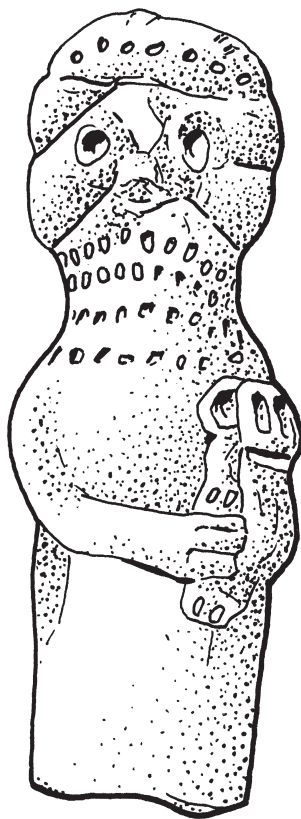# House and Household Economies in 3rd Millennium B.C.E. Syro-Mesopotamia

Edited by

Federico Buccellati
Tobias Helms
Alexander Tamm

BAR International Series 2682
2014

Table of Contents

E$_2$-mi$_2$ – 'women's quarters': the earliest written evidence

Vitali Bartash, Frankfurt am Main

Summary

This paper looks at the earliest appearances of the Sumerian term **e$_2$-mi$_2$** in written evidence from cities other than Girsu. The word is variously translated as 'women's quarters', 'queen's household', etc. Combining evidence from lexical, literary and economic texts, an attempt is made to outline the morphology and possible semantics of the term.

The sign combination E$_2$-MUNUS[1] is found as early as the Uruk III period, in which it might have designated a building or an institution. The term **e$_2$-mi$_2$** as a household, or part of one, is unambiguously attested in ED IIIb – Ur III texts from Southern Mesopotamia. The combination of evidence from different text genres shows that **e$_2$-mi$_2$** referred to the 'women's part of a house', where women and also babies lived.

In addition this paper provides the morphological analysis of the term for **ama-a-tu/emedu** and adopts its new understanding as '(the one) born in the women's part of the house' supporting its usual understanding as 'household slave',

Keywords: Ancient Sumer; 3rd mill. BC; household; women and children; cuneiform texts from Archaic, Early Dynastic and Sargonic periods.

Terms discussed: E$_2$-MUNUS, **e$_2$-mi$_2$**, **ama$_5$/ame$_2$**, **emedu**(AMA.A.TU).

1. Introduction[2]

The term commonly referred to as **e$_2$-mi$_2$** has attracted the attention of scholars since the start of the publication of presently approximately 1800 texts from ED IIIb Girsu, modern Tello/Tall Lawh.[3] These texts of administrative content originate from the time period limited by the reigns of Enentarzi, Lugalanda, and Urukagina, the rulers of the First dynasty of Lagash, which roughly corresponds to 2400-2350 BC, according to the 'Middle Chronology'.[4]

The ED IIIb Girsu **e$_2$-mi$_2$** has been extensively studied by numerous scholars for more than a hundred years. It is common knowledge that **e$_2$-mi$_2$** at ED IIIb Girsu was renamed as **e$_2$ ^{d}Ba-wa$_3$** ('the house of (the goddess) Bawa') during the Urukagina 'reforms'. Gebhard Selz entitles this and similar early Sumerian institutions as "institutionale Haushalte, die oft als 'Tempel' bezeichnet werden" (Selz 2011b: 26). This renaming did not much alter the institution in terms of its economy or administration (Prentice 2010: 4). Therefore it is clear that the Girsu's **e$_2$-mi$_2$** has been a temple household.

However the term **e$_2$-mi$_2$** occurs also in textual evidence from Mesopotamian cities other than Girsu. As will become clear from this paper, **e$_2$-mi$_2$** was only a name of the above mentioned Girsu temple of the goddess Bawa. However, the evidence from other cities and periods implies that **e$_2$-mi$_2$** was a term for women quarters of any household. In case of the Girsu's **e$_2$-mi$_2$** we have an example of metonymy, where the temple of Bawa receives the name 'women quarters' because she is the spouse of the male deity Ningirsu. Therefore, the the Girsu's **e$_2$-mi$_2$** is not **e$_2$-mi$_2$** in its original, social sense. However this does not eliminate the possibility of the origins of the Bawa temple from 'women quarters' of the governess Dimtur (cf. citation by Maekawa below).

The fact that the temple name **e$_2$-mi$_2$** is mentioned in numerous ED IIIb Girsu documents,[5] combined with multiple studies which regard this institution as a typical Sumerian social and economic entity, creates an elusive impression of **e$_2$-mi$_2$** being of enormous economic importance. For instance, one of the papers on **e$_2$-mi$_2$** in ED III Girsu explains this institution 'as paradigmatic of an organizational type at ED Lagash' (Magid 2001: 316). However a detailed

---

[1] Here and further the sign's name is given according to MZL.
[2] I am deeply grateful to Jerrold S. Cooper (The Johns Hopkins University), Robert K. Englund (UCLA), Salvatore F. Monaco (Rome), Thomas Richter (Frankfurt/Main) and Aage Westenholz (Copenhagen) for reading the draft of this paper and providing me with valuable corrections and suggestions. Any remaining shortcomings in the paper rest solely with the author.
[3] For the number of texts available and their probable provenance, cf. recently Prentice 2010: 2.

[4] Cf. Selz 2011a for a recent discussion of the ED IIIb Girsu archives, their contents, structure, peculiarities of tablet specimens as well as a summary of their accounting terminology.
[5] For instance there are 157 ED IIIb Girsu documents mentioning the term according to the CDLI database (April 2013). The multitude of references to the term **e$_2$-mi$_2$** in the ED IIIb Girsu texts may be explained by the supposition that the majority of texts from that site and period has been excavated by either archaeologists or looters in the area of the **e$_2$-mi$_2$** itself. Cf. Bauer 1998: 440-441 for a description of excavation progress at Girsu and a map of the excavations.

study of e_2-mi_2 in ED Girsu reveals that its economic role is largely overestimated.

Maekawa (1973-74) provides a thorough study of the economy of the Girsu e_2-mi_2. Maekawa's figures (ibid: 89 ff.) illustrate that e_2-mi_2 employed a staff of not much larger than 200 individuals[6]. For instance only about a dozen 'craftsmen' ($\hat{g}eš$-$ki\hat{g}_2$-ti) are mentioned in the barley rationing lists, which implies that their labor was not aimed at production but was used rather to maintain the e_2-mi_2 itself. Evidently e_2-mi_2 had been a rather moderate-sized natural-economy household.[7] Maekawa's conclusions say much for it: "The organization of e_2-mi_2 was originally far smaller and more modest than the temple of Nin-gir$_2$-su or the 'palace'. Even when it developed during the reigns of Lugal-an-da and Uru-KA-gi-na, the population of the personnel of the e_2-mi_2 was "… only about one-twentieth of that of the temple of Nin-gir$_2$-su. T. Gomi has assumed the actual temple of Ba-u$_2$ was forced to be the e_2-mi_2 in the days of En-en$_3$-tar-zi [i.e. much earlier - VB]. I am disinclined to this view. The personnel of the e_2-mi_2 in those days … may have been only several dozens of private followers of Dim$_3$-tur." (Maekawa 1973-74: 139).

