Some Professions with Both Male and Female Members
in the Presargonic E₂-MI₂ Corpus

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This paper will examine three professions (šu-i₂, tug₂-du₈, and i₃-du₈) in the Presargonic E₂-MI₂ Corpus that included both male and female members, with the aim of assessing their socio-economic status and roughly delineating their internal organization. A pattern seems to be discernible, namely that each group was comprised of men who held subsistence land and thus were listed in Type I ration lists, and men and women who held no land but received barley rations every month, and thus were listed in Type II or IV lists. Assuming that the ration lists and land allotment texts reflect the socio-economic status of a receiver, these documents should in turn reflect the workforce hierarchy.

Keywords: women, Presargonic, Lagaš, queen's household, E₂-MI₂

I. Introduction

The so-called Presargonic E₂-MI₂ Corpus (ED IIIb), which originated in Girsu in the city-state of Lagaš, contains some 1,800 texts (Foxvog 2011, 59). Many were excavated clandestinely and reached museums in various parts of the world (Paris, Berlin, London, St Petersburg, Copenhagen, US, and so forth) via antiquities dealers in Baghdad (Prentice 2010, 2–5). The majority of the documents are dated to the last three rulers of Presargonic Lagaš, spanning more than twenty years (Visicato 2011, 301; Sallaberger and Schrakamp 2015, 70–74).¹ The institution that produced these documents was called E₂-MI₂ during the reigns of Enentarzi and Lugalanda as well as the first year of Urukagina, and then its designation was changed to E₂-^dBa-u₂. Regardless of its label it was under the responsibility of three successive queens, Dimtur, Baranamtara, and Sasa. Understanding it as the queen's household, I will use the term E₂-MI₂, under which E₂-^dBa-u₂ is subsumed.² In this paper three professions (šu-i₂, tug₂-du₈, and i₃-du₈) that included both male and female members will be examined, with the aim of assessing their socio-economic status and roughly delineating their internal organization.³

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Abbreviations used in the present study generally follow the Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI; abbreviations are listed at http://cdli.ox.ac.uk/wiki/abbreviations_for_assyriology). Others are as follows: *nb* = the *n*th ration; *En* = Enentarzi year *n*; *ED* = Early Dynastic; *Erm* = Museum Number, State Hermitage Museum, St. Petersburg; *Ln* = Lugalanda year *n*; *ng* = the *n*th delivery; *P* = CDLI number; *UE* = Urukagina Ensi-year; *ULn* = Urukagina Lugal-year *n*; *E*, *L*, *UL* are placed in italics (*E*, *L*, *UE*, and *UL*) when they are inferred.

¹ For E₂-MI₂ scribal practice, see Selz 2011; and for the size of the personnel of the E₂-MI₂ throughout its history, see Selz 2010, 16.

² CDLI, Beld (2002, 1), and Sallaberger and Pruß (2015, 74) read E₂-MI₂ as *e₂-munus*. It may be so since the word *munus* meant “queen” in some contexts in this corpus, such as šeš *munus* “queen's brother,” nin *munus* “queen's sister,” and ama *munus* “queen's mother”; cf. Bartash 2014.

³ Male and female lamentation singers (*gala*) and male and female drum players (*lu₂ geme₂ ub₃-ku₃-ga*) cannot be included here due to limitations of space, and will be discussed elsewhere.

II. Ration Lists and Occupations

Rations were issued to individuals, and the rations of children were recorded along with those of their mothers.⁴ Deimel (1928, 2) classified the barley ration lists from the Presargonic E₂-MI₂ corpus into the following four types:

- Type I: še-ba lu₂ šuku dab₃-ba “barley rations given to those who were allocated subsistence land”
- Type II: še-ba igi-nu-du₈ il₂ ša₃-dub-didli “barley rations given to blind persons, carriers, and those registered in various tablets”⁵
- Type III: še-ba geme₂-dumu “barley rations given to women and children”
- Type IV: še-ba lu₂ di₄-di₄-la-ne “barley rations given to those of the households of royal children”

Table 1 shows in which type of ration lists male and female members of šu-i₂ “barbers,” tug₂-du₈ “rope makers and braiders” (Waetzoldt 2007),⁶ and i₃-du₈ “doorkeepers” can be found.

Table 1: Types of Ration Lists and Professions

Type of Ration List			šu-i ₂	tug ₂ -du ₈	i ₃ -du ₈
Type I	še-ba lu ₂ šuku dab ₃ -ba		M	M	M
Type II	še-ba igi-nu-du ₈ il ₂ ša ₃ -dub-didli	ša ₃ -dub-e ₂ -gal	MF		
		ša ₃ -dub-didli		MF	MF
Type III	še-ba geme ₂ -dumu				
Type IV	še-ba lu ₂ di ₄ -di ₄ -la-ne		MF		F ⁷

M = male; F = female

According to Maekawa (1987, 61) Type I rations were issued “in each of the last four or five months of the year” as “food supplied at the time of collective projects such as canal construction.”⁸ Type II, III, and IV rations were issued once a month throughout the year (Maekawa 1987, 51). The people who received Type II, III, or IV rations were also called lu₂ iti-da “those of the month” or lu₂ šuku nu-dab₃-ba “those who were not allocated subsistence land” (Maekawa 1973–74, 105–106). Note, however, that several royal female personnel (ar₃-tu munus) including E₂-mete who held subsistence land were listed in Type II (Maekawa 1973–74, 104 n. 36; Karahashi forthcoming).⁹ It has been understood that these lists reflect in general the socio-economic status of the people listed. According to Selz (2010, 16), lu₂ šuku dab₃-ba belonged to the upper social stratum, igi-nu-du₈ and ša₃-dub-didli to the lower and middle social

⁴ Waetzoldt’s (1987) comprehensive study of the compensation system in the Ur III period is helpful also for understanding compensation in Presargonic Lagaš.

⁵ See Prentice 2010, 40 n. 198 on different interpretations of ša₃-dub-didli that have been proposed by various scholars. tug₂-du₈ “rope makers and braiders” will be sometimes abbreviated as “rope makers” for the sake of convenience.

⁷ Female i₃-du₈ are also mentioned in Nik 1 18, which records barley rations distributed to lu₂ nam-dumu ^dIg-alim-ka. Its wording is different from that of Type IV, but nonetheless it refers to the royal children’s personnel (see § V.2 below).

⁸ However, during UL6, Type I rations were issued every month of the year (Prentice 2010, 20, 78 with n. 338); see also Yamamoto 1981 on holders of subsistence land.

⁹ For a recent overview of the E₂-MI₂ workforce, see Sallaberger and Průš 2015, 74–80.

strata, and geme₂-dumu (including a small number of men) to the lower social stratum. Similarly, “higher ranking members received larger or smaller subsistence fields” (Steinkeller 1999a, 290); and “[p]ersonnel who belonged to the middle and higher ranks, including some craftsmen, could be rewarded with land allotment” (Waezoldt 1987, 118). Maekawa (1987, 58) has observed that those who received rations every month (those of Type II and Type IV in our discussion)¹⁰ were supervised in their daily work by those of Type I, a point to which I will return later.

