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ON THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR

ON THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR
STUDIES IN HONOR OF MARCEL SIGRIST

Edited by

Piotr Michalowski

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ON THE THIRD DYNASTY OF UR

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NEW UR III COURT RECORDS CONCERNING SLAVERY

Manuel Molina (CSIC, Madrid)

Of the 86,666 texts catalogued in my database of Ur III tablets (bdtns.filol.csic.es), 30,715 have been transliterated, copied, or cataloged by Marcel Sigrist. In other words, Sigrist has put at our disposal more than one-third of this enormous corpus. Personally I owe him, among other things, for his encouragement and his outstanding contribution to the development of the Database of Neo-Sumerian Texts, a project conceived when we first met at the British Museum some years ago. It is therefore an honor and a pleasure to dedicate this edition of Ur III legal texts to him.

When A. Falkenstein published his monumental work *Die neusumerischen Gerichtsurkunden* (Munich: Verlag der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1956–57), 193 out of the 225 texts he studied came from the site of Girsu, so his conclusions regarding judicial procedures largely depended on the textual material from that city. Since then, thousands of new Ur III tablets from various sites have been edited, and many others remain unpublished in museums and other collections all over the world. Specifically, the British Museum keeps an important collection of about six thousand documents from Umma; at least seventy of them are court records, thirty-five of which still remain unpublished. I present here ten of these documents concerning slavery as the first installment in a series that will include all of this small corpus.

The seventy court records, except one, were tagged at the British Museum as belonging to two different collections: 1913-4-16 and 1914-4-4. Here follows the list of these tablets, together with the accession number given to them by the museum:

BM 85441	1899-4-15-248	Š48/vi	no. 3 (see <i>CBT</i> 3, BM 85441)
BM 105339	1913-4-16-171	AS6	Unpublished
BM 105346	1913-4-16-178	ŠS5/xi	<i>Iraq</i> 6 185 = NG 189
BM 105347	1913-4-16-179	ŠS4/ix	<i>AnOr</i> 12 101 1 (* <i>Orient</i> 21 7) = NG 62
BM 105369	1913-4-16-201	AS2	no. 5
BM 105377	1913-4-16-209	AS4/xiid	<i>MCS</i> 2 75
BM 105379	1913-4-16-211	—	<i>AnOr</i> . 12 102 2 (* <i>Orient</i> 21 7) = NG 60
BM 105381	1913-4-16-213	—	<i>AnOr</i> . 12 102 3 (* <i>Orient</i> 21 7) = NG 69

I am grateful to the Trustees of the British Museum for the kind permission given to publish these texts, as well as to C. B. F. Walker and J. Taylor for their always invaluable help during my stays at the Student's Room. I am also indebted to W. Sallaberger and P. Steinkeller who kindly read the manuscript and made helpful comments and suggestions. Any errors are of course my own responsibility. Abbreviations follow "Abbreviations for Assyriology," in http://cdli.ucla.edu/wiki/index.php/Abbreviations_for_Assyriology, with these additions: *BPOA* 1 and 2: T. Ozaki and M. Sigrist, *Ur III Administrative Tablets from the British Museum*. Biblioteca del Próximo Oriente Antiguo 1–2 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 2006).

BM 105382	1913-4-16-214	—	<i>AnOr.</i> 12 103 4 (* <i>Orient</i> 21 7) = NG 30
BM 105384	1913-4-16-216	AS2	<i>AnOr.</i> 12 103 5 (* <i>Orient</i> 21 7) = NG 132
BM 105393	1913-4-16-225	AS6/vi	<i>Iraq</i> 5 168 = NG 120a
BM 106097	1913-4-16-929	[...]	Unpublished
BM 106157	1913-4-16-989	[...]	<i>SNAT</i> 535 (* <i>AoF</i> 23 260 n. 32)
BM 106161	1913-4-16-993	AS5/vii	<i>SNAT</i> 373
BM 106170	1913-4-16-1002	AS5/ix	<i>SNAT</i> 360
BM 106172	1913-4-16-1004	AS6/vi	<i>SNAT</i> 372
BM 106209	1913-4-16-1041	AS2	<i>SNAT</i> 320
BM 106218	1913-4-16-1050	AS2	<i>SNAT</i> 321
BM 106219	1913-4-16-1051	—	Unpublished
BM 106239	1913-4-16-1071	ŠS7/iii	<i>SNAT</i> 519
BM 106404	1913-4-16-1236	AS6/xiid	<i>SNAT</i> 374
BM 106427	1913-4-16-1259	AS2/xii	<i>SNAT</i> 334
BM 106428	1913-4-16-1260	-/xi	<i>SNAT</i> 541
BM 106430	1913-4-16-1262	AS2/xi	<i>SNAT</i> 333
BM 106439	1913-4-16-1271	AS5/vii	no. 6
BM 106442	1913-4-16-1274	AS8/v	Unpublished
BM 106451	1913-4-16-1283	—	Unpublished
BM 106457	1913-4-16-1289	ŠS2	Unpublished
BM 106466	1913-4-16-1298	Š37/xii	Unpublished
BM 106468	1913-4-16-1300	—	Unpublished
BM 106470	1913-4-16-1302	AS5	Unpublished
BM 106476	1913-4-16-1308	ŠS3/iv	Unpublished
BM 106479	1913-4-16-1311	AS4/xiid	Unpublished
BM 106482	1913-4-16-1314	AS5/ix	Unpublished
BM 106495	1913-4-16-1327	AS5/ix	Unpublished
BM 106498	1913-4-16-1330	AS5/xii	Unpublished
BM 106509	1913-4-16-1341	—	Unpublished
BM 106527	1913-4-16-1359	AS5	no. 1
BM 106536	1913-4-16-1368	AS5	Unpublished
BM 106537	1913-4-16-1369	Š41/xiid	Unpublished
BM 106540	1913-4-16-1372	AS6/xiid	no. 7
BM 106550	1913-4-16-1382	AS2/xiid	no. 2
BM 106551	1913-4-16-1383	AS6/i	no. 8
BM 106614	1913-4-16-1446	AS2	no. 9
BM 106641	1913-4-16-1473	AS2	<i>BPOA</i> 1 365
BM 106658	1913-4-16-1490	AS2	<i>BPOA</i> 1 382
BM 106773	1913-4-16-1605	AS2/xi	<i>BPOA</i> 1 495
BM 106878	1913-4-16-1710	AS5 ³ /i	<i>BPOA</i> 1 600
BM 106880	1913-4-16-1712	AS2	<i>BPOA</i> 1 602
BM 106944	1913-4-16-1776	AS2	<i>BPOA</i> 1 664
BM 106945	1913-4-16-1777	AS2	<i>BPOA</i> 1 665
BM 107141	1913-4-16-1973	AS3	<i>BPOA</i> 1 852
BM 107173	1913-4-16-2005	AS2	<i>BPOA</i> 1 878
BM 107277	1913-4-16-2109	AS2	<i>BPOA</i> 1 972

BM 107379	1913-4-16-2211	—	<i>BPOA</i> 1 1055
BM 107413	1913-4-16-2245	—	<i>BPOA</i> 1 1086
BM 107626	1913-4-16-2458	AS2	<i>BPOA</i> 1 1285
BM 107955	1913-4-16-2787	AS2	<i>JNES</i> 63 3
BM 110171	1914-4-4-237	AS7/xii	Unpublished
BM 110379	1914-4-4-445	—	no. 4
BM 110490	1914-4-4-556	—	Unpublished
BM 110603	1914-4-4-669	Š39/i	Unpublished
BM 110614	1914-4-4-680	AS8/v	Unpublished
BM 111032	1914-4-4-1098	AS2	Unpublished
BM 111052	1914-4-4-1118	—	Unpublished
BM 111148	1914-4-4-1214	AS2	no. 10
BM 111173	1914-4-4-1239	—	Unpublished
BM 111186	1914-4-4-1252	AS2	Unpublished
BM 112949	1914-4-4-3015	—	<i>AnOr</i> 12 104 7 (* <i>Orient</i> 21 7) = <i>NG</i> 122
BM 113035	1914-4-4-3101	AS2	<i>AnOr</i> 12 104 8 (* <i>Orient</i> 21 7) = <i>NG</i> 48

It is important to note that 1913-4-16 and 1914-4-4 collections were parts of a single consignment that actually arrived at the British Museum on 24th June 1912, containing a total of 5,617 tablets from Čoĥa offered by the Paris dealer I. Elias Gejou (courtesy C. B. F. Walker). This suggests that we are dealing with a homogeneous group of tablets from the central archives of the governor of Umma, possibly coming from a single findspot.