Therefore the e_2-mi_2 of ED IIIb Girsu must have been a small temple institution, very likely dependent on a larger central institution, such as the ED IIIb Girsu e_2-gal 'palace' was[8]. One of the most striking distinctive marks in administering this institution is that it had always been under the authority of a ruler's wife (Prentice 2010: 3). These persons were Dimtur, the wife of Enentarzi, Baranamtara, the spouse of Lugalanda, and Sasa, the consort of Urukagina. This led numerous scholars to the conclusion that e_2-mi_2 was a sort of 'queen's manor'. For instance Rosemary Prentice writes: "The term 'e_2-MI_2' may be translated as 'house of the woman', and assuming that 'the woman' refers to the ruler's wife, a translation of 'household of the ruler's wife' is possible …".[9]

Here it is important to stress the fact that we have a clear example of a household which can be described as both 'temple' (because in was a temple of goddess Bawa) and 'palace household' (because it was ruler wives manor) in case of the Girsu's e_2-mi_2. This fact should be taken into consideration by those studying the history of the 'palace/temple households' relationships in the 3rd mill. BC.

E_2-mi_2 in the time of the Second dynasty of Lagash, which partly preceded and partly was synchronous with the Ur III

dynasty (Steinkeller 1988), remains unstudied, most likely due to the insignificant number of references to the term available hitherto.[10]

E_2-mi_2 is also present in Ur III documents from Girsu. W. Sallaberger follows the translation 'Frauengemach' – 'women's chambers' – established by Adam Falkenstein, who had also identified the writing a_2-mi as a variant for e_2-mi_2 (Falkenstein 1966: 144 f.; Sallaberger 1993: 289 and footnote 1351). Sallaberger adds an interesting quotation from an Ur III document BM 12364 (published in Sauren 1970: 74 and also republished as MVN 17, 129; rev. 2): (female name, the wife of a goldsmith) **mu a_2-mi-a i_3-in-ti-la-še$_3$** "because (female person) lived in the 'women's chambers'" (Sallaberger 1993: ib.), which shows that women lived in e_2-mi_2.

Sallaberger mentions Ur III Girsu's e_2-mi_2 in his article 'Palast' in the *Reallexikon für Assyriologie*. He writes the following about parts of a Mesopotamian palace: "Besides a throne room and places of worship, a harem appertaining to the ruler and her maidservants is also attested in the Old Sumerian Lagash as an institution (e_2-mi_2) and likely as a part of 'palace' in Ur III" (Sallaberger 2003: 203; translation from German - VB). He also provides references to two Ur III texts from Ur which imply that e_2-mi_2 was part of a palace complex: **a_2-mi$_2$ ša$_3$ e_2-gal-še$_3$ zi-ga** '(goods) withdrawn for *Emi* inside the palace' (UET 3, 1566 obv. 3-4 and 1718 obv. 2-3).

We do not have any evidence yet to support the assumption that the e_2-mi_2 had been the predecessor of what is known in the Islamic world as *harem*. However the evidence supporting the thesis that e_2-mi_2 could have been part of the e_2-gal 'palace' is discussed further.

2.1. Reading and meaning of the term

The sign combination E_2-MUNUS is 'house' plus 'woman' at face value. The rendering of the term evoked a considerable discrepancy in the translation and understanding: the majority of scholars prefer e_2-mi_2 nowadays; however the rendering e_2-$munus$ is also present from time to time in some publications. However the correct reading is undoubtedly e_2-mi_2, as was proved long ago.

The term in its writings **ama$_5$/ame$_2$** (GA$_2$×MUNUS and E$_2$×MUNUS), with syllabic renderings **a-ma** and **a-me**, is compared with the Akkadian word *maštaku* in lexical lists and translated as 'living quarters' by the Chicago Assyrian Dictionary. The references also illustrate that this building was mainly the abode of goddesses and women (CAD M^1, p. 392 f.).

---

[6] The number of employees fluctuated between 49 and 724 during the ED IIIb period according to Selz (2010: 16).

[7] This does not mean that it had been self-sufficient and independent economically. Numerous documents enumerate goods incoming into e_2-mi_2 from "the palace".

[8] The same idea is now communicated by Schrakamp (2013). The present paper has been written before the appearance of that important contribution by Schrakamp.

[9] It is obvious that without a plausible morphemic and phonemic approximation it is difficult to establish the semantics of the term. This will be attempted below.

[10] The term is attested in several texts according to the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative's database (April 2013).

It is commonly held since Krecher's *Sumerische Kultlyrik* that **a₂-mi₂** is the variant of **e₂-mi₂** and that **e₂-mi₂** is the older spelling of **ama₅**(GA₂×mi₂) and **amaₓ**(E₂×mi₂) of literary compositions (Krecher 1966: 110-112). He translates the term as 'Frauen-Wohnstätte' and especially as 'Kultraum weiblicher Gottheiten' (ibid: 110).

Selz referred to the evidence collected by Krecher, where **e₂-mi₂** is paralleled by **ame₂**= **ama₅**=**eme₈**, in his edition of the ED IIIb Girsu administrative texts in American collections. Selz accepted Krecher's suggestion that the Sumerian word for '(human and animal) female' is */**eme**/, which is concealed under the sign AMA. Thus the sign AMA should be read **eme₄**.

The readings **eme₄** and **imi₂** are attested in the following lexical texts:

References	Sumerian	Akkadian	Values
MSL 15 (Diri), p. 30, 7:23-24	**ama-gan**	*ummum wālittum*;	**imi₂** (cf. MZL, no. 392, p. 118).
MSL 14 (Ea), p. 364, lines 239-240	**e-me** = **GA₂×AN** **a-ma** = **GA₂×AN**	*i-mi-ka-a-nu-um* *ummum* 'mother'	**eme₄**, **ama**
MSL 12 (Lu), p. 228 iii 13'	**lu₂ AMA.A.TU^{e-}** _{me-du}	*ilitti bīti* ' offspring of the house' (= slave born in the house)	**emedu**

The lexical evidence displays two or even three phonemic variants of the Sumerian word mother: /**ama**/, /**eme**/ and /**imi**/. On the other hand the phonemic shape /**ama**/ for 'mother' is confirmed by the variation in the writing of a personal name: **Igi-ama-še₃** vs. **Igi-ma-še₃** (ED IIIb – Ur III *passim*). Therefore, /**eme**/ and /**imi**/ must have been either (dialectic?) variations of the Sumerian term for 'mother' or refer to **e₂-mi₂** instead.

Very important for the present discussion is the fact that lexical evidence clearly distinguishes between the sign AMA in **ama/eme₄** 'mother' and AMA in **emedu** 'house-born slave'.[11] This means that AMA of **ama-a-tu** = **emedu** 'house-born slave' and of /**ama**/ 'mother' are different words. Further we show that **ama** in the term for 'house-born slave' should be read **eme₄** and is identical with the term **e₂-mi₂**.

Krecher saw the element **eme₄** 'mother' – 'Weibchen' according to him – in the word **emedu** which he understood as 'jemand (= der Sklave bzw. die Sklavin) von der Art,

wie er (sie) durch eine /eme/ geboren wird' (Krecher 1987: 9-10). Therefore he analyzes **emedu**(AMA.A.TU) as **eme₄** in the meaning 'female' plus **tu(d)** 'to give birth' (ib.: 9 ff.).

We suggest here a completely different understanding for the term **emedu** 'house-born slave'. We regard the sign AMA in the reading **eme₄** as referring to the term **e₂-mi₂**, which is combined with a verbal form **a=tu(d)=Ø**. The a= should most likely be associated with the 'prefixed indicator a(l)' (Edzard 2003: 111 ff.), with the notion of 'state' as opposed to 'action'. The whole term thereby means '(the one) born in/of the *Emi*'. Another possibility is to interpret the term as: **eme₄=a tud=(a)** 'born in the *Emi*'. The latter seems more probable grammatically. In any event here the term **e₂-mi₂** is likely to be hiding under the writing AMA. This provides an important implication that **e₂-mi₂** must have been simply the 'women's part of a(ny) house' where births must also have taken place.