III. Male and Female Barbers (šu-i₂ and šu-i₂ munus)

Naturally the work of male and female šu-i₂ involved grooming—cutting, shaving, trimming, and coiffuring—of hair. A seal inscription (RIME 2.1.1.2003) tells us that Sargon’s daughter Enheduana employed a kind of “coiffeur” (Frayne 1993, 38). A female hairdresser was depicted braiding the hair of the queen of Urkeš (Budin 2011, 187) in a cylinder seal owned by the nurse of the queen’s child (Buccellati and Kelly-Buccellati 1995–96, 22). An Ur III text (AOS 32 C1 obv. ii 12) listed a munus šu-i “Barbierin” (Waezoldt 1988, 31 n. 10).¹¹ In the Lagaš E₂-MI₂ corpus, about twenty-three names of “barbers,” both male (šu-i₂) and female (šu-i₂ munus), are preserved from the period from Enentarzi year 2 through Lugaland to the end of Urukagina lugal-year 6.¹² Our texts, however, do not reveal any of their professional duties. Since it is impossible to distinguish a barber from a hairdresser or vice versa, I use the word “barber” as a general term, to which “male” or “female” will be added.

In the following I will examine the socio-economic status and activities of those in this profession and argue that they can be placed in three groups under the E₂-MI₂ administration. One group consisted of landed male barbers belonging to higher socio-economic strata. The other two groups were landless male and female barbers, one group working for the palace/E₂-MI₂, and the other for the royal children’s households.¹³

1. Male Barbers with Land

At least four male barbers appear in the corpus in conjunction with subsistence land.

Lugal-temen

Lugal-temen was certainly one of the most prominent barbers in the E₂-MI₂ corpus. He was first mentioned in BIN 8 347 (E₂), which was the record of barley-emmer rations (še-ba ziz₂-ba) distributed to lu₂-igi-nigin₂ šub-lugal-ke₄-ne “the palace/E₂-MI₂ personnel and the core military

¹⁰ There are no šu-i₂, tug₂-du₈, or i₃-du₈ in Type III.

¹¹ Ur III texts mostly use šu-i, with sporadic use of šu-i₂. For an example of the Ur III i₂, see Molina 2008, 130 no. 3 rev. 7 (here the sign I₂ is the sign I turned almost 90° clockwise).

¹² Excluded from our discussion are two barbers listed among the witnesses in a sale document of a house sold by a woman from an earlier period (Hallo 1973, 238, ll. 51–53: ¹Lugal-igi-tab / ¹E-da-hul / šu-i₂-me). The date of the composition was expressed as “at that time... Dudu was sanga-priest” (ll. 65, 68) and can be safely placed during the reign of Enmetena, since a text (RIME 1.9.5.27) reads “his (= Enmetena’s) servant Dudu, the temple administrator (sanga) of the god Ningirsu” (iii 1–3); see Maekawa 1973–74, 137–138 with n. 82, on Dudu and the placing of his tenure as the sanga of Ningirsu just before Enentarzi.

¹³ On barbers of other time and place, see Kleiner 2013 (Ur III Iri-Sagrig); Pecha 2011 (Old Babylonian period).

and labor force” (Maekawa 1973–74, 110)¹⁴ for the occasion of the festival of the goddess Bau: he was given 36 sila of barley and 36 sila of emmer—72 sila in total. He occurs again receiving 36 sila of barley and 36 sila of emmer in another list of barley-emmer rations of the festival of Bau (DP 127),¹⁵ dispensed, this time, to the group starting with the elite members of society, such as the ereš-dingir-priestess of the goddess Bau,¹⁶ Geme₂-ub₅-ku₃-ga, the queen’s mother,¹⁷ and sisters of the ruler. That Lugal-temen held parcels of leased (apin-la₂) land is attested in three documents. In E3, 2 and $\frac{3}{4}$ iku of taxable newly cultivated land (gan₂ su₃-la-maš)¹⁸ was measured out (gid₂) for him (VS 25 61 iii 2–3);¹⁹ in L1, he paid two goats as tax on the field leased from the ruler (VS 27 12 i 1–2);²⁰ and in L3, he received 3 iku of ki-uzug₅-field from Lugalanda’s subsistence land (šuku Lugal-an-da) (VS 25 40 i 1–3).²¹

A certain Lugal-temen had a kind of living or working arrangement with some of the barbers of the households of Urukagina’s children for about two years (UL2.[]b–4.7b): NP_{I+n} Lugal-temen-da e-da-ti/se₁₂.²² Although this Lugal-temen was not given an occupational title, it is not unreasonable to identify him with the barber Lugal-temen, especially because those who were assigned to live/work with him were all barbers (for more details, see below).

Igi-zi(-bar-ra)

Igi-zi is surely the best-attested barber of those discussed in this paper. On one occasion his name was written in a longer form, Igi-zi-bar-ra / šu-i₂ (DP 624 i 5–6; dated to L3).²³ This document, dealing with the work of canal maintenance that was one of the duties of šuku-field holders (Maeda 1984), assigned to him the work along a 4 gi (= ca. 12 m) length of the canal.²⁴ He was also mentioned in the so-called “pure milk pure malt” texts.²⁵ In this—perhaps a ceremonial gift exchange (Selz 1995, 73) or a transfer (Magid 2001, 314 n. 6)—pure milk and malt was given by one person to another, and the majority of both givers and receivers seemed to belong to higher social strata (Prentice 2010, 181). Igi-zi the barber was listed as eighth among the givers. In L5 (BIN 8 353 ii 7–8) and L6 (VS 25 41 v 3–4), he carried out a crop-related task, another duty of

¹⁴ Cf. “Gerstzuteilungen (und) Emmerzuteilungen für die Leute (von) ‘Ansehen,’ (und zwar)? die Untergebenen des Königs” (Selz 1993, 545).

¹⁵ DP 127 is dated to Lugal-an-da-nu-hun-ga₂ (= Lugalanda) but no year is given. According to Selz (1995, 24), Lugal-an-da is a short form for Lugal-an-da-nu-hun-ga₂ “der König, der sich für An nicht beruhigt”; for more discussion, see Selz 1989, 544.

¹⁶ Possibly the queen herself was the ereš-dingir-priestess of the goddess Bau (Maekawa 1996, 179; Sallaberger and Huber-Vulliet 2005, 636; Suter 2007, 328; Goodnick Westenholz 2013, 260–261); cf. Steinkeller 1999b, 120 n. 54.

¹⁷ She was referred to as ama munus in VS 27 81 i 3–4.

¹⁸ “Abgabepflichtiges Newbruchfeld” (Selz 1989, 192).

¹⁹ Courtesy of Selz.