The ten tablets presented here concern problems with runaways (nos. 1–4), or other kinds of litigation concerning the ownership of slaves (nos. 4–10). In the commentaries following the transliterations and translations I have refrained from discussing or listing other references to court officials (maškim, dikū₅, lu₂ ki-ba gub-ba, etc.), partly due to limitations of space, but also because this will be the topic of a paper presented by the writer at the RAI 53.

1. BM 106527 (AS5)

- 1 Na-na-tum-e
 - 2 Ma-an-šum₂-mu-na-ra
 - 3 arad₂ zah₃-a-zu
 - 4 ṛga¹-mu-ra-an-tum₂¹ (KA)
 - 5 in-na-an-du₁₁
 - 6 mu-un-na-tum₂
 - 7 a-ra₂ 2-kam ba-an-da-zah₃
 - 8 arad₂-ra igi mu-ni-T[U^p-a]m₃
 - 9 arad₂ U₂-za-ar-^dŠul-gi-ra^{ki} i₃-tuš
 - 10 šu-du₈-a im-mi-dab₅
 - 11 [i]n-na-an-du₁₁
- u.e. 1 [. .] ṛx¹ / [A]-ṛkal-la¹ [m]ussa^{sa2} ga-ni-ir
- rev. 1 dub šum₂-mu-na-ab in-na-an-du₁₁
- 2 A-kal-la dub Ma-an-šum₂-mu-na mu-de₆
 - 3 arad₂ mu-sa₁₀ ba-ra-an-ne-zuh
 - 4 ku₃ arad₂-da tum₂^{mm} bi₂-du₁₁
 - 5 Ur-gu₂-de₃-na-ke₄ ba-an-ši-sa₁₀

- 6 A-kal-la ku₃ ba-an-de₆
 7 kišib Ma'(BA)-an-šum₂-mu-na in-na-an-ra
 8 teš₂-bi mu lugal ib₂-pad₃
 9 A-kal-la ku₃-še₃ ge-ne₂-da
 10 iti-ta u₄-6-am₃ ba-ra-<zal>
 le.e. i.1 saĝ' u₄-sakar-še₃ tum₂-da ib₂-du₁₁
 i.2 iti ^dDumu-zi-še₃ Ur-niĝar_x^{ĝar}
 i.3 maškim A-ba-^dEn-lil₂-gin₇
 ii.1 mu [En]-
 ii.2 un[u₆-gal ^dInanna]

¹⁻⁴ Nanatum said to Manšumuna: “I will bring your runaway slave for you.”

⁶⁻⁷ (Nanatum) brought (the slave) for him (Manšumuna), (but the slave) was able to escape for a second time.

⁸⁻¹¹ (Nanatum) said to (Manšumuna): “I found² the slave; the slave is living at the town of Ušar-Šulgi; I captured him there.”

^{ue.-r.1} (Nanatum) said to (Manšumuna): “I will let² (...) Akala, (my) son-in-law, ... Give him the tablet!”

^{r.2-4} (Nanatum) declared: “Akala brought the tablet of Manšumuna; he bought the slave; he certainly did not steal (the slave) for them (Nanatum and Ur-Guedena²); the silver (paid) for the slave was adequate.”

^{r.5-6} Ur-Guedena bought (the slave) from him (Nanatum); Akala brought the silver.

^{r.7} The seal of Manšumuna was rolled for him (Ur-Guedena).

^{r.8} They have sworn together by the name of the king (not to contest each other).

^{r.9-le.e.i.2} They declared that Akala will confirm that he (paid) with silver; that, being the sixth day of the month, (Akala) will be brought before the beginning of (next) month, before (the beginning of) the month of Dumuzi (xii).

^{le.e.i.2-3} Ur-niĝar was the commissioner of Aba-Enlilgin.

^{le.e.ii.1-2} Date.

As I understand this text, Manšumuna claims the ownership of a runaway slave, who is now the property of Ur-Guedena. It is Nanatum who explains what happened with the slave.

Nanatum states that he once seized the slave and gave him back to Manšumuna. Nevertheless, the slave fled again. This time, Nanatum found the slave in Ušar-Šulgi, and subsequently retained him. It seems that Nanatum decided to keep the slave, paying for him to Manšumuna. With this purpose he says he sent² Akala, his son-in-law, to pay for the slave, obtaining in return a document sealed by Manšumuna. It was thus confirmed that the slave was officially sold to Ur-Guedena, so a new tablet was sealed for him. A final agreement established that Akala would be brought to prove the purchase of the slave from Manšumuna.

2, *et passim*. The frequently attested PN Ma-an-SUM-na in Ur III texts (often read as Ma-an-si₃-na) should be understood, in the light of our variant Ma-an-šum₂-mu-na, as [ma.n.šum.en.a] “you are the one who will give him to me.”

4. The context would better require in this line the verbal form ga-mu-ra-an-tum₂ “I will bring him for you,” instead of ga-mu-ra-an-du₁₁ “I will tell you about him (?),” so I assume that final KA is a dittography.

8. I cannot reconstruct the verbal form of this line with certainty. The broken sign begins with a group of wedges which could fit with TU, LI, TIR, etc. One could thus tentatively think of TU as a

writing for *du*₈, well attested in Ur III texts (see C. Wilcke, *Wer las und schrieb in Babylonien und Assyrien. Überlegungen zur Literalität im Alten Zweistromland*, SBAW 2000/6 [Munich: Verlag der BAW, 2000], 70). In any case, the context requires a similar compound verb with *igi*, meaning something like “to see, to localize, to find,” as for example in no. 4 below.

9. The toponym *U₂-ša-ar-^dŠul-gi^{ki}* is attested in *MVN* 11 181:14; its variant *A-ša-ar-^dŠul-gi* can be found in *SAT* 2 171:2, r.4, and *RA* 25 20 AF 1:r.iii.4. This kind of place name has been discussed by I. J. Gelb, “Studies in the Topography of Western Asia,” *AJSL* 55 (1938) 84–85, and M. Hilgert, *Akkadisch in der Ur III-Zeit*, *IMGULA* 5 (Münster: Rhema-Verlag, 2002), 195.

u.e. The beginning of this line, written on the upper edge of the tablet, shows slight traces of signs for which it is uncertain whether they are part of the text. On the other hand, I cannot propose a convincing explanation for *ga-ni-ir*: the possibility of [*ani.r*] (3rd sg. possessive suffix and dative case marker) would leave unexplained the preceding [*g*]; and in case we should understand it as a cohortative verbal form (perhaps with a meaning such as “I will let him go there,” or “I will send him there”), the use of the plural stem of *ĝen* “to go” would be improbable.

r.6. For *tum₂* “suitable, adequate” (here spelled as *DUUM*), see W. Sallaberger, “‘bringen’ im Sumerischen Lesung und Bedeutung von *de₆* (*DU*) und *tum₂* (*DU*),” in *Von Sumer bis Homer. Festschrift für Manfred Schretter zum 60. Geburtstag am 25. Februar 2004*, ed. R. Rollinger, *AOAT* 325 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2005), 573–74.

l.e. i.3. *Aba-Enlilgin* is mentioned as a judge in a case regarding fugitives in a tablet from Nippur (*NRVN* 1 1; cf. also *NRVN* 1 241), and in the Umma legal text *SNAT* 541 (here together with judges from other places). In this case, it is said that *Ur-niĝar* acts as his representative.

