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xšnaoθrahe ahurahe mazdā

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Special Issue: Discussions in Assyriology

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Foundlings Raised in the Temple? The Meaning of *dumu kar-ra* in Ur III Umma

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(Fudan University)

Abstract

Dozens of temple records from Ur III Umma attest to the Sumerian expression *dumu kar-ra*. Previous literature interprets it as referring to children born out of wedlock, based on its connection to the term *géme kar-kid/kid* (“prostitutes”). An examination of the records shows that *dumu kar-ra* never appears in the same context as prostitutes. Instead, it appeared among the votive gifts donated to gods by married women and professional men. The gender, age, or name of a *dumu kar-ra* is never specified in any case. The clues lead to the possibility that the *dumu kar-ra* could have been young foundlings that people picked up in the quay area and later brought to the temple for long-term care. The temple raised the foundlings with the sponsorship of the Umma government.

Introduction

The Sumerian term *dumu kar-ra* appears in the Umma corpus from the Ur III period (c. 2112-2004 BCE), without any specification of name, age, gender, patronymic, or matronymic.¹ It has seen sporadic discussion

1- Research for this article is funded by a grant from the National Social Science Fund of China (No. 17BSS020). I would like to thank profusely Gianni Marchesi (University of Bologna) and the anonymous reviewer for reading the manuscript thoroughly and providing detailed feedback for improvement. I have incorporated as much of it as possible into the current version of this article. References to cuneiform texts in this article are according to the abbreviations used by the *Database of Neo-Sumerian Texts (BDTNS)* at <http://bdtms.filol.csic.es> and *CDLI* P-numbers by the *Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative (CDLI)* at <https://cdli.ucla.edu/>, accessed on March 15, 2021.

in previous literature. Bertrand Lafont reckoned with the ambiguities about this term and, based on its association with g \acute{e} me kar-kid/kid (presumably “prostitute”),² suggested that it may refer to bastards – children born out of wedlock and dedicated by their mothers to the temple.³ Walther Sallaberger proposed a more neutral meaning of dumu kar-ra as “children taken away by the temple from the respective women”.⁴ This article will examine the textual sources of this term and reach a more refined understanding of its connotation within the broader socio-economic background of the Ur III period.

dumu kar-ra as Votive Gifts

mu-DU Šara

The online databases *Database of Neo-Sumerian Texts* (hereafter: *BDTNS*) and *Cuneiform Digital Library Initiative* (hereafter: *CDLI*) turned up thirty-two texts that mention dumu kar-ra.⁵ The texts are divided into two groups according to the context. Group A (summarized in Appendix: Table A) consists of lists (annual, multi-year, or unspecified timewise) that itemize the votive gifts donated to Šara, the patron god of the Umma province, or his various local avatars, such as Šara in the town of KLAN (Š \acute{a} ra KLAN^{ki}), Šara in the district of Apisal (Š \acute{a} ra A-pi \acute{a} -sal^{ki}), and Šara of Anzubar (Š \acute{a} ra-an^{an} Ānzu^{mušen}-bábbar).

The catchphrase, mu-DU Š \acute{a} ra, suggests an interpretation of this type of list. The term mu-DU alone appears in Ur III documentation as a general term for deliveries to an economic entity. Votive gifts for gods are termed a-ru-a, which would include inanimate offerings (e.g., foodstuff, utensils, textiles, furniture, and jewelry), as well as livestock, and workers.⁶ Evidence from the neighboring province of Girsu-Lagash indicates that the expression, mu-DU plus a divine name, “deliveries for god so-and-so,” may reflect an abbreviated form of mu-DU a-ru-a plus a divine name, “deliveries of votive gifts for god so-and-so.”⁷ In

2- The proposal of Miguel Civil (1976) is followed here. Pascal Attinger (2005: 232) suggested the alternative reading of kar-kè (AK)/ke \acute{a} (KID). Noteworthy studies of prostitutes in ancient Mesopotamia include Assante 1998, Cooper 2006 (with extensive bibliography) and 2016, and Roth 2006. All but Cooper 2016 conduct a systematic and diachronic overview of cuneiform sources pertaining to the terms (Sumerian g \acute{e} me kar-kid/kid, Akkadian *harimtu*). Jerrold Cooper and Martha Roth take women thus designated as prostitutes, while Julia Assante interprets them as single women with independent economic means, of whom the prostitutes made just one category. Bertrand Lafont (2016: 150) echoed Assante’s viewpoint. In a recent book, Marten Stol (2016: 417-418) leaves it open whether or not Assante’s conclusion holds. On the separate but related topic of the alleged temple/sacred prostitution, Assante (2009) argued against the existence of it after examining the elements of the cult of Inanna/Ishtar. In yet another article published several years earlier, Assante (2003) dissects the intellectual trends in the 19th and 20th century that gave rise to the construction of female sex workers, temple prostitutes, and sacred marriage (between the king and a priestess playing the role of the goddess Inanna/Ishtar) in ancient Mesopotamia. Cooper (2013: 56) believes that “there probably was real live sex in or in close proximity to the temple, the temple certainly profited from as yet murky sexual activities outside the temple, and the divine inhabitants of the temple had active and beneficial sex lives.”

