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LOS NEGOCIOS DE PLUTÓN  
LA ECONOMÍA DE LOS SANTUARIOS  
Y TEMPLOS EN LA ANTIGÜEDAD

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# The sumerian term $gi_{16}$ -sa, “treasure”, and the location of treasure in the Ur III period (c. 2100-2000 BC)\*

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The Cambridge Dictionary defines treasure as “very valuable things, usually in the form of a store of precious metals, precious stones, or money”<sup>1</sup>. The Sumerian proper term for treasure was  $gi_{16}$ -sa and it appears in Mesopotamia in general, and particularly in the Ur III period, in connection with temples, which stored treasure proceeding from donations made by high state officials and especially by the king and his family<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, the temples can be considered as a sort of hoard of wealth from which the king could take out these valuable objects whenever necessary<sup>3</sup>.

## 1. THE TERM $GI_{16}$ -SA

The proper term for treasure is  $gi_{16}$ -sa<sup>4</sup>, whose Akkadian equivalents according to the vocabularies and bilingual texts are *šukuttu(m)*<sup>5</sup> and *dārû(m)/dārîtu(m)*<sup>6</sup>. The relation of

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\* The abbreviations utilized in this article can be found on the website [http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/abbreviations\\_for\\_assyriology](http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/abbreviations_for_assyriology). Further abbreviations are the following: Ledgers = D.C. Snell, Ledgers and Prices. Early Mesopotamian Merchant Accounts (New Haven-London 1982). Other abbreviations are the following: AS = Amar-Suen; E = énsi; IS = Ibbi-Suen; L = lugal; Lug = Lugal-anda; PN = Personal Name; Š = Šulgi; ŠŠ = Šu-Suen; Ukg = Uru-KAGina. This research has been possible thanks to the financial support granted by the Spanish Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad through the project FFI2014-56419-P.

1. [dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/treasure](http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/english/treasure).

2. See for example the consecration of valuable objects by the king and his family on the basis of the texts of the so-called «Schatzarchiv» from Drehem in Paoletti 2012: 228 ff.

3. See for example UET 3 702: 1-r. 8' (IS 13 / xii -), cp. Paoletti 2008: 129 l.1. 3 and Paoletti 2012 104 3.1.2, who considers temples as a kind of «bank».

4. For reading  $gi_{16}$ -sa instead of gil-sa see Falkenstein 1967: 5 l.

5. AHw III p. 1266 f. *šukuttu(m)* „Ausstattung, Schmuck» and CAD Š/3 p. 237 ff. *šukuttu* A «jewelry», cp. Falkenstein 1967: 5 f.

6. AHw I p. 164 *dārîtu(m)* „Dauer, Ewigkeit» and CAD D p. 115 f. *dārû* (fem. *dārîtu*) «1. everlasting, enduring, perpetual», cp. Falkenstein 1967: 5 f.

“eternity” to “treasure” can probably be seen in the durable nature of the valuable objects, that fitted the eternal quality of the divinities to whom they were dedicated for their use<sup>7</sup>. During the Third Millennium BC in Mesopotamia, the word *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa is very rarely documented and always refers to divinities<sup>8</sup>. Before the Lagaš II dynasty, it is attested, since the Presargonic period, in the epithet *munus-gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, “treasured/eternal woman”, of the goddess Nin-MAR.KI and in PN<sup>9</sup>. It is in the Lagaš II dynasty when *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa is documented for the first time outside epithets or PN<sup>10</sup>, and in the Ur III period it appears qualifying objects pertaining to divinities<sup>11</sup>. These objects have been charted in the Table I, which

7. Cp. Falkenstein 1967: 10 1.

8. Aside from the problematic interpretation of PN and epithets, the only apparent exception is *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa-kúr-NIM in TCL 5 6044 r. III 6 (see note 11), which summarizes different valuable objects that, on the basis of the text date (Š 35 / -), probably originated from the booty of Anšan. These objects would have come from a temple or temples because the first column lists 55+[] objects that stemmed *gaba-dingir-ta* (obv. I 18’), «from the breast/front (of) the divinity». Since the number of objects to be carried on the breast of the divinity is very high, it is assumed that *gaba* means here «(in) front» of the divinity.

9. **Lagaš**: epithet *munus-gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, for the Presargonic period see Selz 1995: 404, for the Lagaš II dynasty and the Ur III period see notes 10-11; PN A-*gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, «treasured/eternal water/father», FAOS 15,2/1 20 r. XI 5 (Ukg L 2), FAOS 15,2/1 24: VI 1 (Ukg L 2), FAOS 15,2/2 86: VI ‘2’ (Ukg L 2), FAOS 15,1/1 22: VI 2 ([Ukg L 2’]), DP 116: VIII 11 (Ukg L 4), DP 117: VII 14 (Ukg L 4), FAOS 15,1/1 16: VII 6 (Ukg L 4), FAOS 15,2/1 18: V 7 (Ukg L 4), FAOS 15,1/1 20: VII ‘6’ (Ukg L 5), DP 118 r. VIII 5 (Ukg []); É-*gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, «treasured/eternal house»: FAOS 15,2/1 19: VIII [4] (Ukg E [1]), DP 112: X 6 (Ukg L 2), FAOS 15,1/1 1: X [7] (Ukg L 2), FAOS 15,2/2 73 r. XI 3’ (Ukg L 3), FAOS 15,1/1 6 r. XI 8 (Ukg L 4), FAOS 15,2/1 21 r. XI 5 (Ukg L 5); En-*gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, «treasured/eternal lord», AWL 68: III 6 (Lug 4), DP 160: 1 2 (Lug 4), DP 218: II 8 (Lug 4), RTC 66 r. I 7 (Lug 4), RTC 51 r. I ‘1’ (Lug 5), RTC 53: 1 2 (Lug 5), VAS 25 14: I 1 (Lug 5), DP 157: 1 2 (Lug 6), FAOS 15,2/1 29 r. IX 1 (Lug 7), DP 69: III 4 (Ukg L 2), DP 43 r. VIII 1 (< 3 / - 1-6), AWL 171 <r> IV 4 (< 6); Lugal-*gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, «treasured/eternal king», AWL 169: I 6 (< 3); Nin-*gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, «treasured/eternal lady/queen», see Selz 1993: 619 note to text 106 and **Adab**: PN A-*gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, CUSAS 11 252: III 7 ([?] / [?]) – Presargonic/Early Sargonic period –.

10. *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa is attested in the building é-*munus-gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa(-k), «house of the treasured/eternal woman», (temple of Nin-MAR.KI), RIME 3/1 p. 7 f. Ur-Ningirsu I 1 7, in the title of Nin-MAR.KI *munus-gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, RIME 3/1 p. 59 f. Statue R II 3, in Gudea’s epithet *mu-gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, «treasured/eternal name», RIME 3/1 p. 30 ff. Statue B II 5, and in *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa im-mi-a<sub>3</sub>, «(Gudea) converted (the booty in) treasure», RIME 3/1 p. 30 ff. Statue B VI 76.

11. **Umma**: *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa-kúr-NIM, «treasure (of) the hostile (country) Elam», TCL 5 6044 r. III 6 (Š 35 / -); [g]i<sub>16</sub>-sa-<sup>d</sup>Nin-AN-si<sub>4</sub>-an-na, «treasure of the goddess Nin-ANSiana», BPOA 1 425 r. 11 (ŠS 4 / xi -); *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa-si-il-la-<sup>d</sup>Nin-me-en-ka, «controlled treasure of the divinity Nin-men»: TCL 5 6055 r. II 15-16 (AS 3 / iv -); *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa-si-il-la, «controlled treasure» (of different divinities), ASJ 18 p. 86 Text 22: 2 (- / -); im-*gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa-<sup>d</sup>Nin-Zābalam<sup>ki</sup>-Gar-ša-na-ka<sup>ki</sup>(-k), «tablets (concerning) the treasure of the goddess Nin-Zābalam of Garšana», BPOA 6 1172: 2-3 (Š 45/AS 2 / -), BPOA 7 1917 r. ‘10’ (Š 45/AS 2 / -); **Ur**: *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa-si-il-la-*An-nu-ni-tum*, «controlled treasure (of the goddess) *Anunītum*», UET 3 269: 2-3 (- / -); **uncertain place**: <sup>g8</sup>DUB-eren-SU<sup>1</sup> *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa-é-dingir-‘ra’, «containers<sup>9</sup> of .?. cedar (for) the treasure (of) the temple of the divinity», RA 62 p. 11 17 r. 5 (- / -), see further below; pisan *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa-é-dingir-ra kišib-šabra-é ib-ra, «baskets (with) the treasure of the temple of the divinity, (on whose closing) the cylinder-seal (of) the household šabra-administrator was made to roll», RA 62 p. 11 17: 5 (- / -) and *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa-aš im-mi-in-a<sub>3</sub>, (Šū-Suen) converted (metals and items fashioned from them) in treasure», in the royal inscription RIME 3/2 p. 301 ff. Šū-Sîn 3 Col. V 18-19 – Old Babylonian copy –. Furthermore, *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa is documented in PN, Lú-*munus-gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, «man of the treasured/eternal woman», TuT 158: IV<sup>1</sup> 12’ ([] / []) – Lagaš –; Lugal-*gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, «treasured/eternal king»: PPAC 5 586: 3 (Š 47 / -) – unknown provenance –; Nin-*gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa(-ni), «(her) treasured/eternal lady/queen»: e.g. UET 9 867: 2 (IS 7 / xii -) – Ur –, MVN 6 293: II 5’ (- / -) – Lagaš –; the buildings in Lagaš é-*gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, «house/room of treasure/eternity»: UDT 59: II 43 (AS 2 / -) and é-*munus-gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, «house of the treasured/eternal woman», (temple of Nin-MAR.KI): e.g. RIME 3/2 p. 122 ff. Šulgi 13 7, Šulgi 14 8, TCTI 2 3535 r. 13 (- / -); gur-*munus-gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, «granary of the treasured/eternal woman», e.g. MVN 6 219: 3 (Š 35 / i -); the goddess (<sup>d</sup>Nin-MAR.KI)-*munus-gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa: e.g. ASJ 19 p. 138 Text 122 r. I 3 (- / -), HLC 2 Pl. 52 2 r. VI 1, 2 (AS 1 / -) and *munus-gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, «treasured/eternal woman», as epithet of <sup>d</sup>Nin-MAR.KI, RIME 3/2 p. 218 f. Šulgi 2032 2. For *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa in literary texts see Falkenstein 1967: 6 ff. The exact meaning of <sup>g8</sup>DUB in RA 62 p. 11 17 r. 5 is unknown to me, because the word is rarely documented and its Akkadian equivalent is not clear either, AHW III p. 1446 *uturtu(m)* «2. eine Holzklammer?», CAD U/W p. 349 *uturtu* B «(mng.



shows that, excepting a few clothes<sup>12</sup> and six reed baskets<sup>13</sup>, most of the items qualified as *gi<sub>16</sub>-sa* are objects fashioned from metals (bronze, gold, copper, silver and tin) and precious stones, whose identification in many cases is unknown.

## 2. OTHER TERMS REFERRING TO TREASURE

Other terms that in the Ur III period could refer to treasures are *an-zak*<sup>14</sup>, “goods, treasure”, (only in the archive of the temple of Inanna at Nippur), *azak(KÛ.AN)*<sup>15</sup>, “divine precious metals” (exclusively in texts from Umma) and *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*<sup>16</sup>, “property”, especially

uncert.)). Owing to the mention of cedar, the interpretation of the two signs as *giš-dub* «a plaque», (of metal and precious stones), AHW I p. 294 *gištuppu(m)* „Plätchen», and CAD G p. 109 f. *gištuppu* «square plaque of gold or precious stone (used as a piece of jewelry)», must be excluded. However, the context in RA 62 p. 11 17 r. 5 seems to point to a kind of container similar to the two baskets mentioned in obv. 5.

