

## Nippur under the third Dynasty of Ur: Area TB \*

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In the third post-World War II season of work at Nippur, the excavators, led by Donald E. McCown, uncovered the remains of a large, complex, well-planned building, dubbed House J, in the lower levels in Area TB on Tablet Hill (fig. 1)<sup>1</sup>. House J represented a marked change in the occupation of the area. It replaced a number of small, irregularly laid out houses and it was in turn replaced by several houses, when it went out of use. House J's original construction (Level IX) and its various rebuildings (Levels VIII-V, fl. 2), as I will discuss below, can all be dated to the time of the Third Dynasty of Ur. Though the final publication included detailed plans (reproduced here as figs. 2-5), except for a list of finds from Level VII, floor 2<sup>2</sup>, no catalogue of artifacts from House J was ever published. Here I will present an interpretation of House J based on a consideration of its architecture and the artifacts, including seventy-five clay tablets, found in the building. The results, particularly when taken together with the results of my early study of the Inanna temple<sup>3</sup> and studies on the written documents from the University of Pennsylvania's late 19th century excavations<sup>4</sup> that I hope to undertake in the future, will expand our knowledge and understanding of the political and socio-economic organization of Nippur under the Third Dynasty of Ur.

\* I would like to thank the successive directors of the Oriental Institute (John A. Brinkman, Robert McC. Adams, Janet H. Johnson and William M. Summer) and McGuire Gibson, director of Nippur excavations, for access to unpublished Nippur field records and for permission to reproduce Donald E. McCown and Richard C. Haines, *Nippur I: Temple of Enlil, Scribal Quarter and Soundings* (OIP 78). Chicago 1967, pls. 53-54 and 56-59. I also want to acknowledge and thank Michael D. Danti, a student in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Pennsylvania, who computerized the artifacts from Area TB, House J in connection with a class paper on the distribution of finds in the building. His work encouraged me to look once again at House J.

1. McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, pp. 43-53.
2. McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, pp. 113-114.
3. Richard L. Zettler, *The Ur III Temple of Inanna at Nippur* (in press).
4. David W. Myhrman, *Sumerian Administrative Documents* (BE 3/1). Philadelphia, 1910; Alfred Pohl, *Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden der III. Dynastie von Ur* (TuM n.F. III). Leipzig, 1937; M. Çiğ and H. Kizilyay, *Neusumerische Rechts- und Verwaltungsurkunden aus Nippur-I*. Ankara 1965; and David I. Owen, *Neo-Sumerian Archival Texts Primarily from Nippur*. Winona Lake, Indiana, 1982 (hereafter *NATN*).

It is particularly appropriate to include this study in a volume honoring Miguel Civil. Miguel Civil has both had close associations with Nippur and the Nippur excavations over the years and has always encouraged the integration of written documents and other material remains, and I am pleased to salute him on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday.

### Stratigraphy and Dating

In their final report, the excavators assigned Area TB Levels IX-IV to the Ur III period. Their description of the stratigraphy of Levels IX-VI is straightforward and, except for level IX, the fieldnotes provide little additional information. Their discussion of Levels V-IV, on the other hand, is confusing and in need of clarification. At the same time, dated tablets and other inscribed finds from the excavations provide a more accurate chronology for Levels IX-IV than proposed in *Nippur I*.

The excavators distinguished three floors in level IX, a construction floor (floor 3) and two occupation floors (floors 2-1). Two additional floors existed in Locus 281 between floor 2, which had been replastered four times, and floor 1, but the two were not excavated as floors<sup>5</sup>. The excavators described Locus 281, floor 1 as a "layer of light yellow sand 1.5 cm. thick placed over a reddish mud plaster 0.5 cm. thick", and indicated that a fragment of baked brick paving over the sand floor represented a still later Level IX floor<sup>6</sup>. In all probability, the actual living floor (floor 1) was the reddish mud plaster floor and the sand a bed for the later baked brick pavement. A brick with a stamped inscription of Ur-Nammu, recording his construction of Ekur, was found reused at Level IX, Locus 281, floor 2 and provides a rough terminus post quem for the construction of House J<sup>7</sup>. A fragmentary brick stamp (3 N 313) with an inscription recording Šulgi's construction of Ehursag, his palace in the Nanna temple complex at Ur, was recovered from the fill above floor 1 in Locus 284<sup>8</sup>. Šulgi's construction of Ehursag was commemorated in the formula for his tenth year<sup>9</sup>; so, Level IX would have been demolished subsequent to that time.

The latest dated tablets in Level VIII were administrative records from Amar-Suen year 4: 3 NT 197 (*NATN* 969)<sup>10</sup>, found on floor 1 in Locus 282, was dated to the ninth day, fifth month; 3 NT 202 (*NATN* 972), from the fill above floor 1 in Locus 284, was from the seventh day, fourth month. The latest dated tablet from Level VII, found on floor 2 in Locus 279, was an administrative record (3 NT 188 [*NATN* 965]) from Šu-Suen year 6. No dated tablets were recovered from Level VI.

Level V, as published in *Nippur I*, is a conflation of building levels<sup>11</sup>. House J was rebuilt at Level V, floor 2 (fig. 5). A clay tablet, found in the fill above floor 2 in Locus 247, provides a date for the rebuilding. The tablet (3 NT 53 [*NATN* 940]), a legal document, is dated to the sixth month of Ibbi-Suen year 2. The latest Nippur tablets dated by the regnal years of the kings of Ur are from Ibbi-Suen year 7<sup>12</sup>.

5. 3 N Area TB Fieldnotes, p. 7 (Jan. 30).

6. McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, p. 46.

7. McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, p. 75, incorrectly lists the brick's findspot as Level IX, floor. For the correct findspot, see 3 N Daybook of Finds, Locus 281 (Feb. 7).

8. McCown and Haines *Nippur I*, pl. 148: 8.

The fragmentary stamp preserves the lower right-hand corner of an inscription. It reads [...], [lugal] ki-e[n-gi] ki-uri-k[e<sub>4</sub>], [é]-hur-sag, [é-ki]-ág-gá-ni, [mu]-dú. The inscription is almost certainly to be restored as Šulgi 5 (William W. Hallo, "The Royal Inscriptions of Ur: A Typology"; *HUCA* 33 (1962): 29). For Ehursag, see Leonard Woolley, *The Buildings of the Third Dynasty (Ur Excavations 6)*. Philadelphia and London 1974, pp. 36-39, and all excavated bricks with Šulgi 5 are from Ur (see C. B. F. Walker, *Cuneiform Brick Inscriptions*. London 1981, p. 28 [no. 22] and Hermann Behrens, "Die Backsteine mit Keilschriften im University Museum", *JCS* 38 [1985] 232 [no. 14]). I am unable to account for the brick stamp's presence at Nippur.

9. Hallo, "The Royal Inscriptions of Ur", n. 214. For the formula as Šulgi year 10, see Kevin L. Sykes, *The Year Names of the Ur III Period* (M.A. Thesis, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago). Chicago 1973, p. 7.

10. For ease of reference, I will provide both field and publication numbers (in parenthesis) here.

11. McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, pp. 48-50 (and the sections, pls. 66-67).

12. Zettler, *The Ur III Temple of Inanna at Nippur* (in press).

Subsequently, the northwestern portion of House J was cut by the foundations of a house called House I. House I's foundations and a later rebuilding of its foundations were both attributed to Level V, in large part because they were at the same absolute elevation as that level. The original foundations were lumped with House J under the designation Level V, floor 2; the rebuilt foundations were called Level V, floor 1 (fig. 6). House J had largely disappeared at Level V, floor 1. A fragmentary floor (covered with ash and debris) that was perhaps associated with the original version of House I was found within the rebuilt House I foundations. Thin ash floors that probably belonged to the rebuilt House I were noted at the same absolute level as House I's Level IV foundation and, so, were called Level IV, floor 3.

Parts of at least four houses were uncovered at Level IV (fig. 7)<sup>13</sup>. House I, in the northwestern portion of Area TB, measured fifteen by eighteen meters. A sequence of three floors was recorded for House I. The house was built at floor 2b, and in the course of that occupation it burned. At least part of House I was reoccupied at floor 2a and changes were made in its layout. The house walls were apparently still standing at floor 1, but that floor was only noted in one of the rooms. The house had, perhaps, been largely abandoned and left to disintegrate.

House H, to the southwest of House I, was cut by vertical drains and pits and little could be determined of its plan. Though its lowest floor was at a lower elevation than House I, floor 2b, House H's construction probably postdated House I, since its walls abutted that structure. The area southeast of House I was an open space at the level of floor 2b. Subsequently, however, House G was built in the area. House G was probably occupied at the time of House I, floor 2a.

House F, in the southern portion of Area TB, overlay House G and the southern corner of House I. It was apparently contemporary with House I, floor 1. In clearing House F, two floors, floor 1 and an unnumbered higher floor, were in fact distinguished and attributed to Level IV. The higher floor was seventy centimeters higher than floor 1 in Locus 203 and forty to fifty centimeters higher in Loci 70, 206 and 217. Certain walls were apparently rebuilt at the higher floor.

Elizabeth C. Stone proposed dividing House F to level III. For example, House E, the building constructed over House F, into an earlier (Level IV, floor 1) version that she attributed to Level IV and a later (Level IV, high floor) version that she dubbed Level III, floor 2<sup>14</sup>. Her proposal was not based on compelling stratigraphic evidence, but largely on her desire to link the "high floor" with the large number of artifacts, including tablets dated to the reign of the Isin king, Išme-Dagan, found on it to burials attributed to Level III in the final publication. The burials were intrusive into level IV. Stone postulated that both the "abandoned" House F and the subsequent burials were results of the destruction of Nippur recorded in the "Lamentation over the Destruction of Nippur", an event associated with Išme-Dagan. A case could, in fact, be made against assigning House F to Level III. For example, House E, the building constructed over House F at Level III, floor 1, has, as Stone herself acknowledges, a different plan and organization, even if some of its walls were built on House F's walls.

Contrary to the excavators' claims, Level IV cannot be dated to the Ur III period, but has to be dated to the following Isin-Larsa period. A clay tablet with a draft of copy of a royal inscription of Išbi-Erra (3 NT 20), founder of the Isin dynasty, was attributed to floor 2b, and it provides a terminus post quem for an early phase of the level<sup>15</sup>. Tablets dated to the reigns of Išbi-Erra's successors, Su-ilišu (2 NT 668) and Iddin-Dagan (2 NT 628, 2 NT 630), were found in the fill above floor 1 in House I (Locus 201/13 and 196, respectively), while tablets dated to the reign of Išme-Dagan (2 NT 651-652) were associated with the high floor in House F<sup>16</sup>.

In summary, a review of the stratigraphy of the lower levels of Area TB and the evidence for the

13. McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, pp. 50-53.

14. Elizabeth C. Stone, *Nippur Neighborhoods* (SAOC, no. 44). Chicago 1987, pp. 75-82.

15. Douglas R. Frayne, *Old Babylonian Period* (RIME 4). Toronto, 1990, pp. 6-7. (E.4.1.1).

16. Stone, *Nippur Neighborhoods*, p. 209.

dating of those levels indicate that House J was built in the early years of the Third Dynasty of Ur and it continued to function until the dynasty's political control over the city-states of southern Mesopotamia collapsed.

### Architecture and its Interpretation

Area TB measured roughly sixteen by thirty meters at Levels VIII, VII, VI (figs. 2-4). Though House J occupied the whole of the excavated area (ca. 480 square meters), its limits were not established. House J consisted of three large, interconnected spaces, probably courtyards, each surrounded by smaller rooms, and a range of rooms, which the excavators described as service rooms because of the number of their ovens and fireplaces, along its southwest side<sup>17</sup>. The plans of the original, Level IX (fig. 2), and latest, Level V, floor 2 (fig. 5), versions of House J are problematic. At Level IX, Area TB measured only 12 by 19.5 m. The excavated area was the southeastern portion of the area uncovered at Levels VIII-VI. Though the building's limits were not established, the excavators assumed, apparently in large part because no doorway existed in the northwestern wall of Locus 275, that the building represented the whole (or nearly the whole) of House J, and, so, implied that House J was originally much smaller than it was in Levels VIII-VI. The excavators left opened the possibility, however, that the building continued to the northwest through the small room, Locus 194<sup>18</sup>. I assume that House J's plan was established with its original construction and that the Level IX remains represent only the southeastern part of the building. At Level V, floor 2, House J was only partially preserved, but the plan of its southeastern part was at least similar to that of Levels IX-VI.

