set characterized as the ki-Iškur in the king's presence, a lamb offered to a statue of Šu-Suen in the house of the sukkal-mah (at this time, Arad-Nanna), another to Šauša by or from the king's lukur Aabba-bašti in the house or temple of Puzriš-Dagan, offerings to the usual deities in the Temples of Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence, rituals tied up with entry into the presence of deities' statues with, in one case, silver bracelets and, in another, turnips, a lamb provided for the purposes of extispicy, and the taking of an oath of loyalty by men of Šurbu in the Temple of Ninurta.[772] This locality occurs in only one other text, when professional soldiers of

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[770] AfO 24 pl. 19 Dring 1, ŠS01-10-27, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen fifty-eight sheep were put in a boat on the king's going to Nippur (lugal Nibru^{ki}-še$_3$ du-ni).

[771] PDT 1 319, ŠS01-12-09, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep each to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra); PDT 1 608, ŠS01-12-14, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep to Ninurta, one to Nanna in the Temple of Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra) in Nippur; CST 410, ŠS01-12-15, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep each to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra); BPOA 7 2813, ŠS01-12-16, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox and one goat to Enlil, one goat to Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra) in Nippur; SA 003 (Pl. 051), ŠS01-12-27, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep each to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra);

BPOA 6 0195, ŠS01-12d-08, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep to [x] in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), two sheep each to Enlil and Ninlil, the Festival of the Carnelian Statue (ezem gug-a-alan); PTS 0993, ŠS01-12d-13, Puzriš-Dagan: one gazelle calf each to Enlil and Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra).

A Festival of the Carnelian Statue is first attested late in Šulgi's reign (Santag 7 154, Š45-11-00, Puzriš-Dagan: ezem ^{na4}gug-ga-alan-a). The sixty sheep expended for this event might imply that sixty statues were involved. One text dating to Ibbi-Suen also implies multiple statues (BE 3-1 133, IS07-04-00, Nippur: grain for the carnelian statues of the gods [gug-ga alan dingir-e-ne]). During the reigns of Šu-Suen and Ibbi-Suen, the Festival might apply specifically to statues of Enlil and/or Ninlil (SAT 3 1186, ŠS01-12-07, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil, ezem ^{na4}gug-alan; WMAH 154, IS02-12-15, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices in the Temple of Ninlil, ezem ^{na4}gug-a-alan ^{d}En-lil$_2$-la$_2$); however, Šu-Suen also celebrated such a festival for his own carnelian cult statue (Nisaba 08 059, ŠS03-12d-07, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil, ezem ^{na4}gug-a-alan ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen on the sixth and seventh).

[772] SACT 1 172, ŠS01-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan: [x], five goats, three sheep and one lamb to An, three sheep four goats and one lamb to Iškur, three sheep and one lamb each to Enlil, Ninlil, Ninhursag, Enki and Nanna, siskur$_2$ ki-^{d}Iškur in the king's presence, one lamb to the statue (alan) of Šu-Suen in the house of the sukkal-mah, one lamb to Geštinana pa$_5$-nin-nun-na; one lamb to Šauša (by/from) Aaba-bašti, in the house/temple (e$_2$) of Puzriš-Dagan; one lamb each to Enlil, Hursag-galama, the deified throne of Enlil, and (his standard) Aba-Enlil-gim in the Temple of Ninlil, two lambs each to Ninlil and Enlil, one lamb to Nanna, [x] to Nintinuga in the Temple of Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra); one lamb to Nin-Isina when she entered with the silver bracelet (har-kug-babbar-da ku$_4$-ra) in the Temple of Ninlil; one lamb each to Enlil and Ninlil when (someone) entered with the

Šurbu, under the command of the Hurrian Tahišatal, delivered animals as gu_2-ma-da tax to the crown.[773]

Šu-Suen's ritual activities in his second regnal year were much like those of his first, though the records are somewhat fewer. The king was in Nippur for sacrifices to Enlil and/or Ninlil in the second, third, fifth, eighth, and eleventh months.[774] He also attended the Gudsisu Festival in Nippur in the second month, as well as offerings during the Crescent Moon in the same city in the sixth and ninth months.[775] The king may have been present for a beer libation in the palace in Nippur in the fifth month, when royal votive gifts were presented to the deity Ninsun of Usuh.[776] Of note is royal votive offering to the "gods of Isin" --- Nin-Isina, Damu, Šumah and Gunura, conveyed by Abi-simti, along with votive offerings to Gula and Nin-nigar on behalf of Kubatum in this same month in Puzriš-

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turnips (lu-ub_2^{sar}-da ku_4-ra); one sheep of the omen (udu kin-gi_4-a); and one sheep one lamb for the oath (nam-$erim_2$) in the Temple of Ninurta for the men of Šurbu (mu lu_2 Šu-ur_2-bu^{ki}-ke_4-ne-$še_3$), in Nippur.

[773] AUCT 3 198, ŠSxx-09-13, Puzriš-Dagan: twelve oxen and one hundred and twenty-five sheep gu_2-ma-da, fifteen sheep and thirty-seven goats (from) the soldiers, men of Šurbu (aga_3-us_2 lu_2 Šu-ur_2-bu^{ki}-me), under the command of (ugula) Tahišatal. In this same document Tahišatal was listed as a commander of men of Daltum as well.

[774] ASJ 19 208, ŠS02-02-29, Puzriš-Dagan: a gazelle calf to Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); Ontario 1 145, ŠS02-03-13, Puzriš-Dagan: three gazelles each to Enlil and Ninlil, one to Nanna, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); PTS 0811, ŠS02-05-04, Puzriš-Dagan: one gazelle calf each to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); AUCT 3 201, ŠS02-08-18, Puzriš-Dagan: four sheep to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); BCTI 1 097, ŠS02-09-03, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox to Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); MVN 15 297, ŠS02-11-24, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep each to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[775] PDT 1 592, ŠS02-02-20, Puzriš-Dagan: oxen and sheep to Enlil and Ninlil, ezem Gudsisu, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) in Nippur; BIN 3 221, ŠS02-06-30, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Enlil, the deified Throne and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, to Ninlil and Nintinuga in the Temple of Ninlil, one ox each to Ninhursag, Nusku, Utu, Ninurta, Inana, Šu-Suen, Suen, Šulgi, Ninsun, Lugalbanda, Ninimma, Lugal-gudsisu, [x], Nintinuga and Annunitum $eš_3$-$eš_3$-ud-sakar, three sheep and one goat to Nanna offering ($siskur_2$) in the palace, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) in Nippur; CDLJ 2012, ŠS02-09-29, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil $eš_3$-$eš_3$ e_2-ud-sakar, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[776] AUCT 1 457, ŠS02-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan: two silver coils, one bronze basket (ma-sa_2-ab) with a copper bottom, and one bronze vessel (tun_2-la_2) to Ninsun of U_3-suh_5^{ki}, when a beer libation was poured (in) the palace (ud e_2-gal kaš i_3-in-nag-ga_2-a), a royal votive (a-ru-a-lugal), in Nippur.

Dagan.[777] The ninth month saw queen Abi-simti participating in a ritual called "sailing Ištaran" in Nippur.[778] A tablet dating to the tenth month records several happenings related to the king. On ŠS02-10-02 queen Abi-simti conveyed six oxen to be sacrificed at the gate of Inana as an offering of Lugal-ezem-e_3-[x].[779] As there is no divine determinative before the name "king (of) the festival coming out", this would not be a cult statue. It would not appear to refer to the king himself either, as on this same tablet he is recorded as traveling by boat to Uruk on the eleventh, more than a week after this offering. Note an individual named Lugal-ezem, a temple administrator (šabra) of the en of Inana, who might be of high enough status for the queen herself to have involved.[780] In any case, Šu-Suen didn't stay long in Uruk, taking a boat to Nippur on the sixteenth. Perhaps he had initially traveled to Uruk from Ur, as his militarized bodyguard received enough meat to feed 9,000 men in one sitting on towing the king's boat from Ur on the nineteenth. In ŠS02-11 the king was in the province of Umma, where the local governor provided beer as a royal provision in the orchard of Šu-Suen.[781] And at some point in his second regnal year, Šu-Suen was present for sacrifices to Nin-Isin of Umma, Dagan and Išhara, and Geštinana-lugal, summarized as offerings in the palace, and oxen were supplied for an otherwise unspecified offering of one of Šu-Suen's

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[777] SAT 3 1277, ŠS02-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one silver vessel (tun_3-la_2), one bronze basket (ma-sa_2-ab) with a copper bottom (dur_2), one large serrated stone knife (gir_2^{na4}-zu_2), its exterior set with silver, for Nin-Isina; two silver bracelets each for Damu, Šumah, and Gunura, they are the gods of Isin, royal votive (a-ru-a-lugal), conveyed by Abi-simti; one bronze basket with a copper bottom, one bronze bucket (ba-an-du_8-du_8), its base coated with copper, for Gula and Nin-nigar, votive offering of Kubatum the royal lukur, disbursed in Puzriš-Dagan.

[778] BIN 3 559, ŠS02-09-23, Puzriš-Dagan: nineteen cattle and sixty ovines to Abi-simti ud ^{d}Ištaran in-da-a, in Nippur.

[779] MVN 10 142, ŠS02-10-25, Puzriš-Dagan: six oxen at the gate of Inana (ka_2 ^{d}Inana), offering of Lugal-ezem-e_3-[x] conveyed by Abi-simti, on the second; eight oxen and four cows, cooked, put in a boat on the king's going to Uruk (lugal $Unug^{ki}$-$še_3$ du-ni) on the eleventh; two oxen, cooked, put in a boat on the king's going to Nippur (lugal $Nibru^{ki}$-$še_3$ du-ni) on the sixteenth; four oxen eleven cows, cooked, for the professional soldiers who towed the king's boat from Ur (mu-aga_3-us_2 Uri_5^{ki}-ta ma_2-lugal gid_2-da-ne-$še_3$), on the nineteenth.

[780] TCL 2 5506, AS07-06-13, Puzriš-Dagan: items sealed by Lugal-ezem šabra en-^{d}Inana for the offering in the sheepshed ($siskur_2$ $šag_4$ ga_2-udu).

[781] SA 117 (pl. 166), ŠS02-11-00, Umma: beer igi-kar_2-lugal-$še_3$ $šag_4$ $^{giš}kiri_6$-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ka, kišib $ensi_2$. MVN 01 033 is a duplicate.

queens in Umma.[782] An otherwise undated tablet from ŠS02 that records "sprinkling flour", an item closely associated with numerous rituals, disbursed when the Standard of the Weapon went on campaign may signal the symbolic start of the king's campaign against the Šimaškian lands to the east.[783]

The king is attested in Babylonia only once in the first part of his third regnal year, when he attended the Great Offering while Abi-simti conveyed a sacrificial animal to Inana, both in Nippur.[784] His subsequent absence from the records until the Akiti festival of the sixth month, where he witnessed a sacrifice to Nanna, may have been due to his leading the army personally against Šimanum during this period. Indeed, the campaign seems to have been underway by the third month of the year, when general Šagkuge accompanied the Standard of the Weapon on campaign.[785] Among the many offerands at this particular Akiti festival of ŠS02 in Ur was a statue of the king called "Šu-Suen-Beloved-of-Nanna", and an envoy of Iabrat of Šimaški is recorded as in attendance, both of which may, perhaps, be signs that the festival was also serving as a victory celebration.[786] During the remainder of the year, from the seventh through the eleventh months, Šu-Suen was back, as usual, to witnessing sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil, presumably at Nippur.[787]

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[782] MVN 15 303, ŠS02-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox four sheep one goat Nin-Isin Umma, two sheep Dagan, two sheep Išhara, one sheep Geštinana-lugal, $siskur_2$ $šag_4$ e_2-gal in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); MVN 14 0399, ŠS02-00-00, Umma: two oxen $siskur_2$-ereš-$še_3$.

[783] UTI 5 3424, ŠS02-00-00, Umma: one $sila_2$ of flour (eša), one $sila_3$ of sprinkling flour (zid_2 dub-dub) when the Standard of the Weapon went on campaign (šu-nir-^{giš}tukul kaskal-$še_3$ gen-na).

[784] Ebla 1975-1985 287 B, ŠS03-03-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox each to Enlil and Ninlil $siskur_2$-gu-la in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), and one ox to Inana gir_3 A-bi_2-si_2-im-ti, in Nippur.

[785] CHEU 019, ŠS03-03-00, Umma: two $sila_3$ of flour (eša) and two $sila_3$ of sprinkling flour (zid_2 dub-dub) when the Standard of the Weapon went on campaign (šu-nir-^{giš}tukul kaskal-$še_3$ gen-na), conveyed by Šagkuge šagina.

[786] Rochester 086, ŠS03-06-10, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Nanna, termed offering of the statue ($siskur_2$ alan-na), at the Dubla-mah and the Du_6-kug, and to Šulgi, $^{d}LAL_3$, ^{d}Nin-gi_4-[x], Damu, Nin-Urima, ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ki-ag_2-^{d}Nanna, Nin-ezem, Ningišzida, Ninazu, Ninsun, Lugalbanda, Ninpumuna, Ninkugnuna, Gula, Annunitum and Ulmašitum, six sheep to Nanna in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one sheep to Nimzi the envoy (lu_2-kin-gi_4-a) of Iabrat of Šimaški (Ia_3-ab-ra-at LU_2.SU^{ki}), in Ur.

[787] BPOA 7 2647, ŠS03-07-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one gazelle calf to Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); TJSASE 074, ŠS03-08-03, Puzriš-Dagan: one lamb to Enlil in the king's presence (lugal

That military actions, likely mop-up operations against the allies of Šimanum, were still on-going in ŠS04 can be seen in a text relating that a Standard of the Weapon went on campaign with a general in month three.[788] As for the king himself, the first half of ŠS04 finds the Šu-Suen once again personally involved with offerings to the main deities of Nippur, in the first, fourth, fifth and sixth months.[789] The pattern of royal attendance at rites in Nippur was interrupted in the seventh month, when Šu-Suen attended a sacrifice to Inana as part of a pre-dawn offering to the Boat of Heaven that was staged in the palace.[790] Even though this was dated to the month Akiti, it would appear to have taken place in Nippur, not Ur, as it was immediately preceded by offerings to Enlil in his temple. Offerings made in the king's presence then reverted to Nippur deities from the ninth into the eleventh month, once involving the Great Offering and twice the Crescent Moon, with the possible exception of sacrifices to Nanna and Annunitum in the tenth month that, given it was the

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ku_4-ra); Princeton 2 105, ŠS03-10-16, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep to Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); PDT 1 273, ŠS03-11-28, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep to Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[788] MVN 16 0555, ŠS04-03-00, Umma: one sheep to the Standard (of) the weapon when it went on campaign (šu-nir-^{giš}tukul kaskal-še$_3$ gen-na), convyed by Šagkuge the general.

[789] SEL 24 007 4, ŠS04-01-00, Puzriš-Dagan: two gazelle calves each to Enlil and Ninlil, one to Nintinuga in the Temple of Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); AUCT 3 202, ŠS04-04-12, Puzriš-Dagan: one gazelle each to Enlil, the deified Trhone of Enlil, and Hursag-galama, two gazelles to Ninlil, one gazelle each to Nanna, Ninhursag, Nusku, Ninurta and Inana, pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); Ontario 1 146, ŠS04-04-20, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep to Ninlil, pre-dawn offering, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); Princeton 2 401, ŠS04-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan: five sheep to Ninlil, pre-dawn offering, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); AUCT 1 152, ŠS04-05-02, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep to Enlil, one to Ninlil, pre-dawn offering, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); PDT 1 693, ŠS04-05-17, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep to Ninlil, pre-dawn offering, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); Princeton 2 475, ŠS04-06-00, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to a number of deities in the Temples of Enlil and Ninlil, as well as to others, including Šulgi, Amar-Suen, Šu-Suen, and Lugal-Gudsisu (which last places the events in Nippur), after which the text is broken, then "in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); PDT 1 559, ŠS04-06-04, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep at the Du_6-kug, $eš_3$-$eš_3$-e_2-ud-7 in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); JEOL 26 49 03, ŠS04-06-28, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep and one gazelle calf to Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[790] PDT 1 531, ŠS04-07-24, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep to Enlil in the Temple of Enlil, two sheep to Inana siskur$_2$ ma_2-an-na $šag_4$ e_2-gal, pred-dawn offering? [a_2-gi_6-ba]-a, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

month of the Great Festival of Nanna in Ur, may have occurred in that city.[791] At some point during the eleventh month, the governor of Umma provided sheep for something called "on the king inspecting" (lugal-e igi-du_8-a) and for an entry with the gold (kug-sig_{17}-da ku_4-ra).[792] Although the site of these events wasn't noted, the only other attestations of the phrase "on the king inspecting" took place in Ur.[793] The final example from this year refers to a sacrifice to the statue of Inana-KA-GIR_3-^{d}Šu-Suen, which may have been created to celebrate the king's victory over Šimanum, followed by the king's attendance at offerings to Utu and the royal Lamma in the palace.[794] This same tablet records a sacrifice on behalf of a daughter of Kubatum to both Ninurta and Nin-Nibru. This must be Geme-Enlila, daughter of Šu-Suen and Kubatum, who was also identified elsewhere as the lukur-priestess of Ninurta in Nippur.[795] As the last, likely, attestation of her predecessor as

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[791] Amorites 20 (pl. 9), ŠS04-09-02: one gazelle calf to Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); NYPL 050, ŠS04-09-29, Puzriš-Dagan: one ass one gazelle to Enlil, one deer ($šeg_9$-bar) and one gazelle to Ninlil, $eš_3$-$eš_3$-ud-sakar, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); PDT 1 413, ŠS04-10-04, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep to Nanna, one sheep to Annunitum in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); AUCT 2 244, ŠS04-10-29, Puzriš-Dagan: one deer (lulim) one gazelle to Enlil, one deer ($šeg_9$-bar) one gazelle to Ninlil, $eš_3$-$eš_3$-ud-sakar, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); SET 072, ŠS04-11-09, Puzriš-Dagan: ten sheep in the Temple of Enlil, seventeen sheep in the Temple of Ninlil, $siskur_2$-gu-la in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[792] UTI 5 3094, ŠS04-11-00, Umma.

[793] For the previous attestation, also provided by the governor of Umma, see: BPOA 6 0925, AS08-10-00, Umma. Also noteworthy is a basket tag from Ur listing "treasury, divided" (gil-sa si-il-la), Annunitum, and "on the king inspecting" (lugal-e igi-du_8-a): UET 3 0269, no date, Ur. Annunitum's main cult centers were in Ur and Uruk.

[794] VIN 3 571, ŠS04-12-05, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to several deities in the Temple of Enlil, the Temple of Ninlil, and in the GAN_2-DA; sacrifices to individual deities, including Nanna in the sheepfold (e_2-tur_3); sacrifices to Ninurta and Nin-Nibru on behalf of the daughter of Kubatum, who is surely Geme-Enlila the lukur of Ninurta; one sheep to Inana-KA-GIR_3-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen $eš_3$-$eš_3$-e_2-ud-7; seven sheep to Utu and one sheep to Lamma-lugal, $siskur_2$ ki-Utu in the palace, e_2-ud-7, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).
D. Frayne, RIME 3, pp. 292-293, suggested a connection between the statue Inana-KA-GIR_3-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen and that king's military victory against Šimanum in ŠS02. On the GAN_2-DA and its possible translation, see Sallaberger (1993), pp. 52-53.

[795] See PPAC 4 298, ŠS06-02-13, Puzriš-Dagan: sacrifices to Ninurta and Nin-Nibru on behalf of Geme-Enlila the princess (dumu-munus-lugal); NATN 859, ŠS07-04-30, Nippur: a mason (šidim) for the house of Geme-Enlila the princess, lukur of Ninurta.

lukur of Ninurta, Pirurūtî, occurred in ŠS03, perhaps this offering by Geme-Enlila was connected with her own installation in that office.[796]

Notice of the direct presence of Šu-Suen in administrative documents of his fifth regnal year is limited to six texts dating to the first and third months. All of these concern sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil and, on occasion, other deities and items located in the E-kur in Nippur.[797] The king may be sensed obliquely in a record dating to the fifth month, of animals sufficient to feed 4,800 people at one sitting and delivered to Nippur for a royal drinking party.[798] Another sizeable royal party occurred in the ninth month, held in the house of one Ur-sukkal in Umma, where over 13,000 bundles of reeds were assigned to the cookhouse, the duckling pen, the brewery, and for roasting evidently large but unquantified numbers of pigs, oxen and sheep for the festivities.[799]

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[796] Ontario 1 027, Š47-09-03, Puzriš-Dagan: PI-ru-ru-ti lukur ^{d}Nin-urta; AUCT 1 045, ŠS03-06-04, Puzriš-Dagan: delivery of a lamb by Pirurūtî.

Unlike the other Ur III deities served by lukurs, Ninurta seems to have had only one lukur at a time, and the position was evidently prestigious enough to attract the royal family. In addition to Šu-Suen's daughter Geme-Enlila, Pirurūti was plausibly a princess herself, co-occurring in texts with Šulgi's consort Geme-Ninlila (RA 49 88 12, Š43-01-17, Puzriš-Dagan), Abi-simti's brother Babati (AUCT 1 254, ŠS01-10-16, Puzriš-Dagan), and Šu-Suen's chief lukur Šag$_4$-ta-šag$_5$-ga (AnOr 07 102, ŠS02-05-08). Note also that Pirurūtî, the most likely normalization of the spelling PI-ru-ru-ti, is the Akkadian for "my little mouse", the Sumerian version of which (Peš$_2$-tur-tur) is the name of one of king Šulgi's daughters. See MVN 13 657, Š46-02-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Peš$_2$-tur-tur dumu-munus-lugal.

[797] BCT 1 109, ŠS05-01-11: two gazelles to Enlil, one to Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra); TRU 339, ŠS05-01-24: two gazelle calves to Enlil, one each to the deified throne of Enlil and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, two gazelle calves to Ninlil and one to Nintinuga in the Temple of Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra); TRU 336, ŠS05-01-27: two gazelle calves to Enlil, one each to the deified throne of Enlil and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, two gazelle calves to Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra); BIN 3 569, ŠS05-03-17: five sheep to Enlil, one each to the deified throne of Enlil and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, five sheep to Ninlil and one to Nanna in the Temple of Ninlil, one sheep to Alla-gula, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra); SACT 1 174, ŠS05-03-30: one deer (lulim) one gazelle to Enlil, one deer (šeg$_9$-bar) one gazelle to Ninlil, the festival of the Crescent Moon, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra); all Puzriš-Dagan.

[798] NRVN 1 283, ŠS05-05-00, Nippur: two oxen, forty sheep and twenty goats kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal, mu-DU.

[799] Nisaba 11 45, ŠS05-09-00, Umma: zi-ga kaš-de$_2$-a-lugal šag$_4$ e$_2$ Ur-sukkal.

The recurrent absence of the king from the archival records during the course of this year is curious, and cannot be explained by his year formula: the current year (ŠS05) never received its own name, going only by "the year after" plus the formula for year four, while that of the following year (ŠS06) commemorated the erection of a stele for Enlil and Ninlil, an action that, should it have actually occurred in ŠS05, would not have taken the king out of the country. There are, in addition, no activities noted in ŠS05 for any event with a military connotation, such as the reception of booty or banquets for generals returning from campaign. Looking to Šu-Suen's family for clues proves, with perhaps one exception, fruitless as well, for Šu-Suen's queens, lukurs, and most of the princes and princesses are absent from the records of this year. The few activities of royal family members recorded during ŠS05 are sacrifices to several gods, including the deified Šu-Suen, when an unnamed prince went to the towns of Marad and Usuh, the provision of reeds to bake bread for an unknown number of royal children in Umma, a large delivery of animals to the central facility from prince Ahuni, a trip of princess ME-Ištaran to Zabalam, an inspection of onagers around Urusagrig by prince Hulal, a journey by that same prince and the general Hun-Šulgi to Hurti, and another by an unnamed princess to Anšan.[800]

Of the peripheral sites mentioned, the location of Usuh is unknown, but it appears to be close to Marad, as in both this text and its sole other attestation in the administrative records offerings were made to both Lugal-Marad in Marad and Ninsun in Usuh.[801] Hurti had been subdued

[800] AUCT 3 416, ŠS05-01-21, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox one goat and one sheep to ^{d}Lugal-Mar$_2$-da^{ki}, three sheep to ^{d}Nin-ka-an-na in Mar$_2$-da^{ki}, one ox, five sheep and one goat to ^{d}Nin-[sun$_2$?], and one sheep each to ^{d}Lugal-[banda?], ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen, and ^{d}Ba-u$_2$ in U$_3$-suh$_5^{[ki]}$ when the prince went (there) (ud dumu-lugal i$_3$-gen-[na-a]); MVN 14 0342, ŠS05-06-05, Umma: two talents of reeds for baking barley bread for the royal children (ninda zi$_3$-gu dumu-lugal-k3$_4$-ne du$_8$-a); CST 434, ŠS05-09-24, Puzriš-Dagan: four oxen, forty-five sheep and one lamb, delivery of Ahuni the prince; SAT 3 1595, ŠS05-00-00, Umma: [x] grain when ME-Ištaran the princess (dumu-lugal) went to Zabalam; Nisaba 15 327, ŠS05-00-00, Urusagrig: soup and fish for Hu-la-al dumu-lugal ud anše-eden-na igi du$_8$-de$_3$ im-gen-na-a; Nisaba 15 331, ŠS05-00-00, Urusagrig: soup and fish for Hun-Šulgi general (šagina) and Hu-la-al dumu-lugal when they went to Hurti (ud Hu-ur-ti^{ki}-še$_3$ im-e-re-ša-a); UTI 3 2202, ŠS05-00-00, Umma: seven women who carried equipment (nig$_2$-gu$_2$-na) to An-za-gir$_{13}$ [gir$_{13}$ = ŠID] for the princess who went to Anšan (mu dumu-munus-lugal An-ša-an-še$_3$ gen-na-še$_3$).

[801] SAT 3 1892, ŠS09-09-18, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox to Ninsun in U$_3$-suh$_5^{ki}$, one ox to Lugal-Marad in Mar$_2$-da^{ki}, one ox to Numušda in Kazallu.

along with Kimaš by Šulgi, for which he held a number of lavish victory celebrations in Š46, and those countries had posed no problems in the meantime, so that prince Hulal's visit there was probably routine. Anšan likewise had been brought into the orbit of the Ur III state by Šulgi, initially by means of a diplomatic marriage between its ruler and one of his daughters in Š30. This mechanism apparently did not work out as planned, for four years later Šulgi invaded Anšan, after which the two countries managed to maintain amicable relations. The princess of the text dating to ŠS05 is obviously not the same princess married off in Š30, yet the former does seem to be not simply traveling but moving to Anšan to set up household there.[802]

Records from Šu-Suen's sixth regnal year also reveal little activity on the part of the king in Sumer, though this may be at least in part due to the campaign against Zabšali and the lands of Šimaški, after which he named the following year. Šu-Suen attended sacrifices in the Temple of Ninlil in Nippur in the first month, followed the next month by a set of two offerings in the same city to an especially large number of deities.[803] The first of these, subsumed as the Festival of the Full Moon in the king's presence, took place in the Temples of Enlil, Ninlil, Šuziana, Ninhursag, and Inana, in a cult site called GAN_2-DA, at the Holy Mound, to Nintinuga in the city and to Nanna in the cattle-pen, and to Inana-KA-GIR_3-Šu-Suen.[804] The inclusion of the latter among the offerand here

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As there was a governor ($ensi_2$) of Marad, which participated in the bala-system, as early as Š36 (BIN 5 154, Š36-00-00, Umma), the prince's trip would not seem to have had an overt military or diplomatic purpose.

[802] The items being transported for her, nig_2-gu_2-na, may be translated as tools, equipment, or household utensils.

[803] CDLI P387664, ŠS06-01-02, Puzriš-Dagan: three gazelle calves to Enlil, one each to the deified throne of Enlil and Hursag-galama, [x] gazelle calves to Enlil and Ninlil, one gazelle calf each to the deified throne of Enlil and Nintinuga, in the Temple of Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[804] TJSASE 298, ŠS06-02-13, Puzriš-Dagan: seven oxen seven sheep to Enlil, one ox and two sheep each to the deified throne of Enlil and Hursag-galama, one sheep to Aba-Enlil-gim the standard (šu-nir) of Enlil, in the Temple of Enlil; three plus oxen and four plus sheep to Ninlil, one sheep to Nanna, sixty-two sheep to Nintinuga in the Temple of Ninlil; one sheep each to Ningagia, An, Enlil and Ninlil in the GAN_2-DA; one sheep each to Šuziana, Enlil and Suen in the Temple of Šuziana; one ox three sheep to Ninhursag, and one sheep to Šulpae in the Temple of Ninhursag; six sheep to the Du_6-kug; one sheep each to ^{d}Inana-KA-GIR_3-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen and Ištaran, one ox two sheep to Nusku, one sheep to Meslamtaea bur-BAR-BAR-a, two sheep to Utu, one ox and two sheep each to Ninurta and Inana, two sheep to [^{d}X], in the Temple of Inana; one ox and two sheep

may signal a thanksgiving-in-advance by Šu-Suen to a demonstratedly efficacious divine ally prior to setting off on his campaign against Zabšali. The second set of offerings in the second month of ŠS06 include the king's presence at a sacrifice to Allatum and at a lustration of Nintinuga, the latter authorized by an incantation priest (lu_2-mu_{13}-mu_{13}).[805] As this was the month of the Gudsisu festival, there were further sacrifices at the city gate called Lugal-Gudsisu, as well as others on the street where the Akiti House was located and on the street of Bau, and a sacrifice of sheep of the oath-taking when the queen went to a outdoor ritual, "milk eating", involving the young of animals (ga-gu_7-$še_3$).[806] A final set of offerings two days later to the major deities of Nippur took place with the king present.[807]

Šu-Suen then disappears from the record for the next four months of ŠS06, showing up again for an offering to Ninhursag in Nutur near Ur during the month of the Akiti festival, at which time the Amorite Naplanum also received an ox "on entering his city at the head (of a group or procession)".[808] Naplanum was an important Amorite chieftain closely allied with the Ur III dynasty who, along with his family and soldiers under his control was frequently at the Ur III Court.[809]

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each to Šu-Suen and Suen, one sheep to Nintinuga in the city ($šag_4$ uru), one ox and two sheep each to Šulgi and Ninsun, [x] to Lugalbanda, Nintinuga, Annunitum, Pabilsag, [x]-da Nanna in the cattle-pen (e_2-tur_3), Nungal, [x] to Bau on behalf of the king (mu-lugal-$še_3$), one sheep each to Ninurta and Nin-Nibru on behalf of Geme-Enlila the princess; $eš_3$-$eš_3$ e_2-ud-15 in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[805] PDT 2 1050, ŠS06-02-25, Puziš-Dagan: one sheep to Allatum in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one sheep to the place of disappearance (nig_2-ki-zah_3) of Allatum, and two sheep to Inana; one sheep to Nintinuga, one sheep for the royal lustration (a-tu_5-a-lugal), authorized by Uršaga the incantation priest.

[806] PDT 2 1050, ŠS06-02-25, Puziš-Dagan: one ox four sheep abul ^{d}Lugal-Gud-si-su, two sheep e-sir_2 A_2-ki-ti, two sheep e-sir_2 ^{d}Ba-u_2, two sheep $erim_2$-ak nin-mu du ga-gu_7-$še_3$, evening offering (a_2-ud-te-na).

[807] Torino 2 719, ŠS06-02-27, Puziš-Dagan: three sheep to Enlil, one each to the deified throne and Hursag-galama, in the Temple of Enlil, four sheep to Ninlil and two to Nanna, in the Temple of Ninlil; two sheep to Ninlil in the GAN_2-DA, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[808] PDT 2 1172, ŠS06-07-04, Puziš-Dagan: one ox Ninhursag of Nutur in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one ox for Naplanum the Amorite on his entering his city at the head (of a group or procession) (dub-sag uru-a ku_4-ra-ni), authorized by Aradmu, pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a).

[809] On Naplanum, see Steinkeller (2004), pp. 37-40, and Michalowski (2006), p. 59.

Naplanum maintained residences both in Sumer, in the town of Kisig near Ur, as well as in "the Amorite lands", and his men served as a royal bodyguard.[810] Perhaps the details of the text in which Šu-Suen reappears after a four-month absence from the records, together with Naplanum, about to enter his city at the head of some procession, may be understood as the actions of the two men just returned from campaign. The presence of the king is then once more undetectable, until the final, intercalary month of the year, when he attended pre-dawn offerings to Enlil and Ninlil, presumably in Nippur.[811]

The paucity of references to Šu-Suen in administrative sources dating to this fifth and sixth regnal years is reversed in the seventh year of his tenure in office, with nineteen records of sightings in all but two months.[812] The majority of these were at offerings to Enlil, Ninlil and/or other deities associated with the E-kur in Nippur, with several further characterized as offerings for the Crescent Moon, Great Offering, or for the Festival NE-izigar.[813] Between these many excursions to

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[810] Steinkeller (2004), p. 39.

[811] Ontario 1 151, ŠS06-12d-22, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox each to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[812] There are so far no records mentioning the king from months ten and twelve in ŠS07.

[813] Nisaba 08 383, ŠS07-01-29, Puzriš-Dagan: one deer (lulim) one gazelle to Enlil, one deer ($šeg_9$-bar) one gazelle to [Ninlil}, $eš_3$-$eš_3$-ud-sakar, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); CUSAS 16 298, ŠS07-01-29, Puzriš-Dagan: one gazelle calf to Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); TMH NF 1-2 272, ŠS07-02-19, Puzriš-Dagan: animals to Enlil, the deified throne of Enlil, and various statues (alan-$dili_2$) in the Temple of Enlil, to Ninlil, Nanna [x], Šu-Suen, Suen, Šulgi, Ninsun, Lugalbanda, [x], and Nanna in the Temple of Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); YOS 18 018, ŠS07-03-25, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep and goats to Enlil, the deified throne of Enlil, and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, to Ninlil and Nanna in the Temple of Ninlil, pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); BPOA 7 2368, ŠS07-04-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one ass (anše) one gazelle to Enlil, one gazelle to Ninlil, $eš_3$-$eš_3$-ud-sakar in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); Kyoto 44, ŠS07-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan: thirty-two sheep to various statues in the Temple of Enlil and Ninlil, the Great Offering ($siskur_2$-gu-la), appropriations for the Festival of NE-izi-gar, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); SACT 1 175, ŠS07-05-23, Puzriš-Dagan: one gazelle calf to Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); MVN 15 151, ŠS07-05-29, Puzriš-Dagan: one gazelle calf each to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); BPOA 6 0876, ŠS07-06-22, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox each to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); ASJ 11 327, ŠS07-07-27, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen to Enlil and Ninlil, evening offering (a_2-ud-te-na) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); ASJ 04 067 15, ŠS07-08-15, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen to Enlil and Ninlil, evening offering (a_2-ud-te-na) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); BPOA 7 2825, ŠS07-09-06, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep and goats to Enlil, the deified throne of Enlil, and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, to Ninlil and Nanna in the Temple of Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

the E-kur in months one through nine, the king also attended a sacrifice to Armed Inana (^{d}Inana-^{giš}tukul) in a cattle-pen in Nippur in the second month, and took a boat to Urusagrig in the third.[814] The king remained in Urusagrig for less than a week, for seven days after this trip he was back for offerings in the E-kur. In the fourth month Šu-Suen attended a pre-dawn offering to Nintinuga when her cult statue came to Puzriš-Dagan from Isin, in the sixth month a sacrifice to Inana in an orchard, probably in or near Nippur, and in the seventh offerings to Enlil and Ninlil in Tummal, doubtless in connection with the ritual of Ninlil's boatride.[815] In the tenth month of the year, Šu-Suen's queens Abi-simti and Kubatum received sheep as provision for the gipar, the residence of the en of Nanna in Ur. The two women were evidently going to the gipar, but whether this trip had a ritual purpose cannot be determined, though it seems likely.[816] In the eleventh month a man named Šu-Šulgi, possibly the prince of that name, authorized the expenditure of sheep to several people including one ME-Nisaba, who has the same name as the only known lukur of the next king, Ibbi-Suen, for their participation in the ritual of "Sailing Ištaran" in Puzriš-Dagan.[817] Also in this same month, the king Šu-Suen was at hand for a sacrifice when a statue of Ninhursag was about to travel to another city, the name of which is illegible.[818] In addition, offerings to Inana in a temple and cooked animals

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[814] CDLJ 2007 1 26, ŠS07-02-24, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep to Nanna, one to ^{d}Inana-^{giš}tukul in the cattle-pen (e_2-tur_3) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), in Nippur; Museon 88, 4, ŠS07-03-18, Puzriš-Dagan: four cattle ten sheep, cooked, put in a boat on the king's going to Urusagrig (lugal Uru-sag-rig_7^{ki}-$še_3$ du-ni).

[815] MVN 10 225, ŠS07-04-23 Puzriš-Dagan: one ox to Nintingua on her coming from Isin ($Isin_2$-na-ta du-ni) in Puzriš-Dagan, pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); BPOA 7 2897, ŠS07-07-08, Puzriš-Dagan: one gazelle calf to Inana in the orchard, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); SumRec Dreh. 29, ŠS07-07-01, Puzriš-Dagan: one deer ($šeg_9$-bar) one gazelle each to Enlil and Ninlil in Tummal in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[816] PDT 1 431, ŠS07-10-06, Puzriš-Dagan: sixteen sheep for Abi-simti and ten for Kubatum, provisions (igi-kar_2) ki-par_4-$še_3$, in Ur.

[817] BPOA 7 2888, ŠS07-11-14, Puzriš-Dagan: ten sheep to ME-Nisaba, eight to the wife of the entertainer (ud-da-tuš) Ahu-waqar in Nippur and five to Libur-iduni, authorized by Šu-Šulgi in Puzriš-Dagan, when "they sailed Ištaran" (ud ^{d}Ištaran in-da-ša-a", pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a).
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi dumu-lugal in JCS 54 12 82, AS03-09-00, Puzriš-Dagan; and MVN 05 116, AS07-03-09, Puzriš-Dagan; ME-^{d}Nisaba lukur-lugal in Ontario 2 141, IS01-00-00, Umma.

[818] SumTemDocs 17, ŠS07-11-09, Puzriš-Dagan: four sheep ^{d}Nin-hur-sag [x]-$še_3$ in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

for runners were characterized as pre-dawn offerings when the king entered a treasury or storehouse called the e_2-kišib-ba, literally "the house of the seal", an act that was apparently, at least on this occasion, ritualized.[819]

Šu-Suen was also quite active in Sumer throughout his eighth regnal year, and once again the focus of most of his attentions was on the cults at Nippur. In the first month the king was present at offerings in the E-kur, at which time a new statue (alan-gibil) of his queen Kubatum was erected at the gate of Enlil.[820] I take the word "new" to mean not that this statue was a replacement for an older one, but that it was newly crafted, for a large statue, set up in public and moreover at the entrance to a major cult location, that was a representation of neither a deity nor a deified king was, from all evidence, unprecedented. That Šu-Suen could conceive of and execute such an innovation has been taken as a sign not only of the high regard he had for this wife, but also of his distress at her presumed death.[821] However, the proof text that Kubatum had died, a record of sacrifices for her mortuary chapel in ŠS06, was initially mistransliterated. A look at the hand-copy clearly shows that the royal lukur at whose mortuary chapel a sacrifice was made was Šu-Suen's consort Takun-matum.[822] In addition, a delivery of thirty animals for a libation of Kubatum that was directed to "temples of the gods" in the eighth month of ŠS08, that is, seven months after the erection of her statue, seems to indicate that the queen was alive at that point.[823]

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[819] Ontario 1 153, ŠS07-11-00, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep and two kids to Inana in the temple (e_2-a), authorized by Šu-Suen-lamahar cupbearer (sagi), and six sheep and seven goats to the cookhouse for the runners, authorized by Šu-Ea, minister (sukkal), on the king entering the storehouse (lugal ku_4-ra e_2-kišib-ba), pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a).

[820] BiOr 09 173 1, ŠS08-01-21, Puzriš-Dagan: four sheep one goat to Enlil, one sheep each to the deified throne of Enlil, and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, and four sheep two goats to Ninlil, two sheep to Nanna in the Temple of Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one sheep for the new statue (alan-gibil) of Kubatum at the gate (ka_2) of Enlil, on the twenty-first in Nippur.

[821] Michalowski (2005), pp. 71-72.

[822] AR RIM 02 03, ŠS06-04-24, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep ki-a-nag Ta_2-ku-ma-tum lukur-lugal in the houseof Amur-DINGIR ra_2-gaba, in Puzriš-Dagan, pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a).

[823] PPAC 4 210, ŠS08-08-17, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen, seventeen sheep and nine goats, pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a), and one [x], one sheep evening offering (a_2-ud-te-na) for the libation (kaš-de_2-a) of Kubatum, was taken to the temples of the gods (e_2-dingir-e-ne-$še_3$ ba-ab-dab_5).

In the second month an offering to Enlil and Ninlil called the ki-Suen at the Crescent Moon was performed in the palace with the king in attendance.[824] A little less than a month later, Šu-Suen attended the Great Offering in the E-kur, after which he proceeded to Urusagrig by boat.[825] In the fourth month the king witnessed sacrifices in the Akiti-šunumun House, which bears the name of a festival celebrated in that month in Nippur, and in the fifth month he was back at the Temples of Enlil and Ninlil in the E-kur complex.[826] The sixth month saw Šu-Suen once more in the E-kur, for a series of sacrifices for the Festival of the Full Moon, and for an offering to Ninimma when her cult statue entered its new temple, an event normally accompanied with public fanfare.[827] At the beginning of the seventh month the king was apparently in Uruk, given the deities whose sacrifices he attended, but on the twenty-second of the month he was back in Nippur for offerings in the E-kur.[828] In the eighth month Šu-Suen attended two separate evening offerings to Enlil and Ninlil, and one day after the latter of the two, animals were disbursed to various, unspecified temples of the

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[824] PDT 1 082, ŠS08-02-28, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox siskur$_2$ ki-^{d}Suen e$_2$-ud-sakar in the palace to Enlil and Ninlil, evening offering (a$_2$-du-te-na) in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra).

[825] TRU 341, ŠS08-03-20, Puzriš-Dagan: twenty sheep in the Temple of Enlil, fifteen sheep in the Temple of Ninlil, siskur$_2$-gu-la in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), and three oxen fifteen sheep, cooked, put in a boat on the king going to Urusagrig (lugal Uru-sag-gig$_7^{ki}$-še$_3$).

[826] TMH NF 1-2 264, ŠS08-04-11, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox each to Enlil and Ninlil, pre-dawn offering (a$_2$-gi$_6$-ba-a) in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra) in the Akiti-šunumun; StOr 09-1 39 (pl. 16), ŠS08-05-20, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep one goat1 to Enlil, one sheep each to the deified throne of Enlil, and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, and five sheep one goat to Ninlil, two sheep to Nanna in the Temple of Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra).

[827] MVN 13 108, ŠS08-06-13, Puzriš-Dagan: [x] and cow to Enlil, one ox each to the deified throne of Enlil and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, four oxen and one cow to Ninlil, one ox each to Ninhursag, Nusku, Šu-Suen, Suen, Šulgi, Ninsun, Lugalbanda and Nintinuga, eš$_3$-eš$_3$-e$_2$-ud-15, and three oxen to ^{d}Nin-im-ma when she entered her new temple, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), pre-dawn offering (a$_2$-gi$_6$-ba-a).

[828] TRU 337, ŠS08-07-02, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep and one gazelle each to An and Inana, two gazelles to Gula, one gazelle to ^{d}[Ezem]-sagtur, two gazelles at the gate (ka$_2$) of the gipar, [x] gazelles to Nanaa and Ninsun, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra); YOS 18 021, ŠS08-07-22, Puzriš-Dagan: four sheep to Enlil, one each to Gula and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, two sheep two goats to Ninlil, one sheep to [x], one sheep to [x] in the Temple of Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra); JCS 52 11, ŠS08-07-22, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen to Enlil and Ninlil, pre-dawn offering (a$_2$-gi$_6$-ba-a) in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra).

gods for a libation of Kubatum.[829] Sometime before the tenth month Šu-Suen had gone to Uruk, whence he proceeded to Nippur by boat, and the eleventh month found the king in Tummal for sacrifices to Enlil and Ninlil.[830] In the year's final month, bread and a number of baskets were provided to queen Abi-simti in Neber-Šu-Suen, a settlement somewhere in the peripheral zone, for her journey from Der to "where the king is", although his location was not specified.[831]

2.2.4.2 The Death of Šu-Suen and the Year ŠS09

In the last year of Šu-Suen's reign, in the second and third months the king was present for offerings to the major deities of Nippur, including one termed the festival of the Crescent Moon.[832] Four days after this, on ŠS09-03-24, sacrifices were offered to Enlil, Ninlil and Haršitum when the king went to Urusagrig, it would seem carried out in the house of the sukkal-mah.[833] Šu-Suen apparently did not stay there long, for a record from the following day shows a sheep appropriated

[829] BPOA 6 0304, ŠS08-08-09, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen to Enlil and Ninlil, evening offering (a_2-ud-te-na) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); Ontario 1 155, ŠS08-08-18, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen to Enlil and Ninlil, evening offering (a_2-ud-te-na) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); PPAC 4 210, ŠS08-08-17, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen, seventeen sheep and nine goats, pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a), and one [x], one sheep evening offering (a_2-ud-te-na) for the libation (kaš-de_2-a) of Kubatum, was taken to the temples of the gods (e_2-dingir-e-ne-$še_3$ ba-ab-dab_5).

[830] AnOr 7 104, ŠS08-10-25, Puzriš-Dagan: thirty-seven plus sheep, cooked, put in a boat in Uruk when the king went to Nippur (lugal Nibru^{ki}-$še_3$ du-ni); BPOA 6 0818, ŠS08-11-30, Puzriš-Dagan: one ass (anše) to Enlil, one deer (šag$_9$-bar) to Ninlil in Tummal, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[831] Nisaba 15 455, ŠS08-12-00, Urusagrig: three double baskets (ma-sa_2-ab tab-ba) and fourteen baskets to Abi-simti the queen when she went from Der to where the king is (ud Der^{ki}-ta ki lugal-$še_3$ im-gen-na-a), in Neber-Šu-Suen; Nisaba 458, ŠS08-12-00, Urusagrig: six breads (ninda) when Abi-simti the queen went from Der to where the king is (A-bi_2-si_2-im-ti ereš Der^{ki}-ta ki lugal-$še_3$ ba-gen-na.

[832] Orient 16 056 53, ŠS09-02-30, Puzriš-Dagan: one deer (lulim) one gazelle to Enlil, one deer (šeg$_9$-bar) one gazelle to Ninlil, $eš_3$-$eš_3$-ud-sakar, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); MVN 13 097, ŠS09-03-21, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep and goats to Enlil, the deified throne of Enlil and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, and to Ninlil and Nanna in the Temple of Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[833] YOS 04 217, ŠS09-03-24, Puzriš-Dagan: a mix of twelve sheep and goats (udu-$maš_2$-niga-hi-a) to Enlil and Ninlil, two sheep to Haršitum when the king went to Urusagrig (ud lugal Uru-sag-rig_7-$še_3$ i_3-gen-na), two sheep to Enki, it was disbursed in the house of the sukkal-mah (šag$_4$ e_2-sukkal-mah zi-ga-am_3).

for a royal lustration of Nintinuga, most likely in Nippur.[834] A partially broken tablet dating to the fourth month of the year shows the king present at sacrifices in Nippur, of which only those in the Temple of Enlil are legible.[835] A few days later animals were sacrificed during a royal lustration in a Temple of Enki, and the king attended a ritual called the ki-Iškur that took place in the evening in Nippur.[836] On the third day of the fifth month, after offerings of black sheep in the Temple of Enlil, the king was present for offerings to (probably) Enki and Damgalnuna in the palace in Nippur.[837]

Šu-Suen is not mentioned in the archival records again until the ninth month of the year, when his funeral was held in Ur. The exact date of his death is unknown. The text recording disbursements for his funeral was divided into two sections, the first of which contains entries for more-or-less routine expenditure for the ninth month, all in or near Puzriš-Dagan, while the activities surrounding Šu-Suen's burial, which occurred from the fifteenth to the twenty-ninth, were separated out and appended to the end of the tablet.[838] Near the opening of the section on "regular" expenditures, some of which seem to have been related to the change in regime, Šu-Suen's queen Abi-simti appears, but the exact date and the items given to her are illegible.[839] Five days later the

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[834] AUCT 2 170, ŠS09-03-25, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep Nintinuga nig_2-dab_5 a-tu_5-a-lugal.

[835] AUCt 3 410, ŠS09-04-18, Puzriš-Dagan: [x sheep] [x] goats to Enlil, one sheep each to the deified throne of Enlil and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, [x] sheep [several lines illegible] [$šag_4$ e_2 ^{d}Nin]-lil_2-la_2, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), in Nippur.

[836] AUCT 3 465, ŠS09-04-20+, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep each to Enki, Damgalnuna, and Asarluhi in the Temple of Enki for a royal lustration (a-tu_5-a-lugal); [broken] to Enlil, the deified throne, the standard Aba-Enlil-gim, and a statue of the king (alan-lugal) in the Temple of Enlil, and to Ninlil and a statue of the king in the Temple of Ninlil, pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a); [broken] $siskur_2$-ki-^{d}Iškur, evening offering (a_2-ud-te-na) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), in Nippur ud-20-[x].

[837] MVN 13 098, ŠS09-05-03, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep ^{d}[En-ki], one to Damgalnuna in the palace in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), in Nippur.

[838] Studies Levine 132-138, ŠS09-09-01 to 30, Puzriš-Dagan. The text lacks a year and month date, but both Sigrist and Sallaberger (2003), p. 4, have concluded that this text must date to month nine of Šu-Suen's final regnal year.

[839] Ibid. The queen appears after the disbursements of the second day, but before those of the seventh.

new king, Ibbi-Suen, appears in this same section, in attendance at the Great Offering in the Temples of Enlil and Ninlil in Nippur.[840]

Ibbi-Suen, his consort, and indeed all other known royals are conspicuously absent from the burial rites of Šu-Suen, which took place primarily in Ur beginning on the fifteenth, on which date an offering was made at the pit (giš-a-nag) over which his permanent mortuary chapel (kiš-a-nag) would be erected.[841] The next day animals were sacrificed to Netherworld deities in the nearby towns of Enegi and Gišbanda, while at Ur a series of offerings were made before dawn and in the evening at the house of the Thrones of the previously deceased kings, as well as at the grave pit of the ghost (giš-a-nag gidim).[842] The seventeenth saw a continuation of offerings to numerous deities and at various locations throughout the city, and culminated with the closure of the grave pit after it was filled with sixty-seven animals.[843] Two days after this, the "regular" section of the text records an offering by mounted couriers, and sometime between the nineteenth and twenty-fifth, more

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[840] Ibid., seventeen sheep to individual statues (alan-dili$_2$) in the Temple of Enlil, and to seventeen statues in the Temple of Ninlil, siskur$_2$-gu-la in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra).

[841] Ibid., one goat sur$_3$-ra KA x-x du$_8$-a, pre-dawn offering (a$_2$-gi$_6$-ba-a) gišanag of the ghost (gidim).

[842] Ibid., one sheep one lamb to Ninazu, one sheep to Ereškigal, and one sheep one lamb to Ninšubur, in Enegi; one sheep one lamb to Ningišzida in Gišbanda, [text is broken for the next four lines];

One lamb at the big gate of? Amar-Suen-at-the-Royal-Quay (at?) the house of the throne (ka$_2$-gu-la ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-kar-re-lugal e$_2$ ^{giš}gu-za), one goat for doing? (im-a-[x] the giš-a-nag gidim, one lamb when the wood of the gišanag of the ghost (gidim) was hewn (aga$_3$ bar-ra) pre-dawn offering (a$_2$-gi$_6$-ba-a), one goat each to balag of Nanna, the balag of Nin-sun$_2$, and to Utu at edge of the pit (gu$_2$-sur$_3$-ra), one lamb one goat released into the pit (sur$_3$-ra šu bar-ra) while (mourners) sat at the gišanag of the ghost (giš-a-nag gidim tu-ru-na), evening offering (a$_2$-ud-te-na).

[843] Ibid. one sheep for the ki-Utu of the gišanag of the ghost, one goat when the whole (substructure of) the gišanag of the ghost was brought out, one sheep each at the great city gate (abul-gu-la), for Ningištete, Ama-abzu-kar, Biti, Lugal-engardudu, and Ninpumuna, at the place of interpretations (ki-bur$_2$-bur$_2$), for the oath-taking (erim$_2$) of ^{d}[x], [three lines missing];

[x] to the statue (alan) in the house of Ur-Namma, one sheep to Bau, one sheep one lamb to ^{d}Nig$_2$-erim$_2$-nu-dib, one lamb to Haia,one goat each to Armed Inana (^{d}Inana-^{giš}tukul) and Belat-suhnir, one sheep one goat on removing (the corpse?) at the quay (kar-a kar-ra), one goat at the wall (suh) of the Akiti house, one sheep each to Nin-aamu, Utu and Meslamtaea-hazi, one speckled sheep to Amar-Suen, one lamb to Geštinana, one goat to Allatum, one lamb at the gate of the main workshop (ka$_2$ giš-kin-ti-gu-la), one goat each at the royal city gate (abul-lugal), the city gate (abul) of Gula, and the storehouse (e$_2$-šutum$_2$) Šagepada-Nanna, one lamb to Gilgameš (^{d}Bil$_3$-ga-mes), one sheep at the sheep field (gan$_2$-udu) of Ninkugnuna, one goat to Nineana in the city, one lamb at the oak seat (dur$_2$ ^{giš}ha-lu-ub$_2$), one lamb.

offerings at the thrones of Ur-Namma, Šulgi and Amar-Suen, presumably in Nippur.[844] Further activity connected with the funeral is recorded on the twenty-fifth, when animals were offered for cones (^{giš}gag) at several city gates, an offering characterized as the otherwise unattested "prayer of day nine" (ki-ud-9).[845]

On the twenty-sixth, the sukkal-mah Aradmu, who was situated during this month in or near Puzriš-Dagan, authorized the release of animals for professional soldiers "of the lustration" upon their entry into the palace, although the statue that was the focus of the ritual was not named.[846] Two days later an incantation priest (lu_2-mu_{13}-mu_{13}) conveyed sacrifical animals to this same palace, to be used in a ritual intended to drive out evil, called the "striking of evil" (hul-dub_2).[847] The text then lists parallel activities in its "regular" and funerary sections: in the former, a gudug priest conveyed animals to temples of unnamed deities in or around Nippur, while in the latter animals went to a number of military commanders on the occasion of the new queen Geme-Enlila entering Tummal. A different tablet from the royal estate at GARšana shows that locations other than the main burial site might host simultaneous rituals related to a king's death. Sometime during the ninth month in GARšana, eighty-five female weavers were redirected from their normal duties for a day of breast-beating over the death of Šu-Suen.[848] This forms a striking parallel with the release of workers for mourning rituals on the occasion of the deaths not only of king Šulgi in Š48, but also of

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[844] Ibid., $siskur_2$ ra_2-gaba-e-ne-$še_3$; ^{giš}gu-za Ur-^{d}Namma, ^{d}Šul-gi, ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen, a_2-gi_6-ba-a.

[845] Ibid., ^{giš}gag abul-lugal, suh [. . .]-du-du, abul ^{d}Nin-gal ga-gu_7-$še_3$, ki-ud-9, ud-25-kam.

[846] Ibid., mu-aga_3-us_2 a-tu_5-a e_2-gal ku_4-ra-ne-$še_3$, Aradmu maškim.

[847] Ibid., hul-dub_2 $šag_4$ e_2-gal $giri_3$ lu_2-mu_{13}-mu_{13}. On the translation, see Sallaberger (2003), p. 9, who writes: "This rite, known as 'hitting evil'. . . is well-known from literary texts of the first millennium: the kid is both considered as hitting the evil out of the room and as a victim which attracts the demons."

