

Christina Tsouparopoulou

The Healing Goddess, Her Dogs and Physicians in Late Third Millennium BC Mesopotamia*

Corresponding author: Christina Tsouparopoulou, University of Cambridge (UK), McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research; Email: ct272@cam.ac.uk

Abstract: This article presents the earliest documented association between the healing goddess, dogs and physicians in Mesopotamia. This is achieved through mining all relevant administrative texts from the livestock archive at Puzriš-Dagan (modern Drehem) dated to the Ur III period and corroborating the information gathered with the few pertinent iconographic and archaeological attestations.

Barbara Böck in her short review article on the healing goddess in 2012, wrote: “The healing goddess is associated with a dog and was often represented in art by her animal attribute. The earliest reference attesting this association comes from nineteenth-century Isin, where the local ruler Enlil-bāni commemorated the building of a Dog Temple (Eurgira) of Ninisina”.¹ In fact, Gula and other named healing goddesses were associated with dogs already in the Ur III period, in the late third millennium BC, as was remarked for the first time already in 1992 (Sallaberger 1992, 134 ad PDT 2, 1018).

In the Puzriš-Dagan archives, there were specific expenditures of animals for the cult of Gula at Ur which were taken in the responsibility of dog handlers, and from the fifth regnal year of King Amar-Suena onwards an overseer of these dog handlers mentioned in the text can be identified as a physician. This article aims to discuss this earliest documented association between the healing goddess with dogs, but also to discern the role the physician played in the cult or service of the healing goddess alongside the dogs. Administrative texts mainly from the Ur III Puzriš-Dagan archive form the basis of this article.

A short overview of the healing goddess in the Ur III period

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¹ For the most recent study of Gula’s association with dogs, see Böck (2013, 38-44) and references therein. See also the article by Owen (2013), where he discusses pertinent references to dogs and their handlers from the Iri-Sağrig archive. For the healing goddesses in general, see Böck (2015) and now Charpin (2017, 31-60). Seraina Nett (2019) is currently working on documenting the association of the healing goddess with dogs, corroborating information from textual, visual and material culture in Mesopotamia from the 2nd and 1st millennia BC.

Three goddesses were related with healing by the end of the third millennium BC in Mesopotamia, known by the names of Gula ('Great One'),² Ninisina ('Mistress of Isin')³ and Nintinuga ('Mistress who revives the dead').⁴ In the administrative texts and archives of the Ur III period, there is clear evidence that the healing goddess (Gula, Ninisina, and/or Nintinuga) was worshipped regularly at least from the reign of Šulgi onwards. More specifically, in the Puzriš-Dagan livestock archive, Ninisina was presented as the healing goddess worshipped in Isin and Umma, while in the archives of Umma and the royal treasury archive of Puzriš-Dagan, Gula's name appears often as the venerated healing goddess. Textual evidence also exists for the localisation of temples of the healing goddesses at Nippur (Nintinuga's), at Isin and Umma (Ninisina's), and at Umma and Ur (Gula's) (Sallaberger 1993, 154 fn 738; Archi/Pomponio 1989, 78).⁵

The thorny issue whether the healing goddesses were syncretised in the third millennium BC cannot be resolved yet.⁶ Aside from the erroneous connotations that the term "syncretism" may have, here "syncretism" is used as an umbrella term, to denote the association, equation and merging of certain functions from one goddess to the other. Nonetheless, it does appear challenging to distinguish between the cults of Ninisina and Gula, and as Sallaberger (1993, 154) writes the fact that the Puzriš-Dagan scribes during the Ur III period preferred or were more familiar with using the name Ninisina to refer to Gula of Umma, indicates that the names Ninisina and Gula were used interchangeably to refer to the same healing goddess. Yet, this could be only relevant for the documentation practices of cultic activities by the scribes at Puzriš-Dagan or Umma and does not necessarily reflect the standing of the healing goddesses, individually and/or in association with each other, of the period. Nintinuga's cult, for example, seems more detached from healing than the other goddesses; e.g. the lustration ceremonies, which were closely associated to her cult and were especially prevalent in the Puzriš-Dagan texts (Sigrist 1992, 136-141; Sallaberger 1993, 110), cannot be explicitly linked to healing rites. While it is commonly accepted that the healing goddesses shared the same realm and thus were assimilated and/or syncretised already in the third millennium *in function* (Asher-Greve and Westenholz 2013, 83), it is still not clear whether Ninisina and Gula were "syncretised" in Mesopotamian theology even in the later Old Babylonian period (Kraus 1949, 70, but cf. Richter

² Gula, with the divine determinative before her name, is first attested in the god-lists from Fara and Abu Salabikh from the Early Dynastic periods (Krebernik 1986, 194; Mander 1986, 37). A few more references to Gula are to be found in Old Akkadian texts from Adab, where her name is part of the personal name Ur-^dGu-la in CUSAS 20, 40: 6 and a field name in TCBI 1, 35: 2. The latter references were kindly provided to me by P. Michalowski.

³ Ninisina appears already in the Early Dynastic God Lists as a goddess worshipped at Isin (Böck 2013, 12 f). For Ninisina's association with Gula during the Old Babylonian period, see Westenholz (2013, 82-86), for her association with other goddesses, Richter (2004, 514-521).

⁴ For Nintinuga, see Edzard (1998-2001, 506) and Römer (2003). For Nintinuga's cult at Nippur during the Ur III period, when she was supposed to have had her own temple at Nippur but also worshipped in Ninlil's temple, see especially Such-Gutiérrez (2003, 288-297). Such-Gutiérrez (2003, 289) further suggests that during the Early Dynastic period, Nintinuga was worshipped within Enlil's temple at Nippur; see also Peterson (2009, 237).