House J's plan did not change substantially over the span of time covered by Levels IX, VIII, VII, VI and V, floor 2 (see figs. 2-5). Changes from Level IX to Level VIII, for example, involved the cutting of a doorway in the northwestern wall of Locus 278 (and so, the conversion of Locus 278 from a secured room associated with the southeastern courtyard Locus 281 to a passageway between the courtyards Locus 281 and 277/284); the transfer of a pivot stone from outside Locus 285 (on the northwest) to the inside of that small room (a change which, as the excavators noted, implies that the circulation between Loci 277/284 and Locus 281 was reversed); the disappearance of the low platforms in Locus 281; and, the division of a long, narrow room (Locus 274/282) associated with Locus 281 into two rooms, Locus 282 connected with Locus 281 and Locus 277 with the northwestern courtyard Locus 269.

Changes from Level VIII to Level VII included the blocking of doorways between Loci 282 and 286 (241) and between Loci 274 and 287; the construction of domestic installations such as fireplaces, ovens and bread ovens in rooms (Loci 269, 270/283 and 287) in the northwestern part of the building, a bin and a refuse pit in Locus 277/284, a baked brick covered drain in Locus 278, and a low platform in locus 281. A significant change between Levels VII and VI involved the isolation of the northwestern part of the building from its southeastern part by the giving up of one of two doorways in the northwestern wall of Locus 277/284. In Level VI circulation between the two parts of the building was funneled through a small room (Locus 194) that opened off the northern corner of Locus 277/284.

The excavators thought House J a private house, in large part because the buildings that preceded it in the Area TB sequence (Levels XIII-X), as well as those that followed it (Levels V, floor 1-I and E-A), appeared to have been private houses. The excavators noted, however, that certain features of the building's plan and construction were unusual for a private house<sup>19</sup>. In a study of room arrangement and circulation patterns in ancient Mesopotamian architecture, Nippur's current architect, John C. Sanders

17. McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, p. 44.

18. McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, p. 44-46.

19. McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, p. 44.

accepted the excavators' identification of the building as a private house and tried to account for its size and the multiplicity of its courtyards by suggesting that it served as the residence of an extended family<sup>20</sup>. Heinrich called House J a palace<sup>21</sup>, but Margueron did not include it in his study of Mesopotamian palaces<sup>22</sup>.

With regard to architecture, the northwestern part of House J, with its roughly square central courtyard (Locus 269) ringed by rooms, has close parallels with Mesopotamian houses of the late third and early second millennia B.C.<sup>23</sup> The domestic installations in the courtyard and in rooms to its southwest (Loci 270/283 and 287) indicate that part of House J may have functioned as a residence.

Few direct parallels for the southeastern part of House J exist. An Old Babylonian house (House A) from Nippur Area WB provides an interesting parallel for the northwestern part of House J and the rooms around Locus 277/284, taken as a unit. Its excavator, Judith Franke, suggested that the WB house might have functioned as an elite residence and have had public functions<sup>24</sup>. Rectangular courtyards flanked by ranks of rooms similar to House J's Locus 281 and the rooms that flank it are a feature of the public, official sectors of late third and early second millennium B.C. palaces<sup>25</sup>. The bin and refuse pits in Locus 277/284 imply the storage of commodities or items and the disposal of refuse in that courtyard. The low platforms that existed in Levels IX and VII in Locus 281 are problematic. The excavators described them as tables or altars and indicated that the Locus 281 contained a shrine. However, I see no compelling reasons to characterize the structures as religious and some reasons exist for associating them with more profane activities. First, the platforms existed only in Levels IX and VII. Assuming, first, that the function of the building did not change substantially from Level IX to Level V, floor 2 and, second, a general conservatism with regard to religious architecture and practices, I would have expected that the tables or altars would have been maintained throughout House J's existence, if in fact they served ritual functions. Second, in contrast to the seventy centimeter-high and elaborately decorated table or altar in Level IV, House G (Locus 222)<sup>26</sup> and similar altars from Ur<sup>27</sup>, the platforms in House J were low and undecorated. In Level IX, for example, the top of the platform against the southwestern wall of the courtyard was just two centimeters above floor level, and the platform against its northwestern wall was approximately thirty centimeters high. The two platforms are more akin to the platforms in House I (Locus 197) in Level IV, which the excavators noted might have been "purely utilitarian"<sup>28</sup>. Moreover, certain features of the two Level IX platforms may suggest their association with specialized work activities. The platform

20. John C. Sanders, *Aspects of Mesopotamian Settlement Geography: An Empirical and Computer-Aided Analysis of Building Forms, Room Arrangements and Circulation* (M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee). Milwaukee 1981, pp. 63-65.

21. Ernst Heinrich, *Die Palaste im alten Mesopotamien*. Berlin 1984, pp. 47-48.

22. Jean Margueron, *Recherches sur le palais mésopotamiens de l'âge du bronze*. Paris 1982.

23. On the so-called fully-flanked main room private house in the Early Dynastic and Akkadian periods, see Pinhas Delougaz, Harold D. Hill, and Seton Lloyd, *Private Houses and Graves in the Diyala Region (OIP 87)*. Chicago 1967, p. 47. As examples of Isin-Larsa/Old Babylonian houses with a central courtyard, see Ur, Area EM, No. 3 Gay Street and Nos. 1 and 5 Quiet Street (Sir Leonard Woolley and Sir Max Mallowan, *The Old Babylonian Period (UE 7)*. London 1976, pp. 96-97, 103-104, 108-110) and Nippur, Area TB, Levels II-I, House D (McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, pp. 57-59).

24. Judith A. Franke, "Area WB", in McGuire Gibson et al., *Excavations at Nippur: Twelfth Season (OIC no. 23)*. Chicago, 1978, pp. 54-65.

25. Note, for example, the complexes centering on Room 18 (Room 2 in Woolley, *The Buildings of the Third Dynasty*, pl. 56) in northwestern corner of the Ehursag at Ur, on the so-called Great Hall (N 30:3) of the Palace of the Rulers at Tell Asmar, and on Room 28 in the southern corner of the Nur-Adad palace at Larsa. For summary descriptions and a useful compendium of plans, see Margueron, *Recherches sur les palais mésopotamiens*, pp. 156-208 and 381-89.

26. McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, p. 53 and pl. 40:C.

27. For a general description, see Woolley and Mallowan, *The Old Babylonian Period*, pp. 29-30.

28. McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, p. 51 and pl. 40:E.

against the southwestern wall was paved with broken pieces of a thick gypsum-and-sand plaster, while the platform against the northwestern wall had a coating of bitumen 0.5 centimeters thick at floor 1<sup>29</sup>.

### Artifacts and the Distribution of Artifacts

The studies of House J that have appeared to date have been based solely on its architecture and have not taken the artifacts found in its various buildings and rebuildings into consideration. With Michael D. Danti's help, I have compiled a detailed catalogue of artifacts from House J from the unpublished fieldnotes and object records, and I include it here as Appendix A. A general knowledge of the early post-World War II Nippur excavations is relevant to understanding the nature and limitations of the catalogue, but since others have described the excavation techniques, plans, fieldnotes and various object catalogues in detail, I will not repeat that information here<sup>30</sup>. I would urge anyone interested in making use of the catalogue to consult the relevant publications.

The catalogue of artifacts I have compiled raises one or two problems related to the validity of any study of the distribution of artifacts in House J. First, the catalogue shows that more than a few artifacts were displaced from their original contexts in House J. For example, a fragment of a clay chair model showing a seated couple (3 N 277), found in Level VIII (Locus 277, floor 1), joined a fragment from Level VII (Locus 284, floor 2); a fragment of a stone bowl (3 P 349) from Level VIII (Locus 286) joined a fragment (3 P 325) from Level VII (Locus 274, floor 2); and, clay tablets from Levels VIII and V, floor 2 are nearly identical in form and content to tablets found in the fill above Level V, floor 1<sup>31</sup>. Second, the excavators' attribution of artifacts to "fill above floor" raises a related question as to the nature and significance of the findspots of artifacts in House J<sup>32</sup>. The rubric "fill above floor" may describe debris that had accumulated in connection with human occupation of a space (primary context), but it can also describe deliberate, dumped fill (secondary context). The excavators did not describe soil matrices, and, so, what "fill" represents in any particular instance cannot be determined. Since nearly identical artifacts were recorded as on floors and in fills above floors, I have assumed here that objects attributed to "fill above floor" were from occupation debris. In any case, as can be seen from the catalogue, the vast majority (more than seventy percent) of the artifacts from levels IX-V, floor 2 were from floors.

As a Table 1 shows, approximately four hundred artifacts were recovered from House J's various buildings and rebuildings, a third from Level VII and nearly seventy percent from Levels VIII-VI. The large number of artifacts from Level VII makes that building an anomaly. The clustering of artifacts in Levels VIII-VI is perhaps what might have been expected given the fact that more of House J was cleared or preserved at those levels than at Level IX and Level V, floor 2. Inasmuch as House J's plan remained relatively stable throughout the period of its existence and because only small numbers of artifacts were recovered from some building levels and some vertical mixing of artifacts can be demonstrated, I will treat Levels IX-V, floor 2 as an unit for purposes of describing the distribution of artifacts in the building.

In general, far fewer artifacts were recovered from the northwestern part of House J than from the courtyards and rooms in its southeastern part, even though the floor space in the two parts of the building

29. McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, p. 46.

30. Stone, *Nippur Neighborhoods*, pp. 7-9; See also James Alan Armstrong, *The Archaeology of Nippur from the Decline of the Kassite Kingdom until the Rise of the Neo-Babylonian Empire* (Ph. D. Diss., University of Chicago). Chicago 1989, pp. 106-110.

31. Compare, for example, 3 NT 39-40, 3 NT 44 and 3 NT 202 (*NATN* 926-27, 931 and 972) with 3 NT 49 (*NATN* 936) and 3 NT 41 (*NATN* 928) and 3 NT 60 (*NATN* 946) with 3 NT 43 (*NATN* 930).

32. The 3 N Daybook of Finds attributes artifacts to both fill above floors and floors. For purposes of the final publication, the attribution "fill above floor" was not uncommonly dropped, and all of the artifacts were listed as from a given floor level.

was roughly the same<sup>33</sup>. For example, as can be determined from the House J Catalogue of Finds, approximately one third of the registered artifacts from Level VIII and Level VII were from the northwestern part of House J, while two-thirds were from its southeastern part.

Administrative artifacts, a barrel weight, four cylinder seals, twenty-seven unbaked clay sealings, and seventy-five unbaked clay tablets, were recovered from House J's buildings and rebuildings. The weight (3 N 344) was found in a room in the southeastern part of House J (Level IX, Locus 280, fill above floor 2). The cylinder seals were found in loci in the northwestern part of the building<sup>34</sup>. By way of contrast, with one or possibly two exceptions<sup>35</sup>, the sealings were all recovered from the courtyards and rooms in its southeastern part. The distributions of cylinder seals and clay sealings suggests that the possession and use of seals were not conterminous activities in House J. I have examined only the sealings in The University Museum, Philadelphia and the Oriental Institute, Chicago. Five had secured doors, indicating that a room (or rooms) in the southeastern part of the building was used for storage and that access to it was restricted<sup>36</sup>. Two sealings had secured jars and three probably bags<sup>37</sup>. The jar and bag sealings represent evidence of either incoming sealed items and/or restricted access to the containers of commodities or items stored inhouse.