[848] CUSAS 2 0257, šS09-09-00, GARšana: eighty-five $geme_2$ sag-dub, 16 $geme_2$ a_2-1/3-ta ud-1-$še_3$, $geme_2$-uš-bar-me-$eš_2$, gab sig_3-de_3 gub-ba ud lugal-e ba-$uš_2$-[a].

the prince Šulgi-rama and other elite individuals with connections to the royal family, suggesting the conventionality of mass and/or prolonged breast-beating after a death, at least for those of rank.[849]

In the tenth month of ŠS09, activities surrounding the coronation of Ibbi-Suen began immediately on the first day, and continued sporadically throughout the month, even as rituals concerned with the death of Šu-Suen did not cease. Two different documents offer slightly different information on what happened on the first of the month. One records the disbursement of sacrifical animals to a total of thirty-seven statue in the Temples of Enlil and Ninlil, characterized as the Great Offering, in the king's presence, followed by cooked animals sufficient to feed 3,900 people, if at one sitting, being placed in a boat for the king's trip to Uruk.[850] The second document lists different items distributed for the Great Offering (oxen to Enlil and Ninlil), as well as a lustration of Nintinuga in the king's presence. In addition, its disbursements for the king's trip to Uruk focus not on what was provided for the journey, but rather on what occurred there after his landing: oxen as sacrifices to deities in the Temple of Inana, to Gula, Nanaa and Ninsun, and at the gate of the gipar in the king's presence, summarized as offerings "when Ibbi-Suen received the crown".[851]

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[849] BCT 1 132, Š48-11-00, Umma?: nineteen female regular workers and two women at 2/3 time for seven days, an equivalent of 142 1/3 woman-hours, were released (from regular duty) when Šulgi ascended in the sky (20 la_2-1 $geme_2$ sag-dub 2 $geme_2$ a_2 2/3 ud-7-$še_3$, a_2-bi 142 1/3 $geme_2$ ud-1-$še_3$, ud ^{d}Šul-gi an-na ba-a-e_{11}-da-a i_3-du_8-am_3);

CUSAS 3 0246, ŠS08-07-00, GARšana: three male workers (guruš) stationed at breast-beating (gaga sig_3-de_3 gub-ba) for one day when [prince] Šulgi-r[ama] died;

Fs. Pettinato 162, 167 08, 170, ŠS08-11-00, GARšana: 95 full-time and fifteen 1/3 time female weavers assigned to breast-beating (gaba sig_3-de_3 gub-ba) for 9 1/2 days on the death of Šu-kabta, the general, physician, and probable husband of princess ME-Ištaran;

Fs. Pettinato 162, 167 10, ŠS08-10-00, GARšana: eleven full-time, two 2/3 time, four 1/2 time and one 1/3 time male fullers for one day, assigned to breast-beating when Nawir-DINGIR, the physician, died.

[850] AnOr 07 108, ŠS09-10-01: twenty sheep to individual statues (alan-$dili_2$) in the Temple of Enlil, and seventeen to individual statues in the Temple of Ninlil, $siskur_2$-gu-la, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); and one cow thirty-seven sheep and eighteen goats, cooked, put in a boat on the king going to Uruk (lugal-mu $Unug^{ki}$-$še_3$ du-ni). Note that the edition of this text has transliterated the king's destination as Ur, but the sign is clearly Uruk.

[851] JCS 07 048, ŠS09-10-01, Puziš-Dagan: one ox each ^{d}Enlil and ^{d}Ninlil, $siskur_2$-gu-la, and a-tu_5-a Nintinuga in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), in Nippur; one ox to Šulgi, four to Inana, and one to An in the Temple of Inana, one ox each to Gula, at the gate of the gipar, and to Nanaa, and two oxen to Ninsun, evening offering (a_2-ud-te-na) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) on the king's

The king stayed in Uruk for another day to attend a Great Offering in Inana's temple, after which he traveled downstream to Ur, where he is recorded on the third at pre-dawn sacrifices to a variety of deities, events followed that evening by a Great Offering to Nanna, the two together summarized as "when Ibbi-Suen received the crown".[852] The king remained in Ur through the seventeenth of the month, as demonstrated by his presence at offerings on the ninth and the seventeenth. The first set of offerings, on the ninth, appears to be connected with Šu-Suen's demise, as among them were sacrifices to two of his statues, further summarized as "appropriations for the NE-izigar", which must have been a special observance of a festival focused on offerings to ancestors that was normally performed in the fifth month of the year.[853] The second text shows Ibbi-Suen in attendance at a pre-dawn libation on the twenty-first to Belat-suhnir and Belat-terraban which took place in the palace at Ur.[854] At some point before the twenty-first the king traveled back to Uruk; meat sufficient to feed 600 people was provided to adult female and child servitors of Inana

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coming from Nippur to Uruk (lugal Nibru^{ki}-ta Unug^{ki}-Še$_3$ du-ni) when Ibbi-Suen received the crown (ud ^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Suen aga$_3$ šu ba-an-ti-a).

[852] AnOr 07 108, ŠS09-10-02?: ten sheep to individual statues (alan-dili$_2$) in the Temple of Inana, siskur$_2$-gu-la in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), in Uruk. This document lists expenditures for the tenth month and, while the date of this set of offerings in Uruk is missing, it follows immediately on the first and directly precedes the sixth. Other documents (see texts cited below and in the following footnote) show that Ibbi-Suen was in Ur on both the third and the ninth; therefore, these Uruk offerings in his presence most likely took place on the second.

UDT 100, ŠS09-10-03, Puzriš-Dagan: two oxen each for Ninkugnuna and Nanna-emurinabaš, one each for Ulmašitum, Annunitum, Allatum, Meslamtaea, and An, pre-dawn offering (a$_2$-gi$_6$-ba-a) in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra); and one ox siskur$_2$-gu-la, six oxen to Nanna, evening offering (a$_2$-ud-te-na) in Ur, when Ibbi-Suen received the crown (ud ^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Suen aga$_3$ šu ba-an-ti-a), in Ur.

Note also another text dated to the sixth of this month, when an ox was disbursed in Ur for a sacrifice to Ninhursag of Nutur, a town near Ur, "when Ibbi-Suen received the crown", although it is not stated explicitly that the new king was present (JCS 10 28 04, ŠS09-10-06, Puzriš-Dagan).

[853] CST 453, ŠS09-10-09, Puzriš-Dagan: seven oxen pre-dawn offering (a$_2$-gi$_6$-ba-a), one ox siskur$_2$-gu-la Nanna, one ox to Šu-Suen-beloved-of-Nanna (^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}Nanna), two oxen to Ninsun, one ox each to Šu-Suen-beloved-of-Ninsun, Gula, Allatum and Meslamtaea, appropriations (nig$_2$-dab$_5$) for Ne-izigar, evening offering (a$_2$-du-te-na) in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), in Ur.

The special nature of this particular NE-izigar was noted by M. Cohen (1993), p. 102.

[854] Princeton 2 448, ŠS09-10-17, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox kaš-de$_2$-a Belat-suhnir Belat-terraban šag$_4$ e$_2$-gal in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), pre-dawn offering (a$_2$-gi$_6$-ba-a), in Ur.

when a ki-Utu ritual was performed in Uruk sometime between the thirteenth and the twenty-fifth of the month, perhaps related to Ibbi-Suen's return there.[855]

Both Ibbi-Suen and his consort Geme-Enlila were in Uruk on the twenty-first, participating in rituals that certainly related to the death of Šu-Suen.[856] These included sacrifices to the gate of the Netherworld, Ganzer, along with a number of deities who had both astral and Netherworld connections, which had led P. Steinkeller to surmise that the catasterism of the deceased Šu-Suen was at issue.[857] Over the course of several days at the end of the month, cooked meat was distributed in Uruk to "men of the subsistence", that is, people who worked directly for the crown, on the twenty-fifth, in an amount sufficient to feed 1,380 of them if at one sitting, to professional soldiers of the lustration on entering the palace (up to 900 of them) on the twenty-seventh, and to crown retainers again, on both the twenty-eighth (up to 600) and the thirtieth (up to 840).[858] It's difficult to say if these expressions of royal largesse were due to the new king's presence in Uruk, where he was reported at the Great Offering in the Temple of Inana on the thirtieth, the same day on which his predecessor's queen, Abi-simti, conveyed oxen to Inana there. It was on this day as

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[855] AnOr 07 108, ŠS09-10-00?, Puzriš-Dagan: ten sheep, cooked, for the women and children of Inana (mu $geme_2$ dumu ^{d}Inana-ke_4-ne-$še_3$) when a ki-Utu was performed, in Uruk.
This text, listing expenditures for the whole month, is missing a date for this event, which occurred immediately after disbursements in Ur on the thirteenth, but right before at least eighteen more missing lines that resume with activities on the twenty-fifth.

[856] PDT 1 563, ŠS09-10-21, Puzriš-Dagan: [x] and two goats to Inana, one sheep one goat to An in the Temple of Inana in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); one sheep each to Ningišzida, Šu-Suen at the gate (ka_2) of Šulgi, Šu-Suen at the gate of Utu, Ganzer, and the Lady of the Bridge (^{d}Ba-la-at-ti-tu-ri-im); one kid to Nanaa; one sheep one kid on behalf of the king and three sheep on behalf of Geme-Enlila, to Gansura; one lamb at the place of disappearance (nig_2-ki-zah_3) in the temple; one sheep to Gansura, offering ($siskur_2$) in the palace; and one sheep to the deified Throne of Enlil.

[857] Steinkeller (2013a), and see also the extended discussion in chapter 1, under "Death and Afterlife of the Deified King".

[858] AnOr 07 108, ŠS09-10-25 to 30, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox six sheep seven goats, cooked, for the crown retainers (mu lu_2-šuku-ra-ke_4-ne-$še_3$), in Uruk on the twenty-fifth; one cow five goats for the professional soldiers of the lustration entering the palace (mu aga_2-us_2-a-tu_5-a-ka e_2-gal-la ku_4-ra-ne-$še_3$) in Uruk on the twenty-seventh; and ten sheep, cooked, for the crown retainers in Uruk on the twenty-eighth.

well that Ibbi-Suen traveled by boat back to Nippur, where his month-long coronation rites had begun.[859]

On two different days in the eleventh month of ŠS09, Ibbi-Suen is recorded in direct action, personally driving in a peg in a breeding barn (nakabtum) on the sixth, and again at an unspecified site on the fourteenth, the meat from which last set was then sent to a storehouse called "the house of the seal".[860] Three other documents from this same month in which king Ibbi-Suen occurs may represent a continuation of events somewhat related to the death of Šu-Suen and/or Ibbi-Suen's accession. In the first, dated to the ninth of the month, sheep were brought into a sheepfold named "Šu-Suen-is-Righteous", after which Ibbi-Suen's presence was noted at a sacrifice to Ninhursag, the "Lady of Keš".[861] The second text, from the fifteenth, records standard offerings in the Temples of Enlil and Ninlil, followed by a sacrifice to Nanna in a cattle pen in the king's presence, after which colonels of Lullubum, an enemy land subjugated by Šulgi, took the oath of allegiance in the Temple of Ninurta, all in Nippur.[862] The third text, dating to the twentieth, also recorded the king at a sacrifice to Nanna in a cattle pen right after offerings in the Temples of Enlil and Ninlil which, though

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[859] AnOr 07 108, ŠS09-10-30, Puzriš-Dagan: five sheep to Inana conveyed by Abi-simti, ten sheep to individual statues (alan-dili$_2$) in the Temple of Inana, siskur$_2$-gu-la in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra); and two cows thirty sheep twenty goats, cooked, put in a boat on the king's going to Nippur (lugal Nibru^{ki}-še$_3$ du-ni), in Uruk on the thirtieth.

[860] BIN 3 462, ŠS09-11-14, Puzriš-Dagan: two wild cows (am-ab$_2$) on the sixth and two wild bulls (am-gud) on the fourteenth, (when) the king drove in a peg (lugal-e gag bi$_2$-in-ra! [TA]), pre-dawn offering in the breeding barn (nakabtum); and AnOr 07 109, ŠS09-11-14, Puzriš-Dagan: one breeding bull (gud-ab$_2$) on the sixth and one fattened ox (gud-niga) on the fourteenth, (when) the king drove in a peg (lugal-e gag bi$_2$-in-ra), their meat was brought into the e$_2$-kišib-ba, a pre-dawn offering (a$_2$-gi$_6$-ba-a).

[861] Santag 7 100, ŠS09-11-09, Puzriš-Dagan: six sheep brought into e$_2$-udu-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-si-sa$_2$-še$_3$, two sheep to Ninhursag nin Keš$_3^{ki}$, lugal ku$_4$-ra.
A sheepfold of this name is first attested in ŠS08 (Van Kampen 221, ŠS08-10-00, Puzriš-Dagan). It's possible, however, that it had nothing to do with the king of that name, as a mounted courier named Šu-Suen-sisa once received over 34,000 bundles of reeds intended for an unnamed sheepfold (MVN 15 358, IS01-02-00, Puzriš-Dagan).

[862] AUCT 3 413, ŠS09-11-15, Puzriš-Dagan: the standard offerings in the Temples of Enlil and Ninlil, one lamb to Nanna in the e$_2$-tur$_3$ in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), one sheep one lamb for the oath of allegiance (nam-erim$_2$) in the Temple of Ninurta for the colonels of Lullubum (mu nu-banda$_3$ Lu-lu-bu^{ki}-ke$_4$-ne-še$_3$), in Nippur. . . from the bala of the governor (ensi$_2$) of Urusagrig.

in most respects standard, also included offerings to a deified balag, the prototypical instrument for lamentation, and the uniquely named "Lady of the Festival of Heaven", obviously an epithet for Inana. As this was the month of the Festival of Heaven, perhaps this title, even though otherwise unattested, is not so unusual, yet I do wonder if there may have been some connection to the posited, recent catasterism of Šu-Suen.[863] The animals that were sacrificed in the last two texts mentioned all came from the tax (bala) delivery of a governor from an outlying district (in these cases, Urusagrig), a source of supply that would be increasingly relied upon for expenditures dating to the first two years bearing Ibbi-Suen regnal formula.

In the final month of the last year to bear Šu-Suen's name (ŠS09), king Ibbi-Suen was the recipient of fish, while the former queen Abi-simti received five small canebrake rodents.[864] This text was written in Urusagrig, but many of the items were conveyed to the recipients, and the presence a sister of Šu-kabta and princess ME-Ištaran might lead one to conclude that both the king and Abi-simti were more likely somewhere in Umma, perhaps at the GARšana estate.[865] This is the final reference to Abi-simti alive, for only four days later, on the seventeenth, animals were released in Ur for the deity Allatum and to Enegi, the town of Ninazu and Ereškigal, as sacrifices during the mortuary rites (ki-a-nag) of Abi-simti.[866] A week later Ibbi-Suen was present for the

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[863] SAT 3 1882, ŠS09-11-20, Puzriš-Dagan: standard offerings in the Temples of Enlil and Ninlil, in the latter including one goat ^{d}Balag and one lamb ^{d}Nin-ezem-An-na", and one lamb to Nanna in the cattle pen (e_2-tur_3), in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), in Nippur. . . from the bala of the governor ($ensi_2$) of Urusagrig.

[864] Englund (1995), pp. 45-55, presents arguments for identifying this particular type of rodent ($peš_2$-giš-gi) as the bandicoot rat, and notes that it was a favorite of royal tables into the first millennium BCE.

[865] CUSAS 3 1485, ŠS09-12-13, Urusagrig: one hal gir-gid_2 lugal-mu, . . . one container (pisan) of bread to Agati sister (nin_9) of Šu-kabta, conveyed by Ummi-ṭab, five [$peš_2$]-giš-[gi] A-bi_2-si_2-im-ti, conveyed by Nabi-Suen mounted courier. . . one hal gir-gid_2, one hal of sea-fish (gir-ab-ba), five turtles (nig_2-bun_2-na), two ma-la-LUM of sheep, one dove, one container of bread, ten bundles of garlic, fifteen talents of various greens, one small jug of oil, one small jug of cheese, to the house of women, a delivery for ME-Ištaran.

[866] ASJ 03 092 3, ŠS09-12-17, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep, appropriation (nig_2-dab_5) ^{d}Allatum, three sheep Enegi^{ki}-$še_3$ ki-a-nag Abi-simti, conveyed by Nanna-kam the barber (šu-i), disbursed in Ur.

sacrifice of an ox to Nanaa in the palace, though the city isn't specified, nor is it given when, a few days afterwards, he attended the sacrifice of another ox being offered to Suen during the rites for the crescent moon.[867]

2.2.5 The Reign of Ibbi-Suen

The regnal formulae now switch over to commemorating the events by which Ibbi-Suen wanted to be remembered. Significant cultic actions entailed the installation of two consecutive ens of Inana of Uruk, in IS02 and IS04, an en of Nanna in Ur (or alternately, another en of Inana of Uruk) in IS10, and an en of Enki of Eridug in IS11.[868] The king also ordered the creation of individual cult items: a heavenly throne (gu-za-an) for Nanna (IS12), another object for Nanna, the appearance and function of which is unknown, called ^{d}Nun-me-te-an-na (IS16), and a balag instrument for Inana, named Ninigizibara (IS21). As for construction projects, he rebuilt the great walls of both Nippur and Ur (IS06), as well as a holy storehouse (e_2-šutum$_2$) for two goddesses not usually paired, Ninlil and Inana (IS19).[869] Foreign policy initiatives were reflected in the regnal year names of IS03, when the king invaded Šimurrum, of IS05, when he married the princess Tukin-hatti-migrīša off to the ruler (ensi$_2$) of Zabšali, of IS09, when he "went with massive power to Huhnuri, the

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It's not clear from the text whether Abi-simti's actual mortuary chapel was located in Enegi or Ur, though the latter seems more likely, given that it was the site of the kianag of three of the dynasty's four kings and at least three of its queens.

[867] BCT 1 111, ŠS09-12-24, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox Nanaa, siskur$_2$ in e_2-gal in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra); PDt 1 690, ŠS09-12-28, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox [ki?]-^{d}Suen, at the crescent moon (e_2-ud-sakar) in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra).

[868] The first en of Inana of Uruk was never named, and he may in fact be the same man as the second one, En-amgalana, as the earlier formula commemorates an en's selection by extispicy, the later formula his installation. However, this would mean there was a delay of two years between selection and actual enthronement, thus it may rather indicate that the formulae refer to two different men. The en of Nanna of Ur took the name En-nirsiana, and the en of Enki of Eridug was called En-namti-Ibbi-Suenkaše-kirišugal. Note that En-nirsiana is called the en of Inana in the single text with this year formula (UET 1 292, IS10, Ur). This was "corrected" by E. Sollberger (1954-56, p. 24) to en of Nanna, and followed, with some hesitation, by Weadock (1975, p. 128 and fn. 154).

[869] RIME 3 2.1.5.1: inscription on cones and foundation tablets from Ur, on Ibbi-Suen's reconstruction of the city wall (bad$_3$) of Ur.

bolt of Anšan", and of IS14, when the king claimed to have subdued Susa, AdamDUN and Awan. Ibbi-Suen's seventeenth regnal year formula commemorates the submission to his authority of certain tribal Amorites, that is, those who had never dwelt in cities, without, apparently, a military campaign against them having been necessary.[870]

Šimurrum was one of the territories in the Zagros range against which Šulgi undertook a long series of campaigns in order to ensure Sumer's access to major trade routes. Šulgi had named Šimurrum as a foe in the formulae for his twenty-fifth, twenty-sixth, twenty-seventh, and thirty-second years, seemingly sujugating them sufficiently enough to install his own governor, Ṣilluš-Dagan, there by Š33.[871] There were evidently still issues with pacification, though, for Šulgi included Šimurrum with other territories as his conquests in the formulae for his forty-fourth and forty fifth years.[872] After that time Šimurrum remained within the orbit of the Ur III kings, as may be seen by the fact that Kirib-ulme, a "man of Šimurrum", frequented the Nippur area from AS08 through ŠS02, and a servant of Ṣilluš-Dagan affixed his seal for goods received in Umma from ŠS03 into ŠS06.[873] One might surmise that the timing of this insurrection in Šimurrum in IS03 was influenced by the incrementally dwindling authority of the Ur III king, evident in the fact that his year formulae had disappeared from use in Ešnuna (the Diyala region) in IS02 and in Susa in IS03, in which same year the tax in livestock required from the peripheral zones had stopped being delivered to Puzriš-Dagan.[874] The king's proclamation of victory over Šimurrum is difficult to credit fully, as that territory was never mentioned again in the central archives. Even if Ibbi-Suen had

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[870] Where these particular Amorites were localized is unclear. This year formula characterizes them as a_2-^{tu15}-ulu_3, literally "a force of the south [or south wind]". However, south of the Ur III state was only the water of the Persian Gulf. CDLI translates this phrase as a metaphor: "the powerful south wind".

[871] BIN 3 335, Š33-01-00, Puzriš-Dagan: a delivery by Ṣilluš-Dagan governor ($ensi_2$) of Šimurrum.

[872] In Š44 with Lullubum, in Š45 with Urbilum, Lullubum and Karahar.

[873] Kirib-Ulme, from AS08-09-14 (BIN 3 173) to ŠS02-11-24 (Babyl. 8 Pupil 30), all in texts from Puzriš-Dagan, and a servitor of Ṣilluš-Dagan in five texts from Umma, from ŠS03-06-00 (PDT 2 1355) to ŠS06-00-00 (BIN 6 3664).

[874] Jacobsen (1953), p. 38, and Steinkeller (forthcoming c), p. 53.

managed to suppress the Šimurrum revolt, it seems unlikely he could have held onto their territory in the midst of dealing with the defiance against his right of rule that had effectively lost him his agricultural base in almost all of the core provinces during this same period.[875]

Nonetheless, the king turned to a diplomatic marriage in IS05 in order to strengthen the Ur III state's alliance with Zabšali, an area of greater Šimaški in the Zagos range that had been subjugated by Šu-Suen in his seventh regnal year.[876] Four years later Ibbi-Suen commemorated a campaign against Huhnuri "the bolt of Anšan" in his regnal year formula, which has been attested so far on a single tablet from Ur, the contents of which have nothing overtly to do with war.[877] Huhnuri was the named enemy in a handful of texts bearing an alternate year name for Š48, and Amar-Suen in his seventh year had launched another invasion against them, but, due to the extreme scantiness of the sources, it is impossible to say either what precipitated this military action against Huhnuri by Ibbi-Suen, especially given the straitened resources at his disposal by this date, or how it turned out. What was left of the Ur III state's resources would have been even more reduced in IS14, when its king claimed to have invaded the Susiana. Realistically, this invasion was probably closer to a series of razzia.

Ibbi-Suen also gave several of his regnal years names that do not fit neatly into the usual categories, some of which are in addition rather cryptic, even mystical. He called his fifteenth year "the year the loving heart of Nanna appeared resplendently to Ibbi-Suen, king of Ur."[878] On the

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[875] Jacobsen (1953), p. 38.

[876] Steinkeller (2007), p. 217, considers the phrase "the lands of Zabšali" in the regnal formula for ŠS07 to be "shorthand writing for the entire Šimaškian federation", which bordered Anšan in the east, the Caspian Sea in the north, and "deep into the Zagros ranges" in the northwest-to-west.

[877] RA 20 121 10, IS09-04-00, Ur: [x] barley grain to Waqartum, the daughter-in-law (e_2-gi_4-a) of Ur-mes the governor (ensi$_2$ [of Urusagrig?]), and wheat to Geme-Enlila the queen (ereš), the year Ibbi-Suen the king of Ur went with massive force to Huhnuri the bolt of Anšan (Hu-uh$_2$-nu-ri^{ki} sag-kul ma-da An-ša-an^{ki}-še$_3$ [a$_2$]-dugud ba-ši-in-gen) and like . . . ([. . .]-gim [. . .]-ni? bi$_2$-[. . .]).

[878] IS15: mu ^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Suen lugal Uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ra ^{d}Nanna-a šag$_4$-ki-ag$_2$-ga$_2$-ni dalla mu-un-na-an-e$_3$-a. The translator(s) of the year formula at CDLI understood "^{d}Nanna-a šag$_4$-ki-ag$_2$-ga$_2$-ni" as "Nanna

surface, this summons a vision similar to that of the Sacred Heart of Jesus in a much, much later tradition, but the word translated as "heart" may also denote "volition" or "meaning", and Ibbi-Suen might here be referring rather to grasping the deeper intent of Ur's patron deity, Nanna, in the context of the realm's disconcerting deterioration. It was the next year (IS16) that the king made for Nanna an unknown object entitled Nun-me-te-an-na. The year IS20 was named "the year Ibbi-Suen, king of Ur, covered all the foreign lands with the radiant aura of Enlil", the concrete sense of which has so far proven mystifying, even should one prefer to read Enlil as the subject.[879] Two years after this a disaster inspired the regnal formula: "the year Ibbi-Suen stabilized the country of Ur and its partnered city when floods, something commanded by the gods, disordered the entire universe."[880] This "flood" might well be a metaphor for a massive invasion rather than a force of nature. A year later (IS23) the formula consisted of notice of an attack, without the specific attacker or resolution of the conflict given: "the year a stupid monkey in its foreign land struck against Ibbi-Suen, the king of Ur", while the broken formula of the next and final year of this reign claims that Ibbi-Suen struck. . . perhaps back?[881] This final sequence would appear to deal with an attack by Išbi-Erra, king of the recently independent (ca. IS07-08) Isin polity, for in a broken letter Ibbi-Suen had called this former general of his "a monkey who came down from the mountain".[882]

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the beloved of his [Ibbi-Suen's] heart", whereas I read it as an inverted genitive, i.e. "of Nanna his [Nanna's] loving heart".

[879] IS20: mu ^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Suen lugal Uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ke$_4$ ^{d}En-lil$_2$-le me-lam$_2$-ma-ni kur-kur-ra bi$_2$-in-dul$_4$. The grammar of this formula is problematic, with two nouns (Ibbi-Suen and Enlil) marked as the transitive subject (ergative case). Some get around this by making the first noun a *casus pendans*, e.g. "As for Ibbi-Suen, Enlil covered, etc.". I preferred to "correct" the second noun's case ending to "la$_2$", and read it as another anticipatory genitive, in parallel with the formula for IS15.

[880] IS22: mu ^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Suen lugal Uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ke$_4$ a-ma-ru nig$_2$-dug$_4$-ga dingir-re-ne-ke$_4$ zag-an-ki im-suh$_3$-suh$_3$-a Uri$_2^{ki}$ uru^{ki}-tab-ba bi$_2$-in-ge-en.

[881] IS23: mu ^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Suen lugal Uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ra ugu-dul$_5$-bi dugud kur-be$_2$ mu-na-e-ra.
IS24: mu ^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Suen lugal Uri$_2^{ki}$-ma-ke$_4$. . . bi$_2$-ra.

[882] On the possible equivalence of this "stupid monkey" with Išbi-Erra, see Klein (1979), p. 153, fn. 23. The letter is from Ibbi-Suen to Puzur-Numušda, and the line in question (16) is contained in part on three different tablets. Klein notes that Claus Wilcke (ZA 60 [1970], p. 60 fn. 20) considers the reference to be an Elamite invasion and not an attack by Išbi-Erra.

Like his predecessor, Ibbi-Suen left few votive inscriptions. Two that survived on an OB copy of inscriptions concern the crafting of items dedicated to Nanna, which are in addition related to the campaign in the Susiana in IS15. The first was a gold bowl masterfully decorated with bison-men, snakes, and dark rain, for use in the lustrations of Nanna that took place during the Great Festival (ezem-mah) in Ur. Ibbi-Suen had written that he had made this bowl in response to his victory over Susa, AdamDUN and Awan and his resultant capture of their rulers.[883] The unique epithets the king applied to Nanna in this piece are reminiscent of the language of the rather odd year formulae concerning Nanna and Enlil in regnal years 15 and 20 respectively: "to Nanna, who spreads luminosity over his people, the lord who alone is made manifest (in) the sky, his king".[884] The second item was also created in response to this same victory, with the additional statement that Nanna had disburdened these lands of their gold and "black" metal. This object consisted of a gold jug with seven teats and a gold drinking reed, suitable for the first fruits offering and the place of the festival of Nanna.[885] Ibbi-Suen dedicated two other items to Nanna as well: a statue of a spotted Meluhhan "dog", probably a leopard, that he had received as a gift from Marhaši, and an agate bead.[886]

There are 5,667 adminstrative documents extant from the reign of Ibbi-Suen, with 432 ambiguous year dates, 448 of the latter dating to one year alone (IS15). The spread of these documents over the twenty-four years of this king's tenure is quite uneven, with over a thousand each for the first two years (2828 total), falling to the still respectable 878 in IS03, then dropping to an average of 266 from IS04 through IS08. By this point the king had lost the resources of the peripheral zones and the central facility at Puzriš-Dagan, and the numbers for the next six years

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[883] RIME 3.2.1.5.2.

[884] Ibid.: ^{d}Nanna su_3-ra_2-ag_2 un-[ga_2]-na ba-ra-ge, en aš-ni an pa-e_3-a, lugal-a-ni--ir".

[885] RIME 3.2.1.5.3: dug-ubur-imin-kug-gi. . . gi-kug-gi-bi. . . ne-sag-e he_2-du_7?, , , ki-ezem-ma ^{d}Nanna-ke_4.

[886] RIME 3.2.1.5.4: ur-gun_3-a Me-luh-ha^{ki} Mar-ha-ši^{ki}-[ta] gu_2-un-$še_3$ mu-na-ab-tum_2-ma-ni *tam-ši-lum*-bi; and RIME 3.1.2.5.5: an agate bead dedicated to Nanna by Ibbi-Suen for his own life.

reflect this, averaging out to five administrative records per year.[887] There was a small increase to 448 texts in IS15, with a rapid fall-off in records in IS16 (75) and IS17 (31). This was followed by another plunge to an average of six per year from IS18 through IS23, with no records at all extant from the final year of the king's reign.

2.2.5.1 Years IS01-02

During the first two years of his reign, there are numerous attestations of Ibbi-Suen attending sacrifices at various rituals, primarily to the major deities of Nippur, thereafter to those of Ur, similarly to his immediate predecessor. After the last day of the last month of IS02, however, when Ibbi-Suen witnessed a pre-dawn offering to Enlil and Ninlil at the crescent moon, presumably in Nippur, references to the king in the archives not only fall off sharply, but also focus more on items sent to or provided by him, rather than on his actual presence in the flesh at rites and offerings.[888] In the last mention of this king that I could find in the administrative records, he appears as one of the parties in a court case in Ur that also involved the en of Nanna of Ur. This document bears the year formula for IS14, but from the context would seem to be describing an incident that had occurred at least three years earlier.[889]

In the opening month of his first official year as king, Ibbi-Suen was present at sacrifices in the Temples of Enlil and Ninlil on three different dates.[890] The offerings made on the middle date

[887] There are no records at all dating to IS10.

[888] AUCT 3 438, IS02-12-30, Puzriš-Dagan: one deer (lulim) one gazelle to Enlil, one deer ($šeg_9$-bar) one gazelle to Ninlil, $eš_3$-$eš_3$ ud-sakar, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a).

[889] UET 3 0045, IS14-09-00, Ur, and duplicate UET 9 1156, IS14-00-00, Ur.

[890] Nisaba 08 123, IS01-01-05, Puzriš-Dagan: [x] gazelle calves to Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); SAT 3 1948, IS01-01-09, Puzriš-Dagan: [x] sheep and goats to Enlil, one sheep each to the deified Throne of Enlil and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, and five sheep one goat to Ninlil, two sheep to Nanna in the Temple of Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); and four sheep in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), two sheep each for the First Fruits boat of Nanna and to Ninsun, one sheep each to Nin-nigar and Nin-Isina, two sheep to Geštinana, Nur-UTU authorized it

included one to Gansura, the avatar of Inana-Venus in the period of her disappearance into the Netherworld, which suggests that rites concerned with Šu-Suen's demise were still occurring. Like the three deified kings before him, Ibbi-Suen was also sent items in relation to the Boat of Dawn during this month from Girsu, but like them, his location went unspecified.[891] The following month sheep were released in Puzriš-Dagan as appropriations for a royal lustration of Ninhursag.[892] On the fifth day of the third month the king drove in a peg in the breeding barn (nakabtum), in relation to which a gazelle was slaughtered and its carcass then given to dogs to eat, while on the twenty-fifth he personally killed a fattened sheep, the meat of which was handed over to his son Ula.[893] On the tenth day of the fourth month, Ibbi-Suen attended offerings to Enlil and Ninlil, on the fifteenth he again personally killed a sheep in Puzriš-Dagan, and on the twentieth he was back in the E-kur for the Great Offering.[894] The king was still in the Nippur area late in the fifth month of the year, where he was present for offerings at the crescent moon.[895]

(maškim); plus two sheep to Utu in the palace, one sheep to Gansura, Mašum the cupbearer authorized it; BPOA 6 0716, IS01-01-15, Puzriš-Dagan: four sheep two goats to Enlil, one sheep to the deified throne, two lambs to Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, four sheep and one goat to Ninlil, two sheep to Nanna in the Temple of Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a).

[891] MVN 07 199, IS02-01-00, Girsu: seventy jugs (dug) ma_2-ud-zal-la ki lugal-$še_3$.

[892] PDT 1 173, IS01-02-00, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep a-tu_5-a-lugal, one sheep Nintinuga, appropriations for a royal lustration (nig_2-dab_5 a-tu_5-a-lugal), disbursed in Puzriš-Dagan.

[893] BPOA 7 1841, IS01-03-05, Puzriš-Dagan: one female gazelle (when) the king drove in a peg (lugal-e gag bi_2-in-ra), the dogs ate its carcass (ad_3-bi ur-gir_{15}-re ba-ab-gu_7), in the nakabtum; JCS 10-28-05, IS01-03-25, Puzriš-Dagan: one fattened sheep the king killed with a dagger (lugal-e gir_2-ta in-gaz), his son Ula received its meat (uzu-bi U_2-la dumu-ni šu ba-an-ti).

[894] Princeton 2 328, IS01-04-10, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep each to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra); TRU 367, IS01-04-15, Puzriš-Dagan: one fattened sheep the king killed with a knife (lugal-e gir_2-ta in-gaz) in Puzriš-Dagan; Nisaba 08 038, IS01-04-22, Puzriš-Dagan: twenty sheep to individual statues (ala-$dili_2$) in the Temple of Enlil, eighteen sheep to individual statues in the Temple of Ninlil, $siskur_2$-gu-la in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[895] BCT 1 112, IS01-05-29, Puzriš-Dagan: one deer ($šeg_9$-bar) one gazelle each to Enlil and Ninlil, $eš_3$-$eš_3$-ud-sakar in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

Ibbi-Suen then dropped from view for a month, popping up again in the seventh month in the region of Ur for the Akiti festival.[896] He attended offerings to Nanna in both Ur and Gaeš on the tenth, and on the thirteenth was present for more, to an unusually large number of deities, first in the Temple of Gula in Ur, then in nearby Kuara.[897] Among the first set of offerands were two statues of the late king, called Šu-Suen-beloved-of Nanna and Šu-Suen-beloved-of-Ninsun, while in Kuara deities in the Temples of Ninsun, Asarluhi, and Nindamana were honored. In between there were offerings in the palace, including a goat defined by the unique but obscure "gurun šub-ba" to Ninegal. Extispicies and incantations were also performed, as shown by the disbursement of "sheep of the omen" (udu kin-gi$_4$-a) and an apparent ritual circumambulation (sag-ga$_2$ nigin$_2$-na) in Eridug in which an incantation priest (lu$_2$-mu$_{13}$-mu$_{13}$) participated. All of the animals sacrificed came from the bala-payment of the governor of Babylon. The lavish nature of the proceedings may, perhaps, reflect the new king's desire to make this, the first Akiti festival of his reign, memorable. During this same month, and doubtless in connection with this same festival, one Šulgi-simti, who would appear to have been a princess, participated in a ritual involving the Boat of Heaven in Ur.[898]

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[896] JCS 52 11 51, IS01-07-10, Puzriš-Dagan: two gazelles in Ur, two sheep in Gaeš, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra).

[897] TCL 2 5482, IS01-07-13, Puzriš-Dagan: [x] and five lambs to the kianag of Ur-Namma, two sheep one lamb to Šu-Suen-kiag-Nanna, one lamb each to Ninazu and Ningišzida, two sheep one lamb to Ninsun, one lamb to Lugalbanda, one goat to Šu-Suen-kiag-Ninsun, two goats each to Ninšagepada and ^{d}Šu-[x], one lamb each to Nungal and Ninkugnuna, two sheep one lamb to Gula, one lamb to Damu, one goat to Gunura in the Temple of Gula in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra); one lamb to Nanaa in the house of Ur-Šu-Suen, one lamb each to Inana, Ninegal, Enki, Martu, the throne dais (Barag) of Nanna, Dumuzi and Geštinana, one goat "gurun šub-ba" to Ninegal, one lamb to Uru, three lambs to Annunitum, two lambs each to Nanaa and Bizela, milk, offerings (siskur$_2$) in the palace, Suen-abušu authorized it (maškim); ten sheep of the omen (udu kin-gi$_4$-a), Lušalim authorized it (maškim), they are sheep of Ur; one goat for the gate of Ninsun, two sheep two lambs to Ninsun, one lamb each to Lugalbanda, Šu-Suen, Ab-u, Dumuzi, and Geštinana in the Temple of Ninsun, two sheep one lamb to Asarluhi, one sheep one lamb to Šulgi in the Temple of Asarluhi, one lamb each to Haia, Nindamgalnuna and Martu in the Temple of Nindamana, and one lamb each to Ningišzida and Lugal-urusag in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra) in Kuara; one lamb at the beginning? of the circumambulation (sag-ga$_2$ nigin$_2$-na), Bululu the incantation specialist (lu$_2$-mu$_{13}$-mu$_{13}$) authorized it; two lambs at the Holy Mound (Du$_6$-kug); animals provided from the bala of the governor (ensi$_2$) of Babylon.

[898] Ontario 1 164, IS01-07-20, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep to Šulgi-simti when she went to the Boat of Heaven (ud ma$_2$-an-na-še$_3$ i$_3$-gen-na), disbursed in Ur.

Ibbi-Suen is next sighted in the E-kur in Nippur, where he attended offerings associated with the carnelian bed of Suen in the ninth month, and the Great Offering in the eleventh.[899] His wife, Geme-Enlila, was apparently in Ur in the tenth month, where she provided the silver necessary to create two standard for Nanna there.[900] At the end of the twelfth month Ibbi-Suen was present in Nippur for offerings made at the crescent moon on two consecutive days.[901] This year featured an intercalary month, at the start of which offerings to a large number of deities in the Temples of Enlil, Ninlil, Ninhursag, Inana, a cult location called GAN_2-DA, the Holy Mound, the palace, a cattle pen, at the inlet to the royal canal, and for the first quarter moon were made, with Ibbi-Suen present at several of them.[902] Sacrifies were made to Ninurta and Nin-Nibru on behalf of Geme-Enlila, a daughter of Šu-Suen as well as a lukur of Ninurta, and the statue Inana-the-Path-of-Šu-Suen, which seems to have been created by that king in honor of his victory against Šimanum in ŠS02, was the

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[899] Nisaba 08 056, IS01-09-11, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep one goat each to Enlil and Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), five sheep for the carnelian bed (^{na4}gug-nu_2) of Suen in the Temple of Enlil and Ninlil in Nippur; SAT 3 1916, IS01-11-00, Puzriš-Dagan: twenty sheep to individual statues (alan-$dili_2$) in the Temple of Enlil, sixteen goats to individual statues in the Temple of Ninlil, $siskur_2$-gu-la in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[900] Verderame, U. 20085 (unpubl.), IS01-10-00, Ur: silver šu-nir-$še_3$ from Geme-Enlila.

[901] Syracuse 063, IS01-12-29, Puzriš-Dagan: one deer (lulim) and one gazelle to Enlil, one deer ($šeg_9$-bar) and one gazelle to inlil, for the festival of the crescent moon ($eš_3$-$eš_3$-ud-sakar) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a) in Nippur; BIN 3 260, IS01-12-30, Puzriš-Dagan: the exact same as the previous entry, except for the day.

[902] Nisaba 08 030, IS01-13-04, Puzriš-Dagan: six oxen one cow seven sheep and two goats to Enlil, one sheep one goat each to the deified Throne of Enlil and Hursag-galama, one sheep to Aba-Enlilgim the standard (šu-nir) of Enlil in the Temple of Enlil, seven oxen eight sheep and two goat to Ninlil, three sheep to Nanna, and two sheep to Nintinuga in the Temple of Ninlil, one sheep each to Ningagia, An, Enlil and Ninlil in GAN_2-DA, one ox to sheep one goat to Ninhursag and one sheep to Šulpae in the Temple of Ninhursag, four sheep three goat to the Holy Mound (Du_6-kug), one goat to Ištaran, one sheep each to Inana-KA-GIR_3-Šu-Suen and Nusku, two sheep one goat to Ninurta, one sheep to Kalkal, one ox two sheep to Inana and two sheep to An in the Temple of Inana, one ox two sheep to Nintinuga, and one goat to Annunitum in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one sheep each to Alla-gula, Nanna in the cattle pen, Nungal and Bau, Šu-Suen-ipallah-Enlil the cupbearer (sagi) authorized it (maškim); one goat to Ninurta and one sheep to Nin-Nibru on behalf of Geme-Enlila the princess, festival of the first quarter moon, Abi-dug authorized it; five sheep two goat to Utu, one sheep to the Lamma-lugal, ki-Utu offering ($siskur_2$ ki-^{d}Utu) at the first quarter moon, Ur-Šara the cupbearer authorized it; two sheep one kid to Inana-KA-GIR_3-Šu-Suen in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one sheep to Ninsun, two sheep to Iškur, one sheep to Bizela pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a), one sheep to Iškur offering ($siskur_2$) in the palace, one sheep one kid to Nanaa at the inlet of the royal canal (ka-id_2-lugal-ka-$še_3$), a duplicate (gaba-ri-a), evening offering (a_2-ud-te-na), Suen-abušu the cupbearer authorized it.

recipient of two separate offerings, one of which Ibbi-Suen witnessed. Previously, offerings by princess Geme-Enlila to these same deities, along with others to this same statue of Inana were parts of a large set made in both ŠS04 and ŠS06, which I had suggested may have been related to Šu-Suen's campaigns against Šimanum in the earlier texts, and Zabšali and the Šimaškian lands in the later ones.[903] If that is an accurate assessment of the coincidence of these two sets of offerings occurring together, then these same offerings at the close of IS01 may indicate that his campaign against Šimurrum, after which he wound up naming his third regnal year, was about to, or had just begun.

If Ibbi-Suen's campaign against Šimurrum was indeed underway, however, the king did not immediately take to the road --- if, of course, he ever did. He can be seen in and around Nippur at offerings in the first through the third months of his second regnal year, in the middle month for the Gudsisu festival, and in the third month in Puzriš-Dagan for a deity whose name is broken but is likely to be Enlil-igidua, whose only other attestation occurred at an offering in a palace in the Nippur area.[904] A Girsu text from the first month records seventy jugs sent to the king in relation to the Boat of Dawn, though the king's location was not given.[905] Administrative records do not mention any activities of the king again until the sixth month, when he attended the Great Offeriing in Nippur, the animals for which were provided by the governor of Babylon.[906] One might expect that, had

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[903] VIN 3 571, ŠS04-12-05, Puzriš-Dagan, and TJSASE 298, ŠS06-02-13, Puzriš-Dagan. See discussion of these texts in the sections on Šu-Suen's fourth and sixth regnal years above.

[904] OMRO 68 18 10, IS02-01-22, Puzriš-Dagan: one ox twelve sheep to Enlil, four sheep two goats to Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a), in Nippur; BPOA 6 0517, IS02-02-20, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep each to Enlil, Ninlil, and Ninurta, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), festival (ezem) Gudsisu; MVN 13 522, IS02-03-28, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep each to An, Enlil and Ninlil in the GAN_2-DA, Luduga authorized it; one sheep and one goat to Lugal-gud-a_2-nun-gi, one sheep to Ur-sag-7, Šu-Suen-lamahar cupbearer (sagi) authorized it; [x] to [x]-igi-du_8-a in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), evening offering (a_2-du-te-na), in Puzriš-Dagan.
On the last, compare ^{d}En-lil_2-igi-du_8-a $siskur_2$ $šag_4$ e_2-gal, a_2-ud-e-na (evening offering): TRU 371, ŠS08-xx-27 Puzriš-Dagan.

[905] MVN 07 199, IS02-01-00, Girsu: seventy jugs (dug) ma_2-ud-zal-la ki lugal-$še_3$.

[906] MVN 08 139, IS02-06-14, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep for the kianag of Ur-Namma, [x] and one lamb to Enlil, one lamb each to the deified Throne of Enlil and the Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, two cows two lambs to Ninlil, one lamb each to the deified Throne of Enlil and Nanna, one ewe

Ibbi-Suen gone on campaign against Šimurrum, it would have been during this interval between months three and six, or in the upcoming interval between months six and nine. In this respect, an account from the second month of this year in which three craftsmen were assigned for two days to tow the "boat of the royal campaign-house" (ma_2 e_2-kaskal-lugal) from Urusagrig to the royal quay (kar-lugal-$še_3$) may be enlightening.[907] The name of this boat, which is attested only here, seems to imply that it served as the primary housing of the king when he went on a long journey, including on campaign, as opposed to, say, staying in a tent. In addition, boats on the Tigris, which is where Urusagrig was located, were towed northward, the direction in which Šimurrum lay.

The whereabouts of the king are again unknown until early in the ninth month, when he witnessed parts of the enormous number of offerings made in various cult locations in Nippur.[908]

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one lamb to Nintinuga, one ewe each to Nisaba and Ninhursag, [x] to the deified Balag in the Temple of Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one goat each to Ningagia, Ninursag, Ninurta, Inana, and Šu-Suen, one lamb each to Suen, Šulgi and Ninsun, one goat each to Lugalbanda and Enki, one lamb to Nintinuga, two lambs to the Holy Mound, $siskur_2$-gu-la, from the bala of the governor ($ensi_2$) of Babylon.

[907] Nisaba 15/2 0740, IS02-02-00, Urusagrig. The craftsmen were a blacksmith (simug), a carpenter (nagar), and a leather-worker (ašgab).

[908] MVN 10 144 IS02-09-03, Puzriš-Dagan: three sheep for the kianag of Ur-Namma, one sheep each to An, Enlil, Ninlil [x]-e_2-da, [x] lambs two sheep to Nanna-igi-du_8-aš, one lamb to Nungal, Ur-Šara cupbearer (sagi) authorized it (maškim); one sheep one goat for the oath of the couriers (nam-$erim_2$-kas_4-ke_4-ne-$še_3$), Anati the minister (sukkal) authorized it; four lambs for extispicy ($sila_4$ kin-gi_4-a), Enum-Iškur authorized it; two goats, dead, to the big Temple of Šulgi-[x-x], [four lines missing], three sheep regular delivery (sa_2-dug_4) Ur-Namma, two sheep regular delivery of Nungal, two lambs to Enlil, one lamb each to the deified Throne of Enlil and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, two lambs to Ninlil, one lamb each to the throne of Enlil, Nanna and Nintinuga, one goat to ^{d}Eden?, one lamb $guru_7$ in the Temple of Ninlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), two lambs ^{d}[x-x]-Šu-Suen, [three lines missing], one lamb to ^{d}IB, one goat to ^{d}Ki-ur-sag-e-ne, one lamb each to Inana, Ninsun, Iškur, the throne (^{giš}gu-za), and the bed (giš-nu_2), offering ($siskur_2$) at the ki-Suen and the crescent moon, two lambs each to Lamma-lugal, Nintinuga and ^{d}Šu-mah in the Temple of Nintinuga, three lambs and two goats each to Enlil and Ninlil, three ewes to Šulgi in the Temples of Enlil and Ninlil, [x] sheep one goat [x]-nin-ga_2-[x], [one line missing] to Nusku, one goat to ^{d}En-na-nun, one sheep one goat to Ninurta, [x] to Nin-Enlil, [x] to Kalkal, two [x] to Inana, one sheep to Ninkasi, one ewe to Šu-Suen, one lamb to ^{d}NE.GI, one sheep one lamb to Suen, one lamb each to Ningal and Ningublaga, one goat to ^{d}Amaluš offering ($siskur_2$) to Nin-Urima, one lamb to Ninšubur, two goats to Nintinuga, one goat each to ^{d}Nin-lil_2-gun_3-a and Šulgi, one ewe one goat to Ninsun, one goat to Lugalbanda, one ewe to Pabilsag, one goat to Nin-Isina, one sheep to Nintu, one ewe to Ninimma, one goat to Ninpirig, one lamb to ^{d}A-ba-ba, one sheep to Lugal-gudsisu, two goats to Enki, one goat each to Ašnan, Nin-tul_2-sag and Bau, one sheep to Alla-gula, one goat to Enlilazi, one sheep each to Ištaran and ^{d}DA?, one goat each to Bilgames, ^{d}Dam-[x], Ningirgilu, Iškur, Ninazu, Nin-gir_3-da, Ningišzida, Ninazimua, ^{d}Kug-su_3, ^{d}[x-x]-ga-[x] SAR [two lines missing], one ewe for the oath in the

These included two separate incidents of couriers taking an oath of allegiance, and a unique offering to a "spotted lion" (siskur$_2$ ur-mah-gun$_3$-a), perhaps a reference to the gold statue of a "spotted Meluhhan lion" that an inscription of Ibbi-Suen's categorized as tribute from Marhaši.[909] If so, this bureaucratic record can be used as the *terminus ante quem* for dating that inscription. One wonders if several of the other offerings recorded on this same tablet, to "Spotted, or Spangled, Ninlil" (^{d}Nin-lil$_2$-gun$_3$-a) and to "Lady Lion" (^{d}Nin-pirig), were related to the set-up of the statue of the Meluhhan feline.

The governor of Kiš provided the sacrifical animals for the above offerings, while the governor of Urusagrig fulfilled the same role for a smaller set presented in Ur a week later.[910] Ibbi-Suen remained in Ur for the first half of the following (tenth) month, where he hosted another enormous round of offerings to numerous deities in celebration of Nanna's main Ur festival, the ezem-mah. He started out slowly on the second, attending only a sacrifice to Nanna, but on the day after he was present for offerings in Ur to a group lacking any of the major deities of the Ur III polity or the city of Ur (Geštinana SI-A-tum, Išhara, Belat-nabi, Alla, Meslamtaea, Ninkugnuna, and Lugal-uda), before moving on to another set in nearby Kuara.[911] On the ninth of the month animal

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Temple of Ninurta of the runners, Anati sukkal authorized it; three lambs for gal-gi$_4$-a, Enum-Iškur authorized it; one sheep for the offering of the spotted lion (siskur$_2$ ur-mah-gun$_3$-a), two lambs at the Holy Mound, on the twenty-eighth; twelve sheep seven lambs of the omen one the twenty-ninth; from the bala of the governor (ensi$_2$) of Kiš.

[909] RIME 3.2.1.5.4: ur-gun$_3$-a Me-luh-ha^{ki} Mar-ha-ši^{ki}-[ta] gu$_2$-un-še$_3$ mu-na-ab-tum$_2$-ma-ni *tam-ši-lum*-bi.

[910] TAD 07, IS02-09-10, Puzriš-Dagan: thirteen sheep five lambs in the Temple [x], one sheep for the kianag of [x], two lambs to Ninkugnuna, one lamb to Gula in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), three lambs for extispicy (sila$_4$ kin-gi$_4$-a), Enum-[x] [authorized it?], in Ur; three lambs at the standard (šu-nir) of Nanna, Hidutum the cupbearer (sagi), authorized it, from the bala of Ur-mes governor (ensi$_2$) of Urusagrig.

[911] AUCT 3 194, IS02-10-02, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep to Nanna in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), two sheep royal expenditure (zi-ga-lugal-, one lamb, tithe (zag-10) to the en of Inana, two sheep a royal gift (nig$_2$-ba-lugal).

TCL 2 5514, IS02-10-03, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep to the kianag of Ur-Namma one lamb each to Geštinana SI-A-tum, Išhara and Belat-nabi, two sheep one lamb to Alla, two lambs each to Meslamtaea and Ninkugnuna, one lamb each to Lugal-ud-da and Meslamtaea, in the king's presence (lugal ku$_4$-ra), seven lambs for extispicy (sila$_4$ kin-gi$_4$-a), Enun-Iškur authorized it (maškim), in Ur; one goat at the gate (ka$_2$) of Ninsun, two sheep one lamb to Ninsun, one lamb each

offerings supplied by the governor of Urusagrig were presented to several deities in the chariot house, with Ibbi-Suen a witness.[912] The main event apparently occurred on the eleventh, when the king first attended offerings to Nanna and Ningal, at sites such as their temples, the Dubla-mah, and the Holy Mound, before moving on to Gaeš where he drove in a peg, with animals sacrificed in conjunction with his action to Dumuzi at the "large opening" (KA-gal), Ninurua-muDU in her town of BAD_3, and Ninmarki in his temple in the city (e_2-uru-na).[913] Ibbi-Suen closed out the day back in Ur, at offerings to several deities, and at the Holy Mound. In addition to these sacrifices, all of which came from the king's purse, additional animals were provided for the queen Geme-Enlila in relation to the Holy Mound and to the en of Nanna in Gaeš.

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to Lugalbanda and ^{d}Lugal-nita-zi, one goat to ^{d}Ab-u_2, one lamb each to Geštinana, Dumuzi, Šulgi and Šu-Suen in the Temple of Ninsun, one lamb each to Asarluhi, Šulgi, Nindamana, ^{d}Ensi$_2$-mah, Haia, Ningišzida, and Lugalurusag, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), in Kuara; from the bala of Ur-mes governor (ensi$_2$) of Urusagrig.

[912] SET 057, IS02-10-09, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep to the kianag of Ur-Namma, two sheep two lambs each to Ninsun and Lugalbanda, one sheep to Amar-Suen in the chariot house (e_2-^{giš}gigir) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), two lambs to Ningal, one lamb each to Inana and Nanaa, two lambs each to Belat-suhnir and Belat-terraban, one lamb to Lamma-lugal, Šu-Suen-lamahar the cupbearer (sagi) authorized it (maškim; two lambs to Meslamtaea, Mašum the cupbearer authorized it; five lambs for extispicy ($sila_4$ kin-gi_4-a), Enum-Iškur authorized it; two lambs to the Holy Mound; from the bala of Ur-mes governor (ensi$_2$) of Urusagrig.

[913] BPOA 6 0111, IS02-10-11, Puzriš-Dagan: three oxen six sheep one goat to Nanna, and two sheep at the Dubla-mah in the Temple of Nanna for the first time, two sheep at the Holy Mound, three sheep one goat to Nanna, and one sheep one goat at the Dubla-mah in the Temple of Nanna for the second time, two sheep to Nanna at the night shrine and the house of malt for the third time, two sheep each to Ningal and ^{d}A-an-da in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one goat to Dumuzi in KA-gal, one ox one sheep one goat to Ninurua-muDU in Durum, and one sheep one goat to Ninmarki in his city temple (e_2-uru-na), (when) the king drove in a peg (lugal-e giš bi_2-in-tag) in Gaeš, pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a), three sheep to Nanna, two sheep to Annunitum, two goats to Meslamtaea da-KA-ga, two sheep to Allatum, one sheep each to Išhara, Belat-nabium and Gula, one kid to Ninkugnuna, two sheep at the Holy Mound, six sheep two goats to Nanna for the first time, two sheep at the Holy Mound, four sheep two goats to Nanna for the second time, two sheep to Nanna for the third time, evening offering (a_2-ud-te-na), in Ur, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), four oxen sixty-six sheep royal expenditure (zi-ga-lugal), two oxen twenty sheep to Geme-Enlila provisions (igi-kar_2) for the Holy Mound, two oxen six sheep a gift to the king (mašdaria-lugal) to the en of Nanna, Aradmu authorized it, in Gaeš.

The king had apparently returned to Nippur by the fifteenth of the month, for offerings in the Temple of Inana.[914] That this took place in Nippur can be determined by the name of the Holy Mound mentioned in this text: in Nippur it was called Du-kug, whereas in Ur it was named Du-ur. Both these and further offerings in the Nippur area on the twenty-fifth were provided by the governor of Urusagrig. The latter included a sacrifice to Nanna in the cattle pen in the king's presence, and an oath of loyalty in the Temple of Ninurta, taken by men of Kimaš.[915] Both Kimaš and Šimurrum had been subjugated by Šulgi during his multi-year quest to gain control over access to the main trading routes through the upper Zagros range, and Ibbi-Suen seems to have managed to retain Kimaš as part of the Ur III polity, even as Šimurrum attempted to break away. A trip to Kimaš by one of Ibbi-Suen's generals the year before may be evidence of the king's earlier diplomatic efforts to suppress insurrection in this area.[916]

In the eleventh month of IS02, the king witnessed offerings to Inana and Nanaa in an orchard.[917] The location was not specified, and the text also includes a sacrifice to Bau in Girsu. Later in the month, Ibbi-Suen was in Nippur, where he remained through the rest of the year. On

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[914] PDT 1 342, IS02-10-15, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep to the kianag of Ur-Namma, two lambs to Inana, one lamb each to An and Ninšubur in the Temple of Inana in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), eight lambs to Nanaa, one lamb each to $^{d}Gu_2$-an-na and Dumuzi, offering ($siskur_2$) in the palace, one lamb each to Nungal and GA-gunu-šu, Suen-abušu the cupbearer (Sagi) authorized it (maškim); five lambs for extispicy ($sila_4$ kin-gi_4-a), Enum-Iškur authorized it; two lambs at the Holy Mound (du_6-kug), from the bala of Ur-mes the governor ($ensi_2$) of Urusagrig.