2. BM 106550 (AS2/xiid)

- 1 ^lGeme₂-^dA-šar₂
- 2 5 gin₂ ku₃-babbar-še₃
- 3 Amar-si₄ u₃ Lu₂-^dEn-lil₂-la₂-še₃
- 4 Ur-^dBa-u₂ in-ši-sa₁₀
- 5 Lu₂-igi-sa₆-sa₆ lu₂-gi-na-ab-tum-ma
- 6 geme₂ u₄ gub-ba nu-til ba-zah₃
- 7 Amar-si₄ u₃ Lu₂-^dEn-lil₂-la₂-ke₄
- 8 su-su-dam
- 9 igi ensi₂-ka-še₃
- rev. 1 igi Lu₂-^dNanna-še₃
- 2 igi Lugal-ku₃-zu-še₃
- 3 igi Ur-niĝar_x^{ĝar}-še₃
- 4 igi Lu₂-^dŠara₂-še₃
- 5 di-bi ba-til
- 6 dumu Umma^{ki}
- 7 iti diri mu ^dAmar-^dSuen lugal-e Ur-bi₂-lum^{ki} mu-hul

¹⁻⁴ Geme-Ašar bought Ur-Bau from Amarsi and Lu-Enlila for 5 shekels of silver.

⁵ Lu-igisasa was the guarantor.

⁶ Not having completed the established period, the slave woman escaped.

⁷⁻⁸ (Therefore) Amarsi and Lu-Enlila will repay (to Ur-Bau the purchase price).

^{9-r.4} Before the governor; before Lu-Nanna; before Lugal-kuzu; before Ur-niĝar; before Lu-Šara.

^{r.5-6} This case has been closed. (It concerns) citizens of Umma.

^{r.7} Date.

This document records a case in which it is decided that the sellers (perhaps the parents) of a slave woman, who had escaped from the buyer, must return the purchase price to the latter. Such an obligation would be here expressed by the verbal form *su-su-da*, while in other cases (*SDU* S.3), when the warranty requires a substitute as a replacement for the runaway, the verb *tum₂* is used. Repayment for flight is also attested in an Old Babylonian document, quoted by P. Steinkeller (*Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period* [= *SDU*], FAOS 17 [Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1989], 70 and 92), where the guarantors promised to return the purchase price if the sold man escaped (*RA* 54 [1960] 34–35 no. 38).

On the other hand, I assume that the expression *u₄ gub-ba*, here translated as “the established period,” refers to the duration of the warranty in case of flight. The existence of such a clause in Ur III times, rarely attested for later periods, had been already inferred by Steinkeller (*ibid.*) from the aforementioned tablet *SDU* S.3, and from *ITT* 5 9594, a text that reads: ¹x^{1-d}Ba-u₂-ke₄ mu lugal tukum-bi u₄-da-ta Ur-^dŠa-u₁₈-ša u₃ dumu-ĝu₁₀-ne ¹ha¹-ba-zah₃-de₃-eš ¹2¹ geme₂ g[^a-ab-šum₂] bi₂-[in-d]u₁₁ (“[P]N has declared: ‘By the name of the king! If from this day on PN₂ and my children escape, I will give two slave women in their place”). Our interpretation of the expression *u₄ gub-ba* relies also on its occurrence in a legal text from Girsu published by E. Sollberger (“Some Legal Documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur,” in *Kramer Anniversary Volume. Cuneiform Studies in Honor of Samuel Noah Kramer*, eds. B. L. Eichler *et al.*, AOAT 25 [Kevelaer - Neukirchen Vluyn: Verlag Butzon&Bercker - Neukirchener Verlag, 1976], 442), who discussed and translated it as “on the appointed day” (M. Sigrist, who re-edited the same tablet, similarly translated “on the said day”; “Some di-til-la Tablets in the British Museum,” in *Solving Riddles And Untying Knots. Biblical, Epigraphic And Semitic Studies In Honor Of Jonas C. Greenfield*, eds. Z. Zevit, S. Gitin, and M. Sokoloff [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 1995], 611).

3. BM 85441 (Š48/iv)

- | | | |
|-------|----|---|
| | 1 | I sag-munus Nin-ĝu ₁₀ -ušur _x (LAL ₂ .TUG ₂)-ĝu ₁₀ mu-ni-im |
| | 2 | a-ba-zah ₃ da-ri-še ₃ |
| | 3 | im-mi-gu ₂ -ru-a |
| | 4 | Lu ₂ - ^d Inanna nu- ^{ĝis} kiri ₆ Nin ₉ -tur-tur-ra-ke ₄ |
| | 5 | mu lugal-bi in-pad ₃ |
| | 6 | igi Lu ₂ -diĝir-ra lu ₂ -i ₃ -gara ₂ -še ₃ |
| | 7 | igi Ur- ^d Šul-pa-e ₃ ku ₃ -dim ₂ -še ₃ |
| rev. | 1 | igi Me-pa-e ₃ nu- ^{ĝis} kiri ₆ ^d Lamma-ĝu ₁₀ -še ₃ |
| | 2 | igi A-ab-ba-ni ku ₃ -dim ₂ -še ₃ |
| | 3 | igi Lugal-ma ₂ -gur ₈ -re dumu An-da-gu-du-še ₃ |
| | 4 | igi A-ni šu-i ₂ -še ₃ |
| | 5 | igi Zalag-ga-ni guda ₂ -še ₃ |
| | 6 | igi Ba-zi-ge guda ₂ -še ₃ |
| | 7 | igi Ša-ar-ša-bi ₂ -ib šu-i ₂ -še ₃ |
| | 8 | igi A-du-du ku ₃ -dim ₂ -še ₃ |
| | 9 | lu ₂ -ki-inim-ma-me |
| | 10 | iti šu-numun |
| lo.e. | 1 | mu us ₂ -sa Ki-maš ^{ki} mu us ₂ -sa-a-bi |

¹⁻⁵ A woman named Ninĝu-ušurĝu: if she flees, Lu-Inanna, gardener of Ninturtura, has sworn by the name of the king that he will make her return forever.

^{6-r.9} Before Lu-diĝira, dairy farmer; before Ur-Šulpa'e, goldsmith; before Mepa'e, gardener of Lammaĝu; before A'abbani, goldsmith; before Lugal-magure, son of Andagudu; before Ani, barber; before Zalagani, g u d a-priest; before Bazige, g u d a-priest; before Šaršabib, barber; before Adudu, goldsmith: they are the witnesses.

^{10-lo.e.} Date.

This text records the oath of Lu-Inanna that he will bring back a slave woman in case she flees. Lu-Inanna would have been the seller of the slave woman, thus responsible for her flight, and most probably her father or a close relative (see P. Steinkeller, *SDU*, p. 69).

2. The verb a-ba-zah₃ is prospective [u.bazah]; da-ri is interpreted as a variant of da-ri₂ “lasting.”

3. The form im-mi-gu₂-ru-a is interpreted as [im.bi.gur.e.a] “that he will make him return”: cf. lu₂ im-mi-gur, in a similar context, in Laws of Ur-Namma § 17’ (numbering according to C. Wilcke, “Der Kodex Urnammu (CU). Versuch einer Rekonstruktion,” in *Riches hidden in Secret Places: Ancient Near Eastern Studies in Memory of Thorkild Jacobsen*, ed. Tz. Abusch [Winona Lake: Eisenbrauns, 2002], 317).

6. This is the earliest attestation known to me of Lu₂-diġir-ra lu₂-i₃-gara₂, well documented in other sources: *TCNU* 457:r.2 (AS4), *TCL* 5 6039:r.ii.21 (AS5), *AnOr* 1 88:iv.25 (AS5), *BPOA* 1 708:3-4 (AS7), *MVN* 21 330:9 (AS9), *BPOA* 1 445:6 (IS1).

7. Ur-^dŠul-pa-e₃ ku₃-di m₂ is widely attested in Umma, although it is not certain that the same person is always involved. We find him in texts dated from Š47 (*BRM* 3 148:3) to IS2 (*CST* 546:r.9).

r.5. Zalag-ga-ni gud a₂ is also attested in *OrSP* 47-49 500:r.ii.28.

r.8. A-du-du ku₃-di m₂ is perhaps the same person recorded in *AOAT* 25 444 9:r.i.9’.