Of the seventy-five tablets from House J, sixty-four were recovered from the courtyards and rooms in the southeastern part of the building (though the context of the large number of tablets attributed to Level V, Locus 240, floor 2 is problematic, since that room was disturbed by six burials made from levels above it). The tablets, as I will describe below, included both exercises and economic (administrative and legal) documents. With one possible exception<sup>38</sup>, the practice tablets were found in the courtyards and room in the southeastern part of House J. I could detect no pattern (clustering according to content or prosopography) in the distribution of the economic documents in the building.

The corpus of pottery from House J is weighted in favor of small and medium-sized bowls, in part at least because bowls are more likely to be preserved intact in archaeological contexts than larger vessels. Up to the early 1960s, Nippur's excavators saved and recorded only whole or nearly whole pottery vessels (and sherds considered intrinsically interesting). As can be determined from the Catalogue of Finds, no pottery vessels were registered from Level IX and ten or less from Levels VIII and V, floor 2, but thirty were catalogued from Level VII and forty-one from Level VIII. In Level VII, vats and jars, but just two small bowls were found in the northwestern part of the building (the large vat [3 P 355] and spouted jar [3 P 321] from Locus 270 are particularly interesting in view of the cooking installations in that room), while a substantial number of bowls, including straight-sided and carinated examples, were recovered along with vats, jars and miniature vessels from the courtyards and rooms in the southeastern part of the building. A basin-like stand (3 P 361), made to contain an evaporating liquid, and a lid with a diameter of ten centimeters (3 N 226) were found in Locus 281. The two artifacts suggest that a medium-sized jar that held a liquid originally stood in that courtyard. In Level VI, twenty-five of the forty-one pottery vessels were found in just two rooms Loci 240 and 245, in the southeastern part of House J. All but two of the vessels were bowls. The contexts of the bowls and jars from Locus 240, like the context of tablets from that locus, is problematic, since that room was disturbed by burials cut from above it.

33. Based on a rough calculation of floor space made from the published plan of Level VII, the courtyards and rooms in the northwestern part of the building occupied roughly 245 square meters and the courtyards and rooms in its southeastern part 231 square meters.

34. 3 N 240 (Level VIII, Locus 269, floor 1), 3 N 264 (Level VIII, Locus 276, floor 2), 3 N 195 (Level VII, Locus 287, floor 1) and 3 N 166 (Level VI, Locus 251, floor 1).

35. 3 D 347 (Level VII, Locus 274, floor 1) and a discarded sealing (Level VII, Locus 274, floor 1 fill). The latter was perhaps thought to be a sealing when excavated, but later determined not to be one, and, so, discarded.

36. 3 D 364 (Level VII, Locus 278, floor 1) and 3 D 418 (Level VII, Locus 277, floor 2).

37. 3 D 370 (Level VII, Locus 282, floor 2) and 3 D 420 (Level VII, Locus 277, floor 2).

38. 3 NT 176 (Level VII, Locus 276, floor 1 fill).

As for other artifact categories, few tools (awls, spindle whorls, pierced clay disks, possibly loom weights, rubbing stones, whetstones, flint chips, etc.) and objects of personal adornment (beads, pendants, pins, rings, and earrings, etc.) were recovered from the building. Large numbers of clay figurines (hand and mold-made males, nude females, animals and anthropomorphic rattles), mold-made plaques, including a plaque showing Gilgamesh slaying Humbaba, model chairs and beds with molded decoration, and model boats were found scattered throughout House J, but roughly half were found in the courtyards Loci 269, 277/284 (248) and 281 (255). The use(s) of figurines, plaques and models is(are) not well-known, though by going through ethnographic sources, Mary Voigt was able to distinguish five functional categories for figurines (figurines as cult figures, vehicles of magic, didactic or teaching figures, toys, and representations of deceased persons)<sup>39</sup>. Voigt also suggested methods for the study of figurines from archaeological contexts. The House J corpus provides a provenienced data set that might be used for testing and/or refining her methods.

In marked contrast to the buildings that preceded and followed it in the Area TB sequence, no burials were cut from the floors of any of the five versions of House J. Though the excavators attributed a number of burials to Level V, floor 2 in the final publication, their field observations, recorded in the Daybook of Finds, either do not support their attribution or do not provide such specific information<sup>40</sup>.

### Clay Tablets

House J yielded both practice tablets and economic records. Falkowitz published several of the practice tablets in his study of round Old Babylonian school tablets<sup>41</sup>. Though he included their findspots in his catalogue entries, he failed to note the significance of their occurrence in a building securely dated to the Ur III period. The practice tablets provide evidence of inhouse scribal training and include an elementary writing exercise (3 NT 170), lists of personal names (3 NT 136 and 3 NT 181), a rhetorical composition (3 NT 161), and an excerpt from the lexical series Proto-Izi (3 NT 138).

David I. Owen published handcopies of a substantial number of the economic records from House J, and I have included references to his publication numbers in the Catalogue of Finds. He copied the expedition's share of the tablets from originals in The University Museum and the Oriental Institute, and the Iraq Museum's tablets from casts in the Oriental Institute. In the case of several Iraq Museum tablets<sup>42</sup>, Owen published only part of the document. For whatever reason, he was apparently able to locate the cast of only one side of the tablets in question. He assumed that the other side was destroyed,

39. Mary M. Voigt, *Hajji Firuz Tepe, Iran: The Neolithic Settlement*. Philadelphia 1983, pp. 186-95.

40. McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, p. 143. The excavators attributed 3 B 57, 3 B 60-61 to Level V, floor 2, and 3 B 63 to Level VI or Level V. For 3 B 57, the 3 N Daybook of Finds (Locus 240, Dec. 30) notes "cut into V, 2 floor"; for 3 B 60 (Locus 240, Dec. 31), only "cut thru VI-1"; for 3 B 63 (Locus 273, Jan. 7), only "cut into VII-1". The 3N Daybook provides no information on 3 B 61. On the other hand, the excavators attributed 3 B 58 to Level V, while the 3 N Daybook of Finds (Locus 240, Dec. 30), notes "V-2 floor".

With regard to burials possibly from House J floors, note also the unnumbered burial intrusive into Level VIII (McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, p. 144).

Information on burials from the early post-World War II seasons at Nippur has to be treated with some caution. As Armstrong noted, burials were not excavated stratigraphically. The tops of burial cuts were not routinely identified; the burials were discovered only when the levels into which they had been cut were cleared. Burials were subsequently assigned to levels, where possible (*The Archaeology of Nippur*, p. 107).

41. Robert S. Falkowitz, "Round Old Babylonian School Tablets from Nippur", *AJO* 29-20 (1983-84) 41-42.

42. For example, 3 NT 820 (*NATN* 985) and 3 NT 797 (*NATN* 982).



though the third season's Tablet Catalogue indicates that it was not. I transliterated the Ur III tablets from Area TB from the originals and casts in the Oriental Institute ten years ago and recently worked through the published and unpublished tablets in The University Museum. I will leave a detailed discussion of the records to others, but I want at least to provide a summary description to the archive.

House J's administrative documents include records of deliveries (mu-DU) of bundles (gu-lá)<sup>43</sup> and loads (gú)<sup>44</sup>, perhaps of alliaceous plants, reeds or wood; a memo concerning bundles<sup>45</sup>, a summary of deliveries, probably of bundles<sup>46</sup>, a memo concerning bundles due (in arrears) from plowmen (lá-NI 214 gu-lá engar-kam)<sup>47</sup>; and, a memo concerning sheep, probably incoming, from various persons and sources<sup>48</sup>. The archive also contains records of the distributions (ba-zi) of various commodities or items: reeds for the garden of Šu-Suen, grain and beer<sup>49</sup>. One large, multi-column document is a record of grain rations<sup>50</sup>.

A fragmentary receipt (i-dab<sub>3</sub>) involving an Ur-gá-gi<sub>4</sub>-a is dated not by the Nippur, but by the Drehem calendar<sup>51</sup>.

In addition to records of incoming goods and expenditures, House J's administrative archive also includes lists of workmen (guruš), perhaps plow teams, under the supervision of plowmen (engar)<sup>52</sup>, and animals assigned to plowmen<sup>53</sup>; lists of workmen<sup>54</sup> and workmen under the supervision of overseers (ugula)<sup>55</sup>; a list of persons described as watchmen (lú-en-nu-me), and the supervisor (nu-bànda)<sup>56</sup>; a memo concerning workmen assigned to the storehouse (é-na-ga <-ab>-tum gub-ba)<sup>57</sup>; and, records concerning land and land and grain<sup>58</sup>. In view of the list of guards, the occurrence of a-šà é-en-nu in two of the land records is particularly interesting<sup>59</sup>. House J's administrative archive also contains two letter-orders. One is addressed to Ku-li and requests that he give a sheep to Gir-ni-i-sa<sub>6</sub><sup>60</sup>; the other, addressed to Ur-<sup>d</sup>Suen, concerns oaths taken with regard to and the disposition of the position of plowman between two brothers<sup>61</sup>.

43. 3 NT 39-40 (NATN 926-27), 3 NT 47 (NATN 934) and 3 NT 202 (NATN 982).

On the term gu-lá, see H. Waetzoldt, "Knoblauch und Zwiebeln nach den Texten des 3. Jt.", *Bulletin on Sumerian Agriculture* 3 (1987) 27.

44. 3 NT 41 (NATN 928) and 3 NT 60 (NATN 946).

On the term gú, see Waetzoldt, "Knoblauch und Zwiebeln", p. 28.

45. 3 NT 44 (NATN 931).

46. 3 NT 38 (NATN 925).

47. 3 NT 46 (NATN 933).

48. 3 NT 122 (NATN 956).

49. 3 NT 188 (NATN 965), 3 NT 45 (NATN 932), and 3 NT 794 (NATN 979).

50. 3 NT 121 (NATN 955).

51. 3 NT 171 (Level VII, Locus 277, floor 1).

Note that two sealings with impressions of two different seals belonging to an Ur-gá-gi<sub>4</sub>-a, son of Nam-ha-ni, were recovered from House J. 3 D 306 (Level VI, Locus 248, floor 1) has an impression presumably of his "personal" seal. The inscription reads [ur-g]á-gi<sub>4</sub>-a, [dub]-sar, [dumu] nam-ha-ni (McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, pl. 118:3). 3 D 172 (Level V, floor 2) has an impression of Ur-gá-gi<sub>4</sub>-a's "official" seal. The inscription reads [...] -<sup>d</sup>suen, [lugal k]alag-ga, [lugal] úri<sup>ki</sup>-ma, [lugal] an-ub-da 4-ba, ur-gá-gi<sub>4</sub>-a, dub-sar, dumu nam-ha-ni, árad-zu (McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, pl. 118:6). The inscription indicates that Ur-gá-gi<sub>4</sub>-a was a royal official. Since 3 D 172 was not attributed to a specific locus, I have not included it in the House J Catalogue of Finds.

52. 3 NT 820 (NATN 985) and 3 NT 796 (NATN 981).

53. 3 NT 193.

54. 3 NT 199.

55. 3 NT 42 (NATN 929), 3 NT 197 (NATN 969) and 3 NT 174 (NATN 962).

56. 3 NT 134 (NATN 959).

57. 3 NT 795 (NATN 980).

58. 3 NT 797 (NATN 982), 3 NT 191, 3 NT 194 (NATN 968) and 3 NT 801 (NATN 984).

59. 3 NT 194 (NATN 968) and 3 NT 801 (NATN 984).

60. 3 NT 173 (NATN 961).

61. 3 NT 200 (NATN 971).

In addition to administrative records, House J's archive included four legal documents: contracts for the sale of land<sup>62</sup> and a slave<sup>63</sup>; a grain loan<sup>64</sup>; and, a receipt of grain involving witnesses and probably having to do with a loan or repayment of a loan<sup>65</sup>.

