

BULLAE FROM THE SHARA TEMPLE

Nawala Al-Mutawalli, Khalid Salim Ismael,
Walther Sallaberger



Bullae from the Shara Temple

Cuneiform Texts
from the Iraqi Excavations
at Umma (Jokha)

Edited by
Nawala Ahmed Al-Mutawalli, Khalid Salim Ismael,
Walther Sallaberger

Volume 2

2019

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Nawala Ahmed Al-Mutawalli, Khalid Salim Ismael,
Walther Sallaberger

Bullae from the Shara Temple

with contributions by Hamza Shahad Al-Harbi
and Adelheid Otto

2019

Harrassowitz Verlag · Wiesbaden

Publication of this book was supported by a grant of the Gerda Henkel Stiftung.

GERDA HENKEL STIFTUNG



Bibliografische Information der Deutschen Nationalbibliothek
Die Deutsche Nationalbibliothek verzeichnet diese Publikation in der Deutschen
Nationalbibliografie; detaillierte bibliografische Daten sind im Internet
über <http://dnb.dnb.de> abrufbar.

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek
The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche
Nationalbibliografie; detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet
at <http://dnb.dnb.de>

For further information about our publishing program consult our
website <http://www.harrassowitz-verlag.de>

© Otto Harrassowitz GmbH & Co. KG, Wiesbaden 2019
This work, including all of its parts, is protected by copyright.
Any use beyond the limits of copyright law without the permission
of the publisher is forbidden and subject to penalty. This applies
particularly to reproductions, translations, microfilms and storage
and processing in electronic systems.
Printed on permanent/durable paper.
Printing and binding: Memminger MedienCentrum
Printed in Germany

ISBN 978-3-447-11159-1
e-ISBN 978-3-447-19829-5

Preface

This is the first volume to appear in a series dedicated to the publication of the cuneiform texts from the Iraqi Excavations at Umma (Jokha) that were conducted in the years 1999–2002 by the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage. The State Board of Antiquities and Heritage in Iraq (SBAH) and the directorate of the Iraq Museum granted permission to publish all cuneiform texts from the Umma excavations to Nawala Al-Mutawalli. Therefore, the authors are most grateful to Dr Qais Hussein Rashid, Deputy Minister of Culture, the president of SBAH and of the Iraqi Museums, and to the directors of the Iraq Museum Dr Amira Edan Al-Dhahab and Dr Ahmed Kamil Mohammed, for their constant support of this project. In the Iraq Museum, we acknowledge the support we received in the Cuneiform Department of the Iraq Museum from its director Elham Shakir, and from Nura Qusay, Shaimaa Abdulzahra, Dr Fatima Abbas, Afrah Jasim, and Riem Musa. For supplementary photos we express our gratitude to Faiza Jumaa, Nawfel Hamood, Safa Abbas, and we are grateful to Tahrir Ali and Sundus Hameed of the Registration Department of the Iraq Museum for their help. Nawala also thanks heartfully her dearest friend Shukran Mahdi Salih for all her help and support.

With regard to the Umma excavations of 1999–2002, we thank our colleague Hamza Shahad Al-Harbi for his cooperation in the direction of the expedition in 2001–2002 and the permission to publish the cuneiform texts from the third and fourth excavation session granted to Nawala Al-Mutawalli. To Khawla Maarij and Hayat Kadhim, we owe supplementary information about the site.

Khalid Salim Ismael and Walther Sallaberger are most grateful to Nawala Al-Mutawalli for inviting us to cooperate with her in this fascinating publication project. Her vision and her dedication to promote this project are exemplary, and this cooperation has occupied an important place in our scholarly life. Its initiation took place in Berlin in 2013 thanks to a kind invitation of Margarete van Ess of the German Archaeological Institute (DAI) Berlin.

The project could be realized with the generous support of the Gerda Henkel Foundation, which supported four successive visits of the Iraqi colleagues to the Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (LMU) München in the summers of 2015 to 2018 and a trip to the Iraq Museum in Baghdad by Sallaberger in October 2018. First results of our cooperation have already been presented at the 62nd Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Philadelphia (2016) and the 63rd Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale at Marburg (2017).

Nawala, Khalid, and Walther express their gratitude for the support of this project to the College of Arts at Baghdad University, to the College of Archaeology at Mosul University and to Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, respectively.

At the Institut für Assyriologie und Hethitologie, LMU München, we are obliged to Regine Reichenbach and Susan Radwan for their engagement in organizing the research visits of the Iraqi colleagues to Munich. The student assistants Azam Rayat, Bilind Shushe and Felix Seifert supported us in different ways during these stays.

Adelheid Otto, professor of Near Eastern Archaeology at LMU München, kindly agreed to study the images of the seal impressions and permitted that Manfred Lerchl could prepare the formatting of the plans. Frans van Koppen thankfully checked the English of the manuscript. He and Zsombor Földi offered precious observations on the texts and the studies. During the preparation of the final manuscript, Valeria Minaeva compiled the references for the indexes

and helped with checking cross references. Stefan Odzuck prepared the formatting of this volume with greatest care.

Last but not least, we are most grateful to Dr. Barbara Krauss for accepting this series in the program of Harrassowitz Verlag and for her support of the project.