4. BM 110379 (-/-)

1 ^lNiġar_x^{gar}-ki-du₁₀ dumu Ur-^dLi₉-si₄-na-ka-ke₄
 2 ^lDiġir-ġa₂-bi₂-du₁₁ arad₂ Ur-^dLi₉-si₄-na-ka i₃-me-a-aš
 3 in-ge-en₆
 4 ^lHa-ha-ša
 5 ^lUr-^dIštaran
 6 ^lNI-da
 7 lu₂-inim-ma-me
 8 Ha-ha-ša nam-erim₂-bi in-ku₅
 9 ^dEr₃-ra-nu-IB lu₂-kiġ₂-gi₄-a lugal maškim-bi-im
 10 _____
 rev. 1 ^lLugal¹-ur₂-ra-ni u₃ Ur-^dNun-gal
 2 ^ldumu¹ Lu₂-^dNanna arad₂ U₂-da-ka-me
 3 ^lU₂-^lda ġiš-ġid₂-da ba-an-[na]-du₃ ma-ar-gi₄ in-ġa₂-ar
 4 [U₂-d]a ba-uš₂ arad₂ ba-zah₃
 5 [ara]d₂[?] ki zah₃-a-na An-ša-an^{ki} ba-uš₂
 6 [G]u₃-de₂-a dumu Gu-du-du-[k]e₄ igi in-ni-du₈-am₃
 7 nam-erim₂-bi Gu₃-de₂-a in-ku₅
 8 La-lu₅ dumu U₂-da-ka
 9 10 ġin₂ ku₃-babbar ba-an-na-la₂
 10 ġiš-ġid₂-da-aš ba-an-na-du₃
 11 _____

¹⁻³ Niġar-kidu, son of Ur-Lisi, confirmed that Diġirġa-bidu was the slave of Ur-Lisi.

⁴⁻⁷ Hahaša, Ur-Ištaran (and) NIda were the witnesses (to the transaction).

⁸ Hahaša has taken the (assertory) oath.

⁹ Erra-nuIB, envoy of the king, was the commissioner of this (case).

^{r.1-2} Lugal-urani, and Ur-Nungal, sons of Lu-Nanna, were slaves of Uda.

^{r.3} Uda appointed (Lu-Nanna) for lancer service, but freed (his sons).

^{r.4} Uda died (and) the slave escaped.

r.⁵⁻⁶ (It was believed that) [the slav]e² had died in Anšan, where he had fled, (but) Gudea, son of Gududu, saw him there;

r.⁷ Gudea took the (assertory) oath (to confirm this).

r.⁸⁻⁹ Lalu, son of Uda, has paid him (Gudea) ten shekels of silver.

r.¹⁰ (Lalu) has appointed (the slave) for lancer service.

The text records two different procedures. The first one, written on the obverse of the tablet, is a duplicate of a document published by T. Fish (*AnOr* 12 102 2 BM 105379), later re-edited by A. Falkenstein (*NG* 60). In this court record, the property of a slave is confirmed to Ur-Lisi after the statement of his son. According to the second case, a slave had escaped from lancer service after his owner's death. He was nevertheless found in Anšan, so it was decided that the son of the owner would compensate the man who found him, and return the slave to his duties.

4, 8. Ha-ha-ša is perhaps the same merchant acting as witness in the Umma legal text *AfO* 4 23. There is also a Ha-ha-ša gud_{a2} frequently attested in Umma tablets (*SAKF* 13:3; *MVN* 15 390.iv.41, xi.24; *SAT* 3 1879; *BPOA* 2 2571:r.5), who could also well be the one of our text.

r.3, 10. The basic meaning of du₃ is “to erect; to plant”. Accordingly, W. Sallaberger suggests (personal communication) to interpret the verb in this context as “to place, to nominate”.

The ġiš-ġid₂-da work was developed by gur_uš or eri_{n2}, frequently mentioned in Ur III texts in connection with fishing (see R. K. Englund, *Organisation und Verwaltung der Ur III - Fischerei*, BBVO 10 [Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1990], 75, 107–55). With regard to some of these texts, which deal with a naval operation against Anšan, P. Steinkeller argues (personal communication) that fishermen, employed as marines in the army, used their fishing spears as weapons.

Another text (*NG* 189 = BM 105346) where a man who escaped from the ġiš-ġid₂-da service is mentioned has been discussed by Englund (*Fischerei*, pp. 160–61). It deals with a certain ME.PI.ZU dumu Ur-^dSu en un_{u3}, who fled and was seized by a fisherman. This same ME.PI.ZU is recorded one year later, together with his father, in a text listing prisoners (*MVN* 18 557 = *AuOrS* 11 557).

5. BM 105369 (AS2)

- 1 Lu₂-du₁₀-ga dumu Ur-mes¹
- 2 u₃ Ama-kal-la dam¹
- 3 Niġ₂-u₂-rum arad₂-da-ni
- 4 Lu₂-^dInanna dumu-ni
- 5 dumu-munus-gaba-ni
- 6 17 gin₂ ku₃-babbar-še₃
- 7 Na-a-na dam Ku-li-/ke₄
- 8 in-sa₁₀
- 9 eġir-a Lu₂-du₁₀-ga
- 10 saġ¹ nu-mu-ši-sa₁₀ bi₂-du₁₁
- 11 ¹Ur-sukkal simug
- 12 ¹Lugal-ma₂-gur₈-re
- 13 ¹Ur-^dMa-mi
- rev. 1 ib₂-ta-e₃-eš₂
- 2 Na-a-na nam-erim₂-a ba-ni-dab₅
- 3 Ur-^dDa-mu-ke₄
- 4 saġ¹-ġa₂ a₂ bi₂-dar-a
- 5 nam-erim₂-bi i₃-ku₅-re₆
- 6 Lu₂-du₁₀-ga saġ in-na-šum₂-mu

7 kas₄ maškim di til-la
 8 ¹Gu₃-de₂-a nu-banda₃
 9 ¹Šu-^dNin-šubur nu-banda₃
 10 ¹Lugal-ku₃-zu
 11 lu₂ ki-ba gub-ba-me-eš₂
 l.e.e. 1 mu ^dAmar-^dSuen lugal Ur-bi₂-lum^{ki} mu-hul
 u.e. 1 17 gin₂ ku₃-babbar-še₃ ba-til

¹⁻⁸ From Luduga, son of Urmes, and from Amakala, the wife of Nigurum, his (Luduga's) slave, her (Amakala's) son Lu-Inanna (and) her baby-girl, for 17 shekels of silver Na'ana, the wife of Kuli, bought.

⁹⁻¹⁰ Afterwards, Luduga declared: "She (Na'ana) did not buy those children from me!"

^{11-r.1} Ur-sukkal, the smith; Lugal-magure; (and) Ur-Mami: they have appeared (as witnesses).

^{r.2} Na'ana has taken over (the actual case) by (swearing an assertory) oath.

^{r.3-5} Ur-Damu will swear that he (Luduga) illegally seized the children.

^{r.6} Luduga will give back the children to her (Na'ana).

^{r.7} Concluded case of the envoy, commissioner (of the king).

^{r.8-11} Gudea, overseer; Šu-Ninšubur, overseer; (and) Lugalkuzu: they were the "bystanders."

l.e.e. Date.

u.e. (The payment of) 17 shekels of silver was completed.

This tablet, drawn up by a rather unskillful scribe, records the sale of two children by Luduga, who was also the owner of their father, and by their mother. The latter apparently was a free woman who shared the right of reselling the children into slavery with the owner of her husband and children. Subsequently (perhaps after her death), Luduga disclaimed the sale, but payment and sale were confirmed following the testimony of the witnesses of the sale, and the oaths of Na'ana (the buyer) and of Ur-Damu (Na'ana's husband?).

A similar situation is found in *ITT 2 3519* (= *NG 71*), a text discussed by A. Falkenstein (*NG I*, pp. 90–91, II, p. 117) and P. Steinkeller (*SDU*, p. 100). According to this court record, a girl (Ummagina) had been sold by her mother (Ušime), the girl and her father (Ur-Igizibara) being the slaves of Azmu. The object of the litigation was the right to sell the slave girl, a problem raised after the death of Azmu by his son. What our text and no. 6 below show, is that when children were sold (most probably for debts), their mother kept some kind of rights to them: they could not be sold into slavery to a third party by their new owner without the consent and participation of the mother. On the other hand, the mother could not sell them on her own initiative unless, as *ITT 2 3519* establishes, a royal decree making them free was handed down.