²⁰ Courtesy of Selz.

²¹ Courtesy of Selz.

²² The verb ti is used for the singular subject and the verb se₁₂ for the plural subject; Maekawa (1973–74, 122 n. 74) interprets the expression as “work under the direction of someone (-da-)”; see also Magid 2001 and n. 55 below.

²³ A person named Nin-mu-ma-<da>-ag₂ who was listed preceding Igi-zi-bar-ra may or may not be identical to the barber Nin-mu-ma-da-ag₂ (see below).

²⁴ Regarding the šuku-field holders, Maekawa (1973–74, 88) writes, “[p]laying a central role in collective labor or war, the lu₂-kur₆-dab₅-ba formed the backbone of the city.”

²⁵ VS 14 173 (L4), DP 226 (L4), and DP 132 (L5): documents were classified as lu₂ igi-nigin₂ lu₂ ga-ku₃ munu₄-ku₃ ba-me “‘Leute von Ansehen,’ Leute, die (kultisch) reine Milch (und) reines Malz schenken, sind sie” (Selz 1995, 74). It was dubbed “the malted-milk offering” in the classroom by Gelb (1975, 72), but “not too seriously.”

šuku-holders, on behalf of the ruler.

From UL3.12b to UL4.10b, Igi-zi the barber was listed in Type IV ration lists and repeatedly received 72 sila of barley.²⁶ In UL4 (DP 563 ii 2–3, rev. i 2), he provided 620 sila of barley for the purchase of low-quality wool (*še siki mug-a sa₁₀-a-am₆*). His status as a holder of subsistence land is again clearly shown by texts dated to UL6: ½ iku (DP 584 rev. i 3–4) or 1 iku (MLVS 8 rev. iii 7–8). Furthermore, four Type I lists mention him as receiving 72 sila.²⁷ Although the original classification of the document is not preserved, Erm 14349 [P225756] that contains 0.2.0 Igi-zi / *šu-i₂* (rev. ii 5–6) may well belong to the Type I group.

Šeš-kur-ra

VS 14 72 (L4), whose classification reads GAN₂ *šuku še mu₂-a gid₂-da lu₂ didli* “barley planted subsistence land—measured out—of various people,” recorded that 9 iku of land was measured out to *Šeš-kur-ra* (rev. i 1–2).²⁸ In a text dated to L6 he appeared carrying out a certain administrative task, probably overseeing the transportation of ten beams that *En-ig-gal*, the chief administrator of the E₂-MI₂, had taken out of a certain storehouse (DP 465 i 1–ii 4).

En-ud-da-na

DP 591 ii 9–iii 3 reads: “*Šubur* the smith received a parcel of barley planted subsistence land measuring 3½ iku, (previously) held by *Enudana* the barber.”

2. Male Barbers with Administrative Tasks

While *Šeš-kur-ra*, discussed above, is attested as both holding land and engaging in activity other than that of barber, the following three barbers are only found performing administrative tasks. These barbers are considered here as belonging to a higher socio-economic strata likewise those discussed above who held subsistence land.

Ur-sag

A text reports that *Ur-sag* together with other individuals played the role of deputy (*maškim*) in a kind of transaction(?) involving barley (Erm 14371 ii 4–6) [P225758].²⁹

Lugal-ma-tum₂

In the festival of *Bau* in L3, three people brought with them various goods as “the offerings of the ruler (*nig₂-giš-tag ensi₂-ka*) to the *ki-a-nag*³⁰ for *Enentarzi*” (RTC 60 rev. i 5–ii 3). *Lugal-ma-tum₂* the barber was listed as the first among these three people (ii 4–iii 2).

²⁶ HSS 3 27 vi 11–12; Nik 1 16 vi 4–5; DP 116 vii 12–13; DP 117 vii 4–5; DP 118 vii 11–12. As the date of DP 118, which is not preserved, CDLI suggests “UL5(?)”.

²⁷ DP 121 rev. ii 10–11 (UL6.6b); BIN 8 354 rev. ii 5–6 (UL6.9b); HSS 3 13 rev. ii 7–8 (UL6.10b); HSS 3 12 rev. ii 8–9 (UL6.11b).

²⁸ For *še mu₂-a*, *gid₂*, and other *šuku*-field-related terminology, see Yamamoto 1980.

²⁹ For this text, see also § IV.1 below.

³⁰ The mortuary chapel (Jagersma 2007, 296); the feast in honor of the dead (Brunke 2011, 177).

Nin-mu-ma-da-ag₂

A document dating from L4 (DP 199) reports that the barber Nin-mu-ma-da-ag₂ brought with him from the animal fattener (kurušda) two sheep that were meant to be Baranamtara's offering. The name Nin-mu-ma-da-ag₂ could be a woman's name.³¹ In fact Rosengarten (1960, 244) interpreted this person as a woman and translated "la coiffeuse N." This Nin-mu-ma-da-ag₂, however, was probably male, based on DP 111 (E4). In DP 111, a certain barber named Nin-mu-ma-da-ag₂—most likely the same barber as in DP 199—was listed with 72 sila (iii 1–2) and counted in the sum (šu-nigin₂) section as the only person (1 lu₂) who received the highest amount, 72 sila, of barley (rev. ii 4); meanwhile 18 women (DP 111 iii 5–rev. ii 3) were counted as 18 female servants (geme₂), each receiving 18 sila (rev. ii).³² Hence, the barber Nin-mu-ma-da-ag₂ in DP 111 was in all likelihood a man.³³

3. Male and Female Barbers During the Reign of Enentarzi

Nin-mu-ma-da-ag₂ (see above)

Nin-u₃-ma and Nin-al-mah

DP 176 (E3), recording wool rations given to the household personnel of Dimtur, DP 110 (E3.12b), and DP 111 (E4.6b), the latter two also recording barley rations for Dimtur's personnel, contain lists of 33, 46, and 35 men and women, respectively.³⁴ Generally speaking men in these lists are designated by the occupation name or title, while women are referred to only by name, with the exception of the individual(s) designated as šu-i₂:

Nin-u₃-ma / šu-i₂ (DP 176 rev. iii 3–4)

Nin-u₃-ma / šu-i₂ (DP 110 rev. ii 6–7)

Nin-u₃-ma / Nin-al-mah / šu-i₂-me (DP 111 rev. i 6–ii 1)

Now, it seems rather inconceivable that "šu-i₂" was meant to apply to all the women (14 or 15) preceding Nin-u₃-ma or Nin-u₃-ma and Nin-al-mah on the lists. Even in Urukagina's reign, when the E₂-MI₂ organization increased its size (Maekawa 1973–74, 101), the attested number of male and female šu-i₂ was around ten (see below for more details). Therefore, the women listed in DP 176, DP 110, and DP 111 should be understood to include all female household workers, as indicated by the rubric of DP 176, "servants/personnel, the property of Dimtur" (ar₃-tu u₂-rum Dim₃-tur).³⁵ Naturally various specializations were included, with šu-i₂ being one of them. It is reasonable to think that in DP 176 and DP 110, šu-i₂ refers to Nin-u₃-ma, while in DP 111, šu-i₂-

³¹ According to Foxvog (2011, 61–62), nin "lady, sister" is one of the gender-specific name incipits, and is borne by 189 females, 4 males, and 7 unknown people in the ED Lagash corpus of 121 names beginning with nin-. Gelb (1975, 72) also observed that a great majority of the names composed with the element nin- are feminine.