3- Lafont 1992: 101, n. 12.

4- In his words, “diese dumu kar-ra als dem Tempel von den jeweiligen Frauen weggenommene Kinder zu deuten,” see Sallaberger 1994: 543. Balke (2008: 345-346) follows Sallaberger’s explanation of dumu kar-ra.

5- See <http://bdtms.filol.csic.es> and <https://cdli.ucla.edu/>, accessed on March 15, 2021.

6- Braun-Holzinger 1991: 1. For inanimate offerings, see Mayer & Sallaberger 2003: 94.

7- For instance, the text *Amherst* 53 (*CDLI*: P100891; SH48/ii) lists 6 heads of cattle as mu-DU a-ru-a Š \acute{a} ra-mar^{ki}-ka. In the balanced account *RA* 66 21 (*CDLI*: P127983; SH45/ix) studied in Gelb 1972, seven temples dealt with 39 workers, 57 heads of livestock, and 5 milling stones. The colophon (rev. vi: 1-5) reads: níg-kas \acute{a} -ak / a-ru-a dingir-re-ne / Sag-ub \acute{a} -ta / Ki-nu-nir^{ki}-šè / gír An-ne-ba-du \acute{a} dub-sar a-ru-a, “a balanced account concerning the votive gifts for the gods, conveyed from Sagub to Kinunir by Anne-badu, the scribe (in charge) of votive gifts.” The a-ru-a dingir-re-ne here may well be an abbreviation of mu-DU a-ru-a dingir-re-ne.

Umma records, the term a-ru-a connotes a yet more specific meaning and refers to the labor force donated to a temple instead of to the votive offerings in general.⁸

Alongside those simple lists in Group A, two balanced accounts concerning votive gifts also occur.⁹ Such balanced accounts present a structure of three lists in a row, which include a list of revenue, a list of expenditures, and a third list with the balance of the account.

Donors: Gender and Profession

The term dumu kar-ra is always associated with the number one when it is specified as a votive gift from a donor. Thus, each donor – regardless of gender, status, or profession – offered one dumu kar-ra at a time. The two balanced accounts, of which one records four and the other thirty-six dumu kar-ra,¹⁰ may represent a total of some sort, as no name of any donor comes thereafter in the accounts.

The texts do not provide information concerning the professions of the majority of the donors. They do attest, however, to the following titles: Ur-Šara the herald,¹¹ two shepherds Kugani¹² and Lugal-massu,¹³ Dayaga the soldier,¹⁴ Šage the overseer of sixty,¹⁵ and an anonymous *egizi*-priestess (*egi-zi*) of the goddess Ninurra, divine consort of Šara.¹⁶

Although Bertrand Lafont and Walther Sallaberger observed that donations of dumu kar-ra came from women, the evidence shows that men made donations of dumu kar-ra as well, and that no preference along the gender line for this particular type of votive gift occurs. Nevertheless, several phenomena do stand out. First, the texts present the female donors as married and identified as “wife of so-and-so” (Sumerian: *dam PN*) except for the *egizi*-priestess mentioned above. Second, the texts attest to female donors as a separate subgroup to the exclusion of a male counterpart. Thus, the female donors are not mixed with male donors in the records. For instance, in *YOS* 4 212 (*CDLI*: P142276; SS6/xii), eight married women donated one dumu kar-ra each, as follows: four women donated in month x, three in month xi, and one in month xii. The text *UTI* 3 2285 (*CDLI*: P140304; SS3/xiii) mentions four married women, each of whom dedicated one dumu kar-ra. In other cases, two female donors appear side by side in one text.¹⁷ Male donors of dumu kar-ra appeared separately.¹⁸ Such a practice in recording the donations could hint at a physical segregation in space between male and female worshipers in the confines of a temple. This issue would of course require further investigation, but this study will not pursue it here.

8- For example, *BIN* 5 1 (*CDLI*: P106435; SH48/v) lists a great variety of votive gifts to the god Šara and spells out only Nin-hamati, a worker donated by Gudea's wife as a-ru-a (rev. 6-7).

9- *BCT* 2 143 (*CDLI*: P105384; SH48) and *RA* 86 97 (*CDLI*: P128068; AS7).

10- *BCT* 2 143 (*CDLI*: P105384; SH48) and *RA* 86 97 (*CDLI*: P128068; AS7).

11- *Nebraska* 64 (*CDLI*: P121749; SH48/xiii).

12- *Nebraska* 64 (*CDLI*: P121749; SH48/xiii).

13- *MVN* 14 278 (*CDLI*: P117958; AS8/x).

14- *Nebraska* 64 (*CDLI*: P121749; SH48/xiii).

15- *BPOA* 1 892 (*CDLI*: P339548; AS8/ix).

16- *YOS* 04 267 (*CDLI*: P142331; AS7/vii).

17- *SAT* 3 1831 = P145031 (SS7/i) & *Santag* 6 334 (*CDLI*: P211472; IS1/x)

18- E.g., *BPOA* 1 892 (*CDLI*: P339548; AS8/ix) – 2 male donors, *BPOA* 1 0470 (*CDLI*: P339128; SS4/ix) – 2 males, *UTI* 5 3468 (*CDLI*: P141486; SS5/v) – 2 males.