Due to its volume, the textual material from Umma (Jokha) housed in the Iraq Museum had to be divided in monograph-sized lots for publication. Evidently, a division according to find-spot and format provided the best way to handle the number of texts. Thus, the following volumes are planned in this series entitled *Cuneiform Texts from the Iraqi Excavations at Umma (Jokha)*, abbreviated *UmCT*:

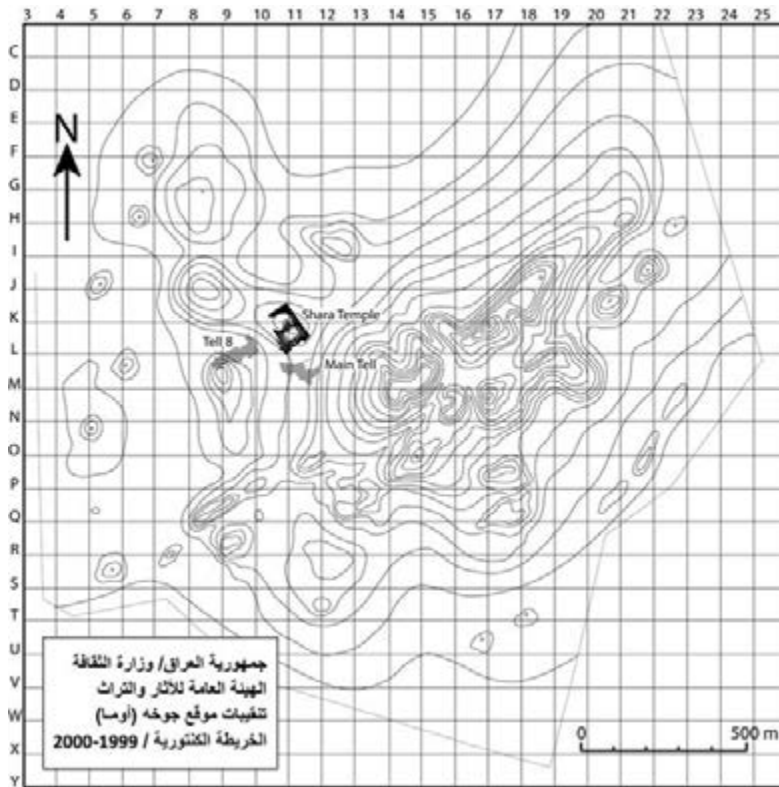
- 1: Inscriptions and tablets from the Shara Temple (in preparation)
- 2: Bullae from the Shara Temple (this volume)
- 3: Bullae from the Main Tell (in advanced state of preparation)
- 4: Tablets from the Main Tell, Part I
- 5: Tablets from the Main Tell, Part II
- 6: Documents from various find-spots

Most of the cuneiform texts date to the Early Old Babylonian period, and, as far as we can now see, many belong to the period when Umma was ruled by king Sumuel of Larsa (1894–1866 BCE) as well as the period shortly before and after. Other cuneiform texts date to the Ur III and few to the Sargonic periods. The first two volumes to appear present Early Old Babylonian bullae: The 107 cuneiform documents published in this volume stemming from the Shara temple (UmCT 2), and the more than two hundred bullae from the Main Tell in UmCT 3. This organization allows for a relatively speedy publication, but obviously the tablets from the same find-spots will add information to the context of the bullae, and the historical and socio-economic situation of Umma in the Early Old Babylonian period will become better understood with each future volume to appear.