As stated previously, the word **e₂-mi₂** takes the form **ama₅/ame₂** = *maštaku* 'living quarters' in later lexical and literary texts. Based on the occurrences of **ama₅/ame₂** in Old Babylonian copies of Sumerian literary compositions, P. Michalowski comes to the conclusion that it is "… clear from the references cited above that in OB Sumerian literary texts this lexeme refers to the private quarters of women and young children …" (Michalowski 1989: 76-78). The discussion on **emedu** and the evidence examined further show that **e₂-mi₂** was a place where women lived and where births occurred. Therefore Cooper's definition of **ama₅/ame₂** as "a part of a house or a special building reserved for women" (Cooper 1983: 236) holds true.[12]

The phonetic realization of the term as /ame/ is attested already in texts from the 3rd mill. BC. The 'Instructions of Šuruppak' may deliver the earliest evidence for it. The following figure is the comparison of the earliest Abu Salabikh version of the text according to the copy by Biggs (OIP 99, 256+323). Two fragments were joined by Civil (1984). The composite transliteration of the Old Babylonian version originates from ETCSL:

Version	Passage	Translation
'Early Dynastic' IIIa, Abu Salabikh: originally OIP 99, 256+323 rev. v 8	**a₂:mi še₃-ˊ(x)ˋ-aĝ₂**	The *Emi* … (a verb)[13].
'Old Babylonian', ETCSL c.5.6.1, l. 254	**emeda(UM.ME)-ga-la₂ ama₅-a-ke₄ lugal-bi-ir nam ši-im-mi-ib-tar-re**	'The wet-nurses in the women's quarters determine the fate of their lord' (ETCSL)

---

[11] They are written: a) **ama-tu, ama-u₃-tu**, with **ama-tu-da** compared to Akk. *alittum* 'progenitress' (cf. CAD A¹, p. 340), whereas 'house born slave' **emedu** is written AMA.A.TU (cf. e.g. MSL 15, p. 30, 7:21-24).

[12] Note that the semantic field of **ama₅/ame₂** = *maštaku* had widened in the second and first millennium and the term meant just 'living quarters' and sometimes even 'storeroom' (Michalowski 1989: 78).

[13] For the verbal prefix **še₃**- cf. Alster 2005: 212-216 with references. As

House and Household Economies in 3rd Millennium BC Syro-Mesopotamia

B. Alster renders this line of the Early Dynastic version as $\hat{g}i_6$ a_2-a$\hat{g}_2$ še$_3$-ˈxˋ 'at night, an instruction …' relying on the understanding of Sjöberg (Alster 2005: 186, 193: line 149' according to his reckoning; Sjöberg 2003; p. 527). This rendering excludes the possibility of the reading a_2-mi in this line.

On the other hand the Old Babylonian version had understood or (re)interpreted these signs as ama_5/ame_2. Taking into account that there is a span of time – almost a millennium – between the two versions, it is possible that the Old Babylonian one may have been erroneous. Commenting upon the ETCSL translation of the Old Babylonian version it has to be noted that the interpretation must be 'wet-nurses of …' instead, since the first two words represent a genitive construction put in the ergative case: (**emeda=gala ama$_5$=ak)=e**.

The earliest a_2-mi which may be surely identified with the later ama_5/ame_2 occurs in a much later composition, the so-called 'Gudea Cylinders' (ETCSL c.2.1.7):

B ii 23   **^{d}Ba-wa$_3$-$\hat{g}u_{10}$ a_2-mi-zu ma-ra-$\hat{g}$ar**   'My Bawa, I have set up your *Emi* for you!'

B v 10   **^{d}Ba-wa$_3$ a_2-mi-ni-še$_3$ du-a-ni**   'Bawa going to her *Emi* …'

Here it is 'the abode of the goddess Bawa', which corresponds to what we know about e_2-mi$_2$ as a temple of Bawa from the ED IIIb Girsu administrative texts.

The final /i/ of the term e_2-mi$_2$ is confirmed by several references in administrative texts from Ur III Girsu where e_2-mi$_2$ is written e_2-mi in the personal name **E$_2$-mi-ni-ŠE$_3$** (HLC 28 obv. i 11; MVN 2, 277 obv. ii 14').[14] The cited above Ur III Girsu text MVN 17, 129 rev. 2 has the writing a_2-mi instead which corresponds to the practice found in the literary compositions discussed.

In addition to the discussed GA$_2$/E$_2$×MUNUS = ama_5/ame_2 found in early literary and later lexical texts, the original sign combination E$_2$-MUNUS is also present in the lexical lists. The sign combination e_2-MUNUS-a occurs in the Old Babylonian lexical list 'Proto-Kagal' (MSL 13, p. 71) and is reconstructed in the bilingual 'Kagal Bogazköy I' (MSL 13, p. 150). The references are:

'Proto-Kagal'   'Kagal' Bo. I, D

l. 160: **e$_2$-MU-NUS-a**   l. 5: **[e$_2$-munus-a]** = ˈ *bi* ˋ-*it ši-in-ni-iš-ti*   'woman's house'

l. 161: **e$_2$-nita**   l. 4: **[e$_2$-nita]** = ˈ *bi* ˋ-*it zi-ik-ri*   'man's house'

The need of the sign A is uncertain here. It might be a phonetic complement which hints to the actual pronunciation of the term: either $^{a:}$**ame**$_x$ or **ama**$_x$^{a}. The Akkadian translation of the term confirms identification of e_2-mi$_2$ with 'women's quarters'.

The semantics of the term e_2-mi$_2$ = */ami/ is far more complicated as it might appear. The first part of the compound is undoubtedly e_2 'house', which is realized as */a/ according to variant writings[15]. The interpretation of the element written **mi$_2$** is much more complicated. Selz accepted Krecher's interpretation of the term e_2-mi$_2$ as e_2 + eme_4 (Selz 1993: 401 with references to Krecher). Let us see how the reading **mi$_2$** is represented in the lexical tradition.

The value **mi$_2$** occurs rarely in lexical lists (cf. MZL no. 883, p. 223-224) and its full form seems to be **min$_2$** instead. This is confirmed by variant writings of the word za_3-mi$_2$ 'lyre', e.g. as **za-me-in** (cf. lexical section in CAD S, p. 118 *sub sammû*).[16] Therefore the phonemic shape of the Sumerian term for 'lyre' had a final dropped consonant: */zami(n)/. Since the etymology of za_3-mi$_2$ is uncertain, its 'element' **mi(n)$_2$** cannot be connected to that of e_2-mi$_2$.

The element **mi$_2$** is the part of the compound verb **mi$_2$…dug$_4$** and its substantive **mi$_2$-dug$_4$** which means something like 'to care for' and 'care' accordingly. The evidence for this identification is provided by lexical texts which compare **mi$_2$-du$_{11}$-ga** with Akkadian *kunnû* 'to treat a person kindly' and *taknītum* 'care, solicitude' (MSL 13, p. 213, ii 20-21; CAD K, p. 540; CAD T, p. 84). Further, since the value **mim** is also compared with *kunnû* (MSL 14, p. 401, l. 230) both **mim** and **min$_2$** are here solely the representations of one and the same meaning of the sign MUNUS. The sign MUNUS is compared with both *teknītum* and *kunnûm* also in 'Proto-Ea/Aa' (MSL 14, p. 126, l. 825-826; Old Babylonian date) implying the reading **mim/min$_2$**. However it is supplemented by the interpretation **mi$_2$-<dug$_4$>** in the DCCLT which implies that both Akkadian equivalents refer to **mi$_2$-dug$_4$** rather than to **mi$_2$** alone.

The only separate meaning for **mim** (as a variant of **min$_2$**) seems to be *ruppušu* 'to widen, to make wide, to enlarge, to extent, to increase' but also 'to strengthen (weak persons)' (cf. MSL 13, p. 213, ii 19 and CAD R, p. 153 ff.). Unfortunately it is impossible to see any connection between this evidence with the term e_2-mi$_2$.