1–5. The translation proposed here runs against the difficulty of arad₂-da-ni where arad₂-da-na is expected. Nevertheless, I find problematic the alternative of considering Amakala the wife of Luduga, since it would imply that Niġurum was their slave and the father of the children (a baby girl included).

r.2. For this interpretation of nam-erim₂ dab₅, see the contribution by W. Sallaberger in this volume.

r.4. a₂ dar "to seize illegally, to sequester": see A. Falkenstein, *NG III*, p. 90; *PSD A/II*, pp. 50–51; H. Neumann, "Zum privaten Werkvertrag im Rahmen der neusumerischen handwerklichen Produktion," *AoF* 23 (1996) 261; R. de Maaijer and B. Jagersma, Review of Å. Sjöberg (ed.), *The Sumerian Dictionary of the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania*, Vols. A/I–II (Philadelphia, 1992 and 1994), *AfO* 44–45 (1997/1998) 285; F. Karahashi, *Sumerian Compound Verbs with Body-Part Terms* (Ph. D. Diss., University of Chicago, 2000), 75; P. Steinkeller, "Toward a Definition of Private

Economic Activity in Third Millennium Babylonia,” in *Melammu Symposia* 5, eds. R. Rollinger and C. Ulf, *Oriens et Occidens* 6 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2004), 101.

6. BM 106439 (AS5/vii)

- 1 ¹Lugal-iti-da
 2 ¹Šeš-kal-la
 3 ¹Lugal-dub-la₂
 4 dumu Lugal-iti-da-me
 5 12 gin₂ ku₃-babbar-še₃
 6 Lu₂-^dŠara₂ lugal saĝ-ĝa₂-še₃
 7 E₂-še₃-igi-zu ama saĝ-ĝa₂-še₃
 8 min-na-ne-ne-še₃
 9 ^dLamma-ĝu₁₀-a
 10 in-ne-ši-sa₁₀
 11 NIM-mu ki-<na-ab>-tum-bi i₃-me-am₃ ba-uš₂
 12 ¹Lu₂-gu-la
 13 ¹Ba-sig₅
 14 ¹Ur-^dDumu-zi-da
 rev. 1 ¹Ama-ni-ba-an-sa₆
 2 ¹^dŠara₂-sa₆-ga
 3 lu₂-inim-ma-bi-me
 4 Ur-^dDumu-zi-da-ke₄ nam-erim₂-bi ku₅-dam
 5 ¹Ur-niĝar_x^{ĝar} dumu Ha-ba-lu₅-ge₂
 6 ¹Lugal-ku₃-zu dumu Ha-ba-lu₅-ge₂
 7 ¹NI-da-mu dub-sar
 8 ¹Lu₂-diĝir-ra dumu Lugal-ba-ra-ab-e₃
 9 ¹Lu₂-^dŠara₂ dumu um-mi-a
 10 ¹Lu₂-^dŠara₂ dumu ^dUTU-MI
 11 lu₂ ki-ba gub-ba-me
 12 Ur-^dLi₉-si₄ di-ku₅
 13 iti min-eš₃
 14 mu En-unu₆-gal ^dInanna ba-huĝ

¹⁻¹⁰ Lugal-itida, (and) Šeškala (and) Lugal-dubla, who are the sons of Lugal-itida, for 12 shekels of silver Lammaĝu bought from Lu-Šara, the owner of these persons, and Eše-igizu, the mother of the children, from both of them.

¹¹ NIMmu, who was the guarantor of this (sale), died.

¹²⁻¹⁴ Lugula, Basig, Ur-Dumuzida, Amani-bansa (and) Šarasaga: these were the witnesses of this (sale). Ur-Dumuzida will take the (assertory) oath. ¹⁵⁻¹¹ Ur-niĝar, son of Habaluge; Lugalkuzu, son of Habaluge; NIdamu, scribe; Lu-diĝira, son of Lugal-barabe; Lu-Šara, assistant of the ummi'a; Lu-Šara, son of Šamaš-šilli: they were the “bystanders.”

¹² Ur-Lisi was the judge.

¹³⁻¹⁴ Date.

This trial probably originated in a claim for a sale similar to the one recorded in text no. 5. In this case, a slave and his two sons had been sold by their owner, while the mother of the children acted as co-seller (I am not certain whether she would have also acted as co-seller of her husband). The point now was to establish that the guarantor was dead, and on the other hand to confirm that the sale had indeed taken place through the testimony of its witnesses.

11. The interpretation of this line as NIM-mu ki-<na-ab>-tum-bi i₃-me-am₃ ba-uš₂ (instead of ba-ti), is supported by *BPOA* 1 664. In this court record concerning citizens of Id₂-du₁l₉-la^{ki}, and originating in a claim whose precise nature is uncertain, it was also established that the guarantor of the sale, whose name is not mentioned, had died (lu₂-gi-na-ab-tum-bi ba-uš₂).

r.9. In Ur III administrative texts, the function of the um-mi-a is frequently related with the supervision or calculation of fields and orchards production (see K. Volk, “Edubba’a und Edubba’a-Literatur: Rätsel und Lösungen,” *ZA* 90 [2000] 9–10). The dum u um-mi-a, as for example *HLC* 72:i.3 and *MVN* 2 175:vi.20, r.v.1, 19 show, is to be understood also as a profession, probably something like “assistant of the ummi’a.”

7. BM 106540 (AS6/xiid)

- 1 ¹Nin₉-kal-la geme₂ Ur-^dNin-sun₂-ka
 2 Lugal-iti-da inim in-ni-ĝar
 3 nin₉-ĝu₁₀-um nu-sa₁₀ bi₂-du₁₁
 4 sa₁₀-a-aš
 5 ¹E₂-a-šar
 6 ¹A-ba-al-la-šu-um
 7 lu₂-ki-inim-ma geme₂ Ur-^dNin-sun₂-ka-ke₄ sa₁₀-a-me
 8 mu Lu₂-ša-lim lu₂-/[(ki)]-inim-ma
 rev. 1 kaskal-a [mu-ti]-la-še₃
 2 saĝ ki ¹Ur-^dNin-sun₂-ka i₃-tuš
 3 Lu₂-ša-lim kaskal-ta du-ni
 4 di di-da
 5 Ur-^dNin-<sun₂>-ka-ke₄
 6 mu lugal in-pad₃
 7 tukum-bi di li₂-bi₂-in-du₁₁
 8 Nin₉-kal-la Lugal-iti-da ba-an-tum₂-mu
 9 igi ensi₂-ka-še₃
 10 igi Lu₂-du₁₀-ga dumu lugal-še₃
 11 iti diri mu Ša-aš-ru^{ki} ba-hul

¹⁻³ Lugalitida has claimed Ninkala, slave woman of Ur-Ninsun. “She is my sister, he did not buy her,” he declared.

⁴⁻⁷ Concerning the case that she had been bought, Ea-šar (and) Aballašum were the witnesses of the purchase of the slave woman by Ur-Ninsun.

^{8-r.2} Because the witness Lū-šalim was on a journey, the woman kept living with Ur-Ninsun.

^{r.3-6} Ur-Ninsun swore by the name of the king that when Lū-šalim comes from his trip, the process will be undertaken.

^{r.7-8} If he (Ur-Ninsun) does not engage in the process, Lugalitida will take Ninkala with him.

^{r.9-10} Before the governor; before Luduga, prince.

^{r.11} Date

The tablet records a claim presented by the brother (Lugal-itida) of a slave woman (Ninkala) against her owner (Ur-Ninsun). The litigation was postponed until Lū-šalim, one of the witnesses of the sale, would have returned from a trip. In the meantime, the woman kept living with Ur-Ninsun, who swore to engage in a process as soon as Lū-šalim returned.