[915] MVN 13 128, IS02-10-25, Puzriš-Dagan: one sheep to the kianag of Ur-Namma, one lamb each to Enlil, the throne of Enlil and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, two lambs to Ninlil, one lamb each to the throne of Enlil, Nanna, Nintinuga, and the deified Balag in the Temple of Ninlil, one lamb to Nanna in the cattle pen (e_2-tur) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one sheep one goat for the oath-taking ($nam\text{-}erim_2$) in the Temple of Ninurta of the men of Kimaš (mu lu_2 Ki-$maš^{ki}$-ke_4-e-ne-$še_3$), Nannalam the minister (sukkal) authorized it (maškim); eleven lambs for extispicy ($sila_4$ kin-gi_4-a), Enum-Iškur authorized it, in Puzriš-Dagan; from the bala of Ur-mes governor ($ensi_2$) of Urusagrig.

[916] Nisaba 15/2 0596, IS01-06-14, Urusagrig: beer and bread for Bušanum the general (šagina), Lugena the cattle administrator ($šuš_3$) and royal envoy (lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal), and grooms (kir_4-dab_5-me) when they went to Kimaš (ud Ki-$maš^{ki}$-$še_3$ ba-e-re-ša-a).

[917] Nisaba 08 378, IS02-11-03, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep one kid Inana, one sheep Nanaa, offering in the orchard ($siskur_2$ $šag_4$ $^{giš}kiri_6$) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one sheep to Bau in the "malakum" ($šag_4$ ma-la-kum) of Girsu.

the thirteenth of the eleventh month he attended offerings to Enlil and Ninlil at the full moon, while on the fifteenth of the twelfth month he was present at offerings to those same two deities plus Nanaa in the Akiti-šekinkud House, after which he focused on the festival of the carnelian bed of Enlil, during which a large number of deities received offerings.[918] On the twenty-fifth Ibbi-Suen was present for sacrifices in Nippur and in Puzriš-Dagan, and in the last recording of his contemporaneous, direct action, the king attended pre-dawn offerings at the crescent moon to Enlil and Ninlil on the last day of the year.[919]

2.2.5.2 Years IS03-24

In the third year of Ibbi-Suen's reign, two Nippur documents show that the queen provided the grain for rations for hired work crews.[920] Garments and boots were prepared for the king, in Ur

[918] PDT 1 485, IS02-11-13, Puzriš-Dagan: one bison (alim) one gazelle to Enlil, one deer ($šeg_9$-bar) one gazelle to Ninlil, $eš_3$-$eš_3$-ud-15, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra);
Nisaba 08 061, IS02-12-15, Puzriš-Dagan: one gazelle calf to Nanaa, one sheep each to Enlil and Ninlil, in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) in Akiti-šekinkud;
WMAH 154, IS02-12-15, Puzriš-Dagan: fifteen sheep each to An and Enlil, ten goats to Ninlil, two ewes each to the deified Throne of Enlil and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, ten ewes five goats to Ninlil, two sheep to Nanna in the Temple of Ninlil, festival of the carnelian bed of Enlil (ezem ^{na4}gug-a-nu_2 ^{d}En-lil_2-la_2) in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), [broken], five goats to Ninlil, two sheep each to the deified Throne of Enlil and Hursag-galama in the Temple of Enlil, nine ewes six goats to Ninlil, two sheep to Nanna in the Temple of Ninlil, one ewe one goat to Ningagia, two goats to Ninhursag, two sheep five goat at the Holy Mound, [brokne], one goat to Lugalbanda, one ewe each to Hendursag and Nintud, two goats to Ninimma, two ewes to Lugal-gudsisu, two goats to Suen, four goats to Nintinuga bala-a-gi, one goat to Šumah, one ewe to Ninšubur in the Temple of Nintinuga, one ewe one goat to Annunitum, [broken] to Ninlil at the opened bowls (bur-du_8-a), festival of the carnelian bed of Enlil in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra).

[919] AUCT 3 071, IS02-12-25, Puzriš-Dagan: six sheep each to Enlil and Ninlil in Nippur, two sheep to Utu, [x] to Inana, one sheep each to Ninsun and Ninegal, one ox three sheep in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), one lamb for the son of the sukkal-mah, Amar-Suen-hala the cupbearer (sagi) authorize it (maškim); two sheep to Nanaa, [broken] in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra) in Puzriš-Dagan.
AUCT 3 438, IS02-12-30, Puzriš-Dagan: one deer (lulim) one gazelle to Enlil, one deer ($šeg_9$-bar) one gazelle to Ninlil, $eš_3$-$eš_3$-ud-sakar in the king's presence (lugal ku_4-ra), pre-dawn offering (a_2-gi_6-ba-a).

[920] TCCBI 2 18, IS03-07-10, Nippur: grain for hired hands building a house (a_2 lu_2-hun-ga_2 e_2 du_3-de_3) from Geme-Enlila; TCBBI 2 19, IS03-05-17, Nippur: grain for hired hands hoeing (al ak), from Geme-Enlila.

and Puzriš-Dagan, respectively.[921] Possible evidence for the campaign against Šimurrum can be seen in a variety of military equipment supplied by the governor of Umma to the general Ur-Enlila, as well as in three accounts dealing with the levying and provisioning of troops.[922] The size of this army is indicated by the record dating to the seventh month, of approximately 4,452 bushels of barley and 1,345 bushels of wheat to be directed to a camp of troops on campaign.

After IS03, all records relating to the king derive from Ur. In the first month of his fourth regnal year, a votive offering of two red-gold bracelets from Ibbi-Suen was presented in the Temple at Karzida.[923] In the seventh, eighth and tenth months, meat, birds, fish, fruit and vegetables were sent to Ibbi-Suen and, frequently, his queen Geme-Enlila as mašdaria, so that one would expect these items to be connected with any festivals then on-going --- in these instances, the Akiti, festival of Šulgi and ezem-mah of Nanna, all in Ur.[924] However, the amounts and types of items expended

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[921] UET 3 1604, IS03-08-00, Ur: nine tug_2 mu-[. . .] to be prepared (sa gi_4-gi_4-de_3) for Ibbi-Suen (mu-^{d}I-bi_2-^{d}Suen-$še_3$); SAT 3 1998, IS03-12-00, Puzriš-Dagan: seven pairs of "carp" soles (^{kuš}ki-kal ^{ku6}eštub e_2-ba-an) of the king's boots (^{kuš}šuhub$_2$-lugal-ka) to be replaced (bala-e-de_3), in Puzriš-Dagan.

[922] MVN 16 0792, IS03-05-00, Umma: twenty-two leather quivers (^{kuš}e_2-mar-ur_5), sixteen bows (^{giš}ban), 1,292 arrowheads (gag ^{giš}ban), ten leather sleeping? bags (^{kuš}lu-ub_2-bur_2), 180 "šabitum" maces (^{giš}tukul $šag_4$-bi_2-tum), twenty-six bowstrings (sa ^{giš}ban), and six stone items (na_4 nig_2-[KA]-UR giš za du_3-a), from the governor ($ensi_2$) of Umma, Ur-Enlila the general (šagina) received;
Essays Gordon 1 135 3, IS03-07-00, unk. prov.: 523.0.3 gur of barley, 158.0.0 gur of wheat for the soldiers of the camp ($eren_2$-$ugnim_x$-ma-ke_4-ne) when they went on the Amorite campaing (ud kaskal-Mar-tu-$še_3$ i_3-re-ša-a), sealed for by Lu-Nanna and Iškun-Ea [probably the generals of those names]; Nisaba 15/2 0948, IS03-07-00, Urusagrig: [x] gur of barley and [x] gur of wheat the troops of the camp ($eren_2$-ugnim) received in U_2-ga-ar-hu-la-al, conveyed by Lu-Nanna and Iškun-Ea;
Nisaba 24 23, IS03-00-00, Umma: the levying of a total of 136 able-bodied men (guruš) as $eren_2$ kaskal-$še_3$.

[923] MVN 13 776, IS04-01-00, Ur: one har kug-sig_{17}-huš-a e_2-ba-an. . . a-ru-a ^{d}I-bi_2-^{d}Suen lugal, e_2 Kar-zi-da.

[924] UET 3 0248, IS04-07-21, Ur: fifteen birds, four baskets of dates, one container of grapes, one container of fruit (^{giš}UR_2 ninda-gal), to the king (ki lugal-$še_3$), [x] baskets of dates [broken], $maš_2$-da-ri-a, iti Akiti; UET 3 0096, IS04-07-30, Ur: fifteen birds, three basket of grapes, three baskets of fruit? (a-par_4), one container of fruit (^{giš}UR_2xA.NA ninda-gal) to the king (ki lugal-$še_3$), 3 baskets of dates, two containers of dates to the queen (ki ereš-$še_3$), $maš_2$-da-ri-a, iti Akiti; UET 3 0099, IS04-08-07, Ur: five+ birds, 2 baskets of dates, 2 baskets of fruit (^{giš}UR_2xA-NA ninda-gal) to the king (ki lugal-$še_3$), 2 baskets of dates, 1 basket of fruit (^{giš}UR_2xA-na ninda-gal) to the queen (ki ereš-$še_3$) $maš_2$-da-ri-a iti ezem-Šulgi; UET 3 0100, IS04-08-12+, Ur: 60 birds, 1 basket of dates, 1 basket of fruit (^{giš}UR_2xA-na ninda-gal) to the king (ki lugal-$še_3$), 2 baskets of dates, 1 basket of fruit (^{giš}UR_2xA-NA ninda-gal) to the queen (ki ereš-$še_3$), $maš_2$-da-ri-a iti ezem Šulgi; UET 3 0102, IS04-10-00, Ur:

seem more likely to have been for meals, whether of the king, the royal couple or, perhaps, a smaller-sized banquet. During the tenth month ezem-mah Ibbi-Suen was also sent oil of cedar in the Temple of Nanna in Ur, obviously for some ritual purpose.[925]

Ibbi-Suen's fifth regnal year opened with two mašdaria donations to the king in Ur, the first similar to the above donations of foodstuff, while the second, of silver nose-rings for oxen, garments, and a large quantity of dates and roasted fish, would seem to have some direct use in the actual festival, presumably that of the Akiti-šekinkud.[926] The king and queen each presented votive items made of red-gold in the sixth month in Ur, although the recipient cult was not stated.[927] The ninth month, Šueša, in which no festivals have been attested in Ur, saw the king and the queen receive separate mašdaria donations in that city, of the typical foodstuff.[928] Documents dating to

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one fattened lamb, 5 $sila_3$ oil, 5 $sila_3$ cheese, two fattened e-zi birds, 1 fattened canebrake rodent ($peš_2$-giš-gi), 1 fattened "colored eye" rodent (peš-igi-gun_3), 1 goose (kur-gi), two ducklings, 7 u_5-bir_5 birds, 48 birds, 1 fish (gir-gid_2-a), 5 baskets of fresh fish, 1 basket of dates,1 basket of fruit ($^{giš}UR_2$xA-NA ninda-gal), 1 container of fresh apples, 25 talents of vegetables, from the Temple of Nanna, maš-da-ri-a to the king (ki lugal-$še_3$), for the 4th time, iti ezem-mah.

[925] UET 3 1688, IS04-10-00, Ur: 1 garment, 1 $sila_3$ of royal cedar oil, [2 lines broken], 11 $sila_3$ of cedar oil bur-ra ba-an-de_2 in the Temple of Nanna ki lugal-$še_3$ iti ezem-mah.

[926] UET 3 0373, IS05-01-00, Ur: five mana of silver (for) oxen nose-rings (har-$kiri_3$-gud), ten garments, thirty creels of dates, thirty creels of roasted fish, royal donation ($maš_2$-da-ri-a-lugal), in Ur, iti šekinkud;
UET 3 0118, IS05-01-27, Ur: one kid, five $sila_3$ of oil, five $sila_3$ of cheese, one fattened duckling, two fattened e-zi birds, three bird eggs, one+ "narow" bird egg (nunuz-mušen-sig), [x] turtles, two+ baskets of fresh fish, six baskets of figs, one container of Šušima figs, two baskets of fruit ($^{giš}UR_2$xA-NA ninga-gal), thirty-five talents of various vegetables, $maš_2$-da-ri-a to the king (ki lugal-$še_3$), iti šekinkud.

[927] RA 30 123 11, IS05-06-00, Ur: two ma-DIŠ? kug-sig_{17}-huš-da. . . a-ru-a ^{d}I-bi_2-^{d}Suen lugal, and one KU-TUR kug-sig_{17}-huš-a. . . a-ru-a $Geme_2$-^{d}En-lil_2-la_2 ereš;
UET 3 0376, IS05-06-00, Ur: a red-gold votive object (KU.TUR) dedicated by Geme-Enlila the queen.

[928] UET 3 0379, IS05-09-02, Ur: five $sila_3$ of oil, five $sila_3$ of cheese, dates, milk, [x] goose (kur-gi), twenty birds, four strings (sag-$keš_2$) of fish, five baskets of fresh fish, ten baskets of dates, three containers of (x), one basket of [x], five "hearts" of [x], twenty-three talents of vegetables, $maš_2$-da-ri-a to Geme-Enlila [the queen], iti šu-$eš_5$-ša;
UET 3 0141, IS05-09-15, Ur: one kid, five $sila_3$ of oil, five $sila_3$ of cheese, one fattened e-zi bird, one fattened pigeon (ir_7), one fattened canebrake rodent, one fattened "colored-eye" rodent, two fattened geese, thirty GUN_3, four strings of dried fish, [x] baskets of dates, five baskets of fruit (UR_2xA-NA ninda-gal), one basket of a-par_4, four "hearts of wood" ($šag_4$ giš-tir), twenty-eight talents of various vegetables, $maš_2$-da-ri-a to the king (ki lugal-$še_3$), iti šu-$eš_5$-ša.

IS06 are similar in content: food brought into the palace for the queen or the king, in the third and fourth months, respectively, as well as mašdaria donations to the king during the month of the Akiti festival and, again, in the month Šueša.[929]

In the first month of IS07, the king received a donation of silver for oxen nose-rings, garments, and large amounts of dates and roasted fish for the festival Akiti-šunumun.[930] The following month a mounted courier (ra_2-gaba) brought a kid to Ibbi-Suen when he (the the courier) came with the troops on campaign. This was accompanied by an incantation performed on behalf of the sukkal-mah, who at this late date was no longer the powerful Arad-Nanna aka Aradmu, who had evidently died around IS03.[931] The specific campaign is unknown, but one suspects it had to do with the Amorite incursions from the north, which seem to have also played a role in the decision of Ibbi-Suen's general Išbi-Erra to consolidate his own power in the Nippur-Isin region in view of turning it into an independent kingdom, something he achieved in this year or the next. In the seventh month of the year, the king's singers were given oil in the "big house" of the blacksmith, but it is not clear if the king was present for this performance, unusual as to its siting, nor its aim.[932] Ibbi-Suen was definitely back in Ur by the tenth month for the festival ezem-mah, where he was

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[929] UET 3 0150, IS06-03-00, Ur: [x] kid brought in with the fish and vegetables (ku_6 nisig-da [. . .] ku_4-ra) to the queen (ki ereš-$še_3$); UET 3 1304, IS056-04-00, Ur: 1 sin_2-[x] fish brought into the palace to the king (ki lugal-$še_3$); UET 3 154, IS06-07-28, Ur: [x] fattened kids, thirty-eight small birds, eight carp (suhur), two baskets of fresh fish, nineteen baskets of dates, two baskets of a-par_4, one basket of fruit ($^{giš}UR_2$xA-NA ninda-gal-aš), twenty talents of various vegetables (sar-hi-a), gift ($maš_2$-da-ri-a) to the king (ki lugal-$še_3$), iti Akiti; MVN 13 596, IS06-09-14, Ur: one kid, one duckling, fifteen birds, four baskets of fresh fish, seven baskets of dates, seventeen baskets of fruit ($^{giš}UR_2$xA), fifteen talents of various vegetables, a gift ($maš_2$-da-ri-a), to the king (ki lugal-$še_3$) iti šu-eš-ša.

[930] UET 3 0186, IS07-07-00, Ur: [x], [x] ma-na [har $kiri_3$ gud], [x] garments, 30 creels dates, 30 creels of roasted fish, $maš_2$-da-ri-a ki lugal-$še_3$, ezem Akiti šunumuna, iti Akiti. Although the text was dated month Akiti (=7), the Akiti-šunumun festival mentioned in this document occurred in the first month.

[931] UET 3 0165, IS07-02-00, Ur: one kid ki lugal-$še_3$ Ninlil-amamu ra_2-gaba ud $eren_2$-kaskal-da i_3-im-da-du-a, 1 goat nig_2-mu_7-mu_7 mu-sukkal-mah-$še_3$ gir_3 Ma-$aš_2$ dub-sar, zi-ga.
For the last attestation of Aradmu see Zinbun 18 096 01, IS03-00-00, Girsu: $Arad_2$-mu sukkal-mah $ensi_2$.

[932] UET 3 1157, IS07-07-00, Ur: oil rations (i_3-ba) for the king's singers in the big house of the smith (nar-lugal e_2-simug-gu-la-ke_4-ne).

sent a donation of silver for oxen nose-rings in relation to a royal lamentation (er_2-su_3-lugal).[933] He also received foodstuff in the twelfth month, Mekigal, during which time no festivals in Ur are attested.[934]

In the first month of IS08, oxen were twice donated to the king for the Akiti-šunumun festival.[935] In the sixth month, a similar donation of oil was made, apparently in relation to the festival of Ninazu, and in the final month of the year queen Geme-Enlila received oil to anoint the throne dais.[936] Geme-Enlila's last attestation in the records occurred in the fourth month of the following year (IS09), when she was the recipient of wheat in Ur.[937] In fact, the king himself does not appear again in the archival records until his fourteenth regnal year, in connection with a court case in Ur, the actual facts of which seem to have taken place in IS11 at the latest.[938] As the whole obverse of the tablet is missing, it is difficult to say if this was originally a document listing a number of separate court cases consecutively, a not uncommon practice, or if the missing side also had to do exclusively with the case involving the king. The first readable section consists of a subordinate clause, "that En-mahgalana had been brought in for Ninagal" (^{d}Nin-a_2-gal-ra En-mah-gal-an-na ba-an-ku_4-[ra]), followed by a list of six witnesses to this fact, as well as a bailiff who took an oath at the great portico of the Dubla-mah as to its veracity. The next four lines contain the simple declarative statement: "Ibbi-Suen had brought En-mahgalana in to him/her for Ninagal" (^{d}Nin-a_2-gal-r[a] ^{d}I-bi_2-^{d}Suen En-mah-gal-an-na in-na-an-ši-[ku_4]. The tablet closes with a characterization of the

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[933] UET 3 0412, IS07-10-00, Ur: [x] mana red-gold, 5 mana silver for oxen nose-rings (har-$kiri_3$-gud), $maš_2$-da-ri-a er_2-su_3-lugal, iti ezem-mah.

[934] UET 3 0411, IS07-12-28, Ur: one lamb, 2 strings fish, 2 baskets of fruit ($^{giš}UR_2$xA-NA), 28 talents of various vegetables, $maš_2$-da-ri-a to the king (ki lugal-$še_3$) iti-ezem-Mekigal.

[935] UET 3 0258, IS08-00-00, Ur: two oxen $maš_2$-da-ri-a-lugal iti šekinkud, a twelve-month account; SAT 3 2024, IS08-01-00, Ur: one fattened ox $maš_2$-da-ri-a-lugal ezem Akiti-šunumun, iti šekinkud.

[936] UET 3 0245, IS08-06-00, Ur: 5/6 $sila_2$ oil mu-DU $maš_2$-da-ri-a-lugal iti ezem-Ninazu; SAT 3 2025, IS08-12-00, Ur: oil for anointing the throne dais (barag-ak) to Geme-Enlila the queen.

[937] RA 30 121 10, IS09-04-27, Ur: Geme-Enlila the queen received wheat (imgaga).

[938] UET 3 0045, IS14-09-00, Ur, and UET 9 1156, IS14-00-00, Ur, which appears to be a duplicate of the former, though many lines are broken or totally missing.

preceding action as a "royal court decision" (di-dab$_5$-ba-lugal), and a list of the three judges and the bailiff for the case, all of whom were different men than the witnesses and the previously-mentioned bailiff.

This document is curious in several ways. En-mahgalana was the en of Nanna of Ur installed in AS04. Ninagal, a relatively obscure avatar of the god Enki as the patron of blacksmiths, and thus in Ur allied no doubt with the crafts workshop there (giš-kin-ti) had nothing obvious to do with Nanna, the god whom the ens of Ur served, nor with any known duties of the ens in general, so that his centrality in this matter is puzzling.[939] The case ending attached to both citations of Ninagal's name was the dative, meaning that the en was brought in on this god's behalf or to his benefit, whereas the personal marker before the terminative infix in the declarative statement (-an-ši) implies that there was an additional individual, whether deity or human, to whom the en was introduced. Perhaps the latter was to the king himself, or perhaps the answer lay on the missing side of the tablet.

One might also consider the arguments made by E. Sollberger, that a year formula for IS10 commemorating the installation of En-nirsiana as en of Inana of Uruk should be changed to "en of Nanna".[940] If Sollberger's proposed amendation is correct, then En-mahgalana would have been replaced by En-nirsiana in IS10. This in turn would mean that this court case, registered in IS14, had to do with an action taken at least three years previously unless, of course, it was dealing with the remains of En-mahgalana. Might this incident, then, have concerned a delivery of En-mahgalana's corpse to the workshop where her hearse was being constructed, a delivery which the king was charged with being somehow remiss in accomplishing or in carrying out in the correct ritual fashion? One indeed wonders exactly what misdeed was at issue, and who had the standing (or

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939 An=*An-um* Tablet II, lines 346-348.

940 Sollberger (1954-56), p. 24.

nerve) to bring this case to court, especially (if Sollberger should prove to be correct) so many years after the alleged crime had been perpetrated.

As noted previously, there is a slight uptick in archival documents dating to IS15, which deal almost exclusively with the transfer of various materials --- different types of wood, metals, and precious stones --- to the crafts workshop in Ur, and with orders for their use in the fashioning of items of furniture, doors, smaller utensils, pieces of jewelry, and statues. One text records the receipt of gold to craft earrings for the king.[941] Another contains the order to embellish the head of a mace, the rear side of which had already been overlaid with gold, with additional gold --- a luxury item one suspects must have been intended for either a deity or the king.[942] These are the last references, with the exception of the year formulae, to the king of Ur in the archival documents through the fall of the dynasty that lay about ten years in the future.

2.3 Summation

Extrapolating and organizing the references to the king from the copious administrative records dating to the Ur III period provides us with larger patterns as well as interesting details as to where the king was at various times, and what he was up to. It is clear that the greatest focus was on the cults at Nippur, and especially within the E-kur, the main temple complex of Sumer as a whole. Given that approval by the E-kur's patron, Enlil, was critical for the legitimation of claims to kingship over Sumer, the personal attendance of the Ur III dynasts at innumerable offerings there throughout the year makes sense. Their attention to Nippur was also directed at the primary festival of Ninurta, the Gudsisu, during which, as literary texts tell us, statues of Ninurta and other deities were brought out to a field to witness the king participate in a ritual plowing. In addition, there are ample attestations of the king in attendance during the annual trip of divine statues from Nippur to

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[941] UET 3 0573, IS15-09-13, Ur: gold (kug-sig$_{17}$) for royal earrings (nig$_2$-geštug-lugal).

[942] UET 3 0600, IS15-10-22, Ur: a mace of almond wood (^{giš}tukul si-ig-dum), its backside set with gold (egir-ba kug-sig$_{17}$ gar-ra), its head to be set with gold (sag-ba kug-sig$_{17}$ ga$_2$-ga$_2$-de$_3$).

Tummal and back, a rite instituted by Šulgi upon his completion of a barge for Ninlil. Other local festivals in which the king took an interest were those of Kin-Inana and of the seeding (šu-numun), and he was also a frequent participant in the lustration of divine statues in Nippur, notably of Nintinuga, Ninurta and, once, of Lugal-Gudua.

The secondary royal focus was on the cults of the city of Ur, whose patron deity, the moon-god Nanna-Suen, was equally the patron of the ruling dynasty. The majority of the king's actions here had to do with two festivals, the mid-year Akiti and the Great Festival (ezem-mah) of Nanna that occurred three months later. The former entailed the transport of divine statues by boat to the Akiti House at Karzida, the harbor outside Ur's city walls, and the king could be seen at rituals at both ends of the journey. The latter festival included a processional lamentation, a lustration of Nanna's cult statue, and an entry with fish and vegetable, at each of which the king was recorded as in attendance. While in Ur for these festivals, he would often take the opportunity to witness offerings at cult centers in Ur's satellite towns of Nutur, Kuara and Eridug.

Inana, the patron of the realm's third city, Uruk, where her main temple lay, also had an important temple at Nippur, as well as others in Ur, Umma, Zabalam, and Girsu, and it is not always possible to tell which cult center of Inana the king was frequenting, as the majority of records mentioning offerings to her come from Puzriš-Dagan, where the scribes were often remiss in noting her location. In those texts that can be definitely ascribed to Uruk, the king's most common devotions were to Inana and/or her avatar Nanaa, the Boat of Heaven, and at the gate of the en of Inana's house, the gipar. It is noteworthy how frequently offerings in Uruk, Ur and Nippur coincided with, and perhaps were triggered by, ritual observations of the phases of the moon.

The kings and their accompanying bodyguard moved throughout Sumer almost exclusively by means of the two main rivers and the network of canals. Their boats would be loaded up with more animals, both cooked and on the hoof, than were needed for food during such relatively short trips, so that one suspects they may have been distributed as a beneficence to any onlookers who

had gathered along the route, or reserved for a banquet upon landing. The circuit of Nippur to Ur and/or Uruk and back was the most popular by far, but the kings were attested as journeying to Umma, KI.AN, Girsu, Šuruppag and Urusagrig as well, and their rare presence in otherwise unknown locations, i.e. Urudug and Šulgi-Ninlila, implies prior travel.

Although the purpose of the king's trips to these secondary cities was rarely stated, other documents show him engaged in ritual events in these areas. In Girsu during the Festival of Šulgi the king's participation in sacrifices, a procession, and his ritualized entry into the sheep shed were noted, and at other times provisions of foodstuff were delivered to the king and, often, the queen for some activity involving the Boat of Dawn (though one text specifies the provisions were sent to Ur). In Umma single texts implicate the king in the festivals of the First Fruits and the Gathering of the Grain. Regarding the latter two events, it is not unusual for the rich administrative documentation of this period to let us glimpse a heretofore unpublicized ritual activity one or two times, and so to wonder if it were a periodic rite or one motivated by unique circumstances. Other such seldom-recorded events were a royal circumambulation of the sheepfold; a ritualized royal entry into the storehouse or treasury known as the House of the Seal; and the king's attendance at a sacrifice to Inana, alone or with Nanaa, in an orchard (Puzriš-Dagan texts); a royal circumambulation of the breeding barn (nakabtum) in Tummal; separate sacrifices before the king to Nanna and Armed Inana in the cattle pen in Nippur; the royal presence at sacrifices to the Tigris and to Ninlil in an irrigated field in Girsu; and royal libations in both an abattoir and a cult site, the e-maš, in Umma.

Signs of certain major construction projects that the Ur III kings boasted of in inscriptions, year formulae, and hymns can be detected in the administrative records, but the few times the king's direct engagement was noted involved lesser edifices.[943] Šulgi was present when his cult statue was brought in to a newly-opened temple of the deified king in Umma, and Šu-Suen attended

[943] Material and labor were recorded for the major projects of building the Puzriš-Dagan facility and the adjoining palace complex at Tummal, and rebuilding the Temples of Šara at Umma and Enki in Eridug. See Steinkeller (2013b).

the introduction of a statue of Ninimma into her new temple. Cult items that were mentioned in other genres also show up in the administrative archives, for example, details of the multi-day ritual that Šulgi had initiated for the barge that he had built for Ninlil, and commemorated in both the name of his eighth regnal year and the royal hymn, Šulgi R, occur in records from AS07 through AS09. In addition, a statue of Inana that Šu-Suen had created in response to his victory in Šimanum and a spotted Meluhhan lion that Ibbi-Suen received as tribute from Marhaši appear in both royal inscriptions and listings of sacrifices carried out in Nippur.

Royal inscriptions and year formulae concerning the many military campaigns undertaken by the Ur III state imply or state outright that the king led the fighting, and confirmation of this exists in the documentary records for a few cases, e.g. for Šulgi and the war against Anšan (Š34), for Amar-Suen in his first campaign against Šašrum and Šuruthum (AS04), and for Ibbi-Suen against Amorites (IS07). Evidence from other texts is more suggestive, leading one to surmise that, perhaps, the months'-long lack of mention of a particular king in the bureaucratic records at a time when a campaign was underway might be taken as an indication that the king was with the army. Such an implication could be made for Šulgi vis-à-vis his campaigns against Šašrum (Š41-Š42) and Šimurrum and Lullubum (Š43-Š44), for Amar-Suen during his second campaign against Šašrum and Šuruthum (AS06), and for Šu-Suen in his wars against Šimanum (ŠS03) and Zabšali (ŠS06). The records also show that lavish banquets to celebrate victories might be held, e.g. a four-month series hosted by Šulgi in relation to his final subjugation of Kimaš and Hurti that served enough beef to feed an average of 15,800 celebrants per banquet.

In fact, banquets (gišbun$_x$) and drinking parties (kaš-de$_2$-a) occupied a fair amount of the king's time. When such events were linked in the text to a specific temple or deity, and/or involved relatively small amounts of goods disbursed, they were clearly actions with a ritual intent, in which case the "kašdea" is better translated as libation. However, numerous banquets and drinking parties not only lacked a cult referent, but also were typically characterized by the expenditure of large-to-enormous quantities of beef, beer and bread, as well as, occasionally, by having a royal

consort or other individual act as host or co-host. It is telling that these apparently private parties were usually held in areas outside of the most common royal circuit, with a decided preference for locations in Umma and Girsu, supplemented by sporadic attestations in Nippur, Tummal, Ur, Uruk, Urusagrig and Urudug. Perhaps this inclination was motivated by an urge to make up to the residents of these areas for the king's relative neglect of the local cults, or perhaps it was simply more relaxing away from the cities heavily influenced by the court culture and state business.

One should consider the Ur III kings' activities in conjunction with their deliberate efforts to institute a cult to their own divinity. As the evidence presented in the first chapter of this thesis demonstrates, the cult of the divine king used as its model the conventions and practices of the cults of the traditional deities, in which the creation and reverent treatment of cult images of the deity were central. The first part of this chapter has shown that this emulation extended into ritual acts intended to bring the focus of worship out of its cult niche into the pubic square, acts that had the additional benefit for the Ur III rulers of publicizing their godhood to a broad swathe of the population, by means of a familiar model. Such outings were generally accompanied by the free distribution of meat and drink, music and various types of entertainment, the lavish nature of which not only played up the event's transcendence above the every day, but also ensured a willing and approving audience.

Several instances of a double vision of the god-king, where both his mortal body and his cult effigy appeared simultaneously before the public, are attested. I had suggested earlier that this would seem to have been a risky move, with the potential to lessen awe of a king if his physique were acutely disconsonant with his idealized cult image, but perhaps this is a modern, skeptical view. It may be, rather, that the king's appearance in company with a familiar property of any deity --- his cult statue --- reinforced the identification of the king as a god to such a degree that it was eventually seen to inhere to him even when he presented himself without any special cult accoutrements.

One can state that, for those years of the Ur III period for which we have ample documentation, the king's primary public role centered on matters of cult, ritual, and festivities, with some attention to military and diplomatic affairs. There is an almost total lack of reference to his personal involvement in construction projects, civic administration and judicial proceedings, despite the fact that the latter were areas in which the king was presented as expert and/or experienced in other written genres, e.g. royal hymns. One might further suspect that this state of affairs reflected the optimal representation of divine status that the kings, and in particular, the innovator Šulgi, had worked out as practicable within the cultural matrix of Ur III society. Such a surmise will, however, be difficult to either prove or disprove, owing to a lack of sources from other periods regarding the activities that Mesopotamian kings most commonly undertook as inherent to or typical of their position.

Chapter 3

Popular Response

3.1 Introduction

When Šulgi, the first deified king of the Ur III period, instituted his cult, he consciously utilized existing traditions, so that in appearance and public projection it fit in with the numerous other cults familiar to the public. Šulgi's template was followed by the three rulers succeeding him on the throne when it came time for the institution of their own cults. None stinted on the human and material resources required for the initial construction of cult statue and temple, the on-going maintenance of cult functionaries, the routinely schedules offerings, and public manifestations such as processions, which were frequently marked by royal generosity in the form of feasting and entertainments. The latter aspect may be most unequivocally seen in the festivals of the individual god-kings, occurring in months renamed for them and occasioning the ritual removal of the king's cult statue from its temple niche to preside over the festivities. One can characterize the monumental architecture, impressive, expensive functions, and public oral performance of works in the king's praise as aspects of the sustained effort to popularize the king's cult outside of the court circles to which awareness of his divinity would have been otherwise confined.

It seems reasonable to conclude that these efforts ensured that a significant percentage of people within the Ur III state were made aware of the king's godhood. But how seriously did they take it? Beyond occasional holidays with free food, drink and performances, what other effects, if any, did it have on daily life? It is virtually impossible to so much as speculate about the opinions of the majority of ancient populations, as the many genres of texts that we use to recreate their societies are told from and concern the views of the elite. Since the particular issue under discussion deals with cult belief and practice, one might search the archives for instances of popular religious devotion as a proxy for the seriousness with which the people residing in the Sumerian polity took the assertion of their king's godhood.

3.1.1 Private Devotions

Only a handful of documents refer to devotions occurring within private households rather than official cult centers, and the hosts appear uniformly to be members of the elite, probably due to the costs involved in operating a private shrine. The Nippur household of Lu-Nanna, governor of Zimudar and possibly also the prince of that name, was the site of a sacrifice to Haburitum, an avatar of Inana.[944] An undated tablet from the reign of Šu-Suen lists sacrifices to Nin-egal and Inana in the house of Dada, governor ($ensi_2$) of Nippur.[945] In the house of Babati, the brother of queen Abi-simti, a lamb was offered to Dagan.[946] Another tablet records a lamb delivered for sacrifice to a statue of king Šu-Suen located in the Nippur residence of the sukkal-mah, who at this time was Aradmu, an extremely influential man who, as we have seen, had married children into the royal family and who had accrued additional positions such as governorships and military generalships.[947] The household of the sukkal-mah was also the site of sacrifices to Enlil, Ninlil and

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[944] ASJ 04 140 02, ŠS08-02-23, Puzriš-Dagan: 1 sheep ^{d}Ha-bu-ri_2-tum $šag_4$ e_2 Lu_2-^{d}Nanna Zi-mu-dar^{ki}, A-tu sagi maškim, disbursed in Nippur.

[945] MVN 08 219, ŠSxx-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan: $šag_4$ e_2 Da-da $ensi_2$ Nibru^{ki}.

[946] JAOS 108 119 A 4521, AS09-09-14. I thank P. Steinkeller for this reference.

[947] SACT 1 172, ŠS-no date, Puzriš-Dagan.

Haršitum when the king went to Urusagrig, as well as additional offerings to Enki.[948] The house of Aradmu in Uruk was the site of sacrifices to Inana and Ningišzida and an offering to a deity whose name is missing from the text, on behalf of the king.[949] In these instances, the houses were identified as belonging to Arad-mu's office, that of sukkal-mah, and so may not have been his private domiciles.[950] In regard to men of lesser or unknown status, the household of one Ur-Šu-Suen in the Ur area was the site of a sacrifice to Nanaa.[951] An offering at the kianag of Takun-matum, a royal lukur of Šu-Suen, took place atypically, in the house of Amur-DINGIR, a mounted courier, which suggests that her chapel was located within this courier's residence in Puzriš-Dagan -- perhaps they were closely related?[952] A sacrifice to Inana was performed in the dwelling of one Ula-inîš at a fortified tower, an edifice that was usually located in the outskirts of a city.[953]

Banquets might also be held by private citizens in conjunction with particular rituals or offerings. For example, the same Aradmu mentioned above threw a banquet in conjunction with

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[948] YOS 04 217, ŠS09-03-24, Puzriš-Dagan: twelve sheep to Enlil and Ninlil, two sheep to Ha-ar-ši-tum when the king went to Urusagrig (ud lugal Uru-sag-rig$_7^{ki}$-še$_3$ i$_3$-gen-na), two sheep to Enki, Kašpuša sagi maškim, šag$_4$ e$_2$-sukkal-mah zi-ga-am$_3$.

[949] JCS 46 125 EM 4, AS04-10-00 (or AS09-10-00) Puzriš-Dagan: four sheep to Inana, two sheep to Ningišzida, one sheep for the offering (siskur$_2$) ^{d}[X] in the house of the sukkal-mah on behalf of the king (mu-lugal-še$_3$), in Uruk.

[950] SACT 1 172, ŠS01-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan: alan ^{d}Šu-<^{d}>Suen šag$_4$ e$_2$ sukkal-mah.

[951] TCL 2 5482, IS01-07-13, Puzriš-Dagan: two lambs ^{d}Na-na-a šag$_4$ e$_2$ Ur-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen. The other offerings on this tablet occurred in Ur, Kuara and Eridug.

[952] AR RIM 02 03, ŠS06-04-24, Puzriš-Dagan: two sheep ki-a-nag Ta$_2$-ku-a-tum lukur-lugal šag$_4$ e$_2$ A-mur-DINGIR ra$_2$-gaba, in Puzriš-Dagan, pre-dawn offering (a$_2$-gi$_6$-ba-a).

An Amur-DINGIR served as the diplomatic envoy (lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a) of Libanugšabaš the ruler (ensi$_2$) of Marhaši from AS03-12-28 (CST 286, Puzriš-Dagan) through AS04-05-15 (BCT 1 090, Puzriš-Dagan). Šulgi had named his year 18 regnal formula after the marriage of a princess to the king of Marhaši, so that this Libanugšabaš was probably related to the Ur III dynasts. But not enough is known about the social status and economic benefits of certain positions to infer if Amur-DINGIR, the foreign envoy, might have switched jobs to become a mounted courier who dealt directly with, among others, women of the Ur III royal family. For the latter, see authorization by Amur-DINGIR the mounted courier (ra$_2$-gaba maškim) of gazelles for Abi-simti and Kubatum (AUCT 1 399, ŠSxx-00-16, Puzriš-Dagan).

[953] Ontario 2 152, ŠS07-11-10, Puzriš-Dagan: sheep for Inana šag$_4$ e$_2$ an0zag-gar$_3$ U$_2$-la-i$_3$-ni-iš, authorized by Kašpuša the cupbearer (sagi).

sacrifices to Nanna and Inana when wine or grapes had been brought into their presence, and an otherwise unknown Ea-ili had a banquet featuring, or in the aftermath of, sacrifices to Enlil, Ninlil, Nanna, and Inana.[954] The general and royal in-law Niridagal offered a lamb to Nanna and, possibly, Inana, in an orchard during a banquet at his house.[955]

A more productive proxy for analysis of private devotion is onomastics, as everyone bore a name and, according to the conventions of the time, these names commonly included a theophoric element.[956] Evidence follows that demonstrates that the populace of the Ur III state did respond to the king's deification by adopting his name as the theophoric element not only in naming their newborn children, but also in renaming themselves as adults. Furthermore, these phenomena were not limited to the "usual suspects", i.e. courtiers and the like, whom one might presume to have adopted such a practice out of opportunism or sycophancy, but extended to groups unlikely to ever deal personally with the king or his immediate circle, cutting across all social classes, occupations, ethnic origins, provinces of the realm, age groups and sexes.

3.2 Onomastics[957]

The three most relevant studies on Mesopotamian naming practices in the third millennium are those by Henri Limet, who focused on Sumerian of the Ur III period, Markus Hilgert, who

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[954] MVN 15 146, Š47-02-21, Puzriš-Dagan: geštin-da ku_4-ra / gišbun$_x$ e_2 Arad$_2$-mu. The first phrase is ambiguous, and could mean either that the person in question (here, Aradmu) brought wine (or grapes) into the temple during or for the sacrifices, or that the sacrifices, accompanied by wine, were brought in by some unnamed party.

PPAC 4 240, Š48-08-06, Puzriš-Dagan: gišbun$_x$ E_2-ai_3-li_2.

Note that, two years later, the king poured a beer libation --- or held a party --- at the house of one Ea-ili in Nippur (BPOA 10, p. 510, SM 1911.10.225, AS02-11-00, Puzriš-Dagan).

[955] UET 3 0286, no date, Puzriš-Dagan: lamb ^{d}Nanna [^{d}Inana?] gišbun$_x$ e_2 Nir-i_3-da-[gal$_2$] . . . šag$_4$ ^{giš}kiri$_6$.

[956] See, for example, the formulation of Rubio (2011), p. 109: "The pantheon of the official cult inhabits offering lists and ritual texts, whereas the deities of popular religion surface in the onomastic materials."

[957] Throughout section 3.2, words and name elements that are Sumerian are presented in regular type, those in Akkadian or another language in italics.

focused on Akkadian names of the same period, and Robert Di Vito, whose analysis of onomastics as a reflection of the so-called "personal god" covers Sumerian from the ED II through the Ur III period, and Akkadian from the Fara through the Ur III.[958] The data show that the most common structure by far, for both Sumerian and Akkadian personal names (PN), was that of phrases, or even whole sentences, and that these most frequently incorporated the name of a deity (the DN, or "divine name"). In general, a particular deity was selected for inclusion in the newborn's name, e.g. Inana-kam ("S/he belongs to Inana). The phrase or sentence might be expressed from the point of view of a third party, that is the parent, as in Nanna-manba ("Nanna presented [this child] to me"), or from that of the first person, the actual name-bearer, e.g. Bau-zimu (Bau is my life").[959] The deity might also be referenced by the generic word "god" (dingir, *ilum*), or by epithets such as lord (en, *belum*), king (lugal, *šarrum*), or lady (nin), or by kinship terms like father (aa, *abum*).[960] Because there is no instance of the PN of an individual who was *not* a deity being incorporated within a larger phrase into a child's name, we can be sure that, with the occasional exception of kinship terms, the other epithets mentioned above were in fact substitutes for the names of specific gods.[961] The

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[958] Limet (1968), Hilgert (2002a), and Di Vito (1993), who drew on Limet in relation to Sumerian names. In his section on Akkadian onomastic practices, Di Vito relied primarily on J. J. Stamm's (1939), Die akkadische Namengebung, MVAG no. 44, Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs Verlag. Hilgert (2002b) also published an article that extrapolated the Ur III Akkadian names that utilized the king's name as their theophoric element.

[959] Occasionally such PNs were abbreviated by dropping the DN, e.g. Ma-an-sum, "(An unexpressed deity) gave him/her to me".

[960] Note that the word for "lady", nin, may also be read as ereš, "queen".

[961] To clarify, while children might be named after family relatives, friends, or patrons, they will in such cases take the exact name, i.e. a child might be named Ninkala after an adult Ninkala. However, the honoree's name is never extended in a phrase or sentence, as gods' names are. For example, our hypothetical adult Ninkala would never find her name incorporated in a child's as a totally new formulation, e.g. Ninkala-amamu ("Ninkala is my mother"). Thus, in the PN Nin-amamu, "the Lady/queen is my mother", the element "nin" is not referring to a mortal lady or queen but to an otherwise unspecified goddess.

The sole exception I could find to this principle involves the name Dada, which was inserted into a striking number of phrases: "Dada created me" (Da-da-*ba-ni*), "Dada, let him live" (Da-da-ha-ma-ti), "Precious Dada" (Da-da-kal-la), "Strength of Dada" (A_2-Da-da), "The aegis of Dada" ($Puzur_4$-Da-da), "The festival of Dada" (Ezem-Da-da), "The dog of Dada" (Ur-Da-da), "The dog with Dada" (Ur-Da-da-da), "Father of/is Dada" ("A-Da-da") "Brother of/is Dada" (Šeš-Da-da), "Sister of/is Dada" (Nin-Da-da), "Dada is a brother" (Da-da-šeš), "The suckling? Dada" (Da-da-ga), "My suckling? Dada" (Da-da-ga-mu), "My Dada" (Da-da-mu, Da-da-*a*), "His Dada" (Da-da-ni), "The one (m.) of Dada" (Lu_2-Da-da, *Šu*-Da-da), "Like Dada" (Da-da-gim), "S/he is Dada" (Da-da-am_3).

correspondence of these sorts of titles and functions with a god is made explicit in PNs that utilize both, like Lugal-Utu ("A king is Utu") and Ninlil-ama ("Ninlil is a mother"). However, as names such as Šeš-taba ("Twin brother") demonstrate, kinship terms might refer to one's familial relationships as well, so that PNs that mention a family member but are missing the name of either an individual deity or a typical divine epithet remain inherently ambiguous.[962]

Di Vito's study emphasizes the significance of theophoric PNs as a means of accessing popular religion, especially in regard to an individual's personal god. According to Di Vito's summarization, " a personal god is one concerned with the welfare and protection of the individual, one who stands first and foremost in relation to an individual, and one for whom this relation is its very definition."[963] At times a personal god was common to a whole family, as evidenced by their names, although this is less common than one might suppose.[964] In selecting a DN as one of the elements of a name, parents were expressing a desire that the deity chosen become attached to the child, and that the child grow up to express piety toward that god, although other factors surely

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Limet (1968), p. 109, noted that a deity called Dada shows up in a Fara god-list, and cited a suggestion that Da-da in fact referred to the Akkadian god *Adad*, whose name was otherwise never spelled out but, rather, hidden under the logogram for the name of his Sumerian counterpart, Iškur. In the Ur III onomasticon, however, the PN element Dada occurs with the divine determinative only once (^{d}Dada-ama-mu, "Dada is my mother"), and, outside of this single example, would appear to be a so-called Banana-, or a Lallname. I wonder if Dada might be a colloquialism for "child" (dumu), which would make it a Lallname of a sort. If so, then PNs like Šeš-Dada might be better translated as "Brother *is* a child". This still leaves PNs where the element Dada takes the place normally filled by a DN, such as Puzur-Dada, problematic.

962 Di Vito (1993), p. 86, resorted to analogy in PNs as a general principle for determining whether or not a particular epithet was a substitute for a DN. For example, as the PN Šeš-gi-na (Brother is true) is not paralleled by any (extant) PNs with "obvious theophoric elements", the "brother" in this instance most likely refers to the bearer's human brother.

963 Di Vito (1993), p. 120.

964 Di Vito (1993), pp. 13-4, cites Dominique Charpin's analysis ("Les divinités familiales des Babyloniens d'après les légendes de leurs sceaux-cylindres", De la Babylonie à la Syrie en passant par Mari: FS J.-R. Kupper, Liège [1990] pp. 61-71) of the seals of members of the same families on which they were called servant (*warad*) of DN, an appellation which Charpin argued pointed to "a private devotion of the seal's owner rather than to his position within a public cult". Only eight of fifty-four seals showed an agreement between the owner's posited personal god and the one showcased in his name. Di Vito (p. 13) also referenced a study by Rivkah Harris ("Notes on the Nomenklature of Old Babylonian Sippar", JCS 24 [1972]), in which she found that in only thirteen of ninety families having three or more children, did the children's names all feature the same DN.

played a role in individual cases.[965] Di Vito offers several possibilities in addition to a personal or family preference for a specific deity: "a father might *also* choose for his son the name of a god or goddess with whom he otherwise has some relationship (e.g. as the patron of the city he resides in) or the one whose feast fell together with his son's birth".[966] A PN could also simply have been fashionable, according to the current local trends in naming, an area about which we understand almost nothing.[967]

Just as the familiar conventions for representation and treatment of the traditional deities lent themselves to direct appropriation by the Ur III kings who were asserting their own divinity, so too the common onomastic practice of incorporating a god's name was smoothly adapted as a medium for propagating the fairly rare phenomenon of a god-king. As the names of the vast majority of children were decided upon within their family units, though, the adoption of the king's, in place of a traditional god's name as the DN, is not something that could have been imposed from above by external authority. The populace would first have had to have been made familiar with the king's new godhood, followed by both an acceptance of the notion and a willingness to advertize it by the names they chose for their own children. My analysis of the onomastic evidence shows that families encompassing a wide range of employment classes, social status, geographic areas, and ethnic origins, did indeed go along with this.

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[965] Nakata (1995), p. 234: "We assume that the popularity of a deity among the men or the women in an area was reflected in the frequency of the deity's appearance in the personal names of men or of women in the area, though we still do not know the exact mechanism of choosing a deity for a theophoric personal name."

[966] Di Vito (1993), p. 14. I note that Di Vito assumes the naming of a child devolved solely on its male parent. Mothers, grandparents, other close relatives, and even social or occupational superiors might have had a say in the naming of children, which, if these adults had different personal gods than the father, could account for the variety of DNs frequently seen in the names of multiple offspring of a single household.

[967] Rubio (2011), p. 92: "a modicum of information about popular religion and piety is provided by theophoric personal names, even if the onomasticon is always subjected to all sorts of fads and social conventions."

In addition to parents using the king's name as the theophoric element in their newborns' PNs, one also finds the unusual practice of adults altering their own given names to this same end. As far as we can tell from third millennium sources, name change among adults was rare, and primarily limited to certain elevated positions, specifically kings, their consorts, and en priests and priestesses. It also appears that chattel slaves might be renamed, although we have few examples of such practice. In regard to kings, there is no definitive proof of name change upon accession, though one suspects that the Akkadian ruler Sargon I (an anglicization of *Šarrukin*, or "the Real King"), who was probably a usurper, was not called this at birth. It is possible that "the good name" that Šulgi claimed Enlil gave him, "A lion's seed who provides the Ekur generously, the beloved of Ninlil, the one granted authority in the Ekur, the king of Ur, the one with the shining heart, the shepherd, the protective genius [Lamma] of the motherland" was the official name the king took upon enthronement, but if so, it was never used in any administrative document, or even in the other royal hymns of this ruler.[968] Names of rather awkward length are also seen among the ens, the only group for whom a change of name was obligatory. In fact, we know the birth names of two: ME-Enlil, a daughter of King Šulgi, who served as an en of Nanna of Ur, and one NINLIL^{tum}-*zinušu*, who became an en of Enki of Eridug late in ŠS09, taking on the name Arazu-*Ibbi*-Suenkaše-pada.[969] The adoption of a new name by women who married a king might also occur, but is

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[968] Šulgi G lines 21-23: A-pirig-ga$_2$ E$_2$-kur-šu-dagal-la-dug$_4$-dug$_4$-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}Nin-lil$_2$-la$_2$-E$_2$-kur-ta-nam-nir-gal$_2$-šum-ma-lugal-Urim$_5^{ki}$-ma-šag$_4$-zalag-zalag-sipad-^{d}Lamma-kalam-ma.

Although it was not unusual for Mesopotamian kings to proclaim in their royal inscriptions and elsewhere that a deity has given them a good name, that name was rarely spelled out, a fact that may lead one to consider the name in Šulgi G as that king's actual throne name. However, it may yet be just another trope, as in a second hymn, the king reports a different name given to him by a different god, Lugalbanda: "Valiant one whom An made known among the gods" (Šulgi P, segment C, ca. 38: Šul-An-ne$_2$-zu-dingir-e-ne).

[969] The ens of Nanna of Ur collected and preserved items belonging to their predecessors in office. In their gipar in Ur were found the famous disc of En-hedu-ana, as well as a bowl of the Akkadian king Narām-Suen that had been reinscribed by Me-Enlil, a daughter of king Šulgi. The bowl's findspot strongly suggests that Me-Enlil was one of the two ens of Nanna who were installed during Šulgi's reign, namely En-nirsi-ana (Š15) or En-uburzi-ana (Š43).

NINLIL^{tum}-zinušu was elevated to en of Enki in ŠS09-09. The date of another text mentioning an en of Enki named Arazu-Ibbi-Suenkaše-pada contains only the very beginning of a ŠS year formula. However, as Šu-Suen died around the 9th month of his ninth year, the en named in this document must be the same woman as NINLIL^{tum}-zinušu.

discernible in only two cases. A daughter of the king of Mari adopted *Tarâm-Uram*, or "She loves Ur", on her betrothal to a son of King Ur-Namma of Ur, and a consort of Šulgi was called Šulgi-*simtum/-simtī*, "I am the one fitting for Šulgi". As for chattel slaves, in a list of grain rations for 285 people enslaved as booty (še-ba nam-ra-ak), only two had undergone an obvious name change --- each incidentally having been given the same name, Amar-Suen-hegal --- which indicates that, in relation to slaves, the practice was arbitrary.[970]

Therefore, the widespread adoption of a new PN during adulthood by individuals outside of the categories noted above was a striking innovation. That the new name always recognized the godhood of the king indicates that this was the primary motive. Ur III sources reveal 267 distinct name patterns that include the king's name as DN. Examples like "Šulgi is a god", "Šulgi is my god", "Šu-Suen is my god who created me", "Amar-Suen is his god", "Šulgi is the god of the motherland", and "Amar-Suen the king is the god of the motherland", indubitably demonstrate that the message, embodied in the establishment of the king's cult and publicized by the many activities surrounding it, was received loud and clear by the populace at large.[971]

3.2.1 Personal Names Incorporating the King's Name as their Theophoric Element

One hundred and ninety-four distinct name patterns using Šulgi as the DN were created and adopted, both during and after Šulgi's reign. After his death, eleven of these patterns were also used for both Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen, with each of their names substituted in turn for Šulgi's.[972]

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970 TCL 5 6039, AS05-02-00, Umma. Almost all of the PNs on this list are neither Sumerian nor Akkadian, e.g. Zi-zu-ba-al, Ga-na-na, Ša-ba-da-du.

971 ^{d}Šul-gi-dingir and ^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-*il*; ^{d}Šul-gi-dingir-mu and ^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2; ^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-i_3-li_2-*ba-ni*; ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-DINGIR-su; ^{d}Šul-gi-dingir-kalam-ma; and ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-lugal-dingir-kalam-ma.

972 The eleven name patterns common to three of the four deified kings were "may DN be durable" (*libūr*-), "the one (m.) of DN" (lu_2-), "the aegis of DN" ($puzur_4$-), "dog of DN" (ur-), "DN is a canopy" (-an-dul_3), "DN created me" (-*banî*), "DN, let me live" (-hamati), "DN is my god (-*ilī*), "DN who makes equitable" (-si-sa_2), "DN is my sun-god" (-^{d}Utu-mu), and "DN is the life's breath of the motherland" (-zi-kalam-ma).

Sixteen more were adapted for Amar-Suen but not Šu-Suen, and fourteen that had been overlooked for Amar-Suen were taken up again for his successor.[973] One name pattern was used for Šulgi, Šu-Suen and Ibbi-Suen.[974] Thirty-five original name patterns were created utilizing Amar-Suen as the DN, only two of which were continued for Šu-Suen, for whose divine kingship thirty-five new name patterns were developed.[975] Ibbi-Suen, the final ruler of the dynasty, was included as DN in only four personal names, three patterns of which were original to him. Five of the original PNs honoring the god-king were assumed by en priest or priestesses upon enthronization. This gives a total of 267 distinct names with the king as theophoric element in the Ur III archives.