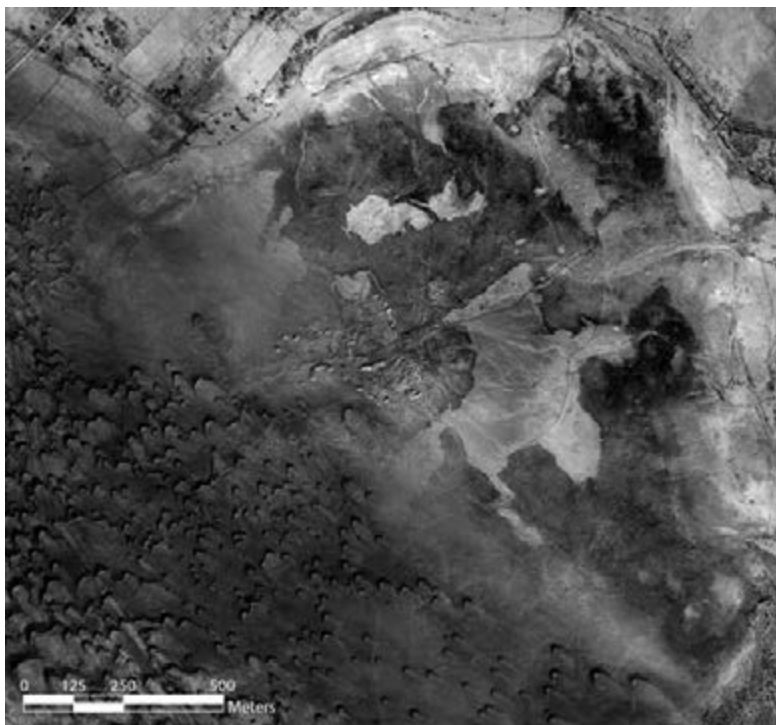
Baghdad, Mosul, Munich
December 2018

Table of Contents

Preface	1
The Shara Temple of Umma in the Early Old Babylonian period: The Archaeological Evidence, by Nawala Al-Mutawalli and Hamza Shahad Al-Harbi	5
An Early Old Babylonian Archive of Bullae from the Temple Administration	13
1. An Early Old Babylonian Temple Archive	13
2. New Data on Umma in the Early Old Babylonian Period	14
3. Bullae as Administrative Documents.	21
4. Administrative Procedures.	25
5. Glimpses on the Economy of the Temple	39
Catalogue	57
The Texts in Transliteration and Translation.	63
1. Barley for Sheep	64
1.1. Ħunnubum	64
1.2. Ubaya	72
1.3. Ğirinisa	75
1.4. Other Recipients and Fragmentary Texts	80
2. Barley for the Temple, for Equids, Cattle, and Personnel	83
2.1. Šu-Idigna.	83
2.2. Šu-Idigna in Various Combinations	95
2.3. Šara-andul and Šara-ziĝu	98
2.4. Similar Texts with and without Šara-andul	120
3. Various Bullae and Fragmentary Texts	123
Seal Inscriptions	131
The Images of the Seal Impressions, by Adelheid Otto	139
Bibliography	147
Indexes	151
Year Dates	151
Personal Names	153
Divine Names	157
Geographical Names	157
Field Names	158
Glossary	158
Plates	165



Map 1: Contour map of Umma (State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, Iraq; graphic adaptation M. Lerchl)



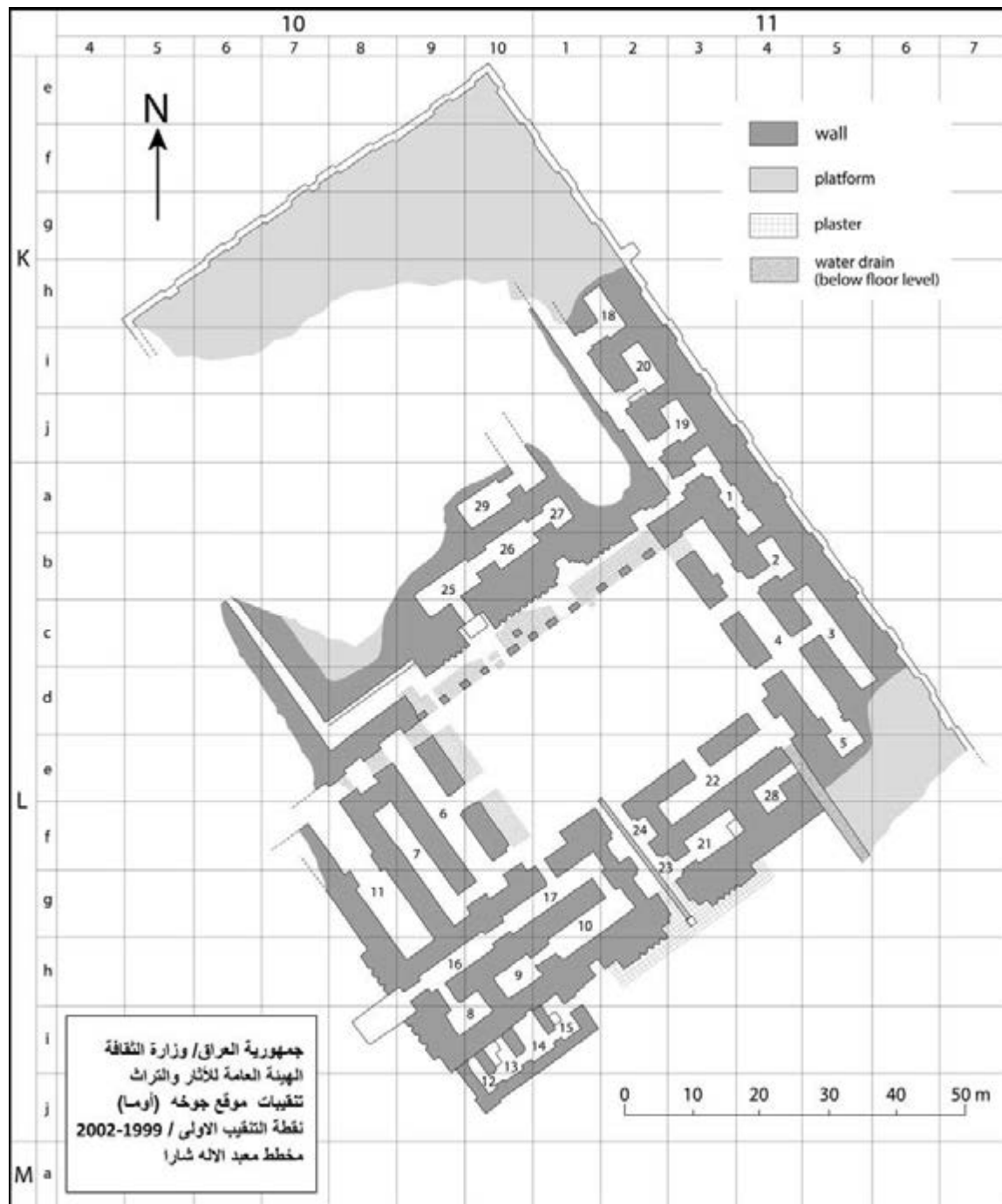
Map 2: Satellite photo of Umma from Adams 2008

order to obtain control of the site, an Iraqi expedition from the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage² started work at Jokha in 1999 under the direction of Nawala Al-Mutawalli. The work

2 The team consisted of Nawala Ahmed Al-Mutawalli, Hamza Shahad Al-Harbi, Khaoula Maarej Khalil, Hayat Khaahdim Hasani, and Dawoud Salman as archaeologists and Wesam Khadhun as administrator.

continued for four seasons until 2002, the last two seasons were directed by Hamza Shahad Al-Harbi and Nawala Al-Mutawalli.