⁵ On Ninisina and Gula, see also Edzard (1998-2001, 387f). The important position of Gula in the Umma province is evidenced by the documented existence of at least three distinct sanctuaries dedicated to the goddess located at three different cities at KLAN, Isala and Umma (M. Molina, personal communication).

⁶ Syncretism, assimilation, mutation and other processes Mesopotamian gods and goddesses went through, were more recently discussed by Westenholz (2013, 36-38). For a brief review of the "syncretism" of these goddesses in the Ur III period, see Ceccarelli (2009, 33f). Clack (2011) discussed the term "syncretism" in anthropology and archaeology.

2004, 108).⁷ Therefore, an even earlier equation/syncretism of the healing goddesses in the third millennium BC should probably be excluded.⁸

The healing goddess was present in the royal treasury archive (Paoletti 2012, 251-256), but even more so in the livestock archive of Puzriš-Dagan: thirty sheep every month were expended from the state to support Gula's cult at least until the third regnal year of Amar-Suena (AS.03). Many people seem to have been part of the healing goddesses' court(s): various dog handlers received dead sheep for Gula's dogs;⁹ the physicians Nawir-ilum and Šu-Kabta acted as conveyors (*ġiri*₃) for votive silver offerings to Nintinuga at Nippur (TCL 2, 5550, dated to ŠS.06 and AUCT 1, 241, dated to ŠS.02); the physician Ubārtum and the cup-bearer (*sagi*) Šulgi-bāni acted as conveyors (*ġiri*₃) in a disbursal of fattened sheep destined for Ninisina (NYPL 221, dated to ŠS.04.04.22); chief administrators of Gula's temples, such as Lugal-iti¹⁰ and Ġirini-isa¹¹ or chief administrators of Ninisina's temples existed,¹² handlers of equids,¹³ priests (*gudu*₄) of Gula¹⁴ and priests of Ninisina,¹⁵ incantation priests (*išib*) of Gula¹⁶ all appear in the textual record of the Ur III period, indicating that the worship of the healing goddess was well-established. That Ninisina and Gula were closely associated to each other becomes even more evident in a text from Ur (UET 9, 223, dated to IS.05), where a man carrying the name "Lu-Ninisina" (*lu*₂-^d*nin-isin*₂^{si} 'man of the goddess Ninisina') is presented as taking responsibility for garments associated with the goddess Gula. The fragmentary votive alabaster vessel with the reconstructed inscription [^d*nin-tin-u*]*g*₅-*ga* (Biggs 1978, 92 no 48, 4NT 68), a surface find from the western part of the mound at Nippur (Biggs 1997), could also provide further evidence for the possible fusion of these two healing goddesses.

Irrespective of whether or not of the functions of these three healing goddesses were assimilated, the goddesses' role in healing/medicine and their association with dogs is clear from archaeological findings belonging to the 2nd and 1st millennia BC. A building at Nippur seems to have functioned as the temple of Gula at least since the Kassite period. Figurines of dogs and human figures in pain were discovered in the strata of the temple, while an inscription explicitly dedicated to Gula secured the identification (Gibson 1990).¹⁷ Later in the first millennium, Isin became her protected city. When her temple there was unearthed, it established beyond any doubt the association of Gula with dogs (Hausperger [e. a.] 1981). The temple of

⁷ For the interchangeable worshiping of the healing goddess as Nintinuga in Nippur and Ninisina in Isin during the Old Babylonian period, see Tinney (1996, 174).

⁸ For example, in the so-called 'Weidner list', even if it is difficult to discern principles of structure and arrangement (Lambert 1957-1971, 474), Gula and Ninisina were listed at different places (Gula in 145, Nin-Isina in 166), which suggests that these goddesses were singular during this period (Westenholz 2013: 79). Sallaberger (personal communication 2019) suggests that the different names used for the healing goddess in Puzriš-Dagan and Umma, correspond more to an "*interpretatio Graeca*" (see Assmann 1996, 45; Assmann 1997; Smith 2010, 39), than to "syncretism" or other theological considerations.

⁹ This is treated in detail below and in tables 1 and 2.

¹⁰ *Lugal-i*₃-*ti šabra* ^d*gu-la* in AUCT 1, 912 (AS.08.07.02); SET 104 and then AS9. Also see AUCT 1, 104, where Lugal-iti is responsible for the receipt of sheep as part of the consignment for Gula.

¹¹ Ontario 1, 19 (Š.43.04.16). See also OrSP 47-49, 67, where Ġirini-isa receives animals destined as consignment for Gula.

¹² Amar-Damu, the *šabra* of Ninisina on a seal impressed on a Nippur tablet (Studi Mayer 398, AS.07.10.).

¹³ In BPOA 1, 1660 (AS.03) from Umma: *sipa anše* ^d*gu-la*.

¹⁴ For example, in MVN 4, 43 r. 12 (AS.04), from Umma.

¹⁵ For example, in RTC 401 (TCTI 1, 731) o. ii 11, from Girsu dated to IS.02.

¹⁶ MVN 1, 144, Ĥa-ba-an-zi-zi; ASJ 19 226 72 o. ii 20, Ur-e₁₁-e, from Umma.

¹⁷ For Gula's possible worship in the Ekur at Nippur during the first millennium BC, see further the dogs unearthed there (Muscarella 1988, 313 n. 1; Schneider 2018).