Of the 267 total exemplars, seventy-one follow the model of word or phrase plus DN, with the remaining 195 names that of DN plus word/phrase.[976] The vast majority has an exact correlate in the existing Ur III onomasticon, one that incorporated the DN of another deity. In other words, parents and adults who renamed themselves took a current name honoring a particular god and switched out that god's name for one of the deified kings. In the process, the kings were automatically embellished with a host of attributes heretofore understood as exclusive to gods of the traditional pantheon. The new names asserted that the divine kings had the power to create, give, and/or name an individual child. See, for example, the PNs Šulgi-*bānī*, "Šulgi created (this child)";

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[973] The sixteen name patterns common to Šulgi and Amar-Suen were "strong is DN" (*dan*-), "the maidservant of DN" (geme$_2$-), "the king is DN" (lugal-), "who is like DN" (*mannum-kī*-), "the one (m.) of DN" (*šu*-), "without DN there is nothing" (-da-nu-me-a), "DN is abundance" (-he$_2$-gal$_2$), "DN is favorable to the motherland" (-kalam-e-ba-šag$_5$), "DN is my divine protective spirit (-^{d}Lamma-mu), "DN is the one who counsels (-*mālik*), "I am the one fitting for DN" (-*simtī*), "DN is the shepherd of the motherland" (-sipad-kalam-ma), "DN is my sexual vigor" (-teš$_2$-mu), "DN is a hero" (-ur-sag), "DN is my city" (-uru-mu), and "DN is my life" (-zi-mu).

The thirteen patterns common to Šulgi and Šu-Suen were "DN created (this child)" (*ibni*-), "DN is righteous" (*išar*-), "the light of DN" (*nūr*-), "the one (f.) of DN" (*šāt*-), "DN is supreme strength" (-a$_2$-mah), "DN is strong" (-*dan*), "DN is a god" (-dingir), "DN is my god" (-dingir-mu), "DN is my rampart (-*dūrī*), "DN is wise" (-*hāsis*), "DN is the vital force of An" (-hi-li-An-na), "DN is my light" (-*nūrī*), "Honor DN" (-*šūqir*), and "DN is good" (*ṭab*).

[974] The sole pattern used by Šulgi and the last two kings of the dynasty was "DN is justice" *(-mišar*).

[975] The patterns common only to Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen wre "Precious is DN" (*waqar*-) and "DN beloved of Enlil" (-*narām*-^{d}Enlil).

[976] In nine of the latter type the signs were not fully legible. There is no discernible difference between these royal-theophoric PNs as given to children or adopted by adults.

Ibni-Šulgi "Šulgi created (this child)"; Šulgi-*īrissu* "Šulgi wanted him"; Šulgi-mudah "Šulgi added (this child to my family)"; *Ibbi*-Šulgi "Šulgi named (this child)"; and *Nābi*-Šulgi "One named by Šulgi", and compare their agreement with more conventional correlates in use at this time: *Ea-bānī*, *Ibni-Eštar*, DINGIR-*e-ri-iš*, Ningal-mudah, *Ibbi*-Suen, and *Nābi*-Enlil.[977] The range of the god-kings, Šulgi in particular, was described in PNs as virtually all-encompassing and without peer: Šulgida-numea (Without Šulgi there is nothing), Šulgi-udsudše (Šulgi forever), Šulgi-anzagše (Šulgi as far as the horizon), Aba-Šulgigim and its Akkadian counterpart, *Mannum-kī*-Šulgi (Who is like Šulgi), and Šu-Suen-*lāmahār* (Šu-Suen is without equal).

Some PNs claimed the deified king as the bearer's protective spirit (^{d}Lammamu), sun-god and sun (^{d}Utumu,^{d}*Šamšī*, *šamšī*), light (*nūrī*), country (*mātī*), city (urumu), city wall (*dūrī*), sexual vigor (tešmu), and even his or her very life (zimu, *napištī*).[978] In others, the king's divine qualities were not personalized to the name bearer, but stated as general principles.[979] He is life itself (zi), and the life of the motherland (zi-kalama), the one who enlivens or animates (literally, "puts the breath of life inside", zi-šag$_4$-gal$_2$), the vital force of his city, the motherland/Sumer, and of the heavens (uruna-hilibi, kalama-hilibi, hili-Kiengi, hili-ana), and the very plant of life (u$_2$-namti) known from mythological narratives.[980] He has the ability, common to major deities, to control the universal principles of "me", to decree fate and to keep someone alive.[981] The deified king was capable of

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[977] Regarding the pattern ^{d}X-mu-dah, Di Vito interprets the verb dah, primarily "to add, increase, augment, supplement", in light of the noun a$_2$-dah, "ally", and thus translates these PNs as "^{d}X has helped (me)". Limet (1968), pp. 222-223, took it as I have ("tel dieu a ajouté un fils à la famille"). In the case of the prince *Nabi*-Šulgi, the assertion embodied in his name may have been factual, that he was named by his father (or grandfather) Šulgi.

[978] Šulgi was identified as the moon-god as well, though it was not personalized: Šulgi-Suen.

[979] Compare "Šulgi is a rampart" (^{d}Šul-gi-bad$_3$) with "Šulgi is *my* rampart" (^{d}Šul-gi-*du$_2$-rī*). It's quite possible that, in the first name, the personalizer "my" (mu) was dropped. That is, PNs which assert a quality for the divine king in general may be abbreviations of personalized variants.

[980] The word zi has several meanings. I take it as "breath (of life)" or "life" in these PNs, whereas Di Vito understands it, when standing alone with a DN, as zi(d), "true". The water and plant of life played an important role in Inana's Descent and Gilgameš.

[981] For me: ME-^{d}Šul-gi;

offering what is most craved of gods, favorable treatment and protection, the latter typically expressed in terms of shade, a welcome phenomenon in the torrid climate of southern Iraq.[982] In a few instances, an attribute of the king is compared directly to that of a god: "Amar-Suen, like Ašnan, is the animator of the motherland", "Amar-Suen who, like Ištaran, makes (things) equitable".[983]

A large number of PNs that state that the king has or is the embodiment of certain positive qualities, or that he fulfills specific roles, may seem on first glance to have nothing to do with the king's divinity. In the context of Ur III onomastics, however, these qualities and roles otherwise are asserted only for gods. The PNs in question announce that the deified king is resplendent (dalla), equitable (sisa), mighty (*dan*, *dannum*), omniscient (galzu), and expert (kugzu), that he embodies

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Fate: ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-nam-zi-tar-ra. The name *Išīm*-Šulgi, (Šulgi decreed), is probably hypocoristic, with the direct object "fate" elided.

For the king's life-extending and -preserving abilities, consider: ^{d}Šul-gi-ha-ma-ti (Šulgi, let [him/her] live for me), ^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*mu-ba-li-iṭ* (Šu-Suen who keeps (one) alive"), *En-na-am*-^{d}Šul-gi (Mercy, Šulgi), ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*ga-mi-il* (^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen is the one who spares), and ^{d}Šul-gi-ra-šu-na-an-dag-ge (Šulgi will not abandon him/her).

[982] Favor: "Šulgi favors" (^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-$šag_5$), "Šulgi is favorable to the motherland" (^{d}Šul-gi-kalam-e-ba-$šag_5$), "The support of Šulgi" (*I-mi*-^{d}Šul-gi),"Šu-Suen is my support" (^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-*im-di*$_3$), "Šulgi is my strength" (^{d}Šul-gi-a_2-mu), "Šulgi is his power" (^{d}Šul-gi-*li-ti-iš*), "Šulgi is my embrace (^{d}Šul-gi-*ip*$_2$-*qi*$_2$), "Šu-Suen is good to the people" (^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*ṭab-a-na-um-ma-ni*), and "Šu-Suen was good to them" (^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i-ṭi-ib-ši-na-at*).

Limet (1968), p. 294, understood the elements i_3-$šag_5$ as an impartial verb form, and translated such PNs as "Pour DN, c'est bien!". In addition (p. 306), he analyzed -ha-ma-ti, which might be taken as the Akkadian noun "my aide", as the precative (he-) of the Sumerian verb -ti, plus the conjugation prefix -mu + the first person singular dative infix -a-: "que DN me maintienne la vie!", which is structurally sound. Note an example of what appears to be a fuller spelling of this verb form in the PN ^{d}Ša-la-ha-ma-ti-il (TCS 1 289, no date, unkn. prov., "Šala, let [him] live for me"). Perhaps one should take this element as the Sumerian verb in such PNs as begin with a Sumerian word (a-a, a-ab-ba, a-ba, ad-da, Al-la, ama, Amar-Suen, en, Gudea, ku-li, lu_2-$kiri_3$-zal, lu_2-Šulgi, lugal, nin, šeš, Šulgi, ur-$šag_5$-ga, Utu), as the Akkadian noun in those that begin with an Akkadian word (*šu*, possibly *Šu*-Suen), and as indeterminable in those that begin with banana words (da-da, da-du, du-du, la-la) as well as when this element constitutes the name in full, i.e. Hamati.

Protection: "Šulgi is my protective spirit" (^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Lamma-mu), "The aegis of Šulgi" ($Puzur_4$-^{d}Šul-gi), "Šulgi is a canopy (^{d}Šul-gi-an-dul_3), "Šulgi is shelter" (^{d}Šul-gi-*ṣi-lu-ul*, ^{d}Šul-gi-*ta-bi-in*), "My shade is Šulgi (*Ṣi-li*-^{d}Šul-gi), "His shade is Šulgi" (*Ṣi-lu-uš*-^{d}Šul-gi).

[983] ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-^{d}Ašnan-gim-zi-$šag_4$-gal_2-kalam-ma; ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-^{d}Ištaran-gim-si-sa_2. Ašnan was the Sumerian grain goddess, Ištaran the god of justice.

supreme strength (a_2-mah) and abundance (he_2-gal_2).[984] As with a number of deities, he fulfills the roles of bellwether (massu), leader or guardian (*palil*), shepherd (sipad), counsellor (*malik*), and controller of irrigation (gu_2-gal), as well as that of king (lugal).[985] In view of the function of deity as the ultimate king, it is not surprising to find a PN averring that authority resides with him (-da-nir-gal_2), or that he is without equal (-*lāmahār*).[986] The deified king is, simply put, the place where one is made happy (ki-ur_5-$šag_5$).[987]

The word, or command, of the king was also commemorated in PNs, as was that of the traditional deities, for their word was potent and capable of affecting reality. We find the simple "Word of Šulgi" (Inim-Šulgi) along with the more elaborated "Šulgi is a welcome word" (Šulgi-inim-silima), "Šulgi is the genuine word" (Šulgi-inim-zi"), "The word of Šulgi has gone forth" (Inim-Šulgi-ibtae), and "Preeminent is the word of ^{d}Šulgi" (*Etel-pî*-Šulgi).[988] Another orally focused PN involves a "honeyed mouth" (^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ka-lal_3), though this probably refers more to the king's eloquent persuasiveness than to the divine authority of his word.[989]

Some PNs that include qualities ascribe certain characteristics to not only gods and divine kings, but also family members, although, as noted previously, the latter may be serving as epithets

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[984] Compare PNs relating these characteristics to other deities, e.g. resplendent (^{d}Nanna-dalla), equitable (^{d}Utu-si-sa_2), mighty (Dingir-kalag-ga), omniscient (^{d}En-lil_2-gal-zu), expert (^{d}Ba-u_2-kug-zu), supreme strength (^{d}En-lil_2-a_2-mah), and abundance (^{d}En-ki-he_2-gal_2).

[985] For example, a bellwether (^{d}Nanna-mas-su), leader (^{d}*Ha-ia*$_3$-palil [IGI-DU]), shepherd (^{d}En-lil_2-sipad), counsellor (*E*$_2$*-a-ma-lik*); controller of irrigation (^{d}Utu-gu_2-gal); and king (Lugal-^{d}Da-mu). Although the other PNs with the pattern Lugal-DN ("The king is DN") in the Ur III onomasticon entailed primarily male deities (Abba, Damu, Dumuzi, Enki, Enlil, Gišbare, Imdugud, Ištaran, Iškur, Nanna, Nindara, Ningirsu, Sipad-kalama, Šara, Šumah, Suen, and Urbartab), such names might also be created with the ambiguously sexed Lamma, Ninšubur and Pirig, the females Inana, Nanše, Ninurra, and Nisaba, the deified stele Narua, and the unique Pa-e_3.

[986] One having authority (^{d}En-lil_2-da-nir-gal).

[987] Place where one is made happy (^{d}Ba-u_2-ki-ur_5-$šag_5$).

[988] Cf. Lugal-inim-zi, Lugal-inim-silim-ma, Inim-^{d}Inana, Inim-^{d}Nin-gir_2-su-ib_2-ta-e_3, Nin-dug_4.ge-du_7, *Etel-pî*-^{d}Dagan.

[989] A rare combination; otherwise occuring alone or with Nin- ("The Lady is a honeyed mouth").

of gods. In these names, a god, deified king, or relative may be sweet (*ṭab*), precious (*waqar*), fine (sig_5), righteous (*išar*), legitimate (*kin*), radiant (*nabir*, *nawir*), or embody sexual vigor ($teš_2$) and vital force (hili), or be acclaimed as a hero (ursag) or a mountain (*satu*).[990]

A subset of PNs that is frequently encountered makes explicit the idea that the king is father to the name-bearer, a conceptual relationship also common between the traditional gods and mortals. As Di Vito has noted: "In the sphere of family life 'God' functions for the individual in the same way that a parent does, has the same general concerns, and enters into a relationship whose primary characteristics. . . find their closest analogy in the bonds existing between a parent and a child. In turn, the experiences which an individual has with is god correspond by and large to those which a small child has with his parent."[991] Names of this sort with the king as DN claim him as "my father" (aa-mu, a-mu, *abī*) and "the one who makes the young grow" (*murabbi-suhrim*). Expressions of the name-bearer's love for the deity likely reflect this relationship.[992] Some PNs expand the king's paternalism to the country as a whole (a-kalama), and in one it is obliquely expressed in relation to the clan (*illat*).[993] Unlike other male deities, whose relationship with the individual was at times conceived of as maternal or fraternal as well as paternal, the deified Ur III rulers occur in PNs in the family role of father only.[994]

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[990] PNs with kinship terms instead of DNs: "My sweet father" (*A-bi*$_2$-dug_3), "Precious mother" (Ama-kal-la), "Precious brother" (*A-hu-wa-qar*), "Fine father" (Ab-ba-sig_5), "My brother is righteous" (*I-šar-a-hi*), "Brother is legitimate" (*A-hu-ki-in*), "Father is radiant" (Ad-da-*na-bi-ir*), "Sister is my sexual vigor" (Nin_9-$teš_2$-mu), "Sister of the vital force" (Nin_9-hi-li-a), "Father is a hero" (A-a-ur-sag), and "Father is a mountain" (*A-bi*$_2$*-sa-tu*$_3$). Note that the signs for the words sister (nin_9) and lady (nin) are so close that scribes seem to have often conflated them.

[991] Di Vito (1993), p. 11.

[992] "She loves Šulgi" (*Ta*$_2$*-ra-am-*^{d}Šul-gi). Note also two names formed with the plural imperative, commanding that all within earshot should love Šulgi (^{d}Šul-gi-*ra-ma*, ^{d}Šul-gi-*ra-ma-aš/šu*).

[993] Compare: Šulgi-a-mu and Šara-a-mu; Šulgi-*abî* and Suen-*abî*; and Šu-Suen-*illat* and *Šamaš-illat*.

Names with no analogue using other DNs: Šulgi-aa-mu. Amar-^{d}Suen-a-kalama.

[994] God as brother: Dumuzi-šeš, Nanna-šeš, Šulpae-šeš.

Male god as mother: Šara-ama.

Gender-reversal can also occur with female deities, e.g. Nin-aa-mu ("The [divine] Lady is my father"), Šeš-Bau ("A brother is Bau"), Šeš-Nin-ur_4-ra ("A brother is Ninura").

The god as father may be implied in PNs in which the bearer is stated as belonging to or appropriate for the deity. Such names are quite common, and are articulated in the patterns "S/he belongs to DN" (Šulgira-kam, Inana-kam), "The one (m.) of DN" (Lu-Šulgi, Lu-Nanna, *Šu*-Šulgi, *Šu*-Enlil), which also has an Akkadian feminine variant (*Šāt*-Šulgi, *Šāt*-Erra), and "I am fitting for DN" (Šulgi-*simtī*, *Abī-simtī*). The metaphor of the individual as a calf of DN (Amar-Šulgi, Amar-Damu, *Būr*-Šulgi, *Būr-Adad*) expresses the same bond.[995] Specific subordinate relationships may also carry a whiff of paternalism, and are also encountered often. The name-bearer is connected to the DN as male or female servant (Arad-Amar-Suen, Arad-Bau, Geme-Šulgi, Geme-Nisaba), or as his or her dog (Ur-Šulgi, Ur-Enki, Ur-Nintud).[996] Conversely, the deified king himself may be construed as a dog, e.g. Šulgi-urmu ("Šulgi is my dog"), Amar-Suen-ur-kalama ("Amar-Suen is the dog of the motherland").

Another paradigm of PN, one that of necessity differs from those utilizing traditional gods as DN, expresses the relationship between a traditional god and the divine king. The rulers were noted as being "of" a deity (An, Enlil, Nanna), or the one who trusts in or worships another god (*ta$_2$-ki-il-a-na*, of Suen; *i-pa$_2$-la-ah*, of Enlil), or as a particular god's beloved (ki-ag$_2$, *narām, taram*, of Enlil, Eštar, Ištaran, Nanna, Nanše, Suen, Šara, the Lady), favorite (*migir*, of Enlil, Eštar), vital force (hili,

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995 See, e.g., Limet (1968), p. 327: "amar est, en effet, glosé en accadien par *mâru* "enfant".

996 Di Vito (1993), pp. 116-117, reviews the debate over the meaning of the element "ur" in PNs. In all other circumstances "ur", whether standing alone or combined with "gir$_{15}$", means dog. It also occurs in compounds that denote a variety of four-legged mammals: ur-bar-ra (wolf), ur-bi-gu$_7$ (jackal), ur-gi$_7$-a (otter), ur-gu-la and ur-mah (lion), ur-ki (badger), ur-šub$_5$ (possibly a tiger or cheetah), ur-šub$_5$-kud-a (leopard). Yet there have been, and still are, scholars who insist that in PNs alone, ur developed the meaning "man/servant of DN", based on the late Akkadian equivalence ur=*amēlu*, or that it is an otherwise unattested abbreviation of "hero" (ur-sag). That the element "ur" was limited to male PNs, and the objecting scholars are all male is not, I think, coincidental, and may reflect distaste at the idea of being called a dog. However, there is no evidence at all that dogs were considered filthy, shunned creatures in Sumer, as one finds in some Semitic cultures. The emphasis instead may be on service and loyalty.

of An, Šara), fruit (*i$_3$-ni-ib*, of Eštar, Mama), wild bull (*rīm*, of an unnamed god), creation (Ea), house-born slave (ama-tud, of Nanna), and cultivator (engar, of Enlil).[997]

There also exists a small group of PNs utilizing the divine king's name that have no counterparts that featured other deities or their epithets, or kinship terms in place of the king's DN. In almost every case, the king involved was Šulgi, who is described as sublime (al-mah), wise (*hāsis*), justice (*misar*).[998]

Other PNs that might reflect the kings' success at popularizing their cult refer to festivity and drinking. It is doubtless significant that these names occur only with Šulgi, the monarch who designed the initial set-up and expression of the cult. In regard to festivals (ezem), one finds both "Šulgi is a/the festival" and "The festival is Šulgi", this despite the fact the two kings succeeding him each instituted their own festival and named a month after it, following Šulgi's example.[999] The exceptional "Šulgi is the brewing vessel of the motherland" perhaps alludes to a boon experienced

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[997] "Of": Amar-Suen-Anka, Šulgi-Enlila, Lu-Šulgi-Nanna;
One who trust in: Šu-Suen-*takil-ana*-Suen;
One who worships: Šu-Suen-*ipallah*-Enlil;
Beloved: Amar-Suen-*narām*-Enlil, Šu-Suen-kiag-Enlil, Šu-Suen-*narām-Eštar*, Šu-Suen-*tārâm*-INANA, Šu-Suen-*narām*-Ištaran, Amar-Suen-kiag-Nanna, Šulgi-Nanše-kiag, Ur-Šulgi-*narām*-Suen, Šu-Suen-kiag-Šara, Šulgi-Nine-kiag;
Favorite: Šu-Suen-*migir*-Enlil, Šu-Suen-*migir-Eštar*;
Vital force: Šulgi-hili-Ana, Amar-Suen-hili-Šara;
Fruit: Šu-Suen-*inib-Eštar*, Šulgi-*inib-Mama;*
Creation: Šu-Suen-lipit-*Ea*;
Gift: Šu-Suen-*rīm-ili*;
House-born slave: Amar-Suen-ama-tud-Nanna;
Cultivator: Amar-Suena-engar-Enlil;
While the PN "Šulgi, the vital force of An" can also be translated "Šulgi, the vital force of heaven", the parallel "Amar-Suen, the vital force of Šara" suggests that a god is meant in the first name also.
^{d}Amar-Utu, literally "The calf of Utu", was used in the second millennium as a Sumerogram for the god Marduk. I am not convinced that the Amar-Utu of the Ur III period was referencing that same god.

[998] ^{d}Šul-gi-al-mah, ^{d}Šul-gi-*ha-si$_2$-is*, ^{d}Šul-gi-*mi-šar*, ^{d}Šul-gi-*pa-li$_2$-il*. The two exceptions that use these patterns for other rulers involve king Šu-Suen as wise (*hāsis*), and Šu-Suen and Ibbi-Suen as justice (*mišar*). Note also the PN in which Amar-Suen was called the chief en (^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-en-gal).

[999] Festival: Šulgi-ezem and Ezem-Šulgi. It is possible that the element "ezem" is a phonetic spelling of the noun *iṣin*, which occurs in other PNs with Šulgi.

by those who attended one of the king's festivals.[1000] Di Vito proposed that the PN Lugal-magure ("The king [at?] the barge") may well derive from "a procession of the divine king as suggested by the movement of his statue".[1001]

3.3 Demographics - Who Incorporated the King's Name in their Own?

Personal names that inserted the king as a theophoric element are found in all provinces of Sumer as well as among foreigners. In the heartland individuals bearing these names appear in the province of Nippur in the localities Nippur, Puzriš-Dagan, and Tummal; in Lagaš in the city of Lagaš, Girsu, Guabba, Guedena, Kiešša, Kinunir, and Nina; in the province of Umma in Umma, Adab, Apisal, Da-Umma, Garšana, Nagsu, Urusagrig, and Zabalam; in Ur in the city of Ur and in Karzida; and in the city Uruk of the province of that name. Foreigners who adopted a name honoring the Sumerian god-king came from Araphum, Bad-šarrum, Gumaraši, Marhaši, Mari, Martu (Amorite lands), Maškan-šarrum, PI-il, Simanum, Susa, and Šimaški. In addition, two governors (ensi$_2$) of Sabum and URUxA, lands incorporated into the Ur III polity, and four overseers of troops (ugula-erin$_2$) of the buffer districts of Balue, Durmaš, Kišgati, and Putulium, bore names with the king as DN, although in these cases the men may not have originated in the regions they were managing.[1002]

With the exceptions of the elements lugal, lu$_2$, *šu*, arad$_2$, and ur being limited to men, and nin, *šāt* and geme$_2$ to women, Sumerian PNs were gender-neutral.[1003] It is therefore not possible to breakdown the percentage of men and women among those who bore the king's name as DN. In

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[1000] Drinking: ^{d}Šul.gi-a-ra-ab-kalam-ma.

[1001] Di Vito (1993), p. 86. He tentatively translated the PN Lugal-ma$_2$-gur$_8$-re as "(The) Kin-towards-(the)-Boat-(draws-near?)".

[1002] There was also a third governor, Ur-Šulgira, but the polity he managed was left unnamed (IS02-08-26, Puzriš-Dagan).

[1003] The element nin might occur in a man's name if preceded by the dingir determinative, that is, if the nin was part of a deity's name. Of course, a woman might also have such a PN.

fact, it is not possible to state the total number of individuals with any certainty, due to certain scribal and social practices.[1004] A majority of people mentioned in administrative records occurs without note of their parentage, and frequently without title or career. In addition, some careers were often precursors to others. The prime example has to do with literacy. Completing training as a scribe was necessary before embarking on a number of different careers, although a man so educated might remain simply a scribe. The addition of responsibilities can be seen when a single documents refers to an individual as holding two different positions: a Lugal-Šulgi was termed both scribe and šabra (a high-level household administrator), and a Puzur-Šulgi scribe and šarrabdu (an estimator, primarily of crops).[1005] However, when a particular PN occurs in one text as a scribe and in another as, say, a šabra, it is impossible to determine whether these are the same man, barring further information, such as parentage. The geographic provenance of the tablet cannot be relied on either. For example, Šulgi-kugzu, son of Šara-kam, appears as a scribe on tablets from Puzriš-Dagan and Girsu, but the sole reason we can assert that this is the same man is because his father's name was given in both texts.[1006]

One area where movement between job functions occurred fairly frequently is the diplomatic and courier service. A man named Išim-Šulgi appeared on one tablet as a runner (lu_2-$kaš_4$), and possessed a seal giving this as his position, which he rolled on another tablet on which he was termed a royal envoy (lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal).[1007] A mounted courier (ra_2-gaba) named Šulgi-urumu served simultaneously as a minister (sukkal), and one Lu-Šu-Suen, who had a seal carved when he was a minister, was functioning in the text on which it was rolled as a šabra and a judge

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[1004] The following is true for everyone who appears in the archives, and not merely for those in whose PNs the king's name had been inserted.

[1005] Lugal-Šulgi (AS04-06-00, Girsu); $Puzur_4$-Šulgi (IS02-09-28, Puzriš-Dagan).

[1006] ^{d}Šul-gi-kug-zu dub-sar dumu ^{d}$Šara_2$-[kam?] dub-sar (AS07-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan; no date, Girsu).

[1007] No date, Girsu: Išim-Šulgi lu_2-$kaš_4$; IS01-07-00, Umma: Išim-Šulgi lu_2-$kaš_4$ (seal impression), lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal (in text). A similar progression from runner to royal envoy occurred with a Šulgi-banî (ambiguous Šulgi date, Girsu).

(dikud).[1008] The tendency for military men to be both promoted within the ranks and assigned temporary supervisory positions over corvée labor also complicates the assignment of identity. Was Hun-Šulgi the general a later manifestation of Hun-Šulgi the captain, and was either, or both, the Hun-Šulgi who oversaw workers assigned to stack sheaves in Umma?[1009]

Due to such constraints, the attached tabulation of individuals bearing PNs with the king as theophoric element is not intended to reveal the total number of persons with such names, nor does it list every occurrence in the records. Rather, the intent is to give an idea of the range of titles, careers and their hereditability, and the geographic dispersal of people bearing such PNs, as well as the longevity of individual name patterns. The table is divided into four sections, one for each of the four Ur III kings whose names might be incorporated as the theophoric element in an individual's name. It then registers the first instance per reign of each distinct PN in a different geographic location, regardless of whether that PN was accompanied by further identifying information such as job title. Other individuals bearing the same PN are added only if such individuals had different or additional identifiers than a person already listed.

To take the PN Ennam-Šulgi as an example, I have listed it on the table four times. The first person bearing this name to make the list was also the very first to occur, in a Puzriš-Dagan text dated to ŠS03, in which he fulfilled the temporary function of maškim. Any other records from the reign of Šu-Suen in which an Ennam-Šulgi appeared solely as a maškim in Puzriš-Dagan are not counted, as redundant. However, a man of this PN did show up in another Puzriš-Dagan text from Šu-Suen's reign, but with a new identifier as son of Lugal-pae, and so merits inclusion as the second exemplar. Again, if an Ennam-Šulgi son of Lugal-pae appears in any other Puzriš-Dagan texts with a Šu-Suen date, but with no new qualifiers, he is not counted. Although the third example has no other identifying information attached to him, he is included both because the PN shows a

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[1008] ^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu (AS06-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan); Lu_2-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen (IS14-09-00, Ur).

[1009] Hun-Šulgi the captain, nubanda (AS08-08-00, Tummal), the general, šagina (IS02-01-00), and the overseer, ugula (no date, Umma).

slight variant (Ennam-Šulgi-še) and as the first occurrence of the PN in the reign of Ibbi-Suen. The final instance, also from the reign of Ibbi-Suen, involves a text from a different location (Nippur), regarding a man of this PN who was further identified as the son of the general Lu-Nanna. While this manner of tabulation does not provide the total number of instances a PN occurred in the archives, much of which would be either redundant or uninformative due to a common lack of any other identifying markers, what it does allow is for us to see at a glance that the particular PN Ennam-Šulgi did not appear until ŠS03, persisted through IS02, was held by at least two different men (due to the parentage having been twice included), had been given to or been adopted by the son of a general, and seems to have been restricted to the area around Nippur. It is this type of information that will allow some degree of analysis concerning the popularity among different groups in various areas of using names that, by their very incorporation of the king as DN, assert his divinity.

Records in which people bearing PNs admitting the king as god occasionally provide further personal information, such as their title, current job function, parentage, and/or ethnic background. The following discussion of the social status of the individuals attested with such PNs will start with those of the highest levels, some of whom were personally acquainted with the king and whom one might well expect to have adopted or been given such names.

3.3.1 The Royal Family and their Personal Retainers[1010]

At the summit stand members of the royal family: the kings' consorts, siblings, and sons and daughters. Among the last set are the en priests and priestesses of this period, many if not all of whom had been born princes or princesses. As mentioned previously, only one of the

[1010] The citation(s) for every name incorporating the king as DN that is discussed in the sections 3.3.1 through 3.3.17 may be found in Table B, where they are listed alphabetically per king, i.e. PNs with Šulgi as DN occur first, followed by those with Amar-Suen, Šu-Suen, and Ibbi-Suen. Each citation contains the provenance of the tablet, the date of the tablet, and the job or related title and the parentage of the individual bearing the cited name, if these were given.

approximately twenty-one consorts of the four deified Ur III rulers adopted a name incorporating her husband's: Šulgi-simtum (also given as Šulgi-simtī).[1011] It is, however, possible that the name of Abī-simtī ("I am the one fitting for my father"), a woman who may have been a consort of either or both kings Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen, was an adopted PN referring to the god-king in his paternal role.[1012] Neither of the two individuals identified in texts as royal siblings has a PN that incorporates the name of a king.[1013]

Any list of the Ur III royal children must remain provisional, as previously unattested ones seem to pop up in every newly-published archive. To date, there is evidence of fifty-three princes, six of whom were given names with the king as DN: Amir-Šulgi, Lu-Šulgi, Nābi-Šulgi, Nūr-Šulgi, Šu-Šulgi, and Šulgi-rāmā. Of the forty-three attested princesses, five have PNs incorporating a king's name: ME-Šulgi, Šāt-Šulgi, Šu-Suen-tarâm-Inana, Šulgi-inib-Mama, and Tarâm-Šulgi.[1014] It is notable that, in all but one instance, the king honored was the first to be deified, Šulgi. Due to the fact that princes and princesses carried their title into the reign of the king(s) who succeeded their father, for those of this group who make their first appearance in print after Šulgi's death, one cannot determine the king who sired them. Thus, the preference for Šulgi in the names given to royal children cannot be taken automatically as a sign that he was their father.

[1011] The consorts were (for Šulgi, 8) Ea-niša, Geme-Ninlila, Geme-Suen, ME-Ea, Ninkala, Šulgi-simtum, Šuqurtum, and Taddin-Eštar; (for Amar-^{d}Suen, 5) Abī-simtī, Puzur-uša, Udad-sinat, Zag-an-bi-[x], and [x]-na-tum; (for Šu-Suen, 6 or 7), Aabba-baštī Abī-simtī, Kubatum, Šagta-šaga, Šalim-niaš, Takun-mātum, and Geme-Nanna; (for Ibbi-Suen, 2) Geme-Enlila and ME-Nisaba. I did not include the Mari princess Taram-Uram who was betrothed to a son of the first Ur III monarch, as there is no evidence that it was his successor Šulgi whom she married, or even that she lived to consummate a marriage.

[1012] Abī-simtī appears with the title "queen" only in Šu-Suen's reign, although she is frequently mentioned in the reign of his predecessor, in the company of the elite or participating in rituals otherwise associated with members of the royal family. The current consensus is that she was indeed wife and queen of Amar-Suen as well as mother of Šu-Suen, and that her title in the latter's reign reflected her position as "dowager queen".

[1013] Nisaba 08 386, Š41-08-00, Puzriš-Dagan: Ama-barag, royal sister (nin_9-lugal); and MVN 08 129, AS04-04-05, and Nisaba 08 044, AS08-09-24, both Puzriš-Dagan: Ur-Enlil, royal brother (šeš-lugal).

[1014] The PNs of six princesses were not mentioned in the records in which they occur. Of course, any of these six may be the same woman as a princess already named.

This uncertainty in identifying the exact parentage of prince/sses is on first glance absent for the sole royal child named for the deified Šu-Suen, for she could not have been given such a name before Šu-Suen attained divine status, that is, before he ascended to the throne. It would seem, then, that she must have been either his or his successor Ibbi-Suen's child. However, as the text in which she occurs is dated ŠS08, Šu-Suen-tarâm-Inana cannot have been Ibbi-Suen's daughter. In a further twist, this text lists items for a banquet (kašdea) that was being hosted for her and for runners about to embark for Sigraš, an activity beyond the interests of an eight-year-old child, from which fact one can only deduce that she was older than eight at this time and thus was born before the man for whom she was named became king. Therefore, what this text, finally, tells us is that she was the daughter of one of the first four kings of the Ur III dynasty, who had been given a birth-name unknown to us, which she changed after Šu-Suen attained kingship, to reflect his new state of divinity.[1015]

We know the name of nineteen of the ens, the highest cultic office in the land, many if not all of whom were close relatives of the king.[1016] Six of these ens adopted throne names that honored one of the deified rulers: four ens of Enki of Eridug, appointed during the reigns of Šulgi, Amar-Suen and Ibbi-Suen; one en of Nanna of Gaeš, enthroned in AS08; and an en of Gula who occurs in a single text dated to AS08.[1017] As only about 9% (or less than 7%, if one includes the

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[1015] One might also consider that, were she in fact a daughter of Šu-Suen, her father may have changed her name upon his accession if she were of minority age at that point in time.

[1016] The named ens whose throne-names do not refer to the deified king are: of Nanna of Ur, En-nir-gal$_2$-an-na (UN), En-nir-zi-an-na (Š15), En-ubur-zi-an-na (Š43), En-mah-gal-an-na (AS04); of Nanna of Karzida/Gaeš, En-aga$_3$-zi-an-na (AS02); of Inana of Uruk, En-unu$_6$-gal-an-na-^{d}Inana (AS05), En-am-gal-an-na (IS02), En-nir-si$_4$-an-na (IS10); of Nanše, En-me-zi-an-na (Š46) and En-šag$_4$-kug-ge (Š46). In addition, two ens of Nanše appear to have retained their birth-names while in office (Ur-^{d}Gu$_2$-la$_2$ [ŠS02] and Lugal-dub-la$_2$ [IS12]), as did La-ni, en of ^{d}Ninhursag (ŠS03).

[1017] The ens of Enki of Eridug, En-nam-šita$_4$-^{d}Šulgi-ra-ke$_4$-ba-gub-šud$_3$-sag (Š28), En-nun-e-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ki-ag$_2$ also known as En-nun-gal-an-na-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen (AS08), Arazu-^{d}*I-bi$_2$*-^{d}Suen-ka-še$_3$-pad$_3$-da (ŠS09), and En-nam-šita$_4$-^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Suen-še$_3$-šud$_3$-sag (IS11).

The en of Nanna of Gaeš, En-^{d}Nanna-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ra-ki-ag$_2$-an-na (AS08).

The en of Gula, En-^{d}Gu-la-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ki-ag$_2$ (AS08). This woman was the mother (ama) of the en of Nanna of Gaeš mentioned just above.

ens, assuming they are all related to the king) of the known members of the royal family had PNs with the king as theophoric element, one may conclude that promoting the divine king's cult in this manner was not a priority in the group most closely related to him.

The names of individuals who had a more distant degree of consanguinity with the king, as well as those who had married into the royal family, occasionally used his name as theophoric element. Ennam-Šulgi, son of one Lugal-pae, may be a grandson of a king. The information on his father, whose name is identical with that of a known prince, comes from a royal arad-zu seal impression, rolled on a document that records Ennam-Šulgi as the recipient of a lamb on behalf of the queen.[1018] A second Ennam-Šulgi, the son of Lu-Nanna the general (šagina) took charge of a large quantity of grain, to be weighed out in Ešnuna. His father is likely the prince of that name.[1019] Hašip-atal, a general of Hurrian background associated with Arappha, had a son Puzur-Šulgi.[1020] Hašip-atal was also father-in-law of one Nin-hedu, who has the same name as a princess, but it's not clear which of Hašip-atal's sons she'd married.[1021] The sukkal-mah and royal in-law Arad-

[1018] SumRecDreh. 23, ŠS04-02-05, Puzriš-Dagan: an $arad_2$-zu seal to Šu-Suen. Lugal-pa-e_3 the prince is attested with that title on CST 164, Š47-02-16, Puzriš-Dagan.

[1019] While the prince Lu-Nanna is most likely the same man as the generals of Nagsu and of Urbilum of that name, all occurring in the reign of Šulgi, it is perhaps a bit less likely that these are the same as Lu-Nanna general of Zimudar, who does not appear until the reign of Šu-Suen. Lu_2-^{d}Nanna dumu-lugal (TRU 024, Š44-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan; TRU 028, Š44-04-00, Puzriš-Dagan; and AnOr 01 105, AS07-05-26, Umma); Lu_2-^{d}Nanna šagina Nag-su^{ki} (Sumer 24, 80 16, Š46-03-00, Puzriš-Dagan; TCL 2 5488, Š46-04-00, Puzriš-Dagan); Lu_2-^{d}Nanna šagina Zi-mu-dar^{ki} (NATN 776, ŠS01-00-00, Nippur [seal impression]; RA 30 120 7, ŠS01-01-00, Ur; UTI 6 3800, ŠS-no date, Puzriš-Dagan); and Lu_2-^{d}Nanna šagina (CST 098, Š46-03-06, Puzriš-Dagan; MVN 11 207, Š47-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan; MVN 13 641, Š47-05-00, Puzriš-Dagan; AnOr 07 150, Š47-06-20, Puzriš-Dagan; SAT 2 0601, Š48-01-00, Umma; Amorites 12 (pl. 5), Š48-07-19. Puzriš-Dagan; WMAH 284, AS03-00-00, Girsu; Nisaba 24 29, AS03-10-00, Umma).

[1020] Hašipatal is recorded as delivering fifty oxen, 299 sheep and seventy goats immediately before the troops of Arappha ($erin_2$ Ar-ra-ap-hu-um^{ki}) delivered twenty cattle, 256 sheep and forty four goats (PDT 1 166, AS05-05-25, Puzriš-Dagan). In addition, his son supervised troops from that same place (JCS 31 166, AS08-05-08, Puzriš-Dagan: $Puzur_4$-^{d}Šul-gi dumu Ha-ši-pa_2-tal^{ki} as ugula of $erin_2$ A-ra-ap-hu-um^{ki}); see also Nisaba 08 027, ŠS03-00-00, Puzriš-Dagan: $Puzur_4$-^{d}Šul-gi dumu Ha-ši-pa_2-tal.

[1021] Nin-he_2-du_7 e_2-gi_4-a Ha-ši-pa_2-tal (Š47-12-04, Puzriš-Dagan). A Nin-hedu is listed among the princesses on CTMMA 1 17, AS04-07-00, Puzriš-Dagan. One should note, however, that a good candidate to be this princess is the Nin-hedu identified as wife of the sukkal-mah on an undated tablet that also mentions Ninkala the queen, and so most likely comes from the reign of Šulgi or

Nanna (aka Aradmu) named a son Šu-Šulgi. Dada, a prominent gala, had managed to marry a daughter to prince Amir-Šulgi. Two of his other children, both musicians, were named after the kings ruling at the time of the attestations: Hedut-Amar-Suen (AS08) and Šu-Suen-migir-Eštar (ŠS08) --- an unequivocal sign that each had their birth-name altered, whether by their own will or that of their father. Unfortunately, as information on the identities of the majority of the royal grandchildren and royal in-laws is lacking, any analysis of these groups' onomastic practices will not be especially meaningful.

A handful of retainers of varying functions, but all typified as "royal", had a king's name inserted into their own. An Ur-Šulgi served as royal cattle administrator ($šuš_3$-lugal), another Ur-Šulgi as a royal scribe (dub-sar-lugal), and a Šulgi-ili as animal fattener (kurušda) for sheep belonging to Šulgi's queen, Šulgi-simti.

3.3.2 Governors, Governors-Generals and Foreign Dignitaries

The system of territorial management developed in the Ur III period differed by province, with Ur under the control of a consortium of temple administrators (šabra), Uruk under a prince, and the remainder typically under parallel governorships, each responsible for certain areas. In this last type of province the traditional governors ($ensi_2$) managed their own family estates and assumed responsibility for the local cults, while generals (šagina), termed by modern translators military governors when they served in a civic role, took charge of the extensive lands belonging to the crown and of the recruitment and organization of the corvée ($erin_2$) required for major construction or agricultural projects. The hierarchy under the šaginas was the same regardless of the type of operation they were running, with a descending order of colonels (nu-$banda_3$), captains (ugula), and leaders of teams of specified numbers, e.g. leaders of sixty (ugula $geš_2$-da). In addition, men of higher rank might be termed in charge of corvée laborers (ugula $erin_2$), whether these workers were

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Amar-Suen. It is possible for these three to be the same woman, if the son of Hašipatal died early in his marriage, or even before it was formalized.

dragooned for military purposes, as troops, or for various types of civil labor. Thus, it is not always possible to determine at all times the exact functions of men with military titles.

It is notable that there is not a single attested case of one of the traditional governors either changing his own name to, or giving a child of his a name incorporating that of the king.[1022] One can only speculate as to whether this represents local resistance or resentment against the deified king's reach. Two governors from more peripheral areas, Šulgi-zimu of URUxA and Šu-Suen-bani of Sabum in the Susiana, are recorded, as are another two termed "man of" (lu_2), a word sometimes substituted for governor or ruler: Puzur-Šulgi of Isin, a core area, and Amar-Suen-hamati of Maškan-Šarrum north of Ešnuna.[1023] The information is insufficient to determine if they had been born with these names or had changed them in order to obtain, or after having gained their positions.

In contrast, there are seven generals-military governors whose names honor a king, only one of whose territories was identified, Hun-Šulgi, šagina of Umma, although he also occurs as a šagina in Urusagrig. That the others --- Šulgi-azida, Šulgi-hasis, Šulgi-ili, Šulgi-nišu, Ur-Šulgira, and Šu-Suen-migir-Eštar --- were not linked to a specific province or city in the records might indicate a primarily military, as opposed to administrative, role for them.[1024] Given the overlap in many of the generals' military and civic responsibilities, it seems likely that men with the same names as known šagina, who were not identified as such but rather as in charge of corvée/troops or of particular agricultural projects (ugula $erin_2$), were in fact those generals.[1025] Five generals had sons named

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[1022] There is one governor ($ensi_2$), Ur-Šulgira, who occurs only once in a text from Puzriš-Dagan, whose territory was not named. Were he a governor of one of the core provinces, it is likely that he would have been referenced in other texts.

[1023] Per Owen (1997), p. 380, Maškan-Šarrum was east of the Tigris and north of Ešnuna.

[1024] These šagina are mentioned in texts from, respectively, Girsu, Nippur, Puzriš-Dagan and Girsu, Girsu, Umma, and Urusagrig.

[1025] These are Šulgi-ili, ugula $erin_2$ of Larsa, Hun-Šulgi, ugula $erin_2$ of Dintir and Zarbad on the border of Umma, and Hun-Šulgi, again, as ugula of binding sheaves and of unspecified field work (both in Umma),

after Šulgi: general Lu-Nanna and his son Ennam-Šulgi, Kurub-Utu and his son Šulgi-bani, Iddin-Dagan and his son Amar-Šulgi, Hašipatal and his son Puzur-Šulgi, and Arad-Nanna, who in addition to serving as sukkal-mah was by the end of Šu-Suen's reign also governor of Lagaš, Sabum, the lands of Gutebum, Al-Šu-Suen, Hamazi and Karahar and military governor of Uṣar-Garšana, Bašime, Dimat-Enlil, Urbilum, NI-HI, Šimaški, and the lands of Karda, and his son Šu-Šulgi.[1026] A deputy of Arad-Nanna in his role of sukkal-mah (egir-sukkal-mah), one Ur-Šu-Suen, was similarly named. The šagina Hun-Šulgi, the first element of whose name is Hurrian, surely adopted the second element when he came to work for the Ur III crown, and Šu-Suen-migir-Eštar must have changed his name as an adult, as king Šu-Suen ruled for only nine years, but, as for the others, one again cannot tell if they were born to these names or not.

A number of foreign allies whose names incorporate one of the kings as DN appear in the Ur III archives, either delivering animals to the central facility at Puzriš-Dagan or receiving items for meals, celebrations, or for use during their journey home. Sumerian ethnic identification seems to have been relatively imprecise. For example, no Sumerian term for Hurrian is known, so that individuals with Hurrian elements in their names, when identified ethnically at all, were placed in some other, and occasionally more than one, category. A Hun-Šulgi, bearing the same name as the military governor of Umma and likely the same man, was termed in other texts both an Amorite (Mar-tu) and a Šimaškian (LU_2-SU-A^{ki}). There are between two and four differentiated foreigners named Šulgi-ili: one termed simply an Amorite (Puzriš-Dagan, Girsu), one an Amorite also characterized as "royal personnel" (gir_3-se_3-ga-lugal, Umma) who might perhaps also be the general of this name, a third identified as the son of Rabbi of PI-il^{ki}, and finally, a son of Zariq, who may have been the governor of Aššur of that name.[1027]

[1026] Puzur-Šulgi, explicitly identified as son of general Hašipatal, acted as ugula $erin_2$ of Arapphum. The Šu-Šulgi who served as ugula $erin_2$ of Durmaš may possibly have been Arad-Nanna's son, although this name was not uncommon.

[1027] Šulgi-ili was termed son of Zariq in a Puzriš-Dagan text dating to AS05. Another Drehem text from Š47-10-15 (SAT 2 0551) lists consecutive deliveries of oxen to be used for one and the same ki-Utu ritual from Zariq "man of" Aššur and one Šulgi-ili.

The largest number of foreigners with names incorporating an Ur III king as theophoric element were Amorites. In addition to Hun-Šulgi and one (or two) Šulgi-ili, there were Šulgi-abi, Šulgida, a professional soldier (aga_3-us_2), Šulgi-napišti, Šu-Šulgi, Ur-Šulgi, and Amar-Suen-ili. Men from Mari sporting such names were Amir-Šulgi, Amur-Šulgi, and Šulgi-palil.[1028] A group of foreigners celebrating a festival of the men of Marhaši, who were additionally characterized as Elamites (NIM), included Aab-Šulgi, Merah-Šulgi, Šulgi-bani and Šulgi-libani, the latter two sons of the same man, Dugši. Finally, there are men identified only by their, or their father's, place of origin: Šulgi-atal, the second element of whose name is Hurrian, a "man of" Gumaraši, Hun-Šulgi-[x]-da-aš, the name of whose country is broken (lu_2-[x]-hu), Dan-Amar-Suen, son of Gadabi the "man of" Tikitihum, and Šu-Suen-wuzum-iššari, a "man of" Šimanum. One might reasonably conclude that contact with the Ur III state, in particular under the rule of Šulgi and perhaps even due to a personal acquaintance with him, proved sufficiently advantageous to these men and/or their progeny to motivate a name change or bestowal as an ostentatious signal of loyalty and gratitude.

3.3.3 Lower Military Ranks and Security

As noted above, men of the ranks of colonel (nu-$banda_3$) and captain (ugula) might serve in a military or a civic capacity. Among colonels one finds seven individual name patterns representing from seven to eleven men, all honoring Šulgi. A Hun-Šulgi reoccurs in Tummal, but one cannot determine if this were the general on his way up the career ladder or a different man. The name Šulgi-ili also appears, once as a simple colonel (Drehem), once as a colonel and royal envoy (lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal) coming from Hurti, and once as a colonel in a text on which an impression of his seal identifies him as a scribe of the then-prince Šu-Suen in his capacity as governor of Der. Other colonels were called Dan-Šulgi, Šulgi-andul, Šu-Šulgi (all Puzriš-Dagan),

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[1028] Owen (1992), p. 125, argued that the Mariotes Amir-Šulgi and Amur-Šulgi were in fact the same man, and that the A-mur of the second reading should instead be transliterated as A-mir_x.

and Šulgi-silha (Urusagrig), the second element of whose name is Elamite. A Ṣilluš-Šulgi was characterized as a colonel in one text (Drehem) and as a colonel of men of Kišgati in another. In addition, a colonel Nazida had a son Šulgi-ili, who worked as a professional soldier, while a man named Arzan-Amar-Suen fathered a colonel, Naram-Ea. Two captains in charge of sixty men also bore names honoring a king, in each case Šulgi: Nur-Šulgi (Puzriš-Dagan) and Šulgi-<<ti>>-malik (Urusagrig).

The remainder of the armed forces were divided into men who served in a permanent, professional capacity, and able-bodied workers subject to time-limited corvée as footsoldiers. Among the former, the aga_3-us_2, generally translated as professional or even mercenary soldier, acted not only as the core of the standing army, but also as bodyguard to the king, governors, and other high-ranking officials, and as security on the roads and canals.[1029] The label "mercenary" doubtless reflects the fact that a substantial portion of these soldiers were of foreign origin.[1030] Of the aga-us there were four bearing a king's name, in addition to the Šulgi-ili, son of a colonel mentioned above: Šulgida, the son of an Amorite whose name was given alternately as Batanum and Ba-irranum (Girsu), Šulgi-Šamši (Nippur), Šulgi-zimu (Girsu), and finally, with a reference to a different king, Šu-Suen-tab (Umma). To this group one may add a single man from the seldom attested profession of charioteer (lu_2-^{giš}gigir), Šulgi-lugal (Girsu).

The largest number of military men whose names incorporated one of the deified kings' were infantrymen characterized by their primary weapon, "man of the mace" (lu_2-^{giš}tukul). Nineteen different name patterns for these soldiers are attested, all involving Šulgi, and covering up to twenty-two individuals. All of the texts stem from Girsu, and thirteen record the destination of the mace-man in question, namely Susa, Sabum, AdamŠAH, URUxKAR$_2$, Anšan, and Šimaški. The names, which may have been given at birth or adopted upon entering military service, are: Dan-Šulgi, Ipiš-Šulgi, Išar-Šulgi, Išim-Šulgi, Libur-Šulgi (twice), Lu-Šulgi, Nur-Šulgi, Puzur-Šulgi, Šulgi-adlal, Šulgi-

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[1029] Lafont (2009), pp. 9-10.

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aguni, Šulgi-bani (twice), Šulgi-da-ga-da, Šulgi-da-an-ga-da, Šulgi-ili, Šulgi-irišu, Šulgi-litiš, Šulgi-urumu, Šulgi-Utumu, and Ur-Šulgi.

Additional security in the state was provided by watchmen (lu_2-en-nu-ga_2), who also might serve as prison guards, and by doorkeepers (i_3-du_8), who were utilized by the palace, other large institutional households, and temples. Of the former, two men are attested bearing a king's name, Šulgi-ili (Puzriš-Dagan) and Šulgi-nada (Umma), while among the latter we find three such men, all in Puzriš-Dagan texts: Dan-Šulgi, Mannum-ki-Šulgi, who was in addition the father of a scribe, and Šulgi-dingir-mu. One might also include in this category men who acted as bailiffs at court proceedings (maškim di-til-la), which may not in all cases have been a permanent position but rather a function temporarily taken on. A Lugal-Šulgi was classified as such in Girsu, while Šulgi-inimzi, normally a minister (sukkal), took on the role of bailiff for a trial in Ur. Additionally, a Šulgi-šamši, called a "man of" the maškim, was probably working for a bailiff (Girsu).

Incorporating the king's name into one's own was clearly fairly popular among professional military men, and one suspects that, while some may have been given such names by their parents, the larger part probably adopted new names on entering the service. That Šulgi, the most avid and, by his own account, spectacularly talented campaigner, was the preferred honoree among this group is not surprising.

3.3.4 Diplomatic Corps and Couriers

This grouping contains envoys (lu_2-kin-gi_4-a), ministers (sukkal), mounted couriers (ra_2-gaba), and runners (lu_2-kas_4). I am following Sharlach's analysis of "envoys" as a high level members of the diplomatic service, similar to contemporary ambassadors, and "ministers" as multi-function servitors, who frequently acted as mediators between visiting foreign dignitaries and the Ur

III court and, if so skilled, as interpreters.[1031] However, Alexandra Kleinerman, noting in her study of texts from Urusagrig that royal envoys (lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal) often held another job title simultaneously, proposed that this type of envoy may not have been a job title *per se* but a temporary functional identifier for any man sent on a mission on behalf of the king.[1032] A few texts from areas other than Urusagrig suggest that what Kleinerman noticed was not simply a local phenomenon. In two cases, the men were identified as runners on their seals, but royal envoys in the body of the text; however, in the majority (all from Urusagrig) they were characterized with the two titles in the text only.[1033]

All of the men who had a name honoring a king and who were identified solely as envoys were in fact characterized as royal envoys. Twenty-nine different name patterns are in evidence in this category, with the source noted only for those names attested outside of Urusagrig alone: Dan-Šulgi, Ibbi-Šulgi (Girsu), Išar-Šulgi, Libur-Šulgi, Lu-Šulgi, Mannum-ki-Šulgi, Nur-Šulgi, Ṣilli-Šulgi, Šulgi-bani, Šulgi-dan-ga-da (Girsu, Puzriš-Dagan), Šulgi-dannum, Šulgi-ili (Umma, Urusagrig), Šulgi-ištikal, Šulgi-mešar, Šulgi-satuni, Šulgi-ṣillul (Umma), Šulgi-šuniše (Girsu), Šulgi-tabin, Šulgi-ṭabum, Šulgi-urumu (Umma, Urusagrig), Ur-Šulgi, Amar-Suen-bani, Libur-Amar-Suen, Nur-Šu-Suen, Šu-Suen-ili, Šu-Suen-išar-ramaš, Šu-Suen-lamahar, Šu-Suen-muballiṭ, and Šu-Suen-naram-Ištaran. Occasionally the destination of the envoy was noted, with Der, the main jumping-off point for the Susiana and Anšan to the southeast and the Zagros range to the northeast, predominating, with attestations of two missions to and from Kimaš, and one instance each to trips to the coast, from Nippur to Girsu, and from the Elamite campaign.

[1031] Sharlach (2002), pp. 18-19.

[1032] Kleinerman (2013), p. 302.

[1033] Išim-Šulgi (Umma) and Šulgi-bani (Girsu) had seals identifying them as runners that were impressed on tablets on which they were termed royal envoys. Men who were called royal envoys in addition to their, apparently, regular titles were the colonel Šulgi-ili (Urusagrig), the minister Šulgi-urumu (Urusagrig), and the mounted couriers Šulgi-mati, Šulgi-mešar, Šulgi-bani, and Šu-Suen-bani (all Urusagrig).

In contrast to the royal envoys, men characterized solely as ministers (sukkal) do not appear in any texts from Urusagrig. Three men bore the title "royal minister" (sukkal-lugal), Šulgi-amu (Girsu), Šulgi-Šamši (Girsu), and Amar-Suen-naram-Enlil (Puzriš-Dagan). One minister, Šulgi-inimzi, served as bailiff (maškim) at a trial in Ur, and another, Lu-Šu-Suen, termed a sukkal on his seal, was identified in the text on which it had been impressed as a high-level administrator (šabra) and a judge (di-kud), also in Ur. The remaining ministers display twenty-two different name patterns: Hun-Šulgi (Umma), Kal-Šulgi (Nippur), Lu-Šulgi (Girsu), Puzur-Šulgi (Umma), Šulgi-dan (Umma), Šulgi-da-an-ga-da (Girsu), Šulgi-dan (Girsu), Šulgi-ili (Umma, Girsu), Šulgi-kugzu (Umma), Šulgi-litiš (Puzriš-Dagan), Šulgi-massu (Girsu), Šulgi-mišar (Umma), Šulgi-ṣillul (Puzriš-Dagan), Šulgi-šalim (Umma), Šulgi-Šamši (Girsu), Šulgi-urumu (Girsu, Puzriš-Dagan, Umma), Šulgi-zimu (Girsu), Ṭab-Šulgi (Umma), Amar-Suen-zikalama (Puzriš-Dagan), Ur-Amar-Suen (Puzriš-Dagan), Šu-Suen-etel-pi-Enlil (GARšana), and Ur-Šu-Suen (Puzriš-Dagan, Umma). Destinations of the ministers were occasionally included in the texts, with trips to and from Susa and the coast, from Anšan and Nippur to Girsu, and from Der noted. In general, while an important aspect of the jobs of both the royal envoys and the ministers involved foreign affairs, broadly speaking, the former seem to have been utilized mainly in the peripheral zones or in foreign lands themselves, whereas the latter seem to have concentrated on the needs of foreigners resident in the core areas.