12. See Table I 17, 43, 48-49, 74-75, 99.

13. See Table I 83.

14. *an-zak*-(<sup>d</sup>Inanna), «goods, treasure (of Inanna)»: BBVO 11 p. 292 ff. 6 NT 606+Joins r. VI 1' (Š 35 / - '13'+[(x)]), JCS 32 p. 230 = ZA 101 p. 26 6 NT 254: [1]3' ([ / ] 15) and *an-zak* with this meaning is questionable in BBVO 11 p. 281 6 NT 418: 3 (see 3.1.1). For *an-zak*, which replaces LAK 384 in the Ur III period in Nippur, see Civil 1983: 236 4, 239 and for a phonetic writing of *azak(KÛ.AN)* cp. Sallaberger 1993: 237 1. Furthermore, for the -k ending of *an-zak* see JCS 32 p. 230 = ZA 101 p. 26 6 NT 254: 13' [an-za]k-ke<sub>4</sub> igi KÁR. KÁR-dam, «to inspect the goods/treasure».

15. *azak*-(<sup>d</sup>Nin-ildu), «divine precious metals (of the god Nin-ildu)»: CST 551 r. 1 (ŠŠ 7 / -) and 'x' *azak-si-il-la*, «[ ] controlled divine precious metals»: AAICAB 1/1 Ashm. 1911-184: 4 (IS 2 / xii -). For the reading *aza(k)* of KÛ.AN see Sallaberger 1993: 237 1 and Reiter 1997: 354 note 47. For the ending -k of the word see the Akkadian equivalent below and passages with -ka after *azak* in the notes 23-24. For the meaning «divine precious metals» see KÛ.AN *a-sak-ku = kàs-pa ili(AN)* in CT 41 33 K. 118: 9, cp. AHW I p. 73 *asakku(m)* II „Tabu» and CAD A/II p. 326 f. *asakku* B «something set apart (for god or king, a taboo)». The reading *azak* could be supported too by the fact that KÛ.AN-ra(-k) should be attested at least once, were AN to be read dingir, cp. personal name Kù-dingir-ra, «purity/precious metal of the divinity», e.g. in Limet 1968: 445. *azak(KÛ.AN)* is already documented in Gudea: é-*azak(KÛ.AN)*, «house/room of the divine precious metals», RIME 3/1 p. 88 ff. Cylinder B XVII 16. *azak(KÛ.AN)* in these contexts should not be confused with the metal KÛ.AN, documented in Ur III texts from Nippur, whose identification is problematic, see Powell 1990: 86 and Reiter 1997: 353 ff.

16. **Drehem:** *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>An-nu-ni-tum), «property (of the goddess) *Anunītum*», MVN 3 152 r. 41 (Š 37 / iii -); *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Nin-é-gal-ka), «property of the goddess Nin-egal», YOS 4 296 r. 41 (Š 37 / iii -); *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Nin-ḥur-sag), «property (of) the goddess Nin-ḥursag», OIP 115 483 r. 38 (Š 37 / iii -); **Umma:** *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Nin-IN-i-sín-na-Umma<sup>ki</sup>-ka), «property of the goddess Nin-Isina of Umma», AAICAB 1/1 Ashm. 1911-484 r. 9 (AS 6 / -); *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi-ra), «property of the divine Šulgi», BPOA 1 586: 5 (AS 8 / xii -); **Ur:** *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Nin-sún-Kuara šà é-kišib-ba), «property (of) the goddess Ninsun (of) Kuara of the warehouse», UET 3 702: 9 (IS 13 / xii -) and **Urusagrig:** *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Al-la-tum šà An-za-gàr<sup>ki</sup>), «property (of) the goddess *Allatum* of Anzagar», CDLJ P432482 r. 7 (ŠŠ 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -); *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>GÁxUD), «property of the divinity GÁxUD», Nisaba 15/2 341 r. 7 (ŠŠ 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -); *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Inanna - šà *Di-ni-ik-tum*<sup>ki</sup> -), «property (of) the goddess Inanna - of *Diniktum* -», Nisaba 15/2 176 r. 6 (AS 9 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -); *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Inanna šà An-za-gàr<sup>ki</sup>), «property (of) the goddess Inanna of Anzagar», Nisaba 15/2 339 r. 10 (ŠŠ 5 / iti-še-KIN-[ku<sub>3</sub>] -); *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Iš-má-gán), «property (of) the divinity Išmagan», Nisaba 15/2 343 r. IV 54 (ŠŠ 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -); *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Lugal-eden-na), «property (of) the god Lugal-eden», Nisaba 15/2 344 r. 16 (ŠŠ 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -); *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Nin-é-gal šà An-za-gàr<sup>ki</sup>), «property (of) the goddess Nin-egal of Anzagar», Nisaba 15/2 342 r. 8 (ŠŠ 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -); *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Nin-ḥur-sag šà An-za-gàr<sup>ki</sup>), «property (of) the goddess Nin-ḥursag of Anzagar», Nisaba 15/2 338 r. 19 (ŠŠ 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -); *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Nin-ḥur-sag ù dingir-gal-gal), «property (of) the goddess Nin-ḥursag and the great divinities», Nisaba 15/2 514 <α> III 70 (ŠŠ 9 / iti-ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi -); *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Nin-IN šà Ur-zu<sup>ki</sup>), «property (of) the goddess Nin-Isina of Urzu», Nisaba 15/2 504 r. 15 (ŠŠ 9 / iti-ezem-a-bi -); *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Nin-Ištarān - šà *Di-ni-ik-tum*<sup>ki</sup> -), «property (of) the divinity Nin-Ištarān - of *Diniktum* -», Nisaba 15/2 176: 3 (AS 9 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -); *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-(<sup>d</sup>Nin-kar(-ak)), «property (of) the goddess Ninkarak», Nisaba 15/2 293 r. 21 (ŠŠ 4 / [iti-še]-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -); *níg-gur<sub>11</sub>*-

when these words are followed by the name of a divinity<sup>17</sup>. It is noteworthy that when *níg-gur*<sub>11</sub> appears in connection with divinities, aside from two cases<sup>18</sup>, only valuable items are mentioned and not animals, servants or wooden objects as in the cases in which *níg-gur*<sub>11</sub> refers to the possessions of a person<sup>19</sup>. On the other hand, objects of bronze and copper may appear in the lists of *níg-gur*<sub>11</sub> of high officials of the state, but seldom objects of silver, gold or precious stones<sup>20</sup>. This fact, together with instances of *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa always referring to divinities, points to temples having a role as hoards of wealth.

### 3. LOCATION OF THE TREASURES

The few texts mentioning *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, “treasure”, do not usually state where these precious items were stored. However, other texts that mention such items, but without the qualification *gi*<sub>16</sub>-sa, tell us that these valuable items were stored in various different places.

#### 3.1. Buildings

##### 3.1.1. *an-zak*, “(house/room of) goods/treasure”

*an-zak* as an abbreviation of *é-an-zak* denoting the place where goods/treasure were kept is possibly documented in the text from Nippur BBVO 11 pg. 281 6 NT 418: 1-r. 1 (IS 7 / iii -)<sup>21</sup>. This text mentions the receipt by a smith (*simug*) of a not preserved number

<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi-pa-è, «property of the divine Šulgi-pae», Nisaba 15/2 340 r. 21 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub> -); *níg-gur*<sub>11</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Û. ME.LA, «property of the divinity Û.ME.LA», Nisaba 15/2 345 r. 21 (ŠS 5 / iti-[-še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub>] -); *níg-gur*<sub>11</sub>-<sup>d</sup>Û<sup>?</sup>. ME<sup>?</sup>.LA<sup>?</sup> šà] *Di-ni-ik-tum*<sup>ki</sup>, «property of the divinity Û<sup>?</sup>.ME<sup>?</sup>.LA<sup>?</sup> of *Diniktum*», Nisaba 15/2 178 r. IV 52 (AS 9 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub> -); *níg-gur*<sub>11</sub>-dingir-re-ne šà *Di-ni-ik-tum*<sup>ki</sup>/An-za-gàr<sup>ki</sup>, «property of the divinities of *Diniktum*/Anzagar», Nisaba 15/2 176 r. 9-10 (AS 9 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub> -), Nisaba 15/2 177: 8-9 (AS 9 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub> -).

17. *giri-si-ga*-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi-KI.AN<sup>ki</sup> after a list of valuable objects with their equivalent in silver (in total 0.20 kg) in MVN 4 147 r. 8 (Š 45/AS 2 / -) – Umma – is difficult to interpret as «personnel (of) the divine Šulgi (of) KI.AN». This problem in the translation raises the question of whether *giri-si-ga* in this passage means «property, treasure» or it should be connected with *giri si-ge<sub>3</sub>-dè*, in the Sargonic text from Nippur OSP 1 98 r. 1<sup>?</sup> (- / -), which is translated by Westenholz 1975: 53 No. 98 Rev. 1<sup>?</sup> as «to be kept ready».

18. AAICAB 1/1 Ashm. 1911-484: 1-r. 9 (AS 6 / -) – Umma –, which qualifies barley, livestock, one *má-gur<sub>8</sub>*-ship, male and female servants as property of the goddess Nin-Isina of Umma and Nisaba 15/2 514 <r.> III 69-70 (ŠS 9 / iti-ezem-<sup>d</sup>Šul-gi -) – Urusagrig –, which qualifies 65 different (heads of) small livestock as property of Nin-hursag and the great divinities.

19. See e.g. the table by Maekawa 1996: 114 f. referring to the properties of the sons of the governor of Lagaš.

20. See e.g. Lagaš, the table by Maekawa 1996: 114 f. Property 19-33, and Umma, SAT 3 1227: 1 9-10, r. IV 46 (ŠS 1 / x -): 1 <sup>du<sup>g</sup></sup>KU-urudu, «copper KU-vessel», [x <sup>du<sup>g</sup></sup>]gur-urudu-gid-da, «long copper gur-vessel».... [nig]-gur<sub>11</sub>-Ur-<sup>d</sup>MUŠ, «property of Ur-MUŠ». Exceptions are to my knowledge 1 *má-gur<sub>8</sub>*-kù-babbar-tur, «small *má-gur<sub>8</sub>*-ship of silver», property (*níg-gur*<sub>11</sub>)/returned state property (*é-dul<sub>6</sub>*-la) of Lugal-súlūhu, son of the governor of Lagaš, Maekawa 1996: 111 No. 15 21, 114 f. Property 19 and 1 *má-ZAG-gal-tum*-kù-babbar, “1 ?-ship of silver”, 1 *kišib-za-gin za*, «lapis lazuli cylinder-seal (with nuggets)», in the returned state property of Gub-ba-ni, ASJ 18 p. 164 f. Text 7: I 10-11 (Š 45 / i -) – Umma –. Furthermore, the quantities of metals, not fashioned into objects, are small: e.g. as property of officials 83 g silver in RTC 304: I 10 ([ ] / -) – Lagaš –; 40.11 g silver in AOAT 436 p. 349 13: 1-2 (IS 3 / -) – Urusagrig? – and 13.83 g silver and 0.5 kg copper in the returned state property of Gubani, ASJ 18 p. 164 f. Text 7: I 12-13.

21. Note that Zettler 1992: 146 interprets *an-zak* in BBVO 11 p. 281 6 NT 418: 3 as «treasures». However, *an-zak* can according to Civil 1983: 239 denote either «goods, treasure» or the place where they were kept, i.e.

of *ub<sub>5</sub>-urudu*, “copper drums”, *ša-an-zak-ta*, “from the inside (of) an-zak”, in order to make *á-si-ig*, “door hinges”. This assumption is supported by a comparison with SNAT 359: 1-r. 2 (AS 5 / viii -), which mentions the receipt by a smith of 1 <sup>urudu</sup>*šen-kù-dím*, “cauldron (of) the metal smith”, which came from the (house/room of) the divine precious metals” (*azak-ta é-a*).