Gula at Isin was called the *e₂ ur-gi₇-ra* ‘the temple/house of dogs’ (Livingstone 1988), and about three dozen dog-burials have been found in the vicinity of the temple as well as clay figurines and pendants representing dogs (Collins 1990; Fuhr 1977; Groneberg 2007, 97). The representation of this goddess in the art of Mesopotamia with a dog by her side is incontestable evidence of her close association with dogs (Ornan 2004). The earliest association of Ninisina with dogs in the visual culture of Mesopotamia comes from a votive offering of a steatite dog figurine from Tello dedicated by Sumu-el of Larsa to the goddess Ninisina, dated to the 19th century BC (Bonatz 2008; Heuzey 1910, 160-166. pl. 5).

Gula’s dogs and their handlers in the Puzriš-Dagan texts

The earliest attestation nonetheless for the relation of the healing goddess with dogs comes from the late third millennium BC, and specifically from administrative texts of the livestock archive at Puzriš-Dagan dated to the Ur III period.¹⁸ These texts detail the donation of animals for the consumption of dogs, associated with Gula. The standard entry for this kind of texts, at least until the sixth regnal year of Šu-Suen, is:

<i>Obverse</i>	<i>Reverse</i>
30 sheep consignment ¹⁹ for Gula (<i>sa₂-du₁₁ ^dgu-la</i>) 30 animals (e. g., 12 <i>udu</i> , 18 <i>u₈</i>) dead for the dogs (<i>ba-ug₇ mu ur-gi₇-ra-še₃</i>)	PN1 the dog handler received (<i>sipa ur-gi₇-ra-[ke₄] šu ba-ti</i>) PN2 was the overseer (<i>ugula</i> PN2) expenditure of PN3 (<i>ki PN3-ta ba-zi</i>), date

These consignments to Gula and her dogs passed through the bureau of the chief official at Puzriš-Dagan, who at first during Šulgi’s reign was Nasa, followed by his son Abba-saga for the first two years of Amar-Suena’s reign. After the third year of Amar-Suena’s reign (AS.03), this responsibility was transferred to Intaea, while the latter was working within the surplus office.²⁰ Once Intaea became the chief official, the responsibility for the provision of the dogs of Gula was handed over to the surplus office, especially to the officials Ur-kununa and Duga.

These regular deliveries were explicitly stated as such, i.e. as consignments for Gula (*sa₂-du₁₁ ^dgu-la*), until about Amar-Suena’s eight regnal year (AS.08). The animals, mostly dead sheep, were usually given to an Ilum-bāni (Š.43-AS.03) the dog handler (*sipa ur-gi₇-ra-ke₄*), in order to feed the dogs as part of the state’s obligation for the needs of the cult of Gula (see table 1). Ilum-bāni received animals for the dogs mainly destined as the consignment to Gula for her temple at Ur; he occasionally received animals as a consignment to Inim-Nanna, the prince, as well.²¹ He was substituted in AS.03.12 or possibly two months later by an Išme-ilum, who

¹⁸ For previous literature on the topic, see Tsouparopoulou (2012).

¹⁹ The translation of *sa₂-du₁₁* as “consignment” follows Al-Mutawalli e. a. (2019).

²⁰ For distinctions in the business of the livestock agency at Puzriš-Dagan in different offices and their associated officials, see Tsouparopoulou (2013).

²¹ Inim-Nanna’s receipt of consignments alongside the dogs and Gula is very interesting. Usually, the scribes at Puzriš-Dagan grouped together similar transactions in the administrative texts and the people receiving deliveries as documented on the same text, appear to be of similar status. Inim-Nanna’s name does not appear in many administrative or other texts of the period, but we can discern that he was somehow related to the military: he

received animals for Gula, the dogs and also Inim-Nanna.²² In the fifth regnal year of Amar-Suena (AS.05), an overseer (*ugula*) appears in Išme-ilum's transactions, by the name of Nawir-Ilum (RA 9, 55, SA 228). Išme-ilum, the dog handler, was replaced by a Puzur-Enlil sometime between the AS.05.06 and AS.07, supervised by Nawir-ilum. From AS.08.12 until ŠS.05.12 there is a gap in the available documentation from Puzriš-Dagan regarding the consignments for the dogs of Gula. From Umma however, we know that a Puzur-Enlil in AS.09.09 together with his overseer Nawir-ilum received semolina (*dabin gur*) as feed (?) for the dogs.²³ That the Puzur-Enlil mentioned in the Puzriš-Dagan texts and the Puzur-Enlil mentioned in that one Umma texts is identical, is made plausible because they share the same overseer (Nawir-Ilum) and are both associated with dogs in the transactions where they appear. One can also find a Nawir-ilum in a text from Garšana (Garšana 1130), dated to ŠS.05, in connection with textiles associated with Gula.

From the sixth regnal year of Šu-Suen (ŠS.06) there appears a differentiation in the phrasing of the regular deliveries. The phrase "*sa₂-du₁₁ ^dGula*" ("consignment for Gula") has been replaced by "*sa₂-du₁₁ ur-gi₇-ra*" ("consignment for the dogs"). The exact timing that this change took place is difficult to establish. Nonetheless, the people responsible for the receipt of such consignments remained the same. Knowing that the temple of Gula at Isin was named *e₂ ur-gi₇-ra*, that Gula was sometimes called *^dUr-gi₇* "Dog" (Shaffer 1974), and that she could be represented as a dog in the visual culture of the second millennium BC (Asher-Greve 2013, 252),²⁴ it would not be strange to have the word "dog" substituted for her name in this case as well. The number of animals for these regular deliveries remained 29 or 30, including as before mainly sheep but now also goats. Even so, in these transactions dead animals are no longer provided to feed the dogs in addition to the regular deliveries, a change that is further discussed below.