Communication over distance for diplomatic and other purposes was achieved using mounted couriers (ra_2-gaba) and runners (lu_2-kas_4). Three mounted couriers were further identified as serving particular individuals: Šulgi-AB-GAB worked for the "man of" Ur-nigar, who may perhaps have been the prince and/or general of that name (Puzriš-Dagan), Šu-Suen-ili was mounted courier for a rarely attested title, "man of the stone" (lu_2-na_4, Puzriš-Dagan), and Šu-Suen-sisa was classified among the servants of Nin-šaga, daughter of Ur-mes, governor of Urusagrig ($geme_2$-$arad_2$ Nin-$šag_5$-ga, Urusagrig).[1034] The remaining mounted couriers are covered by twenty-three

[1034] Šu-Suen-ili, the mounted courier of the lu_2-na_4, occurs as a witness at a trial in Puzriš-Dagan (TCL 2 5481, IS02-03-15). Otherwise, the concatenation lu_2-na_4 has so far been attested twice, and only in longer phrases, i.e. in SAT 3 2009, IS05-00-00, Ur: an Ur-zikum is entitled "man of the stone

distinct name patterns. They show up in texts from numerous localities but, because it was inherent to their function to travel around, it is difficult to decide if the same PN occurring in different locations represents the same individual. The men who bore the sole title of ra_2-gaba are: Dan-Šulgi (Girsu, Puzriš-Dagan), Libur-Šulgi (Girsu, Puzriš-Dagan), Šulgi-hamati (Adab), Šulgi-hegal (Girsu), Šulgi-ili (Puzriš-Dagan, Umma, Urusagrig), Šulgi-mati (Lagaš, Nippur, Urusagrig), Šulgi-palil (Puzriš-Dagan), Šulgi-sipad-kalama (Puzriš-Dagan), Sulgi-urumu (Puzriš-Dagan, Ur), Šulgi-Utumu (Ur), Šu-Šulgi (Puzriš-Dagan, Umma), Ur-Šulgi (Urusagrig), Lu-Amar-Suen (Girsu), Waqar-Amar-Suen (Puzriš-Dagan), X-gar-Šu-Suen (Puzriš-Dagan), Šu-Suen-[x]-in (Girsu), Šu-Suen-hasis (Umma), Šu-Suen-ili (Umma), Šu-Suen-naram-Enlil (Puzriš-Dagan), Šu-Suen-sisa (Puzriš-Dagan), and Ur-Šu-Suen (Puzriš-Dagan).

There was one overseer of runners, Imi(d)-Šulgi (Girsu), and another eleven name patterns borne by eleven or twelve men working as runners. An Išim-Šulgi was identified specifically as a runner of the palace in Guabba (lu_2-kas_4 e_2-gal), and may or may not be the same runner Išim-Šulgi who had come from Siu to Girsu. The remaining attested names for runners, all from Girsu texts unless otherwise noted, are: Dan-Šulgi, Ezem-Šulgi, Libur-Šulgi, Nur-Šulgi, Šulgi-ili, Šulgi-mišar, Šulgi-urumu, Šu-Šulgi (Umma), Ur-Šulgi, and Šu-Suene-[x]-mugi (Ur).

Although it is impossible to ascertain the exact number of men bearing the king's name in these categories due to the fairly frequent overlap in job titles and the inherent mobility of these functions, one can nonetheless say that adopting the king's name appears to have been even more popular within this group as a whole than among the military. One again suspects that the majority of the men with such names had adopted them on being hired for these particular jobs. Although it may not have been the conscious motivation for adopting the king's name for this class of servitors, every introduction or address to one of them during their frequent travels and interactions with

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of the bow" (lu_2-na_4-^{giš}ban-na); and in Studies Owen 208 06, AS05-09-00, Umma: a man who was accused of stealing a grindstone was termed "man of the grindstone" (lu_2 ^{na4}kinkin).

On Ninšaga, see the impression of her seal identifying Ur-mes, governor, as her father (Nisaba 15/2 1023, no date, Urusagrig).

foreigners and others, whether within the Ur III polity or abroad, necessitated sounding the deified Ur III king's name as part of a laudatory phrase, thereby repeatedly signaling to all within earshot the high regard in which he was held.

3.3.5 Administration and Accounting

At the head of the administration of large estates, of both temples and wealthy families, one finds individuals bearing the title šabra or sanga, terms typically translated as "major-domo". It appears in the Ur III period that these two words had become interchangeable for denoting essentially the same function. For example, records of activities of people who were summarized as "šabras and sangas" (šabra-sanga-e-ne) suggest there was no significant differentiation between the two. One sanga and four šabras are named without the household they worked for being mentioned: the sanga Amar-Suen-ra in Puzriš-Dagan, and the šabras Lu-Šulgi in Girsu, Šulgi-bani in Puzriš-Dagan, Lugal-Šulgi in Girsu, and Lu-Šu-Suen in Ur. The latter two men were called šabra in the text, but the impressions of their seals thereon gave them different titles, scribe (dub-sar) and minister (sukkal) respectively. Of the remaining, two men worked for a secular household: a Šulgi-bani acted as šabra for Eaniša, one of king Šulgi's consorts, and a Lu-Šulgi as šabra of the household of Namhani, an institution that seems to have been founded by a former ruler of an independent state of Lagaš and to have long survived his demise. In Girsu, a Lu-Šulgi served as šabra for the temple of Ninmarki, and a Lugal-Šulgi fulfilled the same office for the temple of Ningirsu, while in Puzriš-Dagan an Ur-Šulgira was identified as the šabra of the goddess Ningal. Finally, a sanga of the temple of Ninazimua in Ur was married to a woman named Geme-Šulgi, and a Šulgi-urumu was classified as the "man of" Lu-Ninšubur, the šabra of An in Ur.

$Šag_4$-tam denotes an official involved with accounting, though the exact parameters of his duties have not yet been worked out. Of these, one is attested as bearing a name that incorporated the king as a theophoric element, Šulgi-mati in Umma. There are three archivists (pisan-dub-ba) with such names, Lu-Šulgira and Ur-Šulgira in Puzriš-Dagan, and a Lu-Šulgira, termed the archivist

"na-tum", in Ur. Perhaps the latter was a copyist's error for "na-kab-tum", or warehouse. By far the largest number of individuals in this grouping whose names included the king as DN occurs in the category of scribe (dub-sar), for which sixteen discrete name patterns covering up twenty-three individuals are attested. Fourteen scribes possessed seals identifying them as such, an indication of the importance of this artifact for their work. The scribes known from seals, and who may thus be clearly differentiated from each other, are Libur-Šulgi son of Kallamu (Puzriš-Dagan), another Libur-Šulgi son of Enum-ili (Puzriš-Dagan), Lu-Šulgi son of the archivist Ur-Šara (Umma), Lu-Šulgi son of Uršaga (Umma), Lu-Šulgira son of the governor of Umma, Ur-Lisi (Umma), Lu-Šulgira son of Dadaga (Umma), Lugal-Šulgi son of Utumu (Girsu), Mannum-ki-Šulgi (Puzriš-Dagan), Puzur-Šulgi son of the estimator ($šar_2$-ra-ab-du) Abia (Kutha, Puzriš-Dagan), Šulgi-almah (Puzriš-Dagan), Šulgi-ezem, scribe of the "man of" Ninamutum and son of Ur-Dumuzi (Gaeš), Šulgi-ili (Puzriš-Dagan), Šulgi-ili scribe of Šu-Suen when the latter was military governor of Der (Puzriš-Dagan), and Šulgi-kugzu son of Šarakam (Girsu, Puzriš-Dagan). An otherwise unidentified man named Ur-Šulgi was father of a scribe of Ur-Lisi, governor of Umma, and another Ur-Šulgi was characterized as a royal scribe (dub-sar-lugal) in a Girsu text. The remaining scribes are not attested in any sealings, nor is their employer mentioned: Etel-pu-Šulgi (Puzriš-Dagan), Šulgi-bani (Umma), Šulgi-ili (Puzriš-Dagan), Ur-Šulgira (Ur, Urusagrig), Ur-Šulgizi (Girsu), Amar-Suen-lugal-dingirkalama (Girsu), and Šu-Suen-nur-matišu (Urusagrig).

The title maškim was used for an important function in the distribution center at Puzriš-Dagan, that of authorizing the withdrawal of animals and other goods, with certain individuals having responsibility over delimited areas. Although men with other titles, notably cupbearer (sagi), minister (sukkal), and mounted couriers (ra_2-gaba) might be designated as maškim for particular transactions, there occur other men who seem to have been permanently embedded within the Puzriš-Dagan bureaucracy primarily to perform this function. Men who appear only in Puzriš-Dagan texts and only as maškim are Šulgi-dugedu, Šulgi-kalamametebi (also in Tummal), Šulgi-mati, Šulgu-urumu, Šulgi-zimu, and Ur-Šulgira. In addition, there was an Izi-Šulgi in Girsu and a Šulgi-bani in Nippur, who may have performed the function of maškim more or less permanently.

While some of the people in this job grouping, e.g. the šabra, occupied a relatively high social level, all of them were certainly better off than the bulk of the working population. Nonetheless, their duties would by and large not have necessitated personal interaction with the king and his family, or have elevated them to the court circle. In any event, the use of the king's name as a theophoric element was popular, especially among the class of scribes, but there is no evidence to indicate whether these men had adopted such names or been given them by their parents.

3.3.6 Cult Officials and Servitors

In addition to the en priests and priestesses listed above under the Royal Family, one finds other cult positions filled by individuals bearing names with the king as DN. One such, a Šulgi-hamati, was a zabar-dab$_5$ further classified as personnel of the mortuary chapel of the ens in Girsu. The zabar-dab$_5$ was a high-level officiant in charge of the "cupbearers" (sagi), who are frequently seen requisitioning (as maškim) and transporting sacrificial animals to various cult centers, as well as of the extispicers (lu$_2$-maš-šu-gid$_2$-gid$_2$).[1035] A significant number of cupbearers were either named, or adopted names, in honor of the deified king, but due to their mobility among cult centers in areas throughout the state, it is difficult to differentiate between men bearing the same name. Seventeen name patterns that may represent up to twenty-five individual men are known. The sagi, who in some instances used their seals and in others were further identified as maškim, were: Libur-Šulgi (Urusagrig), Lu-Šulgi (Umma), Nur-Šulgi (seal, Puzriš-Dagan), Šulgi-a-al (seal, Nippur), Šulgi-ad-GUR (Puzriš-Dagan), Šulgi-bani (Umma, Puzriš-Dagan), Šulgi-bani (maškim, Nippur), Šulgi-hamati (Girsu, Ur), Šulgi-ili (Umma), Šulgi-ili (maškim, Puzriš-Dagan), Šulgi-nada (Urusagrig), Šulgi-Nanšekiag (maškim, Karkar), Šulgi-šubirašu (Urusagrig), Ur-Šulgi (Urusagrig), Ur-Šulgira (Umma), Ur-Šulgira son of DINGIR-zitum (seal, Urusagrig), Išar-Šu-Suen (maškim, Puzriš-Dagan), Šu-Suen-

[1035] Sallaberger (1999a), pp. 187-188.

andul (Umma), Šu-Suen-ili (Puzriš-Dagan, Umma), Šu-Suen-izu-lamahar-Enlil (maškim, Puzriš-Dagan, Uruk), and Šu-Suen-lamahar (maškim, Puzriš-Dagan, Urusagrig).

Singer-musicians comprise another group of servitors in whose names the king's is frequently found. It is probably not surprising to learn that this phenomenon occurred almost exclusively among performers attached to one of the deified king's temples. Such a preponderance might imply that renaming oneself upon acceptance into this position in the king's cult was, if not mandatory, then subject to strong collegial pressure, even more so as there is no comparable equivalence between the theophoric elements in other singer-musicians' names and the deity of the cult they served.

The singer-musicians might be identified as male (nar) or female (nar-munus), and further classified as "personnel" (gir_3-se_2-ga) of a particular temple of deity. One often finds children of the singer-musicians included in ration lists and it appears that, in some cases at least, these children were also performers. A large group of singer-musicians are recorded as personnel of Šulgi in Lagaš, including two family groups: Babaa, the overseer of this temple's singer-musicians, and his four sons, Lu-Šulgi, Šulgi-badkalama, Šulgi-hegal, and Šulgi-kalamametebi, and a singer-musician named Šulgi-amah, whose two children, Šulgi-kiuršag and the weanling Zi-Šulgira-kalama, both received rations. Other singer-musicians in this same establishment were named Ama-Šulgie-an-irru, Šulgi-sisa, and Šulgi-unamti. The temple of Šulgi in Guabba likewise hosted a number of singer-musicians named after their cult's deity, all of them male: Šulgi-akalama, Šulgi-bad, Šulgi-hegal, Šulgi-kiuršag, Šulgi-meteuruna, Šulgirakam, Šulgi-sisa, Šulgi-talu, Šulgi-teš, Šulgi-udsudše, Šulgi-zikalama, Šulgi-zimu, and Ur-Šulgi. One of these singer-musicians named Šulgi-inimsilima was further identified as son of a dockworker (lu_2-mar-sa), and it seems likely that the otherwise unidentified Guabba singer-musician who fathered a Geme-Šulgi worked for this same institution. In a temple of Šulgi in Girsu, a female singer-musician had a child named Šulgi-išag, while in his temple in Umma two other such performer named their sons Lu-Šulgira and, uniquely, Amar-Suen-hamati.

Singer-musicians in temples not dedicated to the king also on occasion show up utilizing his name in their own. For example, Šara's temple in Umma had two Šulgi-hamati's, one a male singer-musician and the other the child of an unnamed female of that position. Two other males, Šulgi-kalamametebi and Šulgi-zimu, performed in unidentified cult centers in that province, and two children, Lu-Šulgira and Šulgida-numea, were characterized as "from the house of singers" (e_2-nar-ta) of an unknown cult establishment there. A Puzriš-Dagan text mentions a female singer-musician, Šulgi-mišar, and two children who were sons of male singer-musicians occur in texts from Nippur and Girsu, Ur-Šulgi and Šulgi-unamti respectively.

In comparison with Šulgi, singer-musicians and their children named after the other deified kings are scant. Two male singer-musicians, Amar-Suen-hamati and Amar-Suen-tešmu, who served a deity whose name is illegible occur in a text with an unknown provenance. Another Amar-Suen-hamati was son of a woman classified as personnel of a broken temple or household name in Umma. King Amar-Suen himself supplied two singer-musicians as a votive offering (a-ru-a) to the Temple, presumably of Nanna, in Karzida: one Amar-Suen-amatu-Nanna, the son of one Arad-Nanna, and Amar-Suen-namzitara. As for king Šu-Suen, the chief singer-musician (nar-gal) in Urusagrig bore a name honoring him: Šu-Suen-naram-Eštar.

The lower-level cult positions of išib and gudug, who were charged with tasks such as bathing, dressing and serving food to the cult statues, are represented by Lu-Amar-Suen, išib of Ninšubur of Nippur, and Lu-Šulgira, gudug of the puzzling "female neighbor" ($ušur_3$) in Umma. Several records list rations provided to adults or children associated with a temple, but lacking a specific job title. These were Šulgi-dingirmu and Šulgi-heti of the Temple of Inana in Nippur, Ur-Šulgi of the Temple of Enlil in a text from Puzriš-Dagan, Šulgi-zimu, classified as personnel of the Temple of Šulgi in Umma, Šulgi-sisa of the Temple of Šulgi in Guabba, and Amar-Suen-hamati, the son of one Nanše-adgal, in a list of personnel of the temples of the gods in Nina. Another type of

cult staff, the lu-marza, the exact duties of which are unknown, was the job title held by a Šulgi-bani in Umma.

3.3.7 Entertainers

Entertainers in the Ur III period were frequently connected with cult festivities, and sometimes directly linked to a particular cult. However, in texts mentioning the pair who were named after a king, no specific festival or cult was noted. One Nur-Šulgi worked as the overseer of athletes (ugula lirum) in Ur, and a Šulgi-palil was identified as a type of jester or entertainer (ud-da-tuš) in a Puzriš-Dagan text.

Another handful of texts record the gift of silver bracelets to individuals for putting on what I would term private performances. Recipients were Šulgi-galzu, son of a singer-musician named Alla, when he wrestled (mu-gešba$_2$ in-tag-tag-a-še$_3$) in Uruk; Šulgi-nuri, a female singer-musician who entertained the king when he drank beer at the house of the general (and royal in-law) Niridagal in Puzriš-Dagan; Amar-Suen-hili-Kiengi, a singer of the scribe Lugal-nir, who was himself son of the archivist Ur-Šara, for an unspecified event in Umma; and two children of Dada the gala priest: Hedut-Amar-Suen for performing a song (en$_3$-du in-tag-tag) and Šu-Suen-migir-Eštar for playing an instrument (sa-bi$_2$-tum in-tag-tag) on two separate occasions in Nippur.

3.3.8 Health and Hygiene

The practice of medicine in the third millennium was a combination of experientially tested measures, such as potions, and efforts that invoked gods, like incantations, and thus medical workers obviously might be expected to have some connection with cult. However, no such connection was noted in the text mentioning the sole physician (a-zu) to have a name including a king as DN, one Šu-Suen-bani (Puzriš-Dagan). The purview of the barber (šu-i) likewise encompassed the practical and the sacred, for he was involved in activities such as shaving and

cutting hair which, in the case of the king in particular, could have a ritualized aspect. Six barbers whose names incorporated a king's are known: in Puzriš-Dagan Šu-Sulgi, Šu-Suen-dingir, and Šu-Suen-hamati, each of whom was additionally acting as maškim in a transaction; in Umma, another, or perhaps the same Šu-Sulgi; and in Urusagrig, Ur-Šulgi and Amar-Suen-bani.

3.3.9 Craftsmen

A number of different types of skilled craftsmen are attested, working with metals, gems, wood, and leather. Many of them were associated with a workshop called variously the gašam, giškinti, or both terms used together. In the workshop at Ur one finds silversmiths (kug-dim$_2$) named Lugal-Šulgi, Amar-Suen-malik and Lu-Amar-Suen. In other texts from this same institution, however, Amar-Suen-malik is identified as a fine carpenter (tibira) and Lu-Amar-Suen as a GIN$_2$-la$_2$, a type of craftsman whose exact specialty has not yet been determined. The ability of these two men to move between two different skill sets in a short period of time suggests that either these job titles were not as rigidly defined as we suppose, or that these men had developed capabilities that allowed them to be assigned to different specialized tasks as needed. The same workshop also employed a leather worker (ašgab), Mannum-ki-Amar-Suen. An overseer of leather workers (ugula ašgab) in this same city, one Kin-Šulgi, was probably employed in the same workshop, as likely was an Ur blacksmith (simug) named Šulgi-mišar.

In Girsu, an Ur-eškuga, termed "man of" the main workshop (giš-kin-ti gu-la) of the Temple of Ningirsu, had a son named Ur-Amar-Suen, and an woman termed a worker or slave (geme$_2$) of a workshop (gašam) had a son named Amar-Suen-bani. Also in Girsu, rations were provided to a boy, Lugal-Šulgi, whose father was subsumed under the joint heading "potters and maltsters" (bahar$_2$ munu$_4$-mu$_2$). A potter (bahar$_3$) named Lu-Šulgira was classified as personnel of Zabalam in the Umma province, and Šu-Suen-amah, son of a man who seems to have been a type of carpenter (NAGAR-ga) received food rations in Umma.

3.3.10 Forestry and Building Materials

One or more men named Hun-Šulgi was in charge of (ugula) collecting wood from the forest of the palace (tir e_2-lugal) from among the poplar trees ($^{giš}asal_x$) of the Temple of Šara. Given that the military-governor of Umma, Hun-Šulgi, is recorded elsewhere as overseeing other projects in that province, these are probably all the same man. Wood harvesting of another forest in Umma, the ownership of which is illegible (tir [x]), was under the direction of a Nur-Šulgi, and one Duga-Šulgi did the same job in regard to tree trunks or rafters (giš-ur_3) in Nippur.

Reeds had a number of uses, including matting for light construction, containers, torches and kindling. An Arad-Amar-Suen served as overseer of reed bundles (ugula sa gi) in Umma, and Ud-ma-ni-ar, an able-bodied worker assigned to split or peel reeds (guruš ad-kid zi_3-il_2) in Girsu had a son named Ur-Šulgi.

3.3.11 Animal Husbandry

Individuals with personal names that incorporated the king's as DN are attested tending to cattle, sheep, donkeys, and dogs, as catching birds and fish, and as animal fatteners. In relation to the first grouping, the title sipad might indicate a cowherd, shepherd, assherder, or kennelman, depending on the type of animal modifying the word.

A Libur-Šulgi served as cowherd (sipad-gud) under Niridagal, likely the general and royal in-law of that name (Puzriš-Dagan). An Amar-Suen-ili received rations for unspecified work in a sheepfold (e_2-udu) in Ur, and the shepherd's assistant (gab_2-ra) Šulgi-unamti is attested in Umma. An overseer (ugula) named Šulgi-ili received fodder for donkeys in Ur, implying that he was in charge of them, and three grooms, who typically handled equids, worked in Urusagrig: Šulgi-nada, Šulgi-na-KU-šu, and Šulgi-ramašu. Another Urusagrig groom, Iškur-bani, had a son named Šulgi-ili. A seal impression on a tablet from Ur identifies a Lu-Šulgira, a colonel of the dogs (nu-$banda_3$ ur-

gir$_{15}$-ra) whose father, Lugal-ura, had served in the same position. Their military title accords with the common use of dogs in battle and security matters.[1036] Two kennelmen with royal theophoric names are known: Dan-Šulgi (Puzriš-Dagan) and Šulgi-hamati (Girsu). There are, in addition, a number of men termed sipad without any further modification: Šulgi-Lammamu, an overseer of sipad (Puzriš-Dagan), Puzur-Šulgi, a sipad also classified as a "man of" another Puzur-Šulgi (Puzriš-Dagan), and Ur-Šulgi in Tummal.

Šulgi-kalamametebi was classified as an overseer of fowlers (ugula mušen-du$_3$-e-ne) in a text from Puzriš-Dagan, and Ur-Šulgira as a fowler in Urusagrig. A foreigner named Šulgi-enšubak received a gift (sag-rig$_7$) of flour, apparently to be used for an obscure term (gu-mušen-na-me-me) that seems to have something to do with snares for birds. Another Šulgi-kalamametebi worked as a fisherman (šu-ku$_6$) for the Temple of Dumuzi in Girsu, and a Šugi-lugal performed the same job in Nina. Finally, a Šulgi-ili served as an animal fattener (kurušda) for Šulgi's queen Šulgi-simti (Puzriš-Dagan)

3.3.12 Textiles

Ur III textile production was extensive and engaged a large number of workers. The word for weaver was ušbar, the majority of whom appear to have been women, called geme$_2$ uš-bar. Because this word geme$_2$ is ambiguous, being used for able-bodied female workers of free status, servants, indentured or debt slaves, and chattel slaves, and because rations to these women so frequently included their children, the nature, and most particularly the location of their work is a matter of dispute. Ušbar is often treated as indicating a large building, typically attached to an elite household or a temple estate, in which mainly or exclusively slave women were confined, with their children if any existed, and compelled to work at looms for long days. This may indeed have been the case, especially for weavers explicitly allied with estates. However, comparable evidence from

[1036] Tsouparopoulou (2012).

Egypt shows that their institutional weaving mills were staffed exclusively with male weavers working on upright looms, while women so engaged tended to work with horizontal ground-looms set up in domestic courtyards on the model of a cottage industry, a situation that allowed them the flexibility to also deal with child-care, cooking and other such tasks. This type of arrangement should at least be considered a possibility for some of the geme-ušbar, although it does make the matter of determining the free or slave status of the geme under consideration difficult if not impossible.

The overseers of the weavers (ugula uš-bar) were virtually always men, and we find two whose names incorporated the king's as their theophoric element: Šulgi-ili in Nippur and Ur-Šulgi in Ur. A third overseer of weavers took charge of one Šulgi-nuri, who was being reassigned after serving as a singer-musician during a festival of the crescent moon, a transfer that might suggest that Šulgi-nuri was multi-talented, or that the job to which s/he was being relegated required little particular skill. Two women who worked as weavers also bore personal names honoring the king: Geme-Šulgi in Girsu and Nin-Šulgi in Guabba. A fair number of children whose mothers were weavers are on record as receiving rations. These children, mostly female, were Geme-Šulgi and Geme-Amar-Suen in Guabba, Nin-Šulgi and Šulgi-sisa in Girsu, Amar-Suen-simti in Ur, and another Geme-Amar-Suen in Zabalam. The mothers of several other children --- Geme-Šulgi, Amar-Suenda-numea, and Lu-Amar-Suen --- worked as weavers for the Temple of Ningišzida in Girsu.

Another type of worker who dealt with cloth and was sometimes tied directly to a weaving mill was the fuller (lu_2-$azlag_2$). One such, Lu-Šulgi, was further classified as personnel of the house of weaving (e_2-uš-bar) in Guabba, while a fuller in Girsu had a son named Amar-Suen-hegal. Another two fullers in Umma, called fullers of dark (cloth), were named Amar-Suen-akalama and Amar-Suen-engal.[1037] One Ur-Šulgi was employed in Girsu making felt (tug_2-du_8), and a Lu-Šu-Suen was an overseer of felters (ugula tug_2-du_8) in Ur.

[1037] This title, transliterated lu_2-tug_2-gi_6, literally "man of the dark cloth" should rather be read lu_2-$azlag_2$-gi_6, "fuller of dark (cloth)".

3.3.13 Transport and Storage

Transportation of commodities was frequently achieved by boat, but no men who worked in this area, whether as sailors or in the dockyards where the craft were built and maintained, are attested bearing a name honoring the king. Such men are found rather among the lowest class of menials, the UN-ga_2, who served as a type of coolie or porter involved in transportation of items over shorter distances than usual by boat. An Amar-Suen-igin, son of the porter Ur-Dumuzida, was assigned together with his father to unspecified tasks in a field in Umma. The other porters worked for temples: Aba-Šulgigim in the shrine of the large temple ($eš_3$ e_2-gu-la) of the Temple of Ningirsu, Šulgi-unamti in the calf-house (e_2-amar) of a temple the name of which is illegible, and the Šulgi-sipad-dari and Amar-Suen-hamati for the Temple of Nanše, all in Girsu. A Lu-Šulgi appeared on a list with his father, on which they were subsumed under the heading "brushwood carriers and grooms" (u_2-il_2 kir_4-dab_5-me) in Umma.

A pair of men who worked in two of the various types of warehouses fall into this onomastic category. An Ur-Šulgi was overseer at a storage facility (ga_2-nun) in Girsu, and an Ur-Šulgira worked at a warehouse (e_2-kišib-ba) in Puzriš-Dagan. One might also included the throne-bearer (lu_2-gu-za-la_2), of which two are attested, both in Urusagrig: Šulgi-satu, whose job title was abbreviated (lu_2-gu-za) and Šulgi-Utu.

3.3.14 Food Production and Service

Several different types of workers involved in various aspects of food production sported names that employed the king's as DN. The largest such number occurred among the cooks (muhaldim), with ten different name patterns covering up to thirteen different men. These were Ennam-Šulgi, Šulgi-ili, Šulgi-zimu, Ur-Šulgi and Šu-Suen-lilabir-hattam in Puzriš-Dagan; Lu-Šulgira,

Šulgi-ili, Šulgi-mešar, and Šu-Suen-mišar, and Šulgi-NI-da in Urusagrig; Lu-Šulgi in Girsu; and Šu-Suen-ili in Umma. In addition, the cook Ninsigar had a son named Lu-Šulgi. One may recall that the earliest example of an individual inserting the king's name into his own was the cook Šulgi-zimu of Nippur in Š24.

A small number of individuals who dealt with the production of beer also fall into this category of onomastic practice. Under the spelling ŠIM for brewer we find Lu-Šulgi brewer of Umma, Ma-Šulgigim, a brewer categorized as personnel of a brewery (e_2 ŠIM) in Ur, and Šulgi-arabkalama, an able-bodied worker (guruš) of a brewery in Girsu. The spelling lu_2-$lunga_2$ (ŠIMxGAR) was used for the brewer Lu-Šulgira in Urusagrig. A maltster ($munu_4$-mu_2) named Ur-Šulgira is attested in Nippur.

Grain was milled by women termed $geme_2$-$kinkin_2$, and, as with the geme who wove cloth, their legal status, i.e. whether free, indentured, or slave, is usually not clear. This job title was applied to a Geme-Šulgi in Girsu, and another Geme-Šulgi was daughter of a female miller in Apisal. A Šulgi-urumu worked as a $geme_2$-$kinkin_2$ for the governor of an unknown province. Finally, in relation to food service, an Aba-Šulgigim with the job title "man of the major afternoon meal" (lu_2-kin-sig_7 gu-la) appears to have been a waiter of sorts.

3.3.15 Agriculture

The agricultural sector was the primary driver of the economy and consisted of both skilled and relatively unskilled labor. Among the former were the cattle administrators ($šuš_3$), a position that, in the Umma province at least, was filled by a member of the local governor's family.[1038] One man, Ur-Šulgira, was identified as a royal cattle administrator ($šuš_3$-lugal), and another $šuš_3$, Ur-Šulgi, was simultaneously acting as an overseer of sorts (ugula) in Ur. The remainder of the cattle

[1038] Dahl (2007), pp. 48-49, 85-96.

administrators with the king's name incorporated into their own were Šulgi-Lammamu in Girsu, Šulgire-iš-manag in Umma, and Šulgi-dan and Šulgi-Lammamu in texts from Puzriš-Dagan.

Another group of relatively high status was comprised of the men who made the estimates of the agricultural output expected from particular fields, the $šar_2$-ra-ab-du. Seven estimators bore names honoring a king: Mannum-ki-Šulgi (Puzriš-Dagan) and Puzur-Šulgi (Kutha, Puzriš-Dagan), each of whom had seals on which they were identified as scribes, and Šulgi-ili (Ur), Šulgi-Nanšekiag (Puzriš-Dagan), Ur-Šulgira (Ur), Šu-Suen-ili (Puzriš-Dagan), and Šu-Suen-itili-malik (Puzriš-Dagan). Overseers involved with different types of field work might also be men of high status, as we have seen in the case of generals in overall charge of particular agricultural projects. Men overseeing grain-stacking in fields (ugula gan_2 zar_3-tab-ba) in Umma were Hun-Šulgi, Ibni-Šulgi, and Nur-Šu-Suen. One Lu-Šulgira oversaw a transfer of grain in Umma, and it may be the same man who was listed as an overseer of fields (ugula gan_2) in the same province. Šulgi-kalamametebi served as the overseer of grain (ugula še) for the household of Hala-Lamma in Girsu, and Šu-Suen-rim-ili supervised an operation of loading grain into a boat for transport to a warehouse (ugula še ma-a si-ga na-kab-tum-$še_3$) in Urusagrig.

The most efficient method of plowing fields entailed the use of draft-animals, and the cultivators (engar) in charge of plow teams of men and animals had a somewhat higher status than those involved in other aspects of crop management. An Lu-Šulgira was called overseer of cultivators (ugula engar) in Da-Umma, and the fact that a Šulgi-hamati was assigned nine plow oxen (gud-apin) identifies him as an engar as well. One ox-driver ($šag_4$-gud) in Umma, Šu-Suen-ili, was further subsumed under the heading "able-bodied female and male workers ($geme_2$-guruš), showing that he held free status, something not everyone working the fields enjoyed. A number of individuals in Urusagrig who were classed as slaves ($arad_2$) or child slaves (dumu-$arad_2$) were assigned to plow teams of ten men (gir_3-se_3-ga gud-apin-10): the adults Ur-Šulgi and Amar-Suen-bani, and the children Šulgi-ili and Amar-Suen-bani who were additionally brothers. While laborers

involved with grain production predominate, there was one man working in another crop area who bore a name with the king as DN, Šulgi-zimu, a gardener or orchard-man (nu-^{giš}kiri$_6$) in Girsu.

In the Ur III administrative archives, the bulk of agricultural work recorded, such as tending to growing crops and harvesting, was performed by free individuals temporarily assigned to particular chores under the corvée system of labor, and by slaves who may have been temporarily or permanently so tasked. These groups, and the types of labor they performed, will be analyzed in the following section. One should note, however, that the administrative archives reflected the institutional interests of the crown, the local governors, and the temples, and so are lacking information about the labor and economic arrangements of, at the least, those individuals of free status during the intervals in which they were not liable for corvée.

3.3.16 Corvée Labor, Servants and Slaves

Male laborers were differentiated according to their legal status. Those who were free composed the class of able-bodied workers (guruš), obligated to temporary corvée service in military or civilian areas, in either of which they were termed, when in groups, "erin$_2$"; the latter is to be translated as troops or work-gangs according to their assignment. Another set of men was classified "arad$_2$", an ambiguous word that may mean either servant or slave. Finally, "sag" denoted a slave without question, as did arua, "votive offering", for only a non-free person could be donated. The word namrak, "booty", when applied to an individual indicated that he or she was a chattel slave, but there was no counterpart to designate a debt slave, who theoretically might be able to work his or her way out of indenture.

The situation of female laborers is frequently impossible to disentangle, as the same word, "geme$_2$", was used to refer to free women subject to corvée service, servants, and slaves. In a few cases one can make the determination of a woman's status because she occurred in a list of

workers subsumed under the heading "geme$_2$-guruš" or "geme$_2$-arad", the former indicating free status and the latter either servants or slaves.

The majority of free men working on corvée, when their task was noted, was assigned to one connected with agriculture. Overseers of corvée (ugula guruš and ugula erin$_2$) were Šulgi-sisa in Urusagrig, for unspecified work in fields (guruš gan$_2$), Lugal-Šulgi in Girsu, for men tasked with cutting weeds and hoeing (guruš u$_2$-kud u$_3$ al-ak, Girsu), another --- or perhaps the same --- Lugal-Šulgi in Girsu, overseeing the work-gangs of either the Temple of Šulgi or that of Šu-Suen (erin$_2$ e$_2$ ^{d}Šul-gi-me erin$_2$ ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-me), Ibni-Šulgi in a text from Puzriš-Dagan, of work-gangs assigned to a particular field (erin$_2$ a-šag$_4$ ku-da-bad$_2$-da-ka tuš-ša), and an Ibni-Suen who oversaw a workgang performing unspecified labor in Guabba. A Lu-Šulgi was classified as an able-bodied worker of the workgang (guruš erin$_2$) in Umma. Assignment as "personnel of the bala" (gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga) most likely indicated corvée service, as the collection, preparation and transportation of the bala-payments due from the provinces to the crown were seasonal in nature. One man, Lu-Šulgi, was explicitly termed a free laborer assigned to the bala (guruš bala-še$_3$ e$_3$-e$_3$) in an Umma text. Three others in Umma, called personnel of the bala, were Lu-Šulgi, son of a potter (bahar$_3$), another Lu-Šulgi and Amar-Suen-hamati, the latter two sons of different women employed in grinding groats (geme$_2$ nig$_2$-ar$_3$-ra).

Several men who were called "arad$_2$" were designated such on their seals, in which context they were most likely servants, not slaves, of the individual named first in the seal legend. Such seals, termed "arad$_2$-zu", were owned by Puzur-Šulgi, a servant of Ipali son of U-LUM-sin (Nippur), Šulgida-nirgal, servant of a king whose name is missing (Uruk), Šulgi-ili, son of a minister (sukkal) (Nippur), Budureš-Šu-Suen, servant of an Amar-^{d}GIR$_3$-[x] (Nippur), and Šu-Suen-nur-matišu, servant of Guzana (Nippur). Seals were also possessed by three men serving deities, and it's impossible to determine their legal status: Mannum-ki-Šulgi and Šulgida-nirgal, each "arad$_2$" of Ninegal (Puzriš-Dagan), and Šu-Suen-kalal, of Ninlil (Umma). A Šulgire-ma-ag was a servant/slave of the sukkal-mah (Ur).

Five individuals of indeterminate sex appeared in lists from Umma in which the workers were subsumed under the heading "free female and male labor" (geme$_2$-guruš): Šu-Suen-duri, Šu-Suen-imdi, and Šu-Suen-nuri, working "in the house" (šag$_4$ e$_2$-a), and Šu-Suen-ili and Šu-Suen-dan, who had been marked absent (zah$_3$).

There are two lists of people classified as geme$_2$-arad$_2$ of high-status individuals, Ninšaga, daughter of Ur-mes governor of Urusagrig, and Dada the gala priest in Ur. For several of Ninšaga's personnel, the additional job titles that were given suggest that the group as a whole was more likely composed of servants rather than slaves. In Ninšaga's employ were Šu-Suen-šuqir and Šu-Suen-dan, both mounted couriers (ra$_2$-gaba), a shepherd named Ur-Šulgi, the female singer-musician Šulgi-bašti, a boy Ur-Šulgi who was assigned to work with a cultivator and ox-driver (engar šag$_4$-gud), and two people who were part of supplementary work gangs (erin$_2$ digir), the child Šulgi-šuqir and a girl whose father was one Ennim-Šulgi. In the case of the three workers typed as geme$_2$-arad$_2$ of Dada the gala priest, it's impossible to determine their legal status with the information given. The names of these servants/slaves were Šu-Suen-inib-Eštar, Šu-Suen-lipit-Ea, and Šu-Suen-naram-Enlil. A Geme-Amar-Suen, daughter of Bau-kugzu, was idenfitied as a servant or slave of the goddess Bau (geme$_2$ ^{d}Ba-u$_3$) in a text from Girsu.

Among women termed "geme$_2$" with no further modifiers to help in determining their status were Šulgi-tešmu (Umma) and Geme-Amar-Suen (Ur). A Geme-Šulgi in Kinunir was classified as the child of a geme$_2$. A large number of children appear as recipients of rations along with a parent --- overwhelmingly their mother, which suggests that they were children of geme$_2$ of some sort. A few of these mother-child pairs were categorized as personnel of an institution or place: Amar-Suen-[x]-gisa, Amar-Suen-Utumu, Amar-Suen-zimu, and Amar-Suen-zišaggal and a parent were termed personnel of an establishment (e$_2$), the rest of the name of which is illegible, in Umma, and Amar-Suen-hamati and his or her mother were "personnel of Zabalam. In many cases, no supplementary information at all was provided regarding those on ration lists, though the very act of

receiving rations with one's parent or child is indicative of lower status. In this category one may place the minors: Nin-Šulgi, two different children named Amar-Suen-hamati, three different children named Geme-Amar-Suen, and Lu-Amar-Suen in Girsu; Šulgi-dingir, Amar-Suen-[x]-KA-in and Amar-Suen-[x]-mu, who were siblings, Amar-Suen-gugal, and Geme-Amar-Suen in Nippur; Amar-Suen-hamati in Umma; Šu-Suen-ili-mani in Ur, and Amar-Suen-Anka on a list of unknown provenance. Two different women named Nin-Šulgi were identified as the mothers of children receiving rations in Kinunir, and two weanlings (amar-kud) of unnoted parentage occur on ration lists, Amar-Suen-Lammamu in Kiešša and Amar-Suen-zikalama in Kinunir.

A few texts record workers without titles or status, but with their parentage provided, assigned to particular chores or to other individuals for unspecified labor. It is not clear in every instance if these workers were children or not. A Lu-Šulgi was tasked with drawing water (a-bala) in a garden or orchard (^{giš}kiri$_6$) in Kisurra, and three individuals were assigned to work with their fathers in fields (gan$_2$): Amar-Suen-hili-Šara and two others with the same name, Amar-Suen-urumu. A Lu-Šulgi, son of Ur-Nungal, was sent to work for an estimator (šar-ra-ab-du) in Gu-edena. Three young men or children were transferred with their parents to do unspecified chores under the authority of men whose job titles were not given: Amar-Suen-hegal, Amar-Suen-hili-Kiengi, and Amar-Suen-kalame-da-sa.

The slave status of four people whose names incorporated the king's as DN is certain. Two children were included on an Umma list of people classified as booty (nam-ra-ak): Amar-Suen-hegal, a child of Galagir, and Amar-Suen-hegal, a child of Laala. It seems reasonable to assume that their names had been changed after capture by someone along the line of those who had taken them in charge, whether in the immediate aftermath of victory or after their arrival in Umma. A person named Amar-Suen-bani was sold as a slave in Susa, and another, Šulgi-šamši, was offered as a votive (a-ru-a) to an unnamed cult establishment in Girsu by one Dada, son of Uludi.

The various types of laborers in this category are the best witness of the success the deified kings achieved in their considered efforts to publicize their cult. It is especially noteworthy as the bulk, and likely all, of these workers would never have dealings with the king or his circle, their closest connection being, perhaps, a glimpse of him or his cult statue during the pomp of a public procession or festival.

3.3.17 Miscellaneous Titles

Two men identified by other than their job title bore names incorporating that of a deified king. A Šu-Amar-Suen in Urusagrig was classed as a *muškēnu* (ENxMAŠ-gag), a type of legal dependent, and a Šulgi-nuri as a tenant (lu_2-apin-la_2) on an unprovenanced tablet. There are two attestions in Urusagrig of similar titles of unknown import, held by Šulgi-ili (lu_2-bu_3-bu_3) and perhaps a second Šulgi-ili (lu_2-bu_3-bu_3-ga_2). Another title, the parameters of which have not been figured out yet is the u_3-kul, which was the identifying marker for a Šulgi-akalama in Girsu.[1039]

3.4 The King's Name as Theophoric Element in Succeeding Periods

If the practice of renaming oneself or naming one's children after the deified king constituted an acknowledgement and response to the king's cult, one would expect to see it continue under the succeeding Isin-Larsa dynasties, many of the rulers of which continued the Ur III royal convention of deifying themselves immediately upon accession to the throne. And indeed, this onomastic practice is attested during this period, although most of the evidence is limited to the first king of the Isin dynasty, Išbi-Erra. In fact, names incorporating divine kings of the Ur III dynasty survived into the reign of Išbi-Erra: Šulgi-*ilī* (IE08?), *Tarâm*-Šulgi (IE06), *Dan*-Amar-*Sîn*, a felter (tug_2-du_8, IS04), Lu-

[1039] See Michalowski (2006), p. 53.

Amar-Suena, an ox-driver (šag$_4$-tam, IE01), and a doorkeeper (i$_3$-du$_8$, IS13) *Šu-Sîn-abī*.[1040] It seems probable that these people were originally named or re-named when the Ur III kings still reigned.

The majority of the Isin-Larsa kyriophoric names were published in two volumes of the Babylonian inscription in the collection of James B. Nies (abbreviated as NBC), volume IX, edited by Vaughn Crawford, and volume X, edited by Mark Van de Mieroop. Volume IX contains 535 texts from the reigns of Išbi-Erra and Šu-ilišu, the provenance of most of which cannot be determined. Four hundred of these texts deal with the leather industry, and the most commonly encountered career is that of the mounted courier (ra$_2$-gaba). Volume X consists of 317 texts from the crafts archives of Isin during the reigns of these same two deified Isin kings, a span of approximately forty-three years.

Twenty-five distinct names patterns using Išbi-Erra's name as a theophoric element are revealed, fifteen of which also existed in Ur III onomastics. Eleven of the latter were composed using secondary element(s) in Akkadian, two with Sumerian elements, and two with mixed Akkadian-Sumerian. One of these, *Išbi-Erra-šam-balāṭim*, is an Akkadian translation of the Sumerian pattern found in Šulgi-unamti, i.e. "DN is the plant of life". In every example, the name of the king was preceded with the divine determinative. The meanings of these PNs can be seen by referring to the matching non-theophoric element of the Ur III names in Table A.

1 Puzur-*Išbi-Erra*, mounted courier (ra$_2$-gaba)[1041]

2 *Išbi-Erra-banī*, cattle slaughterer (gud-gaz)[1042]

[1040] ^{d}Šul-gi-i$_3$-li$_2$: NBC IX 327:8; Ta$_2$-ra-am-^{d}Šul-gi: NBC IX 259:6, 358:1, 387: 5 (IE06), and 497:2, 6; KAL-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen: NBC X 237:26 (IE04), and 238:16; Lu$_2$-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen NBC IX 246:9, 254:5, 265:6 (IE01), 398:21, 399:7, and 523:7; ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-a-bi: NBC X 127:12.

[1041] Puzur$_2$-^{d}Iš-bi-Er$_3$-ra: NBC IX 451:16.

[1042] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er$_3$-ra-ba-ni: NBC IX 300:11; NBC X 102:6 (gud-gaz).

3 *Išbi-Erra-dan*, a felter (tug_2-du_8)[1043]

4 *Išbi-Erra-hāsis*, courtyard sweeper (kisal-luh)[1044]

5 *Išbi-Erra-ilī*, mounted courier and barber (šu-i)[1045]

6 *Išbi-Erra-lāmahār*[1046]

7 *Išbi-Erra-mālik*, mounted courier[1047]

8 *Išbi-Erra-migir*-Enlila, barber and cook (muhaldim)[1048]

9 *Išbi-Erra-muballiṭ*, mounted courier[1049]

10 *Išbi-Erra-nādā*[1050]

11 *Išbi-Erra-narām*-Enlil, mounted courier[1051]

12 *Išbi-Erra-nūr-mātīšu*, overseer (ugula)[1052]

13 *Išbi-Erra-šam-balāṭim*, a singer-musician (nar)[1053]

14 *Išbi-Erra-waqar*, mounted courier[1054]

15 *Išbi-Erra*-zikalama, mounted courier, overseer, and authorizer or bailiff (maškim)[1055]

[1043] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-KAL: NBC X 252:38, 253:25, and 271:19 (all tug_2-du_8).

[1044] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-ha-si_2-is: NBC IX 439:16.

[1045] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-i_3-li_2: NBC IX 333.7 (ra_2-gaba), 434.17 (šu-i), 437:13 (šu-i), and 439:10 (šu-i).

[1046] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-la-ma-ha-ar: NBC IX 328:16, 444:5.

[1047] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-ma-lik: NBC IX 108:3, 109:4, 111:4, and 507:4 (ra_2-gaba).

[1048] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-mi-gir-^{d}En-lil_2: NBC IX 151:4 (šu-i), 339:11 (muhaldim).

[1049] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-mu-ba-li-iṭ: NBC IX 296:3.

[1050] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-na-da: NBC IX 398:12; NBC X 45:6, 48:9.

[1051] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-na-ra-am-^{d}En-lil_2: NBC IX 458:2.

[1052] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-nu-ur-ma-ti-šu: NBC IX 151:11, 342:8, 417:12, and 518:6; NBC X 33:9 (ugula), 136:5, 139:4, 140:7, 17, 141:6, and 145:3.

[1053] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-ša-am-ba-la-ṭi-im: NBC IX 415:15.

[1054] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-wa-qar: NBC IX 380:10

[1055] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-zi-kalam-ma: NBC IX 326: 22 (ra_2-gaba); 37:27, 366:12, 367:4, 368:13, 379:8, 380:11, 381:13, 388:18, 392:5, 405:8, 416:9, 418:4, 419:7, 423:11, 444:9, 452:15, and 500:7 (all

In one instance, as with its Ur III counterpart, the divinity of the king is made explicit in a PN: "Išbi-Erra is my god".

Those desirous of honoring Išbi-Erra not only directly utilized pre-existing name patterns from the immediate past, but also generated ten patterns not attested for the Ur III kings. These were:

1 "Eštar is the aegis of Išbi-Erra", an unknown title (ga_5-šu-du_8)[1056]

2 "Pre-eminent is Išbi-Erra"[1057]

3 "Išbi-Erra, the god Damu is his guardian", another ga_5-šu-du_8[1058]

4 "Išbi-Erra, y'all praise [x] strong", a mounted courier[1059]

5 "Išbi-Erra, lord of lords", a mounted courier[1060]

6 "Išbi-Erra is the god of his land"[1061]

7 "Išbi-Erra is the fruit of An"[1062]

8 "Išbi-Erra of the goddess Lisi", a mounted courier[1063]

9 Išbi-Erra, beloved of the god Kakka", a prince (dumu-lugal)[1064]

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ugula); 356:5, 357:6, 382:5, 430:30, and 443:6 (all maškim); 343:9, 348:9, 415:17, 432:18, 436:11, 439:12, and 456:5, 6, NBC X 118:4 (ra_2-gaba), 58:12, and 134:4

[1056] $Eš_4$-tar_2-an-dul-^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra: NBC IX 412:3 (ga_5-šu-du_8, ŠI03), 520:9 (ŠI04)

[1057] E-te-el-^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra: NBC X 139:7.

[1058] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-^{d}Da-mu-na-ṣi-i[r]-šu: NBC IX 360:4.

[1059] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-KAL-[x]-na-da: NBC IX 381:12.

[1060] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-EN-EN: NBC IX 199:6 (ra_2-gaba), 529:3, and 530:3; NBC X 78:6.

[1061] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-i_3-li_2-ma-ti-šu: NBC IX 417:3.

[1062] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-i_3-ni-ib-An-ni-im: NBC IX 134:2, 136:2, 194:8, 197:9, 259:7, 262:2, 355:4, 358:3, and 466:3.

[1063] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er_3-ra-Li-si-in: NBC IX 151:8.

10 "Išbi-Erra, beloved of Sîn"[1065]

One notes, again, in *Išbi-Erra-ili-mātīšu*, a name in which the king's deity was made explicit. Of particular interest is the PN *Išbi-Erra-narām-Kakka*, not only for the deity mentioned --- fairly rare in Ur III sources --- but for the fact that it was borne by a prince (dumu-lugal). As P. Steinkeller has pointed out, the naming of his son after a deity most prominent at Mari "could add substance to the later literary tradition which identified Išbi-Irra as the 'man of Mari'".[1066]

Though there is evidence, some of it slight, that most of the Isin and a few of the Larsa kings were deified, attestations of the populace continuing to acknowledge them as gods in their own PNs are virtually non-existent. An exception is a wife (dam) of the last king of Larsa, one *Rīm-Sîn-Šala-baštašu*, who took on his name.[1067] Horst Klengel provides two additional examples, all prefixed by the divine determinative, and neither of which patterns were attested in the Ur III onomasticon: Rīm-Sîn-mudammiq ("DN carries [things] out perfectly") and Rīm-Sîn-rappašunu ("DN is their shackle").[1068]

One must note that the onomastic practice under discussion pops up sporadically during the reigns of Hammurabi and a few of his successors, even though they were never explicitly deified, nor did they establish a cult for themselves.[1069] Klengel researched the matter and wrote up a list of personal names in this time period that incorporated a king's name (RN). However, the

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[1064] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er$_3$-ra-na-ra-am-Ka$_3$-ka$_3$: NBC IX 432:16.

[1065] ^{d}Iš-bi-Er$_3$-ra-na-ra-am-^{d}EN-ZU: NBC X 48:7.

[1066] Steinkeller (1982), p. 193.

[1067] RIME 4.2.14.23: *^{d}Ri-im-*^{d}EN-ZU-*^{d}Ša-la-ba-aš-ta-šu*, "Rim-Sin is the one fitting for Šala", a votive inscription on a stone basin located at the entrance to Inana's temple in Larsa.

[1068] Klengel (1995), p. 156, fn. 5.

[1069] In one of his year formulae, however, Hammurabi's name was preceded by the divine determiniative: mu ^{d}Ha-am-mu-ra-bi [lugal-e] a-gal-gal-la Eš$_3$-nun-na^{ki} mu-un-gul; see Klengel (1976), p. 156.

divine determinative was no longer used for them[1070]. Several of these PNs revitalize paradigms that were popular in the Ur III period: Hammurabi-bānī (c. H31), Hammurabi-^{d}Šamši (H35), Hammurabi-rīm-[ili?], Hammurabi-ilī. Others appear to be innovations: Hammurabi-lū-dāri ("May RN be eternal", Samsu-iluna 05), Hammurabi-rappašunu ("RN is their shackle"), Hammurabi-ša-takālim ("RN is of those to be trusted", Samsu-iluna 06), Hammurabi-šemī ("RN heard me"). Klengel also found a few examples of the inclusion of the RNs of a handful of Babylonian kings who came after Hammurabi, and the assimilations to or outright claim of deity for the ruler are still evident. See, for example, the PNs Samu-iluna-nūr-mātim ("RN is the light of the land"), Abi-ešuh-muštāl ("RN is circumspect"), Abi-esuh-kīma-ilim ("RN is like a god"), and Ammīditana-ilūni and Ammīṣaduqa-iluna ("RN is our god"). In all, though it is interesting how long the practice of exalting the king as a god in a PN lingered, the examples after the Isin king Išbi-Erra are few, with each being borne by an individual here or there rather than by larger groups of people.

[1070] Klengel (1976).

General Conclusion

This study of divine kingship has focused on the Ur III period, a time in which the king was not simply god-like, but explicitly deified. The aim has been to determine how this extreme status played out in practice, by looking at the essential signifier of divinity, cult, and specifically at how the cult of the deified king was established, extended, and popularized. The records of the administrative archives of this period, over 95,000 of which have been recently centralized into an easily accessible database, provided copious, albeit fragmentary, details that, pieced together, yield a fairly comprehensive and internally consistent picture of this institution.

Previous scholarship has demonstrated that the focus of cult throughout Mesopotamia was the effigy of a deity, most commonly a statue that might be subjected to various reverential treatments. For the late third millennium BCE, the rare survival of actual statues of Gudea, a ruler of Lagaš, has naturally made them central to any study of cult during this era, further imbuing them with something of the status of prototype. Such status also has carried over to Gudea's inscriptions, both on his own statues and elsewhere, that deal with the construction and treatment of divine effigies in some detail. A typology has been developed in which the seated statues of Gudea are characterized as cult images, strictly speaking, and those of him standing as votives that he himself had offered. The former are construed as embodying the deified Gudea within his funerary chapel or his cult center, while the latter are seen as representing Gudea as a mortal ruler in a permanent pose of reverence before a selected deity. This typology has carried over into studies that look at the deified kings of the Ur III period, of whom no statues are extant, and has influenced interpretations of their cult.

The evidence adduced from the administrative archives of the Ur III period confirms much of the contemporary consensus concerning cult matters. Confirmed, for example, is the centrality of a deity's statue to cult. However, the Ur III data have also revealed that individual deities might be made manifest through various, uniquely named statues that represented particular aspects of their personae, or were limited or dedicated to specific ritual uses. In addition, the following, well-attested treatments of cult statues have proven to be standard in this period as well: construction and touch-ups with precious materials, a mouth-opening ceremony, ritual lustration, anointing, adornment with jewelry, clothing, and the provision of other accoutrements such as mirrors, crowns and weapons. There is no discernible difference between the statues of the deified kings and those of traditional deities in terms of their construction and treatment. While uniquely named models were common for both sets of gods, beginning in Š43 we have evidence of a type particular to the king, the Lamma, which represented his protective spirit or genius.[1071] The fact that this type underwent ritual lustration, wore earrings and garments, and received offerings in temples shows that it was a cult statue, although it cannot be determined if these images had been gendered as male, in imitation of the king, or as female, like the discrete goddess Lamma as she appeared on cylinder seals of the period. Another, unique type of image personified the king's fate, occurring as both the deified Royal Fate (Namtar-lugal) and the Fate of Amar-Suen in particular, and receiving the services of a dedicated cult officiant.[1072]

The Ur III administrative archives also offer copious confirmation that effigies of deities were housed both within their own cult centers and in niches within the temples of other gods, and show that in both locations they were the recipients of frequent offerings of sacrificed animals and fruit and vegetables, as well as libations, typically of beer. In regard to the statues of the deified kings, however, although the threefold typology of object of cult veneration, funerary image, and votive

[1071] OIP 115 217, Š43-01-06, Puzriš-Dagan.

[1072] Nisaba 23 068, AS07-00-00, and SAT 3 1507, ŠS04-11-00, both Umma, each mentioning the statue's gudug, a lower-level cult servitor.

offering to other deities obtains, those located within the cult centers of other gods do not seem to have been exclusively or even primarily votive objects, as has been asserted for royal statues so placed.[1073] Rather, the numerous attestations of the inclusion of the king among other deities in temples not their own, all receiving similar offerings during common ritual observances, in the course of annual festivals, or subsumed under the heading "regular offerings to the gods", indicates that the statue of the deified king, in any temple, was more often than not a cult object on a par with the statues of the other gods being venerated alongside it.[1074]

While we know that Šulgi had been deified by the twenty-first year of his reign, and that setting up and working out the parameters of his cult must have begun shortly thereafter, a temple devoted to the king as a god shows up only in Š29, in the province of Umma, followed by a temple in Girsu in Š33. By the end of his reign, temples to Šulgi existed in a number of other cities in these two provinces: in the former, in KI.AN and Maškan, in the latter, in Lagaš, Nina, Kiešsa, Kinunir and Guabba. As was the norm in temples to other gods, Šulgi's were serviced by a variety of dedicated cult servitors, such as ereš-dingir, išib and gudug, gala, singer-musicians, entertainers (ud-da-tuš), and snake-handlers. In addition to erecting and maintaining his own temples, the king inserted his cult effigy into the temples of other deities, with the earliest evidence occurring in Š30, when a statue of his received offerings in the temple of Inana in Nippur as part of the First Fruits

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[1073] See, especially, Winter (1992).