### 3.1.2. (*é*)-*azak(KÙ.AN)*, “(house/room of) the divine precious metals”

(*é*)-*azak(KÙ.AN)* as the place where *azak*, “divine precious metals”, were located is attested in the Ur III period only in Umma<sup>22</sup>. The full name, *é-azak*, only appears in texts dealing with the repair of its doors<sup>23</sup>. *é-azak* was always abbreviated as *azak* in the *mu-DU*, “deliveries” of precious objects principally of silver (for *Šara* {of Umma} and *Šara* of *KI.AN*), which are said to have entered or left<sup>24</sup>, and in texts that mention the issue of one head of small livestock<sup>25</sup> or 180 bundles (*sa*) of reed (*gi*)<sup>26</sup> on occasion of feasts in honor of the god *Šara*. The fact that *é-azak* is meant, even though *azak* is written, is shown by the mention of the opening (*gál...tag<sub>4</sub>*) of *azak* in BPOA 7 2372: 3 (AS 8 / vii -). The Text BPOA 7 2192: 3-5 (Š 46 / xii - Š 47 / ii -) seems to show that (*é*)-*azak* was an important building with a courtyard (*kisal*) and a janitor (*i-du<sub>4</sub>*) since the text also mentions 180 bundles of reed for each one before the 180 bundles for *azak*. The withdrawals of small livestock in the 4th, 8th and 11th months mention *azak* (of <sup>d</sup>*Šara-KI.AN*)<sup>27</sup> next to a *gub-ba* (*ša é-a*), “placed water

«treasure room». However, it is assumed on the basis of a comparison with (*é*)-*azak* in the texts from Umma (see 3.1.2) that an-*zak* in BBVO 11 p. 281 6 NT 418: 3, if it denotes a place (see below), is an abbreviation of *é-an-zak*.

22. MVN 16 1554: 5, r. 3 (Š 37-38, Š 45 / -), BPOA 6 1363: 4 (Š 42/AS 6 / vi -), BPOA 7 2192: 5 (Š 46 / xii - Š 47 / ii -), BPOA 6 1146: 4 (Š 46 / -), Calendars p. 181 RBC 2540: 3 (AS 5 / viii -), SNAT 359 r. 2 (AS 5 / viii -), Nisaba 11 41: II 16 (AS 6 / iv -), SAT 2 1001: I [6] (AS 7 / iv -), SNAT 409: I 8 (AS 8 / iv -), BPOA 7 2372: 3 (AS 8 / vii -), UTI 6 3705 r. 6<sup>1</sup> (AS 8<sup>1</sup> / -), UTI 5 3488 r. 10 (ŠŠ 1 / -), UTI 4 2566 r. 14 (ŠŠ 2 / i-iv -), MVN 16 1468: 4 (ŠŠ 2 / -), UTI 3 1744 r. 8 (ŠŠ 2 / -), BIN 5 2 r. 41 (ŠŠ 4 / iv -), UTI 5 3407 r. 6<sup>1</sup> (ŠŠ 5 / -), Orient 16 p. 75 107 r. 15<sup>1</sup> (ŠŠ 7 / ix -), Tavolette 329: 5 (IS 1 / xi -), AAICAB 1/3 Bod. S 168: 4<sup>1</sup> (IS 2 / xi -), AAICAB 1/3 Bod. S 225: 1 (- / -) and PPAC 4 218: 4 (- / -). Furthermore, see SNAT 512 r. 8 in note 24. For the first attestation in Gudea's period see note 15. For *é-azak(KÙ.AN)* = *bīt asakki* see AHw I *asakku(m)* II „,Tabu» 2) *bīt a*. (als heilig) unzugängliches Haus and CAD A/II p. 327 *asakku* B in *bīt asakki* «forbidden place».

23. <sup>(šis)</sup>*ig-é-azak(-ka-{-k})*, «door (of) the house/room (of) the divine precious metals»: BPOA 6 1363: 4 (Š 42/AS 6 / vi -), UTI 3 1744 r. 8 (ŠŠ 2 / -) and Orient 16 p. 75 107 r. 15<sup>1</sup> (ŠŠ 7 / ix -) – <sup>(šis)</sup>*ig<sup>1</sup>-k[á<sup>1</sup> d]a<sup>2</sup>-é<sup>1</sup>-azak-ka*, «door of the gate<sup>1</sup> at the side<sup>2</sup> (of) the house/room of the divine precious metals –

24. 1-43+[ ] objects *azak(-ka) ku<sub>4</sub>(KWU 147)(-ra)*, «(which) entered (in) the (house/room of) the divine precious metals»: MVN 16 1554 r. 3 (Š 37-38, Š 45 / -) – (obv. 5) *azak-ka ba-an-ku<sub>4</sub>(KWU 147)* –, BPOA 6 1146: 4 (Š 46 / -), UTI 6 3705 r. 6<sup>1</sup> (AS 8<sup>1</sup> / -), UTI 5 3488 r. 10 (ŠŠ 1 / -), UTI 4 2566 r. 14 (ŠŠ 2 / i-iv -), MVN 16 1468: 4 (ŠŠ 2 / -) – *azak-ka ku<sub>4</sub>(KWU 147)-dam* –, BIN 5 2 r. 41 (ŠŠ 4 / iv -), UTI 5 3407 r. 6<sup>1</sup> (ŠŠ 5 / -) and 1-2 objects *azak-ta é-a*, «which went out from the (house/room of) the divine precious metals»: SNAT 359 r. 2 (AS 5 / viii -), PPAC 4 218: 4 (- / -). Note SNAT 512 r. 8 (ŠŠ 6 / iii -), which lists 85 valuable items giving as summary *š<sup>1</sup>u+nigin 1 ma-na<sup>1</sup> kù-sig<sub>17</sub>*, *KA-ta é-a*, «total: 0.5 kg of gold (= equivalence of the objects), which went out from KA». The resemblance to other texts of valuable objects raises the question whether KA stands for *azak*.

25. 1 *ad<sub>3</sub>(-udu)*, “cadaver (of ram): AAICAB 1/3 Bod. S 168: 4<sup>1</sup> (IS 2 / xi -), AAICAB 1/3 Bod. S 225: 1 (- / -); 1 *máš*, «male kid»: Calendars p. 181 RBC 2540: 3 (AS 5 / viii), SAT 2 1001: I [6] (AS 7 / iv -); 1 *silá<sub>4</sub>*, «male lamb»: SNAT 409: I 8 (AS 8 / iv -), Nisaba 11 41: II 16 (AS 6 / iv -) and 1 *udu*, «ram»: BPOA 7 2372: 3 (AS 8 / vii -), Tavolette 329: 5 (IS 1 / xi -).

26. BPOA 7 2192: 5 (Š 46 / xii - Š 47 / ii -).

27. Note *ša KI.AN*<sup>ki</sup>, “in *KI.AN*”, in Nisaba 11 41 r. II 12 (AS 6 / iv -).

(vessels) (in the temple)”, *ká-gu-la*, “larger/largest gate”, (and *MUNUS/NI+ĤÚB-e a lá-a*, “water carried/drawn by *MUNUS/NI+ĤÚB*-bowls”)<sup>28</sup>, allowing us to suppose that these vessels used for libation were some of those stored in (*é*-)azak.

The tablets that mention the entrance of the precious objects, especially those made of silver, delivered for Šara of *KI.AN* into the (house/room) of divine metals are sealed by *Lugal-á-zi-da*, (the *gudu<sub>4</sub>*-priest)<sup>29</sup>, showing that it was a *gudu<sub>4</sub>* who was responsible for these valuable items. A *gudu<sub>4</sub>*-priest/priestess was also responsible for the valuable objects stored in the *gú-ne-sag(-gá)* (see note 63).

### 3.1.3. *é-GÍN-[x.(x)]*, “house/room of.?.”

According to the text from Ur UET 3 376 r. ‘1’-2’ (IS 5 / vi -), consecrated valuable objects were in the *gú-ne-[sag-gá]* of Nanna and in *é-GÍN-[x.(x)]*.

### 3.1.4. *é-kù-za-gìn*, “house/room (of) precious metals (and) stones”

*é-kù-za-gìn* is documented in Ur (temple complex of Nanna-Ningal)<sup>30</sup>, Gaeš (temple of Nanna)<sup>31</sup> and Urusagrig (temple of *PAP.NAGAR* of Anzagar<sup>32</sup> and of a non-specified divinity<sup>33</sup>). In Ur, the full name is *é-kù-(na<sup>4</sup>)za-gìn(-gá-nun-maḥ)(-k)*, “house/room (of) precious metals (and) stones (of) the sublime *gá-nun*-storage”, where valuable stones, metals and objects fashioned from these were kept. This is shown by the mention that

28. The sequence *azak*, a *gub-ba* (*ša é-a*), *ká-gu-la*, *MUNUS/NI+ĤÚB-e a lá-a* is documented in Calendars p. 181 RBC 2540: 3-6 (AS 5 / viii -) – *ká-gu-la* is not mentioned –, SAT 2 1001: I [6]-12 (AS 7 / iv -), SNAT 409: I 8-14 (AS 8 / iv -) – in the last two texts *sizkur-(GIR-)*ra, “rites of.?.”, between *azak* and a *gub-ba ša é-a* –, *Tavolette* 329: 5-9 (IS 1 / xi -) – *GĪŠ.[(x)].GAL.IM.A*, “.?.”, between [*ká*]-*gu-la* and *NI+ĤÚB-e a lá-a* –, *AAICAB* 1/3 Bod. S 225: 1-3 (- / -) – *MUNUS/NI+ĤÚB-e a lá-a* is not mentioned – and the sequence a *gub-ba* (*ša é-a*), *ká-gu-la*, *azak* in *AAICAB* 1/3 Bod. S 168: 2’-4” (IS 2 / xi -), *Nisaba* 11 41: II 14-16, r. I 14 (AS 6 / iv -) – *MUNUS+ĤÚB-e a lá-a* (r. I 14) is mentioned, but very far from *azak* –. For a *gub-ba ša é-a*, *ká-gu-la* and *MUNUS/NI+ĤÚB-e a lá-a* see Sallaberger, 1993: 238 2.-4.

29. *BPOA* 6 1146 r. 1, seal (Š 46 / -) and *MVN* 16 1468 r. 1, seal (ŠS 2 / -). *Lugal-azida*, (the *gudu<sub>4</sub>*-priest), receiving objects, especially of silver, delivered for Šara of *KI.AN* and sealing the tablet is documented too in *BPOA* 6 911 r. 9, seal (Š 48 / -), *BPOA* 6 1177 r. 10, seal (AS 2 / -), *UTI* 5 3427 r. 1, seal (AS 3 / -) and *BPOA* 1 1490 r. 5, seal (AS 5 / -). For his connection with Šara of *KI.AN* see also *Aleppo* 480 r. 2-3 (Š 36 / iii -), *Mayr* 2005: 295 527 A *YBC* 15740 (Š 46 / -), *SAT* 2 542 r. 19-20 (Š 47 / -), *BPOA* 1 1501: 2-3 (AS 4 / viii -), *BPOA* 7 2492: 3-4 (AS 4 / -), *BIN* 5 119 <r> IV ‘126’-127 ([AS 9’] / []), *Rochester* 109: 4, 7-r. 8 (ŠS 1 / vi -), *SAT* 3 1204: 2-3 (ŠS 1 / xii<sup>2</sup> -), *Nisaba* 9 108: 2-3 (ŠS 1 / -), *AcOr* 2 165: I 8-9 (ŠS 2 / -), *BPOA* 7 1614: 3, r. 5, seal (ŠS 8 / iv -) and *Nisaba* 11 6: III 18-19 ([] / [?]). For *Lugal-azida*’s seals see *Mayr* 2005: 295 527. Note that according to the transliteration in *NBC* 563 = *BPOA* 6 1146 *Lugal-azida* has the title *dub-sar*, “scribe”, whereas he does not have it according to *Mayr* 2005: 295 527 A.

30. *UET* 3 305: 3’ (Š 38 / v -), *UET* 3 345 r. II 7 (ŠS 4 / viii -), *UET* 9 970 r. 5’ ([] / vii 10+[]) and *UET* 3 719 r. ‘7’” ([] / []).

31. *UET* 3 207 r. 4, 17-18 (IS 7 / x -).

32. *Nisaba* 15/2 643: 8 (IS 1 / iti-šu-gar-ra-ta - iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub>-šè -).

33. *Nisaba* 15/2 178 r. III [49] (AS 9 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), *Nisaba* 15/2 340 r. 19 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), *Nisaba* 15/2 343 r. III 52 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), *Nisaba* 15/2 344 r. 15 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -) and *Nisaba* 15/2 504 r. 13 (ŠS 9 / iti-ezem-a-bi -).

these items were brought to or taken from that building<sup>34</sup>. The building in Ur received flour (1 litre *zi-gu* and 1 litre *eša*) at its opening, on the occasion of *sízkur-lugal*, “rites (of) the king”, in the 7th month<sup>35</sup> and the building in Gaeš also received flour (2 litres *zi-gu* and 1 litre *eša*) at its opening on the occasion of the feast in 10th month<sup>36</sup>. Such openings in order to use valuable objects is documented in Umma as well (see 3.1.2).