As for the persons who occur in the archive, the documents from House J include references to seven persons who functioned as overseers and approximately twenty who were plowmen. With perhaps one or two exceptions, the two sets of persons were mutually exclusive. An Ur-<sup>d</sup>Suen is arguably the most prominent person in the archive, because of both the number and diversity of documents in which he occurs<sup>66</sup>. The inscription on his seal indicates that he was the son of Ur-DUN<sup>67</sup>, and in two documents he is described as a supervisor (nu-bànda)<sup>68</sup>. Since one of the two documents is a list of workmen under the supervision of plowmen and the other a record of animals assigned to plowmen, and since he occurs in land records, Ur-<sup>d</sup>Suen was probably a supervisor of plowing oxen (nu-bànda gu<sub>3</sub>). A supervisor of plowing oxen was a land manager and, as I argued elsewhere, a high-ranking state administrator<sup>69</sup>. He controlled a small number of plowmen, each of whom was assisted in the cultivation of fields by several oxdrivers<sup>70</sup>. Ur-<sup>d</sup>Suen, as I noted, was the recipient of the letter-order concerning the disposition of the position of plowmen between two brothers, a fact that makes sense given his responsibility for the administration of agricultural lands. He was one of three sellers (subjects of the verb in-na-sum-mu-da) in the slave sale. The other two sellers were probably his brothers and the uncommon subject construction apparently references the three brother's household (family) affiliation<sup>71</sup>.

### Conclusions

The data that I have described here provide a rough indication of House J's function(s). Its architecture suggests that the northwestern part of House J, that is, the rooms centered on the courtyard Locus 269/261, served as a residence and that its southeastern part may have had public or official functions. The general distribution of artifacts in House J, and in particular, the distribution of cylinder seals and sealings, tablets, and pottery, confirms the functional separation of the northwestern and southeastern parts of the building. The absence of burials in Levels IX-V, floor 2 is significant. Inasmuch as intramural burial was common, if not the rule, in third and early second millennia B.C. southern Mesopotamia, their absence suggests that House J was not just a private house, but a public building. The occurrence of administrative artifacts in the building suggests the same conclusion.

Clay tablets from Area TB Levels IX-V, floor 2 provide specific details that "flesh out" the general picture of House J's functioning drawn from analyses of its architecture and artifacts. Information from its administrative records, particularly, the identification of the principal operative, Ur-<sup>d</sup>Suen, as a super-

62. 3 NT 189 (NATN 922).

63. 3 NT 50 (NATN 937).

64. 3 NT 53 (NATN 940).

65. 3 NT 190 (NATN 967).

66. 3 NT 50 (NATN 937), 3 NT 188 (NATN 965), 3 NT 193-94 (NATN 968), 3 NT 196, 3 NT 200 (NATN 971), 3 NT 202 (NATN 972), 3 NT 796 (NATN 981), 3 NT 797 (NATN 982), 3 NT 801 (NATN 984).

67. 3 NT 50 (NATN 937).

68. 3 NT 193 and 3 NT 796 (NATN 981).

69. Zettler, *The Ur III Temple of Inanna at Nippur* (in press).

70. On the hierarchy of land managers and cultivators on temple and other public household's lands, see I. J. Gelb, "Household and Family in Early Mesopotamia", in Edward Lipinski, ed., *State and Temple Economy in the Ancient Near East*, vol. 1. Leuven 1979, pp. 18-22 and Kazuya Maekawa, "The Management of Domain Land in Ur III Umma: A Study of BM 110116", *Zinbun*, no. 22 (1987) 37-40.

71. Piotr Steinkeller, *Sale Documents of the Ur-III-Period*. Stuttgart, 1989, pp. 186-87 (no. 17).

visor of plowing oxen, indicate that House J functioned, at least on one level, within the royal or state administration, and, was concerned in particular with land management and agricultural production. The link between House J and the royal or state bureaucracy of the Third Dynasty of Ur perhaps explains the correspondence between the building's life-span and the control of the kings of that dynasty, and it may even suggest a refinement in the dating of the original construction of House J. Since the Ur III administrative bureaucracy was set up in the second half of Šulgi's reign<sup>72</sup>, Level IX might be attributed to that period in the dynasty's history.

In contrast to its administrative records, the slave sale 3 NT 50 would appear to record a private, as opposed to a public or official, action. Especially when read in conjunction with data presented earlier that suggest the northwestern part of the building functioned as a residence, it could be interpreted as implying that Ur-<sup>d</sup>Suen also lived in House J. If Ur-<sup>d</sup>Suen did in fact reside in House J the lack of burials has to be explained. Since the office of at least one other contemporary royal official, the chief administrator of the temple of Inanna, included access to a house<sup>73</sup>, their absence might be explained by assuming that the house was not Ur-<sup>d</sup>Suen's personal or family residence, but a perquisite of his position in the bureaucracy. In short, House J provides yet one more indication of the close association of "person" and "office", or, alternatively, the blurred distinction between "private" and "official" spheres, in ancient Mesopotamian bureaucracy. Ancient Mesopotamian bureaucracy was, in short, what Max Weber would have called patrimonial bureaucracy<sup>74</sup>.

If any more general conclusion ought to be drawn from such a brief study of one building at a site as large as late third millennium B.C. Nippur, I would suggest a conclusion involving methodology. This study has emphasized the importance of both written documents and other material culture remains and implicitly put forward a definition of integrating texts and "archaeology" that involves the holistic interpretation of the archaeological record. The data that I have described here, architecture, artifacts and artifact distributions, and written documents, are complementary components of a single data set, and, even if parts of that data set can be profitably studied in isolation, analysis of the whole data set will certainly produce a more detailed and much richer reconstruction. In that sense, then, A. Leo Oppenheim's view that archaeological data are largely irrelevant where historical periods are concerned ought not to be dismissed, but redefined as a goading challenge to archaeologists and cuneiformists alike to make use (or better use) of all available data<sup>75</sup>.

72. Piotr Steinkeller, "The Administrative and Economic Organization of the Ur III State: The Core and the Periphery", in McGuire Gibson and Robert D. Biggs, eds, *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East* (SAOC, no. 45). 2nd ed. Chicago 1991, pp. 16-17.

73. Martha Roth, "A Reassessment of RA 71 (1977): 125 ff.", *AJO* 31 (1984) 13.

74. On the so-called patrimonial bureaucracy, see Max Weber, *Economy and Society*, ed. by Guenther Roth and Claus Wittich and trans. by Ephraim Fischhoff, et al. New York 1968, pp. 1028-31.

75. A. Leo Oppenheim, *Ancient Mesopotamia*. Chicago, 1964, pp. 10-11.

Table 1. Number of Artifacts from the Ur III, Levels IX-V, of Area TB, floor 2

<b>Level IX</b>	Number of Artifacts	<b>Between Level VII, floor 1 and Level VI, floor 2 Level VII or Level VI, dump</b>	Number of Artifacts
Floor 3	3	<b>Level VI</b>	
Floor 2	14	Floor 2	26
Floor 2 general	1	Floor 2 general	1
Floor 2 fill	5	Floor 2 dump	2
Floor 1	16	Floor 2 fill	2
Floor 1 fill	3	Floor 1	19
Walls	3	Floor 1 general	8
Dump	5	Floor 1 fill	5
<b>Subtotal</b>	50	Walls	2
<b>Percent of Total</b>	ca. 12.70	General	12
		Dump	5
<b>Level VIII</b>		<b>Subtotal</b>	82
Floor 2	10	<b>Percent of Total</b>	ca. 20.80
Floor 1	51		
Floor 1 fill	2	<b>Between Levels VI and V</b>	4
General	2		
Walls	7	<b>Level V</b>	
Dump	2	Below floor 2	5
<b>Subtotal</b>	74	Floor 2	24
<b>Percent of Total</b>	ca. 18.80	Floor 2 fill	16
		<b>Subtotal</b>	45
<b>Between Levels VIII and VII</b>	2	<b>Percent of Total</b>	ca. 11.40
		<b>TOTAL</b>	394
<b>Level VIII</b>			
Floor 2	62		
Floor 2 fill	9		
Floor 2 dump	2		
Floor 1	46		
Floor 1 fill	8		
Floor 1 dump	2		
General	1		
Dump	1		
<b>Subtotal</b>	131		
<b>Percent of Total</b>	ca. 33.25		

Appendix 1

Nippur. Area TB. Catalogue of Finds, Levels IX-V, Floor 2

Level <sup>76</sup>	Locus	Field No.	Description (Publication) <sup>77</sup>	
Level V (Southeast Sector Excavated Area) fl. 2 fill	240	3 NT 50	Tablet. Legal document (slave sale). AS 8/iv/-. ( <i>NATN</i> 937 and Steinkeller, <i>Sale Documents</i> no. 17).	
		3 NT 60	Tablet. Delivery (mu-DU) of loads (gú) from workman. AS 6/v/12. ( <i>NATN</i> 946).	
		10 cm above. fl.	3 NT 44	Tablet. Memo concerning bundles (gu-lá). AS 6/iii/-. ( <i>NATN</i> 931).
		3 NT 45	Tablet. Distribution (ba-zi) of grain. AS 6/iii/-. ( <i>NATN</i> 932).	
		3 NT 46	Tablet. Memo concerning bundles in arrears (lá-NI). AS 5/[n]/[(n)]. ( <i>NATN</i> 933).	
		3 NT 47	Tablet. Delivery of bundles from workmen. AS 6/(v)/-. ( <i>NATN</i> 934).	
		241	3 D 257	Sealing. Clay. (pl. 118:10).
		3 D 258	Sealing. Clay. Probably a bag sealing. (pl. 118:7).	
		3 D 259	Figurine. Male. (pl. 128:4)	
		3 D 260	Figurine.	
	246		Bowl. Pottery.	
	247			
		3 NT 53	Tablet. Legal document (grain loan). IS 2/vi/-. ( <i>NATN</i> 940).	
		3 D 159	Model. Wheel. Pottery.	
		3 D 160	Stopper. Clay.	
		Disc.	Tablet.	
	248			
		3 D 161	Figurine. Animal (bird).	
	fl. 2			
		240		
		3 NT 42	Tablet. List of workmen (guruš) and overseers (ugula).nd. ( <i>NATN</i> 930).	
	245			
		3 D 133	Sealing. Clay.	
		3 D 134	Sealing. Clay.	
		3 D 135	Rubbing stone.	
		3 D 177	Sealing. Clay. (pl. 118:5).	
		3 D 180	Sealing. Clay.	
		3 D 181	Sealing. Clay.	
		3 D 182	Model. Chair with seated figure. (pl. 149:6).	
		3 P 91	Platter. Pottery. (pl. 82:16).	

76. Indented terms under the rubric "level" are intended to narrow the findspot within a particular locus. Free-standing terms refer to all artifact numbers from the locus in question that follow it, while terms in parentheses refer only to a single field number.

77. Publication information refers to *Nippur I* or in the case of tablets to Owen's *Neo-Sumerian Archival Texts*.

Level	Locus	Field No.	Description (Publication)
	246	3 D 109 3 D 110 3 D 280	Figurine. Animal. (pl. 139:10). Figurine. Male(?). Figurine. Female.
	247	3 D 165 3 D 166 Disc. (?) Disc.	Ring. Bronze(?). Figurine. Awl. Bone. Chip. Flint.
	248	3 D 158	Figurine. Seated female. (pl. 124:8).
	249	3 N 120 3 N 254 3 D 207 3 D 208 3 P 136	Bowl. Stone. Figurine. Female. Figurine. Animal. (pl. 139:14). Figurine. Human. Bowl. Stone.
	252	3 NT 112	Tablet. List of personal names and occupations. nd(?).
	256	3 P 230	Jar. Pottery. (pl. 85:6).
below fl. 2	240	3 NT 38 3 NT 39 3 NT 40 3 NT 41	Tablet. Summary of deliveries from workmen. -/iii/18. (NATN 925). Tablet. Delivery of bundles from workmen. AS 6/v/12. (NATN 926). Tablet. Delivery of bundles from workmen. AS 6/iii/15. (NATN 927). Tablet. Delivery of loads from workmen. AS 7/ii/24. (NATN 928).
	254	Disc.	Tablet.
<b>Between Level V and Level IV</b>			
	256	3 D 254 3 D 255 3 D 256 Disc.	Game piece. Clay. Awl. Bone. Figurine. Male. Tablet.
<b>Level VI</b>			
fl. 1 fill	246	3 D 307	Figurine. Human.
	255	3 N 261 3 D 309	Figurine. Male. (pl. 128:14) Sealing. Clay.
	257	3 D 311	Earring. Bronze(?) ring with pendant shell. (pl. 151:3).
	Gen.	3 N 187	Pin. Bronze(?). (pl. 152:7).