The work started in May 1999 with a survey, during which a topographic plan was established (Plan 1). At Jokha, pottery and other archaeological objects dating to the Early Dynastic, the Sargonic, the Ur III and the Early Old Babylonian period were found on the surface in the survey and in the excavations. In September 1999, excavations began at various places of the site, first of all at the Shara Temple (see below), and also on the Main Tell. Because of its height and because of the deep pits left by the looters, work there was terminated after the first season. In the disturbed fill, it was impossible to attribute the discovered objects to a specific layer. The



Map 3: Plan of the Shara temple (State Board of Antiquities and Heritage, Iraq; graphic adaptation M. Lerchl)



Fig. 2: General view of the Shara Temple excavation



Fig. 3: Outer wall of the temple



Fig. 4a-b: South-western entrance

excavators found many fragments of cuneiform tablets, from the Sargonic, the Ur III, and Early Old Babylonian periods. In the third season 2001, architectural remains with graves dating to the Old Babylonian period were found in the western part of the Main Hill, the tablets and bullae discovered there dating to the Early Old Babylonian period as well. The publication of the bullae is foreseen for volume 3 of this series (in preparation). Early Old Babylonian domestic architecture was found also in other places, most importantly at “Tell 8”. These finds, consisting of architecture, pottery, seals, and tablets and bullae, from various places at the Main Tell attest to the extension of Umma in the Early Old Babylonian period. That Umma was a city of some importance more than a century after the fall of the Ur III state transpires also from the bullae published in this volume.

Beginning with the first season, we concentrated our work on a flat area situated close to the northern flank of the main hill. The working hypothesis — that the temple of Shara was located here — soon materialized as the excavations uncovered a large temple, and written evidence was found identifying it as that of Umma’s main god, Shara (Plan 2). It is an enormous mudbrick building (Fig. 2), of which an area of ca. 90×130 meters is preserved, while substantial other parts are irretrievably destroyed by erosion. The northern corner, the adjacent north-eastern side with a row of rooms, and the north-western side delimit its outer extension at this side. In the north-west, only parts of the platform could be found. The western corner and the south-western wings of the building have been eroded into a wadi and the limits of the temple in this direction remain unknown.

The thick outer wall surrounding the building measures 6 m. It is decorated with buttresses and recesses, especially at the north-east and the north-west façade (Fig. 3).

The south-eastern sector of the temple could not be fully excavated; in this area, the remains of the temple’s foundation platform were covered by an earth road that provided access to the site. The south-western corner of the excavated parts of the temple produced evidence for two distinct phases: a fully preserved corner of an original wall south of room 8 closed the series of rooms 8–9–10. As could be observed by the excavators, the mudbrick walls of rooms 12–13–



Fig. 5a: Main entrance



Fig. 5b: Main entrance

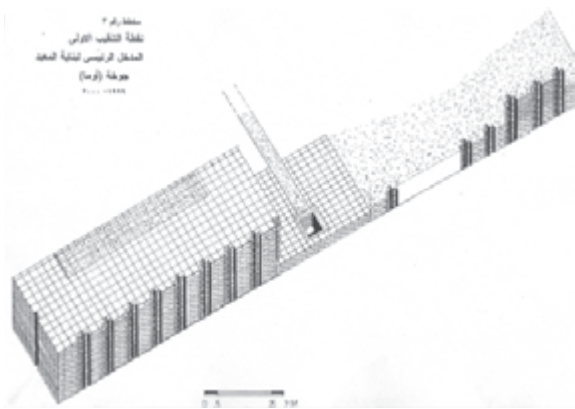


Fig. 5c: Main entrance



Fig. 6a: The corridor in the northern sector of the courtyard



Fig. 6b: The corridor in the northern sector of the courtyard



Fig. 7: Big jars of the Early Old Babylonian period



Fig. 8a: Blocked doors in the temple

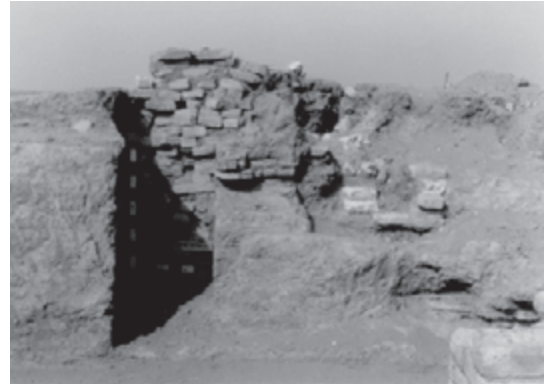


Fig. 8b: Acces from the courtyard to the northern sector of the temple



Fig. 8c: Acces from the courtyard to the northern sector of the temple



Fig. 9: General view of courtyard towards north-west

14–15 were clearly added later to that wall, and in the course of their construction the original layout of the temple may have been altered.