UET 3 378: 1-r. 10 (IS 5 / xii -) mentions that four consecrated precious objects were transferred from *é-kišib-ba-kù-za-gin-ka*, “the warehouse of precious metals (and) stones”, to the *gú-ne-sag-gá* of the gods Nanna and Alamuš. It remains open to debate whether *kù-za-gin* stands for *é-kù-za-gin*, because this warehouse seems more likely to be a part of – or an occasional name for – *é-kišib-ba-gá-nun-maḥ*, “the warehouse of the sublime *gá-nun*-storage”, which is also described transferring (consecrated) precious objects, which are added to the *za-gaba*, “breast-stones”<sup>37</sup>, of Nanna (and Ningal): 1010 *éllag-na<sup>4</sup>gug<sup>38</sup>*, “(nuggets in form of) kidney of carnelian stone”, 13.14 gr of *kù-sig<sub>17</sub>-si-sá<sup>39</sup>*, “normal gold”, and one not preserved object of first-quality gold and one [z]abar-má-[gur<sub>8</sub>]-*kù-sig<sub>17</sub>-si-s[á]*<sup>40</sup>, “bronze-mirror<sup>2</sup> (with<sup>2</sup>) má-gur<sub>8</sub>-ships of normal gold”. Aside from these passages, *é-kišib-ba(-gá-nun-maḥ)* appears in a fragmentary context dealing with valuable objects<sup>41</sup>, and in another text that deals mainly with deliveries of finished textiles (and linen) by the fullers to the warehouse, or the expedition of textiles and linen<sup>42</sup>.

*é-kù-za-gin* is documented in Urusagrig as well, where the valuable items could be located in the *gú-ne-sag-gá* (see 3.1.6) or in baskets (*pisag*) of the *é-ku-za-gin* that were sealed by *Ur-mes*<sup>43</sup>. A connection of precious items with *é-kù-za-gin* can be seen in a text that mentions a man who stole (from) the *é-kù-za-gin* of the temple of <sup>d</sup>PAP.NAGAR of Anzagar<sup>44</sup>.

34. 137+[ ] objects [š]á-*é-kù-za-gin-gá-nun-maḥ-ka ba-an-ku<sub>4</sub>*, «they were brought to the interior of the house/room (of) precious metals (and) stones (of) the sublime *gá-nun*-storage», UET 3 345 r. II 7 (ŠS 4 / viii -); 12+[ ] consecrated emblems, ‘*é-kù-za-gin-ka* [ku<sub>4</sub>-ra’], «which’ entered’ the house/room of precious metals and stones»: UET 3 719 r. 7’7’ ([ ] / [ ]) and 1 <sup>un<sup>du</sup></sup>šen-GI<sub>4</sub>, «GI<sub>4</sub>-cauldron», (from) *é-kù-na<sup>4</sup>za-gin*, «house/room (of) precious metals (and) stones»: UET 3 305: 3’ (Š 38 / v -). For *é-kù-za-gin* as a sort of treasury cp. Owen 2013a: 370 note 612.

35. UET 9 970 r. 4’-5’, 11’ ([ ] / vii 10+[ ]).

36. UET 3 207 r. 3-4 (IS 7 / x -). For the opening of *é-kù-za-gin* cp. Sallaberger 1993: 185.

37. For *za-gaba* as a type of breast jewel see Paoletti 2012: 145.

38. UET 3 341: 1-r. 1 (ŠS 4 / vii -).

39. UET 9 423: 1-2 ([ ] / [ ]).

40. UET 9 433: ‘1’-‘5’ ([ ] / [ ]). Note that the beginning of the tablet, which could mention another object, is missing.

41. UET 9 429 r. 7’ ([?] / [?]).

42. See e.g. 122 textiles/1 linen *é-kišib-ba-gá-nun-maḥ-ka ba-an-ku<sub>4</sub>*(KWU 635.4/635), «they were brought to the warehouse of the *gá-nun*-storage»: UET 3 1581 r. II 8 (IS 2 / iii -), UET 3 1571 <r.> 1 (IS 6 / ix [ ]) and 4950 textiles and 41 linen *é-kišib-ba-ta*, «from the warehouse»: UET 3 1713 r. I (IS 6 / ix -). Note in UET 3 1581 that the end sum of the totals (r. I 9-II 4), i.e. 239 textiles according to the copy, do not correspond to the 122 textiles mentioned in obv. I 1-r. I 7.

43. *pisag-é-kù-za-gin-bi* 1 *kišib-Ur-mes*, «the corresponding basket (of) the house/room (of) precious metals (and) stones (is) one (with) the seal (of) *Ur-mes*»: Nisaba 15/2 178 r. III 4[9]-5[0’] (AS 9 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), Nisaba 15/2 340 r. 19 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), Nisaba 15/2 344 r. 15 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -) and *pisag-é-kù-za-gin-ta* *kišib-Ur-mes* (according to the transliteration): Nisaba 15/2 343 r. III 52-53 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), Nisaba 15/2 504 r. 13’ (ŠS 9 / iti-ezem-a-bi -) – *kišib-Ur-mes* is omitted -. However, because of the grammatical difficulties of -ta, it is questionable, on the basis of the other parallel texts, whether -ta is actually -bi’ 1’. A collation is necessary.

44. Nisaba 15/2 643: 6, 8 (IS 1 / iti-šu-gar-ra-ta - iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub>-šè -).

### 3.1.5. (*é-urudu*)*dur*<sub>10</sub>-*al-LUL(-k)*, “(house/room of) the (copper) *al-LUL-axe*”<sup>45</sup>

In Umma, besides (*é-*)*azak* (see 3.1.2), (*é-urudu*)*dur*<sub>10</sub>-*al-LUL(-k)* is documented as a place for the location of “treasures”<sup>46</sup>. However, none of the texts mentioning *é-urudu-dur*<sub>10</sub>-*al-LUL(-k)* tell us to which institution the building belonged.

### 3.1.6. *gú-ne-sag(-gá)*, “entirety (of) the main things”

*gú-ne-sag(-gá)*, “entirety (of) the main things”<sup>47</sup>, denotes a building, probably a room, which must be differentiated from *gú-NE*<sup>48</sup>. The latter would have been the place where the type of oven *im**gú-NE*<sup>49</sup> was located. *gú-NE* as a fireplace is shown by the texts SANTAG 7 31 r. VII’ 7’-11’ and CT 10 49 12245: 12 (see note 48). In the same sense, *gú-ne-sag(-gá)* was the building where *gis**gú-ne-sag(-gá)*<sup>50</sup>, “cupboard”<sup>51</sup>, was located. The meaning as cupboard is supported by its features according to the administrative texts of the Ur III period: it was a wooden piece of furniture<sup>52</sup>, made of *gis**ásal*<sup>53</sup>, “Euphrates

45. For *urudu**dur*<sub>10</sub>-*al-LUL* as a type of battle axe see Civil 1994: 150 f. 7.3.4., 7.3.6.

46. SAT 2 947 r. 8 (Š 42/AS 6 / xii -), Orient 16 p. 75 107: 7 (ŠS 7 / ix -) and YOS 18 64: 3 (- / -). According to SAT 2 947: 1-r. 8 7 *šu-nir-kù-sig*<sub>17</sub>, “gold emblems”, qualifying 5 as *libir-àm*, “old (delivery)”, and 2 as *mu-DU-gibil*, “new delivery”, entered the *é-urudu**dur*<sub>10</sub>-*al-LUL(-k)*; Orient 16 p. 75 107: 7 mentions a door gate to the building (*gisig-ká-é-dur*<sub>10</sub>-*al-LUL{-k}*), whereas YOS 18 64: 1-4 mentions 10 *dug kaš-gin*, “vessels of normal beer”, that were brought to *dur*<sub>10</sub>-*al-LUL*.

47. Note the spelling *gú-un-ne-sag-gá* in the text from Lagaš CT 1 6-7 94-10-15,5 r. I 19 (Š 43 / viii -), which might be a misspelling, cp. Attinger 2002: 131 note 23. For *nig-sag* > *ne-sag/nesag*, «first/main things» > «first fruits» see Selz 1996: 5 [9].

48. See Selz 1996: 7 [12]. Note the texts PPAC 5 317: I 6, II 11, 17, 25-26, r. I 12 (Š 46/AS 3 / -) – Lagaš –, SANTAG 7 31: VI’ 12, r. VII’ 7’ ([ ] / [ ]) – Umma – and CT 10 49 12245: 1’, 12 (- / -) – Lagaš – that mention both terms in the same text. Furthermore, SANTAG 7 31 r. VII’ 6’-11’ and CT 10 49 12245: 12 connects *gú-NE* with fire: SANTAG 7 31 r. VII’ 6’-11’ mentions 5 *gú* *gis**ma-nu*, «talents of willow», for *gú-NE*, 15 *sa gi*, «bundles of reed», for *a-kúm*, «water heating», and 10 *sa gi*, «bundles of reed», (for) *gi-izi-lá-a*, «torches», whereas CT 10 49 12245: 12 mentions 6 carriers of grass (used as fuel), see note 66. Furthermore, the relation either of *gú-NE* or *gú-ne-sag(-gá)* to *KA-ne-sag(-gá)*, which is documented only in texts from Umma (see note 80) and whose precise meaning is unknown, is not clear, cp. Sallaberger 1993: 240 14 and Heimpelel, 1994a: 72 f. (1b). However, it seems that *gú-ne-sag(-gá)* must be differentiated from *KA-ne-sag(-gá)*, because the place for storage of valuable objects, mentioned in the texts, in which *KA-ne-sag(-gá)* appears, is *azak(KÛ.AN)*.

49. MVN 1 232 r. IV’ 19’ (Š 43/AS 7 / iii -) – Umma –, cp. Waetzoldt 1970-71: 40. Note that the same word exists with the determinative *GIŠ*, SANTAG 6 24: 1 (Š 34 / -) – Umma –, like the case for the oven (*im**tu*-*ru-na*), see lately Civil 2011: 278 \$D1b (4).

50. **Dreheim**: BPOA 10 p. 484 ff. Philips 13: II 7, III 17 ([Š 26’] / xii -); **Garšana**: CUSAS 3 1376: II 46 (ŠS [ ] / xii -); **Lagaš**: HSS 4 5: IV 2[1], r. III 12 (AS 2 / vii -), Behrens 89: II 16 (- / -), ITT 5 6854 II’ 4’<sup>1</sup> ([ ] / [ ]) and **Umma**: BPOA 1 460: 6 = MVN 10 230: IV 18 (ŠS 1 / vii -), SAT 3 1227 r. III 39 (ŠS 1 / x -), AAICAB 1/3 Bod. S 139: II [ ] = AAICAB 1/3 Bod S 138: II 9-12 (ŠS 9 / -), ASJ 9 pg. 315 Text 3: 3 (IS 2 / iv -).

51. For *gis**gú-ne-sag(-gá)* as a kind of furniture see Civil *apud* Cooper-Heimpel 1983: 79 note to line 6 «cupboard or chest to keep the drinking utensils», Röllig-Waetzoldt 1993-1997: 330 § 9 «Holzgestell(?) für Trinkgeschirr», Paoletti 2012: 164 «Holzgestell» and cp. Owen 2013b: 30.

52. Note that *gú-ne-sag(-gá)*, when it refers to the furniture, always has the determinative *GIŠ*. The single exception is SAT 3 1227 r. III 39 (ŠS 1 / x -).

