

participated in religious ceremonies. Texts relating to Baranamtara's funeral (TSA 9; VS 14, 137= AWL 66; see Jagersma 2007) and another ritual for the dead (DP 159) mention numerous **geme**₂ who were present in the wailing ceremonies. Given that Gišgal-si, who was a **gala**, was also an overseer of female wool textile workers (**ugula ki-siki**), there is a strong likelihood that the women under his direction were mobilized to perform lamentation when necessary.²¹⁾

Some female wool and linen textile workers had a role with more responsibility and were in charge of other textile workers. Conceivably, all female overseers, with the exception of E₂-mete, who was at the same time the head of the female servants of the royal house (see section 3 above), were themselves experienced textile workers. In one such case Sa₆-sa₆, before replacing Gišgal-si as overseer (which occurred by the 9th distribution of rations in Urukagina **lugal** year 6), worked earlier under his supervision, and is always listed first among the weavers of his team. We cannot trace the prior status of another female overseer, Nin-inim-zi-da, who replaced Ma-al-ga by the [9th] distribution of rations in Uukagina **lugal** year 2 at the latest. However, the fact that her rations were listed in Type III lists implies that she herself was a **geme**₂-worker like others in the lists (Lambert 1961: 438-439). Šeš-e-a-na-ak, Nin-e₂-Unu^{ki}-ga-nir-gal₂, and Zum became overseers of the three new teams that had been created by the 9th distribution of rations of Urukagina **lugal** year 6, each consisting of about twenty purchased female slaves (**sag-sa**₁₀). Šeš-e-a-na-ak was a former **ki-gu** (linen worker); Nin-e₂-unu^{ki}-ga-nir-gal₂ earlier worked under Gišgal-si's supervision; and Zum was a former worker belonging to the group overseen by Ma-al-ga and later Nin-inim-zi-da, and was listed first among its members. In spite of their lowly status, Nin-inim-zi-da and Igi-bar-(lu₂-ti) were clearly in charge of their weaving workshop, as the expression "the house of the wool textile workers of so-and-so," **e₂-ki-siki-ka Nin-inim-zi-da-ka-ka** (DP 438) and **<e₂>-ki-siki-ka Igi-bar-ka** (DP 442), indicates. Since Gišgal-si and ^dNanše-da-nu-me-a, the male textile overseers, are described with the same expression, as **<e₂> ki-siki Gišgal-si-ka** (DP 452) and **e₂-ki-siki-ka ^dNanše-da-nu-me-a-ka**

(DP 441), it seems likely that these two women had functions and responsibilities similar to their male counterparts.

There were also overseers of **ki-gu** workers, but they were sometimes left anonymous (VS 27, 7; VS 25, 90; DP 567). Nevertheless, three individuals can be identified in this role. Interestingly, all of them were female, belonging to the **geme**₂-workers, and two of them, Ša₃-ge-a-ra₂-bi₂-dug₄ and Zabar₃-tur, explicitly carry the title “overseer” (**ugula**). Furthermore, Ša₃-ge-a-ra₂-bi₂-dug₄ appears alongside Gišgal-si, Nin-inim-zi-da, ^dNanše-da-nu-me-a, and Igi-bar-lu₂-ti, all of whom distributed wool rations to the workers of their workshop (DP 171; see Karahashi - Garcia-Ventura 2017).

In Conclusion

The Presargonic Girsu-Lagaš E₂-MI₂ corpus shows that elite women and female royal household servants were active in religious and cultic activities in the state. It appears from the preserved texts that women who were allotted subsistence land and/or leased fields were limited to those belonging to these groups. Professional groups, including barbers/hairdressers, gatekeepers, and rope-makers comprised both male and female members. Female musicians are attested as receiving rather generous rations. These female professionals as well as female unskilled female manual workers were clearly distinguished from the **geme**₂-workers, who were apparently of a lower rank. The latter mostly engaged in manufacturing textiles, grinding flour, and taking care of livestock. A female **gala** was also attested among the **geme**₂, and the latter group included textile workers who, it seems, performed lamentations in a funerary ritual.