4-7. Note the parallel construction lu₂-inim-ma saĝ sa₁₀-a-še₃ mu-ne-ra-e₃ “They appeared as witnesses concerning the case that the slave had been bought” (*TCL* 5 6167 = *NG* 51:r.3).

r.1. The restoration of this line (kaskal-a [mu-ti]-la-še₃) has been made on the basis of *AOAT* 25 444 9:ii.6-7 (PN kaskal-a mu-ti-la-am₃), and *TCL* 5 6047:ii.16 (kaskal-a mu-un-ti-il).

r.10. For Lu₂-du₁₀-ga dumu lugal, possibly a son of Šulgi who carried over his title of “prince” through the reign of Amar-Suen, see D. R. Frayne, *Ur III Period (2112-2004 BC)*, RIME 3/2 (Toronto: Toronto University Press, 1997) 168:28 (delete the reference to *AuOrS* 11 125; add *SNAT* 374, *YOS* 18 68, *SAT* 2 309, *AAICAB* 1/1 Ashm. 1924-665).

r.11. The ambiguity of the year name (Š42 / AS6) is solved by the fact that the formula igi ensi-ka-še₃ is used in Umma legal texts only after AS2. Furthermore, the governor and Lu₂-du₁₀-ga dumu lugal are also attested as judges in *SNAT* 374, a text dated to the same month and year, which records Ur-niĝar_x^{ĝar} dumu Ha-ba-lu₅-ge₂. This Ur-niĝar_x^{ĝar} appears in Umma legal texts dated to AS4 (BM 106479) and AS5 (no. 6 [BM 106439] and *SNAT* 473). Other similar links could also be suggested, such as, for example, the occurrence of Lu₂-diĝir-ra dumu Lugal-ba-ta/ra-(ab)-e₃ in legal texts from Umma dated from AS4 onwards (BM 106479, BM 106442, no. 6 [BM 106439], *BPOA* 1 600, and *SNAT* 373).

8. BM 106551 (AS/i)

- 1 ^lNin-a-ni-sa₆ geme₂ I₃-lam-ma
- 2 I₃-lam-ma-še₃
- 3 Ša₃-ge-bu₃-lu₅
- 4 in-ši-sa₁₀ bi₂-in-du₁₁
- 5 sa₁₀-a-aš nu-un-da-ge-en₆
- 6 Ša₃-ge-bu₃-lu₅
- 7 mu lugal in-pad₃
- rev. 1 tukum-bi u₄-3-kam-ka
- 2 lu₂-inim-ma nu-mu-tum₂
- 3 di ^ltil-la^l ^lhe₂^l-a bi₂-in-du₁₁
- 4 l[u₂-inim-m]a nu-mu-da-tum₂
- 5 Ni[n-a-ni-sa₆] ba-an-tum₂
- 6 igi N[^lI²-d]a²-mu-še₃
- 7 igi Arad₂-^dNanna gu-za-la₂-še₃
- 8 igi Ur-^dNun-gal lu₂-kiĝ₂-gi₄-a lugal-še₃
- 9 iti še-saĝ₁₁-ku₅ mu us₂-sa En-unu₆-gal ^dInanna ba-huĝ

¹⁻⁴ “Šagebulu bought Ninanisa, slave woman of Ilamma, from Ilamma,” he (Šagebulu) declared.

⁵ As for the purchase, he (Šagebulu) was not able to confirm it.

^{6-r.3} Šagebulu has sworn by the name of the king: “If in three days I do not bring the witness(es), let it be a concluded case,” he declared.

^{r.4-5} He could not bring the witness(es), (so Ilamma) took Ninanisa with him.

^{r.6-8} Before NIdamu²; before Arad-Nanna, the “throne-bearer”; before Ur-Nungal, envoy of the king.

^{r.9} Date.

This document records the statement of Šagebulu, who claims to have bought a slave woman from Ilamma. Nevertheless, he was not able to provide witnesses who could testify that the purchase took place, so the property of the slave woman was confirmed to Ilamma.

9. BM 106614 (AS2)

- 1 ^lUr-zikum-ma dumu Hu-la-lum-ma
- 2 šu Ur-sig₅-ta

- 3 gin₂ ku₃-babbar-še₃
 4 Lugal-an-ne₂ in-sa₁₀
 5 Gu₂-lu lu₂-gi-na-ab-tum-bi i₃-me-am₃
 6 eġir-ra sukkal-mah-ra gaba i₃-in-ri
 7 nu-sa₁₀-am₆ bi₂-du₁₁
 8 dam Lugal-an-ne₂-ke₄ di bi₂-in-du₁₁
 rev. 1 ¹Lu₂-^dEn-ki
 2 ¹Ur-^dGu₄-nu₂-a
 3 ¹Lu₂-^dSuen
 4 nam-lu₂-inim-ma-še₃ im-ta-e₃-eš₂
 5 ša₃-ba Lu₂-^dEn-ki nam-erim₂-ma ba-ni-dab₅
 6 nam-erim₂-bi u₃-ku₅
 7 Ur-zikum-ma dam Lugal-an-ne₂
 8 ba-an-tum₂-mu
 9 iġi Ur-^dLi₉-si₄-na di-ku₅-še₃
 10 iġi E₂-a-i₃-li₂ šakkan₆-še₃
 11 iġi ^dŠara₂-kam dumu Inim-^dŠara₂ sa₁₂-du₅-še₃
 12 di til-la dumu Umma^{ki}
 l.e.e. 1 mu ^dAmar-^dSuen lugal-e Ur-bi₂-lum^{ki} mu-hul

¹⁻⁴ Ur-zikuma, son of Hulālum, bought Lugal-ane from Ursig for three shekels of silver.

⁵ Gulu was the guarantor.

⁶⁻⁷ After (Lugal-ane's death), (Ursig) presented himself before the secretary of state; he declared: "it was not him (Lugal-ane) who bought (the slave)!"

⁸ The wife of Lugal-ane litigated (with Ursig).

^{r1-5} Lu-Enki, Ur-Gunu'a (and) Lu-Suen appeared as witnesses. From among them Lu-Enki has taken over (the actual case) by (swearing an assertory) oath.

^{r6-8} After he takes the oath, the wife of Lugal-ane will take Ur-zikuma with her.

^{r9-11} Before Ur-Lisi, the judge; before Ea-ili, general; before Šarakam, son of Inim-Šara, the field registrar.

¹² Concluded case (concerning) citizens of Umma.

l.e.e. Date.

The tablet records a case regarding the purchase of a slave from Ursig by Lugal-ane. After Lugal-ane's death, Ursig claimed that he had not bought the slave, so Lugal-ane's wife litigated with him. The witnesses of the sale confirmed that Lugal-ane's wife was the owner of the slave.

2. To the best of my knowledge, the usage of the prepositional phrase šu *seller*- (a k) - ta is otherwise unattested. It is obviously parallel to ki *seller*- (a k) - ta, for which see P. Steinkeller, *SDU*, p. 157.

10. BM 111148 (AS2)

- 1 ¹Nin¹-he₂-gal₂
 2 ¹7² ¹1/2¹ ¹gin₂ ¹ku₃-babbar-še₃
 3 U₄-[ġ]i₆-ke₄
 4 [Di]-ni
 5 ¹in¹-na-an-la₂-a
 6 ¹Ur-^dĜeštin-an-ka
 7 ¹Da-da

- 8 ¹Lugal-me-a
 9 ¹Lugal-nesaĝ-e
 10 nam-lu₂-inim-ma-še₃ im-ta-e₃-eš₂
 rev. 1 ša₃-ba Di-ni nam-erim₂-ma ba-ni-dab₅
 2 Di-ni nam-erim₂ u₃-ku₅
 3 U₄-ĝi₆-ke₄ saĝ ba-an-tum₂-mu
 4 ¹Ur-niĝar_x^{ĝar} ab-ba uru
 5 ¹Du-du šeš lu₂-mah
 6 lu₂ ki-ba gub-ba-me
 7 di til-la dumu Umma^{ki}
 8 mu ^dAmar-^dSuen lugal-e Ur-bi₂-lum mu-hul

¹⁻⁵ Uĝi paid 7² ½ shekels of silver to Dini for Ninhegal.

^{6-r.1} Ur-Ĝestinana, Dada (and) Lugal-nesaĝe appeared in their status of witnesses (of the sale). From among them Dini has taken over (the actual case) by (swearing an assertory) oath.

^{r.2-3} After Dini has taken the oath, Uĝi will take the woman with him.