Value of 1 dumu kar-ra = 1 sheep + 1 garment

The value of 1 dumu kar-ra, as Walther Sallaberger noted, equals that of 1 sheep/goat plus 1 garment (udu/máš-bi 1 túg-bi 1).¹⁹ A balanced account always converts the value of the dumu kar-ra,²⁰ but a simple list of votive gifts can also do so.

The conversion of dumu kar-ra in a balanced account sets it apart because such accounts do not convert the value of other types of labor force in the same context. The balanced account, RA 86 97 (CDLI: P128068),²¹ concerns votive gifts for the god Šara in Apisal. Its revenue in the current year features thirty-six dumu kar-ra, whose value equaled thirty-six sheep and thirty-six garments.²² The same account includes a total of ten workers in the revenue (obv. v: 7-10): šu-nigin 4 géme 3 bán / šu-nigin 1 dumu-^rmunus^r / šu-nigin 3 dumu-^rmunus^r / šu-nigin 2 dumu-^rníta^r, “in total 4 females at 30 liters (of grain per month), in total 1 girl (= underage female), in total 3 girls, in total 2 boys.” Later in the expenditure section, the account includes a withdrawal of all but one boy²³ (rev. ii: 7-12), but nowhere does it convert their value.

The reason for converting the value of dumu kar-ra may have to do with their young age (even younger than a dumu-níta or dumu-munus), at which they could not provide any meaningful input of labor in an economic activity. Unlike other kinds of adult or child workers, they could not move around physically to perform the tasks set up by the Umma administration and had to remain on the premises of a temple. Therefore, in order to liquidate their potential into something exchangeable, a temple administrator would convert their value into that of the common products, sheep and garments, which temples often received as offerings. This proposal may also explain the expression – 1 udu 1 túg dumu kar-ra, “1 sheep and 1 garment in lieu of 1 dumu kar-ra,” – to which a number of withdrawal texts (i-dab₅) have attested.²⁴

The small value of a dumu kar-ra may reflect its incapability to work at all. A certain type of garment (^{túg}sag-uš-bar) may equal the value of 2/3 of a shekel according to a text from Girsu-Lagash.²⁵ The value of one sheep may range from 1/3²⁶ to 1/2 a shekel.²⁷ Thus one sheep plus one garment could equal somewhere

19- Sallaberger 1994: 543.

20- BCT 2 143 (CDLI: P105384; SH48) and RA 86 97 (CDLI: P128068; AS7)

21- Bertrand Lafont 1992 provides a critical edition of this account.

22- obv. ii: 31-34: 36 dumu kar-ra / udu bar-gál-bi 12 / udu bar su-ga-bi 20+^r4^r / túg-bi 30+^r6^r, “36 dumu kar-ra, its (equivalency in) unshorn sheep is 12, its (equivalency in) shorn sheep is 24, its (equivalency in) garments is 36.” For notes on collation, see Table A in Appendix.

23- Note that the notations associated with boy workers changes from DIŠ dumu-níta (obv. v: 10) to AŠ dumu-níta 2(bán) in rev. ii: 11. Thus we know that such boy workers could receive 20 liters of grain per month.

24- E.g., YOS 4 267 (CDLI: P142331; AS7/vii) & MVN 16 908 (CDLI: P118956; AS8/iii). Vulliet (2019: 241-242, 306) understands 1 udu 1 túg dumu kar-ra in those two texts as the sheep and garment for dumu kar-ra, which is not correct. In Santag 6 192 (CDLI: P212233; AS8/vii), the conversion seems to have been made upon the receipt of a dumu kar-ra. This may also be the case in AnOr 1 243 (CDLI: P101234; SS5).

25- MVN 18 668 (CDLI: P120029; AS1): 1 ^{túg}sag-uš-bar / kù-bi KWU161 (2/3 gín). This is the only record the author found in BDTNS that provides the silver equivalency of a garment. The fraction of 2/3 and the metrological unit gín are integrated in one sign as KWU161 (NINDA x [ŠE+HAL]). Such integrated writing appears more popular in texts from Girsu-Lagash and Ur. Sporadic examples from Umma include Nisaba 32 84 (CDLI: P323680; SH47): obv. 1: 2 KWU161 kù-babbar / máš nu-gá-gá; BPOA 6 1184 (CDLI: P292376; no date): rev. ii: 3-4: KWU161 kù-babbar gá-la / Níg-ul.

26- The balanced account of the merchant Lu-Haya SNAT 504 (CDLI: P130264; SS6) rev. 17: 18 udu bar-gál kù-bi 6 gín, “18 unshorn sheep, its silver (equivalency) is 6 shekels.”

27- The balanced account of a group of merchants TCL 5 6037 (CDLI: P131751; SS6) rev. iii: 18-19: 42 udu-níta bar-gál / kù-bi 1/3 ma-na 1 gín, “42 unshorn rams, its silver (equivalency) is 21 shekels.”

between 1 and 1 1/6 shekel of silver. One may compare this equivalency with the price of slaves attested in the Ur III sale documents. There, the price of a male slave would fall between 2 and 17 shekels, and that of a female between 1/2 shekel to 12.²⁸ Thus, the silver equivalency of a dumu kar-ra appears to have been lower than the price of any male slave and that of all but one or two female slaves ever attested.