[1074] As examples of common ritual observances in which the king's statue was part of an array receiving offerings, see e.g. the Great Offering (siskur$_2$-gu-la) in MVN 15 146, Š47-02-21, Puzriš-Dagan; MVN 08 139, IS02-06-14, Puzriš-Dagan; the observance of a phase of the moon, e.g. the full moon (eš$_3$-eš$_3$ e$_2$-ud-15) in SET 116, AS03-07-00, Puzriš-Dagan (in Ur); the night offering (siskur$_2$-gi$_6$) in CDLJ 2012: 1 4.32, Š48-12-21, Puzriš-Dagan, BIN 3 547, AS08-01-16, Puzriš-Dagan (in Nippur), ZA 97 231, ŠS03-07-10, Puzriš-Dagan (in Ur).

For an annual festival of the same sort, see e.g. the Nippur festival Gudgansi (ezem Gud-gan$_2$-si), in OIP 115 032, Š37-01-00, Puzriš-Dagan (in Nippur); the akiti-šunumun festival in BPOA 7 2856, AS04-12-00, Puzriš-Dagan (in Gaeš); the Great Festival at Ur in AnOr 07 073, Š45-09-13, Puzriš-Dagan (in Ur)

For the regular offering to the gods in which the king was included (sa$_2$-dug$_4$ dingir-e-ne), see, e.g. Syracuse 487, Š37-05-00, Umma; OrSP 47-49, AS05-12-00, Umma; MVN 09 087, ŠS07-00-00, Girsu; and Nisaba 15/2 716, IS02-01-00, Urusagrig.

Festival.[1075] During Šulgi's lifetime similar offerings were made to his cult statues located in the temple of Ningagia and in the E-kur in Nippur, in the temple of Anzud in Umma, and in unspecified cult locales in Apisal, KI.AN, Puzriš-Dagan, Umma and Ur. In texts from the reigns of his successors, we find that cult statues of Šulgi had been inserted into the temples of Šara in Umma, Asarluhi in Kuara, and Ninsun in the environs of Ur, as well as in an unnamed temple in Uruk. However, whether this testifies to an expansion of his cult by his successors, or whether his cult existed in these places during his lifetime but documentation is lacking, cannot be determined.

The third and fourth kings of the dynasty, who were deified immediately upon accession to the throne, followed Šulgi's practice in building temples devoted to their own cult and in widely dispersing their cult statues. The third regent, Amar-Suen, founded temples to himself in the provinces of Girsu and Umma, and added his effigy to the panoply already existing in the E-kur in Nippur, the temples of Nanna and of Ninezem in Ur, and the temple of Enki in Eridgu, as well as in unspecified sites in KI.AN, Umma, and Nippur. His successor, Šu-Suen, not only followed the by now established pattern of having his own temples constructed in core areas of the state, i.e. Urusagrig, Umma and Girsu, but he also significantly extended awareness of his cult into formerly foreign territories that were now incorporated within the Ur III state, by erecting its temples in Ešnuna, Neber-Šu-Suen, and Urbilum. Šu-Suen is also the first king for whom we have evidence that the actual building of the king's temples might be sponsored by elite members of society, with the chief minister and governor of Girsu, Arad-Nanna, the governor of Adab, Habaluge, the governor of Ur, Lugal-magure, each undertaking such a project in their own province. As for the dissemination of his cult statues, by the close of his reign they could be found in the temples of Ningirsu and Bau in Lagaš, the temple of Šara in Umma, the temples of Ninsun and Gula in Ur, and the E-kur in Nippur. Additional statues of this king received offerings at unnamed cult centers in Nippur, Umma and Puzriš-Dagan. Here, too, Šu-Suen, can be seen expanding the reach of his cult in his sending of statues to Susa and Duhduhli.

[1075] ZA 101 34 6 NT 089, Š30-00-00, Nippur.

The custom of building one's own temple and distributing one's cult statue to other temples broke down in the reign of the dynasty's last king, Ibbi-Suen. Only two of his cult images are known, at unspecified locations in Ur and Girsu. Ibbi-Suen did attend to the cults of his predecessors, and may have enlarged the number of sites that hosted their effigies, for during his reign cult statues of Amar-Suen are attested for the first time in Urusagrig and in the chariot house at Ur, and those of Šu-Suen in the Temples of Gula in Umma and Nintinuga in Nippur, and at unnamed cult centers in Nippur and Guabba. Ibbi-Suen's apparent neglect in promoting his own cult would seem to be related to the disruptions that plagued his reign in many areas, and most particularly, to the dramatic loss in territory and revenues, leading, perhaps, to a diminution in the perceived effectiveness of the king's godhood and so, to a slackening in the efforts required to promulgate it.

While the majority of activities involved in veneration of deities in the form of their effigies occurred within temples, it was not rare for cult statues to be removed from their housing for particular events. The statues were conveyed to other sites in dedicated chariots or barges, with the procession itself comprising a significant part of the festivities, as evidenced by musicians and entertainers (ud-da-tuš) assigned to cult vehicles.[1076] Indeed, the evidence shows that the very exit or return of a deity's statue from or to its usual cult home could trigger its own set of rituals. The out-of-doors destinations attested were quays, city walls or gates, agricultural and sheep fields, orchards, and the banks of rivers and canals. The statues might also be moved temporarily to structures, the day-to-day functions of which were non-cultic, such as cattle-pens, breeding barns, an ostrich house, a hostelry-cum-stable, and craft workshops. In all of these instances, offerings were made to the cult images once they had arrived and been set up on site. Statues were also conveyed to the temples of other deities, in order to be seen as "visiting" the gods housed therein, and in certain cases, such as visits to the Akiti House in Gaeš, their presence was essential to the

[1076] For musicians, HLC 2 002 (pl. 052), AS01-00-00, Girsu; for entertainers, TUT 164-22, AS01-04-00, Girsu. See also Kutscher (1983), where a procession of three cult statues in barges seems to have been the main focus of the event outlined.

ritual narrative being enacted. It is at major annual events like the Akiti Festival that we most frequently encounter evidence of massive outlays for the benefit of the public audience in the form of banquets featuring beef and beer, as well as wrestling and other athletic competitions and performances by jesters, bears, snake-handlers, and musicians.

Sources that enumerate chariots and barges belonging to the cult statues of the deified kings demonstrate that they, too, possessed the means for display to a broader public than was allowed into the interior of temples. Records of the presence of these statues at a number of quays, city gates and riverbanks, in a hostelry-cum-stable, and in a field for the ritual of seeding confirm that the statues' conveyances were in fact used. That the king's cult effigy might also be manipulated for ostentatious visits to other gods' bailiwicks is substantiated by a text detailing the movement of a statue of Šulgi, by both chariot and barge, to Šara's temple in Umma, and from there to KI.AN and back during the First Fruits Festival, an event that also featured feasting, music, and displays of wrestling, typically accompanied by feasting, with the provision of the luxury item, beef, notable, as well as drinking, and entertainment in the form of wrestling or other athletic competitions, jesters, performing bears, snake-handlers, and music. Most frequently encountered are statues of the king presiding over the celebrations concurrent with the Festival of the deified king, an innovative event that had been introduced by Šulgi and extended in scope by both Amar-Suen and Šu-Suen. It does not seem unwarranted to suppose that one or more of the royal hymns, another innovation of this period, was sung at an event designed specifically to celebrate the divine king. In any event, the festivals dedicated to each of these three kings were promoted by the usual, luxurious accompaniments of food and entertainment, and were important enough to have their names displace those of the months in which they occurred.

The records of the Ur III administrative archives show repeatedly, and in great detail, that the cult of the deified king was focused on a statue of the king, the fashioning, treatment, housing, and manipulations of which were identical to those afforded to the cult statues of other deities in virtually every respect. Because the archival texts are not narrative in nature, the motivation and

thinking behind the particular ways in which the king's cult manifested itself cannot be derived from them. However, the strong and consistent parallels between the cults of the kings and the traditional deities, allow one the reasonable conclusion that the former was deliberately modeled on the latter. I posit, from the available evidence, that when Šulgi decided to deify himself, he determined it most efficacious to utilize the existing template, which had the benefit of familiarity and could be "read" without any ambiguity by even the illiterate: a statue serviced by cultic personnel and receiving offerings in a temple could represent only a god. Premeditated efforts to make the divine nature of the king and the existence of his cult known among the broadest swathe of the population were, again, modeled on the existing conventions for public displays of the traditional gods. The state treasury did not stint on the expenses required to make the king's cult as impressive and lavish as possible in terms of appearance and in the festivities it occasioned. Awareness by the public would lead to participation, and the commensality achieved by the king's generosity in celebrating his own godhood would ideally foster a sense of nationhood in which the transcendent yet present figure of the king would serve as the indispensable linchpin.

The peripateia of the king's cult image is more than matched by that of the king himself, whose primary public role, as recorded in the administrative archives, was as officiant or participant in matters of cult, ritual, and festivals. Several examples of the deified king appearing before the public in the form of his body and his cult statue simultaneously, are attested. However, not only is the evidence too uninformative to surmise the extent to which the deified Ur III king's activities devolved from his status as a god, and to differentiate among acts typical for or inherent in the performance of kingship and those devised to enact godhood, but sources from other periods of Mesopotamian history from which meaningful comparisons can be made are lacking. Nonetheless, it is clear that much of the populace of the Ur III state was able to witness the king, in his body or represented by his cult statue, during the course of events of a ritual nature, events that, moreover, frequently served as the occasion for unwonted festivity, and that this seems likely to have enhanced awareness of the king's divinity.

It is virtually impossible to gauge the response of the public-at-large to the conscious efforts to popularize the king's cult, as the textual sources reflect the values and interests of the elite or managerial levels of society. However, a proxy might be found in the onomastic practices of the period, in which personal names generally contained a theophoric element that is understood as a reflection of individual devotion. One would anticipate that, were the deified king accepted as a genuine god, his name might occur as the theophoric element in at least some names, and that in fact turns out to be the case. The Ur III administrative archives reveal 268 unique name patterns in which the deified king appears. Moreover, these names were not only given by parents to their children, but were adopted by adults in mid-life, a practice that is otherwise unattested outside of the rare examples of royal consorts and en priests or priestesses. In other words, this appears to be an individual response to the particularity of having a king who was also acclaimed a god.

One might suspect that the practice of naming one's children or renaming oneself after the reigning god-king was observed primarily by those within the court circle or in the upper levels of various careers, as a means of demonstrating one's loyalty or of jockeying for even higher positions. An analysis of the data, however, shows that, while courtiers and higher ranked members of political, economic, and military operations are well represented, the practice had also been adopted by people at all levels of society, from cultic personnel to craftsmen to kitchen workers to herdsmen to weavers. Indeed, the range of professions of the men and women who sported the king's name is remarkable, and the evidence that many of them had changed their names to honor a newly enthroned god-king is clear. This practice existed in every province of the state, and had been borrowed by foreigners as well, as is evident from the foreign origin of other elements in their names, e.g. Hurrian, Amorite, or Elamite, or from the explicit identification of people bearing the king's name within their own as foreigners. The majority of foreigners so named were men in military or diplomatic positions, whose motivation may reasonably construed as signaling their loyalty or gratitude. The conclusion I derive from the abundant Ur III onomastic data is that the king's efforts at popularizing his cult should be considered successful, having reached a large percentage of the population, male and female, of various strata of society. The populace as a

whole seems to have taken the claims of the king's divinity seriously. This in turn doubtless contributed to building a sense of national cohesion and suppressing inclinations to revolt, until external circumstances began to have serious negative effects on the prosperity of the realm, the responsibility for which the divine king was irrevocably bound.

TABLE A: Onomastics - Alphabetic List of Individual Names per Ur III King

	NAME (x + DN)	KINGS USED FOR	TRANSLATION
1)	[X]-GAR$_3$-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	ŠS	unclear
2)	A-ab-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	unclear; poss. foreign
3)	A-ba-^{d}Šulgi-gim	Š	Who is like Šulgi
4)	Al-la-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	unclear
5)	Ama-^{d}Šul-gi-e-an-ir$_3$-ru	Š	unclear
6)	Amar-^{d}Šul-gi-(ra)	Š	The calf of Šulgi
7)	A-mi-ir-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	I saw Šulgi
	A-mur-^{d}Šul-gi		
8)	Arad$_2$-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-(ka)	AS	The servant of Amar-Suen
9)	A-ra-zu-^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Suen-ka-še$_3$-pad$_3$-da	IS	The (en-priestess) revealed for the prayer of Ibbi-Suen
10)	Ar-za-an-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	AS	unclear
11)	Bu-du-re-eš-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	ŠS	unclear
	Bu$_3$-du-[re-eš]-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen		
12)	Bur-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	The calf of Šulgi
13)	*Dan*-^{d}Šul-gi (=KAL)	Š, AS	Strong is Šulgi

TABLE A (Continued)

14)	Dug$_4$-ga-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	What is commanded by Šulgi
15)	En-^{d}Gu-la-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ki-ag$_2$	AS	The en-priestess of Gula, beloved of Amar-Suen
16)	En-nam-šita-^{d}Šul-gi-ra-ke$_4$-ba-gub-ba-šud$_3$-sag En-nam-šita$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi-ra-ke$_4$-ba-gub-ba-šud$_3$-sag	Š	The en-priestess assigned to be the nam-šita priest of Šulgi (in) the main prayers
17)	En-nam-^{d}Šul-gi-(še$_3$)	Š	Mercy, Šulgi
18)	En-^{d}Nanna-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ra-ki-ag$_2$-An-na	AS	The en-priestess of Nanna who loves Amar-Suen-of An
19)	En-nim-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	unclear
20)	En-nun-e-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-(ra)-ki-ag$_2$ En-nun-ne$_2$-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-(ra)-ki-ag$_2$	AS	The noble en-priestess who loves Amar-Suen
21)	E-te-el-pi$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi E-te$_2$-el-pu$_3$-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	Preeminent is the word of Šulgi
22)	Geme$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	Š, AS	The maidservant of Šulgi
23)	He$_2$-du-ut-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	AS	The joy of Amar-Suen
24)	Hu-ba-^{d}Šul-gi-da-aš Hu-ba-^{d}Šul-gi-<<x>>-da-aš	Š	unclear; foreign

TABLE A (Continued)

25)	Hu-ba-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	Š	unclear; foreign
26)	Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	unclear; foreign
27)	I-bi$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	Šulgi has named (this child)
28)	Ib-ni-^{d}Šul-gi	Š, ŠS	Šulgi has created (this child)
29)	I-mi-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	The support of Šulgi
30)	I-mi-iq-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	Šulgi has been wise
31)	Inim-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	The word of Šulgi
32)	Inim-^{d}Šul-gi-DU	Š	unclear
33)	Inim-^{d}Šul-gi-ib$_2$-ta-e$_3$	Š	The word of Šulgi has gone forth from it
34)	I-pi$_2$-iš-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	A deed of Šulgi
35)	I-ṣi$_2$-in-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	Šulgi heaped up (an offering)
	I-ṣi$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi		
	E-ṣi$_2$-in-^{d}Šul-gi		
	Ezem-^{d}Šul-gi		
36)	I-šar-^{d}Šul-gi	Š, ŠS	Righteous is Šulgi
37)	I-šim-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	Šulgi has decreed
	I$_3$-šim-^{d}Šul-gi		

TABLE A (Continued)

38)	Ki-in-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	True/legitimate is Šulgi
39)	Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	Š, AS, ŠS	May Šulgi be firm
40)	Li-mur-^{d}Šu-gi	Š	May Šulgi see (this child)
41)	Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-(ra)	Š, AS, ŠS	The one (m.) of Šulgi
42)	Lugal-^{d}Šul-gi	Š, AS	Šulgi is king
43)	Lugal-^{d}Šul-gi-a-na-[x-x-x-x]	Š	unclear
44)	Ma-^{d}Šul-gi-gim	Š	unclear
45)	Ma-an-num_2-an-num_2-ki-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	unclear
46)	Ma-NI?-KI?-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	unclear
47)	Ma-num_2-ki-^{d}Šul-gi	Š, AS	Who is like Šulgi
	Ma-nu-um-ki-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen		
48)	Ma-tu-tu-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	unclear
49)	ME-^{d}Šul-gi-(ra)	Š	unclear
50)	Me-ra-ah-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	unclear; foreign
51)	Na-bi_2-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	One named by Šulgi
52)	NI-BU-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	AS	unclear
53)	Nin-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	The lady of Šulgi

TABLE A (Continued)

54)	NI-URU-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	unclear
55)	Nu-ur$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	Š, ŠS	The light of Šulgi
56)	Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi	Š, AS, ŠS	An aegis is Šulgi
57)	Ra-gab$_2$-um-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	unclear
58)	Si-sa$_2$-kalam-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	Equitable is the land of Šulgi
59)	Ṣi-li-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	My shade is Šulgi
	Ṣilli-^{d}Šul-gi (=MI)		
60)	Ṣi-lu-uš-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	His shade is Šulgi
61)	Ša-at-^{d}Šul-gi	Š, ŠS	The one (f.) of Šulgi
62)	Ša-lim-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	Well is Šulgi
63)	Šu-^{d}Šul-gi-(ra)	Š, AS	The one (m.) of Šulgi
64)	Ta$_2$-ra-am-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	She loves Šulgi
65)	Ṭa-ab-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	Good is Šulgi
	Ṭab-^{d}Šul-gi (=DUG$_3$)		
66)	Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-(ra)	Š, AS, ŠS	The dog of Šulgi
67)	Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-na-ra-am-^{d}Suen	Š	The dog of Šulgi, beloved of Suen
68)	Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-zi	Š	A true dog of Šulgi

TABLE A (Continued)

69)	Wa-qar-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	AS, ŠS	Precious is Amar-Suen
70)	Wu-zum-^{d}Šul-gi	Š	One worthy of Šulgi
71)	Zi-^{d}Šul-gi-a-ra$_{2}$-kalam-ma	Š	The life of Šulgi is the way of the motherland

TABLE A (Continued)

	NAME (x + DN)	KINGS USED FOR	TRANSLATION
72)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-[x]-gi-sa	AS	unclear
73)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-[x]-in	ŠS	unclear
74)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-[x]-KA-in	AS	unclear
75)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-[x]-mu	AS	unclear
76)	^{d}Šul-gi-a-a-mu	Š	Šulgi is my father
77)	^{d}Šul-gi-a-al	Š	Šulgi is a city
78)	^{d}Šul-gi-AB-GAB	Š	unclear
79)	^{d}Šul-gi-a-bi$_2$	Š	Šulgi is my father
	^{d}Šul-gi-a-bi		
80)	^{d}Šul-gi-ad-GUR?	Š	unclear
81)	^{d}Šul-gi-ad-HI?	Š	unclear
82)	^{d}Šul-gi-ad-lal$_3$	Š	I praise Šulgi
83)	^{d}Šul-gi-a-gu-NI	Š	unclear
84)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-a-kalam-ma	AS	Amar-Suen is the father of the motherland
85)	^{d}Šul-gi-a$_2$-kalam-ma	Š	Šulgi is the strength of the motherland

TABLE A (Continued)

86)	^{d}Šul-gi-ra-kam	Š	S/he belongs to Šulgi
87)	^{d}Šul-gi-al-mah	Š	Šulgi is sublime
88)	^{d}Šul-gi-a$_2$-mah	Š, ŠS	Šulgi is supreme strength
89)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ama-tu-^{d}Nanna	AS	Amar-Suen is the house-born slave of Nanna
90)	^{d}Šul-gi-a-mu	Š	Šulgi is my water/father
91)	^{d}Šul-gi-a$_2$-mu	Š	Šulgi is my strength
92)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-a-na-^{d}Suen-ta$_2$-ki-il ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ta$_2$-ki-il-a-na-^{d}Suen	ŠS	Šu-Suen is the one who trusts in Suen
93)	^{d}Šul-gi-an-dul$_3$	Š, AS, ŠS	Šulgi is a canopy
94)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-An-ka	AS	Amar-Suen of An
95)	^{d}Šul-gi-an-zag-še$_3$	Š	Šulgi as far as the horizon
96)	^{d}Šul-gi-a-ra-ab-kalama-ma	Š	Šulgi is the *brewing vessel?* of the motherland
97)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-^{d}Ašnan-gim-zi-šag$_4$-gal$_2$-kalam-ma	AS	Amar-Suen, like Ašnan, is the enlivener of the motherland
98)	^{d}Šul-gi-a-tal	Š	unclear; Hurrian
99)	^{d}Šul-gi-a-ti	Š	unclear

TABLE A (Continued)

100)	^{d}Šul-gi-a-zi-da	Š	Šulgi is the right hand[1077]
101)	^{d}Šul-gi-bad$_3$	Š	Šulgi is the city wall
102)	^{d}Šul-gi-bad$_3$-kalam-ma	Š	Šulgi is the wall of the motherland
103)	^{d}Šul-gi-ba-ni	Š, AS, ŠS	Šulgi is my creator
104)	^{d}Šul-gi-ba-aš$_2$-ti	Š	Šulgi is my dignity
105)	^{d}Šul-gi-bi$_2$-du-ri$_2$	Š	unclear
106)	^{d}Šul-gi-da	Š	With Šulgi[1078]
107)	^{d}Šul-gi-da-an-ka$_2$	Š	unclear
108)	^{d}Šul-gi-da-balag	Š	With Šulgi is the balag
109)	^{d}Šul-gi-dalla	Š	Šulgi is resplendent
110)	^{d}Šul-gi-da-nir-gal$_2$	Š	Authority lies with Šulgi
111)	^{d}Šul-gi-*dan* (=KAL)	Š, ŠS	
	^{d}Šul-gi-da-an	Š	Šulgi is strong
112)	^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*-da-ga (=KAL^{an})	Š	unclear
	^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*-da-ga (=KAL)		

[1077] This spelling is probably a variant of the fairly common onomastic phrase: a$_2$-zi-da.

[1078] Hilgert (2002b), p. 44, takes -da as a truncated spelling of the Akkadian da-an, "strong".

TABLE A (Continued)

	^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*-da (=KAL^{an})		
113)	^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*-ga-da (=KAL)	Š	unclear
	^{d}Šul-gi-da-an-ga-da		
	^{d}Šul-gi-da-ga-da		
114)	^{d}Šul-gi-dan-nu-um	Š	Šulgi is strong
	^{d}Šul-gi-dan-num$_2$		
115)	^{d}Šul-gi-da-nu-me-a	Š, AS	There is nothing without Šulgi
116)	^{d}Šul-gi-DIB-AŠ-mu	Š	unclear
117)	^{d}Šul-gi-dingir	Š, ŠS	Šulgi is a god
118)	^{d}Šul-gi-dingir-kalama-ma	Š	Šulgi is the god of the motherland
119)	^{d}Šul-gi-dingir-mu	Š, ŠS	Šulgi is my god
120)	^{d}Šul-gi-dug$_4$-ge-du$_7$	Š	unclear
121)	^{d}Šul-gi-du$_2$-ri	Š, ŠS	Šulgi is my city wall
122)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-e-[x]-mu-gi$_4$	ŠS	unclear
123)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-[e$_2$]-Kar-di-da-[x]	AS	Amar-Suen [x] the temple of Karzida
124)	^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}EN-[x]-ra-i$_3$-li$_2$-na-ti	Š	unclear
125)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-en-gal	AS	Amar-Suen is the chief en-priest

TABLE A (Continued)

126)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-na-engar-^{d}En-lil$_2$	AS	Amar-Suen is the cultivator of Enlil
127)	^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}En-lil$_2$-la$_2$	Š	Šulgi of Enlil
128)	^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Suen-^{d}En-lil$_2$-da-nir-gal$_2$	IS	Ibbi-Suen, authority lies with Enlil
129)	^{d}Šul-gi-en-šu-ba-ak	Š	unclear; probably Elamite
130)	^{d}Šul-gi-en-ti	Š	unclear
131)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-e-te-el$_2$-pi$_4$-^{d}En-lil$_2$	ŠS	Šu-Suen, preeminent is the word of Enlil
132)	^{d}Šul-gi-ezem	Š	Šulgi is a festival (or heaps up [offerings])
133)	^{d}Šul-gi-gal-zu	Š	Šulgi is ominscient
134)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ga-mi-il	AS	Amar-Suen is the one who spares
	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ga-mi-*il*! (=TUM)		
135)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-gu$_2$-gal	AS	Amar-Suen is the controller of irrigation
136)	^{d}Šul-gi-ha-ma-ti	Š, AS, ŠS	Šulgi, let him/her live for me
137)	^{d}Šul-gi-ha-si$_2$-is	Š, ŠS	Šulgi is wise
138)	^{d}Šul-gi-he$_2$-gal$_2$	Š, AS	Šulgi is abundance
139)	^{d}Šul-gi-he$_2$-ti	Š	May Šulgi live
140)	^{d}Šul-gi-hi-li-An-na	Š, ŠS	Šulgi is the vital force of An/heaven
141)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-hi-li-Ki-en-gi	AS	Amar-Suen is the vital force of Sumer

TABLE A (Continued)

142)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-hi-li-Šara$_2$	AS	Amar-Suen is the vital force of Šara
143)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-i$_3$-gi-in	AS	Amar-Suen has stabilized
144)	^{d}Šul-gi-i$_3$-il	Š	Šulgi is a god
145)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-il$_2$-at	ŠS	Šu-Suen is the clan
146)	^{d}Šul-gi-i$_3$-li$_2$	Š, AS, ŠS	Šulgi is my god
	^{d}Šul-gi-ra-i$_3$-li$_2$		
147)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-i$_3$-li$_2$-ba-ni	ŠS	Šu-Suen is my god who created me
148)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-i$_3$-li$_2$-ki-im-ni	ŠS	unclear
149)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*il*-su (=DINGIR)	AS	Amar-Suen is his god
150)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-im-di$_3$	ŠS	Šu-Suen is my support
151)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-i$_3$-ni-ib-Eš$_4$-tar$_2$	ŠS	Šu-Suen is the fruit of Eštar
152)	^{d}Šul-gi-i$_3$-i-ni-ib$_2$-Ma-ma	Š	Šulgi is the fruit of Mama
153)	^{d}Šul-gi-inim-silim-ma	Š	Šulgi is a welcome word
154)	^{d}Šul-gi-inim-zi	Š	Šulgi is the true word
155)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-i$_3$-pa$_2$-la-ah-^{d}En-lil$_2$	ŠS	Šu-Suen worships Enlil
	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-i-pa$_2$-la-ah-^{d}En-lil$_2$		

TABLE A (Continued)

156)	^{d}Šul-gi-ip$_2$-qi$_2$	Š	Šulgi is my embrace[1079]
157)	^{d}Šul-gi-i$_3$-ri$_2$-su	Š	Šulgi wanted (this child)
158)	^{d}Šul-gi-i$_3$-šag$_5$	Š	Šulgi has been favorable
159)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-i-šar-ra-ma-aš$_2$	ŠS	unclear[1080]
160)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-^{d}Ištaran-gim-si-sa$_2$	AS	Amar-Suen who, like Ištaran, makes things equitable
161)	^{d}Šul-gi-iš-ti-kal$_2$	Š	Trust in Šulgi
162)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-i-ti-i$_3$-li$_2$-ma-lik	ŠS	unclear
163)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-i-ṭi$_3$-ib-ši-na-at	ŠS	Šu-Suen was good to them (f.)
164)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-i$_3$-zu-la-ma-har-^{d}En-lil$_2$	ŠS	unclear
165)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ka-lal$_3$	ŠS	Šu-Suen is a honeyed mouth
166)	^{d}Šul-gi-kalam-e-ba-šag$_5$	Š, AS	Šulgi is favorable to the motherland
167)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-kalam-e-da-šag$_5$	AS	unclear
168)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-kalam-ma	AS	Amar-Suen of the motherland

[1079] Hilgert (2002b) transliterated the second element of this PN as dum-qi$_2$, "my welfare", whereas Di Vito (1993), p. 311, read it as ipqī, "my grace".

[1080] Hilgert (2002a) analyzed the second element as a combination of two verbal forms, i-šar, the 3rd person masculine singular stative of the G-stem of ešērum (p. 323), and ramaš as the 2nd person plural imperative of râmum (p. 255); however, he offered no translation.

TABLE A (Continued)

169)	^{d}Šul-gi-kalam-ma-hi-li-bi	Š	Šulgi is the vital force of the motherland
170)	^{d}Šul-gi-kalam-ma-me-te-(bi)	Š	Šulgi is the one fitting for the motherland
171)	^{d}I-bi$_2$-^{d}Suen-kal-le-ga-DU	IS	unclear
172)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-[ki-ag$_2$]-^{d}En-lil$_2$	ŠS	Šu-Suen, beloved of Enlil
173)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}Nanna	AS	Amar-Suen, beloved of Nanna
174)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}Šara$_2$	ŠS	Šu-Suen, beloved of Šara
175)	^{d}Šul-gi-ki-ur-šag$_5$	Š	Šulgi is where one is happy
176)	^{d}Šul-gi-kug-zu	Š	Expert Šulgi
177)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-la-ma-har	ŠS	Šu-Suen is without equal
178)	^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Lamma-mu	Š, AS	Šulgi is my divine protective spirit
179)	^{d}Šul-gi-li-ba-ni	Š	unclear; probably Elamite[1081]
180)	^{d}Šul-gi-li-bur	Š	May Šulgi be firm
181)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-li-la-bi-ir-ha-ṭa-am	ŠS	May Šu-Suen hold the scepter for a long time
	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-li-la-bi-ir-*haṭṭam* [=PA]		
	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-li-la-bi-ir-*haṭṭam* [=PA^{ṭam}]		

[1081] The sole individual with this PN was an Elamite at the festival of the Marhašites. Zadok (1991), p. 229, saw it as the same lipan- that occurs in the Ur III archives in the names of the Marhašite ruler Li-ba-nu-uk-ša-ba-aš and his envoy Li-ba-an-aš-gu-bi.

TABLE A (Continued)

182)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-li-pi$_2$-it-E$_2$-a	ŠS	Šu-Suen is the creation of Ea
183)	^{d}Šul-gi-li-ti-iš	Š	Šulgi is his power
	^{d}Šul-gi-li-tiš$_2$		
184)	^{d}Šul-gi-lugal	Š	Šulgi is king
185)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-lugal-dingir-kalam-ma	AS	Amar-Suen the king is the god of the motherland
186)	^{d}Šul-gi-re-ma-ag$_2$	Š	Šulgi has measured out
	^{d}Šul-gi-re-ma-an-ag$_2$		
187)	^{d}Šul-gi-<<ti>>-ma-lik	Š, AS	Šulgi is the one who counsels
	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ma-lik		
188)	^{d}Šul-gi-mas-su	Š	Šulgi is the bellwether
189)	^{d}Šul-gi-ma-ti	Š	Šulgi is my country
190)	^{d}Šul-gi-me-te-uru-na	Š	Šulgi is the one fitting for his city
191)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-mi-gir-^{d}En-lil$_2$	ŠS	Šu-Suen, the favorite of Enlil
192)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-mi-gir-Eš$_4$-tar$_2$	ŠS	Šu-Suen, the favorite of Eštar
193)	^{d}Šul-gi-mi-šar	Š, ŠS, IS	Šulgi is justice
	^{d}Šul-gi-mi-sar		
	^{d}Šul-gi-me-šar		

TABLE A (Continued)

194)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-mu-ba-li-iṭ	ŠS	Šu-Suen who keeps (one) alive
195)	^{d}Šul-gi-mu-dah	Š	Šulgi has added (this child)
196)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-mu-ra-bi-su$_2$-uh$_5$-ri-im	ŠS	Šu-Suen, who makes the young grow
197)	^{d}Šul-gi-na-da	Š	You (pl.), praise Šulgi
198)	^{d}Šuk-gi-na-KU-šu	Š	unclear
199)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-nam-zi-tar-ra	AS	Amar-Suen, who decreed the fate of life
200)	^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Nanše-ki-ag$_2$	Š	Šulgi, beloved of Nanše
201)	^{d}Šul-gi-na-piš-ti	Š	Šulgi is my life
202)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-na-ra-am-^{d}En-lil$_2$	AS, ŠS	Amar-Suen, beloved of Enlil
203)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-na-ra-am-Eš$_4$-tar$_2$	ŠS	Šu-Suen, beloved of Eštar
204)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-na-ra-am-^{d}Ištaran	ŠS	Šu-Suen, beloved of Ištaran
205)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-na-wi-ir	AS	Amar-Suen is radiant
	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-na-bi-ir		
206)	^{d}Šul-gi-NI	Š	unclear
207)	^{d}Šul-gi-NI-da	Š	unclear
208)	^{d}Šul-gi-nin-e-ki-ag$_2$	Š	Šulgi, beloved of the Lady
209)	^{d}Šul-gi-ni-šu	Š	Šulgi is the populace

TABLE A (Continued)

210)	^{d}Šul-gi-nu-ri	Š, ŠS	Šulgi is my light
211)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-nu-ur$_2$-ma-ti-šu	ŠS	Šu-Suen is the light of his land
212)	^{d}Šul-gi-nu-zi-šag$_4$-gal$_2$	Š	Šulgi is the one who enlivens[1082]
213)	^{d}Šul-gi-pa-li$_2$-il	Š	Šulgi is the one who keeps watch
	^{d}Šul-gi-pa-li		
214)	^{d}Šul-gi-ra	Š	(The one) of Šulgi
215)	^{d}Šul-gi-ra-ma	Š	You (pl.), love Šulgi
216)	^{d}Šul-gi-ra-ma-šu	Š	As for Šulgi, you (pl.), love him
	^{d}Šul-gi-ra-ma-aš		
217)	^{d}Šul-gi-ra-mu	Š	unclear
218)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ri-im-i$_3$-li$_2$	ŠS	Šu-Suen is the wild bull of the god
219)	^{d}Šul-gi-SAHAR-AN-U-GAL	Š	unclear
220)	^{d}Šul-gi-sa-tu$_3$	Š	Šulgi is a mountain
	^{d}Šul-gi-sa-tu		
221)	^{d}Šul-gi-sa-tu-ni	Š	Šulgi is his/her mountain

[1082] I am reading nu- as the archaic form of lu$_2$, "the one who"; otherwise, it would say "Šulgi is the one who does NOT enliven". Limet (1968), p. 319, also found this PN problematic but, keeping nu- as a negator, suggested either of two interrogative sentences: "Dungi [sic] n'est-il pas un encouragement?" or "Sans Dungi [sic[, y-a-til un encouragement (possible)?".

TABLE A (Continued)

222)	^{d}Šul-gi-sig$_5$	Š	Šulgi is fine
223)	^{d}Šul-gi-si-il-ha	Š	unclear; Elamite
224)	^{d}Šul-gi-si$_2$-im-ti	Š, AS	I am the one fitting for Šulgi
225)	^{d}Šul-gi-si$_2$-im-tum	Š	The fitting one is Šulgi
226)	^{d}Sul-gi-sipad-da-ri$_2$	Š	Šulgi is the eternal shepherd
227)	^{d}Šul-gi-sipad-kalam-ma	Š, AS	Šulgi is the shepherd of the motherland
228)	^{d}Šul-gi-si-sa$_2$	Š, AS, ŠS	Šulgi, who makes equitable
229)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-si-sa$_2$-kalam-ma	AS	Amar-Suen, who makes things equitable in the motherland
230)	^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Suen	Š	Šulgi is Suen
231)	^{d}Šul-gi-şi-lu-ul	Š	Šulgi is shelter
232)	^{d}Šul-gi-ša-lim	Š	Šulgi is the healthy one
233)	^{d}Šul-gi-ša-am$_3$-ši	Š	Šulgi is my sun
234)	^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}*Šamši* (=^{d}UTU^{ši})	Š	Šulgi is my Šamaš
	^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}*Šamši*-mu (=^{d}UTU^{ši})	Š	
235)	^{d}Šul-gi-šu-bi-ra-šu	Š	As for Šulgi, you (pl.), have someone provide f or him
236)	^{d}Šul-gi-ra-šu-na-an-dag-ge	Š	Šulgi will not abandon him/her

TABLE A (Continued)

237)	^{d}Šul-gi-šu-ni-še$_3$	Š	Šulgi, to his hand
238)	^{d}Šul-gi-šu-qir	Š, ŠS	Honor Šulgi
239)	^{d}Šul-gi-ta-bi-in	Š	Šulgi is a shelter
240)	^{d}Šul-gi-ta-lu$_2$	Š	unclear
241)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-ta-ra-am-^{d}Inana	ŠS	Inana loves Šu-Suen
242)	^{d}Šul-gi-teš$_2$	Š	Šulgi is sexual vigor
243)	^{d}Šul-gi-teš$_2$-mu	Š, AS	Šulgi is my sexual vigor
244)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ti-šag$_5$-ke$_4$	AS	unclear
245)	^{d}Šu-Suen-tu-[x]	ŠS	unclear
246)	^{d}Šul-gi-ṭab (=DUG$_3$)	Š, ŠS	Šulgi is good
247)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-*ṭab*-a-na-um-ma-ni (=DUG$_3$)	ŠS	Šu-Suen is good to the people
248)	^{d}Šul-gi-ṭa-bum$_2$	Š	Šulgi is good
249)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-*ṭub*-ma-ti-šu (=DUG$_3$)	ŠS	Šu-Suen is the happiness of his motherland
250)	^{d}Šul-gi-u$_2$-nam-ti	Š	Šulgi is the plant of life
251)	^{d}Šul-gi-ud-sud-še$_3$	Š	Šulgi forever
252)	^{d}Šul-gi-un-ha-ni-iš	Š	unclear
253)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ur-kalam-ma	AS	Amar-Suen is the dog of the motherland

TABLE A (Continued)

254)	^{d}Šul-gi-ur-mu	Š	Šulgi is my dog
255)	^{d}Šul-gi-ur-sag	Š, AS	Šulgi is a hero
	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ur-sag-e		
256)	^{d}Šul-gi-ur-šu-ru-uk	Š	unclear; Elamite
257)	^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	Š, AS	Šulgi is my city
258)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-uru-na-hi-li-bi	AS	Amar-Suen is the vital force of his city
259)	^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Utu	Š	Šulgi is Utu
260)	^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Utu-mu	Š, AS, ŠS	Šulgi is my Utu
261)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-u$_3$-um-[x]	ŠS	unclear
262)	^{d}Šul-gi-wa-qar	Š	Šulgi is precious
263)	^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-wu-zu-um-i-šar-ri	ŠS	Šu-Suen is the fitting one among the kings
264)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-zi	AS	Amar-Suen is life
265)	^{d}Šul-gi-zi-kalam-ma	Š, AS, ŠS	Šulgi is the life's breath of the motherland
266)	^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu	Š, AS	Šulgi is my life
	^{d}Šul-gi-zi$_2$-mu		
267)	^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-zi-šag$_4$-gal$_2$	AS	Amar-Suen is the enlivener

TABLE B: Demographics - Differentiated Individuals with Theophoric Names, Alphabetically and by Reign

NAME	DATE and PROVENANCE	OCCUPATION or ORIGIN	PARENT, CHILD, or SPOUSE	SOURCE
ŠULGI				
A-ab-^{d}Šul-gi	ASxx-05-27 Puzriš-Dagan	NIM at ezem lu_2-Mar-ha-ši^{ki}-ke_4-ne		MVN 13 695
A-ba-^{d}Šul-gi-gim	AS04-00-00 Girsu	UN-ga_6 $eš_3$ e_2-gu-la e_2 ^{d}Nin-Girsu		HLC 2 028 (pl. 066)
A-ba-^{d}Šul-gi-gim	AS06-03-00 Girsu	lu_2-kin-SIG_7 gu-la		MVN 06 064
Al-la-^{d}Šul-gi	Š48-11-00 Girsu			Studies Leichty 288 18
Ama-^{d}Šul-gi-e-an-ir_3-ru	Š41-07-00 Girsu	nar gir_3-se_3-ga ^{d}Šul-gi $šag_4$ Lagaš^{ki}	dumu Lugal-ušumgal	HLC 2 010 (pl. 053)
Amar-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS01-04-21 Puzriš-Dagan			CST 404
Amar-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS03-12-00 Urusagrig	going to Der	dumu I-ti-^{d}Dagan šagina	Nisaba 15/2 0259

TABLE B (Continued)

Amar-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ŠS08-08-29 Puzriš-Dagan	sanga		PDT 1 463
A-mi-ir-^{d}Šul-gi	Š47-08-28 Tummal	lu_2-Ma-ri_2^{ki}		MVN 15 189
A-mur-^{d}Šul-gi	Š48-06-03 Puzriš-Dagan			BPOA 7 2680
A-mi-ir-^{d}Šul-gi	AS02-08-25 Puzriš-Dagan	his bridal gift to the house of Dada gala	dumu-lugal	AUCT 1 418
A-mur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS02-00-00 Puzriš-Dagan	nig_2-ba-lugal		BIN 5 128
A-mur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS08-08-21 Puzriš-Dagan	lu_2 Ma-ri_2		CT 32 23 BM 104458
A-mur-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS04-09-24 Puzriš-Dagan	lu_2 Ma-ri_2^{ki}		RA 98 04 04
Bur-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS04-05-04 Puzriš-Dagan			MVN 13 821
Dan-^{d}Šul-gi (KAL-^{d}Šul-gi)	Š45-10-00 (or AS02, ŠS03) Puzriš-Dagan	i_3-du_8		CHEU 052

TABLE B (Continued)

Dan-^{d}Šul-gi	AS01-03-00	sipad ur-gir$_{15}$-ra	BIN 3 520
(KAL-^{d}Šul-gi)	Puzriš-Dagan		
Dan-^{d}Šul-gi	AS04-12d-19		Nisaba 08 037
	Ur		
Dan-^{d}Šul-gi	AS04-12d-27	sukkal	Nisaba 08 037
	Nippur		
Dan-^{d}Šul-gi	AS07-05-04	(messenger text)	UMTBM 3 21
	Umma		
Dan-^{d}Šul-gi	AS09-08-26	ra$_2$-gaba	StOr 09-1 30 (pl. 11)
	Puzriš-Dagan	bringing the tax (gu$_2$) from the erin$_2$ of Adamdun^{ki}	
Dan-^{d}Šul-gi	AS09-12-27	nu-banda$_3$	AUCT 3 200
	Puzriš-Dagan		
Dan-^{d}Šul-gi	IS01-13-26	lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal	Nisaba 15/2 0654
	Urusagrig	coming from Der	
Dan-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-02-22	lu$_2$-^{giš}tukul-gu-la	DAS 174
	Girsu	(messenger text)	
Dan-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-04-30	lu$_2$-kaš$_4$	TCTI 2 03505
	Girsu	(messenger text)	
Dan-^{d}Šul-gi	no date	ra$_2$-gaba	RA 19 041 56
	Girsu	going to Adamdun^{ki}	

TABLE B (Continued)

Dug$_{11}$-ga-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-07-00 Nippur	ugula, giš-ur$_3$		NRVN 1 297
En-nam-šita$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi-ra-ke$_4$-ba-gub-šud$_3$-sag	Š28-06-00 (year name) Nippur	en ^{d}En-ki Eridug^{ki}	dumu-lugal (^{d}Šul-gi or Ur-^{d}Namma)	Iraq 22 pl. 18 6 NT 147
En-nam-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS03-01-25 Puzriš-Dagan	muhaldim		PDT 1 487
En-nam-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS04-02-05 Puzriš-Dagan		dumu Lugal-pa-e$_3$ (seal)	SumRecDreh. 23
En-nam-^{d}Šul-gi-še$_3$	IS01-00-00 Puzriš-Dagan			TRU 193
En-nam-^{d}Šul-gi	IS02-00-00 Nippur		dumu Lu$_2$-^{d}Nanna šagina (seal)	NRVN 1 176
En-nim-^{d}Šul-gi	IS03-03-00 Urusagrig	father of Šat-Erra, eren$_2$-dirig	geme$_2$-arad$_2$ Nin-šag$_5$-ga	Nisaba 15/2 0953
E-te$_9$-el$_2$-pu$_3$-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS01-12-00 Puzriš-Dagan			TLB 3 095
E-te-el-pi$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS06-12-23 Puzriš-Dagan	dub-sar		Syracuse 352

TABLE B (Continued)

Geme$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	Š32-09-00 Apisal	še-ba geme$_2$-tur	dumu. . En-im-ma geme$_2$ kinkin$_2$ šag$_4$ A-pi$_4$-sal	JCS 52 12 57
Geme$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	Š48-07-00 Girsu	še-ba geme$_2$-kin$_2$-kin$_2$	arua Za-ga-NI-la	WMAH 176
Geme$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	AS01-05-00 Girsu	rcvd grain rations	dumu Ab-ba-da-DI geme$_2$ uš-bar	TUT 159
Geme$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	AS03-01-00 Guabba	siki-ba	dumu nar šag$_4$ Guabba^{ki}	TUT 164-16
Geme$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	AS04-00-00 Guabba	rcvd cloth	dumu Za-an-bi geme- ušbar in Guabba^{ki}	STA 06
Geme$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	AS04-01-00 Girsu	še-ba	dumu Ha-la-^{d}Ba-u$_2$ geme$_2$ us-bar e$_2$ ^{d}Ningišzida	AS04-01-00
Geme$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	IS03-07-00 Kinunir	siki-mug-ba	dumu Nin-kug-zu ^{d}Nin-Mar-ki-ka	Zinbun 18 104 10
Geme$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	no date Ur		dam Ur-nigar$_x$^{gar} sanga e$_2$ ^{d}Nin-a-zi-mu$_2$-a	UET 3 0093
Geme$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	no date Umma	part of her orchard redistributed to Ur-^{d}Saman$_4$		MVN 16 0742
Hu-ba-^{d}Šul-gi-[x]-da-aš	AS05-11-21	lu$_2$-[x]-hu?		JCS 22 51

TABLE B (Continued)

	Puzriš-Dagan		
Hu-ba-^{d}Šul-gi-da-aš	xx-01-00		BIN 3 315
	Umma		
Hu-ba-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	xx-01-00	DU-bi-ba-aš	MVN 04 237
	Umma		
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	Š36-07-00	provided 40 gur dabin	SAT 1 240
	Girsu		
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	Š37-09-00		Nisaba 08 007
	Puzriš-Dagan		
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	AS03-09-00	rcvd pair of leather boots	RA 49 93 36
	Tummal		
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	AS04-01-06	Mar-tu	TCL 2 5508
	Puzriš-Dagan		
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	AS08-08-00	nu-banda$_3$	YOS 04 107
	Tummal		
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS02-00-00	ugula for ^{giš}asal$_x$ for the temple	TIM 6 48
	Puzriš-Dagan	of ^{d}Šara$_2$	
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS04-01-07	šagina	Nisaba 15/2 0271
	Urusagrig		
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS04-02-05+	(messenger text)	Nisaba 16 123

TABLE B (Continued)

	Umma		
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS09-12-13		CUSAS 3 1485
	Urusagrig?		
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	IS02-01-00	šagina	SAT 3 1984
	Umma		
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-00-11	of Šimaški^{ki}	PDT 1 411
	Tummal	animals to his house	
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-03-19	sukkal	Nisaba 01 008
	Umma	(messenger text)	
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	no date	of Šimaški	PDT 1 529
	Puzriš-Dagan		
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	no date	nu-banda$_3$	DoCu Strasbourg 64
	Girsu		
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	no date	ugula gan$_2$ zar$_3$-tab-ba	Nebraska 38
	Umma		
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	no date	ugula tir e$_2$-lugal	CUSAS 3 1461
	Umma		
Hu-un-^{d}Šul-gi	no date	šagina Umma^{ki}	AUCT 3 325
	Umma	(seal)	
I-bi$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-07-00	lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal	ITT 3 05155
	Girsu	coming from Nippur	

TABLE B (Continued)

Ib-ni-^{d}Šul-gi	AS09-08-26 Puzriš-Dagan		StOr 09-1 30 (pl. 11)
Ib-ni-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS01-06-01 Puzriš-Dagan		BPOA 7 2650
Ib-ni-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS07-03-25 Puzriš-Dagan	ugula $erin_2$ Pu-ut-tu-li-um^{ki}	RA 09 054 AM 14 (pl. 7)
Ib-ni-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS08-00-00 Girsu	ugula $erin_2$ $šag_4$ Guabba^{ki}	UNT 017
Ib-ni-^{d}Šul-gi	IS01-06-00 Puzriš-Dagan	ugula $erin_2$ a-$šag_4$ ku-da-bad_3-da-ka tuš-a	SAT 3 1937
Ib-ni-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-00-03 Girsu	ugula $erin_2$ $šag_4$ Guabba^{ki}	OBTR 173
Ib-ni-^{d}Šul-gi	no date Umma	ugula gan_2 zar_3-tab-ba	Nebraska 38
I-mi-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS06-00-00 Girsu	ugula lu_2-kaš	BPOA 1 1563
I-mi-iq-^{d}Šul-gi	IS03-09-00 GARšana		CUSAS 3 1038
Inim-^{d}Šul-gi	no date		Nisaba 05-2 046 U.