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Level	Locus	Field No.	Description (Publication)	
fl. 1	239	3 P 245	Carinated bowl. Pottery. Type 8.	
		3 P 246	Bowl. Pottery.	
	245			
	246	3 N 194	Model. Bull lyre. (pl. 140:4).	
		3 D 282	Figurine. Male(?)	
	247	3 N 246	Model. Chair. Seated has molded decoration. (pl. 143:11).	
		3 D 355	Sealing. Clay. (opp. pl. 118:3).	
	(near middle of north wall)	248	3 D 356	Figurine. Human.
			Disc.	Unidentified object. Clay.
		3 NT 110	Tablet. Memo concerning agricultural items. Sealed. nd. ( <i>NATN</i> 950).	
		3 NT 122	Tablet. Memo concerning incoming(?) sheep. nd. ( <i>NATN</i> 956).	
		3 D 306	Sealing. Clay. Jar sealing. (pl. 118:3).	
		3 D 310	Sealing. Clay. Probably door sealing. (opp. pl. 118:3).	
		3 P 240	Jar. Pottery. (pl. 83:20).	
		3 P 241	Jar. Pottery.	
3 P 250		Jar. Pottery. Type 15.		
Disc.		Tablet.		
251	3 N 166	Cylinder seal. Chalky stone. (pl. 109:4).		
	3 NT 111	Tablet. Tag(?) containing reference to grain for a deity. Sealed. nd. ( <i>NATN</i> 951).		
fl. 1 gen.	253	3 D 296	Bead separator.	
		3 N 179	Statuette. Lion(?). Pottery. (pl. 140:7).	
	3 P 242	Jar. Pottery. (pl. 83:18).		
	3 P 244	Bowl. Pottery.		
	3 P 247	Carinated bowl. Pottery. Type 8.		
	3 P 248	Carinated bowl. Pottery. Type 8.		
	3 P 249	Carinated bowl. Pottery. Type 8.		
	3 P 279	Jar. Pottery.		
	3 P ?	Bowl. Pottery.		
	fl. 2 fill	252	3 NT 138	Tablet. Round practice tablet. Proto-Izi II, 64-65(?). (Falkowitz, "Round Old Babylonian Schools Tablets", p. 41).
Disc.			Tablet.	

78. The Daybook of Finds attributes a number of artifacts from Locus 240 (3 NT 175, 3 P 253 and 3 P 289-303) and Locus 245 (3 P 258-265) to VI-3. I can find no mention of Level VI, floor 3 in the unpublished fieldnotes or *Nippur I*. The 3 NT Catalogue lists 3 NT 175 as from floor 3, but the excavators subsequently changed the findspot to floor 2. *Nippur I* lists 3 P 253 as from floor 2. I assume that the attribution of artifacts to floor 3 was a recording error and, I have attributed them here to floor 2.

Level	Locus	Field No.	Description (Publication)
fl. 2 <sup>78</sup>	239	3 P 256 3 P 257	Jar. Pottery. Strainer. Pottery.
(door)	240	3 NT 175 3 P 253 3 P 269 3 P 289 3 P 290 3 P 291 3 P 292 3 P 293 3 P 294 3 P 295 3 P 296 3 P 297 3 P 298 3 P 299 3 P 300 3 P 301 3 P 302 3 P 303	Tablet. Agricultural account. ( <i>NATN</i> 963). Jar. Pottery. (pl. 84:1). Jar. Pottery. (pl. 86:12). Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery. Bowl. Pottery.
	248	3 NT 135  3 NT 136  3 NT 161	Tablet. Agricultural account. ( <i>NATN</i> 963, reverse only). Tablet. Round practice tablet. Personal names. (Falkowitz), "Round Old Babylonian School Tablets", p. 41). Tablet. Rhetorical composition(?). (Falkowitz, "Round Old Babylonian School Tablets", p. 42).
	253	3 D 329 3 N 216  3 P 268	Unidentified object. Clay. Model. Chair. Modled decoration on back. (pl. 143:9). Carinated bowl. Pottery. Type 8.
fl. 2 gen.		3 D 316	Model. Boat.
fl. 2 dump		3 D 400 3 D 401	Plaque. Figurine. Female.
In wall	240	3 P 306	Jar. Pottery. Type 15.
	246	3 N 230	Macehead. Stone.
Gen.		3 N 201	Pin. Bronze?. (pl. 152:2).
(north)		3 NT 134	Tablet. List of persons described as watchmen ( <i>lú-en-nu-me</i> ) and their supervisor ( <i>nu-bānda</i> ). ( <i>NATN</i> 959).
(in wall, north)		3 P 305	Miniature jar. Pottery.
(south of loc. 277, just below fl. 2)		3 D 277 3 D 278 3 D 279 3 D 281 3 D 284 3 D 323a-b	Sealing. Clay. Model. Boat. Figurine. Male. Model. Boat. Spindle whorl. Pottery. Spindle whorls. Pottery.
(southwest)			



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Level	Locus	Field No.	Description (Publication)
(west)		Disc.	Cylinder seal. Limestone(?).
		Disc.	Sealing. Clay.
Dump		3 D 285	Sealing. Clay.
		3 D 286	Sealing. Clay. (pl. 118:4).
		3 D 317	Figurine. Female. (pl. 122:8).
		3 D 322	Spindle whorl. Clay.
		Disc.	Two tablets.
<b>Between Level VI, fl. 2 and Level VII, fl. 1</b>			
		3 NT 132	Tablet. Memo concerning sheep and goats. nd. ( <i>NATN</i> 957).
		3 NT 133	Tablet. Practice tablet. ( <i>NATN</i> 958).
		3 D 321	Sealing. Clay. (pl. 118:2).
<b>Level VII</b>			
fl. 1 fill			
	274	3 NT 137	Tablet. No information. 3 NT. Catalogue describes as "Ur III account". A 30106.
		Disc.	Sealing. Clay.
	276	3 NT 176	Tablet. Practice tablet(?). Capacities, personal name, cuneiform sign (lugal). IM 58354.
	277	3 N 223	Ring. Bronze(?). With five shells attached. Also one bead made of frit; two made of quartz; eleven striped-shell beads; and, ten additional shell beads.
		3 NT 170	Tablet. Practice tablet. Early attempts to write cuneiform signs. UM 55-21-276.
		3 NT 181	Tablet. Round practice tablet. Personal names(?). (Falkowitz, "Round Old Babylonian School Tablets", p. 42).
		Disc.	Tablet.
	281	3 P 361	Basin. Pottery. (pl. 82:7).
fl. 1			
	241	3 N 232	Figurine. Seated male. (pl. 128:2).
		3 P 308	Bowl. Stone.
	256	3 P 316	Bowl. Pottery.
		3 P 317	Bowl. Pottery.
		3 P 318	Bowl. Pottery.
			3 P 316-18 found inside large vat; several sherds catalogued as 3 P 319.
		3 P 319	Vat. Pottery. Applied bands with ropeimpressed decoration.
	267	3 D 348	Figurine. Male. (pl. 128:3).
		3 P 312	Jar. Pottery. (pl. 84:4).
		3 P 314	Jar. Pottery.
		3 P 351	Jar. Pottery. (pl. 87:8)
	268	3 N 221	Rattle. Bird.

Level	Locus	Field No.	Description (Publication)
	270	3 N 220 3 N 251	Plaque. Presentation scene. Model. Chair with molded scene on back. (pl. 143:8).
		3 NT 193	Tablet. Account of animals assigned to plowmen. nd. IM 58713.
		3 D 341	Figurine. Female.
		3 D 342	Figurine. Female.
		3 D 345	Figurine. Female. (pl. 126:8).
		3 D 346	Figurine. Animal.
		3 D 368	Figurine. Animal.
	274		
	275	3 D 347	Sealing. Clay. (opp. pl. 118:2).
(drain)		3 D 311	Vat. Pottery.
	276	3 D 365	Figurine. Human.
	277	3 NT 171	Tablet. Receipt (i-dab <sub>5</sub> ) involving Ur-gá-gi <sub>4</sub> -a. Sealed. Drehem. [(n)]/ii/[(n)]. IM 58349.
		3 NT 180	Tablet. Distributions(?) of items or commodities to various persons. (NATN 964).
	284	3 D 393 3 P 338 <sup>79</sup>	Plaque. Bowl. Pottery.
	278	3 D 363	Sealing. Clay. Probably a door sealing. (pl. 118:1).
		3 D 364	Sealing. Clay. Same seal as 3 D 363. Door sealing.
		3 P 310	Bowl(?). Pottery.
		Disc.	Sealing. Clay.
	279	3 NT 173	Tablet. Letter-order requesting that a sheep be given to a person. Sealed. (NATN 961).
	281	3 N 226 3 N 252 3 N 376 3 N 399 3 N 421	Lid. Pottery. (pl. 148:7). Figurine. Female (pl. 122:5). Figurine. Female. Figurine. Male. (pl. 128:10). Rattle. Clay.
	285	3 P 360	Bowl. Pottery.
	287	3 N 195 3 N 225	Cylinder seal. Stone. (pl. 109:3). Figurine. Female.
	South	3 N 236 3 NT 172 3 D 350 3 D 351 Disc	Figurine. Male(?). (pl. 128:11). Tablet. No information. IM(?). Figurine. Female. Figurine. Female. Plaque.

79. The Daybook of Finds lists 3 P 338 as from "VII-I oven". Neither the fieldnotes nor *Nippur I* include any references to an oven in Locus 277/284 at Level VII, floor I. The only features in the courtyard were a bin and a refuse pit and perhaps one or the other was dubbed an oven during the excavations.

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Level	Locus	Field No.	Description (Publication)
	Gen.		
		3 D 339	Model. Bed.
		3 D 340	Figurine. Female.
fl. 1 dump		3 D 338	Figurine. Male.
		3 D 360	Figurine. Male.
fl. 2 fill			
	269	3 NT 194	Tablet. Memo concerning land. -/x/25. ( <i>NATN</i> 968).
	277	3 NT 244	Model. Chair.
		3 D 377	Figurine. Female.
		3 D 378	Model. Chariot.
		3 D 379	Model. Wheel.
		3 P 352	Miniature cup. Pottery. (pl. 80:4).
	284		
		3 P 337	Bowl. Pottery. Type 7.
	279		
		3 NT 189	Tablet. Legal document (land sale). ŠS 5/[n]/[n]. ( <i>NATN</i> 966 and Steinkeller, <i>Sale Documents</i> no. 29).
	280		
(below fl. 1)		3 D 395	Sealing. Clay.
fl. 2			
	269	3 N 228	Figurine. Female.
		3 D 367	Figurine.
		3 P 320	Jar. Pottery. Type 15.
		Disc.	Two fish jaw bones.
		Disc.	Awl. Bone.
		Disc.	Figurine.
	270	3 N 248	Mask. Humbaba. (pl. 132:4).
		3 P 321	Jar. Pottery. (pl. 86:7).
		3 P 355	Vat. Pottery. (pl. 84:21).
		Disc.	Tablet.
		Disc.	Tablet.
	272		
		3 D 369	Whetstone.
	274		
		3 P 325 <sup>80</sup>	Bowl fragment. Stone.
	275		
		3 N 229	Figurine. Male. (pl. 128:12).
		3 P 330	Bowl. Pottery. Type 10.
		3 P 331	Bowl. Pottery. Type 10.
	277		
		3 D 418	Sealing. Clay. Door sealing.
		3 D 419	Sealing. Clay.
		3 D 420	Sealing. Clay. Rope impression on reverse. Shape of preserved fragment suggests a bag sealing.
		Disc.	Sealing. Clay.