Provisions for dumu kar-ra

Recycling of Unfit Garments

The second group of texts (Table B), presents the dumu kar-ra as associated with garments in the following formula: *x* number of garments as túg dumu kar-ra, “garments of dumu kar-ra”. This group of texts seems to have considered these garments as too small, too old, or too damaged by moths and thus recycled by the textile industry in Umma.

All but three of the texts in this group represent receipts of Ikalla,²⁹ identified as a scribe in one text and known elsewhere as the scribe “in charge of linens.”³⁰ He withdrew hundreds of liters of alkaline plants and hundreds of minas of gypsum from the procurements by the Umma merchants, one may assume, for the processing of wool, sheepskin, and linen in the textile industry in his charge.³¹ The balanced account, *BM 110313* (*CDLI*: P376162; AS9), which reckons more than 10,000 pieces of textiles as his remainder (lá-NI) and overdraft (diri) from the first to the eleventh month of the year, epitomizes the leading role of Ikalla in this industry.³² Most of the varieties of the textiles attested in Umma appear in this account. The tablet bears the impression of his seal, “Ikalla, the scribe, son of Lusaga,” and that same seal was impressed on two dumu kar-ra tablets.³³

The modest number of “garments of dumu kar-ra” in a single receipt may range from as few as just one piece³⁴ to as many as thirty-one pieces.³⁵ These garments include the following types:

túg₅bar-dul₅³⁶ tur zú-uh (1x = one attestation): small, moth-eaten coat

túgšà-ga-dù₃₇ gen³⁸ (1x): kilt of poor-quality

túgšà-ga-dù sumun (2x): old kilt

túguš-bar (4x): *ušbar*-garment

túguš-bar a-gi₄-um (2x): a type of *ušbar*-garment

túguš-bar sumun (1x): old *ušbar*-garment

túguš-bar tur (8x): small *ušbar*-garment

28- Steinkeller 1989: 135-137.

29- *SAT* 2 542 (*CDLI*: P143742; SH47), *BPOA* 7 2492 (*CDLI*: P390962; AS4), and *Santag* 6 197 (*CDLI*: P212237; AS8), all dealt with below.

30- Ouyang 2013: 129.

31- Ouyang 2013: 129.

32- Pomponio 2010: 189-192. Note that the name of I-kal-la is misread as Lu-kal-la in *BDTNS* and *CDLI*, accessed on March 3, 2021.

33- *CST* 604 (*CDLI*: P108120; IS1/ix) and *USC* 6596 (*CDLI*: P235408; IS2/ix).

34- *CST* 604 (*CDLI*: P108120; IS1/ix)

35- *Santag* 6 230 (*CDLI*: P211739; SS1)

36- It refers to a coat or long cloak made of wool or linen (Waetzoldt 2010: 207, with previous literature).

37- Akkadian šakattû; Hartmut Waetzoldt (2010: 204) explains it as a kind of loincloth, skirt, or kilt.

38- The attribute gen designates the lowest quality of a product. Those of better qualities are described as: 4-kam-ús, “of the fourth-class,” 3-kam-ús, “of the third-class,” ús, “following (the royal quality),” and lugal, “of royal quality” (Pomponio 2010: 192).

^{túg}uš-bar tur sumun (1x): small, old *ušbar*-garment

^{túg}uš-bar tur zú-uh (3x): small, moth-eaten *ušbar*-garment

^{túg}uš-bar zú-uh (4x): moth-eaten *ušbar*-garment

The most frequent type of garment, called ^{túg}uš-bar tur, “small *ušbar*-garment,” and ^{túg}uš-bar typify ordinary clothes in Umma.³⁹ Considering the young age of a dumu kar-ra, one could understand the “small garments” as those that had become too small for growing children. Two other types follow in frequency: ^{túg}uš-bar zú-uh, “moth-eaten *ušbar*-garments,” and ^{túg}uš-bar tur zú-uh, “small, moth-eaten *ušbar*-garments.” Both types indicated garments no longer suitable for a dumu kar-ra to wear.

Could the submission to Ikalla of all these small and damaged garments represent some kind of recycling practice?⁴⁰ If so, such a transaction could illustrate that the Umma bureaucracy exercised meticulous control over the provisions that it provided to the temples.

Involvement of Temple Administrators

Concerning the individuals who handed the unfit garments to the “scribe of linen” Ikalla, one sees familiar names such as Lugal-azida (known elsewhere as the anointing priest of Šara in KLAN), Šakuge (*išib*-priest of Šara’s temple in Apisal), and Lugal-nir (scribe in charge of Šara’s temple in the city of Umma).⁴¹ One Lugal(a)ni-sa, who served the god Šara of Anzubbabbar, could be the same as an anointing priest (*gudu*₄) by the same name.⁴² The involvement of priests and temple administrators may imply that they took the responsibility for the care of the dumu kar-ra and were held accountable for the provisions allotted for this purpose.