³² According to Ellison (1981, 39–40), a monthly diet of 18 sila (= 0.6 sila daily = 0.50 liters daily) or even 24 sila (= 0.8 sila daily = 0.66 liters daily) is not an adequate energy intake for a person, male or female; also see Hruška 1988, 333.

³³ It is true that the term lu₂ does not always refer to a male, as can be discerned from DP 176, in which a group of women, PN₁₁–PN₁₅, are counted as lu₂ (for the groups of women in DP 111 and DP 176, see below).

³⁴ Maekawa (1973–74, 101–109) discussed DP 176, DP 110, and DP 111 in conjunction with the development of the E₂-MI₂.

³⁵ Maekawa (1973–74, 102 n. 30, 107 n. 41, 128–129 with n. 70) discusses some of the women on the list.

me refers to Nin-u₃-ma and the newly employed Nin-al-mah. In this way, the use of the plural marking -me can be explained.

4. Male and Female Barbers During the Reign of Lugalanda

Dar-da, Nin-al-sa₆, and Dingir-al-sa₆

In DP 231 (date broken), a pair of a male and a female barbers, Dar-da and Nin-al-sa₆, received 36 sila of barley each (rev. vi 5'–7'). The text clearly indicates that their rations were the ninth distribution, while the šuku-land holders were receiving their first. In other words, these two barbers did not belong to the šuku-holding class. In addition, a person named Dar-da with no occupation name is listed in DP 110 and DP 111, and someone named Nin-al-sa₆ is mentioned among the female personnel in DP 176, DP 110, and DP 111. It is possible, but cannot be proved, that these two should be identified with the barbers in DP 231.³⁶ In another text (DCS 8) dated to Lugalanda-nu-hun-ga₂ 1 (= L1), Dar-da is listed as a barber, together with Dingir-al-sa₆. Both receive 12 sila of emmer (rev. iv 9–11) in the festival of Bau, which was in the last or penultimate month of the year (Cohen 1993, 38; Beld 2002, 199). There is also a certain Dingir-al-sa₆ who repeatedly appears as a barber in the service of the E₂-MI₂ after L6 (see below). If this Dingir-al-sa₆ was the same person as the Dingir-al-sa₆ of DCS 8 and if we assume that Dingir-al-sa₆ worked continuously, Nin-al-sa₆ would have preceded him, thus enabling us to place DP 231 before DCS 8 in time.³⁷

Dingir-al-sa₆, ^dInanna-men_x(-zi-pa₄-pa₄), Me-me, and Geme₂-du₆

From L6.9b to UL6.12b, there was a pair of a male and a female barbers who generally received 36/48 sila and 24/18 (once 36) sila of barley rations, respectively. The pair is usually listed by the following formula on the ša₃-dub-e₂-gal “palace tablet” in Type II: (ration amount) PN_m / nita-am₆ / (ration amount) PN_f / munus-am₆ / šu-i₂-me.³⁸ While PN_m was always Dingir-al-sa₆, PN_f changed from ^dInanna-men_x(-zi-pa₄-pa₄) (L6.9b–UL2.8b)³⁹ to Me-me (UL3.6b–4.6b)⁴⁰ to Geme₂-du₆ (UL5.3b–6.12b).⁴¹ A document dating from UL3.10b also informs us that some kind of living/working arrangement was made for Dingir-al-sa₆ and Me-me with U₂-U₂.⁴²

5. Barbers Working in Royal Children's Households

Royal children's households also employed male and female barbers, whose rations were

³⁶ Cf. Maekawa (1973–74, 102 n. 30), who does not identify the Nin-al-sa₆ appearing in DP 176, DP 110, and DP 111, with Nin-al-sa₆ the barber in DP 231.

³⁷ As for the date of DP 231, CDLI proposes L1 with reservations, while Maekawa (1973–74, 108) proposes the first half of Lugalanda's reign.

³⁸ Also in a text (P387452 viii 2–6) differently classified as še-ba ša₃-dub-e₂-gal ša₃-dub-didli (UL2.6b).

³⁹ VS 25 71 viii 6–10; VS 25 11 viii 2–6; RA 71 102 viii 12–rev. i 2; MVN 3 2 viii 11–rev. i 4; Nik 1 9 vii 4–8; HSS 3 15 vi 14–18; HSS 3 16 vii 1–5; DCS 4 vii 1–5; FAOS 15/2 123 vi 4–8; P387452 viii 2–6; DP 113 ix 8–12. The pair also received wool rations in DP 171 rev. v 9–12, a document classified as siki-ba lu₂ u₂-[rum] ^dBa-u₂.

⁴⁰ CT 50 36 rev. i 4–10; HSS 3 17 viii 17–rev. i 6; FAOS 15/2 120 ix 2–6; TSA 14 viii 17–ix 2; FAOS 15/1 2 ix 1–5.

⁴¹ DP 114 ix 10–14; DP 115 rev. i 1–5; TSA 17 ix 9–13; FAOS 15/2 122 rev. i 2–6; TSA 16 viii 13–17; HSS 3 18 vii 13–viii 3; cf. two texts with a different classification, še-ba geme₂-dumu igi-nu-du₈ il₂ ša₃-dub-didli, dating from UL6.11b (HSS 3 24 iii 11–12) and UL6.12b (TSA 13 iii 15–16), where Dingir-al-sa₆ occurs alone by himself.

⁴² 0.1.2 Dingir-al-sa₆ / nita-am₆ / 0.0.4 Me-me / munus-am₆ / šu-i₂-me / U₂-U₂ / e-da-se₁₂ in HSS 3 17 viii 17–rev. i 6.

recorded in Type IV lists.⁴³

Barber of Lugalanda's Child Munus-sa₆-ga: Lugal-mu-tu

Lugal-mu-tu was the barber belonging to the household of Munus-sa₆-ga, Lugalanda's daughter.⁴⁴ He received 24 sila of barley at the ninth (DP 157 rev. ii 9–10), the tenth (VS 25 37 rev. i 10–11), and the eleventh (VS 25 14 rev. i 7–8) expenditures, all three texts dated to L6.

Barbers of Urukagina's Children

Seven barbers in total are attested for the three households of Urukagina's children Geme₂-^dBa-u₂, Geme₂-tar-sir₂-sir₂-ra, and A-en-ra-mu-gi₄/A-en-ne₂-ki-ag₂,⁴⁵ from early UL2 to UL5.7b.⁴⁶ There were three to five barbers working at a given time.