80. The stone bowl fragment 3 P 325 was also registered as 3 D 715a. It joins another fragment (3 D 715b = 3 P 349) from Level VIII, Locus 286.

Level	Locus	Field No.	Description (Publication)
	284	3 N 227 <sup>81</sup> 3 D 310 3 D 372 3 P 322 3 P 323 3 P 324	Model. Chair with seated couple. (pl. 137:2). Figurine. Animal. (pl. 140:3). Figurine. Female. (pl. 122:7). Jar. Pottery. (pl. 85:7). Bowl. Pottery. Type 10. Miniature vessel. Pottery.
	278	3 N 239 3 D 373 3 D 374 3 P 334 3 P 335 3 P 336	Figurine. Male. (pl. 128:15). Model. Boat. (pl. 149:14). Figurine. Male. Bowl. Pottery. Type 10. Bowl. Pottery. Type 10. Bowl. Pottery. Type 10.
	279	3 NT 188	Tablet. Distribution of reeds (sa gi) for the garden of Šu-Suen. ŠS 6/-/. (NATN 965).
	281	3 D 396 3 D 397 3 D 402 3 D 403 3 D 404 3 D 405 3 D 406 Disc. Disc.	Plaque. Model. Boat. Disk. Clay. Disk. Clay. Sealing. Clay. (pl. 117:12). Sealing. Clay. Model. Bed. Tablet. Tablet.
	282	3 N 249 3 N 250 3 D 352 3 D 353 3 D 354 3 D 359 3 D 370 3 D 371 3 D 375 3 NT 174 3 NT 190 3 NT 191 3 NT 192 3 P 315 3 P 332 3 P 333	Figurine. Male. Pendant. Stone. (pl. 147:4). Loom weight. Stone. Figurine. Male. Figurine. Female. (pl. 122:6). Figurine. Female. Sealing. Clay. Jar sealing. Rattle. Clay. Sealing. Clay. Door sealing. Tablet. List of workmen(?) and their overseers. AS 4/V/21. (NATN 962). Tablet. Legal document (receipt of grain with witnesses). Š 47/vi/-. (NATN 967). Tablet. Record concerning land. IM 58363. Tablet. List of personal names. IM 58364. Jar. Pottery. (pl. 83:19). Bowl. Pottery. Type 10. Bowl. Pottery. Type 10.
	285	3 D 394 3 P 329	Figurine. Male. Bowl. Pottery. Type 10. (pl. 83:2).
	289	3 D 499 3 P 429	Figurine. Female. Miniature jar. Pottery. (pl. 84:18).

81. The plaque registered as 3 N 227 joins a fragment from Level VIII, Locus 277, floor 1.

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Level	Locus	Field No.	Description (Publication)
fl. 2 dump		3 D 361	Sealing. Clay. Probably a bag sealing. (opp. pl. 118:2).
		3 D 362	Figurine.
Gen.	274	3 NT 121	Tablet. Ration distributions. ( <i>NATN</i> 955).
Dump		3 D 366	Sealing. Clay. (opp. pl. 118:2).
Levels VI or VII		3 D 333	Rattle. Clay
Dump		3 D 334	Model. Wheel. Pottery.
Dump		3 D 335	Model. Wheel. Pottery.
Levels VIII	275		
fl. 1 fill		Disc.(?)	Tablet.
	284	3 NT 202	Tablet. Delivery of bundles from workmen. AS 4/iv/7. ( <i>NATN</i> 972).
fl.  (near north wall)	194	3 N 243	Figurine. Seated female(?). (pl. 124:7).
		3 D 380	Unidentified object. Clay.
	268	3 D 381	Ring. Bronze(?).
		3 N 240	Cylinder Seal. Stone. (pl. 109:1).
	269	3 N 241	Plaque. Bull-man. (pl. 136:3).
		3 N 266	Pin. Bronze(?).
		3 NT 200	Tablet. Letter concerning the disposition between two brothers of the position of plowman. nd. ( <i>NATN</i> 971).
		Disc.	Tablet.
	274	3 P 340	Cup. Pottery. (pl. 84:16).
	275	3 D 383	Figurine. Animal.
		3 D 384	Figurine. Female.
		3 D 385	Figurine. Female.
		3 D 411	Figurine. Female.
	277	Disc.	Jar handle(?). Pottery.
3 N 227		Model. Chair with seated couple. Joins fragment from Level VII, Locus 284, floor 2. (pl. 137:2).	
	3 D 386	Spindle whorl. Clay.	
	3 D 387	Sealing. Clay. Impression of rope on back and cloth on base.	
	3 D 388	Figurine. Animal. (pl. 140:5).	
	3 D 389	Figurine. Animal. (pl. 139:11).	
	3 D 390	Figurine. Female.	
	3 D 391	Figurine. Female.	
	3 D 392	Figurine. Female.	
	3 D 425	Model. Bed.	

Level	Locus	Field No.	Description (Publication)
		3 D 426	Stopper. Clay.
		3 D 427	Figurine. Male.
		3 D 428	Model. Animal lyre(?).
		3 D 429	Figurine. Male(?).
		3 D 430	Figurine. Human(?).
		Disc.	Uruk cone(?). Baked clay.
		Disc.	Two fish vertebra.
		Disc.	Sherd. Pottery. Incised.
	284	3 NT 201	Tablet. List of personal names. IM 58372.
		3 NT 203	Tablet. Memo concerning bundles or loads, presumably delivered. nd. IM 58375.
		3 P 357	Cup. Pottery. (pl. 80:7).
	280		
		3 P 339	Carinated bowl. Pottery. Type 8.
	281		
		3 D 398	Figurine. Female. (cf. pl. 124:5).
	282		
		3 N 242	Figurine. Female. (pl. 122:4).
		3 N 245	Figurine. Male. (pl. 128:1).
		3 N 247	Plaque. Gilgamesh and Humbaba. (pl. 135:10).
		3 NT 196	Tablet. Grain account. IM 58368.
		3 NT 197	Tablet. List of workmen(?) and their overseers. AS 4/v/9. (NATN 969).
		3 D 282	Model. Boat.
		Disc.	Figurine. Animal.
		Disc.	Tablet.
	285		
		3 D 412	Figurine. Bird. (pl. 142:3).
		3 N 413	Model. Boat. (pl. 144:10).
		Disc.	Pivot stone.
(in wall)		3 P 350	Miniature Jar. Pottery. Incised. (pl. 86:6).
	286		
		3 P 349	Bowl fragment. Stone. (= 3 D 715b[?]).
		3 P 363	Bowl sherds. Stone. Sherds found on fl. 1 and in drain.
		Disc.	Fragments. Bronze(?).
fl.2			
	269		
		3 D 432	Jar stopper. Clay.
		3 P 356	Jar. Pottery. (pl. 83:13).
		3 P 358	Jar. Pottery. (pl. 85:16).
		3 P 359	Jar. Pottery. (pl. 85:13).
	276		
		3 N 264	Cylinder seal. Baked clay. (pl. 109:2).
	277		
		3 D 415	Sealing. Clay.
		3 D 416	Spindle whorl(?). Pottery.
		3 D 417	Figurine. Human.
	279		
(in door to 278)		3 D 424	Macehead. Stone.
	286		
		3 D 414	Unidentified object. Clay.
Gen.	277		
		3 NT 198	Tablet. Practice tablet(?). Personal names. (NATN 970).

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Level	Locus	Field No.	Description (Publication)
		3 NT 199	Tablet. List of workmen. nd. IM 58371.
In walls		3 D 483	Figurine. Male.
		3 D 484	Sealing. Clay. (pl. 117:11).
		3 D 485	Sealing. Clay.
		3 D 486	Sealing. Clay.
(Locus 285)		3 P 350	Miniature jar. Pottery. Incised. (pl. 86:6).
		3 P 427	Jar. Pottery.
		Disc.	Ring. Cooper(?).
Dump		3 D 422	Figurine. Male.
		3 D 423	Figurine. Animal.
Level VII-VIII			
Dump		3 P 345	Miniature jar. Pottery.
(from tearing walls)		3 NT 800	Tablet. Silver account. ( <i>NATN</i> 983).
Level IX			
fl. 1 fill	284	3 NT 796	Tablet. List of workmen assigned to plowmen. Plowteams(?). nd. ( <i>NATN</i> 981).
10 cm above		3 N 313	Brick stamp. Inscription records Šulgi's construction of é-hur-sag. (pl. 148:8).
		3 D 489	Figurine. Male.
fl.1	279	3 NT 793	Tablet. No information. 3 NT Catalogue describes as "Ur III receipt".
		3 NT 794	Tablet. Distribution of beer for various purposes. -/viii/-. ( <i>NATN</i> 979).
		3 NT 795	Tablet. Memo concerning workmen assigned to the storehouse. -/iv/1. ( <i>NATN</i> 980).
		3 D 495	Model. Chair. (pl. 143:7).
		3 D 447	Bowl rim. Alabaster.
	281	3 N 314	Figurine. Female. (pl. 124:6).
		3 N 315	Model. Bed. (pl. 144:4).
		3 D 490	Pin. Bronze(?).
		3 D 491	Awl. Bone.
	284		
	289	3 D 507	Figurine. Bird.
		3 D 505	Figurine. Male.
		3 D 506	Figurine. Human.
	290		
		3 P 475	Pivot stone (reused stone bowl).
fl. 1 gen. (south)		3 NT 801	Tablet. Agricultural record concerning land and grain. nd. ( <i>NATN</i> 984).
		3 D 482	Two awls. Bone.
(southeast)		3 N 309	Figurine. Male.
fl. 2 fill	278	3 NT 820	Tablet. List of workmen(?) assigned to plowmen. Plowteams(?). ( <i>NATN</i> 985, obverse only).

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Level	Locus	Field No.	Description (Publication)
		3 NT 821	Tablet. Practice tablet(?). Cuneiform signs (u <sub>4</sub> and gu <sub>4</sub> ) and personal names. IM 58738.
		3 NT 822	Tablet. Practice tablet(?). Disconnected jottings. IM 58739.
	280	3 N 344	Weight. Hematite.
	281	3 N 331	Figurine. Animal. (pl. 139:2).
fl. 2	278		
(near east door)	279	3 N 335	Bead. Stone. Incised. (pl. 150:8).
	280	3 D 511	Figurine. Animal. (pl. 139:9).
		3 D 494	Bead. Carnelian.
		3 N 316	Figurine. Human. (pl. 133:6).
	281	Disc.	Baked brick. Stamped inscription of Ur-Nammu.
(in brick)		3 D 510	Figurine. Animal.
	284	3 N 319	Model. Chair with seated figure. (pl. 137:3).
		3 N 320	Loom weight(?). Clay. (pl. 153:2).
		3 N 327	Nail. Bronze(?) and gold.
		3 NT 797	Tablet. Agricultural record concerning land and grain. (NATN 982, obverse only).
		3 NT 798	Tablet. Agricultural account. IM 58718.
		3 D 492	Tack. Bronze(?).
		3 D 493	Model. Bed.
	285		
		3 D 527	Model. Bed.
fl. 2 gen.		3 NT 799 <sup>82</sup>	Tablet. No information. 3 NT Catalogue describes as "Ur III receipt".
fl. 3	284		
		3 N 333	Sealing. Clay. Indeterminate type of sealing. (pl. 117:10).
		3 D 356	Spindle whorl. Clay.
		3 D 357	Model. Bed.
In walls			
(274-284)		3 N 337	Model. Chair with seated female, shown holding vase. (pl. 128:7).
(274-284)		3 D 528	Figurine. Animal. (pl. 139:13).
(281)		3 D 510	Figurine. Animal.
Dump			
		3 D 500	Pin. Bone.
		3 D 501	Cone. Clay.
		3 D 502	Pendant. Lapis lazuli.
		3 D 531	Model. Boat.
		3 P 454	Jar sherd. Alabaster.