Among the three records that do not mention Ikalla, the text *BPOA* 7 2492 (*CDLI*: P390962; AS4) presents a similar receipt: Ur-Šara, the scribe (instead of Ikalla above) received 1 small “garment of dumu kar-ra” from Lugal-azida, the anointing priest residing in the temple of Šara in KLAN. Lugal-azida also took charge of a balanced account on wool, namely, *SAT* 2 542 (*CDLI*: P143742; SH47). In the expending part, the incumbent governor withdrew six small, old garments; one small, moth-eaten *bardul*-garment; and one old šagadu-garment. The text *Santag* 6 197 (*CDLI*: P212237; AS8), a multi-year list of balance concerning various kinds of goods, records forty-three “garments of dumu kar-ra” from Šakuge, the *išib*-priest of Šara’s temple in Apisal, and two from Lugal-anisa, the *gudu*₄-priest serving Šara of Anzubbabbar. The receipts of garments from both priests date to the year of AS6. Moreover, the forty-three garments handed in by Šakuge as ^{túg}dumu kar-ra does not differ far from the number of dumu kar-ra (thirty-six) that Šakuge conveyed as votive gifts of Šara in Apisal a year later in AS7.

39- In the balanced account *BM* 110313 discussed above, ^{túg}uš-bar accounts for the largest quantity of lá-NI and diri of textiles (Pomponio 2010: 191).

40- So far the author has not been able to identify any evidence of recycled textiles in the Ur III period, but there is a possible attestation of recycled silver in Ur III Umma. The text *JRL* 546 (*CDLI*: P108062; IS2/xii) records 1 2/3 shekels of scrap silver taken from a statue (obv. 2: alan-ta gá-ra) to be reapplied to another statue (obv. 7: alan-na gá-gá-dè) by the silversmith Ur-Šulpa’e.

41- See Ouyang 2020 for their identification.

42- *SNAT* 401 (*CDLI*: P130161; AS8): obv. 13: 4 1/3 gín 7 še ki lugal-ni-sa₆ *gudu*₄-ta. The date of this text falls between AS7 and AS9, the dates of the two records in which Lugal(a)ni-sa turned in the garments to Ikalla.

Who were the *dumu kar-ra*?

Examination of the evidence, therefore, does not support the idea that *dumu kar-ra*, literally “child of the quay,” refers to children of prostitutes donated to the temple. The term for prostitutes, *géme kar-kid/kid*, never appears in the same context as *dumu kar-ra*. Previous scholars have assumed the connection of *dumu kar-ra* to prostitution on the basis of the semantic element *-kar*, which means “quay” and occurs in both phrases. In Umma, a prostitute’s child is rather referred to as *dumu (PN) géme-kar-kid*.⁴³

No evidence indicates a blood relationship between the *dumu kar-ra* and their donors. In the texts, the names or appellations of the donors follow the *dumu kar-ra* (in the format of *dumu kar-ra PN*). The female donors always appear as anonymous married women, identified by their husbands’ names only, while the male donors appear identified by name and sometimes by profession as well. At one time, perhaps the wife of Umma’s previous governor also donated a *dumu kar-ra*.⁴⁴

One may further compare the *dumu kar-ra* in question with a prostitute’s son donated as an oblate in a Neo-Assyrian text, namely, *SAA* 12: No. 92 (K382). Two uncles raised their nephew, born to their sister a prostitute, and offered him to the temple of Ninurta in the capital city of Calah.⁴⁵ In that case, the mother indeed had worked as a prostitute (*ina ha-rim-ti-šá*) and gave birth to the boy (*ša ina ha-rim-ti-šá tu-šab-šú-ni*). Unlike the *dumu kar-ra*, the boy’s name (*BĀD-ma-ki-^d15*) and genealogy are well documented.

The *dumu kar-ra* may thus refer to foundlings that people picked up from the quay area and later brought to a temple where the government took care of them. The temple may have functioned as an orphanage in the Umma province. If the mother of a *dumu kar-ra* had to abandon her child for some reason, the quay would make a suitable location, where the traffic of boats and people⁴⁶ ensured the child of a good chance of rescue and adoption.

The proposal that a *dumu kar-ra* was but a foundling, likely an infant or toddler at most, would explain why the texts never mention its name,⁴⁷ age, or genealogy, because nobody knew for certain. Their gender did not matter either from the viewpoint of the administration, since they could not work anyhow. Gender started to matter later when the administration had to decide which kind of chore they would assign to the orphans and how much provisions they would allot them.

Texts from Iri-sagrig and Girsu⁴⁸ attest to a similar group of abandoned people referred to as *ní-e tag₄-a*, “left-to-self” (i.e., “waifs”), which possibly denotes “children unsupported by their parents.” All but seven of

43- As in *Santag* 6 384 (*CDLI*: P212276; no date) obv. ii: 10’1 (AŠ) Lú-^dInanna *dumu Géme-lugal géme-kar-’kid’*.

44- *UTI* 3 2285 (*CDLI*: P140304; SS3/xiii) rev. i: 10 mentions a *dumu kar-ra* from the wife of Ur-Lisi. Considering the rarity of this name, it probably refers to the namesake governor of Umma (in office SH33-AS8).

45- As many as seventeen witnesses testified to this donation, including priests of the major deities (Ninurta, Nabu, Ishtar and Adad) and officials from the palace. For the most recent edition, see Kataja and Whiting 1995: 116-117, with previous literature; discussion also in Stol 2016: 411.