Barbers of Geme₂-^dBa-u₂: Lugal-^dEn-lil₂-le, ^dBa-u₂-dingir-mu, and Nin-sag-ga₂-tuku

Lugal-^dEn-lil₂-le repeatedly received 36 sila, while ^dBa-u₂-dingir-mu received only 18 (once 24 sila) and had a kind of living/working arrangement, at one point, with Lugal-temen,⁴⁷ and the rest of the time with U₂-U₂.⁴⁸ As mentioned above (§ III.1), this Lugal-temen and the barber Lugal-temen were most likely the same person; U₂-U₂ is to be identified as an agrig-official (see n. 53). Sometime between UL3.9b and UL4.10b, ^dBa-u₂-dingir-mu was replaced by Nin-sag-ga₂-tuku, who was likewise given 18 (once 24) sila.⁴⁹ No living/working arrangement is reported for the latter.

Barbers of Geme₂-tar-sir₂-sir₂-ra: Sag-mu-ab-tuku, A-gil-sa, and Igi-zi

Sag-mu-ab-tuku received 24 (once 30) sila throughout his career, and his one-time female co-worker was A-gil-sa, who received the same amount of rations (24 sila). At one point both of them had a kind of living/working arrangement with Lugal-temen (no date preserved).⁵⁰ Sag-mu-ab-tuku kept this arrangement until UL4.7b⁵¹ and continued working as a barber for at least another year until UL5.7b (Nik 1 20 vii 4–5). After A-gil-sa's disappearance, Igi-zi entered into the service toward the end of UL3. This Igi-zi, who repeatedly received 72 sila of barley (see n. 26), should be identified with Igi-zi, the high-ranking and šuku-holding barber (see § III.1).

Barber of A-en-ra-mu-gi₄/A-en-ne₂-ki-ag₂: Nin-igi-ga₂-teš-mu/bi

The barber's name is written either Nin-igi-ga₂-teš₂-mu (five times) or Nin-igi-ga₂-teš₂-bi (four times). She was the only barber of the household of A-en-ra-mu-gi₄/A-en-ne₂-ki-ag₂, received 18

⁴³ See Maekawa 1973–74, 131–134, especially n. 74, on the development of this type of ration lists.

⁴⁴ Asher-Greve (1985, 152) presents the personnel of the daughters of Lugalanda in a tabular form.

⁴⁵ Beld (2002, 17) sees one person with two names, A-en-ra-mu-gi₄ and A-en-ne₂-ki-ag₂, while on p. 78 he regards them as two different persons.

⁴⁶ In contrast to his three siblings, Šubur-^dBa-u₂ had no barber listed among his household personnel.

⁴⁷ 0.0.3 ^dBa-u₂-dingir-mu / šu-i₂ munus-am₆ / Lugal-temen-da / e-da-ti in Nik 1 22 iv 1–4.

⁴⁸ 0.0.3 ^dBa-u₂-dingir-mu / šu-i₂ (munus)-am₆ / U₂-U₂ / e-da-ti in BIN 8 359 iii 15–iv 3; HSS 3 25 iii 15–iv 2; TSA 18 iii 14–17 (0.0.4); HSS 3 26 iii 12–15; FAOS 15/2 124 iii 12–15; for the name U₂-U₂, see Balke 2011, 10 (sub Rs. I 9, II 2); Foxvog 2011, 61.

⁴⁹ DP 117 iv 6–7; CT 50 35 iii 11'–12', iv 1'; DP 118 iv 12–13; FAOS 15/1 20 iv 6–8.

⁵⁰ [Sag-mu-ab-tuku] / nita-am₆ / A-gil-sa / munus-am₆ / šu-i₂-me / Lugal-temen-da / e-da-se₁₂ in Nik 1 22 v 14–vi 6.

⁵¹ 0.0.4 Sag-mu-ab-tuku / šu-i₂-(am₆) / Lugal-temen-da / e-da-ti in DP 119; BIN 8 359 v 13–vi 1; HSS 3 25; TSA 18; HSS 3 26; FAOS 15/2 124; Nik 1 16; DP 116.

or 24 sila, and presumably had a kind of living/working arrangement with Lugal-temen at one point⁵² and with U₂-U₂ the rest of the time,⁵³ as did the other female barbers.⁵⁴

IV. Rope Makers (tug₂-du₈)

In this category we can recognize, on the one hand, a group that consisted of landed males belonging to higher socio-economic strata and, on the other, a landless male and female working for the E₂-MI₂.

1. Rope Makers from Higher Socio-Economical Strata

In Type I lists tug₂-du₈ professionals were not listed by name but rather with a brief statement telling how many rope makers received how much in rations, such as “72 sila of barley for a rope maker,”⁵⁵ “four rope makers with 72 sila of barley each,”⁵⁶ or “48 sila of barley for a rope maker, three rope makers with 42 sila of barley each.”⁵⁷ This kind of recording convention is also found in texts dealing with work assignments and field allotments of tug₂-du₈, such as “2.5 gi (of canal maintaining work assigned to) a rope maker”⁵⁸ or “4 ¼ iku of subsistence land (allotted to) a rope maker.”⁵⁹ Nevertheless we can collect several personal names of tug₂-du₈ from documents of work assignment and land allotment. For instance, Erm 15776 [P225761] recorded 2 iku of subsistence land for a rope maker named Nam-ku-li-ni-dug₃ (iv 2–4), 2 iku of subsistence land for a rope maker named Uru₁₁-ki-dug₂ (rev. i 3’–6’), and 4 iku of subsistence land for a rope maker named Ur-gu₂ (rev. ii 3’–6’). Ur-gu₂ was mentioned with certain amount of barley in another text (Erm 14371 [P225758] i 5–6), in which another rope maker whose name is broken played the role of deputy (maškim) in a transaction (ii 1–3).

Al-la the Rope Maker

A tug₂-du₈ named Al-la seems to have had a special position among his colleagues. DP 219 (L4) records that a ram was slaughtered for his wife Bara₂-ir-nun in the kitchen when she gave birth to a child.⁶⁰ This draws our attention because it reminds us of a similar record, that of Bara₂-nam-tara, wife of Lugalanda, who gave birth to a daughter (Munus-sa₆-ga) in the same year (Nik 1 209; DP 218). These are the only two women for whom records of childbirth have been preserved in the Presargonic E₂-MI₂ corpus. A question arises as to the identity of this Bara₂-ir-

⁵² [0.0.3 Nin-igi-ga₂-teš₂-bi / šu-i₂ munus]-am₆ / Lugal-temen-da / e-da-ti in Nik 1 22 rev. ii 1–4.

⁵³ 0.0.3 Nin-igi-ga₂-teš₂-bi / [U₂-U₂] agrig-da / e-da-ti in DP 119 rev. i 12–ii 3 (UL2.4b); (ration amount) Nin-igi-ga₂-teš₂-bi/mu / šu-i₂ munus-am₆ / U₂-U₂ / e-da-ti in TSA 18 rev. iii 16–iv 3 (UL3); DP 116 rev. iii 11–14 (UL4.7b).