Unfortunately the meaning of the element **mi$_2$** in e_2-mi$_2$ remains uncertain. Taking into account the suggestion that e_2-mi$_2$ should be 'women's part of a house', it should stand obviously for 'woman'. However /mi/ or /mi(n)/ˀ cannot be 'woman', since the latter is **munus** in Sumerian. Should one regard this term as an adjective related to **munus**?

---

seen from the OB version, this morpheme was written with the value **ši**(IGI) instead.
[14] Against ePSD, the writing in Nik 1, 84 rev. i 2 is the usual e_2-mi$_2$.

[15] It is common knowledge that the real pronunciation of this Sumerian word must have been /hay/ or similarly.
[16] For further evidence in favor of /zamin/ or /zamen/ cf. Attinger 1993: 755-761.

This question cannot be answered positively or negatively without a thorough study of Sumerian nominal formation, which is still insufficient.

2.2. E_2+MI$_2$ of the 'Early Dynastic Lu$_2$ E'

The sign combination E_2+MUNUS occurs long before the ED IIIb period. The earliest lexical text in which it is found is known as 'Early Dynastic Lu$_2$ E' from Abu Salabikh and dates back to ED IIIa (ca. 2600 BC). This text is a list of professional titles, occupations, social statuses, etc. The reference is as follows (MSL 12, p. 19; the passage present on OIP 99, 59 obv. iv' 4'-9'):

172	maš:ga$_x$:en (EN.MAŠ.DU$_3$)	A class of dependent persons
173	$^{geme2:kar:}$karkid$_x$(MUNUS. US$_2$.AK)	woman of leisure
174	E_2+MUNUS-HAR	???
175	emedu(AMA.TU)	house-born slave (lit. '(the one) born in the *Emi*'; see discussion above)
176	AMA-E_2+MUNUS	???
177	arad$_2$	male slave

This section mentions several well-known social terms:

- **maš-ga$_x$(KAK)-en** = *muškênu*, the term designating a social status for which cf. Steinkeller and Postgate 1992: 20;

- **arad$_2$** = *wardum* 'slave';

- and the already discussed **emedu** 'slave born in the house' (*dušmû*, CAD D, p. 199).

- Line 173 mentions the occupation /**karkid**/, Akk. *harīmtu*, which is usually rendered as 'prostitute' (CAD H, p. 101). This translation is laden with the image of the prostitute and should not be applied to the Sumerian and Akkadian term. No one would name Greek *hetaeras* or Japanese *geishas* 'prostitutes'. As Copper argues, "Challenges to the conventional translation are, however, a useful reminder that our notion of prostitution carries with it connotations that can hardly apply to ancient Mesopotamian prostitution, a concept whose contours we can only dimly apprehend." (Cooper 2006: 20).

Lines 174-176 likely play with the vocalic similarity of the terms **emedu** with E_2+MUNUS. The latter may be rendered as /emi/ or /ama/. If the sign AMA may be regarded as a phonetic complement to E_2+MUNUS in line 176 (thus ^{ama}**ama**$_x$(E_2+MUNUS)), the rendering of HAR in 174 is problematic. Krecher suggested that the sign combination HAR-TU which occurs often as a personal name in Early Dynastic texts has to be read either **eme$_x$-du$_2$** 'house-born slave' or **ur$_5$-du$_2$** 'slave' (Krecher 1987: 13, 17). Even if it is true, the meaning of both writings E_2+MUNUS-HAR and AMA-E_2+MUNUS remain obscure to me.

2.3. Earliest occurrences of the sign combination E_2-MUNUS in administrative documents (Uruk III – ED IIIa)

The Uruk III documents witness the sign combination E_2-MUNUS too.[17] The identity of the later e$_2$ with the Late Uruk sign E_{2a} is certain, whereas E_{2b} may also designate a different thing (Englund 1998: 70). Englund proposed recently E_2-MUNUS as a personal name occurring in the Late Uruk 'slave accounts' (Englund 2009: 21; cf. also the name AD$_c$ E_2 SAL, ib.).

The following chart provides the references to Uruk III texts where the sign combination $E_{2a/b}$-MUNUS occurs:

Text	Date / Provenance	Reference	Notes
ATU 6, pl. 65, W 5774,b obv. ii 1	Uruk III Umma	3N$_{57}$+PIRIG$_{b1}$ E_{2a}:-MUNUS ʹDUʼ	The term occurs in the colophon. The text is concerned with daily allocations of beer. 3N$_{57}$+PIRIG$_{b1}$ could be a personal name (Englund 2009: 21). It appears in various documents as an assignee of commodities and is qualified by the terms SANGA$_b$[18] 'chief

---

[17] The sign is transliterated as SAL in the editions of the archaic cuneiform texts due to ZATU no. 443: 'SAL, MI$_2$, MUNUS'. However SAL as the name of the sign is obviously unjustified. Firstly, because **sal** is '(to be) thin' (= Akk. *raqāqu*, CAD R, p. 168 ff.). This cannot be the original meaning of this sign depicting female genitalia: the original meaning must have been 'female' or 'woman', of course.

Text	Date / Provenance	Reference	Notes
			administrator', $ŠAB_b$[19] 'shepherd' (?), TUR[20] "child?"', and $APIN$[21] '(chief) ploughman'. There is an opinion that the sign $3N_{57}$ might have had the phonetic reading $eš_{16}$ which might be placed in connection with the 3 person plural copula /=meš/ (see ZATU no. 146, p. 200). However the usual Early Dynastic and Sargonic writing for this nominal morpheme is **-me** instead. The meaning of this line may be '(for) PN of E_2-MUNUS (it) has been brought'.
IM 134325 = W 20327,3 column vii 12 (unpublished; cited according to the CDLI)	Uruk III Uruk	$3N_{57}$ $ZATU751_a$ E_{2a}: MUNUS	Allocation of some milk product (GA_a+ZATU753). The sign $3N_{57}$ occurs also here, although its meaning may represent the number of deliveries performed[22]. Thus, 'the 3rd (delivery) of the milk product $ZATU751_a$ to E_2-MUNUS'.
Cavigneaux, 1991: 153 = W 24214,3 rev. ii 1	Uruk III Uruk	… $3N_{57}$ E_{2b}:MUNUS NAMEŠDA ˹x˺	The writing occurs in the colophon and is preceded by the sign $3N_{57}$. The combination is followed by the sign NAMEŠDA which qualified an office in Late Uruk administration (Englund 1998: 105). The rendering may be 'the 3rd (delivery) to E_2-MUNUS; NAMEŠDA (was responsible)'.
MSVO 1, 191 obv. ii 2	Uruk III Jemdet Nasr	15 E_{2a}:MUNUS PAP_a […] (or) E_{2a} SAL-PA-P_a	Contents uncertain (an account of personnel?). The term is found in the text's main body. The sign PAP_a occurs often in Late Uruk 'personal names': cf. PAP-MUNUS-N_2 (Englund 2009: 22). Monaco draws attention to the fact that the sign combination SAL PAPa occurs frequently in the corpus and might be a personal name or an office (cf. PA = ugula 'overseer'). Therefore two variants of interpretation are possible: a) 'the overseer of E.MUNUS' or b) 'the house of the official SAL-PAP$_a$'.
MSVO 1, 234 obv. ii 1	Uruk III Jemdet Nasr	˹**3N**$_1$ E_{2a} X+X MUNUS?˺ (or KAK_a?)	The passage is damaged. Contents uncertain.
CUSAS 1, 168 obv. i 3	Uruk III unkn.	$9N_1$ E_{2a}:MUNUS	An account of beer allocation. The term is found in the main body of the text and thus designates an entity which receives the beer. Note that E_{2a}:MUNUS receives much more beer than any other entry in this document. Therefore the writing may refer to the institution or the abode instead of a person.