53. ITT 5 6854 II’ 4’ ([ ] / [ ]) – Lagaš –.

poplar”, or <sup>gis</sup>hašhur, “apple wood”, and <sup>gis</sup>lâl, “lâl-wood”<sup>54</sup>, which could have úr<sup>55</sup>, “feet”, and 4, 9 or 12 é<sup>56</sup>, “places > shelves”<sup>57</sup>. It could be qualified as sumun<sup>58</sup>, “old” and AMA. ÍL<sup>59</sup>, whose exact meaning is unknown to me<sup>60</sup>. Whether it had doors is unknown, even though we can assume that it did, because it served to store valuable objects<sup>61</sup>. The dimensions of the 24 pieces of apple wood and lâl-wood used to make <sup>gis</sup>gú-ne-sag-AMA.ÍL, “AMA.ÍL-cupboards” in BPOA 1 460: 2-6 = MVN 10 230: IV 14-18 (ŠS 1 / vii -), varied between 1 kùš (= 0.5 m) and 2 kùš (= 1 m), which gives an idea of the relatively small dimensions of this sort of cupboard.

gú-ne-sag(-gá), the place where the cupboard <sup>gis</sup>gú-ne-sag(-gá) was located, is documented since the Old Akkadian Period in different provinces showing that it was the most common building for storing valuable objects<sup>62</sup>. To date, the texts from Urusagrig provide the most detailed list of the objects stored, showing that the gudu<sub>4</sub>-priest/priestess dealt with them<sup>63</sup>. The texts from Lagaš show that, besides the gudu<sub>4</sub>, different professions/

54. BPOA 1 460: 2-6 = MVN 10 230: IV 14-18 (ŠS 1 / vii -) – Umma –. Note that <erased sign> <sup>gis</sup>GIŠIMMAR, «date palm (wood)», in BPOA 1 460: 1 does not appear in MVN 10 230.

55. AAICAB 1/3 Bod. S 139: II [] = AAICAB 1/3 Bod S 138: II 12 (ŠS 9 / -) – Umma –.

56. AAICAB 1/3 Bod. S 139: II [] = AAICAB 1/3 Bod S 138: II 9-12 (ŠS 9 / -) – Umma –.

57. For é as place see CAD B p. 282 ff. *bītu* 5. place, plot, area, region. Concerning furniture see the following passages in texts from Umma: 2 <sup>gis</sup>gu-za-gid-da/<sup>gis</sup>dúr-gar-gid-da é-6/7(-ta), «long seats (= benches), (each with) 6/7 places»: BPOA 6 959 r. 13 (Š 42/AS 6 / -), AAICAB 1/3 Bod. S 139: I 11', r. I [] = AAICAB 1/3 Bod. S 138: I 20, r. II 4 (ŠS 9 / -) – <sup>gis</sup>gu-za-gid-da <<é>> é-6 (r. II 4) –, YOS 4 241: 1 (- / -) and 1 <sup>gis</sup>epir(DUG) (<sup>gis</sup>ù-suh<sub>3</sub>) é-7, «wooden stand' (of pine) (with) 7 places»: Torino 2 636: 1 (AS 5 / ix -) – Reichskalender –, UTI 4 2484: 1 (ŠS 2 / -).

58. SAT 3 1227 r. III 39 (ŠS 1 / x -), AAICAB 1/3 Bod. S 139: II [] = AAICAB 1/3 Bod S 138: II 12 (ŠS 9 / -) – all three texts from Umma –.

59. BPOA 1 460: 6 = MVN 10 230: IV 18 (ŠS 1 / vii -) – Umma –.

60. The context seems to exclude that AMA.ÍL is the worker designation documented principally in texts from Umma, see e.g. Snell 1991: 38.

61. Cp. Owen 2013b: 31.

62. It is documented in the texts from Lagaš ITT 2 4690: II' 5' ([?]/[?]) – Old Akkadian – and RTC 91 r. II' 4 ([?]/[?]) – Old Akkadian/Ur III period –, cp. Owen 2013b: 29 note 2. In the Ur III period it is documented in texts from **Drehem**: CST 402: 5 (ŠS 1 / i -), questionable in Nisaba 8 92 r. X' 3'' ([?]/[?]); **Garšana**: CUSAS 3 541 r. 24 (IS 2 / ii 28-29); **Lagaš**: ASJ 9 p. 327 Text 3: '9' (Š 37 / viii -), HLC 3 Pl. 147 388 r. 16 (Š 37 / xii -), CT 1 6-7 94-10-15, 5 r. I 19 – gú-un-ne-sag-gá –, III 6' (Š 43 / viii -), CT 10 28-29 14316 r. III 3 (Š 45/AS 2 / viii-xii -), PPAC 5 317: II 11, 17, 25-26, r. I 12 (Š 46/AS 3 / -), MVN 11 pg. 29 A r. 9 (Š 47 / -), PPAC 5 122: 3 (Š 48 / v -), UDT 59 r. III 54 (AS 2 / -), CTPSM 1 64: '4' (AS 5 / -), RTC 401: II 5 (IS 2 / i-xii -), TCTI 1 790: III 26' ([?]/ii' -), ASJ 10 pg. 88 Text 2 r. 1 5, 11 ([?]/[?]), DPOAE 1 60 r. III 14' ([?]/[?]), CT 9 36 21399: 12 (- / -), CT 10 49 12245: 1' (- / -) – for obv. 12 see note 66 –, PPAC 5 77 r. 3 (- / -), questionable in PPAC 5 877: 3 (ŠS 8 / vii -) – see note 66 –, **Nippur**: BBVO 11 pg. 278 f. 6 NT 364: 5 (IS 6 / vi 17); **Umma**: RA 49 pg. 91 25 r. 3 (Š 39 / -), Ledgers pl. XV-XVI 9: II 12 (AS 6 / xi -), SANTAG 7 31: VI' 12 ([?]/[?]), Nisaba 23 28 r. II 6 (- / -), questionable in YOS 18 115: VI 35, r. IX 24 ([?]/[?]) and Torino 2 705: III 1[5'] (AS 7 / vii -), see note 66; **Ur**: UET 3 101: 4 (IS 4 / x -), UET 3 376 r. '1'' (IS 5 / vi -), UET 3 378: 6, r. 1, 6, 10 (IS 5 / xii -), UET 3 741: 7' ([?]/[?]), UET 9 93: '41'' ([?]/[?]), UET 9 1175: '3'' ([?]/[?]), UET 9 1322: 3' ([?]/[?]), RIME 3/2 pg. 415 1031 '4'' – royal inscription – and **Urusagrig**: Nisaba 15/2 178: II 26 (AS 9 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), Nisaba 15/2 293 r. 19 (ŠS 4 / [iti-še]-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), CDLJ P432482 r. 4 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), Nisaba 15/2 338 r. 17 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), Nisaba 15/2 339: 8 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-[ku<sub>3</sub>]-), Nisaba 15/2 340: 14 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), Nisaba 15/2 341: 6 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), Nisaba 15/2 342: 7 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), Nisaba 15/2 343: II 26 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), Nisaba 15/2 344: 6 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), Nisaba 15/2 345 r. 19 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>3</sub> -), Nisaba 15/2 348: 4 (ŠS 5 / -), Nisaba 15/2 504: '8' (ŠS 9 / iti-ezem-a-bi -), Nisaba 15/2 940: 4 (IS 3 / iti-ezem-a-bi -).

63. For the items stored in the gú-ne-sag-gá and the role of the gudu<sub>4</sub>-priest/priestess on the basis of the texts from Urusagrig see Owen 2013b: 32 ff.

activities were connected with this building: *gu-za-lá-gú-ne-sag(-gá)*<sup>64</sup>, “chair-bearer (of) the *gú-ne-sag(-gá)*”, and *lú-gú-ne-sag(-gá)*<sup>65</sup>, “man (of) the *gú-ne-sag(-gá)*”<sup>66</sup>. While the texts do not give us information on the role of the chair-bearers, it seems that the job of *lú-gú-ne-sag(-gá)* was to take care of the building<sup>67</sup>; they were normally mentioned after *i-du<sub>8</sub>(-me)*, “janitor/s”, and *lú-kisal(-me)*, “courtyard man/men”<sup>68</sup>, and their number seemed to be tied to the size of the building:

Text	Date	number <i>lú-gú-ne-sag(-gá)</i>	Temple
CT 1 6-7 94-10-15,5 r. I 19, III 5-6	Š 43 / viii	1	é- <sup>d</sup> En-sig-nun
PPAC 5 317: II 11, 17, 25-26, r. I 12	Š 46 / -	5	é- <sup>d</sup> Nin-Gír-su-ka
UDT 59 r. III 49-54	AS 2 / -	1+1 (dead)	é- <sup>d</sup> Dumu-zi
RTC 401: II 5	IS 2 / i-xii	1	ki-a-nag-en-en-e-ne
TCTI 1 790: III 22'-26'	[] / ii' -	10	é- <sup>d</sup> Nanše
CT 9 36 21399: 6-12, PPAC 5 77: 10-r. 3	- / -	4-5	é-dingir = é- <sup>d</sup> Nanše (šà NINA <sup>ki</sup> )

As the chart shows, the temples of Nanše and Ningirsu would have had the largest *gú-ne-sag(-gá)* in the province of Lagaš, because they had 10/4-5 and 5 *lú-gú-ne-sag(-gá)* respectively. The *gú-ne-sag(-gá)* of Nanna in Ur would have also been very prominent, because it had a *gudu<sub>4</sub>-priest* and a *šita-èš-priest*, whilst the *gú-ne-sag(-gá)* of Alamuš had only one *gudu<sub>4</sub>-priest*<sup>69</sup>. Likewise, it seems that one *gudu<sub>4</sub>-priest/priestess* dealt with the

64. MVN 11 pg. 29 A r. 9 (Š 47 / -) and CT 10 49 12245: 1' (- / -).

65. CT 1 6-7 94-10-15,5 r. I 19 – *lú-gú-un-ne-sag-gá -*, III 6' (Š 43 / viii -), CT 10 28-29 14316 r. III 3 (Š 45/AS 2 / viii-xii -), PPAC 5 317: II 11, 17, 25-26, r. I 12 (Š 46/AS 3 / -), UDT 59 r. III 54 (AS 2 / -), CTPSM 1 64: '4' (AS 5 / -), RTC 401: II 5 (IS 2 / i-xii -), TCTI 1 790: III 26' ([] / ii' -), ASJ 10 pg. 88 Text 2 r. I 5, 11 ([] / []), CT 9 36 21399: 12 (- / -) and PPAC 5 77 r. 3 (- / -).

66. A further profession could be *ú-ÍL-gú-ne-sag* in YOS 18 115: VI 35, r. IX 24 ([] / []) – text in copy from Umma –, PPAC 5 877: 3 (ŠS 8 / vii -) – text in transliteration from Lagaš – and reconstructed in Torino 2 705 III 1[5'] (AS 7 / vii -) – Umma –. However, the text from Lagaš CT 10 49 12245: 12 (- / -) shows, according to the copy, 6 *ú-ÍL-gú-NE-ka*, «grass carrier(s) of the *gú-NE*», after 2 *báħar-é-ŠIM*, «potter(s) of the brewery». Since *ú-ÍL*, «grass carrier», appears in connection with the feeding of equids, see e.g. Heimpel 1994b: 11, of small livestock, see e.g. SAT 1 10: 3 (Š 34 / iii -) – Lagaš –, and with fire (grass as fuel), see the connection with *báħar*, «potter», e.g. BPOA 2 2156: 7 (Š 34 / -) – Umma –, CT 10 49 12245: 11-12, it is more likely that in the above mentioned texts *gú-NE* is actually written, which is connected with fire (see note 48), even though a collation of the texts is necessary to resolve the problem. For *-ka* after *ú-ÍL-gú-NE* see *ki-gudu<sub>4</sub>-gú-NE-ka*, «at the place of the *gudu<sub>4</sub>-priest* (of) the *gú-NE*», JCS 52 p. 52 88: 5 (ŠS 7 / iv -) – Umma –, and questionable <sup>du<sup>g</sup>(B)</sup>GUR<sub>8</sub>-*gú-NE-ka*?», «GUR<sub>8</sub>-vessel of *gú-NE*», in UET 3 70 r. 2 (- / -). If *-ka* actually appears after *gú-NE* in the above mentioned cases, it would show that *gú-NE* contains a genitive construction («entirety of NE»).