46- For sources documenting the boat traffic at the quay in Umma, *kar (Umma^{ki})*, see Steinkeller 2001: 49-56.

47- According to Martha Roth (2006: 33), the lack of somebody’s genealogy in legal or economic records indicates the slave status of the parents on the one hand, and the ambiguities of the father’s identity on the other hand: “[A]lthough the persons identified in our legal and economic documents only by matronymics (rather than only by patronymics) or without any reference to genealogy are generally assumed to be the children of slaves, there is no reason to exclude the possibility that they are the children of prostitutes or other women, slave or free, who were unable (or unwilling) to identify the father.”

48- See Heimpel 2010. This term is attested only twice in Umma: see *OrSP* 47-49 382 (*CDLI*: P125272; AS8/vi); rev. ii 10: *Ab-ba-ge-na dumu / Ur-nigar dumu Da-a-a / ní-e tag₄-a*; and *Nisaba* 31-2 56 (*CDLI*: P376978; SS6/xiii), where three males with two generations of genealogy are summarized as *ní-e tag₄-a-me-éš*.

the 288 waifs attested were male. Unlike the *dumu kar-ra*, some members of this group received allotments of barley at twenty or forty liters per month, which demonstrates their working capabilities. Moreover, 56% of the waifs are often identified by the father's name, and just 19% by the mother's name. In the latter case, the majority of the mothers worked as prostitutes.⁴⁹

Concerning the male or female donors of *dumu kar-ra*, they or their family members (in the case of female) could have picked up such a foundling from the quay area and taken home for a short period of foster care before dedicating it to the temple as a votive gift. Such an act would testify to their charity and piety, and thus make the *dumu kar-ra* an honorable gift for the gods. This scenario may also explain the significant presence of female donors associated with the *dumu kar-ra*. These married women would have assumed responsibility of caring for the foundlings at home and personally transferred them to a temple.

Once the temple had settled the foundlings, the top administrator of the temple would have begun to take charge. The evidence attests only to the fact that the administrator handed over to the textile industry the unfit or damaged garments of the *dumu kar-ra* for recycling. One could hypothesize, nonetheless, that the Umma government also distributed foodstuff to the temples for them to feed the children. Unlike garments, foodstuff, consumed once and for all, required no subsequent procedure for tracking. One may infer from the recycling of the small, old, or moth-eaten garments that the *dumu kar-ra* received proper care in the temples. Inadvertently, the documentation of the recycling practice discloses the pervasive control that the Umma government wielded over the economic transactions going on in the provincial domain.

The Mesopotamian temples functioned as a socio-economic institute more than just a place for worshipping gods.⁵⁰ They provided a range of social services that included the care of the poor, the weak, and other marginalized groups. This micro-study of the *dumu kar-ra* in Ur III Umma allows a rare glimpse into the philanthropic work that the temple conducted with the sponsorship of the provincial government.

49- Heimpel 2010.

50- This may find indication in the chapter titles of the recent book by Dominique Charpin (2017): the Mesopotamian temples as the centers of cure, as banks, tribunals, and prisons, as bureaus of weights and measures, as schools, libraries, and archival rooms, as houses of pleasure, and as places of burials, artisanship, and food-processing.

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Table A: *dumu kar-ra* attested as votive gifts (18 texts in total)

| Text / <i>CDLI</i> | Date | Summary | Remarks |
|---------------------------------|-----------|---|---|
| <i>BCT</i> 2 143 / P105384 | SH48 | 4 dumu kar-ra as part of revenue, = 4 goats + 4 garments (máš-bi 4-àm túg-bi 4-àm) | In a balanced account on votive gifts for god Šara in KLAN, in the charge of Dada |
| <i>Nebraska</i> 64 / P121749 | SH48/xiii | 1 dumu kar-ra from Ur-Šara, a herald (nimgir), 1 from Lugal-sisa 1 from Kugani, a shepherd 1 from Arad-hula, for goddess Ninhursag 1 from [...] 1 from [...] 1 (dumu kar-ra šu-nir) from Dayaga, a soldier (àga-ús) 1 from Lugal-zimu | List of votive gifts for god Šara |
| <i>OrSP</i> 47-49 328 / P125218 | AS2/xiii | 1 dumu kar-ra from [...] 1 from Ur- [...] 1 from Ur-tur 1 from Akalla, son of Ur-Eanna | List of votive gifts for god Šara-du ₆ & goddess Nintinugga, ⁵¹ conveyed (gìr ⁵²) by Šakuge |
| <i>RA</i> 86 97 / P128068 | AS7 | obv. ii: 31-32 36 dumu kar-ra as part of revenue, = 12 unshorn sheep + 24 ⁵³ shorn sheep + 36 garments | In a balanced account on votive gifts for god Šara in Apisal; conveyed by Šakuge |
| <i>YOS</i> 4 267 / P142331 | AS7/vii | 1 udu 1 túg dumu-kar-ra from wife of Lu-dingra, son of Arad-hula; 1 udu 1 túg from the <i>egizi</i> -priestess of goddess Ninurra; 1 udu 1 túg from [...] Biduga | List of votive gifts for god Šara, withdrawn (ì-dab ₅) by a lù-mah |
| <i>MVN</i> 16 908 / P118956 | AS8/iii | 1 udu 1 túg dumu-kar-ra from wife of Lugal-itida; 1 udu 1 túg from wife of Ayabbani | List of votive gifts for god Šara, withdrawn (ì-dab ₅) by a lù-mah |
| <i>Santag</i> 6 192 / P212233 | AS8/vii | 1 udu 1 túg dumu-kar-ra from wife of Zuluhu | List of votive gifts for god Šara |

51- Written as ^dNin-tin-ug₅-ga, one name of the healing goddess; other names include Gula, Nin-Isina, and Nin-karrak (see Edzard 2001: 506).