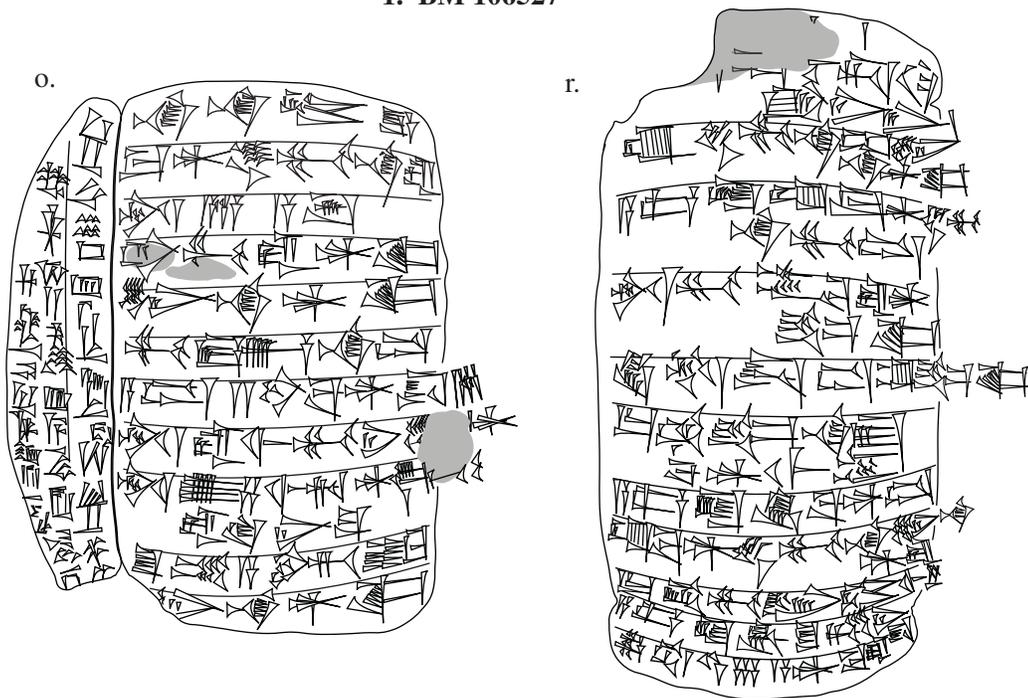
^{r.4-6} Ur-niĝar, city elder; Dudu, brother of the lumah-priest: they were the “bystanders.”

^{r.7} Concluded case (concerning) citizens of Umma.

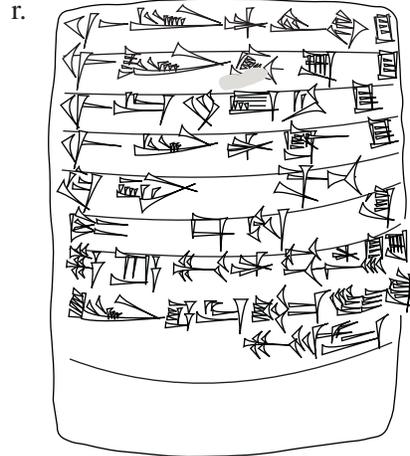
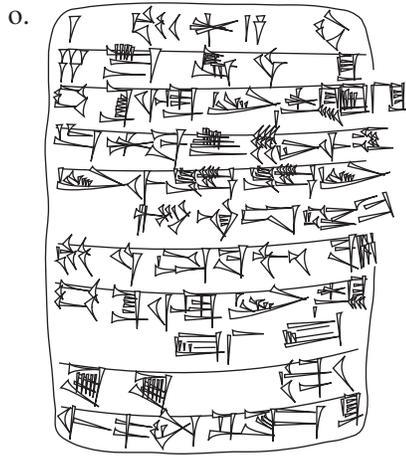
^{r.8} Date.

This record originates in a litigation raised by Dini, who would have claimed that he did not receive the payment for the sale of a slave woman. The tablet records the testimonies of the witnesses of the purchase, and the oath of the seller himself, confirming that the buyer had indeed paid for the woman.

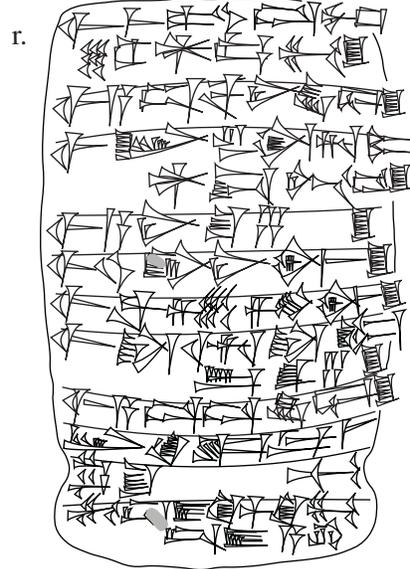
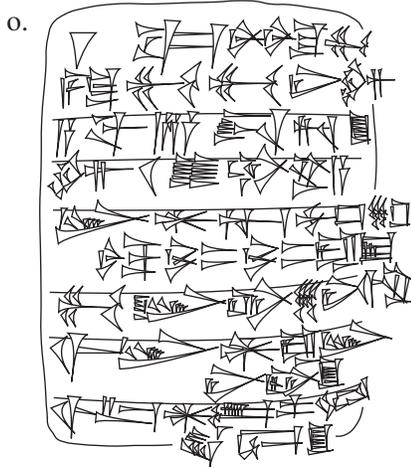
1. BM 106527