⁵⁴ According to Magid (2001, 325), when texts talk about, for example, a barber living with another barber, a servant living with another servant, or a miller living with another miller, we are dealing with overseer-subordinate pairings. This might be the case with Lugal-temen the barber and the four barbers. However, we face a problem with U₂-U₂ because he is not described anywhere as a barber and is at one point identified as an agrig-official, provided that the restoration by CDLI is correct.

⁵⁵ 1 tug₂-du₈ 0.2.0 in RTC 54 vi 11 (L6.2b).

⁵⁶ 4 lu₂ 0.2.0 / tug₂-du₈-me in Erm 14346 [P225753] iv 6’–7’ (UL5²); although the rubric of the text is broken, it is certain that this is a Type I text.

⁵⁷ 1 tug₂-du₈ 0.1.2 / 3 tug₂-du₈ 0.1.1 in DP 121 iii 12–iv 1 (UL6.6b).

⁵⁸ 2 gi kuš₃ 3 tug₂-du₈ in DP 622 rev. ii 5 (L2)

⁵⁹ 4 ¼ (iku) gan₂ tug₂-du₈ in HSS 3 38 iii 7.

⁶⁰ Bara₂-ir-nun / dam Al-la / tug₂-du₈-ke₄ / dumu i₃-tu-da-a in DP 219 i 2–5 (Rosengarten 1960, 342).

nun, who received the same kind of record as the queen?

In a document dating two years earlier than DP 219, “Bara₂-ir-nun, wife of Al-la” (VS 14 159 vi 10–11) was listed among the mašdaria-gift givers. Although Al-la’s profession name is not indicated, he is most likely to be identified with Al-la the tug₂-du₈. Meanwhile the name Bara₂-ir-nun is found among Lugalanda’s sisters (DP 127 ii 11: nin ensi₂-ka-me), who were also lukur-priestesses (Steinkeller 1981, 84–85 n. 47).⁶¹ Being the ruler’s sister would explain the high visibility conferred on Bara₂-ir-nu and the special attention paid to her childbirth. In the two documents where Bara₂-ir-nun was referred to as a lukur and received 72 sila of barley and 72 sila of emmer (RTC 61 iii 8–9; DP 134 iii 3–4), her future husband Al-la the rope maker was separately listed: in one (DP 134 rev. ii after the break) he was given 36 sila of barley and 36 sila of emmer, half of her rations.⁶² Al-la the rope maker cultivated leased land and 840 sila was his še-gub-ba “barley delivery” (DP 554 i 1–3). Someone who could marry the sister of the ruler must have himself belonged to the upper echelon of society.

2. A Pair of a Male and a Female Rope Makers

E-ta-e₁₁ and Nam-šita-mu-bi₂-dug₄

E-ta-e₁₁ and Nam-šita-mu-bi₂-dug₄ were repeatedly listed as a pair of rope makers in Type II ration lists (L6.9–UL5.3b) in the following formula.⁶³

36/48 sila E-ta-e₁₁

36/48 sila Nam-šita-mu-bi₂-dug₄

tug₂-du₈-me

Although Nam-šita-mu-bi₂-dug₄ was certainly a female name, she was never designated as *tug₂-du₈ munus.⁶⁴ This can be contrasted with the cases of hairdressers (šu-i₂ munus) and female doorkeepers (i₃-du₈ munus), in which feminine gender marking was usually (but not always) made. Both E-ta-e₁₁ and Nam-šita-mu-bi₂-dug₄, regardless of their gender, received the same amount of barley rations, which was either 36 sila or 48 sila. At a certain point Nam-šita-mu-bi₂-dug₄ disappears from the ration lists, whereas E-ta-e₁₁ kept his job.⁶⁵

V. Doorkeepers (i₃-du₈)

As shown concerning the barbers and the rope makers, a group of doorkeepers can be recognized that consisted of landed males belonging to higher socio-economic strata on the one hand, and landless males and females working for the E₂-MI₂ on the other.

1. Doorkeepers from Higher Socio-Economic Strata

Doorkeepers with a Specific Title

⁶¹ See also Sharlach 2008.

⁶² Cf. RTC 61 rev. iv 15–v 4.

⁶³ VS 25 71 rev. i 10–12; VS 25 11 rev. i 6–8; RA 71 102 rev. ii 3–5; MVN 3 2 rev. ii 6–8; HSS 3 16 viii 4–6; Nik 1 9 viii 8–10; DP 113 rev. i 16–18; HSS 3 17 rev. ii 17 – iii 2; FAOS 15/2 121 rev. iii 9–11; FAOS 15/2 120 rev. 4–6; TSA 14 rev. i 14–ii 2; TSA 15 rev. ii 15 – iii 2; DP 114 rev. ii 8–10.

⁶⁴ Prentice (2010, 41) does not specify Nam-šita-mu-bi₂-dug₄ as being female.

⁶⁵ TSA 17 rev. ii 10–11 (UL6.[]b); HSS 3 18 ix 10–11 (UL6.12b).

Doorkeepers with a specific title, listed below, are collected from Type I ration lists and documents of land allotment, leaseholds, work assignments, and gift-receiving.⁶⁶

Lu₂-zi / i₃-du₈ e₂-PA(gidri)-ka⁶⁷
 Lugal-pirig / i₃-du₈ nam-dumu⁶⁸
 Lugal-ušur₃-ra / i₃-du₈ ^dBa-u₂⁶⁹
 Lum-ma-teš₂-mu / i₃-du₈ e₂-gal⁷⁰
 Na-ni / i₃-du₈ Uru₁₁^{ki 71}
 Ur-du₆ / i₃-du₈ e₂-gal⁷²
 Ur-^dDumu-zi / i₃-du₈ bad₃⁷³
 Ur-^dIgi(-ama-še₃) / i₃-du₈ bad₃⁷⁴
 Ur-^dNin-gir₂-su / i₃-du₈ Ti-ra-aš₂^{ki 75}
 Ur-šubur / i₃-du₈ ganun-mah⁷⁶

Ur-du₆ the Doorkeeper of the Palace

Ur-du₆ the doorkeeper of the palace⁷⁷ is without doubt the most prominent figure among the high-ranking doorkeepers. One of his earliest attestations is found in E2, where he appears as a witness in a sales document (RTC 17 = SRU 44). Next, he occurs in the records of wool distribution to “the supervisors and the igi-nigin₂-people” (ugula-ne lu₂ igi-nigin₂-ne) dating from L2 to UE⁷⁸ and then, in Type I (barley or emmer) ration lists dating from L6.2b to UL6.11b.⁷⁹ His barley ration was normally 36 sila (with the exception of 72 sila on two occasions) and his emmer ration was 12 sila. Corresponding to his occurrence in Type I lists, he was allocated subsistence land⁸⁰ and assigned obligatory work such as canal maintenance, harvesting the ruler’s fields, and so on.⁸¹ He was also listed in one document dating from UL3 (DP 130 vii 11–12) classified as lu₂ ninda gan₂ maš-ba ^dBa-u₂⁸² and in the other dating from UL4 (CT 50 37 rev. ii 1–2) as še-gar ziz₂-gar sa₂-dug₄ iti-da ^dBa-u₂.⁸³ In the latter, he was one of the professionals who, though not a herdsman,

⁶⁶ In a document dealing with reed-cutting, CDLI restores: [Ur-^d]Pa-[bil₃-sag] / i₃-du₈ e[š₃] (DP 352 ii 1–2); cf. a doorkeeper named Ur-^dPa-bil₃-sag who appeared on the Type II ration lists.