Two entrances were excavated. The south-western entrance of 1.3 m width leads upwards into the temple over a ramp of 12 m in length (Fig. 4a). The stepped doorway and the decoration of the façade with double-niches contribute to the monumental appearance of this entrance (Fig. 4b). The main entrance, similarly decorated, was found in the south-east wall of the building (Fig. 5a–c). The mudbrick wall was covered by a revetment of baked bricks laid in bitumen, making a wall of 4 meters width. Here the walls were preserved to a height of 1.3 m.

As can be seen on the plan of the temple, the southern entrance led to the main courtyard of 42×30 meters. A long “corridor” stretches along the courtyard’s northern side (Fig. 6), paved with baked bricks and bitumen, delimited towards the open courtyard by a line of square “benches” of 1×1 m, which were made of baked bricks laid in bitumen. Behind the corridor, the niched wall is especially well preserved. It adorns the entrance towards the central part of the temple. This now destroyed area once contained the cellae for Shara and his wife Ninurra.

The main courtyard is surrounded by more than 20 square and rectangular rooms, built with thick walls of 2.5–3.5 m. Wide and paved entrances that measure between 1.5–2 m lead to the building. Most of the pavements were removed by the looters.

Door sockets were found in situ in various rooms, a broken door socket at the entrance to Room 10, and complete ones at Room 20 in the northern part and at Room 21 at its southern entrance. All three of them bear the inscription of Šu-Suen, who built the temple Ešagepada for Shara at Umma (George 1993, 143 no. 1017), and they thus confirm the identification of the excavated temple as Šu-Suen’s building. Although some remains of the Early Dynastic period were

found in the northern part of the temple in the wadis and depressions formed by erosion, these remains do not yet testify to a predecessor of the Ur III temple.

The finds from the temple basically date to the Ur III period and the subsequent Early Old Babylonian period. This holds true for the most important dedicatory objects discovered in the main courtyard, some statuary and stone vases, some with inscriptions dating likewise to the Ur III period. The inscriptions will be published in volume 1 of this series.

Two large objects found in the Shara temple may date to the Early Old Babylonian period, the same period when the bullae published in this volume were written. A terracotta relief, 40 cms high, representing the goddess Lamma dressed in her typical robe stems from the courtyard, from the fill caused by the destructions of the lootings. Due to its style and iconography, it dates to the (Early) Old Babylonian period. A fragmentary lion head of baked clay might perhaps belong to the same period as well.

A large clay vessel can be dated to the Early Old Babylonian period after its archaeological context: it was sunk from a higher floor level into the fill of the northern part of the courtyard, right in the “corridor”. Remarkable is the relief on the vessel’s rim, depicting two heraldic lions and a row of persons above them (Fig. 7).

At two places in the temple, cuneiform tablets were found in situ. A group of Ur III tablets stems from Room 10 close to the southern entrance. Apart from a jar large enough to contain these tablets, no more objects were found there. Had the tablets been stored in the jar? Many of these texts, published by Al-Mutawalli (2010), deal with the work of Ayakala, the famous tanner of Umma, who prepared leather out of the animal hides.

Another coherent group of cuneiform documents stems from Room 21 (7.8×2.8 meters), situated on the right side of the southern entrance, which leads to the central courtyard. The door socket of green stone, found on the southern outer edge of the door, bears the inscription of Šu-Suen. It belongs to the first *Stampflehm* floor which thus dates to the Ur III period. 25 cms above it, a second floor level was preserved. On this floor, the excavators found 107 bullae and 90 tablets plus various fragments. The bullae are published in this volume, whereas the tablets are foreseen for publication in Volume 1 of the series.

The temple built by Šu-Suen (2035–2027 BCE) in his second to ninth year (2034–2027 BCE), was in use until at least the sixth year of Sumuel of Larsa, 1889 BCE, the date of the latest bullae from Room 21, i. e. for a period of 138 years. Some changes in the use of the temple and its rooms cannot be dated precisely, but may partly belong to the Early Old Babylonian period as well. Whereas in the part to the north-east of the main passage (Room 21, 22, 28) the doors remained accessible, the doors of the Ur III temple were blocked by 0.50 to 1.00 m high walls in other sections: Room 4 on the northeastern side (Fig. 8a); Room 16 near the south-eastern entrance; and in the corridor in the northern part of the courtyard (Fig. 8b–c), including the entrance to Room 25. Besides the Lamma relief, the terracotta lion head (?) and the large clay vessel mentioned above, no further archaeological material dating to the Early Babylonian period could be discovered. But, as noted above, the Ur III remains above the floor level were only preserved in some sectors, and so the Early Old Babylonian layer was largely eroded. Furthermore, because of the devastations caused by the looters all over the temple area and the total loss of the cella complex due to erosion (Fig. 9), the archaeological history of the temple cannot be reconstructed.

The excavations were started by the State Board of Antiquities and Heritage to stop the looting at Jokha. However, returning to the site after 2003, we discovered that our excavations were destroyed again, and now Umma is completely covered by new and deeper holes produced by the looters. But the Iraqi excavations were successful to document some of Umma’s ancient buildings, and to record some of their objects and cuneiform documents in their primary context.