TABLE B (Continued)

	Ur			31046
Inim-^{d}Šul-gi-DU	xx-05-00 Girsu	going to Adamdun		AJSL 29 133 no. 2
Inim-^{d}Šul-gi-ib$_2$-ta-e$_3$	Š41-07-00 Lagaš	nar, gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga ^{d}Šul-gi šag$_4$ Lagaš^{ki}	dumu A-tu dub-giš-du	HLC 2 010 (pl. 053)
I-pi$_2$-iš-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-07-00 Girsu	lu$_2$-^{giš}tukul coming from Anšan and Šimaški		TÉL 051
Ezem-^{d}Šul-gi (=*Išin?*)	Š45-00-00 Girsu	lu$_2$-kaš$_4$		CT 05 17 BM 012231
E-ṣi$_2$-in-^{d}Šul-gi	AS08-06-09 Puzriš-Dagan			Nisaba 08 034
I-ṣi$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	AS08-11-00 Girsu	maškim		TCTI 2 03336
I-ṣi$_2$-in-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS01-00-00 Girsu	(messenger text)		ITT 5 08212
I-šar-^{d}Šul-gi	Š43-01-01			MVN 13 516

TABLE B (Continued)

	Puzriš-Dagan			
I-šar-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS03-01-00	witness to slave sale		Sales Docs. 119
	unk. prov.			
I-šar-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS09-02-00	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal		Nisaba 15/2 0491
	Urusagrig	rcvd pair of shoes		
I-šar-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS09-10-00	rcvd field in Urusagrig		UET 3 1367
	Ur			
I-šar-^{d}Šul-gi	no date	lu_2-^{giš}tukul		TCTI 1 00827
	Girsu	going to Sabum		
I_3-*šim*-^{d}Šul-gi	IS01-07-00	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal	dumu Ur-lugal	MVN 16 0793
(on seal: *I-šim*-^{d}Šul-gi)	Umma	(on seal: lu_2-$kaš_4$)		
I-šim-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-02-00	lu_2-$kaš_4$		NABU 2011:72 3
	Girsu	coming from Si-u_3^{ki}		
I-šim-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-04-00	lu_2-$kaš_4$		MVN 05 233
	Girsu	$kaš_4$ e_2-gal in Guabba^{ki}		
I-šim-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-07-00	lu_2-^{giš}tukul		RA 19 043 113
	Girsu	[to or from] Anšan^{ki} & Šimaški^{ki}		
Ki-in-^{d}Šul-gi	IS15-12-00			UET 3 1498
	Ur			
Ki-in-^{d}Šul-gi	IS17-02-15	ugula ašgab e_2-maškim tuš-a		UET 3 1470
	Ur			

TABLE B (Continued)

Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	Š39-05-00 Puzriš-Dagan	sipad-gud under Nir-i_3-da-gal_2		BPOA 6 0033
Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	Š45-11d-00 Girsu	rcvd grain rations		CUSAS 16 033
Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS05-10-00 Girsu	lu_2-$kaš_4$ (messenger text)		Nisaba 22 142
Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS07-02-00 Puzriš-Dagan	ra_2-gaba		OrSP 47-49 102
Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS07-03-02 Urusagrig	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal coming from Der		Nisaba 15/2 0045
Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS08-03-26 Puzriš-Dagan	dub-sar	dumu Kal-lu-mu (seal)	AUCT 3 459
Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS08-09-23 Puzriš-Dagan	dub-sar	dumu Kal-la-mu (seal)	PDT 1 500
Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS01-04-30 Uruk			TMH NF 1-2 285
Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS02-07-22 Puzriš-Dagan	dub-sar	dumu Kal-la-mu (seal)	BPOA 7 1861
Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS03-03-00 Urusagrig	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal conveying animals to princess Šat-Suen when she went to Der		Nisaba 15/2 0255
Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS03-07-11	(messenger text)		Nisaba 16 057

TABLE B (Continued)

	Umma			
Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS09-07-09	dub-sar	dumu En-um-i_3-li_2	TRU 188
	Puzriš-Dagan		(seal)	
Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-02-00	lu_2-^{giš}tukul-gu-la		MCS 5 29 HSM 06355
	Girsu	going to Susa		
Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-03-00	lu_2-^{giš}tukul		TCTI 2 03436
	Girsu	coming from Sabum		
Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-05-00	ra_2-gaba		MTBM 004
	Girsu	(messenger text)		
Li-bur-^{d}Šul-gi	no date	sagi		Nisaba 15/2 1034
	Urusagrig			
Li-mur-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-11-30	(messenger text)		Nisaba 01 265
	Umma			
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	Š28-08-00	dub-sar	dumu Ur-$^{d}Li_9$-si_4	AAICAB 1/1 Ashm.
	Umma		$ensi_2$ $Umma^{ki}$-ka (seal)	1924-0698
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	Š34-00-00		father of I-ti (seal)	BPOA 2 2183
	Umma			
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	Š37-00-00	nu-$banda_3$ En-igi-ni-ib_2-zu		ITT 4 07260
	Girsu	maškim		
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	Š40-00-00	šabra. . e_2 ^{d}Nin-mar-ki		OBTR 242

TABLE B (Continued)

	Girsu			
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	Š41-00-00	šabra or sanga e$_2$ Nam-ha-ni		ASJ 09 108 11
	Girsu	(gan$_2$ šabra-sanga-me)		
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	Š41-07-00	nar, gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga ^{d}Šul-gi šag$_4$	dumu Ba-ba-a ugula	HLC 2 010 (pl. 053)
	Lagaš	Lagaš^{ki}	nar	
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	Š46-01-13			SET 051
	Puzriš-Dagan			
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	Š47-05-00	rcvd grain ration	dumu Nin-si-gar	HLC 1 026 (pl. 22)
	Girsu		muhaldim	
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	Š48-02-00	še-ba a-bala du$_3$-a-kud	dumu Lu$_2$-^{d}Nin-šubur	HLC 1 066 (pl. 025)
	Girsu	^{giš}kiri$_6$ Ki-sur-ra	uš$_2$	
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	Š48-06-00	dumu, šar$_2$-ra-ab-du i$_3$-dab$_5$	dumu Ur-^{d}Nun-gal	Torino 2 703
	Gu$_2$-eden-na		šeš A-ab-ba	
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	AS02-00-00	rcvd grain rations	dumu Ur-^{d}Utu lu$_2$-azlag	OrSP 47-49 324
	Umma			
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	AS02-07-00	u$_2$-lL$_2$ kir$_4$-dab$_5$	dumu Lugal-bad$_3$	BPOA 7 2457
	Umma		u$_2$-lL$_2$ kir$_4$-dab$_5$-me	
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	AS04-01-06		dumu-lugal	TCL 2 5508
	Puzriš-Dagan			
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	AS04-04-05		dumu-lugal	TLB 3 098
	Nippur			
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	AS05-00-00	guruš, bala-še$_3$ e$_3$-e$_3$		AnOr 01 088

TABLE B (Continued)

	Umma	ugula Ma_2-gur-re		
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	AS05-00-00 Girsu	šabra		WMAH 251
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	AS05-01-00 Umma	še-ba, gir_3-se_3-ga bala-a	dumu A-bi_2?-si-ni-DI $geme_2$ nig_2-ar_2-ra	Nisaba 24 28
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	AS05-01-00 Umma	še-ba, gir_3-se_3-ga bala-a	dumu Er_3-ra-a $bahar_3$ gan_2 Ama-^{d}Šara$_2$	Nisaba 24 28
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	AS05?-01-00 Umma	dub-sar	dumu Ur-$šag_5$-ga (seal)	AUCT 3 424
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra (1)	AS05-06-00 Umma	rcvd grain rations	dumu-$nita_2$ e_2-[x]-na-ta	Santag 6 139
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra (2)	AS05-06-00 Umma	rcvd grain rations	dumu-$nita_2$ e_2-nar-ta	Santag 6 139
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	AS05-10-00 Girsu		dumu Lugal-me	STA 08
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	AS06-07-00 Umma	sagi		AoF 29 16 1
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	AS07-00-00 Umma	ugula, of grain transfer		SAT 2 1043
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	AS07-04-00 Umma		dumu-lugal	OrSP 47-49 145
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	AS07-07-00	dub-sar		Aegyptus 26 160 8

TABLE B (Continued)

	Umma			
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	AS07-08-00	dub-sar	dumu Ur-$^{d}Li_9$-si_4	BPOA 2 2506
	Umma		ensi$_2$ Umma^{ki}-ka (seal)	
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	AS08-04-00	[lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal]		Nisaba 15/2 0099
	Urusagrig	going to Kimaš		
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	AS08-07-00	pisan-dub-ba		MVN 01 133
	Puzriš-Dagan			
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ŠS01-00-00			UTI 3 2013
	Umma			
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS01-04-08	muhaldim		CT 03 31 BM 019740
	Girsu			
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS02-00-00	dub-sar	dumu Ur-nigar$_x^{gar}$	MVN 16 1362
	Umma		šuš$_3$ (seal)	
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ŠS02-00-00	guruš eren$_2$	dumu Lugal-bad$_2$-[x]	CDLJ 2003: 1 1
	Umma			
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ŠS02-00-00	muhaldim		Nisaba 15/2 0227
	Urusagrig			
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ŠS03-09-00	bahar$_3$		SNAT 487
	Zabalam	gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga Zabalam$_3^{ki}$		
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS04-12-00	lu_2-azlag$_2$ (uš$_2$)		UNT 088
	Guabba	gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga e$_2$-uš-bar		
		in Gu$_2$-ab-ba^{ki}		
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ŠS05-03-30	dub-sar	dumu Ur-^{d}Šara$_2$ pisan	JCS 52 16 85

TABLE B (Continued)

	Umma		dub-ba-ka (seal)	
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ŠS06-00-00 Umma	dub-sar	dumu Da-da-ga (seal)	BIN 5 258
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS07-00-00 Umma		šeš Lugal-e_2-mah-e	Nisaba 06 14
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS09-00-00 Girsu	dub-sar	dumu Lu_2-^{d}Giš-bar-e_3	WMAH 182
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS09-07-00 Nippur	witness to grain loan		NATN 307
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS01-00-00 Umma	dub-sar	dumu Da-da-ga (seal)	CST 732
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS01-00-00 Umma	dub-sar	dumu Ur-^{d}Šara$_2$ pisan-dub-ba-ka	UTI 6 3508
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	IS01-00-00 Girsu	rcvd grain for hired hands		TCTI 2 04060
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS02-02-22 Urusagrig	lu_2-lunga$_3$ [ŠIMxGAR]		Nissaba 15/2 0728
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS02-09-00 Da-Umma	ugula engar		TIM 6 55
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	IS02-10-16 Nippur			NATN 107
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS05-07-00 Ur	nu-banda$_3$ ur-gir$_{15}$-ra	dumu Lugal-ur$_2$-[ra] nu-banda$_3$ ur-gir$_{15}$-[ra]	UET 3 1254

TABLE B (Continued)

			(seal)	
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	IS06-03-00 Ur	nu-banda$_3$		UET 3 1618
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS15-09-00 Ur	conveyed grain to the kurušda		UET 3 1010
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-05-00 Girsu	(messenger text)	šeš ^{d}Šul-gi-kalam-ma-me-te-<bi>	MTBM 046
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-08-00 Girsu	sukkal coming from Susa		HLC 2 111 (pl. 095)
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-12-00 Girsu	lu$_2$-^{giš}tukul-gu-la		CUSAS 16 264
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-12-18 Umma	provisions gaba-aš		MVN 04 236
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	xx-00-18 Umma	ugula gan$_2$		SAT 3 2182
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	no date Girsu	sukkal (messenger text)		Nisaba 03-2 14
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	no date Umma	ŠIM Umma^{ki}-me		SAT 3 2150
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi	no date Umma	part of his orchard redistributed to Ur-^{giš}Gigir		MVN 16 0742
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	no date	gudug ušur$_3$		UTI 3 2283

TABLE B (Continued)

	Umma			
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-[ra]	no date	še-ba	dumu Nin-[x]-ba-na	L'uomo 62
	Umma		nar-munus	
			gir_3-se_3-ga ^{d}Šul-gi	
Lu_2-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	no date	pisan-dub-ba na-tum,		UET 3 0754
	Ur	votive of silver boat		
Lugal-^{d}Šul-gi	Š37-00-00	še-ba	dumu $bahar_2$ $munu_4$-mu_2	HLC 2 021 (pl. 060)
	Girsu			
Lugal-^{d}Šul-gi	AS02-00-00	šabra e_2 ^{d}Ningirsu		MVN 12 357
	Girsu			
Lugal-^{d}Šul-gi	AS04-06-00	dub-sar (seal)	dumu ^{d}Utu-mu	MVN 12 403
	Girsu	šabra (in text)	(seal)	
Lugal-^{d}Šul-gi	AS08-00-00			BPOA 1 1794
	Umma			
Lugal-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS08-00-00	dub-sar	dumu ^{d}Utu-mu	TCTI 2 04250
	Girsu		(seal)	
Lugal-^{d}Šul-gi	IS01-00-00	dub-sar	dumu ^{d}Utu-mu	TCTI 2 03983
	Girsu		(seal)	
Lugal-^{d}Šul-gi	IS01-00-00	ugula $erin_2$ e_2-^{d}Šul-gi-me &		TCTI 2 03492
	Girsu	$erin_2$ e_2 ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-me		
Lugal-^{d}Šul-gi	IS02-00-00	ugula $erin_2$ e_2-^{d}Šul-gi-me		TCTI 2 03491

TABLE B (Continued)

	Girsu			
Lugal-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-07-29	ugula guruš		MVN 06 407
	Girsu	u_2 kud u_3 al-(ak)		
Lugal-^{d}Šul-gi	no date	took oath at trial	dumu Ur-^{d}Ba-u_2	ITT 2 02775
	Girsu		kug-dim_2	
Lugal-^{d}Šul-gi	no date	maškim di-til-la		RTC 294
	Girsu			
Lugal-^{d}Šul-gi-*a-na*-[x-x-x-x]	Š47-00-00			UET 3 0366
	Ur			
Lugal-^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Nanna	no date			UET 9 0083
	Ur			
Ma-^{d}Šul-gi-gim	no date	ŠIM		UET 3 1431
	Ur	gir_2-se_3-ga e_2-šim		
Ma-an-num$_2$-an-num$_2$-ki-	Š44-05-00			SET 012
^{d}Šul-gi-ra	Puzriš-Dagan			
Ma-an-num$_2$-an-num$_2$-ki-	xx-12-00			PDT 1 550
^{d}Šul-gi	Puzriš-Dagan			
Ma-NI-KI?-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-11-06			WMAH 233

TABLE B (Continued)

	Girsu			
Ma-num$_2$-ki-^{d}Šul-gi	Š43-07-27 Puzriš-Dagan			CTMMA 1 10
Ma-nu-um-ki-^{d}Šul-gi	AS07-09-23 Urusagrig	lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal		Nisaba 15/2 0023
Ma-num$_2$-ki-^{d}Šul-gi	AS08-03-19 Puzriš-Dagan	arad$_2$ ^{d}Nin-e$_2$-gal (seal)		SAT 2 1081
Ma-num$_2$-ki-^{d}Šul-gi	AS08-11-00 Puzriš-Dagan	dub-sar		OIP 121 582
Ma-num$_2$-ki-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS01-01-24 Puzriš-Dagan	i$_3$-du$_8$	father of Erra-bani dub-sar (seal)	BIN 3 217
Ma-num$_2$-ki-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS01-03-09 Puzriš-Dagan	dub-sar		Syracuse 480
Ma-num$_2$-ki-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS02-12-14 Puzriš-Dagan	šar$_2$-ra-ab-du		Studies Astour 375 Nesbit D
Ma-num$_2$-ki-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS03-06-16 Puzriš-Dagan	dub-sar (seal) šar$_2$-ra-ab-du (in text)		PDT 2 1238
Ma-num$_2$-ki-^{d}Šul-gi	IS01-03-00 Puzriš-Dagan	dub-sar (text & seal)	dumu I-ti-[x] (seal)	JCS 24, 150 05
Ma-tu-tu-^{d}Šul-gi	IS03-00-00	rcvd grain ration		MVN 22 226

TABLE B (Continued)

	Girsu			
ME-^{d}Šul-gi	Š44-08-08 Puzriš-Dagan		dumu-munus-lugal	TJAMC FM 45 (pl. 45)
ME-^{d}Šul-gi	AS02-01-18 Uruk		dumu-munus-lugal	RA 09 042 SA 12 (pl. 1)
ME-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠSxx-00-00 Puzriš-Dagan		dam Lugal-ma$_2$-gur$_8$-re	JCS 54 07 52
ME-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS02-01-00 Puzriš-Dagan			AUCT 3 305
ME-^{d}Šul-gi	no date Umma			BPOA 7 2507
Me-ra-ah-^{d}Šul-gi	ASxx-05-27 Puzriš-Dagan	NIM at ezem lu$_2$-Mar-ha-še^{ki}-ke$_4$-ne	dumu Ma-aš-hu-un-tah-hi	MVN 13 695
Me-ra-ah-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-00-27 Puzriš-Dagan		dumu Ma-aš-hu-un-da-hi-li	PDT 1 529
Na-bi$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	AS05-10-00 Girsu		dumu-lugal	STA 08
Na-bi$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-02-17 Umma	(messenger text)	dumu-lugal	Torino 2 415

TABLE B (Continued)

Na-bi$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-06-00 Girsu	conveyed fodder for weaned animals	dumu-lugal	Zinbun 18 103 07
Na-bi$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-00-30 Puzriš-Dagan			UDT 091
Nin-^{d}Šul-gi	Š38-10-00 Girsu	rcvd grain rations	dumu Lu$_2$-šag$_5$-šag$_5$	EAH 099
Nin-^{d}Šul-gi	AS01-01-00 Guabba	še-ba geme ušbar in Guabba		TUT 162
Nin-^{d}Šul-gi	AS01-05-00 Girsu	rcvd grain rations	dumu Kug-^{d}Ba-u$_2$ geme$_2$-ušbar	TUT 159
Nin-^{d}Šul-gi	IS03-07-00 Kinunir		mother of Lu$_2$-^{d}Utu	Zinbun 18 104 10
Nin-^{d}Šul-gi	IS03-07-00 Kinunir		mother of Nin-nig$_2$-zu, Nin-ha-an-ga-am$_3$, & Nin-a-zu	Zinbun 18 104 10
Nin-^{d}Šul-gi	no date Girsu	rcvd grain rations	dumu A-ba-da-DI ba-ug$_7$	MVN 22 018
Nin-^{d}Šul-gi	no date Girsu	rcvd grain rations	dumu Kug-^{d}Ba-u$_2$	MVN 22 018
NI-URU-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS04-08-00			MVN 16 0933

TABLE B (Continued)

	Umma			
Nu-ur$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	AS04-12-00	rcvd grain nig$_2$-ba-lugal	dumu-lugal	MVN 20 101
	Umma			
Nu-ur$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	AS07-10-00			AUCT 1 048
	Puzriš-Dagan	(text and seal)		
Nu-ur$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	AS09-11-00	lu$_2$-kaš$_4$		MCS 4 107 AOTc139
	Girsu	(messenger text)		
Nu-ur$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS02-08-09	ugula geš$_2$-da		NYPL 326
	Puzriš-Dagan			
Nu-ur$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS03-06-00	ugula (of) A-da-a lu$_2$-lirum-us$_2$		TCL 2 5549
	Ur			
Nu-ur$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	IS02-03-24	lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal		Nisaba 15/2 0839
	Urusagrig	going to Der		
Nu-ur$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	no date	lu$_2$-^{giš}tukul		TCTI 1 00778
	Girsu	coming from URUxKAR$_2$^{ki}		
Nu-ur$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi	no date	ugula tir [x]		CUSAS 3 1461
	Umma			
Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi	Š41-07-22			Nisaba 08 172
	Puzriš-Dagan			
Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi	Š44-00-00	sipad-me lu$_2$-Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi-		Nik. 2 523

TABLE B (Continued)

	Puzriš-Dagan	me		
Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi	AS08-05-08	ugula erin$_2$ A-ra-ap-hu-um^{k}	dumu Ha-ši-pa$_2$-tal^{ki}	JCS 31 166
	Puzriš-Dagan			
Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS01-04-01			Kyoto 23
	Puzriš-Dagan			
Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS03-00-00		dumu Ha-ši-pa$_2$-tal	CT 32 36 BM 103403
	Puzriš-Dagan			
Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS03-12-03	seal: Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi arad$_2$-[zu]		TMH NF 1-2 076
	Nippur	of I-pa$_2$-li$_2$ dumu U$_3$-LUM-si-in		
Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS06-12-21	sukkal		MVN 13 342
	Umma			
Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi	IS02-09-28	šar$_2$-ra-ab-du	dumu A-bi$_2$-a	BPOA 7 2606
	Gu$_2$-du$_8$-a^{ki}	(seal: dub-sar)	šar$_2$-ra-ab-du (seal)	
Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi	IS02-12-12	šar$_2$-ra-ab-du	dumu A-bi$_2$-a	MVN 08 207
	Puzriš-Dagan		šar$_2$-ra-ab-du (seal)	
Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi	IS14-06-16	lu$_2$-$^{i3-si}$Isin$_2^{ki}$		UET 3 1421
	Ur			
Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-01-30			DAS 144
	Girsu			
Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-05-00	lu$_2$-^{giš}tukul		MVN 17 135
	Girsu	going to Susa		

TABLE B (Continued)

Ra-gab$_2$-um-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-01-26 Umma		AAS 167
Si-sa$_2$-kalam-^{d}Šul-gi	no date Susa		MDP 22 156 144
Ṣi-li-^{d}Šul-gi	AS05-09-09 Puzriš-Dagan		MVN 11 140
Ṣilli-^{d}Šul-gi (MI-^{d}Šul-gi)	IS02-05-26 Urusagrig	lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal coming from Der	Nisaba 15/2 0775
Ṣi-lu-uš-^{d}Šul-gi	AS05-10-09 Puzriš-Dagan		TCL 2 5504
Ṣi-lu-uš-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS03-03-03 Puzriš-Dagan		SAT 3 1354
Ṣi-lu-uš-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS05-10-08 Puzriš-Dagan	nu-banda$_3$	BbJ 2 19 16
Ṣi-lu-uš-^{d}Šul-gi	IS02-04-29 Puzriš-Dagan	nu-banda$_3$, ugula nu-banda$_3$ Ki-iš-ga-ti^{ki}-me-eš$_2$, ugula erin$_2$ Ki-iš-ga-ti^{ki}	Nisaba 08 019

TABLE B (Continued)

Ša-lim-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS02-10-00 Girsu			ITT 5 06787
Ša-at-^{d}Šul-gi	Š46-08-05 Puzriš-Dagan		dam A-bi$_2$-a-mu-ti Mar-tu	TRU 267
Ša-at-^{d}Šul-gi	AS07-01-09 Puzriš-Dagan		dumu-munus-lugal	SAT 2 0316
Ša-at-^{d}Šul-gi	xx-10-00 Urusagrig	rcvd pair of boots		Nisaba 15/2 1011
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	Š42-00-00 Umma	sukkal		Bala, Diss., no. 051
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	Š43-00-00 Puzriš-Dagan			CTMMA 1 09
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	Š46-04-00 Puzriš-Dagan	Mar-tu		MVN 11 199
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	AS01-04-27 Puzriš-Dagan			Princeton 2 153
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	AS03-09-00 Puzriš-Dagan (Der)		dumu-lugal	JCS 54 12 82
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	AS03-11-16 Puzriš-Dagan	sukkal		BCT 1 078

TABLE B (Continued)

Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	AS05-08-18 Puzriš-Dagan	sagi		CST 329
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	AS06-11-27 Puzriš-Dagan	ra_2-gaba maškim		CT 32 10 BM 103412
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	AS08-05-08 Puzriš-Dagan	ugula $erin_2$ Dur-maš^{ki}		JCS 31 166
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS02-00-00 Umma			YOS 8 057
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS02-03-01 Urusagrig	sukkal lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal		Nisaba 15/2 0216
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS02-10-29 Puzriš-Dagan	nu-$banda_3$		RA 49 86 02
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS05-05-21 Puzriš-Dagan	šu-i maškim		BCT 1 107
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS07-01-21 Umma	lu_2-$kaš_4$		SAT 3 1785
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS08-08-00 Girsu		dumu sukkal-mah	TCTI 2 03566
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	IS01-00-00 Girsu			PPAC 5 0510
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	IS01-01-06 Urusagrig		dumu sukkal-mah	Nisaba 15/2 0557

TABLE B (Continued)

Šu-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS02-01-00 Umma	ra_2-gaba		YOS 04 284
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	IS02-07-25 Umma	(messenger text)		MVN 13 340
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	IS02-00-00 Urusagrig	rcvd field (fan_2) in Uru-gi-gu_3-[na]^{ki}		Nisaba 15/2 0917
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	no date Umma	aga_3-us_2-lugal	dumu I-la-a (seal)	ASJ 12 054
Šu-^{d}Šul-gi	no date Ur			UET 3 1452
^{d}Šul-gi-a-a-mu	Š40-06-00 Puzriš-Dagan			SAT 2 0259
^{d}Šul-gi-a-a-mu	Š44-12-00 Girsu			RA 4, pl. 29, no. 78
^{d}Šul-gi-a-a-mu	AS01-01-25 Puzriš-Dagan			AUCT 2 071
^{d}Šulgi-a-a-mu	AS03-00-00 Umma	provided field for šuku to kurušda, gir_3-se_3-ga-lugal		SNAT 340
^{d}Šul-gi-a-a-mu	AS08-08-00 Tummal			YOS 04 107
^{d}Šul-gi-a-a-mu	ŠS01-00-00			SAT 3 1185

TABLE B (Continued)

	Umma		
^{d}Šul-gi-a-a-mu	ŠS03-00-00		Rochester 223
	Girsu		
^{d}Šul-gi-*a-al*	ŠS01-09-00	sagi	TMH NF 1-2 157
	Nippur	(seal)	
^{d}Šul-gi-AB.GAB	AS02-05-00	ra_2-gaba lu_2 Ur-$nigar_x$	AAICAB 1/1, Ashm.
	Puzriš-Dagan		1932-529
^{d}Šul-gi-*a-bi*$_2$	Š46-02-00	Mar-tu	HSS 04 108
	Puzriš-Dagan		
^{d}Šul-gi-*a-bi*$_2$	AS01-01-26		TRU 299
	Puzriš-Dagan		
^{d}Šul-gi-*a-bi*$_2$	AS02-00-00		MVN 21 048
	Umma		
^{d}Šul-gi-*a-bi*$_2$	AS03-09-00	rcvd pair of leather boots	RA 49 93 36
	Tummal		
^{d}Šul-gi-*a-bi*$_2$	AS04-01-06	Mar-tu	TCL 2 5508
	Puzriš-Dagan		
^{d}Šul-gi-*a-bi*	AS06-02-20		Nisaba 08 026
	Puzriš-Dagan		

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-*a*-*bi*$_2$	AS-nd Girsu		MVN 13 242
^{d}Šul-gi-*a*-*bi*$_2$	IS02-03-00 Puzriš-Dagan		SET 168
^{d}Šul-gi-*a*-*bi*$_2$	no date Ur		MVN 09 184
^{d}Šul-gi-ad-GUR	AS04-05-09 Puzriš-Dagan	sagi	AfO 19, 120
^{d}Šul-gi-ad-HI	IS02-00-00 Urusagrig	rcvd field (gan$_2$) in Uru-gi-gu$_3$-[na]^{ki}	Nisaba 15/2/0917
^{d}Šul-gi-ad-lal$_3$	AS03-03-00 Puzriš-Dagan	conveyed oil from Abi-simti	BPOA 7 2671
^{d}Šul-gi-ad-lal$_3$	xx-06-00 Girsu	lu$_2$-^{giš}tukul going to Susa	MTBM 002
^{d}Šul-gi-a-gu-NI	xx-03-00 Girsu	lu$_2$-^{giš}tukul	FS Owen 174 L. 05441
^{d}Šul-gi-a$_2$-kalam-ma	Š41-09-00	u$_3$-kul	MVN 07 133

TABLE B (Continued)

	Girsu			
^{d}Šul-gi-a$_2$-kalam-ma	Š47-00-00 Guabba	nar e$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi in Gu$_2$-ab-ba^{ki}		CT 07 13 BM 012939
^{d}Šul-gi-ra-kam	Š47-00-00 Guabba	nar e$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi in Gu$_2$-ab-ba^{ki}		CT 07 13 BM 012929
^{d}Šul-gi-ra-kam	IS01-03-25 Puzriš-Dagan		dumu [x]	JCS 10 28 05
^{d}Šul-gi-al-mah	ŠS03-06029 Puzriš-Dagan	dub-sar (seal)		PDT 2 1211
^{d}Šul-gi-a$_2$-mah	Š41-07-00 Lagaš	nar, gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga ^{d}Šul-gi šag$_4$ Lagaš^{ki}	father of ^{d}Šul-gi-ki-ur$_5$-šag$_5$ & the weanling Zi-^{d}Šul-gi-a-ra$_2$-kalam-ma	HLC 2 010 (pl. 053)
^{d}Šul-gi-a$_2$-mah	AS07-08-00 Girsu			TCTI 2 03494
^{d}Šul-gi-a$_2$-mah	ŠS01-09-00 Girsu			WMAH 174
^{d}Šul-gi-a-mu	xx-11d-23+	sukkal-lugal		Nisaba 22 153

TABLE B (Continued)

	Girsu	conveyed to NIM	
^{d}Šul-gi-a$_2$-mu	no date Girsu		HSS 04 047
^{d}Šul-gi-an-dul$_3$	ŠS05-10-08 Puzriš-Dagan	nu-banda$_3$	Ontario 1 129
^{d}Šul-gi-an-zag-še$_3$	AS05-08-20 Puzriš-Dagan	rcvd sheep, sag-rig$_7$ šag$_4$ e$_2$-gal-me	TCL 2 5484
^{d}Šul-gi-a-ra-ab-kalam-ma	Š46-06-00 Girsu	guruš libir-am$_3$ e$_2$-šim	WMAH 175
^{d}Šul-gi-*a-tal*	AS08-10-17 Puzriš-Dagan	lu$_2$ Gu-ma-ra-ši^{ki}	TCL 2 5500
^{d}Šul-gi-a-ti	Š40-09-00 Umma		CDLJ 2012: 1 3.05
^{d}Šul-gi-a-zi-da	AS05-10-00 Girsu	šagina	STA 08

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-bad$_3$	Š47-00-00 Guabba	nar e$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi in Gu$_2$-ab-ba^{ki}		CT 07 13 BM 012939
^{d}Šul-gi-bad$_3$-kalam-ma	Š41-07-00 Lagaš	nar, gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga ^{d}Šul-gi šag$_4$ Lagaš^{ki}	dumu Ba-ba-a ugula nar	HLC 2 010 (pl. 053)
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	Š25-11-00 (or Š32, Š44) Girsu	lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a lugal (text) lu$_2$-kaš$_4$ (seal)	dumu Ku-ru-ub-^{d}Utu šagina (seal)	ITT 2 00763
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	Š32-00-00 Girsu			Rochester 213
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	Š42-12-00 (or AS06) Umma	dub-sar		BPOA 2 2139
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	Š44-00-00 Puzriš-Dagan			TJAMC IES 120 (pl. 62)
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	Š48-12-29 Puzriš-Dagan	šabra		AUCT 2 368
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	Š48-12d-00 Girsu	lu2-^{giš}tukul going to HA-sahar^{ki}		Nisaba 22 071
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	AS01-04-30 Puzriš-Dagan	šabra		CST 227

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	AS01-05-25 Nippur	sagi maškim		OIP 121 034
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	AS03-10-00 Umma	lu_2-mar-za		Nisaba 24 29
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	AS06-00-00 Umma	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a		MVN 18 555
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	AS08-00-00 Umma	sagi		UTI 4 2906
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	ASxx-05-27 Puzriš-Dagan	at ezem lu_2-Mar-ha-še^{ki}-ke_4-ne	dumu Du-ug-ši	MVN 13 695
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	ŠS01-08-06 Puzriš-Dagan			BPOA 6 0019
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	ŠS03-00-00 Puzriš-Dagan	šabra E_2-a-ni-ša		CT 32 36 BM 103403
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	ŠS04-04-22 Puzriš-Dagan	sagi		NYPL 221
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	ŠS04-08-19 Umma			Mesopotamia 08-9 158 14
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	ŠS04-07-00 Nippur	maškim		BE 3-1 116
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	ŠS09-03-13 Urusagrig	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal coming from Der		Nisaba 15/2 0520

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	IS02-00-16 Urusagrig	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal coming from Der		Subastas Durán 629651
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	xx-05-00 Girsu	lu_2-^{giš}tukul going to Susa		TCTI 2 03928
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-ni*	xx-10-06 Girsu	lu_2-^{giš}tukul-gu-la going for fish		MVN 22 141
^{d}Šul-gi-*ba-aš$_2$-ti*	IS03-03-00 Urusagrig	nar-munus	$geme_2$-$arad_2$ Nin-$šag_5$-ga	Nisaba 15/2 0953
^{d}Šul-gi-bi_2-du-ri_2	xx-09-00 Girsu			CBT 2, p. xi, BM 18524
^{d}Šul-gi-da	ŠS05-00-00 Girsu	aga_3-us_2	dumu Ba-ta-num_2 Mar-tu (on seal: dumu Ba-ir-ra-num_2)	ITT 2 03470
^{d}Šul-gi-da-an-ka_2	ŠS05-04-29 Umma	gaba-ta		Nisaba 16 122
^{d}Šul-gi-da-balag	ŠS08-06-00 Puzriš-Dagan			MVN 03 284

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šulgi-dalla	no date Ur	rcvd grain ration	UET 3 0932
^{d}Šul-gi-da-nir-gal$_2$	Š43-05-00 Puzriš-Dagan		BIN 3 491
^{d}Šul-gi-da-nir-gal$_2$	AS07-11-00 Uruk	arad$_2$-zu to [missing top of seal] lugal-kalag-ga (seal)	AS07-11-00
^{d}Šul-gi-da-nir-gal$_2$	IS01-02-00 Puzriš-Dagan		PDT 2 1220
^{d}Šul-gi-da-nir-gal$_2$	IS01-07-00 Puzriš-Dagan	arad$_2$ ^{d}Nin-e$_2$-gal (seal)	TRU 372
^{d}Šul-gi-*dan* (^{d}Šul-gi-KAL)	Š45-11d-00 Girsu	rcvd grain rations	CUSAS 16 033
^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*	Š46-11-00 Puzriš-Dagan	conveyed oil for soldiers going to Susa	PDT 2 1113
^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*	AS05-05-20 Puzriš-Dagan		TCS 102
^{d}Šul-gi-*da-an*	ŠS02-08-01 Umma	sukkal gaba-ta	FS. Pettinato 52 1
^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*	ŠS03-12-03 Umma	(messenger text)	Ontario 2 465

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*	IS01-11-00	šuš$_3$	BIN 3 256
(^{d}Šul-gi-KAL)	Puzriš-Dagan		
^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*	IS03-01-00		AAICAB 1/1, Ashm.
	Umma		1911-227
^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*	xx-08-03	sukkal	MVN 05 250
	Girsu	(messenger text)	
^{d}Šul-gi-*da-an*	xx-10-22	(messenger text)	MTBM 172
	Girsu		
^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*	no date		Nisaba 22 160
	Girsu		
^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*	no date		UET 3 1551
^{d}Šulgi-*dan*-da-ga	xx-04-11	(messenger text)	Nisaba 03-2 22
(^{d}Šul-gi-KAL^{an}-da-ga)	Girsu		
^{d}Šulgi-*dan*-da-ga	xx-09-08	(messenger text)	Nisaba 22 069
(^{d}Šul-gi-KAL-da-ga)	Girsu		
^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*-da	xx-09-15	(messenger text)	Nisaba 22 070
$^{(d}$Šul-gi-KAL^{an}-da)	Girsu		
^{d}Šul-gi-*da-an*-ga-da	AS09-00-00	sukkal	Amherst 119
	Girsu		

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*-ga-da (^{d}Šul-gi-KAL-ga-da)	ŠS03-05-08 Puzriš-Dagan	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal		AUCT 1 252
^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*-ga-da	ŠS05-06-00 Umma	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal		UTI 4 2889
^{d}Šul-gi-*dan*-ga-da	xx-02-00 Girsu	(messenger text)		LAOS 1 03
^{d}Šul-gi-*da-an*-ga-da	xx-06-00 Girsu	lu_2-^{giš}tukul-gu-la going to Anšan		SAT 1 137
^{d}Šul-gi-da-ga-da	xx-06-00 Girsu	lu_2-^{giš}tukul going to Anšan		Kaskal 04 71 07
^{d}Šul-gi-*da-an*-ga-da	xx-10-00 Girsu	sukkal going to Susa		MVN 22 068
^{d} Šul-gi-*dan*-ga-da	no date Puzriš-Dagan			TRU 019
^{d}Šul-gi-*dan-nu-um*	AS07-10-04 Urusagrig	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal		Nisaba 15/2 0050
^{d}Šul-gi-*dan-num*$_2$	IS02-00-00 Urusagrig	rcvd fodder for donkeys of the zikum		Nisaba 15/2 0879
^{d}Šul-gi-da-nu-me-a	AS05-06-00 Umma	rcvd grain rations	dumu-$nita_2$ e_2-nar-ta	Santag 6 139

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šulgi-DIB.AŠ-mu	IS01-11-00 Puzriš-Dagan			SumTem Docs 06
^{d}Šul-gi-dingir	no date Nippur	rcvd grain rations	dumu Geme$_2$-nigar$_x^{gar}$	BBVO 11 271 6N-T190+
^{d}Šul-gi-dingir-kalam-ma	ŠS03-11-00 Puzriš-Dagan			AUCT 1 368
^{d}Šul-gi-dingir-mu	AS09-11-07 Puzriš-Dagan	dub-sar	dumu Ha-lu-lu-a (seal)	MVN 13 231
^{d}Šul-gi-dingir-mu	AS09-11-09 Adab			FLP 0379
^{d}Šul-gi-dingir-mu	IS05-00-00 Nippur	e$_2$-^{d}Inana rcvd grain rations		BBVO 11 285 6N-T451
^{d}Šul-gi-dug$_4$-ge-du$_7$	IS02-10-10 Puzriš-Dagan	maškim		PDT 1 492
^{d}Šul-gi-*du$_2$-ri*	Š41-08-00 Puzriš-Dagan	nar-ta eš$_3$-eš$_3$ ud-sakar-ka gur-ra U-bar-um ugula uš-bar i$_3$-dab$_5$		TRU 041

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}EN-[x]-ra-i_3-li_3?-na-ti	IS17-12-00 Ur			UET 3 1313
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}En-lil_2-la_2	xx-04-12 Girsu			RA 5 94 AO 03487
^{d}Šul-gi-*en-šu-ba-ak*	Š46-11-00 Girsu	rcvd flour sag-rig_7 gu-mušen-na-me-me		MVN 12 125
^{d}Šul-gi-en-ti	no date Girsu	rcvd garment		HSS 04 047
^{d}Šul-gi-ezem (=*iṣin*?)	AS04-00-00 Gaeš	dub-sar lu_2 ^{d}Nin-a-mu-tum-ke_4	dumu Ur-^{d}Dumu?-zi (seal)	SNAT 346
^{d}Šul-gi-gal-zu	AS05-01-00 Uruk	rcvd silver band mu-gešba_2 in-tag-tag-a--$še_3$	dumu Al-la nar	PDT 1 456
^{d}Šul-gi-ha-ma-ti	Š30-00-00 Nippur	rcvd garment		BE 3-1 142
^{d}Šul-gi-ha-ma-ti	Š32-05-00 Umma	rcvd grain rations	dumu nar-munus e_2 ^{d}Šara$_2$	Nisaba 06 27

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-ha-ma-ti	Š36-01-00 Umma	nar e_2 ^{d}Šara$_2$	Torino 2 702
^{d}Šul-gi-ha-ma-ti	Š40-00-00 Adab	ra_2-gaba	MVN 03 183
^{d}Šul-gi-ha-ma-ti	Š44-12-08 Puzriš-Dagan		OrSP 18 pl. 01 02
^{d}Šul-gi-ha-ma-ti	Š45-11d-00 Girsu	rcvd grain rations	CUSAS 16 033
^{d}Šul-gi-ha-ma-ti	ŠS04-05-07 Girsu	assigned 9 gud-apin	WMAH 033
^{d}Šul-gi-ha-ma-ti	ŠS06-00-00 Umma		SAT 3 1738
^{d}Šul-gi-ha-ma-ti	IS01-00-00 Umma?	še-ba $geme_2$-guruš	Nisaba 15/2 0668
^{d}Šul-gi-ha-ma-ti	IS02-00-00 Girsu	zabar-dab_5 gir_3-se_3-ga ki-a-nag en-en-e-ne-ka	RTC 401
^{d}Šul-gi-ha-ma-ti	IS08-11-00 Ur	sagi	UET 3 0251
^{d}Šul-gi-ha-ma-ti	xx-09-00 Girsu	sagi	AuOr 16 211 32
^{d}Šul-gi-ha-ma-ti	xx-11-00	sipad-ur-gir_{15}	SAT 1 128

TABLE B (Continued)

	Girsu			
^{d}Šul-gi-*ha-si$_2$-is*	Š46-01-28 Puzriš-Dagan			RA 19 193 10
^{d}Šul-gi-*ha-si$_2$-is*	Š47-08-04 Puzriš-Dagan	delivers 13 cattle, 724 sheep, 76 goats		NYPL 242
^{d}Šul-gi-*ha-si$_2$-is*	AS07-05-30 Puzriš-Dagan	conveyed sheep to the e2-gi$_4$-a of Na-ni-pa$_2$-tal of Urbilum		Nisaba 08 070
^{d}Šul-gi-*ha-si$_2$-[is]*	AS07-11-00 Girsu	rcvd 10 gur boat to go to a field		MVN 17 019
^{d}Šul-gi-*ha-si$_2$-is*	ŠS01-05-08 Puzriš-Dagan			Princeton 1 016
^{d}Šul-gi-*ha-si$_2$-is*	xx-01-13 Umma	(messenger text)		Nisaba 16 089
^{d}Šul-gi-*ha-si$_2$-[is]*	no date Nippur	šagina (in-na-ba seal from ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen)		NATN 792
^{d}Šul-gi-he$_2$-gal$_2$	Š41-07-00 Lagaš	nar, gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga ^{d}Šul-gi šag$_4$ Lagaš^{ki}	dumu Ba-ba-a ugula nar	HLC 2 010 (pl. 053)
^{d}Šul-gi-he$_2$-gal$_2$	Š43-00-00 Puzriš-Dagan			JCS 52 07 03
^{d}Šul-gi-he$_2$-gal$_2$	Š46-11-00			Nisaba 17 095

TABLE B (Continued)

	Girsu			
^{d}Šul-gi-he$_2$-gal$_2$	Š47-00-00 Guabba	nar e$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi in Gu$_2$-ab-ba^{ki}		CT 07 13 BM 012929
^{d}Šul-gi-he$_2$-gal$_2$	AS07-08-00 Girsu	ra$_2$-gaba nig$_2$-ba-lugal kin-gi$_4$-a šag$_4$ Girsu^{ki}		TCTI 2 03216
^{d}Šul-gi-he$_2$-gal$_2$	Š01-04-18 Umma	(messenger text)		Hirose 374
^{d}Šul-gi-he$_2$-ti	no date Nippur	e$_2$-^{d}Inana rcvd grain rations		BBVO 11 279 6N-T369
^{d}Šul-gi-hi-li-An-na	no date Puzriš-Dagan	rcvd garment		TCL 2 5496
^{d}Šul-gi-i$_3$-il	xx-06-04 Umma	(messenger text)		Nisaba 16 197
^{d}Šul-gi-*i$_3$*-*li$_2$*	Š40-09-05 Puzriš-Dagan			MVN 03 178
^{d}Šul-gi-*i$_3$*-*li$_2$*	Š45-08-00 Puzriš-Dagan	šagina	dam ^{d}Šul-gi-i$_3$-li$_2$ šagina	RT 37 130 mi. 7

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	Š46-05-21 Ur	conveyed animal for sacrifice		JCS 35 183 1
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	Š46-10-15 Puzriš-Dagan	Mar-tu		SAT 2 0551
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	Š46-12-00 Ur	ugula, fodder for donkeys & še-ba		Nisaba 13 066
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	Š47-04-20 Puzriš-Dagan	Mar-tu	dam ^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2 Mar-tu	Amorites 10 (pl. 4)
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	Š47-09-00 Puzriš-Dagan	a) šagina, made delivery; b) recvd mu-DU ^{d}Šul-gi-si_2-im-ti		OIP 115 113
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	Š47-10-00 Umma			Torino 2 606
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	Š47-11-30 Nippur	ugula uš-bar		JCS 24, 150 06
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	Š48-10-00 Puzriš-Dagan	ra_2-gaba kišib ^{d}Šul-gi-si_2-im-ti		Princeton 1 037
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	Š48-10-02 Puzriš-Dagan	nu-$banda_3$		OIP 115 353
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	Šxx-00-00 Nippur		dumu Ku-da-num_2, sukkal $arad_2$-zu (Šulgi seal)	NATN 047

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	AS01-04-04 Puzriš-Dagan	kurušda udu ^{d}Šul-gi-si$_2$-im-ti		PDT 2 1215
^{d}Šul-gi-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	AS02-04-00 Girsu	Mar-tu		SNAT 265
^{d}Šul-gi-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	AS03-05-00 Puzriš-Dagan		dumu Ra-bi$_2$-bi$_2$ PI-il^{ki}-ta	BCT 1 043
^{d}Šul-gi-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	AS03-09-00 Tummal	rcvd pair of leather boots		RA 49 93 36
^{d}Šul-gi-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	AS03-00-00 Umma	Mar-tu, gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga-lugal rcvd gan$_2$ šuku		SNAT 340
^{d}Šul-gi-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	AS04-01-25 Puzriš-Dagan	nu-banda$_3$		AUCT 2 267
^{d}Šul-gi-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	AS05-10-18 Puzriš-Dagan		dumu Za-ri$_2$-iq	CTNMC 11
^{d}Šul-gi-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	AS05-11-23 Puzriš-Dagan	sagi maškim		TCS 231
^{d}Šul-gi-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	AS07-12-00 Urusagrig	nu-banda$_2$ lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal, coming from Hurti^{k}		Nisaba 15/2 0065
^{d}Šul-gi-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	AS08-09-11 Urusagrig	muhaldim		Nisaba 15/2 0090
^{d}Šul-gi-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	AS08-11-08 Puzriš-Dagan	dub-sar		AUCT 2 366

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	AS08-12-09 Urusagrig	ra_2-gaba		Nisaba 15/2 0128
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	AS09xx-00-00 Urusagrig	gir_3-se_3-ga gud-apin-10	dumu-$arad_2$ brother of Amar-Suen-bani (also dumu)	www.paulfrasercollectibles.com 2013.03.04
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	ŠS01-00-00 Girsu	ugula $erin_2$ $Larsam^{ki}$-me		TCTI 2 02806
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	ŠS01-00-00 Umma			SET 132
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	ŠS01-00-00 Umma	sagi		BPOA 2 2635
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	ŠS01-00-00 Urusagrig	witness to grain loan	dumu ^{d}Iškur-ba-ni kir_4-dab_5	Nisaba 15/2 0205
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	ŠS01-05-00 Umma	ra_2-gaba		BPOA 6 0266
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	ŠS01-05-25 Puzriš-Dagan	dub-sar (text & seal)		Princeton 2 109
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	ŠS02-00-00 Umma	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal		UTI 4 2396
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	ŠS03-00-00 Puzriš-Dagan	lu_2-en-nu-ga_2		Syracuse 064
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	ŠS04-02-19	sukkal gaba-ta		Nisaba 03-1 060

TABLE B (Continued)

	Umma		
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	ŠS05-01-00	conveyed oil from Girsu for	ITT 2 03390
	Susa	crown and statue of ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	
		to be set up on quay of Susa	
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	ŠS06-02-00	lu_2-bu_3-bu_3	Nisaba 15/2 0361
	Urusagrig		
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	ŠS07-11-18	muhaldim	CST 442
	Puzriš-Dagan	ud nam-gala in-ku_4-ra-a	
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	IS01-01-00		SmithCS 38 29
	Puzriš-Dagan		
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	IS01-07-00	dub-sar $arad_2$-zu	AAICAB 1/1, Ashm.
	Puzriš-Dagan	(seal)	1919-11a-b
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	IS02-02-00	lu_2-bu_3-bu_3-ga_2	Nisaba 15/2 0738
	Urusagrig		
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	IS02-12-00	$šar_2$-ra-ab-du	BIN 3 603
	Ur		
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	IS02-04-18	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal	Nisaba 15/2 0754
	Urusagrig	going to Kimaš	
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	IS02-00-00		Nisaba 17 132
	Girsu		
^{d}Šul-gi-i_3-li_2	xx-01-00	sukkal	RA 5 95 AO 03492
	Girsu		

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-*i_3-li$_2$*	xx-01-00 Girsu	lu_2-^{giš}tukul going to erect the e_2-alan ^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen on the quay		TCTI 2 03765
^{d}Šul-gi-*i_3-li$_2$*	xx-03-00 Girsu	going to Susa	dumu nu-banda$_3$	MVN 22 071
^{d}Šul-gi-*i_3-li$_2$*	xx-03-00 Girsu	aga$_3$-us$_2$-gal (seal) sealing for NIM Sabum^{ki}	dumu NA-zi-da nu-banda$_3$ (seal)	ITT 2 02737
^{d}Šul-gi-*i_3-li$_2$*	xx-04-00 Girsu	lu_2-kaš$_4$		MVN 05 233
^{d}Šul-gi-*i_3-li$_2$*	xx-05-00 Girsu	šagina		CST 034
^{d}Šul-gi-ra-*i_3-li$_2$*	xx-00-25 Umma	rcvd grain ration		Santag 6 385
^{d}Šul-gi-*i_3-i-ni-ib$_2$-Ma-ma*	Š48-08-22 Puzriš-Dagan		dumu-munus-lugal, dam lu_2 Ši-ik-ri-ši^{ki}	Nisaba 08 371
^{d}Šul-gi-inim-silim-ma	Š47-00-00 Guabba	nar e_2-^{d}Šul-gi in Gu$_2$-ab-ba^{ki}	dumu Lugal-ezem lu_2-mar-sa-ta	CT 07 13 BM 012939
^{d}Šul-gi-inim-zi	IS14-00-00 Ur	sukkal maškim for trial		UET 9 1156

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-*ip$_2$-qi$_2$*	Š46-11-00 Girsu			SAT 1 451
^{d}Šul-gi-*i$_3$-ri$_2$-su*	xx-06-00 Girsu	lu$_2$-^{giš}tukul-gu-la coming from Susa		TCTI 2 03397
^{d}Šul-gi-i$_3$-šag$_5$	no date Girsu	uš$_2$ še-ba	dumu Geme$_2$-^{d}Šara$_2$ nar-munus gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga ^{d}Šul-gi	L'uomo 62
^{d}Šul-gi-*iš-ti-kal$_2$*	IS02-02-22 Urusagrig	[lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal]		Nisaba 15/2 0728
^{d}Šul-gi-kalam-e-ba-šag$_5$	AS02-00-00 Girsu	šu-ku$_6$ e$_2$ ^{d}Dumuzi uš$_2$		UDT 059
^{d}Sul-gi-kalam-ma-hi-li-bi	Š41-07-00 Lagaš	nar, gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga ^{d}Šul-gi šag$_4$ Lagaš^{ki}	dumu Ba-ba-a ugula nar	HLC 2 010 (pl. 053)
^{d}Šul-gi-kalam-ma-me-te-bi	Š41-07-00 Tummal	maškim		AUCT 1 954
^{d}Šul-gi-kalam-ma-me-te-bi	Š42-07-00	maškim		NYPL 209

TABLE B (Continued)

	Puzriš-Dagan			
^{d}Šul-gi-kalam-ma-me-te-bi	Š46-11-00			MVN 12 125
	Girsu			1924-0678
^{d}Šul-gi-kalam-ma-me-te-bi	Š47-11-01	ugula mušen-du$_3$-e-ne		RO 11 96 02
	Puzriš-Dagan			
^{d}Šul-gi-kalam-ma-me-te-bi	Š47-11-18	ugula erin$_2$ Ba-lu-e^{ki}		MVN 11 145
	Puzriš-Dagan			
^{d}Šul-gi-kalam-ma-me-te	xx-05-00		Lu$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi šeš ^{d}Šul-gi-	MTBM 046
	Girsu		kalam-ma-me-te	
^{d}Šul-gi-kalam-ma-me-te-bi	no date	nar		UTI 3 2283
	Umma			
^{d}Šul-gi-ki-ur$_5$-šag$_5$	Š41-07-00		dumu ^{d}Šul-gi-a$_2$-mah	HLC 2 010 (pl. 053)
	Lagaš		nar gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga ^{d}Šul-gi	
			šag$_4$ Lagaš^{ki}	
^{d}Šul-gi-ki-ur$_5$-šag$_5$	Š47-00-00	nar e$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi in Gu$_2$-ab-ba^{ki}		CT 07 13 BM 012929
	Guabba			
^{d}Šul-gi-kug-zu	AS06-05-00			TCTI 2 04050
	Girsu			
^{d}Šul-gi-kug-zu	AS07-00-00	dub-sar	dumu ^{d}Šara$_2$-[x-x] dub-	PDT 1 376

TABLE B (Continued)

	Puzriš-Dagan	(seal)	sar (seal)	
^{d}Šul-gi-kug-zu	ŠS09-05-00 Umma	sukkal		Nik. 2 355
^{d}Šul-gi-kug-zu	no date Girsu	dub-sar (seal)	dumu ^{d}Šara$_2$-[kam?] dub-sar (seal)	Letters 160
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Lamma-mu	AS04-09-26 Puzriš-Dagan	šuš$_3$		Princeton 1 081
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Lamma-mu	AS05-10-00 Girsu	šuš$_3$		NYPL 005
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Lamma-mu	ŠS01-10-16 Nippur			AUCT 1 254
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Lamma-mu	ŠS06-00-00 Puzriš-Dagan	ugula sipad [x]		MVN 13 566
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Lamma-mu	ŠS06-07-28 Puzriš-Dagan	šuš$_3$		SAKF 121
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Lamma-mu	ŠS08-00-00 Umma			Ontario 2 314
^{d}Šul-gi-*li-ba-ni*	ASxx-05-27 Puzriš-Dagan	NIM at ezem lu$_2$-Mar-ha-še^{ki}-ke$_4$-ne	dumu Du-ug-ši	MVN 13 695

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-*li-bur*	xx-04-14 Umma	(messenger text)	UMTBM 3 29
^{d}Šul-gi-*li-ti-iš*	AS08-04-26 Puzriš-Dagan	sukkal	PDT 2 1145
^{d}Šul-gi-*li-tiš*$_2$	ŠS06-00-18 Urusagrig	conveyed omen lamb	Nisaba 15/2 0376
^{d}Šul-gi-*li-tiš*$_2$	ISxx-10-07 Urusagrig	conveyed omen lamb	Nisaba 15/2 0986
^{d}Šul-gi-*li-ti-iš*	xx-05-00 Girsu	lu$_2$-^{giš}tukul going to Adamdun	TCTI 2 02674
^{d}Šul-gi-lugal	ŠS04-00-00 Nina	šu-ku$_6$	ITT 3 05664
^{d}Šul-gi-lugal	xx-11-00 Girsu	lu$_2$-^{giš}gigir (messenger text)	RA 19 043 116
^{d}Šul-gi-re-ma-an-ag$_2$	no date Umma	šuš$_3$	MCS 3 01 1
^{d}Šul-gi-re-ma-ag$_2$	no date Ur	arad$_2$-sukkal-mah, votive of silver object	UET 3 0754

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-<<*ti*>>-*ma-lik*	no date Urusagrig	ugula geš$_2$-da		Nisaba 15/2 1042
^{d}Šul-gi-mas-su	xx-07-00 Girsu	sukkal coming from Anšan and Nippur		MTBM 191
^{d}Šul-gi-*ma-ti*	Š40-04-00 Puzriš-Dagan			SAT 2 0254
^{d}Šul-gi-*ma-ti*	AS06-10-10 Puzriš-Dagan	maškim		SET 063
^{d}Šul-gi-*ma-ti*	AS07-06-00 Nippur	ra$_2$-gaba		AUCT 2 295
^{d}Šul-gi-*ma-ti*	AS08-03-09 Urusagrig	ra$_2$-gaba lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal		Nisaba 15/2 0118
^{d}Šul-gi-*ma-ti*	ŠS02-07-00 Umma		Ur-^{d}A-šar$_2$ lu$_2$ ^{d}Šul-gi-mati	Nik. 2 376
^{d}Šul-gi-*ma-ti*	ŠS04-07-00 Umma	šag$_4$-tam		SAT 3 1490
^{d}Šul-gi-*ma-ti*	ŠS06-00-00 Girsu			CT 07 23 BM 013944
^{d}Šul-gi-*ma-ti*	IS01-09-11	maškim		CT 32 15 BM 103433

TABLE B (Continued)

	Puzriš-Dagan		
^{d}Šul-gi-*ma-ti*	IS01-12-23 Urusagrig	ra$_2$-gaba lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal	Nisaba 15/2 0640
^{d}Šul-gi-*ma-ti*	IS02-02-22 Urusagrig	ra$_2$-gaba	Nisaba 15/2 0728
^{d}Šul-gi-*ma-ti*	xx-05-02 Lagaš	ra$_2$-gaba	TCTI 2 03740
^{d}Šul-gi-me-te-uru-na	Š47-00-00 Guabba	nar e$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi in Gu$_2$-ab-ba^{ki}	CT 07 13 BM 012929
^{d}Šul-gi-*mi-šar*	Š37-11-00 Puzriš-Dagan	sent pulse	SAT 2 0164
^{d}Šul-gi-*mi-šar*	AS01-01-00 Puzriš-Dagan	rcvd wool	SAT 2 0657
^{d}Šul-gi-*mi-šar*	AS05-10-00 Girsu	lu$_2$-kaš$_4$ coming from campaign (kaskal)	Nisaba 22 122
^{d}Šul-gi-*me-šar*	AS08-05-27 Urusagrig	lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal, going to Der	Nisaba 15/2 0103
^{d}Šul-gi-*mi-šar*	ŠS01-06-00 Puzriš-Dagan	rcvd wool	BIN 3 211

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-*mi-šar*	ŠS05-00-00 Urusagrig	provded wool	[lu_2] ^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	Nisaba 15/2 0352
^{d}Šul-gi-*mi-šar*	ŠS05-09-00 Ur			UET 3 1541
^{d}Šul-gi-*mi-šar*	ŠS06-11-08 Umma	sukkal		SA 121 (pl. 151)
^{d}Šul-gi-*mi-šar*	ŠS06-12-30 Puzriš-Dagan	nar-munus		Studies Jones 068
^{d}Šul-gi-*mi-šar*	IS01-11-00 Ur	provided wool		UET 3 1651
^{d}Šul-gi-*mi-šar*	IS01-00-00 Urusagrig	provded wool	lu_2 ^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	Nisaba 152 0673
^{d}Šul-gi-*me-šar*	IS02-00-00 Urusagrig	muhaldim rcvd field (gan_2) of conifers (a-$šag_4$ $^{giš}u_3$-suh_5) in Uru-gi-gu_3-[na]^{ki}		Nisaba 15/2 0917
^{d}Šul-gi-*mi-šar*	IS05-12-00 Ur	simug		UET 3 1020
^{d}Šul-gi-mu-dah	Š48-05-00 Umma			BIN 5 001

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-*na-da*	Š46-04-00 Puzriš-Dagan	rcvd donkeys	PDT 1 065
^{d}Šul-gi-*na-da*	AS01-02-11 Puzriš-Dagan		AUCT 2 261
^{d}Šul-gi-*na-da*	AS01-05-20 Nippur		TRU 302
^{d}Šul-gi-*na-da*	ŠS01-00-00 Umma	lu_2 en-nun-ga_2	Nisaba 09 114
^{d}Šul-gi-*na-da*	ŠS07-11-03 Puzriš-Dagan		AAICAB 1/1, Ashm. 1924-2161
^{d}Šul-gi-*na-da*	ŠS08-10-00 Nippur		NATN 215
^{d}Šul-gi-*na-da*	IS01-06-20 Urusagrig	kir_4-dab_5	Nisaba 15/2 0598
^{d}Šul-gi-*na-da*	no date Urusagrig	sagi	Nisaba 15/2 1065
^{d}Šul-gi-na-KU-šu	IS01-06-17 Urusagrig	kir_4-dab_5	Nisaba 15/2 0597
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Nanše-ki-ag_2	ŠS08-07-29 Puzriš-Dagan	$šar_2$-ra-ab-du	MVN 15 319

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Nanše-ki-ag$_2$	ŠS09-12-23 Karkar	sagi conveyed sacrifice to ^{d}Iškur Karkar^{ki}	BIN 3 252
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Nanše-ki-ag$_2$	IS02-11-29 Puzriš-Dagan	sagi maškim	BPOA 7 2958
^{d}Šul-gi-*na-piš-ti*	Š47-11-00 Puzriš-Dagan		MVN 13 429
^{d}Šul-gi-*na-piš-ti*	Š47-11-21 Puzriš-Dagan	Mar-tu ud nam-gala in-ak-a	Amorites 14 (pl. 5)
^{d}Šul-gi-NI	Š39-00-00 Umma		RA 49 91 25
^{d}Šul-gi-NI-da	IS02-02-00 Urusagrig	muhaldim	Nisaba 15/2 0738
^{d}Šul-gi-nin-e-ki-ag$_2$	ŠS08-00-00 Girsu	lu$_2$-[x]-mah	MVN 05 204
^{d}Šul-gi-*ni-šu*	xx-05-00 Girsu	šagina	MVN 19 055

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-*nu-ri*	AS02-02-00 Puzriš-Dagan	nar-munus rcvd silver band when the king drank beer at Niridagal the general's		AUCT 1 942
^{d}Šul-gi-*nu-ri*	AS08-07-12 Puzriš-Dagan		dumu-munus I-šar-ra-maš	Nisaba 08 380
[^{d}Šul]-gi-*nu-ri*	ŠS03-07-00 Umma	(messenger text)		MVN 21 363
^{d}Šul-gi-*nu-ri*	no date Unk. prov.	lu_2-apin-la_2		Iraq 05, 176 26
^{d}Šul-gi-nu-zi-$šag_4$-gal	Š47-00-00 Guabba	nar e_2-^{d}Šul-gi in Gu_2-ab-ba^{ki}		CT 07 13 BM 012929
^{d}Šul-gi-*pa-li$_2$-il*	Š47-08-28 Tummal	lu_2-Ma-ri_2^{ki}		MVN 15 189
^{d}Šul-gi-*pa-li$_2$-il*	Š47-10-16 Uruk	lu_2-Ma-ri_2^{ki}		CST 190
^{d}Šul-gi-*pa_2-li$_2$-il$_6$*	Š48-06-03 Puzriš-Dagan			BPOA 7 2680
^{d}Šul-gi-*pa-li$_2$-il*	AS02-00-00 Puzriš-Dagan	rcvd nig_2-ba-lugal		BIN 5 128