⁶⁷ VS 14 180 rev. iii 13–iv 3.

⁶⁸ Nik 1 63 rev. i 8–9.

⁶⁹ Nik 1 102 i 4–5.

⁷⁰ VS 14 181 v 6–7; DP 622 iv 5–6; DP 623 rev. iii 9 – iv 1; DP 624 iv 1–2; Nik 1 79 iii 5–6.

⁷¹ TSA 7 rev. vi 4–6.

⁷² See below.

⁷³ VS 27 15 ii 3–4.

⁷⁴ VS 25 21 i 1–3; DP 587 iii 3–4.

⁷⁵ DP 92 rev. ii 3–4; DP 354 i 1–3; VS 25 89 rev. i 6–7; TIM 9 94 ii' 3'–6'; Tiraš was one of the four temples situated in the city of Lagaš (Suter 2000, 87).

⁷⁶ VS 25 61 ii 2–3.

⁷⁷ DP 623 rev. iii 8–iv 1; DP 624 iii 8–iv 2.

⁷⁸ DP 192; VS14 181; DP 193; DP 194; also note VS 27 34, another record of wool given to Ur-du₆.

⁷⁹ RTC 54; HSS 3 5; HSS 3 6; HSS 3 7; Nik 1 13; HSS 3 8; FAOS 15/2 118; HSS 3 9; HSS 3 10; HSS 3 11; FAOS 15/2 68; FAOS 15/2 67; DP 121; BIN 8 354; HSS 3 13; HSS 3 12; Erm 14004 [P315467]; Erm 14346 [P225753]; Erm 14349 [P225756].

⁸⁰ VS 25 40 (L3); VS 25 70 (UL1); HSS 3 40 (UL1); Erm 15776 [P225761]; HSS 3 38.

⁸¹ DP 622 (L2); DP 623 (L3); DP 624 (L3); VS 25 20 (L6); VS 25 99 (L6); VS 25 41; DP 637 (UL1); TSA 23 (UL1); VS 25 74 (UL1); VS 25 79 (UL2); DP 638 (UL2); VS 27 96 (UL2); DP 647 (UL4).

⁸² “Leute der Baba, denen das ‘Brot’ der ‘Zinsfelder’ zugeteilt wird” (Selz 1995, 72).

⁸³ “Gerstenlieferungen (und) Emmerlieferungen, regelmäßige Aufwendungen des Monats der Baba” (Bauer 1967, 190).

took care of animals belonging to the E₂-MI₂ and received the grain with which to feed them.⁸⁴ Also, Ur-du₆ is listed as a giver in the “pure milk and pure malt” (ga-ku₃ munu₄-ku₃) documents (see § III.1).

2. Male and Female Doorkeepers

From Type II and various ration lists other than Type I we can collect the names of twelve male and three female doorkeepers. It seems that four to ten doorkeepers—sometimes only men and sometimes a mixed group of men and women—worked at a given time.

Male Doorkeepers

Of twelve male doorkeepers belonging this group, I will discuss Amar-šuba₃, Nam-mah(-ni), Nig₂-gur₁₁-kur-ra, and Ur-^dInanna.

Amar-šuba₃, Nam-mah(-ni), and Nig₂-gur₁₁-kur-ra

Amar-šuba₃ headed the section of doorkeepers and was the only doorkeeper in the extant Type II lists who received 36 sila of barley (L6.9b–L6.12b).⁸⁵ Nam-mah(-ni) and Nig₂-gur₁₁-kur-ra occupied the second and the third place respectively in the group. When Amar-šuba₃ was dropped from the list, Nam-mah(-ni) took his place at the head, and Nig₂-gur₁₁-kur-ra rose to the second place (UE2b–UE6b).⁸⁶ Later, the order of these two was reversed, with Nig₂-gur₁₁-kur-ra preceding Nam-mah(-ni) (UL2.8b–UL5.3b).⁸⁷ Both of them received either 18 or 24 sila of barley rations.⁸⁸

Nig₂-gur₁₁-kur-ra and Nam-mah(-ni) are also found in the Type I ration list dated to UE2b, both receiving 24 sila of barley.⁸⁹ This is surprising because, as we have seen above, they occur in the Type II list dating from the very same UE2b: their barley rations were also recorded as 24 sila each. Was this double notation a scribal mistake? Possibly, but before dismissing it as archival confusion, we must consider a couple of other documents.

One is DCS 8, dating from Lugal-an-da-nu-hun-ga₂ 1 (= L1). This is a record of emmer-flour rations distributed to the sur_x (ERIM) on the occasion of the festival of the goddess ^dBa-u₂ (ziz₂-ba ERIM-ra ezem ^dBa-u₂-ka). Deimel (apud Prentice 2010, 75 n. 323) equated the sur_x with those who held subsistence land (lu₂ šuku dab₅-ba).⁹⁰ This document lists the doorkeeper Nam-

⁸⁴ Two more doorkeepers, Lugal-sag and Lugal-pirig (i₃-du₈ nam-dumu), had a similar task: the former is mentioned in Nik 1 67 (E4), DP 145 (L1), BIN 8 372 (L1.6g), VS 14 77 (L1.10g), and Nik 1 62 (L1.12g); and the latter in Nik 1 63 (UL3.1g).

⁸⁵ VS 25 71 (L6.9b); VS 25 11 (L6.10b); RA 71 102 (L6.12b).

⁸⁶ MVN 3 2 (UE2b); HSS 3 15 (UE5b); HSS 3 16 (UE6b).

⁸⁷ DP 113 (UL2.8b); CT 50 36 (UL3.6b); HSS 3 17 (UL3.10b); FAOS 15/2 120 (UL4.2b); TSA 14 (UL4.4b); TSA 15 (UL4.7b); DP 114 (UL5.3b).