67. See Owen 2013b: 31.

68. CT 1 6-7 94-10-15,5 r. I 10-12, 19 (Š 43 / viii -), PPAC 5 317: II 9, 11, 14-17 (Š 46/AS 3 / -), UDT 59: II 33-r. III 54 (AS 2 / -), RTC 401: II 4-5 (IS 2 / i-xii -), TCTI 1 790: III 17'-26' ([] / ii' -), CT 9 36 21399: 6-r. 19 (- / -) – *lú-gú-ne-sag-me* before *lú-kisal* and *i-du<sub>8</sub>-me* – and PPAC 5 77: 1-r. 3 (- / -). Note AAS Pl. LXIX CFC 135: 1-3 (- / -), in which *lú-má-ne-sag-ka*, literally «man of the ship of the first fruits (festival)», follows *i-du<sub>8</sub>* and *lú-kisal*.

69. UET 3 378: 6-7, r. 1, 3, 6-7 (IS 5 / xii -). The same *šita-èš-priest* appears in connection with the *gú-ne-sag(-gá)* of Nanna in UET 3 101: 4-r. 1' (IS 4 / x -).



valuable objects (stored in the *gú-ne-sag-gá*) (and in baskets of the *é-ku-za-gín*), which were the property of 15 different divinities according to the texts from Urusagrig<sup>70</sup>. There was not only *gú-ne-sag-gá* of divinities, but also of the governor (of Lagaš)<sup>71</sup> and of a šabra-administrator in Ur<sup>72</sup>.

The *gú-ne-sag(-gá)* received different types of processed flour (4 or 7 litres)<sup>73</sup>, naga-plant (10 litres or 30 litres)<sup>74</sup>, beer (3 litres with 5 litres of bread or 20 litres)<sup>75</sup>, NÍG-ì-dé-a-sweet (60 litres)<sup>76</sup>. Although the texts does not mention the reason for these withdrawals or their scope, it is assumed that it was on occasion of different festivals and for the officials related to the *gú-ne-sag(-gá)*<sup>77</sup>. It is attested once that the bath(room) and the *gú-ne-sag-gá* in the temple of Šū-Suen were spread (*ba-ra-ab-du<sub>8</sub>*) with 330 litres of *ésir-ḥád-še<sub>6</sub>-gá*, “cooked dry bitumen” (for waterproofing)<sup>78</sup>.

### 3.1.7. *ne-sag*, “(house/room for the utensils of) the first fruits (festival)”

*ne-sag* can designate a place, which has been considered to be a sacristy, that contained sacred objects related to the New Year’s festival<sup>79</sup>. The few attestations in the Ur III period<sup>80</sup> connect this building with the storage of valuable objects.

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70. See Owen 2013b: 32 ff. and Û-li-la-ak *gudu<sub>4</sub>*-priest of the goddess *Allatum* of Anzagar in the text from Urusagrig CDLJ P432482 r. 5-6 (ŠS 5 / iti-še-KIN-ku<sub>5</sub> -). Note that Nisaba 15/2 348: 1-r. 5 (ŠS 5 / -) does not mention the *gudu<sub>4</sub>*-priest that received 1 PA-zabar, «bronze scepter», and 1 tu-di-da-zabar, «bronze toggle pin», consecrated to <sup>d</sup>Geštin-an-na-pa<sub>3</sub>-sír-ra, stored in the *gú-ne-sag-gá*, but it is assumed that this was the case.

71. CT 10 49 12245: 1, r. 5 (- / -). The 2 chair-bearers of the *gú-ne-sag-gá*(LAGAB) are qualified, together with another 32 workers, as *giri-si-ga-énsi-me*, «personnel (of) the governor». Note that the sum in r. 3 (24<sup>1</sup>) does not fit the listed workers (34) in obv. 1-13.

72. UET 3 741 7' (□ / □).

73. ASJ 9 p. 327 Text 3: 7-'9' (Š 37 / viii -), HLC 3 Pl. 147 388 r. 15-16 (Š 37 / xii -) and PPAC 5 122: 1-3 (Š 48 / v -) – all three texts are from Lagaš –.

74. RA 49 pg. 91 25 r. 3 (Š 39 / -), Ledgers pl. XV-XVI 9: II 10-12 (AS 6 / xi -) and SANTAG 7 31: VI' 11-12 (□ / □) – all three texts from Umma –.

75. CUSAS 3 541 r. 20-24 (IS 2 / ii 28-29) – Garšana – and BBVO 11 pg. 278 f. 6 NT 364: 4-5 (IS 6 / vi 17) – Nippur –.

76. UET 3 101: 1, 4 (IS 4 / x -) – Ur –.

77. This assumption is based principally on PPAC 5 122: 1-4 (Š 48 / v -), which mentions an issue of 7 litres of flour for the *gú-ne-sag-gá* mu-<sup>d</sup>Nanše-GÍRgunû'(GÍR)-gal *sagi-še*, «because of Nanše-GÍRgunûgal, the cupbearer», and the mention of naga-plant, which is used, among other things, for personal bathing, see its mention in the so-called «Messenger Texts» in Notiza 2009: 24. However, note Owen 2013b: 31 note 18 that connects this food and drink with «food items placed in the vessels and utilized for specific cultic events».

78. Nisaba 15/2 940: 1, 4-r. 6 (IS 3 / iti-ezem-a-bi -) – Urusagrig –, cp. Owen 2013b: 31 note 13. The spreading of *i-giš*, «sesame oil», *ésir-ḥád*, «dry bitumen», and *ésir-é-a*, «bitumen of the house», in different rooms is documented too in e.g. YOS 4 256: I 9-13 (AS 7 / -). The mention of sesame oil in the last mentioned text favours more the translation of *du<sub>8</sub>* as «to spread» than «to caulk». For the use of *i-gir<sub>14</sub>*, «oil/fat of a heifer», *i-giš*, «sesame oil», and *i-šáḥ*, «pig lard», in the action of *du<sub>8</sub>* see e.g. Nisaba 15/2 367: 3, 5 (ŠS 6 / nig-<sup>d</sup>En-lil-lá -), Nisaba 15/2 582: 1, r. 9 (IS 1 / iti-ezem-a-dara<sub>4</sub> -) – both texts from Urusagrig – and AAICAB 1/4 Pl. 318-319: VI 16'-18' (Š 36 / ix -) – Umma –.

79. Heimpel 1994a: 72 f. 83, cp. Frayne 1997: 371 f. 3.

80. ZA 91 p. 224 ÄS 5879: I 13 (AS 1 / -) – Umma – and RIME 3/2 p. 371 ff. Ibbi-Sin 3 '27' – Old Babylonian copy of a royal inscription –. It remains questionable whether the place KA-*ne-sag(-gá)*, documented in the texts from Umma Atiqot 4 pl. 13 23: 2 (Š 45 / vii -), Nisaba 11 41 r. I 10, II 2 (AS 6 / iv -), SAT 2 1001: II 15

### 3.2. Baskets

pisag, “basket”, as container, written always without determinative of reed (GI) or wood (GIŠ), could be also used to keep valuable objects<sup>81</sup>. Since these baskets contained valuable items, they were closed and sealed by the responsible official (see note 43). It is assumed that all or some of these baskets were stored in the buildings where the valuable objects were kept<sup>82</sup>. The texts from Urusagrig show that the valuable objects were kept either in the gú-ne-sag-gá or in baskets of the é-kù-za-gin (see note 43). Another word that could refer to a container for treasures is <sup>gis</sup>DUB-eren-SU<sup>1</sup> gi<sub>16</sub>-sa-é-dingir-ra (see note 11).

### 3.3. Statue of the Divinity

Two texts from Umma mention 118 valuable objects, principally precious stones and sun-discs, (which were delivered for the god Šara {of Umma}) and gú-dingir-ra-ka dù-a (ù igi-dingir-ra-šè gál-la)<sup>83</sup>, “were applied to the divinity’s neck (and were in front of the divinity)”. MVN 16 671: 1-r. 2, which lists only objects applied to the neck, shows that these items had basically gu, “string” or <sup>kuš</sup>ib, “leather strap”<sup>84</sup>, whilst UTI 5 3270: 1-r. 6, which enumerates objects in both places, mentions the items having a string or leather strap at the beginning of the text (obv. 1-5). Bearing in mind these two aspects, it can be ascertained where the valuable objects were placed:

gú-dingir-ra(-k), “neck of the divinity (= Šara)”	
UTI 5 3270: 1-6 (AS 9 / -)	MVN 16 671: 1-r. 2 (ŠS 3 / -)
1 amar-nú-a-kù-sig <sub>17</sub> , “gold resting calf”	
3 <sup>d</sup> Suen-kù-sig <sub>17</sub> /na <sub>4</sub> , “gold/stone sun-discs”	2 <sup>d</sup> Suen-kù-sig <sub>17</sub> /babbar, “gold/silver divine sun-discs”
1 <sup>na</sup> aš <sub>4</sub> ku <sub>d</sub> , “aš <sub>4</sub> kuttu-stone”	- - - - -
- - - - -	4 za-ellag <sub>x</sub> (AḪ)-kù-sig <sub>17</sub> , “gold nuggets (in the form of a) kidney”
1 kišib-za-gin, “lapis lazuli cylinder-seal”	1 kišib-za-gin, “lapis lazuli cylinder-seal”
- - - - -	1 nír, “ <i>hulālu</i> (-stone)”
- - - - -	7 gug “carnelian (stones)”

(AS 7 / iv -), SNAT 409: II ‘19’ (AS 8 / iv -), Tavolette 329: 17 (IS 1 / xi -) and CST 558: 1 (IS 2 / xi -) should be analysed as mouth/opening of the ne-sag-place as assumed in Heimpel 1994a: 72 f. (1b).

81. **Lagaš**: RA 62 p. 11 17: 5 (siehe note 11); **Umma**: ASJ 18 p. 164 f. Text 7: I 1-18 (Š 45 / i -), TCL 5 6055 r. II 4-13 (AS 3 / iv -), AAICAB 1/1 1911-240: I 1-r. III 20 (ŠS 5 / -) and **Urusagrig**: see note 43.

82. See pisag-é-kù-za-gin, «basket (of) the house/room (of) precious metals (and) stones» in the texts from Urusagrig in note 43. Furthermore, note the Old Akkadian text from Lagaš ITT 2 4690: II’ 5’ ([?] / [?]), which mentions 1 pisan-tur-zabar, «small bronze basket», in the gú-ne-sag, and the existence of 6 reed baskets for textiles<sup>9</sup> among the treasures (see Table I 83).

83. UTI 5 3270 r. 9 (AS 9 / -) and MVN 16 671 r. 4 (ŠS 3 / -).

84. The single exception is the 7 gug, «carnelian (stones)», in r. 1.

igi-dingir-ra-še, “in front of the divinity (= Šara)”	
28 za-ellag <sub>x</sub> (AH)-kù-sig <sub>17</sub> , “gold nuggets (in the form of a) kidney”	-----
1 kišib-za-gìn, “lapis lazuli cylinder-seal”	-----
66 different (precious) stones	-----
1 “Suen-kù-babbar, “silver sun-disc”	-----
1 <i>ma-sá-tum</i> , “throwing spear”	-----

It is assumed that these 118 items were in the *cella* of the god Šara in Umma.

### 3.4. Administrative location

Two texts from Umma that mention *gi<sub>16</sub>-sa*, “treasure”, qualify all or part of them as *bar-ta gál-la*<sup>85</sup>, “that are outside”<sup>86</sup>. This expression means that the objects were outside from the institution, i.e. the temple, for a reason that is not indicated in the text, at the time of their reception by an official. The fact that these objects were outside when they were received is shown by MVN 16 1554: 1-5 (Š 37-38, Š 45 / -), which mentions 1 *ḥa-zi-in-zabar*, “bronze axe” of 0.5 kg that was delivered in the year Š 37 being outside (*bar-ta i-gál-la-àm*), and brought into the house/room of the divine precious metals (see note 24) in the year Š 45. This opposition of valuable objects outside and inside the institution is already documented in the Presargonic period<sup>87</sup>. This primary meaning as “(goods) that are outside” developed into “outstanding (goods)”, i.e. items that should be restituted but for some reason were not returned<sup>88</sup>.

A similar term that appears in lists of valuable objects of divinities is *é-šu-sum-ma*<sup>89</sup>, “deposit”. All these are cases of valuable objects that the governor held in deposit for a period of time, in order to examine them or for their use during a feast, and that he returned to the temple afterwards<sup>90</sup>.