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-*pa$_2$-li$_2$-il*	AS05-03-00 Puzriš-Dagan	ra$_2$-gaba		Rochester 232
^{d}Šul-gi-*pa-li$_2$-il*	AS08-08-21 Puzriš-Dagan	lu$_2$-Ma-ri$_2^{ki}$		Nisaba 08 075
^{d}Šul-gi-*pa-li$_2$-il*	AS08-12-29 Ur			UDT 092
^{d}Šul-gi-*pa-li$_2$-il*	ŠS06-12-02 Puzriš-Dagan	ud-da-tuš		Studies Jones 068
^{d}Šul-gi-*pa-li*	IS02-05-08 Umma	gaba-aš		BPOA 1 0975
^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ŠS05-08-05 Umma	gaba-aš		Nisaba 01 046
^{d}Šul-gi-*ra-ma*	AS07-04-00 Puzriš-Dagan		dumu-lugal	Trouvaille 88
^{d}Šul-gi-*ra-ma*	ŠS08-07-00 GARšana	men stationed to beat their breasts when ^{d}Šul-gi-ra-ma died		CUSAS 2 0246
^{d}Šul-gi-*ra-ma-aš*	Š42-02-00 (or AA06)	grain sa$_2$-dug$_4$ sealed by a scribe of Ṣilluš-		BIN 3 627

TABLE B (Continued)

	Puzriš-Dagan	^{d}Dagan ensi$_2$ Šimurrum	
^{d}Šul-gi-*ra-ma-šu*	IS01-06-14 Urusagrig	kir$_4$-dab$_5$	Nisaba 15/2 0596
^{d}Šul-gi-ra-mu	ŠS03-00-00 Umma		UTI 3 2113
^{d}Šul-gi-ra-mu	IS05-06-00 Ur	conveyed oil to the en of Gaeš	UET 3 1133
^{d}Šul-gi-SAHAR-AN-U-GAL	XX-05-20 Girsu	(messenger text)	HLC 3 335 (pl. 132)
^{d}Šul-gi-sa-tu$_3$	ŠS02-02-04 Umma	gaba-[x]	MVN 14 0196
^{d}Šul-gi-sa-tu	ŠS04-12-23 Puzriš-Dagan		PDT 1 604
^{d}Šul-gi-sa-tu	ŠS06-02-00 Urusagrig	lu$_2$-gu-za	Nisaba 15/2 0361
^{d}Šul-gi-sa-tu-ni	IS02-02-12 Urusagrig	lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal	Nisaba 15/2 0727

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-sig$_5$	xx-08-30 Umma	(messenger text)		Nisaba 16 186
^{d}Šul-gi-*si-il-ha*	IS02-04-18 Urusagrig	nu-banda$_3$		Nisaba 15/2 0754
^{d}Šul-gi-*si$_2$-im-ti*	ŠS09-00-25 Puzriš-Dagan	sacrifice to ^{d}Inana on her behalf		AUCT 3 489
^{d}Šul-gi-*si$_2$-im-ti*	IS01-06-00 Puzriš-Dagan	rcvd flour		BE 3-1 094
^{d}Šul-gi-*si$_2$-im-ti*	IS01-07-20 Puzriš-Dagan	sacrifices for the ma$_2$-An-na	probably a princess	Ontario 1 164
^{d}Šul-gi-*si$_2$-im-ti*	IS05-12-00 Ur	sa$_2$-dug$_4$		UET 3 0116
^{d}Šul-gi-*si$_2$-im-tum* also ^{d}Šul-gi-*si$_2$-im-ti*	Š28-02-00 Ur Š48-11-03 Puzriš-Dagan	lukur-lugal lukur-kaskal-la ereš	consort of king ^{d}Šul-gi	UET 3 0289 through MVN 08 113
^{d}Šul-gi-sipad-da-ri$_2$	Girsu	UN-ga$_6$ e$_2$ ^{d}Nanše	dumu Ur-mes	Girsu

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-sipad-kalam-ma	ŠS04-04-15 Puzriš-Dagan	ra$_2$-gaba (seal)		MVN 13 523
^{d}Šul-gi-si-sa$_2$	Š41-07-00 Lagaš	nar, gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga ^{d}Šul-gi šag$_4$ Lagaš^{ki}	dumu Geme$_2$-kar-ke$_4$	HLC 2 010 (pl. 053)
^{d}Šul-gi-si-sa$_2$	Š47-00-00 Guabba	nar e$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi in Gu$_2$-ab-ba^{ki}		CT 07 13 BM 012929
^{d}Šul-gi-si-sa$_2$	AS01-05-00 Girsu	rcvd grain rations	dumu Igi-bar geme$_2$ uš-bar	TUT 159
^{d}Šul-gi-si-sa$_2$	ŠS02-06-00 Umma			Nisaba 09 076
^{d}Šul-gi-si-sa$_2$	IS01-02-00 Puzriš-Dagan			MVN 15 358
^{d}Šul-gi-si-sa$_2$	IS01-10-00 Umma			SAT 3 1922
^{d}Šul-gi-si-sa$_2$	IS01-0300 Girsu (Guabba)	e$_2$ ^{d}Šul-gi, gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga e$_2$-dingir-e-ne u$_3$ e$_2$-gal e$_2$-kaš$_4$		RTC 399
^{d}Šul-gi-si-sa$_2$	IS03-00-00 Urusagrig	ugula guruš gan$_2$		Nisaba 15/2 0975
^{d}Šul-gi-si-sa$_2$	no date Girsu	rcvd grain rations	dumu Geme$_2$-^{d}Nin-banda$_3^{da}$	MVN 22 018

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Suen	AS08-06-00 Girsu	(messenger text)	CUSAS 16 225
^{d}Šul-gi-*Ṣī-lu-ul*	Š47-11-04 Puzriš-Dagan	sukkal maškim	PDT 1 068
^{d}Šul-gi-*Ṣī-lu-ul*	no date Umma	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal	TCL 5 6047
^{d}Šul-gi-*ša-lim*	ŠS03-10-00 Umma	sukkal gaba-aš	UTI 3 2015
^{d}Šul-gi-*ša-am$_3$-ši*	ASxx-02-00 Girsu	lu_2-maškim (messenger text)	Nisaba 22 158
^{d}Šul-gi-*ša-am$_3$-ši*	ŠS02-00-00 Girsu	$geme_2$ a-ru-a Dada dumu Ulu_3-di	TCTI 00728
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}*Šamši*-mu (^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}UTU^{ši}-mu)	Š39-06-30 Puzriš-Dagan	conveyed sacrifices to Uruk	CST 047
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}*Šamši* (^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}UTU^{ši})	AS08-03-00 Girsu	(messenger text)	Nisaba 22 134
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}*Šamši* (^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}UTU^{ši})	AS08-06-00 Girsu	sukkal (messenger text)	MTBM 063
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}*Šamši*	ŠS01-09-03		PDT 1 336

TABLE B (Continued)

(^{d}Šul-gi-UTU^{ši})	Puzriš-Dagan			
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}*Šamši*	IS03-06-00	sukkal-lugal		JCS 54 02 09
(^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}UTU^{ši})	Umma			
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}*Šamši*	ISxx-00-00	aga_3-us_2-gal-gal	dumu NI-mu	TMH NF 1-2 355
(^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}UTU^{ši})	Nippur			
^{d}Šul-gi-*šu-bi-ra-šu*	IS01-13-24	sagi		Nisaba 15/2 0653
	Urusagrig			
^{d}Šul-gi-ra-šu-na-an-dag-ge	no date			MVN 14 0280
	Umma			
^{d}Šul-gi-šu-ni-[$še_3$]	IS01-00-00	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal		ITT 3 06541 + ITT 5 06829
	Girsu			
^{d}Šul-gi-*šu-qir*	IS03-03-00	dumu, $eren_2$-dirig	$geme_2$-$arad_2$ Nin-$šag_5$-ga	Nisaba 15/2 0953
	Urusagrig			
^{d}Šul-gi-*ta-bi-in*	IS02-03-06	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal		Nisaba 15/2 0832
	Urusagrig	going to Der		
^{d}Šul-gi-ta-lu_2	Š47-00-00	nar e_2-^{d}Šul-gi in Gu_2-ab-ba^{ki}		CT 07 13 BM 012929

TABLE B (Continued)

	Guabba			
^{d}Šul-gi-teš$_2$	Š47-00-00 Guabba	nar e$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi in Gu$_2$-ab-ba^{ki}		CT 07 13 BM 012929
^{d}Šul-gi-teš$_2$-mu	AS09-00-00 Umma	geme$_2$		SNAT 416
^{d}Šul-gi-*Ṭab* (^{d}Šul-gi-DUG$_3$)	no date Girsu (Guabba)	(messenger text)		MTBM 136
^{d}Šul-gi-*Ṭa-bum$_2$*	IS02-12-00 Urusagrig	lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal		Nisaba 15/2 0876
^{d}Šul-gi-u$_2$-nam-ti	Š41-07-00 Lagaš	nar gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga ^{d}Šul-gi šag$_4$ Lagaš^{ki}	dumu Lugal-ušumgal	HLC 2 010 (pl. 053)
^{d}Šul-gi-u$_2$-nam-ti	AS08-07-00 Girsu	UN-ga$_6$ e$_2$-amar e$_2$ ^{d}Nin-zu?		Orient 16 100 153
^{d}Šul-gi-u$_2$-nam-ti	ŠS02-00-00 Girsu		dumu Kud-da nar	ITT 3 06555
^{d}Šul-gi-u$_2$-nam-ti	no date Umma	gab$_2$-ra		Nisaba 06 01

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-ud-sud-še$_3$	Š44-12-00 Puzriš-Dagan		father of Ur-nigar$_x^{gar}$	Akkadica 114-115 107 46
^{d}Šul-gi-ud-sud-še$_3$	Š47-00-00 Guabba	nar e$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi in Gu$_2$-ab-ba^{ki}		CT 07 13 BM 012929
^{d}Šul-gi-ud-sud-še$_3$	AS08-05-00 Puzriš-Dagan			Orient 16 048 33
^{d}Šul-gi-[un]-ha-ni-iš	AS09-10-07 Puzriš-Dagan			BIN 3 546
^{d}Šul-gi-ur-mu	no date Umma	nar		UTI 3 2283
^{d}Šul-gi-ur-sag	XX-05-00 Girsu			BPOA 1 0354
^{d}Šul-gi-*ur-šu-ru-uk*	Š46-11-00 Girsu			MVN 12 125
[^{d}Šul-gi]-uru-mu	Š40-11-00 Puzriš-Dagan			CDLB unpubl. NM 44.19
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	Š48-02-00	lu$_2$ Lu$_2$-^{d}Nin-šubur šabra An-		CUSAS 16 291

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TABLE B (Continued)

	Puzriš-Dagan		
^{d}Šul-gi-[uru]-mu	AS01-00-00		MVN 01 117
	Umma?		
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	AS01-05-00	maškim	SAT 2 0663
	Puzriš-Dagan		
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	AS01-05-00	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a	BPOA 1 1474
	Umma		
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	AS02-02-25	sukkal maškim	OrAnt 16 288 2
	Puzriš-Dagan		
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	AS04-05-09	ra_2-gaba	AfO 19, 120
	Puzriš-Dagan		
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	AS05-10-00	lu_2-$kaš_4$	Nisaba 22 142
	Girsu		
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	AS06-05-00	sukkal ra_2-gaba	PDT 1 377
	Puzriš-Dagan		
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	AS07-08-00	lu_2-^{giš}tukul maškim	TCTI 2 03216
	Girsu		
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	AS07-08-07	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal	Nisaba 15/2 0041
	Urusagrig		
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	AS09-11-00	sukkal	MCS 4 107 AOTc139
	Girsu	(messenger text)	
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	ŠS01-00-00	ra_2-gaba	SAT 3 1220

TABLE B (Continued)

	Puzriš-Dagan		
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	ŠS01-00-00 Umma		MVN 14 0226
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	ŠS02-01-00 Umma	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal work done on his chariot going to Huhnuri	Princeton 1 141
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	ŠS02-02-00 Girsu		SET 208
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	ŠS03-01-21 Umma	sukkal	MVN 16 0602
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	ŠS04-06-25 Urusagrig	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal, coming from Der	Nisba 15/2 0278
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	ŠSxx-10-00 Urusagrig	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal,	Nisaba 15/2 0556
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	IS02-12-00 Urusagrig	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal, going to Der	Nisaba 15/2 0871
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	IS04-01-00 Ur	ra_2-gaba	UET 3 1301
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	XX-10-00 GARšana	ugula	Nisaba 15/2 1102
^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	no date Umma	nar	UTI 3 2283

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-uru-mu	no date unk. prov.	geme$_2$ kinkin$_2$-na ensi$_2$-ka	SET 250
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Utu	Š44-01-00 Umma	muhaldim	Nisaba 26 101
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Utu	AS07-09-10 Urusagrig	lu$_2$-gu-za-la$_2$	Nisaba 15/2 0021
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Utu-mu	AS09-06-00 Girsu	lu$_2$-^{giš}tukul (messenger text)	TCTI 03999
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Utu-mu	ŠS07-02-15 Puzriš-Dagan	ra$_2$-gaba	BPOA 7 2940
^{d}Šul-gi-^{d}Utu-mu	no date Umma		UTI 5 3495
^{d}Šul-gi-*wa-qar*	ŠS06-05-00 GARšana	maškim	FS. Pettinato 163, 167 10
^{d}Šul-gi-*wa-qar*	ŠS08-11-00 Urusagrig		Nisaba 15/2 0452
^{d}Šul-gi-zi-kalam-ma	Š47-00-00 Girsu (Guabba)	nar e$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi in Gu$_2$-ab-ba^{ki}	SAT 1 037

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šul-gi-zi-kalam-ma	AS01-11-00 Girsu		CT 10 38 BM 015296
^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu	Š24-03-00 Nippur	muhaldim	NATN 740
^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu	Š29-00-00 Umma	libir-am$_3$, gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga e$_2$ ^{d}Šul-gi-ra	Nisaba 06 17
^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu	Š45-06-30 Puzriš-Dagan		MVN 13 517
^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu	Š46-10-00 Puzriš-Dagan	maškim	CT 32 49 BM 103421
^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu	Š47-00-00 Girsu (Guabba)	nar e$_2$-^{d}Šul-gi in Gu$_2$-ab-ba^{ki}	CT 07 13 BM 012929
^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu	AS02-09-00 Umma	witness to slave sale	MVN 15 209
^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu	AS04-04-00 Girsu	nu-^{giš}kiri$_6$	CT 07 07 BM 012925
^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu	ŠS01-00-00 Umma		SET 132
^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu	ŠS02-07-00 Umma	ra$_2$-gaba	NYPL 184
^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu	ŠS02-09-14	muhaldim	CT 32 48 BM 103410

TABLE B (Continued)

	Puzriš-Dagan			
^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu	ŠS07-19-14	ensi$_2$ URUxA^{ki}		TCL 2 5515
	Puzriš-Dagan			
^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu	XX-07-00	sukkal		SAT 1 148
	Girsu	going to Susa		
^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu	XX-07-00	aga$_3$-us$_2$-gal		SAT 1 154
	Girsu	coming from Susa		
^{d}Šul-gi-zi-mu	no date	nar		UTI 3 2283
	Umma			
Ta$_2$-ra-am-^{d}Šul-gi	Š48-08-00		dumu-munus-lugal,	ZA 72 241 n. 16
	Tummal		dam Šu-da-ba-ni	
			lu$_2$-Ba-šim-e^{ki}	
Ṭa-ab-^{d}Šul-gi	Š48-06-23			NATN 109
	Nippur			
Ṭa$_2$-ab-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS02-04-03	sukkal		SET 214
	Umma			
Ṭab-^{d}Šul-gi	no date	going to the en		MVN 05 286
	Girsu			

TABLE B (Continued)

Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	Š31-07-00 Umma			Ontario 2 263
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	Š32-09-00 Umma		father of Kug-ga-ni dub-sar of Ur-^{d}Li$_{9}$-si$_{4}$ ensi$_{2}$ Umma^{ki} (seal)	Rochester 206
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	Š36-07-00 Ur			Nisaba 05-1 223 U. 30179
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	Š39-08-25 Puzriš-Dagan			CST 048
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	Š43-00-03 Puzriš-Dagan	maškim		CDLJ 2006: 2 2
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	Š43-04-12 Puzriš-Dagan	e$_{2}$ ^{d}En-lil$_{2}$-la$_{2}$		Torino 1 005
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	Š44-11-00 Girsu	lu$_{2}$-kaš$_{4}$		MVN 07 118
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	Š45-05-00 Girsu		dumu Lu$_{2}$-Nimgir	ASJ 03 167 149
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	Š46-06-00 Girsu		dumu. . . Ud-ma-ni-gar guruš ad-kid zi$_{3}$-il$_{2}$	ASJ 18 088 24
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	Š47-00-00 Guabba	nar e$_{2}$-^{d}Šul-gi in Gu$_{2}$-ab-ba^{ki}		CT 07 13 BM 012929
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	Š47-08-00	rcvd grain rations	dumu [x]-ba-du$_{3}$-[x]	HLC 1 248 (pl. 028)

TABLE B (Continued)

	Girsu		gir_3-se_3-ga-lugal	
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	Š48-07-00		dumu Lugal-*ha-ma-ti*	OIP 115 347
	Puzriš-Dagan (Tummal)			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS01-04-30			CST 227
	Puzriš-Dagan			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS01-12-00			CUSAS 16 083
	Girsu			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS02-05?-00	ditila		ITT 2 02781
	Girsu			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS03-12-00	ugula at ga_2-nun e_2 šu-KUM?		RSO 83 351 48
	Girsu			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	AS04-09-19	pisan-dub-ba		PDT 2 1256
	Puzriš-Dagan (Nippur)			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	AS04-12-13	e_2-kišib-ba		RA 10 210 BM 103413
	Puzriš-Dagan			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	AS05-09-00	šagina		AS05-09-00
	Umma			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS05-10-00	lu_2-$kaš_4$		Nisaba 22 093
	Girsu			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS07-05-15	sagi		Nisaba 15/2 0029

TABLE B (Continued)

	Urusagrig			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	AS07-06-00	sagi		Princeton 2 389
	Umma			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS08-09-11	šu-i		Nisaba 15/2 0090
	Urusagrig			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	AS08-10-00	šabra ^{d}Nin-gal		CST 386
	Puzriš-Dagan			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS08-12-00	sagi		UCP 9-2-1 058
	Girsu			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	AS09xx-00-00	arad$_2$		www.paulfrasercollecti
	Urusagrig	gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga gud-apin-10		bles.com 2013.03.04
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ŠS01-08-18		dumu Sag-^{d}Nanna-i$_3$-	TIM 6 15
	Puzriš-Dagan		zu	
	(Tummal)			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS02-00-00			TÉL 113
	Girsu			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS02-03-00			BPOA 2 2620
	Umma			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS02-03-10	Mar-tu		OrSP 18 pl. 09 26
	Umma			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS02-06-00	sagi		Nisaba 15/2 0213
	Urusagrig			

TABLE B (Continued)

Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ŠS02-08-00 Nippur			NRVN 1 224
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS02-09-23 Puzriš-Dagan	muhaldim		BIN 3 559
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS03-02-06 Urusagrig	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal going to Der		Nisaba 15/2 0230
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ŠS03-02-06 Urusagrig	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal going to the sea		Nisaba 15/2 0325
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ŠS04-05-00 Nippur		dumu Nam-ha-ni dub-sar (seal)	JCS 54 04 20
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ŠS05-05-00 Nippur		dumu [x]-kug-ga nar	NATN 911
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ŠS05-12-00 Ur		owner of a slave (sag) E_2-nam	UET 3 1637
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ŠS06-04-28 Puzriš-Dagan (Ur)	$šar_2$-ra-ab-du		CDLJ 2012: 1 4.47
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS01-01-11 Urusagrig	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal		Nisaba 15/2 0558
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS01-06-00 Urusagrig	sagi	dumu DINGIR-zi-tum (seal)	Nisaba 15/2 0604
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS01-10-00 Umma			BPOA 6 0292

TABLE B (Continued)

Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS02-01-00 Ur			UET 3 1511
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS02-02-22 Urusagrig	sukkal lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal		Nisaba 15/2 0728
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	IS02-06-07 Puzriš-Dagan (Tummal)	sipad		JCS 24, 159 51
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS02-08-26 Puzriš-Dagan	$ensi_2$		NYPL 013
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	IS02-10-00 Urusagrig	ra_2-gaba		Nisaba 15/2 0861
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS02-10-00 Urusagrig	mušen-du_3		Nisaba 15/2 0865
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS02-10-00 Urusagrig	dub-sar		Nisaba 15/2 0865
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS02-10-16 Nippur			NATN 107
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	IS03-03-00 Urusagrig	na-gada	$geme_2$-$arad_2$ Nin-$šag_5$-ga	Nisaba 15/2 0953
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	IS03-03-00 Urusagrig	dumu-$nita_2$ assigned to engar $šag_4$-gud	dumu Im-ti-i_3-li_2 $geme_2$-$arad_2$ Nin-$šag_5$-ga	Nisaba 15/2 0953

TABLE B (Continued)

Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS03-06-00 Nippur	munu$_4$-mu$_2$	TMH NF 1-2 113
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS05-00-00 Ur	dub-sar	SAT 3 2009
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	IS06-04-00 Ur	šuš$_3$ ugula	UET 3 1196
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	IS15-12-00 Ur	e$_2$ ašgab, giš-kin-ti	UET 3 1498
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	XX-04-00 Girsu	sukkal coming from ^{u2}URUxA	SAT 1 138
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	XX-05-04 Girsu	dub-sar-lugal (messenger)	HLC 2 105 (pl. 094)
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	XX-06-00 Girsu	lu$_2$-^{giš}tukul-gu-la (messenger text)	Nisaba 22 091
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	ISXX-08-00 Ur	šuš$_3$-lugal	UET 9 0908
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi	no date Girsu	tug$_2$-du$_8$	PPAC 5 0078
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-ra	no date Ur	ugula ušbar	UET 3 1448
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-*na-ar-am*-^{d}Suen	no date		MVN 08 201

TABLE B (Continued)

	Puzriš-Dagan (Tummal)			
Ur-^{d}Šul-gi-zi	ŠS04-10-00 Girsu	dub-sar	dumu Ur-^{d}Lamma (seal)	WMAH 004
Wu-zum-^{d}Šul-gi	ŠS-no date Puzriš-Dagan	ugula erin$_2$ I-mun?^{ki}		MVN 08 222
Zi-^{d}Šul-gi-a-ra$_2$-kalam-ma	Š41-07-00 Lagaš	amar-kud (weanling)	dumu of ^{d}Šul-gi-a$_2$-mah nar, gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga ^{d}Šul-gi šag$_4$ Lagaš^{ki}	HLC 2 010 (pl. 053)

TABLE B (Continued)

NAME	DATE and PROVENANCE	OCCUPATION or ORIGIN	PARENT. CHILD, or SPOUSE	SOURCE
AMAR-SUEN				
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-[x]-gi-ša	no date Umma	še-ba	dumu Nin-ba-šag$_5$-šag$_5$ gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga e$_2$-[x]-ta	L'uomo 62
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-[x]-KA-in	IS03-04-00 Umma (Nippur)	še-ba in Nippur	dumu Nin-siskur$_2$-re	Rochester 159
^{d}Amar-$^{d+}$Suen-[x]-mu	IS03-04-00 Umma (Nippur)	še-ba in Nippur	dumu Nin-siskur$_2$-re	Rochester 159
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-a-kalam-ma	no date Umma	lu$_2$ tug$_2$-gi$_6$		AnOr 01 292
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ama-tu-^{d}Nanna	no date Ur	še-ba nar a-ru-a ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen e$_2$ Kar-zi-da	dumu Arad$_2$-^{d}Nanna	UET 3 1072
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-an-dul$_3$	ŠS05-00-00 Adab			MVN 03 268

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-An-ka	no date unk. prov.	uš$_2$ še-ba	dumu Nin-kal-la	SET 250
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-^{d}Ašnan-gim-zi-šag$_4$-gal$_2$-kalam-ma	IS03-04-00 Umma (Nippur)	rcvd grain ration		YOS 15 114
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*ba-ni*	AS09xx-00-00 Urusagrig	gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga gud-apin-10	dumu-arad$_2$ brother of Šulgi-ili (also dumu)	www.paulfrasercollectibles.com 2013.03.04
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*ba-ni*	AS09xx-00-00 Urusagrig	arad$_2$, gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga gud-apin-10		www.paulfrasercollectibles.com 2013.03.04
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*ba-ni*	ŠS02-02-29 Urusagrig	šu-i		Nisaba 15/2 0208
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*ba-ni*	IS02-01-04 Urusagrig	lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal		Nisaba 15/2 0691
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*ba-ni*	no date Girsu	še-ba siki-ba geme$_2$ gašam		TCTI 1 00918
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*ba-ni*	EB01?-01-00 Susa	sold slave		MDP 18 199
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-da-nu-me-a	AS04-01-00 Girsu	rcvd grain rations	dumu Nin-uru-ni-še$_3$ geme$_2$ uš-bar	CTNMC 54

TABLE B (Continued)

			e_2 ^{d}Nin-giš-zida	
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-[e_2]-Kar-zi-da-[x]	no date Ur			Studies Jones 039 04
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-en-gal	no date Umma	lu_2 tug_2-gi_6		AnOr 01 292
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-na-engar-^{d}En-lil_2	AS08-12-25 Puzriš-Dagan (Tummal)	sagi maškim		Ontario 1 086
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*ga-mi-il!* [TUM]	ŠS03-00-00 Umma (Nagsu)	rcvd grain rations		SAT 3 1366
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ga-mi-il	no date Girsu			HSS 04 047
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-gu_2-gal	IS03-00-00 Umma	rcvd še-ur_5-ra (mu Simurrum ba-hul)		Rochester 166
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-gu_2-gal	IS03-04-00 Umma (Nippur)	še-ba in Nippur		Rochester 159
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-gu_2-gal	IS03-04-00	še-ba in Nippur	dumu Nin-ama-mu	Rochester 159

TABLE B (Continued)

	Umma (Nippur)			
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	AS05-01-00 Umma	še-ba, gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga bala-a	dumu Nin-ib$_2$-gu-ul geme$_2$ nig$_2$ar$_3$-ra	Nisaba 24 28
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	AS05-05-04 Puzriš-Dagan	lu$_2$ Maš-kan$_2$-šar-ru-um^{ki}		CDLJ 2007: 1 16
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	AS06-00-00 Girsu	un-ga$_2$ e$_2$ ^{d}Nanše še-ba siki-ba		TUT 151
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	AS06-00-00 Girsu (Kinunir NINA)	rcvd garment in Ki-nu-nir^{ki} NINA^{ki}		HlC 1 257 (pl. 006)
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	ŠS03-09-00 Umma (Zabalam)	tug$_2$-ba	dumu Nin-gim-a-ba-gim gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga Zabalam$_3$^{ki}	SNAT 487
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	ŠS07-06-00 Umma	rcvd grain rations	dumu Ur$_4$-šag$_4$-ki-dug$_3$	OrSP 47-49 454
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	ŠS08-12-00 Girsu	rcvd wool rations	dumu Geme$_2$-barag-si-ga	TCTI 00618
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	no date Girsu (Nina)	rcvd grain rations	dumu ^{d}Nanše-ad$_2$-gal gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga e$_2$-dingir-me in Nina^{ki}	CT 09 36 BM 021399
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	no date Girsu	rcvd grain rations	dumu Nin-nam-ha-ni	TUT 158

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	no date Umma	šar$_2$-ra-ab-du	dumu [x]	Talon-Vanderroost 1 Diss., T. 06, pp. 202- 210
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	no date Umma	uš$_2$ še-ba	dumu Geme$_2$-^{d}Lugal- zi-da nar-munus gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga ^{d}Šul-gi	L'uomo 62
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	no date Umma	še-ba	dumu Al-la-šar-ru-um gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga e$_2$-[x]-ta	L'uomo 62
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	no date unk. prov.	nar ^{d}[x] še-ba	dumu Al-la-šar-ru-um	UCP 9-2-1 063
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-he$_2$-gal$_2$	AS04-06-00 Girsu		dumu Bur-ra lu$_2$-azlag$_2$	HLC 2 001 (pl. 051)
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-he$_2$-gal$_2$	AS05-02-00 Umma	še-ba nam-ra-ak	dumu Gal-la-gir	TCL 5 6039
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-he$_2$-gal$_2$	AS05-02-00 Umma	še-ba nam-ra-ak	dumu La-al-la	TCL 5 6039
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-he$_2$-gal$_2$	no date unk. prov.	assigned w/his mother to geme$_2$ i$_3$-mug-še$_3$	dumu Geme$_2$-e$_{11}$-e	SET 250
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-hi-li-Ki-en-gi	ŠS04-09-00 Umma	tug$_2$-ba nar	nar of Lugal-nir dub-sar dumu Ur-Šara pisan-	SNAT 499

TABLE B (Continued)

			dub-ba	
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-hi-li-Ki-en-gi	no date unk. prov.	assigned to Lugal-e$_2$-mah w/his mother	dumu Am-eš$_3$-nam-ta	SET 250
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-hi-li-^{d}Šara$_2$	no date Umma	assigned to gan$_2$ w/his father	dumu Ba-sig$_5$	Santag 6 384
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-i$_3$-gi-in	AS06-12-00 Umma	assigned to gan$_2$ w/his father	dumu Ur-^{d}Du-mu-zi-da UN-ga$_6$	YOS 04 232
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*i$_3$-li$_2$*	AS05-06-18 Puzriš-Dagan	Mar-tu		Ontario 1 097
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*i$_3$-li$_2$*	IS06-11-00 Ur	e$_2$-udu rcvd grain ration		UET 3 1034
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*il-su* (^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-DINGIR-*su*)	no date Umma (Ur)	beer ration lu$_2$-tur-tur i$_3$-dab$_5$ in Ur		SET 297
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-^{d}Ištaran-gim-si-sa$_2$	no date Ur			Studies Jones 038 03
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-kalam-e-	no date	še-ba-lugal		MVN 21 244

TABLE B (Continued)

ba-šag$_5$	Umma	uš$_2$		
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-kalam-e-da-šag$_5$	no date unk. prov.	še-ba, assigned to Naba-šag	dumu Ur-^{d}A-šar$_2$ lu$_2$-AŠ	SET 350
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-kalam-ma	xx-04-00 Girsu			RA 19 039 09
^{d}Amar-^{d}Su[en]-ki-ag$_2$-[^{d}Nanna]	no date Ur			Studies Jones 038 03
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-^{d}Lamma-mu	AS04-01-00 Girsu	rcvd grain rations	dumu ^{d}Nin-mar-ki-a$_2$-dah geme$_2$ uš-bar e$_2$ ^{d}Nin-giš-zi-da	CTNMC 54
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-^{d}Lamma-mu	IS03-06-00 Girsu (Kiešša)	uš$_2$ še-ba amar-kud		TÉL 226
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-^{d}Lamma-mu	IS03-07-00 Girsu (Kinunir)	rcvd wool rations	dumu Geme$_2$-^{d}Dumu-zi	Zinbun 18 104 10
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-lugal-dingir-kalam-ma	xx-12-00 Girsu	dub-sar		SAT 1 133

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*ma-lik*	IS16-06-26 Ur	tibira gašam giš-kin-ti		UET 3 1487
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*ma-lik*	IS16-08-30 Ur	kug-dim$_2$ gašam giš.kin-ti		UET 3 1486
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-nam-zi-tar-ra	no date Ur	še-ba nar a-ru-a ^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen e$_2$ Kar-zi-da		UET 3 1072
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*na-ra-am-*^{d}En-lil$_2$	AS08-11-00 Puzriš-Dagan	sukkal (in text)	sukkal-lugal (seal)	TRU 048
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*na-wi-ir*	AS08-09-24 Puzriš-Dagan			Nisaba 08 044
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*na-bi-ir*	no date Umma	rcvd field (gan$_2$)		Nisaba 26 040
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-*si$_2$-im-ti*	IS07-09-00 Ur	rcvd oil ration	dumu [x] geme$_2$ uš-bar	UET 3 1041
[^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen]-sipad-ka[lam-ma]	no date Ur			Studies Jones 038 03

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-si-sa$_2$	ŠS08-03-00 Girsu	rcvd rations		PPAC 5 0269
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-si-sa$_2$	no date Umma	assigned to gan$_2$ gab$_2$-uš$_2$-še$_3$ w/his father & brothers	dumu Ur-nigar$_x^{gar}$	Santag 6 384
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-si-sa$_2$	no date Umma	še-ba	dumu Lu$_2$-bala gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga e$_2$-[x]-ta	L'uomo 62
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-si-[sa$_2$]- kalam-[ma]	no date Ur			Studies Jones 039 04
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-teš$_2$-mu	no date unk. prov.	nar ^{d}[x] še-ba	dumu Peš$_2$-tur-tur	UCP 9-2-1 063
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ti-šag$_5$-ke$_4$	IS06-08-19 Ur			UET 3 1239
[^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen]-ur-k[alam-ma]	no date Ur			Studies Jones 038 03
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ur-sag-e	no date Girsu			TCS 1 229

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-uru-mu	no date Umma	assigned to gan_2 w/his father	dumu [x]	Santag 6 384
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-uru-mu	no date Umma	assigned to gan_2 w/his father	dumu BAD.NI	Santag 6 384
^{d}Am[ar-^{d}Suen]-uru-na-hi-li-[bi]	no date Ur			Studies Jones 038 03
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-^{d}Utu-mu	no date Umma	še-ba	dumu La-ni-bu gir_3-se_3-ga e_2-[x]-ta	L'uomo 62
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-zi	IS14-09-00 Ur	witness at trial involving king		UET 9 1156
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-zi-kalam-ma	AS05-05-09 Puzriš-Dagan	sukkal		PDT 2 1171
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-zi-kalam-ma	IS03-04-00 Girsu (Kinunir)	še-bi amar-kud in Kinunir		TÉL 226
^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-zi-mu	no date Umma	še-ba	dumu La-ni-bu gir_3-se_3-ga e_2-[x]-ta	L'uomo 62

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-zi-šag$_4$-gal$_2$	no date Umma	še-ba	dumu Nin-[x-x] gir$_3$-se$_3$-ga e$_2$-[x]-ta	L'uomo 62
Arad$_2$-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ka	AS08-00-00 Umma	ugula, sa gi		SNAT 397
Arad$_2$-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	AS08-11-00 Nippur	rcvd garment		AUCT 2 046
Ar-za-an-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	AS07-00-00 Urusagrig	a$_2$ of his eren$_2$ ugnim for field work		Nisaba 15/2 0073
Ar-za-an-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	AS08-05-27 Urusagrig		father of Na-ra-am-E$_2$-a nu-banda$_3$	Nisaba 15/2 0103
Dan-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen (KAL-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen)	AS08-10-17 Puzriš-Dagan		dumu Ga-da-bi lu$_2$ Ti-ki-ti-hu-um^{ki}	TCL 2 5500
En-^{d}Gula-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ki-ag$_2$	AS08-00-00 unk. prov.	en ^{d}Gula	ama en-Ga-eš^{ki}	MCS 2 74 HSM 07991
En-^{d}Nanna-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ra- ki-ag$_2$-An-na	AS08-12-14 Puzriš-Dagan	en Ga-eš$_5$^{ki}		MVN 15 365

TABLE B (Continued)

En-nun-e-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ki-ag$_2$	AS08-01-00 Puzriš-Dagan	en-Eridug^{ki}		OrSP 47-49 112
Geme$_2$-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	AS04-00-00 Girsu (Guabba)		dumu Geme$_2$-ab-ba geme-ušbar in Guabba^{ki}	STA 06
Geme$_2$-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	ŠS03-09-00 Zabalam		dumu [x] uš-bar	SNAT 487
Geme$_2$-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	IS03-04-00 Nippur	rcvd grain rations	dumu Geme$_2$-^{d}Dumu-zi-da	YOS 15 114
Geme$_2$-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	no date Girsu	rcvd wool ration geme$_2$ ^{d}Ba-u$_2$	dumu ^{d}Ba-u$_2$-kug-zu	Iraq 41 125 2
Geme$_2$-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	no date Girsu	rcvd grain rations	dumu Geme$_2$-Ušur$_4$-mu	WMAH 277
Geme$_2$-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	no date Girsu	rcvd grain rations	dumu Nin-ki-ni	TUT 158
Geme$_2$-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	no date Girsu	uš$_2$ no grain rations	dumu [x]	TUT 158
Geme$_2$-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	no date Ur	rcvd grain ration		UET 3 1437
He$_2$-du-ut-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	AS08-11-00	en$_3$-du in-tag-tag	dumu Da-da gala	Santag 7 092

TABLE B (Continued)

	Nippur			
Li-bur-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	IS02-06-00 Urusagrig	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal coming from Der		Nisaba 15/2 0791
Lu_2-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	AS04-01-00 Girsu	rcvd grain rations, Ha-la-^{d}Ba-u_2 i_3-dab_5	dumu Ur-bad_3-KU-ra $geme_2$ uš-bar e_2 ^{d}Nin-giš-zi-da,	CTNMC 54
Lu_2-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	ŠS09-00-00 Puzriš-Dagan			Princeton 2 141
Lu_2-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen-ka	ŠSxx-00-00 unk. prov.	išib ^{d}Nin-šubur Nibru^{ki}		JCS 54 07 52
Lu_2-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	IS15-07-12 Ur	GIN_2-la_2 gašam giš-kin-ti		UET 3 1478
Lu_2-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	IS16-08-30 Ur	kug-dim_2 gašam giš-kin-ti		UET 4 2486
Lu_2-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	XX-04-00 Girsu	ra_2-gaba going for the king's linen		RA 19 044 MIO 00643
Lu_2-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	XX-11-00 Nippur			NATN 547
Lu_2-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	no date Girsu	rcvd grain ration	dumu Nin-$ušur_4$	TUT 158

TABLE B (Continued)

Lugal-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	no date unk. prov.			SET 250
Ma-nu-um-ki-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	IS16-06-26 Ur	ašgab gašam giš-kin-ti		UET 3 1487
NI.BU-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	AS06-01-00 Ur	witness to receipt of silver		UET 3 0333
Puzur$_4$-^{d}Amar-[^{d}Suen]	AS04-05-00 Puzriš-Dagan			Princeton 2 001
Šu-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	ŠS04-04-00 Urusagrig	ENxMAŠ-gag		Nisaba 15/2 0276
Ur-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	AS04-00-00 Girsu	rcvd grain rations	dumu Ur-eš$_3$-kug-ga lu$_2$ giš-kin-ti gu-la e$_2$ ^{d}Nin-girsu	HLC 2 028 (pl. 066)
Ur-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	AS04-05-00 Puzriš-Dagan			AUCT 2 283
Ur-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	AS06-12-23 Puzriš-Dagan	sukkal maškim		BIN 3 273

TABLE B (Continued)

Ur-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	ŠS01-00-00 Umma		BPOA 1 1586
Wa-qar-^{d}Amar-^{d}Suen	AS09-09-11 Puzriš-Dagan	ra_2-gaba maškim	MVN 13 639

TABLE B (Continued)

NAME	DATE and PROVENANCE	OCCUPATION or ORIGIN	PARENT, CHILD, or SPOUSE	SOURCE
ŠU-^{d}SUEN				
[X]-GAR$_3$-^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen	ŠSxx-11-25 Puzriš-Dagan	ra$_2$-gaba maškim		PDT 1 170
Bu$_{(3)}$-du-re-eš-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	IS03-09-00 Nippur	arad$_2$ A-mur-^{d}GIR$_3$-[x]		NATN 577
Ib-ni-^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen	ŠS04-01-00 Puzriš-Dagan			YOS 18 041
I-šar-^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen	IS02-10-11 Puzriš-Dagan	sagi maškim		BPOA 6 0111
Li-bur-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	IS01-02-00 Urusagrig			Nisaba 15/2 0567
Li-bur-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	no date Umma			UTI 5 3495

TABLE B (Continued)

Lu$_2$-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	ŠS01-12-00 Girsu	mušen-du$_3$ u$_5$^{mušen}	dumu Lugal-šag$_5$-ga	TCTI 1 00736
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	IS01-10-17 Puzriš-Dagan			PDT 1 493
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	IS14-09-00 Ur	šabra di-kud (seal: sukkal)	dumu Lugal-dur$_2$-gar-re sukkal	UET 3 0045
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	IS15-12-00 Ur			UET 3 1498
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	IS17-02-15 Ur	ugula tug$_2$-du$_8$ e$_2$-maškim tuš-a		UET 3 1470
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	XX-00-11 Girsu			Princeton 2 240
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	no date Girsu	(messenger text)		TCTI 1 00812
Lu$_2$-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	no date Ur	šabra		UET 3 0052
Nu-ur$_2$-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	ŠS04-02-00 Puzriš-Dagan			BPOA 7 2536
Nu-ur$_2$-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	ŠS05-00-00 Umma	ugula erin$_2$ Umma^{ki}		UTI 5 3231
Nu-ur$_2$-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	IS02-06-00			NATN 614

TABLE B (Continued)

	Nippur			
Nu-ur$_2$-*^{d}Šu*-^{d}Suen	IS02-06-00 Urusagrig	lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal coming from kaskal-NIM		Nisaba 15/2 0791
Nu-ur$_2$-*^{d}Šu*-^{d}Suen	IS03-01-00 Girsu (Guabba)			ITT 3 05255
Nu-ur$_2$-*^{d}Šu*-^{d}Suen	no date Umma	ugula gan$_2$ zar-tab-ba		Nebraska 38
Puzur$_4$-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	IS08-05-18 Ur			UET 3 0386
Ša-at-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	xx-03-00 Urusagrig	rcvd pair of boots		Nisaba 15/2 1009
[Ša]-at-^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen	no date Nippur	assignment of guruš to her field [a-šag$_4$]		Iraq 05, 175 24
^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-[x]-in	XX-11-24 Girsu	ra$_2$-gaba		HLC 3 295 (pl. 128)
^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-a$_2$-mah	ŠS08-11-00 Umma	rcvd wool ration	dumu Ur-^{d}Šara$_2$ NAGAR-ga	Hirose 389

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šu-Suen-*a-na-*^{d}*Suen-ta$_2$-ki-il* (seal) or ^{d}*Šu-*^{d}Suen-*ta$_2$-ki-li-a-na-*^{d}Suen (text)	ŠS09-07-00 Puzriš-Dagan		FS. Pettinato 165, 167 11, 171
^{d}*Šu-*^{d}Suen-an-dul$_3$	ŠS02-06-00 Umma	sagi	Santag 6 235
^{d}*Šu-*^{d}Suen-an-dul$_3$	ŠS07-10-00 Ur		U. 16514 (unpubl.)
^{d}*Šu-*^{d}Suen-an-dul$_3$	IS03-10-00 Ur		UET 3 0091
^{d}*Šu-*^{d}Suen-an-dul$_3$	XX-06-19 Puzriš-Dagan		PPAC 4 216
^{d}*Šu-*^{d}Suen-*ba-ni*	ŠSxx-0-00 Puzriš-Dagan	a-zu	Studies Levine 132-138
^{d}*Šu-*^{d}Suen-*ba-ni*	IS02-01-27 Urusagrig	ra$_2$-gaba lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal	Nisaba 15/2 0705
^{d}*Šu-*^{d}Suen-*ba-ni*	IS03-09-11 Puzriš-Dagan		NYPL 283
^{d}*Šu-*^{d}Suen-*ba-ni*	XX-03-00 Girsu	ensi$_2$ Sa-bu-um^{ki}	ITT 2 00773
^{d}*Šu-*^{d}Suen-*ba-ni*	no date	field [a-šag$_4$] of his	UET 9 1073

TABLE B (Continued)

	Ur			
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*dan*	IS01-00-00	zah$_3$		Nisaba 15/2 0668
(^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-KAL)	Umma?	še-ba geme$_2$-guruš		
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*dan*	IS03-03-00	ra$_2$-gaba	geme$_2$-arad$_2$ Nin-šag$_5$-	Nisaba 15/2 0953
	Urusagrig		ga	
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-dingir	ŠS07-11-18	šu-i maškim		CST 442
	Puzriš-Dagan			
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-dingir	IS01-03-25	šu-i maškim		JCS 10 28 05
	Puzriš-Dagan			
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-dingir	no date			UET 3 1013
	Ur			
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-dingir-mu	no date			CST 725
	Umma			
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*du$_2$-ri*	IS01-00-00	šag$_4$ e$_2$-a		Nisaba 15/2 0668
	Umma?	še-ba geme$_2$-guruš		
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-e-[x]-mu-gi$_4$	IS07-07-00	lu$_2$-kaš$_4$		UET 3 1730
	Ur			

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*e-te-el*$_2$*-pi*$_4$-^{d}En-lil$_2$	ŠS04-09-10 Puzriš-Dagan			ASJ 19 209 27
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*e-te-el*$_2$*-pi*$_4$-^{d}En-lil$_2$	ŠS09-04-04 GARšana	sukkal		CUSAS 3 0507
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	ŠS03-04-23 Umma	(messenger text)		Nisaba 16 239
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	ŠS03-05-29 Puzriš-Dagan	šu-i maškim		MVN 03 258
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	IS02-00-00 Urusagrig			Nisaba 15/2 0909
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	IS03-01-00 GARšana			CUSAS 3 1248
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	no date Umma			UTI 5 3495
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-ha-ma-ti	no date Ur			UET 3 1319
^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-*ha-si*$_2$*-is*	IS02-01-00 Umma	ra$_2$-gaba		YOS 04 284
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-hi-li-An-na	ŠS07-09-17	del. animal to Puzriš-Dagan	dumu Ur-^{d}Iškur	NYPL 212

TABLE B (Continued)

	Puzriš-Dagan		
^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-*il*$_2$-*at*	IS03-05-24 Uruk		BagM 23 82 W 25046
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	ŠS02-00-00 Umma	muhaldim	CTNMC 29
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	ŠS04-12-03 Umma	ra$_2$-gaba	Nisaba 01 028
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	ŠS05-06-05 Urusagrig	lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal	Nisaba 15/2 0319
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	ŠS09-05-00 Puzriš-Dagan		AUCT 3 306
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	ŠSxx-00-00 Puzriš-Dagan	sagi	UTI 6 3800
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	IS01-00-00 Umma?	zah$_3$ še-ba geme$_2$-guruš	Nisaba 15/2 0668
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	IS01-00-00 Umma?	šag$_4$-gud še-ba geme$_2$-guruš	Nisaba 15/2 0668
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	IS01-07-15 Puzriš-Dagan	šar$_2$-ra-ab-du	ArOr 25 559 11
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	IS02-03-15	ra$_2$-gaba lu$_2$-na$_4$	TCL 2 5481

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$	Puzriš-Dagan IS02-11-22 Umma	(messenger text)		Nisaba 01 292
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$-*ba-ni*	IS01-01-00 Ur	rcvd grain ration	dumu [x]	UET 9 0009
^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-*i*$_3$-*li*$_2$-*ki-im-ni-[ki?]*	no date Nippur			NRVN 1 225
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*im-di*$_3$	IS01-00-00 Umma?	šag$_4$ e$_2$-a še-ba geme$_2$-guruš		Nisaba 15/2 0668
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i*$_3$-*ni-ib-Eš*$_2$-*tar*$_4$	ŠS09-00-00 Ur	[geme$_2$ arad$_2$?] Da-da gala-me		UET 3 1357
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i*$_3$-*pa*$_2$-*la-ah*-^{d}En-lil$_2$	ŠS09-10-21 Puzriš-Dagan (Uruk)	sagi maškim		PDT 1 563
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i*$_3$-*pa*$_2$-*la-ah*-^{d}En-lil$_2$	IS01-12-00 Puzriš-Dagan (Nippur)	sagi maškim		SAT 3 1929

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}*Šu*-Suen-*i-šar-ra-ma-aš*$_2$	IS02-02-02 Urusagrig	lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal going to Kimaš		Nisaba 15/2 0720
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i-ti-i*$_3$*-li*$_2$*-ma-lik*	IS01-03-25 Puzriš-Dagan	šar$_2$-ra-ab-du		JCS 10 28 05
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*i-ṭi*$_3$*-ib-ši-na-at*	IS02-12-06 Puzriš-Dagan (Ur)	sagi-gal	seal	MVN 05 132
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-i$_3$-zu-*la-ma-har*-^{d}En-lil$_2$	ŠS05-01-00 Puzriš-Dagan	sagi maškim		Princeton 2 002
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-ka-lal$_3$	no date Umma	arad$_2$ ^{d}Nin-lil$_2$-la$_2$		SAT 3 1913
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-[ki-ag$_2$]-^{d}En-lil$_2$	IS03-00-00 Umma			Torino 2 468
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-ki-ag$_2$-^{d}Šara$_2$	ŠS07-12-00 Umma			OrSP 47-49 455
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*la-ma-ha-ar*	ŠS04-12-05 Puzriš-Dagan	sagi maškim		BIN 3 571

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*la-ma-ha-ar*	IS01-09-11 Puzriš-Dagan	sagi maškim		CT 32 15 BM 103433
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*la-ma-ha-ar*	IS01-13-11 Urusagrig	sagi		Nisaba 15/2 0651
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*la-ma-ha-ar*	IS02-02-02 Urusagrig	lu_2-kin-gi_4-a-lugal		Nisaba 15/2 0720
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*li-la-bi-ir-ha-ṭa-am*	ŠS03-11-29 Puzriš-Dagan	muhaldim		CT 32 12 BM 103436
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*li-la-bi-ir-haṭṭam* [PA]	ŠS06-08-00 Puzriš-Dagan			BPOA 10, p. 429, MLC 2045
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*li-la-bi-ir-haṭṭam* [PA]	IS01-00-00 Ur			UET 9 0389
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*li-[la-bi]-ir-haṭṭam* [PA^{ṭam}]	no date Ur			UET 3 1452
^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-*li-pi$_2$-it-E$_2$-a*	ŠS09-00-00 Ur	[geme$_2$ arad$_2$?] Da-da gala-me		UET 3 1357
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*mi-gir*-^{d}En-lil$_2$	IS02-09-14 Puzriš-Dagan	nar		Kyoto 47
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*mi-gir*-^{d}En-lil$_2$	IS03-01-00	šagina	in-na-ba seal from	Nisaba 15/2 0961

TABLE B (Continued)

	Urusagrig		Ibbi-Suen	
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*mi-gir*-^{d}En-lil$_2$	IS03-02-00 Ur	ugula of še-ba nar ra$_2$-gaba-ne		Nisaba 15/2 0929
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*mi-gir-Eš$_4$-tar$_2$*	ŠS04-01-18 Puzriš-Dagan	nar		BIN 5 029
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*mi-gir-E$_4$-tar$_2$*	ŠS08-02-05 Nippur	^{giš}sa$_2$-bi$_2$-tum in-tag-tag	dumu Da-da gala	JCS 10 30 09
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*mi-šar*	no date Urusagrig	muhaldim		Nisaba 15/2 1065
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*mu-ba-li$_2$-iṭ*	IS01-02-00 Urusagrig			Nisaba 15/2 0567
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*mu-ba-li$_2$-iṭ*	IS02-02-00 Urusagrig	lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal		Nisaba 15/2 0738
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*mu-ra-bi-su$_2$-uh$_2$-ri-im*	IS02-00-00 Urusagrig	rcvd field (gan$_2$) in Uru-gi-gu$_3$-[na]^{ki}		Nisaba 15/2 0917
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*na-ra-am*-^{d}En-lil$_2$	ŠS04-05-03 Puzriš-Dagan	ra$_2$-gaba maškim		BPOA 7 2739

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*na-ra-am*-^{d}En-lil$_2$	ŠS08-05-00 GARšana		CUSAS 3 0488
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*na-ra-am*-^{d}En-lil$_2$	ŠS09-00-00 Ur	[geme$_2$ arad$_2$?] Da-da gala-me	UET 3 1357
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*na-ra-am*-^{d}En-lil$_2$	XX-06-06 GARšana		CUSAS 3 0554
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*na-ra-am-Eš$_{18}$-tar$_2$*	IS02-02-00 Urusagrig	nar-gal	Nisaba 15/2 0738
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*na-ra-am*-^{d}Ištaran	IS01-13-26 Urusagrig	lu$_2$-kin-gi$_4$-a-lugal coming from Kimaš	Nisaba 15/2 0654
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*nu-ri*	IS01-00-00 Umma?	šag$_4$ e$_2$-a še-ba geme$_2$-guruš	Nisaba 15/2 0668
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*nu-ur$_2$-ma-ti-šu*	ŠS06-08-00 unk. prov.	arad$_2$ Gu-za-ni	MVN 03 270
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*nu-ur$_2$-ma-ti-šu*	ŠS07-00-00 unk. prov.	rcvd wool in Bad$_3$-šar-ru-um^{ki}	MVN 03 278
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*nu-ur$_2$-ma-ti-šu*	IS02-01-00 Nippur	arad$_2$ Gu-za-na	NATN 002

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*nu-ur$_2$-ma-ti-šu*	IS02-10-00 Urusagrig	dub-sar		Nisaba 15/2 0865
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*ri-im-i$_3$-li$_2$*	no date Urusagrig	ugula of 372 še gur to be placed in boat to the storehouse (nakabtum)		Nisaba 15/2 1030
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}*Suen*-si-sa$_2$	ŠS06-12-30 Puzriš-Dagan	ra$_2$-gaba		Studies Jones 068
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-si-sa$_2$	IS01-02-00 Puzriš-Dagan	ra$_2$-gaba		MVN 15 358
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*šu-qir*	IS03-03-00 Urusagrig	ra$_2$-gaba	geme$_2$-arad$_2$ Nin-šag$_5$-ga	Nisaba 15/2 0953
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*ta-ra-am*-^{d}Inana	ŠS08-07-04 Urusagrig	hosting a kaš-de$_2$-a when runners went to Sigraš^{ki}	dumu-munus-lugal	Nisaba 15/2 0443
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-tu-[x]	ŠSxx-00-00 Girsu	rcvd garment and oil from *Abî-simtî*		SEL 02 37
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*ṭab*	IS03-07-00			TMH NF 1-2 168

TABLE B (Continued)

(^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-DUG$_3$) ^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*ṭab*	Nippur no date Umma?	aga$_3$-us$_2$, zah$_3$ rations	Nisaba 15/2 1031
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*ṭāb-a-na-um-ma-ni* (^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-DUG$_3$-*a-na-um-ma-ni*)	ŠS08-09-07 Puzriš-Dagan (Uruk)	ra$_2$-gaba maškim	CST 448
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*ṭūb-ma-ti-iš-šu$_2$* (^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-DUG$_3^{UB}$-*ma-ti-iš-šu$_2$*)	XX-06-25 Puzriš-Dagan		BPOA 6 0173
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-^{d}Utu-mu	ŠS09-07-00 Umma		MVN 16 0607
^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-u$_3$-um-[x]-	no date Ur		UET 3 1452
^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen-*wu-zu-um-i-šar-re*	ŠS02-09-17 Puzriš-Dagan	lu$_2$ Ši-ma-num$_2^{ki}$	PDT 2 0904

TABLE B (Continued)

^{d}Šu-^{d}Suen-zi-kalam-ma	ŠS04-00-00 Umma		Kyoto 28
Ur-^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen	ŠS04-12-00 Puzriš-Dagan		JCS 14 114 22
Ur-^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen	ŠS05-11-00 Puzriš-Dagan	sukkal maškim	RSO 83 347 23
Ur-^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen	ŠS09-03-00 Urusagrig		Nisaba 15/2 0523
Ur-^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen	IS01-06-24 Urusagrig	egir sukkal-mah	Nisaba 15/2 0599
Ur-^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen	IS01-07-13 Puzriš-Dagan		TCL 2 5482
Ur-^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen	ŠS02-00-00 Umma	sukkal	CST 592
Ur-^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen	IS02-03-28 Puzriš-Dagan	ra_2-gaba maškim	BIN 3 601
Ur-^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen	XX-00-17 Umma	rcvd grain ration	TCS 297
Wa-qar-^{d}*Šu*-^{d}Suen	ŠS02-12d-00 Puzriš-Dagan	maškim	Trouvaille 87

TABLE B (Continued)

(Nippur)

TABLE B (Continued)

NAME	DATE and PROVENANCE	OCCUPATION or ORIGIN	PARENT, CHILD, or SPOUSE	SOURCE
IBBI-^{d}SUEN				
A-ra-zu-^{d}*I-bi*$_2$-^{d}Suen-ka-še$_3$-pad$_3$-da	ŠS09-00-26 Puzriš-Dagan	en ^{d}En-ki Eridug^{ki}		AUCT 3 489
^{d}*I-bi*$_2$-^{d}*Suen*-^{d}En-lil$_2$-da-nir-gal$_2$	IS08-12-22 Ur			UET 3 0795
^{d}*I-bi*$_2$-^{d}*Suen*-kal-le-ga-DU	IS09-04-00 Ur			UET 3 1383
^{d}*I-bi*$_2$-^{d}*Suen-mi-[šar]*	IS02-01-00 Puzriš-Dagan	maškim		FS Haas 286

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