An Early Old Babylonian Archive of Bullae from the Temple Administration

1. An Early Old Babylonian Temple Archive

The temple of the city god Shara was the main temple of ancient Umma, and the building excavated by the Iraqi archaeologists was the one built by king Šu-Suen of the Third Dynasty of Ur (ruled 2035–2027 BCE). This identification is based on inscribed door sockets found in the temple building (see chapter 1).

The data from the door sockets found *in situ* provide the only fixed point in the discussion concerning the ancient names of *Umma* and *Ĝešša* for the sites of Jokha (Djokha, Ĝūḫa) and Umm al-Aqarib (e.g. Almamori 2014a, 2014b; Bartash 2015). Since the article of Lambert (1990) on the ancient name of *Umma*, there has been much confusion about the reading of the city names and their identification. With the Ur III Shara temple found here, Jokha can thus surely be identified as the city written $\text{Ĝeš}^{\text{ki}}\text{KUŠU}_2^{\text{ki}}$, which corresponds to phonographically spelled *ub-me*^{ki} in the Akkadian version of Sargonic inscriptions, and thus was pronounced *Umma* or similarly (following basically Marchesi 2006, 22 n. 86 and Marchesi/Marchetti 2011, 170 f.; a contribution by W. Sallaberger on this topic is in preparation).

Within the Shara temple, the bullae stem from one single room, Room 21. It is located near the southern entrance of the temple, from where it could be reached by turning right and entering the very first door. Room 21 was the only room accessible from the corridor to the main courtyard, since there was no door to the left, nor one in the second niche to the right. This place near the entrance is especially well suited for the receipt of goods delivered to the temple and the writing of documents. This is the only room of the temple where a substantial number of tablets from the Early Old Babylonian period has been found. But since the later layers of the temple are even worse preserved than the Ur III original building, it cannot be excluded that originally tablets could have been kept at other places as well. Note, for example, that in the slightly older Inana temple at Nippur of the Ur III period, tablets were found in various rooms in the administrative sector of the temple, especially in a small room with a basin near the main entrance (in locus 4) and in the courtyard (locus 137; see Zettler 1992, 57–90 with Figure 15 on p.56).

Given the central importance of temples in Mesopotamian cities, the new text group deserves special attention. Even more so for the Old Babylonian period, the rich documentation of which exceeds 30,000 documents (Charpin n.d.) but concentrates on family archives with legal texts on the one side, and the royal administration on the other (e.g. Mari, Sîn-kāšid palace in Uruk, Kisurra, Ešnunā). Some administrative texts from, and related to, temples are known, especially from Ur, there documenting not only the priestly offices but also the gifts to the temples from merchants and inhabitants of Ur (cf. the overview given by Charpin 2004, 408 f.); similar data is provided by the texts from Ishchali (ibid. 442). The daily management of a temple is document-

ed in Nippur (ibid. 420–422), with the distribution of foodstuffs to the temple personnel as the most interesting aspect of the texts from this site.

The bullae from the Shara Temple of Umma deal with grain, almost exclusively barley, which was received by individuals in the service of the temple. The barley consignments were designated as *sa₂-du₁₁*, and this included the grain that was to be prepared for offerings to Shara during the coming month. Oxen, most notably ploughing oxen, and equids, most often mules and horses, were fed from the temple's grain. Domestic animals in the service of the temple received monthly grain allotments as well. In a separate group of bullae, the barley served as fodder for fattening the sheep of Shara, or as a means of payment for buying "fresh draft" from the brewers to feed them. The archive, however, does not cover the internal regime of the offerings, but deals with the contact of the temple with the outer world, more specifically, the registration of incoming grain. This agrees very well with the find-spot of the documents, in the only room near the entrance to the central courtyard of the temple.

Various people act as recipients of the grain and as middlemen in the transactions. Seal inscriptions of some of these individuals are known as well, where, if a profession is noted, they are designated as "cult-priests (*gudu₄*) of god Shara" (Aminum, Nūr-Eštar, Sîn-..., Šara-andul). Other professions appear only on one exceptional bulla (27: "scribe", *dub-sar*, Lu-Šara, and "diviner", *maš₂-šu-gid₂-gid₂*, Sîn-kāšid). The Umma temple evidence thus attests to the administrative duties of "cult-priests" (*gudu₄*) beyond their cultic activities in the presentation of food offerings to the deity. Elsewhere, the managerial duties at a temple were usually met by "temple-lords" or "administrators" (*saĝĝa*, *šabra*), but these officials are not attested in the bullae published here. The upper echelons of temple personnel, who would outrank the *gudu₄* "cult-priest", do not appear in the documents of this volume, although a local year date refers to the election of a high priestess (*ereš-diĝir*) of Shara (Year C, see below 2.2).

The bullae from the Shara temple do not shed much light on the social and economic situation at Umma and the city administration beyond the temple itself (see in this regard, e.g., below 3.1 on Ĥunnubum and note the seal of Sîn-irībam on no. 27; or note the temple as place for prisoners, see below section 5.2). The city will come more clearly into focus with the bullae from the Main Tell currently under preparation for publication as volume 3 of the series UmCT.