Puzur-Enlil is mentioned explicitly as a dog handler (*sipa ur-ra*, and *sipa ur-gi₇-ra-ke₄*) as for example in PPAC 4, 207 (ŠS.05.08), and according to the legend of a seal impressed on a tablet from Adab, dated to ŠS6 (MVN 3, 271), he was the son of Ilum-bāni, the known dog handler. Until ŠS.09.10, Puzur-Enlil was supervised by Nawir-ilum, when the latter was replaced by a

married a daughter of – possibly – the general Ḫubaya, he himself had a servant (Tsouparopoulou 2015, seal no 316 and AUCT 3, 363) and he was an overseer of the troops of Maškan-abi (Nisaba 30, 46). This association of Inim-Nanna with the military and the dogs of Gula raises the question with regards to the relationship between the army, Gula and the dogs, which is discussed in the next footnote.

²² Both these dog handlers also received equids with no mention of Gula or her dogs (see table 2), which is difficult to explain as it has been shown recently that equids were fed only to those dogs related to the military (Recht/Tsouparopoulou 2019). Interestingly, the close correlation between the titles/office of physician and military general, as seen for example with Šu-Kabta (Wu Yuhong 2008), could well explain the situation where sporadically equids were given over to the dog handlers Ilum-bāni and Išme-ilum with no mention of Gula. If the physician could also act as a general, or vice versa, the feed of equids to the dogs of Gula could be explained. This further shows that professional titles were fluid and often honorific. What is therefore the relation between the military and the healing realm? As has been already noted, there appears to be a close correlation between the dogs of Gula and the army dogs: with Inim-Nanna receiving food consignments alongside Gula and her dogs (fn 21); or the known dog-handlers, usually associated with Gula, receiving equids as feed for their dogs with no mention of Gula; and the close correlation between the titles and/or office of physician and military general. It seems therefore that the relation between the war dogs and the "healing dogs" is a closer one than envisioned. Could this link between killing/wounding - represented by the war dogs - and healing - represented by the dogs of Gula - reflect the divine couple of 'warrior god' and 'healing goddess', especially prevalent in the second millennium BC, such as Pabilsaḡ and Gula, or Ninḡirsu/Zababa and Bau, as Sallaberger (2004) implicitly suggests?

²³ UTI 4, 2409, from Umma, dated to AS.09.09. Semolina seems a strange fodder for the dogs. Note that the text has not been collated.

²⁴ See also Braun-Holzinger (1996, 258. 336 f) and Groneberg (2000, 297-304).

Šu-Mamitum. If Puzur-Enlil the dog handler is identical to the Puzur-Enlil appearing in other Puzriš-Dagan texts disbursing animals, he does not seem to cease operation even during the reign of Ibbi-Suen - was there a turnover at this time? In a text dated to the second regnal year of Ibbi-Suen (PDT 1, 310; IS.02), a Puzur-Enlil is responsible for expenditures of animals for the cult of the gods closely associated to Gula: for Ninisina, her son Damu, her husband Pabilsaĝ and others.

It seems difficult to gauge whether the animals were given over to feed just the dogs of Gula, or generally to feed the rest of the personnel associated with the healing goddess. The fact that administrative texts up to AS.08 refer to both regular deliveries of animals to Gula and animals as feed for the dogs given over to dog handlers (lines 1-4, see table above) makes it difficult to understand the relation between the c. 30 animals given over to Gula and the c. 30 animals given over to the dogs: are these two different transactions of animals documented in lines 1-2 and 3-4, both though received by a dog handler in Gula's court, or are the lines 3-4 to be understood as clarifying the purpose of these consignments to Gula and thus documenting only 30 animals in total given over to the dogs of Gula?

Illum-bāni's yearly account of hides sent to the storerooms for the year Š47, seems to suggest that the latter was the case, i.e. that the animals mentioned as part of the consignment to Gula in lines 1-2 are identical to the animals mentioned in lines 3-4 as "for the dogs". In this text, OIP 115, 478, Illum-bāni appears to have sent to the storerooms a total of 340 sheep skins and their carcasses over one year, after the sheep were eaten by the dogs. There are at least eight monthly tablets of Illum-bāni dated to the year Š47, which amount to the documentation of 435 animals (353 sheep) received by Illum-bāni (if we calculate these two as different entries). Since we are most probably missing some of Illum-bāni's tablets for the year Š47, it would be reasonable to assume that the animals referred in the same text as destined for the dogs, after the mention of 30 sheep for the consignment of Gula, are simply clarifying the 30 "sheep" given for the cult of Gula and destined as feed for her dogs. However, there are a number of texts with such entries which give the sum of animals on the left edge of the tablet, as is customary. This number is the sum of both entries, i.e. those animals given to Gula in addition to those being fed to the dogs.²⁵ This thus suggests that the former was the case, i.e. that these are two different transactions of animals documented in lines 1-2 and 3-4, both though received by a dog handler in Gula's court. This however poses some questions, especially with regards to the consignments for the cult of Gula after ŠS.06, when Gula seemingly stopped receiving consignments for her cult, or at least clearly identifiable as such.