52- Read mistakenly as kišib in *BDTNS*, accessed on February 2, 2021. Photo collation by the author confirms the reading of gîr as in *CDLI*.

53- Read as 21, i.e., 2(U)1(DIŠ), in *BDTNS* and *CDLI*, both accessed by February 2, 2021. Photo collation shows two DIŠ signs one on top of the other, which indicates a broken number of 4 (written as four DIŠ signs in two rows, with two on top of the other two).

| | | | |
|-------------------------|----------|---|--|
| BPOA 1 892 / P339548 | AS8/ix | 1 dumu kar-ra from Šage, overseer of sixty; 1 dumu kar-ra from Ur-dununna; = 2 udu + 2 túg | List of votive gifts for god Šara; |
| MVN 14 278 / P117958 | AS8/x | 1 dumu kar-ra from Lugal-massu, shepherd; = 1 udu + 1 túg | List of votive gifts for god Šara |
| UTI 3 2285 / P140304 | SS3/xiii | Obv. i: 1: 1 dumu kar-ra from wife of Galgalla (month v) Obv. ii: 22: 1 dumu kar-ra from wife of Lu-ibgal (month xi) Obv. ii: 24: 1 dumu kar-ra from wife of Lugal- gigire (month xi) Rev. i: 10: 1 dumu kar-ra from wife of Ur-Lisi (month xiii, presumably the governor); = 1 unshorn sheep + 3 shorn sheep + 4 garments | Annual list of votive gifts for god Šara in KLAN; |
| BPOA 1 470 / P339128 | SS4/ix | 1 dumu kar-ra from Ur-Engaldudu 1 dumu kar-ra from Lu-duga, son of Mansum; = 2 sheep + 2 garments | List of votive gifts for god Šara; |
| AnOr 1 243 / P101234 | SS5 | Obv. i: 14-ii: 7: 1 udu 1 túg dumu kar-ra from wife of Ur-gipar Ibid., from wife of Aya- [...] Ibid., from wife of Ayakalla Ibid., from wife of [...] Ibid., from wife of [...] Ibid., from wife of Ur- [...] Ibid., from wife of Lugal-ezem Ibid., from wife of Abba-gena Ibid., from wife of Ikalla Ibid., from wife of Giri ⁵⁴ | List of votive gifts for god (name broken) |
| UTI 5 3468 / P141486 | SS5/v | End of Obv. & start of Rev.: 1 dumu kar-ra from Ur-dununna 1 dumu kar-ra from Emahe; = 2 sheep + 2 garments | List of votive gifts for god (name broken) |

54- The line of Obv. ii: 7 is missing from CDLI, accessed on February 3, 2021.

| | | | |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|---|---|
| YOS 4 212 / P142276 | SS6/xii | Obv. i: 4-11: 1 dumu kar-ra from wife of Duga-zida Ibid., from wife of Handu Ibid., from wife of Ayakalla Ibid., from wife of Lu-ibgal All in month x; Obv. ii: 8-13: 1 dumu kar-ra from wife of Bigati Ibid., from wife of Zaya Ibid., from wife of Lu-Inanna Presumably in month xi Rev. i: 5': 1 dumu kar-ra from Api-[...] In month xii | Annual list of votive gifts for god ^d Šara- ^{an} Ánzu ^{mušen} - bábbar |
| SAT 3 1831 / P145031 | SS7/i | 1 dumu kar-ra from wife of Puzur-abba 1 dumu kar-ra from wife of Manana | List of votive gifts for god ^d Šara- ^{an} Ánzu ^{mušen} -bábbar |
| Umma 40 / P139549 | SS9/ii | 1 dumu kar-ra from wife of Lugal-emahe | List of votive gifts for god Šara in KLAN |
| Santag 6 334 / P211472 | IS1/x | 1 dumu kar-<ra> from wife of Nur-Iškur 1 dumu kar-<ra> from wife of Lugal-gigire | List of votive gifts for god Šara in KLAN |
| YOS 4 246 / P142310 | year lost month xii | Obv. iii: 1 dumu kar-ra from wife of Lugal-emahe, month ix; = 1 shorn sheep + 1 garment | Annual list of votive gifts for god (name lost) |