The documents published here were written over a period of no more than one decade: five years can be attributed to Sumuel of Larsa (ruled 1894–1866 BCE, here years 2 to 6), and four dates were previously unknown (years B to E). As some of the latter refer to local events, it can be suggested that Umma was at first under local administration, independent of the dominant kingdom of Isin. Eventually, in Sumuel's second year, Umma was incorporated into the growing kingdom of Larsa. Despite the political change, the administration of the city's main temple continued to work. Most documents stem from the last two or three years, but not all earlier documents were carefully sorted out, and so one can observe a high degree of administrative continuity despite the political change. Especially in group 2.1 (the receipts of Šu-Idigna, sealed by Nūr-Eštar), both in the years of independence and under Sumuel of Larsa, the same individuals appear and similar documents were written. The dependability of the temple administration allowed the Babylonian cities to survive in periods of political change and in unstable conditions.

2. New Data on Umma in the Early Old Babylonian Period

After the end of the Ur III archives at Umma, in the fifth year of Ibbi-Suen (2022 BCE according to the Middle Chronology; see Molina 2008, 48), Umma and its region fell largely into oblivion. Although Umma surfaces here and there in the textual record of the Early Babylonian period (Waetzoldt 2014), it had lost its former importance: no local dynasty from Umma was hitherto known, nor does it appear in the royal texts – inscriptions, hymns, or year dates – written un-

der the Isin and Larsa dynasties. Eventually, the prologue of the Code of Hammurapi, the most complete register of important Babylonian cities around 1760 BCE, names Zabalam (*Zugal*) and its goddess Zugalitum, but not Umma and Shara. With the discovery of hundreds of cuneiform tablets by the Iraqi excavation team at Jokha and further discoveries at Tell Shmed, there are now documents available that shed some light on the Early Old Babylonian period in the Umma region.

The bullae published here present a first step in recovering the history of Umma after 1900 BCE. The bullae from the Main Tell, the publication of which is scheduled for the next volume in this series, complement these data. Together the new evidence will allow for a fresh evaluation of the historical situation at Umma. Here, we limit ourselves to a short presentation of the new evidence. Since the bullae of this volume deal with the administration of the temple of Shara, the historical information basically stems from the dates: most of the texts are dated to month and year.

2.1. The Month Names

Under the rule of the Third Dynasty of Ur, Umma had used its own series of month names referring to local festivals. When the texts appear again some 130 years later (see 2.2), the standard Nippur calendar is used at Umma. Since the the early rulers of Isin can be seen as the propagators of the Nippur calendar throughout Babylonia, Umma most likely formed part of their kingdom as well.

Table 1: Month-names of the standard Babylonian calendar attested at Umma

1	para ₁₀ -za ₃ -ĝar
2	gud-si-su
3	šeg ₁₂ -a
4	šu-nuĝun-a
5	NE.NE-ĝar
6	kiĝ ₂ - ^d inana
7	du ₆ -ku ₃
8	(^{ĝeš})apin-tuĥ-a
9	gan-gan-e ₃ (gan-e ₃ -a)
10	ab-e ₃
11	ud ₂ -duru ₅
12	še-KIN-ku ₅

An additional month name *Egītum* appears in an early text (written *e-gi-tum*, no. **35**, Year E), a month name apparently not attested elsewhere (cf. Cohen 2015). An interpretation of this month name as a variant writing of *Akītum* seems improbable, since this festival appears in our corpus in the standard orthography a₂-ki-tum (nos. **79**, **103**).

2.2. Year Dates: Sumu-el of Larsa and Local Dates

Ten different year names appear on the 107 bullae from the Shara temple. For a complete list with all variants, which provides also the chronological order of the texts published here, the reader is referred to the index of year names.

Table 2: Year dates of Sumuel

year	formula at Umma	standard formula (after Sigrist 1990, 15–17)	attestations in Umma
Sumuel 2	mu us ₂ -sa su-mu-DINGIR lugal “Following year: Sumuel king.”	mu su-mu-DINGIR lugal-e alan ku ₃ -babbar e ₂ ^d utu-še ₃ i-ni-in-ku ₄ -ra “Year: King Sumuel brought a silver statue into the temple of Utu.”	2× (month 7)
Sumuel 3 variant	mu ^d inana (larsam ^{ki} (-ma/ še ₃)) i ₃ -ġen-na “Year: He went to Inana in Larsa.”	mu (su-mu-DINGIR lugal-e) ur-maĥ uruda min-a-bi kan ₄ maĥ bar-ra ^d inana-še ₃ i-ni-in-ku ₄ -ra/ĥu-mu-gub “Year: (King Sumuel) brought two copper lions to the outer sublime gate to Inana.”	12× (months 1, 2, 6, 9–12)
Sumuel 4	mu su-mu-DINGIR a-ku-za/ zu ^{ki} in-dab ₅ “Year: Sumuel seized Akusu.” mu a-ku-za ^{ki} a-ĥu-um in-dab ₅ “Year: Akusu of Aĥum was seized (?).” mu a-ku-za/zi/uz ^{ki} in-/i ₃ -dab ₅ “Year: Akusu was seized.”	mu a-ku-uz ^{ki} ba-ĥulu “Year: Akus was destroyed.”	3× (months 2–4) 1× (month 5, no. 45) 15× (months 3, 5–12)
Sumuel 5 variant	mu gu ₂ -iš-DU ₃ ^{ki} (in-dab ₅ (- ba-a)/al-dab ₅ -ba-a) “Year: Guiš.DU (was seized).”	mu uġnim unu ^{ki} -ga ^{ġe} štukul ba(-an)-sag ₃ “Year: The army of Uruk was smitten by weapons.”	21× (months 1–4, 6–11)
Sumuel 6	mu en ^d utu (larsam ^{ki} (-ma/ še ₃)) (in-il ₂ (-la)/in-ĥuġ) “Year: The high-priestess of Utu at Larsa was elevated/in- stalled”	mu en ^d utu ba-ĥuġ-ġa ₂ “Year: The high-priestess of Utu was in- stalled.”	24× (months 1, 4–10, 12)