The healing goddess and the physician

The question that needs to be raised and answered is who were these overseers of dog handlers related to Gula and her cult. The career and family of Nawir-ilum has been thoroughly documented (see Wu Yuhong 2008). He was known as a physician (*a-zu*) and was closely associated with the healing goddess Gula. According to texts from Garšana, Nawir-ilum died in the 10th month of the eighth regnal year of Šu-Suen (ŠS.08.10).²⁶ However, at Puzriš-Dagan, Nawir-ilum continued to be registered as the overseer in transactions related to offerings for

²⁵ MVN 8, 132; BIN 3, 68; BPOA 6, 82; TRU 330; PDT 1, 439.

²⁶ CUSAS 3, 251: *u₄ diĝir-re DUH na-wi-ir-DINGIR / ba-a-ĝar-ra* and possibly in Fs. Pettinato 162, 167 no. 10.

dogs for almost a year after his death,²⁷ until he was officially replaced by one Šu-Mamitum in ŠS.09.10. The name Šu-Mamitum was a common one, so that no specific individual can be easily identified. There is a doorkeeper (*i₃-du₈*) Šu-Mamitum,²⁸ while a Šu-Mamitum also appears among the carriers of animals to the state livestock agency together with Šu-Kabta.²⁹ However, taking into consideration the close relation of Naram-ili the doorkeeper (*sukkal i₃-du₈*) with the Garšana physician and general Šu-Kabta and the titling of Nawir-ilum as both a physician (*a-zu*) and a doorkeeper (*sukkal i₃-du₈*) (Wu Yuhong 2008), it is possible that these titles went together and that Šu-Mamitum the doorkeeper could well have been titled and/or acted as a physician as well.³⁰

From the above, it seems that the physician played an important part in the supervising of animal deliveries for the cult of Gula and her dogs. There are many hints in the administrative texts that physicians were in the service of the healing goddess and were possibly related to her dogs. This association is further confirmed from texts mentioned in the beginning of this article, where three known physicians of the Ur III state, Šu-Kabta, Nawir-ilum and Ubārtum acted as conveyors for votive offerings to Nintinuga and Ninisina.³¹

Discussion

That the healing goddess Gula was closely associated with the dog is a well-known and amply documented topic (see for example Groneberg 2000, 297-304; Böck 2013, 38-44). The reasons for this close link have also been thoroughly discussed, as due to the healing effect of dogs' saliva (see for example Fuhr 1977, 139-45; Heimpel 1972-1975; Böck 2013, 154, 168) or the magico-medicinal effects of dogs (see Charpin 2011, 410; 2017, 34-36), but no consensus on the therapeutic function of dogs has been reached (Steinert 2014, 359 n. 6).

What this article brings to the fore is the recognition beyond any doubt that this relationship between the healing goddess' cult and the dogs goes further back in time to the late third millennium, and more specifically the Ur III period. It is in the late third millennium that we have the first documented association between Gula and her dogs within administrative texts from the livestock agency at Puzriš-Dagan, and also the first documented close association of the *a-zu*, the physician, with both dogs and the healing goddess.

Dog handlers were documented as receiving animals both destined explicitly for the dogs and as part of the obligations of the state for the provisioning of Gula's cult at Ur. These mentioned dogs must have been the property of Gula's temple and could have resided - if not in - close to her temple. The situation thus could be comparable to Isin, where dozens of dog-burials were unearthed in the vicinity of Gula's temple. Since the temple of Gula at Ur has not

²⁷ MVN 13, 89 (ŠS.08.12); UDT 171 (ŠS.09.03); PDT 1, 7 (ŠS.09.09). For this discrepancy, see Tsouparopoulou 2014.

²⁸ From Puzriš-Dagan: MVN 3, 339 r. 16 (dated to AS.02), MVN 13, 570 o. 4 (AS.07.09.20), Torino 2, 524 o. 4 (ŠS.01); from Umma: Santag 6, 152 o. 3 (AS.06.01); BPOA 6, 358 o. 2 (ŠS.05.01); from Garšana: CUSAS 3, 607 (ŠS.07.01).

²⁹ BPOA 7, 2629 r. 7 (AS.07.03.07).

³⁰ A possible association of Šu-Mamitum with a physician is given in Torino 2, 495 (nd). I would like to thank M. Molina for drawing my attention to this text.

³¹ TCL 2, 5550; AUCT 1, 241; NYPL 221. See also Kleinerman (2011) for the careers of the three known physicians from Garšana: Šu-Kabta, Nawir-ilum and Ubārtum.

yet been excavated, we cannot be certain whether there would be a similar situation there, but we should expect it to be so.

What is further shown is that the physician was closely associated both with Gula's cult and with the dogs. The physician (*a-zu*) in the Ur III period, for the ones that are documented in the Ur III texts at least, definitely belonged to the higher echelons of society, but what his/her exact relation was with canines cannot be clearly established.³² Similarly, it is difficult to extrapolate whether the title of physician was essentially related to their medical skills or if it was used the same way as the modern-day Dr title is, i.e. to reflect honorific duties and advanced (educational or other) skills. Nonetheless, it seems that as the generals were responsible for overseeing the dogs and their handlers that belonged to the military (Tsouparopoulou 2012), so also the physicians were responsible for overseeing the dogs and their handlers that belonged to the temples of the healing goddess. If this is confirmed beyond any doubt by identifying further Šu-Mamitum as a physician, then we should have again the first documentary evidence that during the Ur III period the physician was closely related to the healing goddess Gula, and conceivably also that he was operating on-site at the temple of his patron goddess in the company of dogs. This corroborates well with how Charpin (2017, 46) envisages the temples of Gula to have been: healing places, where the sick went to treat their malaises, their wounds licked by the dogs and treated with herbal ointments by the physicians; once cured, the patients would deposit votive offerings to thank the goddess.