Some Remarks on Women in the Presargonic E₂-MI₂ Corpus from Lagaš/Girsu (Karahashi)

Table 1. Royal Sisters and **lukur** in the So-Called **ereš-dingir** Texts

Group A (DP 127)		Group B (Nik 1, 53; RTC 61; DP 134)	
Title/Name	Barley+Emmer (šila)	Title/Name	Barley+Emmer (šila)
ereš-dingir of Baba	144+144	ereš-dingir of Baba	360+360
Geme ₂ -ub ₃ -ku ₃ -ga	72+72	Bara ₂ -a-ra-nu ₂	144+144
Bara ₂ -lu ₂	[]	Geme ₂ -ub ₃ -ku ₃ -ga	144/360+144/360
Bara ₂ -gišgal-a-DU	[]	Bara ₂ -gišgal-a-DU ama sanga ^d Nanše	72+72
Nin-ga-eš ₈	144+144	Bara ₂ -lu ₂	72+72
Nin-igi-an-na-ke ₁ -su	72+72	Bara ₂ -gišgal-a-DU dam Gir ₂ -su ^{ki} -du ₃	72+72
Ku ₃ -ge-pa ₃ -da	72+72	Nin-igi-an-na-ke ₁ -su	72+72
Bara ₂ -ir-nun	72+72	Ku ₃ -ge-pa ₃ -da	72+72
Gišgal-uru-nun	72+72	Bara ₂ -ir-nun	72+72
nin ensi₂-ka-me		Gišgal-uru-nun	72+72
		lukur	

Table 2. Female and Male Musicians (DP 127; Nik 1, 53= AWEL 53; RTC 61; DP 134)

Title	Name	Barley+Emmer (šila)
lu₂- (geme₂) ub₃-ku₃-ga	Usar ₃ -ama-mu	36+36
	Sa ₆ -sa ₆	36+36
	Nin-tur	36+36
	Nam-mah-ni	24/18+24/18
nar	Du-du	36+36
	Ur- ^d Nin-gir ₂ -su	36+36
gal-nar	Lugal-ša ₃	72+72
gala	Lugal-zi	36+36

Table 3. Female Royal Household Servants (**ar₃-tu-munus**)

No.	Name	Text Type:		lu ₂ nam-dumu ^d g ₂ -alim-ka (Nik 1, 18)	Type IV (šila)		šuku Land (iku)		Milk and Malt		Other (DP 162)
		Type II (šila)	Reign*:		L	UL	L	UL	L	UL	
1	Ak-si ₄	24		UL 1	L	UL	L	UL	L	UL	18
2	Al-tuš um-me				72				+		

3	Ama-id ₂ -de ₃								+	
4	Ama-ra				24					
5	Ama-teš ₂ -mu				24	24			+	
6	A-teš ₂ -mu			24	24	24				
7	^d Ba-ba ₆ -al-sa ₆								+	
	^d Ba-ba ₆ -ama-mu		36/24						+	
9	^d Ba-ba ₆ -lu ₂ -sa ₆ -ga		36/24	[]					+	
10	^d Ba-ba ₆ -teš ₂ -mu	24							+	+
11	Bara ₂ -u ₁ -su ₃ -še ₃		36							
12	Dam-zi-mu	24							+	24
13	Dumu-teš ₂ -mu									18
14	E ₂ -mete	72	72/36	72			4	6	+	+
15	En-gil-sa								+	
16	E ₂ -še-e ₃									
17	Ga ₂ -ka-nam-he ₂ -ti					24				
18	Gan-ezem um-me-da / nu-gig					36				
19	Geme ₂ -e ₂ -dam um-me-da								+	
20	Geme ₂ -ganun					24				
21	Geme ₂ -id ₂ -edin-na um-me-da					36				
22	Geme ₂ -šu-ga-lam-ma nu-gig							6		+
23	^d Inanna-ama-mu					24				
24	Nin-al-sa ₆		72/36	[]						
25	Nin-guru ₇ um-me					72				
26	Nin-mu-da-kuš ₂	24	36			24			+	24
27	Nin-uru-da-kuš ₂	72					2		+	
28	Nin-si-sa ₂		36	[]						
29	Nin-u ₃ -ma						2			
30	Šeš-a-mu						2			
31	Šeš-da-gal-di	24								

*L stands for Lugalanda; UL stands for Urukagina **lugal**.