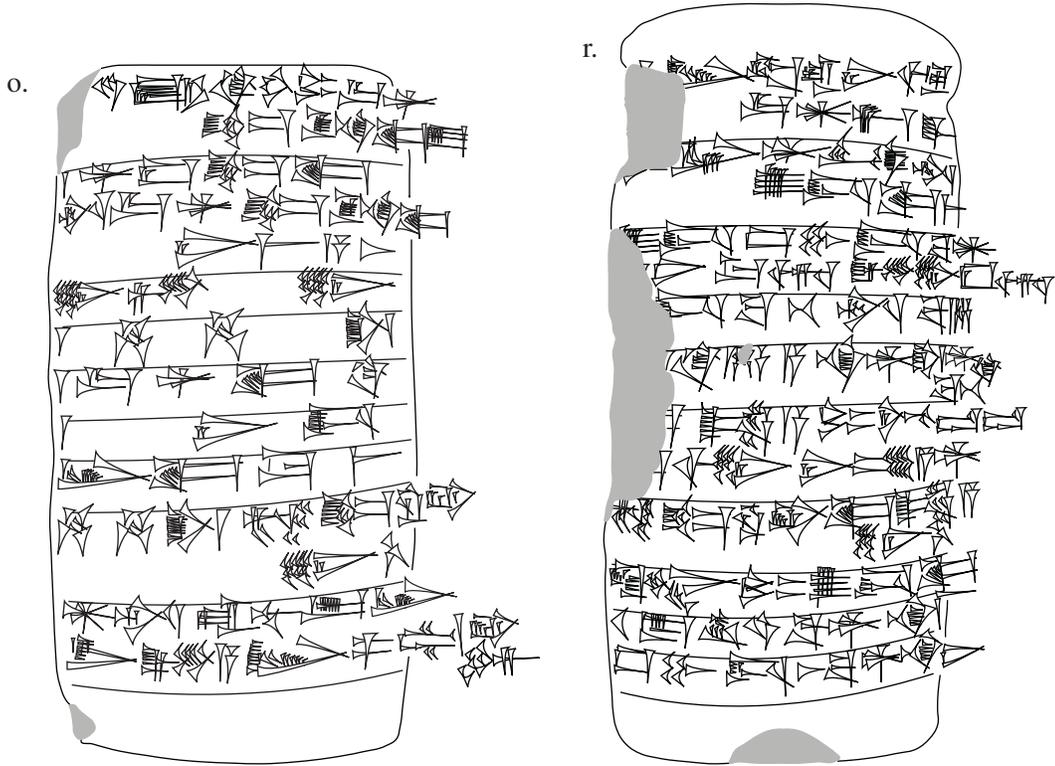
2. BM 106550



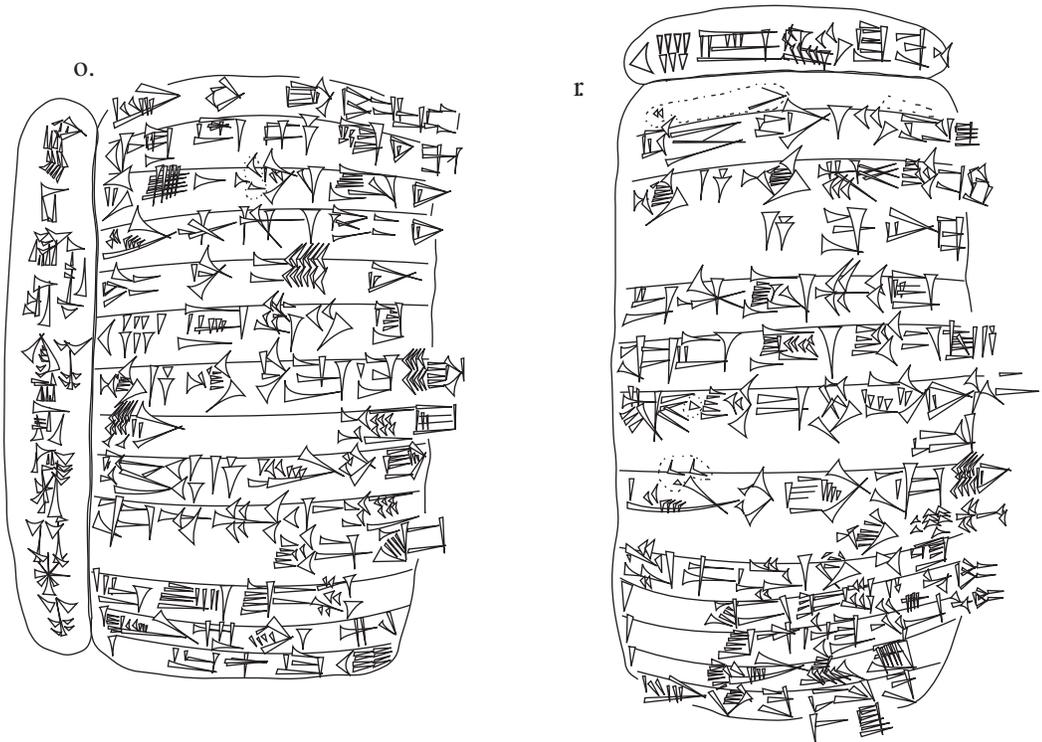
3. BM 85441



4. BM 110379

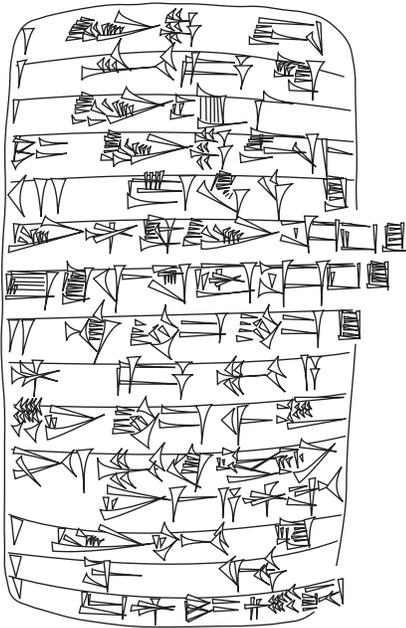


5. BM 105369



6. BM 106439

o.

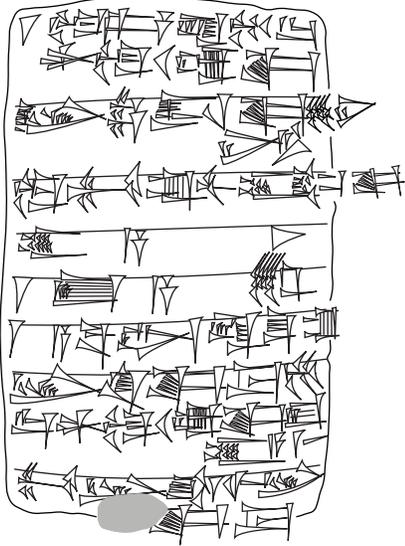


r.

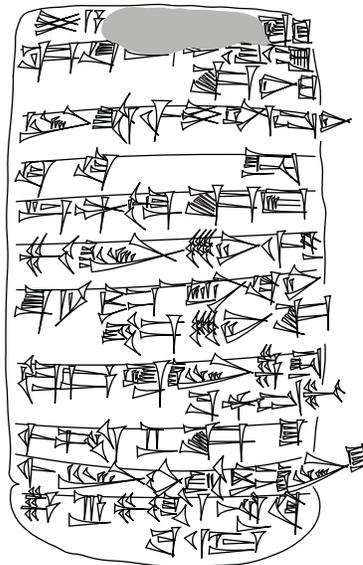


7. BM 106540

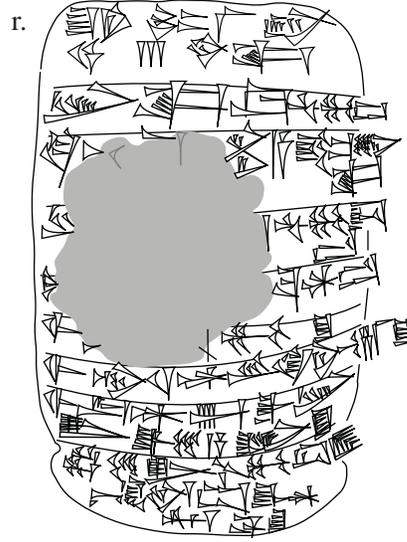
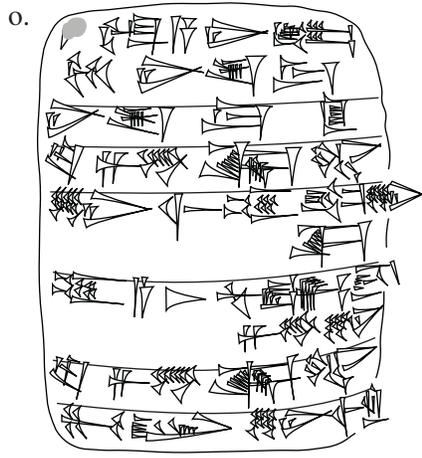
o.



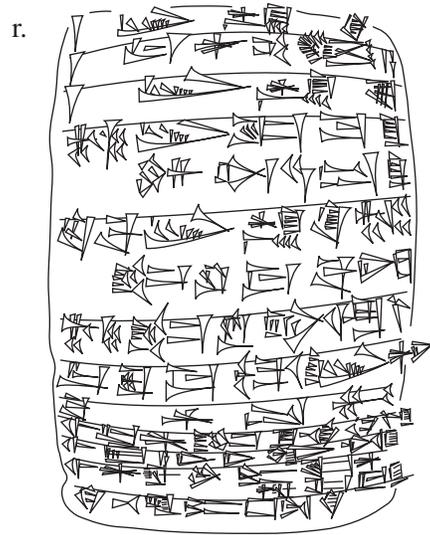
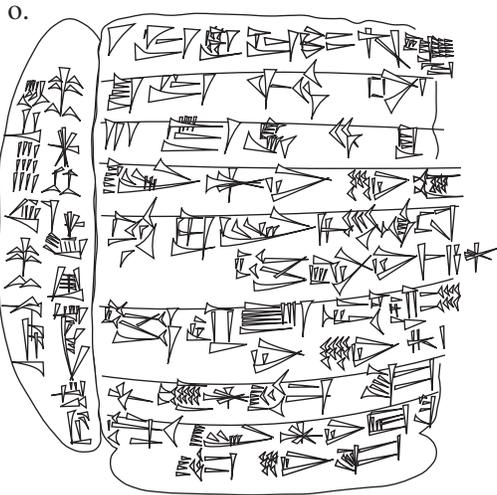
r.



8. BM 106551

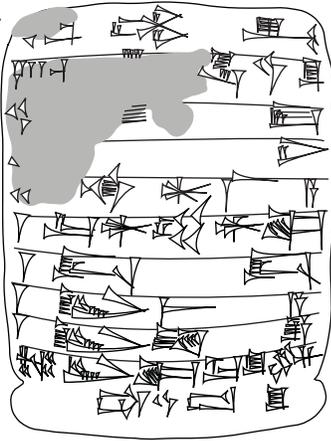


9. BM 106614



10. BM 111148

o.



i.