85. TCL 5 6044 r. III ‘5’ (Š 35 / -) and TCL 5 6055 r. II ‘3’ (AS 3 / iv -). *bar-ta gál-la* referring to valuable objects is documented too in the texts from Umma BPOA 1 359 = Nisaba 11 2 r. 5 (Š 25/Š 44/IS 3 / -), MVN 16 1554: 3 (Š 37-38, Š 45 / -) – *bar-ta i-gál-la-àm* –, MVN 11 165: 10 (Š 39 / -) – referring to silver and gold –, BPOA 6 911: 7 > BCT 2 143 r. I ‘10’ (Š 48 / -) and AAICAB 1/1 1911-240 r. III 20 (ŠS 5 / -).

86. For *bar-ra* (before Ur III period) > *bar-ta* (Ur III period)...*gál* cp. Balke 1998: 9 3.

87. FAOS 15,2/2 114: I 1-r. IV 1 (- / -).

88. See e.g. the Old Akkadian text from Adab TCBI 1 92: 1-r. 4 (- / -), in which 7 *šum<sup>undu</sup> šu-a-gi<sub>4</sub>-a-Ada-b<sup>ki</sup>-ki*, “copper saws, turned over by Adab-ki”, appears in opposition to 11 *šum<sup>undu</sup> 40 ba bar-ra gál-la-Adab<sup>ki</sup>-ki*, “11 copper saws (and) 40 *suppinu*-tools, outstanding (for) Adab-ki”, cp. Schrakamp 2008: 689 Bdl Adab 92 Rs. 2. In this sense *bar-ra/ta gál-la* was very close to *lá-NI*, «arrears», of an account that should be restituted, cp. Lecompte 2016: 103.

89. **Drehem**: MVN 3 152 r. 43 (Š 37 / iii -), OIP 115 483 r. 40 (Š 37 / iii -), YOS 4 296 r. 43 (Š 37 / iii -) and **Nippur**: BBVO 11 p. 292 ff. 6 NT 606+Joins r. VI [1]2’ (Š 35 / - ‘13’+[x]), cp. Paoletti 2012: 102 f. Furthermore, see the texts from Lagaš MVN 5 155 r. I 19, IV 1 (AS 3 / -), TÉL 21 r. ‘20’ (ŠS 4 / -) and from Drehem MVN 3 266 r. 2 (ŠS 5 / vi -), which qualify valuable objects (of officials) as *é-šu-sum-ma*, which these officials had in deposit while they were in office, but they had to return them to the state when they left their position.

90. For *é-šu-sum-ma* as goods in deposit see lately Paoletti 2012: 103 note 168 = 434 note 809 (with previous bibliography). For an interpretation of *é-šu-sum-ma* as «warehouse(?)» see Owen 2013: 32 note 24.

#### 4. CONCLUSIONS

The Sumerian proper term for treasure was  $gi_{16}$ -sa, which is documented since the Presargonic period and appears for the first time in the Ur III period qualifying objects pertaining to divinities. Other terms that in the Ur III period could refer to treasures are an-zak, «goods, treasure», azak(KÛ.AN), «divine precious metals», and níg-gur<sub>11</sub>, «property», especially when these words are followed by the name of a divinity. This fact, together with instances of  $gi_{16}$ -sa always referring to divinities, points to temples having a role as hoards of wealth. These treasures were principally located in  $gis$ gú-ne-sag(-gá), «cupboards», and pisag, «baskets», kept in different buildings or rooms of the temples, whose different name seems to have depended on the province or the temple, and were guarded by different officials, especially by the gudu<sub>4</sub>-priest/priestess.

Table I: Objects qualified as  $gi_{16}$ -sa, “treasure»

##### 1. urudu<sub>a</sub>-[lá?], “copper plate”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055: II 13	Umma	1	6+[x gín] (= 49.8+[x] g)	bar-ta g[ál-la]	$gi_{16}$ -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

##### 2. a-lá-kù-sig<sub>17</sub>, “gold plate”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: I 16’	Umma	2	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

##### 3. a-lá-urudu, “copper plate”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: III 6’	Umma	1	10+[(x) gín] (= 83+[(x)] g)	bar-ta g[ál-la]	$gi_{16}$ -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

##### 4. a-’lá’-zabar(’UD’.KA.BAR), “bronze plate”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: III 10’	Umma	1	[]	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

##### 5. [na<sup>4</sup>]á-šubi<sub>x</sub>(MÛŠ.ZA), “se/ihru-stone”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: II 12’	Umma	[]	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

6. <sup>na4</sup>al-ga-mes, “algamešu-stone”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: II [1]0’; r. I 2[0]; II 12	Umma	[]; 6; 2	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

7. <sup>na4</sup>amaš<sub>x</sub> (variants of KWU 543.1 and 2)-me-è, “abašmû-stone”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. II ’11’	Umma	7	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM
TCL 5 6055 r. I ’5’	Umma	2	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

8. <sup>na4</sup>AN.É-gíd, “long AN.É-stone”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 18’	Umma	1	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

9. APIN.ME-zabar, “bronze APIN.ME”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055: II 7	Umma	10	< >	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

10. <sup>urudu</sup>ba-an-du<sub>8</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>, “copper bucket”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055: II 5	Umma	1	5 5/6 ma-na (= 2.91 kg)	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

11. ba-an-du<sub>8</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>-zabar, “bronze bucket”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: III 12’	Umma	2	8 1/3 ma-na (= 4.16 kg)	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

12. <sup>tug</sup>bar-dul<sub>5</sub>-sipa, “bar-dul<sub>5</sub>-textile (of) herdsman”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 21’	Umma	1	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

13. BI.ĪI-kù-sig<sub>17</sub> šà GIŠ.SAR-zí-ga, “gold BI.ĪI in GIŠ.SAR-zí-ga”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
BPOA 1 425 r. 9	Umma	2	bar-ta gál-la	[g] <sub>16</sub> -sa- <sup>d</sup> Nin-AN-si <sub>4</sub> -an-na

14. <sup>(na4)</sup>bur, “ceremonial (stone) vessel”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 17; II 10; III 4	Umma	6; 3; 7	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-sa-kúr- NIM

15. <sup>na4</sup>du<sub>8</sub>-du<sub>8</sub>-um zabar gá-ra, “stone cooking pot covered with bronze”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 13’	Umma	1	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

16. Eš<sub>20</sub>-tár-kù-sig<sub>17</sub>, “gold Venus star”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 14’	Umma	1	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

## 17. gada-gin-sumun, “old ordinary linen”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 24’	Umma	1	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

18. <sup>urudu</sup>gal-sag-kul, “copper drinking vessel (with?) clasp”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. II 10	Umma	1	5/6 ma-na (= 0.41 kg)	ša-bisag-gá-ka gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

## 19. gal-sag-kul-zabar, “bronze drinking vessel (with?) clasp”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055: I 1	Umma	3	2 1/3 ma-na 4 gín (= 1.19 kg)	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

## 20. gal-urudu, “copper drinking vessel”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: II 4’	Umma	4	2 1/3 ma-na 5 gín (= 1.20 kg)	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

## 21. gal-zabar, “bronze drinking vessel”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: II ‘2’	Umma	3	1 1/2 ma-[na] 5 gín (= 0.78 kg)	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

TCL 5 6055: I 3	Umma	1	1/2 ma-na 1 gín (= 0.25 kg)	bar-ta g[ál-la]	$gi_{16}$ -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka
TCL 5 6055 r. II 6	Umma	2	1 ma-na 18 gín (= 0.64 kg)	ša-bisag- gá-ka gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

22. ‘GIR’-ab-ba-kù-sig<sub>17</sub>, “gold GIR-sea (fish)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. III 1	Umma	‘1’	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

23. gír-nam-ša-[ru(-um)], “sword”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: I 3’	Umma	8	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

24. gír-nam-[ša-ru(-um)]-zab[ar], “bronze sword”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: I 2’	Umma	12	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

25. gír-[], “[ ] knife”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: I 1’	Umma	1	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

26.  $giš$ -bu<sub>10</sub>-á-[šubi<sub>x</sub><sup>?</sup>(MÙŠ<sup>?</sup>.ZA<sup>?</sup>)], “loop of *se/iḫru*<sup>?</sup>(-stone)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 5	Umma	12	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

27.  $giš$ -bu<sub>10</sub>-amaš<sub>x</sub>(variant of KWU 543.1)-me-è, “loop of *abašmū*(-stone)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: III 21’; r. I 2[3]	Umma	2; 5	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

28.  $giš$ -bu<sub>10</sub>-BU.U.‘AN’, “loop of BU.U.AN(-stone)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 21	Umma	1	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

29. giš-bu<sub>10</sub>-bur [(x)], “loop of [?] ceremonial vessel”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 24	Umma	1	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

30. giš-bu<sub>10</sub>-ma-DA-lum, “loop of maDAllum(-stone)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 1[4]; r. II 1	Umma	7; 4	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

31. giš-bu<sub>10</sub>-nir, “loop of *hulālu*(-stone)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 15	Umma	2	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

32. giš-bu<sub>10</sub>-<sup>na4</sup>S[U<sup>?</sup>.A<sup>?</sup>], “loop of *sū*<sup>?</sup>-stone”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 4	Umma	2	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

33. <sup>na4</sup>GIŠ.NIMIN-al-ga-mes, “stone GIŠ.NIMIN of *algamešu*(-stone)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 10’	Umma	1	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

34. <sup>na4</sup>GIŠ.NIMIN-Ki-maš<sup>ki</sup>, “stone GIŠ.NIMIN of *Kimaš*(-stone)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 11’	Umma	1	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

35. <sup>na4</sup>GIŠ.NIMIN-PÙ.UZ-ḫi-li, “stone GIŠ.NIMIN of PÙ.UZ-ḫi-li(-stone)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 12’	Umma	1	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

36. <sup>na4</sup>GIŠ.NIMIN-tur-bur-ra, “small stone GIŠ.NIMIN of ceremonial vessel”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 16’	Umma	2	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

37. <sup>na4</sup>GIŠ.NIMIN-[x.x.(x)], “stone GIŠ.NIMIN of [ ]”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 4’	Umma	1	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka



38.  $na^4G[IS.NIMIN-x.x(x)]$ , “stone GIŠ.NIMIN of [ ]”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 3’	Umma	2	bar-ta g[ál-la]	$gi_{16}$ -sa-si-il-la- $^dNin-me-en-ka$

39. GIŠ.SAR-zí-ga  $kù-sig_{17}$  gar, “GIŠ.SAR-zí-ga cover(ed) with gold”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
BPOA 1 425: 8	Umma	1	bar-ta gál-la	[g] $i_{16}$ -sa- $^dNin$ - AN-si $_4$ -an-na

40. GU-na-an-gi $_4$ -zabar, “bronze GU-na-an-gi $_4$ ”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055: I 5	Umma	3	1 ma-na 8 gín (= 0.56 kg)	bar-ta g[ál-la]	$gi_{16}$ -sa-si-il-la- $^dNin-me-en-ka$

41.  $gú Eš_{20}$ -tár-kù-sig $_{17}$  na $_4$ -h $i$ -a...šà-sag-kéš-1-kam, “necklace (with) gold Venus stars (and) different stones... in 1 chain”

Text	Provenance	Number	length (each one)	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. II 17, 23	Umma	12	2/3’ kùš (= 0.33 m)	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM
TCL 5 6044 r. II 19, 23	Umma	8	1/2 kùš (= 0.25 m)	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM
TCL 5 6044 r. II 21, 23	Umma	1	1 kùš (= 0.5 m)	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

42.  $gú Eš_{20}$ -tár-kù-sig $_{17}$  na $_4$ -h $i$ -a...šà-sag-kéš-2-kam, “necklace (with) gold Venus stars (and) different stones...in 2 chains”

Text	Provenance	Number	length (each one)	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. II 24, 26	Umma	8	1/2 kùš (= 0.25 m)	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

43.  $túg$ gú-lá, “scarf”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
BPOA 1 425: 7	Umma	1	bar-ta gál-la	[g] $i_{16}$ -sa- $^dNin$ - AN-si $_4$ -an-na