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³² For the physician (*a-zu*) and the exorcist, or magician (*āšipu*) see Ritter (1965) who attempted to separate the two practices, while later Avalos (1995) and Biggs (1995) showed that these two practitioners were not so unrelated and the distinctions in their practices were not so clear-cut but overlapping. See also the important contribution by Scurlock (1999) who argues that we should understand the *a-zu* as a pharmacist and the *āšipu* as a physician.

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Tables

Table 1: Dog handlers receiving animals as part of the regular deliveries for Gula and/or her dogs

Date	Publication	Dog handler	Overseer (ugula)	Details	Animals
Š.42.00.00	SAT 2, 309			long account of transfer of tablets documenting consignments (sa ₂ -du ₁₁) for Gula for months 1 and 2, kišib ġiri ₃ -ne ₂ -i ₃ -sa ₆ ka-guru ₇ tum ₃ -dam bar-ta ġal ₂ -la	r. 31: 60 udu maš ₂ hi-a
Š.42.09.30	TRU 283			sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula + mu ur-še ₃ (summary account zi-ga Urkununa)	30 udu + 30 udu
Š.43.01.00	OIP 115, 295	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-še ₃	30 udu + 24 ud, 6 maš ₂
Š.43.05.00	Orient 16, 40.4	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃	30 udu + 24 udu 6 maš ₂
Š.43.09.00	PDT 1, 30	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃ zi-ga ki Nasa	30 udu + 24 udu 6 maš ₂
Š.43.09.00	ASJ 4, 133 3	kišib Ilum-bāni		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula + ba-ug ₇ zi-ga ki Urkununa	o. 13-14: 30 udu + 30 udu
Š.44.03.00	Torino 1, 197	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃ zi-ga ki Nasa	30 udu + 22 u ₈ , 6 udu, 1 ud ₅
Š.44.04.00	BCT 1, 65	kišib Ilum-bāni		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula + ba-ug ₇ zi-ga ki Urkununa	30 udu + 14 udu 12 u ₈ 2 ud ₅
Š.44.05.00	OIP 115, 301	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ġi ₇ -ra-še ₃ zi-ga ki Nasa	30 udu + 25 udu 5 maš ₂
Š.44.07.00	CST 70	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃ zi-ga ki Nasa	30 udu + 27 udu 3 maš ₂
Š.45.08.00	TRU 276	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃ zi-ga ki Nasa	30 udu + 30 udu 19 u ₈ 1 ud ₅
Š.46.02.00	Torino 1, 201	[Ilum]-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃ zi-ga ki Nasa	30 udu + 21 udu 8 maš ₂
Š.46.04.29	TCL 2, 5510	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula + ba-ug ₇	30 udu + 25 u ₈ 4 udu
Š.46.06.00	PDT 2, 1065	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃ zi-ga ki Nasa	30 udu + 3 dusu ₂ -munus, 9 udu 18 u ₈ 3 maš ₂
Š.47.00.00	OIP 115, 478	ki Ilum-bāni		[e ₂]-kišib-ba-še ₃ ba-an-ku ₄	1 kuš anše kunga ₂ , 26 kuš dusu ₂ , 340 kuš udu ad ₆ -bi ur-ġi ₇ -re ba-ab-ġu ₇
Š.47.01.00	Torino 1, 220	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ġi ₇ -ra-še ₃ ki Nasa-ta ba-zi	30 udu + 21 udu 7 u ₈ 2 maš ₂
Š.47.02.00	MVN 8, 102	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃ ki Nasa-ta ba-zi	30 udu + 23 udu 4 u ₈ 3 ud ₅
Š.47.02.00	BPOA 6, 578	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ġi ₇ -še ₃ ki Nasa-ta ba-zi	30 udu + 13 udu 5 u ₈ 6 maš ₂
Š.47.07.00	AUCT 1, 376	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ġi ₇ zi-ga ki Urkununa	30 udu + 13 udu 12 u ₈ 4 maš ₂
Š.47.07.00	OIP 115, 313	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ġi ₇ -ra-še ₃ ki Nasa-ta ba-zi	30 udu + 11 udu 14 u ₈ 4 maš ₂
Š.47.08.00	NYPL 321	Ilum-bāni šbt		disbursement of Nasa, ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃	12 [x], 15 [x], 2 [x]