⁸⁸ The standard ration for doorkeepers was 18 or 24 sila, with the exception of Amar-šuba₃. Regarding the low amount of rations, Prentice (2010, 44 n. 218) comments that “[p]ossibly doorkeeping was not considered a very arduous or skilled occupation” and refers to the possibility suggested by Sallaberger that “the doorkeepers were old men.” However, low rations are not found only here. According to Maekawa (1980, 89), female weavers were usually given 18 or 24 sila of barley per month in Presargonic Lagaš; we have seen that the low-ranking male and female barbers also often received 18 or 24 sila.

⁸⁹ 0.0.4 Nig₂-gur₁₁-kur-ra / 0.0.4 Nam-mah / i₃-du₈-me in HSS 3 6 rev. iii 2–4.

⁹⁰ However, it may not have been limited to šuku-land holders because two landless barbers are also included in the sur_x in DCS 8 (see § III. 4). This requires further study.

mah-ni among the ration receivers.⁹¹ Another relevant document is DP 623, dating from L3. This was a record of assignments of canal maintenance work, where the doorkeeper Nig₂-gur₁₁-kur-ra was mentioned,⁹² as well as the palace doorkeepers Ur-du₆ and Lum-ma-teš₂-mu. Since this type of obligatory work was supposed to be carried out by šuku-holders, it is no surprise to find Ur-du₆ and Lum-ma-teš₂-mu (see § VI.1). But what about Nig₂-gur₁₁-kur-ra? If this person was to be counted as a šuku-holder, his case and that of Nam-mah(-ni) might indicate changes that occurred in their socio-economic status.

Ur-^dInanna

Ur-^dInanna occurs in the Type II ration lists dating from L6⁹³ and from UL6,⁹⁴ receiving 24 sila of barley. Between these years, he is mentioned as a giver following the elite doorkeeper Ur-du₆ in two documents of “pure milk and pure malt” dated to UL1 and UL2, respectively.⁹⁵ Again in UL2, Ur-^dInanna occurs among those to whom Sasa, wife of Urukagina, sold sheep hide with fleece (kuš-udu-bar-gal₂-la).⁹⁶

Female Doorkeepers

The following three female doorkeepers are attested in the corpus.⁹⁷

Nam-šita(-mu-bi₂-dug₄), Nin-tigi_x-ni-dug₃, and Nin-en-še₃-nu-kar₂-kar₂

Nam-šita-mu-bi₂-dug₄, abbreviated as Nam-šita, and her child are mentioned in a barley ration list of “the personnel of prince-ship of the god Igalim” (lu₂ nam-dumu ^dIg-alim-ka) dating from UL1, with 24 sila and 12 sila, respectively (Nik 1 18 rev. iii 6–8). In a wool ration list dating from the same year (UL1), Nam-šita received 3 minas and her daughter received ½ mina (VS 27 21 iii 5–7).⁹⁸ In the following years, UL2 and UL3, the two emmer-flour ration lists of “the friends of royal children” (ušur₃ nam-dumu) listed her with 18 sila (DP 128 v 8–9; DP 129 rev. i 1–2). On the one hand, these texts seem to indicate that Nam-šita-mu-bi₂-dug₄ was at some point related to a household of royal children.⁹⁹ On the other hand, she occurs in Type II barley ration lists dating from UL2.8b to UL6.4b, receiving either 18 or 24 sila and accompanied by her daughter with 12 sila.¹⁰⁰

⁹¹ 0.0.3 Nam-mah-ni / i₃-du₈ in DCS 8 rev. v 2–3.

⁹² 2 gi Nig₂-gur₁₁-kur-ra / i₃-du₈ in DP 623 rev. iv 10–v 1; cf. DP 624 v 3–4, which contains the same information (2 gi Nig₂-gur₁₁-kur-ra / i₃-du₈); DP 624—the obverse seems to have been partially crossed out and on the reverse three right-hand columns were left uninscribed although the summary information (šu-nigin₂...) was placed in the two left-hand columns—was this tablet discarded in antiquity?

⁹³ VS 25 71; VS 25 11; RA 71 102.

⁹⁴ DP 115; FAOS 15/2 122; Erm 14348 [P225755]; TSA 16; TSA 17; HSS 3 18.

⁹⁵ DP 133 rev. vi 6–10; TSA 5 rev. iv 12–v 4.

⁹⁶ Nik 1 230 (Selz 1989, 457).

⁹⁷ In an earlier document, dating from L2, a female doorkeeper was given wool rations along with four male doorkeepers, but they are all unnamed (DP 175 iv 1–2).

⁹⁸ Note that in this text four male doorkeepers, who received 2 mina of wool each (i 7), were counted among the men of Ur-tar (ii 1: lu₂ Ur-tar-me). It is quite possible to identify Ur-tar with Ur-tar-sir₂-sir₂-ra, one of Lugalanda's sons (DP 175 rev. ii 2–5; DP 59 vi 11–12); cf. Ur-tar-sir₂-sir₂-ra, the son of Enentarzi (DP 173 rev. ii 2–6).

⁹⁹ Note also that Lugal-pirig was i₃-du₈ nam-dumu “doorkeeper of prince-ship” (Nik 1 63 rev. i 9; dating from UL3); according to Selz (1989, 271 sub 8: 8–9) i₃-du₈ nam-dumu is attested only here.

¹⁰⁰ DP 113; CT 50 36; FAOS 15/2 121; HSS 3 17; FAOS 15/2 120; TSA 14; Nik 1 2; TSA 15; DP 114; DP 115; FAOS 15/2 122.

Nin-tigi_x-ni-dug₃ joined Nam-šita-mu-bi₂-dug₄ and these two women are listed side by side with the gender marking “(they are) women” (munus-me), immediately following their male counterparts (nita-me) in Type II lists (UL3.6b–UL5.3b). The third female doorkeeper was named Nin-en-še₃-nu-kar₂-kar₂. She was recorded as an orphan living with the doorkeeper Igi-^dBa-u₂-še₃ for a while (UL4.7b–UL6.8b)¹⁰¹ and lastly appears as a female doorkeeper in a ration list dating from UL6.12b (HSS 3 18 rev. i 10–11). Nin-tigi_x-ni-dug₃ and Nin-en-še₃-nu-kar₂-kar₂ were given 18 sila each.

VI. Conclusions

Both men and women worked in the professions discussed in this paper, šu-i₂, tug₂-du₈, and i₃-du₈. A pattern seems to be discernible, namely that each group was comprised of men who held subsistence land and thus were listed in Type I ration lists, and men and women who held no land but received barley rations every month, and thus were listed in Type II or IV lists. With regard to Type II, while male and female šu-i₂ were registered on the ša₃-dub-e₂-gal “tablets of the palace,” male and female tug₂-du₈ and i₃-du₈ were registered on the ša₃-dub-didli “various tablets”; what the different register meant in reality we can only guess. Assuming that the ration lists and land allotment texts reflect the socio-economic status of a receiver, these documents should in turn reflect the workforce hierarchy.

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¹⁰¹ TSA 15; DP 114; DP 115; FAOS 15/2 122; Erm 14348 [P225755]; TSA 16; TSA 17.

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