Secondly, the ancient scribes themselves names the sign **munus** (cf. Gong 2000: 161).
[18] Excavation numbers: W 15774,u, W 15920,b4, and W 20327,3.
[19] W 15775,p.
[20] MSVO 3, 53-54.
[21] W 21234.
[22] Cf. CUSAS 1, p. 14.

Text	Date / Provenance	Reference	Notes
Anonymous 0021 (CDLI no. P006381) obv. i 6, ii 3, iii 5, iii 10.	Uruk III Umma?	(obv. iii 5) 1N$_{24}$ GUG$_2$ DAM E$_{2b}$:MUNUS	The document is an account of a grain product GUG$_2$ being distributed. The professional term DAM[23] appears in all four occurrences of the sign combination E$_2$-MUNUS. Therefore the understanding 'DAM-official of the E$_2$-MUNUS' may be suggested. DAM may refer to women living in E$_2$-MUNUS.
HJN 0006 (CDLI no. P006389) vbv i 2b4, ii 3	Uruk III Umma?	(obv. ii 3) ŠEŠ E$_{2b}$:MUNUS	A document concerned with field allocations to various functionaries (cf. EN$_a$ in obv. i 2b3). The first occurrence lists 1N$_{22}$ (= 1 eše$_3$) of land for E$_{2b}$:MUNUS. The second mentions an individual named ŠEŠ.

The evidence discussed in the figure implies the presence of an institution E$_2$-MUNUS in the earliest written records. On the other hand two texts from Jemdet Nasr refer probably to personal names which contain the element E$_2$-MUNUS. However, the reading of the sign combination for this period is uncertain and, therefore, any link to the 'women's quarter' should have some solid proof, even if this identification is alluring. Text 'Anonymous 0021', if interpreted correctly, may be such a proof.

ZATU743

ZATU743, a combination of the unidentified sign ZATU737 plus MUNUS, is a noteworthy sign occurring in Late Uruk texts. The sign ZATU743 has been likely misinterpreted as GA$_2$×MUNUS.ME by Early Dynastic scribes (ZATU, p. 330). This interpretation seems to be false, because the sign ZATU737 may have had the reading /ga/ and has been a variant of GA$_2$: cf. the quasi-phonetic sign ZATU185 (ZATU737 = /ga/ × BUR = /bur/) with the reading /gabur(ra)/ (cf. also the remark of Steinkeller 1995: 701 *sub* no. 185).

In any case, the sign ZATU737 is likely unconnected to the sign E$_{2a/b}$ = e$_2$ 'house(hold)' and, therefore, the sign ZATU743 cannot be interpreted as 'E$_2$'×MUNUS. Further, although the sign ZATU743 occurs in 'Archaic Lu A' line 43 – SANGA$_a$ ZATU743 (the neighboring lines mention SANGA$_a$ ZATU737×DI/U$_4$/GAR) – the sign combination could hardly be 'the chief administrator of the … household' since the entries of 'Archaic Lu A' in their majority should be read from right to left. Therefore SANGA$_a$ may be **šid** 'to count' here.

ED I-II evidence

Returning to the sign combination E$_2$-MUNUS in early texts, one should draw attention to the fact that the per-

sonal name **E$_2$-MUNUS-ti** occurs regularly in ED I-II Ur texts: UET 2, 34 obv. ii 3 (account of donkeys), UET 2, 124 obv. iii 3 (damaged; content uncertain); UET 2, 176 obv. i 2 (content uncertain); UET 2, 179 obv. i' 2' (fragment; content uncertain); UET 2, 183 obv. i 5, ii 4 (allocation of barley authorized by a **saĝĝa eš$_3$** 'chief administrator of a sanctuary'); UET 2, 248 obv. iv 3 (account of sheep?); UET 2, 352 obv. i 2' (content uncertain). The reading of the sign combination E$_2$-MUNUS in this personal name is unknown, however if it is to be read **e$_2$-mi$_2$**, its probable meaning would be 'Long lives *Emi*!' interpreting **ti** as the verb **til$_3$** 'to live'.

ED IIIa evidence

There are also three references to E$_2$-MUNUS in ED IIIa administrative texts known to me. WF 109 is a list of personnel where a personal name E$_2$-MUNUS is mentioned in obv. i 3. The writing of the sign MUNUS in WF 109 obv. i 3 is unusual since the horizontal line inside the triangle starts almost at its edge (cf. figure). It is very similar to the one of the recently published ED IIIa text probably from Umma region CUSAS 23, 2 rev. iv 1. There this sign combination could be the name of an institution since the term is an attribute to the personal name (rev. iii 14 – iv 1): **1 A-ˤsiˋ E$_2$:MUNUS** 'Asi of *Emi*'. However 'Asi, (the man/servant of) E$_2$:MUNUS' cannot be ruled out either, but seems doubtful since it would be the only occurrence in this text where personal names are followed by professional titles.

Another ED IIIa document mentioning E$_2$-MUNUS is an unpublished, unprovenanced document (CDLI number: P270817). It is an account of textiles distributed to officials. The recipients are referred to by their professional titles only (**saĝĝa, nu-banda$_3$, kuš$_7$, sagi, sukkal, niĝir-gal**, etc.). The only building mentioned in this document is **e$_2$-sar** (obv. iii 2).[24] Therefore this text also mentions institutions as recipients. The alleged **e$_2$-mi$_2$** is written

---

[23] 'Archaic Lu A' line 52 (DCCLT) = 'ED Lu A' line 51 (DAM:ME, MSL 12, p. 10).

[24] If this building is identical with the famous **e$_2$-sar** of Adab, it would speak in favor of the Adab provenance for this document.

E_2:MUNUS (similarly to CUSAS 23, 2) which corresponds to the Late Uruk practice.

The conclusion which can be drawn from the discussed Uruk III – ED IIIa evidence is the following. First, the sign combination E_2-MUNUS was certainly an element in personal names. Since the reading of this element is unknown it cannot be proposed that, for instance, this name had died out after the ED IIIa period.

Second, while it may be suggested that E_2-MUNUS could have designated a building or an institution in Uruk III, the evidence completely excludes this possibility for ED I-II texts where the element E_2-MUNUS is solely a personal name or its component part. The few references in the ED IIIa administrative texts and evidence in 'ED Lu$_2$ E' and the Early Dynastic version of the 'Instructions of Šuruppak' are equivocal.

Third, even if the identity of the Late Uruk 'element' E_2-MUNUS with the term e_2-mi_2 of ED IIIb had been corroborated, this should not mean that both were of the same nature due to the considerable time gap between the discussed evidence: 3000 BC vs. 2350 BC.

2.4. E_2-mi_2 in Early Dynastic and Sargonic documents from elsewhere other than Girsu

Unlike Girsu, the references to e_2-mi_2 in texts from other sites are rare. As far as present knowledge allows us to ascertain, the e_2-mi_2 is well attested in Early Dynastic and Sargonic Umma and less well at Adab and probably Nippur.

Umma

The term 'Umma' employed here refers to the 'larger Umma', having been a regional state during the Early Dynastic period and a province during the Sargonic period (cf. Bartash, 2013, introduction). Several 'Umma' texts from Early Dynastic and Sargonic times mention e_2-mi_2. The first, BdI 2/1, 43 (ED IIIb Zabala), is an account of flour and is of considerable value to this present discussion:

obv. i	**5 zi$_3$ ninda-UD du$_8$- du$_8$-a e$_2$-mi$_2$ ensi$_2$ de$_6$-a**	5 (*gur*) flour *baked* into … breads[25] brought in the *Emi* of the governor.
ii	**dam ensi$_2$ dumu tu**	(When)[26] the wife of the governor gave birth to a child.
	7 mu ˹iti˺ 4	7th year; 4th month.
rev.	(blank)	

The passage of interest has to be analyzed as **dam=ensi$_2$=(ak)=(e) dumu=Ø tud=(a)** 'the wife, who gave birth to a child'.[27] The text unreservedly confirms the nature of e_2-mi_2 in Umma as a place where a ruler's wife took her residence and bore children.