Š.47.11.00	Torino 1, 227	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃ ki Nasa-ta ba-zi	30 udu + 24 udu
Š.47.11.26	MVN 15, 314	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃ ki Nasa-ta ba-zi	30 udu + 26 udu 4 maš ₂
Š.48.08.00	Princeton 2, 132	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃	30 udu + 27 udu 2 maš ₂
Š.48.09.00	WMAH 160; MVN 2, 160	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-gi ₇ -ra-še ₃ ki Nasa-ta ba-zi	29 udu + 12 udu 17 u ₈
Š.48.11.00	AUCT 1, 331	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-gi ₇ -ra-še ₃ ki Nasa-ta ba-zi	28 udu+18 udu 1 u ₈ 6 maš ₂ 3 ud ₅
Š.48.11.28	BCT 1, 74	Ilum-bāni šbt		summary account of transaction (disbursement of Ur-kununa)	
AS.01.01.00	BPOA 7, 2656	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-gi ₇ -ra-še ₃ ki Nasa-ta ba-zi	30 udu + 19 udu 6 u ₈ 5 ud ₅
AS.02.01.00	Fs Biggs 63-64	Ilum-bāni šbt		long account of Abbasaga: r. i 6-12: ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃ ; o. iv 30-35 sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula, sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Inim-Nanna, r. i 1-5 transfer of equids to be fed to the dogs, received by Dan-Šulgi	15 udu + 15 maš ₂
AS.02.04.00	BPOA 6, 82	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃ + sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Inim-Nanna dumu lugal	30 udu + 15 udu 15 maš ₂ + 5 udu
AS.02.05.00	NYPL 345	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃ + sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Inim-Nanna dumu lugal ki-bi-gi ₄ -a Abbasaga	30 udu + 20 udu 10 maš ₂ + 6 udu
AS.02.10.00	MVN 8, 132	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Inim-Nanna dumu lugal + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-gi ₇ -ra-še ₃ ki Abbasaga-ta ba-zi	29 udu + 6 udu + 26 udu 3 maš ₂
AS.02.10.30	SAT 2, 724	Ilum-bāni šbt		summary account of Abba-saga: r. iii 35-44 and r. v 9-17 sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Inim-Nanna dumu lugal + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃	30 udu + 6 udu + 20 udu 10 maš ₂
AS.02.00.00	SM 1911.10.496 (unpubl.)	Ilum-bāni šbt		sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-gi ₇ -ra-še ₃	30 udu + maš ₂
AS.03.03.27	MVN 11, 184	Ilum-bāni šbt		account of Ur-kununa, r. 31-34: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-gi ₇ -ra-še ₃ + sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Inim-Nanna	20 udu + 22 udu 8 maš ₂ + 6 udu
AS.03.10.30	BIN 3, 68	Ilum-bāni šbt		disbursement of Intaea: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Inim-Nanna dumu lugal + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-ra-še ₃	30 udu + 6 udu + 23 udu 7 maš ₂
AS.03.12.00	TRU 330	Išme-ilum šbt		disbursement of Intaea: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Inim-Nanna dumu lugal + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-gi ₇ -ra-še ₃	29 udu + 6 udu + 23 udu 9 maš
AS.04.12.00	St.Louis 124	Išme-ilum sipa ur-ra šbt		disbursement of Intaea: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Inim-Nanna dumu lugal + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-gi ₇ -ra-še ₃	29 udu + 6 udu + 29 udu
AS.05.03.00	PDT 1, 439	Išme-ilum šbt		disbursement of Intaea: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Gula ša ₃ uri ₅ ^{ki} -ma + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-gi ₇ -ra-še ₃	15 udu 14 maš ₂ + 20 udu 9 maš ₂
AS.05.12.00	PDT 1, 584			summary account of animals sent to the kitchen as part of consignments for Gula in months 7, 8, 9 from Nalu Intaea took in charge	30 udu month 7 + 30 udu month 8+ 30 udu month 9
AS.06.00.00	SM 1911.10.128 (unpubl)				
AS.07.01.00	AUCT 2, 89	Puzur-Enlil šbt	Nawir-ilum	disbursement of Intaea: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Anunitum ša ₃ unu ^{ki} -ga + ba-ug ₇ [mu ur]-ra-še ₃	[x] + 20 udu 9 maš ₂