44. gug [(x)], “[?] carnelian (stone)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 6	Umma	44	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

45. <sup>na4</sup>gug-gazi, “kasû-carnelian (stone)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 11	Umma	1	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM
TCL 5 6055 r. I 9'	Umma	2	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- dNin-me-en-ka

46. <sup>na4</sup>gug<sup>1</sup>-gíd, “long carnelian stone”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 15'	Umma	98	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- dNin-me-en-ka

47. <sup>na4</sup>gug-šu-gur-ra, “carnelian stone of finger-ring”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 8'	Umma	12	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- dNin-me-en-ka

48. <sup>túg</sup>guz-za-gin, “ordinary guz-za-textile”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 19'	Umma	4	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- dNin-me-en-ka

49. <sup>túg</sup>guz-za-gin zú-uh<sup>1</sup>(BIR), “ordinary moth-eaten guz-za-textile”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 20'	Umma	1	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- dNin-me-en-ka

## 50. ḥa-zi-in-zabar, “bronze axe”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: I 14'	Umma	1	3 gín (= 24.9 g)	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM
TCL 5 6055: II 1	Umma	1	2/3 ma-na (= 0.33 kg)	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- dNin-me-en-ka

51. ḥa-zi-in-zabar gú-bir<sub>5</sub>-ra, “bronze axe (whose) blade (is) of locust (colour)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055: II 3	Umma	2	1 ma-na (= 0.5 kg)	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- dNin-me-en-ka

## 52. ḥar-an-na, “tin ring”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
BPOA 1 425: 6	Umma	1	bar-ta gál-la	[g]i <sub>16</sub> -sa-dNin- AN-si <sub>4</sub> -an-na

53. *ib-[lá (x).(x)]*, “[?] belt”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: I 7'	Umma	1	[]	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

54. *kak-<sup>r</sup>zabar*, “bronze peg”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: I 12'	Umma	2	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

55. *kišib-<sup>r</sup>á'-šubi<sub>x</sub>* (MÜŠ.ZA), “cylinder-seal of *se/iḫru*(-stone)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 28	Umma	1	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

56. *kišib-im-ma-an*, “cylinder-seal of *immanakku*(-stone)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 1[9]; II 15	Umma	2; 1	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

57. *kišib-ma-DA-<sup>r</sup>lum*<sup>-gu-la</sup> *zabar gar*, “larger/largest cylinder-seal of *maDAllum*(-stone) cover(ed) with bronze”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: I 13'	Umma	1	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

58. *kišib-nir*, “cylinder-seal of *ḫulālu*(-stone)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 3	Umma	1	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

59. *kišib-ŠA.ZU.GUR<sub>8</sub>.ME*, “cylinder-seal of *zašk/qītu*(-stone)”<sup>91</sup>

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 9	Umma	8	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

60. *kišib-za-an-zaḫ*, “cylinder-seal (with) *anzaḫḫu*-glass nuggets”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 10	Umma	3	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

61. *kišib-za-gin za-kù gar*, “lapis lazuli cylinder-seal cover(ed) with precious metal nuggets”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 13	Umma	2	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

91. It is assumed that ŠA.ZU.GUR<sub>8</sub>.ME is a written form for the stone AN.ZA.GUL.ME = *zašk/qītu*, for which see Schuster-Brandis 2008: 396 10.

62. kišib-za-gin za-kù-sig<sub>17</sub> gar, “lapis lazuli cylinder-seal cover(ed) with gold nuggets”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. III 3	Umma	1	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

63. kišib-za-gin za-[x.(x) gar], “lapis lazuli cylinder-seal cover(ed) with [] nuggets”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 2	Umma	23	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

64. kù-babbar, “silver”

Text	Provenance	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. II 12	Umma	13 še (= 0.59 g)	ša-bisag-gá-ka gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

65. ku[n-dù (x).(x)], “[?] vessel for sprinkling”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: I 9’	Umma	1	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

66. <sup>urudu</sup>li-li-ís, “copper timbales”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055: II 9	Umma	1	20 ma-na (= 10 kg)	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

67. <sup>na4</sup>ma-DA-[lum] amaš<sub>x</sub> (KWU 543.2)-me-è; “maDAllum-stone (with) abašmû(-stone)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 6’	Umma	12	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

68. ma-ša-lum, “mirror”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: III 8’	Umma	1	2/3 ma-na (= 0.33 kg)	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

69. na<sub>4</sub>-ḫi-a “šà!”-gú-2-a-kam, “different stones in 2 necklaces”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
BPOA 1 425: 3-4	Umma	14	bar-ta gál-la	[g]i <sub>16</sub> -sa- <sup>d</sup> Nin- AN-si <sub>4</sub> -an-na

70. <sup>na4</sup>NÍG-da-ḫi-a “šà!”-gú-1-a-kam, “different stones NÍG-da in 1 necklace”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
BPOA 1 425: 1-2	Umma	[+12]	bar-ta gál-la	[g]i <sub>16</sub> -sa- <sup>d</sup> Nin- AN-si <sub>4</sub> -an-na

71. NÍG.KA.[UR <sup>na4</sup>]giš-nu-gal-ba zabar gar, “NÍG.KA.UR-weapon whose alabaster is cover(ed) with bronze”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: I 5’	Umma	3	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

72. NÍG.KA.[UR] kù-babbar [x.x.(x)].x, “silver NÍG.KA.UR-weapon [ ]”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: I 4’	Umma	2	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

73. NÍG.KA.[UR] ‘x’.NI.[x.x.(x)], “[ ] NÍG.KA.UR-weapon [ ]”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: I 6’	Umma	5	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

74. <sup>tug</sup>níg-lám-gin, “ordinary níg-lám-textile”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 23’	Umma	2	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- dNin-me-en-ka

75. <sup>tug</sup>NÍG.MUNUS.LAL.SAG-gin, “ordinary head cover (for) woman”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 25’	Umma	1	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- dNin-me-en-ka

76. <sup>na4</sup>nir, “*hulālu*-stone”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 7’	Umma	17	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- dNin-me-en-ka

77. nir-aškud, “*aškuttu*(-stone)”<sup>92</sup>

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: II [1]3’; r. II 16	Umma	[ ]; 2	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

78. nir-aškud kù-sig<sub>17</sub> kù-babbar gar, “*aškuttu*(-stone) cover(ed) with gold (and) silver”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. II 14	Umma	3	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

92. Note HAR-ra = *hubullu* XVI, MSL 10 p. 9 153 [na<sub>4</sub>.nir.á].ZA+SUH [áš-kut-tum], cp. *a-ši-ku-tu* in pg. 42 118.

79. nir-gaba, “*ḫulālu*(-stone in form of) breast”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. II 9	Umma	1	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

80. nir-[gaba/igi], “*ḫulālu*(-stone in form of) breast/eye”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 8	Umma	40	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

81. nir-igi, “*ḫulālu*(-stone in form of) eye”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. II 6	Umma	3	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

82. nir-šu-gur-ra, “*ḫulālu*(-stone) of finger-ring”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: I 17'	Umma	1	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

83. #pisag-<sup>7</sup>túg?, “reed basket (for) textiles”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. II 1	Umma	6	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

84. *sà-ḫum*-zabar, “bronze libation jar”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055: I 7	Umma	1	1/2 ma-na 3 gín (= 0.27 kg)	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

85. <sup>urudu</sup>! *Suen*-gíd, “copper long divine sun-disc”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 17'	Umma	1	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

86. ŠA.ZU.GUR<sub>8</sub>.ME, “*zašk/qītu*(-stone)”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: II 11 <sup>793</sup> ; r. II 13	Umma	[ ]; 3	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

87. ŠĀ.GUL-ga[<sup>l</sup>(x).(x)], “big? [?] ŠĀ.GUL”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 16	Umma	1	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

93. The copy shows [x Š]A.ZU.ḪAR.A. However, the parallel list of stones in r. II 12-14 rises the question whether [Š]A.ZU.ḪAR.A is actually ŠA.ZU.GUR<sub>8</sub>.ME!. A collation of the passage is necessary.

88. šen-da-NI-zabar(UD.[KA.BAR]), “bronze da-NI-cauldron”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: III 4'	Umma	1	2/3 ma-n[a] (= 0.33 kg)	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

89. šubi<sub>x</sub>(MÚŠ.ZA), “(stone in form of) mussel”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 26; II 7	Umma	2; 2	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

90. tu-di-da-gug kù-sig<sub>17</sub> gar, “carnelian toggle pin cover(ed) with gold”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. III 2	Umma	2	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

91. tu-di-da-gug sag-alim'(HI.KIŠ)-kù-sig<sub>17</sub>, “carnelian toggle pin (with) a gold head (in the form of a) bison”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 1	Umma	1	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

92. [tu-di-d]a sag-alim'(HI.KIŠ) kù' gar, “toggle pin (with) a head (in the form of a) bison covered (with) precious metal”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: II 15'	Umma	[ ]	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

93. tu-di-da sag-da alim, “toggle pin (with) a bison on (its) head”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
BPOA 1 425: 5	Umma	1	bar-ta gál-la	[g] <sub>16</sub> -sa- <sup>d</sup> Nin-AN-si <sub>4</sub> -an-na

94. tu-di-da-zabar, “bronze toggle pin”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055: II 11	Umma	15	5/6 ma-na 3 gín (= 0.44 kg)	bar-ta g[ál-la]	$gi_{16}$ -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

95. <sup>urudu</sup>tùn-lá, “copper libation vessel”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044: II ‘6’	Umma	1	5/6 ma-na (= 0.41 kg)	[bar]-ta gál-la	$gi_{16}$ -sa-kúr-NIM

TCL 5 6055: I 11	Umma	1	1 ma-na 13 gín (= 0.60 kg)	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka
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96. tùn-lá-zabar, “bronze libation vessel”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. II 4	Umma	1	5/6 ma-na 3 gín (= 0.44 kg)	šà-bisag-gá-ka gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

97. TUR.AL.[(x)], “?.”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 18	Umma	1	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

98. u-ra-ku-um, “rod”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 22; II 4	Umma	3; 6	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

99. <sup>u</sup>uš-bar, “uš-bar-textile”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. I 22'	Umma	10	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

100. za-an-zaḥ, “nugget of *anzahhu*-glass”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. II 2	Umma	18	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

101. za-an-zaḥ-gíd-da, “long nugget of *anzahhu*-glass”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 12	Umma	11	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

102. za-ellag<sub>x</sub>(AH)-kù-babbar, “silver nugget (in the form of a) kidney”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. II 8	Umma	2	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

103. za-ellag<sub>x</sub>(AH)-kù-sig<sub>17</sub>, “gold nugget (in the form of a) kidney”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I '25'; II 5	Umma	60; 25	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM



104. za-ellag<sub>x</sub>(AĤ)-zabar, “bronze nugget (in the form of a) kidney”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 27	Umma	1+[(x)]	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

105. za-gin za-gíd-da, “lapis lazuli (whose) nuggets (are) long”

Text	Provenance	Number	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6044 r. I 7'; II 3	Umma	8; 16	[bar]-ta gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-kúr-NIM

106. zabar-<sup>dug</sup>lah<sub>3</sub>-tan, “ceremonial pithos”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055: I 9	Umma	1	1 2/3 ma-na 5 gín (= 0.87 kg)	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

107. zabar-má-gur<sub>8</sub>, “bronze-mirror<sup>?</sup> (with<sup>?</sup>) má-gur<sub>8</sub>-ships”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055 r. II 8	Umma	2	1 ma-na 10 gín (= 0.58 kg)	ša-bisag-gá-ka gál-la	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

108. zabar-<sup>r</sup>(x).x', “bronze [ ]”

Text	Provenance	Number	Weight	Location	Qualification
TCL 5 6055: I 13	Umma	1	14+[(x) ma <sup>?</sup> -na <sup>?</sup> ] (= 7 <sup>?</sup> +[(x)] kg <sup>?</sup> )	bar-ta g[ál-la]	gi <sub>16</sub> -sa-si-il-la- <sup>d</sup> Nin-me-en-ka

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*The sumerian term gi<sub>16</sub>-sa, "treasure", and the location of treasure in the Ur III period (c. 2100-2000 BC)* 43

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