The tantalizing peculiarity of this text is the phrase e_2-mi_2 **ensi$_2$**. It is translated "casa della donna dell'ensi$_2$" by the editors of the text (BdI 2, p. 38) and as "Frauenhaus des Stadtfürsten" by the reviewer of the volume (Schrakamp 2008: 673, 708). This puts forward a historical question whether e_2-mi_2 might have been a part of each patriarchal house and was not confined to palaces only.

Another ED IIIb text from Zabala mentions e_2-mi_2. CUSAS 23, no. 31 is an account of regular offering (**sa$_2$-du$_{11}$**) to different households and individuals. The translation of the text is as follows: "17 *gur* 2 *bariga* flour: regular offering to the palace. 7 (*gur*) 2 (*bariga* to) *Emi*. Lugal'e (and) LuPAdu (are responsible). 1 (*gur*) to Nigal. 2 (*gur*) to the commissar (**maškim**) of Umma. 1 (*gur* to the deity) Nin-Dulum of (the temple) E'u'sakar. Il(a), the governor of Umma. Mesduna, the chief administrator of Zabala. 5th year, 2nd month."

Remarkably enough, the e_2-mi_2 directly follows the 'palace' here (e_2-**gal**) and also has the second largest amount of flour. It is usually taken for granted that e_2-**gal** was the ruler's residence and must be situated within the capital, i.e. in Umma in our case. The 'temple-household' e_2-u_4-**sakar** was also probably situated in Umma, since this temple was a sanctuary of the god Šara (George 1993: 153, no. 1136), the city-god of Umma. Therefore the text refers to three institutions in the city of Umma.

The third text from the same period and probably of the same provenance (i.e. Zabala) is CUSAS 14, 282 which is a list of grain rations. Individuals are mentioned by their personal names only. All of the mentioned individuals were probably women since many of their names have the elements **nin** 'mistress' and **ama** 'mother'. The term e_2-mi_2 occurs here in the last line which could be a colophon, which led the editor of the volume rightfully to the rendering '(… gur of … for) the Lady's household' (CUSAS 14, 282, p. 218). Thus, this remarkable text accounts for grain distributed to the personnel of the Umma's e_2-mi_2.

Two texts mentioning e_2-mi_2 originate from Sargonic Umma. The first one, Foster 1982: 27 (with reference to an original publication), comes from the Early Sargonic

---

[25] For a discussion of **ninda DU$_8$-(a)** with an uncertain meaning in Ur

III texts cf. Brunke 2008: 126. **du$_8$** is usually associated with 'to bake' in context with bread (cf. du-u = GAB = *epû ša* NINDA 'to bake (said) of bread' in CAD E, p. 247). The bread sort **ninda-UD** may be normalized either as **ninda-kum$_4$** or **ninda-siki$_2$** (cf. discussion in CUSAS 23, no. 30).
[26] Here we follow the translation in BdI 2/1: "quando la moglie dell'ensi2 ha partorito" (BdI 2, p. 38), although the presence of **u$_4$-(ba)** 'when' would be preferable at the beginning of the clause.
[27] Cf. FTP 107 (ED IIIa) obv. vii 1' where sign combination also occurs. The lines before are broken off unfortunately.

period since the governor **En-na-num₂** mentioned in the document held his office during the reign of Rimuš (cf. Frayne 1993: 262). This interesting document merits a full citation:

obv.	*1* **Du-du**	Dudu,
	lu₂ Lugal-za₃ ugula	the (dependent) person
	E₂-zi nu-banda₃	of Lugalza, the overse-
	ba-de₆	er, by Ezi, the supervi-
		sor, was taken away.
5	**En-na-num₂ ensi₂-ke₄**	Ennanum, the
	e₂-mi₂-a e-na-sum	governor,in the *Emi*
		gave him (Dudu) to
		him (Ezi).
rev.	*1* **mu** *12* **iti**	1st year, 12th month.

The text describes a remarkable event: the governor ascertains the transfer of a dependent of one person to another. He does it *in the Emi*. This may suggest that Ezi was one of the administrators of the Umma's *Emi*. The text may imply that the protagonist of the text, Dudu, might have started his service at *Emi* as the outcome of this transfer.

MCS 9, 239 = Cripps 2010: 57-58, no. 14 is a Classical Sargonic[28] account of withdrawn barley (**še zi-ga**). The text lists two different purposes of barley: lines obv. 1 – rev. 2 is the list of issues subsumed as **še e₂-munus GAZ-ak** 'barley of the *Emi* milled' (rev. 2). The other, smaller part notates an issue of barley to a citizen of Arawa (URU×A).

The amount of barley received by officials and artisans of the Umma **e₂-mi₂** mentioned in this document (mentioned by title are **šabra** 'majordomo' and **zadim** 'stonecutter') is considerable: 560 *gur*. It is not clear from the document itself where the barley comes from. It is very unlikely that **e₂-mi₂** itself had produced it. The person responsible for the issue of barley is a certain **Lugal-en₃-tar-su**, however further references to this individual in other Umma texts provide no information on **e₂-mi₂**.[29]

Adab

There are two references to **e₂-mi₂** in the Early Sargonic Adab texts. MS 3789/31 is an unpublished[30] ED IIIb or Early Sargonic Adab administrative account which is concerned with daily bread deliveries. The bread seems

to have been distributed to individuals listed in the main body of the document. The colophon reads (rev. i 1 – ii 1):

rev. i 1	**u₄ 20-a**	(Allocation) of the 20th day.
	iti du₆-ku₃	Month *Duku*.
	180 ninda 3	180 breads 3 (unclear):
	˹**e₂**˺-**mi₂-še₃**	into the *Emi*
5	**an-DU**	delivered (**de₆**) / let enter
	ᵈ**Iškur-an-dul₃**	(**kur**ₓ).
		Iškur-andul
ii	**an-na-sum**	has been given (= has re-
		ceived this bread).

Therefore this document relates that the Adab's **e₂-mi₂** was daily provided with bread. This in turn illustrates that this institution was a consumer rather than a producer of this commodity and was dependent on a larger institution.

The next document also shows the economic dependence of the **e₂-mi₂** upon the **e₂-gal** 'palace'. An unpublished Early Sargonic account of grain (P271235) may be attributed to Adab due to the mentioning of the Adab month as well as the phrasing similar to the preceding document. The lines obv. i 5 – ii 6 are:

obv. i	…	(such and such …)
5	**e₂-gal**	has been delivered (**de₆**) /
		entered (**kur**ₓ)
ii	**an-DU**	the palace.
	Lugal-diĝir	Lugal-diĝir has been given
	e₂-mi₂-še₃	it for *Emi*.
5	**an-na-sum**	Etur (was responsible).
	E₂-tur	Month *Akiti*.
	iti ˹**a₂**˺-**ki-ti**	

The absence of the terminative =**še₃** after **e₂-gal** is glaring if one compares the presence of cases with **e₂-mi₂** in both MS 3789/31 and 'Anonymous 0244'. Moreover, two signs after **e₂-mi₂** which are interpreted as ŠE₃ here look slightly different (**E₂-nin₉**?). However, if our interpretation of this Adab document is right, the procedure implies that the barley delivered to the palace is being redistributed to **e₂-mi₂** which shows the economic dependence of the latter on the former.

Nippur

The Sargonic document OSP 2, 93 from the so-called 'Onion archive' edited by Aa. Westenholz is probably concerned with the harvest of turnips: unfortunately the first line in broken. Rev. i 6'-7' probably mentions the term **e₂-mi₂**: **210 Ne-[saĝ]; e₂-mi₂**: "210 (loads of turnips for) Nesaĝ of the *Emi*". Thus the individual named Nesaĝ must have been an employee or an official of this institution.