- 1) Many of these tablets were excavated clandestinely and reached museums around the world (Paris, Berlin, London, St Petersburg, Copenhagen, the U.S., and so forth) via antiquities dealers in Baghdad. In spite of the fact that archaeological information

- concerning these tablets was completely lost, they are generally assumed to belong to a single archive, based on both external and internal characteristics (Prentice 2010: 2-3); see also Selz 2011.
- 2) Digitalized texts are available in <http://cdli.ucla.edu>.
 - 3) An **iku** is an Ancient Mesopotamian unit of surface equivalent to ca. 0.36 ha (Powell 1987-1990: 480).
 - 4) Steinkeller (1999: 120 n. 54), however, expresses doubt about Maekawa's interpretation, which he says is "based on purely circumstantial evidence."
 - 5) The term **gan₂ X-tuku** means that the field concerned was on the level of productivity of X **gur-sag-gal₂** per **iku** (Nakahara apud Maekawa 1977: 4).
 - 6) For that occasion Baranamtara was given **maš-da-ri-a**-gifts (Prentice 2010: 192) from several people (Nik 1, 157 = AWEL 157; Nik 1, 209 = AWEL 209). DP 218 also refers to the same childbirth.
 - 7) Miguel Civil, personal communication.
 - 8) The same Munus-kur-ra bought a 3-year-old ox from Uruk (VS 14, 145 = AWL 98). We know of Ama-e₂, a business woman in Umma during the Sargonic period (Foster 1977), and Nin-ezem, a female merchant in the Ur III period (Lafont 2016: 67).
 - 9) For a more comprehensive listing of the individuals appearing in these tablets, see Selz 1995: 71-72 and Beld 2002: 214-18 Table 3-7.
 - 10) Cf. Steinkeller 1981: 85, where Geme₂-ub₅-ku₃-ga is included among the "sisters of the governor."
 - 11) One **sila** is an Ancient Mesopotamian unit of capacity equivalent to ca. 1 liter (Powell 1987-1990: 497).
 - 12) For **lukur**, see also Sharlach 2008.
 - 13) For the translation of this text, see Rosengarten 1960: 342 n. 2.
 - 14) For her husband Al-la, see Karahashi 2016a: 55-56.
 - 15) A **maš-da-ri-a**-gift, which consisted of a young kid or ram, sometimes accompanied by relatively small amounts of comestibles, was brought by influential persons, or sometimes by their wives.
 - 16) See Beld 2002: 76-77 on Urukagina's sister Gan-⁴Ba-ba₆ and Sasa's sister Gan-giri₁₆^{ki}.
 - 17) Note "female cupbearer" (SAL.SILA₃.ŠU.DU₈) in Westenholz 1999: 72 with n. 346.
 - 18) There is a record dated to Urukagina **lugal** year 3 of an unnamed midwife who was given 6 **iku** of subsistence land (DP 580). For a possible identification of this person, see Karahashi 2016b: 66.
 - 19) "A term which seems to be reserved for important persons" (Prentice 2010: 182).
 - 20) Cf. in the Ur III period **geme₂ UN-IL₂** "unskilled female worker" (Studevent-

Hickman 2008: 145).

- 21) Something similar is known from the Garšana archives in Ur III times: more than a hundred female weavers and spinners were employed for the mourning ceremony of the funeral of the husband of the princess (Kleinerman and Owen 2009: 575–576).

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