AS.07.12.00	TRU 333	Puzur-Enlil šbt	Nawir-ilum	disbursement of Intaea: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ Anunitum-še ₃ ša ₃ unu ^{ki} -ga + ba-ug ₇ mu ur-gi ₇ -ra-še ₃ ša ₃ Puzur ₄ -iš-Dagan ^{ki}	[x] + 15 udu 15 maš ₂ -gal
AS.08.12.00	PDT 2, 1351	Puzur-Enlil šbt	Nawir-ilum	disbursements over 5 months of Duga, only related to dogs: ba-ug ₇ mu ur-gi ₇ -ra-še ₃	123 udu 26 maš ₂ -gal (almost 30 per month)
ŠS.05.08.00	PPAC 4, 207	Puzur-Enlil šu ba-an-ti	Nawir-ilum	disbursement of Ur-kununa, ba-ug ₇ sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ -še ₃	25 udu-u ₂ 5 maš ₂ -gal-u ₂
ŠS.05.12.00	BIN 3, 243	ġiri ₃ Puzur-Enlil	Nawir-ilum	over one year transfers of skins of animals eaten by the dogs on Ur-kununa's account (Lu-kala received them)	768 in total: 222 udu-u ₂ , 55 maš ₂ -gal, 75 u ₈ u ₂ , 32 ud ₅ u ₂ , 384 udu
ŠS.06.12.00	TLB 3, 34		Nawir-ilum	o. ii 9-13: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ ¹ -ra, e ₂ šu šum ₂ -ma Urkununa	25 udu 4 maš ₂ -gal
ŠS.07.12.00	AUCT 2, 15	[]	Nawir-ilum	Urkununa's yearly account with entry for sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ -ra	totals (šu-niġin ₂) r. i 37-44, r. ii 45-47: 287 udu-u ₂ , 6 u ₈ u ₂ , 61 maš ₂ -gal u ₂ ba-ug ₇ šu-a ge-na, 25 udu niġ ₂ [?] -diri
ŠS.07.12.00	MVN 13, 422			Duga's account: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ -ra kišib Nawir-ilum	x udu ba-ug ₇ sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ -ra month 1, day 23
ŠS.08.01.00	Torino 1, 266	Puzur-Enlil šbt	Nawir-ilum	Ur-kununa's disbursement: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ -ra	22 udu-u ₂ , 8 maš ₂ -gal u ₂
ŠS.08.06.00	PDT 1, 409	Puzur-Enlil šbt	Nawir-ilum	Ur-kununa's disbursement: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ -ra mu amar ur-gi ₇ -ra-še ₃ ba-ug ₇	20 udu-u ₂ , 10 maš ₂ -gal u ₂ šu-a ge-na, 22 udu-u ₂ niġ ₂ -diri
ŠS.08.07.00	SACT 1, 178	Puzur-Enlil šbt	Nawir-ilum	Ur-kununa's disbursement: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ -ra	23 udu-u ₂ , 6 maš ₂ -gal u ₂
ŠS.08.10.00	AUCT 1, 543	Puzur-Enlil šbt	Nawir-ilum	Ur-kununa's disbursement: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ -ra	30 udu
ŠS.08.12.00	MVN 13, 89	Puzur-Enlil šbt	Nawir-ilum	Ur-kununa's disbursement: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ -ra	20 udu-u ₂ , 10 maš ₂ -gal u ₂
ŠS.09.03.00	UDT 171	Puzur-Enlil šbt	Nawir-ilum	Ur-kununa's disbursement, sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ -ra	20+ udu, maš ₂ -gal u ₂
ŠS.09.09.00	PDT 1, 7	Puzur-Enlil šbt	Nawir-ilum	Ur-kununa's disbursement: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ -ra	18 udu u ₂ 11 maš ₂ -gal u ₂
ŠS.09.10.00	AUCT 1, 224	Puzur-Enlil šbt	Šu-Ma[mitum]	Ur-kununa's disbursement: sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ -ra	20 udu u ₂ 10 maš ₂ -gal u ₂
ŠS.09.10.00	TSDU 94	Puzur-Enlil šbt	Šu-Mamitum	sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ -ra	20 udu u ₂ 10 maš ₂ -gal u ₂
ŠS.09.12.29	SET 87	Puzur-Enlil	Šu-Mamitum	annual account of Ur-kununa, r. ii 1-7 sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ -ra	194 udu u ₂ 159 maš ₂ etc.
IS.02.01.00	TCL 2, 5507			sa ₂ -du ₁₁ ur-gi ₇ -ra niġ ₂ -kas ₇ -ak Urkununa	16 udu 13 maš ₂
XXXX.00.00	PDT 1, 515	ġiri ₃ Puzur-Enlil sipa ur-gi ₇ -ra	ki Nawir-ilum	summary account, transfer of skins and carcasses eaten by the dogs, sent from Nawir-ilum, via Puzur-Enlil, to Lu-kalla (šu ba-an-ti)	r. iii 1'-13' [...] 15 [?] ud ₅ ba-ug ₇ + 58 udu ba-ug ₇ , ad ₆ -bi kuš sa-bi

Note: In the tables, most names are normalized.

šbt = šu ba-ti "he received it"

Table 2: The same dog handlers (and overseers) as in Table 1 receiving equids with no mention of consignment for Gula or the dogs.

Date	Publication	Dog handler	Overseer (ugula)	Details	Animals
Š.44.02m.11	OIP 115, 232	Illum-bāni šbt		zi-ga mu ur-gi ₇ -ra-še ₃	1 dusu ₂ munus
Š.44.08.03	TRU 257	Illum-bāni šbt		zi-ga mu ur-ra-še ₃	1 dusu ₂ -nita ₂
Š.45.08.12	OIP 115, 235	Illum-bāni šbt		r. 18 ba-ug ₇ mu ur-gi ₇	1 dusu ₂ -nita ₂
Š.45.08.30	MVN 13, 127	Illum-bāni šbt		zi-ga mu ur-gi ₇ -ra-še ₃	2 dusu ₂ -munus ba-ug ₇
Š.46.00.30	AUCT 1, 1	[Illum]-bāni šbt		monthly account ⁷ of Enlila, zi-ga	[x] dusu ₂ -munus ba-ug ₇
Š.46.03.29	WMAH 114	Illum-bāni šbt		monthly account of Enlila, zi-ga mu ur-ra-še ₃	r. 32-33: 1 dusu ₂ -nita ₂
Š.46.08.04	PDT 1, 467	Illum-bāni šbt			1 dusu ₂
Š.47.08.29	AUCT 2, 194	Illum-bāni šbt		ki Šu-AN.BAD-ta	2 dusu ₂ nita ₂ šu-gi ₄
AS.04.08.00	MVN 13, 476	Išme-ilum i ₃ -dab ₅	Na[wir-ilum]		1 dusu ₂
AS.04.08.00	BCT 1, 92	Išme-ilum i ₃ -dab ₅	Nawir-ilum		1 dusu ₂
AS.04.08.00	BCT 1, 93	Išme-ilum i ₃ -dab ₅	Nawir-ilum		1 dusu ₂
AS.05.06.26	RA 9, 55 / SA 228	Išme-ilum šbt	Nawir-ilum	mu ur-gi ₇ -ra-še ₃	1 dusu ₂
AS.08.12.00	Hirose 288	ġiri ₃ Puzur-Enlil	Nawir-ilum	disbursement of Nūr-Suen: ur-gi ₇ -re ba-ab-gu ₇	1 dusu ₂ - munus

Note: In the tables, most names are normalized.

šbt = šu ba-ti "he received it"