Another text from the same archive OSP 2, 107 mentions the term probably twice in connection with turnip harvest;

---

[28] Foster places this text in his group 'C', which belongs to the Classical Sargonic period (Foster 1982: 170). For his edition of the text cf. ib. p. 27; referring to **e₂-mi₂** Foster remarks that the "nature of this building at Umma is unknown".

[29] He is mentioned as **ugula**, 'overseer' of **ĝuruš**-workmen in a document from the same archive (Cripps 2010: 111-112, no. 40 rev. 7; document previously unpublished). The same person is mentioned in another Umma text, Foster 1982, no. 65 (A.3371) obv. 1-2, relating to issues of 210 *gursaĝĝal* of barley.

[30] This and other administrative and legal texts as well as letters form Early Dynastic and Sargonic period held in the Schøyen collection are in preparation for publication by the present author.

obv. 4’: **lu-ˊsar e₂ʔˋ-[mi₂ʔ]-kam** ‘turnips of the *Emiʔ*’ and rev. 2: [… **e₂]-mi₂-ˊkam**ʔˋ ‘… of the *Emiʔ*’.

3. Conclusions

The 3rd-millennium BC institution hiding behind the term **e₂-mi₂** has to be identified with the ‘women’s part of the house’, where women lived and were children were born and probably lived until a certain age. This institution is found in the ED IIIb – Ur III administrative accounts and probably even earlier, in ED IIIa administrative, lexical, and literary texts. The term **e₂-mi₂** might have been a part of each patriarchal house and was not confined exclusively to ‘palaces’.

The distribution of the material shows that the term is mentioned in archives from southern Mesopotamian, thus proper Sumerian, cities: Adab, Girsu, Nippur, Umma, and Zabala. At least in two cases – Girsu and Zabala – the term refers to **e₂-mi₂** where the ruler’s wife lived. The absence of the references to the term from northern Mesopotamia might be explained by a) the scarcity of material from the Early Dynastic period, or b) by the different structure of the northern households.

Remarkably, the sign combination of the uncertain meaning E₂-MUNUS is attested in Uruk III – ED IIIa texts, where it seems to have been an institution and also an element in personal names.

Finally some words must be said about **e₂-mi₂** in Girsu. This Girsu institution is not unique, since it represents a typical temple household of a moderate size. However, its denomination as ‘women’s quarters’ is indeed singular. Evidently, one has an example of metonymy here: the Girsu institution is called ‘women’s quarters’ in order to depict the fact that *the goddess* **ᵈBa-wa₃** resides there. Therefore, the original meaning of the **e₂-mi₂** as the ‘women’s part of a house’ has been singularly applied to a temple household. As already stated above, this does not exclude the possibility that this temple household has originated in the ‘women quarters’.

Thus, the Girsu **e₂-mi₂** should be compared to the evidence discussed in this paper with caution, since **e₂-mi₂**’s of other cities most probably were not entire households, but parts of households reserved for females, their children, and probably their (maid)servants. The rarity of references to these abodes is hardly surprising taking into account the overall scarce and concise data on women and children in early cuneiform records.

Bibliography

Abbreviations

ATU 6 — Englund, R. K. and Nissen, H. J. 2005. *Archaische Verwaltungstexte aus Uruk* (Archaische Texte aus Uruk 6 / Vordersiatisches Museum II). Berlin.

BdI — Pomponio, F., Visicato, G. and Westenholz, A., in collaborazione con O. Bulgarelli, M. E. Milone, E. Santagati, S. Tricoli, *2006. Le tavolette cuneiformi di Adab delle collezioni della Banca d’Italia, Vol. I*. Roma.
Pomponio, F., Stol, M. and Westenholz, A., in collaborazione con F. D’Agostino, P. Mander, M. P. Pers, A. Rositani, G. Visicato 2006. *Le tavolette cuneiformi di varia provenienzia delle collezioni della Banca d’Italia, Vol. II*. Roma.

CAD — Oppenheim, A. L., Reiner, E., et al. (eds.) 1956-2010. *The Assyrian Dictionary of the University of Chicago*. Chicago.

CDLI — Englund, R. K., et al., *Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative*. http://cdli.ucla.edu/.

CUSAS 1 — Monaco, S. F. 2007. *The Cornell University Archaic Tablets* (CUSAS Vol. 1). Bethesda.

CUSAS 14 — Monaco, S. F. 2011. *Early Dynastic muiti Cereal Texts in the Cornell University Cuneiform Collections* (CUSAS Vol. 14). Bethesda.

CUSAS 23 — cf. Bartash 2013.

DCCLT — Veldhuis, N., *Digital Corpus of Cuneiform Lexical Texts*: http://oracc.museum.upenn.edu/dcclt/corpus.

ED — Early Dynastic period.

ePSD — Tinney, S., *et al.*, *The Electronic Pennsylvanian Sumerian Dictionary*: http://psd.museum.upenn.edu/epsd/.

ETCSL — Black, J., *et al., The Electronic Text Corpus of Sumerian Literature*: http://etcsl.orinst.ox.ac.uk/.

FTP — Martin, H. P., Pomponio, F., Visicato, G. and Westenholz, A. 2001. *The Fara Tablets in the University of Pennsylvania Museum of Archaeology and Anthropology*. Bethesda.

HLC — Barton, G. A. 1905-1914. *Haveford Library Collection of Cuneiform Tablets*. Philadelphia.

MCS 9 — Donald, T. 1964. *Old Akkadian Tablets in the Liverpool Museum of World History* (Manchester Cuneiform Studies, Vol. 9). Liverpool.

MSL — Landsberger, B., Civil, M. *et al.*1937-. *Materialien zum sumerischen Lexikon / Materials for the Sumerian Lexicon*. Rom.

MSVO 1 — Englund, R. K. and Gregoire, J.-P. 1991. *The Proto-Cuneiform Texts from Jemdet Nasr, I:*

Copies, Transliterations and Sign Glossary (Materialien zu den frühen Schriftzeugnissen des Vorderen Orients, Band 1). Berlin.

MSVO 3   Damerow, P. and Englund, R. K. (forthcoming), *The Proto-Cuneiform Texts from the Erlenmeyer Collection* (Materialien zu den frühen Schriftzeugnissen des Vorderen Orients, Band 3); pictures and transliterations via CDLI.

MVN 2   Sauren, H. 1974. *Wirtschaftsurkunden des Musee d'Art et d'Histoire in Genf* (Materiali per il Vocabolario Neosumerico, Vol. 2). Napoli.

MVN 17   Pettinato, G. 1993. *Testi cuneiformi neosumerici del British Museum* (Materiali per il vocabolario neosumerico, Vol. 17). Napoli.

MZL   Borger, R. 2003. *Mesopotamisches Zeichenlexikon* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 305). Münster.

Nik   Никольский, М.В 1908-1915. Документы хозяйственной отчетности древнейшей эпохи Халдеи из собрания Н.П. Лихачева. В 2 т. Москва. [Nikolskij, M. V. 1908-1915. Economic Documents of the Oldest Period of Chaldea in the Collection of N. P. Likhachev. 2 vols. Moscow.]

OSP 2   Westenholz, A. 1987. *Old Sumerian and Old Akkadian Texts in Philadelphia, Part Two: The 'Akkadian' Texts, the Enlilemaba Texts, and the Onion Archive* (Carsten Niebuhr Institute Publications 3). Copenhagen.

OIP 99   Biggs, R. D. 1974. *Inscriptions from Tell Abu Salabikh* (Oriental Institute Publication 99). Chicago.

UET 2   Burrows, E. 1935. *Archaic Texts* (Ur Excavation Texts II). Philadelphia.

UET 3   Legrain, L. 1937-1947. *Business documents of the Third Dynasty of Ur* (Ur Excavation Texts III). Philadelphia.