Some of the year dates explicitly name king Sumuel of Larsa (1894–1866 BCE) and thus can be attributed to his reign: Sumuel 2, and in some texts of Sumuel 4 in the list below. Sumuel 2 is phrased differently in texts attested so far, but its placement nonetheless seems secure. The identification of Sumuel 6 is certain as well, since the date names Utu/Šamaš of Larsa and refers to the installation of his high priestess. The destruction of Akusu features in Sumuel 4.

The year name identified as Sumuel 3 is phrased differently than attested previously, but since it features Inana/Ištar of the city of Larsa, it can confidently be attributed to Sumuel of Larsa.

The high number of attestations for the year named after the conquest of a place called *Gu₂-iš-DU₃^{ki}* strongly suggests that it has to be placed in the series of Sumuel year names 1, 2, 3, 4, and 6; Sumuel 5 is the obvious choice. The identification of the new year names as variants of years Sumuel 3 and 5 is confirmed by the sequence of the officials in the different series (see section 4 below).

Sumuel Year Dates

The date formulae used for the years Sumuel 2, 3 and 5 at Umma are named as such (and not “Year A” v.s.), although they deviate from the forms in the date lists and in previously known texts, mostly stemming from Larsa, Ur and Kisurra (Sigrist 1990, 15–17). The formula for Sumu-

el 5 gives what appears to be a different focus on the same military campaign, naming a hitherto unknown city *Guišdu* as taken, instead of the defeat of the army of Uruk.

A noteworthy variant is the appearance of an individual called *Aḫum* in a variant of year name Sumuel 4. *Aḫum* cannot have been the central actor, since he is named after the place name, and therefore it perhaps translates as “(the city) *Akusu* of *Aḫum* was seized”. Or could it be “*Akusu*: *Aḫum* seized it”, indicating a coalition with Sumuel? *Aḫum* was a local “sheikh” at Umma, as evidenced by the seal of *Lu-Šara* (Seal 5), who is called a “servant of *Aḫum*”. The seal is impressed only once, on bulla no. 27 dated to a Year C, apparently dating to the period before the appearance of Sumuel at Umma. More evidence on *Aḫum* comes from the bullae from the Main Tell and will consequently be discussed in the next volume UmCT 3.

Year Dates not attributed to a Specific Ruler

Year C (Table 3) clearly refers to a local event, the elevation of a high priestess (*ereš-diġir*) of god *Shara*. This date thus testifies to a period of self-government at Umma. Its independence occurred after a period of domination by *Isin*, which can be assumed because of the introduction of the *Nippur* calendar (see 2.1 above), and before the advent of Sumuel of *Larsa*, which may have started with the seventh month of his second year at the latest. No year dates of his *Larsa* predecessor *Abi-sarē* are attested at Umma, neither in this corpus nor in the texts from the Main Tell that we have studied until now.

Year C and three other year dates cannot be attributed to Sumuel or any other *Larsa* ruler, and already the low number of their attestations suggest that these dates should be placed before the period Sumuel 2 to 6. This assumption is confirmed by the officials named in the texts, since they appear in the earliest Sumuel texts as well (see below sections 3 and 4, especially Table 9). There are no clear indicators for a chronological sequence of Years B to E, and even the relationship to year Sumuel 2 remains unclear. Year C (month 6) or year B (months 3-4) or year D (month 4) could easily have been the same year as Sumuel 2 (month 7).

Table 3: Other year names, predating Sumuel’s presence at Umma

Year B	mu an-za-gar ₃ su-ur-da-nu apin-la ₂ “Year: The <i>dimtu</i> settlement of <i>Surdanu</i> was leased”	2× (months 3, 4)
Year C	mu ereš-diġir ^d šara ₂ in-il ₂ “Year: The high priestess of <i>Shara</i> was elevated.”	1× (month 6)
Year D	mu ʿga ¹ -tu-ra-[(x)]-ʿx ¹ -nu-um ʿin-dab ₅ ¹ “Year: <i>Gatura</i> ...num was seized.”	1× (month 4)
Year E	mu sa-pi ₂ -ru-um elam ^{ki} i ₃ -ġen-na “Year: The governor (<i>šāpirum</i>) went to <i>Elam</i> ”.	2× (month <i>Ekītum</i> , 12)

Year B: The date appears twice, proving beyond any doubt that it is an actual year date, referring to the management of the agricultural land at Umma (like half a millennium earlier in the famous *Lagaš-Umma* conflict dealing with the lease for agricultural land).

Year E: The identification of the *šāpirum* remains open to speculation, and the date might refer to a campaign against *Elam*. In the Sumerian context of the date formula, *šāpirum Elam* could