Table B: Recycled “garments of dumu kar-ra” (14 texts)

| Text / <i>CDLI</i> | Date | Summary | Remarks |
|--------------------------|------|--|---|
| SAT 2 542 / P143742 | SH47 | 6 ⁵⁵ ^{túg} uš-bar tur sumun + 1 ^{túg} bar-dul ₅ tur zú-uh + 1 ^{túg} šà-ga-dù sumun, all as ^{túg} dumu kar-ra | Withdrawn by governor, in a balanced account on wool of Lugal-azida, anointing priest of god Šara in KLAN |
| BPOA 7 2492 / P390962 | AS4 | 1 garment (^{túg} uš-bar tur) as ^{túg} dumu-kar-ra ^d Šara KLAN | Received by Ur-Šara the scribe, from Lugal-azida the anointing priest; seal impression Ur-Šara / dub- sar / dumu Lugal-ušur |
| BIN 5 18 / P106452 | AS7 | 1 garment (^{túg} uš-bar tur) as ^{túg} dumu-kar-ra ^d Šara- ^{an} Ánzu ^{mušen} -bábbar | Received by Ikalla ⁵⁶ from Lugal-nisa |

55- Following the correction of *CDLI*; number read as 5 in *BDTNS*, both accessed by February 3, 2021.56- Read mistakenly as Lú-kal-la in *BDTNS*, accessed on February 2, 2021.

| | | | |
|----------------------------------|--------|---|--|
| <i>Santag</i> 6 197 / P212237 | AS8 | Rev. iv: 28 garments (^{túg} uš-bar) + 15 garments (^{túg} uš-bar tur zú-uh), from Šakuge, as ^{túg} dumu kar-ra ^{dŠára} A-pi ₄ -sal ₄ ^{ki} ; 2 garments (^{túg} uš-bar sumun & ^{túg} šà-ga-dù gen) from Lugal-anisa, as ^{túg} dumu kar-ra ^{dŠára} - ^{an} Ánzu ^{mušen} -bábbbar; all dated to AS 6 | Multi-year list of balance (lá-NI & diri) concerning various kinds of goods |
| <i>MVN</i> 14 282 / P117962 | AS9 | 1 garment ^{túg} uš-bar tur as ^{túg} dumu kar-ra ^{dŠára} - ^{an} Ánzu ^{mušen} -bábbbar | Received by Ikalla ⁵⁶ from Lugal-anisa |
| <i>MVN</i> 16 667 / P118715 | AS9 | 19 garments (^{túg} uš-bar) + 10 garments (^{túg} uš-bar tur zú-uh); all as ^{túg} dumu kar-ra ^{dŠára} A-pi ₄ -sal ₄ ^{ki} | Received by Ikalla ⁵⁶ from Šakuge |
| <i>BPOA</i> 1 1000 / P339655 | AS9 | 1 garment (^{túg} uš-bar zú-uh) + 2 garments (^{túg} uš-bar a-gi ₄ -um) + 5 garments (^{túg} uš-bar tur); all as ^{túg} dumu kar-ra ^{dŠára} KI.AN ^{ki} | Received by Ikalla ⁵⁶ from Lugal-azida |
| <i>BIN</i> 5 17 / P106451 | SS1 | 1 garment (^{túg} uš-bar) as ^{túg} dumu kar-ra ^{dŠára} A-pi ₄ -sal ₄ ^{ki} | Received by Ikalla ⁵⁶ from Šakuge |
| <i>UTI</i> 5 3261 / P141280 | SS1 | 3 garments (^{túg} uš-bar tur) + 2 garments (^{túg} uš-bar zú-uh), all conveyed by Lugal-anisa; 1 garment (^{túg} uš-bar zú-uh) + 2 garments (^{túg} uš-bar a-gi ₄ -um), all conveyed by Lu-kalla; all as ^{túg} dumu kar-ra ^{dŠára} - ^{an} Ánzu ^{mušen} -bábbbar | Received by Ikalla ⁵⁶ from Lugal-anisa |
| <i>Santag</i> 6 230 / P211739 | SS1 | 10 garments (^{túg} uš-bar) + 15 garments (^{túg} uš-bar tur) + 6 garments (^{túg} uš-bar zú-uh); all as ^{túg} dumu kar-ra ^{dŠára} Umma ^{ki} | Received by Ikalla ⁵⁶ from Lugal-nir |
| <i>Nisaba</i> 9 108 / P208977 | SS1 | 5 garments (^{túg} uš-bar tur) as ^{túg} dumu kar-ra ^{dŠára} KI.AN ^{ki} | Received by Ikalla ⁵⁶ from Lugal-azida |
| <i>Nebraska</i> 28 / P121713 | SS2 | 1 garment (^{túg} uš-bar) + 1 garment (^{túg} uš-bar tur-ka), both as ^{túg} dumu kar-ra ^{dŠára} - ^{an} Ánzu ^{mušen} - bábbbar | Received by Ikalla ⁵⁶ from Lugal-anisa |
| <i>CST</i> 604 / P108120 | IS1/ix | 1 ^{túg} dumu kar-ra | Received by Ikalla from Lu- Šara; seal impression: Ikalla, dub-sar, dumu Lu-saga |
| <i>USC</i> 6596 / P235408 | IS2/ix | 1 ^{túg} uš-bar [^{túg}] dumu kar-ra A-da-làl | Received by Ikalla from Lu- Šara; seal impression: Ikalla, dub-sar, dumu Lu-saga |

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