WF   Deimel, A. 1924. *Wirtschaftstexte aus Fara* (Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 45). Leipzig.

ZATU   Green, M W. and Nissen, H. J. 1987. *Zeichenliste der archaischen Texte aus Uruk* (Ausgrabungen der Deutschen Forschungsgemeinschaft in Uruk-Warka 11; Archaische Texte aus Uruk 2). Berlin.

Alster, B. 2005. *Wisdom of Ancient Sumer*. Bethesda.

Attinger, P. 1993. *Eléments de linguistique sumérienne* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis, Sonderband). Fribourg and Göttingen.

Bartash, V. 2013. *Miscellaneous Early Dynastic and Sargonic Texts in the Cornell University Collections* (CUSAS 23). Bethesda.

Bauer, J. 1998. Die vorsargonische Abschnitt der Mesopotamischen Geschichte. In J. Bauer, R. K. Englund and M. Krebernik (eds.), *Mesopotamien. Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160/), 431-585. Fribourg and Göttingen.

Brunke, H. 2008. *Essen in Sumer. Metrologie, Herstellung und Terminologie nach Zeugnis der Ur III-zeitlichen Wirtschaftsurkunden* (Geschichtswissenschaften Band 26). München.

Cavigneaux, A. 1991. Die Inschriften der XXXII. / XXXIII. Kampagne, *Baghdader Mitteilungen* 22, 33-123, 124-163.

Civil, M. 1984. Notes on the 'Instructions of Šuruppak', *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43/4, 281-298.

Cooper, J. S. 1983. *The Curse of Agade*. Baltimore.

Cooper, J. S. 2006. Prostitution. in: *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie*, Band. 10, 12-21. Berlin and New York.

Cripps, E. L. 2010. *Sargonic and Presargonic in the World Museum Liverpool* (British Archaeological Reports. International Series 2135). Oxford.

Edzard, D. 2003. *Sumerian Grammar* (Handbuch der Orientalistik 71). Leiden and Boston.

Englund, R. K. 1998. Texts from the Late Uruk Period. In J. Bauer, R. K. Englund and M. Krebernik (eds.), Mesopotamien. Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit. (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160/1), 15–233. Göttingen.

Englund, R. K. 2009. The Smell of the Cage, *Cuneiform Digital Library Journal* 2009/4, 1-27.

Krebernik, M., *Mesopotamien. Späturuk-Zeit und Frühdynastische Zeit* (Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 160/), 15-233. Fribourg and Göttingen.

Falkenstein, A. 1966. *Die Inschriften Gudeas von Lagaš. I: Einleitung (*Analecta Orientalia, Vol. 30). Rome.

Foster, B. 1982. *Umma in the Sargonic Period* (Memoirs of the Connecticut Academy of Arts and Sciences, Vol. 20). Hamden.

Frayne, D. R. 1993. *Sargonic and Gutian Periods (2334-2113 BC). The Royal Inscriptions of Mesopotamia. Early Periods, Vol. 2.* Toronto.

George, A. R. 1993. *House Most High. The Temples of Ancient Mesopotamia* (Mesopotamian Civilizations, Vol. 5). Winona Lake.

Gong, Y. 2000. *Die Namen der Keilschriftzeichen* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 268). Münster.

Krecher, J. 1966. *Sumerische Kultlyrik*. Wiesbaden.

Krecher, J. 1987. /ur/ „Mann", /eme/ „Frau" und die sumerische Herkunft des Wortes urdu(-d) „Sklave", *Die Welt des Orients* 18, 7-19.

Maekawa, K. 1973-74. The Development of the E₂-MI₂ in Lagash during Early Dynastic III, *Mesopotamia* 8-9, 77-144.

Magid, G. 2001. Micromanagement in the e₂-mi₂/ᵈBa-u₂: Notes on the Organization of Labor at Early Dynastic Lagash. In T. Abusch, Abusch, C. Noyes, P.-A. Beaulieu, J. Huehnergard, P. Machinist and P. Steinkeller (eds.), *Historiography in the Cuneiform World. Proceedings of the XLVe Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale,* 313-328. Bethesda.

Michalowski, P. 1989. *Lamentation over the Destruction of Sumer and Ur* (Mesopotamian Civilizations, Vol. 1.). Winona Lake.

Prentice, R. 2010. *The Exchange of Goods and Services in Pre-Sargonic Lagash* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 368). Münster.

Sallaberger, W. 1993. *Der kultische Kalender der Ur III-Zeit* (Untersuchungen zur Assyriologie und vorderasiatischen Archäologie Band 7). Berlin.

Sallaberger, W. 2003. Palast. A. Mesopotamien im III. Jahrtausend, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie* 10, 200-204. Berlin and New York.

Sauren, H. 1970. Zum Bürgschaftsrecht in neusumerischer Zeit, *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 60, 70-87.

Schrakamp, I. 2008. Review: Pomponio et alii, Letavolette cuneiformi di Adab. Le tovelette cuneiformi di varia provenienzia (Le tavolette coneiformi delle collezini della Banca d'Italia, vol. 1 ans 2. Banca d'Italia, Roma 2006). *Bibliotheca Orientalis 65*, 661-712.

Schrakamp, I. 2013. Die „Sumerische Tempelstadt" heute. Die sozioökonomische Rolle eines Temples in frühdynastischer Zeit. In K. Kaniuth, A. Löhnert, J. L. Miller, A. Otto, M. Roaf and W. Sallaberger (eds.), *Tempel im Alten Orient. 7. Internationales Colloquium der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft 11.-13. Oktober 2009, München.* 445-465. Wiesbaden.

Selz, G. J. 1993. *Altsumerische Wirschaftsurkunden aus Amerikanischen Sammlungen* (Freiburger Altorientalische Studien 15/2). Suttgart.

Selz, G. J. 2010. "He put in order the accounts …". Remarks on the Early Dynastic Background of the Administrative Reorganizations in the Ur III State. In L. Kogan (ed.), *Proceedings of the 53e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale, Vol. 2: City Administration in the Ancient Near East (Babel und Bibel 5)*, 5-30. Winona Lake.

Selz, G. J. 2011a. Reconstructing the Old Sumerian Administrative Archives of the e_2-mi_2 – e_2-^dba-ba_6 – Institution. In G. Barjamovich, J. Dahl, U. S. Koch, W. Sommerfeld and J. Goodnick Westenholz (eds.), *Akkade is King. A Collection of Papers by Friends and Colleagues Presented to Aage Westenholz on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday 15th of May 2009* (Publications de l'Institut historique et archéologique néerlandais de Stamboul = Uitgaven van het Nederlands Instituut voor het Nabije Oosten te Leiden 118), 273-286. Leiden.

Selz, G. 2011b. Staat. A. In Mesopotamien, *Reallexikon der Assyriologie und Vorderasiatischen Archäologie* 13, 23-32. Stuttgart.

Sjöberg, Å. W. 2003. Notes on Selected Entries from the Eba Vocabulary $eš_2$-bar-kin_5 (I). In G. J. Selz (ed.), *Festschrift für Burkhard Kienast zu seinem 70. Geburtstage, dargebracht von Freunden, Schülern und Kollegen* (Alter Orient und Altes Testament 274), 527-568. Münster.

Steinkeller, P. 1988. The Date of Gudea and His Dynasty, *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* 40/1, 47-53.

Steinkeller, P. 1995. Review: Green, M. W. and Nissen, H. J., Zeichenliste der Archaischen Texte aus Uruk. Berlin, 1987, *Bibliotheca Orientalis* 52/6, 689-713.

Steinkeller, P. and Postgate, J. 1992. *Third-Millennium Legal and Administrative Texts in the Iraq Museum, Baghdad* (Mesopotamian Civilizations 4). Winona Lake.