82. The Daybook of Finds (Feb. 2) lists 3 NT 799 under Locus 197 and attributes it to Level IX, floor 2, south door. A boxed-off note above the entry reads "Not 197 at this level". The 3 NT Catalogue originally had the same findspot, that is, "TB 197, IX 2", but the locus number was crossed through and replaced with the designation "gen". Locus 197 is within the foundations of House I (Level V, floor 1). If 3 NT 799 were in fact found in Level IX in the area described by that locus number, it could only have come from Locus 275.



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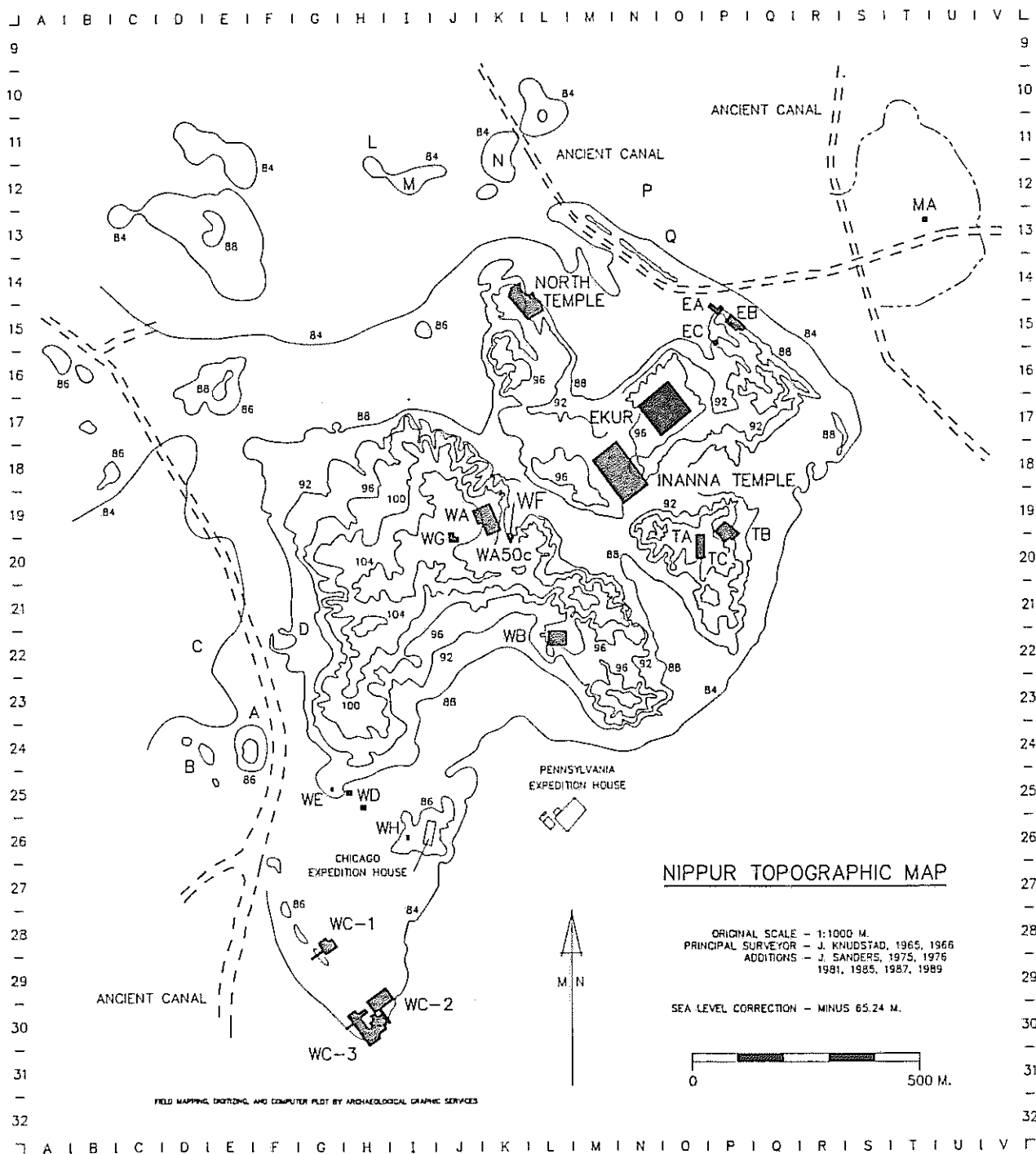


Fig. 1. Topographic map of Nippur.

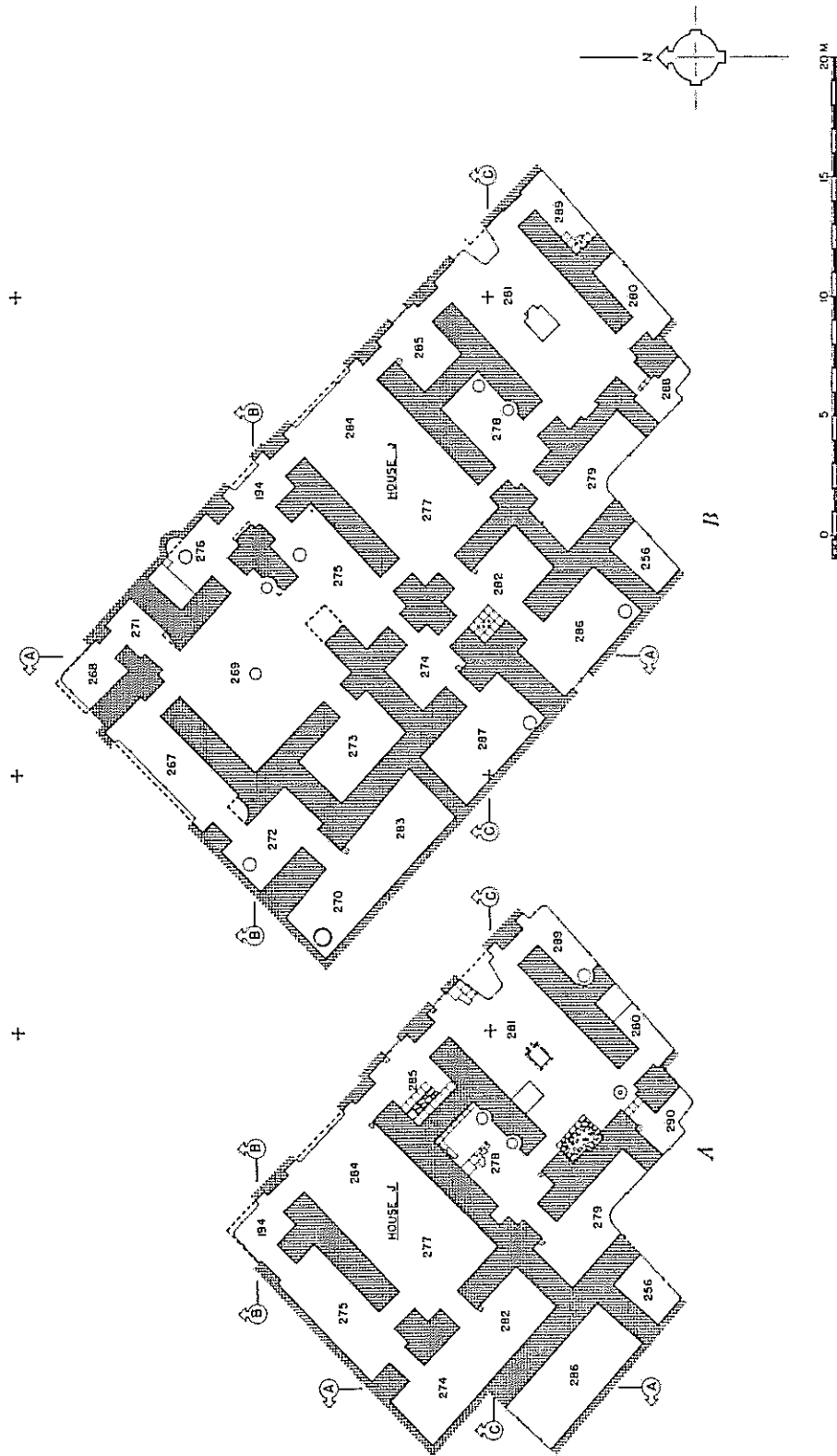


Fig. 2. Area TB. Levels IX and VIII (McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, pl. 531).

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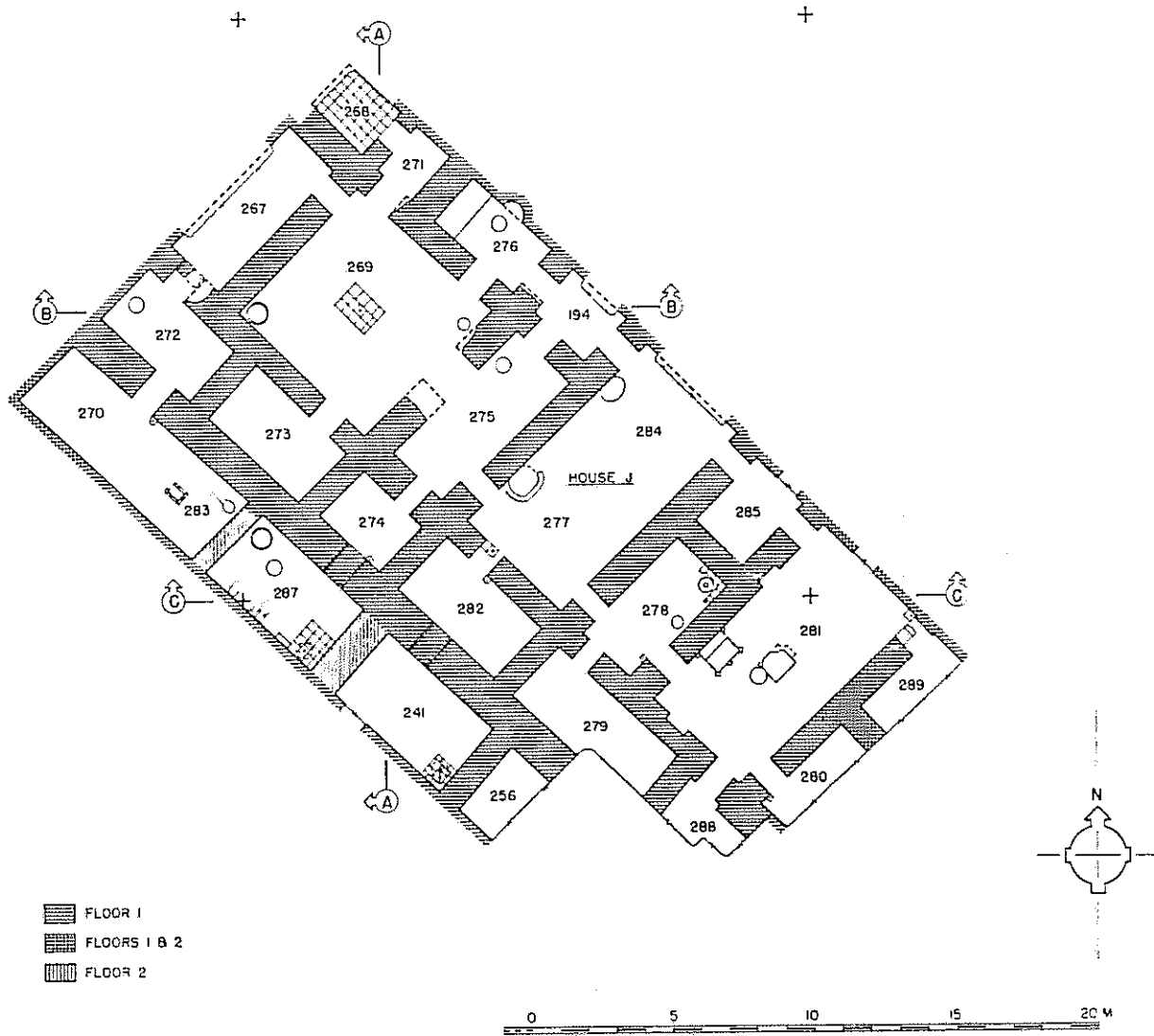


Fig. 3. Area TB. LEVEL VII (McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, pl. 541).



Fig. 4. Area TB. LEVEL VI (McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, pl. 561).

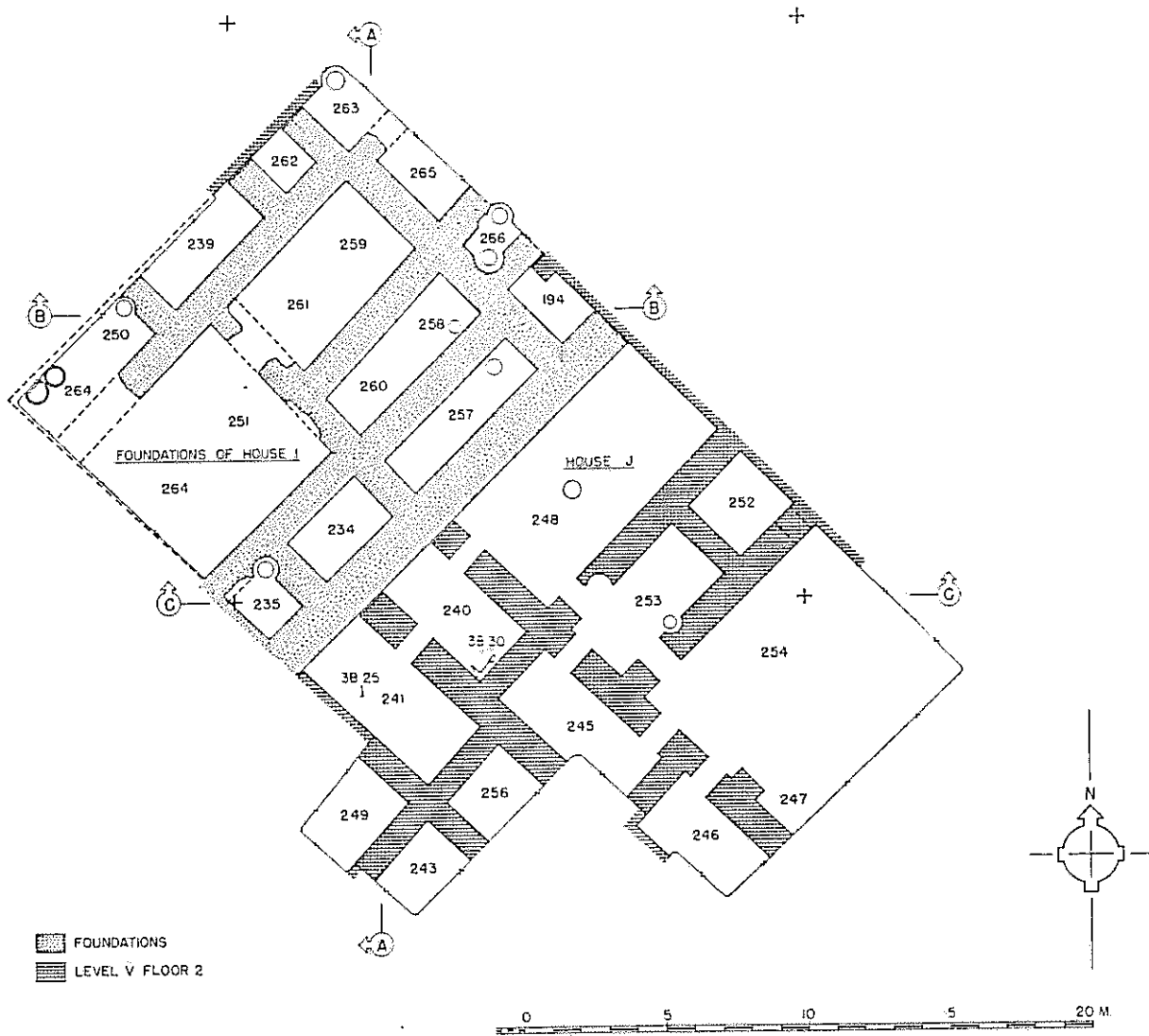


Fig. 5. Area TB. LEVEL V. floor 2 (McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, pl. 571).

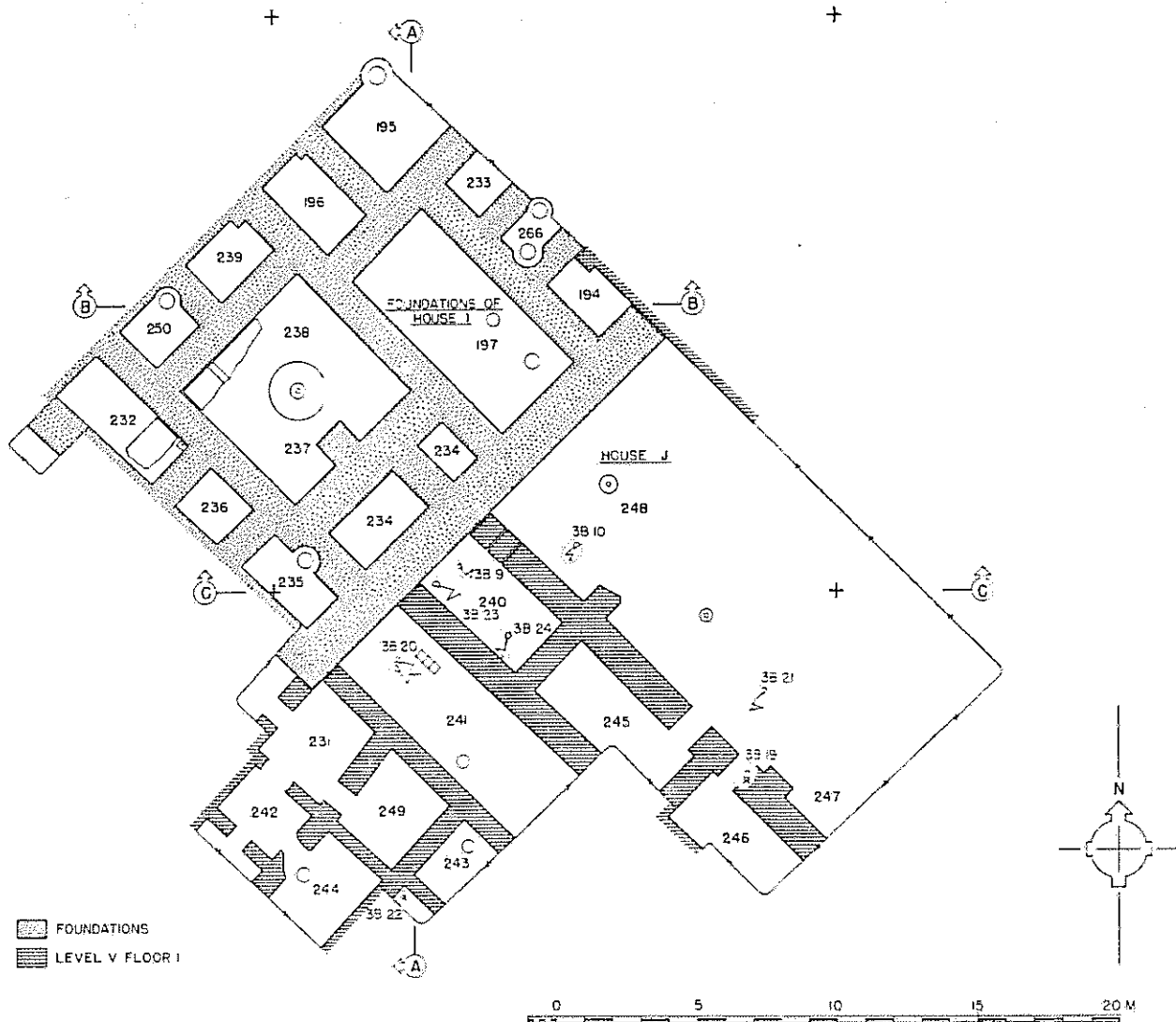


Fig. 6. Area TB. LEVEL V. floor 1 (McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, pl. 581).

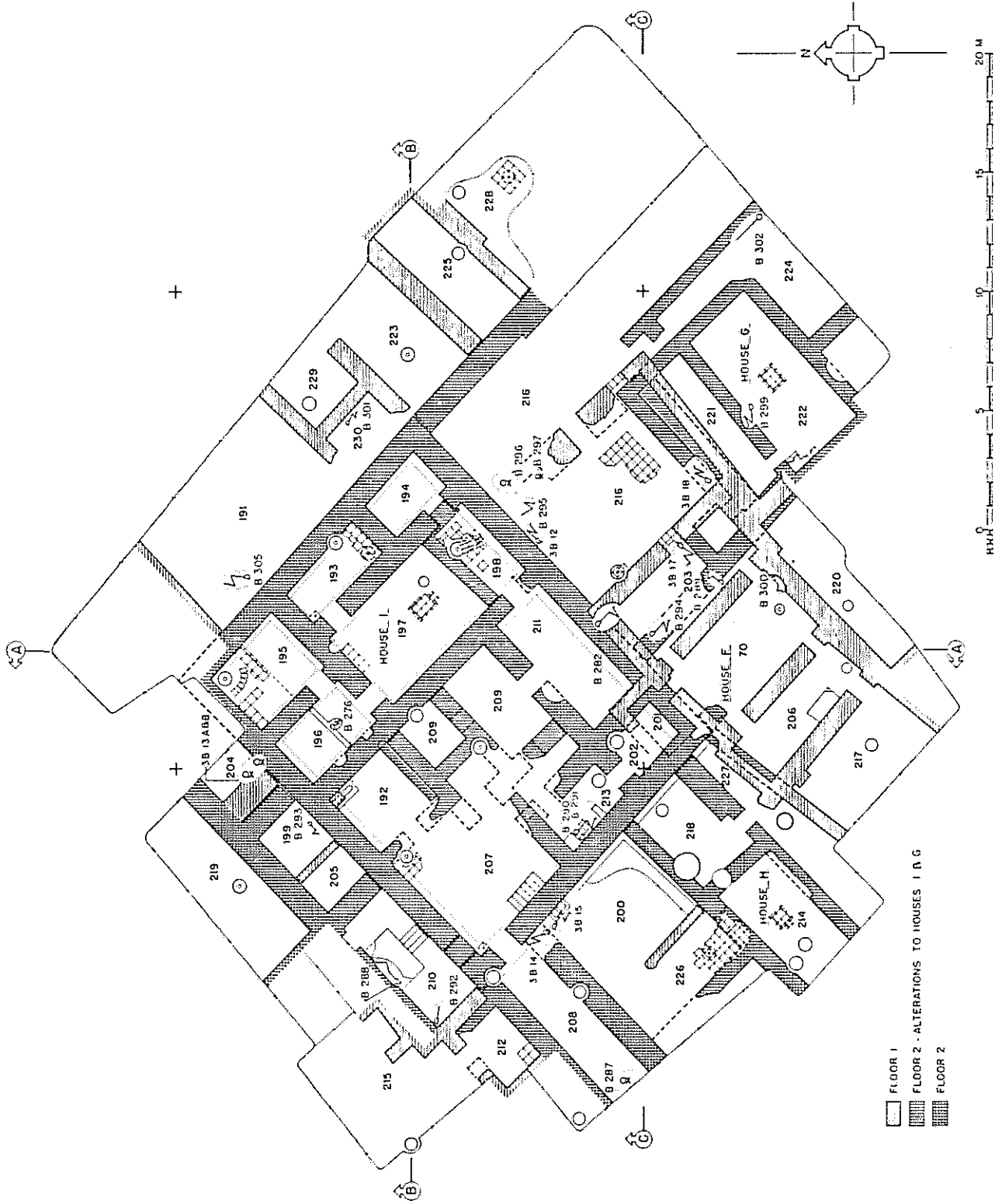


Fig. 7. Area TB. LEVEL IV. (McCown and Haines, *Nippur I*, pl. 591).